



The State of Juvenile Justice in Wisconsin

This report is an update of an earlier [2015 report](#) and includes data through 2015. Fortunately, many of the trends noted in the prior reports have continued, as juvenile arrests have continued to decline and there has been a growth in support for successful community-based programs.

As noted in the [earlier report](#), juvenile crime in Wisconsin has undergone significant changes over the last decade—but in a direction that belies the common perception that things have gotten worse. Youth crime has declined, and in state after state, juvenile facilities that were full or overcrowded are seeing dramatic reductions in the numbers of youth placed. States and counties are facing unanticipated and unprecedented decisions about closing or consolidating facilities.

One serious juvenile crime is one crime too many. One victim is one victim too many. But policy decisions regarding youthful offenders need to be made within the context of what works and what the data shows is really happening in the juvenile justice system. Lest we forget, it was not that long ago (circa 1995) that fears of “a coming generation of super-predators” drove policy decisions. Some of those decisions improved the system. For example, the Juvenile Code, adopted in 1996, employed a “balanced approach” for goals (balancing community safety, youth accountability, and competency development) and increased victims’ rights.

But, the fears and rhetoric of the early 1990s also led to lowering the age of adult court jurisdiction to 17, unnecessarily capturing non-violent and first-time 17 year-old-offenders in the adult system, and lowered the age of delinquency to age 10.

Since that change in 1996, approximately 400,000¹ Wisconsin 17-year-olds have been arrested for nonviolent offenses, resulting in an estimated 80,000 of them spending at least some time in an adult jail, and thousands more ending up with an adult record that too often has unintended consequences related to employment, housing, and education.²³

Over the past decade, Wisconsin's juvenile justice system has:

- turned dramatically toward reducing the level of youth confined in both short- and long-term secure facilities;
- moved systematically toward implementing research-driven practices that work; and
- reinvested some resources formerly spent on high-cost placements into community-based alternatives.

During this time, Wisconsin has experienced a decrease in the numbers of juveniles arrested, juveniles committing violent crimes, juveniles sent to correctional facilities and detention facilities, and juveniles waived into adult court.

Mixed in with this mostly good news, the following challenges remain:

- The racial disproportionality of minority youth who have contact with our justice system remains among the highest in the nation.
- Each year thousands of 17-year-olds are arrested and subject to involvement in the adult justice system, whether at the local or state level.
- Although progress has been made, Wisconsin statutes still permit youth who do not commit crimes (status offenders) to be confined with youth who do.
- Too little of the savings accrued from fewer youth arrested, fewer out-of-home placements, and declines in confinement at both the state and local level have been reinvested in proven prevention strategies.

This report summarizes the current status of key decision points in the juvenile justice system, utilizing data from the Department of Justice, the Division of Juvenile Corrections, and the Consolidated Court Automation Programs (CCAP) case management database. This data is only part of the story of the hard work done throughout the system to better assess which youth need attention, to reconfigure resources to build effective local responses to youth crime, and to improve juvenile justice practices to be more consistent with the growing body of research about what works.

Begin at the Beginning—Juvenile Arrests

There are two measures of arrests typically reported:⁴

1. The number of juvenile arrests is simply the number of juvenile arrests reported by law enforcement.
2. The rate of juvenile arrests is a calculation that takes into account the number of juvenile arrests compared to the number of delinquency-age youth in the population, thereby accounting for changes in demographics over time.

Number⁵

The number of juveniles arrested has declined dramatically for over a decade, as illustrated by Chart 1. Since 2002 the number of juveniles arrested has declined 64 percent.

Rate⁶

Likewise, the rate of youth arrests has also declined steadily (with the exception of an increase from 2005 to 2006) over the last fourteen years, as illustrated in Chart 2. These rates are reported as the number of juvenile arrests per 1,000 youth.

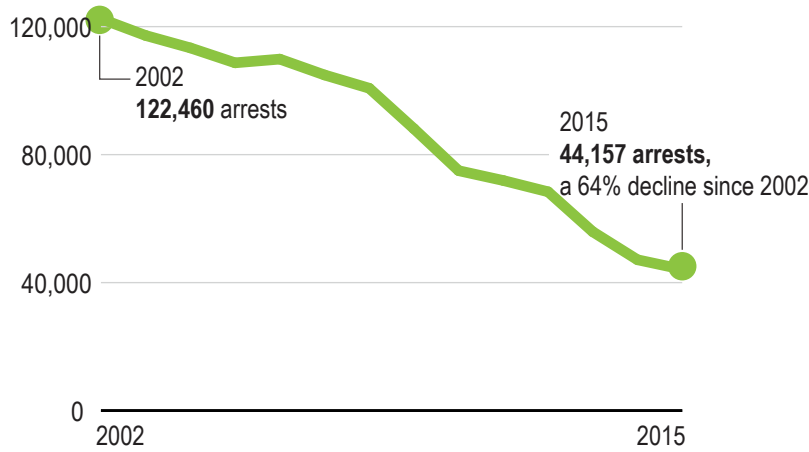
The rate of juvenile arrests has declined by 60 percent since 2002.

