



Wisconsin Youth Justice Referrals and Intake Report for Calendar Year 2021

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Wisconsin Department of
Children and Families

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Introduction

Report Purpose

The Youth Justice (YJ) Referrals and Intake report is intended to provide an overview of all YJ referrals received and logged into eWISACWIS by county human service agencies, along with basic characteristics of the youth referred, during Calendar Year (CY) 2021. This report will give readers information that will support their understanding of several early decision points in Wisconsin's community based YJ system.

Wisconsin's Youth Justice System

The vision for Wisconsin's community based YJ system is a focus on prevention and diversion with the provision of accountability and services for youth who come to the attention of the YJ system. This vision is guided by the Department of Children and Families' (DCF) commitment to ensuring all youth have the tools to thrive in adulthood.

A community based youth justice system is designed to serve the greatest number of youths through local prevention and diversion services and reduce the number placed out-of-home. Wisconsin is committed to ensuring young people referred to YJ are served by the appropriate agency or services, and that the YJ system does not function as a default intervention for youth in the state.

DCF assumed fiscal and programmatic oversight of Wisconsin's community based youth justice system in 2016. Associated responsibilities include training, maintenance of data systems, development of YJ standards, and building capacity through technical assistance. These duties are carried out in close consultation with counties, as Wisconsin's YJ system is state supervised, and county administered.

Additional details about the structure of Wisconsin's YJ system can be found in [Appendix B](#).

Juvenile Court Jurisdiction and YJ Referral Types

Juvenile courts in Wisconsin have jurisdiction in the following circumstances:

■ Juveniles alleged to be delinquent

Includes any person between the ages of 10 and 16 who is alleged to have violated any state law. Under 1995 Wisconsin Act 77, general jurisdiction of the juvenile court was lowered from age 17 to age 16. 17-year-olds do not fall under the original jurisdiction of juvenile courts in Wisconsin. More information can be found in [Wis. Stat. § 938.12](#)

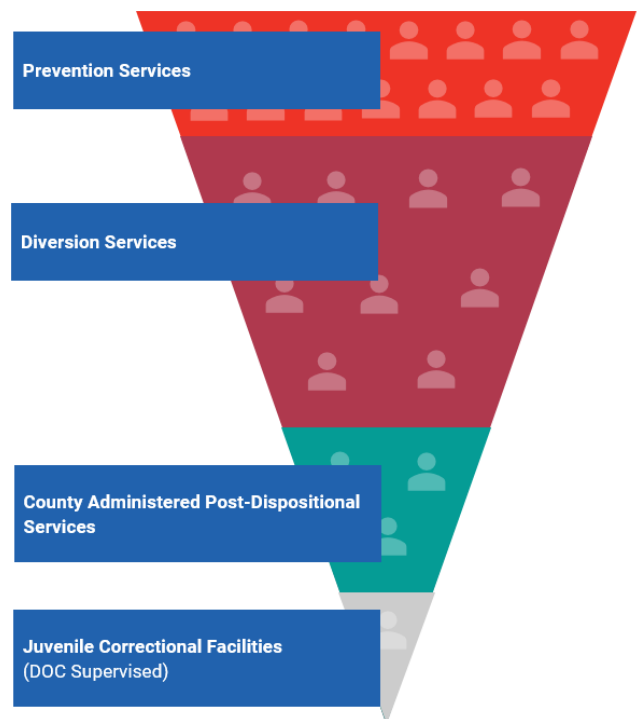
■ Juveniles in need of Protection or Services (JIPS)

Youth may be alleged to need protection or services if certain conditions apply:

- **JIPS non-truancy** conditions include a parent or guardian unable or needing assistance to manage a youth's behavior; frequently running away from home; or committing a delinquent act before age 10.
- **JIPS truancy** conditions include habitual truancy from school.

Youth adjudicated JIPS may be referred to a variety of services, but they cannot be sent to a correctional facility, juvenile detention facility, or a secured residential care center. More information can be found in [Wis. Stat. § 938.13](#).

Community Based Youth Justice System



■ **Juveniles alleged to have violated civil laws or ordinances**

Municipal or county jurisdiction over young people alleged to have violated a civil law or ordinance is determined by the referral source. Violation of municipal ordinance often results in a ticket—which is not synonymous with referrals to the YJ system. More information can be found in [Wis. Stat. § 938.125](#).

Additional information on jurisdiction—including exceptions and waivers to adult court—can be found in [Subchapter 3](#) of Wisconsin’s Juvenile Justice Code (Chapter 938).

The four types of YJ referrals correspond with juvenile court jurisdiction:

- **Delinquency**, [Wis. Stat. § 938.12](#)
- **JIPS non-truancy**, [Wis. Stat. § 938.13](#)
- **JIPS truancy**, [Wis. Stat. § 938.13\(6\)](#)
- **Ordinance/civil law violation**, [Wis. Stat. § 938.125](#)

YJ Intake

Intake is an entry point to the community based YJ system for Wisconsin youth under the age of 17¹. Intake is not a court hearing and youth do not need to be taken into physical custody to engage with YJ intake.

The intake process is initiated after a young person receives a referral to the YJ system². Referrals typically come from law enforcement or schools but could also come from parents or guardians. Depending on the circumstance, it is possible for a young person to arrive at YJ intake with multiple referral types that are associated with multiple offenses.

Intake procedures are guided by the Wisconsin Juvenile Justice Code ([Chapter 938](#)) and DCF’s [Youth Justice Standards](#). During the intake process, an initial screening and assessment is conducted. Referred youth are interviewed by county intake professionals, who have 40 days to review the referral, schedule an intake inquiry with the youth and their family (if needed), and make one of the following recommendations for the direction of the case: case closure, deferred prosecution agreement (DPA), or formal petition to court.

Both case closure and a DPA are considered forms of diversion. They are an “off ramp” from formal court involvement, but still serve to hold youth accountable for the decisions that brought them into the system. Research suggests that for youth who are at low or moderate risk of re-offending, offering an alternative to formal involvement that is precise, minimal, and aligned with a youth’s risk, needs, and responsibility factors can be an effective strategy³.

The intake process and conditions for intake recommendations are outlined in greater detail in [Subchapter 5](#) of the Juvenile Justice Code.



Divert from Formal Court Involvement

Close the case. While the young person may still be referred or diverted to county services, no formal involvement in the YJ system is recommended.

In cases where it is determined the jurisdiction of the juvenile court exists, but formal court involvement is not required, an intake professional can recommend a **Deferred Prosecution Agreement (DPA)**. So long as the young person cooperates with the terms of the agreement, they avoid a formal delinquency adjudication.



Formal Court Involvement

Refer the case to the district attorney or corporation counsel to request a **formal petition** to juvenile court.

¹ [Wisconsin is one of three states](#) where 17-year-olds do not fall under original jurisdiction of the juvenile court.

² YJ referrals are not the same as arrests. 2021 arrest data can be found on [Wisconsin DOJ’s UCR Data Dashboard Center](#).

³ Additional details about diversion from youth justice can be found in this [2017 OJJDP literature review](#).

Collaboration with Youth

This report also includes voices of youth with lived experience in the youth justice system. Several representatives from across the state (referred to throughout the report as *Youth Leaders*) with direct experience in Wisconsin's YJ system assisted in the analysis of key pieces of data during a series of focus groups between October and December of 2022. Their perspectives and feedback have contributed to a deeper understanding of areas of needs, service gaps, and strategies that work during the intake process.

In addition to their contributions highlighted throughout this report, Youth Leaders were asked to share if there was anything they'd like adult YJ stakeholders to consider when reviewing this document. Some of those responses are highlighted below:

We need to not judge youth for their past actions if we want them to succeed in the future.

I think that trauma could impact decision-making. I know there is a connection, but I don't really know how to explain it.

I feel like there is a racial motivation in the system.

When we were looking at the counties with the highest rates of youth going into the system, a lot of it is because they don't have enough resources [to keep them in the community]. A push for more resources might help off-set that.

It is important for YJ caseworkers to be self-conscious and be self-aware and take things step-by-step [when they are getting to know youth].

I didn't have to go through the court system if I had only known where the resources were at. There is never going to be a time that resources are not needed.

Until I was referred to Youth Justice, I had no help. My mom had driven me to the Health and Human Services Building asking for help and nothing happened...things had to get bad before they got better.

The infographic features six speech bubbles of various colors and shapes, each containing a quote from a youth leader. Two illustrations of youth are included: a girl with her arms crossed on the left and a boy with his hands clasped on the right.

Additional information about DCF's Lived Experience group for youth with YJ system involvement and experience and future opportunities for involvement can be found on the [Youth Leadership Team \(YLT\) program page](#).

Executive Summary

The Youth Justice Referrals and Intake Report provides information on youth referred to the YJ system, YJ referral details, and YJ intake decisions from CY 2021. Data in this report are from eWiSACWIS, the state's centralized case management system. Data notes and limitations, a brief description of the structure of responsibilities for Wisconsin's YJ system, and tables with county data related to YJ referrals and intake recommendations for delinquency referrals can be found in the appendices.

In CY 2021, county human service agencies logged 13,033 YJ referrals for 8,227 unique youth into eWiSACWIS. This was a slight increase from CY 2020 but was still fewer youth and referrals overall than the first year of available data, CY 2019.

Youth Characteristics

- While older teens (14-16 years) account for over 60% of youth referred, there was a slight increase in youths aged 10-13 years at first referral in 2021. Despite their young age, these youth most often had at least one delinquency referral.
- Female youth were referred to YJ less often than their peers but received a higher proportion of JIPS referrals, including truancy. This holds with research that suggests girls are more likely to enter the YJ system with a non-delinquency-related offense due to differing societal expectations for behavior.
- Black and Native American youth have been significantly overrepresented among youth referred to YJ since 2019. In a system free from racial bias, we would expect rates of system contact across racial groups to be in relative alignment with the racial composition of the state's general youth population.
- Close to a quarter of youth referred in 2021 had their ethnicity recorded as "unknown" or "not documented." This is significant enough that Hispanic youth may be undercounted.
- Youth referred to YJ in 2021 had a higher rate of prior contact with child protective services and more experience with out-of-home care placements than the general youth population in Wisconsin.

Referral Details & Intake Recommendations

- YJ referrals logged by county human service agencies in eWiSACWIS came from multiple sources and were associated with an array of locations, underscoring the importance of community collaboration to support YJ-involved youth.
- Most JIPS referrals were connected to truancy. This is concerning as research has found the most effective strategies to address truancy employ the YJ system as a "last resort" for a youth and families who require support beyond the multi-tiered strategies that schools and community agencies can offer.
- The most common delinquency referral offense was disorderly conduct, though it should be noted that "disorderly conduct" can encompass a range of behaviors and specific reasons for that referral may vary by county.
- There was significant variation across counties in the rate of delinquency referrals compared to the youth population in the county.
- Similarly, there was significant variation across counties in the percentage of delinquency referrals recommended by YJ intake for formal petition to court.
- Statewide, Black and Native American youth received delinquency referrals at a rate close to 5 times higher than their White peers, and Black youth were recommended for a formal petition to court for delinquency referrals at a rate significantly higher than their peers.

2021 Youth Characteristics

Total Youth Referred

8,227 youth received at least one referral (of any type) to the YJ system in 2021.

