

CHAPTER 5:

AN ANALYSIS OF JUVENILE APPREHENSION CHARACTERISTICS AND REAPPREHENSION RATES

By Lubica Forsythe

INTRODUCTION

In August 1991 Wagga Wagga police patrol introduced a new system of cautioning juvenile offenders. Some of the police in this patrol were finding the traditional methods of dealing with juvenile offenders inadequate and thus were keen to try something new. A variation of the family group conference system, which had recently been introduced to New Zealand, was chosen. The family group conference (FGC) consists of convening a conference between offender/s, their family members, the victim/s, their family members, police and relevant community members. The aim is to discuss the offence and decide on an outcome which seeks to address the problems caused by the commission of that offence. For a full description of the New Zealand System the reader is referred to Maxwell and Morris, 1993.¹

The most fundamental difference between the New Zealand system and the one developed in Wagga Wagga is that the latter is based on local police convening family group conferences rather than convenors being drawn from the Department of Social Welfare as is the case in New Zealand. The New Zealand system was also enshrined in new legislation, whereas the Wagga Wagga program was developed under existing provisions for use of police discretion. These two differences resulted in differences in the processes leading up to and taking place during the FGC. In New Zealand, Youth Justice Coordinators do extensive preparatory work for each FGC with the various participants, particularly the offender/s. Issues such as why the offender committed the act and what reparation they would be prepared to offer are explored prior to the FGC. In Wagga Wagga the FGCs are of a more spontaneous nature. A police officer organises each FGC and convenes it without extensive preparatory work with the participants. The FGC process developed in Wagga Wagga has also been described by observers as being less offender oriented than that in New Zealand and more incident centred. The focus is on repairing the harm caused by the crime. Other components of this evaluation conducted by David .B. Moore describe in detail the FGC process developed in Wagga Wagga and provide many quotes from transcripts of FGCs which give fascinating insights into their dynamics.

¹ Family, Victims and Culture: Youth Justice in New Zealand by Gabrielle M. Maxwell and Allison Morris, Social Policy Agency *Ropu Here Kaupana* and Institute of Criminology Victoria University of Wellington, 1993.

There are a few issues which need to be mentioned here regarding the manner in which the FGC program started in Wagga Wagga patrol. Firstly, it was a local initiative of police in Wagga Wagga patrol and there was apparently some internal opposition to the new process. The police who initiated the program and put it into practice were not trained in any formal way in how to conduct FGCs. They developed appropriate procedures and skills as they started to put the process into practice. As they progressed, they developed criteria regarding which juveniles should be eligible for FGC and then developed

appropriate procedures for this decision making process. (For further details on the selection criteria for FGC eligibility used in Wagga Wagga see Appendix 1). So, whilst the 1st August 1991 is the date given as the beginning of the FGC program in Wagga Wagga it should be kept in mind that this was the date from which the program started to be implemented and developed.

A program was developed where only juveniles apprehended in relation to very serious offences were to be automatically charged. The remainder (the majority) were told that they would be notified within 14 days of how police had decided to proceed. The arresting police would then meet with the 'cautioning sergeant' (the sergeant in charge of juvenile matters in the patrol) every week and assess each juvenile matter to decide how that matter would be proceeded with, that is, would the juvenile be cautioned or placed before the courts. The criteria on which this decision was made was different to that used previously. Briefly, under the traditional system of dealing with juveniles almost all were automatically placed before the courts. Generally, only those offenders who were very young, were apprehended for the first time and were apprehended in relation to a relatively minor offence were considered for a caution. Very few apprehended for a second time would be considered, even if their offence/s were minor.

The traditional caution involved the 'cautioning sergeant' officially warning the juvenile, in the presence of a parent or guardian, that any further apprehensions would result in a court appearance and an explanation of the possible ramifications of being placed before the courts.

Under the FGC program the emphasis was on dealing with as many cases as possible using the FGC and only placing juveniles before the courts if their offences were very serious, their criminal history substantial, they denied the offence or refused a caution.

In 1992 a grant was sought by Senior Sergeant Terry O'Connell (from Wagga Wagga Patrol) and David Moore (from The Centre for Rural Studies at Charles Sturt University), from the Australian Criminology Research Council to fund an evaluation of the Wagga Wagga FGC program. The evaluation was to have three components: a review of current criminology theory relating to juvenile delinquency, a qualitative component assessing participants' level of satisfaction with the Family Group Conference Program in Wagga Wagga and a quantitative component comprising of an analysis of available data on the Wagga Wagga program. This report was commissioned to fulfil the requirements of the third component of the evaluation with the main focus being on rates of recidivism.

It would have been very useful to the evaluation to have been able to ascertain the rates of compliance by offenders to the FGC agreements. Unfortunately, there was no accurate and consistent data available on the contents of FGC outcome agreements nor on offenders' compliance with these agreements. Police in Wagga Wagga patrol indicated that at the conclusion of each FGC they invited the victim/s to contact the police should the offender/s not comply with the agreed outcome. Their anecdotal evidence suggests fairly high compliance based on the fact that they report rarely being contacted by victims

in this regard. However, there are very obvious limitations inherent in measuring compliance in this manner and such claims should be treated with caution. Hopefully, future evaluations of FGC programs will be in a position to accurately record the contents of FGC agreements and measure compliance rates.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The study described in this report was initiated in October 1993, over two years after the introduction of FGC cautions in Wagga Wagga. There was approximately nine months available for its completion. These time constraints obviously put some limitations on the evaluation design. Data would be collected on the two years of FGC operation and it was desirable to have a control group with which to make comparisons, particularly on the issue of recidivism. After considering several options for a control group it was decided to collect data from Wagga Wagga patrol for the two years immediately preceding the introduction of FGC. This control group, even though drawn from a different time period than the FGC group, would at least be most similar in demographic characteristics and the type or style of policing they were exposed to.

The aim of using a control group is to have a group which is the same as the experimental group (that is, the group potentially exposed to FGC) in all aspects except the one which is being evaluated, (that is, the FGC program). The ideal way to do this would be to collect data for an evaluation from the time of the program's introduction. Thus, those offenders assessed as suitable for a FGC could be randomly assigned to either the experimental group (and receive a FGC) or the control group (and be placed before the court). This type of randomized allocation design allows extraneous variables to be eliminated and any differences observed could be accurately attributed to the experimental condition ie, the FGC program.

Taking into consideration the abovementioned time restrictions, the before/after design was chosen as the most appropriate.

Data Source

Data were recorded from Police CIRs (Crime Information Report). Theoretically, all juvenile apprehensions should have been recorded on CIRs. Crosschecking with details recorded in a 'Caution Book' (a book kept by the Cautioning Sergeant in which details of Family Group Conferences were recorded) revealed some cases listed in the book for which CIRs could not be identified and visa versa. The caution book itself, however, may

not have been 100% accurate. Anecdotal evidence suggests that CIRs are fairly diligently completed for juvenile apprehensions even if sometimes there may be a time lag between their completion, submission and computer entry onto the Police Service Crime Information and Intelligence System (CIIS).

Time Period Covered

The initial intention was to look at data for the two years preceding the introduction of Family Group Conferences, in August 1991, and data for the two years since. However, the earliest available CIRs were from January 1st 1990. Thus, the data set comprises of cases from 1st of January 1990 to mid October 1993 (which is when the data collection took place). Apparently, CIRs can take up to several months to be completed, submitted and subsequently filed. Therefore, there are probably cases dealt with by police in September and October of 1993 (perhaps even August) which are not included in the data set as the CIRs had not been filed at the time of data collection. This has been taken into account when designing various aspects of the analysis and appropriate warnings are issued throughout the text.

The data was organised so that various time periods could be used for analysis. Data can be presented by month of apprehension, in a 'before / after' format ('before' relates to all cases where the date of apprehension was between 1/1/90 and 31/7/91; 'after' relates to all cases where the date of apprehension was between 1/8/91 and mid October 93) and in periods of approximately six months. The last format consists of eight approximately six-month periods (1/1/90 to 30/6/90, 1/7/90 to 31/12/90, 1/1/91 to 30/7/91, 1/8/91 to 31/12/91, 1/1/92 to 30/6/92, 1/7/92 to 31/12/92, 1/1/93 to 30/6/93, 1/7/93 to mid Oct 93). 1991 was split into two unequal periods as FGC started in August of that year. By including July in the first half year, the first three time periods fall before the introduction of the FGC program and the subsequent five fall after its introduction. The last period was a short one as the data collection was done in October 93. These eight time periods are used often in the analysis as they contain a larger number of cases than monthly data but are often more informative than the simple 'before / after' view.

In the 'before / after' view, the former time period is shorter than the latter, ie: the first covers the 19 months from January 90 to July 91 inclusive, whilst the latter covers the 27 months from August 91 to October 93 inclusive. Therefore, frequencies in the 'after FGC' period are usually larger than those in the 'before FGC' period.

Counting Rules

There were 1165 cases in the data set. A case was constituted by police apprehending a juvenile and dealing with him / her in a formal way. Formal methods included the administration of a formal caution, being issued with a summons or court attendance

notice (C.A.N.) or being arrested and charged. Informal ways of dealing with juveniles such as warnings or informal cautions were not recorded.

One individual juvenile can constitute several cases if he / she was apprehended more than once during the study period. The data is arranged so that it can be analysed by case or by individual. There were 693 individuals in the data set.