Chart 3 illustrates the arrests of youth for violent crimes over the last thirteen years. Although not as steady a decline as in overall arrest rates and numbers, the number of violent crimes has decreased 23 percent in the past five years, and is down by 47 percent since 2002.

CHART 1

Number of Juvenile Arrests in Wisconsin Has Declined Sharply

Arrests of youth age 17 and under in Wisconsin.



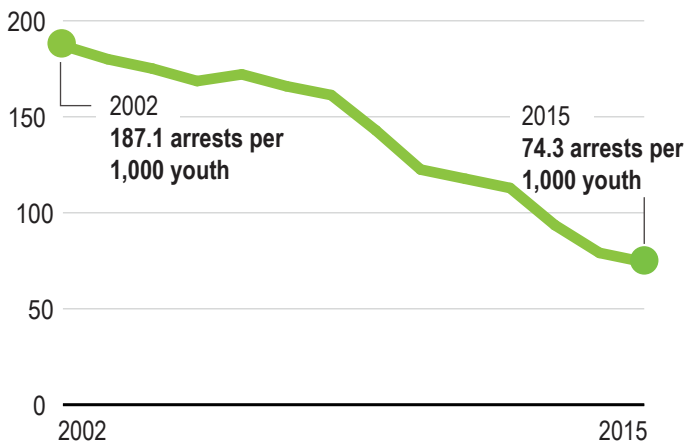
Year	Juvenile Arrests
2002	122,460
2003	117,224
2004	113,345
2005	108,685
2006	109,845
2007	104,891
2008	100,744
2009	88,082
2010	74,975
2011	71,902
2012	68,385
2013	55,884
2014	47,135
2015	44,157

Source: Wisconsin Department of Justice
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

CHART 2

Juvenile Arrest Rate in Wisconsin Has Steadily Fallen

Number of arrests of youth age 17 and under in Wisconsin, per 1,000 youth age 10 to 17.



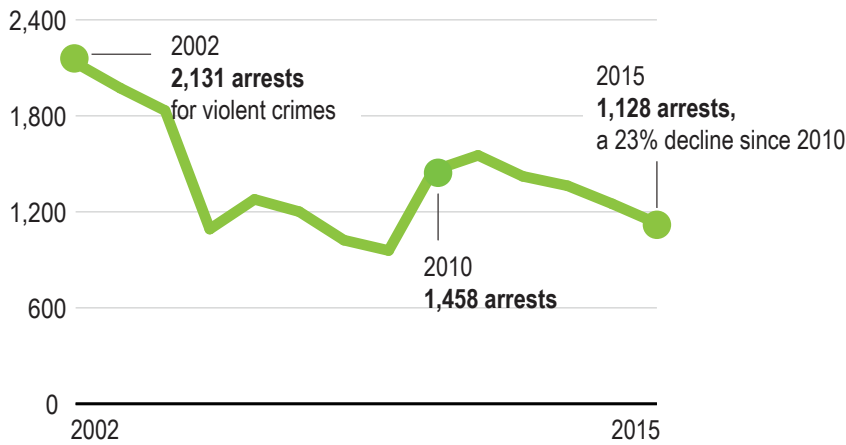
Year	Juvenile Arrest Rate
2002	187.1
2003	180.0
2004	175.1
2005	168.6
2006	172.1
2007	165.9
2008	161.3
2009	142.9
2010	122.5
2011	117.7
2012	112.9
2013	93.6
2014	79.1
2015	74.3

Source: Wisconsin Department of Justice and Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

CHART 3

Number of Arrests of Juveniles for Violent Crimes Has Declined Since 2010

Number of youth age 17 and younger arrested in Wisconsin for committing violent crimes, defined as murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.



Source: Wisconsin Department of Justice
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Year	Juvenile Arrests for Violent Crimes
2002	2,131
2003	1,973
2004	1,833
2005	1,092
2006	1,278
2007	1,201
2008	1,023
2009	958
2010	1,458
2011	1,553
2012	1,422
2013	1,363
2014	1,250
2015	1,128

Juvenile Population⁷

Since 2002, the number of youth ages 10 to 17 in Wisconsin has declined by approximately 9 percent. A simple way to think about the relationship between all of these measures is that if everything else remained the same over the last decade, one could expect the number of youth arrested to have declined about 9 percent – equal to the decline in the population cohort. That is clearly not what has happened.

