PREDICTING ADULT CRIMINAL CAREERS FROM JUVENILE CAREERS

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INTRODUCTION

The major goals of the research program (for which this is our first progress report) are to provide more precise information about the nature of urban delinquent careers and their relationship to later adult careers; to determine the extent to which decisions by authorities or by the juvenile have contributed to continuing or discontinuing careers, thus enabling us to evaluate the effectiveness of various forces (formal and informal) in deterring or supporting continuing delinquent and criminal behavior; and to suggest at which points in juvenile careers intervention of one type or another is most effective.

The preliminary findings in this report are based upon recorded contacts with the police by two cohorts, one born in 1942 and the other in 1949. The reasons for these contacts, their seriousness in the eyes of the law, place of residence, and other data are utilized in predicting who is most likely to initially engage in delinquent behavior, who will cease delinquent behavior, and who will exhibit adult criminal activity.

BACKGROUND

The finding that delinquency and crime areas overlap (as measured by official records at all levels from police to institutional commitments) and are invariably related to other meaningful dimensions of a city's social and economic organization has lent popularity and credibility to the position that adult crime must certainly be an extension of juvenile delinquency.[1] While one sociological explanation has differed in detail from others, all have perceived delinquency as learned by rational human beings in a social environment, slum living facilitating the acquisition of illegitimate patterns of behavior through day-by-day observation of and contact with

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[1] A few of the earliest and most recent relevant studies are citied here: Clifford Shaw, *Delinquency Areas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929; Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931; Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942; Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1958, pp. 5-19; Roland J. Chilton. "Continuity in Delinquency Area Research: A Comparison of Studies for Baltimore, Detroit, and Indianapolis," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, February 1964, pp. 71-83; Robert A. Gordon, "Issues in the Ecological Study of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 32, No. 6, December 1967, pp. 927-944.

peer or adult models who in one way or another were visibly more successful than were their law-abiding counterparts.

Other research has revealed that only part of the delinquency in society was represented by official reports and records and that there were indeed many delinquents who alone knew of their depredations or other behaviors which, if visible to society, would most surely result in society's concern about their future.[2] Because they were aware of the inadequacies of official measures of juvenile deinquency, Short and Nye, among others, turned to self-reports of behaviors which would be considered delinquent whether known to the police or not, scaled them according to standard techniques, and found that delinquents could be ranked from least to most serious offenders on the basis of their admitted acts.[3] Self-reporting became a second technique of ascertaining the extent and nature of delinquency and resulted in the rejection of models that overemphasized poverty, relative poverty, and slum-learning.

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[2] Aside from the question of depredations unknown to the police, there is the question of incidence vs. prevalence. A sample of the literature on both issues indicates that the closer we can get to the delinquent act in the process of recording careers, the more likely we are to understand and predict continuing delinquent careers. See for example: Maynard L. Erickson and Lamar T. Empey, "Court Records, Undetected Delinquency and Decision-Making," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 54, No. 4, December 1963, pp. 456-469; John C. Ball, Alan Ross, and Alice Simpson, "Incidence and Prevalence of Recorded Delinquency in a Metropolitan Area," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, February 1964, pp. 90-93; Stanton Wheeler, "Criminal Statistics: A Reformulation of the Problem," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 58, No. 3, 1967, pp. 317-324; Donald J. Black, "The Production of Crime Rates," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 35, No. 4, August 1970, pp. 733-748; Jay Williams and Martin Gold, "From Delinquent Behaviors to Official Delinquency," *Social Problems*, Vol. 20, No. 2, Fall 1972, pp. 209-277.

[3] The work of Short and Nye and others on scaling and self-reported delinquency has been described in numerous articles, among which are: James F. Short, Jr. and F. Ivan Nye, "Reported Behavior as a Criterion of Deviant Behavior," *Social Problems*, Vol. V, No. 3, Winter 1957-58, pp. 207-213; F. Ivan Nye and James F. Short, Jr., "Scaling Delinquent Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 22, June 1956, pp. 326-331; John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger, "Socio-Economic Class and Area as Correlates of Illegal Behavior among Juveniles," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 6, December 1962, pp. 826-834; John P. Clark and Larry L. Tifft, "Polygraph and Interview Validation of Self-Reported Deviant Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 31, No. 4, August 1966, pp. 516-523; Lois B. DeFleur, "On Polygraph and Interview Validation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1, February 1967, pp. 114-114, and a reply by Clark and Tifft, pp. 115-117.

The point upon which all have come to agree is that when using either official records of delinquency or self-reported delinquencies, some quantitative index of seriousness of career is necessary. Whether a delinquent career consists of a single or several offenses, the number of offenses is not a satisfactory measure of the seriousness of a career. Some single offenses may be quite serious and indicative of a career while others may be of a minor, chance, or accidental nature. Exactly how to combine different types of offenses with different rates of occurrence and different orders of priority has been a question of theoretical and practical concern for many years.[4] A multitude of social variables have been found to be correlated with delinquency and crime, but correlation is not the same as having developed the capability of predicting continuing delinquent careers and ultimate criminal careers.[5]

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[4] For an early study of this problem, see: Sophia M. Robison, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1936. More recently, a variety of more or less sophisticated scaling techniques (in addition to those cited in other references on the problem of measurement) have been utilized: Thorsten Sellin and Marvin Wolfgang, *The Measurement of Delinquency*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1964, particularly Chapters 5, 8, 18, and 20; R. I. Martin and M. W. Klein, *A Comparative Analysis of Four Measures of Delinquency Seriousness*, Los Angeles, University of Southern California, Youth Studies Center, 1965; Travis Hirschi and Hanan C. Selvin, *Delinquency Research: An Appraisal of Analytic Methods*, New York, The Free Press, 1967; and Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1972.

[5] There is a disappointing literature on the prediction problem, selected items of which follow: Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "The Accuracy, Efficiency and Validity of a Prediction Instrument," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 56, May 1951, pp. 552-561; Sheldon Glueck, "Ten Years of Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 51, September 1960, pp. 301-307; D. H. Stott, "The Prediction of Delinquency from Non-Delinquent Behavior," *British Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. 10, January 1960, pp. 202-210; Eleanor T. Glueck, "Efforts to Identify Delinquents," *Federal Probation*, June 1960, pp. 49-56; Leslie T. Wilkins, "Delinquent Generations," in Wolfgang, Savitz and Johnson, eds., *The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962, pp. 170-179; Harwin L. Voss, "The Predictive Efficiency of the Glueck Social Prediction Table," *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 54, No. 4, December 1963, pp. 421-430; Jackson Toby, "An Evaluation of Early Identification and Intensive Treatment Programs for Predelinquents," *Social Problems*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Fall 1965, pp. 160-175; Don M. Gottfredson, "Assessment and Prediction Methods in Crime and Delinquency," in James E. Teele, ed., *Juvenile Delinquency*, Itasca, Illinois, F.E. Peacock, 1970, pp. 401-424 (this article contains an excellent bibliography on the prediction problem).

To date, our prior delinquency research has added little of a positive nature to our knowledge of how to predict continuing careers.[6] Although we have constructed additive, geometric, Guttman, and item analysis scales as alternate measures of seriousness of delinquent careers or as representations of types of careers, scores on none of the scales were highly correlated with adult criminal careers. We could only conclude that, among the juveniles in our samples, adult criminal careers were not an extension of any type, pattern, or degree of seriousness of juvenile careers.[7] In other words, there was nothing in these juvenile careers that enabled us to predict criminal careers.

While our earlier data enabled us to quite accurately describe the incidence of juvenile delinquency year-by-year in Madison and Racine, its changing nature, and its distribution in the city, the data were not adequate for a test of the hypothesis that careers commence with minor depredations at an early age, gradually develop into more serious types of

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[6] This research was supported by Small Research Grant MH 11367-01 and Grant MH 15627-01 of the Mental Health Small Grant Committee, National Institute of Mental Health, the Graduate College, the College of Liberal Arts, and the Division of Extension and University Services of the University of Iowa, the Research Committee of the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services. Among the reports on this research are: Austin T. Turk, *Adolescence and Delinquency in Urban Society*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1962; Lyle W. Shannon, "Types and Patterns of Delinquency Referral in a Middle-sized City," *The British Journal of Criminology*, July 1962, pp. 24-36; Lyle W. Shannon, "Types and Patterns of Delinquency in a Middle Sized City," *The Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1964, pp. 53-66; Austin T. Turk, "Toward Construction of a Theory of Delinquency," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 55, June 1964, pp. 215-229; Robert M. Terry, "Police Criteria in the Screening of Juvenile Offenders," *The Wisconsin Sociologist*, Vol. 5, Winter 1966-Spring 1967, pp. 21-32; Robert M. Terry, "The Screening of Juvenile Offenders," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 58, No. 2, June 1967, pp. 163-181; Robert M. Terry, "Discrimination in the Handling of Juvenile Offenders by Social-Control Agencies," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, July 1967, pp. 218-230; Lyle W. Shannon, "The Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in a Middle-Sized City," *Sociological Quarterly*, Summer 1967, pp. 365-382.

[7] Lyle W. Shannon, *Measuring Delinquency and Predicting Later Criminal Careers*, Iowa City, Iowa Urban Community Research Center, 1973.

misbehavior, and then continue into adult crime or the hypothesis that there are sociologically meaningful configurations or typologies of juvenile misbehaviors, some leading to continuing careers and others not. We did conclude, however, that *cohort data* alone would permit us to make an adequate test of either hypothesis.

The basic question, as we have previously stated, is whether or not adult careers can be predicted from juvenile careers if we include the fullest possible description of the juvenile, where the delinquency takes place, and the manner in which society reacts to his/her misbehavior.[8] Which model of the delinquency process is the best model (in terms of hypothesis testing) will be that which best predicts continued delinquency and adult careers.[9]

A THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL NOTE

We have always liked Matza's organization of theoretical explanations in terms of affinity, affiliation, and signification because, with some simplification, it allows one to present sociological and social psychological ideas on delinquency in an historical perspective.[10] In their descriptions of the social and physical ecology of the city, the Chicago sociologists seemed to emphasize affinity with delinquency and crime (growing up in an area where delinquency and crime were commonplace) and affiliation with groups in which crime and delinquency were accepted patterns of behavior. Shaw, McKay, Thrasher, and others published a number of volumes in

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[8] The principal investigator has long been interested in the fact that professionals and non-professionals, however dedicated they may be, just do not know enough about the nature of the behavior with which they are dealing to even begin to develop effective programs. In attempting to understand how the juvenile has come to engage in misbehavior people have looked long and hard at the psyche, most often as represented by the results of paper and pencil tests, and least often at experiences in every day life. In short, those who have been concerned have observed juveniles in an artificial institutional setting rather than in their natural habitat. See Lyle W. Shannon, "The Problem of Competence to Help," *Federal Probation*, March 1961, pp. 32-39.

[9] Charles F. Welford also made an excellent statement of the problem in Chapter 2 of William E. Amos and Charles F. Welford, *Delinquency Prevention: Theory and Practice*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.

[10] See David Matza, *Becoming Delinquent*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.

which affinity and affiliation were in a sense the dominant theme.[11] Sutherland went beyond this and specified four facets of association which, if operationalized, would enable us to predict which juveniles are most likely to acquire delinquent and/or criminal patterns of behavior.[12] The nature of one's associates are determined by the family into which one is born, by the neighborhood in which one grows up, by the proximity of one's schoolmates to one's neighborhood, by the nature of one's schoolmates even if they are not close by, etc. Glaser added a social psychological component when he spoke of differential identification.[13] While related to Sutherland's intensity dimension, it is really closer to that aspect of explanation referred to by Matza as signification.

We see delinquency as a learning process, one in which juveniles grow up in a social or ecological area (and if their parents move they are most likely to do so within similar areas) with more or less distinctive social characteristics, crime and delinquency levels, attitudes toward the police and the juvenile and adult justice systems, and patterns of interaction between juveniles, adults, and representatives of the larger society. If a juvenile is socialized in one ecological area, he/she is likely to acquire the attitudes and behaviors prevalent in that area. As time goes by, juvenile behaviors have as their consequence reactions by society, including society's label for the delinquent, as well as his/her own self-definitions and consequent changes in behavior that are associated with a change from primary to secondary deviation. This view of delinquency (as a chain of events in a hostile environment) has most recently been supported by

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[11] Beyond previous citations to Shaw and McKay see: Clifford Shaw, *The Jack-Roller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930, Shaw and Maurice A. Moore, *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931, and Shaw, *et al. Brothers in Crime*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938; Frederick M. Thrasher, *The Gang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936.

[12] Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, *Principles of Criminology* (9th edition). Chicago: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1974. Also see James F. Short, "Differential Association with Delinquent Friends and Delinquent Behavior," *Pacific Sociological Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1958, pp. 20-25 and James F. Short (ed.) *Gang Delinquency and Delinquent Subcultures*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

[13] Daniel Glaser, "Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images, "American Journal of Sociology," Vol. 61, March 1956, pp. 433-444.

Ferracuti, Dinitz and Acosta de Brenes in their Puerto Rican research on juvenile delinquency.[14]

On the other hand, since most juveniles cease the behavior that results in police contact by the time that they are adults, we are inclined to think that there is an element of "maturation" involved. We define this not in a psychological sense but in terms of recognizing social opportunities and alternatives that were not available at an earlier age. It is not simply a matter of growing up or settling down and securing work that was previously unavailable, but of getting married, assuming various financial responsibilities, and acquiring statuses that obviate the likelihood of delinquent and criminal behavior.

Of the countless number of studies of juvenile delinquency with which we are familiar, that by Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin[15] is the most pertinent and closest to our model. In following a cohort of almost 10,000 Philadelphia boys from age 8 to age 18 they indicate an unusual awareness of the need for cohort studies.

Although the longitudinal data have not yet been published on Polk's research in Oregon, Frank Hellum's analysis reveals that while in high school 25% of the sample were regarded as delinquent at one time or another. Of these, 46% had some involvement with the police as adults (by the age of 25). Of the 75% who had no juvenile involvement, less than 14% had any record of crime as adults.[16] When seriousness of delinquency was considered as well as seriousness of adult criminal charges, only 1% of those who were non-delinquent had serious adult offenses, only 5% of those with minor reasons for police contacts as juveniles had serious adult offenses, only 8% of those with what would be misdemeanors were they not juvenile offenders had serious adult offenses, but 25% of those who had what would have been felonies had committed felonies as adults. In simple raw numbers, there were some 1,200 persons in the sample, of whom 290 had some kind of delinquent record

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[14] Frances Ferracuti, Simon Dinitz and Esperanza Acosta de Brenes, *Delinquents and Nondelinquents in the Puerto Rican Slum Culture*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1975.

[15] *op. cit.*, Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin.

[16] Ph.D. dissertation in progress.

but of whom only 47 had what was defined as serious delinquency. Of the latter, 17 committed a felony as an adult. Of the 910 who were non-delinquent only 9 had an adult felony.

Polk earlier reported that of those high school students who had records with the juvenile court, more than half had no further offenses in the two years following their 21st birthdays.[17] Reports by both Polk and Hellum strongly suggest that young adults drop from the records of the police and courts with continuing maturation. Further findings consistent with our own position were: 1) only half of those high school students who became young adult offenders had recorded delinquencies, 2) those who as juveniles were charged with a felony were only slightly more likely than those charged with misdemeanors to commit any adult offense, and 3) those whose careers began at an early age were more likely to engage in crime as an adult than were those who had offenses only late in their juvenile years.

As we have pointed out, research on juvenile delinquency has usually dealt with either self-report data or with samples or populations of juveniles who have become official statistics at the police court level, the juvenile court level, or the institutional level. Historically, the data that have been collected have concentrated on describing the characteristics of those who have become statistics (at whatever level the researcher has selected), rather than concentrating on a description of the process by which they came to engage in the behavior.

Furthermore, when the juvenile delinquent is questioned he is asked why he did it. Anyone who has ever walked against the light, driven through a stop light, exceeded the speed limit, consumed alcoholic beverages before reaching the legal age, or engaged in any other behavior that he full well knew to be disapproved and/or illegal in the society of which he is a part should know better than to simply ask "why."[18]

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[17] See *Teenage Delinquency in Small Town America.* Research Report 5, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, National Institute of Mental Health, Washington, D.C. Also see Kenneth Polk and Walter E. Schafer (ed.), *Schools and Delinquency;* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972, pp. 56-90 and 103-114.

[18] This issue was settled by Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza in "Techniques of Neutralization: A theory of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 12, December 1957, pp. 664-670.

If we are really concerned about delinquency control we should know why most juveniles who, at one time or another, engage in behavior that brings them into contact with the authorities do not continue their behavior and how they differ from the few who need to be given some sort of special attention. The point is that although we are interested in those juveniles who have made the decision to continue delinquency beyond 18 or 21 into a career in adult crime, we are just as interested in those who did not continue their delinquent careers.

This leads us to wonder when intervention is appropriate. Who needs control and who doesn't can only be determined by seeing what happens to similar people who have and have not been "controlled."[19] Our earlier research suggests that those who engage in some kinds of felonies need control more than do those who do not. The effectiveness of attempts to control "condition" (juvenile behaviors which would be considered neither misdemeanors nor felonies if they were adults) is another question. We may find that for most police contacts with juveniles, no intervention will have the same result as intervention.

The fact remains that whether delinquent youth decide to continue or discontinue their behavior, these decisions are influenced by the action of persons in authority and by the juvenile's perception of these decision-makers. The judge, for example, is influenced by the juvenile's cumulative

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[19] The entire prediction process is complicated by the introduction of handling and dispositional variables. The literature as well as our own research indicates that these controls are crucial to the success of any attempt to understand, predict, and ultimately control delinquent behavior. See, for example: Joseph Goldstein, "Police Discretion Not to Involve the Criminal Process: Low-Visibility Decisions in the Administration of Justice," *Yale Law Review*, Vol. 69, March 1960, pp. 543-588; Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 70, September 1964, pp. 206-214; Wayne R. Lafave, *Arrests: The Decision to Take a Suspect into Custody*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1965; Peter J. Bourke and Austin T. Turk, "Factors Affecting Postarrest Dispositions: A Model for Analysis," *Social Problems*, Vol. 22, No. 3, February 1975, pp. 313-332; William R. Arnold, "Race and Ethnicity Relative to Other Factors in Juvenile Court Dispositions," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 77, September 1971, pp. 211-227; Terrence P. Thornberry, "Race, Socioeconomic Status, and Sentencing in the Juvenile Justice System," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 64, March 1973, pp. 90-98; Norman L. Weiner and Charles V. Willie, "Decisions by Juvenile Officers," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 77, September 1971, pp. 199-210.

behavior and by his perception of what other decision-makers have done. We have a rationalistic perspective that hopes to take into consideration feedback from juveniles to system decision-makers and back to juveniles. We hope to further enhance our understanding of juvenile misbehavior and our ability to predict its continuation by relating interview data to the chains of official events obtained from our records.