Where the data is analysed according to individual, it is the first time an individual is apprehended during the study period which is represented. For example, 'age' for individuals, represents the age the individual was the first time he / she was apprehended during the study period. Some analysis is presented in the 'case' format whilst some is presented in the 'individual' format or both, depending on which is most informative. The most interesting and important aspects of analysing individuals, as opposed to cases, is when one looks at issues such as reapprehension rates and number of apprehensions per person. For a detailed analysis of cases and individuals see section below called 'Number of cases / individuals'.

RESULTS

Number of Cases / Individuals

As stated above there were 1165 cases in the data set. Looking at cases provides a view of the juvenile caseload police dealt with during the study period. In the time period before FGC was introduced there were 536 cases whilst in the period after its introduction there were 629 cases. As the latter time period is longer than the former, one would expect the total number of cases to be larger.

Figure 1 shows the number of cases dealt with per month for the whole study period. Each notch on the horizontal axis represents a month, beginning with January 90 (J90), February 90 (not labelled), March 90 (not labelled), April 90 (A90) and so on. The vertical axis represents the actual number of juvenile cases dealt with by Wagga Wagga Police.

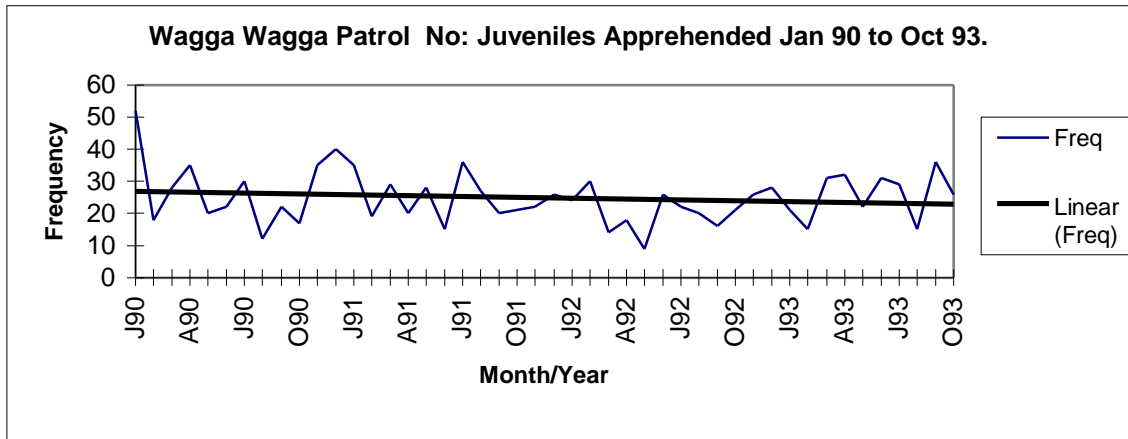


Figure 1

The graph shows large fluctuations in the number of juvenile cases dealt with monthly by Wagga Wagga police during the study period. However, when a line was fitted to the data it indicated that there had been very little change in the average number of juvenile cases dealt with during the study period. For the whole study period the average number of juvenile cases per month was 23.53; for the period before the FGC program was introduced the average was 25.65 and for the period after its introduction the average was 21.31.

Thus, the monthly data suggests there was no net-widening effect with the introduction of the FGC program. In fact, the average number of cases dealt with monthly actually decreased.

In January 1990 it appears there was a disproportionately large number of cases dealt with (52). This is due to the fact that the January 1990 CIRs contained some cases which were apprehended during the previous month but the CIRs were completed and numbered in January 1990.

Table 1 shows both the number of cases and individuals dealt with in each of eight time periods. There were fluctuations in the number of cases dealt with in each of these time periods but they were smaller than the fluctuations in the monthly case distribution.

There were 693 individual juveniles dealt with during the study period. It should be kept in mind that the individual is defined as such on the first time he/she is apprehended during the study period. This may explain why there is such a large number of individuals dealt with during the early part of the study period. That is, during the early part of the study period all juveniles were being dealt with for the first time during the study period; as the data collection continued chronologically many of the juveniles had been encountered before in this data set.

Table 1				
No: Individuals & Cases per Time Period				
Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol Jan 90 - Oct 93				
	Individuals		Cases	
Time Period	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Jan-Jun90	139	20.1%	175	15.3%
Jul-Dec90	107	15.5%	156	13.7%
Jan-Jul91	112	16.2%	182	16.0%
Aug-Dec91	70	10.1%	116	10.2%
Jan-Jun92	68	9.8%	121	10.6%
Jul-Dec92	70	10.1%	133	11.7%
Jan-Jun93	66	9.6%	152	13.3%
Jul-Oct93	59	8.5%	106	9.3%
Total	691	99.9%	1141	100.1%

Missing cases = 2 individuals and 24 cases. Missing cases are those where the date of apprehension was missing.

Note: Throughout this report the percentage columns may not always add up to 100% exactly due to rounding.

Sex Distribution

The sex distribution of juvenile offenders was around 82% males and 18% females both

Table 2				
Sex Distribution - Individuals & Cases				
Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol Jan 90 - Oct 93.				
	Individuals		Cases	
Sex	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Male	564	81.4%	960	82.5%
Female	129	18.6%	203	17.5%
Total	693	100.0%	1163	100.0%

Missing cases = 2 cases

for cases and individuals. The percentage of female juvenile offenders was a little higher than that recorded in the N.S.W. Children's Court appearances which has been at around 14% for the last three years of available statistics².

Age Distribution

² Annual Children's Court Statistics Criminal Matters 1990/1991, 1991/1992 and 1992/1993, Children's Court Information System, Policy, Research and Evaluation Unit, N.S.W. Office of Juvenile Justice.

Table 3						
Age by Sex - Cases						
Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol Jan 90 - Oct 93						
Age in Years	Sex					
	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
10	1	0.5	15	1.6	16	1.4
11	2	1.0	18	1.9	20	1.8
12	2	1.0	54	5.8	56	5.0
13	16	8.2	85	9.1	101	9.0
14	28	14.4	129	13.9	157	13.9
15	45	23.1	174	18.7	219	19.4
16	55	28.2	212	22.8	267	23.7
17	45	23.1	239	25.7	284	25.2
18 and over	1	0.5	5	0.5	6	0.5
Total	195	100%	931	100%	1126	100%

Missing Cases=39

The age distribution for males and females was fairly similar, the only difference being a smaller proportion of females were apprehended at the very youngest ages ie: ten, eleven and twelve. Consequently, there was a larger proportion of females in the older age groups of fifteen and sixteen.

There were a small number of juveniles who were eighteen by the time they were apprehended but were treated as juveniles as they were under eighteen at the time their offences were committed.

Table 4		
Age - Individuals		
Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol		
Jan 90 - Oct 93		
Age in Years	Frequency	Percentage
10	12	1.8%
11	18	2.6%
12	42	6.1%
13	64	9.3%
14	100	14.6%
15	121	17.7%
16	144	21.0%
17	181	26.4%
18 and over	3	0.4%
Total	685	99.9%

Missing Cases=8

As with the sex distribution, the age distribution was very similar for both the case view and the individual view. The highest proportions of juveniles apprehended by police were either sixteen or seventeen years of age, accounting for almost half of those apprehended; 47.4% of individuals at the time of the first apprehension were aged sixteen or seventeen years, 48.9% of all juvenile cases apprehended by police were aged sixteen or seventeen years.

For data on the age distribution broken down by eight time periods see Tables 2-1 and 2-2 in Appendix 2. These tables show that the age distribution was fairly similar across the eight time periods. The variations evident are normal considering the small frequencies they are based on. When these eight time periods were amalgamated into the 'before FGC' and 'after FGC' groups, the age distributions were quite similar for both groups.

Racial Appearance

At the time of apprehension, police record the racial appearance of an offender. The table below shows that juvenile offenders in Wagga Wagga were predominantly of white racial appearance. There was a small proportion of Aboriginal offenders and just a handful of other races. The distribution was very similar for both the case view and the individual view. Nor does the distribution differ between offenders apprehended before the introduction of FGC or after.

Table 5				
Racial Appearance - Individuals & Cases				
Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol Jan 90 - Oct 93				
	Individuals		Cases	
Racial Appearance	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
White	585	88.8%	997	88.3%
Aboriginal	61	9.3%	117	10.4%
Pacific Islander	3	0.5%	4	0.4%
East Asian	5	0.8%	5	0.4%
Indian	2	0.3%	3	0.3%
Middle East	1	0.2%	1	0.1%
Mediterranean	1	0.2%	1	0.1%
Other	1	0.2%	1	0.1%
Total	659	100.3%	1129	100.1%

Missing cases = 36 cases, 34 individuals.

Occupation of Offenders

Table 6 presents the frequency and proportions of juvenile offenders in each of various occupational categories. The largest proportion of both individuals and cases were students at the time of their apprehension.

Table 6				
Occupation - Individuals & Cases				
Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol Jan 90 - Oct 93				
	Individuals		Cases	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Occupation				
RAAF Apprentice	11	1.6	11	1.0%
Trade Apprentice	22	3.2	26	2.3%
Farm Worker	4	0.6	13	1.1%
Retail & Service	13	1.9	16	1.4%
Catering	7	1.0	13	1.1%
Labourer	12	1.8	21	1.8%
Other	3	0.4	3	0.3%
Unemployed	213	31.1	491	42.7%
Student	399	58.3	557	48.4%
Total	684	99.9%	1151	100.1%

Missing cases = 14 cases, 9 individuals.

