RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, PUBLIC HOUSING, AND LIQUOR STORES: THEIR PREDICTION OF JUVENILE SYSTEM BEHAVIOR

by

LANINA N. COOKE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2013

© 2013

LaNina N. Cooke

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in satisfaction of the
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Hung-En Sung

Date

Chair of Examining Committee

Dr. Jeff Mellow

Date

Executive Officer

Dr. Joshua Freilich

Dr. Jon Shane
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSIY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, PUBLIC HOUSING, AND LIQUOR STORES: THEIR PREDICTION OF JUVENILE SYSTEM BEHAVIOR

by

LANINA N. COOKE

Advisor: Dr. Hung-En Sung

The following dissertation examines the role of ecological structures in juvenile justice systems, specifically during risk assessment, prosecution, and sanctioning. This analysis of system behavior considers religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores as the ecological indicators and views them as stigmatizing. Quantitatively, the following examination sought to (a) determine associations between social ecology and risk assessments, prosecutions, and residential sanctioning, and to (b) determine if juvenile probation officers and judges are more stringent and judgmental toward delinquents from neighborhoods that have greater concentrations of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. All adjudicated juvenile delinquents whose cases have been decided by the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice in calendar years 2006, 2007 and 2008 were included in the analysis. Secondary data from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice, the Division of Alcoholic Beverages and Tobacco Bureau of Licenses, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, American Church List and the United States Census were used to address the research questions.

The databases were used to support the researcher's overall tenet that certain areas are perceived as disorganized, which leads to stricter expressions of risk assessment, prosecutions, and residential sanctions. It is hypothesized that, (1) risk assessment levels are higher in areas with more religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores; (2) zip codes with more prosecutions will consequently be those with more of the stigmatized ecological structures; and (3) an increase in religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores will generate an increase in residential sanctions.

It was expected that the relationship between the independent and dependent variables would be significant, over and beyond demographic and legal factors. In the analysis, area demographics of population density; and juvenile demographics of age, race, ethnicity, and gender, along with current and prior legal history, were controlled for to determine the predictive value of the independent variables of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores on the dependent variables of risk assessment, prosecutions, and residential sanctions. Prior to statistical analysis, the data was merged and aggregated by zip code to reflect area composition, resulting in a dataset of 298 zip codes and 21 variables. To examine these relationships, analyses were done on a bi-variate and multi-variate level. Multi-variate analysis was performed using hierarchal regression. Three models were designed, considering demographics, and then adding legal variables, followed by ecological structures, to make the complete model.

Acknowledgments

The process of completing this has been long and, at times, trying. Finally it's over and I am more than thankful for those who went on this journey with me and the things that they taught me along the way. And here it is:

My Committee

Dr. Hung-En Sung: Thank you for teaching me the process of research. More than that, thank you for being confident in my ability to figure things out, while making sure that I was focused.

Dr. Joshua Freilich: Thank you for teaching me the wonderful world of theory. Through you, I learned that theory is relevant and cool.

Dr. Jon Shane: Thank you for your interest in my work and your questions that made me think a little harder.

My Family:

My Grandmother: Thank you for your love and wisdom (and apple pie). Thank you for teaching me the meaning of family.

My Grandfather: Thank you for your strength and showing me the meaning family.

My Aunt Shea: Thank you for being a big sister to me and for always being there for all the important times in my life.

My Dad: Thank you for fighting for me. Through school and throughout life, you have always made a way for me to get through. I love you.

My Mom: Thank you for reading to me. Thank you for making me understand the importance of education and pushing me to do better. You always believed in me even when I didn't. You have been my biggest cheerleader and supporter and I love you.

My Best Friend and Husband, Jason: I remember when I failed my comp and you said to me "My baby's no quitter". You were, and still am, my kick in the butt when I need it. Your love, support, and confidence pushed me through. I love you more than you will ever know.

My Dallis: You have been my motivation to be a better person, a better mom. You are such a smart, strong, loving little girl. And while you probably don't have a clue as to what a dissertation is, this one's for you.

I have always wanted to make my family proud. I hope this is it!

Table of Contents

Copyright Page……………………………………………………………………..…...ii

Approval Page ………………………………………………………………..…..iii

Abstract………………………………………………………...……….…...iv

Acknowledgements……………………………………………………………….…vi

Table of Contents……………………………………………………………..viii

List of Maps………………………………………………………………......x

List of Tables…………………………………………………………………………xi

Chapter 1 – Introduction ….……………………………………………….……..1

1.1 Problem Statement ……………………………………………...….1

1.2 Specific Aims ……………………...………………………….…....6

1.3 Research Questions ………………………………………..………7

1.4 Definitions and Descriptions of Key Terms …………..……………....8

1.5 Hypotheses.………………………………………………....…13

Chapter 2 – Background and Literature Review…………………………….…24

2.1 Theoretical Foundation...…………………………………..…..24

2.2 Ecological Structure …………………………………………………32

2.2.1 Religious Establishments ……….………………….………35

2.2.2 Public Housing ……………………………………..…43

2.2.3 Liquor Stores …………..…...……..……………..………..49

2.3 Justice Systems ………………...…………………………..………51

2.4 Culture and Organizational Decision Making …..…….……………..…56

2.5 The Florida Department of Juvenile Justice …………..…….……….…67

2.6 Previous Research ……………………………………..…….69

Chapter 3 - Data and Methods …….……....………………………………….…79

3.1 Research Design ……………...……………………..………………79
3.1.1 Variables ………………………………………………………79

3.2 Sample and Data Collection ……..…………………………………..83
3.2.1 Sample ……………...………..…………………………...….…83
3.2.2 Data Collection ………...……..……………………………..….…84
3.2.3 Data Sets……………....……….……..…………………………87

3.3 Descriptives …………………………………………….…………93
3.3.1 Non-Aggregated Data ………………………………………93
3.3.2 Aggregated Data ……………………………………………..94

3.4. Statistical Methods ……..…...………...………………..…………...…96

Chapter 4 – Results and Discussion ………………..…………………………....101

4.1 Results ………………………………………………………..………..101
4.1.1 Bi-variate Analysis ……………………………...…………101
4.1.2 Hierarchal Regression …………………………………………104

4.2 Discussion …………………………………………………………..….107
4.2.1 Risk Level ……………………………………………………107
4.2.2 Prosecution …………………………………………………..109
4.2.3 Residential Sanction ………………...…………………………110
4.2.4 Overall Discussion ……………………………………….….111

Chapter 5 – Conclusion ……………………………………………………....119

5.1 Theoretical Consequences …………………………………………...119

5.2 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research ……………...……124

5.3 Policy Implications ………………………………………………...…128

5.4 Conclusion ……………………………………………………………135

References……………………………………..……………………………150

Map – Appendix I

Map 1: *Map of Florida Counties…………………………………………………………..……148*

List of Tables - Appendix II

Table 1: *County population, demographic and juvenile justice data.………….............149*

Table 2: *County population, demographic and juvenile justice data………..………150*

Table 3: *Descriptive statistics for independent, dependent, and control variables…….152*

Table 4: *Correlation matrix for ecological, legal, and demographic indicators……….153*

Table 5: *Hierarchal regression model for the dependent variable of risk……………...155*

Table 6: *Hierarchal regression model for the dependent variable of prosecution……..156*

Table 7: *Hierarchal regression model for the dependent variable of residential*

sanction……………………………………………………………………........……..…157

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 – Problem Statement

The following dissertation examines the role of ecological structures in juvenile justice systems. From a sociological standpoint, we know that individuals relate to community structures and that these structures contribute to community sentiment. This research considers these factors in an analysis of system behavior.

The research is theoretically based and is a macrolevel analysis addressing the predictive value of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores on juvenile justice assessments of risk, prosecution decisions, and residential sanctioning. This examination, in comparison to other analyses, is unique in that it is a view of the actions of juvenile justice agents, as opposed to looking at the agents of delinquent activity. Quantitatively, this research offers greater insight into the ecological environment's influence on juvenile justice system behaviors.

There is a plethora of research on juvenile justice and indicators of decision points throughout the system, with much of this research focusing on demographics, rather than structural components (Graham, 2004; Harris, 2007, 2008; Holley, 2006; M. Leiber, Johnson, J., Fox, K. & Lacks, R., 2007; Macdonald, 2003; Meeker, 1992; Rodriguez, 2007; Schulenberg, 2003; Vidal, 2007; Webb, 2006; Wordes, 1994). These structural elements affect both those who live in the communities in which these structures are present and those who work in supervision occupations and judgment, and are important in further understanding the juvenile justice process.

According to Sampson and Laub (1994), "there are only a handful of quantitative studies that focus on structural level variations with the community or juvenile court as a

unit of analysis." The variables used in previous structural ecological research, which range from marriage rates (Bossard, 1938) to recidivism (D. Mears, Wang, X., Hay, C., & Bales, W., 2008), with the usual focus on agents of deviant activity, rather than on those who are in charge of enforcing laws and policies and deciding the prospects of individuals, confirm this notion. When analyzing aggregates, such as juvenile justice processes, previous research has been in relation to specific individualized structures, rather than generalized characteristics, ignoring the impact of social area on juvenile justice agents.

Socioeconomic status is almost always used in the scrutiny of communities, especially in research considering juvenile crime. In this instance, researchers typically view status in reference to theories that ask why juveniles offend and why particular areas are crime prone, rather than looking at the factors risk assessment, prosecution, or sanction type. In the case of this research, I will answer the latter question, with the assumption that environmental structures, as opposed to socioeconomic status, will assist in this inquiry.

The juvenile justice system is very dynamic, with variance across states and each state system operating as a separate entity. These differences dissolve when basic ideologies are taken into account. For example, this system, contrary to that for adults, is based on principles of rehabilitation and decriminalization (Butts, 2001; Frazier, 1999; Kapchik, 2003; Platt, 1977; VanVleet, 1999). Due to the assumed lack of maturity and ability to appreciate the true consequences of their actions, juveniles are thought to be able to be reformed. Although rehabilitation remains a key construct in the juvenile justice system, this rehabilitative leaning has given way to the societal consensus that

stresses the importance of public safety. Public safety, which is often thought to be achieved through incapacitation and deterrence, is usually understood as a function of the adult system, with adults seen as the main threats. As a means of promoting public safety, the methods of punishment have been shifted to apply to the juvenile system.

As a means of making the juvenile system bear resemblance to that of the adult system, policy shifts began in 1984 and continued through 1994, with legislation changes occurring in 90% of the states. These modifications were achieved through the promotion of harsher sanctions, the decreasing of age limits for adult sanctions, the increase of juvenile transfers to the adult system, and the use of mandatory minimums and sentencing guidelines (Butts, 2001; Fass, 2002; Feld, 2003; Frazier, 1999; D. Mears, 2001; D. Mears, Hay, C., Gertz, M., & Mancini, C., 2007; Rios, 2008; Steiner, 2006; Trépanier, 1999; VanVleet, 1999). In addition to the focus on safety, much of this shift is political, with lawmakers appealing to the masses' fear of crime, demands of punishment for the delinquent and lawbreaking, and assumption that rehabilitation does not prevent crime (Trépanier, 1999). It has been posited that get-tough policies have been actively extended to the juvenile system by means of the wide degree of discretion that has been given to court officials. Because of the wider allowance for judgment and shifts in policy, it is further apparent that the importance of rehabilitation has been demoted (Harris, 2007; Meeker, 1992).

While the overall delinquency rate has fallen since 1999, the rate is still up 37% in comparison with 1991. Specifically, Florida, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and California ranked highest in juvenile violent crime arrests in 2003, and in that same year, for every 100,000 juveniles, 307 were in custody, with states such as Florida,

California, and Indiana well above the national average. In 2002, 1.6 million delinquency cases were handled, compared to 1.1 million in 1985. Total residential placements of juvenile offenders increased between 1991 and 1999 by 41%, and while there was a 10% decline between 1999 and 2003, placements overall were still up 31% as of 2003 (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2006).

The juvenile system was intended to sanction youth with individualized justice (Feld, 1999), but previous research has suggested that demographic, mental health, and other group characteristics play a role in the allocation of justice during arrest, disposition, and other decision points (Graham, 2004; Harris, 2007; Holley, 2006; M. Leiber, Johnson, J., Fox, K. & Lacks, R., 2007; Macdonald, 2003; Meeker, 1992; Rodriguez, 2007; Schulenberg, 2003; Vidal, 2007; Webb, 2006; Wordes, 1994). This disproportion is in contrast to the juvenile justice system's original focus. Considering the upward flow of juveniles entering the system and the focus on public safety, fairness in all phases of the juvenile justice process is paramount. It must be ensured that assessments are based on actual likelihood of future risk, and prosecutions and sanctioning decisions are functions of a rehabilitative purpose, at least primarily. Both of these must be in line with fostering positive reengagement and rehabilitation.

Most juvenile justice agencies are aware of the systematic flaws within the justice system. In fact, previous research concerning demographic indicators, particularly race, has led to changes in its practices. In 1994, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention mandated that grant-funded programs were to investigate the existence of disproportionate minority confinement, and if it were present, these programs were to decrease it. This was updated in 2002 to include the development of

plans to intervene, evaluate, and monitor the rates of confinement in agencies with disparities. Still, more needs to be done to both acknowledge and address issues of biased disproportion within the juvenile justice system, not only from a demographic perspective, but also on an ecological level. Previous research defends the need for this area of research, stating that the absence of analysis of ecological factors leads to miscalculations in crime trends, patterns, and judgments. "To understand crime and violence in this country at all, you have to disaggregate it" (Sherman, 2006).

With the goal of protection in mind, the juvenile justice system works efficiently and effectively when the goals of decreased risk and increased safety are met. If officials make charge, detain, and assign risk assessments haphazardly and based on non-individualized perception, these goals cannot be achieved. This research analyzes community characteristics that may, perhaps, be a barrier in the fairness of risk assessments, prosecutions and residential sanctions. It will be an important contribution to the juvenile justice system, with juvenile justice agencies hopefully beginning to take action in the reevaluation of their current practices. In addition, the analysis of system behavior ecologically will optimistically act to prompt research from the structural level, in both the juvenile and adult systems.

The writer will explain the relationship between ecological structure and juvenile justice functions by first outlining the specific aims and definitions of terms in order to set the framework for the remainder of the dissertation. With this groundwork laid, theoretical tenets and constructs will set the stage for the ecological structures considered, along with an explanation of the juvenile justice system and its intricacies. After this, the dissertation will discuss the methodology that was used to test and examine the

relationship between the variables. The dissertation will display the details specific to the dataset, followed by the results of the analysis and its discussion. Finally, the writer will suggest the limitations of the research, along with recommendations for future examinations in the juvenile and system.

1.2 – Specific Aims

The literature on the juvenile justice system is wide-reaching, covering the incidence of juvenile delinquency, reasons for delinquency, and the way the juvenile justice system functions. Much of this analysis involves demographics and legal factors, concentrating on factors such as age, gender, race, and criminal history (Graham, 2004; Harris, 2008; Holley, 2006; M. Leiber, Johnson, J., Fox, K. & Lacks, R., 2007; Macdonald, 2003; Meeker, 1992; Rodriguez, 2007; Schulenberg, 2003; Vidal, 2007; Webb, 2006; Wordes, 1994). Theoretically, in the examinations, the analyses are often microlevel, with a focus on control, conflict, and social bond. Ecological theories, on the other hand, are widely used in fields such as urban planning and landscape analysis. There is, as a consequence, a dearth of research that focuses on criminal justice systems and ecological constructs in concert. Few studies take a macrolevel approach to the analysis of juvenile justice systems as a whole. Community variables in association with justice system culture research are rarely considered (Worden, 2007), and when they have, it has typically been analyzed by looking at rural, mostly black, and mid-sized communities (Worden, 2007; Hagen, 1977; Austin, 1981; Eisenstein, 1982; Myers & Talarico, 1996; Eisenstein, Flemmin & Nardulli, 1998).

The focus of this research is on juvenile decision-making and its dependence on the ecological structures present in the communities in which the youth reside, with the

assumption that there is a correlation between supervision and judicial entity's' collective perception of these areas and decision-making. The purpose is to begin the conversation about the effect of community structures not on juvenile crime rates, but on judgments made within the juvenile justice system. The study also intends to deemphasize demographics independent of the youth's physical environment and to analyze urban counties that are mixed demographically.

While this study will contribute greatly to the body of juvenile justice research, important stages in juvenile proceedings, such as disposition, will not be considered. It will also not include factors such as actual views of individual juvenile officials and rates of offending based on environmental factors. Quantitatively, risk determinations, prosecutions, and residential sanctioning will be assessed based on environmental structural components.

1.3 – Research Questions

The research literature observed that police, juvenile probation judicial officials' and judge's decisions vary by sociodemographic structures, including race, gender, and class (A. B. Brown, Novak, K. J., & Frank, J., 2009; Brunson, 2009; Carrington, 2008; Graham, 2004; M. Leiber, & Johnson, J., 2008; Lopez, 2008; Onifade, 2009; Vidal, 2007; Ward, 2010; Weitzer, 2008). Rather than this focus on these aspects, the following examination seeks to (a) determine associations between social ecology and juvenile delinquency risk assessments, prosecutions and residential sanctions; and to (b) scrutinize if these judgments increase with a greater concentration of specified ecological structures in the area in which the juvenile resides. Ecological structures, in this case, refer to religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores, and are characterized in this

research as having negative connotations. Quantitatively, the dissertation analyzes the effect of the juvenile's ecological environment on the decisions made by juvenile justice officials and is based on theoretical tenets and past research.

1.4 – Definitions and Descriptions of Key Terms

Adjudicated refers to the result of the court finding a juvenile responsible for committing an act of delinquency.

Adjudicatory hearing refers to the process through which the liability of the juvenile is determined. He/she can either be committed to a residential facility or released to the supervision of the community.

Areas comprise ecological structures. They "generally contain persons having the same level of living, the same way of life," with individuals in differing social areas having characteristically different attitudes and behaviors (Shevsky, 1955). For purposes of this research, areas will be differentiated using zip codes. This term will be used interchangeably with "community."

Community refers to a venue for organizing. These venues in this dissertation encompass residence and workplace. In the case of residence, it refers to areas that are made up of multiple neighborhoods, containing ecological structures with zip codes used to measure the expression. Segments within a zip code are often perceived similarly, regardless of the area's individual structural composition. The term is typically used in reference to fringed groups, such as women, individuals in the inner city, and those who are impoverished. Culture and ways of being are not necessarily uniform (Park, 1926; Palm, 1973; Sampson, Park & Burgess, 2002). In the discussion of the workplace, the community is goal-oriented, consisting of individuals working within a specific

occupation, in this case as juvenile probation officers and judges. These individuals follow specified policies and associate with each other rather consistently. This community serves as a means of fostering culture, with the groups having collective beliefs, roles, and expectations (Hill Collins, 2010).

Culture comprises the ways that ideas shape views and behavior (Weber, 1946). It is the way in which the collective consciousness and established group dynamics mediate between symbols, meanings, and experiences (Durkheim, 1933; Swidler, 1986). In the case of this research, culture is used in discussing processes in the workplace and how these processes play out when assessing or adjudicating juveniles from alternative cultures. The workplace culture dictates perception and judgment.

Detention is the temporary holding of a juvenile, which is determined by the court and impacted by juvenile probation officer reports. Holdings may be either secure, non-secure, or at home.

Disorganized refers not to the absence of order, but the absence of communal adherence to middle-class norms. It is captured in this research by the over-presence of, religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. Disorganized areas are those with higher levels of reported crime and theoretically less informal social sanction. It is assumed that outsiders of these communities view the area residents as more accepting of crime, making it socially justified, and normalized.

Ecological structures are physical units that exist within communities. In this case, they refer to religious establishments, public housing developments, and liquor stores. These structures' presence or absence represents the community's level of

fragmentation or "organization." In this research, these structures are characterized as stigmatized.

Establishment refers to "a single physical location at which business is conducted or services or industrial operations are performed. It is not necessarily identical with a company or enterprise, which may consist of one or more establishments. When two or more activities are carried on at a single location under a single ownership, all activities generally are grouped together as a single establishment. The entire establishment is classified on the basis of its major activity" (United States Census County Business Patterns). This term is used when discussing areas of religious worship and liquor stores.

Felony refers to a crime that would be punishable by more than a year in the adult justice system. These transgressions are more serious, including murder, rape, and armed offenses.

Geographic location refers to current residence. This is used because while the literature says that there is a higher rate of mobility among those in impoverished neighborhoods (C. Fischer, 2002), it is understood that those who move typically relocate into neighborhoods similar to their original places of residence (Mitra, 2008).

Intake occurs after a juvenile is arrested or referred into the juvenile justice system. He/she is screened and assessed for general information, risk, and prior history.

Juveniles are those under the age of 18 who have gone through the intake process into the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice and who have been adjudicated and sanctioned as a juvenile (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention–OJJDP, 1996).

Juvenile probation officers are responsible for assessment, supervision, and the recommendation of sanctions (Clear, 1992). They monitor juveniles who have been referred to the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. Their oversight includes ensuring compliance and referring juveniles to appropriate community and faith-based organizations. In addition, they are responsible for completing the PACT, a risk assessment tool.

Liquor stores refer to off-premise establishments, including, but not limited to, drug stores, gas stations, and grocery stores that sell beer, wine, or liquor. These establishments provide alcohol for off-premise consumption. On-premise liquor stores, which include restaurants and bars, and wholesale establishments that distribute alcohol to retail sales entities are excluded.

Misdemeanor refers to an offense that would be punishable by less than a year in the adult system. In the juvenile system, these are low level offenses.

Neighborhood refers to "a subsection of a larger community–a collection of both people and institutions occupying a spatially defined area influenced by ecological, cultural and sometimes political forces" (Park, 1916).

Positive Achievement Change Tool (PACT) is an assessment instrument based on sociological, personal, and historical factors that is used by juvenile probation officers to determine risk and needs.

Police officers, synonymous with law enforcement, are responsible for arresting or detaining individuals, specifically juveniles in this case. Along with traditional, county-level law enforcement, youth custody officers are part of the Law Enforcement Unit and responsible for taking juveniles into custody for misdemeanors, felonies, and

other infractions. In both officer positions, he/she has the discretion to either release the individual or refer the youth to the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice.

Probation is a sanction in which an adjudicated juvenile is placed under community supervision and supervised by a Juvenile Probation Officer.

Probation violations occur when a probated juvenile commits another offense or violates court-ordered mandates.

Prosecution refers to the decision made by the judge to charge or adjudicate a juvenile with an office or to dismiss the case. This occurs after the assessment of risk and fact finding portions of the process.

Public housing is government-owned apartments that typically house individuals who make minimal wages, either through government assistance or personal earnings. Excluded are subsidized apartments, which offer reduced rent in non-government-owned residences.

Referrals, or arrests, are the equivalent of an arrest in the adult justice system. This term has been used to soften the language when dealing with juveniles (D. Mears, Hay, C., Gertz, M., & Mancini, C., 2007; Moak, 2003). It does not equate to the process in which individuals are diverted away to programs such as alternatives to incarceration (ATIs). In the present instance, it has a negative connotation, with a crime having to have been committed in order for a referral to occur.

Religious establishments refer to any religious facility, regardless of denomination. It includes places of worship such as churches, monasteries, convents, shrines, synagogues, and mosques. Excluded are Bible societies, publishing houses, educational institutions, and religious radio.

Risk assessments are used in the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice in order to determine risk of recidivism. The department uses the Positive Achievement Change Tool (PACT). Levels of risk are low, moderate, moderate-high, and high.

Residential Sanctions, used synonymously with commitment, are penalties enacted by the judicial entity of the juvenile court in the disposition hearing in which a juvenile is sanctioned to placement into a minimum risk non-residential or minimum, moderate, high, or maximum risk residential facility. These types differ in their restrictiveness level and length of programming.

Sanctions refer to the punishment handed out by juvenile justice judging officials.

Zip code is an acronym for "zone improvement plan." Zip codes are networks of streets served by mail carriers and are a tool of mail delivery. They are not required to be polygons. They can cross state, county, census tract, block group, and census block boundaries. The first three digits represent a sectional center or large city. In this dissertation, they are used to indicate community.

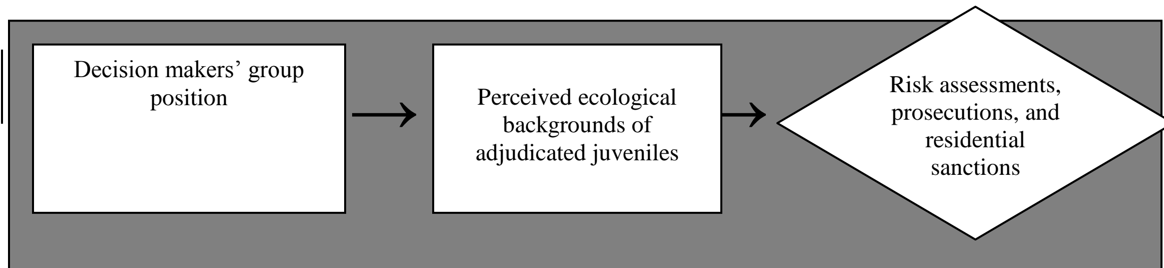
1.5 – Hypotheses

Juvenile probation officers and juvenile court judges both use a level of discretion in determining whether or not to assess unfavorably, charge, or sanction to commitment. This discretion, especially since the juvenile system is based on individualized justice, has led to the evidence of bias and disparities when considering demographic and socioeconomic variables (Bishop, 1996; Brunson, 2009; Engen, 2002; Graham, 2004; Harris, 2007; Holley, 2006; M. Leiber, & Johnson, J., 2008; Meeker, 1992; Smith, 2009; Wordes, 1994; Wu Y., 2009). This dissertation presumes discrepancy and disproportion (Fass, 2002; Feld, 2003; D. Mears, Hay, C., Gertz, M., & Mancini, C., 2007; Rios, 2008;

VanVleet, 1999) to be due to the assumption on the part of juvenile justice officials and the community alike that juveniles from particular communities differ in their level of risk and culpability. Historically, studies have shown that disparities are based on race, ethnicity, and class. This research postulates another view. It assumes that it is the perception of the juvenile's residing geographic location that leads to the discrepancy. Perception is not directly measured, but optimistically thought to be implied in the findings. While demographics may still play a role in probation officer recommendation, prosecution status, and commitment sanctioning, environmental factors are thought to play a more prominent one. These environmental factors are assumed as an offshoot from ongoing demographic and socioeconomic bias. Justice officers are seen as vessels of "saving" these youth from the disorganized nature of their environment and "saving" the community from these juveniles who are assumed by them as likely to recidivate.

In this dissertation, community differences are marked by the presence of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. It presumes that these stigmatizing social indicators play a role in the perception that justice system agents have of juvenile offenders, and increases cultural alterity or difference. These dynamics also affect the decisions made by those who carry out the law in these environments, with the assumption that officers use their discretion in disfavor of juveniles from the fragmented areas. As a result, it is assumed that juveniles from communities present with these structures are more likely to be assessed as riskier, prosecuted, and committed. The disproportion lies in the estimation of status and capital, which is expressed by ecological structures. Levels and types of status and capital are supposed to be functions of social disorganization and the uniformity of decision-maker's perceptions, which results from

workplace culture. This is a contest between legal factors and ecological structures, with the presumption that stigmatized ecological factors will individually and collectively be a major determinant of risk assigned, prosecution status, and residential sanction, over and beyond legal variables.



H1 – Cities, and the communities that they comprise, have unique components, many of which are dictated by socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status, which includes elements of economic, social, and cultural capital, determines the presence of ecological structures, including, but not limited to, YMCA centers, restaurants, boutiques, and museums. Also included in this idea of structure are public housing, religious establishments, and liquor stores. These edifices, which are the subject of this dissertation, are both directly and indirectly connected to resources. The lack or excess of resources often lends to their presence or absence.

Public housing is government-owned residences, which more often house individuals who are less affluent than the majority of the population. They are usually staples in urban, poor areas, as opposed to middle- or upper-class neighborhoods, urban or nonurban. As a result of economic status, and the enforcing of social stigmas, public housing has negative symbols connected to it, such as crime, overcrowdedness, unemployment, distressed family composition, and low marriage rates (Crews, 2007;

Jencks, 1992; Rosenbaum, 1994; Santiago, 2003), despite some literature that presents alternative pictures and factors leading to these concerns (Crump, 2003; Santiago, 2003; Fischer, 2002; Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002; Dear 1991; Elliot, 1996; Holzman, 1996).

The literature has widely cited liquor stores for their connections to socioeconomic status and area. When these areas are concentrated and paired with inadequate and fragmented structural conditions, the link to poverty and delinquency presents (Escobedo, 2002; Jones-Webb, 2008; LaVeist, 2000; Sonenshein, 1996). This dilution is often in low-income, minority communities. In addition, studies link class with alcohol consumption, abuse, and use acceptance (M. L. Alaniz, 1998; M. L. Alaniz, & Wilkes, C., 1998; Hill, 2005; LaVeist, 2000). The reasons for the over-presence of stores includes price and profit margins (Mosher, 1997; French, Brown-Taylor, and Bluthenthal, 2005). Regardless of cause, the overabundance of these establishments and the stigma that it presents remains negative.

Religious establishments often act as a connection to community members and areas outside of their immediate districts. Often providing capital, religious establishments in a given area are often a function of area type. Because of demographic composition, urban areas, especially those comprising people of color and of low socioeconomic status, have a higher concentration of these establishments (Iannaccone, 2004; Wirth, 1938; R. Wortham, & Wortham, C., 2007). The function of the church, especially in the Black community, has been that of creating solutions and assisting in the alleviation of social pressures, including those of present concern such as economics and social stigma (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1988; Benford, 1993; Swilder, 1986; Carter, 1976;

Cone, 1995). The inner pockets of urban areas have a higher need for assistance and have varying social issues compared to their more economically set counterparts, leading to a more likely presence of religious establishments, specifically storefront churches. Their presence is also apparent in the South, which has historically been more religious, and although the traditional aspects may have changed overall, the South has kept much of its tradition. In addition, the linkages and participation in the church are seen as normative and cultural in these areas (Hill, 2005; LaVeist, 2000; Sonenshein, 1996).