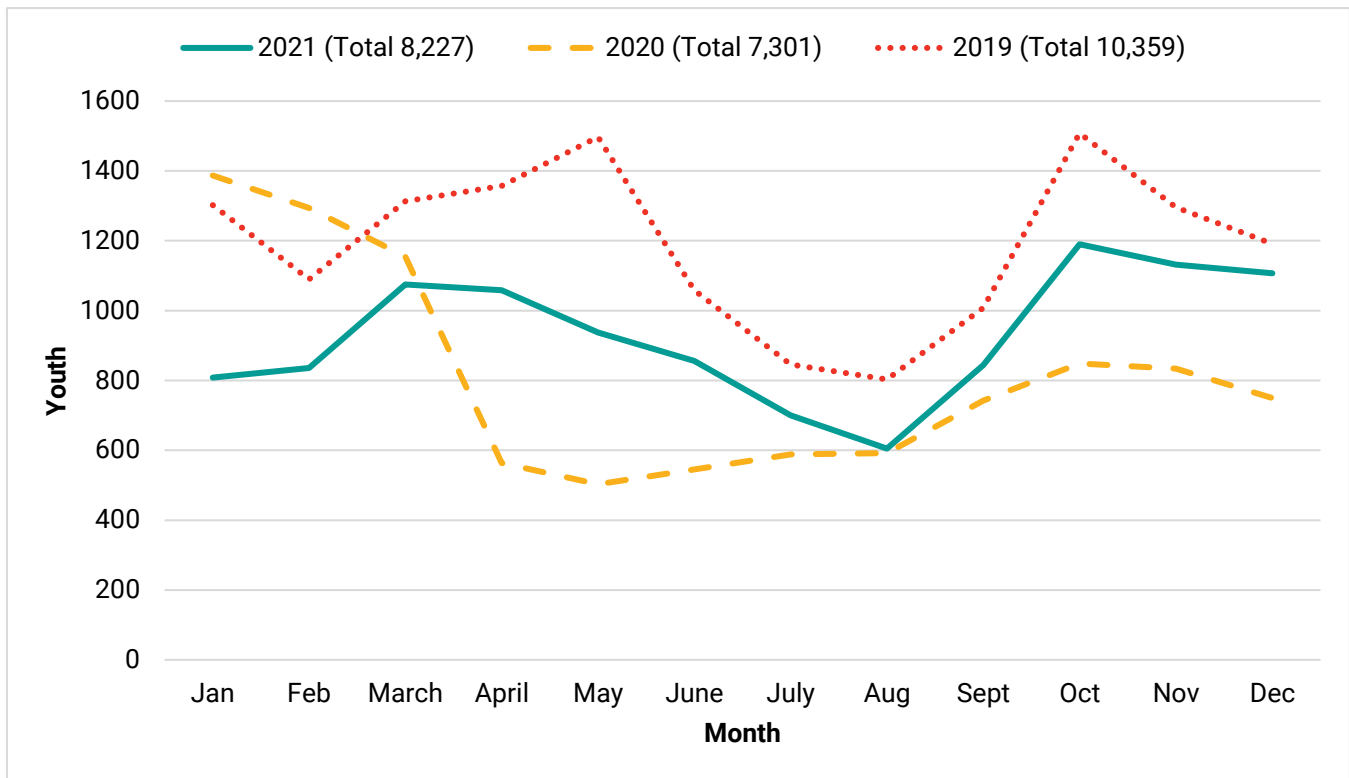
Figure 1 illustrates the number of youths referred to YJ by month in 2019, 2020, and 2021. While the overall total number of youths referred has decreased since 2019, data from 2021 does show a slight increase in youth with at least one YJ referral.

Youth with at least one YJ referral in 2021

8,227

Figure 1

2019-2021 Total Youth Referred to Youth Justice



Data Note: While trend lines measure the total youth referred per month, the totals in the legend reflect the total unique youth referred per year.

There was a significant drop in youth referred between March and May of 2020 during the start of the COVID-19 pandemic emergency. In both 2019 and 2021, referrals trended upwards between February and May and again between August and October – time frames that align with the conclusion and start of the school year. Youth Leaders noted that transitions to and from school can be challenging – without appropriate coping strategies or adequate support from adults, issues at school can carry over into issues at home, which may contribute to an increase in all referral types during these timeframes.

Gender

The proportion of youth referred by gender has been consistent since 2019, even though the count of male, female, and gender unknown youth has varied by year.

- 2/3 of youth with at least 1 YJ referral (of any type) in 2021 were identified as male (Fig. 2).
- Youth whose gender was unknown accounted for slightly less than 2% of youth referred in 2021.

When asked about the proportion of male youth referred to YJ, Youth Leaders were not surprised males were more frequently referred to YJ than their female peers. Many described societal expectations for boys that they felt contribute to a lack of skills to de-escalate conflict or talk through issues, which can lead to “fights that didn’t need to happen.”

There was some variation in the distribution of referral types within gender categories (Table 1).

- The largest proportion of youth of any gender were referred for delinquency.
- Female youth were referred for JIPS at a rate significantly higher than their male peers.

While fewer female youth were referred to YJ in 2021, they were referred for JIPS truancy at almost double the rate of their male peers. Nationwide, girls are more likely to enter the YJ system for non-delinquency related concerns like truancy or running away from home. Research suggests this difference may be rooted in different behavioral expectations for girls⁴.

Figure 2

2021 YJ Referred Youth by Gender

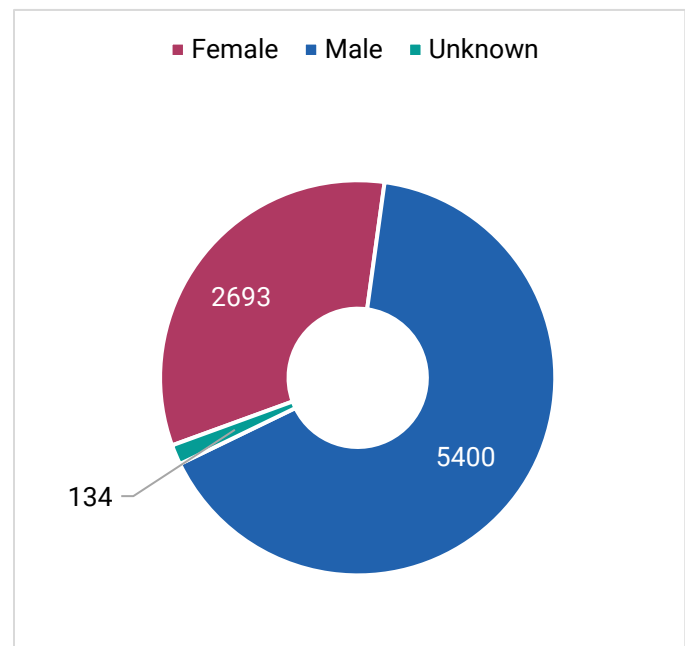


Table 1

Distribution of 2021 YJ Referral Types by Youth Gender

Gender	Referral Type			
	Delinquency	JIPS Non-Truancy	JIPS Truancy	Ord./Civ. Law Violation
Male	78.1%	8.2%	12.8%	0.8%
Female	63.6%	12.9%	22.6%	0.9%
Gender Unknown	72.6%	4.3%	23.2%	0.0%

⁴ More information about the connection between girls, behavioral expectations, and the YJ system can be found in a 2018 guide called “[Girls Matter](#)” from the Vera Institute for Justice.

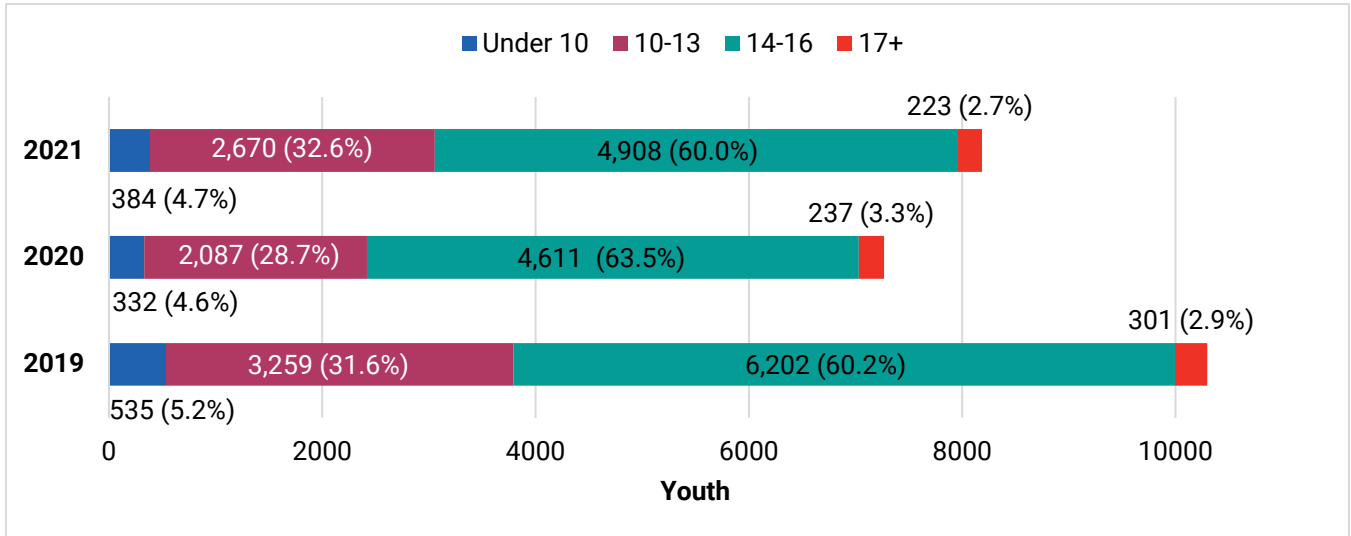
Age

The distribution of age at first YJ referral in 2021 was like distributions from previous years (Fig. 3).

- Youth aged 14-16 have accounted for at least 60% of all YJ-referred youth since 2019.
- The proportion of referred youth aged 10-13 was larger in 2021 than any other year.

Figure 3

2019-2021 Youth Age at First YJ Referral during Respective Calendar Year

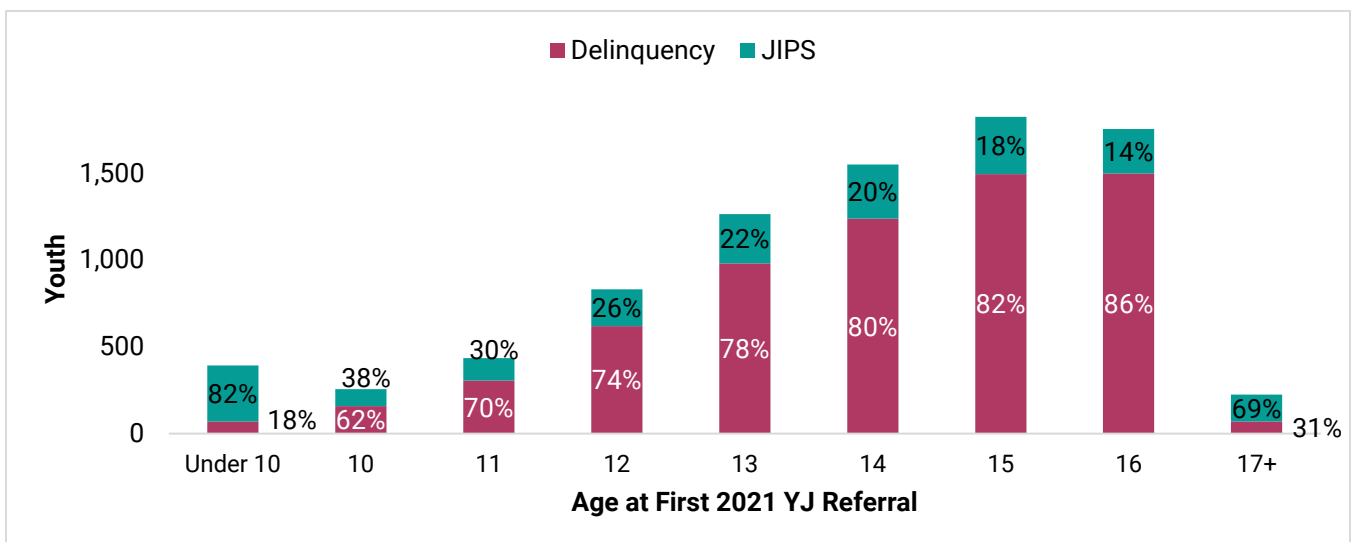


Youth leaders were surprised and concerned by the number of youths referred in 2021 who were under age 10. Youth under age 10 should only be referred via JIPS and if later adjudicated, can only be referred for services⁵.

