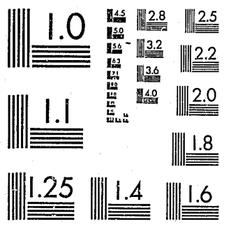

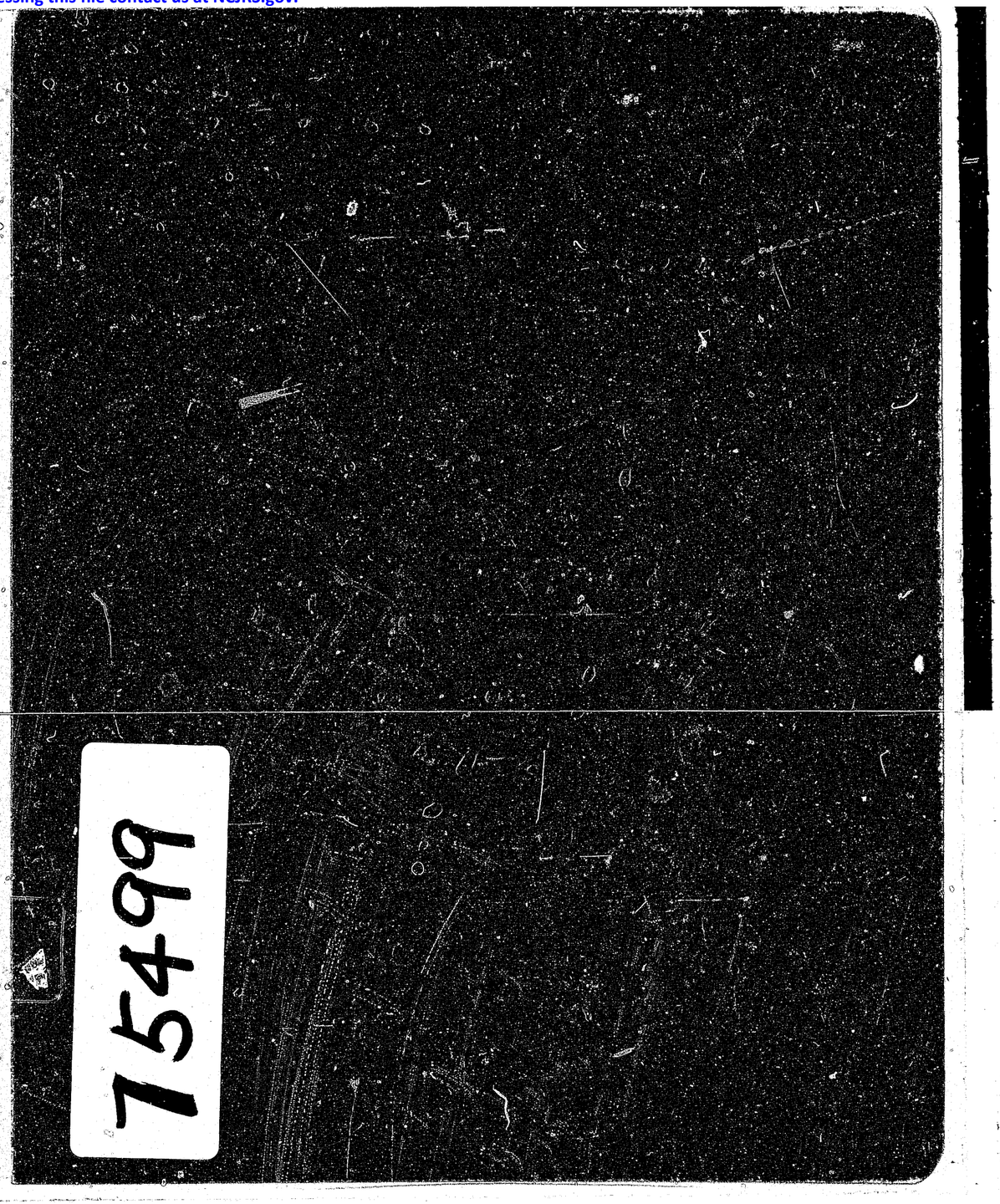

CHANGING TRENDS IN MALE AND FEMALE
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND ADULT CRIME

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Introduction

Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin's *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* has undoubtedly been a landmark in the study of delinquency in urban America. It has in many respects served as a model for our own longitudinal research on the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult crime. Additional problems were present for us, however, because we were interested in the possibility of cohort differences generated by societal change, the possibility of an increase in the frequency and seriousness of police contacts by females, and a desire to verify predictive statements on successive cohorts. We therefore selected three birth cohorts (1352 born in 1942, 2099 born in 1949, and 2676 born in 1955), followed the careers of women as closely as those of men, and, in order to make the research more economical, measured seriousness in a less time-consuming fashion than did Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin.[1] Whatever the findings about delinquency and its relationship to adult crime for the first cohort and their later formulation as predictive statements, verification could now be attempted by replication of the analysis on a second and third cohort. Whatever the findings about male vs. female delinquency and crime and cohort differences in patterns of delinquency and crime, three cohorts would provide a better basis for generalization than only one or two cohorts.

Table 1 presents some basic data on the three birth cohorts which were selected. Note that the useable size of each cohort has been reduced by including only those in the analysis who were continuous residents of Racine from the age of 6 to the cut-off date for their cohorts. Verification of continuous residence was an expensive and time-consuming process accomplished through the use of city directories, telephone directories, records of the Racine Health Department (from whom we secured the married names of females), and the ingenuity of persons in the community who assisted us in tracking down people in order to determine their present place of residence or last residence in Racine. For those who were in continuous residence we even have the address at which they resided each year until 18 or older. Since 95% of the 1942, 91% of the 1949, and 87% of the 1955 Cohort with continuous residence were Whites, only limited reference will be made to race/ethnic differences.

Male/Female Differences and Changes in Frequency and Seriousness of Reasons for Police Contacts

Reasons for police contact were initially coded into 26 categories from the files of the Records Division of the Racine Police Department. Here it should be emphasized that these are reports of juvenile and adult behavior by police officers. While our interviews with members of two cohorts indicate that there is considerable agreement on what has happened (we interviewed 333 persons from the 1942 Cohort and 556 persons from the 1949 Cohort), there is often disagreement, as well. Although it would be possible to present a composite of what the alleged offender thinks he or she has done and the officer's perception of his or her behavior, the data presented in condensed form in Table 2A are official data for the two age

