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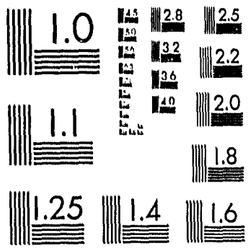

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Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers

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U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers

Lyle W. Shannon
Director

June 1982

U.S. Department of Justice
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ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIP OF ADULT CRIMINAL CAREERS TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: A STUDY OF THREE BIRTH COHORTS

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The cooperation of people in Racine has been acknowledged at appropriate places in various chapters.

ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIP OF ADULT CRIMINAL CAREERS TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: A STUDY OF THREE BIRTH COHORTS

Chapter 1. The Project and How It Came About

INTRODUCTION

The major goals of the research program described in this report are to provide more precise information about the nature of juvenile delinquency and its relationship to adult crime; to determine the extent to which decisions by authorities and juveniles have contributed to continuing or discontinuing patterns of delinquency and crime; to evaluate the effectiveness of various forces (formal and informal) in deterring or stimulating law-violating behavior; and to suggest at which points in juvenile careers intervention of one type or another is most effective. While the terms *delinquent* or *criminal* behavior are used, they are operationally defined in terms of official police contacts by juveniles or adults, referrals by the police, or court dispositions.

In city after city it has been found that areas with high rates of delinquency and crime overlap, and this has been true for data on police contacts, arrests, convictions, and institutional commitments. It has also been observed that delinquency and crime rates are related to other meaningful dimensions of a city's social and economic organization. These findings have led to the inference that adult crime must certainly be an extension of juvenile delinquency.[1] While sociological explanations of delinquency have differed, all have perceived delinquency as learned by rational human beings in a social environment. Slum living, in particular, has been viewed as

facilitating the acquisition of socially unacceptable behavior through day-to-day observation of and contact with delinquent or criminal role models who, in one way or another, appear to be visibly more successful than their law-abiding counterparts.

While official reports and records were relied upon for many years, researchers became more and more aware that there are indeed many persons who alone know of their misbehavior, which if known to authorities would undoubtedly result in societal intervention.[2]

As they became aware of the inadequacies of official measures of juvenile delinquency, researchers turned to self-reports of behaviors which would be considered types of delinquency whether known to the police or not, scaled them according to standard techniques, and found that juveniles could be ranked from least to most serious offenders on the basis of their admitted acts.[3] Self-reporting became another method of ascertaining the nature and extent of patterns of misbehavior and resulted in questioning of models that stressed socioeconomic status, race, and sex differences. More recently however, Elliott and Ageton have shown that socioeconomic status and race differences exist if more sensitive self-report measures are utilized.[4]

Whether we use officially recorded delinquency and crime or self-reported transgressions, some quantitative index of the seriousness of individual acts, as well as a summary measure, is essential. The number of alleged offenses is not a completely satisfactory measure of the seriousness of a person's behavioral history or career. Some individuals commit one serious offense which suggests a high probability of continuing misbehavior or contacts with representatives of the juvenile and adult

justice systems, while other one-time offenders have been involved in what is clearly a minor or even accidental offense. Exactly how one should combine different types of offenses with different frequencies and degrees of seriousness has been a question of theoretical and practical concern for many years.[5] As a consequence, we have approached the problem of measuring seriousness in several ways in order to be sure that our findings are not artifacts of a single measure. While many social variables have been found to be correlated with delinquency and crime, causal models in which the relationship between juvenile and adult misbehavior is specified are lacking. Such models would be useful as a basis for prediction but the literature on predicting subsequent delinquent or criminal careers is largely atheoretical.[6]

THE BEGINNING OF RESEARCH ON DELINQUENCY IN MADISON AND RACINE

The question is often asked, "How did this research get started?" Like many other events in life, it was largely by chance. At the conclusion of his term as chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Prof. Thomas C. McCormick asked Michael Hakeem and Lyle W. Shannon (then Associate and Assistant Professors, respectively) if they would like to work with him on a study of changing trends in juvenile delinquency in Madison. Since delinquency and crime were the major interests of Hakeem, he readily agreed. Shannon, a relatively new member of the faculty at Madison and in his first regular full-time teaching position, had on-going interests which included juvenile delinquency. Hakeem arranged a meeting with Chief Bruce Weatherly (who later became one of Madison's more controversial

chiefs of police) and agreement was reached to undertake a study of juvenile delinquency in Madison. The data were collected from police contact files of the juvenile bureau.

Several years later, before the findings from the Madison study had been published, Shannon was in Racine as Co-principal Investigator of a project later to become "The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers". In the course of his research activities he visited the police station and became acquainted with Chief Leroy C. Jenkins to whom he proposed a study of delinquency in Racine. Chief Jenkins agreed that such a study would be valuable, particularly since Racine and Madison had, for all practical purposes, the same system of police contact records.

The Madison study covered the period 1950 through 1955 and the Racine study 1950 through 1960. Each was based on samples of juveniles who had police contacts during the years included in the study. The data from these studies generated numerous articles, research reports, M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations. The findings were, in most respects, like other studies of the spatial and temporal distribution of urban delinquency; however, by utilizing police contact data rather than court or institutional data, they were as close to officially recorded delinquent behavior as possible.

In due time it was decided that a follow-up study should be conducted in order to determine how many of the persons in each sample had continued their careers in delinquency beyond the age of 21. With National Institute of Health support, the records of the Division of Corrections in the State Department of Public Welfare (now the Department of Health and Social Services) were examined.[7]

While we had measured changing rates of police contact and referral (we knew how many persons between the ages of 6 and 18 resided in each school attendance center in both cities each year) and spatial variations in police contact and referral rates, we did not have complete data on the police contacts of everyone in the samples because we had collected data on contacts only during the aforementioned years. There was, of course, considerable variation in years of exposure as well because not everyone in the samples had resided in Racine during the entire period 6 through 17. Our concern about years of risk led to some analyses with quasi-birth cohorts--for example, those from the sample who were born in 1938 in Madison and those from the sample who were born between 1943 and 1945 in Racine.[8]

In the end, however, none of the variety of scales constructed as alternate measures of the seriousness of delinquent careers or as representations of types of delinquent careers produced scores for the juvenile period that were highly correlated with adult criminal careers. We could only conclude that, among the juveniles in our samples, adult criminal careers were not extensions of any type, pattern, or degree of seriousness of juvenile careers.[9] In other words, there was nothing in these juvenile careers that enabled us to predict adult criminal careers.

While our earlier data had enabled us to 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 misbehavior, and then continue into adult crime. Nor could we test the hypothesis that

there are sociologically meaningful configurations or typologies of juvenile misbehaviors, of which some lead to continuing careers and others do not. We concluded that *cohort* data alone would permit us to make adequate tests of these hypotheses.

The basic concern, as previously stated, is whether or not adult criminal careers can be predicted from records of juvenile delinquency. If, in addition to frequency and type of police contacts, we include the fullest possible description of the juvenile, how the juvenile became involved in what was defined as misbehavior, where and when the police contacts took place, how the juvenile reacted to contact with the police, and the manner in which society dealt with his/her misbehavior (data were obtained from interviews with the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts), prediction may be even more accurate.[10] In the first instance we see the delinquency process as simply a continuation of misbehavior. In the second we see it as a more complex interactional process involving the juvenile's self-concept and the reaction of authority figures in society. Whether a simple or more complex model is best depends upon which best predicts continuity in delinquency and crime.

THE STUDIES WHICH HAVE GUIDED US

Matza's organization of theoretical explanations in terms of affinity, affiliation, and signification has the advantage of allowing one to present sociological and social psychological models of the process of becoming delinquent in an historical perspective.[12] Following their descriptions of the social ecology of the city, the Chicago sociologists first emphasized affinity with delinquency and crime (growing up in an area where delinquency

and crime were commonplace) as an explanation, followed by affiliation with groups in which crime and delinquency were accepted patterns of behavior. The numerous publications by Shaw, McKay, Thrasher, and others set the stage for a generation of research in which affinity and affiliation were in a sense the dominant explanatory themes.[13] 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.[14] The nature of one's associates is 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, and so on. Glaser added a social psychological component when he spoke of differential identification.[15] While related to Sutherland's intensity dimension, it is really closer to that aspect of explanation referred to by Matza as signification.

Most delinquency is conceptualized in this study as a product of the learning process.[16] Juveniles grow up in a social or ecological area (and if their parents move they are 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 passes, juvenile misbehavior produces reactions by society, including society's label for the delinquent, as well as his/her own self-definitions and conse-

quent changes in behavior that are associated with a change from primary to secondary deviation.[17] This view of delinquency (as a chain of events in a hostile environment) has most recently been supported by Ferracuti, Dinitz, and Acosta de Brenes in their Puerto Rican research on juvenile delinquency.[18]

On the other hand, by the time that they are adults, young people no longer find themselves in situations which generate misbehavior or these behaviors have been legalized, i.e., they are no longer status offenses. We are inclined to think that there is an element of "maturation" involved, not in a psychological sense but in terms of the availability of social opportunities and alternatives that were not present 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 contact-generating behavior.

Although we do not attempt to replicate Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin's cohort study of juvenile delinquency in Philadelphia, and are concerned with only some of the same questions, it is pertinent and their interests are close to ours.[19] In following almost 10,000 Philadelphia boys from age 8 to age 18 they indicated an early awareness of the need for cohort studies.

Although the final results of Polk's longitudinal study in Oregon have not yet been published, Frank Hellum's preliminary 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.[20] 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 committed by juvenile offenders had serious adult offenses, but 25% of those who had what *would have been* felonies had they been adults did commit 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 but of whom only 67 had committed serious delinquent acts. Of the latter, 17 committed a felony as an adult. Of the 910 who were non-delinquent only nine 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.[21] Reports by both Polk and Hellum strongly suggest that young adults disappear from the records of the police and courts with continuing maturation. Further findings relevant to the major thrust of our research 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 offense as an adult, and 3) those whose careers began at an early age were more likely to engage in crime as adults 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 officially known to the police, the juvenile

court, or a correctional institution. 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 or she is asked why he or she 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 or she knew to be disapproved and/or illegal in the society of which he or she is a part, should know better than to simply ask "why."[22] The relevant question is "how did it happen?" A better understanding of this will be forthcoming when data obtained from interviews with members of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts are examined.

Since most juveniles at one time or another engage in behavior that brings them into contact with the authorities, we should know what happens in their lives that brings about discontinuation of that behavior if we are really concerned about delinquency control. Similarly, we should know how those who continue to engage in delinquent and criminal behavior differ from the majority who do not. The point is that, although we are interested in those juveniles who have continued their delinquent behavior into a career in adult crime, we are just as interested in those who have not continued their delinquent careers.

This leads us to wonder at what point intervention is appropriate. Who needs control and who does not can only be determined by examination of what happens to people who have and have not been "controlled."[23]

Our earlier research suggests that those who engage in certain kinds of felonies require control more than do those who commit minor offenses. The effectiveness of attempts to control status offenders is another concern. For such offenders, no intervention may have the same or better results than intervention.

Beyond what we have said about the social and demographic characteristics of juveniles and the larger social environment in which they are interacting, we are also concerned about their perception of their social environment and the persons with whom they interact. The interrelationship of the social structure of the community, the process of socialization, juveniles' perception of their environmental system, and the juveniles' behavior system are succinctly outlined and discussed in their presentation of problem-behavior theory by the Jessors.[24] We shall make further reference to their work in chapters which utilize the interview data in explaining why most juveniles cease their delinquent behavior at an early age but some continue into the young adult years.

But whether delinquent youth continue or discontinue their misbehavior, they are influenced by the action of persons in authority and by their perception of decision-makers in the justice system. Likewise, the judge is influenced by the juvenile's cumulative behavior and by the judge's perception of what other decision-makers have done in similar cases. Although we have utilized a perspective that takes into consideration feedback from juveniles to system decision-makers and back again to juveniles, hoping to enhance our understanding of juvenile misbehavior and its sometimes continuation by relating interview data to the chains of official events obtained from our records, we have encountered some problems in analysis

because of the complexity of misbehaviors, the variation in dispositional procedures, and the relatively small proportion of females from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts who received formal dispositions. These problems are dealt with in appropriate sections of the report.

The nature of the cohort data and the incidence of police contacts for juvenile delinquency and crime are described in Chapters 2 and 3. Arrest rates for the entire city of Racine are also presented in Chapter 3. The problem of measuring seriousness and a discussion of the nature of temporal change by race/ethnicity and sex will be presented in Chapter 4. This will be followed by Chapters 5 and 6 in which delinquency and crime are viewed spatially in terms of place of residence of offenders during socialization (ages 6-17), place of residence at time of police contact, and place of police contact. The widespread prevalence of police contacts with juveniles will be contrasted with the concentration of delinquency and crime among multiple offenders in Chapter 7. Chapters 8 and 9 are on continuity in careers, followed by Chapter 10 which is a preliminary examination of the prediction problem.

Having dealt with police contact data, we turn to Chapters 11 and 12 on dispositions and the possibility of predicting future behavior from frequency of referrals. The relationship of severity of sanctions to future behavior, described in Chapters 13 and 14, indicates that the juvenile justice system does not operate as intended. Race/ethnic and sex differences in incarceration (institutionalization) and its consequences are examined in Chapter 15. Official careers are then viewed as a process in Chapter 16 and the role of the police officer, the juvenile bureau, and the courts are

examined in this context.

We next turn to Chapter 17 for a first look at the data obtained from interviews with persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, finding that some cherished explanations of delinquent behavior are not supported by the data. In Chapter 18 we turn again to the interview data in order to see why most juveniles cease to have trouble with the police before they are adults. Chapter 19 examines the relationship of measures of delinquency and crime obtained from official and self-report data. Another attempt is made in Chapter 20 to increase predictive efficiency with official police contact data, this time utilizing respondent reports of pre-age 18 behavior and police contacts as a pre-prediction classifier. Differences in severity of sanctions by self-report vs. official seriousness are also examined. The next chapter (Chapter 21) introduces a new data set, parental police records, which are compared with the records of persons in each cohort.

Chapter 22 utilizes the interview data in conjunction with other data in the development of a causal model of delinquency and its hypothesized relationship to adult crime. This chapter then concludes our efforts to predict seriousness of adult criminal behavior from background and experiential variables and official records of juvenile delinquency. The final chapter (Chapter 23) consists of recommendations for the police, the school, the courts, and the community.

FOOTNOTES

[1] A few of the earliest and some more recent studies are cited 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); Roland J. Chilton, "Continuity in Delinquency Area Research: A Comparison of Studies for Baltimore, Detroit, and Indianapolis," *American Sociological Review* 29 (1964): 71-83; Sarah L. Boggs, "Urban Crime Patterns," *American Sociological Review* 30 (1965): 899-908; Robert A. Gordon, "Issues in the Ecological Study of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review* 32 (1967): 927-44; Calvin F. Schmid and Stanton E. Schmid, *Crime in the State of Washington* (Olympia, Washington: Washington State Planning and Community Affairs Agency, 1972).

[2] Aside from the question of depredations unknown to the police, there is the question of incidence vs. prevalence. Incidence is defined as either the frequency of police contacts or an event such as arrest per person (rate) during a given age, year, or period of time. Prevalence refers to the proportion who have had a police contact or experienced some other event during an age period such as 6-17, 18-20, or for a combination of age periods. 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: Fred J. Murphy, Mary M. Shirley and Helen Witmer, "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 16 (1946): 686-95; Maynard L. Erickson and Lamar T. Empey, "Court Records, Undetected Delinquency and Decision-Making," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 54 (1963): 456-69; John C. Ball, Alan Ross and Alice Simpson, "Incidence and Prevalence of Recorded Delinquency in a Metropolitan Area," *American Sociological Review* 29 (1964): 90-93; Stanton Wheeler, "Criminal Statistics: A Reformulation of the Problem, *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 58 (1967): 317-24; William Chambliss and R.H. Nagasawa, "On the Validity of Official Statistics," *Journal of Research on Crime and Delinquency* 6 (1967): 71-77; Donald J. Black,

"The Production of Crime Rates," *American Sociological Review* 35 (1970): 733-48; Jay Williams and Martin Gold, "From Delinquent Behaviors to Official Delinquency," *Social Problems* 20 (1972): 209-77; Wesley G. Skogan, "Dimensions of the Dark Figure of Unexpected Crime," *Crime and Delinquency* 23 (1977): 41-50; and Leonard D. Savitz, "Official Police Statistics and Their Limitations," pp. 69-81 in Leonard D. Savitz and Norman Johnston (eds.) *Crime in Society* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978).

[3] The work of Short and Nye and others on scaling and self-reported delinquency has been described in numerous articles, among which are: F. Ivan Nye and James F. Short, Jr., "Scaling Delinquent Behavior," *American Sociological Review* 22 (1956): 326-31; James F. Short, Jr. and F. Ivan Nye, "Reported Behavior as a Criterion of Deviant Behavior," *Social Problems* 5 (1957): 207-13; James F. Short and F. Ivan Nye, "Extent of Unrecorded Delinquency: Tentative Conclusions," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 49 (1958): 296-302; John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger, "Socio-Economic Class and Areas as Correlates of Illegal Behavior Among Juveniles," *American Sociological Review* 27 (1962): 826-34; John P. Clark and Larry L. Tifft, "Polygraph and Interview Validation of Self-Reported Deviant Behavior," *American Sociological Review* 31 (1966): 516-23; Lois B. DeFleur, "On Polygraph and Interview Validation," *American Sociological Review* 32 (1967): 114, and a reply by Clark and Tifft, pp. 115-117. In addition, Robert H. Hardt and Sandra Peterson, "Neighborhood Status and Delinquency Activity as Indexed by Police Records on a Self-Report Survey," *Criminologica* 6 (1968): 37-47; Travis Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Leroy C. Gould, "Who Defines Delinquency: A Comparison of Self-Reported and Officially Reported Indices for Three Racial Groups," *Social Problems* 16 (1969): 325-36; Marvin Krohn, Gordon P. Waldo and Theodore G. Chiricos, "Self-reported Delinquency: A Comparison of Structural Interviews and Self-administered Checklists," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 65 (1975): 545-53; Robert H. Hardt and Sandra Peterson-Hardt, "On Determining the Quality of the Delinquency Self-Report Method," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 14 (1977): 247-61

[4] Delbert S. Elliott and Susan S. Ageton, "Reconciling Race and Class Differences in Self-reported and Official Estimates of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review* 45 (1980): 95-110.

[5] 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); R.I. Martin and Malcolm 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); Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972); and Charles F. Wellford and Michael D. Wiatrowski, "On the Measurement of Delinquency," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 66 (1975): 175-88.

[6] 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* 56 (1951): 552-61; Sheldon Glueck, "Ten Years of Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 51 (1960): 301-07; D.H. Stott, "The Prediction of Delinquency from Non-Delinquent Behavior," *British Journal of Delinquency* 10 (1960): 202-10; Eleanor T. Glueck, "Efforts to Identify Delinquents," *Federal Probation* June (1960): 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. 170-79; Harwin L. Voss, "The Predictive Efficiency of the Glueck Social Prediction Table," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 54 (1963): 421-30; Jackson Toby, "An Evaluation of Early Identification and Intensive Treatment Programs for Predelinquents," *Social Problems* 13 (1965): 160-75; Don M. Gottfredson, "An Evaluation of Early Identification and Intensive Treatment Programs for Predelinquents," *Social Problems* 13 (1970): 160-75; 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. 401-24 (this article contains an excellent bibliography on the prediction problem).

[7] All of this was made possible because people like Dr. Paul H. Kusuda and Perry C. Baker (now Director and Deputy Director, respectively, Office of Systems and Evaluation of the Division of Corrections in the Department of Health and Social Services), and Joseph S. Coughlin (then Chief of Administrative Services, Division of Corrections) were so cooperative.

[8] 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 the Madison and Racine research are: Harwin L. Voss, *The Ecological Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in Madison, Wisconsin*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1956; Charles H. McCaghy, *Social Areas and the Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in Racine, Wisconsin, 1950-1960*, unpublished M.S. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1962; 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 (1963): 24-36; Lyle W. Shannon, "Types and Patterns of Delinquency in a Middle Sized City," *The Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 1 (1964): 53-66; Austin T. Turk, "Toward Construction of a Theory of Delinquency," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 55 (1964): 215-29; Robert M. Terry, "Police Criteria in the Screening of Juvenile Offenders," *The Wisconsin Sociologist* 5 (1966): 21-32; Robert M. Terry, "The Screening of Juvenile Offenders," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 58 (1967): 163-81; Robert M. Terry, "Discrimination in the Handling of Juvenile Offenders by Social-Control Agencies," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 4 (1967): 218-30; and Lyle W. Shannon, "The Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in a Middle-Sized City," *Sociological Quarterly* 8 (1967): 365-82.

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

[10] 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 everyday 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* 25 (1961): 32-39.

[11] 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: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967).

[12] See David Matza, *Becoming Delinquent* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969).

[13] 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); Clifford Shaw and Maurice A. Moore, *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); Frederick M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936); Clifford Shaw, *et al., Brothers in Crime* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938). There is also an extensive and pertinent literature on delinquent and criminal subcultures which provides a background for our position, particularly for the kinds of data that were coded from official records and the interviews which were later conducted with samples of persons from the 1942 and 1949 cohorts. For example: Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Delinquency as a Generating Review of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues* 14 (1958): 5-19; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Chlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs* (New York: Free Press, 1960); David J. Bordua, "Delinquent Subcultures: Sociological Interpretations of Gang Delinquency," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 38 (1961): 120-36; LeRoy G. Schultz, "Why the Negro Carries Weapons," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 53 (1962):

476-83; James F. Short and Fred L. Strodbeck, *Group Process and Gang Delinquency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Solomon Kobrin, Joseph Puntil and Emil Peluso, "Criteria of Status Among Street Groups," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 4 (1967): 98-118; Marvin E. Wolfgang and Frances Ferracuti, *The Subculture of Violence* (London: Tavistock, 1967); Paul Lerman, "Individual Values, Peer Values, and Subcultural Delinquency," *American Sociological Review* 33 (1968): 219-35; and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, "Values and Violence: A Test of the Subculture of Violence Thesis," *American Sociological Review* 38 (1973): 736-49.

[14] 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* 1 (1958): 20-25; and James F. Short (ed.), *Gang Delinquency and Delinquent Subcultures* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

[15] Daniel Glaser, "Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images," *American Journal of Sociology* 61 (1956): 433-44.

[16] For an excellent exposition of this view see: Ronald L. Akers, *Deviant Behavior: A Social Learning Approach* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 1973).

[17] While we are concerned about the labelling process in terms of self-definition, we are even more interested in the process by which persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems label those with whom they have contacts and follow this with "extra attention." The literature has, of course, dealt with both. For a critical review of the assumptions behind labelling theory and this literature see: Charles Welford, "Labelling Theory and Criminology," *Social Problems* 23 (1975): 332-45. Also see: Theodore Ferdinand and Elmer Luchterhand, "Inner City Youth, the Police, the Juvenile Court and Justice," *Social Problems* 18 (1962): 510-27; Edwin Schur, *Labelling Deviant Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Richard Ward, "The Labelling Theory: A Critical Analysis," *Criminology* 9 (1971): 268-90; Nanette J. Davis, "Labelling Theory in Deviance Research: A Critique and Reconsideration," *Sociological Quarterly* 13 (1972): 447-74;

and Jay Williams and Martin Gold, "From Delinquent Behaviors to Official Delinquency," *Social Problems* 20 (1972): 209-27.

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

[19] *op cit.*, Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin for an excellent discussion of the need for cohort studies and a review of early efforts.

[20] Ph.D. dissertation in progress.

[21] 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.

[22] This issue was settled by Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza in "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review* 12 (1957): 664-70.

[23] The entire prediction process is complicated by differences in police 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* 69 (1960): 543-88; Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," *American Journal of Sociology* 70 (1964): 206-14; Wayne R. Lafave, *Arrests: The Decision to Take a Suspect into Custody* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965); William R. Arnold, "Race and Ethnicity Relative to Other Factors in Juvenile Court Dispositions," *American Journal of Sociology* 77 (1971): 211-27; Norman L. Weiner and Charles V. Willie, "Decisions by Juvenile Officers," *American Journal of Sociology* 77 (1971): 199-210; Terrence P. Thornberry, "Race, Socioeconomic Status, and Sentencing in the Juvenile Justice System," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 64 (1973): 90-98; and Peter J. Bourke and Austin T.

Turk, "Factors Affecting Postarrest Dispositions: A Model for Analysis," *Social Problems* 22 (1975): 313-32.

[24] Richard Jessor and Shirley Jessor, *Problem Behavior and Psychosocial Development: A Longitudinal Study of Youth* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 26-42.

Chapter 2. Selection of the Cohorts and the Police Contact Data

THE THREE RACINE COHORTS

The availability of data placed some limitation on which birth cohorts could be selected for longitudinal analysis. Inasmuch as police records in Racine were well established by 1950 (when persons born in 1942 were 8 years of age) and other records that could be utilized in selection of the cohorts existed for a 1942 birth year at the earliest,[1] this group was selected and has become our 1942 Cohort. A second cohort was selected as insurance against the criticism that could be levied against a single cohort's representativeness, and as a cohort on which to verify the efficiency with which juvenile experiences and characteristics could be utilized in predicting those persons who would become serious offenders as adults. The choice of 1949 as a birth cohort was made because these persons would have at least 7 years beyond the age of 18 in which to establish a young adult (age 18-20) and an adult record of police contacts, subsequent referrals, and court dispositions. While it was not a factor in our selection process, the 1949 Cohort, like the 1945 Cohort of the Philadelphia study, grew up entirely after the end of World War II and the early post-war period, the late 50's and 60's. This factor may help to explain differences between the cohorts.[2]

During the period in which we were making preparations for coding the police contact data, interested community leaders approached us regarding the possibility of selecting a still younger cohort. They believed that the younger generation differed from earlier generations.

In response to their interest, the birth year of 1955 was selected for a third cohort. In 1974 these persons would have passed the age of 18, but a shortage of funds prevented complete data collection on this group. Later funding allowed us to complete collection of the police contact data to September 1, 1977. The data cover over three years of the 1955 Cohort's experiences beyond the age of 18 as well as their juvenile experiences.

The 1942 Cohort consists of 1,352 persons, the 1949 Cohort of 2,099 persons, and the 1955 Cohort of 2,676 persons, a total of 6,127 persons. Each juvenile in each cohort was identified as White, Black, or Chicano. The race/ethnic and sex composition of each cohort and of those with continuous residence in Racine (4,079) is shown in Table 1.[3] The U.S. Census for 1960 reported that 4.3% of the persons enrolled in high school in Racine's urbanized area were non-Whites. We identified 3.6% of the 1942 Cohort as Black. This is about what one would expect since they were 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 6.3% were identified as Black. 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. The 1955 Cohort was 11 years of age at the time of selection from 1966 records; 8.8% were Black and 3.8% were Chicano. This represents more than twice the percentage of Blacks as in the 1949 Cohort but less than the 12.6% Black and 4.7% Chicano composition of elementary school children according to the 1970 Census. Since the percentage of the school population consisting of non-Whites was increasing each year, one would not expect the 1955 Cohort to have as large a proportion

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

* Absent from Racine no more than three years during the age period 6 through the cut-off date for that cohort.

of minority group members at the age of 11 as did the elementary school population by 1970. Interviews from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts confirmed that our race/ethnic identification of the members of each cohort was probably very accurate because only two or three errors had been made in each group.

DATA COLLECTION

As in the earlier studies in Madison and Racine, the cooperation of the police department exceeded what anyone might reasonably expect.[4] Information regarding juvenile and adult complaints were read and coded from the files of the Juvenile Bureau and the Records Division of the Racine Police Department under the supervision of the Center's field director. A copy of the code sheet for contacts is presented in Appendix A.

Our earlier research had suggested that no more than 30% of a cohort would have police contacts, but we found that, of those persons with continuous residence in Racine, 68% of the 1942 Cohort and 69% of the 1949 Cohort had one or more police contacts between the ages of 6 and the cut-off date of May 31, 1974, at which time persons in the 1942 Cohort were 33 years of age and those in the 1949 Cohort were 26. Although persons in the 1955 Cohort were only 21 years of age at the time of their cut-off date, September 1, 1977, 59% already had at least one police contact.

Reasons for police contact were coded into 26 basic categories consistent with Part I and Part II Offenses of the Uniform Crime Reports, but with added meaningful "conditions" for juveniles.[5] Many of these contacts were for very minor violations, or for Suspicion, investigation, or information or Traffic violations. It was necessary to code these as

completely as we coded the most heinous crimes on the assumption that becoming known to the police for any reason may have some influence on the course of a person's career. Contacts as victims, as abandoned, neglected, dependent children, and many non-delinquent contacts considered safety measures, and so on, although recorded, are not included in the analyses.[6]

Juvenile Court records and adult arrest records were read and coded for all persons with continuous residence whose records of police contact indicated a referral.[7] In coding dispositions for juveniles, only those dispositions arising from juvenile misconduct were included. For instance, changes in custody arising from problems within the family and not originating with the child's delinquent behavior were not considered part of the dispositions history. Once it had been determined that police records of arrest dispositions in various courts were complete, these were coded as indicators of the severity of sanctions.

The proportion of contacts for each cohort in each of the 26 categories of police contacts is shown in Table 2, as are the proportion of contacts that were for Part I offenses and the mean number of police contacts for each person in the cohort.[8]

Differences in reasons for police contact quite obviously varied from cohort to cohort. Since this is not the problem toward which our research has been directed, it may suffice to note that not only did the proportion of contacts for Drug offenses increase markedly, but there are also readily noticeable increases for Theft, Assault, Burlary, Robbery and, during the juvenile period, for Incorrigible, runaway, and Truancy. Perhaps even more apparent are the increases from cohort to cohort in the proportion of

TABLE 2. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT AND AGE PERIODS

	Ages 6-17			Ages 18-20			Ages 21+			Total		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	25.4	17.2	10.1	52.2	39.0	31.3	49.4	36.7	28.9	42.5	28.4	17.8
Disorderly Conduct	24.3	21.7	14.4	14.5	20.4	26.4	19.3	26.8	34.5	19.9	22.8	19.5
Suspicion, Investigation	16.6	19.9	15.1	16.9	25.1	12.2	21.0	22.4	15.1	18.9	21.9	14.2
Liquor	6.1	5.1	2.3	4.0	1.9	2.1	2.0	1.6	1.0	3.6	3.3	2.2
Theft	7.8	9.6	12.9	3.0	3.0	5.4	1.1	1.9	3.1	3.6	5.7	9.9
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	9.6	14.0	26.5	1.0	.2	.3	.1	.2	----	3.2	6.5	16.8
Vagrancy	2.6	2.7	1.7	1.6	2.1	.7	.5	.7	1.3	1.4	2.0	1.4
Auto Theft	2.9	1.9	2.4	1.2	.7	1.5	.2	.1	.2	1.2	1.1	2.0
Sex Offenses	.6	1.2	.9	2.0	1.5	1.3	.9	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.0
Assault	.5	1.0	2.3	.2	1.0	2.4	1.2	1.8	2.1	.8	1.2	2.3
Burglary	1.6	2.8	6.2	.6	.6	3.8	.2	.4	.8	.7	1.6	5.1
Weapons	.5	.4	.7	.2	.4	1.4	.5	.4	1.2	.4	.4	.9
Violent Property Destruction	.6	.2	.7	1.0	.7	1.3	.1	.4	1.0	.4	.4	.9
Forgery, Fraud	----	1.0	.8	.2	1.2	1.9	.7	1.4	1.8	.4	1.1	1.2
Robbery	----	.4	.8	.2	.3	2.0	.5	.3	.7	.3	.4	1.1
Gambling	.1	.2	.1	----	.1	.2	.3	.1	----	.2	.1	.1
Narcotics, Drugs	----	----	1.5	----	.6	4.7	.3	2.2	5.9	.1	.8	2.8
Homicide	----	----	- .1	----	.1	.1	----	----	.3	----	- .1	.1
Other	1.0	.6	.6	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.6	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.0	.8
TOTAL	100.2	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.2	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1
Percent Part I	12.7	15.9	24.6	5.2	5.6	15.3	3.2	4.5	7.2	6.5	10.0	20.5
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	1.3	1.9	2.1	.8	1.1	.9	2.2	1.2	.3	4.3	4.2	3.3

contacts for Part I offenses in each age period, particularly for the period 6-17. A more detailed analysis in which controls for race/ethnicity and sex were used is presented in Appendix B.

During the collection of data on police contacts the address at which the alleged offender lived at the time of each contact and the address at which the contact occurred were coded according to a block numbering system established by the U.S. Census in 1970. To each Census block number we assigned Cartesian coordinates so that home addresses of alleged offenders and places of contact could be computer mapped by any other variable or set of variables. These may be located in their appropriate ecological or natural area for either 1960 or 1970, thus making it possible to computer-create a visual representation of the distribution of police contacts by place of residence or place of contact according to type of contact, age of person, sex of person, and race/ethnicity.

The age of the individual at each contact and the date of each contact is included in the data set and permits determination of whether contacts occur in rapid succession with only a few days between them or whether they are spaced over a span of years. Date of disposition by police has also been coded so that we can determine if there are multiple contacts soon after the individual has been dealt with by authorities in one manner or another or if attempts to control (sanctions) result in a considerable time lapse before that person has another contact with authorities.[9]

The length of time each member of a cohort resided in the community was determined to permit differentiation between persons with partial careers and those with continuous residence. This has facilitated handling the problem of mortality in longitudinal studies. We were concerned with

identifying those who entered the system later than their birth date (for all practical purposes later than age 6), those who left Racine before the age of 18, and those who left before the police contact cut-off date for their cohort.[10] This painstaking location and verification process was continued in Racine during the interviewing phase for anyone whose presence could not be established by those means available in Iowa City. The end result of the residence duration coding for the age of 6 through 1976 was 4,079 persons with continuous residence in Racine. It is to these persons whom we shall refer, unless indicated otherwise, in the analyses which follow.

Although the main thrust of this research is toward determination of the extent to which there is continuity between juvenile and adult police contacts and how those who continue differ from those who terminate, some emphasis has been placed on race/ethnic and sex differences in order to obtain a better understanding of the problem. The small number of Blacks and Chicanos in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts make comparisons of this nature difficult across cohorts. This problem is even further exacerbated when one attempts to describe sex differences within race/ethnic groups for specific time periods in careers. This is a problem that cannot be avoided in birth cohort studies that encompass an entire community where the Black and Chicano population constitute a very small minority in the oldest cohort because they constituted only a small percent of the city's total population at the earliest period in the research. The findings which follow cannot be faulted on this basis, however. We shall still be able to show how recorded police contacts (juvenile delinquency and adult crime) involve Whites in most areas of the community, how the problem is shared

in the inner city, and how continuity seems to be greater for those who reside in the inner city whether they are White, Black, or Chicano.

A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF COHORT DIFFERENCES

As an initial way of analyzing cohort differences the rates for each contact type within age periods are presented in Table 3. The first set of rates was obtained by dividing the number of contacts of each type by the number of persons in the cohort. Similarly, the second set of rates was derived by dividing the number of contacts by the number of persons in the cohort who had contacts. This permits an examination of changes in the cohort and changes in the people who have contacts. These are the bricks with which the structure is built. They may be combined and recombined in any number of ways in order to obtain a better understanding of what makes for continuity to the extent that types of contacts and their frequency is at least a partial determinant of continuity. Tables with controls for race/ethnicity and sex are described in Appendix B.

From Table 3 we find that the rates for three categories of police contacts increased from cohort to cohort during the age period 6-17 more than did others, Incorrigible, runaway, and Truancy, Theft, and Burglary, whether the rate be for the cohort or for those in the cohort with contacts. The rates for five other categories of contacts were also higher from cohort to cohort, Assault, Weapons, Violent property destruction, Robbery, and Drugs, although these are not high-rate categories. The rates for other offense categories, although in some cases relatively high, either declined or revealed no steady increase across cohorts. In sum, however, Part I offense categories were higher from cohort to cohort for both persons in the cohorts and for those persons with contacts.