- The most common age at first referral was 15 years (Fig. 4).
- Youth under age 10 or over age 17 were overwhelmingly referred to YJ for JIPS offenses.

Figure 4

Youth Age at First 2021 YJ Referral



⁵ Delinquency referrals for youth under age 10 may be received but will be closed as they do not meet statutory requirements for delinquency jurisdiction.

Race and Ethnicity

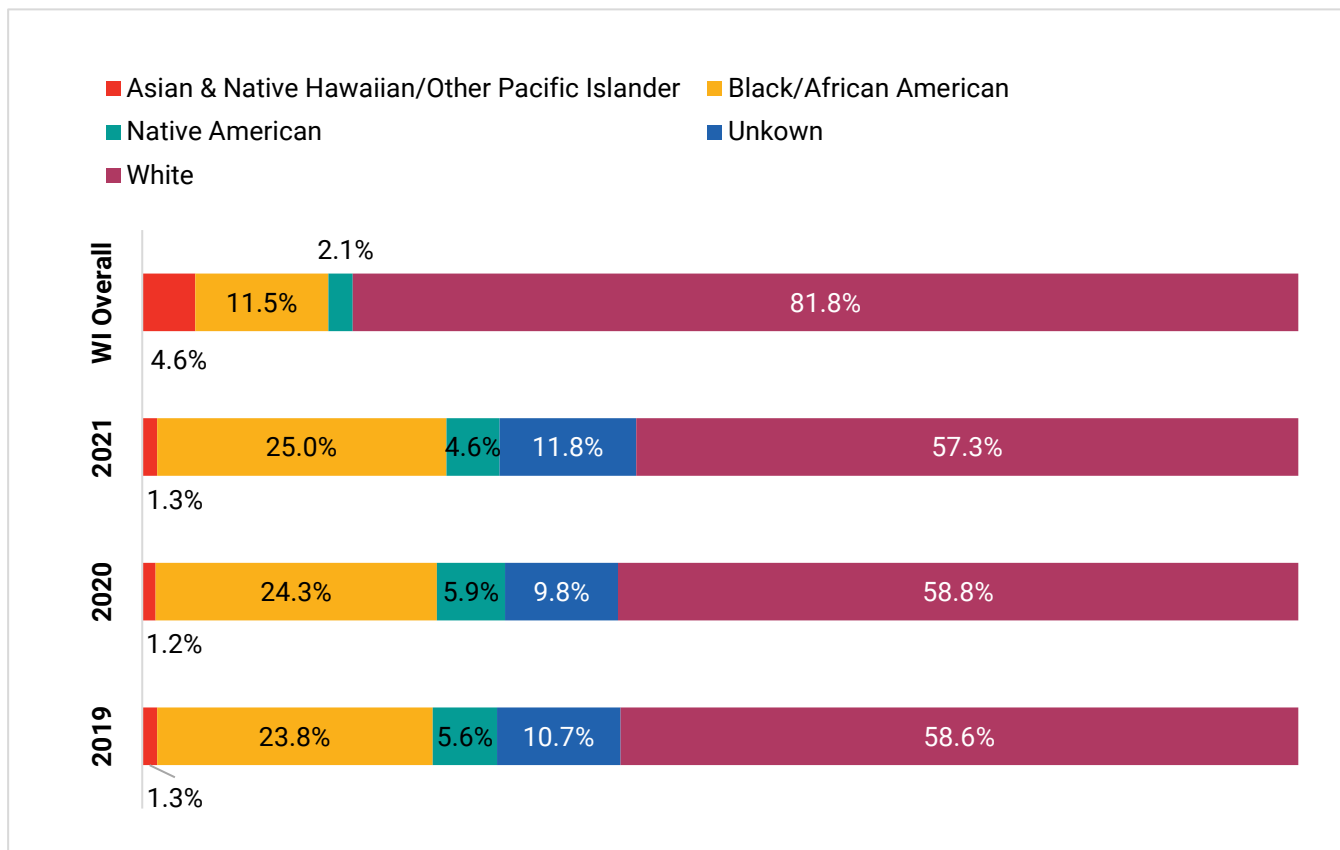
Disproportionate Minority Contact (DMC) is a measurement that has been used by the federal government for several decades to monitor and assess differences in justice involvement among racial groups⁶. Both racial biases woven into the justice system and offending patterns within racial groups have been found by researchers to contribute to DMC. However, in a justice system that is truly equitable, rates of system contact across racial groups would be in relative alignment with the racial composition of the state’s general youth population.

In 2021, the largest percentage of youth referred to the YJ system were identified as White (57.3%). However, the percentage of Black and Native American youth referred to the YJ system far exceeds the overall percentage of Black and Native American youth residing in the state (Table 2). While Black youth accounted for a quarter of youth referred to YJ in 2021, they comprise about a tenth of Wisconsin’s overall youth population. Similarly, about five percent of youth referred to YJ were Native American, but Native American youth make up only about two percent of the state’s youth population.

A comparison of race data over time reveals that over the course of the last three years, both Black and Native American youth have been overrepresented in received YJ referrals in Wisconsin (Fig. 5).

Figure 5

2021 YJ Referred Youth by Race



Wisconsin Youth Population Data Source: Puzzanchera, C., Sladky, A. and Kang, W. (2021). "Easy Access to Juvenile Populations: 1990-2020." Online. Available: <https://www.ojdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezapop>

⁶ A more detailed description of DMC is available in this [2014 Policy Brief from the Sentencing Project](#).
DCF-P-5549 (R. 01/2023)

In 2021, about nine percent of youth referred to YJ were identified as Hispanic, a slightly smaller percentage than that of the state’s general youth population. However, close to a quarter of youth referred in 2021 had their ethnicity recorded as unknown or undocumented. This data gap is significant enough that the possibility of an undercount of Hispanic youth cannot be ruled out. Nationwide, it has been hypothesized that a gap in documentation of Hispanic ethnicity obscures important nuance and detail of YJ system involvement for Hispanic youth⁷.

Table 2

2021 YJ Referred Youth by Race and Hispanic Ethnicity

Race	2021 YJ Referred Youth		General Youth Population	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
White	4,712	57.3%	968,568	81.8%
Black/African American	2,058	25.0%	136,614	11.5%
Native American/Alaskan Native	380	4.6%	25,092	2.1%
Asian	92	1.1%	54,279	4.6%
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	14	0.2%	--	--
Race Unknown or Not Documented	971	11.8%	--	--
Hispanic Ethnicity	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Hispanic	772	9.4%	151,120	12.8%
Not Hispanic	5,609	68.2%	1,033,433	87.2%
Hispanic Ethnicity Unknown or Not Documented	1,846	22.4%	--	--

Wisconsin General Youth Population Data Source: *Puzzanchera, C., Sladky, A. and Kang, W. (2021). "Easy Access to Juvenile Populations: 1990-2020." Online. Available: <https://www.ojdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezapop>*

Surveyed youth leaders expressed concern about a potential “racial motivation” in the YJ system, describing situations where they noticed similar behavior by White youth and youth of color eliciting different responses from community members. There was also an interest in exploring race and ethnicity in greater detail in the future, as some youth emphasized the importance of studying racial and ethnic trends in the YJ system over time.

One young person also voiced some frustration that his racial identity did not match the racial and ethnic categories selected for him in the case management system. Racial and ethnic self-identification is generally recognized as best practice and is an important step in building trust and rapport with youth and families⁸.

⁷ More information about the Latinx Data Gap in Youth Justice can be found in [this report from UCLA](#).

⁸ Additional guidance for child welfare professionals about racial and ethnic identification can be found in a recently published DCF desk guide.

Prior Child Protective Services Contact

A child protective services (CPS) referral contains allegation(s) of child abuse and/or neglect. CPS referrals are “screened-in” during Access if at least one allegation meets the statutory requirements for child abuse and/or neglect. CPS referrals are “screened out” when all allegations included in the referral do not meet statutory requirements. Screened-out cases are closed, though the family may still be offered or referred to services.

The “screen in and screen out” category in Figure 6 includes youth who have ever had at least one CPS referral screened-in *and* at least one CPS referral screened-out prior to their first YJ referral in 2021.

Data from 2021 reveals most youth referred to YJ were previously referred to CPS:

- 80% of youth had at least 1 referral to CPS prior to first documented YJ referral in 2021.
- 66% of youth had at least 1 CPS referral Screened-In prior to first documented YJ referral in 2021.

More information about CPS screening decisions can be found in this [case flow explanation of the Access process](#) and in the annual [Child Abuse and Neglect Report](#).

Out-of-Home Care Placement

Out-of-Home Care (OHC) is a broad umbrella that includes a variety of placements including foster homes, group homes, residential care centers, shelter care facilities, and detention.

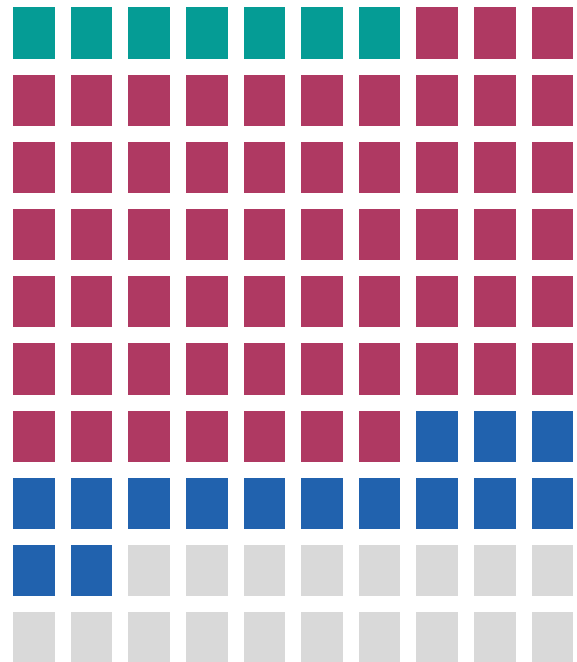
About one in five YJ referred youth had experienced at least one OHC placement at any time prior to their first YJ referral in 2021. A smaller population of youth (about five percent) were in OHC at the time of their first YJ referral in 2021. In contrast, less than one percent of the general youth population in Wisconsin had an OHC experience during 2021.

Several youth leaders shared that they had experience with an OHC placement prior to their YJ involvement. One young person shared they felt like they stuck out more as a youth of color placed in a rural community, describing their experience in placement as “feeling like there were always eyes on them for everything they did.” Another young person shared they felt like they gained a lot of important skills in OHC placement, but then struggled to figure out how to apply those skills on their own back in their community. They suggested the lack of a transition from OHC contributed to their return to the YJ system.

More information about OHC placements can be found in the [OHC dashboard](#) and in the annual [Out of Home Care Report](#).

Figure 6

2021 YJ Referred Youth with Prior CPS Referral(s)



Prior CPS Referral(s)

- Screened In Only (6.8%)
- Screened In & Screened Out (59.6%)
- Screened Out Only (15.2%)
- No Prior Referral (18.4%)

Youth with OHC Placement Prior to First 2021 YJ Referral

18.1%

Youth Placed in OHC at Time of First 2021 YJ Referral

4.8%

Wisconsin General Youth Population Placed in OHC in 2021

<1%

2021 Referral Details and Intake Recommendations

Total Referrals

Over thirteen thousand unique YJ referrals (of any type) were logged into eWiSACWIS in 2021.

Figure 7 illustrates the number of YJ referrals received by month in 2019, 2020, and 2021. While 2021 shows an increase from the total referrals logged in 2020 (11,742) it is still a substantial decrease from the total referrals received in 2019 (16,977).