Instead, the decline has been much greater than that, even for the most serious offenses.

Formal Petitions Filed

In Wisconsin, as in other states, once an arrest is made by law enforcement there is considerable discretion in how the case is handled (as well as whether the arrested youth is taken into some form of physical custody) based on the nature of the offense. In simple terms, they can choose to essentially “warn” the youth, refer the youth (generally working with the parent(s)) to various community programs for services, issue a citation (ticket), or refer the case to the court for assessment and formal processing.

Within each county there are established procedures and guidelines for assessing those cases, with a

goal of determining whether there is a need to file a formal petition (charge) or whether there are other informal means to accomplish the overall goals of the juvenile justice system—holding youth accountable, ensuring safety for the community, and improving the competencies/skills of youth. A petition may include one or more “counts,” or charges, of the same type or different types. Multiple counts are often linked to a single incident. Generally, the more serious the offense, the more likely it is that it will result in a formal petition being filed.

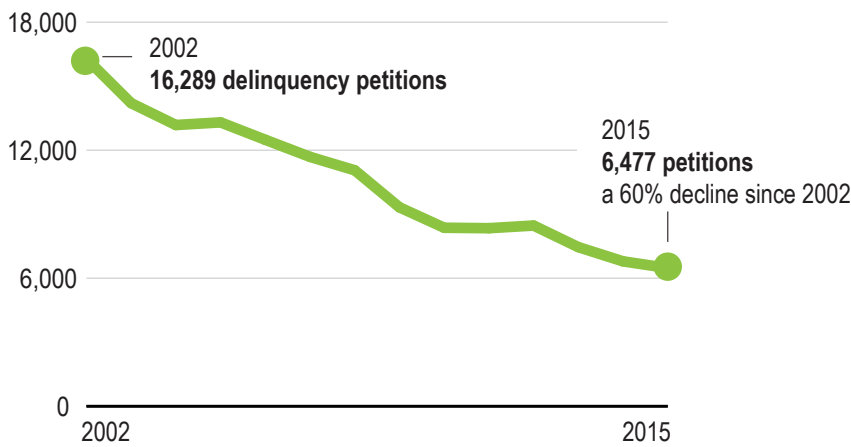
The number of juvenile delinquency petitions filed across the state can be viewed as a rough approximation of the caseload of the courts and county delinquency services agencies dealing with youth delinquency. Chart 4 shows the number of juvenile delinquency petitions filed in Wisconsin over the last fourteen years⁹.

The number of delinquency petitions filed since 2002 has declined by 60 percent—no doubt in large part a reflection of the declines in the numbers/rates of youth arrested as well as the development of other alternative solutions to respond to delinquent behaviors—e.g. deferred prosecution agreements, restorative justice

CHART 4

With Fewer Juveniles Arrested, Number of Delinquency Petitions Drops As Well

The number of juvenile delinquency petitions filed in Wisconsin by year.



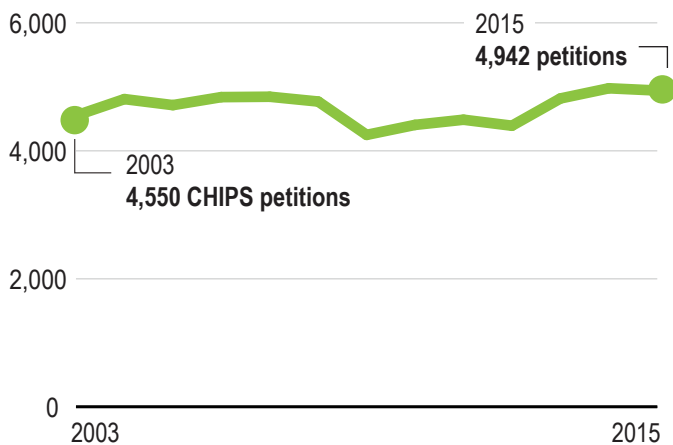
Source: Wisconsin Circuit Court Automation Project (CCAP)
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Year	Delinquency Petitions Filed
2002	16,289
2003	14,206
2004	13,182
2005	13,305
2006	12,489
2007	11,688
2008	11,060
2009	9,324
2010	8,366
2011	8,345
2012	8,469
2013	7,458
2014	6,791
2015	6,477

CHART 5

Number of CHIPS Petitions Remains Fairly Stable

The number of Child in Need of Protection and/or Services (CHIPS) petitions filed in Wisconsin by year.