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

	Ages 6-17						Ages 18-20						Ages 21+						Total					
	Cohort			Persons with Contacts			Cohort			Persons with Contacts			Cohort			Persons with Contacts			Cohort			Persons with Contacts		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	.335	.334	.209	.838	.694	.476	.411	.416	.292	1.300	1.041	.844	1.070	.450	.082	2.027	1.152	.507	1.815	1.199	.584	2.630	1.734	.987
Disorderly Conduct	.321	.419	.297	.802	.872	.674	.114	.217	.247	.360	.544	.714	.417	.328	.098	.790	.840	.605	.852	.965	.642	1.233	1.395	1.086
Suspicion, Investigation	.220	.386	.312	.549	.801	.708	.133	.268	.114	.420	.670	.328	.455	.275	.043	.862	.704	.265	.807	.928	.468	1.169	1.341	.792
Liquor	.081	.098	.048	.202	.204	.110	.032	.020	.020	.100	.050	.058	.043	.020	.003	.081	.051	.017	.155	.138	.701	.234	.200	.121
Theft	.103	.187	.267	.257	.388	.607	.024	.032	.050	.075	.081	.145	.024	.023	.009	.045	.059	.055	.152	.242	.326	.220	.350	.552
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	.126	.271	.549	.316	.563	1.246	.008	.002	.002	.025	.006	.007	.002	.002	----	.003	.006	----	.136	.275	.551	.197	.398	.932
Vagrancy	.035	.053	.053	.087	.111	.080	.013	.022	.006	.040	.056	.018	.011	.009	.004	.021	.022	.023	.059	.084	.045	.085	.122	.076
Auto Theft	.038	.037	.050	.095	.077	.113	.010	.007	.014	.030	.017	.040	.005	.001	.001	.009	.002	.003	.052	.045	.064	.076	.065	.109
Sex Offenses	.008	.022	.018	.020	.047	.040	.016	.016	.013	.050	.041	.036	.021	.015	.003	.039	.038	.017	.044	.053	.033	.064	.077	.056
Assault	.006	.020	.047	.016	.042	.107	.002	.011	.023	.005	.027	.066	.025	.022	.006	.048	.055	.038	.033	.052	.076	.048	.076	.128
Burglary	.021	.055	.128	.051	.114	.292	.005	.006	.036	.015	.015	.104	.005	.005	.002	.009	.014	.014	.030	.066	.167	.044	.096	.282
Weapons	.006	.009	.014	.016	.018	.032	.002	.005	.014	.005	.012	.039	.011	.005	.003	.021	.014	.020	.019	.019	.031	.028	.027	.052
Violent Property Destruction	.008	.005	.015	.020	.010	.034	.008	.007	.012	.025	.017	.004	.003	.005	.003	.006	.014	.017	.019	.017	.029	.028	.025	.050
Forgery, Fraud	----	.019	.017	----	.040	.039	.002	.012	.012	.005	.031	.051	.016	.017	.005	.030	.044	.032	.017	.049	.040	.025	.070	.068
Robbery	----	.009	.017	----	.018	.038	.002	.003	.019	.005	.008	.055	.011	.004	.002	.021	.010	.012	.011	.015	.038	.016	.022	.064
Gambling	.002	.003	.001	.004	.006	.002	----	.001	.001	----	.002	.004	.006	.001	----	.012	.002	----	.008	.005	.002	.011	.007	.004
Narcotics, Drugs	----	----	.031	----	----	.070	----	.006	.044	----	.015	.128	.006	.027	.017	.012	.069	.014	.006	.033	.092	.009	.048	.155
Homicide	----	----	.001	----	----	.001	----	.001	.001	----	.002	.003	----	----	.001	----	----	.006	----	.001	.002	----	.001	.004
Other	.013	.011	.013	.032	.022	.029	.010	.014	.009	.030	.035	.027	.035	.016	.003	.066	.042	.017	.057	.041	.025	.082	.059	.042
TOTAL MEAN RATE	1.321	1.936	2.068	3.304	4.024	4.698	.787	1.066	.934	2.490	2.670	2.699	2.164	1.224	.283	4.102	3.136	1.752	4.272	4.226	3.285	6.188	6.110	5.560
Part I Mean Rate	.168	.307	.510	.419	.638	1.158	.041	.060	.143	.130	.151	.413	.070	.055	.021	.132	.140	.127	.278	.422	.673	.403	.610	1.139
Number of Contacts	836	2511	4444	836	2511	4444	498	1383	2008	498	1383	2008	1370	1587	608	1370	1587	608	2704	5481	7060	2704	5481	7060
Number of Persons in Cohort	633	1297	2149	253	624	946	633	1297	2149	200	518	744	633	1297	2149	334	506	347	633	1297	2149	434	897	1270

For the age period 18-20, contact rates for Disorderly conduct not only had a high rate for the 1942 Cohort but increased to the point of having the second highest rate for the 1955 Cohort, whether it be the cohort rate or the rate for persons with contacts. Theft and Drug rates showed the next most notable increases across cohorts. Four other categories, Assault, Burglary, Weapons, and Robbery, although having relatively low rates of occurrence, also had higher rates across cohorts. Rates for Part I offense categories again increased across cohorts for both measures, particularly mean contact rates for persons with contacts.

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 16 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, as well as the public who learn about it in the media or experience it as victims.

Despite seven years less exposure for the 1949 Cohort and 12 years less exposure for the 1955 Cohort, comparisons across cohorts for the age period 21 or older reveal that rates for Part I offense categories for persons with contacts remained almost the same, indicating that contacts for serious crimes have indeed been on the upswing from cohort to cohort. By the same token, it is revealing to note that the rates for Theft, Assault, Burglary, and Narcotics, and the Part I offense category in general are higher from cohort to cohort for total years of exposure while the total mean rate has declined. This, combined with the trend for other age periods, is evidence of consistent increases from cohort to cohort in the seriousness of recorded police contacts.

We must also keep in mind that there are at least two levels of phenomena with which we must be concerned: 1) change in individuals throughout the life cycle, and 2) changes in the larger society or in subgroups which have as their consequence changes from cohort to cohort.[11]

In other words, we are concerned about continuity in careers among persons in a cohort but we must also recognize changes which come not from the individual members of cohorts but are generated by community-level changes in record keeping, police administration, staffing at various levels in the juvenile and adult justice systems, and in the orientation of the judges of various courts as they respond to community pressures.

What we shall see is that there are gradual linear changes in cohorts, that there are gradual linear changes in arrest rates for the entire community, but that there are also non-linear, rather abrupt changes in individual careers and in the rates for the entire community. At the same time that we are concerned with gradual linear changes that are related to the life cycle, we are aware that there are dramatic changes that must also be considered and explained. Some of the latter may be explained by changes in individuals that come about when they reach the age that new statuses are acquired, and consequently new roles, and others may be related to major changes in the focal concerns of subcultural groups or the larger community.

SUMMARY

We must close this discussion with the caveat that our bricks consist of police contact records which may be influenced by administrative policy and changes in the eyes of the beholder, i.e., how the police officer perceives and records the behavior of juveniles and adults. It is possible that behavior that was once handled informally and not recorded resulted in an official contact in later years. Nonetheless, these are the data that form the basis for daily reports that ultimately reach the crime-fearing public. These are the kinds of increases in delinquency and crime that generate public concern. And it is with these data that we must work in order to develop an understanding of the nature of delinquency and crime, their relationship to each other, and their relationship to the social organization of the community.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Mr. Leland Johnson, Director of Pupil Services in the Racine Unified School District, has been supportive of our longitudinal research projects in Racine since the 1950's. Without his continued assistance and advice none of the research that we have conducted would have been possible.

[2] Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 29.

[3] For the sake of simplicity in our language we shall use the term of *cohort* in the remainder of our presentation to signify those persons from each total cohort whose residence in Racine commenced at or before the age of 6 and continued without significant interruption until the cut-off date for data collection.

[4] Chief Donald J. Dodge, Assistant Chief Milton Hagopian, Lieutenant George Kopecky (Supervisor of the Records Division), and Captain Kermit McDonald (Head of the Juvenile Bureau), were helpful in every possible way. Had Lieutenant Kopecky not developed such an excellent records division during the tenure of Chief Leroy C. Jenkins (1956-1972), the study would not have been feasible. Had he not microfilmed and indexed police contact data for the early years, we would not have considered a study of three cohorts covering such a long span of time. Cooperation was continued after Chief Dodge retired under Acting Chief Hagopian and the present chief, James J. Carvino. After Lieutenant Kopecky's retirement we were assisted by the new supervisor of records, Ms. Jeanine Botting.

[5] The contact categories (capitalized in text) are similar to those in Delbert S. Elliott and Harwin L. Voss, *Delinquency and Dropout* (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., Lexington Books, 1974), p. 82. The only significant difference is that Elliott and Voss did not code contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information or for Traffic offenses. Our categories are also similar to those utilized by Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69; they, however, coded contacts that were made in the course of police investigations but also omitted contacts for Traffic offenses and did not include Incorrigible, runaway, nor Truancy, nor did they code several low-incidence categories separately. When the

contacts for Suspicion, information, and investigation and Traffic categories were eliminated and the distributions for males only in each study compared (the Philadelphia study did not include females) there was considerable similarity, with the differences largely explainable by age variation and years that each of the cohorts were followed.

[6] Victimization rates (measures of occurrence among population groups at risk) have been developed 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.

[7] From the beginning of the study no one has been more interested in our research than Juvenile Court Judge John C. Ahlgrimm (now Chief Judge of Racine and Kenosha Counties). His cooperation has been followed by that of the present Juvenile Court Judge, Dennis Flynn.

[8] It should be noted that the distribution of contacts for those persons in each Cohort with continuous residence was, with few exceptions, not significantly different from the distribution for those who did not have continuous residence. These differences were so small that we concluded that persons with continuous residence were representative of the total cohort. Most of the tables in this volume are therefore based only on those persons from each cohort who were defined as having continuous residence in Racine. This problem has been dealt with in Michael R. Olson, *A Longitudinal Analysis of Official Criminal Careers*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1978, and in *Predicting Adult Criminal Careers from Juvenile Careers*, multilithed Progress Report to LEAA, November 1976.

[9] We shall discuss the extensive literature on factors related to the disposition of juvenile and adult contacts with the police and the courts in the chapter on disposition.

[10] 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.

[11] Understanding the increase in drug and narcotic behaviors is a case in point. Kandel, for example, has reminded us that three kinds of changes may be confounded in a longitudinal study based on only one cohort. There are changes: 1) that reflect motivation; 2) that are associated with historical change; and 3) that are generated by the peculiarities of a particular cohort. See Denise B. Kandel, *Longitudinal Research on Drug Use: Empirical Findings and Methodological Issues* (New York: Hemisphere Publishing Co., 1972), p. 32.

Chapter 3. Changing Rates of Delinquency and Crime for the City of Racine 1951 - 1977

POLICE CONTACTS AND ARRESTS AS MEASURES OF CHANGE

The variation in police contact rates described in Chapter 2 suggests that before continuing an analysis of the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult crime it would be fruitful to examine the data in their historical context. We shall commence by comparing the cohorts with trends in rates of delinquency and crime for the entire city during the period during which the cohorts were at risk.

Since there has been considerable confusion about the operational definition of police contact vs. arrest vs. referral, even among persons familiar with the research literature on juvenile delinquency and adult crime, a word of explanation should be inserted at this point. Recorded police contacts, as the reader will remember, may be initiated by a citizen complainant, by an agency, or by a police officer who detects a juvenile in the act of committing what would be considered a crime for an adult, engaging in behavior which could be considered injurious to the juvenile or to others and thus warrants intervention, or simply on the officer's suspicion that something is taking place, an investigation which the officer wished to conduct, or as a consequence of the officer's attempt to seek information from a juvenile or juveniles about activity that had taken place in the area. All cohort contacts were omitted, however, if they did not involve personal contact between the cohort member and a police officer, if the cohort member was merely mentioned in connection with an investigation, or if the contacts were in the nature of assistance calls.

There is no necessity to take the juvenile into custody in a large percentage of the instances of police contact and, as we have shown, the

juvenile is most often counselled and released. This may be the same as an arrest to some people even though the juvenile is released within a few minutes. Juveniles are not usually told that they are under arrest and may not even realize that being taken into custody is the equivalent of being arrested. However, in other instances, an officer judges that more formal action is required. For a considerable portion of the years covered by this research the Juvenile Bureau was only in operation five days of the week and only part of the day. Thus, the officer on patrol could call a juvenile officer to take the juvenile home, phone the parents later about the incident if they were not at home when the juvenile was returned, or perhaps even request parents to report to the Juvenile Bureau with their child. If the juvenile actually was brought to the Juvenile Bureau the police disposition, rather than counselling and release at site of the contact, could be a decision to counsel and release at the station. If the matter was serious and the Juvenile Bureau was closed, the officer could contact a court worker from County Probation who would decide whether or not to place the juvenile in detention. But whatever the handling of the contact, a report was made to the Juvenile Bureau about the incident. The nature of juvenile misbehavior, however, is such that contacts could occur when the Juvenile Bureau was closed; consequently, relatively few referrals were made directly to it during the period of the study. A referral made during this period was for all practical purposes directly to the County Probation office. The procedure was such that a juvenile temporarily taken into custody did not share the same arrest experience as that of adults.

When a juvenile was taken to the Juvenile Bureau there were several alternatives available to juvenile officers. The first, of course, was to counsel and release the juvenile. Another was to summon parents to the

station and then, after counselling, to release the juvenile to the custody of the parents. If behavior at the time of contact was of a serious enough nature that officers of the Juvenile Bureau decided that the juvenile should be placed in juvenile detention, this decision would be communicated to the parent and to a court worker or the judge. The Juvenile Bureau could also informally refer the juvenile to any other agency or person whom they thought might deal with the problem effectively.

What we are saying, in essence, is that police have contacts with juveniles and the crucial point is whether or not the juveniles are counselled and released or referred to County Probation or some other agency for assistance, as it is termed when dealing with juveniles.[1] Therefore, our first level of cohort contact data consists of recorded police contacts and our second level consists of referral data. By contrast, official data published by law enforcement agencies, including the Racine Police Department, are usually based on offenses reported or known to the police and arrests. When juveniles are included they are those who have been taken into custody as a consequence of contact with the police, but not necessarily referred.

We find that offenses reported or known to the police occur at a far higher rate than arrests. These rates parallel each other because a proportion of the offenses reported or known to the police result in an arrest. Crimes cleared by arrest are an entirely different matter because they constitute a proportion of the offenses which the police know to have occurred and which have been solved by arrests. Numerous offenses may, of course, be cleared by a single arrest.

As most law enforcement officers and sociologists know, the arrest rate

of juveniles (when we call taking them into custody an arrest) is much higher than that of adults. This is probably not because juveniles are that much more criminal than adults but because the nature of their offenses (high visibility) is such that they are more likely to be apprehended and taken into custody; thus they constitute a disproportionate share of those who are arrested. For example, between 1955 and 1977, 46% to 75% of the persons arrested in Racine for robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft were under the age of 18. Since 1965 this figure has never been below 60%. It might also be noted that as juveniles go past the teens and even into early adulthood their pattern of misbehavior is such that the probability of being detected by the police is high. The offenses in which they are engaged in that period are the kinds which to ordinary citizens seem most threatening to life and property.[2]

In reiterating the nature of our measures of involvement in delinquency and crime for the cohorts and how they relate to similar measures to be found in annual reports of the Racine Police Department, an increase in police contacts may or may not result in increased rate of referral or an increase in the rate of arrests. At the same time, both referral and arrest rates may increase without an increase in the rate of police contacts. We shall show, however, that seriousness of the reason for a police contact is the most crucial determinant of whether or not a juvenile is referred.

COURT TRENDS VS. CITY-WIDE TRENDS IN DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

In placing the cohort contact data in historical perspective we commence by looking at the rate of police contacts per person by cohort and age at contact as presented in Diagrams 1 and 2, the curves plotted on a continuum of years from 1948 through 1976.

DIAGRAM 1. RATE OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON BY COHORT AND YEAR OF CONTACTS

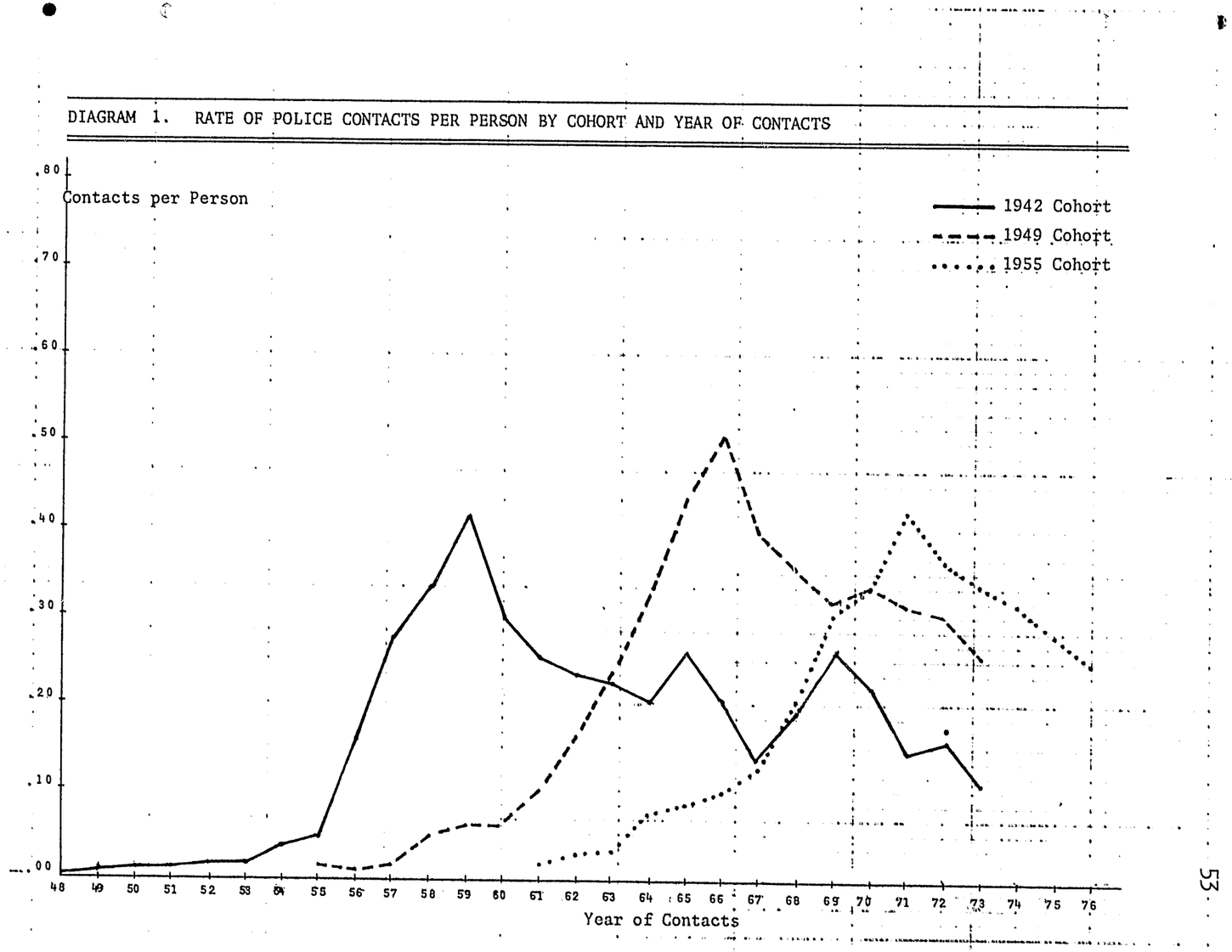
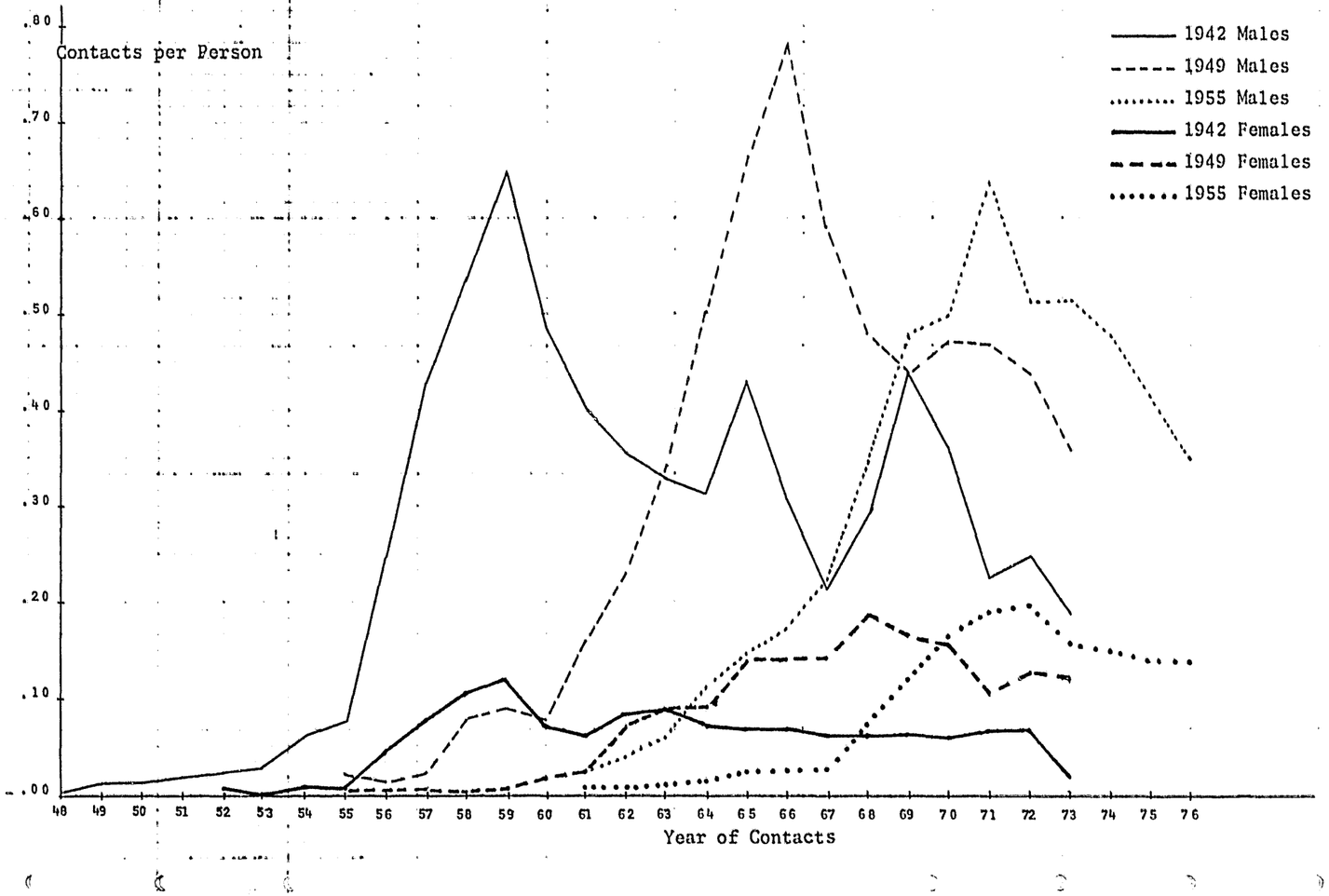


DIAGRAM 2. RATE OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON BY COHORT, SEX, AND YEAR OF CONTACTS



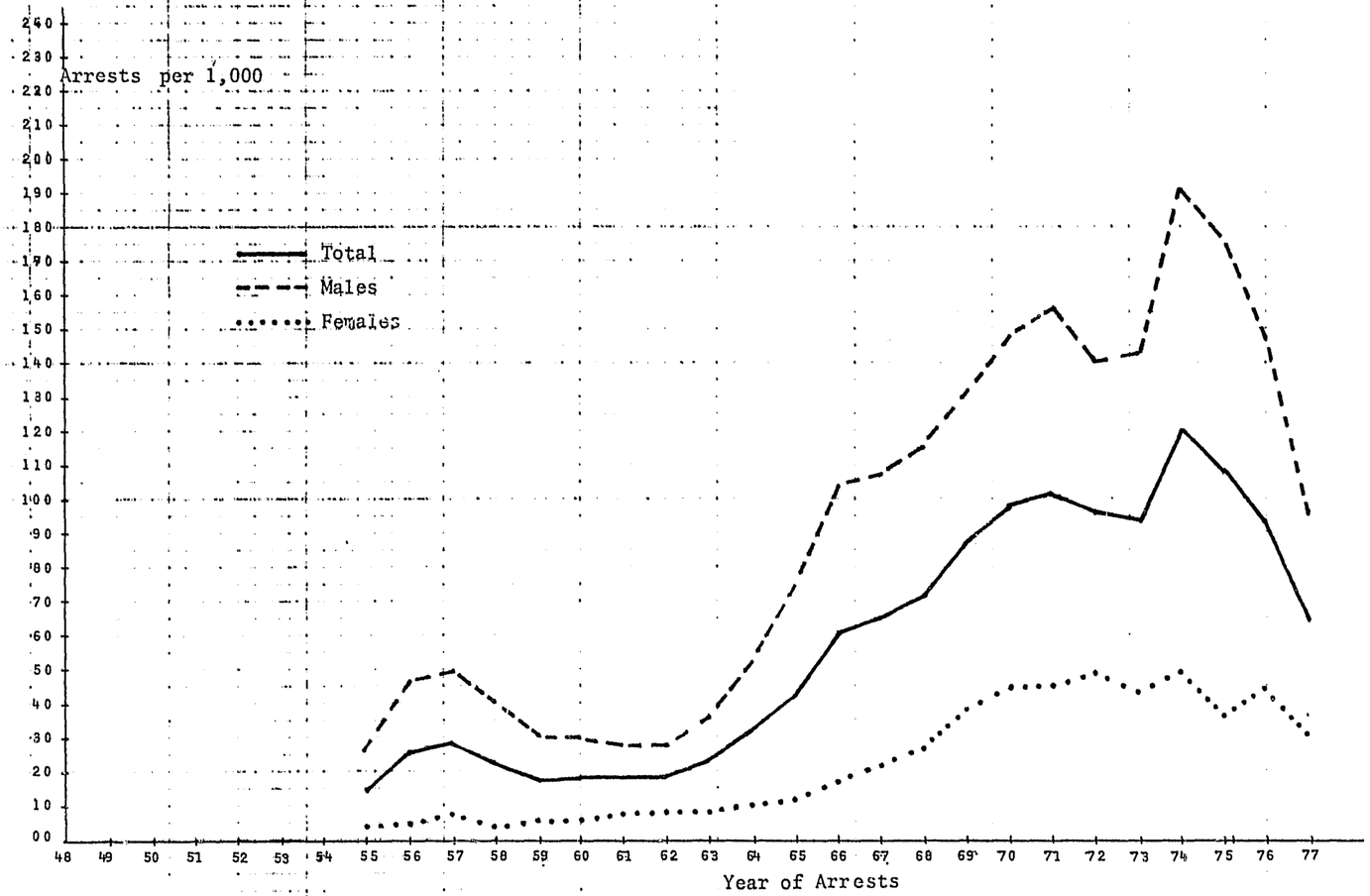
The first thing that one might note on Diagram 1 is that, although the rate of contacts per person by year for the 1942 Cohort declined for a five year period from a peak at the age of 17 in 1959, it rose again in 1965, dropped to a low point in 1967, and then was again at the same peak in 1969 that it had reached in 1965, thereafter declining to 1973. We next note that in 1966 the 1949 Cohort reached a higher peak than had the 1942 Cohort at its highest and that this occurred again at the age of 17 during essentially the same period that the contact rate for the 1942 Cohort had commenced to decline at the age of 24. Rates for persons in the 1955 Cohort rise in essentially the same way as did the earlier cohorts when they were at that age, the 1955 Cohort apparently not directly affected by what was going on in the community, that is, extraordinary community events which brought about unexpected rises in rates for the 1942 Cohort at the ages of 23 and 27.

Diagram 2 dramatizes these increases for the 1942 Cohort males and the rather high peak for the 1949 Cohort males in 1966. It is also apparent that the females were relatively unaffected by whatever produced rises in the 1942 Cohort rates in 1965 and 1969 and the 1949 Cohort's highest rate in 1966.

In Diagram 3 we note that arrest rates in Racine for males ages 6-17 went up sharply during the period from 1964 or 1965 to 1966 (the 1949 Cohort's sharp increase was consistent with this), paused, then moved upward again throughout the late 60's and reached a peak in 1974. While female juveniles had been experiencing increasingly higher rates of arrest during this period, their rise was not nearly as sharp as that experienced by males.

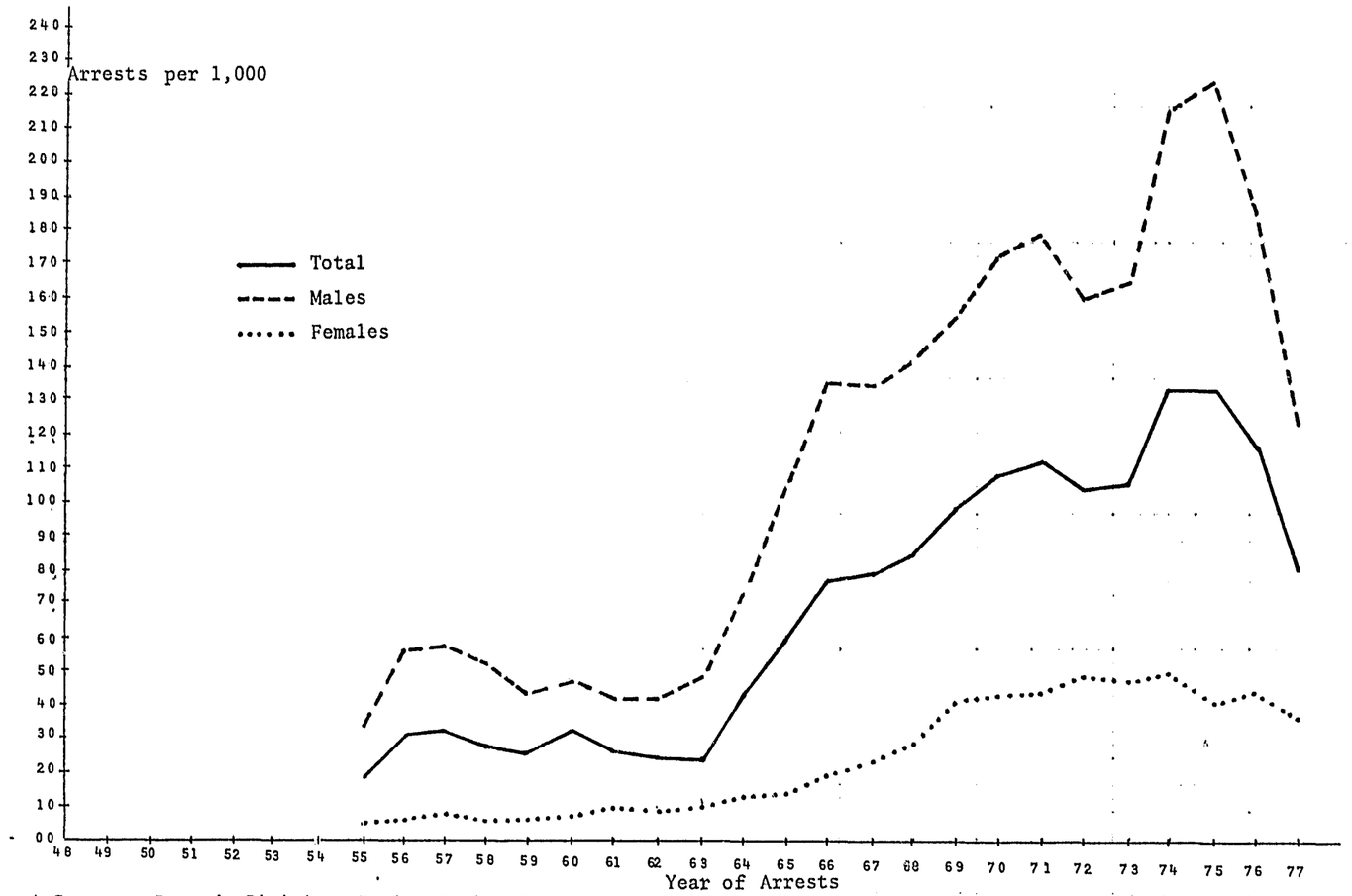
Diagram 4 shows a similar pattern in rates for the persons age 6-20 in

DIAGRAM 3. RATE OF ARRESTS PER 1000 JUVENILES AGES 6-17 IN RACINE BY SEX AND YEARS*



Source: Records Division, Racine Police Department

DIAGRAM 4. RATE OF ARRESTS PER 1000 PERSONS AGES 6-20 IN RACINE BY YEARS*



* Source: Records Division, Racine Police Department

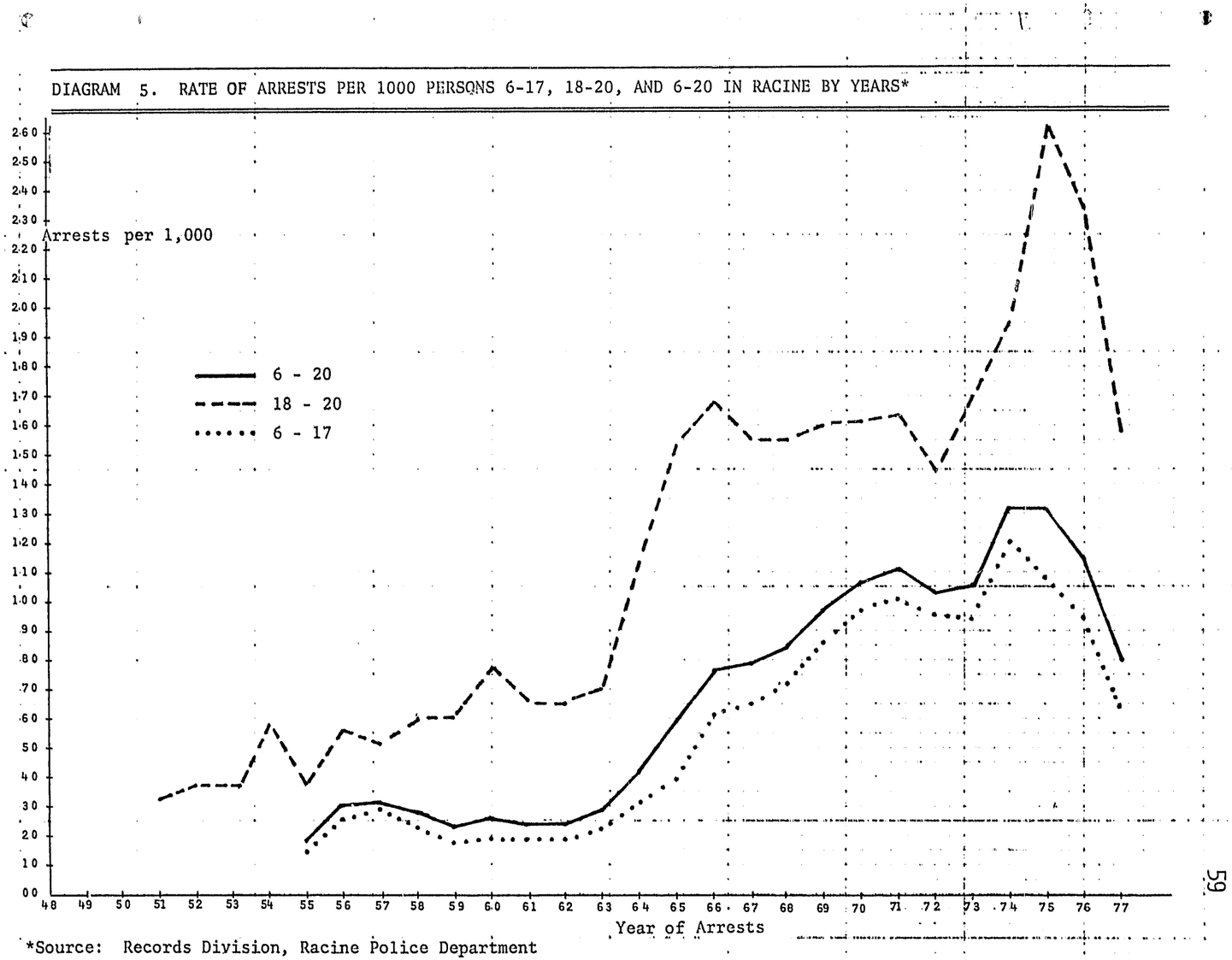
Racine, one that we should probably expect considering the fact that three more years of the high contact-rate ages are added to the total on which these rates are based.

Diagram 5 enables us to compare ages 6-17, 18-20, and 6-20 for males and females. Here we are able to see that it is the 18-20 year olds who experienced the sharpest increase in arrests, commencing in 1963 and continuing through 1966, reaching a plateau but rising again in 1973 to a peak year in 1975. Thus it becomes fairly obvious that the involvement of 18-20 year olds with the police increased during two different periods in Racine, followed by a sharp drop after 1975.

The extent to which the arrest data reflect a real increase in youthful crime must await consideration of the possibility that policies changed so that police contacts resulted in a higher arrest rate. We are particularly interested, of course, in the possibility that public concern may have resulted in a hardening of police attitude and fewer street-level settlements than previously. However, if there was an increase in more serious types of offenses, particularly those that are characteristic of that age, then the arrest rate could indicate a real rise in seriousness of youthful misbehavior and would not be an artifact of changing police policy.