Unemployment rates were calculated for the individual view by dividing the number of unemployed by the number who are in the workforce and over the age of 15 years. It makes more sense to look at unemployment rates for individuals rather than cases, as a small number of unemployed people who are reapprehended many times will 'push up' the unemployment rate of cases, as the same unemployed people may constitute many cases. Assuming that the employment status recorded by police is correct (and anecdotal evidence suggests that this is an accurate assumption), the data reflects disturbingly high unemployment rates for juvenile offenders in Wagga Wagga. The overall unemployment rate was 74.7%. The unemployment rate for males was 71.6% and for females 87.5%. The unemployment rate for juveniles of white racial appearance 69.7% compared to a rate of 100% for juveniles of Aboriginal racial appearance.

As with the age and sex distributions the occupation distributions for individuals was very similar before the introduction of FGC and after.

Offence Distribution

Up to three offence types could be recorded per case as well as the total number of offences relating to that particular apprehension. For example: a juvenile may have been apprehended and cautioned in relation to a shoplifting offence and a B&E offence. Whichever of these offences was committed first would be recorded as the 1st Offence and the second offence committed would be recorded as the 2nd Offence. In this case the total number of offences would have been two. Most cases were apprehended in relation

to one offence only (71.5%), but there were a few cases where the total number of offences relating to an apprehension was quite high (see Table 7). However, as most cases were apprehended in relation to one offence only the offence tables will generally show the first offence coded unless otherwise specified.

Table 7 Total No: Offences - Cases Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol Jan 90 - Oct 93		
No:Offences	Frequency	Percentage
1	829	71.5%
2	171	14.8%
3	71	6.1%
4	39	3.4%
5	16	1.4%
6	7	0.6%
7	10	0.9%
8	4	0.3%
9	4	0.3%
10	2	0.2%
12	3	0.3%
27	1	0.1%
28	1	0.1%
33	1	0.1%
Total	1159	100.1%

Missing cases=6

The offences were recorded and later categorised according to second level ANCO codes³ (The codes are detailed in Appendix 4). This level most accurately portrayed the types of offences committed by juvenile offenders. The broader first level codes were too broad - many of the offences included in each code were not applicable to this data set.

³ ANCO 1985 ABS, Catalogue No: 1234.0

Table 8						
Before FGC - First Offence by Sex - Cases						
Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol Jan 90 - July 91						
Offences	Female		Male		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Assault	15	14.9%	35	8.1%	50	9.4%
Sexual Off	0		8	1.8%	8	1.5%
Robbery	0		8	1.8%	8	1.5%
BES & Unlaw Entry	13	12.9%	58	13.4%	71	13.3%
Fraud & Misap	3	3.0%	3	0.7%	6	1.1%
Stolen Goods	6	5.9%	5	1.2%	11	2.1%
MVT	8	7.9%	35	8.0%	43	8.1%
Other Theft	35	34.7%	151	34.9%	186	34.8%
Property Dam	8	7.9%	36	8.3%	44	8.2%
Off Ag Just Proc	3	3.0%	18	4.2%	21	3.9%
Weapon/Firearm	0		5	1.2%	5	0.9%
Oth Good Order Off	10	9.9%	56	12.9%	66	12.4%
Possess Cannabis	0		11	2.5%	11	2.1%
Drink Drive	0		2	0.5%	2	0.4%
Other Driving	0		1	0.2%	1	0.2%
Telecom	0		1	0.2%	1	0.2%
Total*	101	100.1%	433	99.9%	534	100.1%

Missing cases = 1

Table 9						
After FGC - First Offence by Sex - Cases						
Juveniles Apprehended Wagga Wagga Patrol Aug 91 - Oct 93						
Offences	Female		Male		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Assault	16	15.8%	51	9.7%	67	10.7%
Sexual Off	1	1.0%	4	0.8%	5	0.8%
Robbery	3	3.0%	5	1.0%	8	1.3%
BES & Unlaw Entry	5	5.0%	107	20.4%	112	18.0%
Fraud & Misap	2	2.0%	5	1.0%	7	1.1%
Stolen Goods	3	3.0%	16	3.0%	19	3.0%
MVT	5	5.0%	22	4.2%	27	4.3%
Other Theft	40	39.6%	183	34.9%	223	35.6%
Property Dam	8	7.9%	50	9.5%	58	9.3%
Off Ag Just Proc	5	5.0%	31	5.9%	36	5.7%
Weapon/Firearm	0	0	2	0.4%	2	0.3%
Oth Good Order Off	10	9.9%	23	4.4%	33	5.3%
Possess Cannabis	2	2.0%	12	2.3%	14	2.2%
Supply Cannabis	0	0	2	0.4%	2	0.3%
Grow Cannabis	0	0	2	0.4%	2	0.3%
Drink Drive	1	1.0%	6	1.1%	7	1.1%
Other Driving	0	0	3	0.6%	3	0.5%
Telecom	0	0	1	0.2%	1	0.2%
Total*	101	100.2%	525	100.2%	627	100.0%

Missing cases = 1

Tables 8 and 9 above allow a comparison of offence types for cases dealt with before the introduction of FGC and after. If the offence distributions were markedly different, then depending on the differences, one may also expect differences in how cases were proceeded with. However, there were no such notably large differences in the offence distributions.

It should be noted that the number of females was relatively small, so even small variations in frequency may appear large when expressed as percentages. The offence distribution for females is remarkably similar in the two groups. For both groups of females the largest category of offence is 'other theft' (34.7% before FGC and 39.6% after FGC), followed by 'assault' (14.9% before FGC and 15.8% after FGC) and 'Other Good Order Offences' (9.9% before and after FGC). The 'Break, Enter & Steal (BES) & Unlawful Entry' category decreased from 12.9% before FGC to 5% after FGC, however, in actual numbers this only represents a drop from 13 to 5 cases.

The total number of male cases in the 'after FGC' group was larger than the number in the 'before FGC' group. This is to be expected as the 'after FGC' group covered a longer time period than the prior group (August 91 to October 93 which is 27 months compared to 19 months from January 90 to July 91). It is surprising that the number of female cases was exactly the same for both groups.

For males the largest offence category was also 'Other Theft' (34.9% before and after FGC). The other large offence categories for males apprehended were BES & Unlawful Entry (increasing in both number and percentage from 58 (13.4%) before FGC to 107 (20.4%) after FGC), assault (35 (8.1%) before FGC and 51 (9.7%) after FGC) and property damage (36 (8.3%) before FGC and 50 (9.5%) after FGC). MVT and Other Good Order Offences both dropped in numbers and as a proportion of total offences by males. MVT numbered 35 (8%) before FGC and 22 (4.2%) after FGC whilst Other Good Order Offences dropped from 56 (12.9%) to 23 (4.4%).

Overall, the two largest offence categories both before and after FGC were Other Theft and BES & Unlawful Entry, together accounting for around half of all offences relating to juvenile offenders apprehended (48.1% before FGC and 53.6% after FGC).

Property Values

The CIR forms from which the data for this study was extracted, allow for property values to be recorded where offences involved property. The property value may refer to property stolen or damaged; in some cases it may have been partly or wholly recovered. The largest offences category for offenders in this study was 'Other Theft' which included shoplifting, stealing from motor vehicles, stealing from homes and stealing from the person. It is interesting to note that a large proportion of theft offences involved relatively small values, for example, over one-quarter involved values of less than \$20.00. Around two-thirds of theft offences involved goods with a value of under \$100.00. There were no

great differences between the values of property stolen or damaged before the introduction of FGC and after.

Table 10						
Property Values for Theft Offences by Before/After FGC						
Wagga Wagga Patrol - Cases						
	Before FGC			After FGC		
\$ Value	Frequency	Percentage	Cum Perc	Frequency	Percentage	Cum Perc
0	2	1.2%	1.2%	11	5.5%	5.5%
1-19	54	30.6%	31.8%	57	23.0%	28.5%
20-39	22	12.9%	44.7%	29	14.5%	43.0%
40-59	23	13.5%	58.2%	17	8.5%	51.5%
60-79	19	11.2%	69.4%	9	4.5%	56.0%
80-99	2	1.2%	70.6%	12	6.0%	62.0%
100-119	4	2.4%	73.0%	13	6.5%	68.5%
120-139	1	0.6%	73.6%	5	2.5%	71.0%
140-159	11	6.5%	80.1%	2	1.0%	72.0%
160-179	1	0.6%	80.7%	1	0.5%	72.5%
180-199	3	1.8%	82.5%	0	0%	72.5%
200-299	17	10.0%	92.5%	13	6.5%	79.0%
300-399	3	1.8%	94.3%	13	6.5%	85.5%
400-499	2	1.2%	95.5%	3	1.5%	87.0%
500-599	6	3.5%	99.0%	4	2.0%	89.0%
600-699	0	0%	99.0%	5	2.5%	91.5%
700-799	0	0%	99.0%	4	2.0%	93.5%
800-899	0	0%	99.0%	1	0.5%	94.0%
900-999	0	0%	99.0%	1	0.5%	94.5%
1000-9999	2	1.2%	100.2%	11	5.5%	100.0%
10,000 +	0	0%	100.2%	0	0%	100.0%
Total	170	100.2%		200	100.0%	

Missing = 16 cases before FGC, 23 cases after FGC

Break, Enter and Steal (BES) was the second largest category of offence for juveniles in the study. It includes break and enter offences where there was no theft, as well as unlawful entry to premises. In fact, just over 10% involved no property theft or damage (see table below \$ Value = 0). Nevertheless, the property values relating to BES offences were considerably higher than for theft offences. As with theft offences, the distribution of property values did not vary significantly from offences committed before the introduction of FGC to those committed after.