Source: Wisconsin Circuit Court Automation Project (CCAP)
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Year	CHIPS Petitions Filed
2003	4,550
2004	4,808
2005	4,714
2006	4,839
2007	4,845
2008	4,770
2009	4,249
2010	4,405
2011	4,486
2012	4,392
2013	4,818
2014	4,977
2015	4,942

programs, teen/peer courts, and restitution programs. Most often these programs are equally, if not more, effective, timelier, and less costly.

CHIPS Petitions

Chart 5 also shows the numbers of CHIPS (Child in Need of Protection and/or Services) Petitions that have been filed since 2002.⁸ CHIPS Petitions are filed for children who have been maltreated or neglected by their parent and who need protection or services from the child welfare system to keep them safe.

In comparison to the steady decline in delinquency petitions, CHIPS petitions have remained fairly stable, although there has been a small but steady rise in CHIPS petitions since 2009.

Child Abuse and Neglect

Youth who have or have had involvement in both the child welfare system and the juvenile justice system are called “[dual-status youth](#)” and have unique needs and experiences. Because of the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency, it is important to consider child abuse and neglect trends in addition to juvenile justice data.

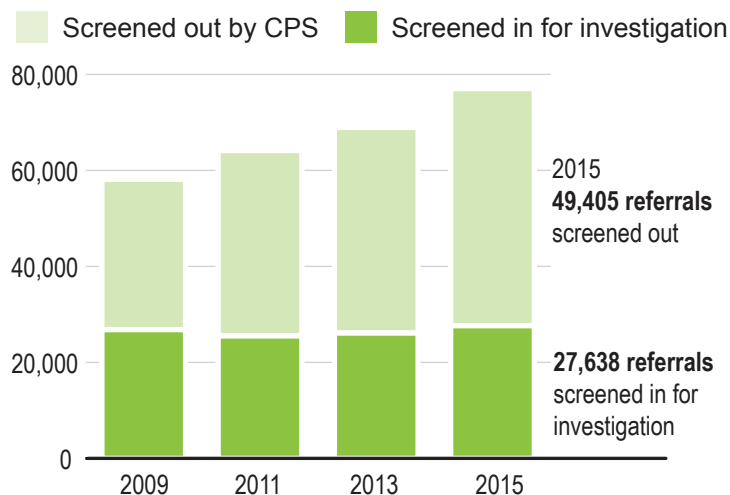
Cases of child abuse and neglect are identified based on referrals that individuals make to Child Protective Services (CPS) about alleged child maltreatment. Once a referral has been made, CPS employees use a screener to determine if the case meets criteria for suspected maltreatment. Cases that do not meet standards for suspected maltreatment are “screened out” and CPS does not require additional interaction with the family at that time. In contrast, cases that meet the criteria for suspected maltreatment are “screened in” for CPS to pursue an investigation to determine whether maltreatment occurred. Chart 6 shows the total number of reports that were made to CPS regarding child maltreatment in the last seven years and the number of reports screened in or screened out⁸, showing a steady increase from 2009 to 2015.

Over the last five years, referrals to CPS have increased by 20%. However, the number of those referrals that are screened in have remained relatively stable around 26,000 cases. It is unclear what has caused this rise in referrals, but it will be interesting to see if this trend continues.

CHART 6

Referrals to CPS Have Increased, but Number Investigated Has Stayed Flat

Total number of referrals to Child Protective Services (CPS) in Wisconsin, and whether those referrals were screened out or screened in for investigation.



Source: Wisconsin Department of Children and Families
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

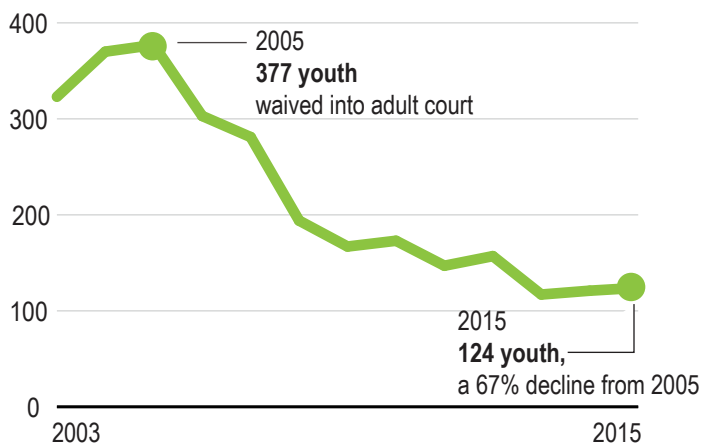
Sending Youth to Adult Court— What We Know Now