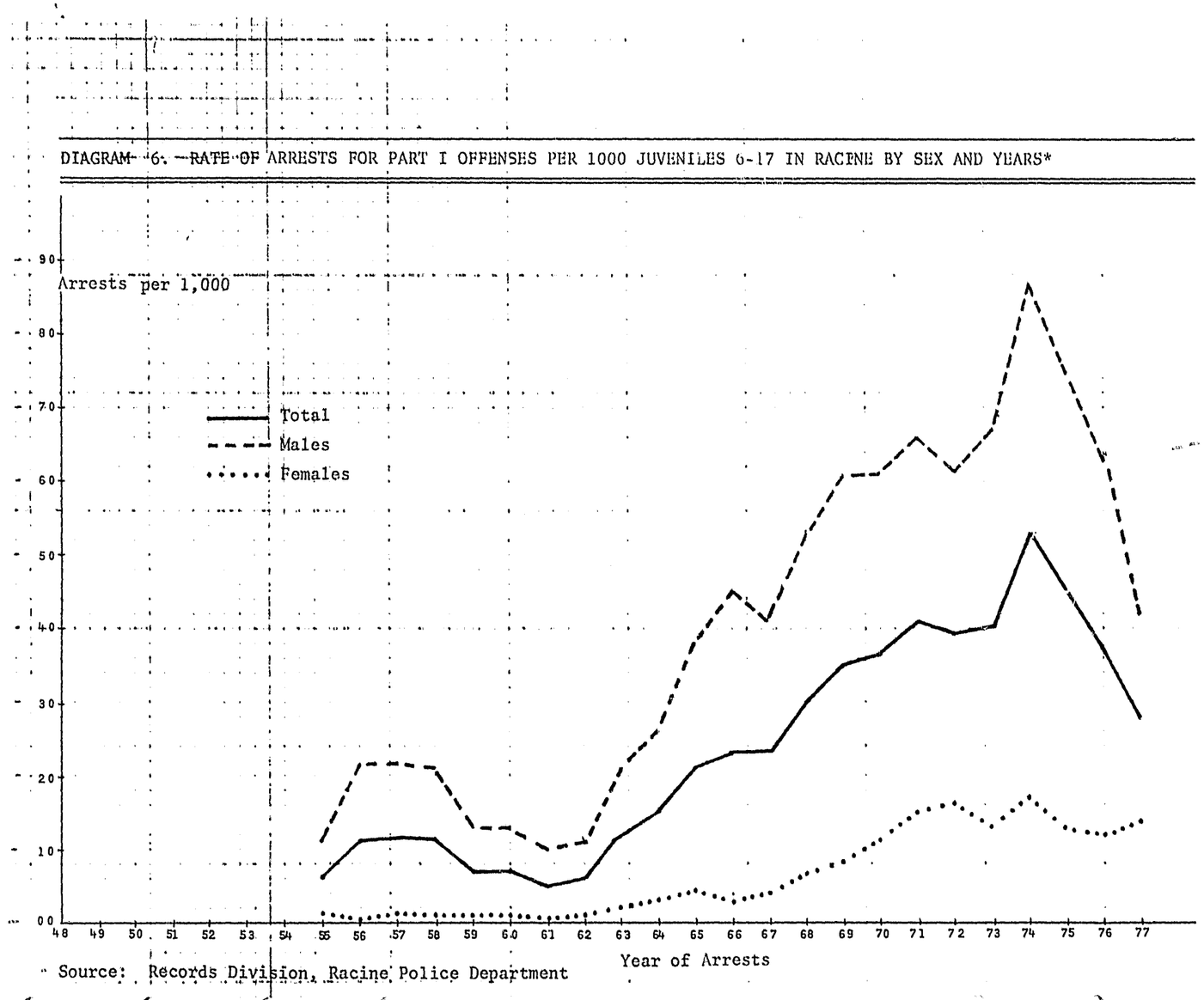
With this in mind, we turn to Diagram 6, arrest rates for Part I offenses per 1000 juveniles age 6-17, which must be compared with Diagram 3 (in which there was no control for seriousness of offenses). The scale for Part I offenses differs from that for all offenses since the latter have a much higher incidence rate. Here we find that the rise in arrests for males for Part I offenses is even steeper from 1962 to 1974 than that for all arrests. When Diagram 7, which shows the arrest rates for Part I offenses

DIAGRAM 5. RATE OF ARRESTS PER 1000 PERSONS 6-17, 18-20, AND 6-20 IN RACINE BY YEARS*



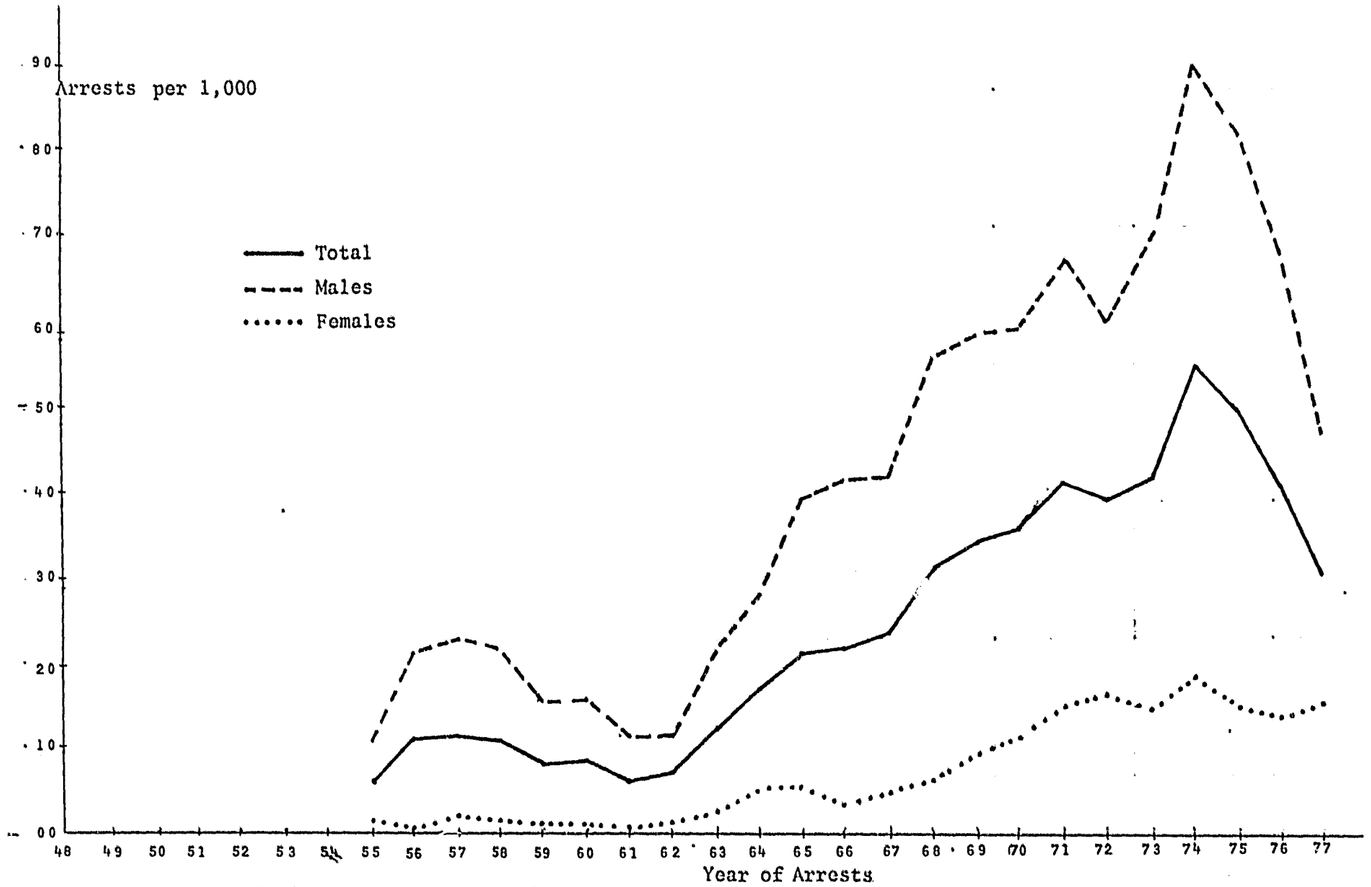
*Source: Records Division, Racine Police Department

DIAGRAM 6. —RATE OF ARRESTS FOR PART I OFFENSES PER 1000 JUVENILES 6-17 IN RACINE BY SEX AND YEARS*



Source: Records Division, Racine Police Department

DIAGRAM 7. RATE OF ARRESTS FOR PART I OFFENSES PER 1000 JUVENILES AGES 6-20 IN RACINE BY SEX AND YEARS*



* Source: Records Division, Racine Police Department

for persons aged 6-20 is compared with Diagram 4 which was based on all arrests, the rise for males does not appear to be sharper for Part I than for all offenses. Thus, the rate of increase in arrests for male juveniles for Part I offenses has been slightly greater than has the increase for juveniles and young adult offenders combined.

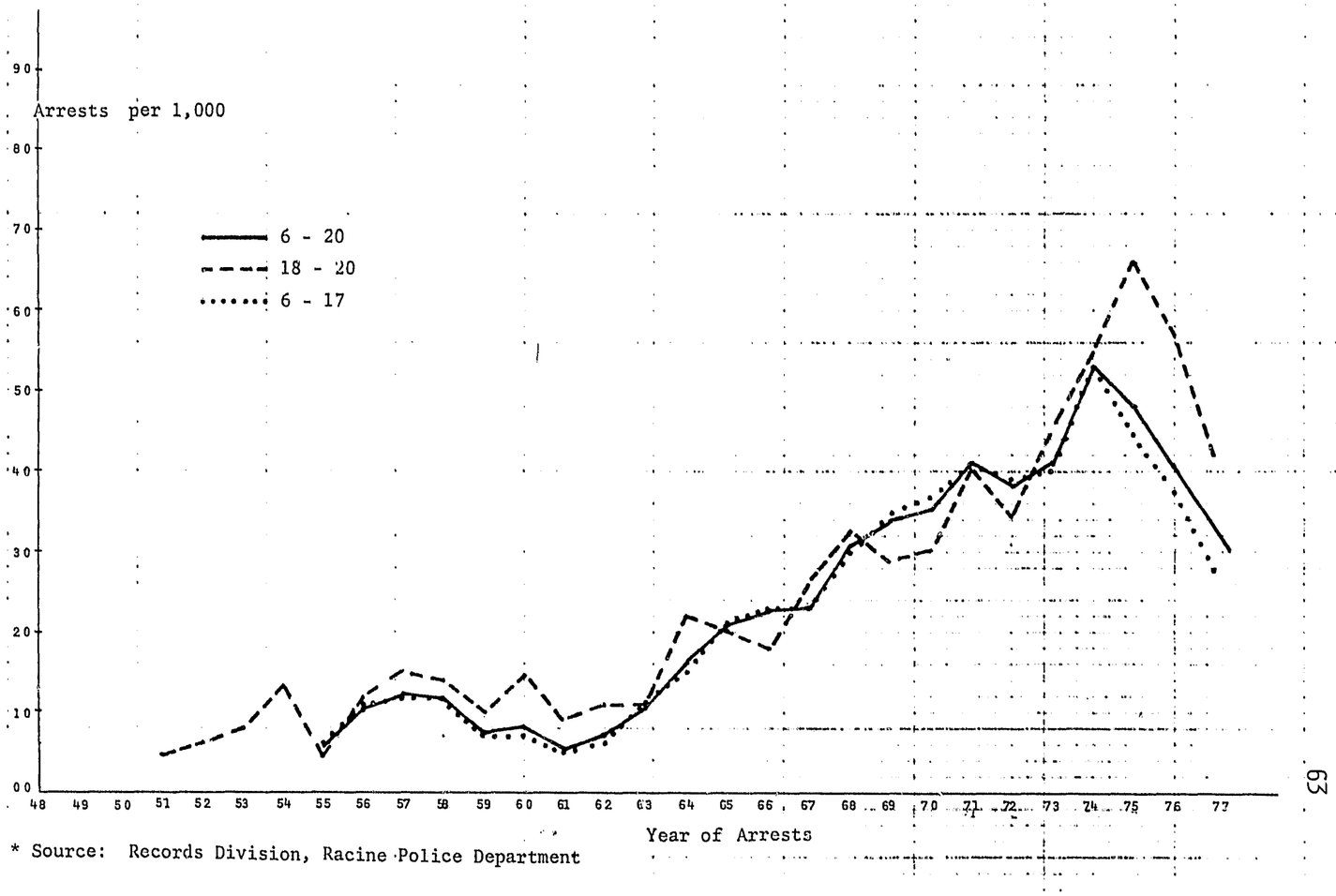
Diagram 8 for Part I offenses must be viewed in comparison to Diagram 5. Here we find that while the rise is to a higher point by 1975 for those in the age group 18-20, the arrest rate for males and females combined follows essentially the same pattern whether we are looking at those 6-17 years of age or those 18-20 until 1974 where the downturn for the younger age group occurs a year sooner than that for the older age group just as in Diagram 5. It is also clear that the overall arrest rate reached a peak for persons in the 18-20 group in the middle 1960's and remained stable during a period in which Part I arrest rates were increasing more gradually. It is apparent that the Racine peak in crime occurred just after the 1955 Cohort had reached what might be considered its normal peak, therefore having less impact on this group than it would have had had it been earlier.

That the increase in arrest rates for Part I offenses was greatest for juveniles and youthful offenders becomes even clearer when arrest rates for the age groups 6-17 and 18-20 are compared with arrest rates for the persons of the ages 21-44, as shown in Diagram 9.[3]

One must conclude that if arrest data are an index of crime rates in Racine, then youthful crime has increased at a rate far beyond the increase for persons 21 years of age or older.

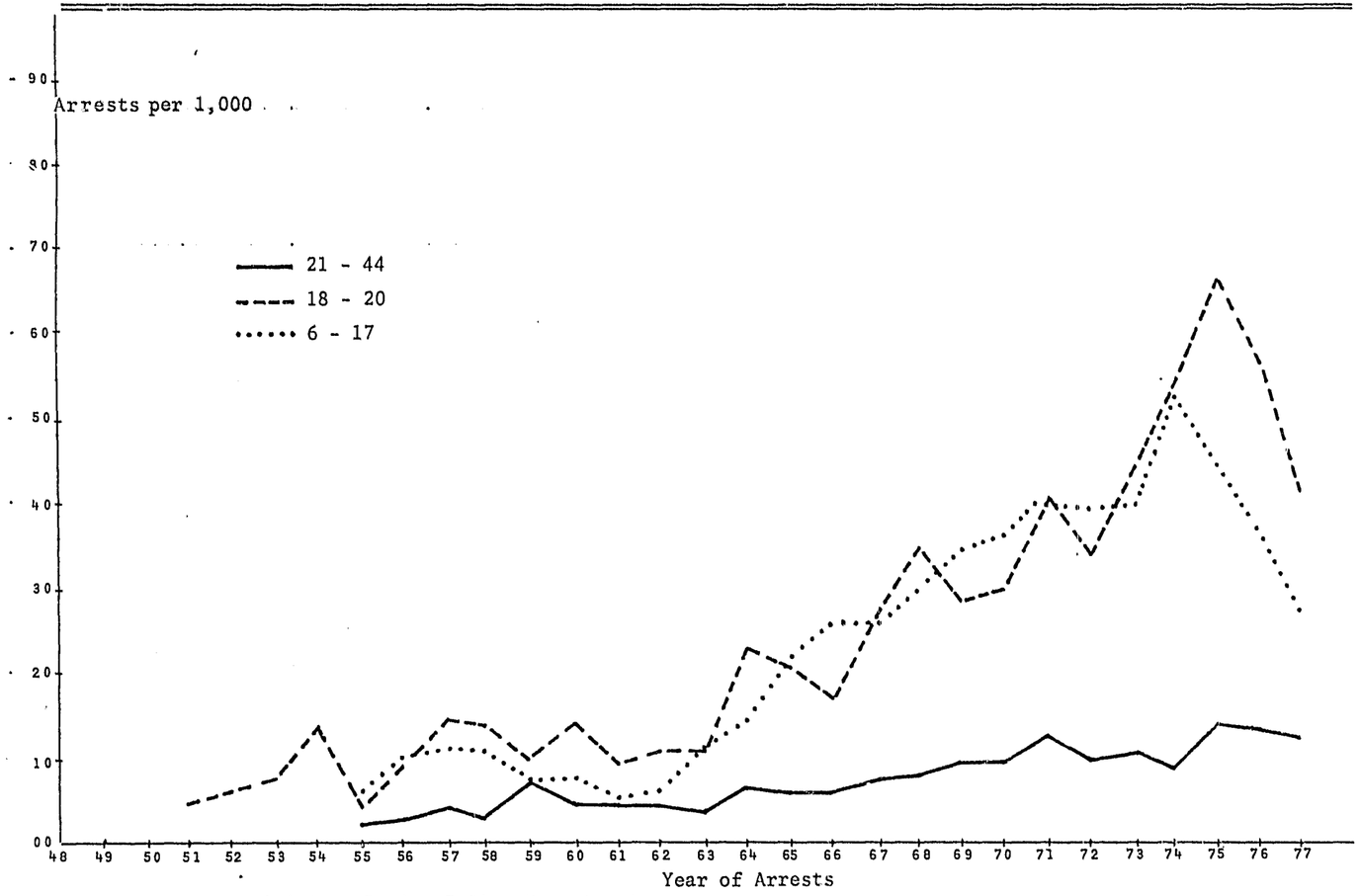
There is always a question, as we have indicated, as to what arrest statistics really mean. Were we to double the number of officers patrolling

DIAGRAM 8. RATE OF ARRESTS FOR PART I OFFENSES PER 1000 PERSONS 6-17, 18-20, AND 6-20 IN RACINE BY YEARS*



* Source: Records Division, Racine Police Department

DIAGRAM 9. RATE OF ARRESTS FOR PART I OFFENSES PER 1000 PERSONS AGE 6-17, 18-20, AND 21-44 IN RACINE BY YEARS *

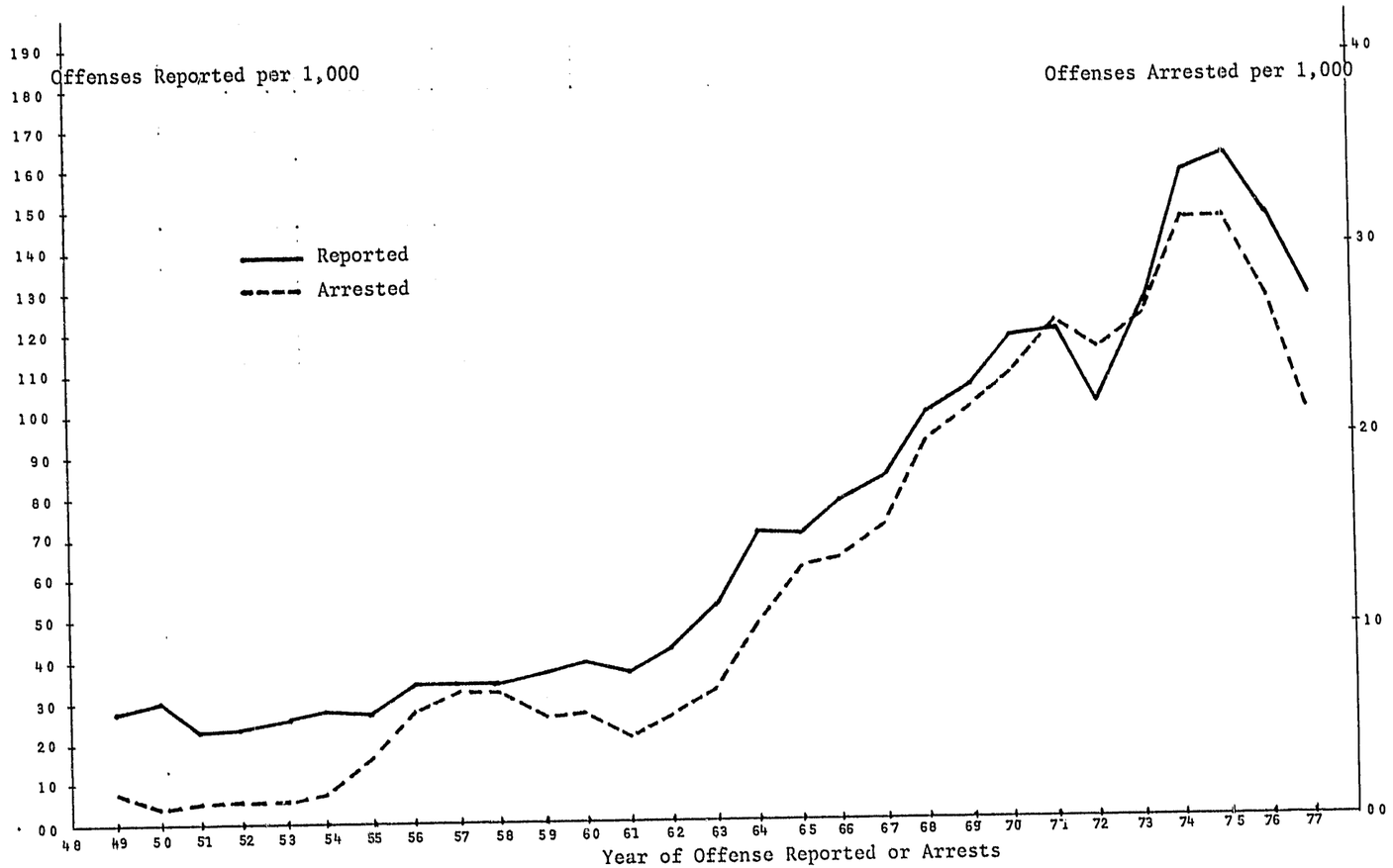


* Source: Records Division, Racine Police Department

the streets of Racine the arrest rate would undoubtedly show a marked rise. Were we to cut the police force in half there would certainly be a decline in arrests. However, as the chief of every police department knows, increases and decreases are not of that order. To get at the meaning of arrest data we present Diagram 10 which has two curves, each on a different scale, (1) offenses reported per 1000 population and (2) arrests per 1000 population for Part I offenses. Take 1963 for example. We note that the arrest rate is approximately 7 per 1000 and that the offenses reported per 1000 is a bit over 50. In other words, the rate for offenses reported is 7 times that of the arrest rate. In 1975 the arrest rate is approximately 32 and the offenses rate is a bit over 160, or about five times as high as the arrest rate. This suggests that arrests for offenses reported were somewhat more likely in 1975 than they were in 1963. Therefore, the 1975 arrest rate indicates a greater predisposition to arrest or take into custody as a result of offenses reported. Street-level handling of offenses reported had probably decreased slightly during this period. Since the public has been alerted to increasing rates of crime by front page treatment of serious and dramatic lawbreaking and increasing incidence rates produced in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, whether the latter are entirely accurate or not, there has been concern expressed and it is not surprising that police react to public concern.

These diagrams have been presented in order to give some idea of the background in which our cohorts were being socialized. For the members of each cohort to have slightly higher rates than the earlier cohort(s) (although the 1955's did not have higher rates year by year in every case) should not be surprising considering the overall trend of delinquency and crime in the city (and the country).

DIAGRAM 10. RATE OF PART I OFFENSES REPORTED AND ARRESTS FOR PART I OFFENSES IN RACINE*



* Source: Records Division, Racine Police Department

CHANGES IN POLICE POLICY, ADMINISTRATION, AND RECORD KEEPING

We shall now briefly review changes which occurred in the police department over the period of the study to see if they assist us in understanding the changes in police contact and arrest rates shown in these diagrams. Each change that might influence rates will be discussed in reference to cohort data and the official police data for the entire city, with reference to the cohort diagrams and to the diagrams showing changing rates of arrest per 1000 population in Racine at various ages. The question is how to explain some of the visible changes in rates which we have mentioned in the previous pages.

The first annual detailed report of police department activities was published by Chief Wilbur R. Hansen in 1949 and is the point at which we are able to begin an examination of the possibility that changes in staff, changes in procedure, or changes in law enforcement equipment would have an effect on contact or arrest rates. While it is possible that changes in policy took place which were not mentioned in the reports to which we have referred, we must rely on these reports as our primary source of data and insert data from interviews with the chiefs of police and others whom we have interviewed at great length.

Ideally one would commence by saying that if changes of such and such type took place, then changes of such and such order might be expected in terms of contact or arrest rates for juveniles, persons 18-20 years of age, or older persons. It would also be possible to hypothesize changes in contact or arrest rates for Part I vs. Part II offenses. We have not followed this procedure, however, and simply commence by describing, year by year, changes which we noted from these annual reports.

The first change which might have had an impact on rates occurred in 1952 when 20 women were hired as crossing guards to free patrolmen for police duty. This was followed by adding nine patrolmen to the force in 1953. And in 1954 radar traffic timers were used for the first time. Diagram 5 shows a sharp increase in the rate of police arrests for persons 18-20 years of age during this period that could be explained in part by an increase in arrests for traffic offenses.

In 1955 the annual reports were expanded to include juveniles in tables on persons arrested, making it possible to examine arrest rates for younger persons. Leroy C. Jenkins, who became Chief of Police in 1956, was more interested in reporting and developing statistics than were previous chiefs.[4] He also was oriented toward selected enforcement of laws, those of which violation was perceived as a threat to community safety. At this time, for whatever reason, we see a rise in arrests for all age groups for all offenses including Part I offenses. Five new police officers were added in 1957 and in 1958 the first female officers were hired, one a full-time policewoman for the Juvenile Bureau. Figures on arrests for prostitution were included in annual reports for the first time this year. Chief Jenkins also introduced street-level handling for juveniles for their first, second, and often their third offenses. We note that offenses for persons 6-17 declined while the rate for those 18-20 continued to rise (Diagram 5).

In 1959 a traffic bureau was established and a full time traffic investigative squad introduced. Street-level handling of juveniles was expanded and a new juvenile records system was established under the direction of George Kopecky. During 1959 Racine police had 2,943 contacts with juveniles. Of these, 43.7% were disposed of at the street level by

reprimand and notification of parents. Another 25.1% were dealt with by the Juvenile Bureau in essentially the same way. The Juvenile Bureau disposed of yet another 14.5% following an interview with the parent. Only 16.7% of the contacts with juveniles involved a referral, most of these to either the Juvenile Traffic Court (43.5%) or to County Probation (30.0%).

The SEMP Program (Selective Enforcement Manpower Placement) was introduced in 1960 and Jenkins provided for four special squads: (1) Traffic Investigation, (2) Forgery, (3) Burglary and Robbery, including auto theft, and (4) Major Crimes, Violent. Traffic enforcement was increased and resulted in a 12% increase in Traffic arrests and an 80% increase in drunken driving arrests. The possible impact of these changes is most noticeable for the 18-20 year age group.

The 1961 Annual Report stated that the four SEMP squads instituted in 1960 resulted in an increase in arrests for hit and run, forgery, burglary, and robbery. Figures for suspicion and investigation were not included separately prior to 1961. Juvenile arrests continued to decline during this period as a consequence of increased street-level handling. Since the youth population was increasing and arrests were declining, the decline in rates for those 6-17 years of age for Part I offenses was quite marked. It was pointed out in 1962 that the juvenile population of Racine, age 12-18, had probably doubled during the past five years and additional staff was requested for the Juvenile Bureau. These were granted in 1963 with the addition of seven persons. Note that this was followed by a marked increase in the arrest rate for juveniles 6-17 for Part I offenses. This, of course, does not show up for all juvenile offenses as much as for Part I offenses because of the street-level handling policies continued by Chief Jenkins.

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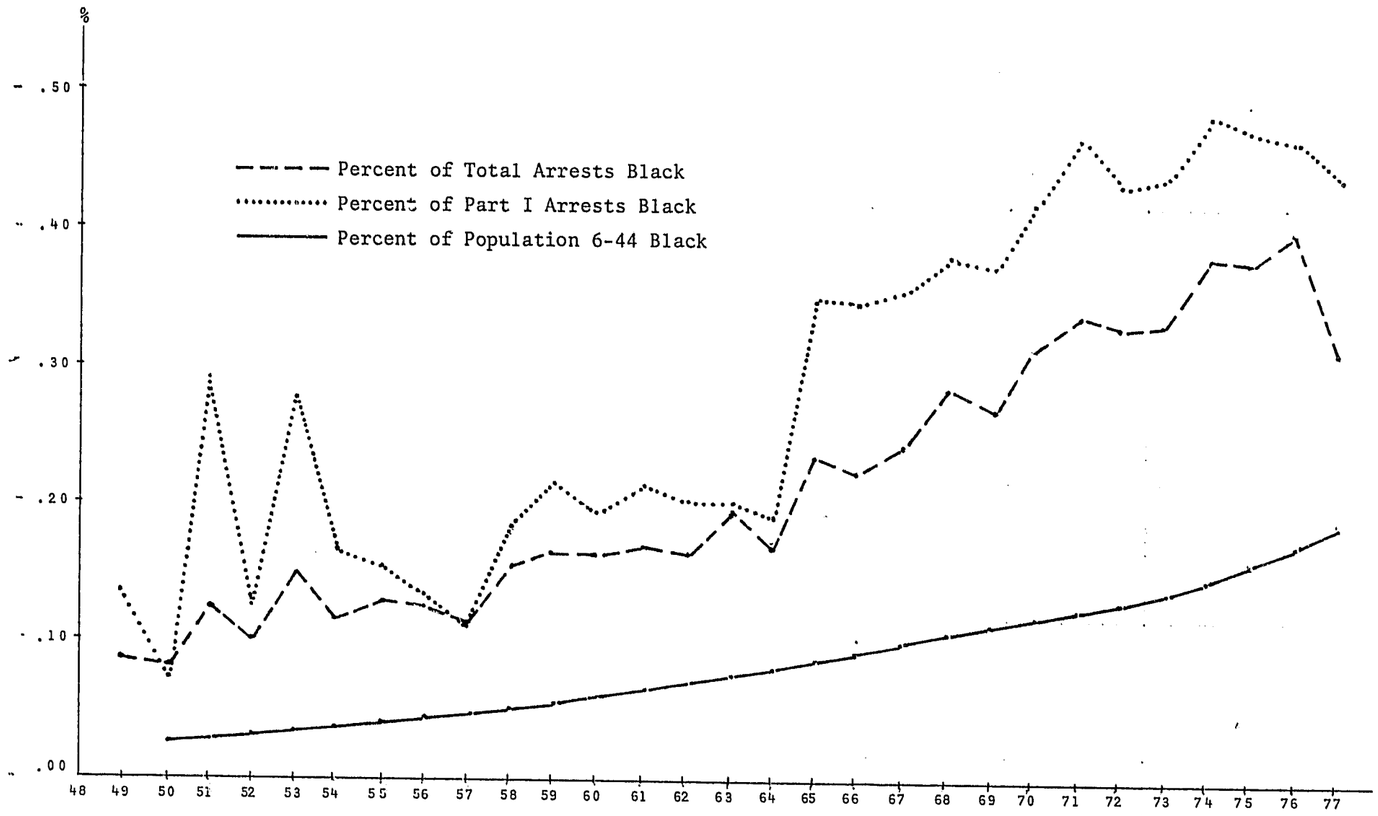
A 10% increase in police complaints handled occurred in 1964. Arson, vandalism, curfew violations, and runaways were not included as separate categories prior to this year, which raises a question as to the extent of their prior inclusion in the "other" category. One change this year which would have an impact on statistics was the inclusion of any form of assault in Aggravated Assault (Part I), many of these having formerly been hidden in complaints categorized as family troubles, fights, disorderly conduct, drunkenness, etc. We therefore expect and find a continued growth in rates for each age group, most notably among those 18-20 years of age.

A separate Robbery Squad was activated in 1965. On the other side of the ledger (in terms of impact on statistics), traffic and moving vehicle violations were no longer included in the arrest data. This suggests that other and more serious offenses must have shown a sizeable increase at this time for the rate to continue to rise so steeply (see Diagrams 5 and 6). In this year's Annual Report Chief Jenkins indicated that crime was increasing faster than was the population rate in Racine. Two additional policewomen were added to the Juvenile Bureau. Weapons offenses doubled. One other innovation which is very likely to have added to the police contact rate (we also noted that cohort rates had a sharp upturn in that year) was the introduction of a new field reporting system whereby officers called in their reports to a tape recorder in the police station.

It was during this period (1965) that at least 35% of those arrested for Part I offenses each year in Racine were Black, as were over 20% of those arrested for any reason (see Diagram 11). Considering the fact that only 10% of Racine's population age 6 through 44 was Black at that time, and that by 1970, 40% of those arrested for Part I offenses were Black, the concern

DIAGRAM 11. PERCENT OF PERSONS ARRESTED IN RACINE WHO ARE BLACK: ARRESTS FOR ALL OFFENSES, ARRESTS FOR PART I OFFENSES, AND PERCENT POPULATION BLACK AGE 6-44*



*Ages 6-44 selected as years consistent with other age categories utilized in research and most indicative of population composition of those who would have a juvenile or adult police contact.

expressed by the Chief of Police for understanding of the genesis of delinquency and crime was quite appropriate.[5]

In 1966 a grid system and census tract maps showing where more serious crimes occurred were added to the Annual Report and Assaults were again divided into aggravated and non-aggravated assaults, a policy which should slightly decrease the rate of arrest on Part I offenses, perhaps one of the reasons that the rate declined slightly for persons 18-20 years of age at that time.

Further changes were made in the reporting system in 1967 with some offenses formerly listed as assault or theft (robbery that did not involve a weapon) now categorized as robbery. Purse snatching, for example, was now recorded as robbery. Attempted breaking and entry was also now recorded as burglary, thus an increase in burglary. The combined effect of these changes was an increase in the arrest rate for Part I offenses as shown on pertinent diagrams.

In 1968, where possible, sworn personnel were replaced by civilian employees and were thus released for patrol work. Civil/racial disturbances reached their peak during the summer of 1968 (note the increased proportion of Blacks in total arrests on Diagram 11) and it is believed that this influenced the continued rise of arrests for all types of offenses. In 1969, 32 positions were filled by civilians which further released police officers to patrol activity. A Tactical Assistance Group was formed. It was during this year that civil disturbances reached another peak in April and a curfew was imposed on the city by the mayor. Purse snatching was again recorded as a larceny rather than as a robbery.

Rates continued to rise in 1970 and the Annual Report referred to

serious drug problems in the community as well as to a depressed economic situation which was cited as the reason for an increase in robbery. A 50% increase in drug arrests and a shift to the use of "harder" drugs was noted in 1971. At the same time, the drinking age was lowered to 18 in Wisconsin so that there was a balancing effect from these changes. A full-time Morals Squad was reactivated in that year. At this time the police department no longer became involved in non-support cases, shifting them to the Racine County Sheriff's Department.

Chief Jenkins retired in August of 1970 and Chief Donald Dodge assumed the position. Foot patrols were reinstituted during this year. It was noted that 69% of the persons arrested for Part I offenses were under the age of 18. At this time the Juvenile Division was expanded to operate on Saturday, Sunday, and holidays from 8 a.m. to 12 p.m. Sixteen patrolmen were added to the department and the arrest rate for persons 18-20 continued its rapid rise.

In 1974 larceny of property under and over $50 in value was combined into one category which, of course, increased the arrest rate for Part I offenses. In 1975 five civilian jailers were hired, and five additional officers were freed for patrol duty. Drunkenness and vagrancy were treated as assistance calls commencing in 1975. This was the year in which arrest rates for persons 18-20 reached a peak and commenced to decline.

By 1976 the Annual Report indicated a 21% drop in reported burglaries. This was attributed to expanding semi-monthly burglary meetings which included the Sheriff's Department, police departments of several surrounding communities, the Crime Analysis Unit of the Racine Police Department, and its Tipster Program. This, however, could be responsible for only a part

of the drop (a very rapid one) in arrest rates for all offenses and for Part I offenses in 1976, a national as well as local trend.

In 1977 Chief Dodge retired and Chief James Carvino replaced him. Changes which he instituted would, of course, have little immediate impact on the rate shown in the diagrams to which we have been referring.

While this is obviously an *ex post facto* type of analysis, changes in reporting procedures, an increase in the number of officers available for patrol, and special task forces or enforcement groups did play a part in the increasing rates of arrest between 1951 and 1977. At the same time, changes in policy of one sort or another had effected increases or decreases in the rates, depending on which policy change is considered. It is also quite probable that the erratic declines and rises in police contact rates for the 1942 Cohort may be explained by reporting and policy changes that have just been described.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Although not pertinent to the period covered by this study it should be mentioned that a juvenile court intake section was established in 1974 and juveniles, instead of being referred to the Juvenile Bureau, are now usually referred to the juvenile court intake. Counselling is now done by social service agencies, clergy, staff in the runaway house, RUSH house, and the staff of juvenile intake itself. Referral to Juvenile Probation now takes place only after there has been a referral to the Juvenile Court or juvenile intake. The District Attorney's Office now has a juvenile court prosecutor. When procedures are diagrammed according to the earlier system, they are generally similar to a diagram that would be drawn for the present period, except that the system has become increasingly complex beyond the point of juvenile court intake or what we previously referred to as County Probation.

[2] This translates into the fact that teenage youth in the process of growing up tend frequently to be disruptive of the peace and quiet of the community, not a real threat to life and limb of any large proportion of the population. During this period the kinds of personal and property crimes which they commit, while not threatening the whole fabric of the social order or the economic organization of society, are disturbing to people at every socioeconomic level. Perhaps it is this traditional emphasis on crimes against property of a rather simple type, this traditional emphasis on dealing with thieves, burglars, and robbers, which has resulted in the growth of the new criminology which seeks to place less emphasis on violations of this nature and becomes more concerned about institutionalized crime or, to be more precise, corporate crime.