TABLE 1. BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORTS AND PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	Males			Females			Total		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Cohort									
Number	679	1081	1369	673	1018	1307	1352	2099	2676
% by Sex	50.2	51.5	51.2	49.8	48.5	48.8			
% White	94.1	90.1	86.4	94.8	91.5	88.4	94.4	90.7	87.4
% Black	4.6	6.8	9.1	3.0	5.8	8.4	3.8	6.3	8.8
% Chicano	1.3	3.2	4.5	2.3	2.7	3.1	1.8	2.9	3.8
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
Continuous Residence									
Number	356	740	1114	277	557	1035	633	1297	2149
% by Sex	56.2	57.1	51.8	43.8	42.9	48.2			
% White	94.9	91.5	86.3	96.4	91.2	88.6	95.6	91.4	87.4
% Black	4.2	5.9	9.5	1.8	7.0	8.3	3.2	6.4	8.9
% Chicano	.8	2.6	4.2	1.8	1.9	3.1	1.3	2.2	3.7
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0

TABLE 2A. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT AND SEX FOR AGES 6-17 AND 18-20

	Ages 6-17						Ages 18-20					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	25.8	17.2	9.9	21.9	17.6	11.2	51.7	38.2	29.8	56.1	42.2	36.4
Disorderly Conduct	26.1	22.9	15.0	10.4	13.0	11.7	13.6	18.1	24.1	21.1	30.0	34.6
Suspicion, Investigation	14.7	18.7	15.1	31.3	28.2	15.1	17.2	26.3	12.4	14.0	20.0	11.2
Liquor	5.1	5.1	1.8	13.5	4.6	4.6	4.5	2.2	2.4	----	.4	1.1
Theft	8.1	10.0	13.4	5.2	7.1	10.8	3.4	3.7	5.8	----	.4	3.8
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	9.2	13.0	24.9	12.5	20.7	33.6	1.1	.2	.2	----	.4	.4
Vagrancy	2.7	2.9	1.7	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.8	.8	----	3.3	.2
Auto Theft	3.1	2.2	2.7	1.0	----	.9	1.4	.8	1.8	----	----	.4
Sex Offenses	.5	.9	.9	1.0	3.1	.7	1.6	1.8	1.5	5.3	.4	.9
Assault	.5	1.1	2.1	----	.9	3.0	.2	1.2	2.5	----	.4	2.2
Burglary	1.8	3.2	7.3	----	----	1.7	.7	.7	4.6	----	----	1.1
Weapons	.5	.5	.8	----	.3	.2	.2	.5	1.8	----	----	.2
Violent Property Destruction	.7	.3	.9	----	----	.1	1.1	.8	1.4	----	----	.7
Forgery, Fraud	----	1.0	.9	----	.9	.6	.2	1.0	1.5	----	1.9	3.1
Robbery	----	.5	1.0	----	----	----	.2	.4	2.6	----	----	.2
Gambling	.1	.2	.1	----	----	----	----	.1	.2	----	----	----
Narcotics, Drugs	----	----	1.3	----	----	2.4	----	.7	5.3	----	----	2.7
Homicide	----	----	- .1	----	----	----	----	.1	.1	----	----	----
Other	.9	.4	.3	1.0	1.5	1.8	.9	1.4	1.1	3.5	.7	.7
TOTAL	99.8	100.1	100.2	99.9	99.8	100.1	99.8	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	99.9
Percent Part I	13.5	17.0	26.6	6.3	8.0	16.4	5.9	6.8	17.4	----	.7	7.8
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	2.1	3.0	3.2	.3	.6	.8	1.2	1.5	1.4	.2	.5	.4
Number of Contacts	740	2188	3601	96	323	843	441	1113	1560	57	270	448

periods for which comparison may be made for all cohorts (all have had equal years of exposure) for persons with continuous residence in Racine. Comparison of the cohorts for the ages 6-17 and 18-20 reveals that there have been numerous changes from cohort to cohort in the proportion of male and female contacts for various offense categories: the proportion of Traffic offenses for males and females declined between cohorts; the proportion of Disorderly conduct declined for males 6-17 but increased for both males and females 18-20; Theft increased for both males and females; Incorrigible, runaway, and Truancy increased for males and females 6-17; Assault increased for both males and females; Burglary and Robbery increased for males and Burglary increased for females. There were no contacts for Drugs in the 1942 Cohort, very few in the 1949 Cohort, but their proportion increased to as high as 5% of the contacts for males in the 1955 Cohort during the period 18-20. Table 2B is included although it must be remembered that the proportional differences between cohorts for the age period 21 or over and the total may have been influenced by cohort differences in length of exposure, the 1955 Cohort having little exposure beyond the age of 21 and therefore less likelihood of having as high a proportion of police contacts for "adult" types of offenses.

While there are changes across cohorts for the age period 21 or older, there are not as many sizeable increases for more serious offense categories as for the earlier periods, particularly for the females. Most notable is the consistent increase in the proportion of contacts for Disorderly conduct, Theft, Assault, and Burglary but only for males, Robbery but only for females and, of course, Drugs for both sexes.

The average number of contacts per person in the cohort increased from

TABLE 2B. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT AND SEX FOR AGES 21+ AND ALL AGES COMBINED

	Ages 21+						Total					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	47.6	36.9	29.2	61.6	35.8	28.3	41.6	27.9	17.0	49.1	31.1	20.8
Disorderly Conduct	18.8	24.8	31.6	22.6	35.8	43.4	20.1	22.3	18.9	18.8	25.6	22.2
Suspicion, Investigation	22.5	23.5	16.0	10.7	17.5	12.5	19.1	21.9	14.4	17.3	22.2	13.6
Liquor	2.3	1.7	1.3	----	1.4	----	3.6	3.5	1.9	3.9	2.3	3.0
Theft	1.3	1.9	3.3	----	1.8	2.6	3.8	6.2	10.5	1.8	3.3	7.8
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	----	.1	----	.6	.7	----	3.1	6.2	16.0	3.9	8.0	19.8
Vagrancy	.6	.8	1.8	----	----	----	1.5	2.0	1.5	.6	1.7	1.0
Auto Theft	.3	.1	.2	----	----	----	1.3	1.3	2.3	.3	----	.7
Sex Offenses	1.0	1.4	1.3	.6	.4	----	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.5	1.4	.7
Assault	1.2	2.2	2.9	1.1	----	----	.8	1.4	2.3	.6	.5	2.4
Burglary	.3	.5	1.1	----	----	----	.8	1.9	6.0	----	----	1.3
Weapons	.6	.5	1.5	----	.4	----	.5	.5	1.1	----	.2	.2
Violent Property Destruction	.2	.5	1.1	----	.4	.7	.5	.5	1.0	----	.1	.3
Forgery, Fraud	.7	1.4	.9	1.1	1.4	4.6	.4	1.1	1.1	.6	1.4	1.8
Robbery	.5	.3	.4	.6	.4	1.3	.3	.4	1.4	----	.1	.2
Gambling	.3	.1	----	.6	----	----	.2	.1	.1	.3	----	----
Narcotics, Drugs	.3	2.2	6.1	----	2.5	5.3	.2	.8	2.8	----	.8	2.8
Homicide	----	----	.4	----	----	----	----	.1	.1	----	----	----
Other	1.8	1.2	.9	.6	1.8	1.3	1.3	.9	.6	1.2	1.4	1.4
TOTAL	100.3	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.3	100.0	100.1	100.2	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.0
Percent Part I	3.4	5.0	8.3	1.7	2.1	3.9	7.0	11.1	22.6	2.7	3.9	12.4
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	3.4	1.8	.4	.6	.5	.2	6.7	6.2	5.0	1.2	1.6	1.4
Number of Contacts	1193	1302	456	177	285	152	2374	4603	5617	330	878	1443

cohort to cohort for both males and females during the age period 6-17 but did not continue to increase for either sex of the 1955 Cohort during the period 18-20. On the other hand, the proportion of contacts for FBI Uniform Crime Report Part I offense categories (Theft, Auto Theft, Homicide, Aggrevated Assault, Armed Robbery, and Burglary) increased from cohort to cohort for both sexes, females proportionately more than males, for each age period including age 21 or older.[2]