METHODS OF PROCEDURE

The Original Three Cohorts

We selected three cohorts of male and female juveniles from the files of the Racine Unified School District. The first, born in 1942, consisted of 1,351 persons, the second, born in 1949, consisted of 2,100, and the third, born in 1955, consisted of approximately 3,500. The three cohorts totalled approximately 7,000 persons. We identified each juvenile in each cohort as Anglo, Negro, or Mexican-American. The U.S. Census for 1960 reported that 4.3% of the persons enrolled in high school in Racine's urbanized areas were non-Whites. We identified 3.6% of the 1942 cohort as non-White. This is about what one would expect since this cohort was 18 years of age in 1960 and therefore did not have quite as large a proportion of non-Whites as later cohorts still in high school. In the 1949 cohort we identified 6.5% as non-White. They were 11 years of age in 1960 and at that time 6.35% of the students enrolled in Racine's elementary schools were non-White.

Juvenile and adult complaint information from the files of the Juvenile Bureau and the Records Division of the Racine Police Department was read and coded on a series of forms under the supervision of our field director. A copy of the code sheet for contacts is presented in Appendix A. At the height of this operation four microfilm readers were in use and our Racine staff totalled 15 persons.

Work on the 1942 and 1949 cohorts in the Juvenile Bureau and the Records Division of the Racine Police Department was completed in November of 1974. Coding on the 1955 cohort careers was suspended when we determined that existing funds were inadequate for all three cohorts.

Aside from the fact that our original estimate of the size of the cohorts was low, one other factor made the project decidedly more expensive than we had anticipated. Our earlier research had suggested that no more

than 30% of a cohort would have police contacts, but we found that 46% of the 1942 and 52% of the 1949 cohort had one or more police contacts between the age of 6 and the cut-off date of May 30, 1974, at which time persons in the 1942 cohort were 33 years of age and those in the 1949 cohort were 26.

Coding Procedures

Reasons for police contact were coded into 26 basic categories (see Tables 1 and 2) consistent with Part I and Part II Offenses of the Uniform Crime Reports, but with added meaningful "conditions" for juveniles. Many of these contacts were for very minor violations, or for suspicion, investigation, or information, or traffic violations, yet if the record was to be complete it was necessary to code these as completely as we coded the most heinous crimes, particularly if we assume that becoming known to the police for any reason may have some influence on the course of one's career. Contacts as victims, abandoned, neglected, dependent children, and many non-delinquent contacts considered as safety measures, and so on, are not included in the analyses.[20]

The proportion of contacts for each cohort in each of the 26 categories is shown in Tables 1 and 2 by race/ethnicity and sex, as are the total number of contacts, total number of persons with contacts, number of persons in each cohort, and average number of police contacts for each person with contacts and for each person in the cohort. A brief comment about the contact rates shown at the bottom of these tables should be made at this point. Mean contacts per person with contacts and mean contacts per person in the cohort clearly indicate that the male rate was two to four times that for females. The relatively small number of Mexican-Americans and Negroes in the 1942 cohort and to a lesser extent in the 1949 cohort, as well as the location of most Negroes and Mexican-Americans in either the inner city or two outlying areas of minority group concentration preclude any reasonable conclusion about differences in race/ethnic contact rates. Later,

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[20] Victimization rates (measures of occurrence among population groups at risk) have been developed for 1973 from surveys of a National Crime Panel sponsored by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. These rates enable us to see the relative risk of being a specific type of victim to which various race/ethnic, sex, age groups were subjected in that year. Although they are the closest that we can get to the delinquent and criminal act, we did not believe that reports of contacts with victims were central enough to our concerns to merit the time required to code them.

TABLE 1. POLICE CONTACTS IN RACINE, WISCONSIN: A COHORT OF JUVENILES BORN IN 1942, BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND REASON FOR CONTACT BY PERCENT*

	Mexican-American		Negro		Anglo		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Suspicion, Investigation	11.5	14.3	26.7	59.1	23.6	37.3	24.0	37.8
Traffic: Moving Vehicle	34.6	14.3	21.0	9.1	25.7	14.8	25.1	14.3
Disorderly Conduct	30.8	50.0	17.5	9.1	21.2	14.8	20.8	16.0
Theft	—	—	6.7	—	5.1	5.2	5.3	4.6
Liquor	11.5	—	1.2	9.1	4.8	8.5	4.3	8.1
Incorrigible, Runaway	—	7.1	1.0	—	4.1	9.2	3.6	8.5
Other Contacts	3.8	—	1.7	4.5	4.1	1.8	3.7	2.0
Traffic: Other	—	—	5.7	—	2.4	1.8	2.9	1.6
Auto Theft	—	7.1	2.2	—	1.5	.7	1.6	1.0
Vagrancy	—	—	.5	—	1.8	.7	1.6	.7
Sex Offenses	—	—	3.2	—	.9	1.5	1.2	1.3
Burglary	—	—	1.7	—	.9	.4	1.0	.3
Truancy	—	—	—	—	.8	1.5	.7	1.3
Assault	—	—	2.2	—	.5	.7	.8	.7
Weapons	3.8	—	1.0	—	.5	—	.6	—
Family: Parent Status	—	—	1.7	—	.1	.4	.4	.3
Violent Property Destruction	—	—	—	—	.5	—	.4	—
Gambling	—	—	1.7	9.1	—	—	.3	.7
Escapee	—	—	2.0	—	.1	—	.4	—
Robbery	—	—	1.7	—	.1	—	.4	—
Fraud	—	—	.5	—	.3	.4	.3	.3
Suicide	—	7.1	—	—	.3	.4	.3	.7
Forgery	—	—	—	—	.3	—	.2	—
Narcotics, Drugs	3.8	—	—	—	.2	—	.2	—
Homicide	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Obscene Behaviors	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	99.8	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Police Contacts	26	14	405	22	2200	271	2631	307
Number with Police Contacts	6	2	27	8	403	133	436	143
Mean Contacts per Person	4.33	7.00	15.00	2.75	5.45	2.03	6.03	2.14
Number in Cohort	7	10	27	17	603	601	637	628
Mean Contacts per Person	3.71	1.40	15.00	1.29	3.64	.45	4.13	.48

* Only for persons who resided in Racine at the age of 17 and who had in most cases lived there for the period between 6 and 17; 3.7% of cohort were excluded because they had left Racine before age 17, lived there intermittently, or time was not ascertained.

TABLE 2. POLICE CONTACTS IN RACINE, WISCONSIN: A COHORT OF JUVENILES BORN IN 1949, BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND REASON FOR CONTACT BY PERCENT*

	Mexican-American		Negro		Anglo		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Suspicion, Investigation	26.2	29.2	26.6	38.7	25.4	31.8	25.7	33.0
Disorderly Conduct	24.5	37.5	21.8	24.5	22.1	19.3	22.2	20.8
Traffic: Moving Vehicle	14.6	—	12.2	8.4	18,7	13.9	17.4	12.5
Incorrigible, Runaway	6.5	4.2	5.5	11.0	7.4	12.5	7.0	12.0
Theft	4.2	12.5	11.3	6.5	6.6	6.3	7.2	6.5
Liquor	5.9	4.2	1.1	—	4.8	3.6	4.3	3.0
Other Contacts	2.3	4.2	2.7	1.3	3.1	1.7	2.9	1.7
Vagrancy	4.5	—	1.3	1.9	2.0	2.6	2.1	2.4
Burglary	3.4	4.2	2.8	—	2.0	.3	2.2	.4
Sex Offenses	2.0	—	2.5	.6	.8	2.7	1.1	2.3
Assault	2.8	—	2.9	1.9	.9	.5	1.4	.7
Auto Theft	.8	—	1.8	—	1.4	—	1.4	—
Traffic: Other	.3	4.2	1.4	2.6	.8	.3	.8	.8
Narcotics, Drugs	.6	—	.5	—	.8	1.1	.7	.8
Forgery	—	—	1.1	1.9	.6	.6	.7	.8
Truancy	.3	—	.5	—	.4	.9	.4	.7
Weapons	.3	—	1.0	—	.5	—	.6	—
Violent Property Destruction	—	—	.6	—	.5	—	.5	—
Fraud	—	—	.3	—	.5	.2	.4	.1
Escapee	—	—	.3	—	.4	.2	.3	.1
Robbery	.3	—	1.0	—	.2	.2	.3	.1
Suicide	.3	—	—	—	.1	1.7	.1	1.3
Gambling	—	—	.4	.6	.1	—	.1	.1
Family: Parent Status	.3	—	.1	—	—	—	.1	—
Homicide	—	—	.1	—	—	—	—	—
Obscene Behaviors	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	100.1	100.2	99.8	99.9	100.1	100.4	99.9	100.1
Number of Police Contacts	355	24	785	155	3563	664	4703	843
Number with Police Contacts	29	14	67	30	641	276	737	320
Mean Contacts per Person	12.24	1.71	11.71	5.16	5.55	2.48	6.38	2.63
Number in Cohort	32	27	73	60	938	889	1043	976
Mean Contacts per Person	11.09	.88	10.75	2.58	3.79	.74	4.50	.86

* Only for persons who resided in Racine at the age of 17 and who had in most cases lived there for the period between 6 and 17; 6.3% of cohort were excluded because they had left Racine before age 17, lived there intermittently, or time was not ascertained.

when Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos residing in similar ecological areas are compared we will find that their police contact records are similar rather than as divergent as suggested by the data in Tables 1 and 2.

Records of the Juvenile Court were also coded in order to determine the disposition of those cases which were referred to it by the police or others with whom the juvenile had contact. (See Appendix B for Juvenile Court Code Sheet.)

We have determined the length of time each juvenile resided in the community in order to be able to control for those on whom we have only partial careers. This was, in a sense, the old problem of mortality in longitudinal studies, except that we were concerned with those who entered the system later than their birth date (for all practical purposes later than age 6) and with those who left Racine before the age of 18.[21]

During the police contact coding operation the address at which the offender lived at time of contacts and addresses where offenses were committed were coded according to a block numbering system established by the U.S. Census in 1970. To each block number we have assigned a unique set of Cartesian coordinates (one set for the map based on the 1960 Census data and another set for the map based on the 1970 Census data) so that addresses of offender and place of offense may be computer mapped by any other variable or set of variables which we choose. These in turn may be located in their appropriate ecological or natural area for either 1960 or 1970 (see Maps 1 and 2). Thus it is possible to computer-create visual representations of the distribution of police contacts by place of residence or place of offense according to type of offense, age of offender, sex of offender, race/ethnicity of offender, etc.

Our coding scheme also enables us to utilize the age of the juvenile at each contact and the date of each contact, permitting us to determine whether a juvenile's contacts occur in rapid succession with only a few days between them or whether they are spaced out over the entire span of years in which contacts occurred. Each date of disposition has also been coded so that we can see if there are multiple contacts soon after the juvenile has

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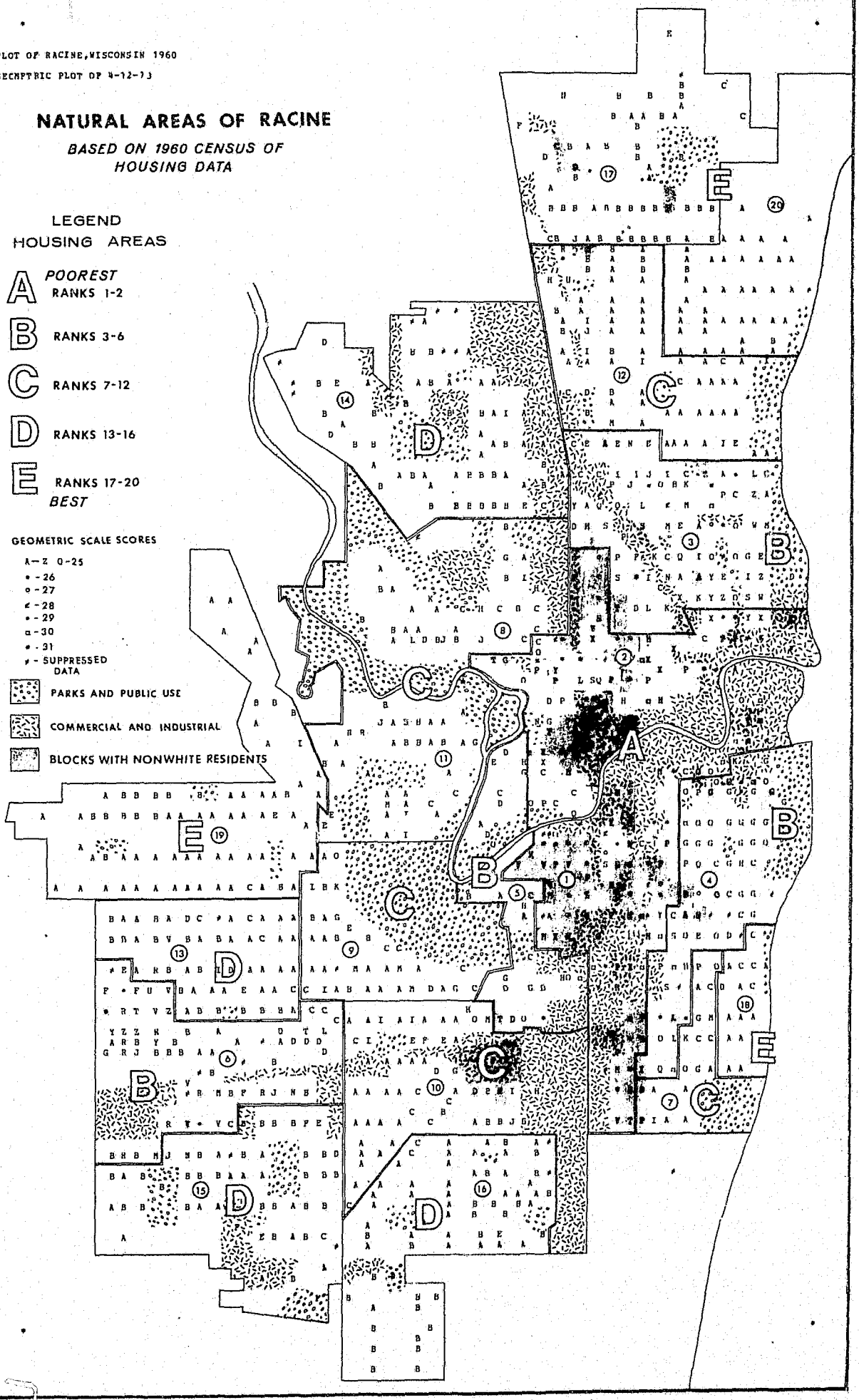
[21] We were fortunate in having a set of Racine City Directories for 1947 through 1975 present in our office and were able to borrow telephone directories from the Wisconsin Bell Telephone Company for the period covered by the study for Racine, Kenosha, and surrounding areas.

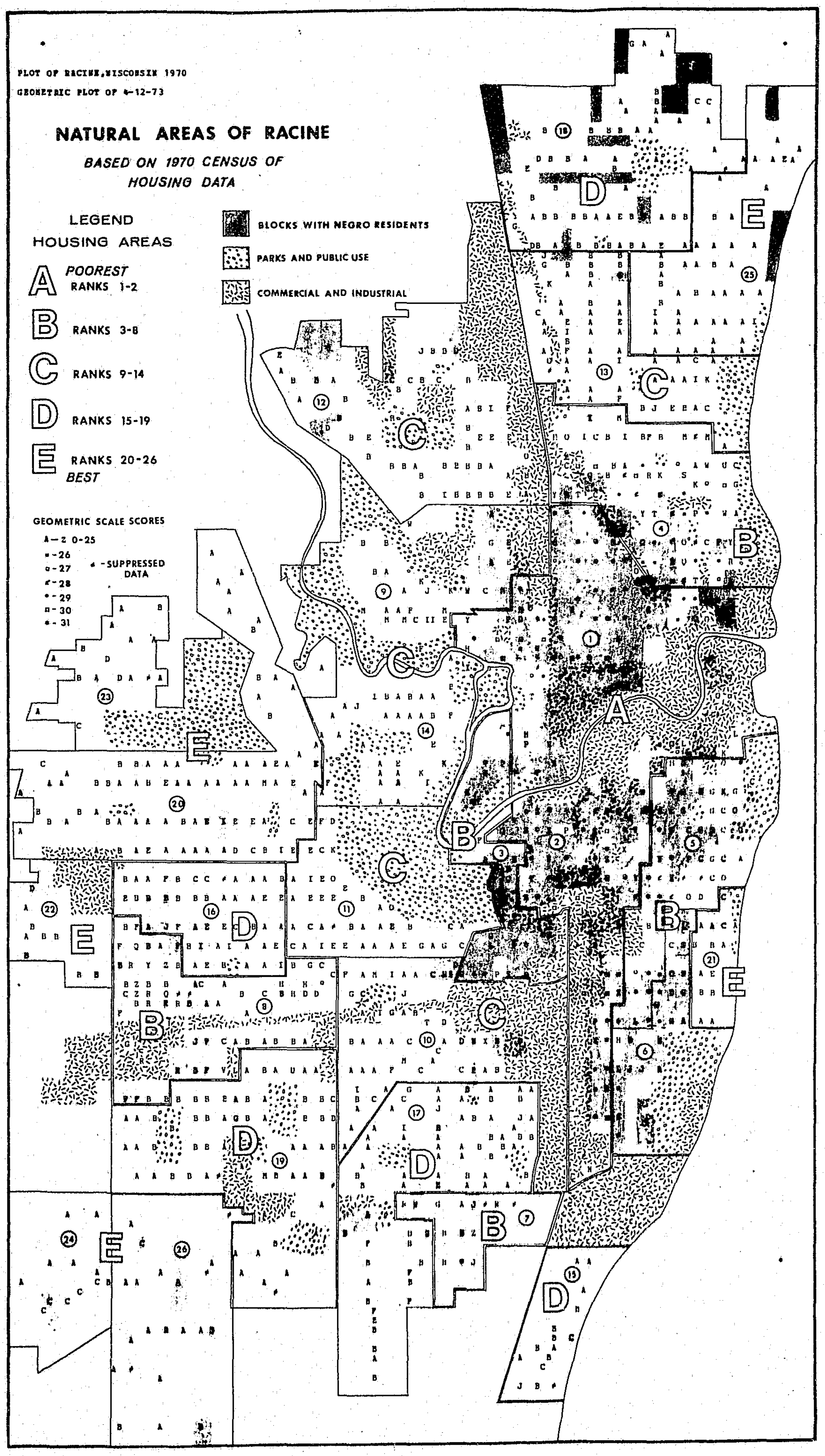
PLOT OF RACINE, WISCONSIN 1960

GEOMETRIC PLOT OF 4-12-73

NATURAL AREAS OF RACINE

BASED ON 1960 CENSUS OF HOUSING DATA




PLOT OF RACINE, WISCONSIN 1970
GEOMETRIC PLOT OF 4-12-73
NATURAL AREAS OF RACINE
BASED ON 1970 CENSUS OF HOUSING DATA
LEGEND
HOUSING AREAS
A POOREST RANKS 1-2
B RANKS 3-8
C RANKS 9-14
D RANKS 15-19
E RANKS 20-26 BEST
BLOCKS WITH NEGRO RESIDENTS
PARKS AND PUBLIC USE
COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL
GEOMETRIC SCALE SCORES
A—Z 0-25
-26
-27
-28
-29
-30
-31
-SUPPRESSED DATA

been dealt with by authorities in one manner or another or if attempts to control by the authorities result in a considerable period of time before the juvenile has another contact with authorities.[22]

SOME PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The Ecological Distribution of Cohorts and Persons with Police Contacts

The distribution of the 1942 and 1949 cohorts and those in the cohorts with police contacts are shown by race and sex in comparison with Racine's population in 1970 in Table 3.