[3] In order to compute the rates described in this chapter the 1950, 1960, 1970 Census and projected population figures for Racine beyond 1970 were broken down into age groups and rates were based on estimates developed for each intercensal year and for years beyond 1970. Rather than use the total number of persons 21 through the latest age of survival in Racine, we used 21 through 44 because the proportion of the population over 21 involved in crime is disproportionately composed of persons of this age.

[4] His interest in objective procedures went beyond this and it was he who initiated the ten-phase grading system for police officers and commendations for superior performance.

[5] In his Annual Report, Chief Jenkins stated that, "Emphasis is now being placed on civil rights, sociological studies and new and unfamiliar police procedures. The policeman of the future most certainly will not be cast from the pattern of the present model." He went on to quote from the President's Crime Commission, "...the most important method of dealing with crime is by preventing it--by ameliorating the conditions of life that drive people to commit crimes and that undermine the restraining rules and institutions created by society against anti-social conduct." Continuing, the chief emphasized his position by saying, "Poverty, racial antagonism, family breakdown, and restlessness of young people are the most frequent social problems associated with crime and delinquency. Reducing the tension in these areas most certainly would reduce certain crimes. The problem becomes one of shifting police personnel to new areas of activity, from street fights to conference rooms; from dealing with the individual to dealing with whole community problems. Law enforcement has never done this kind of work before, but the challenge must be met."

Chapter 4. The Problem of Measuring Seriousness of Careers

DEVELOPING MEASURES OF SERIOUSNESS

Measurement of the incidence of official delinquency is one problem but the development of an index of seriousness of offenses or an index of the seriousness of careers presents an even greater problem, particularly if the latter is to be accomplished at a reasonable cost from either police contact or self-report data. Robinson attacked measurement problems with unusual sophistication in *Measuring Delinquency* and, although she concluded on a negative note, her work must still be considered the starting point for those who also face the same problem.[1] While Sellin and Wolfgang made an undeniable contribution in *The Measurement of Delinquency*, their method of indexing delinquency might be considered more complex than necessary in order to obtain a useable index.[2] Wolfgang and his co-workers made only limited use of it in *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort*.[3]

Number of Contacts as a Measure of Seriousness

A simple approach to construction of an index of seriousness is to add the number of police contacts for each person by age periods (e.g., 6-17) or for the person's lifetime. Frequency of contact can be utilized as an index of the seriousness of delinquency or crime for an age period for any segment of a cohort or may be used as an index of seriousness of individual delinquency or crime for persons in any segment of a cohort. In Chapter 2 it was noted that although the mean number of contacts for all persons in each cohort by age periods differs from the mean number of contacts by age periods for only those persons who had contacts during that period, both sets of means have the same general relationship to each other. We also

went a step further, in the manner of Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin in *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort*, and utilized the proportion of contacts for Part I offense categories as another index of the relative seriousness of the police contacts during each age period for each cohort and for those who had contacts in each cohort.

Type-Seriousness Scores as a Measure of Seriousness

To develop a more meaningful measure of seriousness the 25 categories of police contacts were classified in six levels of seriousness in terms of whether or not the contact was a Felony against Persons, a Felony against Property, a Major Misdemeanor, a Minor Disdemeanor, a Juvenile Condition (status offense), or a contact for Suspicion, investigation, or information. While this is a more or less arbitrary arrangement, it is consistent with police reporting practices. The justification for using this scoring system rests on the legal distinction between felonies and misdemeanors. Criminal law specifies that illegal acts be treated as relatively serious (felonies) or as less-serious (misdemeanors).

The scoring system used in developing this measure assigns Felonies against Persons the highest (i.e., most serious) score of 6 and Felonies against Property the second highest score of 5. Certain acts, although normally considered felonious, may be dealt with as misdemeanors under specific circumstances at the discretion of law enforcement officials. For example, Burglary is treated as a felony when a house is entered but as a misdemeanor when it involves a locked vehicle. In order to reflect this dual status, these offenses are designated as Major Misdemeanors and receive a score of 4. Other acts are invariably regard as misdemeanors by the law. For example, Vagrancy and Disorderly conduct are never

classified as felonies. These Minor Misdemeanors are given a score of 3. With the advent of the juvenile justice system, age became a mitigating condition under the law. An offense committed by a juvenile is treated differently (usually in the direction of lenience) from one committed by an adult. Additionally, a new set of offenses developed which could only be committed by the young, e.g., Truancy, Incorrigibility, runaway, ungovernability, the so-called juvenile status offenses. The catch-all Vagrancy and Disorderly conduct statutes are also frequently invoked to deal with youthful misbehavior. We have designated the juvenile status offenses and Vagrancy or Disorderly conduct, when committed by those under age 18, as Juvenile Conditions and given them a score of 2. The final category of offenses consists of instances when individuals were stopped on the street for Suspicion, investigation, or information at the discretion of the police officer. No criminal allegations need necessarily have been involved. However, a contact for any of the above reasons usually carries an implication of at least potential wrongdoing and becomes part of an individual's contact record. These relatively minor incidents receive a score of 1. The content of each of these categories is shown in Table 1. Our rationale for the inclusion of traffic contacts in each measure of seriousness will be presented later in this chapter.

Geometric Scores as a Measure of Seriousness

The difficulty with additive measures is that the scores refer to aggregates. If each person's score is computed, we know only what the score is and nothing about how it was generated. In order to describe careers parsimoniously we next constructed a Geometric scale, an extension of the Guttman scale technique which has the advantage of representing every

perfect Guttman type and every error type with a distinctive score.

To construct such a scale one simply assigns (in order of seriousness) 1 point to a contact for Suspicion, investigation, or information, 2 points to a contact for a 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 a contact for each category would have a score of 63, for example. There are, however, both advantages and disadvantages to this approach to measuring seriousness.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SERIOUS CONTACTS

The distribution of contacts utilizing the type-seriousness scoring system is shown in Table 2. In each cohort and in each age period there were far fewer police contacts with females than with males (differential contact rates were presented in detail in Appendix B), but the distribution of contacts by sex does not indicate that the males consistently commit the most serious offenses. Comparison of the mean seriousness of male and female contacts in Table 2 does indicate, however, that male contacts more frequently fall in the more serious categories in each age period for each cohort than do female contacts. With one exception, the mean seriousness scores of male contacts are as high as or higher than the mean seriousness scores for female contacts. Were the mean seriousness of contacts for each sex for each age period of each cohort computed by dividing the total seriousness of contacts by the number of persons in the cohort or the number of persons with contacts, the sex differences shown in Table 2 would be far greater.

TABLE 1. SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS: ORDINAL RANKING OF SIX MAJOR CATEGORIES AND THE OFFENSES INCLUDED IN EACH

Score

6 Felony Against Persons: The following offenses are given a score of 6 when treated as felonies by the police.

Robbery	Homicide
Assault	Escapee
Sex Offenses	Suicide
Narcotics/Drugs	

5 Felony Against Property: The following offenses are given a score of 5 when treated as felonies by the police.

Burglary	Forgery
Theft	Fraud
Auto Theft	Violent Property Destruction

4 Major Misdemeanor: The following offenses are given a score of 4 when treated as misdemeanors by the police.

Robbery	Assault
Escapee	Fraud
Theft	Violent Property Destruction
Narcotics/Drugs	Burglary
Weapons	Forgery

3 Minor Misdemeanor: The following offenses are given a score of 3 when treated as misdemeanors by the police.

Obscene Behavior	Moving Traffic Violations
Disorderly Conduct	Other Traffic Offenses
Vagrancy	Gambling
Liquor Violations	Family Problems
Sex Offenses	Other

2 Juvenile Status: The following offenses are given a score of 2 when the alleged offender is under 18 years of age.

Vagrancy	Incorrigible/Runaway
Disorderly Conduct	Truancy

1 Contact for Suspicion, Investigation, Information: The category is given a score of 1 when the complaint report indicates a contact for any of these reasons.

TABLE 2. PERCENT OF CONTACTS IN SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACT CATEGORY BY COHORT, SEX, AND AGE PERIOD

	Ages 6-17						Ages 18-20					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Felony Against Person	.5	.8	2.7	----	2.2	3.6	.7	1.3	9.2	5.3	.7	4.1
Felony Against Property	5.3	6.2	11.5	1.1	.3	3.0	2.3	2.8	9.0	----	1.1	3.6
Major Misdemeanor	9.1	11.6	16.6	5.3	9.3	14.7	5.0	6.0	10.1	----	1.5	7.6
Minor Misdemeanor	48.0	41.3	24.9	33.7	28.8	23.8	46.2	40.5	44.4	35.1	42.6	47.3
Juvenile Condition	9.3	13.0	25.4	12.6	20.7	33.9	1.1	.3	.2	----	.4	.4
Suspicion or Investigation	27.7	27.1	18.9	47.4	38.7	21.0	44.6	49.2	27.1	59.6	53.7	37.1
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
Mean Seriousness	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.0	2.2	2.6	2.2	2.2	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.5
Number of Contacts	733	2179	3600	95	323	843	439	1110	1560	57	270	448

	Ages 21+						Total					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Felony Against Person	1.7	2.2	7.7	1.7	3.9	7.9	1.1	1.3	4.9	1.8	2.3	4.2
Felony Against Property	1.1	2.0	2.2	----	.7	2.6	2.6	4.2	10.1	.3	.7	3.1
Major Misdemeanor	3.7	5.6	8.6	1.7	3.9	5.3	5.6	8.6	14.2	2.4	5.1	11.5
Minor Misdemeanor	45.5	47.8	52.6	41.8	51.1	57.2	46.4	42.9	32.6	38.3	40.3	34.7
Juvenile Condition	----	.1	----	.6	.7	----	3.1	6.3	16.3	4.0	8.0	20.0
Suspicion or Investigation	48.0	42.2	28.9	54.2	39.8	27.0	41.1	36.7	22.0	53.2	43.7	26.6
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.1
Mean Seriousness	2.1	2.3	2.8	2.0	2.4	2.8	2.3	2.4	2.9	2.0	2.2	2.6
Number of Contacts	1191	1302	456	177	284	152	2363	4591	5616	329	877	1443

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF RACINE BIRTH COHORTS WHOSE MOST SERIOUS POLICE CONTACT WAS AT SPECIFIED LEVEL

	Birth Cohort								
	1942			1949			1955		
Cause of Contact	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Felony Against Persons	5.1	1.8	3.6	5.7	2.9	4.5	12.7	4.6	8.8
Felony Against Property	8.1	.4	4.7	9.5	.9	5.8	9.0	2.1	5.7
Major Misdemeanor	12.6	2.2	8.1	13.2	5.9	10.1	10.6	6.5	8.6
Minor Misdemeanor	40.4	19.1	31.1	37.0	19.6	29.5	24.8	16.0	20.6
Juvenile Condition	1.1	1.8	1.4	1.6	2.0	1.8	3.8	4.2	4.0
Suspicion, Investigation, or Information	16.9	22.7	19.4	14.6	21.0	17.3	10.9	12.0	11.4
Contacts of Any Type	84.2	48.0	68.3*	81.6	52.3	69.0	71.8	45.4	59.1
N	356	277	633	740	557	1297	1114	1035	2149

*The percent who have ever had a contact is slightly smaller than in other tables because of loss in rounding.

When mean seriousness rates were computed for each age period for each race/ethnic|sex segment of each cohort by dividing the number of serious contacts (Felonies against the Person or Property and Major Misdemeanors) by (1) the number of persons in that segment of the cohort, and (2) the number of persons with contacts, in no case was the mean number of serious contacts greater for females than for males (See Appendix C, Table 1).

A further comparison of seriousness based on mean frequency of contacts and proportion of cohort with contacts, mean frequency of serious contacts and proportion with serious contacts, and frequency of Part I contacts and proportion of cohort with Part I contacts (all by age period, cohort, race/ethnicity,and sex), revealed that in every comparison the means of males are higher than those of the females. In fact, of 486 comparisons for the three age periods there are only two instances where females could be considered more delinquent than their male counterparts (see Appendix C, Tables 2A through 2D). Furthermore, when persons in each cohort are classified according to the most serious reason for police contact that they have had (Table 3) a considerably higher proportion of the males than females from each cohort have Felonies against Persons, Felonies against Property, and Major Misdemeanors. The increase in the proportion cohort by cohort who have ever had a Felony against either property or person is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4. PERCENT OF RACINE BIRTH COHORTS WHO EVER HAD POLICE CONTACT AT EACH SERIOUSNESS LEVEL

Seriousness Level	1942		1949		1955	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Felony Against Persons	3.6	23	4.5	58	8.8	190
Felony Against Property	6.2	39	7.6	99	9.9	213
Major Misdemeanor	13.1	83	16.4	213	17.4	375
Minor Misdemeanor	45.7	289	46.7	606	37.8	812
Juvenile Condition	10.1	64	13.5	175	20.0	430
Suspicion, Investigation, or Information	58.8	372	55.7	723	37.6	808

Although we have previously commented on the fact that contact frequency rates have not become higher across all cohorts, seriousness rates have become higher across cohorts within each age period for males and females and for almost every race/ethnic|sex group, no matter which measure is utilized (See Tables 2A through 2D of Appendix C). This is even more apparent when the race/ethnic|sex groups are combined for each cohort as has been done in Table 5. Here it can be seen that seriousness becomes higher across cohorts in both earlier age periods and for most measures during the adult period. It is also clear that seriousness generally declines from age period to age period within each cohort.

We have concluded as a consequence of examining the findings from the six-point seriousness scale that it is reasonable to represent the seriousness of any person's career by simply multiplying the number of contacts in each category by the weight of that category. (See Appendix C, Table 2E, for mean seriousness of careers by race/ethnicity|sex.)

GEOMETRIC SCALING WITH SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES

When police contact data for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts were utilized in generating a Geometric score for each person in these cohorts the discontinuous nature of the distribution suggested that we might have a quasi-Guttman scale. (The distribution of Geometric scores for total careers for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts may be found in Appendix C, Table 3. Tables 4 and 5 present the distribution of Geometric scores by age period and sex.) Examination of the distribution of persons in each cohort by perfect scale types revealed that neither cohort was scalable (with type-seriousness categories rank-ordered from most serious to least serious),

TABLE 5. SUMMARY OF BASIC STATISTICS ON FREQUENCY AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS BY COHORT AND RACE/ETHNICITY

	Ages 6-17			Ages 18-20			Ages 21+			Total		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Number in Cohort	633	1297	2149	633	1297	2149	633	1297	2149	633	1297	2149
Number of Contacts	836	2511	4444	498	1383	2008	1370	1587	608	2704	5481	7060
Number of Persons with Contacts	253	624	946	200	518	744	334	506	347	434	897	1270
% with Contacts	40.0	48.1	44.0	31.6	39.9	34.6	52.8	39.0	16.1	68.6	69.2	59.1
Mean Contacts per Person	1.3	1.9	2.1	.8	1.1	.9	2.2	1.2	.3	4.3	4.2	3.3
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	3.3	4.0	4.7	2.5	2.7	2.7	4.1	3.1	1.8	6.2	6.1	5.6
% of Contacts Serious*	14.0	17.7	29.0	7.7	8.8	25.4	6.1	9.6	17.8	8.8	13.1	27.0
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	.2	.3	.6	.1	.1	.2	.1	.1	.1	.4	.6	.9
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.5	.7	1.4	.2	.2	.7	.2	.3	.3	.5	.8	1.5
% of Contacts Part I	12.7	15.9	24.6	5.2	5.6	15.3	3.2	4.5	7.2	6.5	10.0	20.5
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	.2	.3	.5	- .1	.1	.1	.1	.1	- .1	.3	.4	.7
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	.4	.6	1.2	.1	.2	.4	.1	.1	.1	.4	.6	1.1

*Serious Contacts = Felonies against the person or property and major misdemeanors.

errors in reproducibility exceeding 20% for each cohort. At the same time, the Geometric scores were interesting in that 90% of each cohort fell in 10 of the 64 Geometric types (no contacts considered as a type). While the six type-seriousness categories did not generate a scale with the internal consistency which is characteristic of a Guttman scale, most people had delinquent and/or criminal careers that fell into a relatively small number of types of careers.

A score of 8 or above indicated that a person had a police contact for at least one Major Misdemeanor or a more serious offense; 15.6% of the 1942 Cohort and 20.3% of the 1949 Cohort did so. Only 7.0% of the 1942 Cohort and 9.9% of the 1949 Cohort had scores of 16 or above, i.e., had a police contact for at least one property felony or a more serious offense category. Geometric scores were higher in every age period for the 1949 Cohort than the 1942 Cohort, and the difference was even greater when comparisons were made of total careers. Scores were also higher for males than females in every age period.

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF SCORES

Which of these three measures is the best measure of seriousness of delinquent and criminal behavior? This depends, of course, on what is to be done with them. If the simplest possible index of delinquency or crime is desired, then the number of police contacts is the best measure. The number of police contacts accumulated during any given period indicates how frequently a person's behavior has led to police attention. This kind of "score" presents no difficulty for hard-pressed records divisions of police departments. If the overall seriousness of a career as measured by

frequency and reasons for contact is desired, then the six-point seriousness score has certain advantages over the number of contacts alone.

The highest and mean or median scores for each measure are presented in Table 6 by cohort, sex, and age period. The range of police contacts acquired by persons in each cohort (indicated by the highest number of police contacts in Table 4) becomes greater from cohort to cohort for the 6-17 and 18-20 age periods, where each cohort has the same years of exposure and is generally greater for males than females. The mean number of contacts for each cohort, although presented in earlier tables and in appendices, are shown in Table 6 to facilitate comparison with mean seriousness scores and Geometric scores. That the mean total career score for persons declined very little across cohorts in spite of the considerable difference in years of exposure indicates that frequency of cohort contact with the police has increased from cohort to cohort.

The range of seriousness scores increased across cohorts following essentially the same pattern as did number of contacts except that when total careers were considered there was an even greater increase for the females than the males. The mean seriousness scores of persons in each cohort increased from cohort to cohort more consistently for the younger age periods than did the mean number of police contacts.

The range of Geometric scores (which we did not compute for the 1955 Cohort because we found that they did not permit efficiency in prediction beyond that possible with either the number of contacts or seriousness of contacts) changed very little or did not change across cohorts, particularly for the males. Median Geometric scores for males also remained the same (the median score of 5 indicates that the person had one or more contacts

TABLE 6. HIGHEST AND MEAN OR MEDIAN CAREER SCORES FOR MEASURES BY COHORT, AGE PERIOD, AND SEX

	6-17			18-20			21+			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Highest Number of Contacts												
1942	20	13	20	14	6	14	55	12	55	66	27	66
1949	46	18	46	33	30	33	30	34	34	96	96	96
1955	61	29	61	40	24	40	13	7	13	76	41	76
Mean Number of Contacts for Persons in Cohort												
1942	2.1	.3	1.3	1.2	.2	.8	3.4	.6	2.2	6.7	1.2	4.3
1949	3.0	.6	1.9	1.5	.5	1.1	1.8	.5	1.2	6.2	1.6	4.2
1955	3.2	.8	2.1	1.4	.4	.9	.4	.2	.3	5.0	1.4	3.3
Mean Number of Contacts for Persons with Contacts												
1942	3.6	1.8	3.3	2.7	1.5	2.5	4.8	2.1	4.1	7.9	2.5	6.2
1949	4.7	2.1	4.0	3.0	1.9	2.7	3.5	2.2	3.1	7.6	3.0	6.1
1955	5.8	2.6	4.7	3.1	1.9	2.7	1.9	1.5	1.8	7.0	3.1	5.6
Highest Seriousness Scores												
1942	65	23	65	36	16	36	151	28	151	197	27	197
1949	128	38	128	80	84	84	81	90	90	245	76	245
1955	164	82	164	134	68	134	41	27	41	264	116	264
Mean Seriousness Scores for Persons in Cohort												
1942	5.3	.7	3.3	2.7	.4	1.7	7.2	1.3	4.6	15.2	2.3	9.6
1949	7.7	1.3	4.9	3.3	1.0	2.3	4.1	1.2	2.8	15.0	3.4	10.0
1955	9.2	2.0	5.7	4.2	1.1	2.7	1.1	.4	.8	14.5	3.5	9.2
Mean Seriousness Scores for Persons with Contacts												
1942	9.4	3.6	8.2	5.9	3.0	5.4	10.2	4.1	8.7	18.0	4.9	14.0
1949	12.2	4.5	10.3	6.5	3.7	5.9	8.0	5.1	6.1	18.3	6.5	14.5
1955	16.4	6.5	13.0	9.3	4.8	7.9	5.1	4.0	4.8	20.2	7.7	15.6
Highest Geometric Scores												
1942	62	29	62	57	36	57	61	37	61	63	39	63
1949	63	47	63	61	37	61	61	41	61	63	47	63
Median Geometric Scores for Persons with Contacts												
1942	5	2	4	4	1	4	5	1	4	5	3	5
1949	5	4	5	4	1	4	4	4	4	5	4	5

for Suspicion, investigation, or information and for Minor Misdemeanors; the score of 4 represents one or more contacts for Minor Misdemeanors). The most noticeable change is for juvenile females, this indicating that they have developed a greater range in patterns of juvenile misbehavior. The extent to which the females have changed in the direction of participation in more serious delinquency and crime, although apparent from observation of the entire range of Geometric scores, is better represented by the increased proportion of their contacts for Part I offenses or simply by the seriousness scale which we have already discussed.

When each measure was correlated with each other measure by age periods it was found that while these measures are closely related (particularly for the males), number of contacts and seriousness of contacts have the highest correlations for each age period and for both sexes; most were .96 or above (See Table 6, Appendix C). As we have said, there is some question about the appropriateness of correlating Geometric scores with the other scores because the Geometric scores are not equal-interval scores and might more properly be considered rank order or even nominal scores. Furthermore, when age periods for one measure were correlated with following age periods for the same measure, the correlations were higher for number of contacts and for seriousness scores than for Geometric scores and high correlations are a basic requisite to predicting continuity in careers. We shall therefore make only limited reference to Geometric scores based on seriousness.

THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSTELLATIONS OF CONTACTS INDICATIVE OF SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS

Before leaving the subject of measuring the seriousness of careers

further comment should be made in support of our decision to include Traffic offenses and contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information in our measures of seriousness. Sociologists have been concerned about the possibility of developing a typology or scale which takes into consideration the interrelationship of various categories of offenses. Thus, each person's score would be based not on the number of contacts in each category and some simple weighting of categories as we have just done, but on weights related to the probability that a given category of contact-generating behavior would be part of a larger pattern of behavior typical of serious delinquency. These weights could be derived from regression analysis or some other multivariate technique. Factor analysis, for example, would not only provide a basis for assigning weights to different reasons for police contact, but should at the same time determine if there are groups of people who tend to share the same delinquent and/or criminal behaviors as represented by categories of police contacts.

This issue is related to the issue of offense specialization dealt with by Wolfgang and his co-workers through the use of stochastic modeling. They were concerned, however, with whether the probability of committing an offense was greatest when it was preceded by a similar offense and utilized the categories of Nonindex, Injury, Theft, Damage, and Combinations. They concluded that there is some tendency to repeat the same type of offense but that the probability of repetition, except for theft offenses, was low.[4] On the other hand, Bursik (using the same categories as did Wolfgang) has analyzed the careers of 750 Chicago youths who had been adjudicated delinquent by the age of 17 and found evidence of some specialization.[5] His sample differs from that of the Philadelphia and Racine cohorts, however,

in that the adjudicated Chicago youth were more likely to have a greater proportion of serious contacts in their records than do members of a birth cohort.

As Bursik indicates, even if transition probabilities to the same type of offense are not highly probable, transition to a different but related offense may be the pattern. It is for this reason that we were primarily interested in determining if the offenses of individuals are related, even though the analytic technique employed loses the sequential dimension.

Geometric scaling of reasons for police contact (not the seriousness levels utilized in the Geometric scale presented in this report) reveals that the recorded contacts of most offenders are of a random nature and most combinations of contacts are not meaningful in that they do not involve related activities.[6] Since this issue is not central to our current research we have not pursued it further at this time.[7]

Following our concern for the possibility of interrelatedness of types of contacts they were arranged in 38 different categories based on type and seriousness and subjected to the SPSS factor analysis routine. This procedure failed to reveal any meaningful constellations of contacts for males or females in either the 1942 or the 1949 Cohort. We failed to find any evidence that there are constellations of acts that could be considered indicative of a particular type of career. Likewise, we failed to find other constellations of persons whose contacts suggested that they were play-oriented rather than career-oriented behaviors. While some factors consisted of categories that would be expected to cluster together (and most of them were rather serious, i.e., felonies), these factors also

contained reasons that are not often considered as serious. Moving vehicle violations were a part of Factor 1 for males in the 1942 Cohort (which also included Robbery, Theft, and Escapee) and Factor 2 for males in the 1949 Cohort (which also included Theft, Disorderly conduct, Vagrancy, and Liquor offenses), thus supporting our decision to include police contacts for Traffic offenses (See Table 7 in Appendix C). It has been our contention that the automobile plays an important part in the generation of both delinquent and adult criminal behavior. On the other hand, since Traffic offenses are usually dealt with in traffic court and are considered to be of a different order from other offenses, we have done some separate analyses for Traffic vs. other offenses and shall continue to do so.

Since the possibility of eliminating contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information had also been raised (it too had been a part of either Factor 1 or 2 for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts) it was decided that even further attention should be given to this problem. When all police contacts were divided into Traffic, Non-traffic, and Suspicion, investigation, and information categories, and the number of contacts in each category for each person were correlated, age period by age period and for total careers, we found relatively little linear correlation, although the highest correlations for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts were for Non-traffic contacts and contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information.

Perusal of the tables from which these correlations were generated revealed that there were much stronger non-linear relationships generating fairly high Gammas for many groups. Here the highest relationships varied with age periods and with the particular variables being correlated, although the most consistently high correlations were again for Non-traffic

contacts and contacts for Suspicion, investigation, and information (ranging from .533 to .722), which suggests that persons who have police contacts for Non-traffic reasons are also likely to have been stopped for questioning during each period of their careers.

When we looked at the values of Somers' Asymmetric D we found that, with one exception, the variable which had the greatest strength as the independent variable for the 1942 Cohort also had the greatest strength as the independent variable for the 1949 Cohort. Past the age of 17, Traffic had the greatest strength as the independent variable for each age period when the number of Traffic and Non-traffic contacts were correlated. The same was true when the number of Traffic contacts was correlated with the number of contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information at every age period and for total careers. On the other hand, when the number of Non-traffic contacts was correlated with the number of contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information, the highest relationships were obtained with Non-traffic contacts as the independent variable.

The extent to which these categories of contacts are intertwined and the fact that Traffic contacts so consistently produce the highest asymetric relationships convinces us that all categories of contact should be included in some analyses while others will exclude them, and even others will include only the most serious offense categories in the attempt to predict who will have continuing contacts or the attempt to explain how some juveniles continue to have more subsequent contacts than do others.

SUMMARY

Three measures of seriousness have been examined: number of police

contacts, an additive score with weights based on the frequency of contacts at six levels of seriousness, and a Geometric score derived from the six levels of seriousness but based on combinations of contact categories. Examination of the results led to the conclusion that number of contacts and the number of contacts in each seriousness category were simple but useful measures of either seriousness during age periods or total career seriousness.

While number of contacts and seriousness of contacts as measures of seriousness of delinquency indicate an increase in seriousness across cohorts for the juvenile and young adult periods, the proportion or mean number of police contacts that may be classified as Part I offenses highlights across-cohort changes even more clearly, particularly if those persons with contacts, rather than the number of persons in the cohort or of a race/ethnic|sex segment, are used as the basis for deriving a proportion or mean.

The extent to which Traffic contacts were intertwined with Non-traffic contacts indicated that, while separate analyses should be made of Non-traffic contacts where appropriate, Traffic contacts should be included in measures of seriousness. We shall, of course, conduct analyses in which only those police contacts for the most serious offense categories, such as felonies or felonies and major misdemeanors, are included. Thus, the concerns of those who wish to focus on only the most serious types of offenses and offenders will be considered as well.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Sophia M. Robinson, *Can Delinquency be Measured* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

[2] Thorsten Sellin and Marvin E. Wolfgang, *The Measurement of Delinquency* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

[3] Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972).

[4] *op. cit.*, Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, pp. 174-207.

[5] Robert J. Bursik, Jr., "The Dynamics of Specialization in Juvenile Offenses," *Social Forces* 58 (1980): 851-864.

[6] Lyle W. Shannon, "Scaling Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 5 (1968): 52-65; Lyle W. Shannon, *Measuring Delinquency and Predicting Later Criminal Careers* (Iowa City: Iowa Urban Community Research Center, 1973).

[7] The marginals for police contacts by males in the Racine cohorts suggest that the high proportion of first offenses that are Non-Index (79.5% in the 1942 Cohort, 75.3% in the 1949 Cohort, and 74.0% in the 1955 Cohort) and Theft (20.1% in the 1942 Cohort, 23.8% in the 1949 Cohort, and 23.6% in the 1955 Cohort) would generate, on a basis of the marginals alone, findings which differ from the Philadelphia and Cook County conclusions. A better test of sequential specialization will be obtained by utilization of the following broad categories: Disorderly conduct, etc.; Theft, including Auto Theft; Liquor and drugs; Robbery and Burglary; Assault; Sex offenses.

Chapter 5. The Spatial Distribution of Delinquency and Crime

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1 delinquency was conceptualized as a product of the learning process, one in which juveniles grow up in social or ecological areas with varying social characteristics and crime and delinquency levels. The incidence and seriousness of reasons for police contacts in Racine and for the three cohorts have been described in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. In this chapter we shall acquaint the reader with the ecology of Racine and the widespread prevalence of police contacts, first by place of contact and then by place of residence for persons who have police contacts, as well as the high incidence of police contacts in the inner city and its interstitial areas.

In order to describe patterns of police contacts within the city and the effects of the city's social and economic organization on the incidence and prevalence of delinquency and crime, police contacts must be located geographically. The coding procedure which permits location of police contacts and addresses of cohort members at the time of contacts by means of Census tracts and blocks has already been described in Chapter 2. The location of a city block, by itself, does not allow us to draw any conclusions about the influence of social and economic factors on crime and delinquency levels.[1] Sociologically meaningful spatial units from a previously developed ecology of Racine are therefore utilized in the analysis to follow.[2]

The exact procedures employed in generating these areas are described in Appendix D. Land use maps permitted us to start by developing a

general map of the city's commercial, industrial, park, and public use areas. Block data from the 1960 and 1970 U.S. Censuses were utilized in developing scale scores representative of the housing characteristics of each block which, in turn, were aggregated into 26 relatively homogeneous subareas (ranging from inner city Subareas 1 and 2 to the highest socioeconomic status Subarea 26) and then into five larger Natural Areas (where Area A consists of the inner city and Area E represents subareas peripheral to the city with the best housing), as shown on Map 1.

THE SUBAREAS OF RACINE

Since the number of residential blocks and the total number of blocks, the size of the population in each area, and the number of persons from each cohort who reside in each area varied from area to area (whether subareas or natural areas) and from cohort to cohort, the number of contacts taking place by area of residence or place of contact alone cannot be considered an index of delinquency and crime for those who resided in the area or for the area itself. We shall later see that raw numbers do have meaning in understanding how people come to look at an area, but let us first present some simple rates taking into consideration the size of each subarea in residential blocks and disregarding differences in length of cohort careers.

One can see by looking at Table 1 and at Map 1 that the average (mean) number of police contacts per block decreases systematically, with few exceptions, from the inner city outward, The average number of police contacts per block by persons from each cohort residing in these areas at the time of contact (although a rather gross measure) also decreases from the inner city outward.

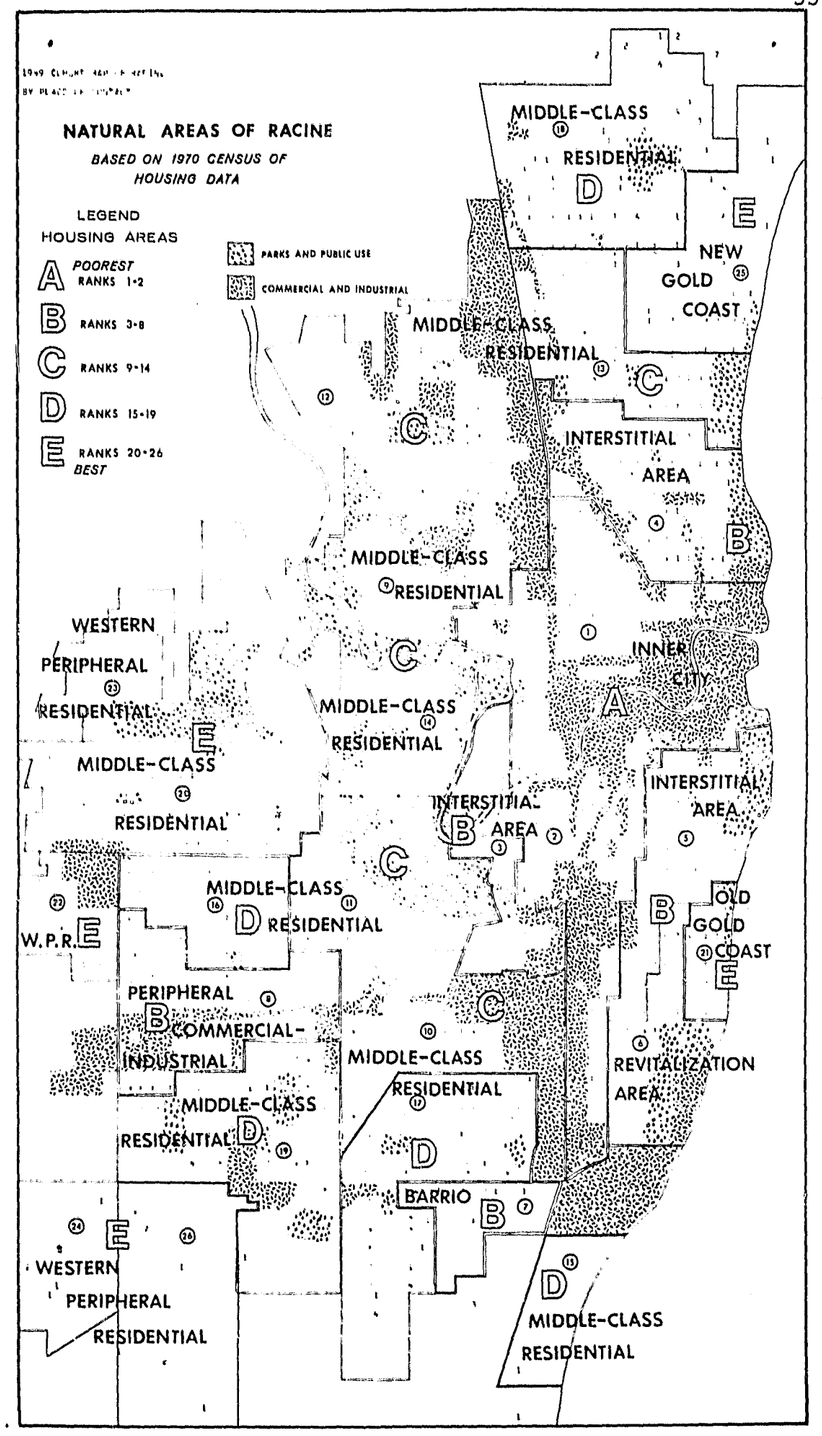


TABLE 1. FREQUENCY OF CONTACTS IN AREA BY COHORT RESIDENTS OF AREA: RATES BASED ON NUMBER OF BLOCKS IN AREA

Subarea No.	Blocks	Number of Police Contacts in Area 1942	1949	1955	Mean Police Contacts per Block in Area 1942	1949	1955	Police Contacts Anywhere by Residents of Area 1942	1949	1955	Mean Contacts Anywhere by Residents per Block 1942	1949	1955	Type of Area
1	80	465	823	989				358	1050	1256				Inner City: Central Business District, Industry, Poorest Housing
2	81	811	1259	1134				477	769	897				
	161	1276	2082	2123	7.93	12.93	13.19	835	1819	2153	5.19	11.30	13.37	
3	25	163	249	327				136	222	413				Interstitial Area: Deteriorating Housing Adjacent to Industry
4	81	261	485	708				249	433	644				
5	53	263	518	477				239	461	483				
	159	687	1252	1512	4.32	7.87	9.51	624	1116	1540	3.92	7.02	9.69	
6	25	47	115	153				79	154	229				Area of Revitalization Effort
7	14	8	17	36				21	56	130				Barrio
8	65	73	247	308				157	385	423				Peripheral Commercial
	104	128	379	497	1.23	3.64	4.78	257	595	782	2.47	5.72	7.52	
9	30	94	128	160				139	169	146				
10	52	149	208	251				167	189	235				
11	39	200	278	324				131	136	199				
12	57	108	313	380				97	315	311				Middle-Class Residential Areas
13	62	92	186	174				96	152	115				
14	36	103	156	127				130	220	87				
15	14	5	10	2				64	27	27				
16	46	57	101	130				79	127	94				
17	69	78	194	205				145	294	207				
	405	886	1574	1753	2.19	3.89	4.33	1048	1629	1421	2.59	4.02	3.51	
18	68	61	182	249				152	239	335				
19	60	148	291	358				160	303	325				
20	80	76	118	153				145	169	156				Upper-Middle Class to High Class Western Peripheral Residential Areas
	208	285	591	760	1.37	2.84	3.65	457	711	816	2.20	3.42	3.92	
22	9	17	57	116				15	34	26				
23	17	1	22	34				28	63	85				
24	16	4	19	35				15	31	55				
26	15	8	54	84				27	35	53				
	57	30	152	269	.53	2.67	4.72	85	163	219	1.49	2.86	3.84	
21	14	38	51	49				22	33	48				Old Gold Coast
25	51	47	94	80				49	109	64				New Gold Coast
	65	85	145	129	1.31	2.23	1.98	71	142	112	1.09	2.18	1.72	

An immediate observation which can be drawn from Table 1 is that both the mean number of police contacts within the area and the mean number of contacts by residents of the area are much higher for inner city and interstitial areas (Subareas 1 through 5) than they are for the remainder of the community. These five subareas of the city contain bars, shops, meeting places, the waterfront, and parks. There are numerous bars on Douglas, Main, State, 6th, Racine, and Mead, streets which the people in Racine recognize as troublesome areas. There are approximately 56 bars in Subareas 1 and 2 alone. The high concentration of commercial and industrial establishments in Subareas 1 and 2, housing quality scores skewed toward the poor end of the scale, transience (especially in Subarea 1 where only 6% of the houses are owner-occupied), and the low socioeconomic status of residents may all contribute to the high rate of police contacts in this subarea and the high number of contacts by persons who reside there.