The presence of public housing and liquor stores, specifically in areas of low socioeconomic status, have been explained in the literature as connected to negative perception. Religious establishments, on the other hand, are generally promoted as having the pro-social benefits of bridging and bonding. This utility is not denied in the research. It is, however, posed that the excess of religious establishments in an area are perceptually associated with negative attrinutes, based on the research that supports an increase of religious establishments in areas of low socioeconomic status and solution-seeking nature of these institutions. These structures are segmented in this research as stigmatizing.

Ecology is based on the idea that the structural elements within an area are connected to the behavior of its residents and those who observe it (Bronfenbenner, 1978; Bronfenbenner, 1998). In urban areas, the relationship between ecology and perception is prominent, especially when considering elements of population and space (Park & Burgess, 1925; Wirth, 1938). The population and spatial elements characteristic of urban living are linked to a host of indices, both apparent and perceived, depending on the socioeconomic makeup of the area. These factors include, but are not limited to, crime,

deviance, and family fragmentation. The areas that are tagged with these traits are usually minority areas, often isolated from the middle class and concentrated in terms of poverty. When viewing these areas, they are seen as alternative culturally. These perceived differences are often reinforced in the media (Elliot, 1996).

Communities are often products of their structural environment, frequently leading to misinformed, generalized perception. Variance in perception is evident in society overall, including in juvenile justice professions, with their actions within the workplace shaped to an extent by policy, group ideals, and social environment. The assumptions of characteristics based on area and structure are held by juvenile justice officials, whose workplace cultures are different from those thought to be present in areas of lower socioeconomic status. This dissertation poses that the stigmatized ecological factors of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores, and will be significant predictors of risk assessment, prosecutions, and sanction decision points within the juvenile justice system, over and beyond the effect of legal and demographic factors.

H2 – Agents of the juvenile justice system often share similar themes, especially in terms of mission. This mission has traditionally been of rehabilitation, although the shift has been toward public safety (Butts, 2001; Frazier, 1999; Moak, 2003; Pisciotta, 1983; VanVleet, 1999). Law enforcement officers are often the first to use their discretion once an offense is committed, making the decision to arrest, ignore, or sanction alternatively. With the authority to dismiss a juvenile with a warrant for petty offenses, the decision to lean toward public safety or rehabilitative foci is an important stage (Brown, Novak & Frank, 2009; Carrington & Schulenberg, 2008).

Officer's prudence in favor of arrest leads to the juvenile's contact with a juvenile probation officer, who acts as assessors, supervisors, treatment agents, and sanction recommenders (Baglivio, 2006; Lopez, 2008; Ward, 2010). In the analysis of juvenile probation officer behavior and the roots of their perspectives, two models have been used: the importation and the work/role model. The importation model is based on the idea that officers' behavior is a product of their personal experiences, as opposed to the work/role model, which assumes that the uniformity of beliefs is based on the work environment and organizational culture (M. Leiber, & Johnson, J., 2008; Lopez, 2008). The latter perspective has been widely accepted, although the present research cannot confirm either model. The notion of uniform behavior has been confirmed empirically and is assumed by the research.

Much information is disclosed to juvenile probation officers, since they are responsible for assessing risk and supervising those who are adjudicated. Information divulged is from the juvenile's social, family, and personal life. While the assessment tools can be beneficial, bias can still present itself. Race has been the subject of many studies, with previous data indicating that juveniles from poorer areas, especially those of "minority" status, are more likely to be seen as needing to be saved and of more risk of recidivism due to the perceived causes of delinquency which include moral depravity (Bobo, 2006; Higginbotham, 1996; Smith, 2009). Punishments recommended and risk assessments are often harsher for minority juveniles, especially when their economic status is low. Linked to these components are family indicators, including the view that those deemed more culpable had a lack of positive family relations and high levels of dysfunction and fragmentation (Smith, 2009; Bridges, 1998; Lopez, 2008). Their

delinquency is often thought to be deep rooted and caused by internal reasons, as opposed to external, structural factors.

The Florida Department of Juvenile Justice assigns a probation officer to all juveniles who are referred. This officer administers the Positive Achievement Change Tool (PACT), which is an instrument used to determine the risk of future offending. Elements captured include educational, social, family, and criminality factors, among others. The PACT inventory is designed to predict risk in order to determine treatment appropriateness and reduce recidivism.

This dissertation presumes that stigmatizing ecological structures will be positively correlated with risk assessments. In other words, the greater the concentration of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores, the more severe risk assumed. Although it has been theorized that the presence of religious establishments ties into increased social bonds, with belief increasing conformity and community networks, and hence decreasing the likelihood of crime (T. Hirschi, 1969), the research assumes the opposite. It assumes that the presence of a disproportionate number of religious establishments, as well as the other two ecological structures in consideration, is associated with crime and the assumption of neighborhood disorganization and higher risk. While legal history should be a more prominent indicator of risk level assigned, it is assumed that the ecological structures present in an area will be a prevailing factor in the delegation of risk. More simply, it is posed that stigmatizing ecological structures will be positively predictive of risk assessments among adjudicated juveniles.

H3 –Judges are not exempt from using discretion, hence using preconceived notions, when arbitrating and sanctioning (Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Engen, Steen, &

Bridges, 2005; Feld, 2003; Bishop & Frazier, 1996; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Their discretion is arguably further-reaching than that of the assessing authorities. As the ultimate gatekeepers of the judicial system, these agents are responsible for determining if the evidence warrants penalty and if residential sanction is justified.

The use of discretion is connected to non-legal factors, including race, ethnicity, age and socioeconomic status. Individuals who are Black and Hispanic are more likely to be targeted and arrested than White youth, controlling for social and legal history. This bias is coupled with the assumption of demeanor, attitude, and culture, leading to unfair referrals. The age of the juvenile also plays a role, with juveniles overall seen as more threatening than adults and older juveniles seen as needing more sanction. Also targeted are those from urban areas, especially in locales where population is heavily dense (Brown, Novak, & Frank, 2009; Carrington & Schulenberg, 2008; Harris, 2007; Woolard, Fondacaro & Slobogin, 2001; Bishop & Frazier, 1996; Tittle & Curran, 1988).

Previous research has suggested that an area's ecological structures represent negative connotations (W. J. Anderson, 1971; Holzman, 1996; LaVeist, 2000; Owens, 2005; Sonenshein, 1996; Vale, 1997). These structures include, but are not limited to, public housing and liquor stores. Religious establishments, while they do not initially conjure up thoughts of fragmentation, are often disproportionately present in disadvantaged areas (Blanchard, 2007; Owens & Smith, 2005; McRoberts, 2003). Perception-wise, there is a tendency to believe that individuals from these areas -incidentally low socioeconomic status areas- are seen as "disorganized" and in need of punishment, rather than rehabilitation, are prone to be more dangerous in the future than

those in privileged areas (Bobo, 2006; Lamont, 2002; J. Morenoff, Sampson, R., & Raudenbush, S., 1999; Vale, 1997).

The present research assumes that rather than demographics and legal factors, stigmatizing ecological structures will be positively predictive of prosecutions. It is not assumed that the social stigma is connected to conscious prejudice or discrimination. The decision making is understood as being an automatic, group behavior. It is assumed that individuals from disorganized areas, as measured in ecological structures, will prosecuted more than juveniles from areas absent these establishments and structures. Specifically, it is hypothesized that these perceptually negative structures will predict prosecutions due to the culture and "group think" of the juvenile justice system.

H4– The justice system is employed as a means of protecting the community from victimization. The method by which individuals are protected from offenders, assumed or proven, has been the subject to the debate as to effectiveness: incapacitation, deterrence, rehabilitation, or retribution. The juvenile system, rooted in rehabilitation, has been using the more punitive sanctions of the adult system. As of late, the adult system has been relying on incapacitation and deterrence as a means of crime prevention, with the assumption that keeping the offender away from the target of crime will reduce crime and dissuades others from wrong doings (Sherman, 2001; Moak, 2003). The juvenile system has taken a turn to an increased emphasis on incapacitation.

Incapacitation has been used either as detainment or as a sanction. In the juvenile justice system, after a juvenile is arrested or referred, he/she faces an adjudicatory judge. After reviewing preliminary reports, the judge determines if a juvenile should be detained, due to assumed risk to others or contempt of court. Juveniles can also be held

while awaiting commitment, although this represents a small percentage of cases. A judge can also determine in a disposition hearing that a juvenile should be committed into a facility. This is used mostly for serious offenses.

Residential sanctions, on the other hand, are handed out as punishment or an offence. There are five types of commitments based on restrictive level: minimum risk non-residential and low, moderate, high, and maximum risk residential. All levels, except for minimum risk-non residential, require the juvenile to be placed outside of the home. Levels differ in their amount and strength of programming, and length of treatment. Minimum risk non-residential placement is equivalent to house arrest and is not the subject of this dissertation. Only residential placement outside of the home is assumed to have a relationship with the ecological variables. It is hypothesized that stigmatizing ecological structures will positively predict residential sanctions, with the increase of these sites influencing the increase of residential sanctions. The use of commitments is viewed as an unconscious method of protecting the public from these perceived threats to society.

Chapter 2 – Background and Literature Review

2.1 – Theoretical Foundation

Ecology, which was coined by Haekel (1866), is a school of thought referring to structure and function in the natural world (Goodland, 1975). It has its roots in functionalist and evolutionary perspectives (Turner, 2005). Functionalism refers to the idea that people, both individually and collectively, are interdependent and provide particular responsibilities to each other, as well as the environment. Evolutionism is based on the progression of society by gradual changes in order to foster adaptation (Hawley, 1992). In both human and social ecology, there is an underlying importance on the competition for living space, especially when populous areas are considered.

The basis of social ecology was initiated in the 1900's, with the work at the Chicago School of Sociology. It is rooted in the notion that the social structure of a given area plays a role in the behavior of social groups in that area, with these units spatially defined as aggregates. It involves the process in which the environment affects development and behavior in spaces ranging from those as small as a household to anything as large as a nation. In order for the interaction and effect to be substantial, it must be temporally and spatially continuous (U. Bronfenbrenner, 1979; U. Bronfenbrenner, & Morris, P. A., 1998).

Factor ecology focuses on the occupancy of this space and how demographics and social characteristics dictate variation in locale. This is particularly important in the scope of social areas within cities, which are differentiated by social rank, urbanization, and segregation (Shevsky, 1955). Socioeconomic, family, and ethnic status fall under the dimensions of social area analysis. New ecology takes the indicators assessed in factor

ecology into consideration, but takes it a bit further. It refers to the environment and its connection to social and economic processes (Scoones, 1999). Its themes include the analysis of population dynamics, ecological processes, and temporal components, as it relates to functioning. In addition, social environment has been said to explain incidences ranging from mental illness to juvenile delinquency (Quinton, 1980; M. Rutter, 1981; M. Rutter, & Madge, N., 1976). Overall, social ecology is a vast field, ranging from the examination of sparse, homogeneous populations such as rural areas, to populations that are dense and heterogeneous, which is characteristic of urban areas.

According to Park and Burgess (1925), these cities operate as ecological communities, which are socially and spatially dense. These areas have characteristic cultural, social, and ethnic components. When one looks at urbanism and the connotations it presents, population and space are key factors. Population and space refer to the level of density and homogeneity relative to a particular plot. The more socially desirable areas are those with the most space and least population. With the gap between the middle and lower class more profound, class is the key element that implies desirability (Wirth, 1938).

Some of the desirability stems from the relationship that social environment has with deviance. According to Simmel (1903), urban areas, while made up of networks of relationships, are marked by corruption, impersonal interaction, overstimulation, anomie, and deviant behavior; although there are differing opinions as to whether the community independently has an effect on crime (Ouimet, 1999). Also included in this is the observation that psychological adaptation of city dwellers is individualized, often marked by neurotic behavior and social fragmentation. This individualization can be connected

to Durkheim's *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* and the differentiation of society. *Gemeinschaft* is the idea that a society with close family ties, reliance on informal social control, and less division of labor is less likely to be deviant. On the other hand, as a society shifts from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft,* crime increases, due to the weakening of family ties, increase of individualized ideals, stratified division of labor, and reliance on formal social control. In theory, as the population density increases, crime and delinquency increase due to the ineffectiveness of informal social control and the development of subcultures that challenge conventional ideals (1912).

"The Durkheimian-Modernization perspective has influenced ecological research by offering explanations of urbanization, industrialization, the division of labor, social disorganization, and anomie" (Neuman, 1988). Durkheim's work is a cornerstone of ecological theory. He suggested that "poorly integrated communities will have higher rates of crime, as urbanization leads to a breakdown of informal and formal control" (Schulenberg, 2003).

According to Durkheim, the division of labor leads to the decrease of fulfilling social bonds and contact, with the increase of specification within a society. Social distance increases with the influx and concentration of people in a given area, especially those areas that are urban. This distance and density of population lead to a decrease in moral interaction and lessening of corresponding norms and beliefs and to the decrease in social bonds. This moral density stems from urbanization, the concentration of individuals, and transportation and communication. Individuals communicate with more individuals, which decreases the quality of their interaction. This increase in communication leads to the need for one to specify and stand out. Anomie, or

normlessness, occurs when the moral constructs within a population are not adequate or defined, due to a lack of or decrease in regulation. This decrease of standardized norms and the increase of close contact often lead to conflict within the area. Positive relationships are few and far between, and morality is harder to define compared to homogenous areas with less labor segmentation (1933; 1912).

An explanation of city life is displayed in urbanization theory, in which it demonstrates its correlation with crime. The connection stems from the idea that urbanization is characterized by population density, heterogeneity, and “urban attitudes and behaviors”, which leads to the greater reliance on formal social control and the reduction in collective practices (Santiago, 2003; Schulenberg, 2003; Wirth, 1938). This reliance, especially if coupled with a concentration of poverty, lends to an increase of crime and the need for methods to increase public safety (Mooney, 1997).

Wirth (1938) indicated that social disorganization and individual alienation stem from a state of urbanization. Social disorganization is the condition where “a community cannot realize its residents’ common values” (R. Sampson, & Groves, W. B., 1989). In addition, there is the reliance on formal social control in the absence of informal control and self-regulation. This heterogeneity limits the community’s ability to realize and appreciate their common good (Bursik & Gramick, 1993). Much of this stems from the lack of cohesiveness and strong social networks. The more socially dense a community, the more difficult it is to come to a common ground on idealized norms. The decrease in moral integration, which is often independent of religiosity, is most often seen in lower class communities (R. Wortham, & Wortham, C., 2007). Social disorganization theorists posit that decreasing communal economic status leads to the decrease of bonds and moral

assimilation. This is connected to an increasing value and need for formal social control and, consequently, an increase in crime and delinquency. This is not to say that there is a sense of normlesness. It is, however, competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation as a response to the social environment.

Although cities are generally heterogeneous racially and ethnically, communities are "clustered in social space and are usually census tracts with similar socioeconomic and racial-ethnic characteristics" (Palm, 1973). "Census tracts are reasonably consistent with the notion of overlapping and nested ecological structures" (R. Sampson, Morenoff, J., & Gannon-Rowley, T., 2002). Definitions of community, however, vary, ranging from the idea that it comprises specific, artificial units, along with social indices (C. Fischer, 2002), to definitions that rely more on social relationships and networks along natural areas (Park, 1925). The common denominator is the social and value component (Gannon, 1978). This social portion filters into the subdivision of a community and includes residents and its environmental and cultural aspects (Park, 1925). Social ecology from a criminological perspective suggests that community and neighborhood demographic characteristics are correlated with crime and arrest rates. This dissertation is focused on system behavior after arrest and adjudication, rather than actual delinquency or crime rates. While demographics may correlate with juvenile decisions and recommendations, it is assumed that when demographics are controlled for, the ecological environment of the juvenile will have an effect on assessments, prosecution decisions, and sanction severity. Ecology, in the case of this research, is focused on the ecological structures of the community, rather than on demographics.

Durkheim (1965) characterized communities as definitive by their physical boundaries. Socioeconomic indicators often mark the physical and nonphysical boundaries of a given area. Socioeconomic status is usually the root variable in the analysis of delinquency and social environment. Besides income, the socioeconomic status of a given area has much to do with population organization, with the concentration of poverty being an important element in the analysis of disenfranchised areas. Also prominent is the relative isolation of its residents from mainstream society, both socially and economically (Fainstein, 2005; Wilson, 1996; Zukin, 2002). Morenhoff and colleagues (1999), however, stress that while there is relative isolation, environments are dependent on other neighboring environments and, hence, not definitively segmented by perimeters. The blurred perimeters are evident in the analysis of neighborhood segregation, also called in some instances anomie. The more disposed an area is from diversity, especially in populous, dense areas, the greater the likelihood of poverty. Also, the distance from majority norms increases.

Overall, this pattern of fragmentation became more evident starting in the 1980’s with the increase in deindustrialization, unemployment, and globalization. These factors led to a host of consequential social and economic problems. This resulted in an increase in crime, out-of-marriage births, welfare dependence, and juvenile scholastic concerns. In addition, this led to concentrated poverty and isolation, especially since the middle and upper classes moved out of the neighborhoods that were deteriorating, due to the economic impact, leaving the community absent a reference group (R. J. Bursik, 1993; R. J. Bursik, & Grasmick, H. G. , 1993; J. Morenoff, & Tienda, M., 1997). This poverty, isolation, and sociological detriment are connected to a host of social network

dysfunctions, including the decrease in community connectivity, norm collectivity, social capital, and increased disorganization, which often results in the lack of informal social control and the consequential need for formal social control. Coincidentally, informal means of making economic and social capital tend to thrive in communities plagued by these elements. It is also evident that juvenile delinquency is correlated, especially when factoring in family disruption and the lack of positive reference groups and role models (Elliot, 1996; Wagmiller, 2008; Wilson, 1987a, 1996).

Researchers have questioned the ties between structural fragmentation and deviance, with varying answers. The consensus is that there is no one source that leads to neighborhood disorganization and juvenile delinquency. From an individual outlook, indicators such as household economic and family measures, including residential mobility, marital status, family composition, and employment rates, are often cited (Shevsky, 1955). From a more environmental and social perspective, neighborhood segregation, population density, low communal capital and social control, residential instability, poverty concentration and isolation, and area fragmentation are typically the units of analysis for social areas (E. Anderson, 1999; Elliot, 1996; C. Fischer, 2002; McKay, 1931; J. Morenoff, Sampson, R., & Raudenbush, S., 1999; R. Sampson, & Groves, W. B., 1989; Taylor, 1996; Wilson, 1987a).

Earlier theoretical frameworks connect urbanness to the lack of norms and communal disorder. In addition, they often posited that the shift to secondary relationships and city structure led to the destruction of relationships and, in poor communities, the disappearance of ties and the absence of structure. This research uses social disorganization, social capital, and bond perspectives in the pronouncement that

social bonds and community ties are not absent in urban, impoverished communities. These populations are not inherently disorganized or deviant. In some instances, there are strong subcultural ties, but they are often ineffective at maintaining self-regulation (Elliot, 1996; J. Morenoff, Sampson, R., & Raudenbush, S., 1999). Connectedness has been described by some as varying between areas based on temporal, structural, and ecological factors (Park & Burgess, 1925; Thomas, 1967; Berry & Kasarda, 1978; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). Whether these decreasing networks stem from residential mobility or lack of bonding, there is a major consequence for the social capital of the community (Shaw & McKay 1942).

Early descriptions of cities linked modernization and industrialization with the destruction of communication and increase of disorganization (Simmel, 1957; Wirth, 1938). Current perspectives focus on the process of city life, indicating that community solidarity, norms, and values are not impossible or necessarily absent. It has been found that in some areas, increased income may correlate with lower solidarity and in low-income areas, high solidarity.

According to Lamont & Molnar (2002), there is a dominant theme in the depiction and perception of lower classes. This perception is often a function of differing culture, with the association of lower class individuals with crime, family disruption, lower educational attainment, and societal issues, such as drug use. This is evident in social settings, as well as in the workplace, with economic indicators separating individuals socially. These social and cultural perceptions are reinforced by the media (Elliot, 1996). Much of this discrepancy between the acceptance and understanding of cultures lies in the roles and norms that are deemed acceptable. Because they are not

compatible or understood, the expectations shift, leading to conflict and faulty, non-individualized perceptions (U. Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Muuss, 1996).

This dissertation does not look at levels of solidarity or fragmentation. It is, however, a discussion and analysis of the perceptions of areas, with the assumption that areas with particular ecological structures will be perceived negatively compared to those areas absent these structures, perhaps due to differing expectations. It focuses on the social interaction between juvenile justice and ecological entities. It is a macrolevel approach that looks at the interaction between elements in society, rather than individual interaction, although individual components comprise group behavior and actions.

More specifically, juvenile justice system actors will view these areas as those in which its residents need the most aid. It assesses the relationship between the residential environment of juveniles and the work environment of the juvenile justice system and is based on the idea that communities and members are affected both directly and indirectly by environmental structures and values (U. Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

2.2 – Ecological Structures

Community has been defined as areas that develop as a response to competition between businesses and individuals. They are societal groupings. In this case, it refers to a place, as designated by zip code and linked commonalities, with groupings assumed by others, rather than those residing in the area. In other words, when discussing residence, the commonalities between individuals are based on assumed uniform culture. The term community is emotionally driven, with the word conjuring up feelings and connotations (Hill Collins, 2010). Neighborhood refers to "a subsection of a larger community–a collection of both people and institutions occupying a spatially defined area influenced by

ecological, cultural and sometimes political forces" (Park, 1916). They are smaller units of a community that comprise people, space and institutions that occupy a particular area, with interaction between all three entities and comprise ecological units "nested within successively layered communities" (R. Sampson, Morenoff, J., & Gannon-Rowley, T., 2002).

While the word community implies individuals living in close proximity; the idea of shared norms and values is not necessarily true, especially in urban areas. Communities automatically weigh the costs and benefits of collectivity and are varied in their quality of life. There is a moral and symbolic content of communities. This construction implies the presence of a common way of life based on shared space, although culture, values, and perceptions are not necessarily similar within communities (Palm, 1973). Cultural components differently affect and influence the collective self-identity (Alfieri, 2000). Theorists have altering ideas of the variables that diverge dependent on social area. Some do, however, indicate that boundaries are unclear, with structures and characteristics being interdependent on neighboring areas. While there are differing views and personal characteristics among group members, these individuals may be perceived as having similar positions.

Overall capital and ways of being are a reflection of area norms and values. There is usually patterned social interaction, functional spatial units that meet needs, and cultural-symbolic units of collective identity that dictate tolerance and intolerance. Perceptions of community often filter into sensitivities of individuals, both members and nonmembers, due to this blanket assumption of cultural and behavioral uniformity.

Ecological structures correlate to aspects of culture and behavior and are often the subject of generalized observation.

Ecological structure, in this research, refers to tangible units in space that are present in communities. Individuals have interaction with these structures and attach literal and symbolic meaning to them. These structures dictate levels of stratification in a given area based on the idea that these structures have varying connotations depending on the location of the structure (Kraftl, 2006). They are macrolevel units and are linked to demographic and sociological constructs, such as socioeconomic status, race, and delinquency. Religious establishments, public housing, liquor stores are such structures. The current research associates these structures with negative undertones, and is assumed to be perceived as connected to fragmentation and disorganization.

While previous research indicates that ecological structures are represented by census tracts and are based on the segmentation of neighborhoods and the solidarity of units, this research assumes otherwise. Communities encompass ecological structures, since they are made up of neighborhoods. Boundaries are unclear, but it is safe to assume that they cross neighborhoods and blend into communities. These collectives are characterized as communities and are the focus of this analysis. As opposed to census tracts, zip codes are geographic analytical areas and are based on the notion that these areas usually have the same ecological structures associated with them. The following research examines the perception of neighborhoods, rather than individuals' personal interaction with these structures or group rates of delinquency based on these areas. In this research, ecological structures are constant perceptually, varying between zip codes.

It is assumed that individuals within close proximity who would usually be grouped by census tracts also associate and have commonalities between zip codes. Furthermore, it is assumed that this proximity is noticed by justice agents. Zip codes are used to represent community, and it is assumed that the presence of these structures filter, at least perceptually, into adjoining census tracts, which ultimately coagulate into zip codes. The makeup of these communities is not necessarily strong, viable, or articulated into larger society. The areas that are perceived as socially and organizationally deficient are the focus of this dissertation.

2.2.1 – Religious Establishments

Social capital involves the bonds among individuals and within groups (Coleman, 1990). It is viewed from a reciprocity perspective, in which the norms associated present a benefit for the parties involved (Putnam, 1993). This capital is frequently found in subcultures, which are often based on a cultural segmentation that induces groups to cluster in various organizations (E. Sharp, 2005) (Jensen, 2006). They are often characterized as a social group that acts as some sort of solution to a problem, with this problem often regarding elements of class (Zander, 1955). As indicated by Jensen (2006), "people in underprivileged social positions create culture when attempting to resolve, handle, work through or 'answer' shared problems."

The specification of subcultures is sometimes necessary for the production of solidarity and is based on norms, values, and the production of outcomes; it acts as a means of producing capital and status (Mouw, 2006; Portes, 1998). These subcultures are often symbolic, and there is the assumption of shared values. Religion is an example of this construct. It is a compilation of shared values and beliefs, which, along with

commitment, involvement, and attachment, are important indicators of increased social bond, norm adaptation, and acceptance among members of societies (Hirschi & Stark, 1969). This stake in conformity is thought to increase collective efficacy and morals, furthering the identification and reception of norms. It has been further posed that the increase in social instability is connected to the decrease in church membership, with secularization perspectives indicating that urban areas are less religious (W. Bainbridge, 1990; Berger, 1967; R. Wortham, 2006).

Religious places are seen as a structural property of communities rather than an individual attribute (R. Stark, 1996). According to Anderson (1999), although the overall social environment may be fragmented and marked by features including drug abuse, deviance, and family decomposition, this level of structure remains. Based on these core components, along with the excess of churches in urban areas of varying denominations and their stratified nature, bridging with other religious establishments and the wider community often diminishes (Cornwall, 1987). This is not to say that communities with a plethora of religious institutions are more religious. The following dissertation is not a consideration of the level of connectedness, but the presence of these structures and how this presence relates to the justice process. This variation and excess lends to the decrease in efficacy.

In the explanation of the connection between juvenile justice decision points with religious establishments, it is important to discuss area type and demographics and their connection to the purpose of religious institutions for individuals and neighborhoods (W. J. Anderson, 1971). Urban areas, especially those that are lower socioeconomically and minority, have a disproportionate number of religious institutions, with much of this due

to their characteristic level of diversity and population density (Iannaccone, 2004; Wirth, 1938; R. Wortham, & Wortham, C., 2007).

In these areas, religion becomes private, with the increase of worship places of varying denominations, rather than a centralized religious system, often representing a structured unit of the community and acting as a social buffer for those who are engaged, providing increased esteem and positive outlooks (Emirbayer, 2008; Hammond, 1993; McRoberts, 2003; R. Wortham, 2006). It is often a cornerstone of social life and an important part of fostering civic engagement and participation, aw well as promoting prosocial behaviors (T. Blanchard, Bartowski, J., Matthews, T., & Kerley, K., 2008; Perl, Greely, & Gray, 2006; Wuthnow, 2002).

Historically, religious establishments have functioned prominently in the Black community, acting to increase the awareness of social concerns and finding solutions. When other avenues were closed off, the church sustained the community, operating as a means of solving social and family problems, offering the prospect of hope, security, and social justice, which increases the perceived reward for subscribers (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1988; Benford, 1993; Swilder, 1986; Carter, 1976; Cone, 1995). While the functionality of the Black church is still present, with the increase of urbanization, modernization, and industrialization, it has been refashioned, with a new, economic role.

The excess of religious establishments is due to membership rates that vary based on race and socioeconomic status. These organizations exist in excess numbers in low-income areas, possibly because of the need for and lack of community services (McRoberts, 2003; Wuthnow, 1998; Owens & Smith, 2005). Participation is higher among African Americans, those with lower socioeconomic status and less education

than their counterparts (Albrecht, 1984; Ellison, 2000; Levin, 1995; Gannon, 1978; Dougherty, 2003; Alston & McIntosh, 1979; Higgens, 2002; Cavendish, 2000). This is especially true in the urban South. The South is traditionally conservative, compared to the liberal North, with religion used to transmit and informally reinforce norms (Welch, 1983; Durkheim, 1912). Participation is considered more voluntary in urban areas, compared to rural areas, where participation is based on routine and culture and connected to social legitimacy (Ellison & Sheetar, 1995; Lewis, 1955). In urban, southern areas, on the other hand, the reward and purpose of religion is based on necessity.

Although the church is seen as a staple in the Black community, it is often ineffective in increasing political influence and resources because it is often ineffective in bonding with individuals outside of the establishments, and bridging with the wider community does not occur. If norms are enforced, they are often the norms of that community. The dominant norms of their community gain importance as a means of survival (E. Anderson, 1999). The individual problems that need and receive solutions through religion are sometimes that of hopelessness, but the community's problems are often bigger than that.

To get a better ides of the proportion of churches in urban areas, it should be considered that of urban congregations, 19% hold their services in areas with poverty rates greater than 30% (Chaves, 1998; Owens & Smith, 2005). Smaller establishments, especially storefront churches, are common in low-income areas (McRoberts, 2003; Laudarji & Livezey, 2000). According to Harrison (1966), these churches were created in order to foster culture and relieve stress and disorganization. In urban areas, limited

socioeconomic status breeds smaller memberships, especially due to the plethora of vacant commercial spaces with low rent, which in turn spurs new congregations.