\$ Value	Before FGC			After FGC		
	Frequency	Percentage	Cum Perc	Frequency	Percentage	Cum Perc
0	6	10.1%	10.1%	12	13.2%	13.2%
1-19	4	6.8%	16.9%	4	4.4%	17.6%
20-39	2	3.4%	20.3%	2	2.2%	19.8%
40-59	4	6.8%	27.1%	8	8.8%	28.6%
60-79	1	1.7%	28.8%	4	4.4%	33.0%
80-99	1	1.7%	30.5%	1	1.1%	34.1%
100-119	3	5.1%	35.6%	11	12.1%	46.2%
120-139	3	5.1%	40.7%	0	0%	46.2%
140-159	1	1.7%	42.4%	0	0%	46.2%
160-179	0	0%	42.4%	0	0%	46.2%
180-199	0	0%	42.4%	0	0%	46.2%
200-299	3	5.1%	47.5%	7	7.7%	53.9%
300-399	4	6.8%	54.3%	7	7.7%	61.6%
400-499	5	8.5%	62.8%	2	2.2%	63.8%
500-599	5	8.5%	71.3%	3	3.3%	67.1%
600-699	1	1.7%	73.0%	4	4.4%	71.5%
700-799	2	3.4%	76.4%	7	7.7%	79.2%
800-899	1	1.7%	78.1%	1	1.1%	80.3%
900-999	0	0%	78.1%	1	1.1%	81.4%
1000-9999	11	18.6%	96.7%	15	16.5%	97.9%
10,000 +	2	3.4%	100.1%	2	2.2%	100.1%
Total	59	100.1%		91	100.1%	

Missing = 12 cases before FGC, 22 cases after FGC

Victims

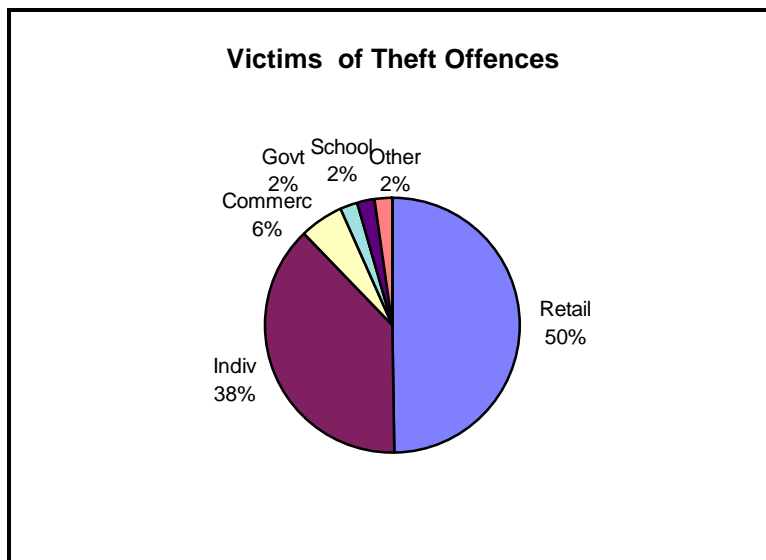
For each juvenile apprehended, the victim of the 1st offence was also recorded. The types of victims were categorised and the table below shows their distribution. By far the largest category was that of 'individuals', that is, an individual as opposed to an organisation, business, the government or the crown. Individuals were victims in many different ways, for example, when their homes or cars were broken into, when their belongings were stolen or as a result of an assault. Retail premises, the second largest category were usually victims of shoplifting offences. The crown was the victim of offences such as justice offences and good order offences.

Table 12		
Victims of 1st Offence - Cases		
Wagga Wagga Patrol Jan 90 - Oct 93		
Victim Type	Frequency	Percentage
Individual	480	41.8%
Retail	254	22.1%
Regina	175	15.3%
Commercial Prem	91	7.9%
Schools	66	5.8%
Government	49	4.3%
Licensed Prem	18	1.6%
Church	9	0.8%
Hospital	1	0.1%
Unknown	4	0.3%
Total	1147	100.0%

Missing cases = 18

The following graphs show types of victims for the largest property offence categories. Theft offences (that is, other than motor vehicle theft) were most likely to have been committed against retail outlets (50%) or individuals (38%). Commercial, government and school premises accounted for only a small percentage of theft victims. The 'other' category consisted of churches and licensed premises.

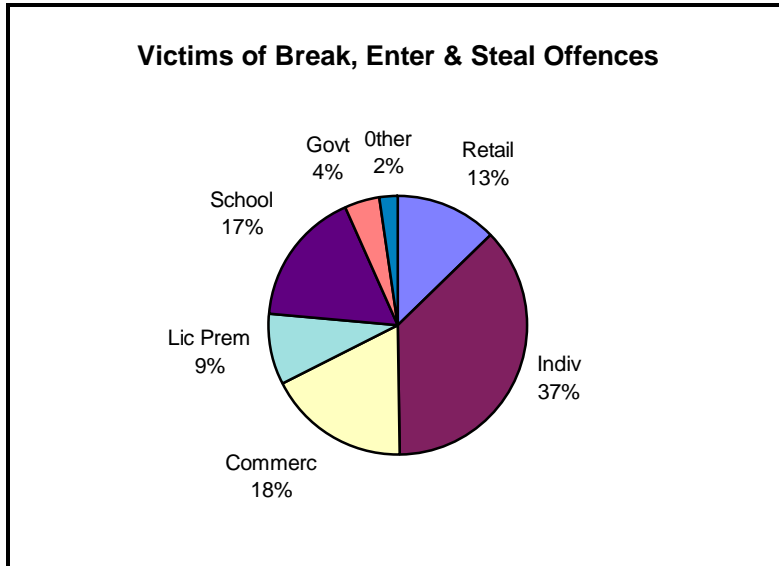
Figure 2



The victim distribution for break, enter and steal offences (see Figure 3) was quite different to that of theft offences, with individuals comprising the largest group (38%). Individuals in this context refers to private homes which were broken into. Commercial

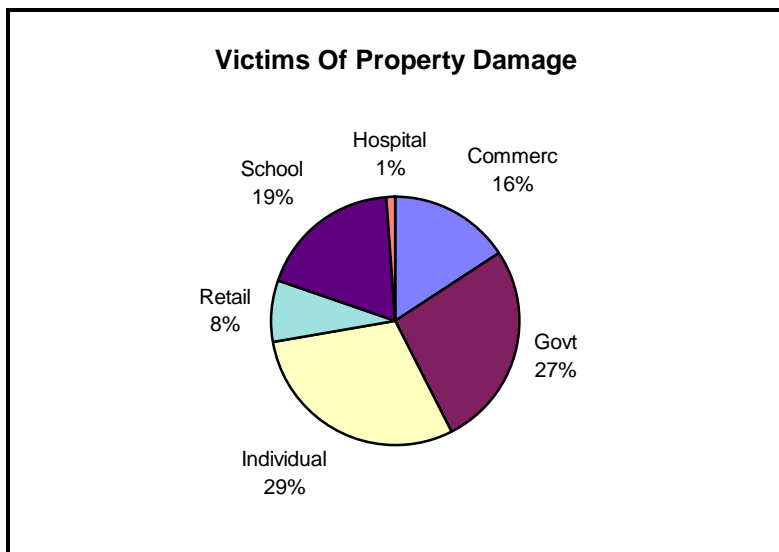
premises and schools comprised the next largest categories, accounting for 18% and 17% (respectively) of break, enter and steal victims.

Figure 3



Property damage was the only other major property offence category which had a variety of victims (see Figure 4). Property owned by individuals and governments accounted for 29% and 27% (respectively) of victims. Schools comprised the next largest category at 19%, followed by commercial premises accounting for 16%, retail outlets 8% and hospitals 1%.

Figure 4



Number of Apprehensions

When looking at the number of apprehensions it is more logical look at the number per individual rather than per case. Table 13 indicates that of the 693 individual juveniles in the data set, by far the majority were apprehended only once during the study period in Wagga Wagga Patrol (72.7%). A much smaller proportion was apprehended twice (13.3%) and three times (6.1%). The number of juveniles apprehended more than three times was very small.