Although Tables 2A and 2B reveal that there were male/female differences and changes in the distribution of contacts by category for males and females by age period within cohorts, the distribution of contacts does not indicate how category rates have changed between cohorts nor how contact category rates have changed for that percent of each cohort who have had contacts, nor the extent to which contact rates for females have increased. What is most important, therefore, in Tables 2A and 2B is the summary statistic just referred to, the proportion of contacts for Part I offenses. Here we note that even though a smaller proportion of the female contacts are for Part I offenses, their proportion has increased more than has that of the males. The data are next presented in Tables 3A and 3B as mean contact rates generated by dividing the number of contacts in each segment of each cohort by the number of persons in that segment or the number of persons with contacts in that segment.

Although contact rates for some offenses have remained fairly stable or show no pattern of decline or increase, those for Theft, Assault, Burglary, and Narcotic and drug violations, have increased for both males and females for the period 6-17 and 18-20. These rates have also increased for males for Robbery. Incorrigible, runaway, and Truancy rates increased for both

TABLE 3A. POLICE CONTACT TYPE: MEAN RATES BASED ON NUMBER OF CONTACTS DIVIDED BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN COHORT

	Ages 6-17						Ages 18-20					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	.537	.508	.320	.093	.102	.091	.640	.574	.417	.116	.205	.158
Disorderly Conduct	.542	.678	.484	.044	.075	.096	.169	.272	.338	.043	.145	.150
Suspicion, Investigation	.306	.553	.487	.132	.163	.123	.214	.396	.174	.029	.097	.048
Liquor	.107	.151	.058	.057	.027	.038	.056	.034	.034	----	.002	.005
Theft	.169	.296	.434	.022	.041	.088	.042	.055	.082	----	.002	.016
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	.191	.384	.804	.053	.120	.273	.014	.003	.003	----	.002	.002
Vagrancy	.056	.085	.056	.009	.011	.014	.023	.027	.011	----	.016	.001
Auto Theft	.065	.065	.089	.004	----	.008	.017	.012	.025	----	----	.002
Sex Offenses	.011	.026	.029	.004	.018	.006	.020	.027	.021	.011	.002	.004
Assault	.011	.031	.068	----	.005	.024	.003	.018	.035	----	.002	.010
Burglary	.037	.096	.235	----	----	.014	.008	.011	.065	----	----	.005
Weapons	.011	.014	.025	----	.002	.002	.003	.008	.025	----	----	.001
Violent Property Destruction	.014	.008	.028	----	----	.001	.014	.012	.020	----	----	.003
Forgery, Fraud	----	.030	.029	----	.005	.005	.003	.015	.022	----	.009	.014
Robbery	----	.015	.032	----	----	----	.003	.005	.036	----	----	.001
Gambling	.003	.005	.002	----	----	----	----	.001	.003	----	----	----
Narcotics, Drugs	----	----	.041	----	----	.019	----	.011	.075	----	----	.012
Homicide	----	----	.001	----	----	----	----	.001	.002	----	----	----
Other	.020	.012	.011	.004	.009	.015	.001	.022	.015	.007	.004	.003
TOTAL MEAN RATE	2.079	2.957	3.233	.347	.580	.815	1.239	1.504	1.400	.206	.485	.433
Part I Mean Rate	.281	.503	.859	.026	.047	.133	.073	.103	.244	.000	.004	.034
Number of Contacts	740	2188	3601	96	323	843	441	1113	1560	57	270	448
Number of Persons in Cohort	356	740	1114	277	557	1035	356	740	1114	277	557	1035

TABLE 3B. POLICE CONTACT TYPE: MEAN RATES BASED ON NUMBER OF CONTACTS DIVIDED BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN COHORT WITH CONTACTS

	Ages 6-17						Ages 18-20					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	.950	.805	.569	.404	.363	.294	1.399	1.139	.917	.865	.786	.688
Disorderly Conduct	.960	1.075	.861	.192	.268	.309	.368	.539	.742	.324	.559	.654
Suspicion, Investigation	.542	.876	.867	.577	.580	.397	.466	.786	.383	.216	.372	.211
Liquor	.189	.240	.104	.250	.096	.122	.123	.067	.075	----	.007	.021
Theft	.299	.469	.772	.096	.147	.284	.092	.110	.180	----	.007	.072
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	.338	.608	1.431	.231	.427	.884	.031	.005	.006	----	.007	.008
Vagrancy	.100	.135	.099	.039	.038	.044	.049	.054	.024	----	.062	.004
Auto Theft	.114	.103	.158	.019	----	.025	.037	.024	.055	----	----	.008
Sex Offenses	.020	.041	.051	.019	.064	.019	.043	.054	.045	.081	.007	.017
Assault	.020	.049	.121	----	.019	.078	.006	.035	.077	----	.007	.042
Burglary	.065	.152	.419	----	----	.044	.018	.021	.142	----	----	.021
Weapons	.020	.021	.045	----	.006	.006	.006	.016	.055	----	----	.004
Violent Property Destruction	.025	.013	.050	----	----	.003	.031	.024	.043	----	----	.013
Forgery, Fraud	----	.047	.051	----	.019	.016	.006	.030	.047	----	.035	.059
Robbery	----	.024	.058	----	----	----	.006	.011	.079	----	----	.004
Gambling	.005	.009	.003	----	----	----	----	.003	.006	----	----	----
Narcotics, Drugs	----	----	.074	----	----	.063	----	.021	.164	----	----	.051
Homicide	----	----	.002	----	----	----	----	.003	.004	----	----	----
Other	.035	.019	.019	.019	.032	.047	.025	.043	.034	.054	.014	.013
TOTAL MEAN RATE	3.682	4.685	5.752	1.846	2.057	2.634	2.706	2.984	3.077	1.541	1.862	1.890
Part I	.498	.797	1.529	.115	.166	.431	.159	.204	.536	----	.014	.148
Number of Persons in Cohort	201	467	626	52	157	320	163	373	507	37	145	237
Number of Contacts	740	2188	3601	96	323	843	441	1113	1560	57	270	448
Percent with Contacts	56.5	63.1	56.2	18.8	28.2	30.9	45.8	50.4	45.5	13.4	26.0	22.9