Not surprising is the fact that Negroes have been concentrated in two of the 26 subareas delineated on the 1970 map to which we have referred.[23] These two areas made up Natural Area A and here we find 6,519 of the 10,386 Negroes in Racine in 1970. They constitute 62.8% of the total Negro population of the city and 48.1% of the population living in Natural Area A. Natural Area B (consisting of three interstitial areas and one outlying subarea in 1960, two in 1970) contains 3,305 Negroes (31.8% of the Negro population) but Negroes make up only 14.1% of this area. Those Negroes

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[22] There is an extensive literature on factors related to the disposition of juvenile and adult contacts with the police and the courts, of which a few are here cited: Peter J. Bourke and Austin T. Turk, "Factors Affecting Postarrest Dispositions: A Model for Analysis," *Social Problems*, Vol. 22, No. 3, February 1975, pp. 313-332; William R. Arnold, "Race and Ethnicity Relative to Other Factors in Juvenile Court Dispositions," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 77, September 1971, pp. 211-227; Terrence P. Thornberry, "Race, Socioeconomic Status, and Sentencing in the Juvenile Justice System," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 64, March 1973, pp. 90-98; and Norman L. Weiner and Charles F. Willie, "Decisions by Juvenile Officers," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 77, September 1971, pp. 199-210.

[23] Racine is, in many respects, an ideal laboratory in which to study the American dream, or at least the way social processes operate to fulfill the dreams of diverse segments of the population. While approximately one-third of the population is of Danish descent, the remaining two-thirds are quite diverse (German, Polish, Czech, Russian, Italian, Lithuanian, Turkish, English, Norwegian, Swedish, Yugoslavian, and many others, including the more recently arrived Mexican-Americans). In 1930 almost 20% of the population consisted of foreign-born Anglos, while less then 1% was Negro. By 1940 the population of foreign-born Anglos dropped to 16.5%, by 1950 to 12%, by 1960 to 8%, and by 1970 to 6%. At the same time, the Negro population increased to 1% by 1940, to 2% by 1950, to 5.3% by 1960, and to 10.5% by 1970.

TABLE 3. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF COHORTS AND THEIR POLICE CONTACT STATUS IN NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE COMPARED WITH PERCENT TOTAL RACINE POPULATION IN NATURAL AREAS

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner-City) to Higher Quality Housing					Total A-E		Varied Residence in Combinations of A,B,C,D,E*
	A	B	C	D	E	%	Number	
Non-Negroes:								
1970 Census	7.6	21.6	27.4	23.5	19.9	100.0	93,192	
1942 Cohort	15.5	25.2	28.9	16.7	13.6	99.9	962	340
1949 Cohort	10.7	23.9	25.4	24.8	15.3	100.1	1,526	438
Anglos, 1942 Cohort								
Males	13.2	25.4	28.4	19.1	13.9	100.0	476	165
With Contacts	13.8	26.3	29.7	19.9	10.4	100.1	327	95
Females	17.1	23.9	30.3	14.9	13.9	100.1	469	168
With Contacts	21.4	26.8	25.0	14.3	12.5	100.0	112	25
Anglos, 1949 Cohort								
Males	10.3	24.9	24.8	24.5	15.4	99.9	758	214
With Contacts	12.1	26.6	26.6	21.9	12.8	100.0	530	125
Females	8.1	21.8	27.6	26.3	16.2	100.0	715	215
With Contacts	11.3	27.8	27.4	19.1	14.3	99.9	230	51
Mexican-Americans, 1942 Cohort								
Males	42.9	42.9	14.3	----	----	100.1	7	2
With Contacts	50.0	50.0	----	----	----	100.0	6	0
Females	40.0	60.0	----	----	----	100.0	10	5
With Contacts	50.0	50.0	----	----	----	100.0	2	1
Mexican-Americans, 1949 Cohort								
Males	50.0	32.1	3.6	14.3	----	100.0	28	6
With Contacts	50.0	30.8	3.8	15.4	----	100.0	26	3
Females	56.0	40.0	4.0	----	----	100.0	25	3
With Contacts	63.6	27.3	9.1	----	----	100.0	11	3
Negroes:								
1970 Census	62.8	31.8	2.7	1.6	1.2	100.1	10,386	
1942 Cohort	87.8	7.3	2.4	2.4	----	99.9	41	8
1949 Cohort	87.7	9.0	1.6	1.6	----	99.9	122	14
Negroes, 1942 Cohort								
Males	96.0	4.0	----	----	----	100.0	25	4
With Contacts	96.0	4.0	----	----	----	100.0	25	3
Females	75.0	12.5	6.3	6.3	----	100.1	16	4
With Contacts	62.5	25.0	12.5	----	----	100.0	8	2
Negroes, 1949 Cohorts								
Males	91.0	4.5	1.5	3.0	----	100.0	67	9
With Contacts	95.0	1.7	1.7	1.7	----	100.0	60	8
Females	83.6	14.5	1.8	----	----	99.9	55	5
With Contacts	88.9	11.1	----	----	----	100.0	27	3

* Includes outside Racine and not ascertained.

and Mexican-Americans who did not reside in the inner city or interstitial areas were mainly in two outlying areas of similar housing types and inferred socioeconomic status. The remaining 5.5% of Racine's Negroes are scattered throughout the city and comprise less then 1% of the population of these areas, areas which contain some 70% of the city's non-Negro population. What we have, as in most other Northern industrial cities, is a heavy concentration of Negroes in the inner city, an area characterized by the poorest housing in the community, most of the heavy industry, and, as we shall see, a disproportionate amount of the juvenile delinquency and crime.

The first five columns of Table 3 deal with those in the cohort and a subset of persons who had police contacts (between the ages of 6 and 18) and had as a principal place of residence one of the natural areas (A-E), although they may have moved about within a given area. These have been totalled and percentaged across the page. The last column (and this is only for housekeeping purposes) contains the number of persons who lived in more than one natural area or who at one time or another lived outside the city limits. We have not made the exclusions in Table 3 that were made in Tables 1 and 2 since we are not presenting the data as rates but are simply showing where the contacts for each cohort took place. We are, of course, bothered by the fact that our cohorts contain so few Mexican-Americans and Negroes, but this is what a typical cohort was like during the years covered by our research. (A *cohort* selected from among those born in any year from 1965 to the present whould have a larger minority component.)

One of our first concerns was the spatial distribution of our cohorts by natural areas in comparison with Racine's population. We can speak about this only in reference to those who continued to live in the same area, but this is indicative of the spatial distribution of each cohort. The 1942 Anglo cohort is skewed toward the inner city (Natural Area A) somewhat more than the 1949 cohort. Both differ from the distribution of Racine's 1970 population in the same manner, as one would expect, since the community increased in size between 1960 and 1970 and moved outward during this period (as shown on Maps 1 and 2). Thus, each succeeding cohort one might select would have a smaller proportion residing in the inner city and

its interstitial areas and a larger proportion in the areas located at its periphery.

The males and females have somewhat different spatial distributions within each cohort but are not markedly different and we do not believe that these differences are sufficient to have any noticeable effect on their overall police contact rates. That is, the large differences in male/female police contact rates which we shall note in succeeding tables cannot be attributed to differences in the spatial distribution of males and females in either cohort.

Although there was some skewness of persons with police contacts toward Natural Area A and disproportionately fewer of them in Natural Area E, the distribution of male Anglos in both cohorts who had a police contact for what could be defined as delinquent or criminal behavior at any time after the age of 6 is very similar to the distribution of the cohorts.

Anglo females proportionately more than males are found in Natural Area A in the case of the 1942 cohort and proportionately less so in the case of the 1949 cohort. There are other small differences between the male and female distributions but none of consequence. Females with police contacts in both cohorts are slightly more skewed toward the inner city and interstitial areas than is the total cohort and disrepresented in Area E.

While males in the Mexican-American cohorts are concentrated in Natural Areas A and B, we are unable to say how this relates to the concentration of Mexican-Americans in the city on a basis of Census data. However, our longitudinal study of the economic absorption and cultural integration of Mexican-Americans and Negroes in Racine did show that in 1971, 45.4% of the Mexican-American families lived in Natural Area A and 39.4% lived in Natural Area B.[24] This is not markedly different from the cohort distribution and, with the small numbers involved, the difference is not significant. The point is that the distribution of male Mexican-Americans with police contacts is very similar to the distribution of the two cohorts.

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[24] Lyle W. and Magdaline W. Shannon, *Minority Migrants in the Urban Community: Mexican-American and Negro Adjustment to Industrial Society*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publication, 1973.

Turning to Mexican-American females in the cohorts, we find them located in Natural Areas A and B similarly to the males and find those with contacts concentrated in Natural Area A to a greater extent than was the cohort but, as previously stated, their numbers are small and one cannot really conclude that the females differ from the males on this basis.

As far as the Negro population is concerned, the Census distribution for 1970 is not so much like the cohorts as it is for the Anglos. This can be readily explained, however, by the fact that even more outward movement has taken place among Negroes than among Anglos if we think in terms of movement from the inner city (Natural Area A) into the interstitial Area B. At the time that our cohorts were age 6 through 17 (1948 to 1959 and 1955 to 1966), Negroes were more concentrated in Natural Area A. Again, with the relatively small number in our cohorts it would be difficult to say that their deviation from the distribution of Negroes in the community is not partly because of the chance variation that could be found from cohort to cohort. What we do find, as in the case of Anglos and Mexican-Americans, is that Negro males with contacts are distributed spatially as are their total cohorts.

The Negro females present a somewhat different picture. While females in the 1942 cohort are not as concentrated in the inner city as are the males, the few females who had police contacts are even less concentrated. On the other hand, the 1949 cohort is more concentrated in Natural Area A, as are those who had police contacts.

One may summarize the data in Table 3 by saying that the distribution of neither cohort is sufficiently different from the distribution of Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Negroes in Racine to suggest that these cohorts are not representative of other cohorts born in contiguous years. Furthermore, the spatial distribution of males and females in each cohort (where there are sufficient numbers to make a firm judgement) who have had police contacts is not markedly different from that of their respective cohorts.

Race/Ethnic and Ecological Variation in the Proportion of Juveniles and Adults with Police Contacts

In Table 4 we present the percentage of each race/ethnic group residing in each natural area (to the extent that there were sufficient persons in the area) who have had any contact at each age period in their career or who have ever had a contact with the police.

1942 Cohort Contacts. Unfortunately, the relatively small numbers of Mexican-Americans and Negroes in each natural area in the 1942 cohort prevent meaningful race/ethnic natural area comparisons other than for Area A. For the period 6 through 17, commencing with the males, a higher proportion of Negroes had police contacts than did Anglos but none of the Mexican-Americans had contacts. As one moves from Areas A and B, the inner city and its interstitial area, to the suburbs, a smaller proportion of the Anglos had police contacts. Essentially the same pattern is shown for the period of ages 18 through 20, but here some Mexican-Americans had police contacts. When those who had contacts at the age of 21 and older are considered, Anglos again have the smallest proportion who had police contacts, and with one exception the proportion who had contacts declining as one moves outward to the suburbs. One can also see that the proportion of Anglos who had contacts at any stage of their career (contacts ever) was the same as that for Mexican-Americans and less than the proportion of Negroes who did so.

Since about 66% of the Anglo males had police contact at one time or another, it is quite unreasonable to describe the male delinquency and crime in this cohort as a minority group problem or as a community problem centered in minority groups. Considering the fact that such a large proportion of the cohort was located outside the inner city and that over half of the Anglos from the highest socioeconomic status area had at least one police contact, it cannot even be said that delinquency and crime in the cohort was a particular problem of those who resided in the inner city.

Markedly smaller proportions of the females (even those in the inner city) had police contacts and, although Negroes had the highest proportion who had ever had police contacts, the pattern did not have as much consistency as did that for males.

1949 Cohort Contacts. Turning to the 1949 cohort and the age period 6 through 17, we find that while the total group of male Negroes had the highest proportion with contacts, this was not the case in all areas, Mexican-Americans having essentially the same proportion with contacts in the inner city at every age period. But again, the fact that about 80% of the Anglos had had a contact at one time or another means that the problem was as much an Anglo problem as a minority group problem, particularly

TABLE 4. PERCENT OF RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS WITH POLICE CONTACTS BY NATURAL AREA OF JUVENILE RESIDENCE

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner-City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations**			Total		
	A			B			C	D	E	A,B,C,D,E					
	A	MA	N	A	MA	N	A	A	A	A	MA	N	A	MA	N
1942 Cohort, Males															
Contacts 6-17	51	0	75	55	0	0	50	44	33	37	0	50	45	0	69
Contacts 18-20	46	33	88	38	33	0	28	29	20	21	0	50	29	22	79
Contacts 21+	49	100	92	39	100	100	46	36	24	38	0	75	39	67	90
Contacts Ever	71	100	100	71	100	100	72	71	52	58	0	75	66	67	97
N	63	3	24	121	3	1	135	91	66	165	2	4	641	9	29
1942 Cohort, Females															
Contacts 6-17	21	25	0	17	17	50	14	14	8	11	20	25	14	20	10
Contacts 18-20	14	25	25	7	0	50	4	9	3	4	20	25	6	13	25
Contacts 20+	10	0	25	7	0	100	3	7	11	4	0	25	6	0	35
Contacts Ever	30	25	42	27	17	100	20	23	22	15	20	50	22	20	50
N	80	4	12	112	6	2	142	70	65	168	5	4	637	15	20
1949 Cohort, Males															
Contacts 6-17	62	86	82	60	56	33	65	51	45	38	50	89	53	71	79
Contacts 18-20	46	57	56	39	56	33	31	28	20	26	33	56	31	50	55
Contacts 21+	45	64	62	38	67	33	35	30	18	30	33	44	32	59	58
Contacts Ever	82	93	93	75	89	33	75	62	58	58	50	89	67	85	89
N	78	14	61	189	9	3	188	186	117	214	6	9	972	34	76
1949 Cohort, Females															
Contacts 6-17	34	21	41	26	30	38	25	15	18	16	100	40	21	36	40
Contacts 18-20	19	14	24	15	0	25	8	10	12	6	33	20	10	11	23
Contacts 21+	5	21	22	11	0	13	5	4	7	5	33	20	6	18	20
Contacts Ever	45	50	52	41	30	38	32	23	28	24	100	60	30	50	50
N	58	14	46	156	10	8	197	188	116	215	3	5	930	28	60

* Columns for minority groups have been eliminated when there were 4 or fewer persons in the natural area.

** Outside Racine and not ascertained included.

since 58% of the Anglos in even the highest socioeconomic status area had had a contact at one time or another. As in the 1942 cohort, the proportion of Anglos with contacts declined (with few exceptions) from the inner city outward.

Females in the 1949 cohort had higher proportions with police contacts than in the 1942 cohort, but considerably lower proportions with police contacts at each stage of their careers than did the males. In the inner city there was less race/ethnic difference between Anglo and minority group females than males.

In summary, the data as presented in Table 4 indicate that while disproportionate numbers of Negroes, and less consistently Mexican-Americans, have had police contacts at each stage in their careers and at all stages combined, delinquency and crime should not be considered a minority group problem for two reasons. First of all, minority groups made up only a small proportion of each cohort, and second, even in Area A where they constituted almost 40% of the cohort they did not have such a larger percentage of their group with police contacts than did the Anglos that they could be defined as being the problem in that area.

Frequency of Police Contacts in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts

We shall now consider the number of contacts that each person in the two cohorts has had with the police during their careers with controls for race/ethnicity and sex in order to determine if there have been increases in the frequency of police contacts between 1942 and 1949 for any of these groups. While there is a sampling problem in that only two years of birth are represented, if there has been any increase in the rate of police contact among younger persons, it should show up in comparison of the two cohorts differing by seven years in birth.

The answer to whether or not the 1949 cohort has a higher rate of police contact than the 1942 cohort differs somewhat, however, depending on how we look at the data. Mean numbers of contacts have already been shown in Tables 1 and 2. Overall, the mean number of contacts per person who had contacts was slightly greater in the 1949 cohort than in the 1942 cohort, for the males 6.38 in 1949 against 6.03 in 1942, and for the females, 2.63 in 1949 against 2.14 in 1942. Since the bulk of each cohort was Anglo, the Anglo differences are essentially the same. While those Mexican-American males in the 1949 cohort who had contacts had considerably more

contacts than those in the 1942 cohort, it is counterbalanced by a finding of fewer contacts for each person who had contacts among females in the 1949 cohort than in the 1942 cohort. Among the Negroes, the difference was in the opposite direction, with the male average number of contacts per person who had contacts decreasing and the female average increasing between the 1942 cohort and the 1949 cohort. It must be kept in mind, of course, that there relatively few Mexican-Americans and Negroes in the 1942 cohort. Much the same result must be reported for mean number of contacts per person in each cohort, with all race/ethnic differences between the 1942 and 1949 cohorts following the same pattern as described for persons with police contacts.

Additional data are presented in detail in Appendix C in a series of tables showing the percentage of each group who had no contacts at a given period, one contact, two to five contacts, etc. The following may be stated in reference to age periods and combinations of age periods.

Ages 6 through 17. A larger proportion of each race/ethnic group in the 1949 cohort had at least one police contact than did the 1942 cohort. The mean number of police contacts stayed the same or increased for each group in the 1949 cohort compared to the 1942 cohort. Each overall distribution for the 1949 cohort was also more skewed toward a higher number of contacts.

Ages 18 through 20. There was even less change between the 1942 and 1949 Anglos than during the first age period but a larger proportion of the Mexican-American males in the 1949 cohort than in the 1942 cohort had at least one police contact as did a smaller proportion of Negroes. Among the females, the proportion without contacts remained the same for Negroes, increased for Mexican-Americans, but decreased for Anglos. The mean number of police contacts remained almost the same for all groups except Mexican-American males for whom there was a small increase. The overall distribution was such that one would hesitate to say that the 1942 and 1949 cohorts were distinctly different, with the exception of the Negro males where, although the means were similar, the 1949 cohorts' distribution was skewed toward fewer police contacts and Mexican-American males where the difference was in the opposite direction.

Age 21 and Older. In the 1949 cohort a smaller proportion of the Anglo males had at least one contact, while the females in both cohorts

were almost identical. Mexican-American males had a smaller proportion with at least one contact, while females had a larger proportion. Negroes, male and female, had a smaller proportion with at least one contact. The mean number of adult police contacts changed very little between cohorts except in the case of Negro males where it declined slightly. One would have expected a decline in the number of contacts at age 21 and older between the two cohorts simply on a basis of the longer exposure of the 1942 cohort were it not offset by the alleged increase in delinquent behavior in more recent years.

Ages 6 through 20. The proportion who had at least one police contact was larger in the 1949 than the 1942 cohort (the greatest change among Mexican-Americans) and each mean increased (the largest increase being for Mexican-American males) except for Mexican-American females where there was a slight decrease. Perusal of these distributions would also indicate that overall contact rates for most groups were skewed upward to a greater extent in the 1949 cohort than in the 1942.