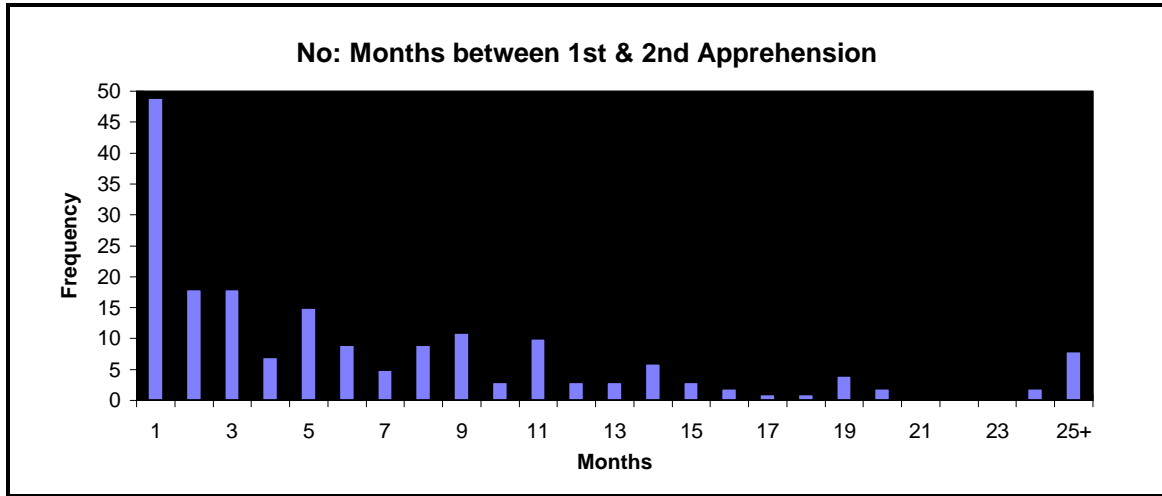
No: Arrests	Frequency	Percentage	Cum Perc
1	504	72.7%	72.7%
2	92	13.3%	86.0%
3	42	6.1%	92.1%
4	17	2.5%	94.6%
5	11	1.6%	96.2%
6	12	1.7%	97.9%
7	6	0.9%	98.8%
8	2	0.3%	99.1%
9	1	0.1%	99.2%
10	2	0.3%	99.5%
11	3	0.4%	99.9%
14	1	0.1%	100.0%
Total	693	100.0%	

Length of Time Between First and Second Apprehension

For those juveniles who were apprehended more than once, Figure 5 shows the number of days between their first and second apprehension (the frequencies this figure is based on are provided in Appendix Table 2 - 3). One quarter (25.9%) were reapprehended within one month, almost one half were reapprehended within four months and almost three-quarters (74.6%) were reapprehended within nine months of their first apprehension during the study period. The number of days since last apprehension for these juveniles ranged from zero (ie: reapprehended on the same day) to 1116 days or 36.7 months. The mean number of days between first and second apprehension was 193.3 days (6.4 months). The 5% trimmed mean was 168 days (5.5 months).⁴

⁴ A 5% trimmed mean is where the top 5% of outliers are eliminated from the mean calculation.

Figure 5

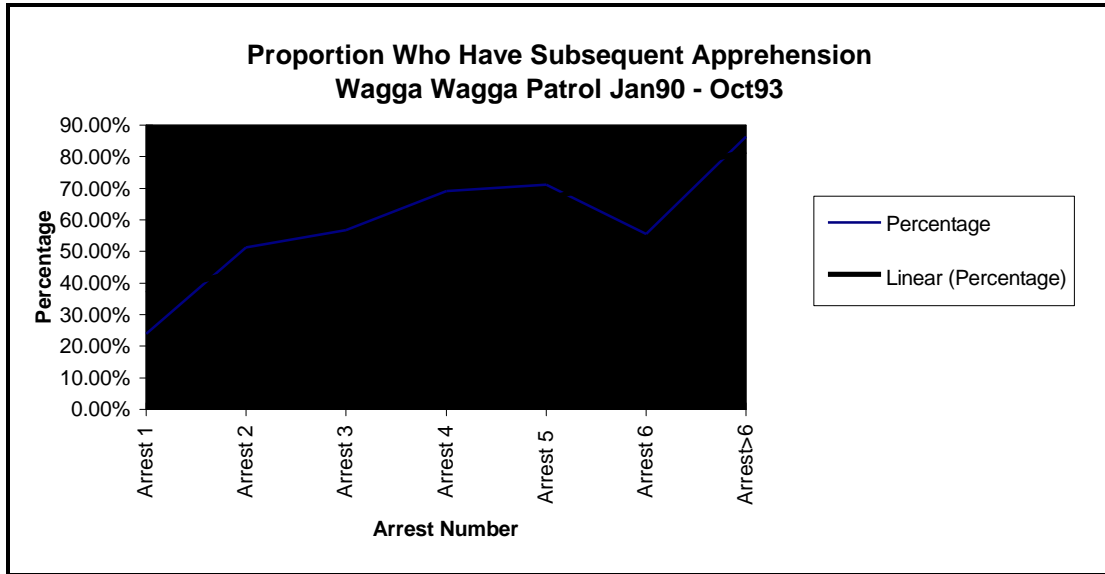


Likelihood of Further Apprehensions

Figure 6 shows the percentage of cases apprehended a certain number of times who went on to be apprehended again. For example, of those apprehended once (all individuals in the data set and shown on the graph as ‘arrest 1’) 23.9% went on to be reapprehended. Of those apprehended a second time (shown on the graph as ‘arrest 2’) 51.3% went on to be reapprehended again and so on (the percentages this figure is based on are provided in Appendix Table 2 - 4).

It appears that the more times a juvenile was apprehended in Wagga Wagga, the higher his/her chances were of being apprehended again. There was a decrease in the percentage going on to further apprehensions after the sixth apprehension but the general trend was definitely an increasing one.

Figure 6



Time Between Apprehensions

The data indicates (see Table 14) that as the juveniles in this study experienced more apprehensions, the time elapsing between apprehensions became shorter. The biggest decrease occurred after the fifth apprehension in this study, which occurred on average 78.9 days (2.6 months) after the fourth apprehension. This is a big decrease from the average of 143 days (4.7 months) between the third and fourth apprehensions.

Apprehension No:	Trimmed Mean*	Standard Deviation#
2	168.0	215.8
3	138.9	204.7
4	143.0	234.8
5	78.9	108.5
6	73.3	111.6
>6	50.6	64.6

* 5% Trimmed Mean rounded to one decimal place

Standard Deviation rounded to one decimal place

Offence Distribution for Second & Subsequent Apprehensions

The offence distribution for second and subsequent apprehensions was similar to that relating to first apprehensions. As with the previous offence analysis the first recorded offence for each apprehension was used (for each apprehension there were up to three offences recorded, although by far the majority of juveniles were apprehended in respect of one offence only).

For second and subsequent apprehensions a smaller proportion of offences were in the 'Other Theft' category; 28.1% compared to 40.6% of first apprehensions and the proportion of Break, Enter & Steal offences was larger than for first apprehensions; 20.3% compared to 12.6%. Similarly, Offences Against Justice Procedures represented 7.1% of second and subsequent apprehensions compared to 3.6% of first apprehensions.

Table 15				
Offence Distribution for 1st and Subsequent Apprehensions				
Frequency and Percentage - Cases				
Offence	1st Apprehension		2nd & Subseq Apprehensions	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Assault	65	9.4%	52	11.6%
Sexual Off	10	1.4%	2	0.5%
Robbery	6	0.9%	10	2.2%
BES	87	12.6%	91	20.3%
Fraud & Mis	10	1.4%	3	0.7%
Stolen Goods	15	2.2%	15	3.3%
MVT	48	6.9%	19	4.2%
Other Theft	281	40.6%	126	28.1%
Property Dam	65	9.4%	34	7.6%
Off Ag Just Pr	25	3.6%	32	7.1%
Weapons	4	0.6%	3	0.7%
Oth Good Ord	51	7.4%	44	9.8%
Poss Cann	18	2.6%	7	1.6%
Supply Cann	0	0	3	0.7%
Grow Cann	0	0	2	0.5%
Drink Drive	4	0.6%	1	0.2%
Other Drive	2	0.3%	2	0.5%
Telecom	1	0.1%	2	0.5%
Total	692	100.0%	448	100.1%

Missing cases = 25

How Cases Were Proceeded With

There were three ways in which the majority of juvenile cases in the data set were dealt with: the administration of a formal caution, the issuing of a Court Attendance Notice (CAN) or arrest and charge. In addition, a small number of cases were issued with a

summons, two cases were extradited to another state, several cases coded as ‘other’ would have been issued with a caution but couldn’t either because the juvenile left the Wagga Wagga area or was admitted to hospital. There was only one case where the manner proceeded with was unknown and this case is generally shown as ‘missing’.

For ease of interpretation the different ways of proceeding can be collapsed into two categories: ‘court’ and ‘caution’. The ‘court’ category includes those charged, issued with a CAN or summons as well as those extradited. It was assumed that those extradited interstate would be placed before a court. The ‘caution’ category includes those cautioned as well as those in the ‘other’ category who were intended for a caution but due to certain circumstances the caution was not administered.

Table 16				
Manner Proceeded With - Cases Before / After FGC				
Manner Proceeded	Before FGC		After FGC	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Caution	205	38.2%	326	51.9%
Court	330	61.6%	303	48.2%
Unknown	1	0.2%	0	0
Total	536	100.0%	629	100.1%

Table 16 shows there was a change in the manner in which cases were dealt with when the FGC program was introduced. In the period before FGC, 38.2% of juvenile cases were cautioned, whilst after the introduction of FGC this proportion increased to 51.9%. With the increase in cautions there was a proportionate decrease in cases being put before the court. It should be kept in mind that Table 16 includes all cases of juveniles apprehended, that is, from first offenders to those who had been apprehended many times.