sexes for the period 6-17, cohort by cohort. Rates for Disorderly conduct increased for males for the 18-20 period and for females during both periods. While there was a general decline in rates for Liquor offenses, they increased for females in the 18-20 period. Even though contact rates for the three cohorts are not comparable for the 21 or older period (tables were constructed but are not included in this paper) because of different years of exposure of the cohorts, it should be noted that the proportion of contacts in some categories did increase for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, Disorderly conduct, Theft, Violent property destruction, and Narcotic and drug violations for both males and females, Assault for males, and Robbery for females. The increase in Narcotic and drug violations was sufficiently high that 1949 Cohort rates were higher than 1942 Cohort rates, and the 1955 rates higher than the 1949 rates for both males and females.[3]

Mean contact rates are summarized at the bottom of each column of Tables 3A and 3B. Note that the mean number of contacts for persons in the cohort with continuous residence increased across cohorts for both males and females for the age period 6-17 but during the age period 18-20, although the mean was greater for the 1949 Cohort than the 1942 Cohort, it declined slightly for the 1955 Cohort. The greatest proportional increase in rates was for females for both age period. When only those who had police contacts were considered the rate increased across cohorts for all age periods and the mean for the 1955 Cohort was now, but only slightly, greater than that for the 1949 Cohort in the 18-20 age period. Female contact rates for the age period 6-17 showed the greatest proportional increase for either sex or time period. The mean contact rates for FBI Part I offense categories shown in both tables enable one to see that the average number of contacts

(by persons in the cohort or by persons with contacts) for Theft, Auto theft, Burglary, Robbery, Aggrevated Assault, and Homicide, usually considered the most serious types of offenses, have increased from cohort to cohort for both sexes for both age periods, again the female increase disproportional to that of the male. While these tables are not controlled for race/ethnicity, it might also be noted that the mean rate of contacts and the percent of the contacts for Blacks that are Part I have increased for both sexes for both age periods considerably more than have these percentages increased for Whites. Furthermore, the Black increase has been greater for the earlier age period than for later age periods, not an unexpected finding considering the high rate of unemployment of Black youth in recent years.

Male/Female Differences and Changes in Concentration of Police Contacts

The concentration of multiple police contacts among a small proportion of the persons in each cohort (in contrast to the widespread prevalence of contacts--remember that over half of the males in each cohort had a police contact between the ages to 6-17 [Table 3B] with the proportion of females with contacts increasing during both age periods) is shown in Tables 4A and 4B. Here we see that among the Whites in particular between 10% and 15% account for from 50% to 80% of the contacts, depending on whether total contacts, Non-traffic contacts, Felonies, or contacts by repeaters are considered. In most cases a smaller percent of the females of each cohort or cohort segment accounts for a larger percent of the contacts than does that for the males. Male/female differences are sharpened even further when those with 4 or more or 5 or more police contacts are compared in terms of the proportion of all police contacts that are accounted for by repeaters.

TABLE 4A. PERCENT OF COHORTS ACCOUNTING FOR PERCENT OF POLICE CONTACTS: TOTAL, BY SEX AND BY RACE/ETHNICITY

	1942		1949		1955	
	% of Cohort	% of Contacts	% of Cohort	% of Contacts	% of Cohort	% of Contacts
All Contacts						
Cohort	9.5	51.0	8.0	50.8	5.8	50.8
Males	12.6	49.2	10.4	50.4	8.4	53.5
Females	8.7	51.5	7.7	51.1	6.7	53.8
White Males	12.7	49.1	10.9	51.0	8.0	52.2
Black Males	20.0	45.2	18.2	50.0	14.1	51.1
Chicano Males	----*	----	21.0	49.0	12.8	46.1
White Females	8.2	51.3	9.2	53.4	6.7	54.4
Black Females	----	----	12.8	50.0	9.3	49.8
Chicana Females	----	----	----	----	12.5	54.3
Non-Traffic Contacts						
Cohort	7.4	52.5	6.0	52.6	5.0	53.6
Males	11.0	52.3	8.2	52.5	6.8	53.6
Females	4.7	55.4	5.4	55.4	4.2	51.8
White Males	10.6	52.5	7.8	52.4	5.9	52.8
Black Males	20.0	43.4	18.2	51.8	14.5	53.0
Chicano Males	----	----	21.0	53.0	19.1	61.8
White Females	4.5	57.0	6.1	58.6	4.0	53.5
Black Females	----	----	12.8	53.5	9.3	53.0
Chicana Females	----	----	20.0	60.0	15.6	61.2
Traffic Contacts						
Cohort	11.1	50.5	15.5	60.1	13.0	61.5
Males	16.0	51.7	13.9	49.9	9.2	41.3
Females	13.7	63.6	8.8	48.0	4.6	39.7
White Males	15.1	49.0	12.5	46.2	7.9	37.0
Black Males	20.0	54.4	15.9	51.2	9.4	41.4
Chicano Males	----	----	21.0	45.4	21.3	59.4
White Females	13.8	63.1	8.3	46.8	4.2	36.7
Black Females	----	----	15.4	62.9	8.1	56.7
Chicana Females	----	----	----	----	6.2	57.1

*Too few persons in cohort segment for this statistic.

TABLE 4B. PERCENT OF COHORTS ACCOUNTING FOR PERCENT OF POLICE CONTACTS: TOTAL, BY SEX AND BY RACE/ETHNICITY

	1942		1949		1955	
	% of Cohort	% of Contacts	% of Cohort	% of Contacts	% of Cohort	% of Contacts
Felony Contacts						
Cohort	8.4	100.0	10.2	100.0	14.5	100.0
Males	13.2	100.0	15.1	100.0	21.7	100.0
Females	2.2	100.0	3.8	100.0	6.8	100.0
White Males	11.5	100.0	12.6	100.0	16.4	100.0
Black Males	26.7	81.0	18.2	70.0	23.6	76.0
Chicano Males	----*	----	21.1	80.0	25.5	90.3
White Females	2.2	100.0	3.7	100.0	5.7	100.0
Black Females	----	----	5.1	100.0	15.1	100.0
Chicana Females	----	----	----	----	15.6	100.0
Non-Felony Contacts						
Cohort	25.8	78.8	23.4	77.2	25.5	84.5
Males	36.0	79.8	30.8	78.6	24.3	78.6
Females	23.8	79.8	26.6	83.5	21.9	82.4
White Males	39.9	82.8	31.9	79.0	25.0	78.7
Black Males	53.3	81.8	43.2	81.7	40.6	84.1
Chicano Males	----	----	52.6	83.7	44.7	84.6
White Females	23.6	79.8	23.6	79.6	19.0	79.2
Black Females	60.0	91.7	35.9	85.5	32.6	84.2
Chicana Females	----	----	50.0	82.3	43.7	88.6

*Too few persons in cohort segment for this statistic.