Age 18 and Older. The proportion with at least one contact decreased for all Negroes, for Mexican-American males and to a lesser extent for Anglo males, but increased for Mexican-American and Anglo females. The mean number of police contacts for each cohort decreased for Negro males more than for other groups, for which there was no real pattern of change. The overall distributions revealed that only Mexican-American males had markedly more contacts in the 1949 cohort than in the 1942 cohort.

Age 6 to Present. Although we are not primarily interested in all stages of each cohort's career combined, it should be noted that the proportion of persons with at least one police contact at any time was greater in the 1949 cohort than in the 1942 cohort except among Negro males. The mean number of contacts of Mexican-American males was markedly higher in the 1949 cohort than the 1942 cohort while all other means were fairly stable, only slightly higher, or declined as in the case of male Negroes. The shape of the overall distribution also suggests that Mexican-American males in the 1949 cohort had slightly higher rates of police contact and Negro males had slightly lower rates than their counterparts in the 1942 cohort.

Persons with Multiple Contacts. A small number of persons was responsible for a disproportionately large number of all police contacts in

both cohorts. In the 1942 cohort 5.2% of all persons were responsible for 43.7% of all police contacts; in the 1949 cohort 5.3% of all persons were responsible for 45.1% of all police contacts.

Comparison of Race/Ethnic Groups Within Each Cohort

The answer to the question posed in this section, does one race/ethnic group consistently have proportionately more contacts and another consistently less than others, is also based on the data in Tables 1 and 2 and Appendix C. We have again considered the proportion who had no police contacts, the means, and the skewness of each distribution.

Ages 6 through 17. Negro males in the 1942 cohort have the largest proportion with at least one contact, while none of the Mexican-Americans had a contact. The mean number of contacts and the overall distribution have the same rank ordering. In the 1949 cohort Negroes continue to have the largest proportion with at least one contact but now Anglos have the smallest proportion with contacts. The mean number of contacts for Mexican-Americans is higher than that of Negroes and the Anglos have by far the lowest mean.

Among the females the picture is slightly different. In the 1942 cohort the Negroes had the smallest proportion with at least one contact and the Mexican-Americans the largest. The means produced the same ranking. For the 1949 cohort Negroes had the largest proportion with at least one contact and Anglos the smallest. The overall distribution produced the same means for Mexican-Americans, almost the same mean for Anglos, and a slightly higher mean for Negroes.

Ages 18 through 20. Although the Negro males in the 1942 cohort again had the largest proportion with at least one police contact, the Mexican-Americans and Anglos were similar and had similar means. In the 1949 cohort Negroes and Mexican-Americans had similar proportions with at least one contact, similar mean numbers of contacts, and overall distributions skewed toward higher numbers of contacts than did the Anglos.

Negro females in the 1942 cohort had the largest proportion with at least one contact; Anglos and Mexican-Americans were almost identical. Mexican-Americans had a slightly higher mean number of contacts in that cohort but in the 1949 cohort Negro females were highest in contacts in all respects and Mexican-Americans and Anglos were almost identical.

Age 21 and Older. No matter how one looks at it, Negro males had the highest contact rates and Anglos the lowest for both cohorts. Among the females, Negroes had the highest contact rate in both cohorts but Mexican-Americans were the lowest in the 1942 cohort and Anglos the lowest in the 1949 cohort.

Age 6 through 20. Negro males had the highest contact rate for the 1942 cohort and Mexican-Americans the lowest. Among those in the 1949 cohort, Mexican-Americans had a slightly higher contact rate than the Negroes, while Anglos again had the lowest rate.

For the 1942 female cohort results are mixed, with Mexican-Americans having the highest mean but also the lowest proportion with at least one contact. Negroes had the largest proportion with at least one contact but their overall distribution produced the same mean as that for the Anglos. In the 1949 cohort Negroes and Mexican-Americans had the same proportion without police contacts but the Negro distribution was sufficiently skewed upward to give them the highest mean number of contacts while Anglos and Mexican-Americans were the same in this respect.

Age 18 and Older. The findings are fairly straightforward for both males and females. In both cohorts Negroes had the highest rates of police contact in every respect and Anglos the lowest.

Age 6 to Present. Combining all contacts places the Negro males highest in contact rates in all respects in 1942 but almost the same as the Mexican-American males in 1949. Although a larger proportion of Anglos had no contacts than did the Mexican-Americans in 1942 the Mexican-American distribution was skewed toward more contacts among those who did have contacts. In the 1942 cohort Anglo females had a lower mean than did Mexican-American females although their proportion who had at least one contact was greatest. Negro females had the same mean as Mexican-Americans but fewer who had no contacts. In the 1949 cohort Anglos were lower than Mexican-Americans in all respects and the latter were the same or lower than Negroes.

Persons with Multiple Contacts. Some of the anomolies in the relationship of mean numbers of police contacts, proportions with no police contacts, and overall distributions may be explained by differences in the high contact categories. For example, among males in the 1942 cohort at the 11 or more contact level there are no Mexican-Americans but on the other hand

there are few who have had no contacts at all. When we turn to the 1949 cohort, however, there are more Mexican-Americans and Negroes than Anglos at the highest level, but fewer Negroes than in the 1942 cohorts. Although a small number of persons accounts for a disproportionately large share of the contacts in both cohorts, this is not nearly as true for Anglos as for Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

Summary

Negro males had the highest rate of police contact in the 1942 cohort, regardless of the age period covered, Anglos the lowest, and Mexican-Americans an intermediate rate. Anglos and Mexican-Americans were, however, very similar. In the 1949 cohort Negroes and Mexican-Americans had similar contact rates. Female Negroes and Mexican-Americans alternated between ranks of high and medium in 1942 and Anglos were always lowest. In 1949 Negroes had clearly the highest rates and Anglos the lowest.

The Race/Ethnic Composition of Police Contacts by Natural Area of Residence

If we assume that some of the basic sociological explanations of delinquency and crime have merit, i.e., that delinquency and crime are generated in social contexts most favorable to delinquency and crime, and that they are generated at lower rates in areas least favorable to crime, then the proportion of each race/ethnic group with police contacts should be the same in each natural area. If these proportions are the same or very similar it becomes it becomes difficult to lend credence to the over-simplified race/ethnic explanations which, although interred many years ago, linger and are still given considerable weight by a sociologically unsophisticated segment of the population. If these proportions are not the same the problem still remains of accounting for race/ethnic variation in juvenile delinquency and crime. We shall address ourselves to this problem if and when we find that any race/ethnic group contributes to delinquency and/or crime disproportionately to their numbers in a given area of the community.

Let us now turn to the data in Table 5. The distribution of each cohort/sex group by race/ethnicity and the race/ethnic composition of those who have ever had a contact for Natural Area A appears in the first column

TABLE 5. RACE/ETHNICITY OF 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS AND THEIR POLICE CONTACTS WITHIN NATURAL AREAS OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

	Area A: Inner-City		Areas B,C,D,E		Combinations* A,B,C,D,E		Total	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
MALES:								
Total in Cohort								
Anglo	70.0	51.0	98.8	97.1	96.5	93.4	94.4	89.8
Mexican-American	3.3	9.2	1.1	2.0	1.2	2.6	1.3	3.1
Negro	26.7	39.9	0.0	0.9	2.3	3.9	4.3	7.0
	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9
N	90	153	418	700	171	229	679	1082
Contacts Ever								
Anglo	62.5	47.8	98.6	96.7	96.9	91.9	92.5	87.1
Mexican-American	4.2	9.7	1.0	2.7	0.0	2.2	1.3	3.9
Negro	33.3	42.5	0.3	0.6	3.1	5.9	6.1	9.0
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
N	72	134	286	482	98	136	456	752
FEMALES:								
Total in Cohort								
Anglo	83.3	49.2	97.5	97.0	94.9	96.4	94.8	91.4
Mexican-American	4.2	11.9	1.5	1.6	2.8	1.3	2.2	2.8
Negro	12.5	39.9	1.0	1.3	2.3	2.3	3.0	5.9
	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
N	96	118	399	677	177	223	672	1081
Contacts Ever								
Anglo	80.0	45.6	95.7	96.7	89.3	89.5	91.3	86.5
Mexican-American	3.3	12.3	1.1	1.9	3.6	5.3	2.0	4.3
Negro	16.7	42.1	3.3	1.4	7.1	5.3	6.7	9.2
	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
N	30	57	92	211	28	57	150	325

* Includes outside Racine and not ascertained.

of figures, followed by Natural Areas B, C, D, and E, and those who lived in combinations of the five natural areas during their juvenile residence in Racine. The last column contains the race/ethnic distributions of the cohort and the race/ethnic distribution of all who have ever had a police contact.

Males in the 1942 Cohort. The proportion of males in each race/ethnic group with police contacts at various stages in their careers or for their total career is roughly the same as the proportion of persons who live in areas of high delinquency and crime rates. Seventy percent of the 1942 males in Natural Area A are Anglos and 62.5% of those who have had contacts are also Anglos. The Mexican-Americans make up 3.3% of those in Area A but 4.2% of those who had contacts in this area were Mexican-Americans. Negroes in the cohort residing in Area A make up 26.7% of the total and 33.3% of those with contacts. Actually, every male Negro and Mexican-American had a police contact at one time or another in his career. This may be a consequence of social and economic race/ethnic differences within the area which impinge on the Negro and Mexican-American more than upon others, or it may have something to do with their way of life which makes them more visible to officialdom. Another explanation is that the police more assiduously observe the behavior of minorities because they have been socialized in a society where Negroes and Mexican-Americans are believed to be more delinquent and more criminal than Anglos. Police behavior insures fulfillment of the prophecy.

When we turn to Natural Areas B, C, D, and E we find that most of those in the cohort residing there are Anglos, as are most of those with juvenile contacts. There are few Mexican-Americans and even fewer Negroes in these areas (none at all in Areas D and E). We also find few Mexican-Americans and Negroes in that segment of the cohort who moved about sufficiently to have lived in various combinations of areas. None of the Mexican-Americans had contact with the police but a disproportionate number of Negroes did.

Overall, a slightly disproportionate number of the Negroes have had police contacts, the proportion of Mexican-Americans is the same as their proportion in the cohort, and the Anglos have the fraction less that makes up for the Negroes' fraction more.

Males in the 1949 Cohort. The proportion of Negro males residing in Natural Area A increased from the 26.7% of the 1942 cohort to 39.9% in the 1949 cohort and the Mexican-Americans from 3.3% to 9.2%. Again, delinquency and crime outside Area A are almost entirely Anglo behaviors because there are few non-Anglos there. However, since more Negroes and Mexican-Americans had moved out of the inner city and were residing in all areas except E, they did constitute a portion of those in the cohort with contacts. Here the most important point is that outside of Area A the proportion of Negroes with police contacts was slightly less than their proportion in the cohort but that for Mexican-Americans was slightly larger.

The data suggest that the idea of Negroes and Mexican-Americans as the focal point of the delinquency and crime problem is not completely groundless but is distorted by a fiction about minorities. What we see in Area A is a consequence of life in the inner city and similar kinds of areas where by the very nature of the lives that people are forced to live (and this is not presented as an excuse for delinquency and crime) their actions become more visible to the police who, in turn, are required to attempt the maintenance of certain standards of behavior. And it is not only the high visibility of minority group patterns of misbehavior but also the policeman's idea of what he should be looking for that generates a higher minority group police contact rate.

When we leave the area of minority group concentration, an area where delinquent and criminal behavior is expected of them, we find that the proportion of minority group members who have police contacts is closer to their proportion in the cohort.

Females in the 1942 Cohort. The picture for the females is somewhat different. In Area A we find that the proportion of Negro females who have ever had a police contact is closer to their proportion in the cohort than it was for males and that the proportion of Mexican-Americans who have ever had a police contact is even lower than their proportion in the cohort. Among those outside Area A the proportion of Negro females with contacts is disproportionately greater than in Area A but the numbers are so small that this difference is not meaningful.

Females in the 1949 Cohort. Among the females in the 1949 cohort there was relatively little difference between the proportion who were Negro or

Mexican-American and the proportion who had police contacts at any stage in their careers with one exception. That proportion of Negroes and Mexican-Americans who resided in various combinations of areas who had police contacts was greater than their proportion in the cohort.

In summary, Negro and Mexican-American delinquency and crime, male and female, is concentrated in the inner city even though a disproportionate number of those residing outside that area or in combinations of areas have had police contacts. Delinquency and crime outside of the inner city are Anglo behaviors.

The Changing Likelihood of Continuing Delinquent and Criminal Behavior

We have presented what may seem to be a complex set of tables showing how the two cohorts are alike and how they differ in terms of their race/ethnic composition, their distribution by natural areas, and their delinquency and crime rates by race/ethnicity, natural areas, and age periods. All statistics have been based on the cohort. We shall now turn to a discussion of how some individuals proceed through the various stages of what might be called continuously developing delinquent and criminal careers, how others drop out at various stages, and how others have had no contact with the police or, in some instances, have not had contacts until later stages of their lives.

Continuity in Male Careers. The data for males in the 1942 cohort are presented in Diagram 1 and for the 1949 cohort in Diagram 2. Persons were excluded from the cohort on the same basis described in Tables 1 and 2. Commencing with the total number of each race/ethnic|sex group, these disgrams show how differing proportions of each group follow the various paths that are possible. Starting with the 1942 Anglo males, of which there were 525, we find that 49.7% had a contact during the ages of 6 through 17 and that 44.1% of those who had had contacts during this initial period also had contacts from the ages of 18 through 20. Furthermore, 69.6% of these Anglo males who had had contacts with the police in both earlier periods went on to also have contacts with the police after the age of 21. Another way of looking at it is that 15.2% of the 525 Anglo males had at least one police contact in each of the three age periods we have utilized. If we follow the Anglo males who had not had a contact by the age of 18 (50.3%), we find 81.1% of them continued to have no record when they reached the age of 21 and 75.5% of this group (who had had no contacts) still had none by

DIAGRAM 1. PROGRESSION OF MALE CONTACTS BY AGE PERIOD: 1942 COHORT

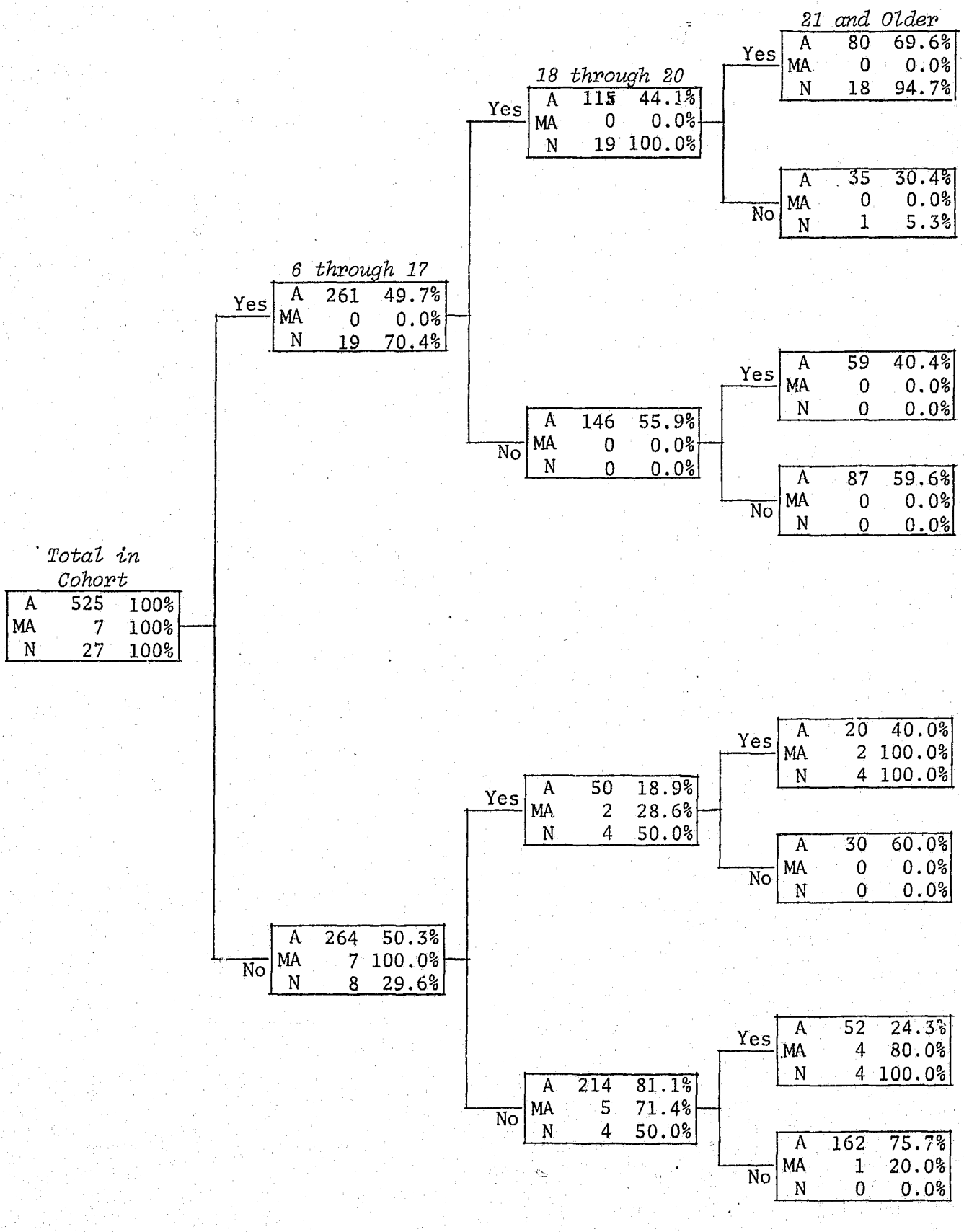
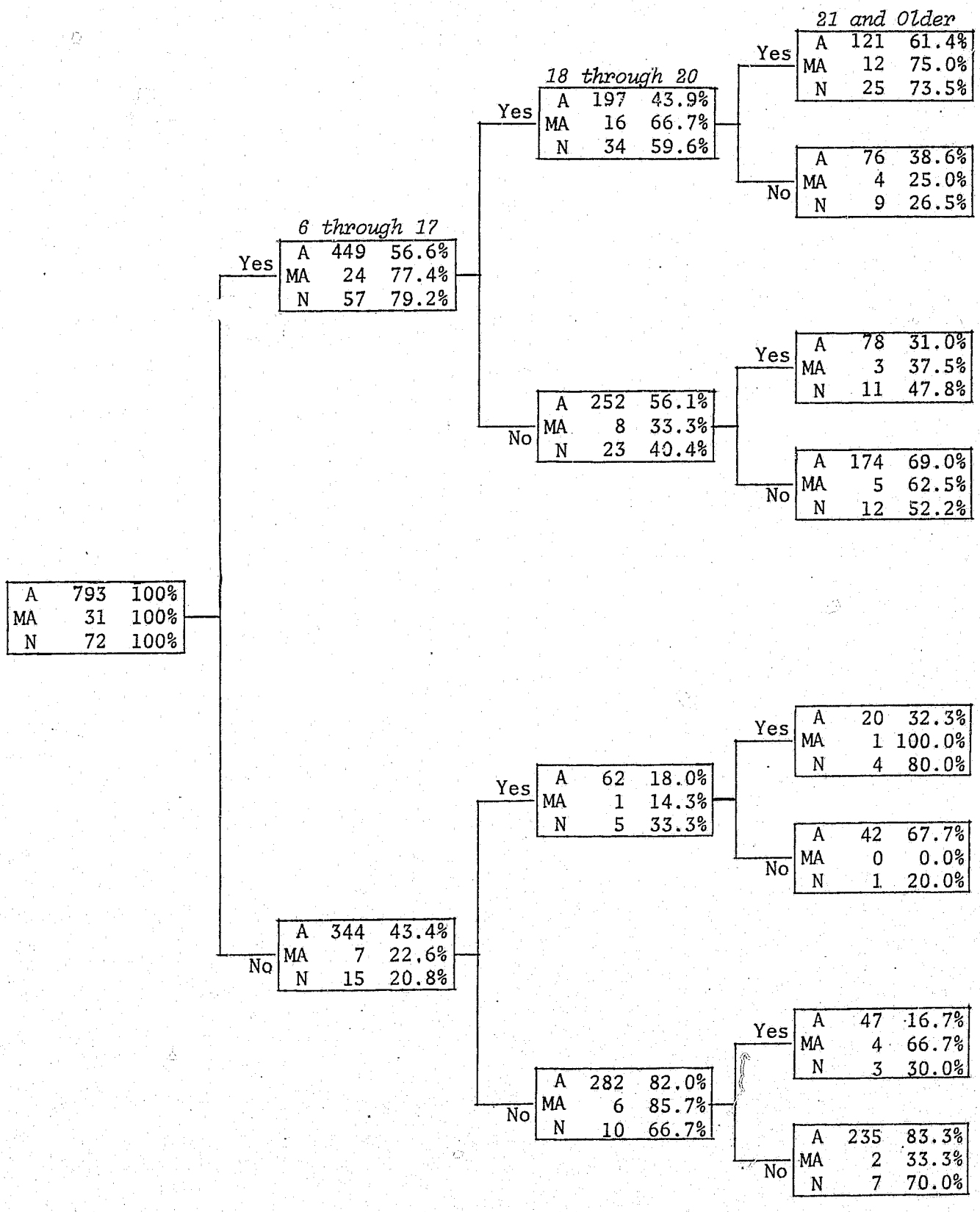


DIAGRAM 2. PROGRESSION OF MALE CONTACTS BY AGE PERIOD: 1949 COHORT



the data collection cut-off point. Those who never had a police contact make up 30.9% of the Anglo males.