In Wisconsin, youth ages 15 and 16 can be waived into adult court for any delinquent offense, and for a few serious offenses youth as young as 14 may be waived. This waiver process is different than the “original jurisdiction” that applies to youth ages 10⁹ to 16 who commit one of a limited number of the most serious offenses as well as the fact that 17 year olds are automatically considered adults for criminal charges (Wisconsin is one of only 7 states remaining in which youth under 18 are automatically considered adults). In order to waive a youth to adult court, the district attorney must file a waiver petition prior to the first plea hearing. The judge may then, after a hearing at which parties have the opportunity to provide information to the court, make the necessary findings and order the youth’s case transferred to the adult system.

The data in Chart represent the number of youth actually waived into adult court between 2003 and 2015.¹⁰ Note that after an increase in 2004 and 2005,

The Number of Youth Waived into Adult Court Has Dropped Steadily

Number of youth waived into adult court in Wisconsin, by year.



Source: Wisconsin Circuit Court Automation Project (CCAP)
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Year	Youth Waived into Adult Court
2003	323
2004	370
2005	377
2006	303
2007	281
2008	194
2009	167
2010	173
2011	147
2012	157
2013	117
2014	121
2015	124

the number of youth waived dropped steadily through 2013, with only a slight rise from 2009 to 2010. The number of youth waived in 2015 represents a 67 percent drop from the peak in 2005, and a 44 percent reduction from the average over the past thirteen years.

It is not known exactly what accounts for this decline. Have perceptions changed regarding the need for incarcerating youth for longer periods of time? Is there a growing awareness that the adult system is ill-equipped to deal with all but the most serious youthful offenders? What is known is that the best research available suggests that if the primary goal of the system is to reduce reoffending behavior(s), waiver to the adult system has not been successful, and has in fact been counterproductive.¹¹

Finding Other Ways to Hold Youth Accountable and Protect the Community

One of the most dramatic declines has been in the number of youth housed in Wisconsin’s most secure Juvenile Correctional Institutions (JCIs), which are operated by the Department of Corrections, Division of Juvenile Corrections (DJC). From 2000-2010 three separate JCIs operated in Wisconsin, but in 2011 they were consolidated into two facilities: Lincoln Hills

School and Copper Lake School. DJC also has youth placed at the Mendota Juvenile Treatment Center and at the Grow Academy (opened in June 2014).

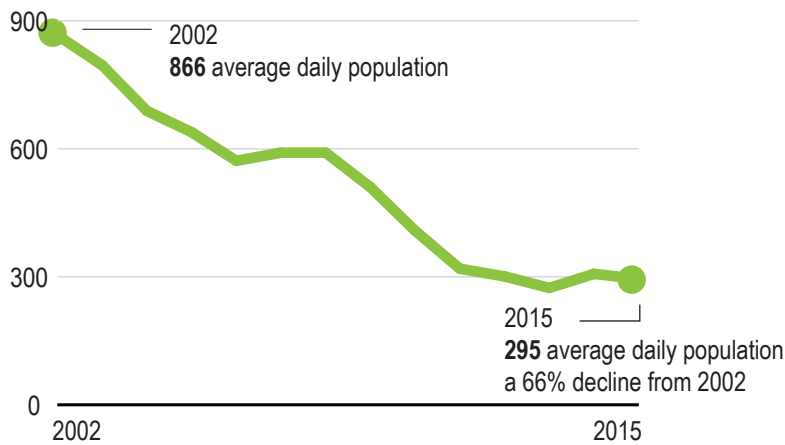
Youth are placed in a JCI pursuant to a court finding that (1) the youth has committed an offense which, if committed by an adult, would subject them to at least six months incarceration; and (2) a restrictive setting is needed to ensure community safety. Chart 8 shows the average daily population (ADP) as a total for all of the JCIs operating through the last fourteen years.¹²

The average daily population is essentially a function of two variables: (1) the number of youth admitted to facilities; and (2) the length of stay for youth placed in the facilities. The decline of about 65 percent in the ADP over the past thirteen years reflects declines in both of these variables, as fewer and fewer youth have been placed by the court in JCIs and as county human service departments and DJC have worked collaboratively to return youth safely and successfully to their communities.

For the majority of youth placed in JCIs and for services provided by DJC following placement, the county making the placement is responsible for paying a daily rate to DJC.