From a communal perspective, poverty increases the need for formal religion, in order to idealistically provide safety and enforce prosocial norms (Simpson, 1999). Social control operates either as an internal force or as a result of the outside environment. Both social control and safety are thought to be lacking in lower class neighborhoods. Reasons for this vary, but one ever-stated cause is the lack of connection with the middle class, which is considered to possess resources and political influence (E. Anderson, 1999; Elliot, 1996; Wilson, 1987a, 1987b). In the case of less affluent environments, religious establishments can possibly meet some of these needs through its ability to enhance the cohesion of the community's network structures, providing bonding capital (Putnam, 1993). Bonding capital refers to individual ties within the group, which is necessary due to the level of disorganization in the community, while bridging capital refers to links across groups, such as in communities. In the case of this dissertation, it is the position that the communities with the excess of churches have bonding, rather than bridging, social capital. Bridging capital is imperative in the promotion of social ties, collective efficacy, and social control in areas overall, acting as a possible stem to delinquency and social deviance.

In urban areas, especially those that are disorganized, religious establishments do not function optimally in forming bridging capital because of the lack of collective efficacy and the ability to enforce communal norms. This lack consequentially affects its ability to form linkages to mainstream norms, due to the isolation of the structure itself from the rest of the community and from the community to the middle class. This

isolation stems from its history of being a segregated institute within communities and from the social distance of the community from the majority (Armbrecht, 1991; Taylor, 1988). In concentrated and segregated communities, religion is used to bond, rather than to bridge, which has been pegged in the comparison of getting by versus getting ahead (Coleman, 1990; Briggs, 1997). In addition, the fear of crime has decreased the urban area's quality of life by increasing distrust and decreasing social bonds (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Taylor, 1988).

Social participation influences self and group identity. In order for it to be effective in "organizing" and sustaining communities, members must adhere to and believe in its conventionality. In other words, membership in the group must be useful in order for community members to buy into it. In low socioeconomic minority areas, some identify with the norms of the religious establishment and find a purpose of group identity, while those who find it to either not be useful or who are not aware of the use dismiss it and may not connect it to their ideals. When it is seen as valuable, it is characterized as a "morally organizing force" and a necessary component of social control. If deemed useless, individuals may find alternative group membership that they find gratifying, which further rifts the community connection. This attachment is a function of local religious commitment. When community attachment and solidarity are weak, religious bonds between religious organizations and community members are weak. Urban behavior is a function of this solidarity, rather than anomie. Churches gain capital due to solidarity and not disorganization. The lack of capital is indicative of decreased solidarity. The effectiveness of religious establishments in enforcing connectivity and social control is dependent on the homogeneity of beliefs and culture. If

the cohesiveness is absent, social control decreases and social disorganization, hence, increases. "What counts is not only whether a particular person is religious, but whether this religiousness is, or is not, ratified by the social environment" (Stark & Bainbridge, 1996).

There is the assumption that crime decreases in highly religious areas (Bainbridge, 1989; Stark et al., 1980). Researchers look at membership as an element of social solidarity. There is often the lack of a sufficient institutional base and an absence of other supportive, local institutions (Rose, 2000). The extent of community cohesion and connection influences crime, with less efficacy and capital (Lee, 2000; Beyerlein & Hipp, 2005).

These establishments have particular boundaries and often segment themselves from secular sectors, although they are part of the larger community (Becker, 2000). Social capital denotes a degree of exclusion, in that some are granted the benefits of group membership, while others are excluded, which promote social bonds among group members. When discussing capital, it is important to distinguish between the in-group and the out-group (Cornwall, 1987; Portes, 1998). The exclusion of the out-group assists in maintaining the in-group's held beliefs and norms (Cornwall, 1987). Just as community members socialize its residents to adhere to its norms, religious establishments, which are made up of community members, do the same. The main difference is that if the wider community is not linked into the religious norms or if they do not buy into its values, the community and church exists as two different entities. These common beliefs do nothing to secure the community (Lesik, 1963; Root, 1978; Cornwall, 1987; Fischer, 1982).

It is hypothesized that the separatism, which is produced by the formation of subcultures, leads to increased social bonds, a level of security, a sense of community, and collective consciousness. This produces an effect on the group, rather than the wider community not included in the religious establishment. The subculture excludes participants from the mainstream and from those not engaged in the establishments. This, in turn, isolates some and causes religious establishments to fail in bridging and bonding residents and communities that do not belong, increasing fragmentation and delinquency. In neighborhoods lacking these aspects, such as in urban, poor areas, religious establishment affiliation becomes an even more important institution for some due to deprivation, low socioeconomic status and relative isolation, and it acts to impose regulation and limits on behavior, enforce fortitude during hardship, and assist in the relief of social concerns (W. Bainbridge, & Stark, R., 1984; Durkheim, 1912; Owens, 2005).

Religious components have been used to analyze outcome variables such as violence, crime, racial inequality, and economic development, using various dependent variables (Beyerlein, 2005; T. Blanchard, 2007; T. Blanchard, Bartowski, J., Matthews, T., & Kerley, K., 2008). In the case of the research, religious establishments are perceptual structures, rather than elements of religious participation or religious effectiveness. Areas that are perceived as disorganized are seen as having an excess of religious institutions, which are especially permanent with the lack of community links and other social institutions. The concentration and quantity of these structures are indicative of agreed-upon perceptions of disorder. In relationship to crime, early research indicates conflicting results in their analysis of the effect of religion on delinquency, with

some viewing religion as a deterrent (Higgens & Albrecht, 1977; Albrecht, Chadwick, & Alcorn, 1977; Rhodes & Reiss, 1970), while others report no significant relationship (Hirschi & Stark, 1989; Burkette & White, 1974). Much of this conflict resulted from using individuals as the unit of analysis. Taking a view of group religiousness, Stark (1996) indicated that is more important in fending off delinquency. He writes that, in order for prosocial norms to be perpetuated, these values must extend from the church to the community. "Religion ought to be understood sociologically as a group property more than an individual one" (Regnerus, 2003). With that said, it is assumed that this group way of perceiving religion and religious institutions applies to the way most persons view groups, especially when considering the presence of establishments in a community.

2.2.2 – Public Housing

An area and its residents, regardless of setting, have particular implications connected to it. These connotations are often geared toward certain constructs within that social area. Housing type is such a construct. In urban areas, rental properties are more prominent than in rural areas. Also prominent in some areas is the presence of public housing, especially when there are fairly large economic gaps between the poor and the affluent. Public housing is often a symbol of crime, welfare, and poverty. Tied into this perception are population density and poverty concentration, both of which are connected to deviance and indicators such as unemployment, residential mobility, distressed family composition, and low marriage rates, especially in the center of the city (Bossard, 1938; Elliot, 1996; C. Fischer, 2002; C. Fischer, Stockmayer, G., Stiles, J., & Hout, M., 2004; McKay, 1931; R. Sampson, Morenoff, J., & Gannon-Rowley, T., 2002; Wilson, 1987a).

Public housing developed out of the Housing Act of 1937 as a government means of providing safe and affordable housing for low-income families and those who were displaced by the Depression and World War I. Originally, stays were brief and residents were self-sustaining, with the federal government providing no assistance. The 1949 Housing Act led to the emphasis on the "deserving poor," which comprised families displaced by the urban renewal movement (Varaday & Wang, 2001; Wilson, 2008). The influx of impoverished families, the increase of socioeconomic status, and opportunities of African Americans in the 1960's led to an exodus of working- and middle-class families, leaving the remaining residents without a reference group to link them with middle-class norms, hence prompting neighborhood segregation, concentrated poverty, and the decrease in political and social services in pockets of the inner-city (Baylor, 2003). Deliberate segregation further decayed the structure of the community and increased isolation demoralization, which led to and reinforced an increase in violence and created an ongoing race and class dichotomy.

A consequence of this shift, along with the blossoming of the information sector, as opposed to manufacturing, was the loss of jobs for low-skilled workers and the increase of capital in areas outside of the unprivileged populations (Wilson, 1987a). As a result of this shift, many of its residents were left unable to pay a bulk of the rent, and much of the budgets from the federal government became devoted to these developments (DeLone, 2008; Holzman, 1996). It "provided housing of the last resort for people with special differences to locate adequate, affordable housing in the private market, particularly large families, single parent families and minority families" (President's Commission on Housing, 1982, p. 35).

Public housing is currently characterized as government-owned apartment complexes that house individuals who make a minimal wage or receive a Section 8 voucher (Crump, 2003). Housing ranges from high-rise apartment buildings to smaller units that are typically placed near or in underprivileged, isolated urban pockets. These areas are usually Black demographically, (54%), although the Hispanic population (29%) in these residences is increasing (Santiago, 2003; US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1994). Public housing as we know and vision it is a symbol of urban poverty, population concentration, and welfare, usually accommodating the poorest residents, many of whom are single parents and living on welfare (Goering, 1994; Wilson, 1987a).

The social makeup of a community has implications for the layering of race, class, and residence (Blanchard, 2007). Sprawl and varying levels of concentrated poverty and segregation shape these dynamics (Squires & Kubrin, 2005). Home owners reside in communities with significantly lower crime than areas with more renters (Sampson et al., 2000). These areas are less dense socially, which relates to the lack of poverty concentration and relative isolation (Massey, 1995; Peterson & Krivo, 1993).

As a result of isolation and poverty concentration, the exclusion and separation of public housing residents from the middle and upper class, both socially and economically, limits the amount of interaction with these reference groups. Lower income networks are more localized, which is a by-product of isolation and the lack of proximity to the wider networks, as well as segregation, cultural isolation, and immobilization (C. Fischer, 2002). The lack of adequate income is a factor in the inability to relocate (Freeman, 1998). In a study of residents of Cincinnati's Metropolitan

Housing Authority buildings, most respondents were pleased with their homes but dissatisfied with their neighborhood. This dissatisfaction was connected to their desire to relocate. From this, it can be deduced that it is not the public housing, per se, but the external community characteristics that are undesirable (Varaday, et al., 2001).

Communities with public housing are generally viewed negatively (Crews, 2007; Jencks, 1992; Rosenbaum, 1994; Santiago, 2003). The fact that these structures are highlighted as being different than private housing contributes to this view. Problems become magnified and socialization of its residents to mainstream values and positive work ethic is atrophied (Kasarda, 1990). A common view is that crime probability, which is a primary social problem, is higher in these areas, compared to neighborhoods with higher economic and social capital. (Crump, 2003; Dear, 1991; Elliot, 1996). There is also the association with noise, traffic, poor upkeep, crime, and poverty (Santiago, 2003). These indicators may be present in the vicinity of some public housing sites, but much of this is endemic to certain areas of cities themselves. For example, higher unemployment rates and the move of jobs and residents to the suburbs are widespread concerns due to the socioeconomic factors present, not the actual housing developments. It is not the structure itself, but the disadvantage, which is often concentrated and can increase community problems (C. Fischer, 2002; R. Sampson, Morenoff, J., & Gannon-Rowley, T., 2002). While the assumption is that these areas are plagued with violence, joblessness, and hopelessness, the research that confirms this conception lacks controls for income.

It is argued that the stigma tied to public housing is rooted in the lack of current research, along with exaggeration and misrepresentation on the part of the media. Part of

the misrepresentation of public housing is based on the image of high-rise structures that are densely populated, disorganized, crime ridden, and drug infested. Oscar Newman's (1972) research on defensible space indicated that the structural components of housing developments were correlated with criminal activity, but it focused mainly on large developments. In reality, the majority of public housing has less than 500 units (90%), with many of these units set aside for the elderly and the disabled. In addition, although these developments are significantly poor compared to their surrounding areas, the crime that occurs is usually specific to certain housing developments, and the victims of these crimes frequently reside in these developments.

There has been a push to integrate public housing and to make it include middle class individuals by stratifying socioeconomic status by scattering public housing sites throughout middle income areas and increasing the tax base, making it more attractive to affluent families (Smith, 2002; Lees, 2008). This has been done in some areas by combining Section 8, affordable housing, and market value housing. According to Pitt (1977), this "balancing" is based on the notion that social and economic heterogeneity leads to optimum individual and community sensitivity. The lower class would, theoretically, benefit from middle-class linkages to resources and opportunities of increased social, economic, political, and human capital (Putnam, 1995; Lees, 2008). The hoped-for outcome was increased social control, changed behavior, and increased collective efficacy and social networks (Joseph, et al., 2007).

Because of concerns about crime and perceptions of disorganization, (DeLone, 2008; Santiago, 2003), this idea has prompted concerns of increased crime in the middle-income areas, although few studies support the notion that the occurrence of crime in the

middle class is due to public housing. In fact, closeness to these units was not associated with the increase of reported crime (Holzman, 1996). Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber (2007), in a study on mixed-income developments, indicate that some residents benefit due to greater informal social control and higher quality services.

In another study, Wilson and Doerges (2000) found that the fear of crime is prevalent and this fear lessens communal ties. In a comparison of gated and nongated communities, they found that individuals in high-income gated communities had lower senses of community and higher perceived communal safety, compared to those in high-income nongated communities. Low-income gated and nongated communities showed no significant differences in perception of safety and community. In other words, in low-crime areas, the community's characteristics permeated regardless of low income. In high-income areas, gates provided safety, at least perceptually, but alternatively provided relative isolation.

While there is variation in social organizations across communities, particular structures are perceived as characteristically indicative of disorder and being acultural (Yancey & Emerson, 2003; Blanchard, 2007). The structure itself is seen as disorganized and socially rejected even by its residents. This assumption is untrue. While there is a history of racial and economic exclusion, studies have found that public housing comprises individuals who have strong ties to their residences, maintain bonds to their neighbors, and have organizational components, such as neighborhood watch and tenants associations. Housing projects have a culture, social organization, and attributes that residents want to retain, contrary to common belief (Fullilove, 2004; Rae, 2003; Venkatesh, 2000; Squires, et al., 2005). Both the assumed distress and desperation to

leave on the part of residents and the revamping of public housing reinforce the flawed idea that residents are in need of empathy and that they are unlawful (Vale, 1997).

2.2.3 – Liquor Stores

The presence of liquor stores is evident in most areas, differing in surrounding environment and clientele. Both are representative, to an extent, of socioeconomic status. The mere presence of these stores is not indicative of disorder. It is the concentration and the structural conditions of these establishments that are connected to fragmentation. Liquor stores in inner-city areas, especially when coupled with other disadvantageous ecological structures, are often associated with subpar economic conditions (Sonenshein, 1996). The overconcentration of liquor stores has been associated with elements of disorder, such as violent crime and poverty (Escobedo, 2002; Jones-Webb, 2008; LaVeist, 2000).

Liquor stores are often concentrated in minority communities, with these areas being more likely to be of low income. In fact, class is also an important indicator of alcohol consumption, with communities with higher incidences of poverty, especially those that are urban, having higher likelihoods of alcohol dependency and abuse (Alaniz, 1008, Falvan & Caetano, 2003). Coincidentally, the type of liquor retail in these areas is usually off-premise establishments, with restaurants that serve alcoholic beverages more likely to be found in more affluent, White neighborhoods.

In comparing neighborhoods of different socioeconomic status, LaVeist (2000) found that impoverished neighborhoods are more open to alcohol use, with consumption being more acceptable and more likely to be condoned if it were done in public areas. This acceptance may be motivated by psychological factors, including excessive

drinking, which is mediated by psychological distress and correlated to area disorder. Related to these factors is the lack of social control and social bonds, with neighborhoods with a high concentration of these establishments more often plagued by social issues endemic to these areas, such as crime, drug use, public drunkenness, loitering, family decomposition, and neighborhood structural fragmentation, among other socially harmful activities (Hill and Angel, 2005).

The literature has scrutinized the coordinates associated with the hyperconcentration and interstructural makeup of these stores. One such connection regards economic prospects. Liquor stores in these areas have low overhead and often distribute malt and hard liquor, which is attractive to consumers because of their price and high alcoholic content, making the likelihood of profit enormous (Mosher, 1997). In an analysis on price elasticity and malt liquor demand, French, Brown-Taylor, and Bluthenthal (2005) found that individuals who drank habitually were more likely to earn lower incomes and to drink harder liquors, such as malt liquors.

Many have questioned if drink choice is a matter of preference or convenience. Research has pointed to the notion that alcohol availability and familiarity, which is based on marketing strategy, are connected to preference, with the assumption that because these types of alcoholic beverages are marketed more in urban, inner-city areas, preference is based on the aforementioned strategies (M. L. Alaniz, 1998; M. L. Alaniz, & Wilkes, C., 1998; Altman, 1991; BrownTaylor, 2000; Ellickson, 2005; LaVeist, 2000; Lee, 1994; L. B. Snyder, Milici, F., Slater, M., Sun, H., & Strizhakova, Y., 2006). In these less advantaged areas, harder and malt liquors are heavily sold, with marketing playing on the symbolic meanings of these liquors and tailoring their billboard and other

advertisements to age, race, and gender groups, conferring a note of "coolness" on those who consume (Altman, 1991; Barbara, 1989; French, BrownTaylor, & Bluthenthal, 2006; Hackbarth, 1996; Jones-Webb, 2008; Levy, 1959; Schooler, Basil, & Altman, 1996).

A report done by the *Chicago Tribune* (1990) found that billboards in minority neighborhoods featured a disproportionate number of tobacco- and alcohol-oriented products compared to other neighborhoods, some of which were placed illegally. The same theme was found in St. Louis, Detroit, Baltimore, San Francisco, Washington, DC, and New Orleans (Hackbarth, Silvestri, & Cosper, 1996). Some researchers go so far as to say that marketing companies intentionally inundate poor, minority communities with harmful products (Hackbarth, et al., 1996). Whether or not the marketing is present or intentional, liquor stores' qualities vary between communities, and this variance is connected to perceptions of that area.

2.3 – Justice Systems

The juvenile justice system is a collection of various agencies, government- and community-based, including correctional services, courts, and service providers, with each state operating independently of one another. The juvenile justice system, which was formally founded in the early 1800's, is based on the premise of *parens patriae*, which indicates that when the parent or guardian of the child fails to adequately provide for, protect, and socialize the child, the state is responsible for taking over the parental duties *in loco parentis*, or in place of the parent (Pisciotta, 1983; Ventrell, 1998). The initial goals were to rehabilitate and enforce the ideals of morality, religion, education, and discipline. In the same vein, alternative language was adopted in the differentiating of juvenile and adult involvement in aberrant acts. For example, juveniles are not labeled

as criminals, but as delinquents, and rather than being arrested, they are taken into custody or referred. This variance in language corresponds with the goals of behavior and character change rather than punishment and retribution.

In 1899, Chicago marked the advent of the juvenile court. While there was a push for the separation from the adult court by the child savers and the early reformers, legal entities also had a hand in this emergence because of their focus on crime prevention. Because of the shift to the positive school of thought, which viewed delinquency as an off-shoot of biological, sociological, and psychological forces, the focus on criminal activity was paramount, with the goals of crime control and reformation.

The refuge movement focused on the salvation of those who were deemed salvageable and worthy. These so-called child savers were educated White, middle-class women who needed a social outlet away from their regular domestic duties. Delinquency was seen as an uncontrollable response to social, biological, and psychological forces, which made some salvageable and others not. Superficially, there was a theme of benevolence reserved only for certain juveniles, namely, those who were White males. The bias stemmed not from the idea of protection or the saving of the child, but with the goal of social control in mind (Pisciotta, 1983). As a means of "protection," discretion on the part of the judge was increased, with length and "treatment" type determined, absent proportionality, making way for racist, sexist, and anti-immigrant movements (Trépanier, 1999).

The juvenile justice system has often been perceived as self-seeking, benefiting some while costing others (Granovetter, 1992). According to Schlossman, the label juvenile delinquency

> was increasingly used to single out the suspicious activities of groups of lower class (often immigrant) children who occupied a netherworld in the bowels of the nation's growing cities and who were perceived to be either living entirely free of adult supervision or serving as pawns of depraved parents .(1995, p. 365)

Included in this stigmatized category were Black children. Blacks were perceived as being mentally and biologically inadequate, morally dearth, and unable to be reformed. While White children were sent to reformatories, Black children were either excluded or denied the benefits of apprenticeship and given training for menial service positions, rather than education-oriented services. Females, similarly, were denied the treatment that White males were privy to due to the perception that they were weak and morally perverse. They were trained as domestics, as opposed to being educated or taught marketable skills. This idea of saving the child was more so a method of social control and of putting juveniles in their "places" as designated by wider society (Kempf-Leonard, 2007; Moak, 2003; Pisciotta, 1983). This ongoing theme was based on faulty perceptions and the issuance of "justice" under the guise of *parens patriae*.

This "save the children" movement was challenged by pressure from the public and activists. Their issue was with the absence of the due process that was afforded in the adult criminal court. This emphasis on the administering of due process led to Supreme Court cases such as in *Gault* (1967), *Kent v. United States* (1966), and *Winship* (1970), which provided juvenile protections regarding the right to counsel, the standard of evidence, and the overall Constitutional safeguards that they were entitled to (Trépanier, 1999).

This rise in due process was followed by harshness during the 1980's and 1990's. Part of this was due to the modality shifts, with the implicit assumption that if juveniles

were afforded the same due process as adults they could be treated in a similar manner, especially with the increased waning in confidence with the juvenile justice system (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Get-tough policies were aimed at retribution, public safety, and proportionality, with an increase in the harshness of sanctions, such as transfers to adult court, use of mandatory minimums and sentencing guidelines (Butts & Mitchell, 2000; Butts & Mears, 2001). Harsh policies were put into effect, soothing the public's fear of crime, although the crime rate had been decreasing, and a response to concerns that the treatment is costly, ineffective and lenient (Wilson & Doerges, 2000). According to Senator Edward Kennedy,

> There has been a notorious lack of rehabilitation and an equally notorious increase in arbitrariness and injustice. We know the ability of such courts to rehabilitate the violent juvenile or predict future criminal behavior must be viewed with increasing suspicion. (Quoted by Trépanier, 1999)

The use of "reform" has been said to have been a promotion of reinforcing capitalism by the powerful "molding a complacent labor force" (Pisciotta, 1983; Platt, 1977). Those low on the economic and social totem pole were labeled as inferior and deviant, while those responsible for the juvenile outcomes were deemed as the dominant culture (Hopson & Obidah, 2002).

As a result of the change in dynamics, the current juvenile system has moved away from the idealized objective of protection and benevolence and on to the goal of saving society from these delinquent youth (Feld, 1990). This shift has been called retributive, focusing on sanctions and formal social control, rather than rehabilitation and the cultivation of informal control (Bazemore, 1995; Feld, 1990). There is the assumption that these changes have led to an increase in detention stays, harsher

sanctions, wider discretion, and lighter guidelines concerning transfers to adult court (Bazemore, 1995; Castellano, 1986; McAllair, 1993).

Progressively, bias and stigma, which has been promoted over the years through adverse policies, have acted covertly to disproportionately affect particular groups. It has further been charged that the use of sanctions, specifically incarceration, is meant to control the dangerous and those with the potential to be and that the system was designed to protect some and sanction others in order to maintain majority control and to perpetuate bias and stereotypes. Some have stated that this bias is present throughout the current juvenile justice system, especially in regard to race and class (Bobo, 2006; Higginbotham, 1996; Smith, 2009). Although its original focus had been on treatment and particularized justice, the juvenile system has, of late, often been seen as similar to the adult system, especially with its increasing emphasis on public safety. According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's Juvenile Justice Bulletin (2005),

> court officials must balance the interests of public safety with the needs of youth when making decisions about which programs to place a juvenile offender and which level of restriction is required. Juvenile offenders who commit serious and/or violent crime may require confinement to protect public safety and intensive supervision and intervention to become rehabilitated. On the other hand, many offenders can be effectively rehabilitated through community-based supervision and intervention.

While there is an obvious separation within the system between treatment and sentencing (Hasenfeld, 1985), what is not obvious is the behavior of criminal justice systems. Often undermining the fair issuance of justice is the behavior of organizations in the decision-making process. Most decision models in the criminal justice system focus on how race and individual characterizations are linked to collective outcomes

(Engen, 2005; Harris, 2008). It is a microlevel to macrolevel approach in that the individuals make up the group and function to promote the culture of the organization (Emirbayer, 2008). These factors are important as they affect decision making within the juvenile justice system (Harris, 2008). In other words, individual decisions are a function of group behavior.

This "group think" of the juvenile justice system is similar to mainstream societal perceptions, especially when the connection between deviance and ecological structures is considered. This research poses that officials conform to the concept that they would be doing a disservice to the juveniles and to the public areas if those from these atypical areas were not treated more harshly.

2.4 – Culture and Organizational Decision Making

"Spaces of class, gender, and race relations tend to be (but are not necessarily) coterminous with boundaries of national and ecological fields" (Emirbayer, 2008). These segmentations are also evident in smaller fields, such as in organizations, and are often formed because they are necessary as a means of agency viability. The group constantly and subconsciously constructs images based on their experiences, which dictate their expectations of people, relationships, and groups (Hill Collins, 2010; J. B. Miller, & Stiver, M., 1988). These images are described as powerful, leading to complacency in belief. They have a set of values and norms within the working environment, with decisions representative of their positions. By taking a position, group members collectively place labels on people, places, and things (Durkheim, 1933). Label delegation is not necessarily a product of individual beliefs, but often a product of the organization itself (Gersten, 1988). These labels and ideals have been referred to as

“controlling images” and are reflected in an individual’s behaviors and feelings about the environment (Hill Collins, 2010; J. B. Miller, & Stiver, M., 1988). This “othering” is connected to the division of class and resources that exist in wider society, leading to exclusion and differentiation of the outside group (Epstein, 1969; Tajfel, 1985). Once groups evolve, the use of characterizations becomes prominent in the separation of group participants, collectively, from others. The successes and failures of individuals are turned into group attributes (Crocker, 1998). The group attributes in ideal situations increase individual and collective social capital.

Social capital is based on levels and amounts of social networks and is a function of the network within which it operates. There is a reciprocal relationship in which the individual makes up the group, but the group culture influences individual decisions (P. Bourdieu, 1993; Durkheim, 1912, 1933). Meaning and interpretation of the value of capital is based on the culture of the organization. These groups “mobilize to define who they are,” with boundaries to separate them from other factions (Lamont, 2002). Culture is a dynamic method of collectivizing social members and groups, where the labels of “we” and “our” are often used. This fraction indicates a level of unity and sameness. There is the essence of agreed-upon concepts of normalcy and convention, which is at least similar to that of the majority mainstream culture. This common culture is evident in the work community and is a product of mainstream perceptions of social environment (Walters, 1997).

Culture has been characterized as the way in which ideas shape world views and behavior. It forms the collective consciousness and socializes the group (Barnes, 2005; Durkheim, 1933; Mahon, 2000). According to Swidler, it comprises socially constructed

symbols and activities that provide meaning, reinforcing expected behaviors among group members. The achievement of the idealized response to stimuli is a method of cultural politics, comprising power assertion and acceptance, ultimately beneficial to the in-group (Mahon, 2000). Group members are socialized as to the knowledge, values, and behavior patterns of their society, dependent on social roles.

Marginalization is created, with groups and the individuals who represent these groups attempting to prod other agencies and entities into buying into their ideals and culture (Spitulnik, 1993; Mahon, 2000; Dornbusch & Scott, 1975; Mueller & Landsman, 2004). In the case of cultural conflict, the majority attempts to dispel arguments if dissenters go against their values (Quinney, 1977; Vold, 1958). This promotes social divisions and inequality in some cases (Mahon, 2000; Jordan & Weedon, 1995).

The social facts, or accepted beliefs, which are constricted via culture, are a form of power exertion, where the fact itself is powerful and acceptance of this norm determines the in-group. Those who have the power attempt to ensure their retaining of influence and their control of the use and value of capital (P. Bourdieu, & Wacquant, L., 1922; Emirbayer, 2008). Their influence of power has evolved as primarily important, especially with the shift from rural life to increasingly urbanized areas and with globalization. Those with power are often resistant to change, with the normative perceptions continuing over time, sometimes in modified forms so as to keep up with cultural shifts (P. Bourdieu, 1993; Foucault, 1980; Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1996).

The workplace comprises self-identified definitions of norms and values. It has been described as an “ecology of games” in which the game is based on the exertion of power in order to achieve the mission of gaining prestige and privilege. The obtaining

and maintenance of power is accomplished by the buying in by workplace members (Allen, 2005). The juvenile justice system is not different. Prior to discussing directly the perception of these youth and the components of decision making, it is important to revisit a few key points about the juvenile justice system.

The juvenile justice organizational system comprises police officers, who are responsible for the initial engagement of the juvenile, juvenile probation officers, and judge, along with various other courthouse and community entities. These organizations are "groups whose self-defined mission includes service provisions, advocacy, oversight or mobilization of crime and justice" and who are, at the same time, swayed by perception and represent a group with workplace norms and roles (Worden, 2007). While the juvenile system is meant to be individualized, decisions are framed and often based on group perceptions, which are sometimes products of environmental characteristics, politics, and social leanings. With community safety a main component in the public's concern with criminal justice, these influences often filter in. Political figures act as a vessel for the expression of the community's values and beliefs about crime, which changes policy and shapes the culture of the justice system (Worden, 2007; Church, 1985).

Historically, there has been the underlying thought that juveniles are malleable, immature, and vulnerable, especially since the juvenile justice system has roots in rehabilitative sanctions (Moak, 2003; Woolard, Fondacaro, & Slobogin, 2001). This base is still present, although it is now less important, especially with the focus on public safety becoming greater and with risk for future dangerousness being a primary concern. "As boundaries of space and time are removed by the rapid advancement of global

communications, transportation and commerce, the production and maintenance of social order has become increasingly problematic and the institutions of crime and justice have assumed a stronger role in the articulation and defense of such order" (Howard & Freilich, 2007). Part of the maintenance of public order is contingent on the apprehension of those who are seen as threats and the identification of the level of risk prior to sanctioning in order to decrease the likelihood of recidivism and increase public safety.