Male/Female Differences and Changing Differences in the Proportion Referred

Moving on from police contacts to referrals, we find, as shown in Table 5, that while the percent of all contacts by females that had been referred increased from cohort to cohort and had reached about the same proportion as that for males, the proportion of females referred for Felonies or Misdemeanors remained fairly stable and at a rate below that for males in all cohorts. Considering the increasing rate of contacts for Part I offenses by females the data do not suggest "extra attention" for female minorities as much as for males. It is probably a case of an increase in the proportion referred because females now have proportionately more contacts of the type that call for referral than previously.

Male/Female Continuity in Careers

Our next major concern is with the differences in the total career pattern of males and females. When continuity in careers was characterized by police contacts for the period prior to 15, and each year between that and 18, and after 18, there were 25 different career types in terms of early start, continuity, discontinuity, and termination of careers. Needless to say this scheme, while useful in demonstrating the complexity of longitudinal data, had too many categories for analytical purposes and it would be necessary to utilize fewer continuity categories in the analysis.

The complexity of the problem becomes very apparent by looking at Tables 6 and 7. These tables were produced from an age-by-age data set for each cohort for the ages 15 through 21 and were collapsed to eight basic categories in order to show how both males and female commence to have contacts, continue to have contacts, and cease to have police contacts,

TABLE 5. DIFFERENTIALS IN POLICE CONTACT REFERRALS FOR 1942, 1949 AND 1955 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE BY PERCENT

	Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Percent with Contacts Ages 6-17						
Whites	56.2	61.2	51.7	19.1	25.8	27.7
Blacks	73.3	81.8	84.9	6.7	56.4	52.3
Chicanos	.0	89.5	83.0	33.3	40.0	65.6
Total	56.5	63.1	56.2	18.8	28.2	30.9
Percent of Contacts Referred Ages 6-17						
Whites	28.4	26.4	30.7	18.3	18.7	35.4
Blacks	33.3	24.7	41.8	.0	25.8	30.9
Chicanos	----	30.1	51.5	100.0	16.7	39.1
Total	28.6	26.5	35.3	18.9	20.1	34.9
Percent of Felonies and Misdemeanors Referred Ages 6-17						
Whites	42.0	39.8	43.0	37.8	33.7	40.1
Blacks	47.6	35.5	54.4	.0	19.4	33.3
Chicanos	----	45.3	63.7	100.0	20.0	52.9
Total	42.2	39.6	48.0	39.5	29.8	40.0
Percent with Contacts Ages 6-20						
Whites	66.9	72.5	65.9	47.6	41.9	39.1
Blacks	86.7	93.2	86.8	6.7	64.1	65.1
Chicanos	33.3	89.5	91.5	33.3	70.0	71.9
Total	67.4	74.2	68.9	46.6	44.0	42.3
Percent of Contacts Referred Ages 6-20						
Whites	23.8	22.7	25.0	13.5	13.5	24.1
Blacks	27.8	25.8	35.4	.0	22.2	23.4
Chicanos	33.3	29.4	39.9	100.0	27.3	32.1
Total	24.1	23.5	28.9	13.8	15.5	24.5
Percent of Felonies and Misdemeanors Referred Ages 6-20						
Whites	37.8	37.2	33.7	28.8	25.4	25.8
Blacks	42.6	39.0	43.5	.0	25.4	22.6
Chicanos	33.3	44.3	46.9	100.0	28.6	41.9
Total	38.1	37.9	37.6	29.5	25.5	26.2

TABLE 6. CHANGE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF CAREER TYPES BY COHORT AND AGE BY PERCENT, MALES

		Age						
		15	16	17	18	19	20	21
No Contacts	1942:	15.4	15.4	15.4	15.4	15.4	15.4	15.4
	1949:	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2
	1955:	28.3	28.3	28.3	28.3	28.3	28.3	28.3
Contacts Prior, None At Age or After	1942:	.0	.8	2.5	5.1	7.3	9.3	12.6
	1949:	3.5	4.6	7.6	10.9	16.2	22.3	28.6
	1955:	4.8	6.6	11.6	17.1	25.5	34.4	46.2
No Contacts Prior, Contacts At Age, None After	1942:	.8	.8	1.4	1.4	.3	.0	.3
	1949:	.9	1.8	2.2	2.0	1.9	.7	1.4
	1955:	1.3	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0
Contacts Prior, At Age, None After	1942:	.0	.8	1.1	.8	1.7	3.4	1.7
	1949:	.5	.8	1.2	3.2	4.2	5.7	6.5
	1955:	.4	2.3	3.2	6.1	6.7	9.8	18.7
No Contacts Prior and During, but After	1942:	50.3	36.2	27.8	22.2	19.7	16.6	15.4
	1949:	38.9	27.8	18.6	13.5	9.2	7.6	5.0
	1955:	30.2	21.7	14.7	9.4	5.6	2.5	.5
No Contacts Prior, but At Age, and After	1942:	10.4	13.2	7.0	4.2	2.2	3.1	.8
	1949:	6.2	9.3	7.0	3.1	2.4	.9	1.2
	1955:	4.2	5.7	4.7	3.1	1.6	1.0	.0
Contacts Prior, None At Age, but After	1942:	13.2	13.2	23.0	25.0	30.9	33.4	34.6
	1949:	16.5	17.4	18.5	23.2	27.3	26.9	22.7
	1955:	16.9	14.7	16.6	16.3	14.7	9.2	1.4
Contacts Each Period	1942:	9.8	19.4	21.6	25.8	22.5	18.8	19.1
	1949:	15.1	19.6	26.6	25.7	20.5	17.7	16.4
	1955:	14.0	18.0	18.6	17.4	15.4	12.7	2.9