Table 17									
Manner Proceeded With by Time Periods - Cases - Frequency									
Time Period									
Manner	Jan-Jun90	Jul-Dec90	Jan-Jul91	Aug-Dec91	Jan-Jun92	Jul-Dec92	Jan-Jun93	Jul-Oct93	Total
Caution	45	62	89	55	77	86	71	37	522
Court	130	94	93	61	44	47	81	69	619
Total	175	156	182	116	121	133	152	106	1141

Missing cases = 24

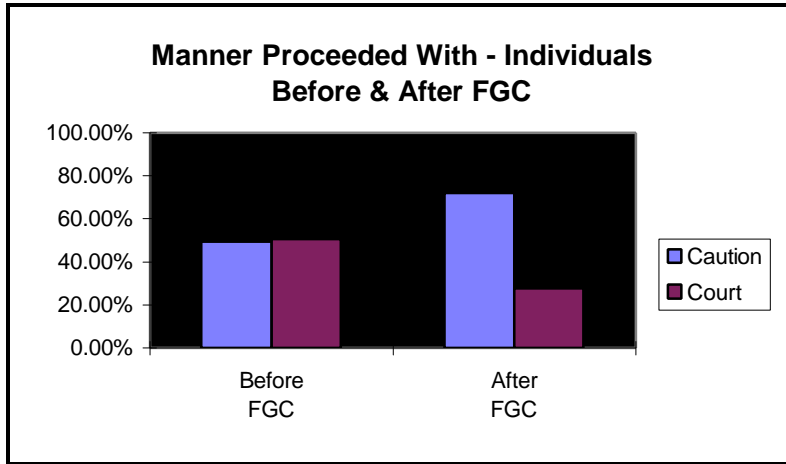
Table 18									
Manner Proceeded With by Time Periods - Cases - Percentage									
Time Period									
Manner	Jan- Jun90	Jul- Dec90	Jan- Jul91	Aug- Dec91	Jan- Jun92	Jul- Dec92	Jan- Jun93	Jul- Oct93	Total
Caution	25.7%	39.7%	48.9%	47.4%	63.6%	64.7%	46.7%	34.9%	45.7%
Court	74.3%	60.3%	51.1%	52.6%	36.4%	35.3%	53.3%	65.1%	54.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Missing cases = 24

Tables 17 and 18 show how cases were dealt with in each of the eight time periods. Whilst there was an overall increase in the proportion of matters dealt with by way of caution after the FGC program was introduced, there was a considerable amount of fluctuation.

The above analysis of how police proceeded with juvenile apprehended has been from a case point of view. This means that some cases were first offenders, some second offenders etc. A small proportion had considerable criminal histories. Later analysis of reapprehension rates will be based on the 'individual' view, that is, once a juvenile has been apprehended once during the study period (ie: the initial apprehension) will he/she be reapprehended during the study period? So Figure 7 is included to illustrate how police proceeded with juveniles at the point of their first apprehension during this study (the exact percentages on which Figure 7 is based are shown in Table 19). Of course, an offender's first apprehension during this study period does not mean it was his/her first apprehension ever. However, cases in the 'after FGC' group were more likely to be first ever apprehensions than those in the 'before FGC' group. The 'after FGC' group starts approximately one and a half years into the study period. If it is known that a juvenile has not been apprehended in the first one and a half years of the study period then he/she is more likely to be a first ever offender than those juveniles in the first one and a half years of the study for whom no prior history is known.

Figure 7



Even allowing for the abovementioned difference between the ‘before FGC’ and ‘after FGC’ groups, a dramatic increase in the proportion of individual offenders cautioned since the introduction of FGC is evident. Table 19 shows that before the FGC program was introduced approximately half of the juveniles apprehended for the first time during this study period were cautioned and half were placed before the courts. After the introduction of the FGC program 72% of juveniles were cautioned at the point of their initial apprehension and only approximately 28% were placed before the courts.

Manner Proceeded	Before FGC		After FGC	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Caution	177	49.4%	240	72.1%
Court	181	50.6%	93	27.9%
Total	358	100.0%	333	100.0%

Missing cases = 2

Manner Proceeded With by Offence

The preceding tables show there was an increase in the number and proportion of cases dealt with by way of caution following the introduction of the FGC program, but what types of cases accounted for this increase? Table 20 shows each offence category by the manner in which such cases were dealt with before the introduction of the FGC program and after.

Offences	Before				After			
	Caution		Court		Caution		Court	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Assault	7	14.0	43	86.0	26	38.8	41	61.2
Sexual Off	2	25.0	6	75.0	2	40.0	3	60.0
Robbery	0	0	8	100.0	0	0	8	100.0
BES & Unlaw Entry	13	18.3	58	81.7	47	41.6	66	58.4
Fraud & Misap	4	66.7	2	33.3	4	57.1	3	42.9
Stolen Goods	6	54.5	5	45.5	7	36.8	12	63.2
MVT	5	11.6	38	88.4	9	33.3	18	66.7
Other Theft	121	65.1	65	34.9	155	69.5	68	30.5
Property Dam	21	47.7	23	52.3	37	63.8	21	36.2
Off Ag Just Proc	1	4.8	20	95.2	12	33.3	24	66.7
Weapon/Firearm	2	40.0	3	60.0	1	50.0	1	50.0
Oth Good Order Off	15	22.7	51	77.3	16	48.5	17	51.5
Possess Cannabis	6	54.5	5	45.5	9	64.3	5	35.7
Supply Cannabis	0	0	0	0	1	50.0	1	50.0
Grow Cannabis	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100.0
Drink Drive	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	7	100.0
Other Driving	0	0	1	100.0	0	0	3	100.0
Telecom	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0	1	100.0
Total*	204	38.1	331	61.9	326	52.0	301	48.0

Missing cases = 4

Care should be taken when interpreting those percentages in Table 20 which are based on small frequencies.

The following offence categories all experienced an increase in the proportion dealt with by way of caution: Assault increased from 14% to 38.8%, BES & Unlawful Entry increased from 18.3% to 41.6%, Property Damage increased from 47.7% to 63.8%, Other Good Order Offences increased from 22.7% to 48.5%.

The Other Theft category remained stable with 65.1% being cautioned before the FGC program was introduced and 69.5% after. This offence category includes many very minor theft offences which have traditionally been dealt with by way of caution eg: juveniles stealing chocolates from a retail outlet to the value of a few dollars or attempted thefts where nothing was actually taken. The other offence categories contained numbers too small to make meaningful comparisons.

Manner Proceeded With at Second Apprehension

How did police proceed with juveniles at the point of their second apprehension? There was quite a dramatic change in the manner these cases were dealt with before the introduction of the FGC program and after. Before the introduction of the FGC program most juveniles (81%) who were apprehended for a second time were placed before the court. After the FGC program had been initiated only half of second apprehensions were placed before the court (see Table 21). This is quite a dramatic increase in the willingness of police to administer cautions to juveniles who had previously been apprehended by police.

Table 21				
Manner Dealt With at Second Apprehension - Individuals				
Before / After FGC				
	Before FGC		After FGC	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Caution	15	19.0%	52	47.3%
Court	64	81.0%	58	52.7%
Total	79	100.0%	110	100.0%

However, there may be a confounding factor effecting this result. Those juveniles who appear at the beginning of the study period (ie: the 'before FGC' group) may have been apprehended by police numerous times before they were included in this data set. That is, for some of these juveniles it may have been their second apprehension during the study period but their sixth apprehension overall, and therefore, due to their criminal history the police were less likely to caution them. One and a half years into the study period (when the FGC program was introduced) for those juveniles appearing for their second apprehension during the study period it was more likely to be their second apprehension ever. Or, if there were apprehensions previous to the study period they were sufficiently long ago for the police to show more leniency than if the previous apprehensions were very recent. Nevertheless, whilst this factor may account for some of the difference in the manner proceeded with by police at second apprehension it is unlikely to account for more than a small proportion, as only a small proportion of juveniles have numerous apprehensions. Most of the difference would be accounted for by a change in police practice.

Manner Proceeded With For Juveniles With Multiple Apprehensions

Appreh No:	Before FGC		After FGC	
	% Court	N=	% Court	N=
1	50.4%	359	28.1%	334
2	81.0%	79	52.7%	110
3	92.1%	38	62.7%	59
4	92.9%	14	82.9%	41
5	100.0%	10	89.3%	28
6	100.0%	6	90.5%	21
> 6	100.0%	8	100.0%	36

Table 22 shows the proportion of juveniles who were placed before the court according to the number of apprehensions they had experienced during the course of this study. The same warning applies when interpreting this data as that detailed in the section titled 'Manner Proceeded With at Second Apprehension

The N (population size) is shown beside each percentage to indicate the size of the group on which that percentage is based, as the size decreases rather dramatically as the number of apprehensions increase.

Despite the abovementioned limitations of the data, it does appear there was a change in police practice regarding the manner in which juveniles offenders were proceeded with after the introduction of the FGC program; police were much more likely to caution juveniles generally, but in particular those juveniles who were being apprehended for the second, third and fourth time.