Wisconsin’s Juvenile Correctional Institutions Hold Fewer Youth than Before

Average daily population of Wisconsin’s Juvenile Correctional Institutions.



Year	Average Daily Population of Juvenile Correctional Institutions
2002	866
2003	796
2004	689
2005	639
2006	572
2007	591
2008	591
2009	510
2010	408
2011	319
2012	301
2013	274
2014	307
2015	295

Source: Wisconsin Division of Juvenile Corrections
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

This process was developed in 1980 as part of the Youth Aids system. As that daily rate has increased at a much faster rate than aid provided to counties by the state, counties have created additional alternatives to successfully deal with youthful offenders in their own community whenever possible. Legislation in 2011 and in 2013 has led to the creation of a number of local correctional alternative programs in which a youth may be placed in secure confinement for up to a full year.

Additionally, counties have continued to focus their investments at the local level, which is consistent with an increasing body of research suggesting that for many serious youthful offenders, well-designed community-based services can be more effective in reducing reoffending behaviors and increasing youth’s positive engagement in the community than institutional confinement.¹³

Using Juvenile Detention Strategically

Unlike Juvenile Correctional Institutions, which are meant for long-term care, juvenile detention facilities hold youth for short-term stays. The intent and best purpose of juvenile detention facilities is to hold alleged delinquent youth who pose a substantial risk

of physical harm to another person or are likely to run away so as to be unavailable for court. Juveniles can also be held in detention facilities while they are awaiting placement in a JCI.

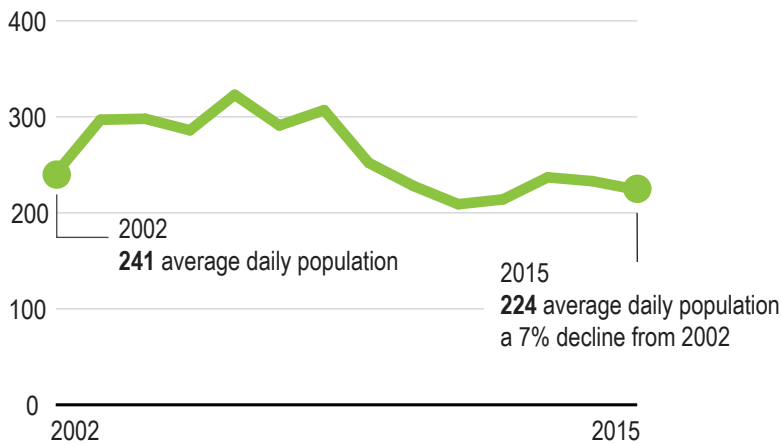
As the number and rate of youth crimes have declined, there has been a more modest decline in the number of youth held in county-operated juvenile detention facilities authorized to hold youth in Wisconsin. Chart 9 illustrates the trend over the past decade in the number of youth held in juvenile detention centers on an average day in Wisconsin.

Following an increase in the first part of the 2000s, the population began to decline, with 2011 being lower than the peak in 2006 by 35 percent. However, after the low point in 2011, population numbers rose again before slowly declining from 2013-2015.

The decline would likely have been greater without some changes in practices at the local level in some counties, including: (1) some increases in the use of secure detention for status offenders—those youth who have not committed an offense that would be considered a crime if committed by an adult but have violated a court order (e.g. truancy, repeated running away); and (2) an increase in holding youth for failing

Number of Youth Held in Juvenile Detention Centers Declines Only Slightly

Average daily population of the county-operated juvenile detention facilities in Wisconsin.



Source: Wisconsin Division of Juvenile Corrections
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Year	Average Daily Population of Juvenile Detention Centers
2002	241
2003	297
2004	298
2005	286
2006	323
2007	291
2008	307
2009	252
2010	228
2011	209
2012	214
2013	237
2014	233
2015	224

to comply with court ordered rules of supervision through either the 72-hour hold provision or the sanctions provision of the Juvenile Code.

Wisconsin's Greatest Challenge—Promoting Equity for All

Perhaps Wisconsin's greatest challenge is the high rates of disproportionality for minority youth at all points of contact with the juvenile justice system—generally referred to as Disproportionate Minority Contact (DMC) or more recently Racial and Ethnic Disparities (RED). Across the United States, children and youth of color have been overrepresented at every stage of the juvenile justice system, from arrest through incarceration. Wisconsin's DMC rates remain among the worst in the nation. With support of the Governor's Juvenile Justice Commission in allocating federal juvenile justice funds, Wisconsin jurisdictions are working to reduce these disparities.