Data from the 1970 U.S. Census give further indication of how the population composition may affect the types of behavior that generate police contacts. The median years of education of persons living in Subareas 1 through 5 (roughly Census tracts 1, 3, 4, and 5) was 9.5 in 1970, whereas for Racine the median was 11.9. The workers in Subareas 1 through 5 were disproportionately represented (in comparison to the overall occupational distribution in Racine) in the Operatives, Laborer, and Service Workers categories. The median income for persons living in Subareas 1 through 5 was $7,628 according to the 1970 Census, while the median income for Racine was $10,526.[3]

Those subareas which we have characterized as middle-class residential are subareas whose residents generally have fewer police contacts and in

which there are lower rates of police contact. They surround the inner city and interstitial areas and serve as a buffer zone between high and low status areas. They include Subareas 9 through 17 and contain a mixture of commercial, park, and residential areas. Subarea 9 has a very large population of Scandinavians or persons of Scandinavian descent (mostly Danish).[4] The housing ranks from medium to high on the housing quality scale.

The larger group of subareas constitutes a ring primarily bordering the intermediate areas (Subareas 18 through 26) and, for the most part, contains subareas in which even fewer police contacts occur and whose residents have relatively fewer contacts than do those from other subareas. This group of subareas has comparatively little industrial and commerical activity, can be described as primarily residential, and is composed of predominantly White persons whose homes are found at the highest end of the housing scale. Subarea 21, at one time the Gold Coast, has not succumbed to commercialization or deterioration to the extent of adjacent areas and continues to have a relatively low police contact rate but not as low as those of some other residential areas with similar housing scores.

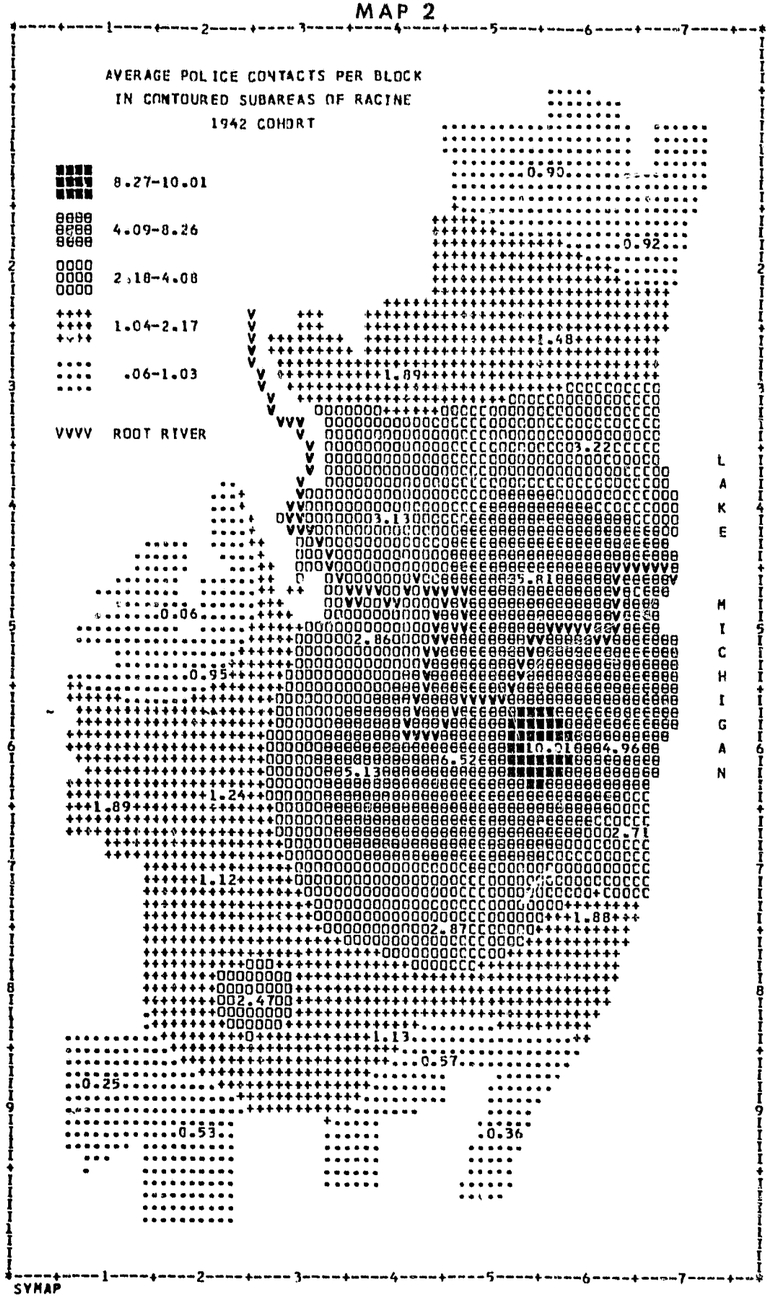
The three subareas not yet mentioned (Subareas 6, 7, and 8) do not lend themselves readily to the inclusion in any of the groups just described. Subarea 7, located on the periphery of the city, has traditionally contained Racine's barrio. Subarea 8 has numerous commercial and light industrial establishments and, although on the periphery, is a residential area more like that of the interstitial areas than like those of other outlying areas. Subarea 6, although an area of transition, has been the target of an extensive revitalization effort.

THE SPATIAL PATTERNING OF POLICE CONTACTS: PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND PLACE OF CONTACT

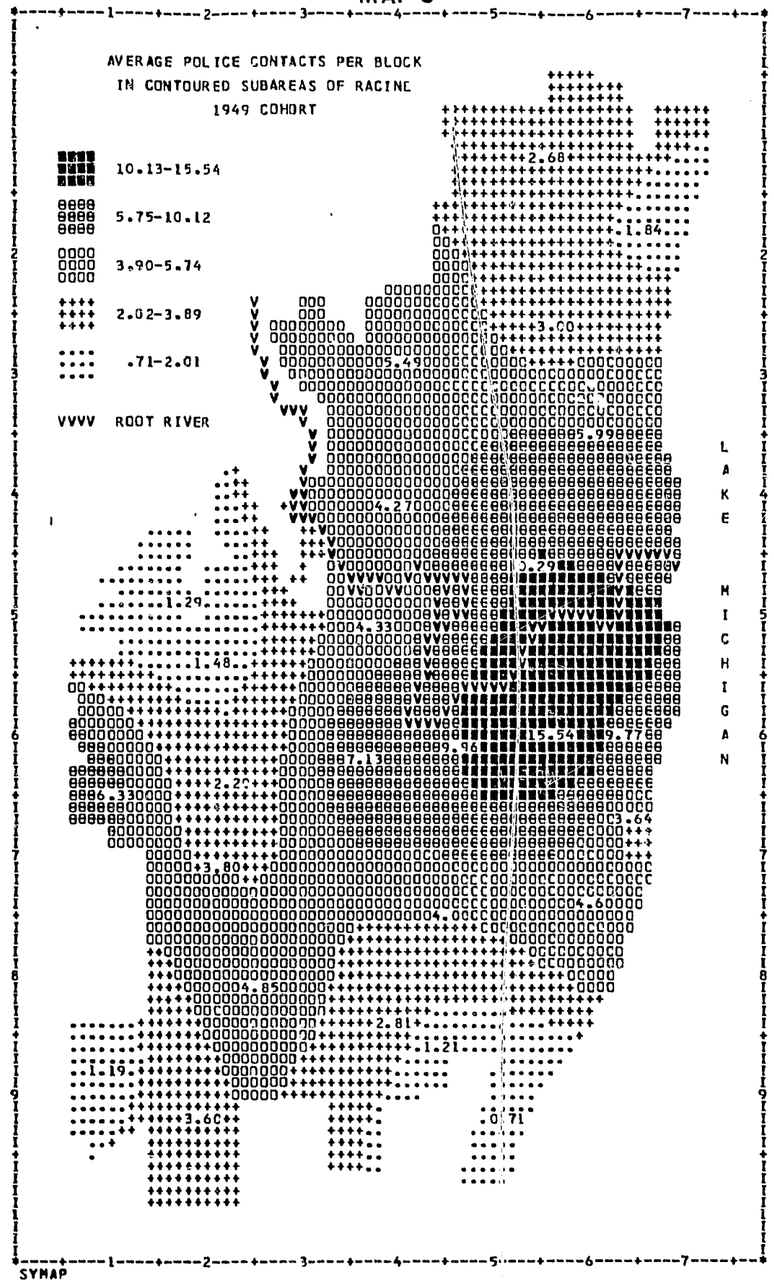
As a way of presenting the relationship of delinquency and crime to the social organization of the community, cohort data are presented in computer-contoured Maps 2 through 7. Maps 2 through 4 show the average number of police contacts which occurred in each area and Maps 5 through 7 show the average number of police contacts acquired by cohort members according to where they lived at the time of their contacts. The average number of contacts per block appears in the center of each subarea. The higher rates of police contact concentration (both occurring in subareas and by persons living in subareas) in the inner city and interstitial areas for each cohort is quite evident. Just as evident is the increasing size of the zones from cohort to cohort with high rates of both dimensions of police contacts. One also notes that although rates of contacts within areas and rates of contact by residents of areas show some similarity, there are also differences that may be explained by the concentration of taverns as producers of police contacts and certain types of business establishments as targets which give some areas higher in-area contact rates than are obtained for the residents of the area alone. This is, of course, scarcely a new finding but is one expected based on the research in larger metropolitan areas to which we have referred. Persons who have been active in the juvenile and adult justice systems need only glance at these maps before describing the nature of the institutions and people in each area to explain how these somewhat diverse spatial distributions of police contacts were generated.[5]

Maps 8 through 10 are computer-contoured based on the number of contacts which occurred in each subarea and Maps 11 through 13 show

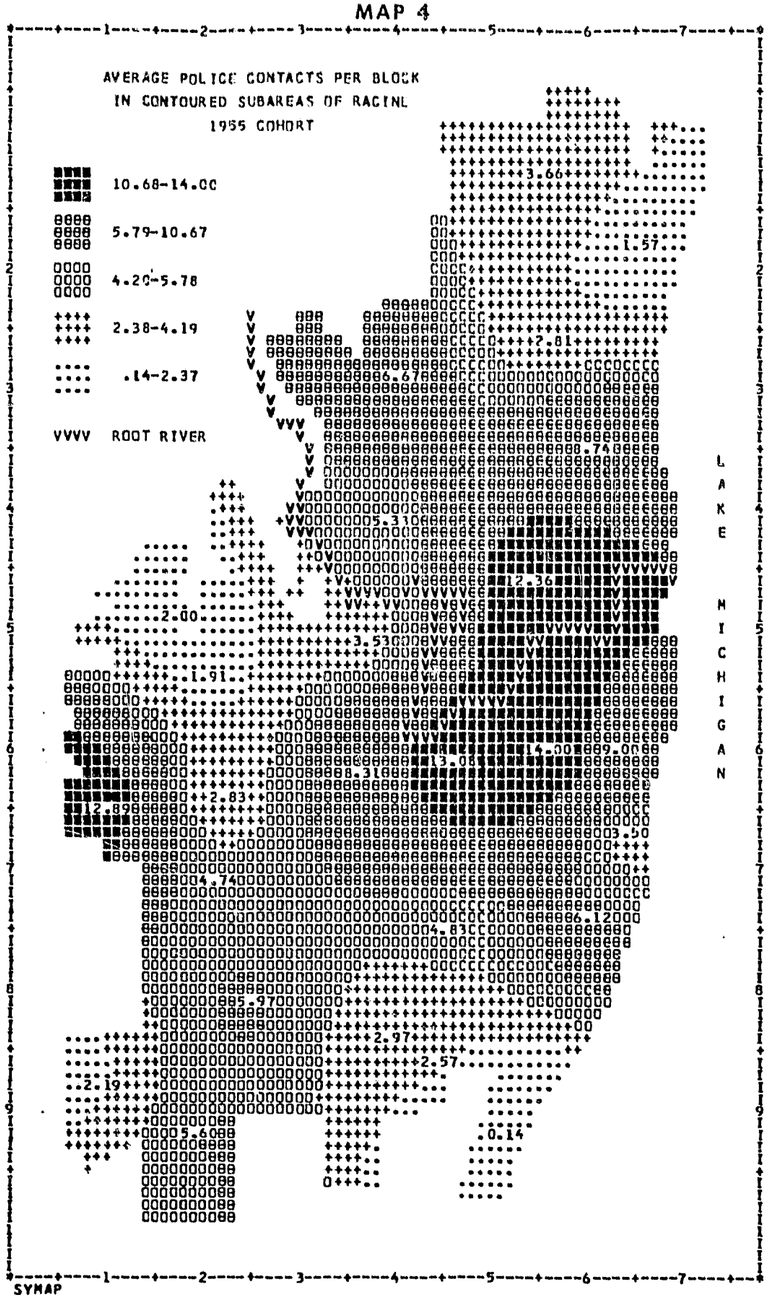
MAP 2


AVERAGE POLICE CONTACTS PER BLOCK
IN CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1942 COHORT
8.27-10.01
4.09-8.26
2.18-4.08
1.04-2.17
.06-1.03
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

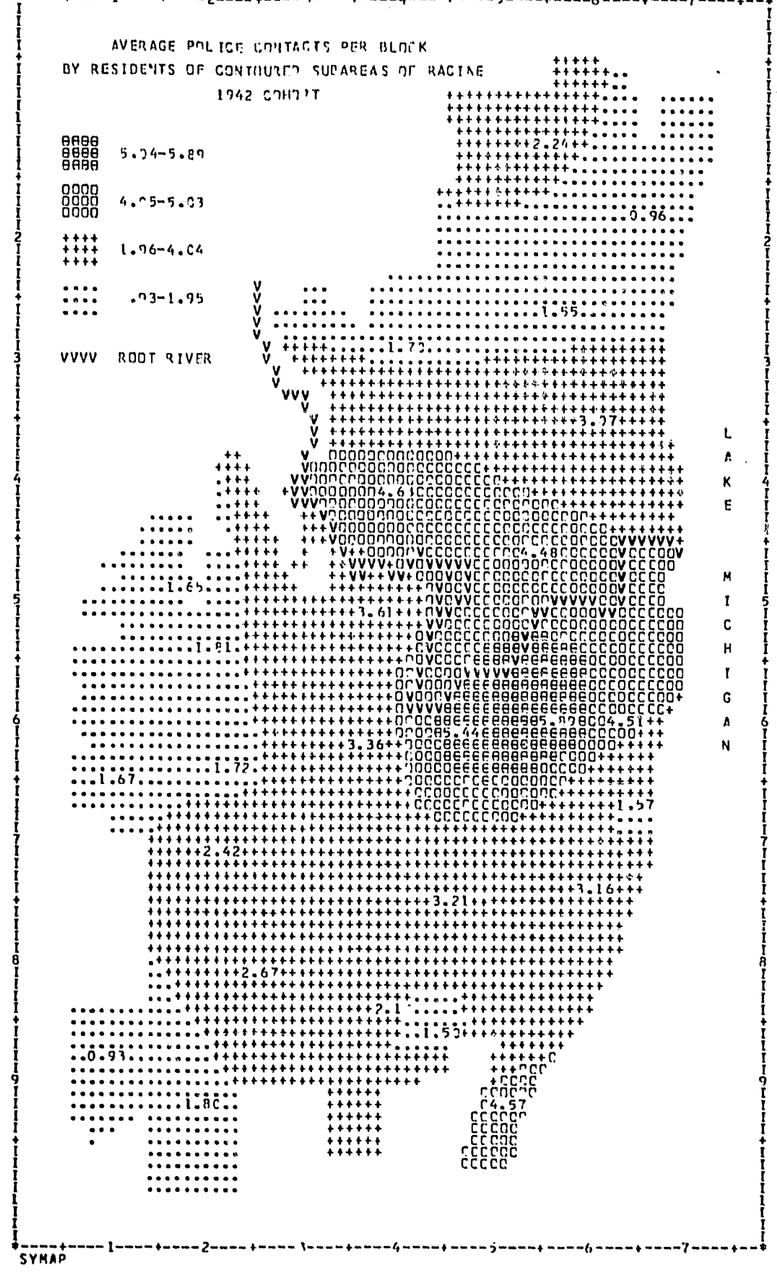
MAP 3


AVERAGE POLICE CONTACTS PER BLOCK
IN CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1949 COHORT
10.13-15.54
5.75-10.12
3.90-5.74
2.02-3.89
.71-2.01
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

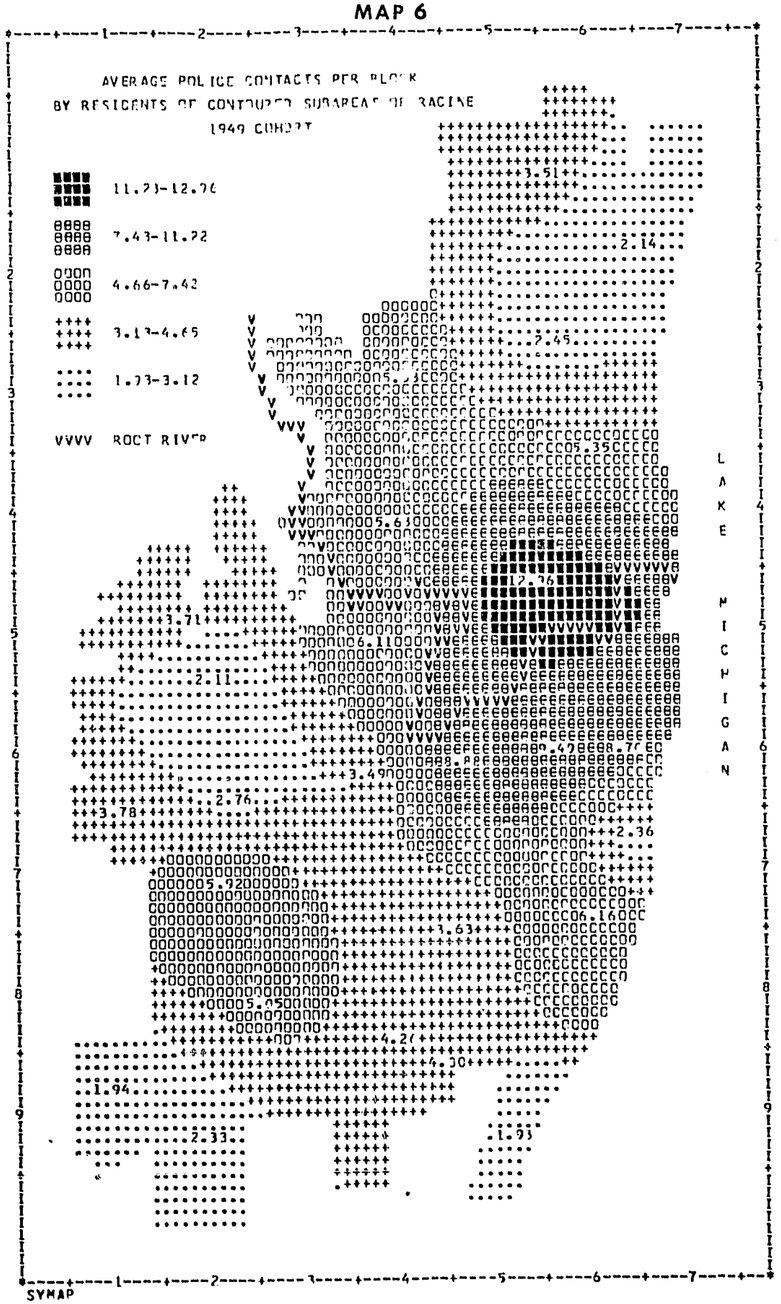
MAP 4


AVERAGE POLICE CONTACTS PER BLOCK
IN CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1955 COHORT
10.68-14.00
5.79-10.67
4.20-5.78
2.38-4.19
.14-2.37
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

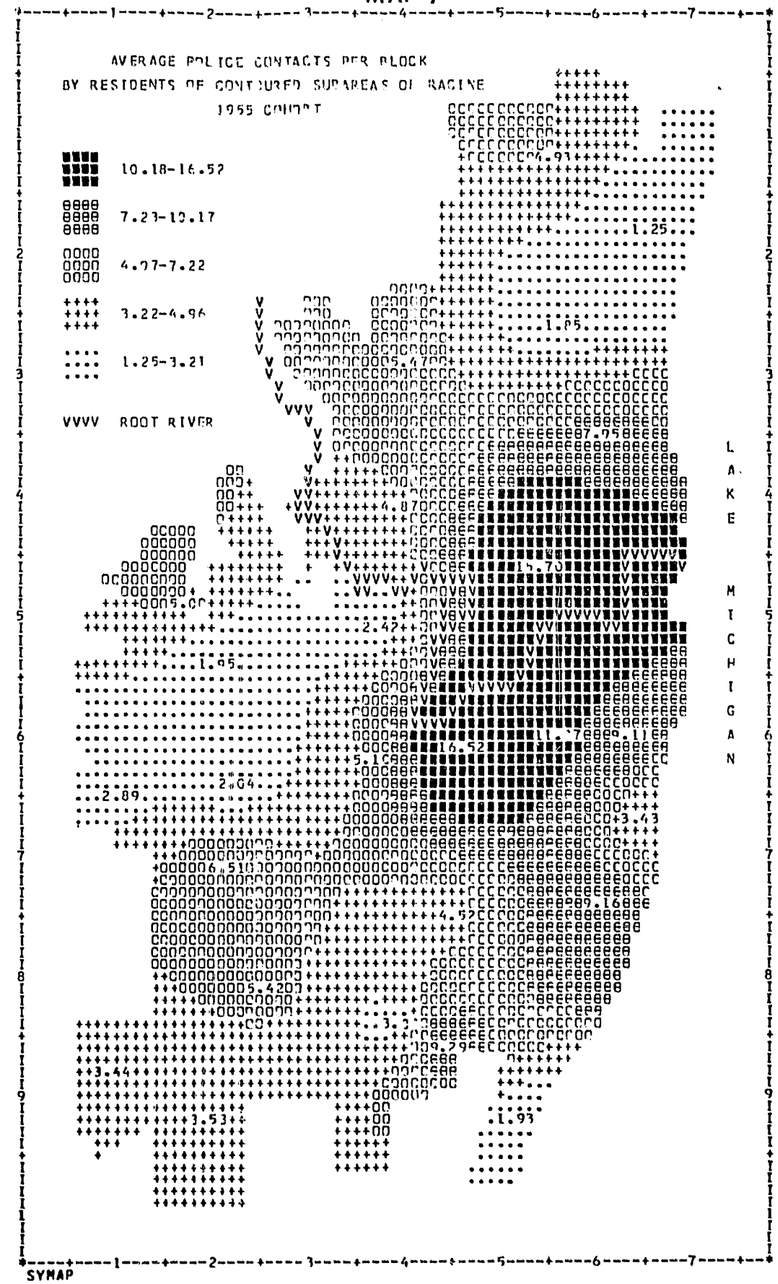
MAP 5


AVERAGE POLICE CONTACTS PER BLOCK
BY RESIDENTS OF CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1942 COHORT
5.04-5.89
4.05-5.03
1.96-4.04
.93-1.95
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 6


AVERAGE POLICE CONTACTS PER BLOCK
BY RESIDENTS OF CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1949 COHORT
11.23-12.76
7.43-11.22
4.66-7.42
3.13-4.65
1.73-3.12
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 7


AVERAGE POLICE CONTACTS PER BLOCK
BY RESIDENTS OF CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1955 COHORT
10.18-16.52
7.23-10.17
4.97-7.22
3.22-4.96
1.25-3.21
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

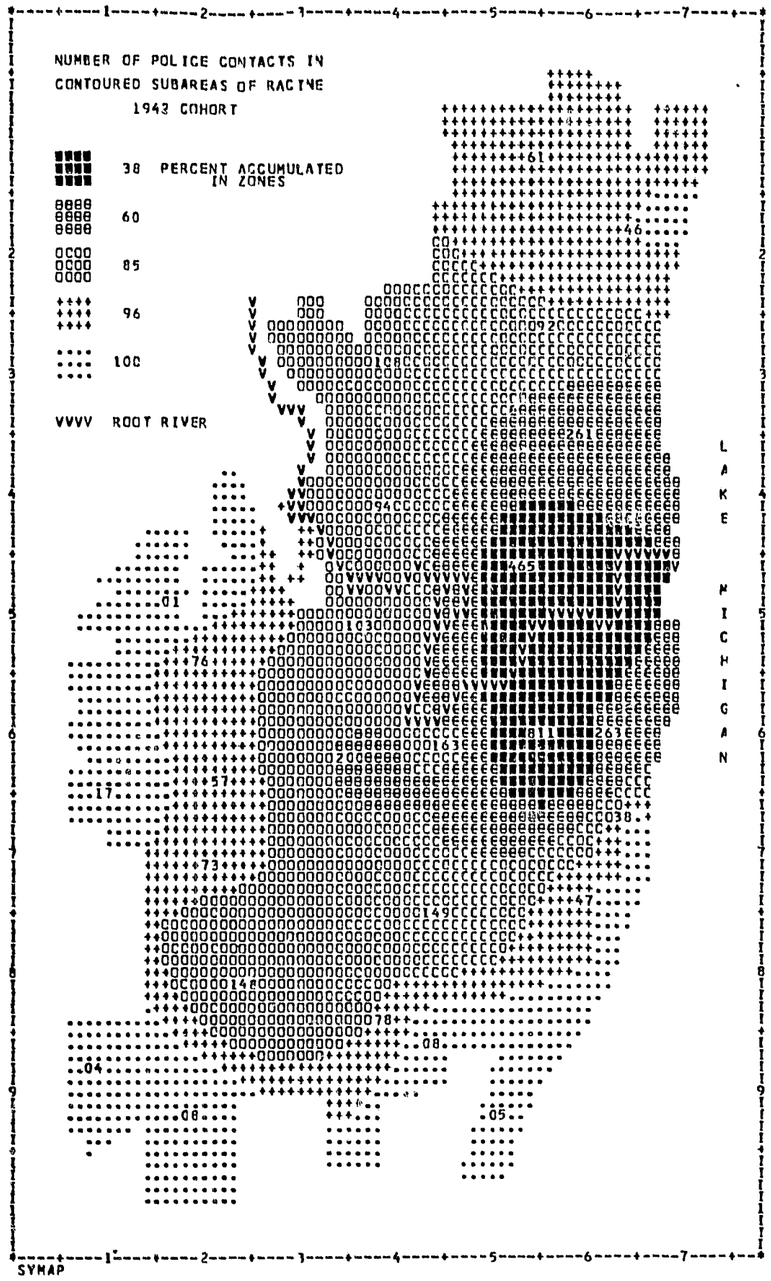
these contacts by place of residence at time of contact. Here we are able to see the accumulation of contacts from the roughly one-third which occur in the inner city or which are generated by persons who reside there to the approximately 60% which are included in the inner city and interstitial areas, and on to the suburban fringe where the remainder of less than 5% occur or are generated by its residents.

Although the Whites constitute the largest proportion of each cohort and provide the safest basis for discussion of where contacts occurred, we shall also describe the distribution of contacts by Blacks and Chicanos and how these patterns differ from the spatial patterns of delinquency and crime for Whites. The summary statistics in Tables 2, 3, and 4 may be referred to in order to grasp the nature of cohort changes, race/ethnic differences, and place of contact vs. variation by place of residence.

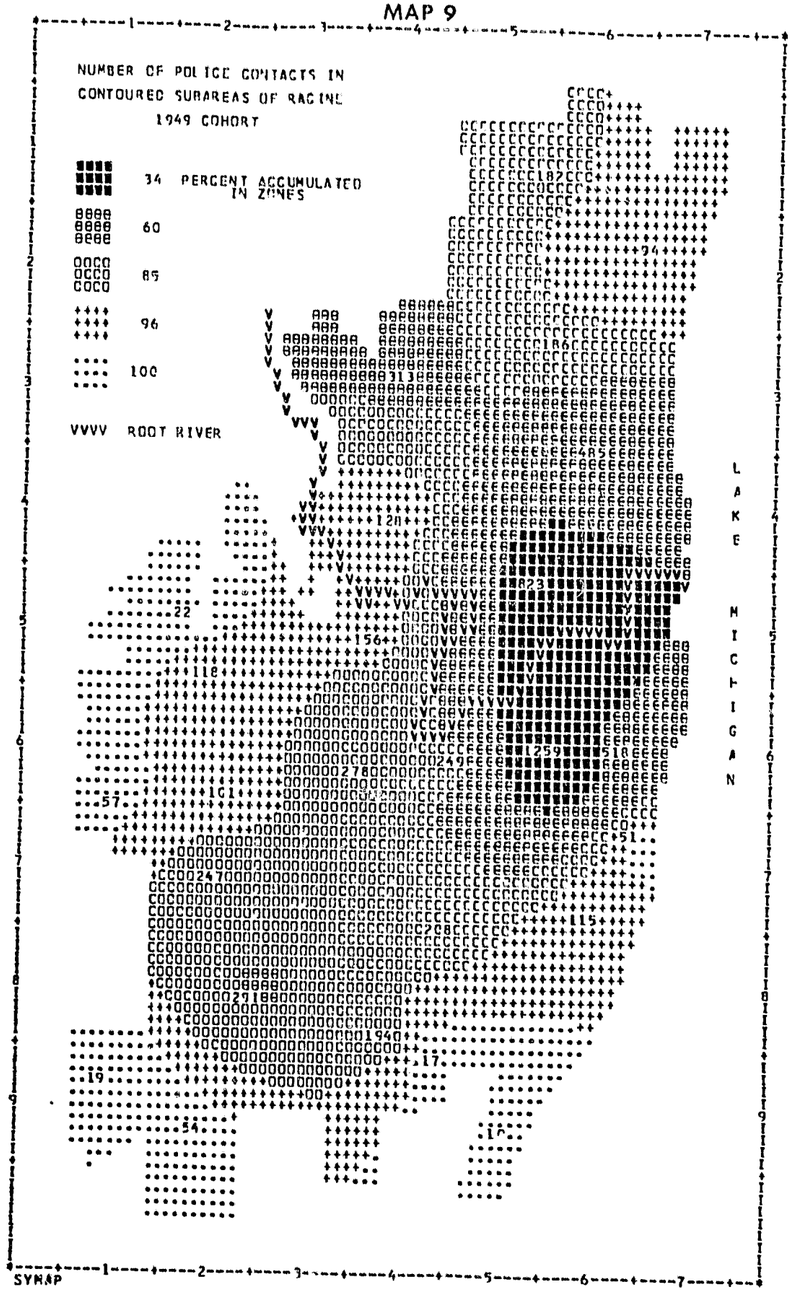
Almost half (48.5%) of the contacts of the White 1942 Cohort members occurred in inner city and interstitial Subareas 1, 2, 4, and 5; 32% of their contacts occurred in Subareas 1 and 2 alone. The same four subareas were also the ones in which the greatest number of contacts occurred for the 1949 Cohort Whites (44%) and, of these, 27% took place in Subareas 1 and 2. The four subareas in which the highest percentage of police contacts by the 1955 White Cohort members occurred included only 38% of their contacts and Subareas 1 and 2 included only 19%. In summary, place of contact with the police for Whites became less centralized from cohort to cohort.