TABLE 7. CHANGE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF CAREER TYPES BY COHORT AND AGE BY PERCENT, FEMALES

		Age						
		15	16	17	18	19	20	21
No Contacts	1942:	52.0	52.0	52.0	52.0	52.0	52.0	52.0
	1949:	47.6	47.6	47.6	47.6	47.6	47.6	47.6
	1955:	54.7	54.7	54.7	54.7	54.7	54.7	54.7
Contacts Prior, None At Age or After	1942:	.4	.7	4.3	9.0	10.8	13.4	16.2
	1949:	3.2	5.0	9.3	12.9	17.8	23.0	28.9
	1955:	4.3	7.1	11.5	16.8	23.7	29.2	34.7
No Contacts Prior, Contacts At Age, None After	1942:	.4	3.2	3.2	.7	2.5	1.4	1.8
	1949:	1.3	3.4	2.2	3.2	3.1	3.4	1.6
	1955:	2.3	3.4	3.1	3.9	2.4	1.9	2.7
Contacts Prior, At Age, None After	1942:	.0	.4	1.4	1.1	.0	1.4	.4
	1949:	.5	.9	1.4	1.6	2.2	2.5	2.7
	1955:	.4	1.1	2.2	3.0	3.2	3.7	6.8
No Contacts Prior and During, but After	1942:	42.2	35.4	28.9	26.0	22.4	19.5	15.9
	1949:	35.0	29.4	24.2	17.6	13.1	8.4	6.5
	1955:	26.5	19.2	13.8	8.9	5.3	3.1	.4
No Contacts Prior, but At Age, and After	1942:	1.4	3.6	3.2	2.2	1.1	1.4	1.8
	1949:	2.9	2.2	3.1	3.4	1.4	1.3	.4
	1955:	3.4	3.9	2.3	1.1	1.2	.3	.0
Contacts Prior, None At Age, but After	1942:	2.5	3.6	4.7	7.2	9.7	9.0	10.1
	1949:	7.2	8.8	9.5	11.5	10.1	9.2	8.4
	1955:	5.3	6.2	7.6	7.6	7.6	3.6	.5
Contacts Each Period	1942:	1.1	1.1	2.2	1.8	1.4	1.8	1.8
	1949:	2.3	2.7	2.7	2.2	4.8	4.7	3.9
	1955:	3.1	4.5	4.7	4.1	2.7	3.6	.3

moving from one status to the other over the years. Although only statistics for the ages 15 through 21 are included in these tables, the period covered for the various types is from age 6 to 32 (1942 Cohort), 6 to 26 (1949 Cohort), and 6 to 22 (1955 Cohort).

Category (A), the proportion of males with no contacts, is considerably greater for the 1955 Cohort than for the 1949 Cohort, and least for the 1942 Cohort, largely as a result of 13 years less exposure. Not so for the females since, as we have shown earlier in the report, their contact rate has been increasing from cohort to cohort, years of exposure not being of sufficient weight to generate the same cross-cohort pattern as that for males. Instead, the percent with no contact is just above or below 50% for each cohort and the 1955 Cohort runs only about 2% higher than the 1942 Cohort.

The second category (B) consists of those with have had prior contacts but none at age or after. These are the people who have terminated their careers at this age according to the records. They may, of course, have contacts at some future age because moving vehicle violations can come at any age, but with this exception these persons have probably ended their police contacts. For the 1949 Cohort (although they have now terminated their contacts according to police records) future contacts are more of a possibility because they may have avoided police contacts for the period between age 21 and 25 but find themselves in contact with the police again at a later age. For the 1955 Cohort, we can only say that they have had no contact at age 21 or 22. Note the similarity of the 1949 females to the 1949 males in this category and the similarity of males and females in all cohorts at the age of 18.

The next category of people (C), have had police contacts at only one

age, and again we note that for the males those from the 1942 Cohort have the lowest percent and the 1955 Cohort the highest because of years of exposure. The across-cohort female pattern (it is not really a pattern but rather a set of percentages) differs from that for the males--there were more females who had a contact during only one year of their lives at most ages for each cohort.

Those who had contacts prior to and age age but none after or following that age (D), are similar to the second category but are simply a year behind them in the termination process, if termination is the end result rather than career interruption.

The next category (E), consists of persons who had their first contact a year later than that age; more persons from each cohort had their first contact at the age of 16 than any other age. Note that this category had declined to 15% or 16% by age 21 for both sexes as members of the cohort gradually acquired police contacts. Years of exposure influences cohort differences in this category as in others. Persons in category F are similar but have commenced their careers a year earlier.

The last two continuity categories (G and H), consist of people who have had careers that span at least three years, and perhaps more. People in the first of these vary from what could be called intermittent careers to relatively continuous careers for they only need have had a contact prior to the age and after the age to be in the category, and in the case of the last category, have had a contact sometime prior to that age, during that age, and sometime after that age. It is in these last two categories that we again see sizeable differences in the proportion of males vs. females.

Basically, what we have here are four kinds of persons: (1) those

with no contacts--(A), the first category; (2) those with careers that seemingly have terminated between the ages of 15 and 21 (B, C and D)--the next three categories (for the 1942 Cohort and probably for many in the 1949 Cohort); (3) those who have been relatively late starters--the next two categories (E and F); and (4) those who have had contacts that span a period of years and continue into adulthood--the last two categories (G and H). Remember that it is in this category that the differences between males and females is greatest with some 50% to 60% of the males in these two continuity categories--in contrast to only 10% or 15% of the females.

While pursuing the analysis by continuity categories with the age-by-age data has been emphasized at this point, we must remember that number of contacts and seriousness of reasons for contacts, regardless of the age of first contact and the span of years over which they took place, are important variables in explaining how some delinquent careers continue into adulthood. We have previously shown (using the 1942 Cohort because of its length of exposure) that an early first contact generates a higher median number of contacts (age 13 = 10.25, age 18 = 3.25, age 28 = 1.50) and higher median seriousness scores (age 13 = 23.75, age 18 = 6.25, age 28 = 1.67). We have also shown that persons in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts with 5 or more contacts or a high seriousness score through the age of 17 are far more likely to have 5 or more contacts and a higher seriousness score after age than are those who do not. The same relationship is found but with less predictability because of fewer years of exposure for the 1955 Cohort.

Male/Female Responses to Sanctions

Preliminary data from our current major analysis, one concentrating on the relationship of sanctions to continuity in delinquency and crime

with controls for age (see Tables 8 and 9), while not inconsistent with what might be expected if we hypothesize that sanctions are ineffective, are startling to the extent to which they suggest that sanctions (as applied) may be counter-productive.

In order to control for the frequency with which juveniles have had police contacts, the seriousness of these contacts, and the sanctions meted out by the courts, we have placed everyone in each cohort in one of seven combinations of contacts and sanctions (as shown on the left of each segment of Tables 8 and 9). The rows in these tables start with persons who have had neither police contacts nor sanctions prior to age 18 and descend to the bottom row of persons who have had 5 or + contacts and a seriousness score of 6 or + and higher sanctions, i.e., a score of 7 or + on the severity of sanctions scale.