The use of this discretion varies between the juvenile and the adult systems. In the adult system, risk determination is based on a combination of criminal history and case characteristics. The juvenile justice system is a bit different, with its focus on individualized justice, allowing for wider discretion (Kautt & Spohn, 2007). In regards to determining to prosecute and sanction, specifically, Grossman posits that "the judge operates in an institutional framework which places certain restraints on the pure expression of personal preferences, but which also allows significant latitude for such expression (1967, p. 135). The individualization allowed often leads to the influence of social and residential environment factors, along with criminal history, with areas of low socioeconomic status assumed to comprise the negative aspects of social capital and consequentially contain risk for future criminality. The factors assumed to be considered in their decision making are the ecological structures that the juveniles reside in. These beliefs are part of the culture of the organization and influence policy and procedure, both overtly and covertly.

According to Warren, communities are based on levels of production, socialization, social control, social participation, and mutual support, with formal social

control increasing in areas with decreased informal social control. Due to social concerns, individuals from disorganized areas are more likely to be in need of formal social control, and these juveniles residing in areas with limited resources are seen as being able to benefit from punishment (Mulvey & Iselin, 2008). The focus on public safety calls for a more punitive approach, consequentially affecting Blacks and Hispanics disproportionately (F. Brown, Russo, & Hunter, 2002). This has led to the conflict between public safety, victim's rights, and youth development, with the crime control aspect outweighing others (J. Fagan, 2008).

There are various perspectives that describe the juvenile justice system and the roots of workplace culture. As is known, both police and probation officers are socialized collectively by their job role, work place environment, experiences on the job, and interaction with the offender (Petronio, 1982). There is some debate as to whether job behavior is a response of personal attributes, as opposed to work environment (M. Leiber, Schwarze, K., Mack, K., & Farnworth, M., 2002; Van Voorhis, 1991). Work elements have been said to frame the majority of behavior within workplace culture and are often predictive of held beliefs of punitiveness versus rehabilitation. Causal attribution theory posits that ideologies toward levels of discretion and harshness used are a function of perceived likelihood of future risk and linked to elements of controllability, responsibility, blameworthiness, culpability, and the stability of the cause of delinquency. Some of the perceived risk and likelihood of rehabilitation are rooted in structural characteristics such as poverty, substance abuse, and education (Hawkins, 1981). According to Kautt & Spohn (1981, 167), "Individuals whose crimes are attributed to internal factors are viewed as more responsible, and thus, as more blameworthy, than

those whose crimes are viewed as stemming from external forces." This may be looked at as a function of external flaws, including attitude, demeanor, family life, and neighborhood that are seen as continuing, as opposed to internal indicators that can be altered, such as immaturity and aggression. Some scholars and practitioners use the conflict perspective to explain criminal justice behavior. This perspective assumes that political, government, and justice agencies consciously use their power to maintain stratification (Worden, 2007).

In the case of this research, juvenile probation officers and judges are both parts of this workplace culture and decide upon risk assessment, prosecution and sanction based on their participation in these work groups. This dissertation does not assume that deciders consciously label juveniles as more deviant or risky to society based on ecology. It is assumed that there is a general consensus as to what areas are viewed as deviant, and associations and perceptions held by court agents are assumed to be a result of workplace cultural norms and values, with variance depending on location (Church 1985; Worden, 1987; Worden, 2007; Reiman, 1984). The labeling of areas is functional, with these titles creating a sense of alterity and establishing collectivism and assuming power from a cultural workplace level (Durkheim, 1933). Juveniles from disorganized areas are treated differently from those from more structured environments. The variation in treatment is based on a "group think," which translates to group behavior.

Much of system behavior is based on perception. The media and popular assumptions and associations often shape an individual's background perceptions, influencing decisions. The media's take on urban areas is overwhelmingly negative. Minority youth have been viewed as spreading violence like a disease (Giroux, 1996).

This perception, rather than personal experience, often forms widely held beliefs (Dreier, 2004; Alderman, 1994). The negative depictions are more often of poor and minority individuals, in which media coverage, especially that which is disparaging, is great. This reinforces stereotypes held by those in communities socially distant from urban, poor areas.

A community is a heterogeneous, dynamic "relatively unbounded ecological entity…and is not common in criminal justice literature" (Duffee, 1980). This term has been used in the criminal justice system, as in community policing, community-based corrections, and neighborhood justice centers. The use of these terms is often inflexible in definition and inconsiderate of varying communal traits and cultural dynamics. It further mirrors the perception of the decision makers in respect to communities in that they view similar communities as having certain ecological structures, corresponding norms, and incidence of criminal activity.

According to (R. B. Stark, & Bainbridge, W. S., 1996), poverty has been a main variable in this creation of alterity and uniform perception in the consideration of communities (Figueira & McDonough, 1991). There is no consensus on the exact variables that comprise social disorganization. Population, however, appears to be the common denominator. Increased population and density of population are indicative of fragmentation, and crime is linked to disorganization (Figueria, et al., 1991; Hagedom & Rauch, 2007). Some of these areas must rely on law enforcement to enforce either informal or formal (communal) social control. In these areas, law officers are often seen as outsiders, and sanctions are often harsher as a result of the disconnect between them and the community, especially since individuals in the community are seen as hard to

control and needing punishment in order to foster specific and general deterrence. These areas may contain crime and displace it, rather than prevent it due to the lack of informal control, or the criminality may be actively present.

In some instances, low social class is not linked to deviance, as it is commonly defined by the majority. Stepping-stone communities are characterized by weak primary control and strong socialization by outside groups, such as teachers and religious entities. In this case, deviance often occurs around or in relationship to secondary groups, such as schools and churches; the assumed controlled, contained type of delinquency is not as affected by social stigma (Hagedom, et al., 2007). Labels attached are determined by the majority in-group. Their meaning association is fluid between groups over time and is borne of interactions with people, places, things, space, and time. It is dependent upon social hierarchies and convention. Regardless of the type of stigma, positionality, or production of power, is evident and dictates filtered into the system the normative behavior (Allen, 2005). While individuals may have their own culture and perceptions of other groups, it is presumed that the work culture and conformity to their norms overrule.

These norms encompass the distribution of justice, with type and degree of treatment based on this division. McConnell (1912) asserts that the ability to judge and decide is, in essence, stratifying (Duffee, 1980). The group schemas created are developed from organized information about social positions and stratification, and dictate social interaction (Howard, 2000). This lends to the creation of boundaries between the communities and justice entities (Mahon, 2000). While the boundaries within the workplace community are fluid, the alterity of the group functions to categorize objects, people, space, practices, and time (Lamont & Molinar, 2002; Vallas,

2002). The exertion of power distributes levels of status overall, leading to the differing distribution of perception. Social identity theory indicates that individuals identify themselves with a group membership and determine their collectivism by social and personal factors. The result is differentiation of in-group versus out-group and a contest between the individual versus the other and the group collectively (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In-group identity causes bias and, in this case, varying judgments of blame, causality and responsibility, and ultimately cognitive perception (Howard, 2000; Spears, et al., 1997).

According to institutional theory, these connections lead to pressures concerning the organization's behaviors and underlying missions, which often draw influence from mainstream society's beliefs and the media (Snipes & Maguire, 2007). In this case, their mission is acted out in the group member's decisions to arrest and how to assess risk. It has not been so much the crime rates, but the focus on the spreading of crime to areas outside of poor, minority segments, increasing the opportunity for victimization of the middle class. From this, the perception and workplace definitions have changed.

There is essentially a polarization that is expressed as a "we" think. This alterity is functional because it creates cohesion and boundary creation. The justice system itself acts as a boundary, and this segmentation boundaries (physical and nonphysical) is effective in exclusion (Tuan, 2002). There are social and psychological cues to decision making. Work experience is also a factor of decision making, in that it assists in socializing members into the group/workplace culture. Much decision making depends on the assumption of the juvenile's amenability to treatment and likelihood to recidivate (Liska & Tausig, 1979). Often times, viewpoints and judgments are not collectively seen

as fair. In these cases, the maintenance of the norm often prevails, despite opposition. In fact, the agency's validity and level of organization are enhanced when it furthers the majority's acceptance of norms. "The stronger the endorsement or authorization of a perceived unjust distribution, the less severely unjust an actor will perceive it to be" (Hegtvedt & Johnson, 2000). This reflects the unconscious nature of the overall norms. The activation of bias does not require the endorsement of the stereotype (Steen & Bridges, 1998; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Policy and rules are based on values, perspectives, and definitions created by the upper and middle class as opposed to the lower class, with risk and amenability to treatment framing the decision points (Mulvey & Iselin, 2008; Chambliss & Seidman, 1971). When individuals who are members of a group accept the group-think of the larger group and identify with their views, decision making becomes uniform. The uniformity of judgment is characterized as unintentional, unconscious, effortless, and a result of environmental cues, and experience functions as a means of filtering through useless information so as to expedite decision making (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). There is no assumption of common residence, but the taking on of uniform behavior and perception, due to workplace culture and the "moral order" and group role. The moral order sanctions the group's rights, obligations, and expectations. It is assumed that individuals residing in workplace communities do not share similar literal and symbolic meanings. Workplace culture, however, becomes shared, and in this research, it is posited that the perception of youth residing in these areas becomes stable. Decision making is assumed to not be a function of the judger's residential environment. The implicit norms of the workplace overrule.

2.5 – The Florida Department of Juvenile Justice

Florida comprises eight major geographic regions and 20 metro areas. These areas are further broken down into 67 counties. With a population of 18,089,888 in 2006, Florida is one of the most populous states, with 22% of its population under the age of 18. Demographically, it is close to the national figures with 80.2% White and 15.8% Black. The remaining 4% are those who are Asian, Pacific Islander/Alaskan Native, and American Indian. When considering ethnicity, persons who are Hispanic or Latino/a represent 20.2%. With its large population and mostly urban configuration, crime, especially juvenile delinquency, is a problem.

In 2007, juveniles represented 120,197 of the 1,126,524 total arrests in Florida. Of these arrests, 43,116 represent Index I crimes, which include sex offenses, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. Males, as in the adult system, represent a majority of the total crimes and Index I crimes. Females, however, represented a substantial amount of Index I offenses, at 41% and make up 31% of those referred (Florida Department of Juvenile Justice).

The Florida juvenile justice system follows a rehabilitative approach and is centralized in nature, meaning that all juvenile proceedings and services issued come from within the agency and its affiliates. Although referrals are handled by separate entities, introduction into the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice begins with some arresting officer, usually either the police or sheriff's department, although sometimes the agent is the school police. Individual's aged 18 and under are considered juveniles, unless their offence deems it necessary to charge him/her as an adult. There is no minimum age. After the individual is arrested, a petition for delinquency is filed by the

county. The court then decides if the offense committed warrants detention, based on the likelihood of dangerousness to themselves or others, threat of victimization, or likelihood of flight. If so, within 24 hours of detainment, a hearing is scheduled in order to determine the individual's status. Detention centers provide supervision, education, mental health, and substance abuse treatment.

Charges are determined during arraignment and the juvenile, with counsel, either takes a plea, contests the charge, or denies the charge. If the juvenile denies the charges against him or her, an adjudication hearing is provided. Prior to the hearing, the juvenile probation officer, who is in charge of intake, investigation and community supervision at all levels, completes a predisposition report. This report includes offense information, youth statements, and information from the Positive Achievement Change Tool (PACT).

The PACT, which has evolved out of the Washington State Juvenile Court Assessment, has been used by the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice to assess risk of recidivism and the appropriateness of treatment based on a number of indicators, including demographics, criminal history, family history, environmental life, mental health, social life, educational factors, and substance abuse. Levels of risk are low, moderate, moderate-high, and high. It is part of the fourth generation of tools, which is based on stable and fluctuating personal and environment elements, as well as the positive attributes of the juvenile. It is less risky than previous editions and balances the characteristics and components of the juveniles (Andrews, 2003; Baglivio, 2006).

Juveniles are sentenced during a disposition hearing, which is overseen by Circuit Courts judges. They are publicly elected, and besides deciding on juvenile cases, they have jurisdiction over adult criminal and civil cases, tax disputes, and estate interests.

Some areas, based on population, have Circuit Courts with divisions specifically catering to juveniles. If found to be responsible for the offense, the juvenile is sanctioned. Sanctions include probation, drivers' license suspension or revocation, restitution, mandating to a serious habitual offender or sex offender program, community service, community work assignment, parental community service, and state commitment. Florida does not use determinate sentencing for juveniles for those given state commitment. Sentencing is typically a range, with the exception that the child may not be held under supervision for a longer period than would be allowed by law for an adult charged with the same offense, for example, 60 days for a third degree misdemeanor. In any case, this is something determined by state law, rather than a matter of sentencing determined by the judge.

Confinement type consists of nonresidential and residential treatment. Non-residential treatment is for those displaying minimum risk. Residential is divided into low, moderate, high, and maximum risk. Suggestions and information in the reports are prepared by the probation officers, but the final resolution is up to the court judge. Included in non-residential and residential treatment options are substance abuse treatment, mental health services, behavioral health services, and education. According to the National Center for Juvenile Justice, while there is a minimum duration for those sanctioned to high- and maximum-risk confinement, longer dispositions are being applied to those with greater risks.

2.6 – Previous Research

Based on the goal-orientation and organization, the juvenile justice system's components are seen as a community, indicating the commonality of perspective and

action. This communal culture differs between states, jurisdiction, and area makeup (Aday, 1986; Feld, 1991, 2003). Although the tone of the system shifts depending on locale and the historical overt bias has diminished, the amount of discretion allowed to agents and the focus on future dangerousness have remained. These elements have contributed to the use of generalized perception based on individual demographics and neighborhoods, influencing judgment (Bishop, 1996; Engen, 2002; M. Leiber, & Mack, K., 2003; Pope, 2005). Researchers have found indications of these collective behaviors during proceedings, such as arrest, intake, and adjudication, with race and class often used as the independent variables.

Some studies qualitatively approached the ways in which juvenile justice agents are viewed. Youth sanctioned to residential training rehabilitation or community programs were asked about their perceptions of judges and court workers. Minorities had more negative views toward the system and were more distrustful of court personnel. Youth sanctioned to training schools were more negative, with feelings of alienation and hopelessness (F. Miller & Foster, 2002). Similarly, Holley and VanVleet (2006) gained insight on youth and staff's perceptions of overall system bias and found that an overwhelming majority, 96%, of the staff believed that there was bias present, indicating that minorities and those of low socioeconomic status were treated unfavorably.

It has been suggested that bias may be due to the greater amount of discretion given to justice agents, leaving room for race and structural bias (Meeker, 1992). This bias has been addressed quantitatively, offering more generalizable, concrete data. In an early 1993 study, Sampson and Laub aggregated individual records from the National Juvenile Court data archive and found that elements of socioeconomic status and

inequality were related to predisposition detentions and adjudicated out-of-home placements, with Blacks particularly targeted. They postulated that the reason for this disparity may have been due to unconscious feelings of fear or threat on the part of the justice officials, which plays upon middle-class society's stereotypes of the "dangerous classes."

Using this idea of symbolic threat, Leiber, Johnson, Fox, and Lacks (2007) assessed decision making during intake, with the expectation that Native Americans would be treated more harshly than African Americans. Asians and Whites were theorized to be treated similarly. They found, however, that Asian Americans were more likely to be released at intake and more likely to be adjudicated than Whites. Also, Native Americans and African Americans were given stricter sanctions than Whites, with race as a significant predictor.

Similarly, Graham and Lowery measured the presence of subconscious racial stereotypes of police and probation officers (2004) and found that court officers recommended harsher punishments for minorities. Their harshness was seen as being unconscious, due to ingrained stereotypes based on race. It has also been empirically found that race and class were especially indicative of reports of noncompliance and deciding on whether serious sanctions were necessary based on assessments and economic and family cooperation resources (Smith, 2009). Family indicators, including organization, level of support and socioeconomic status (Bishop, 1996; Bridges, 1998; M. Leiber, Schwarze, K., Mack, K., & Farnworth, M., 2002; Lopez, 2008), have been cited as an unintended response of the increasing rate of incarceration, especially in regard to minorities (S. Sharp, Marcus-Mendoza, S., Bentley, R., Simpson, D., & Love, S., 1999).

For example, juveniles who are linked to positive family and peer support are more likely to be treated with rehabilitation, as opposed to those who are disconnected or lack positive networks (Bridges, 1998; Lopez, 2008).

Family components were assessed in the analysis of files from the Maricopa County Department of Juvenile Justice. Their study uncovered a difference in the perception of parents, with Black noncompliant parents seen as dysfunctional and unstable, while comparable White families were seen as being unable to control their children. Differences were distinguished in regard to real and perceived guardianship, structure, background, and dysfunction. As a result of this, when controlling for criminal history, Black juveniles were significantly more likely to have noncompliant reports in their files (Smith, 2009).

Family indicators are not always assessed. Often race and social factors are considered. In a 1994 analysis of detention practices, using social indicators along with police and court records, Wordes, Bynum, and Corley looked at police, court intake, and preliminary hearing detentions. In their analysis of the police's initiation of detainment, they found that there was a significant relationship to race. Latinos and African Americans were more likely than their counterparts to be detained by both the police and the court, controlling for social and legal factors. This relationship was found in both court and preliminary hearing detention decisions. Also correlated to detention was presence of a weapon, a drug charge, and prior offenses. Similar findings were noted where race was a predictor in preadjudication detention decisions (Snyder, 1990; Webb, 2006).

In looking specifically at court decisions, McDonald (2003) assessed the severity of outcomes among White, Hawaiian, and Samoan youth. In this examination, the latter two groups were more likely to receive harsher outcomes. When extralegal and legal factors such as offense history, severity, poverty, and area type were included, the effect diminished. Also apparent was that youth from fragmented homes, who had low socioeconomic status and school problems, were more likely to be detained.

Subcultural studies indicate that a juvenile's involvement in a deviant peer group leads to misconduct in that they associate with similar youth, and those judging the youth often have similar perceptions, especially when community collectivism was strong (Brick, 2009; Kopsky, 1980; M. Leiber, Nalla, M., & Farnworth, M., 1998). Urban youth are more likely to be arrested and treated poorly once detained (J. Fagan, & Davies, G., 2000; Gau, 2010). Perceptions of disorder are varied, with neighborhood constructs such as race and poverty indicative of perception, regardless of disorder (Piquero, 2008; R. Sampson, & Raudenbush, S., 1999). Also apparent is that areas with a high population of minorities favor a punitive approach compared to rural areas (Feld, 1991; R. Sampson, & Laub, J., 1993; R. Sampson, & Raudenbush, S., 1999).

This study also examined judgments made by police and probation officers, who are an integral part of the juvenile justice system, especially since they are responsible for the first contact and regular, in-depth interaction. A police officer's decisions, it has been found, are also based on the perceptions of social connections of the juveniles. In considering police discretion, Schulenberg (2003) tested ecological theories and their relationship to decisions and juvenile crime rates in Canada. Taking individual level data and aggregating it, social disorganization, urbanization, opportunity, and overload

theories/hypotheses were addressed. Using the Uniform Crime Report, census data, justice files, and police administration data, it was found that social disorganization was an indicator of crime rates, and social disorganization and urbanization explained police discretion relating to youth. They also found that social disorganization was a result of urbanization, which was also related to the rate of area arrests and the unemployment rate. This degree of disorganization, including economic disadvantage, has been seen in such responses as greater police presence and heightened aggressiveness (Brunson, 2009; J. Fagan, & Davies, G., 2000; Kane, 2002; Kubrin, 2003).

In an assessment of responses based on age and race, Leiber and Johnson (2008) found that there was a negative effect of race and age, with Black and older juveniles having greater odds of being rearrested and lesser odds of being diverted upon intake. This was speculated as being due to the assumption that Black and older juveniles represented a threat and were less likely to be changed, which is a component of the symbolic threat thesis (Tittle, 1988; M. Leiber, & Johnson, J., 2008), and, hence, there was the need for punishment.

Juvenile probation officers play an important role in the juvenile justice system. They assess, present evidence, suggest dispositions, and supervise adjudicated juveniles (Bridges, 1998; Lopez, 2008; Vidal, 2007; Ward, 2010). Their decisions, and subsequently those of the court, have been seen as a function of the court environment and characteristics of the juvenile (Bridges, 1998; Feld, 1991; Graham, 2004). In a discussion of probation officers, Vidal and Skeem (2007) investigated whether ethnicity, previous abuse, and psychopathy had an effect on their decisions. They found that psychopathy and abuse, rather than ethnicity, affected supervision and disposition

recommendations. Those who were abused and who were psychopathic were seen as challenging, and decision makers were more sympathetic and supportive. In a similar analysis, Murrie, Cornell, and McKoy assessed (2005) juvenile probation officers' hypothetical presentence recommendations for diagnostic and label criteria to seek to determine if diagnosis criteria (antisocial behavior history or psychopathic personality) and diagnostic labels (psychopathy, conduct disorder, or no diagnosis) affected judgment. They found that diagnostic labels had little effect on recommendations, while criteria had more of a reaction. These labels were less influential than the underlying conditions.

Bridges and Steen (1998) assessed written reports of probation officers in a test of the correlation between race, causes of delinquency, and risk. Controlling for case characteristics and criminal history factors, crimes committed by African Americans were attributed to internal causes such as negative personality traits, while White individuals' behaviors were connected to external environmental factors. Internal factors were connected to higher risk of recidivism and higher punishment due to the lesser likelihood of term being rehabilitated, which was viewed as being more static. In addition, harsher sentences were functions of increased perceived risk. According to Piquero (2008), minority juveniles are disproportionately sanctioned for less serious offenses, especially when socioeconomic status, family structure, and neighborhood rates are considered.

The classification of individuals based on risk has been used throughout the juvenile justice and adult systems, in the capacity of corrections, probation, and parole (Glueck, 1950; Greenberg, 1975; von Hirsch, 1984). Much of the issue surrounding these classification systems is the likelihood of false negatives and false positives in

terms of the degree of risk assigned. Gender is an important factor regarding risk, with females seen as having fewer risk factors compared to males (Baglivio, 2006; Glueck, 1950; Greenberg, 1975; Moffitt, 1993; von Hirsch, 1984). In a 2009 review of the validity of the PACT, specifically in regards to gender, risk significantly predicted recidivism for both males and females. In addition, recidivism was predicted by race, social history, and criminal history, with minorities having a higher likelihood.

Stereotypes and faulty assumptions are often determinants in regard to their job performance. They are influenced by stereotypes held about individuals and their communities, in turn influencing police discretion and the handling of situations, with race, class, gender, and age leading to the differing levels of response (Brick, 2009; A. B. Brown, Novak, K. J., & Frank, J., 2009; Brunson, 2009; Carrington, 2008; Elin-Blomquist, 1993; M. Leiber, & Johnson, J., 2008). In a word association, police officers associated "Black" with negative characteristics, greater culpability, expected recidivism, and harsher punishment. Overall feelings toward other races did not play a role in decision making (Graham & Lowery, 2004). This is parallel to cultural studies that have associated African Americans with hostility, risk, and dangerousness (Correll & Park, 2002). These characteristics have been linked to cues including group affiliation, dress style, and demeanor. Pilavin and Briar (1964) indicate that arrests correlate to the construction of the above mentioned outward attributes, in which much is related to perceptions of culture.

Much of the discussion of police use of discretion has been assumed to be due to the individual's homogeneity with police culture, dictating its use (Carter, 2006; Skolnick, 1966). For example, it is commonly known that individuals perceived as being

disrespectful are more likely to be arrested and that juveniles are regarded as being more threatening and where juveniles are regarded as being more threatening and disrespectful than adults, often leading to more police presence and action in areas where juveniles are heavily represented in the population (Riksheim, 1993; Carter, 2006; F. Brown et al., 2002; Brunson, 2009; Flexon, J. L., et al. 2009). Framing this discussion has often been the community residents' relationship with the police.

As has been seen in numerous studies, individuals from White and racially mixed neighborhoods, specifically those that are middle and upper class, are more favorable of the police compared to African American communities, which are coincidentally more likely to be of low socioeconomic status and to have more neighborhood crime and residential mobility (B. Brown, & Benedict, W., 2002; Schuman, 1972; Wu, Y., 2009). Researchers found that White youth in Missouri had more positive views of the police and perceived that some individuals were targeted based on appearance and demeanor. Also, the verbal and physical communication with the youth was seen as varied, with harsh words and physical contact "saved" for Black youth. Black youth often felt like targets (Brunson, 2009).

Some of this dislike and distrust has stemmed from group orientations and the "us" versus "them" dynamic, often leading to assumed threat, bias, and differing power (Bobo, 2006; Weitzer, 2008), especially based on perceived commonalities or the lack thereof. In addition, perceptions held reciprocally filter into wider beliefs about communities and demographic groups. Echoing the feelings toward police based on race and class among residents was a 2008 study assessing Washington, DC, which has a mostly Black police department and population composition. They found that race and

class interacted when considering perceptions of misconduct and mistreatment, with minorities and those of low socioeconomic status targeted (Weitzer, 2008).

Chapter 3 – Data and Methods

3.1 – Research Design

3.1.1 –Variables

Independent Variables

Urban areas are marked by higher density of population, as well as a variance in socioeconomic status. The differing status, particularly, is connected to the types and concentration of ecological structures present, such as religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. Ecological structures serve functions within their communities. For example, public housing acts as an affordable housing option for individuals who are unable to sustain their rent independently. Liquor stores provide alcoholic beverages for individual or group consumption for either social or addiction purposes. Religious establishments, regardless of denomination, provide and enforce moral code, bonding, belief, and culture.

Although these ecological structures serve a role, they can spark differences in perception from outside communities. The variables that change perception and that are assumed to lead to differences within the dependent variable are the concentration of religious organizations, public housing, and liquor stores. This study will measure variables using secondary data from American Church Lists, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Florida Department of Liquor Licenses, respectively. It is not looking at the mere presence but at the density of these structures, in particular, areas based on zip codes.

Dependent Variables

The examination of all decision points during juvenile justice proceedings is necessary in order to make sure that agencies are acting fairly. No one study can look at each section of the juvenile justice system along with all contributing factors. This research looks at a piece of system behavior, specifically those that occur post arrest. In this analysis, fairness will be assessed by looking at the decision point of risk assessment, prosecutions, and residential sanctions. All points are assumed to be affected by the independent variables or religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. Juvenile probation officers are designated to monitor juveniles who have been arrested. Their oversight includes making sure that the juvenile's mandates are fulfilled and referring juveniles to appropriate community and faith-based organizations. In addition, they are responsible for completing the Positive Achievement Change Tool (PACT), a risk assessment tool. There is a pre- and full-assessment tool, both addressing four domains, including a juvenile's record of referrals or arrests, social history, mental health, and attitude and behavior. The pre-assessment contains 35 items, along with sub-items and is issued to all juveniles. The full-assessment goes further than the pre-assessment and explores 126 items involving school history and status, use of free time, employment history, relationship indicators, family, living arrangements, alcohol and drug history, aggression, and skills. This tool is used for juveniles who are deemed as moderate high or high risk. The purpose of this tool is to assist officers in determining risk, developing intervention plans, and monitoring youth. This method is goal oriented and is standardized and done at intake by the juvenile probation officer and used by the Circuit Court judges when determining disposition (Baglivio, 2006). Risk levels determined are

low, moderate, moderate-high, and high. In this research, only juveniles who received the pre-assessment PACT are assessed, since this evaluation was performed on all juveniles in the sample. This research considers high risk as a dependent variable, collapsing moderate-high and high risk as this construct. It is assumed that cases classified as low to moderate risk will be reciprocally related.

Judges are the final deciders in the juvenile process, determining whether or not prosecution is necessary, or if prosecuted, if a sanction is justified. Reasons for prosecution should include risk assessment, culpability, crime severity, legal history, and social cues. This dissertation assumes otherwise, with the dynamic of prosecution versus non-prosecution as the dependent variable. It is assumed that ecological factors will operate as significant predictors, over and beyond demographics and legal factors.

After the decision to prosecute is made, sanction is the next step. Sanctioning types range from fines to residential sanctions. There are five types of residential sanctions: Minimum-risk non-residential, low-risk residential; moderate-risk residential, high-risk residential, and maximum-risk residential. Minimum-risk non-residential is similar to house arrest. The juvenile is in the community and is often mandated to treatment of some kind. Juveniles who are prosecuted for serious crimes such as sexual assault, firearm offenses and first degree felonies are not allowed to utilize this level of care. The category of minimum risk, non-residential is not included in the dependent variable for residential sanction. Low and moderate-risk residential sanctions endure for 3-9 months and the juvenile receive around the clock hour supervision in a facility with a lower level of supervision, compared to moderate and high-risk residential. These moderate, high, and maximum-risk facilities are from 9-36 months and are for those

whose risk level outweighs the level of security given at a lower restrictive level. This is similar to an adult penal facility and is used for more serious offenses. The latter categories of low, moderate, high and maximum risk are considered in the concept of residential sanction as they require the juvenile to reside in a facility outside of their homes.

It is the responsibility of juvenile probation officers and judges, both directly and indirectly, to increase public safety and assist in rehabilitation (Langer, 2007). This responsibility is secured only when assessments and determinations are fair and impartial from the onset. It is assumed that bias does exist, although subconscious and fostered by workplace culture. Due to this uniformity in perception, it is hypothesized that risk assessment, prosecution and sanctioning will be based primarily on the influence of the independent variables of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores.

Control Variables

There are other community factors that are connected to possible bias in perception in regard risk assessments besides religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. These variables include both area and juvenile characteristics and will be controlled for in order to determine if the independent variables actually lead to changes in the dependent variables. In the case of the research, control variables are those from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice and the United States Census databases. Data from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice that was controlled for include age, race, ethnicity; felony, misdemeanor, or violation/infraction; violent or property offense; and prior felony, misdemeanor, or violation/infraction. From the United States Census, population density was controlled. Since the research suggests that

there is a relationship between spatial details and system behavior, population density, as opposed to income, is analyzed, as it is a tangible construct that is easily perceived. .