By contrast, Black members of all three cohorts experienced 70% or more of their police contacts in four subareas and more than half in only one or two subareas. Even with declines from 75% of the 1942 Cohort

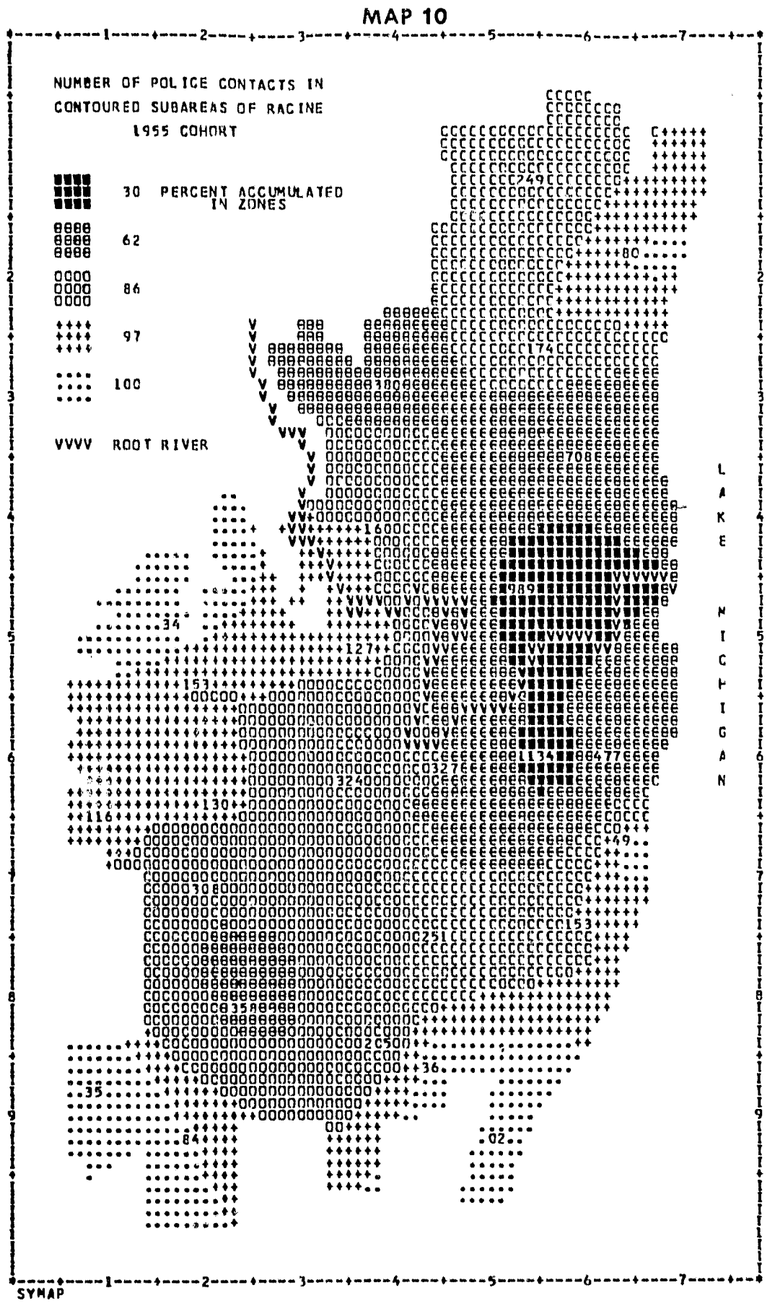
MAP 8



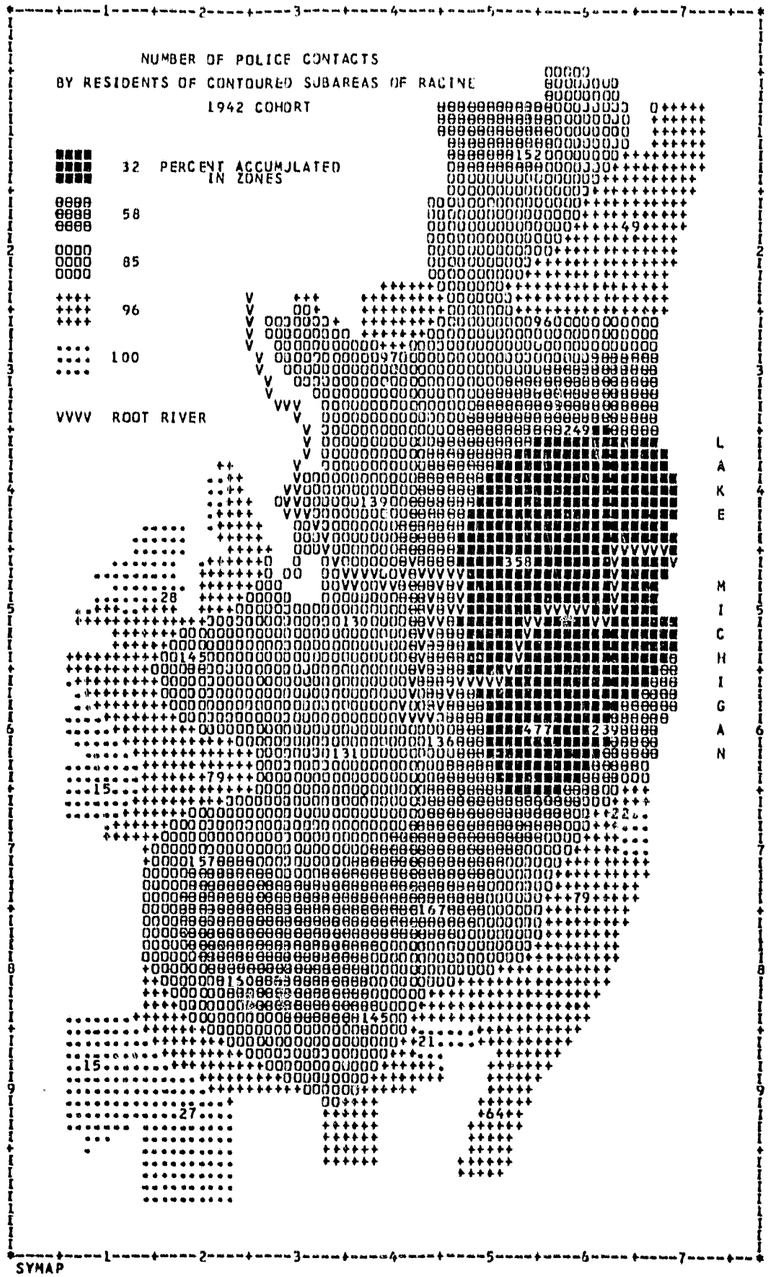
MAP 9


NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS IN
CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1949 COHORT
34 PERCENT ACCUMULATED IN ZONES
60
85
96
100
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

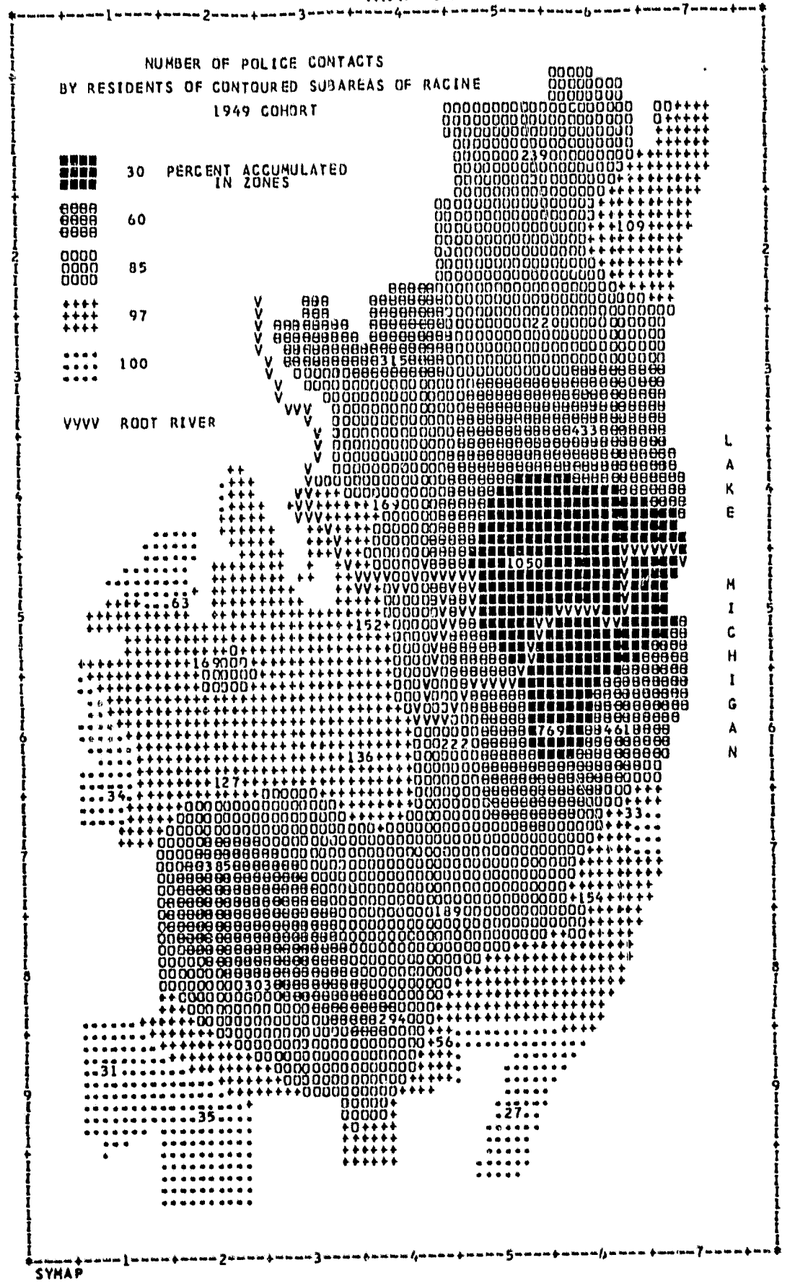
MAP 10


NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS IN
CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1955 COHORT
30 PERCENT ACCUMULATED IN ZONES
62
86
97
100
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 11


NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS
BY RESIDENTS OF CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1942 COHORT
32 PERCENT ACCUMULATED IN ZONES
58
85
96
100
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 12


NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS
BY RESIDENTS OF CONTOURED SUBAREAS OF RACINE
1949 COHORT
30 PERCENT ACCUMULATED IN ZONES
60
85
97
100
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 13

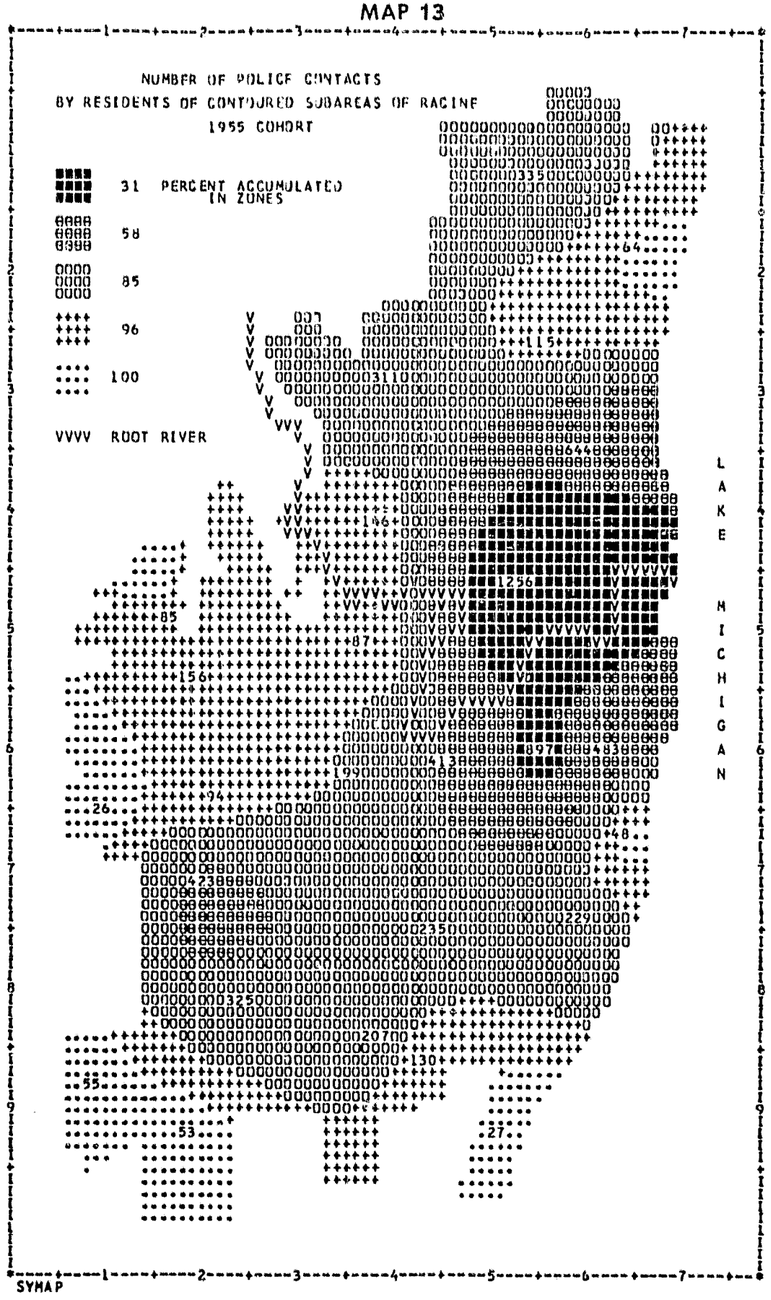


TABLE 2. ROUNDED PERCENT OF CONTACTS IN SUBAREAS OR BY RESIDENTS OF THE FOUR HIGHEST FREQUENCY SUBAREAS

	Subarea of Contact			Subarea of Residence		
	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos
1942	49%	87%	78%	31%	94%	80%
1949	44%	73%	57%	34%	89%	70%
1955	38%	70%	45%	38%	86%	66%

TABLE 3. SUBAREAS CONTAINING APPROXIMATELY 50% OR + OF THE CONTACTS*

	Subarea of Contact			Subarea of Residence		
	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos
1942	1,2,4,5	2	1,2	1,*2*,4,5,*8*,10,*18*,*19*	2	1
1949	1,2,4,5	1,2	1,2,4,5	1,*2*,4,5,8,*12*,*17*	1,2	1,2
1955	1,2,4,*8*,12,*19*	1,2	1,2,*3*,4,5	1,4,8,*12*,*18*,19	1,2	1,2,7

*If more than 4 areas are required to obtain 50% or + of contacts additional subarea numbers are italicized.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF CONTACTS IN SUBAREAS OR BY RESIDENTS OF SUBAREAS 1 & 2

	Subarea of Contact			Subarea of Residence		
	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos
1942	32%	75%	56%	14%	87%	62%
1949	27%	59%	42%	16%	79%	51%
1955	19%	54%	36%	14%	63%	43%

to 59% of the 1949 Cohort and to 54% of the 1955 Cohort whose trouble with the police occurred in Subareas 1 and 2, the concentration of police contacts by Blacks in the inner city remains one of the characteristics which distinguishes them from the Whites. While contacts with the police by Chicanos were concentrated in the inner city and its interstitial areas, their contacts did not continue to be confined to the inner city to the extent as did police contacts by Blacks.

Race/ethnic differences in the spatial distribution of police contacts not only continues when we consider where people lived at the time of their contacts, but become even more pronounced. Concentration of contacts by place of residence was less for the Whites than concentration by place of contact but was greater for Blacks and Chicanos. If we look at the four residential subareas from which the highest proportion of contacts came, these areas include less than 40% for the Whites of any cohort. Yet the four highest subareas accounted for 50% of the places of contact for Whites. Although, as indicated above, Whites had from 32% to 19% of their contacts in Subareas 1 and 2, the White residents of Subareas 1 and 2 never contributed more than 16% of the total contacts of their cohort, regardless of birth year.

In sharp contrast to the Whites, the Black residents of Subareas 1 and 2 experienced from 60% to 90% of their cohort's contacts. The addition of the two next highest areas brings their percentage of contacts to over 85% and leaves a very small percentage of any cohort's contacts by Blacks occurring elsewhere in the city. By area of residence, the spatial distribution of police contacts by Chicanos was more similar to that of the Blacks than by place of contact.

Since the White population has been moving from the inner city and its interstitial areas and the Black and Chicano populations have continued to be concentrated there, we should expect race/ethnic differences and changing differences between place of contact and place of residence patterns. Specifically, it is not surprising that there has been a decline in the proportion of contacts by Whites in the inner city from cohort to cohort, a larger decline than that found for Blacks and Chicanos, who are now residing outside the inner city as well as in it.

In summary, the inner city remains an area of concentration of contacts in terms of place of contacts for all groups and place of residence for those Blacks and Chicanos who have contacts with the police. The nature of Subareas 1 and 2 -- the concentration of bars and other recreational establishments, commercial and industrial activities as well as park areas, the waterfront, and the meeting point of main thoroughfares -- explains the attraction of Whites to it and the relative lack of Black and Chicano contact outside the inner city.

While parts of this discussion may seem to emphasize the ecology of Racine *per se*, our position is that the same kinds of Natural Areas and Subareas may be found in any urban, industrial community. The kinds of relationships described here may be generalized and are not specific to Racine. References to specific areas in Racine as well as to recognizable types of areas have been made in order to show how we facilitate communication of our findings to both a specialized audience in Racine that has supported our research and to a more general audience of police and court decision-makers who will recognize similar areas in their own communities.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND PLACE OF CONTACT AT TIME OF CONTACT

Now the question arises -- what explains the concentration of contacts of each of the three groups within their own residential area vs their dispersion to other areas? We have suggested (in reference to the inner city) that much of it may be explained by the nature of the institutions in an area, institutions which may serve as attractions to persons who reside there as well as to persons who reside in contiguous or even distant areas. Some of the concentration may also be explained by differences in the type of police contacts that are more characteristic of the residents of one type of area than another. People may have their contacts with the police within their area of residence or in other areas according to the kinds of trouble generated by their life style.[6] Factors such as physical barriers (major thoroughfares, railroad tracks, the Root River, parks, cemeteries, and commercial and industrial sites) and differential mobility (the availability of cars or other forms of transit) also play a part in determining the location of contacts according to place of residence vs. place of contact.

Concentration vs. Dispersion

To better understand patterns of concentration and dispersion, we next examine the places at which people have had police contacts in reference to their places of residence at the time of contact. In the case of Blacks from the 1949 Cohort, for example, 42.0% of the police contacts for those who were residents of Subarea 1 occurred in Subarea 1 and 52.4% of the contacts for those who were residents of Subarea 2 occurred in Subarea 2. And for the 1955 Cohort 51.1% of the contacts by Blacks re-

siding in Subarea 1 took place there, as did 53.5% of the contacts by Blacks residing in Subarea 1 take place in that subarea. As a matter of fact, 90% of all of the contacts of Blacks in the 1942 Cohort residing in Subareas 1 and 2 were in those or contiguous subareas, as were 80% for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts.

Aside from the concentration of contacts within their area of residence, the importance of Subareas 1 and 2 is dramatized by the fact that 37.8% of the 1942 Cohort's contacts, 33.7% of the 1949 Cohort's contacts, and 30.1% of the 1955 Cohort's contacts took place in these two areas regardless of where they resided. Persons from all but one area in the 1942 Cohort, all but two areas in the 1949 Cohort, and all but three areas in the 1955 Cohort came into Subarea 1 and had police contacts there. Persons from all cohorts from all areas came into Subarea 2 and had police contacts there.

At the opposite extreme we find that none of the Whites from the 1942 Cohort (there were no Blacks nor Chicanos) who lived in Subarea 26 (a suburban area on the edge of the city) at the time of their contact had them in that area and few had contacts in its contiguous areas; instead, they went to the inner city or to outlying areas which are places of youthful and adult congregation. Only 9.4% of the contacts by persons from the 1949 Cohort and only 9.6% from the 1955 Cohort by Whites who lived in Subarea 26 had their contacts in that area. Only 1% of the police contacts by persons from the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts occurred in Subarea 26.

What we find is that although there are extremes, with some subareas (about half) being the location of police contacts by persons who reside

in other areas, there are subareas which are the location of contacts by persons from very few other subareas, the latter because of their peripheral and isolated location. While persons from some subareas, such as 1 and 2, have police contacts in most other subareas, there are other areas whose residents have police contacts in very few other subareas. The distribution of police contacts by place of contact and place of residence at time of contact or by place of residence and place of contact at time of contact may be found for each cohort in Appendix E, Tables 1, 2, and 3.

Males and females are combined in Table 5 which shows the percent of those who, although residing in a given area at the time of their contact, had that contact in either their own or in a contiguous subarea. The data for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts may be summarized for the Whites by saying that persons who resided in the inner city and interstitial Subareas 1 through 5 had over 60% of their contacts in their own subareas whose characteristics would be likely to generate in-area contacts by their residents. The number of subareas in which a high percentage of the residents had their contacts in that area or contiguous areas was greater for the 1955 Cohort, as would be expected, since they are younger and have had fewer years of adult activity of the type which would result in police contacts in the inner city. It should be remembered that most of Racine's taverns, clubs, and cocktail lounges are located in inner city Subareas 1 and 2 and in interstitial Subareas 3, 4, 5, and 6.

For the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, a map with lines from place of residence to place of contact outside one's subarea of residence shows almost all lines pointing toward contiguous areas or the inner city.

In general (based on the numerically largest contact area which accounts for about 50% of the contacts), there are fewer lines to adjacent subareas in those cases where natural barriers such as the Root River or large parks and cemeteries or major industrial plants intervene between a subarea and that which bounds it than in those cases where no natural or man-made boundaries exist between the two. There are more arrows pointing to adjacent subareas where continuous streets bind two adjacent areas or where main thoroughfares are channelling traffic to and from the inner city. This basic pattern was present for males and females although females did have a larger proportion of their contacts in their immediate area of residence or in contiguous areas than did the males.

A word should be said about several of the extreme cases. For example, Subarea 15, with over 95% of its residents' contacts outside the area, is located between the main north-south highway from Racine to Kenosha on Lake Michigan, is bound on the north by J.I. Case Manufacturing Co., and does not directly touch on any other area. Most of the police contacts of its residents are therefore in the inner city which extends south to the J.I. Case Company, only a few blocks from Subarea 15. Subareas 23, 24, and 26 are on the extreme periphery of the city and are at a distance from any areas which attract either juveniles or adults for leisure time activities.

The concentration of contacts by Blacks in each cohort in their area of residence or adjacent subareas is also clearly indicated by the percentages in Table 5. It should be noted, in addition, that Blacks with police contacts outside their own or contiguous subareas had most of them in the inner city or interstitial areas. Chicano contacts were

TABLE 5. PERCENT OF COHORT RESIDING IN AREA AT TIME OF POLICE CONTACT WHOSE CONTACTS HAVE BEEN IN SUBAREAS OF RESIDENCE OR CONTIGUOUS SUBAREAS, 1942, 1949, and 1955 COHORTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY

	White						Black*						Chicano*					
	1942		1949		1955		1942		1949		1955		1942		1949		1955	
Rank	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%
1	2	83.6	2	79.1	3	81.8	2	89.9	3	100.0	2	83.3	1	77.8	4	77.0	5	92.3
2	10	83.1	1	78.1	10	81.0	1	89.1	4	84.7	1	79.3			1	75.0	3	86.9
3	1	79.6	10	77.8	4	78.8	3	88.3	2	82.9	5	75.3			5	75.0	9	78.5
4	3	78.6	3	75.6	11	74.7	5	71.5	1	79.1	3	74.2			2	66.6	1	77.7
5	9	70.7	5	71.0	1	73.6	6	56.3	18	78.6	4	71.1			19	65.8	2	76.2
6	5	62.8	6	70.7	8	72.2			5	69.2	8	64.7			3	41.7	4	74.5
7	14	62.3	13	67.6	12	72.2			8	66.7	6	63.7			8	33.3	8	71.4
8	13	61.5	4	66.5	6	71.6			6	55.1	7	50.0			7	23.5	19	70.0
9	4	60.9	14	64.8	13	70.8			7	18.2	10	50.0			17	18.2	10	66.6
10	6	60.3	7	63.7	2	70.5					18	40.0					6	61.3
11	19	48.0	8	60.3	18	69.7					9	30.8					18	53.9
12	8	47.3	12	59.6	5	68.7											7	31.7
13	12	45.9	9	57.6	9	68.1												
14	11	44.6	16	56.6	19	66.8												
15	16	44.6	18	55.7	16	64.8												
16	20	42.8	17	54.7	21	62.5												
17	17	40.5	19	54.7	14	62.1												
18	18	40.1	11	53.7	17	61.8												
19	22	33.4	20	51.9	20	55.5												
20	21	27.3	21	50.0	25	51.6												
21	25	26.5	25	42.6	22	46.1												
22	7	25.0	22	41.1	7	39.1												
23	26	18.5	26	31.3	26	32.7												
24	24	13.3	23	30.1	24	29.4												
25	15	4.8	24	6.9	23	26.5												
26	23	3.6	15	3.7	15	.0												

*Only for those areas producing 10 or more contacts by that race/ethnic group.

concentrated in their own or adjacent subareas in much the same way as were contacts by Blacks but with smaller percentages of their out-of-area contacts in the inner city.

A discussion and more detailed presentation of the sources of police contacts in each area and contributions to contacts in each subarea by contiguous areas may be found in Appendix E, Tables 4 and 5.

Distance From Place of Residence to Place of Police Contact

While we have discussed the relationship of place of residence at time of police contact to place of contact and the apparent impact of barriers to movement out of one's area of residence, we have not approached the problem of differences simply in terms of distance.

When the coordinates for each place of residence were run against the coordinates for the place of police contact for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, distances were generated in terms of shortest distance between points in miles, a figure that roughly approximates travel time. With few exceptions, the White males had police contacts at greater average distances from their homes than did Black males and in most cases Chicano males had their police contacts further from home that did White or Black males. For example, the average distance between place of residence and place of offense for Violent property destruction was 1.64 miles for White males in the 1949 Cohort and .59 miles for Black males. Robbery took place at an average distance from their homes of 1.47 miles for White males and .99 miles for Black males. The Chicano pattern (there were insufficient Chicano police contacts to compare by individual offense categories) is not surprising considering the number who resided in

an outlying barrio and were therefore at a considerable distance from areas with a high incidence of delinquency and crime. In no cases were Black male contacts further from their homes than White male contacts for either the 1942 or 1949 Cohort.[7]

In the cases where police contact distances from home could be compared by sex the females generally had their contacts closer to home than did the males.

The possibility of increasing distance from home to place of contact and distance from contact to contact commencing with first contact and following through to Nth contact has been raised. If one area contained more repeaters than another, these residents of the area, as the distance from home to crime and crime to crime increased with time, would have a disproportionate number of their contacts outside their area of residence compared to the areas whose residents had few or multiple contacts. While there was some indication of increasing distance for Robbery, Burglary, Theft, and Auto theft (taken as a group), the wave was erratic with contact to contact variation being greater than any gradual increase in distances from the first to Nth contact.[8]

SUMMARY

The average number of police contacts per block within the 26 subareas by persons residing in these subareas at the time of their police contacts systematically decreases from the inner city outward. A similar but not quite so systematic decline per block was found for police contacts occurring within the 26 subareas.

From 60% to 90% of the contacts by Blacks were generated by those residing in the inner city Subareas 1 and 2, as were from 40% to 60% of the Chicano contacts. However, only 15% of the White contacts took

place in these subareas. While fewer, 54% to 75%, of the police contacts by Blacks and 36% to 56% of the police contacts by Chicanos took place in the inner city, only 19% to 32% of the White contacts were in these subareas. In other words, the area of White activity is more concentrated than are the areas of residence for contact-responsible Whites.

The extremes of concentration and dispersion of place of contact vs. place of residence are illustrated by the fact that about 50% of the contacts for persons in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts residing in Subarea 1 were in Subarea 1, while less than 10% of the contacts of those who lived in Subarea 26 actually took place in Subarea 26. In essence, there are subareas which contribute contacts to most other subareas and there are subareas that contribute contacts to very few other subareas.

Although some subareas are characterized by having a large proportion of their police contacts generated by persons who reside in neither that nor contiguous areas but in many widely dispersed areas, others are characterized by having most of their police contacts generated by persons from that or contiguous subareas. While persons from inner city and interstitial and some other subareas (this is more true of Blacks than Whites) have most of their police contacts in their subarea of residence or in contiguous subareas, persons from other subareas have relatively few of their contacts in their subarea of residence or contiguous subareas (this is more true for Whites than for Blacks or Chicanos).

While White males had police contacts at greater average distance from their homes than did Black males, for most types of contacts, Chicanos (as a consequence of the fact that many lived in an outlying barrio) had their contacts farthest from home of all. Females had their contacts closer to home for more types of contacts than did males.

The spatial distribution of delinquency and crime could, of course, have been presented in considerable complexity, different patterns shown for different age periods. Although there were interesting age period differences, it was decided that rather than to expand the presentation of place of residence vs. place of contact at the time of the incident, a quite different chapter should be included. Following the position that delinquency is a product of the learning process, we next examine differences in patterns of socialization. This, we shall eventually find, is one of the determinants of how extensive an official career may become and the nature and extent of self-reported careers, as well.

FOOTNOTES

[1] There has been an extensive literature on the ecology of the city, some of which has been referred to in Chapter 1. Following the early work of Richard M. Hurd's *Principles of City Land Values* (New York: The Record and Guide, 1911), the Chicago school generated a series of books and articles which supported the concentric circle model or zonal pattern of city growth and changing land use, e.g., Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), Ernest W. Burgess, *The Urban Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), Roderick D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933). The Chicago research prompted Homer Hoyt's, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities* (Washington: Federal Housing Administration, 1939), a volume which was interpreted by same as a rejection of the Chicago work, but which was more objectively seen as adding to it in describing patterns of city growth. Existing research on the ecology of the city has most recently been critically evaluated by Brian J.L. Berry and John D. Kasarda in *Contemporary Urban Ecology* (New York: MacMillan, 1977). Whatever one concludes about development patterns for residential neighborhoods, one must agree that relatively homogeneous areas should be delineated and ranked from low to high on some cummulative measure of whatever characteristics are hypothesized to have some relationship to juvenile delinquency and crime.

[2] Lyle W. Shannon, John R. Faine, and Judith L. McKim, "The Ecological Distribution of Negroes in Racine, Wisconsin, 1960-1970," unpublished but available in multilith for persons interested in comparison of scaling techniques.

[3] 1970 Census, PHC(1)-169, Tables P-2, P-3, and P-4.

[4] 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 Chicanos [Mexican-Americans]). In 1930 almost 20% of the population consisted of foreign-born Whites, while less than 1% was Black [Negro]. By 1940 the population of foreign-born Whites dropped to 16.5%, by 1950 to 12%, by 1960 to 8%, and by 1970 to 6%. At the same time, the Black population increased from 1% in 1940 to 2% by 1950, to 5.3% by 1960, and to 10.5% by 1970.

[5] Our findings, where applicable, are in agreement with those of Calvin F. Schmid and Stanton E. Schmid, *Crime in the State of Washington* (Olympia, Washington: Law and Justice Planning Office, Washington State Planning and Community Affairs Agency, 1972). While their report describes crime in the State of Washington, special attention is given to the spatial distribution of arrests in Seattle for the period 1960-1970 (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). This is undoubtedly the most comprehensive study of the ecology of crime available.

[6] The focal concerns of lower class culture as described in Walter B. Miller's, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues* 14(1958) 5-19, suggest how much of the delinquent behavior by inner city youth (and for that matter, adult misbehavior) becomes more visible to authorities than does that by youth who reside in peripheral areas.

[7] Distance from place of residence to place of contact is shown for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts in Tables 6 and 7 in Appendix E. Variation in place of occurrence by reason for police contact is also discussed in some detail in this appendix.

[8] Susan C. Cowart, "Some Individual Properties of Criminal Activity," unpublished paper, December 1977.

Chapter 6. Area of Socialization and Patterns of Delinquency and Crime

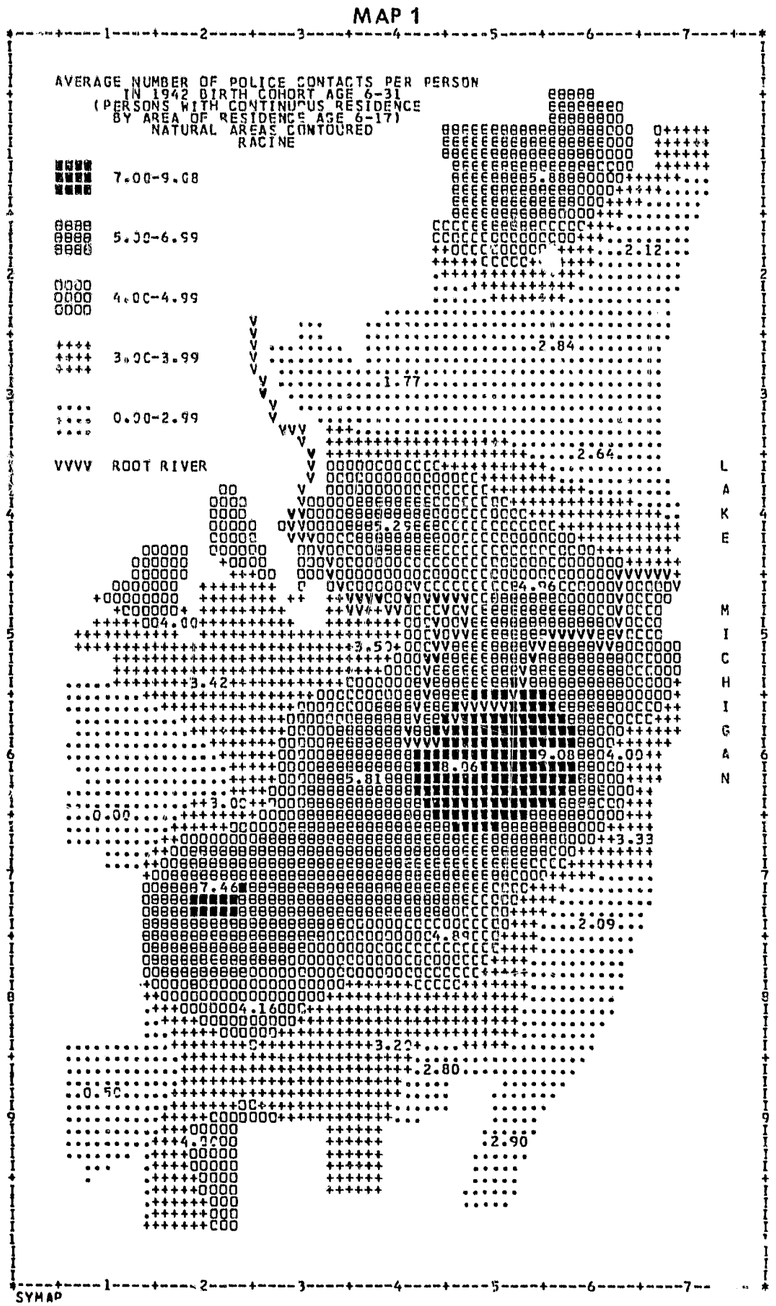
AREA OF SOCIALIZATION AND CAREERS IN DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

The spatial distribution of police contacts for delinquent and criminal behavior was described in detail in the last chapter based on place of residence at time of police contact and place of police contact. While these data are important in themselves, we have not yet described the relationship of place of socialization to the development of delinquent and criminal behavior.

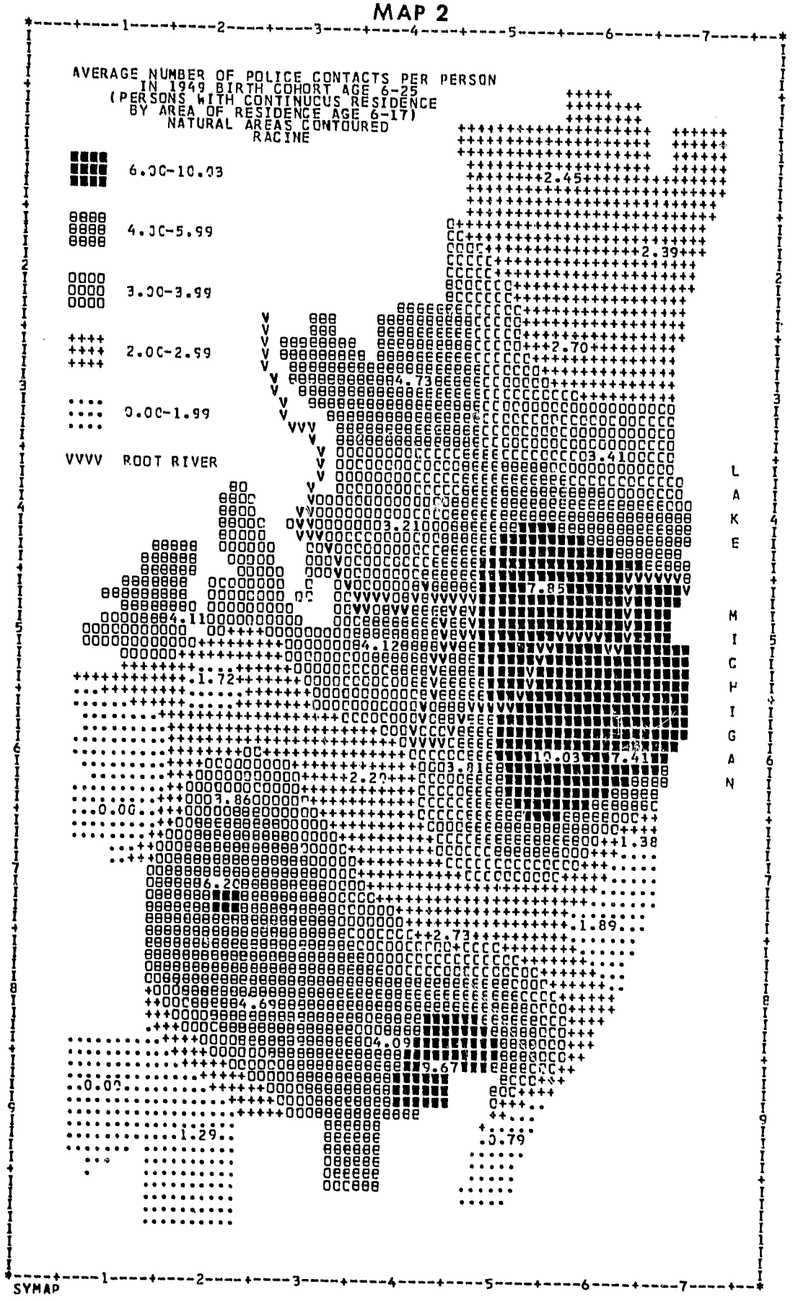
Since where one lives while growing up may be considered a factor determining whether or not one will have contacts with the police throughout their lifetime, we have examined total contacts of cohort members with continuous residence by their subareas of socialization. The average number of contacts per person for each subarea contoured into zones for each cohort is shown by Maps 1, 2, and 3. As would be expected, those who were socialized in the inner city or its interstitial subareas have the greatest mean number of police contacts throughout their lifetimes, regardless of cohort. Appendix F contains similar maps based on areas of socialization but including all persons in the cohort whether or not they had continuous residence in Racine.