The columns across each segment of the tables show what percentage of each group have had none, 1 through 4, or 5 or + contacts or increasing seriousness scores after reaching the age of 18. This arrangement of the data enables one to readily see how variation occurs within frequency and seriousness of contact categories in severity of sanctions and how severity of sanctions has its effects on frequency and seriousness of later police contacts. If the data were rearranged with non-sanctioned categories at the top and severly sanctioned categories at the bottom, it would facilitate examination of the variation in later police contacts within categories of sanctions according to frequency and seriousness of contacts prior to 18. It becomes clear that severity of sanctions as well as number of contacts and seriousness scores prior to age 18 have fairly consistent effects on the proportion of persons who have 5 or + contacts or a seriousness score

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 18 FOR MALES IN ALL COHORTS

Prior to Age 18		Number of Contacts After Age				Prior to Age 18		Seriousness Score After Age			
Number of Contacts	Severity of Sanctions	None	1-4	5 or +	N	Seriousness Score	Severity of Sanctions	None	1-5	6 or +	N
1942 Cohort											
None	None	41.0	48.5	10.4	134	None	None	41.8	41.0	17.1	134
1-4	None	15.6	61.5	22.9	122	1-5	None	19.8	46.9	33.3	81
1-4	Low	13.0	30.4	56.5	23	1-5	Low	33.3	----	66.6	6
1-4	High	----	25.0	75.0	4	1-5	High	----	----	----	0
5 or +	None	5.9	32.3	61.8	34	6 or +	None	6.7	29.3	64.0	75
5 or +	Low	8.0	24.0	68.0	25	6 or +	Low	7.1	9.5	83.3	42
5 or +	High	----	21.4	78.6	14	6 or +	High	----	16.6	83.3	18
	Number:	81	168	107	356		Number:	82	122	152	356
1949 Cohort											
None	None	57.4	40.0	2.5	235	None	None	57.5	34.9	7.7	235
1-4	None	36.8	50.7	12.6	302	1-5	None	42.5	38.2	19.3	212
1-4	Low	5.9	67.6	26.5	34	1-5	Low	----	----	100.0	5
1-4	High	----	60.0	40.0	5	1-5	High	----	----	----	0
5 or +	None	3.7	45.7	50.6	81	6 or +	None	14.0	34.5	51.5	171
5 or +	Low	6.1	53.1	40.8	49	6 or +	Low	6.4	30.8	62.8	78
5 or +	High	2.9	32.3	64.7	34	6 or +	High	2.6	15.4	82.0	39
	Number:	255	347	138	740		Number:	255	252	233	740
1955 Cohort											
None	None	75.0	24.5	.5	420	None	None	75.0	18.3	6.7	420
1-4	None	56.3	39.3	4.3	300	1-5	None	59.9	30.0	10.1	227
1-4	Low	33.6	57.6	8.0	137	1-5	Low	36.7	30.6	32.7	49
1-4	High	47.4	42.1	10.5	19	1-5	High	100.0	----	----	2
5 or +	None	38.2	35.3	26.5	34	6 or +	None	43.0	24.3	32.7	107
5 or +	Low	17.1	51.4	31.4	70	6 or +	Low	26.0	29.7	44.3	159
5 or +	High	25.4	32.1	42.5	134	6 or +	High	27.2	14.6	58.3	150
	Number:	599	399	116	1114		Number:	599	255	260	1114

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 18 FOR MALES IN ALL COHORTS

Prior to Age 18		Number of Contacts After Age				Prior to Age 18		Seriousness Score After Age			
Severity of Sanctions	Number of Contacts	None	1-4	5 or +	N	Severity of Sanctions	Seriousness Score	None	1-5	6 or +	N
1942 Cohort											
None	None	41.0	48.5	10.4	134	None	None	41.8	41.0	17.1	134
None	1-4	15.6	61.5	22.9	122	None	1-5	19.8	46.9	33.3	81
None	5 or +	5.9	32.3	61.8	34	None	6 or +	6.7	29.3	64.0	75
Low	1-4	13.0	30.4	56.5	23	Low	1-5	33.3	----	66.6	6
Low	5 or +	8.0	24.0	68.0	25	Low	6 or +	7.1	9.5	83.3	42
High	1-4	----	24.0	75.0	4	High	1-5	----	----	----	---
High	5 or +	----	21.4	78.6	14	High	6 or +	----	16.6	83.3	18
	Number:	81	168	107	356		Number:	82	122	152	356
1949 Cohort											
None	None	57.4	40.0	2.5	235	None	None	57.5	34.9	7.7	235
None	1-4	36.8	50.7	12.6	302	None	1-5	42.5	38.2	19.3	212
None	5 or +	3.7	45.7	50.6	81	None	6 or +	14.0	34.5	51.5	171
Low	1-4	5.9	67.6	26.5	34	Low	1-6	----	----	100.0	5
Low	5 or +	6.1	53.1	40.8	49	Low	6 or +	6.4	30.8	62.8	28
High	1-4	----	60.0	40.0	5	High	1-5	----	----	----	---
High	5 or +	2.9	32.3	64.7	34	High	6 or +	2.6	15.4	82.0	39
	Number:	255	347	138	740		Number:	255	252	233	740
1955 Cohort											
None	None	75.0	24.5	.5	420	None	None	75.0	18.3	6.7	420
None	1-4	56.3	39.3	4.3	300	None	1-5	59.9	30.0	10.1	227
None	5 or +	33.6	57.6	8.0	34	None	6 or +	43.0	24.3	32.7	107
Low	1-4	47.4	42.1	10.5	137	Low	1-5	36.7	30.6	32.7	49
Low	5 or +	38.2	35.3	26.5	70	Low	6 or +	26.0	29.7	44.3	159
High	1-4	17.1	51.4	31.4	19	High	1-5	100.0	----	----	2
High	5 or +	25.4	32.1	42.5	134	High	6 or +	27.2	14.6	58.3	150
	Number:	599	399	116	1114		Number:	599	255	260	1114

of 6 or + after reaching the age of 18. We shall later deal with variation in the effectiveness of sanctions at all ages but present age 18 as indicative of the severity of the problem which faces people on the firing line.

Among those in each cohort who had from 1 to 4 contacts there in an increase in the percent who had 5 or more contacts after the age of 18 as progression is made from those who received no sanctions prior to 18 to those who received high sanctions prior to that age. This progression is not as marked for those who had 5 or more contacts before 18 but the percentages do indicate that increasing severity of sanctions has little affect on outcome for these persons as well as those with fewer contacts before 18. Similar progression in the percent who have high seriousness scores after 18 is found for those who received sanctions and in this case the progression is as evident for those with high seriousness scores as for those with low seriousness scores.

What we see in Table 8 is continuity in frequency of contacts and seriousness scores regardless of sanctions, with considerable regularity in the increase in frequency and seriousness with an increase in sanctions. This is the case for males in all cohorts but not the case for females (see Table 9). Although there were too few females who had received sanctions in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, there were sufficient females in the 1955 Cohort to discern that sanctions, or severity of sanctions, have also failed to deter them from continued police contacts. Similar tables have been constructed in which we view categories of persons in terms of the severity of sanctions accorded them after 18, in this instance indicating that sanctions do not appear to have been evenly applied over the years by the various judges or for that matter have not been evenly applied during a given shorter period of time.