Reapprehension

It should be noted that the following data only considers reapprehension within Wagga Wagga for most of the juveniles. Some of the juveniles in the study were reapprehended in places other than Wagga Wagga but this information was collected for only a sample of the data set. Of the 693 individuals in the whole data set (or population) the reapprehension rates for outside Wagga Wagga Patrol were collected only for the 236 individual juveniles in the sample. However, for the remaining 457 individual juveniles this extra information was not collected and therefore cannot be taken into account during the reapprehension calculations. (See section on the sample for more details.)

Table 23		
Percentage Who Were Reapprehended* - Individuals		
Before / After FGC by Manner Proceeded With		
	Before	After
Caution	30.3%	20.4%
Court	38.1%	37.2%

*Expressed as a proportion of all individuals dealt with in that particular manner. For example: In the 'Before FGC' group 30.3% of individual juveniles who were cautioned were reapprehended by police in Wagga Wagga during the study period (January 1990 to October 1993). An individual in this analysis is defined as such the first time he/she appears in this data set.

Table 23 appears to indicate that after the FGC program was introduced, a lower proportion of juveniles cautioned were reapprehended following their first apprehension during this study period. See Appendix Tables 2-5 and 2-6 for a more detailed breakdown of the percentages shown in Table 23.

One of the possible shortcomings of this view could be that the 'after FGC' group have not had as much time to be reapprehended as the 'before FGC' group, therefore, making their reapprehension rate look more favourable. Further analysis was done to control for time taken to be reapprehended to see if this made any difference and the results are shown in Table 24.

Reapprehension Within Nine Months

To ascertain whether the differences apparent in Table 23 would remain if the time taken to be reapprehended was controlled, those cases which were reapprehended more than nine months after their first apprehension were excluded. (The nine month reapprehension period was chosen as analysis shows that of the juveniles apprehended for a second time during the study period three quarters (74.6%) were reapprehended within nine months of their first apprehension).

It appears that controlling for the time taken to be reapprehended negates the differences in reapprehension rates between traditional cautions and FGC. Table 24 shows that for juveniles cautioned the proportion reapprehended was approximately 19% both before and after the introduction of FGC. Of those placed before the court, the proportion reapprehended was higher than that for cautions as might be expected if the more serious offenders are placed before the courts.

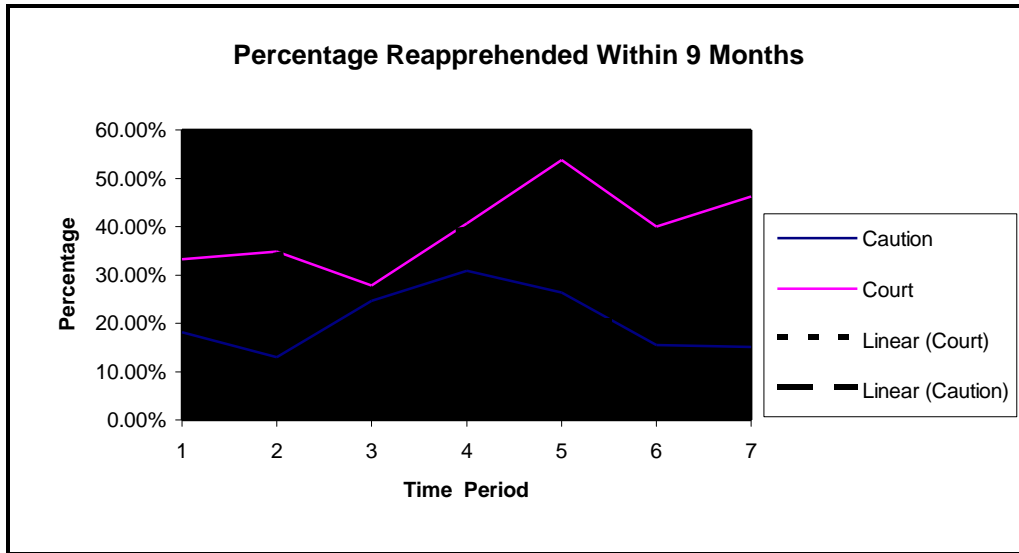
Table 24		
Percentage Who Were Reapprehended* within 9 months - Individuals		
Before / After FGC by Manner Proceeded With		
	Before	After
Caution	19.0%	18.7%
Court	32.5%	35.2%

*Expressed as a proportion of all individuals dealt with in that particular manner. For example: In the 'Before FGC' group 19.0% of individual juveniles who were cautioned were reapprehended by police in Wagga Wagga within 9 months. An individual in this analysis is defined as such the first time he/she appears in this data set.

Figure 8 shows the percentage reapprehended within nine months for specific time periods (note that the eighth time period had been excluded as the juveniles apprehended during this time period had not had time to reoffend before the study period finished).

The proportion reapprehended is consistently higher for juveniles placed before the courts and appears to be increasing. This is in contrast to juveniles cautioned for whom the proportion reapprehended is not only generally lower but also shows a stable trend. The percentages illustrated in Figure 8 are those in Table 24, and the frequencies in Appendix Table 2-7.

Figure 8



Why is the proportion reapprehended increasing for those juveniles placed before the courts? From the earlier data analysis and the Table 2-7 in Appendix 2, it is apparent that the number of juveniles placed before the courts decreased quite dramatically after the

introduction of the FGC program, indeed the actual numbers became quite small. More juveniles were deemed suitable for a caution and fewer were placed before the court. Anecdotal evidence suggests that only the most serious offenders and those with a substantial criminal history were placed before the courts. Therefore, it is not surprising that these juveniles have higher reapprehension rates than the bulk of juvenile offenders.

Time Period	Caution	Court	Total
1	18.2%	33.3%	29.2%
2	13.0%	34.9%	22.7%
3	24.6%	27.8%	25.7%
4	30.8%	40.7%	34.8%
5	26.4%	53.8%	31.8%
6	15.5%	40.0%	19.1%
7	15.1%	46.2%	21.2%
8	3.1%	14.8%	8.5%

*Expressed as a proportion of all individuals dealt with in that particular manner. For example: During the first time period 18.2% of individual juveniles who were cautioned were reapprehended by police within 9 months in Wagga Wagga during the study period (January 1990 to October 1993). An individual in this analysis is defined as such the first time he/she appears in this data set.

It is interesting that police in Wagga Wagga patrol appear to have substantially increased the proportion of juveniles cautioned without this having any apparent detrimental effect on the reapprehension rates. This research has indicated no net-widening with the introduction of FGC so the increase in the proportion cautioned can be assumed to have come from that pool of juvenile offenders who would have previously been placed before the courts.

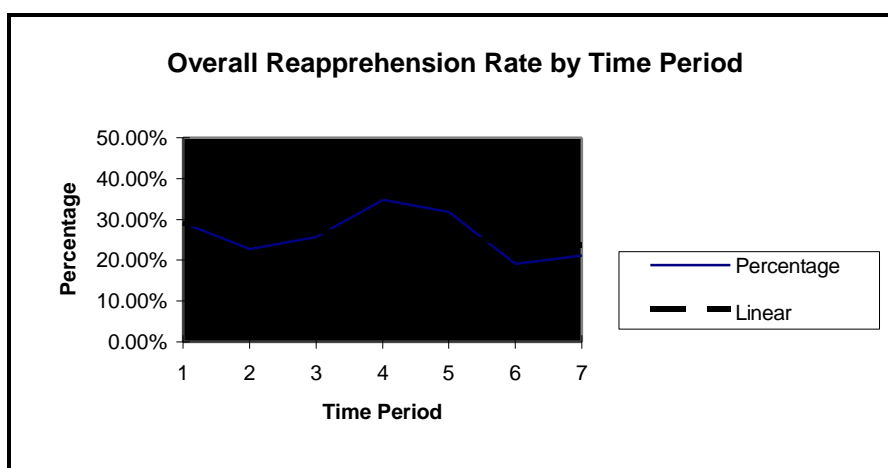
When time taken to be reapprehended was controlled by excluding all juveniles who took longer than nine months to be reapprehended, it is clear that the proportions of juveniles who were reapprehended did not vary according to time period (that is, 'before FGC' vs 'after FGC'). However, the proportions reapprehended after being placed before the court were considerably higher than the proportions reapprehended after being administered a caution. Does this mean that the likelihood of reapprehension is dependent on how a juvenile is proceeded with?

If the Wagga Wagga data is taken to be a sample of juvenile apprehension patterns in large rural towns in N.S.W., a chi-square analysis of independence indicates that reapprehension rates were dependent on how a juvenile was processed (Chi-square=18.0171 {DF=1,n=643} p<.01). Does this mean that if all juveniles were cautioned the overall reapprehension rates would drop to the level of those for the juveniles cautioned in this

study? Obviously, this is too simplistic as there are additional factors influencing recidivism. However, this study does suggest that a certain proportion of juveniles who have been traditionally placed before the courts can be cautioned without any increase in the reapprehension rate for those cautioned.

After the introduction of the FGC program the number of juveniles who were placed before the courts decreased to relatively small numbers. It was suggested that the reason for this was the revised criteria for selection of offenders suitable for cautioning which accompanied the introduction of FGC. With FGC cautioning deemed suitable for a wider variety of offenders than had been the case previously, Wagga Wagga police were very good at discriminating between juveniles who were suitable for a caution and those who were not. This suggests that a larger proportion of juvenile offenders could be administered a caution rather than being placed before the courts without having any detrimental effect on the reapprehension rates. In fact, the effect was that the overall reapprehension rate started to show a slightly decreasing trend (see Figure 9).⁵ As in previous analysis of this type the eighth time period was not included in the graph as those juveniles did not have adequate time to be reapprehended before the end of the study period.