Differences in the pattern of total contact rates between cohorts may be explained, at least in part, by the changing nature of residential areas, the expansion and changing locations of areas in which the least advantaged portion of the population was socialized, the development of the area containing the barrio, and the development of a larger commercial-industrial area on the periphery of the city that has some elements of the way of life

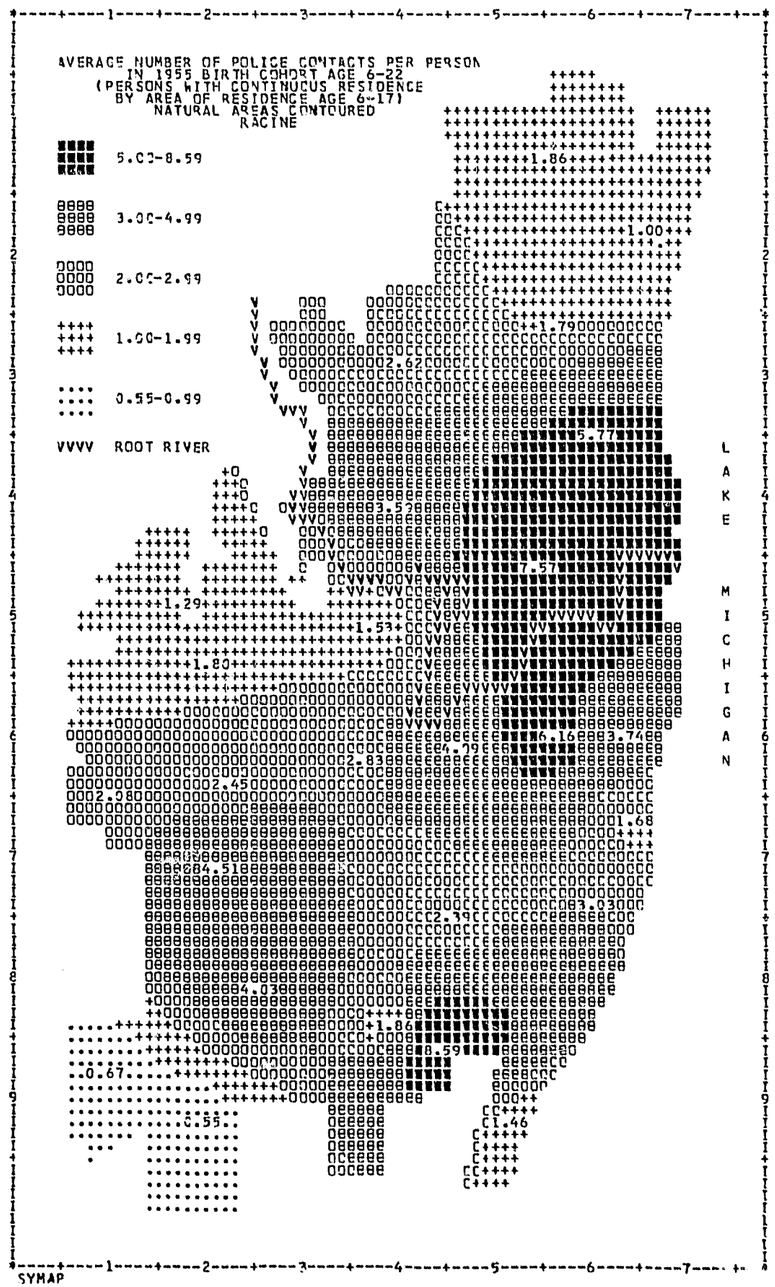
MAP 1


AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON
IN 1942 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6-31
(PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE
BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6-17)
NATURAL AREAS CONTOURED
RACINE
7.00-9.68
5.00-6.99
4.00-4.99
3.00-3.99
0.00-2.99
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 2


AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON
IN 1949 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6-25
(PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE
BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6-17)
NATURAL AREAS CONTOURED
RACINE
6.00-10.03
4.00-5.99
3.00-3.99
2.00-2.99
0.00-1.99
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 3



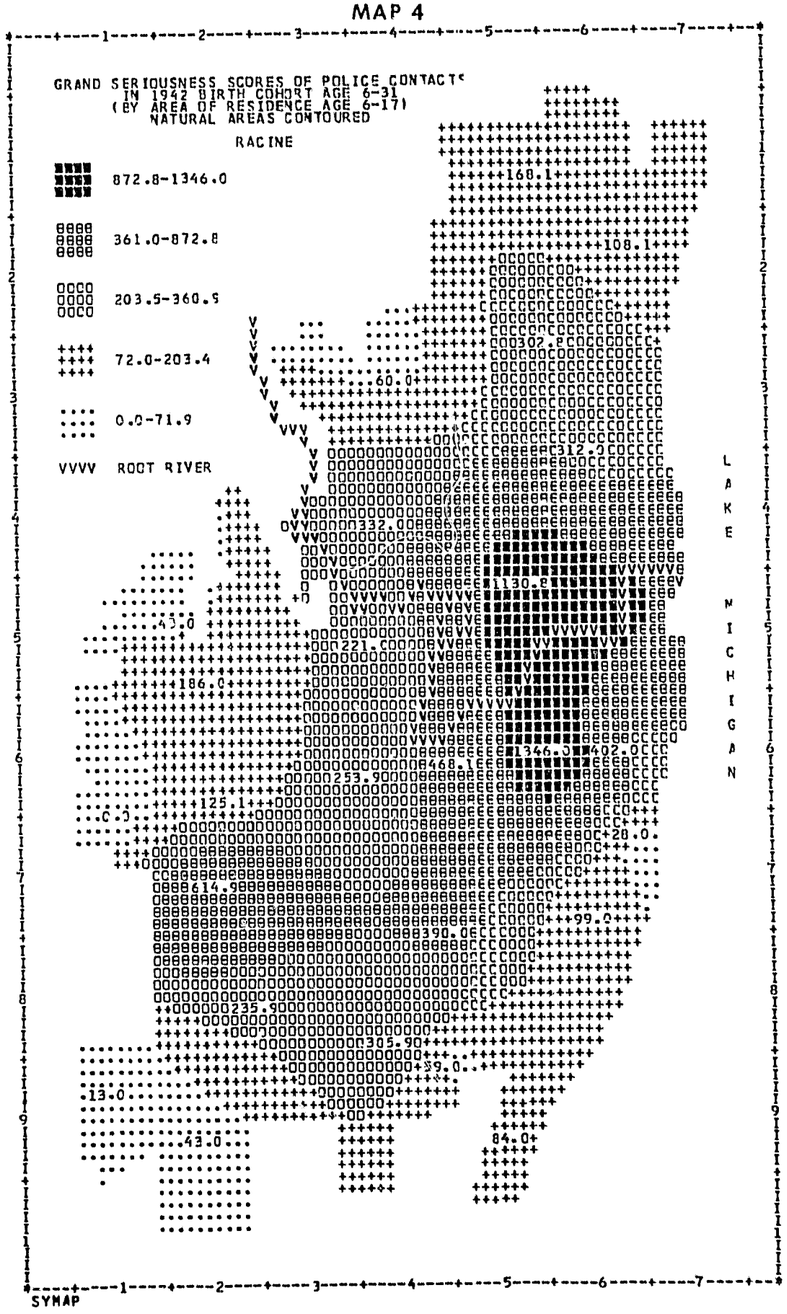
of inner city dwellers. To this point we have been describing total police contact patterns based on all categories of contact, with each contact given equal weight.

Maps 4, 5, and 6 are based on the average seriousness scores of persons in each cohort who grew up in each subarea regardless of the length of time that they lived in Racine. This is to show the concentration of repetitiveness and seriousness in the inner city and its interstitial areas. Spatial patterns based on differences in grand seriousness scores from subarea to subarea and from cohort to cohort are similar to those found for the total average contact rates shown on other maps, but differ in that the sheer numbers of persons having repetitive contacts compounded by seriousness emphasizes the inner city and its interstitial areas as the source of a disproportionate amount of the felonies and major misdemeanors which are found in the city.

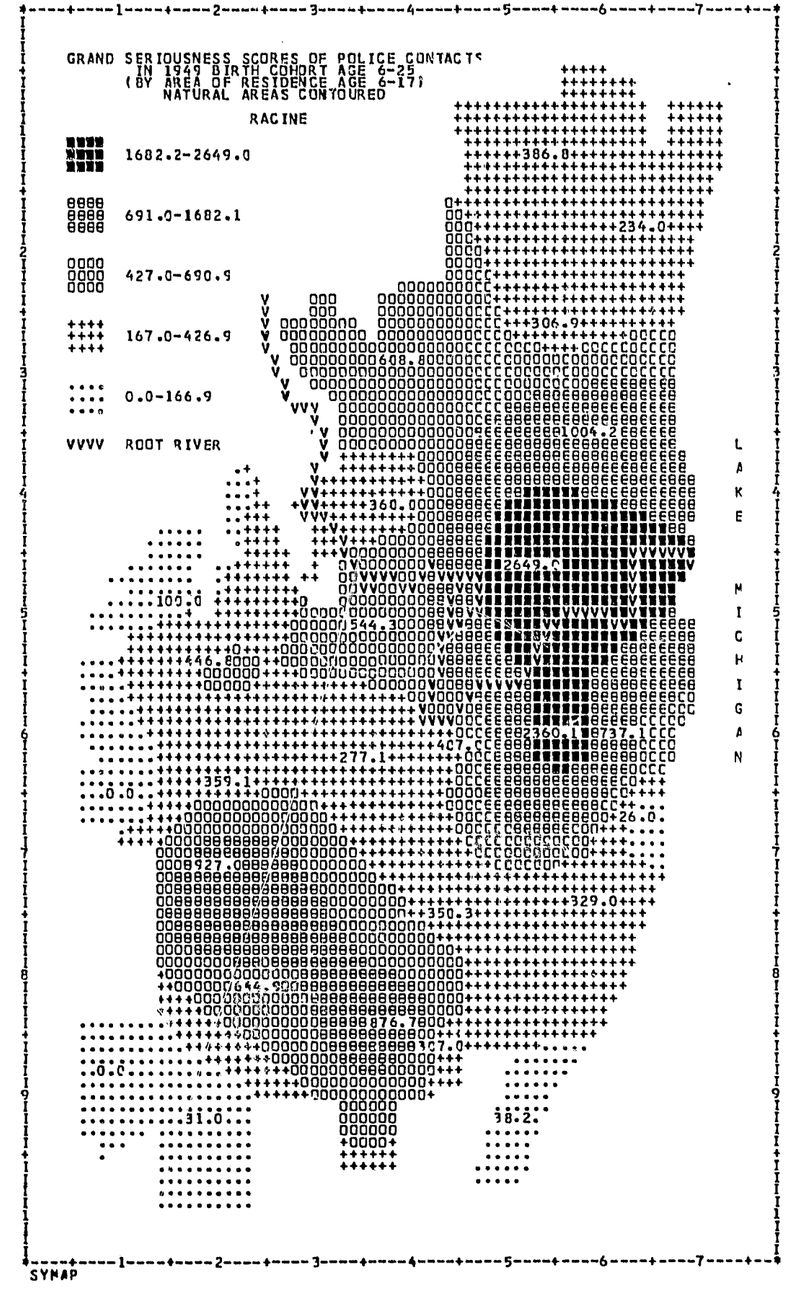
THE RACE/ETHNIC VARIATION OF POLICE CONTACT RATES BY AREA OF SOCIALIZATION

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 as their proportion of the cohort in each subarea of socialization when combined into larger areas. If these proportions are the same or very similar it becomes very difficult to accept racist explanations which, although interred many years ago, linger and are still given considerable weight by an unsophisticated segment of the population. If

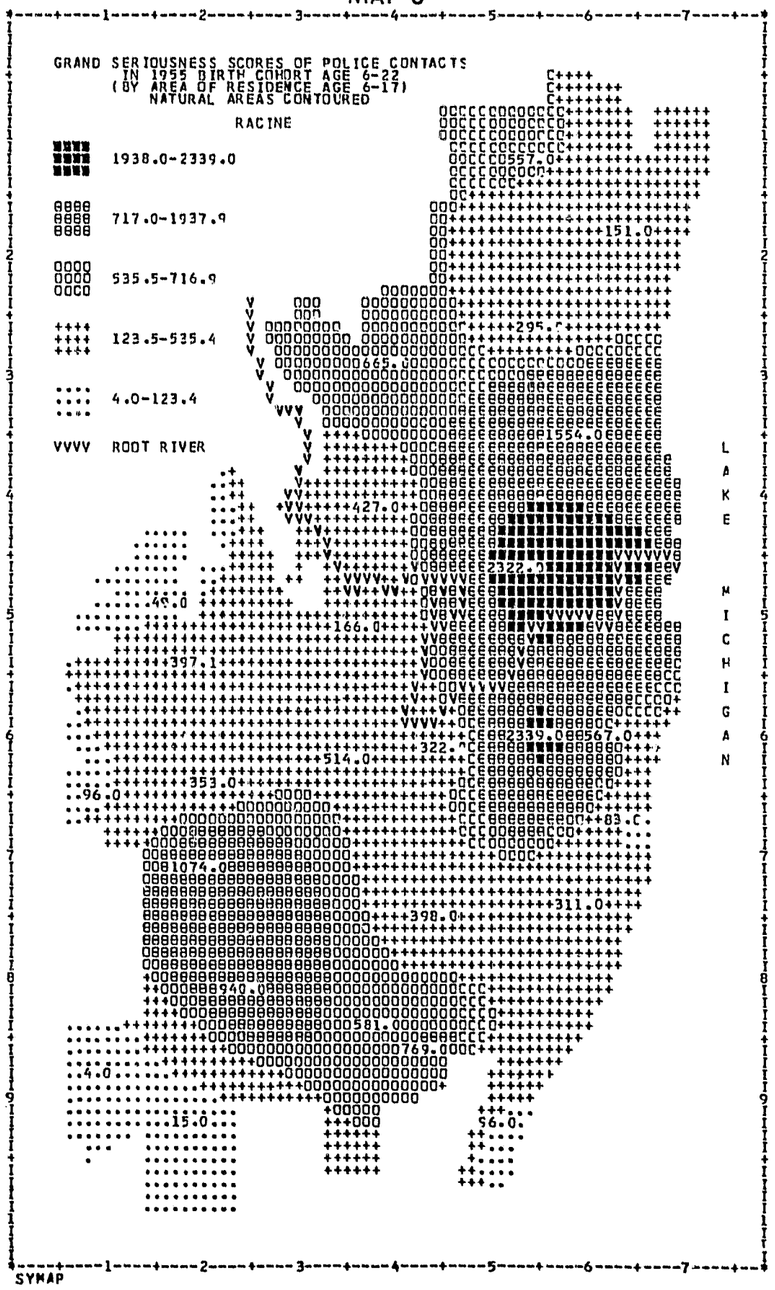
MAP 4


GRAND SERIOUSNESS SCORES OF POLICE CONTACTS
IN 1942 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6-31
(BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6-17)
NATURAL AREAS CONTOURED
RACINE
872.8-1346.0
361.0-872.8
203.5-360.9
72.0-203.4
0.0-71.9
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 5


GRAND SERIOUSNESS SCORES OF POLICE CONTACTS
IN 1949 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6-25
(BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6-17)
NATURAL AREAS CONTOURED
RACINE
1682.2-2649.0
691.0-1682.1
427.0-690.9
167.0-426.9
0.0-166.9
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 6



these proportions are not the same, the problem still remains of how to account for race/ethnic variation in juvenile delinquency and crime.

A greater proportion of the Black males who were socialized in Natural Area A (see Table 1A) had contacts in each of the age categories in all three cohorts than did the White males. One cannot generalize beyond this since so few members of either minority group grew up outside Areas A and B.

This pattern (Table 1B) was also evident among the 1949 Cohort's White and Black females, but the 1955 Cohort's Black and White females who grew up in Areas A and B are identical or differ little in their proportions with contacts for all age periods combined (although they differed for some age periods).

Considering the facts that such a large proportion of the 1942 Cohort (basically a White cohort) was socialized outside the inner city, that from 69% to 84% (depending on the cohort) of the White males had police contacts at one time or another, and that from 50% to 90% of the Whites from the best residential areas had at least one police contact at some time during their lives, it cannot even be said that delinquency and crime in the community was a Black problem or a problem restricted to those who were socialized in the inner city.[1]

When we compare the percentages of each race/ethnic group socialized in each natural area with the percentages of each from the area who actually had contacts (Table 2) we find very little difference in the proportions. White males, regardless of area or cohort, consistently had a slightly lower proportion with contacts than they constituted of the group socialized in the area. Minority group males, with two minor exceptions, had slightly higher proportions with contacts. The 1955 Black males of Area A had a 0.1%

TABLE 1A. PERCENT WITH POLICE CONTACTS AMONG COHORT MEMBERS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, MALES

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations** A,B,C,D,E			Total		
	A			B			C	D	E						
	W	B	C	W	B	C	W	W	W	W	B	C	W	B	C
1942 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	62	69	0	64	0	0	64	49	48	43	100	0	56	73	0
Contacts 18-20	43	85	50	53	0	0	47	43	35	34	100	0	44	87	33
Contacts 21+	73	92	100	67	0	100	76	67	65	67	100	0	70	93	100
Contacts Ever	81	100	100	84	0	100	89	90	78	77	100	0	84	100	100
N =	37	13	2	81	0	1	78	49	23	70	2	0	338	15	3
1949 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	64	87	88	63	33	80	70	60	84	48	100	100	64	83	87
Contacts 18-20	63	81	63	49	33	80	51	46	33	49	50	100	48	76	73
Contacts 21+	61	84	75	53	33	80	50	49	29	46	50	100	48	79	80
Contacts Ever	88	97	100	82	33	100	85	78	74	77	100	100	81	93	100
N =	59	37	8	150	3	5	145	139	77	107	2	2	677	42	15
1955 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	68	84	90	71	83	73	57	50	41	40	88	67	52	85	80
Contacts 18-20	52	70	70	55	61	60	41	42	32	39	65	100	42	68	71
Contacts 21+	29	44	30	30	39	33	18	17	21	19	29	50	19	41	34
Contacts Ever	87	90	95	87	89	87	74	66	52	62	88	100	69	89	93
N =	31	70	20	145	18	15	212	204	124	245	17	6	961	105	41

* Columns for minority groups have been eliminated in Areas C, D, and E because there were too few of both sexes.

** Outside Racine and Not Ascertained included; columns with small N's retained so that Total balances.

TABLE 1B. PERCENT WITH POLICE CONTACTS AMONG COHORT MEMBERS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, FEMALES

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations**			Total		
	A			B			C	D	E	A,B,C,D,E					
	W	B	C	W	B	C	W	W	W	W	B	C	W	B	C
1942 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	26	0	0	15	50	0	13	23	27	20	0	0	19	25	0
Contacts 18-20	26	0	0	15	100	0	11	13	9	11	0	0	14	50	0
Contacts 21+	39	100	0	25	100	33	29	36	36	29	100	0	31	100	20
Contacts Ever	59	100	0	43	100	67	43	52	55	44	100	0	48	100	40
N =	39	1	1	53	2	3	56	31	22	66	1	1	267	4	5
1949 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	36	61	33	22	43	33	33	24	24	18	50	0	27	56	33
Contacts 18-20	33	50	67	28	29	33	21	23	28	22	25	0	25	44	44
Contacts 21+	17	54	33	24	29	33	19	22	22	21	25	0	22	46	33
Contacts Ever	56	75	100	52	57	67	54	49	45	48	50	0	53	69	78
N =	36	28	3	93	7	6	129	109	58	83	4	0	508	39	9
1955 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	57	48	69	36	36	70	33	29	20	17	86	80	28	52	71
Contacts 18-20	29	35	23	32	29	20	21	18	21	17	57	40	21	37	25
Contacts 21+	11	16	39	7	29	30	9	10	5	7	57	40	8	24	36
Contacts Ever	66	66	85	55	57	70	46	43	36	31	93	80	42	69	78
N =	35	58	13	145	14	10	174	201	139	223	14	5	917	86	28

* Columns for minority groups have been eliminated in Areas C, D, and E because there were too few of both sexes.

** Outside Racine and Not Ascertained included; columns with small N's retained so that Total balances.

TABLE 2. RACE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF COHORTS AND THOSE WITH POLICE CONTACTS BY 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	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
MALES:												
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+												
White	71.2	56.7	25.6	99.6	97.3	94.5	97.2	96.4	91.4	94.9	91.5	86.3
Black	25.0	35.6	57.9	.0	1.0	2.6	2.8	1.8	6.3	4.2	5.9	9.5
Chicano	3.8	7.7	16.5	.4	1.7	2.9	.0	1.8	2.2	.8	2.6	4.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0
N =	52	104	121	232	525	725	72	111	268	356	740	1114
Contacts Ever 6-21+												
White	66.7	54.2	24.8	99.5	97.2	93.1	96.4	95.3	87.8	94.0	90.1	82.6
Black	28.9	37.5	57.8	.0	.7	3.3	3.6	2.3	8.7	5.0	6.8	11.9
Chicano	4.4	8.3	17.4	.5	2.1	3.7	.0	2.3	3.5	1.0	3.1	5.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	45	96	109	200	423	518	56	86	172	301	605	799
FEMALES:												
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+												
White	95.1	53.7	33.0	96.4	96.5	95.9	97.1	95.4	92.1	96.4	91.2	88.6
Black	2.4	41.8	54.7	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.5	4.6	5.8	1.8	7.0	8.3
Chicana	2.4	4.5	12.3	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.5	.0	2.1	1.8	1.8	3.1
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	41	67	106	168	403	687	68	87	242	277	557	1035
Contacts Ever 6-21+												
White	95.8	46.5	31.9	94.9	95.6	94.6	96.7	95.2	80.5	95.5	88.3	82.4
Black	4.2	46.5	52.8	2.5	1.9	2.6	3.3	4.8	14.9	3.0	8.9	12.5
Chicana	.0	7.0	15.3	2.5	2.4	2.9	.0	.0	4.6	1.5	2.7	5.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
N =	24	43	72	79	206	312	30	42	87	133	291	471

* Includes outside Racine and not ascertained.

smaller proportion with contacts and the 1949 Black males of Area B through E had a 0.3% lower proportion with contacts. These two exceptions do not seriously affect our overall conclusions that the proportions with contacts are consistently higher for males across areas and cohorts than their proportions of the population of the area. In fact, in not a single area or combination of areas for any cohort was the difference between race/ethnic proportions of the cohort significantly different from the proportion of each group that had contacts sometime during their careers.

The females present a very similar picture, but with five exceptions. Three of the exceptions involve Chicanas born in 1942, of whom there were five. Both of the remaining exceptions occur in Area A where the 1942 White female proportion is 0.7% higher than their proportion of the area's population and where the 1955 Black female proportion is 1.9% higher than their proportion of the area's population. Again, none of these exceptions is sufficiently great to affect our conclusion that their proportions, like the males, of those with contacts are consistent across areas and cohorts with their proportions of the population of the area and cohort. Furthermore, the consistency with which the race/ethnic proportions of those who have contacts parallel the race/ethnic composition of the areas reinforces our position that delinquency and crime are not exclusively minority group problems.

Even though the minority groups' percentages (male or female) of their group who had contacts in the four age categories almost always exceed that of the Whites in all three cohorts, this does not mean that the crime problem is excessively one of minority groups. About 90% of the persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts who had contacts were White and over 80% of the persons from the 1955 Cohort who had contacts were White. Even

in Area A where Blacks and Chicanos comprise a greater proportion of the population and the cohorts than in any other area, the Whites constituted the great bulk of those who had contacts in the 1942 Cohort, over half of those with contacts in the 1949 Cohort, and essentially their proportion of those with contacts in the 1955 Cohort.

The idea of Blacks and Chicanos as the focal point of the delinquency and crime problem is incorrect. This view is distorted by not only the failure to consider the spatial distribution of minorities but is to some extent a fiction about the nature of minority groups based on confusing contextually-derived behavior and characteristics of groups. What we see generated in Area A is a consequence of life in the inner city 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.[2]

RACE/ETHNIC VARIATION IN POLICE CONTACT RATES FOR
TRAFFIC VS. NON-TRAFFIC OFFENSES BY AREA OF SOCIALIZATION

The next question is how much variation is to be found for Non-traffic vs. Traffic contacts by area and by race/ethnicity within areas. (Detailed tables paralleling those in this chapter but based on Non-traffic vs. Traffic contacts are contained in Appendix F.)

We found that not only did a larger percentage of Black males socialized in Area A have police contacts than did comparable White males for Non-traffic offenses, but the difference between Blacks and Whites was even greater than for Traffic offenses. This was particularly the case for the 1955 Cohort where both Blacks and Chicanos had 30% greater involvement

than did the Whites. For example, 55% of the Whites had at least one Non-traffic contact but 87% of the Blacks and 85% of the Chicanos did so. Of those socialized in Area A, 61% of the Whites had had a Non-traffic contact but 89% of the Blacks and 90% of the Chicanos had also had at least one contact at some time in their lives, actually by age 21 for this cohort. While Whites had the lowest percent with Traffic contacts overall and Chicanos the highest, Whites socialized in Area A had a greater percentage with Traffic contacts than did the Blacks from the 1955 Cohort (Chicanos from Areas A and B had the highest percent with Traffic contacts). While a similar pattern was found for females, there was less difference between White and Black females from the 1955 Cohort for both Traffic and Non-traffic offenses than for the males. For the 1955 Cohort it was the Chicanos from Area A who had the highest contact rates of all for Non-traffic offenses. It should also be noted that there was a greater tendency for the proportion of Whites who had police contacts for Non-traffic offenses to decline outward from Areas A and B to peripheral Area E, but not as great, however, as the decline in numbers and seriousness of police contacts because persons with multiple and serious contacts were concentrated in the inner city and interstitial areas.

We were equally concerned about variation in the race/ethnic proportion of the persons socialized in the inner city vs. the rest of the city and the total who generated police contacts for Non-traffic vs. Traffic offenses during their careers. In the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, Black males from Area A experienced a disproportionate share of the Traffic offenses recorded against persons socialized in that area but they committed even more of the Non-traffic offenses. Black males in the 1955 Cohort contributed disproportionately

more contacts only for Non-traffic offenses. In neither case, however, did the Black males contribute so much more than their share to the total number of police contacts generated by persons who were socialized in any area that they should be singled out as the source of the delinquency and crime problem. While Chicano males were overrepresented, this was largely due to Traffic offenses.

SUMMARY

When the spatial distribution of delinquency and crime is presented in terms of frequency of police contacts for persons according to where they grew up (their area of socialization) during the ages 6 through 17, we find the classical pattern of higher rates in the inner city with lower rates on the periphery regardless of race/ethnicity. The pattern is similar to that of the spatial distribution of people in the community according to socioeconomic status.

When the proportion of White persons (removing Blacks and Chicanos concentrated in the inner city or interstitial areas) from each cohort who had police contacts was observed by areas of socialization, there was some decline in the proportion of males with police contacts from the center of the city outward for most age periods. However, the most notable statistic is the large proportion from each area who had police contacts at one time or another. In other words, delinquency and crime are prevalent among Whites regardless of their area of socialization.

The race/ethnic composition of persons from each cohort from each natural area who had police contacts in each age period or all age periods combined was very little different from the race/ethnic composition of

persons from areas of socialization or combinations of areas of socialization.

When persons in each cohort were observed by areas of socialization on a basis of whether they had Traffic or Non-traffic police contacts (some had one but not the other and some had in both), the differences between Whites and Blacks were greater for Non-traffic than for Traffic contacts, but a greater percentage of the Blacks had contacts in both categories in most age periods and all age periods combined. Still, almost without exception, about half or more of the White males from even the best residential areas had contacts for both Non-traffic and Traffic offenses.

When Traffic and Non-traffic contacts were separated, Black and Chicano males were, with few exceptions from cohort to cohort or within areas, more overrepresented for Non-traffic than Traffic offenses. Black females and Chicanas, while generally overrepresented for Non-traffic offenses, were not consistently overrepresented for Traffic offenses.

We must remember that higher contact rates in some areas and overrepresentation of minorities does not in itself indicate that special attention should be given to minorities apart from concern over the fact that they are disproportionately socialized in areas which have generated higher rates of delinquency and crime among Whites as well. The importance of differential socialization will become apparent when delinquency is viewed as a process.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The extensive literature on socioeconomic and social class differences in delinquency rates has not been cited in this chapter. Most studies have shown that it exists with official data. The pertinent ecological literature was referenced in Chapter 1. The widespread prevalence of police contacts with juveniles described in this chapter does not negate the findings that delinquency varies with social class and socioeconomic status. The addition of frequency and seriousness dimensions generates the traditional pattern of higher rates in the inner city and interstitial areas with a decline in rates as one moves toward higher socioeconomic status areas on the periphery of the city. Furthermore, the prevalence levels (being delinquent defined as having at least one police contact during the age period 6 - 17) are not inconsistent with the high cumulative prevalence levels for juveniles in similar urban areas cited by Robert A. Gordon in "Prevalence: The Rare Datum in Delinquency Measurement and I.Q. Implications for the Theory of Delinquency," Chapter 8, Malcom W. Klein (ed.), *The Juvenile Justice System* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1976), pp. 210-241.

[2] The literature has been replete with findings of higher rates of delinquency and crime for minority race/ethnic groups. No one questions the existence of these differences based on official data. The issue is how these differences come about and the extent to which they are differences based on socioeconomic status, dispositional procedure in the juvenile and adult justice systems, or subcultural variation related to background and life experiences. In regard to the latter, Thornberry and Figlio, Chapter 11, "Victimization and Criminal Behavior in a Birth Cohort," in Terence P. Thornberry and Edward Sagarin, (eds.), *Images of Crime: Offenders and Victims* (New York: Praeger Publishers 1972), have shown that black cohort members are more likely than whites to be victims of robbery, stabbing, shooting, pickpocketing, and larceny. This suggests that the way of life of victims may make them more susceptible to victimization by action. References to the literature on social class and subcultural differences were made in Chapter 1, e.g., Shaw, Thrasher, Miller Cloward and Ohlin, Bordua, Schultz, Short and Strodbeck, Kobrin, and Lerman. For

a recent article on the Chicano case see Howard S. Erlanger, "Estrangement, Machismo and Gang Violence," *Social Science Quarterly*, 60(1979) pp. 235-248. Erlanger's point that subcultural differences may readily and unintentionally generate police contacts in the larger society is well taken. This is particularly true if police and school personnel have little or no understanding of the minority subculture. Also see Octavio Ignacio Romano V, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-Americans," *El Grito* 2(1968) pp. 13-28. While we take the position that the higher incidence and prevalence of delinquency and crime rates among minorities may be explained by their status and group membership it must be noted that some competent researchers look at it otherwise. For example, Gordon, op. cit., 1976, pp. 256-270, believes that higher rates of delinquency and crime are related to differences in the distribution of I.Q.

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Chapter 7. The Concentration of Delinquency and Crime Among Multiple Offenders

CONCENTRATION OF CONTACTS

The concentration of police contacts within the inner city and interstitial areas in terms of both contact location and place of residence of persons with police contacts has been described in the past two chapters. Likewise, it is found that police contacts for alleged delinquent and criminal behavior are highly concentrated among some individuals in each cohort, both in terms of the recurrence of contacts and the seriousness of behavior that generates police contacts. It has also been shown that police contacts are so widely dispersed that more than one-half of the males, regardless of where they reside, have at least one Non-traffic contact with the police sometime during their lives. We shall also find that while a portion of each group has continuity in their careers, most people have discontinuous careers or contacts during only one period in their lives. In this chapter we shall describe the concentration of contacts among a small proportion of the members of each cohort.

The Proportion Responsible for Most Police Contacts

As in other similar studies, relatively few persons were responsible for a disproportionately large number of all police contacts. This was the case in all cohorts. In the 1942 Cohort 9.5% were responsible for 51.0% of the contacts. In the 1949 Cohort concentration was somewhat greater, 8.0% of the cohort being responsible for 50.8% of the contacts. And for the 1955 Cohort only 5.8% of the cohort was responsible for 50.8% of the contacts.

These differences must be put in perspective, however, by recalling

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2 OF 13

that a greater proportion of the males (6-7% more) in the 1949 Cohort had police contacts than did the males in 1942 or 1955 Cohorts during the age period from 6 through 20. We would therefore expect somewhat less concentration of contacts for the 1949 Cohort males. Further, the 1942 Cohort had a longer period of adult exposure. Consequently, we would expect less concentration of the contacts among a small portion of that cohort, in part because they would have more years of exposure to the possibility of contacts for Traffic offenses. All things considered, the concentration of contacts among males probably differs little from cohort to cohort.

Concentration of contacts was even greater for females than for males in each cohort. For example, 8.7% of the females in the 1942 Cohort accounted for 51.5% of the contacts by females, while it took 12.6% of the males to account for 49.2% of their contacts. Similarly, in the 1949 Cohort 7.7% of the females accounted for 51.5% of their contacts but it took 10.4% of the males to account for 50.4% of their contacts. And again, in the 1955 Cohort 6.7% of the females were responsible for 53.8% of their contacts while 8.4% of the males were responsible for 53.5% of their contacts. Differences from cohort to cohort in the concentration of female contacts are considerably less than for males. This may be explained to some extent by additional years of exposure to the possibility of Traffic contacts for those in the earlier cohorts for males but also by the increasing proportion of the females who had police contacts, particularly in the juvenile period.

Although there were so few Chicano males and females and so few Black females in the 1942 Cohort that one must use caution in analyzing their police contacts, it should be noted that 20.0% of the Black males were

responsible for 45.2% of their contacts in contrast to the 12.7% of the White males who accounted for 49.1% of their contacts. Thus it is apparent that police contacts are not nearly as concentrated among Blacks as Anglos. It should be added that in the 1942 Cohort the greatest concentration of contacts was for White females, where 8.7% had 51.5% of their contacts.

In the 1949 Cohort there was a sufficient number Chicano males to note that 21.0% accounted for 49.0% of their contacts and sufficient Black males to note that 18.2% of them accounted for 50.0% of their contacts. There were also enough Black females to now point out that 12.8% were responsible for 50.0% of their contacts. Still, concentration remained the highest among Whites with 10.9% of the males accounting for 51.0% of their contacts and 9.2% of the females accounting for 53.4% of their contacts.

The concentration of police contacts among a small percent of the Blacks and Chicanos in the 1955 Cohort was higher than for the previous cohorts for the same reasons mentioned for the total cohort, only 12.8% of the Chicano males accumulating 46.1% of their contacts and 12.5% of the Chicanas accumulating 54.3% of their contacts. Likewise, only 9.3% of the Black females now had 49.8% of their contacts and 14.1% of the Black males had 51.1% of their contacts. White male concentration had increased in the 1955 Cohort so that 8.0% now accounted for 52.2% of their contacts and White females had 6.7% accounting for 54.4% of their contacts. These figures and additional evidence of the concentration of contacts may be found in Table 1.

Traffic vs. Non-traffic Concentration

Traffic offenses are perceived by many persons as representing a different order of delinquent and criminal behavior than Non-traffic offenses.

TABLE 1. 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
Chicanas	----	----	----	----	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
Chicanas	----	----	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.[illegible]
Black Females	----	----	15.4	62.9	8.1	56.7
Chicanas	----	----	----	----	6.2	37.1

* Too few persons in cohort segment for this statistic (less than 15).

The data in Table 1 indicate that although Non-traffic contacts are generally more concentrated in a small proportion of the persons in each cohort than are Traffic contacts, there are some race/ethnic|sex segments of each cohort in which Traffic contacts are even more concentrated than Non-traffic contacts because a relatively small number of the group has access to automobiles. Suffice it to say that proportionately more males not only had access to automobiles but also spent more time driving around than did females, particularly Black females and Chicanas. As a result there is greater concentration of Traffic contacts among females than males. In the case of White males, who had greater access to automobiles than other race/ethnic|sex segments of each cohort, Traffic contacts are less concentrated while Non-traffic contacts are considerably more concentrated in the hands of a few persons.

While the discontinuous nature of these people vs. contacts cumulative distributions makes it difficult to select comparable cutting points for each race/ethnic|sex segment of each cohort, it is still possible to see that a relatively small proportion of most race/ethnic|sex categories accounts for a large proportion of each group's police contacts. The concentration of police contacts has probably not increased from cohort to cohort and the apparent decrease in the proportion of persons responsible for a cohort's police contacts may be attributed to the fact that later cohorts have had fewer years in which to acquire contacts for Traffic offenses. While we have acknowledged other differences among cohorts, it is doubtful if increasing concentration of contacts in the hands of a few persons can be supported as a characteristic of the younger cohorts, even though the figures may suggest this.

Felony vs. Non-felony Concentration

When the concentration of contacts by Felonies vs. Non-felonies was examined (as shown in Table 2) we found that in all cohorts contacts for Felonies were highly concentrated among a small percent of the members of that cohort. The concentration of Felonies was highest among the females and, within the female segments, among White females. They were also highly concentrated among the White males, with 11.5% of the White males in the 1942 Cohort, 12.6% in the 1949 Cohort, and 16.4% in the 1955 Cohort accounting for all Felonies by White males in each cohort. Non-felony contacts showed far less concentration among the males, particularly the Blacks and Chicanos.

While there was an appearance of increasing concentration of contacts in Table 1, we find the opposite for Felonies. How can this be explained? We would suggest that as the years go by (and this will be detailed in a later chapter) very few persons in the cohort continue to behave in such a way as to have police contacts for what would be categorized as Felonies. Most juveniles and young adults cease to steal automobiles or other property, to break into warehouses, or to engage in assaultive behavior of one sort or another. The proportion of the cohort responsible for Felony contacts declines and, as time goes by, produces a greater concentration of these contacts in a small proportion of the cohort.

MULTIPLE OFFENDERS

The fact that a small percentage of each cohort produces most of the contacts for Felonies leads us to wonder if these are the people who can be readily classified as chronic offenders. Further, are they the people who accumulate 4 or more or 5 or more contacts and among them the most

TABLE 2. 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
Chicanas	----	----	----	----	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	----	----	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	----	----	35.9	85.5	32.6	84.2
Chicanas	----	----	----	----	43.7	88.6

* Too few persons in cohort segment for this statistic (less than 15).

serious offenses? In other words, are the frequent offenders (those whose offenses produce contacts) also the people who produce the bulk of the contacts for Felonies or Non-traffic offenses?