3.2 – Sample and Data Collection

3.2.1 – Sample

The research uses quantitative measures to analyze juvenile justice system behavior. The population assessed in the proposed research is adjudicated juveniles under the age of 18 who have been referred to the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice between calendar years 2006 and 2008. Juveniles who have been tried as adults are excluded because their cases are ruled by an alternative court. Other cases excluded are those who did not receive a risk assessment.

Six of Florida's 67 counties were be assessed: Orange (Central Region), Hillsborough, Duval (North East Region), Palm Beach (South East Region), and Miami-Dade and Broward (South East Region). These counties were selected because they represent a range of group characteristics, differing in overall age, population density, and racial makeup. Many of Florida's 68 counties have populations of less than 500,000. The counties used in this research have substantial populations, well over this figure, and are urban. The United States Census designates areas as either urban or rural. Urban areas are those that meet this definition:

> Territory, population and housing units located within an urban area (UA) or an urban cluster (UC). It delineates UA or UC boundaries to encompass densely settled territory, which consists of core census block groups or blocks that have a population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile and surrounding census blocks that have an overall density of at least 500 people per square mile.

There are exceptions in which less densely populated areas are included. Rural areas, on the other hand, are those entities outside of UAs and UCs and include both populated and

non-populated territories. Often, counties and census tracts are not completely urban or rural and are split between the two. This research is assessing overall urban area, regardless of whether there are smaller areas embedded that are rural (Fiscal Year 2008 HUD definitions).

Zip code was used to aggregate the data and was derived from the 2000 United States Census. A total of 298 zip codes are included in the analysis. The Florida counties of analysis are demographically similar to the overall national and Florida populations. With over 25% of their occupied housing consisting of rentals, these were selected because they are not college towns and because they are more urban than their counterparts. There were approximately 82,917 decided juvenile cases between the years 2006 and 2008. From this, 2,945 cases were deleted, leaving the dataset total at 79,972 cases that fit the criteria of age, risk assessment, and court jurisdiction. Cases in which the juvenile is a resident in a zip code outside of the analysis area were excluded.

3.2.2 – Data Collection

Secondary data was used in order to access the relationship between social environment and system behavior. Juvenile justice data was obtained from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. Their database encases all juveniles referred to the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice between 2006 and 208, and, in the case of the research, all complete, adjudicated cases that fell within the specifications of the research. The zip codes aggregated in the research was based on adjudicated crimes. The juvenile database includes demographics, legal history, and family composition. More specifically, age at arrest, gender racial categories of Black and White, and Hispanic ethnicity were considered for juvenile demographics. Also included in the juvenile

dataset are legal variables, including felony, misdemeanor, and violation/infraction offense; current arrest, number of prior felonies, misdemeanors, and violation/infractions; and whether the offense was violent or property related.

Individual records were aggregated based on zip code to take account of ecological indicators. The presence of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores was assessed using data from the American Church Lists, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Division of Alcoholic Beverages Tobacco Bureau of Licenses, and respectively. The Unites States Census Bureau does not collect religious information on its demographic surveys, and they are prohibited from asking about religion on a mandatory basis. Since the addresses are not compiled, data was obtained from the American Church Lists, which is a database for consumers interested in compiling religious information for various reasons, including mailings. Data includes addresses and denominations. This data was used to determine the concentration of religious organizations that are present within six Florida communities. The research uses the North American Industry Classification System definition of religious organizations: "(a) establishments primarily engaged in operating religious organizations, such as churches, religious temples, and monasteries and/or (b) establishments primarily engaged in administering an organized religion or promoting religious activities." The analysis used the first portion of the definition because of its focus on places of worship such as churches, monasteries, convents, shrines, synagogues, and mosques. Excluded are Bible societies, publishing houses, educational institutions, and religious radio.

Public housing developments are operated out of Florida's division of the Department of United States Housing and Urban Development. Florida has 106 public housing authorities, which regulate numerous sites, a majority of which are low-rise complexes. Records were obtained for the 2006 and 2007 calendar years and included addresses and housing site names.

The Florida Division of Alcoholic Beverages and Tobacco Bureau of Licenses are responsible for the issuance of licenses and permits within all Florida counties. They regulate the wholesale, retail sale, and distribution of alcohol, including beer and wine. Their database is divided by county. Licenses are divided into three categories: on-premise, off-premise, and wholesale. Off-premise licenses will be used, since this set comprises liquor retail sale to customers for outside consumption, as opposed to the sale to distributors or in restaurants for dine-in/drink-in locations, where consumption is in theory moderated. In order to be consistent with the dates of the juvenile justice data selection, active licenses between calendar years 2006 and 2008 were used. Some of the addresses in the data were duplicated due to multiple licenses issued per site. In this case, the license that encompassed the secondary license was deleted.

Zip code data, which was used for aggregation, was obtained from the 2000 census. Codes were cleaned and those used reflect cases that appear in the juvenile data, since the research only assesses those who were adjusted. There were some zip codes within the counties that did not have cases that were decided between 2006 and 2008. These codes were excluded. 2008 population estimates were used to account for population density, which acted as a control variable. Population density was derived from dividing total population by square miles per zip code.

3.2.3 Data Sets

Florida Demographics

To get an idea of the six counties of analysis, the census was used to get demographic and socioeconomic data. The Florida sample used is comprised of six counties: Broward, Orange, Miami-Dade, Palm-Beach, Duval and Hillsborough. With a total population of 18,182,321, based on 2008 Census estimates, Miami-Dade is the most populous of the sampled counties, representing 12% of the population, and Orange and Duval county containing 5%. The ethnic and racial makeup is relatively diverse, with all of the sampled counties, except for Duval, having a fairly large Hispanic population, with Miami-Dade having 62%. Racially, the majority of individuals are White, ranging from 64.5% in Duval and 79% in Palm Beach. Age-wise, Orange County has the lowest median age at 33.3 and Palm-Beach county has the highest at 41.8%. Palm Beach also has 21.7% over the age 65, lending toward it's attraction to retirees. The percentage under 18, which is the subject of this dissertation, is relatively stable across the counties, ranging from 21.2% to 25.3%. As can be seen in Table 1, the majority of the households in the six counties are owned and the poverty rates are around the Florida average rate of 12.1%, except for Miami-Dade, which has a poverty rate of 15.3%.

The counties of analysis also differ in their juvenile arrests and dispositions. Between 2006 and 2008, the calendar years of analysis, differences between counties based on felonies, misdemeanors and violation percentages were relatively stable. Overall, most arrests were for misdemeanors, similar to the adult system. Juveniles who were arrested and charged differ between counties and across time. In 2006-2007, Duval had 990 probation dispositions, the lowest in looking at the six assessed counties. This

number dramatically increased to 1323 in 2007-2008. Broward County had the most dispositions in both 2006-2007 and 2007-2008. The demographics evidenced that while the percentages are uniform across county; charged crimes differ and are more prominent in particular counties.

This dissertation considers demographics and county characteristics in the analysis of the convergence of ecological structures on risk assessment, prosecutions, and residential sanctions. A total of 320 zip codes which were found in the US census were reduced to 298, to reflect areas with at least one adjudicated case. When matched, if a particular zip code was not present in the juvenile dataset, it was excluded from the master zip code list. Deleted codes were also due to the encompassing of some codes in two counties, with more than 40% of the population in a county other than Orange, Duval, Broward, Palm, Miami or Hillsborough.

Florida Department of Juvenile Justice

The dataset from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice comprises demographics and legal history of the juvenile cases. Criminal/legal history includes age at first arrest, number of arrests; current offense status of felony, misdemeanor or violation/infraction; offense type of violent or property; and number of prior felonies, misdemeanors, or violations/infractions. Criminal history data are summaries of referrals to the Department of Juvenile Justice. The cases selected were all adjudicated cases during calendar years 2006, 2007, and 2008 in Orange, Hillsborough, Duval, Palm Beach, Miami-Dade, and Broward counties. All individuals were referred by some arresting agency, such as the police department, sheriff’s office, or school police department. Offense category and type represent the most serious charge for any given

juvenile at the time of the delinquent act, meaning that not every single charge for which a youth is arrested will be represented in the data. The hierarchy rule, which is used in the Uniform Crime Report, is followed, in which the most serious charge is noted in the data.

Each case includes the zip code, with each code corresponding to the county that the youth resides in. Race and ethnicity codes, age, and gender were also included. Age refers to the age of the youth at the time of the arrest. While the place of the arrest is included in some cases, this data if often missing from the file, not being required, and in some cases not applicable, such as in cases of non-law violations of probation or contempt of court. Offense type was included, encasing violent and property charges. This was determined from the descriptive charge label. The judge that determines the disposition is not included in the database. Detailed disposition information was not included. Family income and class are in many cases missing from the file and when included, have been found to be unreliable. While these neighborhood factors are not included or unreliable in the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice database, they will be considered through the inclusion of Census data.

Religious Establishments

Religious establishment data was derived from the American Church Lists. According to the American Church Lists, an organization based in Nebraska that keeps a national database of churches of all denominations based on telephone book records, the six Florida counties that are the subjects in the analysis contain 5,978 religious establishments. Along with the church address, the church denomination is noted in the data. Religious establishments refer to any religious facility, regardless of denomination.

It includes places of worship such as churches, monasteries, convents, shrines, synagogues, and mosques. Excluded are Bible societies, publishing houses, educational institutions, and religious radio.

Public Housing

Public housing is housing owned and operated by public housing administrations and rented to eligible tenants at subsidized rates. Eligibility is based on income and family size. Only public housing agencies can run public housing. There are statewide public housing agencies. There may also be housing programs run by jurisdictions other than the federal government like states, counties, and/or cities. There are no private agencies that run public housing that are not responsible to HUD. "A Picture of Subsidized Households" contains a dataset collected by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and includes a file with the names of all projects. Addresses for multifamily public housing projects are public information, but addresses for scattered site projects are not, due to privacy concerns.

Public housing data was derived from HUD, which has a public dataset of all public housing nationally. The database includes variables such as percent of units occupied, mean income and type, and demographics. Through this program, the federal government provides tax credits, which are allocated through designated state housing agencies, to developers of rental housing, who in return for the credits agree to certain restrictions on rents. Although the program is designed to increase the supply of low-income housing, HUD has no statutory authority over this program, which is defined at Section 42 of the Internal Revenue Code (IRC). Instead, the program is administered at

the state level by the state housing finance agencies. At the federal level, the IRS administers the program.

HUD's 2008 Federal Register indicates those areas that are statutorily mandated as "difficult development areas and qualified census tracts." These are areas that have "high construction, land and utility costs" relative to the Area Median Gross Income (AMGI). Owners of newly constructed or highly refurbished sites are eligible for a Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC). This credit acts as an incentive for the increase of low-income housing. These restrictions are that "20% of the housing units must be rent-restricted and occupied by tenants with incomes no higher than 50% of the AMGI or 40% of the units must be rent-restricted and occupied by tenants with incomes no higher than 60% of AMGI." Metropolitan Difficult Development Areas include areas in parts of Broward, Miami-Dade, Orange, Palm Beach, and Hillsborough counties. All of the counties in the analysis are metropolitan.

Liquor Stores

Florida's liquor licenses are regulated by the Division of Alcoholic Beverages and Tobacco Bureau of Licenses. They control the licenses issued for alcohol and tobacco sales. In regard to alcohol, regulations are for sites that are for warehouse sale, or on- or off-premise consumption. Warehouse sales businesses are those that do not sell to individuals, per se, but to establishments, with sale to individuals occurring thereafter. On-premise sites refer to those in which consumption is done at the place in which alcohol is sold, such as at restaurants, bars, and lounges. Theoretically, alcohol is regulated. Off-premise sites, which are the subject of this research, are those in which alcohol sale is for consumption at some place other than the place of purchase. These are

package sale licenses. It is assumed that these sites will be more prominent in less-affluent areas, particularly due to the low overhead and probability of high profits.

The Florida liquor license database consists of the liquor license addresses, zip codes, and counties. Florida has two groups of liquor licenses: quota licenses and standard licenses. Quota licenses are those issued for off-premise sites. Standard licenses refer to all other liquor license categories. Quota licenses refer to package sales and limit the amount of off-premise liquor licenses that are given in each county. There is no restriction on the number of licenses issued for wine and beer sales.

The cap that is put on licenses issued is based on population, with one license issued per 7,500 residents. These off-premise establishments can sell liquor, beer, or wine or a combination. The actual placement of these sites is not regulated, only county dispersion. The following research assumes that these establishments will be concentrated within the more poor, minority segments of the county.

Florida's Division of Alcoholic Beverages and Tobacco Bureau of Licenses database contains current and temporary licenses, as well as those that are in escrow. Escrow licenses are those that are pending transfer, either from person to person, or from premise to premise. This dissertation assesses only current licenses. Florida's database is not retroactive and is a rolling list of issued licenses. In other words, there is no historical database that covers the research's time frame of 2006 to 2008. The current database is from May 2009. Since quota licenses are issued per 7,500 residents, the population fluctuations of Broward, Orange, Hillsborough, Miami-Dade, Duval, and Palm Beach counties were assessed. In looking at the percent changed, it is determined that the populations are relatively stable. Since the numbers of licenses are similar over

this time period, it is also further assumed that the placement of the establishments are also stable, since the assumption is that these sites are more likely to be in urban areas and since the income and demographics in these counties have not fluctuated much.

3.3 – Descriptives

3.31 - Non-Aggregated Data

The 79,972 cases that are the subject of this dissertation reside in six assessed counties. Of the sampled population, the majority, at 21.4% and 20.2% were from Broward and Miami-Dade counties, respectively. Duval and Palm Beach represented the least amount, at 12.1% and 13.5%. Most of the offenses were misdemeanors (51.8%), aligned with overall figures in these counties. Of these felonies, misdemeanors, and violations/infractions, most were property related (30.5%) and 21.4% was violent, and the remaining categories included drug, weapon, public disorder, and probation violation. Prior felonies, misdemeanors, and violations/infractions were assessed in order to control for criminal history. Of the juvenile cases, 63.5% had no prior felonies, compared to 44.9% and 81.9% with no prior misdemeanors and violations/infractions, respectively. This is not surprising based on current charge and overall offense rates in the Florida counties.

Demographically, age is fairly evenly distributed across the sample. When collapsed, 61.4% were aged 16 or older. While there is no minimum in Florida for adjudications, the percentage of juveniles under 12 years old was 6.1%. Racially, 50.2% were Black, which is disproportionate to the Florida county totals of 29.9%. Similar to Florida county totals, 20.1% were represented as Hispanic. In looking at the Dependent variables of risk level, 56.9% of juveniles were assigned a low to moderate risk level.

12% were assessed as moderate-high to high risk level. The majority, 76.3%, were prosecuted and of those prosecuted, 3.2% received residential sanctions.

The independent variables were broken down by county, to reflect general area ecological composition. In the dataset, Miami-Data has 22.7% of the religious establishments. Palm-Beach has 678, or 12.0%, representing the least amount. In this research, denomination was irrelevant, with the focus on the number of religious sites within a zip code. There are a total of 197 housing sites represented in the six counties. Miami-Dade has a significantly larger public housing population at 50.3%, and Orange has the least at 7.1%. All of the sites included are federally approved sites from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. The sites considered in this dissertation are those that distribute package sales. These sites provide direct sales to individuals in which consumption is off-site and not moderated by the seller. Bulk and on-site consumption distribution are excluded. The total dataset consists of 29,174 fields. Once non-package sales, escrow licenses, and duplicated licenses were deleted, the final amount for analysis, 4,367, remained. With Broward county representing 42% of the liquor stores and Duval county representing the least, at.5%.

3.3.2 - Aggregated Data

The sample consists of 79,972 juvenile cases that were aggregated based on zip codes. Aggregation led to 298 zip codes that comprised Broward, Duval, Hillsborough, Miami-Dade, Orange and Palm Beach counties. 21 variables were included in the dataset and categorized into independent, dependent and control variables. The data used was from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice, United States Census, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, American Church Lists and Florida's

Division of Alcoholic Beverages and Tobacco Bureau of Licenses. Prior to aggregation, non-linear variables were computed into dummy variables to allow for the standardization of the variables.

The independent variables of analysis were religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. These establishments are represented by the number of sites or establishments per population of 10,000 within a zip code. The minimum number of establishments in all three categories was 0. The mean number of religious establishments was 8.08 with a maximum of 41.49 per 10,000 in a zip code. Public housing was less populous per zip code, with an average of .25 and a maximum of 5.34. Liquor stores were more prominent in these areas with 12.41 per 10,000 residents and a maximum of 350.88.

Dependent variables were represented as risk assessments, prosecution status, and residential sanctioning. The figures were standardized by percentage of all cases in the zip code that were assessed as high risk, prosecuted, or sanctioned to residential confinement. In considering risk level and residential sanctions a minimum of 0 cases were considered high risk or receiving residential sanctioning, a maximum 25% of cases in a zip code were considered high risk, with an average of 9%. The remaining cases that were not considered high risk were either low or moderate risk. In considering prosecution status, a minimum 44% of juveniles were prosecuted in a zip code. Of those who were prosecuted, an average of 27% was sentenced to residential commitment, ranging from low to maximum risk.

The control variables considered were area characteristics, demographics, and legal history. Population density was used to reflect resident concentration and based on

population per square mile. The average population density was 3,664, with a minimum of 17.84 and a maximum of 19,414. Juvenile demographics per area was also considered. Age was calculated based on average, with a minimum of 14 and a maximum of 17. Average age per zip code in the sample was 15. Race, ethnicity and gender was calculated by percentage. Black and white both had a nominal minimum and a maximum of cases of 100% per zip code. The sampled juvenile data consisted of 36% Blaxck and 63% White per zip code. Hispanic represented an average of 25%, with a minimum of 1% and a maximum of 95%. Per zip code, gender averages wee 68% male and 30% female. Legal history was explained via descriptive as well. Of the adjudicated cases, on average, 30% were felony charges, while 54% were misdemeanors and 16% were violations/infractions. Of these charges, 20% were violent and 31% property. In assessing prior charges, the average number of felony, misdemeanors, and violations/infractions ranged from .4 to 1.5.

3.4 – Statistical Methods

The model for this research assesses 21 aggregated variables. The categories encompass demographic, legal, and ecological variables. This layout assumes that the dependent variables of risk assessment, prosecution, and residential sanction will be predicted by ecological variables, over and beyond demographic and demographic and legal factors. In order to increase robustness and the likelihood of significant, important relationships, theoretically meaningful variables were considered. The control variables rivaled against are offense level, specifically felony, misdemeanor, or violation/infraction; offense severity, specifically violent and property; and prior history which consists of felonies, misdemeanors, and violations/infractions. Demographics

consist of age; gender; racial categories of Black and White; and the ethnic group Hispanic. The extra-legal factors, in which the research is championing as predictors of system behavior, are religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. The system behavior in view consists of risk assessment, prosecutions, and residential sanctions.

The main dataset, which comes from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice, contains a vast amount of important variables that contribute to the overall picture of Florida's system. Individual-level juvenile data was retrieved and collapsed into aggregate files. Files were aggregated based on zip codes retrieved by cross-listing files from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice and the United States Census. The Census identified 513 zip codes from the counties of analysis (Orange–80, Miami-Dade–68, Hillsborough–90, Broward–88, Palm Beach–74, and Duval–55). Only 298 codes were included in the analysis. Those left out were excluded either because there was no evidence of juvenile referrals or risk assessments completed or the zip codes comprised multiple counties. The juvenile data was merged with data from the United States Census, American Church Lists, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, and The Florida Department of Liquor Licenses. These data sets were included or the assessed areas, accounting for socioeconomic and ecological variation.

To test the relationships between the variables, bi-variate analysis was first conducted to determine if any preliminary correlations were present, without controlling fro any other variables. Bi-variate analysis tests for significant relationships among the variables, highlighting multicolinerarity, if it were to exist. After data was analyzed to determine correlation, the data was examined using hierarchal regression analysis. Since

the analysis considers community-level data, as opposed to an individual, microlevel approach, this approach was used. Hierarchal regression was used so that the researcher could predict the effect of ecological structures on juvenile justice processes. The dependent variables assessed were risk assessment, prosecution, and residential sanction. The ecological factors thought to lead to differing outcomes are religious establishments, public housing, and, liquor stores. In investigating the terms in this manner, the analysis sought to determine the amount of variance predicted by demographic and legal variables, which were assumed to be less than the effect of ecological indicators. Each model controlled for the other indicators within the model so that the strength of the relationship could be detected, over and beyond the other factors.

Variables were entered by category, reflecting demographics, legal factors, and ecological structures. The method of entering the data is based on the assumption that the presence of liquor stores, religious establishments, and public housing in neighborhoods are the best predictors of decision points within the juvenile justice system, rather than demographics and legal factors. Regression modeling was used because of the normal distribution of the dependent variable, which is based on the aspect that every youth with complete cases that received a disposition between 2006 and 2008 was be included. In addition, six counties, which are the most populous and urban, are used in order to lend to the likelihood of finding statistically significant and powerful relationships.

Hierarchal regression was favored to enable the researcher to select the number of predictors and the category in which the predictors are entered into the analysis. This analysis is often used to assess different levels of aggregation. In the case of the research, aggregation was marked by zip code. Because the research attempted to look at the

decision points across six separate, distinct locations, hierarchal regression was ideal in that it afforded the ability to analyze data across populations. Data was analyzed without the assumption that cases belong to the same population or group, while the status of the full sample is maintained.

There is major importance in the entering of variables in categorical order, based on the utility in assessing the change in the predictability associated with predictor variables entered. This order was based on tenets of the theory and on a logical assessment and was used to test hypotheses that are specifically rooted in theory and sociological constructs. In the research, Model 1 consists of area and juvenile demographic variables. Model 2 added legal variables into the analysis. Model 3, which is the complete model, factored in ecological structures, to determine the level of variance accounted for by the independent variables.

The research looks at the concentration of religious organizations, public housing, and liquor stores in a zip code. In the analysis, juvenile and area demographics are considered. In regards to area demographics, income is not considered because the research's causal model is that perceptions concerning area structures on the part of the juvenile justice system, not poverty or socioeconomic status, lead to disparities in risk assessment, prosecutions and residential sanctions. Population density, which is based on the concentration of residents per square mile, is included in the model in order to reflect the perception of socioeconomic factors, aside from ecological structures.

Disposition is hypothesized to not be a function of demographics. Ecological effects are thought to have an effect regardless of demographics and legal history. Residents are assumed to be stigmatized based on the neighborhood, rather than their

residence in poor or minority areas. Regardless of race, residents of these alternative areas will be stigmatized. Previous studies have analyzed the effect of race, age, and gender during different segments of the adult and juvenile systems and have found significant effects (Graham, 2004; Harris, 2007, 2008; Holley, 2006; M. Leiber, Johnson, J., Fox, K. & Lacks, R., 2007; Macdonald, 2003; Meeker, 1992; Rodriguez, 2007; Schulenberg, 2003; Vidal, 2007; Webb, 2006; Wordes, 1994). The proposed research seeks to isolate these indicators. This study is looking at the instruments of adjudications and will isolate the factors of severity and volume in order to avoid spurious effects. Extra-legal factors are assumed to be prominent. Variables within the model are standardized so that the variance between zip codes would be a function of the sample.

Sampson and Groves (1989) indicated that the use of the census is often a problem in the analysis of crime and community. In the case of the research, ecological structures are the focus. The census will be used to differentiate between areas. The research recognizes that communities and neighborhoods today are seen as existing within nondefinitive borders (J. Morenoff, Sampson, R., & Raudenbush, S., 1999). This is not an issue because the research is looking at areas, not neighborhoods. There is no assumed uniformity in terms of behavior within communities. Instead, risk assessment, prosecution, and residential sanctions were analyzed from a structural perspective.

Chapter 4 – Results and Discussion

4.1 - Results

4.1.1 - Bi-Variate Analysis

The relationship between the independent, dependent, and control variables were assessed using both bi-level and multi-level analysis to discover the correlation and predictive relationships. The independent variables were analyzed in relationship to the dependent variables that they were assumed to be significantly related to. The hypotheses assumed that juveniles from areas with high amounts of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores would be deemed “high risk” more than juveniles from areas without such structures. According to the bi-variate analysis, religious establishments and public housing were positively correlated with risk level, ($r=.335$, $p,.01$; $r=.410$, $p<.01$), respectively. These ecological structures were assumed to lead to disproportionate prosecutions and residential sanctions. Public housing and liquor stores yielded significant negative correlations with prosecutions ($r=-.190$, $p<.01$; $r=-.180$, $p,.01$). In assessing residential sanction, correlation results yielded positive relationships with religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores, ($r=.024$, $r=.151$, $r=.392$; $p=<.01$).

The independent variables of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores were analyzed to determine the relationship between these ecological structures. Public housing and religious establishment were positively correlated, ($r=.362$, $p<.01$). Liquor stores were positively correlated with public housing ($r= .127$, $p,.05$). Religious establishments were not significantly correlated with liquor stores.

Besides the dependent variables, the independent variables were also correlated with the control variables, which include area and juvenile demographics, and criminal justice indicators. Population density was used as a representation of resident configuration per square mile. It was negatively correlated with religious establishment ($r=.194$, $p<.01$), and positively correlated with public housing ($r=.018$, $p<.01$). Race was also correlated with these variables, but in a different direction. Black was positively correlated with religious establishment and public housing, ($r=.516$, $p<.01$; $r=.420$, $p<.01$); White was negatively correlated at $r=-.511$, $p<.01$, $r=-.416$, $p<.01$. Neither race was correlated with population density. Hispanic was correlated with religious establishment ($r=-.324$, $p<.01$).

Criminal history yielded some significant relationships with ecological structures. Current felony was positively correlated with public housing ($r=.212$, $p<.01$). Current misdemeanor was negatively correlated with religious establishments and public housing, ($r=-.205$, $r=-.242$; $p<.01$), respectively. Violent offense was positively correlated with all three ecological structures of religious establishment, public housing, and liquor stores ($r=.180$, $r=.193$, $r=.272$; $p<01$), respectively. Property offense was correlated with public housing and liquor stores, but negatively ($r=-.086$, $p<.01$; $r=-134$, $p<.05$). Prior felonies we positively correlated with religious establishment, public housing, and liquor stores ($r=.328$, $r=.381$, $r=.263$; $p<.01$). A positive relationship was also evident in considering prior misdemeanor relating to all the ecological variables, ($r=.442$, $r=.362$, $r=.297$; $p<.01$).

There are also other interesting relationships that did not involve the independent variables. High risk levels were significantly correlated with residential sanction

s(r=.434, p<.01. Also curious was that population density and risk was positively correlated, r=.171, p<.01). Race and ethnicity were also related significantly to risk and residential sanction. Black was positively correlated with high risk(r=.658, p<.01). and White and Hispanic were negatively correlated (r=-.651, r=-.177, p<.01), correspondingly. The same direction of relationship was among Black, White and Hispanic in relation to residential sanction (r=.403, r=-.399, r=-.211; p<.01). Only Hispanic has a significant relationship with prosecution, r=-.417, p<.01). Gender was correlated with risk and prosecution, with a reciprocal relationship. Female was negatively correlated, while male was positively correlated (r=-.136, r=.136, p<.05).

In considering the corrolational relationship between the dependent variables and control variables of criminal history, all of the variables yielded significant results. Current misdemeanor and property offenses had negative relationships with risk (r=-.523, r=-.231; p<.01), respectively. Current felony, current violation/infraction, violent offense, prior felony, prior misdemeanor, and prior violation/infraction all were significant in a positive direction (r=.268, r=.379, r=.205, r=.720, r=.752, r=.503, p<.01). Criminal history and the dependent variable of prosecution were also assessed, with significant relationships among all variables except current violation/infraction. Current felony and current misdemeanor yielded significant results, in opposite directions (r=-238, r=.288, p<.01). Violent and property offense was also significant, with violent having a negative relationship (r=-.359, p<.05) and property having a positive relationship (r=.271, p<.05) with prosecutions. Prior offenses all had significant, negative relationships: prior felonies (r=-.318, p<.01), prior misdemeanors (r=-.243, p<.01) (r=-.253, p<.01). Residential sanction had significant correlations with many of

the legal variables, except for property offense and prior felonies. Current charge category, felony, misdemeanor and violation/infraction, produced significant results, ($r=.128$, $p<.05$; $r=-.259$, $p<.01$; $r=.195$, $p<.01$), in that order. Violent offense was positively correlated with residential sanction ($r=.171$; $p<.01$). Prior misdemeanor ($r=.398$) and prior violation/infraction ($r=.311$) were both positively correlated ($p<.01$).

Race and ethnicity were correlated with criminal history variables. Current felony was positively correlated with Black and Hispanic ($r=.176$, $r=.435$, $p<.01$) and negatively correlated with White ($-.171$, $p<.01$). Property offenses were not significantly correlated to race or ethnicity, however race was correlated with violent offense. Black was positively correlated ($r=.297$, $p<.01$), while White was negatively correlated ($r=-.295$, $p<.01$).

4.1.2 -Hierarchal Regression

A hierarchal regression analysis was performed to determine the predictive value of demographics, criminal history, and ecological structures on risk assessment, prosecution, and residential sanction. It as assumed that the ecological variable would account for a significant amount of variable between the dependent variables, over and beyond demographic and legal factors. Three models were used to predict the hypotheses that juveniles from areas with high concentrations of religious establishment, public housing, and liquor stores will be deemed higher risk, prosecuted more, and sanctioned at a higher rate to residential placement. This analysis was performed to determine if the correlated relationship held up after controlling for demographic and legal variables.

Model 1 included area and juvenile demographics. These variables include population density, age, race, ethnicity and gender. Model 2 included demographics, and

added criminal history, including current offense category, crime type, and prior offense category. Model 3 considers the demographic and criminal history variables included in the first two models, and adds ecological structures of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores, that are assumed to predict the dependent variables.