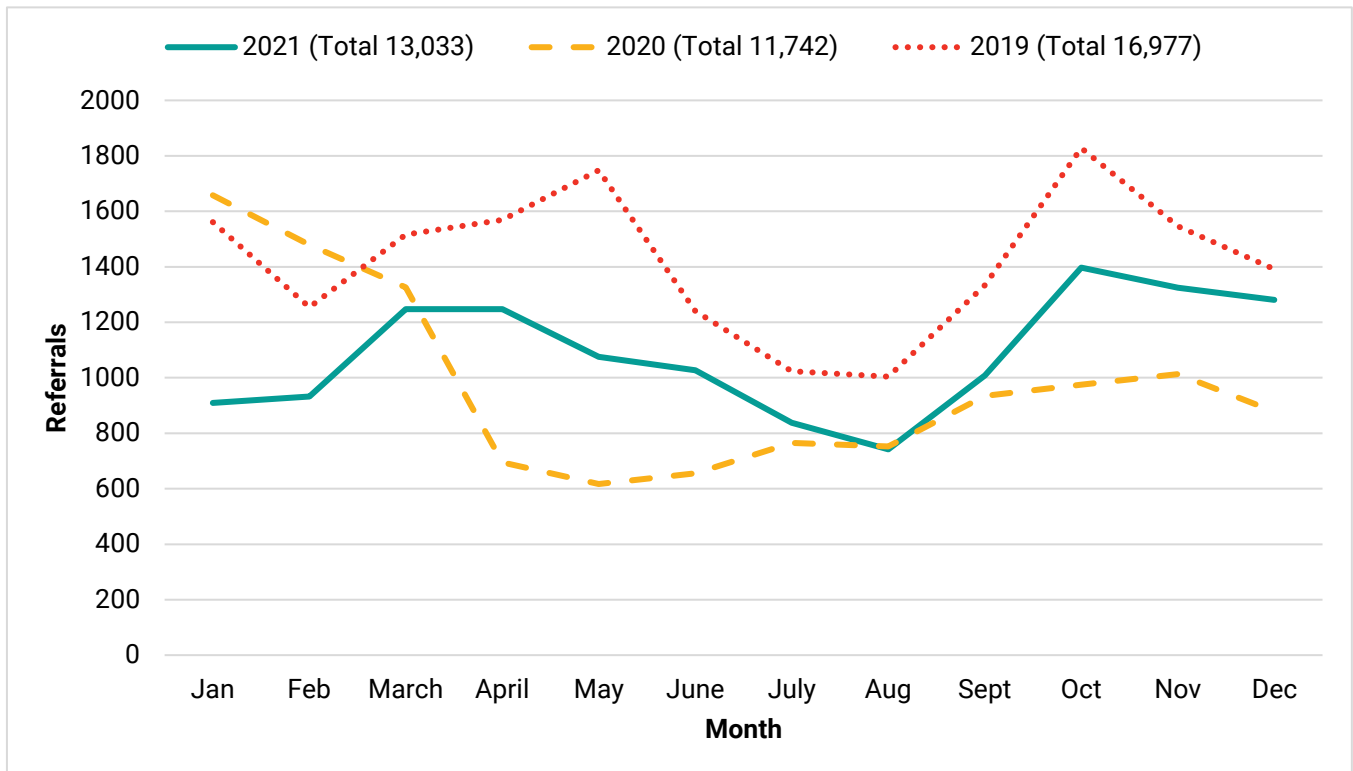
The overall pattern of referrals received per month is similar in 2019 and 2021. Received referrals rise between February and March, dip between July and August, and then rise again from August to October.

**Total YJ Referrals
Received in 2021**

13,033

Figure 7

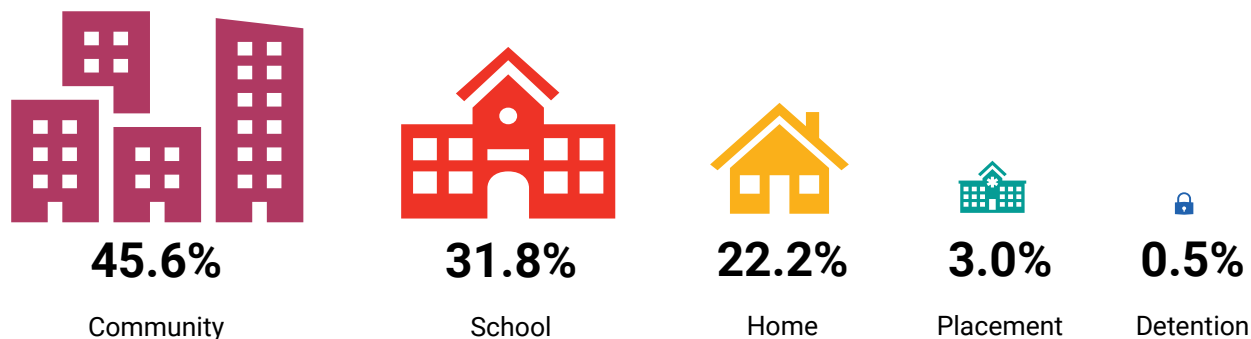
Total YJ Referrals: 2019-2021



Data Note: While trend lines measure the total referrals logged in eWiSACWIS per month, the totals in the legend reflect the total unique referrals received per year.

Figure 8

2021 YJ Referral Locations



Data Note: Location percentages may total more than 100% as it is possible for one referral to be associated with multiple locations.

Referral Locations

Each referral logged in eWiSACWIS includes a location (or locations) where the alleged offenses occurred. There are five distinct referral locations: community, school, home, placement, and detention. A referral location is distinct from a referral source (which describes the individual or agency responsible for making the referral).

In 2021, over three quarters of all referral locations were community and school (Fig. 8). About twenty percent of referrals were associated with the home location and less than four percent were from the locations of placement and detention.

Referral Sources

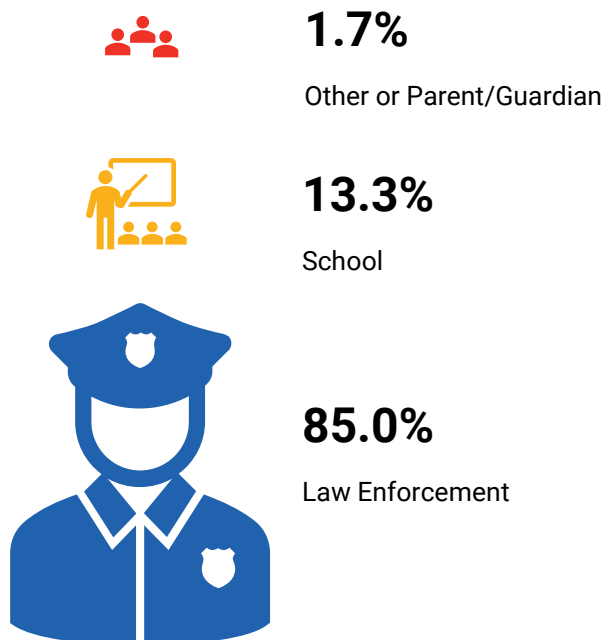
Youth can be referred to the YJ system by law enforcement, parents or guardians, or other individuals or agencies. While any offense could occur on school grounds, schools can only refer youth to the YJ system for truancy.

In 2021, four out of every five YJ referrals came from law enforcement (Fig. 9). The second largest referral source was schools.

When considered together, the array of referral locations and referral sources in 2021 underscore the importance of collaboration and cooperation between county human service agencies, law enforcement, schools, providers, and community agencies, as each of these entities has a connection to YJ referrals.

Figure 9

2021 YJ Referral Sources



Referral Types

The four types of YJ referrals are related to the areas of jurisdiction of the juvenile court: delinquency, JIPS non-truancy, JIPS truancy, and ordinance or civil law violation.

The distribution of YJ referral types was similar in 2021 to trends in 2019 and 2020 (Table 3):

- 80% of all YJ referrals in 2021 were associated with the delinquency referral type.
- JIPS truancy was second most frequent referral type, increasing in both count and percentage from previous years.
- About 13% of 2021 YJ referrals were associated with more than one referral type.

Table 3

2019-2021 YJ Referrals by Type

Referral Type	2021		2020		2019	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Delinquency	10,552	80.2%	9,673	82.4%	14,191	83.6%
JIPS Truancy	2,550	19.6%	1,994	17.0%	2,718	16.0%
JIPS Non-Truancy	1,561	11.2%	1,511	12.9%	1,839	10.8%
Ordinance/Civil Law Violation	243	1.9%	318	2.7%	413	2.4%

Data Notes: Referral percentages per year may total more than 100% as it is possible for one referral logged in eWiSACWIS to be associated with multiple referral types.

YJ Intake Recommendations

At the conclusion of the intake process, based on the information gathered, YJ intake professionals will issue one of the following recommendations to the court:

- **Case closure:** The case may be counseled and closed, diverted, or found not to fall within the jurisdiction of the county juvenile court. No further formal YJ involvement is recommended by the YJ professional.
- **Deferred Prosecution Agreement (DPA):** A DPA may be recommended in cases with juvenile court jurisdiction when intake believes formal court involvement is not required.
- **Formal petition:** Intake professionals may refer the case to the district attorney or corporation counsel to request a formal petition to juvenile court. This petition may result in further formal juvenile court involvement – including supervision.

A recommendation from YJ intake is just one decision point in the life of a YJ case and may differ from the recommendation of the county prosecutor and the final disposition of the case.

In 2021, the most frequent recommendation for all referrals was case closure (Table 4). The second highest recommendation was a formal petition to court, though the proportion of all referrals recommended for a DPA grew in 2021. As a closer look at JIPS and delinquency referrals in the following sections demonstrate, there is some variation in intake recommendation depending on referral type and offense category.

Table 4

YJ Intake Recommendations: 2019-2021

YJ Intake Recommendation	2021	2020	2019
Close Case	42.5%	44.4%	43.3%
Deferred Prosecution Agreement	16.7%	13.2%	16.8%
Formal Petition	38.3%	40.5%	38.9%
Documented in Error	1.0%	1.6%	1.0%

Data Note: Intake recommendations may total slightly less 100% as a small number of intake decisions are missing in eWiSACWIS.

Referral Details

Each YJ referral logged in eWiSACWIS includes at least one offense, or description of the law or laws a youth is alleged to have violated. This information is organized in eWiSACWIS by category, type, and description in accordance with standards set by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program. The mapping of Wisconsin statutes onto UCR offense categories and types was supplied by the Wisconsin Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Information and Analysis.

Five offense categories are tracked in Wisconsin:

- 1. Drug**
- 2. Property:** includes any offense where the objective is to gain money, property, or some other benefit (e.g., vandalism, theft, burglary, and motor vehicle theft).
- 3. Society:** UCR defines as "society's prohibition against engaging in certain types of activity" (e.g., disorderly conduct, sex offenses, and weapons).
- 4. Violent**
- 5. Other:** Any offense not included in the other categories (e.g., battery, resisting/obstructing an officer). This category also includes offenses that are not reportable to UCR (e.g., truancy, not competent, etc.).

Referral details for JIPS and delinquency referrals are included in the following sections. Due to the small statewide number of ordinance and civil law violations recorded in eWiSACWIS, those referral details are not included in this report.