Figure 9



The FGC program resulted in an increased proportion of juveniles apprehended being cautioned. The reapprehension rate for those cautioned remained lower than for those placed before the court, resulting in an apparent decreasing trend in the overall reapprehension rate.

⁵ The percentages on which Figure 9 was based are shown in Table 25 in the 'Total' column.

The Sample - Additional Data

Additional information on offending outside of the Wagga Wagga patrol was collected for a sample of the data set. The main reason for collecting this sample data was to be able to estimate the proportion of juveniles who had been reapprehended outside of the Wagga Wagga patrol, thus enabling a more accurate picture of reapprehension rates.

This information was only collected for a sample of the data set as the collection was very time consuming. The CIR forms from which the main data set was collected described only juvenile apprehensions (and thus reapprehensions) by Wagga Wagga police. The only way to ascertain whether some juveniles were being reapprehended elsewhere in the state was to peruse individual criminal histories on the Police Service CNI Computer System.

Firstly, every fourth case in the data set was identified for inclusion in the sample. Then, each such case was identified on the CNI system. The criminal history of that offender was examined to identify whether he/she had been reapprehended by police other than in Wagga Wagga, subsequent to the apprehension constituting that particular case. This data was recorded, including the total number of apprehensions outside of Wagga Wagga (subsequent to the apprehension constituting that case) and the number of apprehensions as an adult for offenders who had turned 18.

Characteristics of the Sample

There were 236 individual juveniles in the sample and 306 cases. The demographic characteristics of the sample were examined to ascertain their degree of similarity to the main data set. The age, sex, racial appearance, occupation, offence and apprehension number distributions were very similar to the main data set (see Appendix 3 for tables detailing this data).

The reapprehension rates for the sample were a little higher than those for the whole data set (that is, the population) as the sample takes into consideration not only reapprehension within Wagga Wagga patrol, but also reapprehension by police elsewhere in the state (see tables in Appendix 3).

Overall, thirty (12.7%) of the 236 individuals comprising the sample had been reapprehended outside of Wagga Wagga patrol. The table below shows the proportion of the sample who were reapprehended within Wagga Wagga, outside of Wagga Wagga and those reapprehended in both places.

Table 26								
Area Reapprehended* by Manner Proceeded With by Time Period								
Sample - Individuals								
Area Reapprehended	Before FGC				After FGC			
	Caution		Court		Caution		Court	
	Freq	Perc	Freq	Perc	Freq	Perc	Freq	Perc
Reapp in Wagga	14	23.3%	16	25.0%	13	17.1%	5	13.9%
Reapp outside Wagga	2	3.3%	6	9.4%	2	2.6%	6	16.7%
Reapp in & out Wagga	4	6.7%	3	4.7%	3	3.9%	4	11.1%
Total	20	33.3%	25	39.1%	18	23.6%	15	41.7%

*There were no cases in the sample where juveniles had taken longer than 9 months to be reapprehended for the reapprehensions within Wagga Wagga. However, for those cases reapprehended outside of Wagga Wagga only it is not known how long it took to be reapprehended.

To allow a comparison the reapprehension rates for the whole population are as follows:

For those cautioned before FGC 19%

For those placed before the court before FGC 32.5%

For those cautioned after FGC 18.7%

For those placed before the court after FGC 35.2%

The population reapprehension rates are lower than those of the sample understandably as the sample includes reapprehension outside of Wagga Wagga which is not included for most of the population data. However, the above table indicates that in fact the proportion of juveniles being reapprehended solely outside of Wagga Wagga was quite small, particularly for those juveniles cautioned.

Using the sample as an estimate, the table below indicates what the real reapprehension rates for the population may have been. As mentioned previously, for the 236 individuals in the sample the reapprehension rate outside off Wagga Wagga is known. This group represents 34% of the 693 individual juveniles in the entire data set. (The number reapprehended outside of Wagga Wagga as known from the sample was multiplied by 2.9 to estimate the number in the population who would have reoffended outside of Wagga Wagga. $100\% / 34\% = 2.9$.)

The estimated reapprehension rates are shown in Table 27 along with the reapprehension rates without the estimates (from Table 24). For juveniles cautioned it appears that including estimates of their outside Wagga Wagga reapprehension rates makes little difference. Only a very small proportion were reapprehended outside of Wagga and there was little difference between the 'before FGC' group and the 'after FGC' group. For juveniles placed before the courts the estimates were larger and for those placed before the courts in the 'after FGC' group including the estimate increased the total reapprehension rate the most.

In conclusion, if the sample is used to estimate total reapprehension rates for the entire data set, the reapprehension rates for juveniles cautioned remain at around 20% both for those who received a traditional caution and those who received a FGC. The

reapprehension rates for juveniles placed before the courts before FGC was introduced would increase slightly, and for those placed before the courts after FGC was introduced, more so.

Table 27		
Estimate of Total Reapprehension Rates* - Individuals - Reappreh Within 9 Mths Before / After FGC by Manner Proceeded With		
	Before	After
Caution	21.7% (19%)	20.4% (18.7%)
Court	39.2% (32.5%)	47.8% (35.2%)

* Total reapprehension rate refers to reapprehension rates which include an estimate for reapprehension outside of Wagga Wagga patrol. The figures in brackets are the comparable reapprehension rates without the estimates for reapprehension outside of Wagga Wagga.

Reapprehension as Adults

Of the 236 individuals comprising the sample 129 (54.7%) had turned eighteen (adult) by the time the sample data was collected (February 1994). Of those 129 offenders, 93 (72.1%) had not been arrested by police as adults. Of the thirty-six (27.9%) who had been arrested as adults, twenty had been arrested only once, six had been arrested twice, four had been arrested three times and the remaining six had been arrested four or more times. The amount of time the juveniles in the data set had had as adults varied greatly of course depending on where they were in the study period chronologically and how old they were at this point in time.

CONCLUSION

The introduction of the FGC program in Wagga Wagga was not associated with any net-widening effect, on the contrary, after its introduction there was a small decrease in the average number of juvenile cases dealt with monthly by Wagga Wagga police.

The majority of juveniles apprehended by Wagga Wagga police during this study were apprehended in respect of one offence, most likely a theft offence and were apprehended only once. Most who were reapprehended were reapprehended within nine months of the initial incident.

The introduction of the FGC program involved not only a new cautioning process but changes in the criteria used to assess which juveniles were eligible for a caution. The result was that a higher proportion of juveniles dealt with by Wagga Wagga police were

cautioned. The biggest changes in practice involved those juveniles who were apprehended for the second or subsequent time; the introduction of FGC saw a much higher proportion of these juveniles being cautioned.

Even though juveniles who would have previously been placed before the courts were cautioned under the FGC program, the reapprehension rates for juveniles cautioned remained stable. The reapprehension rates for those cautioned during the FGC program remained the same as they had been previously when a smaller proportion of the juveniles apprehended were cautioned. Additionally, the reapprehension rates for juveniles placed before the court were higher than for those cautioned, both before the introduction of the FGC program and after.

Most criminologists would suspect that the higher reapprehension rates for those placed before the courts (both before the FGC program and after) was a social selection effect. That is, police select the tougher cases for placing before the court and that is why they have higher reapprehension rates than those selected for cautioning. Yet if that is true, the reapprehension rate for cautions should increase after the introduction of the FGC program. It should increase because after FGC was introduced, many tougher types of cases which formerly would have been placed before the court, were now being dealt with by way of FGC caution.

So at least one of the following propositions is true:

1. Reapprehension for like cases is lower for cautions than for court appearances.
2. Reapprehension for like cases is lower for FGC cautions than 'traditional' style cautions.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to discern from the data which of these propositions is true, although it is unlikely that both are false. This research design was limited in its capability to measure any difference in reapprehension rates between traditional cautions and FGC as the two groups cautioned were drawn from different time periods and more importantly under different police practices. The ideal evaluation would, however, eliminate these extraneous variables by incorporating a random allocation design where juveniles deemed suitable for a FGC would be randomly allocated to participate in a FGC or receive a 'traditional' caution.

However, it may not be of utmost importance to dwell on the issue of whether FGC result in a lowering of reapprehension rates in comparison to 'traditional' cautions and court appearances (assuming, of course, that they do not increase reapprehension rates). Perhaps the main focus should be on whether FGC provide a way of dealing with juvenile offending behaviour which is more acceptable to the community than the present methods used by police, that is, placing juveniles before the court or administering a 'traditional' caution.

Similarly, it should be kept in mind that even though this report has focused on reapprehension rates, this should not be the only criteria by which FGC are evaluated. There are other aspects of the process which should be evaluated, such as, the opportunity for increased victim participation, expanded provisions for restitution, the possibility of cost benefits, opportunity for the offender's family and community to be involved and the potential to divert juveniles from the formal criminal justice system. Some of these aspects are being addressed in the other parts of this evaluation project. However, further analysis of reapprehension rates using different research methodology than was possible here would certainly be warranted, as it may be able to separate some of the extraneous factors which this evaluation can only hypothesise about.