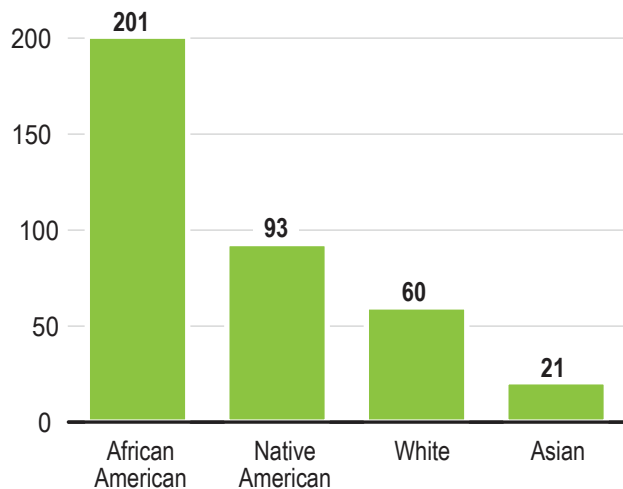
In 2002, the Wisconsin State Advisory Group (SAG) via the Governor's Juvenile Justice Commission (GJJC) awarded funds to six counties with significant minority populations, with a mandate to devise strategies to address DMC. More recently, a number of these counties continue their DMC efforts through

law enforcement training, improving community collaborations, and by participating in the Juvenile Detention Alternative Initiative (JDAI) through the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

CHART 10

Differential Arrest Rates Show Challenge Wisconsin Faces in Addressing Racial Disparities in Juvenile Justice System

2015 Arrest rates by race for juveniles in Wisconsin, per 1,000 youth ages 10 to 17.



Source: Wisconsin Department of Justice and Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
WISCONSIN COUNCIL ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Despite these efforts, racial disparities in the juvenile justice system persist. An [evaluation of DMC related work](#)¹⁴ done in 2014 by the UW Population Health Institute shows mixed progress on this issue.

Disparities in poverty, child welfare issues, school performance, drop-out rates, teen pregnancy, AODA, and a host of other indicators are all consistent with what we have seen in juvenile justice and present us today with the task of ensuring that we do not lose this next generation of young people to these high-risk behaviors and their harmful consequences.

One Note of Caution

In addition to the good news about the overall decline in juvenile arrests and arrest rates, there are some notes of caution to be aware of. Specifically, Milwaukee has experienced a substantial increase in the number of juvenile arrests related to car thefts and weapons offenses. Although those concerns have not spread to other counties, it is important to make sure that in talking about trends in juvenile crime that we clearly separate the general trends of more minor offenses from the more serious offenses. As jurisdictions become better at focusing strategies and resources on those youth that most need the serious attention, an increase in collaboration across stakeholders will become even more important.

Being Smart About Promoting Community Safety

It is possible to have high expectations for youthful offenders. They can be held accountable for the harm they have caused others. They can be taught new skills and competencies that will help them become contributing members of our communities. When absolutely necessary to ensure community safety, they can be confined securely for a period of time. The purpose of the Wisconsin Juvenile Code mirrors the goals of the Balanced Approach developed in the late 1980s: (1) promoting community safety; (2) holding youth accountable; and (3) developing pro-social competencies in youth.

With the increase in the use of strategic, research-supported practices, counties, the state Department of Children and Families, and the State Division of Juvenile Corrections are working together to meet these goals.

The data included in this report should dispel the notion that in order to promote community safety, large numbers of youth need to be locked up. If that were true, one would expect the arrest numbers and rates to have gone up as the number of youth confined has decreased over the years. That has not happened.

What About the Future?

No one can reliably predict what the future holds in terms of youthful offending behaviors. Trends over time suggest that youth crime tends to follow or mirror what happens with adult crime, which ebbs and flows over generations.¹⁵ We may be at the “bottom” of the recent decline, or we may be on our way to continued decreases in the numbers and rates of youth getting involved in the delinquency system and youth held in confinement facilities.

In so many ways, youth behavior reflects what they see around them in adults on a whole range of risk behaviors. As adult crime has declined, youth arrests have done so at even a faster pace. But as has happened in the past, it is too easy to become complacent about youth behaviors and forget about the investments we have made to support positive changes—investments in quality early learning and development, quality 4K-12 education, access to health care, and access to meaningful opportunities for youth to join the “world of work.”

The economic recession has not been kind to children in Wisconsin, especially children of color. As a whole, the poverty rate for Wisconsin’s children rose more than twice as fast over the last decade as the overall national rate. That is not a good sign given the historic link between poverty and crime.