Model 1, which considers area and juvenile demographics, accounts for 50% of the variable in risk level, (R^2=.505, p<.01). In this model, Black and White variables were stronger predictors (β=5.248, β=4.607, p<.01), respectively. Male was a significant predictor in the model at β=.183, p<.01. Model 2 considers demographics and criminal justice factors. In analyzing the R^2's between Model 1 and 2, the complete model accounted for 74% of the variance in risk level (R^2=.735, p<.01), with criminal justice factors contributing to 23%. Of the demographics, population density, Black and Hispanic were significant predictors in the model, (β=.113, p<.01; β=1.999, p<.05; β=-.127, p<.05). All of the legal history variables, felony, violation/infraction, violent, property, prior felony, prior misdemeanor, and prior violation/infraction, significantly predict risk within the model (β=0.120, p<.05; β=0.092, p<.05; β=-0.143, p<.01; β=-0.097, p<.01; β=.314, p<.01; β=0.175, p<.05; β=0.099, p<.05).

Model 3, which includes the ecological variables which are the primary focus of this dissertation, account for 77% of the variance in risk assessment (R^2=.765, p<.01). Ecological structures, as indicated by the change in R^2 between Model 1 and Model 2, accounts for 3% of the variation in risk (change in R^2=.030, p<.01). All ecological structures, religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores (β=-0.093, p<.01; β=0.073, p<.05; β=-0.174; p<.01) were significant predictors in the model, with liquor stores acting as the strongest predictor.

The predictive value of the independent variables and control variables on the dependent variable of prosecution was measured using hierarchal regression. As in the case of predicting risk level, three models were used, indicating area, personal demographics, criminal history, and ecological structures. Model 1, which considered demographics, was significant ($p<.01$), predicting 23% of the variance in prosecutions. While most of the variables were insignificant in the model, only Hispanic was responsible for the considerable relationship ($\beta=-0.617$, $p<.01$). Model 2 was analyzed and found to be predictive of 49% ($R^2_{=}.487$, $p<.01$) of the variance in prosecution, with 25% (change in $R^2_{=}.251$, $p<.01$) due to legal factors. The legal variables that were significant in the model were violation/infraction, violent, prior felony, and prior violation/infraction ($\beta=-0.155$, $\beta= -0.374$, $\beta=0.159$, $\beta=-0.229$; $p<.01$). Model 3 was comprised of demographics, criminal history, and ecological factors,. Overall, the model accounted for 50% ($R^2_{=}.502$, $p<.01$) of the variance in prosecutions, with 1.6% coming from ecological structures (change in $R^2_{=}.016$, $p<.01$). In this model, the relationship between the independent and dependent variable of prosecution was predicted more so by religious establishment ($\beta=-0.125$, $p<.05$).

Residential sanction was analyzed based on the same three models that were used to predict risk and prosecutions. The model that was comprised of demographics was significant, accounting for 18% of the variance in residential sanction ($R^2_{=}.184$, $p<.01$). Of the demographics in the model, Black and male we both significant variables ($\beta=2.942$, $\beta=0.117$; $p<.05$). Model 2, which added legal variables, was responsible for 24% ($R^2_{=}.238$, $p<.01$) of the variation in sanction, with 5% coming from legal history alone. Only prior violation/infraction was significant in the model, demographic and

legal history considered (β=.171, $p<.05$). Model 3 considered ecological variables. The entire model was responsible for 35% (R^2=.351, $p<.01$) of the variance in residential sanction, with 11% coming from ecological structures. Liquor stores was solely responsible for the variance when considering ecological structures (β=.374, $p<.01$).

Public housing sites in Florida are not high-rise sites that are stereotypically associated with subsidized housing. In Florida, Public housing is usually low-rise establishments that are not generally as noticeable as housing projects that occupy large structures. In addition, some sites are mixed, meaning that household occupants are both subsidized and non-subsidized status. The mixed income components possibly make these sites neutral in is association because of its appearance and its residence.

4.2 - Discussion

4.2.1 - *Risk Level*

The relationship between risk level and the ecological structures were analyzed using both bi-level and multi-level methods. In looking at the bi-variate analysis, both religious establishments and public housing were significantly correlated with risk. As risk level increased, the presence of religious establishments and public housing increased. Liquor stores did not yield any significant relationships. On a multi-level view, three models were designed to determine the variance in risk that was accounted for by ecological structures. Model 1, which consisted of area and juvenile demographics, accounted for half of the variance in high risk. Of the variables considered, race and age was the only significant predictor, with the increase in Black or White juveniles or age per zip code, risk level increasing.

Model 2 included demographics and added on legal variables. The complete model accounted for 74% of the variance in the dependent variable. Once legal variables were isolated, it was determine that these factors accounted for 23% of the variance. In assessing demographic variables, White and age were no longer a significant predictor, while population density and Hispanic emerged as significant predictors. Black was the best predictor of risk, yielding a positive relationship. Hispanic, however, yielded a negative relationship, with risk decreasing as Hispanic in the sample increases. All of the legal variables considered yielded significant relationships. Current offense category and prior offence categories were positively predictive of risk, with the increase of risk occurring with the increase in the legal construct. Offense types of violent and property were negatively related, with the increase in offense type lending to a decrease in risk level. The legal variables all similarly impacted the significance in the model.

Model 3 factors in ecological structures, which are the subject of the research. The complete model accounted for 77% of the variation in risk assessment. Black held as the strongest predictor throughout all 3 models, with it acting as the strongest predictor in Model 3. All of the demographic variables, except for gender, were significant in the model. Age and Hispanic were negatively predictive, with risk increasing as age and ethnicity decreased. In other words, younger juveniles and non- Hispanic ethnic groups were perceived as riskier. This is logical since Black and White groups were perceived as riskier. Violation and infraction was the only legal variable that was insignificant in the model. Felony offense, offense type, and prior offenses were all predictive at similar rates, with violent and property offenses producing negative results, increasing as risk deceases. Ecological structures, while significantly predictive, accounted for 3% of the

variance in risk. Religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores were significant, with liquor stores acting as the most significant predictor. Liquor stores, along with religious establishments, were negatively predictive, with the presence of these structures predicting lower risk. The increase of public housing, however, generated increases in risk level. In comparison to the bivariate analysis, liquor stores were not a significant correlate with risk. In addition, the direction of the relationships of the independent variables was positive. The only parallel relationship that held between both analyses was that of public housing.

4.2.2 - Prosecution

Prosecution status was assumed to be predicted by ecological factors. In assessing the correlation between the independent variable and prosecution, religious establishments, public housing and liquor stores were all in a negative direction, but only the relationship with public housing and liquor stores was significant. Explicitly, as the number of public housing and liquor stores increase, prosecutions decrease.

Three models were designed to determine if the significant relationships held up after accounting for control variables. Model 1, which accounts for demographic data alone, was significant and predictive of 23% of the variance in prosecution. In this model, only Hispanic served as a significant predictive force, with an increase of Hispanic adjudicated juveniles predicting a decrease in prosecutions. Model 2 considers legal variables, along with demographics. The complete model accounts for 49% of the variance in prosecutions, with 25% coming from legal factors. In this model, Hispanic remained a strong negative predictor, while male emerged as a significant factor in a positive direction, with prosecution likelihood increasing based on gender.

Violation/Infraction, Violent offense, and prior violations/infraction bore negative relationships, with prosecutions decreasing as these categories were expressed. Property offense was prominent as a predictor in increasing prosecutions. Model 3 added ecological structures to determine if there was indication of support for the hypothesis of increasing prosecutions in areas with the structures of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. 50% variation in prosecution was accounted for by the complete model, with 2% contributed by the ecological structures. In this model, only religious establishment was significant, decreasing as prosecutions increased. Considering demographics, age and Hispanic were significant, with a decrease in age and Hispanic ethnicity, prosecutions increased. Criminal history, particularly violation/infraction, violent, and prior violations/infractions were negatively predictive of prosecution. Prosecutions only increased in the evidence of property offenses and prior misdemeanors.

4.2.3 - Residential Sanctions

Residential sanction was assessed to determine correlation and predictive value of the ecological structures. Correlation assessment yielded a significance of the ecological structures, represented by religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. All three were in the positive direction, meaning that an increase in the above mentioned ecological structures was related to an increase in residential sanction.

Hierarchal regression was performed to determine significance and if the relationship held through controlling for demographic and legal indicators. Model 1 considered demographic variables. As a whole, the model contributed to 18% of the variance in residential sanctions. Black and male were the most significant predictors

driving the significance in the model, with Black acting as the strongest forecaster. Model 2 considers criminal history. Only prior violations/infractions acted as significant factor. The legal portion of the model itself only provided 5% of the variance in residential sanction. Model 3 considered the ecological structures which comprise the assumptions held by the researcher. Ecological structures contributed to 11% of the variation in sanction, with liquor stores providing the driving force of the relationship. In looking at the overall model, which predicted 35% of the predictability, only felony conviction was significant, with the increase in felonies predicting an increase in residential commitment.

4.2.4 - Overall Discussion

Risk Assessment

The research hypothesized that stigmatized ecological structures would be significantly predictive of risk assessment, prosecution, and residential sanctions, over and beyond that of demographic and legal variables. Specifically in assessing risk, all of the demographic variables were correlated, in varying directions. All of the legal variables concerning offense category and type were significant on a bi-variate level. This analysis also revealed significant relationships between risk and two of the ecological structures: religious establishments and public housing. The presence of religious establishments and public housing led to the increase in risk score. When controlling for each other factors, Black, White, and age were significant predictors, with the majority of the variance in risk being due to demographics. Looking further, legal factors, when added into the equation, only accounted for 23% of risk, compared to the 50% contributed by demographics, indicating that demographics, particularly race and

gender, influence risk assessment level. Ecological structure was factored in religious establishment, public housing, and liquor store were predictive of risk. Alternatively, the bi-variate did not yield significance when considering liquor stores. On a multi-level, not only was liquor store significant, it was the strongest predictor, when controlling for other factors. Also, a bi-variate analysis yielded all positive directions, when considering ecological factors. The regression model generated only a positive direction for public housing, with the presence of religious establishments and liquor stores leading to a decrease in risk, and an increase of public housing leading to an increase in risk. While ecological structures led to 3% of the variance in risk, the model was significant.

The hypothesis states that ecological structures would be a significant predictor of risk, over and beyond demographics and legal factors. Ecological structures were significant in its prediction of risk overall, predicting 3% of the variation. It was further assumed that individually the variables would have predictive value. All of the assessed ecological variables were significant, but only public housing was predictive in the direction assumed. Religious establishments and liquors stores were predictive, but in an alternative direction. In summary of the model, 74% of the variation in risk was due to demographics and criminal variables, 50% of which was due to demographics. This was in stark contrast to the hypotheses' assumption of the relationship between the independent, dependent, and control variables.

The hypothesis was based on the idea that communities, which are idealized by its structures and boundaries (Durkheim, 1965), are made up of structures that influence perception (Kraftl, 2006), which in turn were assumed to effect risk. Ecological structures contributed minimally, with liquor stores acting as a significant factor,

although in a direction alternate to the hypothesis. The presence of liquor stores, in fact, decreased the likelihood of high risk. Previous literature does not directly site that individuals from areas with an excess of liquor stores are seen as risky, but it does indicate that liquor stores are most evident in areas that are fragmented and disadvantaged financially (Alaniz, 2008; Escobedo, 2002; Jones-Webb, 2008; & LaVeist, 2000), leading to the present research's assumption the relationship. The model itself confirmed the notion of previous research that demographics play a major role in determining riskiness and likelihood to recidivate (Brick, 2009; Carringron, 2008; Correll & Park, 1995; Elin-Blomquist, 1993), exceeding the effects of legal factors. Specifically, previous research indicated that race was a strong indicator of risk perception, with Black juveniles deemed riskier and hence deserving more punishment, due to the idea that these juveniles had negative personality traits that were difficult to alter (Bridges and Steen, 1998).

Prosecution

The relationship between control variables and ecological structures with prosecutions displayed significant results on both the bi- and multi-level. In a basic correlation model, population density, ethnic, and gender produced significant results. Population density, Hispanic and male prompted negative results, with the decrease in any factor leading to an increase in prosecution. Oppositely, an increase in females lent to an increase in prosecutions. In assessing the models, only Hispanic remained significant in all three models, controlling for outside factors. In Model 2 and 3, gender and age appeared to be significant, respectively. Demographic variables contributed to 23% of the variance in prosecution.

Comparatively, legal factors were responsible for 25% of the variance, independent of demographics. Criminal justice variables were widely significant from a bi-variate level, with all variables correlated, except for current violation/infraction. Current violations, violent offense, and prior felony, misdemeanors, and violations/infractions all yielded negative relationships, with the increase in prosecution correlated to a decrease in the above mentioned factors. In regression analysis, similar results were presented. Looking at prosecution on multi-level, violation/infraction, violent offense, property offense, and prior violation/infraction were significant in predicting prosecution in Model 2, with current and prior violation/infraction, and violent offenses predicting a decrease in prosecution. Property offenses were positively predictive. Model 3 factored in ecological structures. The same variables significant in Model 2 were present, in addition to prior misdemeanors, which was considerable in a positive direction.

The relationship between ecological factors and prosecution were exposed in correlation analysis and in Model 3 of the hierarchal analysis. The hypothesis assumed that the presence of religious establishments, public housing and liquor stores increase the likelihood of prosecution. In examining the correlation relationship, only public housing and liquor stores were significant, with prosecutions decreasing in areas with more public housing and liquor stores. Hierarchal regression revealed the predictive value of all ecological factors on prosecution at 1.6%, with religious establishments emerging as a significant value. Religious establishments were negatively predicative of prosecutions, decreasing the likelihood of prosecution. This result is in direct contrast to the assumptions contained in the hypotheses, in that ecological structures predicted only

1.6% of the variance, and of the independent variables, religious establishments presented a significant relationship in a direction alternate to the hypothesis. Commitment likelihood actually decreased with the presence of religious establishments. In addition to the specific assumption of the research, it was posed that ecological structures would be predictive, exceeding demographic and legal variables. This idea was not supported in this research, as 49% of the variation in prosecution was due to demographic and criminal justice variables, with the complete model influencing 50% of the fluctuation in prosecution.

The hypotheses were not supported, in that while there was a relationship between ecological variables and prosecution, albeit small, the direction was in the opposite direction than that assumed. Religious establishments reduced the likelihood of prosecutions. The direction of the relationship is supported in previous research that indicates that religious establishments provide a buffer within the community, increasing social bonds and reducing negative perceptions (Cornwall, 1987; Stark, 1996). In addition, housing and liquor stores were both negative, although insignificant. Demographics and legal history provided almost of the variance demonstrated in the model. Hispanic accounted for all of the variance when considering demographics alone. When legal factors were included in the equation, male was significant. Of the legal variables, violation/infraction, violent and property offenses and prior violations/infractions were dominant in both of the models that included criminal factors. Surprisingly, in the research, prosecution was predicted by violent offenses, but in an alternate direction. In other words, the increase in violent offenses led to a decrease in

prosecution. This is alternate to common criminal justice practice of assigning harsher treatment to those responsible for more serious offenses.

Residential Sanctions

Residential sanction was assessed as a back-end reflection of judicial discretion. It was assumed that the presence of religious establishments, public housing and liquor stores would be a factor in sanctioning, with penalty increasing with the increase of these establishments. The data showed that there was an underlying positive relationship between these variables, with the increase of sanctions increasing with the rise in these structures in an area, supporting the hypothesis. In order to determine if the relationships held true independent of demographics and legal variables, control variables were included in the analysis. Demographically, Black and male were significant on their own, with an increase in either category providing an increase in sanction. 18% of the variability was accounted for in the model. Criminal variables were added into the model, contributing 5% to the variation in sanction. In this model, none of the demographic variables were significant. Of the legal factors, only prior violation/infraction was significant, leading to an increase in sanction with an increase in the legal construct. Model 3 provided the relationship of the independent variables with sanctioning likelihood. Ecological structures contributed 11% of 35% of the variance in the entire model. In the model overall, felony and liquor store was significant, with liquor stores acting as the more dominant of the predictors.

The results of the analyses were moderately in support of the hypothesis that the use of residential sanctioning would be more prominent in areas with a greater amount of religious establishment, public housing, and liquor stores, over and beyond demographics

and legalities. All of the ecological edifices were significant in the correlation investigation. Other variables were considered in a hierarchal regression analysis. In looking at this method, it was shown that while demographics were responsible for the majority of the variance evidenced in the model, ecological factors were responsible for 11% of the variance. Interestingly, when controlling for all variables within the model, only the ecological structure of liquor store was significant. None of the demographics were significant. In addition to this, legal factors were only predictive of sanctioning, at 5%, with prior violations/infractions in Model 2 and current felony in Model 3, driving the relationship. In summary, 30% of the predictability in sanctioning was due to demographics and place, by way of ecological structures. Previous research cites the relationship between liquor stores and delinquent perception, albeit indirectly. This is implied through the notion that alcohol marketing is more present in areas of fragmentation, with the presence of alcohol in certain areas being connected to assumptions of public drunkenness, drug use, loitering, and decomposition (Hackbarth, 1996; Hill and Angel, 2005).

Other Relationships

The research also generated other interesting relationships between the variables. As shown in the hierarchal regression analysis, demographic variables consistently accounted for much of the variance in the dependent variables. Of the demographic variables, race and ethnicity were the prominent significant variables in the regression modeling. On a bi-variate level, Black and White were both significantly related to risk with the evidence of Black presenting more risk. The same direction of the relationship held in relation to residential sanction. Regarding ethnicity, risk, prosecution, and

residential sanction increased with the decrease of Hispanic juveniles in an area. Also curious was the strength of the correlations. In considering risk, race, prior felonies and prior misdemeanors were strongly significant. It is reasonable that criminal history would be a main factor in determining risk, but race, which is supposed to be overlooked by criminal justice officials, is perverse. Race was also moderate significant in relation to prior history, with prior felonies, misdemeanors, and violations/infractions increasing as Black juveniles in an area increased, and as White juveniles decreased.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

5.1 - Theoretical Consequences

This research was theoretically rooted in the field of social ecology, with the idea that juvenile justice systems possess their own workplace culture. This culture was assumed to be influenced by an area's ecological makeup. Ecology poses that the social content of an area affects social behavior. Generally, previous research indicates that decision makers' group attitudes, beliefs, and sense of social order and position heavily influence juvenile justice processes. It has been suggested in the literature that agencies responsible for arresting, assessing, and judging are conditioned and socialized to assume that harsh conditions will persist and an increased risk to public safety will be evident if there is no intervention, especially concerning juveniles who are from areas characterized as disordered and fragmented (Bobo, 2006; Church, 1995; Granovetter, 1992; Higginbotham, 1996; Smith, 2009; Worden, 2007). This research assumed that juveniles residing in these areas are deemed as in need of more help and, therefore, are more likely to be assessed harshly, prosecuted, and sanctioned to residential commitment.

This research assumed that the collective behavior of the juvenile justice system would be a result of the perception of stigmatized ecological structures. The structures of religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores would significantly positively predict variance in risk assessment, prosecution, and residential sanctioning. Included in this analysis were area and individual demographics, population density, age, race, ethnicity and gender. Income was excluded because it is closely connected to population density and because this dissertation was based on tangible constructs. In addition to

demographics, legal variables were included in the examination. These included offense type, offense category, and prior offense category.

The research assessed six urban communities in Florida. It has been cited that population density and homogeneity are common concepts in the discussion of urban communities, with these components dictated by class leading to assumptions of the desirability of an area (Haekel, 1866; Hawley, 1992; Park & Burgess, 1925; Simmel, 1903; Wirth, 1938). This dissertation did not access the rates of patterns of delinquency, but examined the role of ecological structures in shaping the collective perceptions of the juvenile justice system. As shown in previous literature, tangible units, expressly religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores, are emotionally charged (Escobedo, 2002; Fischer, 2002; Jensen, 2006; Jones-Webb, 2008; LaVeist; 2000; Mouw, 2006; Sampson, Morenoff, Gannon-Rowley, 2002; Zander, 1955).

While the research partially affirmed the hypotheses of the influence of ecological structures, demographic variables also played a prominent role in determining the dependent variables, often over and beyond legal variables. In regards to risk, ecological structures were responsible for 3% of the variance, with demographics accounting for 50%. Demographics were significant over and beyond that of legal variables. When assessing prosecutions, legal variables were responsible for a majority of variance, at 25% but demographics were not far off, at 23%. Residential sanctions were predicted by demographics and ecological structures at 29%, with only 5% due to legal functions, although 65% of variance was unexplained. Legal variables are supposed to dictate decisions within the juvenile justice system, in part. In this case, demographics and ecological structures were significant. The fact that demographics and ecological

structures were widely significant confirms the research's assumption of collective behavior.

The juvenile justice court was initiated in 1899 (Pisciotta, 1983; Ventrell, 1998), with the premise of parens patriae, allowing state intervention for juveniles. With the foundation of rehabilitation, the system's beginnings were overwrought with bias. There was the stark differentiation between those who were deemed reformative and worthy, and those who were classified as morally perverse and non-treatable. The assumed likelihood of reform played out in sanctions, with the juveniles who were seen as decent, receiving education and social support, while their counterparts were either excluded from help or trained for menial jobs as a way of enforcing social control. Race and gender were commonly the basis of discrimination, with White juveniles favored over Black or female juveniles (Granovetter, 1992; Kemph-Leonard, 2007; Moak, 2003; Schlossman, 1995). Over time the system has shifted toward a heavier influence on public safety leading to heavier sanctions, including the increasing use of incapacitation (Butts & Mears, 2001; Butts& Miitchell, 2000). With this shift, disproportion has remained, with race and individual traits leading to a "group think" that often govern criminal justice behavior (Engen, 2005). The findings in this research are in accord with these past foundations and present models, although the deliberateness is not assumed to be the root. The basis of the bias is seen as a part of normative organization thought.

Individuals within organizations often construct frameworks of individuals based on their experience. Once the individual is part of a collective, such as a work group, their ideas are often perpetuated or swayed based on how much these notions are in line with those of the organization (Hill-Collins, 2010). This segment is a product of

controlling images, which are acted out in behaviors, i.e. justice decisions (Hills Collins, Miller, & Stiever, 1988). This collective consciousness and workplace norms are based on power, with judgment officials reserving the authority (Allen, 2005), with the bias resulting from politics, community values, and on-going stereotypes. The collectivity of judgments is evident from this research, displaying differentiation within the juvenile justice system based on collective perceptions of ecological environment and demographic makeup.

Overall, the theoretical prepositions were verified. It is evident that the ecological structures swayed juvenile justice system behavior, at least indirectly in both directions. Religious establishments were assumed to imply some binding and collective efficacy. While the hypothesis assumed the opposite, the findings confirmed previous literature of religious establishment's utility in regards to risk and prosecution. Public housing and liquor stores are viewed as having an impact on prosecution and residential sanction. Previous literature indicated the negative implications of these structures, especially in urban areas. Contrary to the literature, liquor stores did not have a negative effect on risk. Risk assessment level deceased with the presence of liquor stores. Also, risk level decreased with the increase of public housing, but in accordance to the researcher's assumptions, residential sanctions increased with the increase of liquor stores.

It was assumed that disparities concerning race in the current research are rooted in the notion that Black juveniles and those with more liquor stores are seen as high risk and in need of incapacitation. What is odd and not represented by theory is that violent offense is predictive of a decrease in risk and prosecution. It is logical that the opposite would occur.

According to Allen (2005), the workplace, in this case the juvenile justice system operates with an “ecology of games” which is based on the organization’s buying into dominant ideas. The juvenile justice system has the mission of judging, supervising and treating juveniles based on fair, individualized justice, but its actions are shifted by biases from the media, politics and workplace norms (Worden, 2007). Additionally, according to Giroux (1996), minority individuals, especially those who are Black, are viewed to be “spreading violence like a disease”. This research does agree the right or power to judge is stratifying (Duffee, 1980). This authority creates boundaries between the juvenile justice system and the communities that they serve (Mashon, 2000), resulting in an in-group versus out-group. This notion of institutional theory implies that an individual who may not agree independently to the collective view, takes on this “moral order” propelling bias. This research does not presume a conflict perspective in that it does not imply that agents consciously judge based on bias.

Theoretically, the research confirmed the notion of group/collective behavior, as acted out in judgments. All three decision points that were addressed in the research were significantly predicted by at least one of the ecological structures. In addition, demographic variables were predictive of the dependent variables. Theoretically, it is not implied that judgment officials deliberately decide based on the juvenile’s demographics and residential makeup. Causal attribution theory indicates that harsher punishments are enacted because certain juveniles are seen as more blameworthy and riskier than others (Hawkins, 1981). This research implies that individuals are socialized by the workplace to assess and judge certain juveniles harsher based on ecology and personal characteristics. In some cases of the research, legal factors either took a back seat to

demographics or they resented a relationship contrary to logic. This indicates that the root of discrimination must be the assumption of culpability based on extra-legal actors.

5.2 - Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This research hypothesized that juveniles from areas with more religious establishments, public housing and liquor stores would be assessed harsher, prosecuted more, and sanctioned to residential commitment more frequently than juveniles from areas with a lack of these structures, based on perception. To validate the hypotheses the research assessed the independent, dependent and control variables using bi-variate and hierarchal regression. It is understood that a single study cannot totally encompass every area or level of system behavior; and although steps were taken to address generalizability, multicollinearity, and mediating factors, some limitations were apparent. That being stated, the limitations of this research and suggestions for future analysis are put forth.

This dissertation analyzed the relationship between place and judgments in the six Florida counties of Broward, Duval, Hillsborough, Miami-Dade, Orange, and Palm-Beach, all which are widely urban. In order to generalize findings to Florida overall, an investigation of all Florida counties would be necessary to get a full picture of the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. A look into rural and suburban counties would allow for the ability to generalize the findings to similar communities. In addition to this point, Florida is in many ways demographically, economically, and geographically different from other states. For this reason, a look at other states with alternate make-ups is needed.

This research was quantitative in nature and speculated the influence of perception on juvenile justice decisions. Actual perception of juvenile agents, which can be scrutinized through qualitative research, is not considered. The interaction between ecology and juvenile justice should be considered from a mixed-method design, assessing the thought process leading to judgments. Judgments, quantitatively measured in the present research, were those of risk assessment, prosecutions, and residential sanctions. These segments obviously do not encompass the entirety of juvenile justice system behavior. The field would gain from the analysis of other decision points, including arrest, arraignment, and detention. Detailing this point, it is known that juvenile probation officers are responsible for assessing risk. What is unknown is if or how the arresting source, who initiates the charge as a result of an offense, influences the decisions of the juvenile probation officer. By viewing this segment independently, we would get a better picture of how the use of discretion plays out from the front end, and an idea of how ecology affects the perception of the officials primarily responsible for introducing juveniles into the system. In the case of prosecution and sanctions, which are executed by judges, the decision points are compound. It is possible that these decisions are influenced by the risk assessment given by the probation officer. In short, it is difficult, if not impossible; to completely separate these decision junctions from each other. The research would benefit from an analysis that accesses these processes autonomously and as they affect one another.

The study of juvenile justice decisions, with the emphasis on ecology as the independent variable, is important to the future of the adult and juvenile justice systems, as well as the ecology and urban planning fields. To this end, it is suggested that control

factors, which were excluded from this research, be included in future research to encompass area makeup, legal history, and juvenile social indicators, including income, area-specific cornerstones, offense type, and UCR code. Along with these control variables, crime and arrest rates, which were not included in this research because of the impossibility of accessing this data on a zip code level, as counties collect their data independent of other counties, must be included going forward. Future research would benefit from this approach, using these factors as control variables to get a clearer, more complete picture of the relationship between place and juvenile justice system behavior.

This research aggregated juvenile cases, ecological data, and census data based on zip code. Analyses done on a narrower level such as census tracts would be important to the fields of juvenile justice, ecology, and urban planning, allowing for a for a more intricate, detailed discussion of place and perception. There is limited delinquency research done on this area, mainly because some ecological and criminal data collections are compiled at the zip code or precinct level. A narrower unit of analysis will provide the pin-pointing of community ecological effects on system processes and, perhaps, on individuals; and account for issues with defining neighborhood borders, which is cited as a concern of zip code based aggregation (J. Morenoff, Sampson, R., & Raudenbush, S., 1999).

This research used bi-variate and multiple regression methods to address the relationship between ecological structures and the dependent variables of risk level, prosecution, and residential sanction. Bi-variate analysis was used to determine generally the correlation values between the independent, dependent, and control variables. Multiple regression went further to indicate both the predicative value of the individual

variables and the factors collectively, independent of the other indicators. Specifically, the regression models were designed to determine how much variance in the dependent variable that was explained by demographic, legal, and ecological values. While multiple regression was useful in its ability to explain and forecast the independent value of each set of common values and test theory, a portion of the variance in each set of modeling was not explained. In explaining risk, 23% of the variance was unaccounted for. Less variance was explained in regards to prosecution and residential sanctioning, at 50% and 65%, respectively. It is unknown what factors were responsible for explaining the remaining value. It is feasible that social indicators, as evidenced in the PACT risk assessment instrument or area crime rates are the accountable agents. To determine this possibility, additional work is needed.

Both the adult and juvenile systems are supposed to consider current offense factors and prior criminal history in their decision making. In this analysis, a few curious relationships were exposed, via hierarchal regression, which should be further examined. Demographics were overwhelmingly influential in predicting changes in risk assessment, prosecution, and residential sanctioning, in some cases, beyond the legal constructs. This notion has been timelessly studied. What was unexpected was the lesser degree of influence from legal variables, and the way in which these criminal justice factors played out in the regression models, for example, with serious offenses rendering either no relationship or a result in an unusual direction.

In summary, the analysis of other counties and states, infusion of additional variables, and aggregation based on census tracts would contribute to juvenile justice, ecology, and urban planning fields immensely. It is hoped that the noted suggestions and

limitations be considered. Optimistically, future research will probe additional interactions for a better understanding of ecology and place, as to influence policy.