JIPS Referrals

Youth may receive a JIPS referral if certain conditions apply. These conditions include:

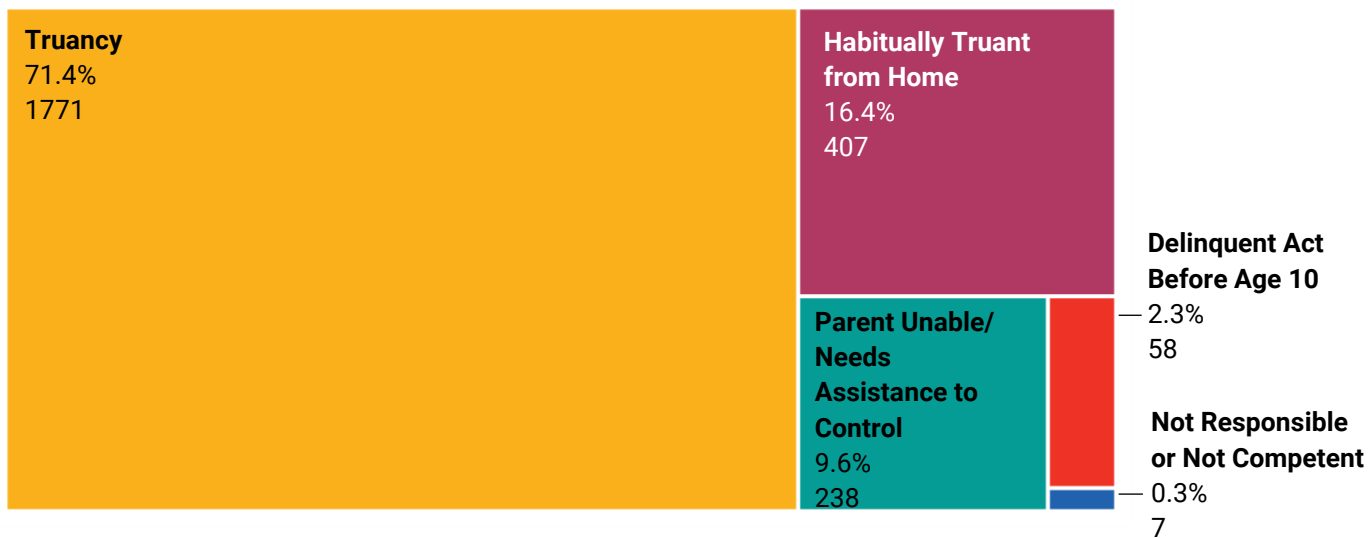
- A parent or guardian is unable or needs assistance to manage a youth's behavior.
- A youth is determined to be not responsible or not competent⁹.
- A youth is alleged to have committed a delinquent act before age 10.
- A youth is habitually truant (runs away) from home.
- A youth is habitually truant (absent) from school.

JIPS cases may be referred for a variety of services, but youth referred for JIPS cannot be sent to a correctional facility, juvenile detention facility, or to a secured care center. JIPS are more indicative of a youth's needs than their risk of future delinquent behavior.

⁹ Youth initially referred for delinquency may subsequently be determined to be not responsible or not competent under Wis. Stat. § 938.30(5)(c) and their case should be processed as JIPS.
DCF-P-5549 (R. 01/2023)

Figure 10

2021 JIPS Referrals by Type



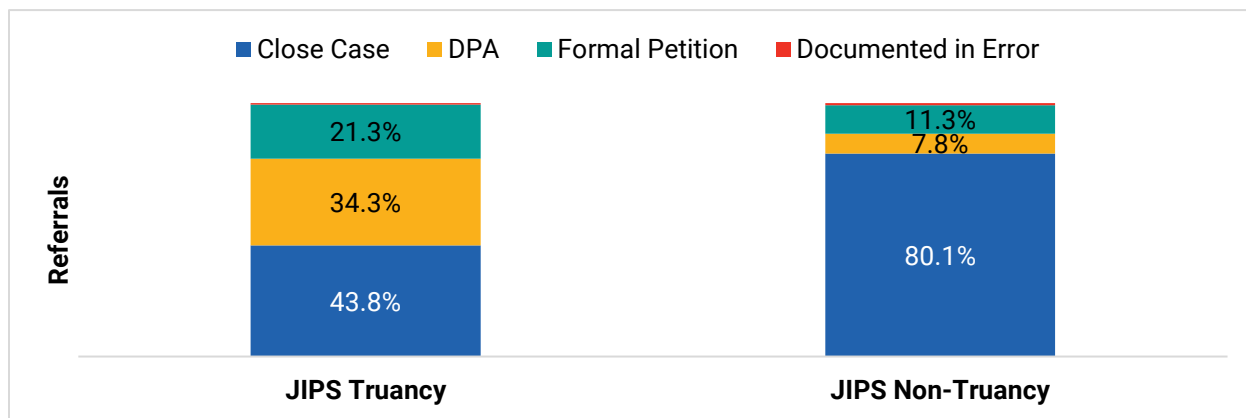
In 2021, almost three-quarters of all JIPS referrals were connected to truancy (Fig. 10), a slight increase from the previous year. This is somewhat concerning as research suggests the most effective truancy strategies should only employ the YJ system as a “last resort” for a smaller number of youth and families who require intensive support beyond multi-tiered strategies offered by schools and community agencies¹⁰.

JIPS Referrals: YJ Intake Recommendations

Most JIPS referrals were recommended for diversion from formal court involvement. The most common intake recommendation for both JIPS referral categories was case closure, though it was most frequent for JIPS non-truancy referrals (Fig. 11). A significant percentage of JIPS truancy referrals were recommended for a DPA (34.4%), which is a strategy some counties use to offer services to youth without formal court involvement.

Figure 11

2021 JIPS Referrals: Intake Recommendations



Data Note: Intake recommendations may total slightly less 100% as a small number of intake decisions are missing in eWiSACWIS.

¹⁰ More information about Truancy best practice can be found in DCF’s [Truancy Issue Brief](#).
DCF-P-5549 (R. 01/2023)

Delinquency Referrals

Offenses from the society, other, and property offense categories have been included in most delinquency referrals received since 2019:

- In 2021, delinquency referrals most frequently included offenses from the society offense category (included in 61.7% of referrals) (Table 5).
- The proportion of delinquency referrals that included violent or drug offenses decreased in 2021.

Table 5

2019-2021 Delinquency Referrals: Offense Categories

Offense Category	2021	2020	2019
Society	61.7%	63.1%	62.7%
Other	56.1%	57.6%	54.0%
Property	43.6%	50.4%	45.0%
Drug	11.8%	14.6%	14.1%
Violent	10.7%	12.7%	10.2%

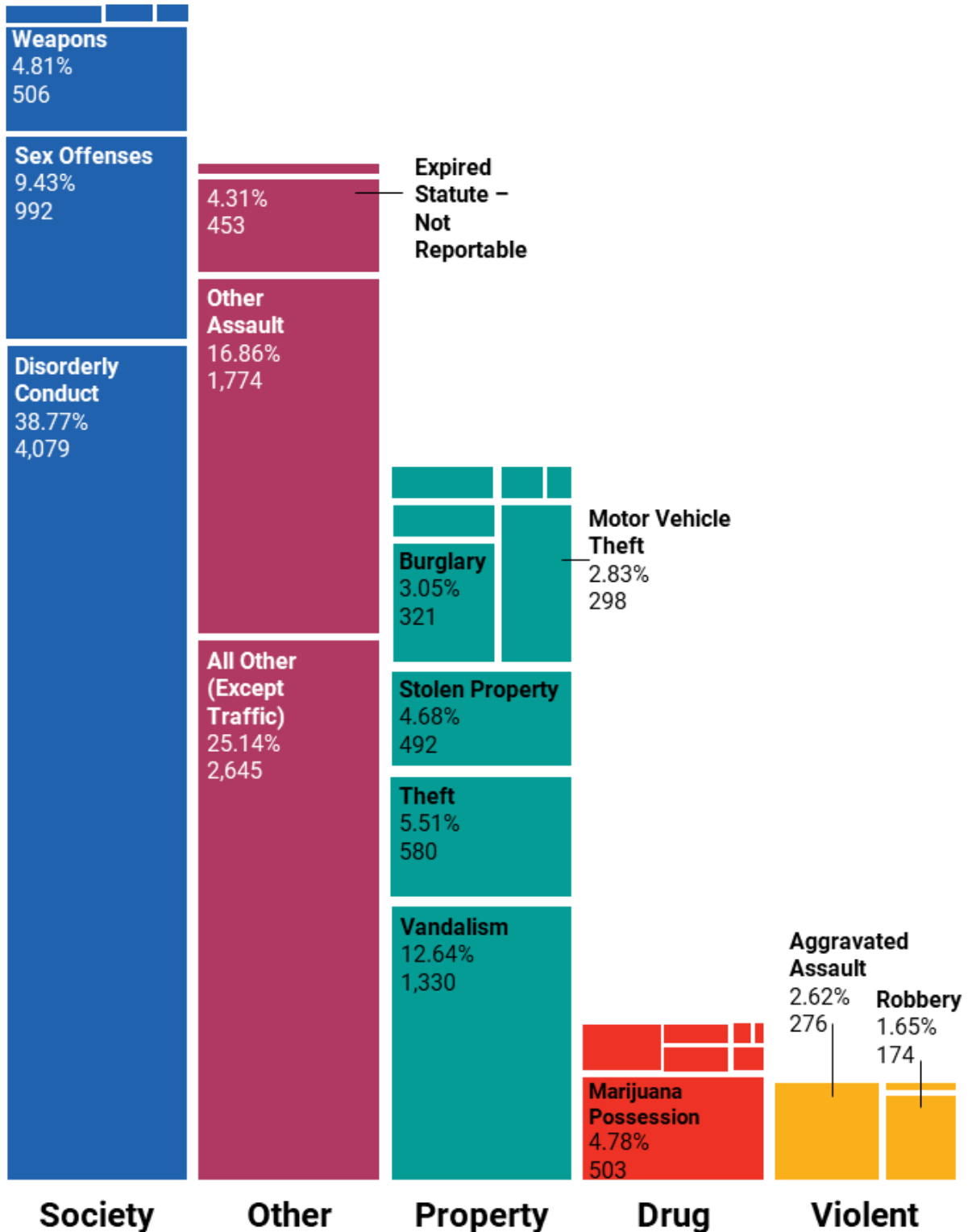
Data Note: Offense categories total to more than 100% as it is possible for one delinquency referral to include offenses from multiple offense categories.

The offense types that are associated with specific offense categories are illustrated in Figure 12. Each of the five offense categories occupies a bar on the chart, which is populated by the category's corresponding offense types. Only offenses associated with at least 100 referrals from CY 2021 are labeled in Figure 12.

- In 2021, delinquency referrals included offenses from thirty-five distinct offense types.
- Disorderly conduct was associated with the most YJ referrals (4,079) of any YJ referral type in 2021. This offense type can encompass a range of behaviors and specific reasons for that referral may vary by county.
- Marijuana possession accounted for approximately 80% of all referrals in the drug offense category.
- The other offense category includes offense descriptions like *resisting or obstructing an officer* (1,102 referrals), *operating a vehicle without consent – passenger* (549 referrals), and *battery* (1,457 referrals).
- While the count of delinquency referrals increased slightly between 2020 and 2021, most of these referrals were connected to non-violent offenses (as defined by UCR).

Figure 12

2021 Delinquency Referrals: Offense Categories & Offense Types



Delinquency Referrals: Rate of Referral

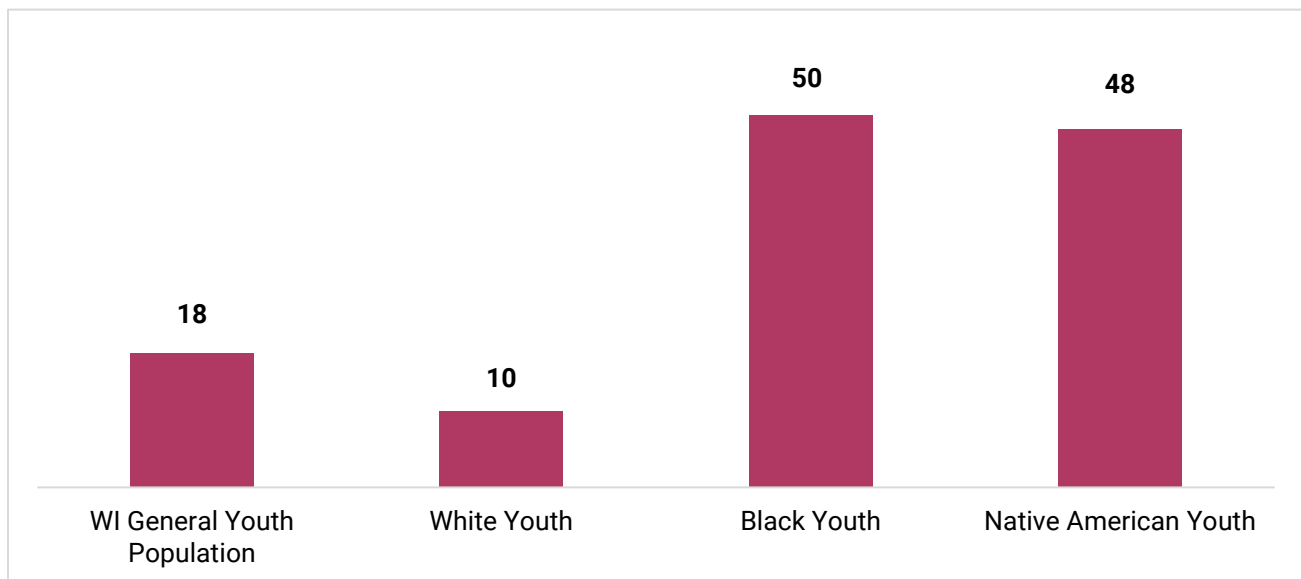
On average, 18 out of every 1,000 youth – slightly less than two percent of Wisconsin’s general youth population – were referred for delinquency in 2021 (Fig. 13).