In order to deal with the difficulties in interpretation presented by the differing years of adult exposure of the three cohorts to the legal system, we shall also compare them on a basis of shared time of exposure. For instance, we will compare all three cohorts on a basis of the number and seriousness of contacts and sanctions imposed prior to 18 with these same experiences for ages 18 through 21 (excluding any post-21 experiences) and compare the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts on these bases as well as for the 21 through 25 years of age experiences.

Summary

1) Females in the 1955 Cohort have proportionately more police contacts and more serious contacts than do those in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts although they continue to have lower rates of contact and lower seriousness scores for their police contacts than do males.

2) A large proportion of the police contacts for females are concentrated in a smaller proportion of the cohort than are those for males although for some measures the concentration of police contacts is declining for females as a consequence of the increasing proportion of females who have contacts.

3) The rate of referral for females increased but this is consistent with the increasing proportion of females with police contacts for reasons that are likely to result in referral rather than counselling and release.

4) While the proportion of females with continuity in their careers is increasing, the proportion of males with career continuity has remained relatively stable but at a far higher level than that for females.

5) The application of sanctions and varying degrees of sanctions to

males does not appear to deter them from future police contacts, frequent police contacts, and contacts which generate high seriousness scores. The evidence is not as clear-cut for females. It cannot be said, however, that the evidence is supportive of the position that sanctions or severity of sanctions deter females from future police contacts.

In conclusion, it must be stated that these findings are in part a response to the changing position and perception of females in the community as well as any changes that may have come about in female participation in delinquent and criminal behavior. If persons in positions of authority in the juvenile and adult justice systems decide to formalize their contacts with females in the same manner that they have with males, the consequence is an increase in police contacts for females and all that follows.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] The question of which birth cohorts to select for longitudinal analyses was answered to some extent by the availability of data. School records that could be utilized in selection of the cohorts existed for a 1942 cohort at the earliest. Police contact records were well established by 1950 and members of the 1942 cohort would be 8 years of age at that time. A 1949 cohort was also selected, members of this cohort having four years of exposure to the police beyond the age of 21 at the July, 1974 cut-off date for coding police contact and court records for these cohorts. Before data collection had actually commenced we were approached by community leaders who encouraged selection of a third cohort, one born in 1955, that would be just reaching the age of 19 at the cut-off date. We later extended this cohort's cut-off date to September, 1977, to give its members further years of exposure.

[2] A series of tables were also constructed (but are not included in this paper) with controls for sex and race/ethnicity as well as by cohort. They are presented in abbreviated form below. Comparison across cohorts of Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos, males and females, must be made with some hesitancy because of the relatively small number of Blacks and Chicanos (as shown in Table 1). For males, however, there are sufficient contacts by Blacks and Whites to note several interesting similarities as well as distinctions in their pattern of change across all cohorts and across the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts for Chicanos. First, during the age period 6-17, the proportion of contacts for Incorrigible, runaway, and Truancy increased for Whites and Blacks, and even with the relatively small number of Chicanos, their change was almost identical to that for Whites. Similarly, the proportion of contacts for Burglary increased for all groups. On the other hand, while the proportion of contacts for Theft increased considerably for Blacks, it did not increase

SOME BASIC MEASURES OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY & SEX

	Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Percent of Contacts Serious Ages 6-17 (Felonies and Major Misdemeanors)						
Whites	14.7	16.8	25.3	6.5	10.0	19.8
Blacks	23.3	30.0	42.1	.0	16.7	24.3
Chicanos	.0	19.6	38.3	.0	33.3	27.5
Percent of Contacts Serious Ages 18-20 (Felonies and Major Misdemeanors)						
Whites	6.7	8.6	23.7	5.5	2.3	10.7
Blacks	21.4	18.7	42.7	.0	7.8	34.2
Chicanos	.0	7.4	20.5	.0	.0	20.0
Percent of Contacts Part I Ages 6-17						
Whites	13.4	15.3	21.0	6.4	6.4	14.0
Blacks	16.7	27.7	38.2	.0	12.1	21.7
Chicanos	.0	18.2	33.2	.0	33.3	27.5
Percent of Contacts Part I Ages 18-20						
Whites	4.5	5.4	12.8	.0	.0	5.1
Blacks	9.5	14.5	31.1	.0	.4	17.7
Chicanos	.0	5.9	10.7	.0	.0	20.0

as markedly for Whites or Chicanos. The mean number of contacts per person in each cohort increased considerably more for Blacks than for Whites. But even more distinctive was the increase in the proportion of Felonies and Major Misdemeanors and FBI Part I offense categories for Blacks and Chicanos as compared to Whites.

Most notable in the changes for females was the increasing proportion of contacts for Incorrigible, runaway, and Truancy. Chicana females in the 1955 Cohort, the only cohort for which there were sufficient Chicanos for comparison with Blacks and Whites, had essentially the same proportion for these offenses as they did. While the proportion of the White female contacts for Theft increased, that for Blacks showed greater increase, with Chicanos again having

a high proportion of their contacts in this category for the 1955 Cohort. Part I offenses constituted a higher proportion of the contacts for Blacks than for Whites but Chicanos were even higher.

Turning to the age period 18-20, a much shorter period of exposure than 6-17, we find that although the mean number of contacts per person for each cohort has not shown a consistent cohort-to-cohort increase for males of any race/ethnic group, the proportion of Part I offenses has, particularly for the Blacks. More specifically, Burglary and Theft have increased for both Whites and Blacks and Robbery for Blacks. The proportion of contacts in the Drug category and for Disorderly conduct have increased for each race/ethnic group. While the proportion of female contacts for Disorderly conduct has markedly increased for White females, the number of contacts on which other female contact proportions are based are so small that little can be said except to add that the proportion of Felonies and Misdemeanors and Part I offense categories has increased for females as much or more than that for males in each race/ethnic group.

Extreme caution must be used, of course, in describing the changes across cohorts that have taken place after the age of 21 since the 1955 Cohort has had so little exposure. The proportion of contacts for Disorderly conduct increased across cohorts for both Whites and Blacks but decreased for Chicanos. While the proportion of contacts for Drugs increased for Whites and Blacks, the number of contacts involved in these proportions are so small, as is the case for other increases past the age of 21, that it is probably wise to note that the surest evidence of change is the increase in the proportion of Part I offense contacts for each race/ethnic group. And again, the number of contacts for females is too small to comment on anything other than the definite increase in the proportion of contacts for Disorderly conduct for Whites and the increase in the proportion of Part I offenses for Blacks.

[3] Numerically, for the combined age periods 6-17 and 18-20 there were no Drug contacts in the 1942 Cohort, 8 in the 1949 Cohort, but 161 in the 1955 Cohort. In sheer numbers, Burglary increased from 16 to 79 to 353, Assaults from 5 to 40 to 150, Armed robbery from 1 to 15 to 77. Actually, it is numerical changes such as these which arouse the concern of persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems and among persons who learn about it in the media or experience it as victims.

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