These figures show the probability of continuing to experience contact or no contact, depending upon the individual's experience in the earliest age period. None of the Mexican-American males had police contacts during the first age period but 6 out of 7 had contact at one of the succeeding stages. Each period of contact for the Negroes led almost invariably to an even higher probability of further contacts and a lesser probability of no contacts than was the Anglo experience. Among the 27 Negro males 66.7% experienced police contact in each age period and none experienced no police contacts at any age.

Essentially the same sort of progression was found for Anglo males in the 1949 cohort and there were sufficient Mexican-Americans and Negroes to show that their progression toward continuing careers was more probable than for Anglos.

When the 1942 cohort was divided by area into those whose most frequent area of residence during the period 6-17 was Areas A or B and A and B versus C, D, and E, we found greater probability of progression for those in Areas A and B than those in C, D, and E. The probability of progression in delinquency and crime period by period was even greater for those males, particularly the Negroes in the 1949 cohort, who resided in Areas A or B versus Areas C, D, and E.

Continuity in Female Careers. The Anglo females in the 1942 cohort present a strikingly different picture from that of the males. Few had contacts at any stage and the proportion who had and continued to have contacts remains small in comparison to that of the males. While the proportion with contacts in the 1949 cohort does increase slightly in some stages among those who had contacts, the proportion of those without contacts becomes progressively greater at each age period. For the Mexican-American females essentially the same pattern exists. The Negro females, however, show a decided propensity to increase their proportions who have police contacts following each age period in which they have contacts. Progression among those 1942 cohort Anglo females who resided in Areas A and B was greater than for those who resided in Areas C, D and E but this pattern was found only for the 1949 cohort Negro females. The

TABLE 6a. CONTINUITY OF MALE CAREERS BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS: 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND AREA OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH JUVENILE MOST FREQUENTLY RESIDED, BY PERCENT*

Time Period/Continuity Contact Types			Total			A-B			C-D-E		
Juv	18-20	21+	A	N	MA	A	N	MA	A	N	MA
Yes	Yes	Yes	15.2	66.7	—	23.3	66.7	—	9.8	—	—
Yes	Yes	No	6.7	3.7	—	8.3	3.7	—	6.4	—	—
Yes	No	Yes	11.2	—	—	9.3	—	—	12.2	—	—
Yes	No	No	16.7	—	—	14.0	—	—	17.2	—	—
No	Yes	Yes	3.8	14.8	28.6	3.6	14.8	33.3	4.4	—	—
No	Yes	No	5.7	—	—	6.2	—	—	5.7	—	—
No	No	Yes	9.9	14.8	57.1	6.7	14.8	66.7	11.5	—	—
No	No	No	30.9	—	14.3	28.5	—	—	32.8	—	100.0
			100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	0	100.0
		1942 N =	525	27	7	193	27	6	296		1
Yes	Yes	Yes	15.3	34.7	38.7	21.1	33.8	42.3	10.5	33.3	20.0
Yes	Yes	No	9.6	12.5	12.9	10.7	13.2	11.5	9.3	—	20.0
Yes	No	Yes	9.8	15.3	9.7	9.6	16.2	7.7	9.9	—	20.0
Yes	No	No	21.9	16.7	16.1	18.5	17.6	15.4	24.6	—	20.0
No	Yes	Yes	2.5	5.6	3.2	3.3	5.9	3.8	1.9	—	—
No	Yes	No	5.3	1.4	—	7.0	—	—	4.1	33.3	—
No	No	Yes	5.9	4.2	12.9	6.7	4.4	11.5	5.4	—	20.0
No	No	No	29.6	9.7	6.5	23.0	8.8	7.7	34.3	33.3	—
			99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
		1949 N =	793	72	31	270	68	26	484	3	5

* Only for persons who resided in Racine at the age of 17 and who had in most cases lived there for the period between 6 and 17; 3.7% of the 1942 and 6.3% of the 1949 cohort left Racine before age 17, lived there intermittently, or time was not ascertained. Persons whose principal places of residence as a juvenile were not in Areas A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D or E or a combination thereof were also excluded.

TABLE 6b. CONTINUITY OF FEMALE CAREERS BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS: 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND AREA OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH JUVENILE MOST FREQUENTLY RESIDED, BY PERCENT*

Time Period/Continuity Contact Types			Total			A-B			C-D-E		
Juv	18-20	21+	A	N	MA	A	N	MA	A	N	MA
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.4	—	—	2.6	—	—	0.4	—	—
Yes	Yes	No	1.4	—	16.7	2.1	—	16.7	1.1	—	—
Yes	No	Yes	1.2	5.9	—	1.0	7.1	—	1.1	—	—
Yes	No	No	12.2	—	—	13.4	—	—	10.5	—	—
No	Yes	Yes	0.6	11.8	—	1.5	14.3	—	—	—	—
No	Yes	No	3.7	11.8	—	3.6	14.3	—	3.9	—	—
No	No	Yes	3.9	17.6	—	3.6	14.3	—	3.9	50.0	—
No	No	No	75.8	52.9	83.3	72.2	50.0	83.3	79.3	50.0	—
			100.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.2	100.0	0
		1942 N =	517	17	12	194	14	12	285	2	
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.2	12.1	3.7	1.8	12.3	4.0	1.0	—	—
Yes	Yes	No	3.3	6.9	—	6.0	7.0	—	2.2	—	—
Yes	No	Yes	0.8	3.4	3.7	0.5	3.5	—	1.0	—	100.0
Yes	No	No	17.3	19.0	29.6	20.3	19.3	28.0	15.8	—	—
No	Yes	Yes	1.2	—	3.7	1.4	—	4.0	1.2	—	—
No	Yes	No	5.5	3.4	3.7	6.5	3.5	4.0	5.1	—	—
No	No	Yes	3.4	5.2	7.4	5.5	5.3	8.0	2.2	—	—
No	No	No	67.3	50.0	48.1	58.1	49.1	52.0	71.5	100.0	—
			100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		1949 N =	733	58	27	217	57	25	506	1	1

* Only for persons who resided in Racine at the age of 17 and who had in most cases lived there for the period between 6 and 17; 3.7% of the 1942 and 6.3% of the 1949 cohort left Racine before age 17, lived there intermittently, or time was not ascertained. Persons whose principal places of residence as a juvenile were not in Areas A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D or E or a combination thereof were also excluded.

contrast between Anglos and Negroes is, it appears, even greater for females than for males if one considers only the propensity to have further contacts, given a contact at the earliest stage. For example, only 1.2% of the 233 Anglo females in 1949 had a contact at each age period while 12.1% of the 58 Negro females did so. Of the Anglo females, 67.3% had no contacts at any stage but only 50.0% of the Negro females had none. The most extreme contrast, however, is between Anglo females, of whom only 1.2% had a contact at every age period, and Negro males, of whom 34.7% did so.

Continuity in Frequency of Contact. Another way to look at the same data is to turn the tree diagrams into 8 continuity-of-career-types ranging from those who had one or more contacts at each period to those who had no contacts at any period. These are the equivalent of the last stage of the tree diagrams and, as presented Tables 6a and 6b, show the percent of each cohort by race/ethnicity|sex that fell into each continuity category. Each cohort was also subdivided by area of most frequent residence between the ages of 6-17. Continuity in careers, as measured by having police contacts at every age period, seems to have its lowest occurrence among females, Anglos, and those who reside outside the inner city and its interstitial areas. In the 1949 cohort, while the greatest continuity among females is found for female Negroes, half of them had no contacts at any period. Furthermore, when we turn to those who resided in Areas A and B we find that the basic difference between Negro and Anglo females was only in the category of those who had contacts at every time period and those who never had a contact. Among the males, however, the Mexican-Americans and Negroes showed similar continuity in their careers, over twice as many having contacts at every period as did the Anglos. When we turn to those in Areas A and B the Mexican-American and Negro patterns of continuity remain the same but the Anglo pattern of continuity becomes more like that of the Negroes. The point is perhaps best illustrated by noting that twice as many Anglos in Areas A and B had contacts at each period as did those who resided in Areas C, D, and E.

While the analysis that we have just presented makes it clear that there is some relationship between age periods in careers, we have yet to determine the extent to which frequency of contact in one age period is

related to frequency of contact in another age period. These relationship are described by the correlations presented in Table 7. Data on Anglo males in both cohorts produced a range of Tau coefficients of correlation from .131 to .389, the latter being the correlation between the number of contacts at the ages of 6 through 17 and the number of contacts age 18 and older among those who resided in Areas A and B. All of the female Anglo correlations were much lower, indicating that the "size" of a career at one age period for females has little relationship to the size of a career at a later age period.

There were so few males or females at various age periods for the Mexican-Americans in the 1942 cohort that the correlations that could be computed for each are only suggestive of a relationship between segments of careers. For the 1949 cohort the male and female correlations are based on enough cases to indicate that male careers are somewhat more cumulative than are the careers of male Anglos.

Turning to the Negro males in the 1942 cohort, we find the highest set of Taus, ranging from .312 to .363, the latter revealing the size of Negro male careers in the age period 6 through 20 to be relatively highly correlated with the size of their adult careers. In fact, the correlations between all combinations of contiguous age periods were relatively high for Negro males. In the 1949 cohort the range is somewhat greater, .262 to .399, and again produced high correlations between contiguous age periods before and after the age of 21. Age periods of Negro females were not nearly so highly correlated as for the males in 1942 but were more comparable in 1949.

When the correlations for size of careers for age periods for only those in the cohorts who resided in Areas A and B were compared with the correlations for those in Areas C, D and E, the correlations for Areas A and B were higher than those for C, D and E for almost every Anglo pair of correlations. Since most of the Mexican-American and Negroes resided in Areas A and B, there were too few in C, D and E for comparison.

Predicting Continuing Delinquent and Criminal Behavior from Previous Behavior

While the data thus far presented in Diagrams 1 and 2 and Tables 6a and 6b show that race/ethnic|sex groups are rather sharply differentiated in terms of how their careers have progressed and the data in Table 7 buttresses this by showing marked differences in correlation between the size

TABLE 7. TAU COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION RELATING NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS BY AGE PERIODS*

	Anglo				Mexican-American				Negro			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
Entire City												
6-17x18-20	.210	.232	.045	.054	—	.351	—	-.029	.348	.272	-.055	.428
6-20x21+	.253	.249	.047	.035	—	.256	—	.144	.363	.399	.311	.196
6-17x21+	.216	.213	.039	.017	—	.114	—	.049	.312	.280	.138	.171
6-17x18+	.274	.287	.052	.052	—	.266	—	.006	.361	.337	.138	.243
18-20x21+	.196	.191	.037	.221	—	.347	—	.436	.351	.370	.197	.204
Inner City A-B												
6-17x18-20	.299	.259	.079	.109	—	.401	—	-.010	.348	.268	-.082	.423
6-20x21+	.353	.296	.091	.018	—	.306	—	.139	.363	.384	.352	.197
6-17x21+	.309	.250	.061	.000	—	.113	—	-.045	.312	.262	.143	.170
6-17x18+	.389	.304	.082	.076	—	.289	—	-.058	.361	.328	.143	.243
18-20x21+	.276	.259	.389	.047	—	.446	—	.494	.351	.352	.230	.206
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17x18-20	.143	.224	.024	.035	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-20x21+	.179	.221	.014	.046	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-17x21+	.222	.195	.020	.025	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-17x18+	.196	.283	.032	.044	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18-20x21+	.131	.153	.003	.041	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Only for persons who resided in Racine at the age of 17 and who had in most cases lived there for the period between 6 and 17; 3.7% of the cohort were excluded because they had left Racine before age 17, lived there intermittently, or time was not ascertained for the 1942 cohort; 6.3% of the 1949 cohort were eliminated for the same reason.

of career segments, this, however, is not the same as saying that contacts at one stage in a career are highly predictive of contacts at the following stage.

We have found that in some sex|race/ethnic categories what happens in an earlier period increases predictive efficiency for later periods but in other categories it does not. Since the predictions to which we refer do not take into consideration reasons for police contact and a host of other variables which should enhance predictive efficiency, these predictions should be considered only suggestive of what prediction with multiple variables will permit.

Let us look at the Negroes in the 1949 cohort as an example. The females are shown below as distributed in a table with four cells. The

		Police Contacts Age 18 through 20		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contacts Age 6 through 17	No	32	2	34
	Yes	13	11	24
	Total	45	13	58

question is, can we predict who will have a police contact at the age of 18 through 20 from those who had a contact at the age of 6 through 17? Twenty-four of the Negro females had contacts between the ages of 6 and 18 but only 13 during the ages of 18 through 20. Were we to predict that those who had contact during the earlier period would have contact during the later period we would be correct 11 times and incorrect 13 times. Similarly, if we predicted that those who had no contacts during the period 6 through 17 would have no contacts at the age of 21 or older we would be correct 32 times and incorrect 2 times. This would give us a total of 15 errors. Had we not utilized our knowledge of the relationship of behavior at one period to behavior at another period it would have been best to predict that no one would have had police contacts during the later period, netting us only 13 errors. In this case the modal category of the marginals was no contacts during the age period 18 through 20 for Negro females. Negro females were so frequently in this category that predictive efficiency could not be improved by use of contact status during the period 6 through 17.

While it is fortunate that less than half of the Negro girls who have police contacts between 6 and 18 continue to have them, this does not mean

that there is such a marked decline in contacts for every set of age periods for every race/ethnic|sex group in each cohort, as our next example for Negro females, will show.

Let us take the 24 who had contacts during the period 6 through 17 and see what sort of prediction can be made about their adult contact status from their status during the period 18 through 20 years of age. They are shown in the table below.

		Police Contacts Age 21 and Older		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	11	2	13
	Yes	4	7	11
	Total	15	9	24

In this case contact status for the age period 18 through 20 enables us to predict contact status after 21 with only 6 errors while we would have made 9 errors if we had used the modal category of the marginals and predicted that no one would have had a contact after the age of 21. The reduction in error that would have been achieved is represented by the coefficient of predictability, in this case .333.

Turning to the Negro males, as a different kind of example, let us look at the relationship of contacts during the period 18 through 20 to age 21 and older. Of the 39 Negro males who had police contacts in the

		Police Contacts Age 21 and Older		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	19	14	33
	Yes	10	29	39
	Total	29	43	72

earlier period, 29 had contacts at the age of 21 and older, while only 14 of those who did not have contacts in the earlier period continued to have no contacts. Use of the first period as a predictor nets us 24 errors, but 29 errors would have been made if we had simply predicted that everyone in the cohort would have had a police contact sooner or later. The coefficient of predictability here is only .172, indicating that the predictor does not give us much improvement over the prediction that all male Negroes would have a police contact at the age of 21 and older.

As a follow up we shall next divide the Negro males into those who had a contact during the period 6 through 17 and those who did not, then look at each table in order to see if predictive improvement is better than when the group was considered as a whole. What we find here is that among those

No Contacts During Period 6 through 17

		Police Contacts Age 21 and Older		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	7	3	10
	Yes	1	4	5
	Total	8	7	15

One or More Contacts During Period 6 through 17

		Police Contacts Age 21 and Older		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	12	11	23
	Yes	9	25	34
	Total	21	36	57

who had no contacts during the period 6 through 17, predictive efficiency for the period after 21 is increased by considering the period 18 through 20. The coefficient of predictability is .428, based on the fact that 4 out of 5 persons who had a contact 18 through 20 also had one or more contacts at 21 or more but that 7 out of 10 who had no contacts 18 through 20 had no contacts at 21 or older. When we turn to those who had one or more contacts ages 6 through 17, the coefficient of predictability is only .047, indicating that practically no improvement over the marginals for the period 21 or older comes from using contact status during the period 18 through 20. From the viewpoint of persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems, efforts could be concentrated on the males who have had police contacts at the first age period but it might be just as well to worry about all of them. This is, of course, only a start. We have not begun to set up prediction tables, as we shall, which take into consideration seriousness of misbehavior and the host of other variables which probably play a part in determining whether careers are continuous or not. Perhaps we shall find that the reasons for police contacts with Negro males are of such a nature that

attention should be paid entirely to them and that the nature of female careers is such that they could just as well be ignored.

The Anglos present a different, but yet in some respects similar, problem. Let us first look at the females. The Anglo females are similar to

Police Contacts Age 21 and Older

Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	Yes	Total
No	620	31	651
Yes	64	18	82
Total	684	49	733

the Negro females in that fewer have police contacts at each age period than do not. While the two periods are correlated, the distribution of the marginals is such that only 49 errors would be made if we predicted that none of the Anglo females would have a police contact after the age of 21, while use of the period 18 through 20 as a predictor of behavior during the second period would yield 95 errors.