While the largest counts of 2021 delinquency referrals were associated with counties with large youth populations, delinquency referral rates per thousand youth tended to be higher in less populous counties and counties in northern Wisconsin (Fig 14). In three counties – Adams, Forest, and Vilas – approximately 40 out of every 1,000 youth were referred to YJ for delinquency in 2021. All three of these counties are considered completely rural by the USDA Economic Research Service, meaning they have an urban population of less than 2,500 people¹¹. However, high referral rates cannot solely be attributed to county population size as the rates of delinquency referrals in these communities were much higher than neighboring counties of a similar size. A table containing population size and the rate of delinquency referrals by county can be found in Appendix C.

There is also a noticeable difference in rate of delinquency referrals when examined through the lens of race. While about 10 out of every 1,000 White youth in Wisconsin were referred to YJ for delinquency, 50 out of every 1,000 Black youth and 48 out of every 1,000 Native American youth were referred for delinquency in 2021. Wisconsin’s data is reflective of national trends, which suggest youth of color are less likely than their White peers to experience “pre-arrest diversion,” or a decision to not involve police or not refer a case to juvenile court¹².

Figure 13

2021 Rates of Delinquency Referral per 1,000 Youth

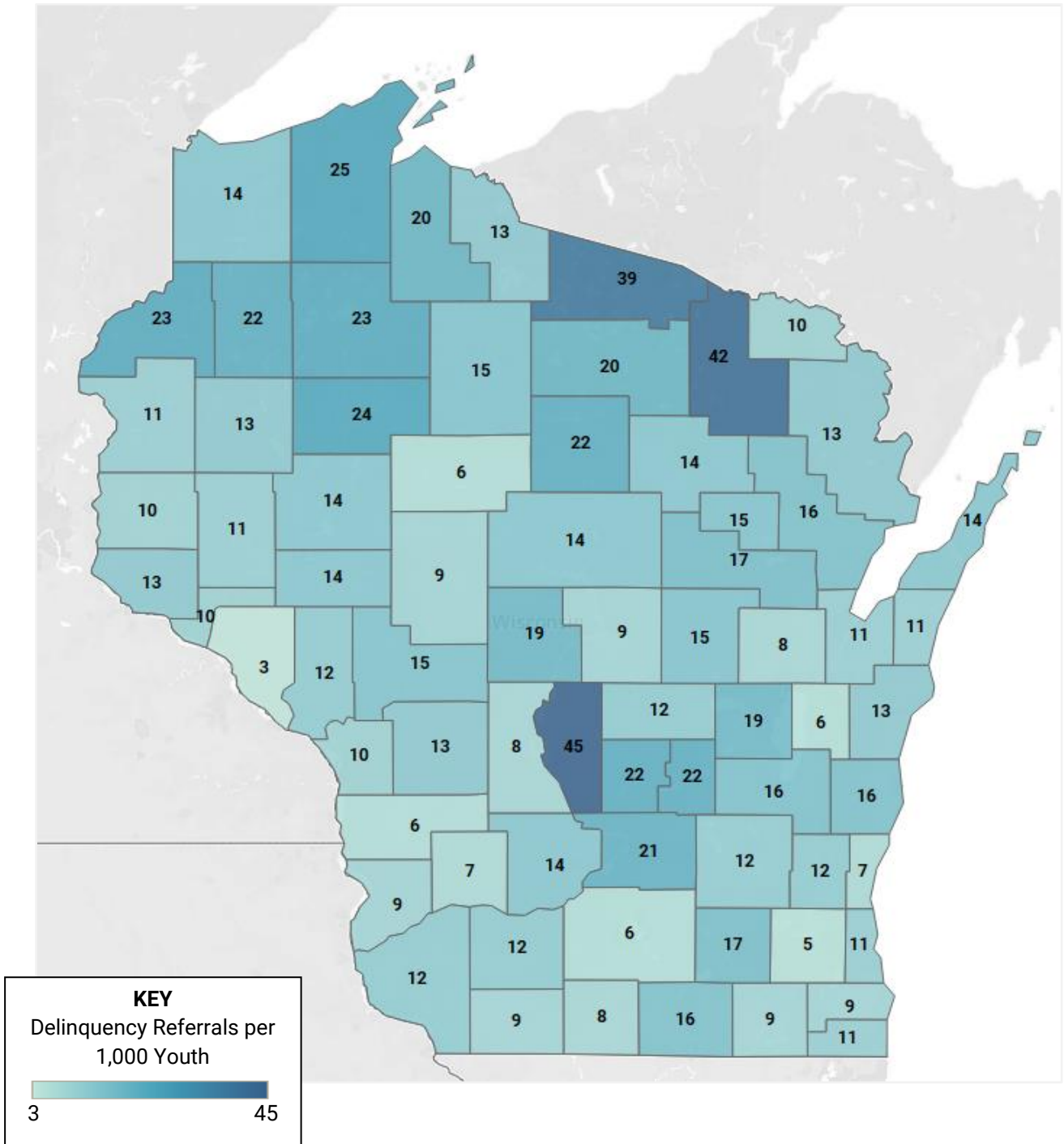


¹¹ Additional details about [Rural-Urban Continuum codes](#) can be found on the USDA Economic Research Service’s webpage.

¹² More information about diversion and its connection to DMC can be found in this [2022 report from the Sentencing Project](#).

Figure 14

2021 Rates of Delinquency Referrals per 1,000 Youth in Wisconsin Counties



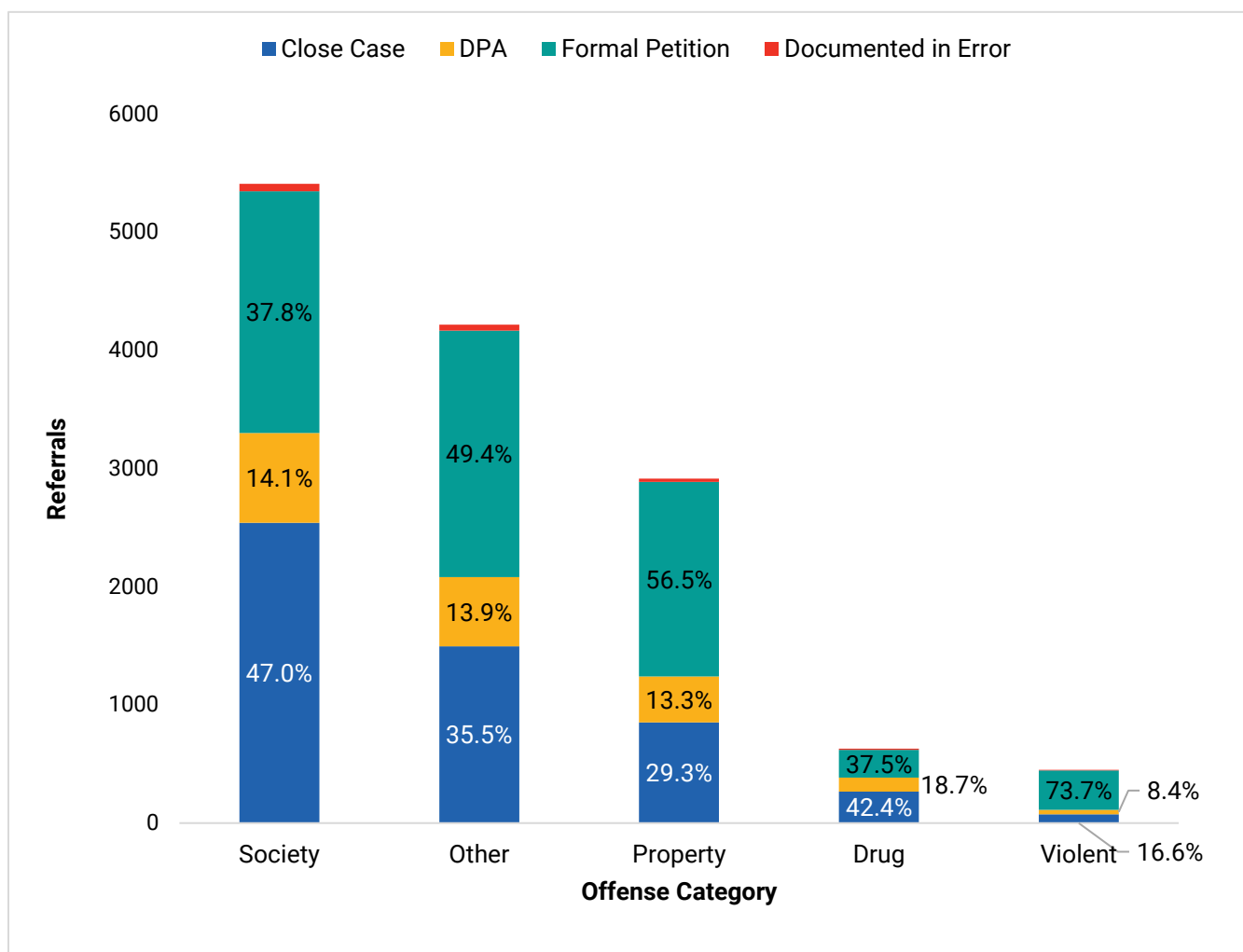
Delinquency Referrals: YJ Intake Recommendations

Recommendations from YJ intake professionals varied by offense category for delinquency referrals (Fig.15):

- Over half of referrals associated with society offenses were recommended for diversion from formal court involvement (case closure or DPA).
- Most referrals that included offenses from the other or property offense categories were recommended for a formal court involvement.
- DPA was recommended for about one in five referrals that included the drug offense category.
- Referrals that included violent offenses were the most likely to be recommended for formal court involvement.

Figure 15

2021 Delinquency Referrals: YJ Intake Recommendations by Offense Category



Data Note: Intake recommendations may total slightly less 100% as a small number of intake decisions are missing in eWISACWIS.

Delinquency Referrals: Rate of Formal Petition Recommended by YJ Intake

Statewide, approximately forty-three percent of all delinquency referrals were recommended by YJ intake for formal petition (Fig. 16). Again, it is worth noting that intake recommendations may not be reflective of recommendations from prosecutors, nor the actual disposition of a YJ case.

The rate of delinquency referrals recommended for formal petition by YJ intake professionals varied across the state, as high rates of youth referred for delinquency did not correspond with subsequently high rates of delinquency referrals recommended for formal processing. Milwaukee had the highest rate of delinquency-referred youth recommended by YJ intake for formal petition, with over three quarters of those youth recommended to be petitioned to court (Fig. 17). A table containing the rate of delinquency referrals recommended for a formal petition to court for each county in Wisconsin can be found in Appendix D.

There are differences among youth recommended to be petitioned to court based on their primary race. While about thirty percent of White youth referred for delinquency were recommended for formal petition, over forty percent of Native American youth and close to sixty percent of Black youth were recommended for a formal petition to court. This suggests youth of color in Wisconsin are also less likely to experience “pre-court diversion,” which results in deeper involvement in the state’s YJ system than their White peers.