5.3 - Policy Implications

Criminal justice research is important in its potential to transform public policy. This research looked at the system of juvenile justice and the influence of place on perception. It was assumed that perception is acted out in decision-making activities. Hypothetically, the ecological structures of religious establishment, public housing, and liquor stores would be predictive of judgments, over and beyond that of demographics and legal factors. While the hypotheses were not supported entirely, there were findings that warrant a look into juvenile justice policy.

This dissertation has determined that there is a relationship between ecology and decisions made in the juvenile justice system, particularly risk assessments, prosecutions, and residential sanctions. In addition to significant findings in regards to ecological structures, demographics were responsible for much of the variance in the dependent variables and legal constructs led to some interesting relationships.

In reference to assessments, the research found that religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores significantly predicted risk. The presence of religious establishments and liquor stores were connected to a decrease, and oppositely, the incidence of public housing predicted an increase in risk. When area and individual demographics were assessed with models that included legal and ecological variables, population density and Black were significant predictors, both increasing the likelihood of high risk. The addition of ecological structures in the model yielded significance among population density, age, race, and ethnicity variables; with Hispanic and age

decreasing the likelihood of risk. Population and race variables were significant in the positive direction.

A minimal percentage (1.6%) of variance in prosecution was dictated by ecology, and a quarter of variance was determined by demographics and legal variables individually, leaving 50% of the differential unaccounted for in the research. Of the ecological variables, religious establishment was the only significant factor influencing prosecution, decreasing the likelihood. When considering ethnicity, Hispanic was significant across the three models, with an increase in Hispanic connected to a decrease in prosecution. What was unusual was the relationship between prosecution and legal history. Current felony offense, which would logically be connected with prosecution, was not significant. Violent offense, which would be expected to be significant, was, but in a negative direction. As violent offense increased, prosecutions decreased. In addition, an increase in property offenses connected to an increase in prosecution.

The analysis of residential sanctioning also provided interesting results. In analyzing the three models, 35% of variance in residential sanctions was explained by demographics, legal factors, and ecological structures, at 18%, 5%, and 11%, respectively, leaving 65% of variance unexplained. When considering all factors together, only current violation/infraction and liquor stores were significant, with both factors increasing with prosecutions.

While ecological structures were not the primary predictors of risk assessment, prosecution, and residential sanctions, place, demographics, and legal history are important in the shaping of policy and were significant on some level. The influence of religious establishments on the community, as defined by zip code, was not seen as

detrimental. As its presence increased, assessed risk level and prosecution decreased. The finding was logical directionally based on previous research indicating that the utility of these structures (Hirschi & Stark, 1996; Mouw, 2006; Portes, 1998). This finding shapes the suggestion that the influence of religious establishments be emphasized, as to strengthen the bond between juveniles and their neighborhoods, thereby increasing collective efficacy and decreasing potential threats to public safety. Religious establishments can be a vantage point used by the juvenile justice system. As a means of enhancing the value of these organizations, it is recommended that the juvenile justice system use these faith-based structures to promote pro-social activities and to act as a buffer. They can, perhaps, be used to provide mentors to criminal juvenile involved juveniles or for community service sanctions. This may not necessarily alter the perception of these units, but it may result in the decrease of risk and increase in the juveniles' connection in the community.

Ideally, the presence of public housing and liquor stores should have a neutral effect on both risk and residential sanction. In the case of this research, public housing was predictive of increased risk; and liquor stores were foretelling of risk assessment and increased residential sanction. Public housing has long been associated with criminality, poverty, and area fragmentation (Crews, 2007; Elliot, 1996; C. Fischer, 2002; Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002; Santiago, 2003). While the research does indicate some predictive value of public housing, albeit minimal, compared to demographics and legal history, suggested alterations are minor. From a policy stance, nothing can be done in the area of urban planning that can mitigate bias completely. Public housing in Florida is widely low-rise establishments that do not necessarily fit its stereotypical image of

large, towering, clustered sites; and nationally, there is the drive for the increased use of mixed public housing sites, which include low and middle income occupants, with the goal of changing the connotations associated with these sites. While this is a step in the right direction, this work suggests that the administrators of housing on a state and federal level do more to change the image of public housing. In the planning of neighborhoods or communities, it is suggested that more thought go into the concentration of these housing sites on public perception. These sites are concentrated in pockets that coincide with criminal activity and often have an ingrained negative tone of criminality, poverty, normlessness, hopelessness, and fragmentation. As a way of changing semantics, New York City and Portland, for example, use the term “housing authority”, to address the issue of inflection. A change in the public housing term would perhaps lend to a change in overall perception.

The excess of liquor stores, especially in urban areas, has been widely associated with loitering, alcoholism, and crime. While this is the implication, the research does not see the necessity in the distribution of liquor licenses being re-vamped. There are already guidelines as to the placement of stores in reference to the distance from schools. Additionally, the Florida Department of Liquor Licenses has a quota system in place, which limits the amount of liquor stores per area, based on population. It is suggested, however, that the distance from religious establishments be considered in the future planning of communities, as to not interfere with the pro-social value of places of worship.

Criminal justice research findings are important in and of itself, but are only effective if they can be applied to policy and practice, which go hand and hand. The

system works best when sanctions and fault determinations are handed out fairly based on legal variables and accounting for risk-related indicators. Unfortunately, bias has long been evident in the juvenile justice system, especially in relation to race, gender, socioeconomic status, and community characteristics. For example, the research evidenced the relationship between race, crowdedness, and the juvenile justice system, indicating disparities with Black and crowdedness predictive of adverse treatment based on assumed moral depravity, inherent disorganization, lack of social norms, and improbability of rehabilitation (Lamont & Molnar; Pilavin & Briar, 1964; Piquero, 2008; Schlossman, 1992; Shaw & McKay, 1942). This point characterizes the intersection of demographics, place, and the criminal justice system.

The juvenile justice system is rooted in assumptions of rehabilitation, with juveniles regarded from an individual level. This rehabilitative notion has led to the justification of a wide degree of discretion acted out by justice agents. This prudence is supposed to account for social and behavioral background, providing an individualized, yet public safety oriented, approach. Historically, neutrality has not been the case, with bias often surfacing. As related to this research, the judgments of recidivism likelihood, prosecution, and residential commitment are supposed to be based on criminal justice factors, as opposed to demographic or environmental indicators, assumed or otherwise. This research does not suggest that the juvenile justice system should discount the use of discretion. It is, however, suggested that more be done to diminish the disparities that evolve from this flexibility.

Most, if not all, juvenile justice agents are aware of the biases held based on race and ethnicity. In 1994, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

recognized the existing disparities by mandating that grant-funded programs were to investigate the existence of disproportionate minority confinement, and if it were present, these programs were to decrease it. Unrecognized were non-grant funded programs; and the scope of this initiative ignores other decision points that lead up to confinement. For example, while juvenile probation officers and judges work together to decide the outcome of a juvenile, bias exists, presumably individually and collectively, with one decision point effecting each other and subsequent judgments. More should be done to identify the source of perceptual flaws by way of trainings regarding cultural competency, thereby making the juvenile justice system more effective. While it is impossible to completely erase conditioned system beliefs, a realistic approach would be to confront and recognize the overlap of perception and system so that solutions can be found. This will act as a catalyst for the increase rehabilitation and public safety.

Juveniles are assumed to be more impressionable and treatable than their adult counterparts. This point is stressed in both he juvenile justice process and the language of the system. For example, juveniles involved in the system are characterized as delinquent, as opposed to criminal. It is necessary for this expression to carry over in regards to risk assessment. The term "risk assessment" has a negative connotation and has the underlying theme of punishment. Juveniles should be assessed for the potential to be rehabilitated. This is standpoint is solution seeking as opposed to assumptive.

Additionally, as much as is reasonably possible, it is important to separate each system behavior from each other. In relation to the risk assessment instrument, it is suggested that it be divided into parts, with legal factors assessed first to determine criminal risk. This portion would be standardized, without any disparities based on non-

legal factors. The second part would examine sociological indicators, sans demographics, to keep in line with the tenants of the rehabilitative function of the juvenile justice system. These indicators should be assessed independently by two separate juvenile probation officers, and compared for discrepancies. The results of this would be used to mitigate or aggravate the charge.

Judges have a wide range of discretion regarding prosecution and residential sanctioning. Judges' decisions should theoretically be affected by this method of assessment, but, like other juvenile justice agents, they are assumed to be influenced by non-legal, demographic, and ecological factors. To combat this, there should be a standardized method of sanctioning, based on risk score. This does not mean to take away their discretionary power. It is, however, intended to provide a set range of penalties based on a risk score. This will allow the judge leeway, while not giving to much room to stray. Without race or area indicators included., this would potentially allow for a more uniform assessment of risk.

While this dissertation does not concern policing agents, this initial step can afford improvement. Community policing is based on the idea of strengthening the relationship between communities and arresting officials. It is a collective approach that would not only shift community feelings toward the police, but would also expose officials to the community residents that reside in the areas most frequented by these structures. It is assumed that once a pattern of regular interaction is established, the influence of these environmental structures will decrease, having a snowball effect on other agencies within the juvenile justice system, changing the overall tone and culture.

5.4 - Conclusion

Communities are often characterized by its ecological make-up, with the presence of absence of structures indicating the degree of order. Such indicators that shape the connotations of place are religious establishments, public housing, and liquor stores. This research sought to flesh out the underlying bias within the juvenile system and determine if these indicators affect decision making. The research assumed that these variables would converge on juvenile justice system behavior, over and beyond demographic and legal factors. To this end, the research focused on social ecology theory, with the fundamental premise that elements of society are swayed by ecological indicators, influencing group behavior. Multiple regression analysis found that religious establishments acted as a minimizer of penalty, with risk assessment level and prosecutions decreasing with its presence. Public housing was positively predictive of a portion of variance in risk assessment, but not prosecution or residential sanctioning. Liquor stores projected both risk and residential sanctioning, but in opposite directions, predicting a decrease in high risk assessments and an increase in residential sanctions.

Besides this, demographics played a significant role in determining the issuing of risk assessment level, prosecutions, and residential sanctions. While the actual influence of perception on system behavior cannot be confirmed, variance due to outwardly apparent group and environmental factors is apparent. Legal constructs were significant, but sparingly. The significance of both demographics and ecological structures provide evidence for the group-like frame work and collective behavior that was assumed to be the root cause of disparities.

The juvenile justice system is based on rehabilitation and individualized justice, with the notion that judgments should be based on actual risk likelihood, and established on putting systems of remedy in place. The system operates best when juvenile are assessed, prosecuted, and sanctioned based on legal factors, while leeway allowed for the consideration of the individual's social indicators, as opposed to assuming recidivism likelihood based on demographics or ecological structures. The research indicates that more in the way of policy needs to be done to decrease discrepancies. It is virtually impossible to eliminate all bias due to preconditioned notions that agents generally have. What can hopefully be done is the rejuvenation of the functions of the juvenile system, which are rehabilitation and individualized justice based on legality and redemption propensity. The juvenile justice system has put policy into place that highlights and prioritized action against disparities in regards to race. Still, more needs to be done to reduce the influence of outside factors on all juvenile justice system behavior.

This research acts as a contributor to the fields of juvenile justice and social ecology. It was a macrolevel approach focusing on a collective of ecological structures and its predictive value on juvenile justice agent decision making. Previous research has focused on individual and microlevels and has examined criminal behavior. When ecological structures were included, the concentration was on the doers of delinquency, as opposed to juvenile justice systems. While this research does not measure actual perceptions, the findings imply that there is underlying bias that cannot be explained by chance alone. This research provides to the furthering of research on ecology in relation to juvenile justice behavior. The group is a composite of workplace norms and value systems which may or may not be held or assumed by its individual components. These

value systems include biases based on the residential area of juveniles within the justice system. The factors that influence juvenile justice proceedings are beyond that of demographics. This research used hierarchal regression to determine the predictive value of residential area components compared to demographics and legal factors, as to isolate clusters of variables. As a result, this research was able to display two sets of external factors that predict judgments.

Demographics, logically, has been a constant focus of juvenile justice research. While it was a predictor of judgments, often over and beyond legal factors, ecological structures were significant. The variables of religious establishments, public housing and liquor stores which were considered are often characteristic of urban areas. These areas have been featured in the literature as having certain pockets that are plagued by crime and delinquency. While this is often true, the ecological structure of an area lend to stereotypes and assumptions of disorder and fragmentation. These stigmas are important as they, as per the research, influence judgments. It is strongly suggested that juveniles would be sanctioned differently but not for bias based on social area, which are coincidently connected to elements of race and ethnicity.

Urban planning focuses on space and place, often in relation to transportation, political zoning and crime. What is missing is the effect of structural connotation on judgments. As previous research exhibits, individual separate themselves, at least perceptually, based on area, with certain areas more desirable. These assumptions affect judgments, with juvenile justice systems acting on these implications.

Public policy focuses not just on guidelines but on decisions of government entities, particularly the decisions made by probation officers and judges. Policy works

best when decisions are fair and based on facts. The research is important in its propensity to shape policy. Juvenile justice system policy allows its agents discretion with the underlying tenant of individualized justice. This research displays the role of bias over and beyond legal factors. This research contributes to the issuing of justice, which is a public service. It is the hope of this research that public services understand the impact of place on judgments and perceptions. This research displayed the relationship between juvenile justice and place. Ideally, this research will be a foundation for future studies and will be used in the consideration of alterations within the fields of juvenile justice, urban planning, and social ecology.

Map 1: Map of Florida Counties, Retrieved from the United States Census (2011)

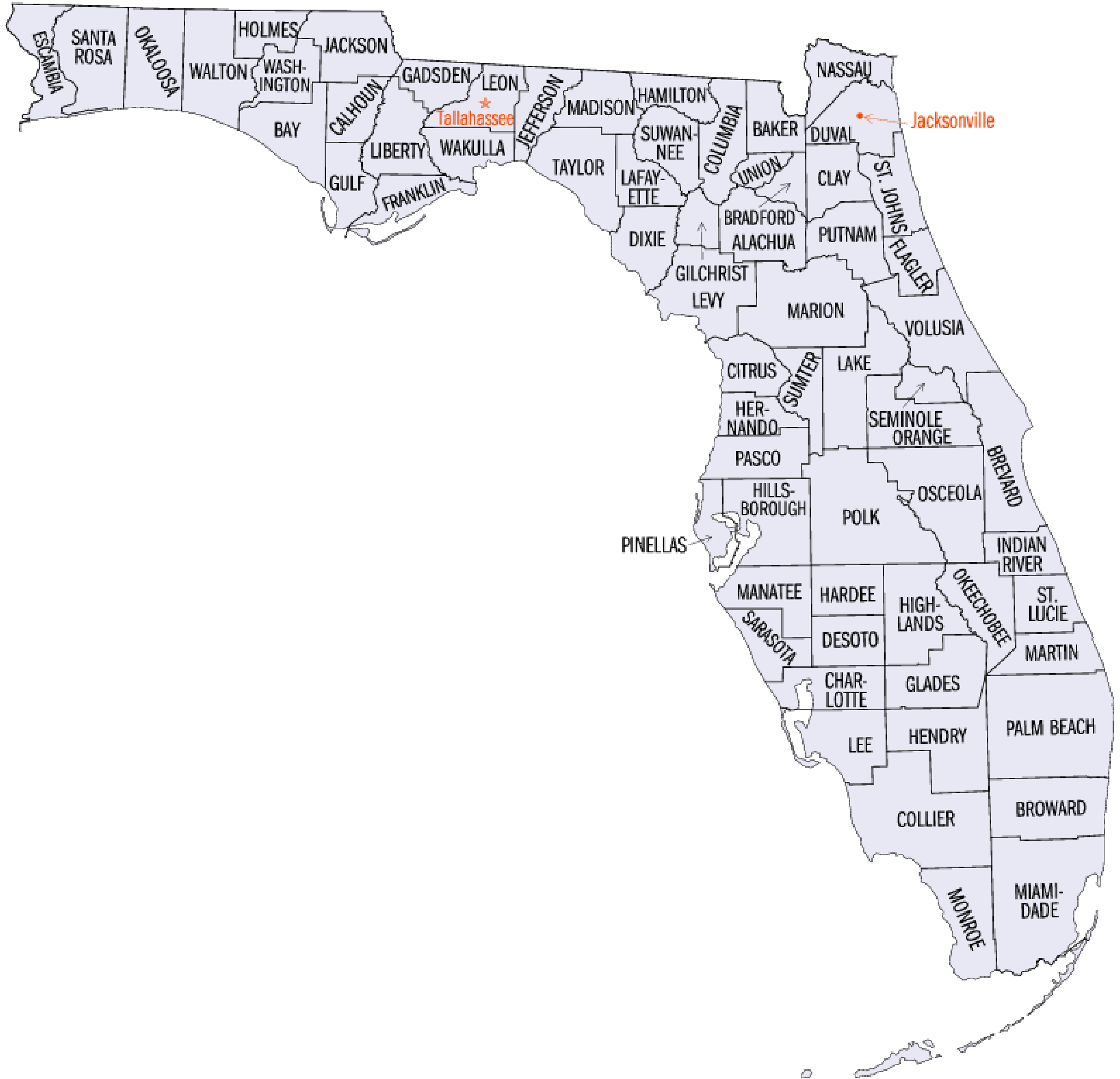


Table 1: County population, demographic and juvenile justice data

	Broward	Duval	Hillsborough	Miami-Dade	Orange	Palm Beach
Total Population	1,623,018	778,879	998,948	2,253,362	896,344	1,131,184
Race						
Percent Black	25.3	29.9	16.6	19.8	20.8	16.4
Percent White	69.9	64.5	78.2	77.2	72.3	79.7
Percent Hispanic	23.4	6	22.4	62	24.3	17.3
Age						
Median Age	37.8	34.1	35.1	35.6	33.3	41.8
Percent under 18 years old	23.6	25.9	24.8	22.8	25.3	21.2
Percent over 65 years old	14.3	10.5	11.7	14.8	9.6	21.7
Socioeconomic Status						
Median income	52504	49175	50485	43495	50988	53500
Percent owning their own home	69.5	63.1	64.1	57.8	60.7	74.7
Percent below poverty	11.4	12.4	11.6	15.3	11.6	10.2
Juvenile Justice Data 2006-2007						
Percent felony referrals (of county totals)	34	41	37	45	31	32
Percent misdemeanor referrals (of county totals)	50	45	51	44	44	45
Percent violation and infraction referrals (of county totals)	16	13	13	11	25	23
Total probation dispositions	3919	990	2202	2139	2157	2249
Juvenile Justice Data 2007-2008						
Percent felony referrals (of county totals)	31	35	34	39	27	32
Percent misdemeanor referrals (of county totals)	53	52	52	50	43	47
Percent violation and infraction referrals (of county totals)	16	13	14	11	30	21
Total probation dispositions	3517	1323	1993	2278	1790	2286

Table 2: Percentages of the Sample's Demographic, Legal, and Ecological indicators, Pre-Aggregation (in part)

Independent and Dependent Variables	*n*	%
Religious Establishments	5631	
Broward		17.7
Duval		17.5
Hillsborough		15.5
Miami-Dade		22.7
Orange		14.6
Palm Beach		12
Public Housing	197	
Broward		10.7
Duval		11.7
Hillsborough		11.2
Miami-Dade		50.3
Orange		7.1
Palm Beach		10
Liquor Stores	8218	
Broward		42
Duval		0.5
Hillsborough		2.5
Miami-Dade		3.7
Orange		23.8
Palm Beach		27.5
Risk Level	79972	
Low to Moderate		56.9
Moderate-High to High		12
No Risk Assigned		31.1
Prosecution Status	79972	
Prosecuted		76.3
Not Prosecuted		23.7
Residential Sanction	79972	
Residential Sanction Received		3.2
Residential Sanction Not Received		96.8

Table 2: Percentages of the sample's demographic, legal, and ecological indicators, pre-aggregation (continued)

Demographic and Legal Control Variables		
	n	%
Gender	79972	
Male		68.1
Female		31.9
Age at Current Offense	79972	
12 and under		6.1
13-14		17.1
15-		15.4
16 and over		61.4
Race and Ethnicity	79972	
Black		50.2
White		49.1
Hispanic		20.1
Adjudicated Juveniles within the Sample	79972	
Broward		21.4
Duval		12.1
Hillsborough		18
Miami-Dade		20.2
Orange		14.8
Palm Beach		13.5
Current Offense Severity	79972	
Felony		31.1
Misdemeanor		51.8
Violation or Infraction		17.1
Current Offense Type	79972	
Violent		21.4
Property		30.5
Other		49.1
Prior Felonies	79972	
None		63.5
One		13.9
Two or More		22.6
Prior Misdemeanors	79972	
None		44.9
One		21.6
Two or More		33.5
Prior Violations/Infractions	79972	
None		81.9
One		8.1
Two or More		2.8

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for Independent, Dependent, and Control Variables

	Description	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Independent Variables					
Religious Establishments	Number of establishments per 10000, based on total population per zip code	0	41.49	8.0807	6.98815
Public Housing	Number of housing sites per 10000, based on total population per zip code	0	5.34	0.2678	0.67062
Liquor Stores	Number of stores per 10000, based on total population per zip code	0	350.88	12.4103	21.25931
Dependent Variables					
High Risk	Percent of moderate-high/high risk assessments, based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.25	0.0972	0.0568
Prosecuted	Percent receiving cases prosecuted, based on total referrals per zip code	0.44	1	0.7625	0.11026
Residential Sanction	Percent receiving residential sanctions, based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.17	0.0273	0.02213
Control Variables					
Population Density	Population per square mile	17.84	19414.93	3664.3602	3123.94525
Age	Average age at the date of referral	14.44	17.25	15.647	0.30715
Black	Percent Black, based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.99	0.3619	0.27708
White	Percent White, based on total referrals per zip code	0.01	1	0.6302	0.27535
Hispanic	Percent Hispanic, based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.95	0.2487	0.25274
Female	Percent female based on total referrals per zip code	0.09	1	0.3175	0.08403
Male	Percent male based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.91	0.6826	0.08401
Felony	Percent of current felony charges based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.54	0.3009	0.08152
Misdemeanor	Percent of current misdemeanor charges, based on total referrals per zip code	0.31	1	0.538	0.09036
Violations/Infractions	Percent of current violation/infraction charges, based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.5	0.1611	0.06691
Violent Offense	Percent of current violent offenses, based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.57	0.1992	0.06731
Property Offense	Percent of current property offenses, based on total referrals per zip code	0	0.54	0.3082	0.07326
Prior Felonies	Mean prior felony referrals	0	2.61	1.1402	0.49435
Prior Misdemeanors	Mean prior misdemeanor referrals	0	3.14	1.4954	0.50779
Prior Violations/Infractions	Mean prior violation/infraction referrals	0	2.56	0.4411	0.38444

Table 4: Correlation matrix for ecological, legal, and demographic indicators (in part)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Independent Variables						
1. Religious Establishments	1					
2. Public Housing	.362**	1				
3. Liquor Stores	.104	.127*	1			
Dependent Variables						
4. High Risk	.335**	.410**	.046	1		
5. Prosecuted	-.065	-.190**	-.180**	-.103	1	
6. Residential Sanction	.204**	.151**	.392**	.434**	.092	1
Control Variables						
7. Population Density	-.194**	.186**	-.004	.171**	-.186**	.001
8. Age	-.268**	-.052	-.129*	-.165**	-.057	-.091
9. Black	.512**	.420**	.070	.658**	-.018	.403**
10. White	-.511**	-.416**	-.067	-.651**	.013	-.399**
11. Hispanic	-.324**	-.057	-.064	-.177**	-.417**	-.211**
12. Female	.220**	.012	.048	-.127*	.136*	-.036
13. Male	-.219**	-.013	-.048	.127*	-.136*	.037
14. Current Felonies	.100	.212**	-.055	.268**	-.238**	.128*
15. Current Misdemeanors	-.205**	-.242**	-.001	-.523**	.288**	-.259**
16. Current Violation/Infraction	.155**	.068	.069	.379**	-.099	.195**
17. Violent Offense	.180**	.193**	.272**	.205**	-.359**	.171**
18. Property Offense	-.082	-.186**	-.134*	-.231**	.270**	-.051
19. Prior Felonies	.328**	.381**	.263**	.720**	-.318**	.326**
20. Prior Misdemeanors	.442**	.362**	.297**	.752**	-.243**	.398**
21. Prior Violations/Infractions	.220**	.123*	.340**	.503**	-.253**	.311**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4: Correlation matrix for ecological, legal, and demographic indicators (continued)

	7	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**
Control Variables							
7. Population Density	1						
8. Age	.146*	1					
9. Black	.069	-.332**	1				
10. White	-.061	.338**	-.999**	1			
11. Hispanic	.442**	.212**	-.435**	.445**	1		
12. Female	-.187**	-.108	.096	-.098	-.424**	1	
13. Male	.186**	.108	-.095	.098	.424**	-1.000**	1
14. Current Felonies	.184**	-.028	.176**	-.171**	.435**	-.423**	.423**
15. Current Misdemeanors	-.122*	.072	-.324**	.320**	-.181**	.308**	-.308**
16. Current Violation/Infraction	-.060	-.062	.223**	-.223**	-.286**	.100	-.099
17. Violent Offense	-.061	-.346**	.297**	-.295**	-.074	.010	-.010
18. Property Offense	-.033	-.187**	-.106	.094	.049	.036	-.035
19. Prior Felonies	.130*	-.110	.468**	-.460**	.070	-.222**	.222**
20. Prior Misdemeanors	.084	-.169**	.585**	-.577**	-.191**	-.064	.064
21. Prior Violations/Infractions	-.100	-.150**	.291**	-.291**	-.249**	.043	-.043

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4: Correlation matrix for ecological, legal, and demographic indicators (continued)

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Control Variables								
14. Current Felonies	1							
15. Current Misdemeanors	-.701**	1						
16. Current Violation/Infraction	-.271**	-.496**	1					
17. Violent Offense	.245**	-.138*	-.113	1				
18. Property Offense	.195**	-.042	-.181**	-.215**	1			
19. Prior Felonies	.462**	-.571**	.208**	.332**	-.156**	1		
20. Prior Misdemeanors	.222**	-.479**	.377**	.412**	-.268**	.797**	1	
21. Prior Violations/Infractions	-.118*	-.347**	.612**	.212**	-.220**	.453**	.654**	1

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5: Hierarchal Regression Model for the Dependent Variable of Risk

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
Variable	*B*	SE *B*	β	*B*	SE *B*	β	*B*	SE *B*	β
Population Density	.000	.000	.074	.000	.000	0.113**	.000	.000	0.093*
Age	.001	.008	.005	-.010	.007	-.052	-.015	.007	-0.078*
Black	1.076	.238	5.248**	.409	.190	1.997*	.470	.181	2.294**
White	.949	.241	4.602**	.351	.191	1.704	.418	.182	2.024*
Hispanic	-.012	.013	-.052	-.029	.012	-0.127*	-.030	.011	-0.134**
Male	.124	.031	0.183**	.044	.025	.066	.032	.024	.048
Felony				.084	.034	0.120*	.064	.033	0.092*
Violation/Infraction				.079	.036	0.092*	.050	.035	.059
Violent				-.121	.034	-0.143**	-.107	.033	-0.127**
Property				-.076	.029	-0.097**	-.072	.028	-0.092*
Prior Felonies				.036	.007	0.314**	.039	.007	0.339**
Prior Misdemeanors				.020	.008	0.175*	.024	.008	0.210**
Prior Violations/Infractions				.015	.007	0.099*	.022	.007	0.148**
Religious Establishments							-.001	.000	-0.09*
Public Housing							.006	.003	0.073*
Liquor Stores							.000	.000	-0.174**
R^2	.505			.735			.765		
Change in R^2	.505**			.230**			.030**		

*p<.05. **p<.01

Table 6: Hierarchal Regression Model for the Dependent Variable of Prosecution

	Model 1			**Model 2**			**Model 3**		
Variable	*B*	SE *B*	β	*B*	SE *B*	β	*B*	SE *B*	β
Population Density	.000	.000	0.101	.000	.000	.035	.000	.000	.015
Age	-.018	.020	-0.050	-.046	.018	-.128	-.052	.018	-0.144**
Black	-.137	.574	-0.344	.821	.514	2.063	.851	.510	2.139
White	-.016	.581	-0.041	.885	.517	2.211	.897	.513	2.239
Hispanic	-.269	.033	-0.617**	-.277	.032	-0.634**	-.278	.032	-0.636**
Male	.110	.075	0.084	.144	.066	0.110 *	.097	.068	.074
Felony				.009	.091	.006	.032	.092	.024
Violation/Infraction				-.256	.097	-0.155**	-.270	.098	-0.164**
Violent				-.614	.091	-0.374**	-.634	.092	-0.386**
Property				.240	.079	0.159 **	.211	.079	0.140**
Prior Felonies				-.028	.018	-.124	-.024	.019	-.107
Prior Misdemeanors				.039	.021	.178	.050	.022	0.229*
Prior Violations/Infractions				-.066	.020	-0.229**	-.068	.021	-0.238**
Religious Establishments							-.002	.001	-0.125*
Public Housing							-.010	.008	-.059
Liquor Stores							.000	.000	-.038
R^2	.236			.487			.502		
F for change in R^2	.236**			.251**			.016**		

*p<.05. **p<.01

Table 7: Hierarchal Regression Model for the Dependent Variable of Residential Sanction

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE *B*	β	*B*	SE *B*	β	*B*	SE *B*	β
Population Density	.000	.000	-.020	.000	.000	.009	.000	.000	-.018
Age	.002	.004	.034	.005	.004	.069	.007	.004	.093
Black	.235	.119	2.942*	.213	.126	2.664	.168	.117	2.108
White	.207	.120	2.572	.195	.126	2.425	.143	.117	1.773
Hispanic	-.011	.007	-.123	-.014	.008	-.164	-.012	.007	-.142
Male	.031	.016	0.117*	.021	.016	.079	.020	.015	.076
Felony				.024	.022	.089	.046	.021	0.168*
Violation/Infraction				.004	.024	.013	.027	.022	.083
Violent				.011	.022	.034	-.012	.021	-.036
Property				.023	.019	.077	.019	.018	.064
Prior Felonies				.001	.005	.017	-.003	.004	-.068
Prior Misdemeanors				.003	.005	.071	.004	.005	.093
Prior Violations/Infractions				.010	.005	0.171*	.002	.005	.040
Religious Establishments							.000	.000	-.038
Public Housing							-.002	.002	-.066
Liquor Stores							.000	.000	0.379**
R^2	.184			.238			.351		
F for change in R^2	.184**			.054**			.113**		

*p<.05. **p<.01

References

Aday, D. (1986). Court structure, defense attorney use, and juvenile court decisions. *Sociological Quarterly 27*, 107-119.