When the Anglo females are divided into those who had contacts before the age of 18 and those who did not, the following tables are generated.

No Contacts During Period 6 through 17

Police Contacts Age 21 and Older

Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	Yes	Total
No	493	25	518
Yes	40	9	49
Total	522	34	567

One or More Contacts During Period 6 through 17

Police Contacts Age 21 and Older

Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	Yes	Total
No	127	6	133
Yes	24	9	33
Total	151	15	166

In neither case can we increase predictive efficiency over that previously obtained for the simple reason that so few had police contacts at the age of 21 or older. Even if we go to only those Anglo females who lived

in the inner city (Areas A and B), knowledge of contact status during one period does not enable us to predict contact status during the next period better than a simple prediction from the modal category of the marginals.

The Anglo males are similar to the females but different in some respects as shown below. Although less than half had police contacts during

Police Contacts Age 21 and Older

Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	Yes	Total
No	409	125	534
Yes	118	141	259
Total	527	266	793

the period from 18 through 20 and less than half had contacts at the age of 21 and older, somewhat fewer errors would be made by utilizing the first period as a predictor (243 errors) than simply basing one's prediction on the modal category of the marginals (266 errors). The coefficient of predictability is .086, indicating only a slight increase in predictive efficiency.

But let us examine these same people with controls for whether or not they had a contact during the period 6 through 17. Here we begin to find that improvement in prediction is possible. Those who had no contacts and those who had one or more contacts are shown in separate tables below.

No Contacts During Period 6 through 17

Police Contacts Age 21 and Older

Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	Yes	Total
No	235	47	282
Yes	42	20	62
Total	277	67	344

One or More Contacts During Period 6 through 17

Police Contacts Age 21 and Older

Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	Yes	Total
No	174	78	252
Yes	76	121	197
Total	250	199	449

For those who had no contacts during the period 6 through 17, contacts during the period 18 through 20 are not as predictive of contacts at the age of 21 or older as to simply say that no one will have a contact as an adult. For those who had one or more contacts during the period 6 through 17 there was some increase in predictive efficiency by utilizing contact status during the period 18 through 20 as a predictor (coefficient of predictability .226).

If we turn to those who resided in the inner city we find that it is still not possible to increase predictive efficiency beyond that which would be obtained from the modal category of the marginals but that prediction is improved for those who had one or more contacts during the age period 6 through 17. This indicates, as we have previously suggested, that controls for residence may be very helpful in determining to whom the greatest attention should be paid.

When the Anglo males in the inner city to whom we have just referred are divided into those who had police contacts during the period 6 through 17 and those who did not, the prediction tables shown below are obtained.

No Contacts During Period 6 through 17

		Police Contacts Age 21 and Older		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	62	18	80
	Yes	19	9	28
	Total	81	27	108

One or More Police Contacts During Period 6 through 17

		Police Contacts Age 21 and Older		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	50	26	76
	Yes	29	57	86
	Total	79	83	162

While only 27 errors would be made in predicting that no one would have a police contact at the age of 21 or more, 37 errors would have been made if the age period 18 through 20 had been utilized as a prediction period for those who had no contacts prior to age 18. For those who had

early contacts, only 55 errors would have been made utilizing the predictor while 79 would have been made if the modal category of the marginals had been relied upon.

One example should be cited from the Mexican-American segment of the cohort. For those Mexican-Americans with one or more contacts during the age period 6 through 17, the following table is obtained.

One or More Contacts During Period 6 through 17

		Police Contacts Age 21 and Older		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contacts Age 18 through 20	No	5	3	8
	Yes	4	12	16
	Total	9	15	24

The coefficient of predictability was .222, indicating an improvement in prediction over that which would have been obtained from the modal category of the marginals.

This is, of course, only the beginning. We shall undertake analytic procedures which will enable us to utilize reasons for the police contact, place of contact, age at police contact, police and court dispositions, time between contacts, composition of the group with whom the officer had contact if the person with a contact was not alone, and so on, in an effort to maximize the efficiency of our predictions. Further, we shall ultimately integrate the interview data into our prediction model.

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CONTACT CATEGORIES

While we have found segments of total careers to be correlated, we have yet to examine the relationship of reasons for police contact and seriousness of contact to each other. If we take each of the 26 police contact categories and their characterization as a felony, misdemeanor, juvenile condition, or contact for suspicion, investigation or information and subject them to factor analysis, first with males and females combined and then separately, it becomes apparent that the offense categories which loaded on each other cannot be readily conceptualized as *meaningful* constellations of offenses. The results are presented in Tables 8, 9, and 10. Reasons for police contact and seriousness in terms of whether or not the

contact was classified as a felony, misdemeanor, juvenile condition, or contact for suspicion, investigation or information are abbreviated in Tables 8, 9, and 10 as shown below.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TYPE AND SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS.

Felony Against the Person: the following categories if charged with a felony

Robbery	*Robfel*	Homicide	*Homfel*
Assault	*Asltfel*	Traffic-moving vehicles	*Traffel*
Sex offenses	*Sexfel*	Escapee	*Escapfel*
Narcotics and drugs	*Drugfel*	Suicide	*Suifel*

Felony Against Property: the following categories if charged with a felony

Burglary	*Burgfel*	Forgery	*Forgfel*
Theft	*Theftfel*	Fraud	*Fraudfel*
Auto theft	*Autofel*	Violent property destruction	*Viofel*
		Other	*Otherfel*

Major Misdemeanor: the following categories if charged with a misdemeanor

Robbery	*Robmis*	Assault	*Asltmis*
Escapee	*Escapmis*	Fraud	*Fraudmis*
Theft	*Theftmis*	Violent property destruction	*Viomis*
Narcotics and Drugs	*Drugmis*	Burglary	*Burgmis*
Weapons	*Weapmis*	Forgery	*Forgmis*

Minor Misdemeanor: the following categories if charged with a misdemeanor

Obscene behavior	*Obmis*	Traffic-moving vehicles	*Trafmis*
Disorderly conduct	*Dismis*	Other traffic	*Otrafmis*
Vagrancy	*Vagmis*	Gambling	*Gammis*
Liquor	*Liqmis*	Family-parent status	*Fammis*
Sex	*Sexmis*	Incorrigible	*Incormis*
		Other	*Othermis*

Juvenile Condition: the following categories for juveniles

Vagrancy	*Vagnon*	Incorrigible	*Incornon*
Disorderly conduct	*Disnon*	Truancy	*Trunon*

Contact for Suspicion, Investigation, or information *Contact*

One notes that the factors generated for the 1942 cohort differ from those for the 1949 cohort and that combining the cohorts produces even a different set of factors. When contacts are separated by sex of offender the solutions still differ for both years. If males for both cohorts are combined the solution again differs as it does if females for both cohorts are combined. One must conclude that for neither sex nor cohort are there meaningful constellations of offense/seriousness categories.

TABLE 8. FACTOR ANALYSIS OF TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS WITH THE POLICE BY COHORT: MALES AND FEMALES*

Factor	1942 Cohort		1949 Cohort		1942-1949 Cohort (combined)	
1	Robfel	(85)**	Dismis	(68)	Dismis	(73)
	Theftmis	(49)	Vagmis	(66)	Vagmis	(56)
	Autofel	(59)	Liqmis	(70)	Liqmis	(65)
	Fammis	(60)	Incornon	(61)	Incornon	(50)
	Escapmis	(93)	Asltmis	(48)	Asltmis	(44)
	Escapfel	(92)	Contact	(67)	Trafmis	(59)
					Viomis	(45)
					Contact	(68)
2	Suifel	(69)	Homfel	(80)	Robfel	(69)
	Dismis	(61)	Gammis	(81)	Fammis	(65)
	Liqmis	(78)			Escapmis	(86)
	Viomis	(62)			Escapfel	(91)
	Contact	(43)				
3	Traffel	(99)	Burgfel	(40)	Theftfel	(67)
	Fraudfel	(99)	Theftfel	(68)	Trunon	(51)
			Trunon	(61)		
4	Forgfel	(79)	Robfel	(74)	Drugmis	(80)
	Homfel	(74)	Asltfel	(64)	Drugfel	(74)
	Fraudmis	(62)	Traffel	(55)		
5	Asltmis	(80)	Drugmis	(73)	Homfel	(63)
	Weapmis	(68)	Drugfel	(73)	Gammis	(74)
6	Burgfel	(41)	Escapmis	(71)	Incornon	(47)
	Vagmis	(47)	Viomis	(73)	Incormis	(65)
	Trafmis	(63)			Otherfel	(69)
	Otrfmis	(40)				
	Othermis	(60)				
7	Drugmis	(82)	Fammis	(78)	Asltmis	(44)
	Drugfel	(81)	Viofel	(79)	Weapmis	(44)
					Viofel	(69)
8	Theftfel	(79)	Incornon	(47)	Otrafmis	(75)
	Sexfel	(72)	Incormis	(54)		
			Otherfel	(68)		
9	Asltfel	(84)	Sexmis	(58)	Asltfel	(67)
	Otrfmis	(55)	Sexfel	(57)	Sexfel	(66)

10	Vagmis Incornon Trunon	(50) (58) (77)	Burgmis Burgfel	(82) (57)	Forgmis Forgfel	(67) (49)
11	Sexmis Fraudmis Fammis Gammis	(71) (56) (43) (65)	Theftmis Vagnon	(49) (74)	Fraudmis Suifel	(59) (78)
12	Burgfel Trumis	(53) (83)	Suifel Fraudmis	(64) (66)	Burgmis Burgfel	(84) (64)
13	Incormis	(90)	Forgmis Fraudfel	(59) (-50)	Traffel Fraudfel	(79) (67)
14	Viomfel	(83)	Robmis Obmis Othermis	(43) (56) (55)	Vagnon Sexmis	(79) (52)
15	Burgmis	(97)	Disnon	(96)	Obmis	(89)
16	Otherfel	(99)	-----		Trumis	(94)
17	-----		-----		Robmis	(96)
18	-----		-----		Disnon	(99)

* This table presents only those variables which loaded mostly highly on a given factor. A factor loading of .40 (40) was used as the minimum value for inclusion. Factoring was accomplished by the PA1 method with VARIMAX rotation (see SPSS Manual, pp. 468-516).

** Numbers in parentheses indicate factor loadings (decimals omitted; numbers rounded to two places). A value of 85, for example, should be read as .85.

TABLE 9. FACTOR ANALYSIS OF TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS WITH POLICE BY COHORT: MALES*

Factor	1942 Cohort		1949 Cohort		1942-1949 Cohort (combined)	
1	Robfel	(85)**	Dismis	(69)	Robfel	(68)
	Theftmis	(49)	Vagmis	(64)	Autofel	(43)
	Autofel	(58)	Liqmis	(68)	Fammis	(67)
	Fammis	(65)	Incornon	(65)	Escapmis	(87)
	Escapmis	(92)	Asltmis	(52)	Escapfel	(91)
	Escapfel	(94)	Trafmis	(59)		
			Fraudfel	(41)		
			Contact	(67)		
2	Dismis	(63)	Asltfel	(45)	Dismis	(56)
	Liqmis	(79)	Sexfel	(56)	Viomis	(72)
	Viomis	(60)	Escapmis	(84)	Contact	(41)
	Contact	(46)	Viomis	(70)		
	Suifel	(71)				
3	Traffel	(99)	Incormis	(41)	Homfel	(56)
	Fraudfel	(99)	Homfel	(83)	Gammis	(77)
			Gammis	(77)		
4	Forgfel	(77)	Theftfel	(64)	Drugmis	(78)
	Homfel	(73)	Trunon	(72)	Drugsfel	(71)
	Fraudmis	(73)				
5	Asltmis	(63)	Fammis	(78)	Theftmis	(50)
	Sexmis	(40)	Viomis	(80)	Incornon	(66)
	Weapmis	(69)			Forgfel	(64)
	Fammis	(46)				
6	Burgfel	(46)	Drugmis	(70)	Theftfel	(56)
	Vagmis	(42)	Drugfel	(73)	Trunon	(62)
	Trafmis	(66)			Sexfel	(45)
	Otrfmis	(44)				
	Contact	(40)				
	Othermis	(52)				
7	Theftfel	(78)	Robfel	(83)	Asltmis	(45)
	Sexfel	(72)	Forgfel	(56)	Viofel	(73)
	Gammis	(61)				
8	Drugmis	(81)	Fraudmis	(76)	Asltfel	(76)
	Drugfel	(81)	Suifel	(81)	Forgmis	(53)

9	Asltfel Otrfmis	(82) (59)	Autofel Incormis Weapmis	(61) (57) (61)	Vagmis Trafmis Otrfmis	(40) (58) (70)
10	Vagmis Incornon Trunon	(44) (53) (78)	Burgmis Burgfel	(84) (51)	Fraudmis Suifel	(63) (81)
11	Burgfel Trumis	(56) (78)	Forgmis	(76)	Burmis Burgfel	(82) (67)
12	Incormis	(86)	Theftmis Vagnon Sexmis	(53) (78) (45)	Traffel Fraudfel	(76) (70)
13	Vagmis Viofel Othermis	(40) (77) (45)	Traffel	(85)	Vagnon Sexmis	(80) (49)
14	Otherfel	(82)	Obmis Othermis	(85) (55)	Obmis Othermis	(81) (50)
15	Burgmis	(88)	Otherfel	(78)	Robmis	(95)
16	-----		Robmis	(87)	Otherfel	(83)
17	-----		Disnon	(98)	Disnon Trumis	(64) (70)

* This table presents only those variables which loaded mostly highly on a given factor. A factor loading of .40 (40) was used as the minimum value for inclusion. Factoring was accomplished by the PA1 method with VARIMAX rotation (see SPSS Manual, pp. 468-516).

** Numbers in parentheses indicate factor loadings (decimals omitted; numbers rounded to two places). A value of 85, for example, should be read as .85.

TABLE 10. FACTOR ANALYSIS OF TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS WITH POLICE BY COHORT: FEMALES*

Factor	1942 Cohort		1949 Cohort		1942-1949 Cohort (combined)	
1	Liqmis+	(59)**	Incornon	(44)	Liqmis	(42)
	Incormis	(95)	Sexmis	(71)	Incormis	(42)
	Otrafmis	(93)	Escapmis	(77)	Otramis	(79)
	Contact	(73)			Contact	(51)
	Othermis	(80)			Othermis	(66)
2	Dismis	(65)	Incornon+	(60)	Forgmis	(86)
	Trunon	(70)	Incormis	(54)	Forgfel	(88)
	Fraudmis	(91)	Otherfel	(82)		
	Suifel+	(78)	Suifel	(62)		
3	Vagmis	(76)	Forgmis	(86)	Incornon+	(59)
	Incornon	(68)	Forgfel	(88)	Incormis	(63)
	Sexmis	(76)			Otherfel	(83)
4	Burgfel	(81)	Drugmis	(81)	Incornon	(44)
	Theftmis	(68)	Drugsfel	(81)	Sexmis	(69)
					Escapmis	(79)
5	Autofel	(90)	Asltmis	(41)	Drugmis	(81)
	Suifel	(48)	Otrmis	(85)	Drugfel	(82)
			Contact	(50)		
6	Liqmis	(50)	Theftmis	(54)	Vagmis	(69)
	Fammis	(92)	Dismis	(56)	Asltmis	(69)
			Sexfel	(81)	Contact	(48)
7	Trafmis	(-40)	Vagmis	(72)	Trunon	(74)
	Gammis	(89)	Fraudmis	(79)	Fraudmis	(76)
8	Asltfel	(-75)	Trunon	(81)	Autofel	(76)
	Sexfel	(59)	Asltmis	(45)	Suifel	(57)
9	Asltmis	(89)	Trafmis	(75)	Liqmis	(55)
			Gammis	(48)	Fammis	(87)
10	-----		Contact	(42)	Theftmis	(48)
			Othermis	(82)	Dismis	(57)
					Sexfel	(81)

11	-----	Theftfel	(84)	Traffmis Traffel Gammis	(44) (-40) (55)
12	-----	Burgfel	(90)	Theftfel	(84)
13	-----	Robmis Trafel	(-71) (71)	Burgmis	(85)
14	-----	-----		Robmis Traffel	(-84) (50)
15	-----	-----		Asltfel Traffel	(-84) (50)

* This table presents only those variables which loaded mostly highly on a given factor. A factor loading of .40 (40) was used as the minimum value for inclusion. Factoring was accomplished by the PA1 method with VARIMAX rotation (see SPSS Manual, pp. 468-516).

** Numbers in parentheses indicate factor loadings (decimals omitted; numbers rounded to two places). A value of 85, for example, should be read as .85.

THE PROBLEM OF DETERMINING SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS

Recoding into Seriousness Categories

The problem of recoding some 26 offense contact categories into a few basic, but sociologically meaningful, seriousness categories was accomplished by utilizing the type and seriousness of offense code along with the contact categories as presented in the previous section of this report. The system is repeated in abbreviated from below.

SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS.

6 Felony Against the Person.
5 Felony Against Property.
4 Major Misdemeanor.
3 Minor Misdemeanor.
2 Juvenile Condition.
1 Contact for Suspicion, Investigation, or Information.

The distribution of each category of each cohort is shown in Table 11. The distribution of these categories, arbitrary though the system may be, suggests that while Anglo males appeared to have less serious delinquency and crime than Negro males in both cohorts, Mexican-American males had even fewer serious contacts. At the same time, the less serious nature of Negro female delinquency and crime compared to males and other females became even more clear.

Seriousness of Careers by Age Period, Race/Ethnicity, and sex

Tables 12 and 13 are based on the contact data shown in Table 11 but are divided into age periods of total career in order to compare seriousness differences between periods and race/ethnicity and sex categories. Three mean scores are presented based on arbitrarily assigning 6 points to a contact involving a felony against the person, 5 to a felony against property, and so on.

The first mean seriousness score (Seriousness of Contact) differs neither very much or consistently from one race/ethnic group to the other in either cohort. Females had lower mean seriousness scores more consistently than did males, however.

The second mean seriousness score refers to the mean seriousness of contacts for those in the cohort who had contacts. While race/ethnic differences increase, i.e., Negro males who have police contacts have more serious contacts than do Anglo males, the relative position of Mexican-American males was not consistent, sometimes above, sometimes below. Mean

TABLE 11. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY: 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY, AND SEX*

	Mexican-American		Negro		Anglo		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1942								
Felony Against Person	4.0	7.1	3.5	—	1.0	.7	1.4	1.0
Felony Against Property	—	7.1	4.7	—	2.8	1.1	3.1	1.3
Major Misdemeanor	4.0	—	10.4	—	6.7	5.9	7.3	5.2
Minor Misdemeanor	80.0	64.3	53.5	40.9	60.5	44.3	59.6	45.0
Juvenile Condition	—	7.1	1.0	—	5.0	10.7	4.3	9.8
Suspicion or Investigation	12.0	14.3	26.9	59.1	23.9	37.3	24.2	37.8
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.1
N =	25	14	402	22	2177	271	2604	307
1949								
Felony Against Person	1.1	—	2.2	—	1.3	3.3	1.4	2.6
Felony Against Property	4.5	4.2	6.7	1.3	4.1	0.9	4.6	1.1
Major Misdemeanor	7.1	12.5	15.4	9.1	8.9	7.9	9.8	8.3
Minor Misdemeanor	54.1	50.0	42.4	39.6	52.0	42.2	50.5	41.9
Juvenile Condition	6.8	4.2	6.2	11.0	7.9	13.5	7.5	12.8
Suspicion or Investigation	26.3	29.2	27.1	39.0	25.9	32.1	26.1	33.3
Total	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.0
N =	353	24	772	154	3503	657	4628	835

* Only for persons who resided in Racine at the age of 17 and who had in most cases lived there for the period between 6 and 17; 3.7% of cohort were excluded because they had left Racine before age 17, lived there intermittently, or time was not ascertained. Contacts were eliminated if the seriousness code was missing. 6.3% of the 1949 cohort were excluded for the same reason.

seriousness rates for females were almost always lower than those for males, and considerably lower as well. There were very few Mexican-American and Negro females in the 1942 cohort, but in the 1949 cohort where comparison was more feasible, Negro females had the highest mean and Mexican-American the lowest.