Figure 16

2021 Delinquency Referrals: Rates of Formal Petition Recommended by YJ Intake

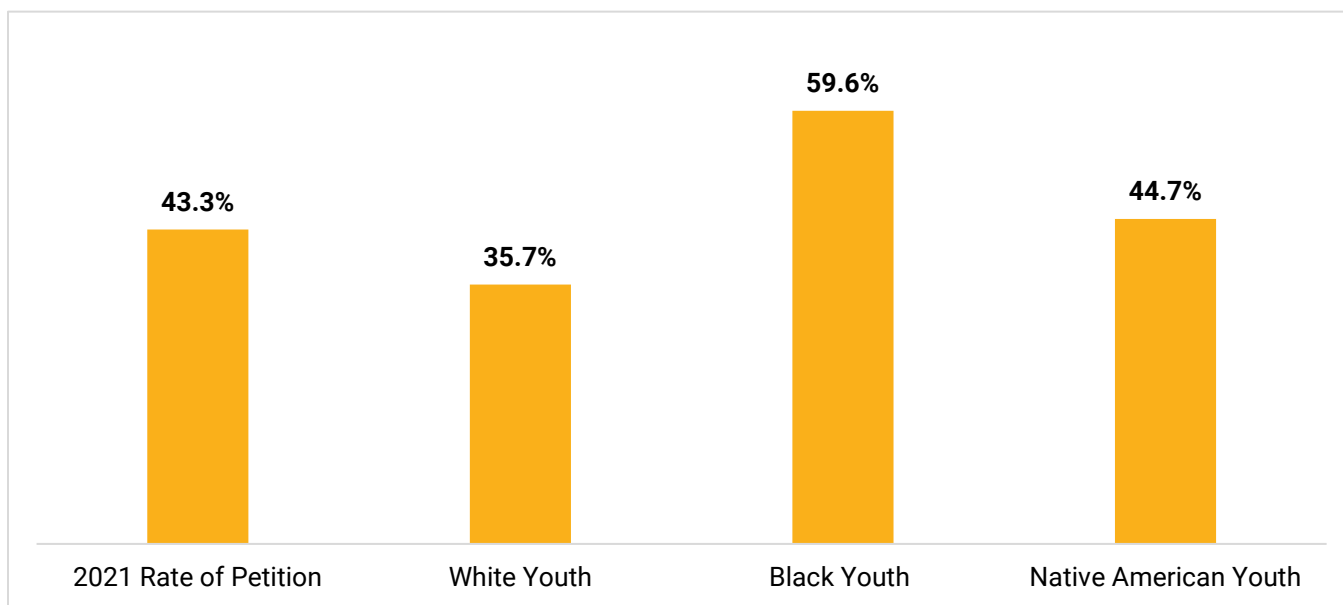
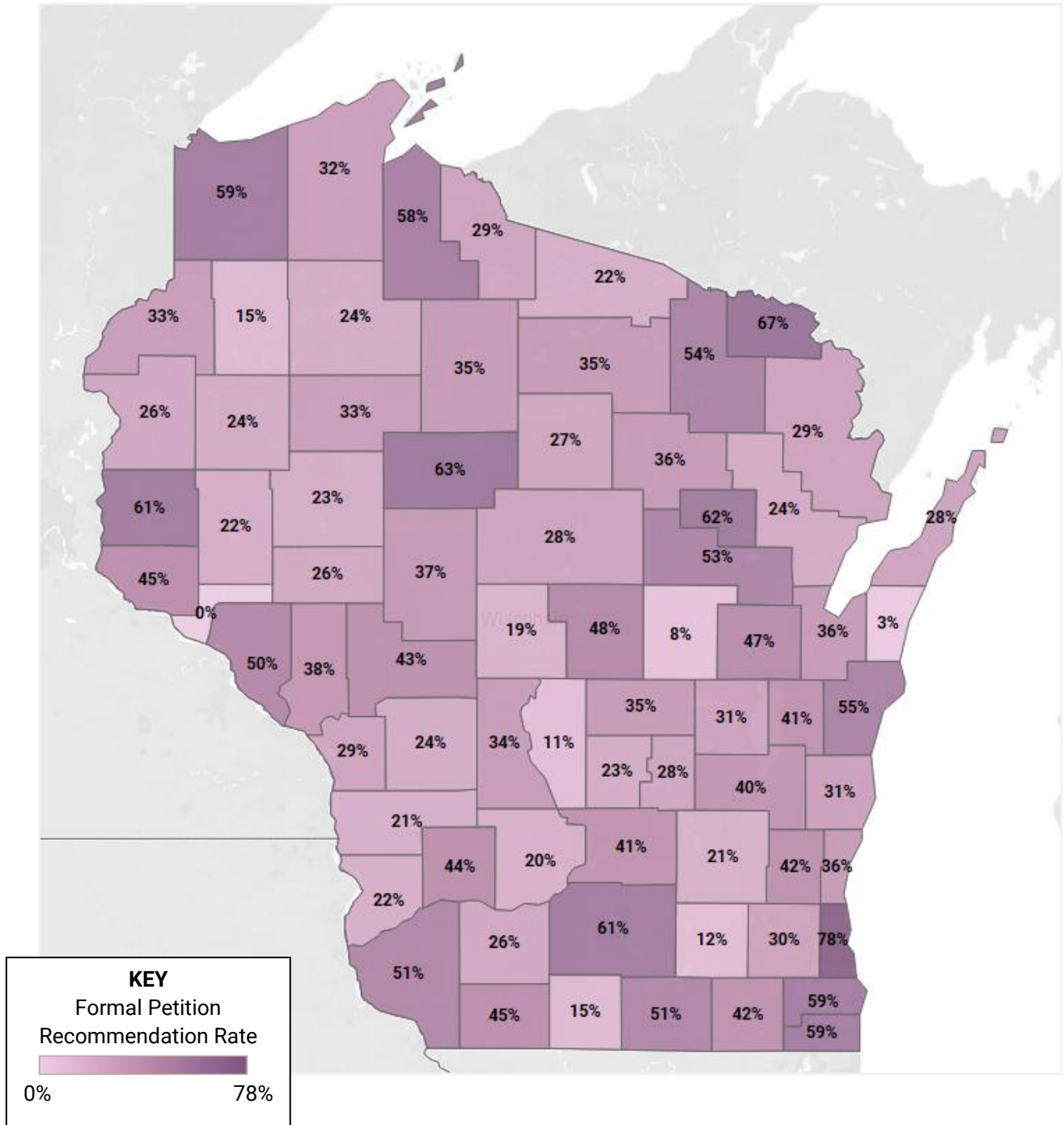


Figure 17

2021 Rate of Delinquency Referrals Recommended for Formal Petition by YJ Intake Professionals in Wisconsin Counties



Appendix A

Data Notes and Limitations

This report provides a limited snapshot of information collected from early decision points in Wisconsin's YJ system – specifically characteristics of youth referred to the YJ system and YJ referral details. While decisions are made at many points in the state's youth justice system, only referral and intake information is currently tracked uniformly in the statewide centralized case management system (eWiSACWIS).

Data Source: Wisconsin began collecting intake and referral data in eWiSACWIS in the middle of CY 2018. This report is a description of data from CY 2021, the third full year of available data in eWiSACWIS. This report marks the first year we can analyze trends over time and provide more detailed analyses on some topics of interest. Because information included is pulled from live case records, it is possible for small shifts in total counts to occur over time. In some sections of the report, a small number of records were excluded from analysis if data was missing, or entry errors were suspected.

Variation in County Practice: Wisconsin's YJ system is state supervised and county administered, which accounts for some variability across the state in the implementation of intake procedures and also YJ referral and intake data. This includes location of intake function (attached to the county human service agency or the local circuit court), diversion practices, tracking of municipal violations, and use of assessment tools like the Youth Assessment and Screening Instrument (YASI) as part of the intake process.

COVID-19: While this report is not intended to draw definitive conclusions about referrals to youth justice and the pandemic, the uncertainty and disruption of this period had an impact on county human service agencies across the state, especially during CY 2020. To fully understand the impact of the pandemic on YJ outcomes, DCF will continue to assess trends in future reports.

State and County Youth Populations: Estimates of the general youth population in the state of Wisconsin and its counties are pulled from [OJJDP's EZAPOP](#) and are reflective of the most recent year of data available at time of publication. To reflect the jurisdiction of Wisconsin's juvenile court, this youth population estimate is only inclusive of ages 0-16 years.

Population estimates included in EZAPOP are derived from data originally collected by the U.S. Census Bureau and modified by the National Center for Health Statistics. More information about the [data source](#) is available from OJJDP.

Gender Identity: Gender options reported in eWiSACWIS are derived from federal reporting standards. While [DCF has offered practice suggestions](#) to support LGBTQ+ youth, robust data about youth gender identity is not yet consistently captured in eWiSACWIS.

Race & Ethnicity: Racial and ethnic categories included in eWiSACWIS are derived from federal reporting standards. Therefore, only Hispanic ethnicity and primary race data is included in this report. Primary race is the first race indicated in eWiSACWIS – in situations where a youth identifies with more than one racial category, only the first race selected is included in this report's analysis. General population comparison figures are only available for racial and ethnic data included in OJJDP's EZAPOP.

Tribal Youth Justice Data: Tribes in Wisconsin maintain their own court systems that oversee child protection. Some Tribal Courts also oversee youth justice cases; Tribal Court cases are not tracked in eWiSACWIS. In this report "Native American" is used as a descriptor of race and is not indicative of the political status related to an Indian youth's tribal citizenship.

Municipal/Civil Ordinance Violations and Ticketing: Municipal or county jurisdiction over young people alleged to have violated a civil law or ordinance is determined by the referral source. Violation of municipal ordinances often results in a ticket and may or may not also result in a referral to the YJ system. Because municipal ordinances vary by county and ticketing and data tracking for these referrals can vary by county, this data is not uniformly tracked in eWiSACWIS. Therefore, this report does not include all instances of ordinance or civil law violations, nor does it include ticketing data.

Status Offenses: This report is not organized in a way that identifies “status offenses,” which are offenses that would not be considered criminal if committed by an adult. Common examples of status offenses include truancy and running away from home. As the definition of JIPS implies, some common status offenses fall in offense categories associated with JIPS truancy and JIPS non-truancy referrals.

YJ Intake Recommendation, Prosecutor Recommendation, and Court Disposition: There are three important decision points at the end of the intake process. The first is a recommendation made by YJ intake professionals about how a case should proceed after conducting an initial screening and assessment and reviewing a referral. The second is the recommendation from prosecutors – who can choose to override the recommendation of YJ intake – about how a case should proceed. And the third is the actual disposition from the court, which may vary from the recommendations made by YJ intake and/or the District Attorney/Corporation Counsel’s office. In 2021, only YJ intake recommendations are tracked uniformly across the state in eWiSACWIS. We intend to include data from these other two data points in future reports.

Appendix B

Structure of Wisconsin's Youth Justice System

The YJ system in Wisconsin is state supervised and county administered. Along with the Department of Children and families, two other state agencies – the Department of Justice and the Department of Corrections – are also accountable for elements of the state's YJ system:

- **Department of Children and Families (DCF):** DCF has primary responsibility for fiscal and programmatic oversight of Wisconsin's community-based justice system. This oversight includes development of standards of practice, training (including juvenile intake training), data collection and analysis, program monitoring, technical assistance to counties, and fiscal administration of Youth Aids funds.
- **Department of Justice (DOJ):** DOJ ensures statewide coordination and compliance with federal programming, grants, and reporting including the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDP A) and the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program. DOJ is also the Designated State Agency responsible for coordination of the Governor's Juvenile Justice Commission (GJJC), which is the Statewide Advisory Group responsible for administering federal Title II, Part B, formula grant funds and maintaining compliance with the four core requirements in the JJDP A.
- **Department of Corrections (DOC):** DOC operates and oversees secure juvenile correctional facilities, oversees the Serious Juvenile Offender (SJO) program, and provides supervision after release from a juvenile correctional facility to SJO and certain other youth. DOC is also responsible for inspecting county-run secure juvenile detention facilities.