Alaniz, M. L. (1998). Alcohol availability and targeted advertising in racial ethnic minority communities. *Alcohol Health & Research World, 22*(4), 286-289.

Alaniz, M. L., & Wilkes, C. (1998). Pro-drinking messages and message environments for young adults: The case of alcohol industry advertising in African American, Latino, and Native American communities. *Journal of Public Health Policy, 19*, 447-472.

Albrecht, S. (1984). Secularization, Higher Education, and Religiosity. *Review of religious research, 26*(1), 43-58.

Allen, C. (2005). On the Social Relations of Contract Research Production: Power, Positionality and Epistemology in Housing and Urban Research. *Housing Studies, 20*(6), 989-1007.

Altman, D. B., Schooler, C., & Basil, M. D. (1991). Alcohol and cigarette advertising on billboards. *Health Education Research, 6*, 487-490.

Anderson, A. & Hughes, L. (2009). Exposure to situations conducive to delinquent behavior: The effects of time use, income, and transportation. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 46, 5,* 5-34.

Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. New York: Norton.

Anderson, W. J. (1971). The local congregation as a subculture. *Social Compass, 18*, 287-291.

Andrews, D., & Bonta, J. (2003). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (3rd ed.). Cincinnati: Anderson.

Baglivio, R. (2006). The prediction of risk to recidivate among a juvenile offending population [Electronic Version]. *Assesments.com.*

Bainbridge, W. (1990). Explaining the Church Member Rate. *Social Forces, 68*(4), 1287-1296.

Bainbridge, W., & Stark, R. (1984). Formal explanation of religion: A progress report. *Sociological Analysis, 45*(2), 145-158.

Barbara, P. (1989). Billboards that haunt the poor. *San Francisco Examiner,* p. 5.

Barnes, S. L. (2005). Black Church Culture and Community Action. *Social Forces, 84*(2), 967-994.

Bazemore, G., & Umbreit, M. (1995). Rethinking the sanctioning function in juvenile justice court: Retributive or restorative responses to youth crime. *Crime & Delinquency, 41*(3), 296-316.

Becker, P. E. (2000). Boundaries and Silences in a Post-Feminist Sociology. *Sociology of Religion, 61*(4), 399.

Berger, P. (1967). A Sociological View of the Secularization of Theology. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 6*(1), 3-16.

Beyerlein, K., & Hipp, J. R. (2005). Social capital, too much of a good thing? American religious traditions and community crime. *Social Forces, 84*(2), 995-1013.

Bilcher, G., Christie-Merrall, J.; & Sechrest. (2011). Examining juvenile delinquency within activity space: Building a context for offender travel patterns. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 48, 3, 472-506.*

Bishop, D., & Frazier, C. (1996). Race effects in juvenile justice decision-making: Findings of a statewide analysis. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 86*, 392-414.

Blanchard, T. (2007). Conservative Protestant Congregations and Racial Residential Segregation: Evaluating the Closed Community Thesis in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Counties. *American sociological review, 72*(3), 416-433.

Blanchard, T., Bartowski, J., Matthews, T., & Kerley, K. (2008). Faith, morality and mortality: The ecological impact of religion on population health. *Social Forces, 86*(4), 1591620.

Bobo, L., & Thompson, V. (2006). Unfair by design: the war on drugs, race and the legitimacy of the criminal justice system. *Social Research, 72*(2), 445-472.

Bossard, J. (1938). Ecological areas and marriage rages. *The American Journal of Sociology, 44*(1), 70-85.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). The spirit of the state: Genesis and structure of the bureaucratic field. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, 96-97*, 49-62.

Brantingham, P. & Brantingham, P. (2008). Criminality of place: Vrime generators and crime attractors. *European Journal of Criminal Policy and Researcy, 3, 5-26.*

Brick, B., Taylor, T., & Esbensen, F. (2009). Juvenile attitudes toward the police: The importance of subcultural involvement and community ties. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 37*, 488-495.

Bridges, G., & Steen, S. (1998). Racial disparities in official assessments of juvenile offenders: Attributional stereotypes as mediating mechanisms. *American sociological review, 63*, 554-570.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). *The ecology of development processes* (5th ed.). New York: Wiley.

Brown, A. B., Novak, K. J., & Frank, J. (2009). Identifying variation in police officer behavior between juveniles and adults. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 37*, 200-208.

Brown, B., & Benedict, W. (2002). Perceptions of the police: Past findings, methodological issues, conceptual issues and policy implications. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management, 25*, 543-580.

Brown, F., Russo, C. J., & Hunter, R. C. (2002). The Law and Juvenile Justice for People of Color in Elementary and Secondary Schools. *The Journal of Negro Education, 71*(3), 128-142.

BrownTaylor, D. (2000). Message 'n a bottle: The scandal continues. In A. Powell (Ed.). Chicago: Renaissance Press.

Brunson, R., & Weitzer, R. (2009). Police relations with black and white youths in different urban neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review, 44*(6), 858-885.

Bursik, R. J. (1993). Economic deprivation and neighborhood crime. *Law & Society Review, 27*(2), 263-283.

Bursik, R. J., & Grasmick, H. G. (1993). *Neighborhoods and Crime: The Dimensions of Effective Community Control*. New York: Lexington.

Butts, J., & Mears, D. (2001). Reviving juvenile justice in a get-tough era. *Youth and Society, 33*(2), 169-198.

Carrington, P., & Schulenberg, J. (2008). Structuring police discretion: The effect on referrals to youth court. *Criminal Justice Policy Review, 19*(3), 349-367.

Carter, T. (2006). Police use of discretion: A participant observation study of game wardens. *Deviant Behavior, 27*, 591-627.

Castellano, T. (1986). The justice model in the juvenile justice system: Washington State's experience. *Law and Policy, 8*, 479-499.
Clear, T., Harris, P., & Baird, C. (1992). Probationer violations and officer response. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 20*, 1-12.
Coleman, J. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Crews, K., & Peralvo, M. (2007). Segregation and fragmentation: Extending landscape ecology and pattern metrics analysis to spatial demography. *Population Research Policy Review, 27*, 65-88.
Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. (1998). Social Stigma. In S. T. Fox, D. Gilbert, & G. Lindsey (Ed.), *The handbook of social psychology* (2nd ed., Vol. 2, pp. 504-553). New York: McGraw Hill.
Crump, J. (2003). The end of public housing as we know it: Public housing, labor regulation and the US city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 27*(1), 179-187.
Dear, M. (1991). The Premature Demise of Postmodern Urbanism. *Cultural anthropology, 6*(4), 538-552.
DeLone, G. (2008). Public housing and the fear of crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 36*, 115-125.
Durkheim, E. (1912). *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. London: Allen and Unwin.
Durkheim, E. (1933). *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: The Free Press.
Elin-Blomquist, M., & Forst, M. (1993). Moral and practical problems with redefining the goal of the justice system as accountability. *Journal of Juvenile Law, 14*, 26-46.
Ellickson, P. L., Collins, R. L., Hambarsoomians, K., & McCaffrey, D. F. (2005). Does alcohol advertising promote adolescent drinking? Results from a longitudinal assessment. *Addiction, 100*, 235-246.
Elliot, D., Wilson, W. J., Huizinga, D., Elliot, A., & Rankin, B. (1996). The effects of neighborhood disadvantage on adolescent development. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 33*(4), 389-426.
Ellison, C., Hummer, R., Cormier, S., & Rogers, R. (2000). Religious involvement and mortality risk among African American adults. *Research on Aging, 22*(6), 630-667.
Emirbayer, M., & Johnson, V. (2008). Bourdieu and organizational analysis. *Theory Sociology, 37*, 1-44.
Engen, R., Steen, S., & Bridges, G. (2002). Racial disparities in the punishment of youth: A theoretical and empirical assessment of the literature. *Social Problems, 49*(2), 194-220.
Engen, R., Steen, S., & Bridges, G. (2005). Images of danger and culpability: Racial stereotyping, case processing and criminal sentencing. *Criminology, 43*(2), 435-468.
Epstein, R., & Barron, R. M. (1969). Cognitive dissonance and projected hostility toward outgroups. *Journal of Social Psychology, 79*(171-182).
Escobedo, L. G., & Ortiz, M. (2002). The relationship between liquor outlet density and injury and violence in New Mexico. *Accident Analysis & Prevention, 34*, 689-694.
Fagan, J. (2008). Juvenile Crime and Criminal Justice: Resolving Border Disputes. *The Future of Children, 18*(2), 81-118.
Fagan, J., & Davies, G. (2000). Street stops and broken windows: Terry, race, and disorder in New York City. *Fordham Urban Law Journal, 28*, 457-504.
Fainstein, S. (2005). Cities and diversity. Should we want it? Can we plan for it? *Urban Affairs Review, 41*(1), 3-19.

Fass, S., & Chung-Ron, P. (2002). Getting tough on juvenile crime: An analysis of costs and benefits. *The Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 39*(4), 363-399.

Feld, B. (1990). The punitive juvenile court and the quality of procedural justice: Disjunctions between rhetoric and reality. *Crime & Delinquency, 36*, 443-464.

Feld, B. (1991). Justice by geography: Urban, suburban, and rural variations in juvenile justice administration. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 82*, 156-210.

Feld, B. (2003). The politics of race and juvenile justice: The "due process revolution" and the conservative reaction. *Justice Quarterly, 20*(4), 765-800.

Fischer, C. (2002). Ever-more rooted Americans. *City & Community 1*(2), 177-198.

Fischer, C., Stockmayer, G., Stiles, J., & Hout, M. (2004). Distinguishing the geographic levels and social dimensions of U.S. metropolitan segregation, 1960-2000. *Demography, 41*(1), 37-59.

Flexon, J. L., Lurigio, A. J., & Greenleaf, R. G. (2009). Exploring the dimensions of trust in the police among Chicago juveniles. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 37*, 180-189.

Frazier, C., Bishop, D., & Lanza-Kaduce, L. (1999). Get-tough juvenile justice reforms: The Florida experience. *The Annals of the American Academy, 564*, 167-184.

French, M. T., BrownTaylor, D., & Bluthenthal, R. N. (2006). Price elasticity of demand for malt liquor beer: Findings from a US pilot study. *Social Science & Medicine, 62*(9), 2101-2111.

Gannon, T. M. (1978). Religious Tradition and Urban Community. *Sociological Analysis, 39*(4), 283-302.

Gau, J. M., & Brunson, R. K. (2010). Procedural justice and order maintenance policing: A study of inner-city young men's perceptions of police legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly, 27*(2), 255-279.

Gersten, J., & Bologh, R. (1988). A mathematical model showing the effects of organizational structure on the dynamics of institutional bias. *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology, 13*(3), 283-310.

Glueck, S., & Glueck, E. (1950). *Unraveling juvenile delinquency*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Goering, J., Kamely, A., & Richardson, T. (1994). Recent research on racial segregation and poverty concentration in public housing in the United States. *Urban Affairs Review, 32*(5), 723-745.

Goodland, R. (1975). The tropical origin of ecology: Eugen Warmin's jubilee. *Oikos, 26*, 240-245.

Graham, S., & Lowery, B. (2004). Primary unconscious racial stereotypes about adolescent offenders. *Law and Human Behavior, 28*, 483-504.

Granovetter, M. (1992). Economic institutions as social constructions: A framework for analysis. *Acta Sociologica, 35*, 3-11.

Greenberg, D. (1975). Measuring the incapacitative effects of imprisonment: Some estimates. *Law and Society Review, 9*, 541-580.

Hackbarth, D., Silvestri, B., & Cosper, W. (1996). Tobacco and alcohol billboards in 50 Chicago neighborhoods: Market segmentation to sell dangerous products to the poor. *Journal of Public Health Policy, 16*(2), 213-230.

Hammond, P., & Warner, K. (1993). Religion and ethnicity in late-twentieth-century America. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 527*(1), 55-66.

Harris, A. (2007). Diverting and abdicating judicial discretion: Cultural, political, and procedural dynamics in California Juvenile Justice. *Law & Society Review, 41*(2), 387-428.

Harris, A. (2008). The social construction of "sophisticated" adolescents. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 37*(4), 469-506.

Hasenfeld, Y., & Cheung, P. (1985). The juvenile court as a people-processing organization: A political economy perspective. *American Journal of Sociology, 90*, 801-824.

Higginbotham, A. L. (1996). *Shades of Freedom: Racial Politics and Presumptions of the American Legal Process*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hill Collins, P. (2010). The new politics of community. *American Sociological Review, 75*, 7-30.

Hill, T., & Angel, R. (2005). Neighborhood disorder, psychological distress, and heavy drinking. *Social Science and Medicine, 61*, 965-975.

Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of delinquency*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Hirschi, T., & Stark, R. (1969). Hellfire and Delinquency. *Social Problems, 17*(2), 202-213.

Holley, L., & VanVleet, R. (2006). Racism and classism in the youth justice system: Perspectives of youth and staff. *Journal of Poverty, 10*(1), 45-67.

Holzman, H. (1996). Criminological research on public housing: Toward a better understanding of people, places and spaces. *Crime and Delinquency, 42*(3), 361-378.

Hopson, R. K., & Obidah, J. E. (2002). When Getting Tough Means Getting Tougher: Historical and Conceptual Understandings of Juveniles of Color Sentenced as Adults in the United States. *The Journal of Negro Education, 71*(3), 158-174.

Iannaccone, L. (2004). Faith beyond time: The future of religion in America. *Futures, 36*(9), 1025-1030.

Jencks, C. (1992). *Rethinking social policy: Race, poverty and the underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Jensen, S. (2006). Rethinking subcultural capital. *Nordic Journal of Youth Research, 14*(3), 257-276.

Jones-Webb, R., McKee, P., Hannan, P., Wall, M., Pham, L., Erickson, D., & Wagenaar, A. (2008). Alcohol and malt liquor availability and promotion and homicide in the inner cities. *Substance Use and Misuse, 43*, 159-177.

Kane, R. (2002). The social ecology of police misconduct. *Criminology, 40*, 867-896.

Kapchik, A. (2003). Prosecuting adolescents in criminal courts: Criminal or juvenile justice? *Social Problems, 50*(3), 439-460.

Kempf-Leonard, K. (2007). Minority Youths and Juvenile Justice, Disproportionate Minority Contact After Nearly 20 Years of Reform Efforts. *Youth violence and juvenile justice, 5*(1), 71-87.

Kopsky, R. (1980). A study of attitudes of delinquents toward government. *Political Science General, 42*.

Kraftl, P. (2006). Ecological architecture as performed art: Nant-y-Cym Steiner School, Pembrokeshire. *Social & Cultural Geography, 7*(6), 927-948.

Kubrin, C., & Weitzer. (2003). New directions in social disorganization theory. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 40*, 374-402.

Lamont, M., & Molnar, V. (2002). The study of boundaries in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology, 28*, 167-195.

LaVeist, T., & Wallace, J. Jr. (2000). Health risk and inequitable distribution of liquor stores in African American neighborhoods. *Social Science and Medicine, 51*, 613-617.

Lee, W., & Callcott, M. (1994). Billboard advertising: A comparison of vice products across ethnic groups. *Journal of Business Research, 30*, 85-94.

Leiber, M., & Johnson, J. (2008). Being young and black: What are their effects on juvenile justice decision making. *Crime & Delinquency, 54*(4), 560-581.

Leiber, M., & Mack, K. (2003). The individual and joint effects of race, gender and family status on juvenile justice decision-making. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 40*, 34-70.

Leiber, M., Johnson, J., Fox, K. & Lacks, R. (2007). Differentiating among racial/ethnic groups and its implications for understanding juvenile justice decision making. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 35*, 471-484.

Leiber, M., Nalla, M., & Farnworth, M. (1998). Explaining juveniles' attitudes toward the police. *Justice Quarterly, 18*(151-174).

Leiber, M., Schwarze, K., Mack, K., & Farnworth, M. (2002). The effect of occupation and education on punitive orientations among juvenile justice personnel. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 30*, 303-316.

Levin, J. (1995). A Multidimensional Measure of Religious Involvement for African Americans. *Sociological quarterly, 36*(1), 157-173.

Levy, S. (1959). Symbols for sale. *Harvard Business Review, 37*, 117-124.

Liska, A. E., & Tausig, M. (1979). Theoretical Interpretations of Social Class and Racial Differentials in Legal Decision-Making for Juveniles. *The Sociological Quarterly, 20*(2), 197-207.

Lopez, V., & Russell, M. (2008). Examining the predictors of juvenile probation officers' rehabilitation orientation. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 36* 381-388.

Macdonald, J. (2003). The effect of ethnicity on juvenile court decision making in Hawaii. *Youth and Society, 35*(2), 243-263.

Mahon, M. (2000). The Visible Evidence of Cultural Producers. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 29*, 467-492.

McAllair, D. (1993). Reaffirming rehabilitation in juvenile justice. *Youth and Society, 25*, 104-125.

McKay, H. (1931). Are Broken Homes a Causative Factor in Juvenile Delinquency? *Social Forces, 10*(1), 514-514.

McRoberts, O. (2003). *Streets of Glory: Church and Community in a Black Urban Neighborhood.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mears, D. (2001). Getting tough with juvenile offenders. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 28*(2), 206-226.

Mears, D., Hay, C., Gertz, M., & Mancini, C. (2007). Public opinion and the foundation of the juvenile court. *Criminology, 45*(1), 223-257.

Mears, D., Wang, X., Hay, C., & Bales, W. (2008). Social ecology and recidivism: implications for prisoner reentry. *Criminology, 46*(2), 301-340.

Meeker, J., Jesilow, P., & Aranda, J. (1992). Bias in sentencing: A preliminary analysis of community service sentences. *Behavioral Sciences and Law, 10*, 197-206.

Miller, F., & Foster, E. (2002). Youths' Perceptions of Race, Class, and Language Bias in the Courts. *The Journal of Negro Education, 71*(3), 193-204.

Miller, J. B., & Stiver, M. (1988). *The healing connection*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Mitra, A. (2008). Social capital, livelihood and upward mobility. *Habitat International, 32*(2), 261-269.

Moak, S. (2003). Legal Changes in Juvenile Justice: Then and Now. *Youth violence and juvenile justice, 1*(3), 289-299.
Moffitt, T. (1993). Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy. *Psychological Review, 100*(674-701).
Mooney, G., & Danson, M. (1997). Beyond "Culture City": Glasgow as a "Dual City." In N. Jewson & S. MacGregor (Eds.), *Transforming Cities*: *Contested Governance and New Spatial Divisions* (pp. 73-86). London, Routledge.
Morenoff, J., & Tienda, M. (1997). Underclass neighborhoods in temporal and ecological perspective. *The Annals of the American Academy, 551*, 59-72.
Morenoff, J., Sampson, R., & Raudenbush, S. (1999). *Neighborhood effects on low-income families*. Paper presented at the National Science Foundation.
Mosher, J. (1997). *Resources for organizing and advocacy*: Marin Institute for the Prevention of Alcohol and Other Tobacco Problems.
Mulvey, E. P., & Iselin, A.-M. R. (2008). Improving Professional Judgments of Risk and Amenability in Juvenile Justice. *The Future of Children, 18*(2), 35-57.
Muuss, R. E. (1996). *Erik Erikson's theory of identity development* (6th ed.). New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
Neuman, W., & Berger, R. (1988). Competing perspectives on cross-national crime: An evaluation of theory and evidence. *The Sociological Quarterly, 29*(2), 281-313.
Onifade, E., Davidson, W., & Campbell, C. (2009). Risk assessment: The predictive validity of the youth level of service case management inventory with African Americans and girls. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 7*, 205-221.
Ouimet, M. (1999). Crime in Canada and in the United States: A Comparative Analysis. *The Canadian review of sociology and anthropology, 36*(3), 389-408.
Owens, M., & Smith, R. (2005). Congregations in low-income neighborhoods and the implications for social welfare policy research. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 34*(2), 316-339.
Palm, R. (1973). Factor ecology and the community of outlook. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 63*(3), 341-346.
Park, R., Burgess, E., & McKenzie, R. (1925). *The city*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Perl, P., Greely, J. Z., & Gray, M. M. (2006). What Proportion of Adult Hispanics Are Catholic? A Review of Survey Data and Methodology. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 45*(3), 419-436.
Petrocelli, A. (2003). Hierarchical multiple regression in counseling research: Common problems and possible remedies. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 36*, 9-22.
Petronio, R. (1982). Role of socialization of juvenile court probation officers. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 9*, 143-158.
Piquero, A. R. (2008). Disproportionate Minority Contact. *The Future of Children, 18*(2), 59-79.
Pisciotta, A. (1983). Race, Sex, and Rehabilitation: A Study of Differential Treatment in the Juvenile Reformatory, 1825-1900. *Crime & delinquency, 29*(2), 254-269.
Platt, A. (1977). *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Pope, C., & Leiber, M. (2005). Disproportionate minority confinement/contact (DMC): The federal initiative. In D. H. K. Kempf-Leonard (Ed.), *Our children, their children:*

Confronting racial and ethnic differences in American juvenile justice (pp. 351-389). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Putnam, R. (1993). The prosperous community: Social capital and community life. *American Prospect, Spring*, 35-42.

Quinton, D. (1980). *Family life in the inner city: Myth and reality*. London: Heinemann.

Regnerus, M. D. (2003). Moral communities and adolescent delinquency: Religious contexts and community social control. *Sociological quarterly, 44*(4), 523-554.

Rengert, G.; Piquero, A.; & Jones, P. (1999). Distance decay reexamined. *Criminology, 37,* 427-445.

Riksheim, E., & Chermak, S. (1993). Causes of police behavior revisited. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 21*, 353-382.

Rios, V. (2008). The racial politics of youth crime. *Latino Studies, 6*(1-2), 97-115.

Rodriguez, N. (2007). Juvenile court context and detention decisions: reconsidering the role of race, ethnicity, and community characteristics in juvenile court processes. *Justice Quarterly, 24*(4), 629-656.

Rose, D. R. (2000). Social Disorganization and Parochial Control: Religious Institutions and Their Communities. *Sociological Forum, 15*(2), 339-358.

Rosenbaum, E. (1994). The Constraints on Minority Housing Choices, New York City 1978-1987. *Social Forces, 72*(3), 725-747.

Rutter, M. (1981). The city and the child. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 51*, 610-625.

Rutter, M., & Madge, N. (1976). *Cycles of disadvantage*. London: Heinemann.

Sampson, R., & Groves, W. B. (1989). Community structure and crime: testing social-disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology, 94*(4), 774-802.

Sampson, R., & Laub, J. (1993). Structural variations in juvenile court processing: Inequality, the underclass, and social control. *Law and Society Review, 21*, 285-311.

Sampson, R., & Raudenbush, S. (1999). Seeing disorder: Neighborhood stigma and the social construction of "broken windows". *Social Psychology Quarterly, 67*(4), 319-342.

Sampson, R., Morenoff, J., & Gannon-Rowley, T. (2002). Assessing "neighborhood effects": Social processes and new directions in research. *Annual Review of Sociology, 28*, 443-478.

Santiago, A., Galster, G., & Petit, K. (2003). Neighborhood crime and scattered-site public housing. *Urban Studies, 40*(11), 2147-2163.

Schooler, C., Basil, M. D., & Altman, D. G. (1996). Alcohol and Cigarette Advertising on Billboards: Targeting with Social Cues. *Health Communication, 8*(2), 109.

Schulenberg, J. (2003). The social context of police discretion with young offenders: An ecological analysis. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, April*, 127-157.

Schuman, H., & Gruenberg, B. (1972). *Dissatisfaction with city services*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Scoones, I. (1999). New ecology and the social sciences: What prospects for a fruitful engagement? *Annual Review of Anthropology, 28*, 479-507.

Sharp, E. (2005). Cities and subcultures: Exploring validity and predicting connections. *Urban Affairs Review, 41*(2), 132-156.

Sharp, S., Marcus-Mendoza, S., Bentley, R., Simpson, D., & Love, S. (1999). Gender differences in the impact of incarceration on the children and families of drug offenders. *Journal of the Oklahoma Criminal Justice Research Consortium, 4*, 1-15.

Sherman, L. (2006). Crime and juvenile delinquency. *Gender Issues, 60-68.*

Shevsky, E., & Bell, W. (1955). *Social Area Analysis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Skolnick, J. (1966). *Justice without trial*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
Smith, H., Rodriguez, N., & Zatz, M. (2009). Race, ethnicity, class and noncompliance with juvenile court supervision. *The Annals of the American Academy, 623*(108), 108-120.
Snyder, H. (1990). *Growth in minority detentions attributed to drug law violators*.
Snyder, L. B., Milici, F., Slater, M., Sun, H., & Strizhakova, Y. (2006). Effects of alcohol advertising exposure on drinking among youth. *Archive of Pediatric Adolescent Medicine, 160*, 18-24.
Sonenshein, R. (1996). The battle over liquor stores in South Central Los Angeles. *Urban Affairs Review, 31*(6), 710-737.
Stark, R. (1996). Religion as Context: Hellfire and Delinquency One More Time. *Sociology of Religion, 57*(2), 163.
Stark, R. B., & Bainbridge, W. S. (1996). *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control*. New York: Routledge.
Steiner, B., Hemmens C., & Bell, C. (2006). Legislative waiver reconsidered: general deterrent effects of statutory exclusion laws enacted post-1979. *Justice Quarterly, 23*(1), 34-59.
Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1985). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. A. Worchel, W. (Ed.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
Taylor, R. (1988). *Human territorial functioning: An empirical, evolutionary perspective on individual and small group territorial cognitions, behaviors and consequences.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
Taylor, R. (1996). Neighborhood responses to disorder and local attachments: the systemic model of attachment, social disorganization and neighborhood use value. *Sociological Forum, 11*(1), 41-74.

Tittle, C., & Curran, D. (1988). Contingencies for dispositional disparities in juvenile justice. *Social Forces, 67*, 23-58.
Townsley, M. & Sidebottom, A. (2010). All offenders are equal, but some are more equal than others: Variations in journeys to crime between offenders. *Criminology, 48, 9,* 897-917.
Trépanier, J. (1999). Juvenile courts after 100 years: Past and present orientations. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 7*, 303-327.
Turner, M. (2005). Landscape ecology in North America: past, present, and future. *Ecology, 86*(8), 1967-1974.
Vale, L. (1997). Empathological places: residents' ambivalence toward remaining in public housing. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 16*, 159-175.
Van Voorhis, P., Cullin, F., Link, B., & Wolfe, N. (1991). The impact of race and gender on correctional officers' orientation to the integrated environment. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 28*, 472-500.
VanVleet, R. (1999). The attack on juvenile justice. *The Annals of the American Academy, 564*, 203-214.
Vidal, D., & Skeem, J. (2007). Effect of psychopathy, abuse, and ethnicity on juvenile probation officers' decision-making and supervision strategies. *Law & Human Behavior, 31*, 479-498.
von Hirsch, A., & Gottfredson, T. (1984). Selective incapacitation: Some queries on research design and equity. *Review of Law and Social Change, 12*, 11-51.

Wagmiller, R. J. (2008). The changing geography of male joblessness in urban America: 1970 to 2000. *Housing Policy Debate, 19*(1), 93-135.

Walters, T. (1997). The Question of Culture (And Anarchy). *MLN, 112*(3), 349-365.

Ward, G., & Kupchik, A. (2010). What drives juvenile probation officers? *Crime & Delinquency, 56*(1), 35-69.

Webb, P. (2006). Predicting pre-adjudicatory detention decisions: An investigation of legal and extralegal factors. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 4*(4), 37-50.

Weitzer, R., Tuch, S., & Skogan, W. (2008). Police-community relations in a majority-black city. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 45*(4), 398-428.

Wilson, W. J. (1987a). *The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, W. J. (1987b). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York: Knopf.

Wilson, W. J. (1996). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York: Knopf.

Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a way of life. *The American Journal of Sociology, 44*(1), 1-24.

Woolard, J. L., Fondacaro, M. R., & Slobogin, C. (2001). Informing Juvenile Justice Policy: Directions for Behavioral Science Research. *Law and Human Behavior, 25*(1), 13-24.

Wordes, M., Bynum, T. & Corley, C. (1994). Locking up youth: The impact of race on detention decisions. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 31*(2), 149-165.

Wortham, R. (2006). The 2000 North Carolina religious adherence rate: a demographic explanation. *Sociological Spectrum, 26*, 453-469.

Wortham, R., & Wortham, C. (2007). Spiritual capital and the "good life." *Sociological Spectrum, 27*, 439-452.

Wu, Y., Sun, I. Y., & Triplett, R. A. (2009). Race, class or neighborhood context: Which matters more in measuring satisfaction with police? *Justice Quarterly, 26*(1), 125-156.

Wuthnow, R. (2002). Religious Involvement and Status-Bridging Social Capital. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 41*(4), 669-684.

Zander, A., & Cohen, A. (1955). Attributed social power and group acceptance: A classroom experimental demonstration. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 51*(3), 490-492.

Zukin, S. (2002). What's Space Got to Do with It? *City & Community, 1*(4), 345-348.