The third score, takes into consideration the size of the cohort and is probably the best measure since it gets at the mean seriousness of misbehavior for each category of the cohort and not just those who misbehave. Sex differences now are accentuated, as are race/ethnic differences. But while Negroes and Mexican-Americans have far more mean seriousness scores than do the Anglos, they do not consistently differ from each other in both cohorts; Negroes have markedly more serious scores in the 1942 cohort but there is relatively little difference between them and Mexican-Americans in the 1949 cohort.

Geometric Scaling with Seriousness Categories

While our arbitrary scoring system indicated that there were marked differences in the seriousness of careers, the difficulty with a simple approach such as this is that we are only dealing with aggregates. It tells us little about what the people are really like in terms of the nature of their careers. So we next constructed a Geometric Scale, an idea for which we can thank Louis Guttman. The Geometric scaling routine is really very simple, almost too simple for it usually fails to impress anyone. We simply assign (in order of seriousness) 1 point to a contact for suspicion, investigation, or information, 2 points to a contact for juvenile condition, 4 points to a minor misdemeanor, 8 points to a major misdemeanor, 16 points to a felony against property, and 32 points to a felony against a person. Those who have had one or more contacts for each category would have a score of 63, for example. Any combination of seriousness categories produces a unique score. Any score of 16 or above involves a felony. The various geometric scores and the unique combination of offense categories that produces them are shown in Table 14 as are the numbers of persons who received each of these scores during the age period 6 through 17.

These distributions reveal that only 9% of the 1942 cohort and 13% of the 1949 cohort had scores of 8 or above, that is, scores indicating that

TABLE 12. SELECTED INDICATORS OF SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS: 1942 COHORT BY SEGMENT OF CAREERS RACE/ETHNICITY, AND SEX*

	Mexican-American		Negro		Anglo		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Juvenile 6-17								
Mean Seriousness of Contacts	.00	3.83	2.67	1.00	2.76	2.17	2.76	2.22
Mean Seriousness of Persons with Contacts	.00	11.50	9.84	1.00	9.26	3.71	9.33	3.84
Mean Seriousness of Persons in Cohort	.00	1.91	6.93	.06	4.31	.55	4.39	.56
Intermediate 18-20								
Mean Seriousness of Contacts	3.14	2.50	2.91	2.20	2.66	2.47	2.70	2.45
Mean Seriousness of Persons with Contacts	11.00	10.00	8.74	2.75	5.85	3.54	6.23	3.77
Mean Seriousness of Persons in Cohort	3.14	1.67	7.44	.65	1.73	.22	1.99	.26
Adult 21 or +								
Mean Seriousness of Contacts	2.83	.00	2.70	1.75	2.47	2.26	2.53	2.16
Mean Seriousness of Persons with Contacts	8.50	.00	27.31	4.67	8.79	4.03	10.58	4.12
Mean Seriousness of Persons in Cohort	7.29	.00	26.30	1.65	3.44	.25	4.45	.28
Career								
Mean Seriousness of Contacts	2.92	2.93	2.76	1.82	2.63	2.27	2.65	2.25
Mean Seriousness of Persons with Contacts	12.17	20.50	41.04	5.00	14.30	4.63	15.93	4.84
Mean Seriousness of Persons in Cohort	10.43	3.42	41.04	2.35	9.48	1.02	10.83	1.10

* Scoring system: Felony against person 6; felony against property 5; major misdemeanor 4; minor misdemeanor 3; juvenile condition 2; contact for suspicion or investigation 1.

TABLE 13. SELECTED INDICATORS OF SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS: 1949 COHORT BY SEGMENT OF CAREERS RACE/ETHNICITY, AND SEX*

	Mexican-American		Negro		Anglo		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Juvenile 6-17								
Mean Seriousness of Contacts	2.59	2.71	2.87	2.28	2.70	2.39	2.51	2.38
Mean Seriousness of Persons with Contacts	19.83	3.80	17.26	6.08	10.14	4.83	10.42	4.91
Mean Seriousness of Persons in Cohort	14.88	1.41	13.71	2.43	5.38	1.03	5.78	1.11
Intermediate 18-20								
Mean Seriousness of Contacts	2.62	2.00	2.43	2.11	2.45	2.44	2.46	2.36
Mean Seriousness of Persons with Contacts	11.41	2.67	10.58	7.07	6.24	4.39	6.98	4.68
Mean Seriousness of Persons in Cohort	6.06	0.30	5.79	1.65	1.96	0.46	2.36	0.52
Adult 21 or +								
Mean Seriousness of Contacts	1.66	2.67	2.81	2.28	2.57	2.50	2.62	2.45
Mean Seriousness of Persons with Contacts	7.90	3.20	16.28	8.17	7.47	4.91	8.77	5.33
Mean Seriousness of Persons in Cohort	4.94	0.59	9.59	1.63	2.42	0.30	3.09	0.39
Career								
Mean Seriousness of Contacts	2.60	2.58	2.75	2.23	2.61	2.42	2.64	2.39
Mean Seriousness of Persons with Contacts	31.66	4.43	32.18	11.43	14.39	5.80	16.68	6.27
Mean Seriousness of Persons in Cohort	28.69	2.30	29.10	7.72	9.76	1.77	11.69	2.02

* Scoring system: Felony against person 6; felony against property 5; major misdemeanor 4; minor misdemeanor 3; juvenile condition 2; contact for suspicion or investigation 1.

they had a police contact for at least one major misdemeanor. And only 3% of the 1942 cohort and 5% of the 1949 cohort had scores of 16 or above indicating at least one police contact for a property related felony. Less than one percent of either cohort had a contact for a felony against a person.

Geometric Scores as Predictors of Continuing Delinquent and Criminal Behavior

Table 15 shows the relationship of geometric scores during the period 6 through 17 to each following age period. We first note that relatively few people had scores above 16 at any age period, only 6% of the 1942 cohort and 9% of the 1949 cohort.

But of those in the 1942 cohort who had a score of less than 16 at ages 6 through 17, only 6% had later careers with scores of 16 or more while of those who had scores of 16 or more at ages 6 through 17, 22% had later careers with scores of 16 or more. In the 1949 cohort it was again 6% versus 21% indicating that in both cohorts more with serious careers as juveniles go on to later serious careers.

The next question is, are geometric scores more highly correlated from period to period within the careers of persons in the cohort than simply the length of careers? And if we take not only geometric scores, but the frequency of contacts into consideration, can we further enhance prediction?

Since we have previously examined the relationship of number of police contacts in one age period to number of police contacts in a following age period and various combinations of age periods (Table 7) and have briefly touched on the relationship of Geometric Scores for the age period 6 through 17 to scores for later periods (Table 15), we shall only briefly discuss Tables 16, 17, and 18 in which we examine the possibility of increasing predictive efficiency from one age period to another based on the fact that some of the geometric scores are more highly correlated between periods than were simple number of police contacts.

When the Tau Coefficients of Correlation shown in Table 16 are compared with those in Table 7 we find that only one of the Anglo correlations is much higher (Anglo males in the 1949 cohort for the age period 18-20 x 21+), none of the Mexican-American correlations are much higher, but that half of the Negro correlations are higher. In the other words, seriousness scores

TABLE 14. DISTRIBUTION OF GEOMETRIC SCORES FOR AGE PERIOD 6 THROUGH 17, 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

Geo Score Type	Cohort 1942	Cohort 1949		Geo Score Type	Cohort 1942	Cohort 1949	
0	948	1282	No contacts	32	1	3	Felony, person
1	47	109	Suspicion or investigation	33	0	1	32 and 1
2	18	42	Juvenile condition	34	0	1	32 and 2
3	5	15	1 and 2	35	0	2	32, 2 and 1
4	151	238	Misdemeanor, minor	36	0	1	32 and 4
5	28	59	4 and 1	37	1	0	32, 4 and 1
6	21	34	4 and 2	38	1	1	32, 4 and 2
7	17	40	4, 1 and 2	39	0	2	32, 4, 2 and 1
8	13	45	Misdemeanor, major	40	0	0	32 and 8
9	2	20	8 and 1	41	0	0	32, 8 and 1
10	3	6	8 and 2	42	0	0	32, 8 and 2
11	1	4	8, 2 and 1	43	0	0	32, 8, 2 and 1
12	19	27	8 and 4	44	0	1	32, 8 and 4
13	14	29	8, 4 and 1	45	0	1	32, 8, 4 and 1
14	4	17	8, 4 and 2	46	0	2	32, 8, 4 and 2
15	14	20	8, 4, 2 and 1	47	1	3	32, 8, 4, 2 and 1
16	1	7	Felony, property	48	0	0	32 and 16
17	1	4	16 and 1	49	0	0	32, 16 and 1
18	0	1	16 and 2	50	1	0	32, 16 and 2
19	0	0	16, 2 and 1	51	0	0	32, 16, 2 and 1
20	9	8	16 and 4	52	0	0	32, 16 and 4
21	6	7	16, 4 and 1	53	0	1	32, 16, 4 and 1
22	1	6	16, 4 and 2	54	0	0	32, 16, 4 and 2
23	4	9	16, 4, 2 and 1	55	0	1	32, 16, 4, 2 and 1
24	0	1	16 and 8	56	0	1	32, 16 and 8
25	0	1	16, 8 and 1	57	0	0	32, 16, 8 and 1
26	1	1	16, 8 and 2	58	0	0	32, 16, 8 and 2
27	0	0	16, 8, 2 and 1	59	0	0	32, 16, 8, 2 and 1
28	1	0	16, 8 and 4	60	0	0	32, 16, 8 and 4
29	6	9	16, 8, 4 and 1	61	1	1	32, 16, 8, 4 and 1
30	2	5	16, 8, 4 and 2	62	1	0	32, 16, 8, 4 and 2
32	7	28	16, 8, 4, 2 and 1	63	0	4	32, 16, 8, 4, 2 and 1

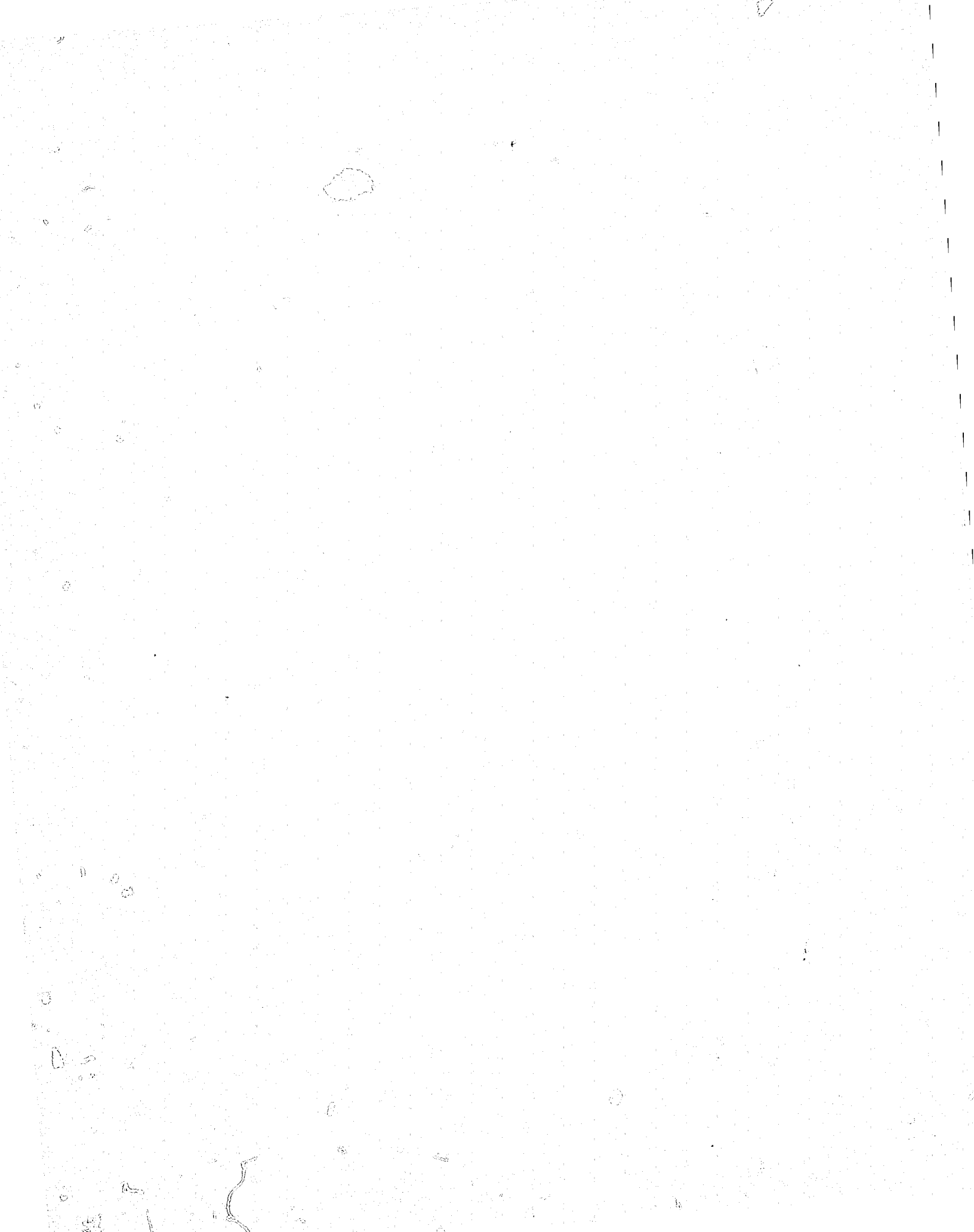


TABLE 15. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE GEOMETRIC SCORES TO SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS DURING JUVENILE, 18-20, AND ADULT PERIODS*

	1942 Geometric Score/Age Period Types								1949 Geometric Score/Age Period Types							
Juv.	-16	-16	-16	-16	+16	+16	+16	+16	-16	-16	-16	-16	+16	+16	+16	+16
18-20	-16	-16	+16	+16	-16	-16	+16	+16	-16	-16	+16	+16	-16	-16	+16	+16
21 or +	-16	+16	+16	-16	-16	+16	-16	+16	-16	+16	+16	-16	-16	+16	-16	+16
Geo Scores																
0	193	6		4					247	6	1	5				
1	44	2		1					108	1						
2	18								41			1				
3	5								12	1		2				
4	147	2	1	1					232	2	1	3				
5	26	2							52	3		4				
6	19	1		1					32			2				
7	13	2		2					32	5		3				
8	12	1							45							
9	2								17	1		2				
10	2			1					6							
11	1								3	1						
12	18			1					24	2		1				
13	12	2							26			3				
14	2		1	1					15	2						
15	12			2					16	1	1	2				
16-17					2								11			
18													1			
20-21					13	2							14		1	
22-23					4		1						13	1		1
24-25													2			
26					1								1			
28-29					4	2	1						7		1	1
30-31					6		2	1					22	7	2	2
32-33					1								4			
34-35													3			
36-37					1								1			
38-39					1								3			
44-45													2			
46-47						1							3	1	1	
50					1											
53													1			
55														1		
56														1		1
61								1								
62-63					1								1	1	2	
Percent	38.3	1.3	0.1	1.0	2.6	0.4	0.2	0.2	43.2	1.2	0.1	1.3	4.2	0.6	0.3	0.2

* 55.9% of the 1942 cohort and 48.9% of the 1949 cohort had no contacts at any time.

may be more useful in improving the prediction of seriousness of delinquency from one period to a following period for the Negroes than for the Anglos and Mexican-Americans.

In Table 17 the scores obtained by multiplying each geometric score by the total number of police contacts are correlated with each other across age periods. Most of these correlations are no higher than the straight geometric score correlations or the number of police contact correlations to which we referred in Tables 15 and 16 and most of those higher are for the Negro segment of each cohort. When we turn to Table 18, where the individual geometric weight of each item in the scale is multiplied by the number of contacts in that category for each person in order to generate the scores we find no increase in the correlations over those previously shown.

One much conclude that the number of police contacts and simple geometric scores permit as much prediction of patterns or frequency of delinquent or criminal behavior from one age period to another as do more complex scores based on categories of seriousness of contact multiplied by frequency. In other words, either frequency of contacts or seriousness of reasons for contact enable us to predict as well as the combinations that we have generated.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS BASED ON PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF POLICE CONTACT DATA

Some Basic Findings

Data have been presented on the number of police contacts of persons in two cohorts, one born in 1942 and one born in 1949. Preliminary analyses of these data have led to the following conclusions:

1) The spatial distribution of males and females, Mexican-American, Negro, and Anglo, with police contacts (although slightly skewed toward the inner city) was not markedly different from that of the total cohort.
2) While somewhat disproportionate numbers of Negroes and, to a lesser extent, Mexican-Americans have had police contacts at each age period in their careers, neither delinquency nor adult crime should be considered a minority group problem in these cohorts in Racine for two reasons: a) minority groups make up such a small

TABLE 16. TAU COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION RELATING GEOMETRIC SCORES BY AGE PERIODS*

	Anglo				Mexican-American				Negro			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
Entire City												
6-17x18-20	.169	.205	.039	.053	—	.314	—	-.037	.457	.257	-.055	.236
6-17x21+	.208	.189	.036	.013	—	.078	—	.025	.387	.291	.180	.184
18-20x21+	.181	.185	.036	.038	—	.376	—	.169	.380	.298	.260	.201
Inner City A-B												
6-17x18-20	.259	.227	.066	.100	—	.389	—	-.017	.457	.250	-.082	.236
6-17x21+	.295	.217	.056	-.003	—	.169	—	-.043	.387	.277	.204	.184
18-20x21+	.253	.256	.084	.171	—	.456	—	.187	.363	.294	.199	.203
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17x18-20	.104	.189	.020	.035	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-17x21+	.147	.175	.015	.023	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18-20x21+	.132	.286	.015	.040	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Only for persons who resided in Racine at the age of 17 and who had in most cases lived there for the period between 6 and 17; 3.7% of the cohort were excluded because they had left Racine before age 17, lived there intermittently, or time was not ascertained for the 1942 cohort; 6.3% of the 1949 cohort were eliminated for the same reason.