Counties determine and maintain the structure of their courts and the human service agencies that provide YJ services according to the requirements detailed in Wis. Stats. Chapter 938, DCF Administrative Rules, and the state's Youth Justice standards.

Appendix C

YJ Referrals by County

Information included in this table includes the total youth referred, YJ referrals, referral types, and rate of delinquency referrals per 1,000 youth organized by Wisconsin county. The number of referrals and youth referred is highly dependent on county-level factors such as population size and organizational structure of youth justice intake, as well as local variations in the justice system and youth-serving organizations.

County	General Youth Pop.	TOTAL		YJ REFERRAL TYPE				Referrals per 1,000 Youth Delinq. Only
		YJ Referred Youth	YJ Referrals	JIPS Truancy	JIPS Non-Truancy	Ord/Civ. Law Viol.	Delinq.	
Adams	1,419	74	105	5.71%	3.81%	0.00%	90.48%	45
Ashland	1,617	47	69	24.64%	0.00%	0.00%	75.36%	20
Barron	4,462	71	92	15.22%	0.00%	4.35%	80.43%	13
Bayfield	1,220	35	47	10.64%	0.00%	4.26%	87.23%	25
Brown	28,527	315	497	0.40%	0.80%	0.00%	98.99%	11
Buffalo	1,254	8	8	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	3
Burnett	1,265	39	51	23.53%	5.88%	0.00%	70.59%	23
Calumet	5,757	62	96	25.00%	18.75%	0.00%	58.33%	6
Chippewa	6,721	178	237	38.82%	5.06%	1.69%	55.70%	14
Clark	4,546	43	67	5.97%	0.00%	1.49%	94.03%	9
Columbia	5,700	171	255	30.59%	2.35%	0.39%	66.27%	21
Crawford	1,615	34	42	45.24%	4.76%	9.52%	42.86%	9
Dane	49,783	305	585	0.17%	0.34%	0.00%	99.83%	6
Dodge	8,487	197	252	36.51%	1.19%	0.79%	61.51%	12
Door	2,291	50	62	35.48%	1.61%	0.00%	62.90%	14
Douglas	4,031	145	167	58.08%	1.20%	0.00%	41.32%	14
Dunn	4,085	89	101	50.50%	0.00%	91.09%	48.51%	11
Eau Claire	9,510	196	306	18.30%	18.95%	0.00%	65.03%	14
Florence	300	6	6	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	10
Fond Du Lac	10,470	240	376	19.68%	5.59%	0.00%	74.73%	16
Forest	738	31	37	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	42
Grant	4,982	65	106	3.77%	3.77%	0.94%	91.51%	12
Green	4,004	35	55	10.91%	1.82%	0.00%	87.27%	8
Green Lake	1,968	69	88	32.95%	5.68%	0.00%	61.36%	22
Iowa	2,567	38	54	14.81%	0.00%	0.00%	85.19%	12
Iron	454	7	10	30.00%	20.00%	10.00%	70.00%	13
Jackson	2,034	74	91	48.35%	9.89%	1.10%	40.66%	15
Jefferson	8,549	149	278	2.52%	0.00%	0.00%	98.56%	17
Juneau	2,545	22	35	8.57%	8.57%	0.00%	82.86%	8
Kenosha	17,932	293	369	28.73%	2.17%	0.00%	69.38%	11
Kewaunee	2,060	26	34	11.76%	0.00%	0.00%	88.24%	11

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La Crosse	10,990	135	232	10.34%	3.45%	0.00%	85.34%	10
Lafayette	1,837	33	42	52.38%	0.00%	2.38%	47.62%	9
Langlade	1,739	27	37	10.81%	0.00%	0.00%	89.19%	14
Lincoln	2,407	55	86	1.16%	0.00%	0.00%	98.84%	22
Manitowoc	7,692	103	165	0.61%	1.21%	0.00%	98.18%	13
Marathon	14,515	205	305	3.28%	1.64%	0.00%	95.08%	14
Marinette	3,672	105	148	25.68%	27.03%	0.00%	47.30%	13
Marquette	1,420	39	58	15.52%	0.00%	1.72%	82.76%	22
Menominee	657	10	13	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	15
Milwaukee	97,846	1,061	1,554	0.00%	0.06%	0.00%	99.94%	11
Monroe	5,335	77	104	9.62%	0.00%	1.92%	88.46%	13
Oconto	3,688	65	85	3.53%	3.53%	1.18%	92.94%	16
Oneida	2,877	73	115	0.87%	21.74%	0.00%	77.39%	20
Outagamie	20,111	270	388	30.67%	5.41%	0.00%	63.92%	8
Ozaukee	9,111	69	90	1.11%	0.00%	0.00%	96.67%	7
Pepin	728	10	11	27.27%	0.00%	0.00%	72.73%	10
Pierce	4,373	81	131	28.24%	0.76%	0.00%	70.99%	13
Polk	4,456	69	89	22.47%	3.37%	0.00%	74.16%	11
Portage	6,348	66	113	6.19%	5.31%	0.00%	87.61%	9
Price	1,153	19	22	9.09%	0.00%	0.00%	90.91%	15
Racine	20,541	188	268	0.00%	0.75%	0.00%	99.25%	9
Richland	1,879	14	18	5.56%	5.56%	0.00%	88.89%	7
Rock	17,343	294	580	0.86%	5.00%	0.52%	93.62%	16
Rusk	1,356	43	58	17.24%	1.72%	3.45%	79.31%	24
Saint Croix	10,787	161	240	22.08%	8.33%	0.42%	69.17%	10
Sauk	6,784	97	142	1.41%	2.11%	0.70%	95.77%	14
Sawyer	1,545	68	81	41.98%	1.23%	0.00%	56.79%	23
Shawano	4,180	73	138	0.72%	0.00%	0.00%	99.28%	17
Sheboygan	12,051	216	392	9.44%	0.51%	0.00%	90.31%	16
Taylor	2,328	22	24	12.50%	20.83%	0.00%	66.67%	6
Trempealeau	3,323	61	89	35.96%	2.25%	0.00%	61.80%	12
Vernon	3,721	31	37	16.22%	8.11%	0.00%	75.68%	6
Vilas	1,722	70	103	0.00%	0.97%	0.97%	98.06%	39
Walworth	10,389	110	157	10.83%	1.91%	1.91%	85.99%	9
Washburn	1,441	37	45	8.89%	0.00%	2.22%	88.89%	22
Washington	14,421	195	284	8.80%	0.00%	0.00%	91.20%	12
Waukesha	41,890	463	596	30.70%	19.80%	1.01%	48.66%	5
Waupaca	4,967	76	103	3.88%	0.00%	0.00%	96.12%	15
Waushara	2,008	42	53	35.85%	0.00%	0.00%	64.15%	12
Winnebago	15,859	407	894	13.98%	16.44%	0.00%	71.14%	19
Wood	7,358	187	363	6.61%	20.11%	0.00%	74.93%	19

Appendix D

YJ Intake Recommendations for Delinquency Referrals by County

Information included in this table includes the total delinquency referrals and YJ intake recommendations for delinquency referrals, organized by Wisconsin county. The number of referrals received are highly dependent on county-level factors such as population size and organizational structure of youth justice intake, as well as local variations in the justice system and youth-serving organizations. It is also important to note that recommendations from YJ intake may not reflect the actual outcome of a YJ case.

County	General Youth Pop	Total Delinquency Referrals	DELINQUENCY REFERRAL INTAKE RECOMMENDATIONS		
			Close Case	DPA	Formal Petition
Adams	1,419	95	85.26%	4.21%	10.53%
Ashland	1,617	52	3.85%	15.38%	57.69%
Barron	4,462	74	51.35%	22.97%	24.32%
Bayfield	1,220	41	43.90%	21.95%	31.71%
Brown	28,527	492	47.76%	15.65%	35.98%
Buffalo	1,254	4	50.00%	0.00%	50.00%
Burnett	1,265	36	50.00%	16.67%	33.33%
Calumet	5,757	56	33.93%	23.21%	41.07%
Chippewa	6,721	132	45.45%	28.79%	22.73%
Clark	4,546	63	50.79%	11.11%	36.51%
Columbia	5,700	169	49.70%	9.47%	40.83%
Crawford	1,615	18	66.67%	5.56%	22.22%
Dane	49,783	584	27.23%	10.96%	60.79%
Dodge	8,487	155	54.84%	21.94%	21.29%
Door	2,291	39	28.21%	38.46%	28.21%
Douglas	4,031	69	26.09%	14.49%	59.42%
Dunn	4,085	49	57.14%	18.37%	22.45%
Eau Claire	9,510	199	62.31%	9.55%	25.63%
Florence	300	3	33.33%	0.00%	66.67%
Fond Du Lac	10,470	281	36.65%	20.64%	39.86%
Forest	738	37	27.03%	2.70%	54.05%
Grant	4,982	97	48.45%	0.00%	50.52%
Green	4,004	48	47.92%	37.50%	14.58%
Green Lake	1,968	54	42.59%	29.63%	27.78%
Iowa	2,567	46	58.70%	15.22%	26.09%
Iron	454	7	28.57%	42.86%	28.57%
Jackson	2,034	37	29.73%	27.03%	43.24%
Jefferson	8,549	274	78.10%	7.66%	11.68%
Juneau	2,545	29	48.28%	17.24%	34.48%
Kenosha	17,932	256	19.92%	19.92%	59.38%
Kewaunee	2,060	30	63.33%	23.33%	3.33%

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La Crosse	10,990	198	56.57%	14.14%	28.79%
Lafayette	1,837	20	35.00%	20.00%	45.00%
Langlade	1,739	33	33.33%	24.24%	36.36%
Lincoln	2,407	85	55.29%	17.65%	27.06%
Manitowoc	7,692	162	19.14%	22.22%	54.94%
Marathon	14,515	290	47.59%	23.10%	28.28%
Marinette	3,672	70	42.86%	28.57%	28.57%
Marquette	1,420	48	52.08%	25.00%	22.92%
Menominee	657	13	38.46%	0.00%	61.54%
Milwaukee	97,846	1553	15.97%	3.35%	78.11%
Monroe	5,335	92	40.22%	31.52%	23.91%
Oconto	3,688	79	54.43%	21.52%	24.05%
Oneida	2,877	89	34.83%	30.34%	34.83%
Outagamie	20,111	248	31.85%	21.37%	46.77%
Ozaukee	9,111	87	40.23%	20.69%	35.63%
Pepin	728	8	75.00%	25.00%	0.00%
Pierce	4,373	93	43.01%	10.75%	45.16%
Polk	4,456	66	60.61%	13.64%	25.76%
Portage	6,348	99	15.15%	32.32%	48.48%
Price	1,153	20	10.00%	45.00%	35.00%
Racine	20,541	266	23.68%	14.29%	59.40%
Richland	1,879	16	50.00%	6.25%	43.75%
Rock	17,343	543	37.20%	9.58%	51.38%
Rusk	1,356	46	30.43%	36.96%	32.61%
Saint Croix	10,787	166	24.10%	15.06%	60.84%
Sauk	6,784	136	66.91%	12.50%	19.85%
Sawyer	1,545	46	23.91%	41.30%	23.91%
Shawano	4,180	137	43.07%	3.65%	53.28%
Sheboygan	12,051	354	57.34%	10.73%	30.79%
Taylor	2,328	16	0.00%	37.50%	62.50%
Trempealeau	3,323	55	38.18%	23.64%	38.18%
Vernon	3,721	28	75.00%	3.57%	21.43%
Vilas	1,722	101	39.60%	34.65%	21.78%
Walworth	10,389	135	29.63%	17.04%	42.22%
Washburn	1,441	40	45.00%	37.50%	15.00%
Washington	14,421	259	42.47%	14.29%	42.47%
Waukesha	41,890	290	48.97%	19.66%	30.00%
Waupaca	4,967	99	50.51%	12.12%	8.08%
Waushara	2,008	34	44.12%	11.76%	35.29%
Winnebago	15,859	636	59.91%	8.65%	30.97%
Wood	7,358	272	62.13%	17.28%	19.12%



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