Recommendations Going Forward

This document contains a part of the story about what is happening with youthful offenders in Wisconsin. More than ever is known about how to promote positive youth development and successfully redirect young people who get “off track.” Public policy decisions must be guided by what is known rather than by fears, and success stories as well as the challenges must be shared.

In summary, Wisconsin:

1. *Return 17-year-olds to the juvenile justice system.*

The overreaction to rising youth crime of the 1980s and early 1990s led to a decision that has unnecessarily pushed too many youth into the adult system or left them with an adult record. A small percentage of the most serious youthful offenders may need the longer-term confinement provided in the adult system, but the growing body of research and public policy consensus around the country is that the juvenile system is more effective than the adult system in promoting long-term community safety.

2. *Reaffirm what works with youthful offenders.*

More and more, the research about what works supports cost-effective intervention practices and programs that promote community safety, restore the harm caused to communities and victims, and

provides youth and their families with the skills needed to become contributing members of our community. To learn more about these strategies, one can start with the [What Works Wisconsin](#)¹⁶ project, and additional information comes out every month.

3. *Reinvest what is saved through reduced incarceration costs into local, community-based, proven prevention; early intervention; and supervision strategies that work.* The capacity at the local level to deal effectively with youthful offenders has grown but needs continued support to reinforce the gains that have been made.

If we understand the whole story, we can make good decisions about the future of juvenile justice in Wisconsin. Decisions we are making now will impact this generation of children, and will ultimately affect all of us. Let us make those decisions wisely.

END NOTES

¹ Estimate based on an average of 20,000 over a 20 year period

² See *Risking Their Futures*. Why trying nonviolent 17 year olds as adults is bad public policy. Available at http://www.wccf.org/assets/risking_their_futures.pdf

³ Nellis, Ashley. July/August 2011. The Sentencing Project. Addressing the Collateral Consequences of Convictions for Young Offenders at <http://sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/Collateral%20Consequences%20NACDL%202011.pdf>

⁴ Note: Arrests are reported by law enforcement through the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) system and/or the National Incident Crime Reporting System (NICRS) to the Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance. That system includes 17-year-olds as juveniles, and the percentage of juvenile arrests accounted for by 17-year-olds varies depending on the type of crime, but is generally within the range of 18-24%.

⁵ Source: Wisconsin Department of Justice Crime and Arrest Reports and Bureau of Justice Information and Analysis

⁶ Source: The Annie E. Casey Kids Count Data Center. Note: Data not available for all years.

⁷ Source: OJJDP "Easy Access to Juvenile Populations: 1990-2015." Available: <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezapop/>

⁸ Source: Wisconsin Department of Children and Families: Child Abuse and Neglect Annual Reports. Available at <http://dcf.wisconsin.gov/cwreview/reports/CAN-Y.htm>

⁹ Wisconsin's lowest age of automatic adult court jurisdiction (age 10) is the lowest in the nation – Source: Griffin, Patrick, Sean Addie, Benjamin Adams, and Kathy Firestine. *Trying Juveniles as Adults: An Analysis of State Transfer Laws and Reporting*. September 2011. US Department of Justice.

¹⁰ Source: Wisconsin Circuit Court Automation Project (CCAP) reports available at <http://www.wicourts.gov/publications/statistics/circuit/circuitstats.htm>

¹¹ Department of Health and Human Services Center for Disease Control. November 2007. *Effects on Violence of Laws and Policies Facilitating the Transfer of Youth from the Juvenile to the Adult Justice System*. A Report on Recommendations of the Task Force on Community Preventive Services. Available at: <http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/pdf/rr/rr5609.pdf>

¹² Division of Juvenile Corrections Annual Reports. Available at <http://doc.wi.gov/families-visitors/juvenile-services/djc-annual-reports>

¹³ See *Pathways to Desistance: A study of serious juvenile offenders as they transition to adulthood and out of crime*, available at <http://www.pathwaysstudy.pitt.edu/index.html>

¹⁴ <https://uwphi.pophealth.wisc.edu/publications/other/uw-phi-dmc-final-evaluation-report-september-2014.pdf#search=%22dmc%22>

¹⁵ Males, Michael. 1996. *The Scapegoat Generation: America's War on Adolescents*. Common Courage Press.

¹⁶ University of Wisconsin-Extension. *What Works Wisconsin: Effective Prevention Programs for Children, Youth, and Families*. Available at: <http://whatworks.uwex.edu/> or materials available through the Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance at http://www.oja.wi.gov/section_detail.asp?linkcatid=1319&linkid=708&locid=97&sname=Programs%20&%20Projects

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