TABLE 17. TAU COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION RELATING MULTIPLIED GEOMETRIC SCORES BY AGE PERIODS*

	Anglo				Mexican-American				Negro			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
Entire City												
6-17x18-20	.187	.219	.039	.052	—	.311	—	-.037	.424	.279	-.055	.228
6-17x21+	.211	.200	.035	.014	—	.112	—	.033	.348	.266	.138	.158
18-20x21+	.187	.186	.225	.038	—	.404	—	.169	.342	.320	.185	.150
Inner City A-B												
6-17x18-20	.279	.239	.067	.100	—	.375	—	-.017	.424	.267	-.082	.229
6-17x21+	.301	.229	.056	-.002	—	.161	—	-.043	.348	.248	.143	.158
18-20x21+	.253	.252	.080	.044	—	.504	—	.187	.342	.381	.218	.448
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17x18-20	.121	.202	.021	.034	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-17x21+	.142	.185	.015	.022	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18-20x21+	.133	.295	.002	.038	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Multiplied Geometric scores derived by multiplying each individual's geometric score by total number of police contacts that the individual had acquired.

TABLE 18. TAU COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION RELATING EXPANDED GEOMETRIC SCORES BY AGE PERIODS*

	Anglo				Mexican-American				Negro			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
Entire City												
6-17x18-20	.188	.216	.039	.052	—	.334	—	-.037	.414	.267	-.055	.225
6-17x21+	.207	.195	.034	.014	—	.092	—	.025	.296	.264	.138	.161
18-20x21+	.186	.187	.225	.038	—	.435	—	.169	.367	.390	.185	.179
Inner City A-B												
6-17x18-20	.284	.234	.066	.100	—	.389	—	-.017	.414	.259	-.082	.226
6-17x21+	.291	.223	.057	-.002	—	.113	—	-.043	.296	.249	.143	.160
18-20x21+	.249	.250	.080	.044	—	.471	—	.187	.367	.314	.218	.180
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17x18-20	.119	.202	.020	.034	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-17x21+	.140	.180	.015	.022	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18-20x21+	.131	.146	.002	.038	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Geometric scores expanded by multiplying each geometric weight by the number of contacts that an individual had with that weight.

proportion of the total cohorts and were so concentrated in the inner city that in most areas police contacts were Anglo contacts and b) in the inner city where Negroes and Mexican-Americans did make up a disproportionate part of the cohort they did not have such a disproportionately higher rate of police contact as to focus attention upon them as the basis of the problem.

3) Contact rates with the police in almost every race/ethnic|sex group were about the same or slightly higher in the 1949 cohort than in the 1942 cohort for both age periods prior to 21, single and combined. Less consistency was found for the period 21 and older and combinations of other age periods with it, probably for the reason that the 1949 cohort had had seven years less exposure as adults than had the 1942 cohort.
4) A disproportionately small number of persons were responsible for a disproportionately large number of all police contacts in the 1949 cohort compared to the 1942 cohort, particularly among the Mexican-Americans and Negroes, and even more among the females then the males.
5) Negro males had the highest rate of police contact in the 1942 cohort while Mexican-Americans and Anglos had similar but lower rates. In the 1949 cohort Negro males had the highest contact rates except for the age period 6 through 17 where Mexican-Americans were highest; Anglos were consistently lowest. In the 1942 cohort female Anglos had the lowest rates while Negroes and Mexican-Americans were highest or in between, depending on the age period or combination thereof. Negro females had the highest rates in 1949 and Anglos the lowest.
6) The race/ethnic composition of those in each cohort in each natural area who had police contacts in each age period or all age periods combined is roughly the same as the race/ethnic composition of persons whose principal residence is that natural area or combination of natural

areas with one exception, and that is the disproportionate number of contacts by Negroes, most consistently in Area A.

7) Negro males in the 1942 cohort who had one or more police contacts during the age period 6 through 17 were more likely than any others in the 1942 cohort to have one or more police contacts at each subsequent stage and least likely not to have police contacts at each subsequent stage if they failed to have a contact during the earliest period. In the 1949 cohort Negro and Mexican-American males had similar patterns of progression. Anglo females showed the least progression toward police contacts if they had contacts at an early age period and Negroes the most but in neither cohort did female progression even come close to that shown by the males. When each cohort was divided into those who resided in Area A and B versus those who resided in Areas C, D, and E, progression was greatest for those in Areas A and B, particularly for Negro males but also for Mexican-American males and Negro females in the 1949 cohort.

8) When the sizes of careers at various age periods were correlated with each other the highest set of correlations was for Negro males and the lowest for Anglo females. When similar correlations for only persons whose principal residence was Areas A or B were compared with them, Anglo correlations increased while those for Mexican-Americans and Negroes remained essentially the same.

9) Prediction of whether or not a person who had a police contact at one age period would have a contact at a later age period yielded coefficients of predictability showing improvement over marginal predictions as high as 43%, depending on the correlation of contacts at one age period with contacts at another age period and the distribution of the marginals in each age period.

10) Factor analysis of police contact types and police contact types with a seriousness dimension added failed to

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1 OF 2

reveal any meaningful constellations of contacts for males or females of either cohort.

11) Anglo males had less serious reasons for police contact than did Negro males in each cohort. Mexican-American males were very similar to Anglo males. Among the females, Negroes had a smaller proportion of serious contacts than did either the Anglos or Mexican-Americans in both cohorts. The proportion of serious contacts was slightly greater in the 1949 cohort than in the 1942 cohort.

12) When seriousness scores were computed for contacts for each cohort the mean seriousness of male Anglo contacts was less than Negroes in both cohorts but the Mexican-Americans had the most serious scores in the 1942 cohort and were the same as the Anglos in the 1949 cohort. When seriousness scores for persons with contacts were computed Negroes had the highest mean seriousness scores in both cohorts. Anglos and Mexican-Americans were similar in the 1942 cohort but Negroes and Mexican-Americans were similar in the 1949 cohort. If the mean seriousness of persons in the 1942 cohort is considered, then Negroes have the highest scores with Mexican-Americans and Anglos similar, but far lower. In the 1949 cohort Negroes again have the highest seriousness score but Mexican-Americans have almost as high a mean with Anglos far below.

Among the females there is relatively little difference in mean seriousness of contacts between cohorts or by race/ethnicity. The Mexican-American females with contacts have a higher mean seriousness score in the 1942 cohort and the Negroes and Anglos are far below but in the 1949 cohort the Negroes are highest with the Mexican-Americans and Anglos considerably lower. For the entire cohort in 1942 Mexican-Americans have higher mean scores than Negroes and Negroes than Anglos but there is relatively little difference. On the other hand Negroes have the highest mean scores in 1949, followed by Mexican-Americans and Anglos.

13) The six contact type and seriousness category scale was utilized in developing geometric scores for each age period, these age period scores in turn being correlated with each other to produce a set of correlations for comparison with the correlations between frequency of contact for each of the age periods. In most cases the geometric scores had between period correlations of essentially the same magnitude as the frequency of contact correlations, most of the higher correlations being between segments of Negro careers.

Conclusion

Police contacts are distributed throughout the community in much the same pattern as are the two cohorts that we have examined with the exception of some disproportionality in their occurrence within the inner city. Although the disproportionate number and seriousness of police contacts of Negroes and to a lesser extent Mexican-Americans can be related to their inner city and interstitial residence this is not entirely the case. Outside the inner city delinquency and crime are Anglo behaviors. Since Negroes and Mexican-Americans constitute less than 10% of either cohort it is fallacious indeed to conclude that the problem of delinquency and crime center on minority groups.

Most careers are not continuous and most delinquency does not lead to crime. Among those who have more than one police contact careers are heterogeneous; factors analysis failed to show any meaningful groupings of reasons for police contact for any race/ethnic or sex group in either cohort. Composite scores of careers based on seriousness and type of contact provided little increase in predictive efficiency over simple number of police contacts.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

Completion of Records Check

Although we believe that career data, as represented by police contacts are almost complete, particularly for the juvenile period 6 through 17, we have been checking and double checking our contact data with other police records, particularly for contact reports occurring during periods

for which there were gaps in the microfilm in the records division of the Racine Police Department or for which we had some question about the original coding. We have contacted a variety of agencies in search of a record system that would enable us to readily obtain the married names of females in the cohort for whom we had not obtained married names from other sources. Although we had been informed that applications for marriage licences were cross-filed by name of prospective bride and groom we found that they were alphabetized by day of application. Since we know the year that persons dropped from our records we are checking Health Department Records commencing that year, mainly to obtain the names of the intended spouses at the time that each had a pre-marriage blood test. This enables us to check police files for contacts that occurred under females' married names and also to check city directories and phone books for additional years at risk in Racine. We shall also check the records of the Division of Corrections in the Department of Health and Social Services and the Crime Information Bureau in the Department of Justice in Madison, Wisconsin.

While these checks do not add large numbers of police contacts to our data file, they do enable us to ascertain with considerable finality the years at risk of persons in the cohort and their present addresses. Since we have the names of parents we shall eventually be forced to contact parents for information on those whom we did not find by records search. Most of these, we believe, will be persons who left Racine and were not subject to risk for the entire period of the study. We will then know if some have left the state and take that into consideration. If they are in other communities in the state and have not shown up in the central records-keeping systems in Madison we shall be pretty certain that any of their misdeeds since leaving Madison have been minor.

Schedule Construction, Pre-testing, and Preparation for the Interviewing Phase

The interview schedule has been revised and pre-tested again in Iowa City and in Kenosha. Those students at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside who pretested it are also being considered for inclusion in the group who will be trained as interviewers. Applications are being received from others for the training program which is scheduled to commence on May 24. The interview schedule has been modified, retyped, and is now in the hands of the printers.

We have arranged for very adequate space at the Gateway Technical Institute which now occupies the Racine campus previously occupied by the University of Wisconsin before building its new campus.

CODE SHEET

CARD NUMBER — 1 2

ID NUMBER — 3 4 5 6

CONTACT SOURCE

Police. 1
Juvenile Court. 2

7

CONTACT NUMBER — 8 9 10

DATE OF CONTACT — 11 12 13 14

TYPE OF CONTACT — 15 16

17 18 19 20 21

ADDRESS OF OFFENSE

AGE AT CONTACT — 22 23

TYPE & SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENSE

Juvenile Non-Adult. 1
Juvenile Misdemeanor. 2
Juvenile Felony 3
Adult Misdemeanor 4
Adult Felony. 5
Not Ascertained 9
Not Applicable. 0

24

COMPLAINANT

Family or relative of offender. 1
Family or relative of other in group. . . 2
Private citizen or business 3
Racine police 4
Other law enforcement agency. 5
Other 6
Not Ascertained 9
Not Applicable. 0

25

CODE SHEET

26	27	28	29	30

ADDRESS OF OFFENDER AT TIME OF CONTACT

31	32

NUMBER INVOLVED IN OFFENSE

IF GROUP OFFENSE

Sex Composition

- Males only. 1
- Females only. 2
- Mixed . . . . . 3 — 33
- Not Ascertained 9
- Not Applicable. 0

Age Composition

- Juvenile Offender only. 1
- One or more juveniles and one or more adults. 2
- One or more adults. . . . . 3 — 34
- Not Ascertained 9
- Not Applicable. 0

DISPOSITION BY POLICE

- Contact, released; counselled, released, etc. 1
- Referred to county probation dept. 2
- Referred to county welfare agency. 3
- Referred to State Dept. of Public Welfare. . . 4
- Referred to Juvenile Traffic Court . . . . . 5 — 35
- Other _____ 6
- Referred to District Attorney (Adult). 7
- Other Adult Referral 8
- Not Ascertained. 9
- Not Applicable 0

36	37	38	39

DATE OF POLICE DISPOSITION

DATE OF J.C. HEARING

CODE SHEET

ID NUMBER | | | | |

NAME: _____

TYPE OF OFFENSE _____ 47 48 | | |

JUVENILE COURT DISPOSITION

Counsel the child or his parents, guardian, or legal custodian (released, dismissal, etc.) 01

Supervision in his home (probation) 02

Transfer of legal custody and placement in a foster home 03

Transfer of legal custody to a relative of the child. 04

Transfer of legal custody to a county agent (county welfare agency) 05 49

Transfer of legal custody to a licensed child welfare agency. 06

Transfer of legal custody to the State Dept. of Public Welfare. 07

Restitution (without supervision, i.e., as the sole disposition of the court). 08

Special treatment and care. 09

Other _____ 10

Not Ascertained 99

Not Applicable. 00

DATE OF JUVENILE COURT DISPOSITION 50 51 52 53 | | | | |

APPENDIX C: POLICE CONTACTS BY BIRTH COHORT, BY PERCENT

TABLE 1. MALES, AGES 6 THROUGH 17

Number of Contacts	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
0	53.2	46.4	100.0	25.0	29.6	20.5
1	17.6	22.9	0.0	6.3	22.2	19.2
2-5	20.9	21.3	0.0	37.5	33.3	28.8
6-10	6.0	5.5	0.0	12.5	14.8	15.1
11 or +	2.3	3.8	0.0	18.8	0.0	16.4
	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0
Mean	1.6	2.0	0.0	5.8	2.6	4.8
Cohort N	603	938	7	32	27	73

TABLE 2. MALES, AGES 18 THROUGH 20

Number of Contacts	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
0	70.5	68.4	71.4	46.9	14.8	45.2
1	16.1	16.4	0.0	15.6	22.2	15.1
2-5	11.4	12.4	28.6	18.8	55.6	27.4
6-10	1.7	1.7	0.0	12.5	7.4	8.2
11 or +	0.3	1.1	0.0	6.3	0.0	4.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
Mean	0.7	0.8	1.0	2.3	2.6	2.4
Cohort N	603	938	7	32	27	73

TABLE 3. MALES, AGES 21 AND OLDER

Number of Contacts	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
0	60.0	67.3	14.3	37.5	3.7	41.1
1	17.4	17.0	14.3	21.9	11.1	16.4
2-5	15.6	11.8	71.4	21.9	29.6	21.9
6-10	3.6	2.1	0.0	12.5	25.9	8.2
11 or +	3.3	1.8	0.0	6.3	29.6	12.3
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9
Mean	1.4	1.0	2.7	3.0	9.9	3.5
Cohort N	603	938	7	32	27	73

TABLE 4. MALES, AGES 6 THROUGH 20

Number of Contacts	Anglo 1942	Anglo 1949	Mexican-American 1942	Mexican-American 1949	Negro 1942	Negro 1949
0	43.8	38.3	71.4	21.9	14.8	13.7
1	19.7	22.4	0.0	6.3	11.1	13.7
2-5	24.2	25.2	28.6	25.0	29.6	34.2
6-10	8.3	7.9	0.0	18.8	29.6	12.3
11 or +	4.0	6.3	0.0	28.1	14.8	26.0
	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9
Mean	2.2	2.8	1.0	8.1	5.1	7.2
Cohort N	603	938	7	32	27	73

TABLE 5. MALES, AGES 18 AND OLDER

Number of Contacts	Anglo 1942	Anglo 1949	Mexican-American 1942	Mexican-American 1949	Negro 1942	Negro 1949
0	49.1	52.6	14.3	25.0	0.0	26.0
1	19.2	20.0	14.3	15.6	7.4	17.8
2-5	22.4	19.8	42.9	25.0	22.2	23.3
6-10	4.1	4.1	28.6	18.8	29.6	15.1
11 or +	5.1	3.5	0.0	15.6	40.7	17.8
	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0
Mean	2.1	1.8	3.7	5.3	12.4	5.9
Cohort N	603	938	7	32	27	73

TABLE 6. MALES, TOTAL JUVENILE AND ADULT CONTACTS

Number of Contacts	Anglo 1942	Anglo 1949	Mexican-American 1942	Mexican-American 1949	Negro 1942	Negro 1949
0	33.2	31.7	14.3	9.4	0.0	9.6
1	19.2	22.2	14.3	6.3	3.7	9.6
2-5	28.2	26.8	42.9	28.1	18.5	27.4
6-10	10.4	10.9	28.6	18.8	18.5	17.8
11 or +	9.0	8.5	0.0	37.5	59.3	35.6
	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.6	3.8	3.7	11.1	15.0	10.8
Cohort N	603	938	7	32	27	73

TABLE 7. FEMALES, AGES 6 THROUGH 17

Number of Contacts	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
0	85.2	78.6	83.3	63.0	94.1	60.0
1	11.1	13.4	0.0	25.9	5.9	20.0
2-5	2.8	6.7	16.7	11.1	0.0	16.7
6-10	0.7	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3
11 or +	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.1	1.1
Cohort N	601	889	12	27	17	60

TABLE 8. FEMALES, AGES 18 THROUGH 20

Number of Contacts	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
0	93.8	89.4	83.3	88.9	76.5	76.7
1	5.0	7.5	8.3	7.4	17.6	8.3
2-5	1.0	2.8	0.0	3.7	5.9	11.7
6-10	0.2	0.1	8.3	0.0	0.0	1.7
11 or +	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1
Mean	0.1	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.8
Cohort N	601	889	12	27	17	60

TABLE 9. FEMALES, AGES 21 AND OLDER

Number of Contacts	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
0	93.8	93.8	100.0	81.5	64.7	80.0
1	4.7	4.3	0.0	14.8	11.8	6.7
2-5	1.3	1.7	0.0	3.7	23.5	8.3
6-10	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
11 or +	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.9	0.7
Cohort N	601	889	12	27	17	60

TABLE 10. FEMALES, AGES 6 THROUGH 20

Number of Contacts	Anglo 1942	Anglo 1949	Mexican-American 1942	Mexican-American 1949	Negro 1942	Negro 1949
0	81.4	72.3	83.3	55.6	70.6	55.0
1	13.6	17.1	0.0	25.9	23.5	13.3
2-5	3.8	8.9	8.3	18.5	5.9	20.0
6-10	0.8	0.9	8.3	0.0	0.0	8.3
11 or +	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3
	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9
Mean	0.3	0.6	1.2	0.7	0.4	1.9
Cohort N	601	889	12	27	17	60

TABLE 11. FEMALES, AGES 18 AND OLDER

Number of Contacts	Anglo 1942	Anglo 1949	Mexican-American 1942	Mexican-American 1949	Negro 1942	Negro 1949
0	89.4	85.4	83.3	77.8	52.9	68.3
1	7.7	9.4	8.3	11.1	23.5	10.0
2-5	2.3	4.8	0.0	11.1	17.6	11.7
6-10	0.3	0.1	8.3	0.0	5.9	5.0
11 or +	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
Mean	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.4	1.2	1.5
Cohort N	601	889	12	27	17	60

TABLE 12. FEMALES, TOTAL JUVENILE AND ADULT CONTACTS

Number of Contacts	Anglo 1942	Anglo 1949	Mexican-American 1942	Mexican-American 1949	Negro 1942	Negro 1949
0	77.9	69.0	83.3	48.1	52.9	50.0
1	15.6	18.4	0.0	29.6	23.5	13.3
2-5	5.0	10.5	8.3	22.2	17.6	21.7
6-10	1.2	1.2	8.3	0.0	5.9	8.3
11 or +	0.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7
	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0
Mean	0.5	0.7	1.2	0.3	1.3	2.6
Cohort N	601	889	12	27	17	60

END