The answer to this question may be found in Table 3. In addition to presenting the data for all contacts, the members of each cohort are categorized by the number of police contacts that they have had for Traffic vs. Non-traffic contacts and Felony vs. Non-felony contacts. We have utilized the same cutting points as Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin in order to facilitate comparison of our findings with theirs.[1] It should not be assumed that the designation of persons with 2-4 contacts as Recidivists and those with 5 or more contacts as Chronics has anything sacred about it. As a matter of fact, it was found that the characteristics of persons with no contacts, 2-4 contacts, and 5 or more contacts varied from cohort to cohort. Furthermore, the characteristics of persons who had police contacts for allegedly felonious vs. non-felonious behavior differed from cohort to cohort as did those who had contacts for Part I vs. Part II offenses. Although this analysis utilized the interview data which will not be described until a later chapter, it is included as a methodological appendix to this chapter (See Appendix G). For males in all cohorts the 30% or less who had 4 or more contacts for Non-traffic offenses account for more than 80% of the Non-traffic contacts. Felonies are even more concentrated among those males with 4 or 5 Felony contacts than are Non-traffic offenses, as shown in the lower section of Table 3. Similarly, females with 4 or more or 5 or more Non-traffic contacts account for a large proportion of their Non-traffic contacts, but the concentration of Felonies is even greater for Non-traffic offenses for females. While Table 3 does not show the

TABLE 3. CHRONIC OFFENDERS: PERCENT OF OFFENDERS WITH 4 OR MORE AND 5 OR MORE CONTACTS AND THEIR PERCENT OF THE CONTACTS

		1942		1949		1955	
		% of Cohort	% of Contacts	% of Cohort	% of Contacts	% of Cohort	% of Contacts
All Contacts							
4 or +:	Cohort	31.9	85.2	30.3	84.4	20.7	81.1
	Males	50.0	89.8	44.5	89.0	55.3	92.0
	Females	8.7	51.5	11.3	60.2	25.0	73.4
5 or +:	Cohort	26.2	79.8	23.5	78.0	17.1	76.7
	Males	42.4	85.3	35.4	83.1	51.1	90.1
	Females	5.4	40.6	7.7	51.1	18.7	64.9
Non-traffic Contacts							
4 or +:	Cohort	18.6	79.8	20.9	83.0	16.4	82.5
	Males	29.5	82.7	30.4	86.1	24.4	86.6
	Females	4.7	55.4	8.3	65.9	7.8	65.8
5 or +:	Cohort	15.0	73.9	14.4	77.1	13.5	78.1
	Males	24.4	77.5	24.7	81.0	20.9	83.2
	Females	2.9	43.4	5.4	55.4	5.5	57.4
Traffic Contacts							
4 or +:	Cohort	16.0	61.3	8.6	42.7	2.3	19.8
	Males	27.0	68.5	13.9	49.9	3.9	22.4
	Females*	13.7	63.6	8.8	48.0	4.6	39.7
5 or +:	Cohort	11.1	50.5	5.3	31.6	1.3	12.4
	Males	18.5	56.3	9.1	37.6	2.1	14.0
	Females**	4.7	32.7	3.9	28.2	1.0	14.3
Felony Contacts							
4 or +:	Cohort	.6	27.1	1.7	44.1	3.5	63.8
	Males	1.1	29.2	3.0	48.6	6.4	69.8
	Females*	.4	28.6	.7	34.6	1.9	52.4
5 or +:	Cohort	----***	----	1.1	32.6	2.7	56.7
	Males	----	----	1.9	36.0	5.1	63.1
	Females**	----	----	.2	11.5	1.0	33.3
Non-felony Contacts							
4 or +:	Cohort	31.6	84.4	29.8	83.6	19.5	78.4
	Males	49.7	89.3	43.8	88.2	30.2	84.0
	Females	8.3	50.2	11.1	59.9	8.0	57.2
5 or +:	Cohort	25.7	78.7	23.4	77.2	15.4	72.4
	Males	41.8	84.4	35.3	82.4	24.3	78.6
	Females	5.0	38.9	7.5	50.5	5.9	50.6

* Females with 2 or + Contacts.
** Females with 3 or + Contacts.
*** Too few persons in cohort segment with 5 or more Felonies for this statistic.

concentration of contacts among multiple offenders by race/ethnicity, it should be added that, although neither contacts in general nor contacts for Felonies were as concentrated among Black males as among White males, when those Black males with multiple Felonies were considered their concentration of contacts increased markedly, less than 25% being responsible for over 75% of the Felonies by Blacks.

CONCENTRATION OF SERIOUSNESS SCORES

Going one step further it was found that the median seriousness scores of persons with 5 or more contacts was about four times as high as the median seriousness scoresfor persons with 2 to 4 contacts, 20.8 vs. 5.1 for White males in the 1942 Cohort, 20.4 vs. 5.3 for the 1949 Cohort, and 24.7 vs. 6.0 for the 1955 Cohort. Similar differences were found for females. Even greater differences were found for Black males in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, as shown in Table 4.

Although a number of contacts tends to produce a high median seriousness score for persons with 5 or more contacts, whether they be White, Black, or Chicano, male or female, it is clear that the median seriousness scores for categories of persons with 5 contacts or more were not generated by contact categories at the lower end of the seriousness scale. This is particularly true for males, thus we have additional evidence to support the position that persons with 5 or more police contacts should be the subject of careful study.

Furthermore, it was found that Non-traffic contacts make up a larger proportion of the contacts for persons with 5 contacts than for those with fewer contacts, regardless of cohort, race/ethnicity, or sex. Those with 5 contacts or more are responsible for a larger proportion of the Felony

TABLE 4. MEAN AND MEDIAN SERIOUSNESS SCORES BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX, BY NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS*

	1 Contact		Recidivists (2-4)		Chronics (5 or +)	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
1942						
White						
Males	1.58	1.20	5.20	5.08	29.41	20.80
Females	1.71	1.23	4.18	3.88	20.40	15.33
Black						
Males	----	----	----	----	59.00	45.50
Females	----	----	----	----	----	----
1949						
White						
Males	2.06	1.60	5.57	5.30	32.74	20.36
Females	1.81	1.28	5.33	4.88	24.64	16.50
Black						
Males	----	----	7.33	7.00	56.90	53.00
Females	----	----	4.67	4.25	27.00	19.00
Chicano						
Males	----	----	----	----	48.93	41.00
Females	----	----	----	----	-----	-----
1955						
White						
Males	2.14	2.21	6.44	6.04	39.45	24.75
Females	2.05	1.68	6.10	5.79	29.80	22.33
Black						
Males	*2.86*	*3.00*	8.15	7.83	68.16	38.50
Females	1.95	1.67	6.71	6.13	33.11	19.50
Chicano						
Males	*2.40*	*2.00*	6.13	5.33	47.79	34.50
Females	2.89	3.00	6.56	6.67	*27.50*	*24.50*

* Means and Medians ---- if less than 8 persons but in italics if 5 or more.

contacts than are those with fewer contacts. Although the tables are not included in this report, we also find that the number of Felonies increases with seriousness scores for each race/ethnic group in each age period, i.e., increases in seriousness of careers are not based on number of contacts alone. Thus, the data tell us again and again that persons with 5 or more contacts who have high seriousness scores and who have probably committed a Felony, constitute a group upon which attention should be focused.

SUMMARY

The data presented in this chapter reveal that while roughly 20% of each cohort's members are responsible for 80% of the Non-traffic police contacts generated by the cohort, an even smaller percent (8% to 14%) is responsible for all of their Felonies. Should the decision be made to identify those who are responsible for about 75% of the Felonies (and much of the other crime), the 5% of each cohort who have 2 to 3 Felony contacts would be the target population.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The 1955 Racine cohort is most comparable to the Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin cohort. The similarity of our basic findings to theirs is shown by the fact that 53.6% of all delinquents with more than one offense in the Philadelphia cohort (recidivists by their definition) accounted for 84.2% of the offenses and that of the Racine males with police contacts, 51.3% of those with more than two contacts accounted for 90.8% of all police contacts for Non-traffic offenses by the 1955 Cohort. That the Racine cutting point was more than two offenses rather than one may be explained by the large number of contacts in Racine for Suspicion, investigation, or information. Were these contacts removed the proportion of contacts accounted for by the half of those with contacts who had more than one contact would be about the same. Inclusion of the contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information also meant that 18.2% of the males with contacts who had 10 contacts or more accounted for 68.3% of the Racine contacts by the 1955 Cohort in comparision with the 51.9% of the Philadelphia offenses accrued by 18% of their "delinquents" with 5 or more offenses. Since only 32.2% of the males in the 1955 Racine cohort who had Non-traffic police contacts had only one contact compared with 46.4% of the Philadelphia cohort it is clear that regardless of the cutting points selected, multiple offenders will account for a greater proportion of the contacts in the Racine cohort.

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Chapter 8. Continuity and Discontinuity and Increasing Seriousness

INTRODUCTION

If a relatively small proportion of the persons in each cohort are responsible for a large proportion of the police contacts by members of their cohort, then most juveniles must cease to have police contacts after only a few contacts. Likewise, since we have found that the more serious reasons for police contacts are also highly concentrated this must be even more the case when only contacts for felonies are considered. In this section of the analysis we focus upon consecutive police contacts and recurring types of contacts as sequences of events that may have greater or lesser probabilities of continuity leading to adult careers in crime. A sequential model allows the researcher to study the progress of individuals toward greater extremes of deviance as well as attrition from the deviance-producing process. As Becker notes, the study of attrition may, in the long run, lead to greater understanding of deviance than simply the sequence of continuation.[1] We shall first focus on continuation probabilities in the police contact sequence. That is, given a first contact with the police, there either will or will not be a second contact. Two groups are formed after each contact--the "continuers" and the "terminators." It is assumed that these groups differ and these differences represent the contingencies associated with continuation and, of course, with discontinuation.

CONTINUATION PROBABILITIES

Since we shall commence by comparing our results with the Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin data, the reader should be reminded that they followed cohort members between the ages of 10 and 18 in their first study and in

their restudy followed them to age 30, consequently, the latter is most comparable to the 1942 Cohort in Racine. In order to make both sets comparable we have removed contacts for Traffic offenses, Juvenile Condition (status offenses), and for Suspicion, investigation, or information from the Racine cohorts.*

Continuation probabilities for contacts for each of the Racine cohorts with the early and recent Philadelphia continuation probabilities are compared in Table 1. The first figure in each column is the probability that an initial police contact will occur, i.e., the proportion of the cohort who had at least one contact with the police. The probability of having an initial police contact in the Racine cohorts is similar to that in the Philadelphia study with around half of each cohort having at least one recorded contact. Female continuity probabilities are considerably lower for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts than for the 1955 Cohort, as would be expected from data presented in earlier chapters. Note that after reaching their fourth contact the 1942 Racine Cohort males and the Philadelphia males (Recent) with similar years of exposure have similar but varying continuation probabilities. Although the Philadelphia males (Early) have the same years of exposure as the 1955 Racine Cohort, the Racine continuation probabilities are slightly higher. While there are small differences in continuation probabilities from cohort to cohort in the Racine study this would be expected not only because there are probably some cohort differences in behavior but because there are also differences in police tolerance of (formal and informal) juvenile misbehavior over time. This is less likely to be revealed, however, when contacts for Juvenile Conditions and Suspicion, investigation, or information have been removed for comparison of the Racine data with the Philadelphia data. We

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF THE PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING POLICE CONTACTS FOR MALES AND FEMALES FROM THE RACINE COHORTS AND THE WOLFGANG *et al.* (PHILADELPHIA) COHORT*

	Philadelphia		Racine					
	Males		Males			Females****		
Contact Number	Early**	Recent***	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.394	.473	.573	.535	.478	.159	.232	.243
2	.538	.662	.868	.874	.833	.795	.806	.833
3	.651	.717	.661	.665	.653	.514	.433	.474
4	.716	.798	.726	.726	.800	.500	.733	.576
5	.722	.828	.824	.749	.810	.556	.697	.719
6	.742	.847	.771	.864	.819		.652	.634
7	.791	.836	.833	.824	.838		.533	.885
8	.766	.892	.711	.921	.876		.625	.783
9	.798	.879	.813	.902	.894			.889
10	.827	.900	.846	.905	.871			.688
11	.790	.889	.818	.851	.886			1.000
12	.803	.781	1.000	.912	.885			.727
13	.729	.900	.722	.808	.913			.750
14	.884	.955	.923	.905	.952			.833
15	.697	.814	1.000	.895	.950			

*Traffic, Status Offenses, and Contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information omitted to make data comparable to Wolfgang, *et al.*

**Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972): p. 162.

***Marvin E. Wolfgang and James J. Collins, Jr., *Offender Careers and Restraint: Probabilities and Policy Implications*. Unpublished Final Report LEAA Project 76NI-99-0089. (Philadelphia: Center for Studies in Crime, Criminology and Criminal Law, 1978): p. 19.

****Female continuity figures stop when less than 5 have continuing contacts.

have been more inclusive of reasons for police contact because we are concerned about the labelling effect which develops from any type of police contact involving law violation or status offenses.

The probability of a first and continuing contact for each cohort, males and females, with all reasons for police contact included, is shown in Tables 2A and 2B; each sequence of probabilities is shown for the entire recorded career of each cohort. Similar probabilities with controls for sex for various categories of contacts and the N's for continuers may be found in Appendix H.

Each table is divided into three sets of columns. The Total column contains probabilities of continuation for all offense types, i.e., given that an offense of any type has occurred, what is the probability that another offense of any type will subsequently follow? Non-traffic columns are a separate category and contain the probability that a contact for a Non-traffic offense will be followed at some time by another Non-traffic contact. The Felony columns are also separate categories and represent the probability that a contact for a Felony will at some time be followed by another Felony contact.

While the probability of continuing to have any kind of contact is roughly similar for all cohorts after the first few contacts, there are also some differences. The same is true if only Non-traffic contacts are considered. Since fewer of each cohort have an initial felony, there is more irregularity in the continuation probabilities for felonies from cohort to cohort. Although these probabilities are based on different years of exposure, it is obvious that the same general process is at work in each cohort. The proportion of females with a first and continuing contact shows even greater disparity from cohort to cohort. The relatively smaller number of females

TABLE 2A. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: MALES

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts								
	Total			Non-traffic			Felony		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.846*	.818	.717	.699	.676	.591	.132	.151	.219
2	.874	.817	.727	.695	.722	.679	.404	.482	.533
3	.802	.802	.749	.775	.773	.761	.474	.556	.654
4	.844	.833	.807	.784	.806	.803	.444	.733	.624
5	.848	.794	.846	.829	.813	.857	.500	.636	.679
6	.861	.889	.828	.908	.831	.893	1.000	.643	.722
7	.854	.845	.890	.361	.842	.895	1.000	.556	.577
8	.874	.878	.877	.882	.883	.872	1.000	.400	.467
9	.907	.838	.885	.917	.885	.871	.500	1.000	.714
10	.920	.869	.906	.818	.920	.915	1.000	1.000	.400
11	.802	.921	.903	.867	.935	.900	.000	.500	.500
12	.892	.888	.914	.846	.930	.915		.000	.000
13	.897	.922	.866	.818	.900	.935			
14	.962	.905	.918	.889	.903	.960			
15	.900	.895	.970	.792	.938	.979			
16	.956	.909	.959	.947	.951	.947			
17	.907	.971	.947	.778	.966	.876			
18	.897	.926	.966	1.000	.875	.859			
19	.914	.968	.930	.929	.939	.910			
20	.875	.902	.913	1.000	.891	.836			
21 or +	.929	.873	.945	.769	.951	.745			

* The number of males with a first contact (301) was divided by the number of males in the cohort (356) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.846); the number of persons with a second contact (263) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (301) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.874), and so on. In each column after the column for Total, the first contact referred to is the first contact of that category, the second contact of that category, and so on.

TABLE 2B. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: FEMALES

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts								
	Total			Non-traffic			Felony		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.480*	.524	.455	.235	.332	.331	.022	.038	.060
2	.504	.521	.507	.462	.524	.525	.167	.190	.258
3	.478	.618	.594	.633	.639	.617	.000	.250	.625
4	.750	.670	.662	.684	.742	.739		.000	.300
5	.625	.683	.745	.615	.652	.707			.000
6	.667	.698	.743	.875	.700	.776			
7	.700	.800	.865	.857	.714	.822			
8	.857	.625	.911	.833	.867	.946			
9	1.000	.867	.902	.400	.846	.886			
10	.833	1.000	.865	1.000	.818	.839			
11	.800	.923	.750	.500	1.000	.769			
12	.500	.917	.708	1.000	.778	.800			
13	1.000	.818	.882	1.000	.857	.875			
14	1.000	.667	.882	1.000	.833	.875			
15	1.000	1.000	.933	1.000	1.000	.875			
16	1.000	1.000	.714	1.000	.800	.714			
17	.500	.667	.714	1.000	1.000	.714			
18	1.000	1.000	.900	1.000	1.000	.900			
19	1.000	1.000	.900	1.000	1.000	.900			
20	1.000	1.000	.900	1.000	1.000	.889			
21 or +	1.000	.750	.900	1.000	.750	.875			

* The number of females with a first contact (133) was divided by the number of females in the cohort (277) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.480); the number of persons with a second contact (67) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (133) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.504), and so on. In each column after the column for Total, the first contact referred to is the first contact of that category, the second contact of that category, and so on.

make these continuation probabilities even more subject to fluctuation.

Both males and females are presented in Tables 3A and 3B which include only those contacts which occurred through the age of 21. This restriction holds exposure constant; nevertheless, there are both cohort differences and sex differences. At the same time, it is apparent that continuation probabilities are not grossly different from cohort to cohort. Two exceptions are found among males--the lower continuation probabilities for the 1955 Cohort for Traffic contacts and the lower continuation probabilities for Non-felony contacts after the fifteenth contact. The first may be a reflection of a change in handling procedures for Traffic contacts during the later years of exposure for that cohort and the second is related to the increased proportion of Felony vs. Non-felony contacts among persons in the 1955 Cohort.

DISCONTINUATION PROBABILITIES

While Tables 2A through 3B indicate that continuation to a subsequent police contact is highly probable after any given contact, Tables 4A and 4B present the attrition or discontinuity aspect of the police contact sequence by showing the cumulative probabilities of discontinuing contacts after the Kth contact for males and females by cohort and type of offense. The cumulative probabilities represent the accumulated proportions of persons with a first contact who have terminated at each step in the sequence. For example, in the total column of Table 4A for 1942 males, 12.6% (.126) of those with a first contact ceased with that contact. After the second contact, 29.9% (.299) of all with a first contact have no more contacts, and after the 20th contact, 91.4% (.914) of those with a first contact have no further contacts.

A comparison of males and females on total contacts indicates that females are likely to discontinue having contacts after fewer contacts than

TABLE 3A. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY FOR COHORT MALES THROUGH AGE 21

	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts														
Contact Number	Total			Traffic			Non-traffic			Felony			Non-felony		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.688*	.768	.717	.629	.614	.478	.607	.653	.591	.132	.150	.219	.612	.646	.599
2	.935	.850	.727	.790	.643	.404	.764	.739	.679	.404	.486	.533	.798	.709	.661
3	.878	.812	.749	.740	.613	.377	.806	.784	.761	.474	.556	.654	.764	.737	.710
4	.861	.839	.807	.725	.575	.383	.789	.811	.803	.444	.767	.624	.887	.788	.780
5	.867	.796	.846	.695	.650	.484	.838	.819	.857	.500	.609	.679	.771	.827	.820
6	.867	.893	.828	.864	.687	.333	.898	.828	.893	.500	.643	.722	.813	.822	.835
7	.854	.850	.890	.772	.565	.200	.861	.838	.895	1.000	.556	.577	.932	.806	.862
8	.865	.879	.877	.705	.692	1.000	.882	.884	.872	.000	.400	.467	.783	.889	.910
9	.917	.840	.855	.742	.611	.000	.933	.886	.871		1.000	.714	.833	.885	.824
10	.920	.864	.906	.783	.636		.821	.921	.915		1.000	.400	.867	.871	.898
11	.815	.921	.903	.667	.571		.848	.935	.900		.500	.500	.897	.851	.887
12	.894	.897	.914	.833	1.000		.846	.931	.915		.000	.000	.886	.873	.884
13	.881	.914	.866	.800	.750		.818	.901	.935				.903	.927	.842
14	.962	.917	.918	.875	1.000		.889	.918	.960				.788	.902	.891
15	.900	.898	.970	.857	.667		.792	.940	.979				.773	.935	.737
16	.956	.911	.959	.667	1.000		.947	.952	.947				.941	.884	.762
17	.907	.972	.947	.250	.500		.778	.967	.896				.875	.921	.594
18	.897	.914	.966	1.000	1.000		.929	.862	.859				.857	.914	.632
19	.914	.969	.930	.000	1.000		.769	.940	.910				.917	.906	.333
20	.875	.903	.931		1.000		.800	.894	.836				.818	.931	.500
21 or +	1.000	1.000	.945		1.000		.750	.929	.745				.889	.926	.000
Number of Persons With First Contact	245	568	799	224	454	532	216	483	658	47	111	244	218	478	667

*Calculations made as in tables without controls for years of exposure.

TABLE 3B. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY FOR COHORT FEMALES THROUGH AGE 21

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts														
	Total			Traffic			Non-traffic			Felony			Non-felony		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.321*	.460	.455	.213	.305	.221	.202	.302	.331	.018	.031	.060	.181	.278	.320
2	.607	.570	.507	.475	.288	.201	.518	.548	.525	.200	.176	.258	.460	.452	.459
3	.519	.623	.594	.357	.449	.174	.621	.641	.617	.000	.333	.625	.652	.629	.572
4	.786	.681	.662	.400	.409	.500	.722	.763	.739		.000	.300	.667	.727	.678
5	.636	.677	.745	.750	.222	.750	.615	.644	.707			.000	.600	.688	.847
6	.714	.690	.743	1.000	.000	.000	.875	.690	.77[illegible]				.500	.636	.800
7	.700	.793	.865	.333			.857	.750	.822				1.000	.714	.875
8	.857	.652	.911	1.000			.833	.867	.946				1.000	.800	.714
9	1.000	.867	.902	.000			.400	.846	.886				.667	1.000	.800
10	.833	.867	.865				.400	.818	.839				1.000	.750	.800
11	.800	.923	.750				.500	1.000	.769				1.000	.833	.813
12	.500	.917	.708				1.000	.778	.800				.500	.800	1.000
13	1.000	.818	.882				1.000	.857	.875				1.000	.750	.923
14	1.000	.667	1.000				1.000	.833	1.000				1.000	1.000	.833
15	1.000	1.000	.933				1.000	1.000	1.000				1.000	1.000	.900
16	1.000	1.000	.714				1.000	.800	.714				1.000	1.000	1.000
17	.500	.667	1.000				1.000	1.000	1.000				.000	1.000	.667
18	1.000	1.000	.900				1.000	1.000	.900					.667	.500
19	1.000	1.000	1.000				1.000	1.000	1.000					1.000	.333
20	1.000	1.000	1.000				1.000	1.000	.889					1.000	.000
21 or +	1.000	1.000	1.000				.000	.750	.875					1.000	
Number of Persons With First Contact	89	256	471	59	170	229	56	168	343	5	17	62	50	155	331

* Calculations made as in tables without controls for years of exposure.

TABLE 4A. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT AND BY CATEGORY OF CONTACT FOR COHORT MALES

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number								
	Total			Non-traffic			Felony		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.126*	.183	.273	.305	.278	.321	.596	.518	.467
2	.299	.345	.456	.462	.442	.483	.808	.732	.652
3	.409	.455	.561	.578	.550	.585	.915	.803	.783
4	.498	.567	.628	.651	.634	.644	.957	.875	.852
5	.568	.615	.692	.683	.696	.682	.957	.920	.893
6	.631	.674	.726	.726	.744	.716	.957	.955	.939
7	.678	.714	.760	.759	.774	.752	.957	.982	.971
8	.708	.760	.787	.779	.800	.784	.979	.982	.980
9	.731	.792	.807	.819	.816	.802	.979	.982	.992
10	.784	.808	.826	.843	.828	.822	1.000	.991	.996
11	.807	.830	.841	.867	.840	.837		1.000	1.000
12	.827	.843	.862	.891	.855	.848			
13	.834	.858	.874	.904	.870	.854			
14	.850	.873	.877	.923	.878	.857			
15	.857	.884	.882	.928	.884	.865			
16	.870	.888	.889	.944	.888	.881			
17	.884	.896	.892	.944	.902	.898			
18	.894	.899	.900	.948	.908	.907			
19	.907	.909	.909	.948	.918	.922			
20	.914	.921	.914	.960	.922	.942			

* The number of males who discontinued after a first contact (38) was divided by the number of males with a first contact (301) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.126); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (52 + 38 = 90) and divided by 301 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.299) and so on. After the Total column, discontinuation refers to discontinuation of that category of contact.

TABLE 4B. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT AND BY CATEGORY OF CONTACT FOR COHORT FEMALES

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number								
	Total			Non-traffic			Felony		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.496*	.479	.493	.538	.475	.475	.833	.810	.742
2	.759	.678	.699	.708	.664	.676	1.000	.952	.839
3	.820	.784	.800	.800	.751	.761		1.000	.952
4	.887	.853	.851	.877	.838	.831			1.000
5	.925	.897	.890	.892	.886	.869			
6	.947	.918	.904	.908	.919	.892			
7	.955	.948	.913	.923	.930	.898			
8	.955	.955	.921	.969	.940	.910			
9	.962	.955	.932	.969	.951	.924			
10	.970	.958	.949	.985	.951	.942			
11	.985	.962	.964	1.000	.962	.953			
12	.985	.969	.968		.968	.959			
13	.985	.979	.968		.973	.959			
14	.985	.979	.970		.973	.959			
15	.985	.979	.979		.978	.971			
16	.992	.986	.979		.978	.971			
17	1.000	.986	.981		.978	.974			
18		.986	.981		.978	.974			
19		.986	.981		.978	.977			
20		.989	.981		.984	.980			

* The number of females who discontinued after a first contact (66) was divided by the number of females with a first contact (133) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.496); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (66 + 35 = 101) and divided by 133 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.759) and so on. After the Total column, discontinuation refers to discontinuation of that category of contact.

males. Over 65% of the females in all cohorts have ceased to have contacts after the second contact. Alternately, only 29.9% of the 1942, 34.5% of the 1949, and 45.6% of the 1955 Cohort males have no more contacts after the second contact. It is not until after the 7th contact for the 1942 males, the 6th contact for the 1949 males, and the 5th for the 1955 males that two-thirds have terminated. We shall be able to shed considerable light on sex differences of this nature when the interview and effects of sanctions data are presented in a later chapter. It must be remembered that each cohort has had successively fewer years of exposure and that members of the 1955 Cohort in particular are likely to have additional contacts for Traffic offenses.

The level at which Non-traffic contacts cease is much lower and one notes that two-thirds of the males from each cohort have stopped after the 5th contact. The females have terminated even more rapidly, at least two-thirds after their second Non-traffic contact.

Even more rapid termination for both males and females is found when only Felony contacts are considered, with at least two-thirds of the males having no more contacts after their second and more than two-thirds of the females after their first contact.

One notes, however, that termination proceeds more slowly after a given number of contacts has been reached. The number is higher for males than for females and is higher for total contacts than for Non-traffic or Felony contacts. It appears, then, that the high probability of continuation after any given contact is a consequence of the rapid development of a "hard core" group of continuers. Most people cease to have difficulty with the police after very few contacts. Only a relatively small group of individuals

continues on to have long criminal records.

In order to deal with the problem of varying career lengths, discontinuation tables are presented with controls for years of exposure (Tables 5A and 5B). Everyone, or almost everyone, in each cohort has dropped out of each offense series at the same point in their careers in terms of numbers of contacts except for male Traffic offenders (which we earlier indicated could be an artifact of changing policy) and for the Felony series, which may well be slightly longer for each successive cohort of females. All in all, the cohorts are remarkably similar when discontinuation probabilities are examined and in each cohort females have discontinued their contacts sooner than males.

The findings in Tables 2A through 5B may be summarized as follows:

(1) The probability of beginning and continuing contact careers of any category is greater for males than females.

(2) Traffic and Felony contact careers are shorter than Non-traffic and Non-felony careers, regardless of sex.

(3) Similar patterns occur among males across cohorts and among females across cohorts. This implies that a similar systematic process is operating to produce these similarities, e.g., differential selection and/or similarities in behavior and criminal association.

INCREASING SERIOUSNESS WITH SUCCESSIVE CONTACTS

While a number of monographs based on a few case histories have served as a basis for the historical development of a model of delinquency (both academic and non-academic persons have accepted this model) as ever-increasing in seriousness from contact to contact or with increasing age, there have

TABLE 5A. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ONE CONTACT BY CONTACT CATEGORIES FOR COHORT MALES THROUGH AGE 21

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number														
	Total			Traffic			Non-traffic			Felony			Non-felony		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.065*	.150	.273	.210	.357	.596	.236	.261	.321	.596	.514	.467	.202	.291	.339
2	.180	.310	.456	.415	.606	.848	.384	.420	.483	.809	.730	.652	.390	.477	.531
3	.294	.421	.561	.576	.773	.912	.514	.530	.585	.915	.793	.783	.459	.588	.634
4	.387	.539	.628	.705	.852	.972	.593	.615	.644	.957	.874	.852	.583	.659	.700
5	.469	.588	.692	.746	.899	.991	.634	.681	.682	.979	.919	.893	.661	.720	.750
6	.547	.650	.726	.804	.943	.998	.685	.733	.716	1.000	.955	.939	.683	.774	.784
7	.608	.692	.760	.862	.960	.998	.722	.764	.752		.982	.971	.752	.799	.804
8	.641	.741	.787	.897	.976	.998	.741	.781	.784		.982	.980	.794	.822	.838
9	.669	.776	.807	.920	.985	1.000	.787	.807	.802		.982	.992	.821	.845	.855
10	.731	.794	.826	.946	.991		.819	.820	.822		.991	.996	.839	.868	.871
11	.759	.815	.841	.955	.991		.847	.832	.837		1.000	1.000	.858	.885	.886
12	.788	.831	.862	.964	.993		.875	.849	.848				.872	.893	.904
13	.796	.845	.874	.969	.993		.889	.861	.854				.899	.904	.915
14	.816	.861	.877	.973	.996		.912	.870	.857				.922	.910	.937
15	.824	.873	.882	.982	.996		.917	.876	.865				.927	.921	.952
16	.841	.877	.889	.996	.998		.935	.880	.881				.936	.927	.972
17	.857	.887	.892	.996	.998		.940	.896	.898				.945	.933	.982
18	.869	.891	.900	1.000	.998		.940	.903	.907				.950	.939	.994
19	.886	.901	.909		.998		.954	.913	.922				.959	.944	.997
20	.894	.914	.914		.998		.963	.919	.942				.963	.948	1.000
Number of Persons With First Contact	245	568	799	224	454	532	216	483	658	47	111	244	218	478	667

* Calculations made as in tables without controls for years of exposure.

TABLE 5B. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ONE CONTACT BY CONTACT CATEGORIES FOR COHORT FEMALES THROUGH AGE 21

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number														
	Total			Traffic			Non-traffic			Felony			Non-felony		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
1	.393*	.430	.493	.525	.712	.799	.482	.452	.475	.800	.823	.742	.540	.548	.541
2	.685	.645	.699	.831	.871	.965	.679	.649	.676	1.000	.941	.839	.700	.716	.737
3	.753	.758	.800	.932	.947	.983	.768	.723	.761		1.000	.952	.800	.794	.822
4	.843	.836	.851	.949	.988	.987	.857	.827	.831			1.000	.880	.858	.849
5	.888	.887	.890	.949	1.000	1.000	.875	.881	.869				.940	.910	.879
6	.921	.910	.904	.983			.893	.911	.892				.940	.935	.894
7	.933	.941	.913	.983			.911	.923	.898				.940	.948	.924
8	.933	.949	.921	1.000			.964	.935	.910				.960	.948	.940
9	.944	.949	.932				.964	.946	.924				.960	.961	.952
10	.955	.953	.949				.982	.946	.942				.960	.968	.961
11	.978	.957	.964				.982	.958	.953				.980	.974	.964
12	.978	.965	.968				.982	.964	.959				.980	.981	.970
13	.978	.977	.968				.982	.970	.959				.980	.981	.973
14	.978	.977	.970				.982	.970	.959				.980	.981	.982
15	.978	.977	.979				.982	.976	.971				.980	.981	.991
16	.989	.984	.979				.982	.976	.971				1.000	.981	.997
17	.989	.984	.981				.982	.976	.974					.987	1.000
18	.989	.984	.981				.982	.976	.974					.987	
19	.989	.984	.981				.982	.976	.977					.987	
20	.989	.988	.981				.982	.982	.980					.987	
Number of Persons With First Contact	89	256	471	59	170	229	56	168	343	5	17	62	50	155	331

* Calculations made as in tables without controls for years of exposure.

been few longitudinal studies with data adequate to test the model. Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin did, however, find little or no increase in severity of offenses from the first through the ninth offense.[3] The Racine data suggest that the conclusion which one reaches about the pattern of increasing severity varies, depending on the unit of analysis selected and the statistical procedure employed.

We approached the analysis in several ways, commencing with the rather simple strategy of drawing curves representing seriousness of contacts by contact order from the first to the Kth contact for each race/ethnic|sex group for each cohort. Since there was a certain amount of fluctuation in seriousness scores as contacts proceeded from the first to, say, the 96th for White males in the 1949 Cohort, 5-contact moving averages were calculated for all cohorts. Even with the 5-contact moving average there was considerable fluctuation for each male race/ethnic segment of each cohort. Although there was some progression in seriousness for each male segment of each cohort from the youngest ages to early peaks at from 15 to 30 contacts and later peaks from 35 to 45 contacts, varying from cohort to cohort and by race/ethnic group, it would be risky to say that average seriousness scores have systematically increased for males in any cohort. The best summary statement remains that seriousness gradually increased from contact to contact among the males, reached an initial peak, and then declined, only to rise again among those who continued to have frequent contacts with the police (particularly among those from any segment of any cohort with 40 or more contacts). One exception to the absence of systematic progression is notable, and that is for Black females where it is apparent that average seriousness increased from contact to contact (particularly after the 20th contact for those in

the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts).

Curves were drawn representing the proportion of all contacts that were serious or the proportion of persons in the cohort who had a serious contact (misdemeanors and felonies) by age at contact. The peak proportion of males with serious contacts for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts and the peak proportion of contacts that were serious was at age 15. After 15 these proportions declined, becoming stable at the age of 21 and remaining fairly stable thereafter. Similarly, when the proportion of <u>persons</u> in the cohort who had accumulated at least one serious contact and the proportion of the <u>contacts</u> that were serious was cumulated for males of these cohorts, these proportions stabilized at the age of 15. The 1955 Cohort stabilized at the age of 16 and the proportion of serious contacts remained at that level through the age of 20. It was more difficult to pick a single peak year of seriousness for the females of all cohorts but the proportion of their contacts that were serious peaked during the early teens, declined to a lower level, and remained stable thereafter for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. In the case of the 1955 Cohort, that level was higher than found for the other cohorts.

The next step consisted of an analysis of all cohorts based on categorization of offenses at age of contact as Index vs. Non-Index (Part I vs. Part II). These data do not, of course, generate smooth curves at the very early ages because there are relatively few contacts at this time and what might be thought of as sample variation resulted in considerable initial fluctuation in the proportion of Part I vs. Part II contacts. However, by the early teens a more stable curve developed and this too declined as time passed with a larger percentage of all contacts being for Traffic offenses, a Non-Index offense.

Since the Racine data included contacts for Suspicion, investigation, and information as well as Traffic (these categories making up a large proportion of the total) additional tests were made in which they were eliminated and the data thus more comparable to the Philadelphia data. With these contact types eliminated, the curves represent a better test of increasing seriousness with contact order or age. But here again the curves were so flat for both males and females, for males even through the 40th contact (with the exception of the 1955 Cohort males where each race/ethnic group had a different pattern of rise and decline after 20-some contacts but still without a trend) and for females through the 20th contact (with the exception of the 1955 Cohort's Chicanas where a decline in seriousness was evident after the 5th contact)that it still must be concluded that seriousness of contacts does not systematically increase with contact order.

When age at contact was substituted for contact number there was, however, a gradual rise in seriousness through the late teens for the 1942 and 1949 Cohort males but a flattening effect thereafter and a gradual rise for 1955 Cohort males of each race/ethnic group from age 8 through 20. Females from all cohorts also exhibited a gradual rise through this age period but so few continued past the age of 20 that the flattening effect was less certain.

At this point we were still dissatisfied with the adequacy of these approaches because they did not answer the question of whether or not seriousness of acts leading to police contacts or seriousness of individual careers progressively increases over time. The data in Table 6 enable us to develop a more definitive answer than has yet been presented with official police data.

The first series of averages in Table 6 is based on the average of

TABLE 6. AVERAGE OF AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS BY PERSONS AND AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS SCORES BY PERSONS AT AGE

	Average for Persons with Contacts*						Average for Cohort**					
	Average Seriousness of Contacts at Age			Average Seriousness of Careers at Age			Average Seriousness of Contacts at Age			Average Seriousness of Careers at Age		
Age	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
6	3.000	2.078	2.146	3.000	3.636	2.667	.005	.018	.024	.005	.031	.030
7	3.250	3.000	2.533	3.250	3.000	2.630	.021	.025	.054	.021	.025	.056
8	2.600	2.765	2.346	2.600	2.765	3.196	.021	.036	.056	.021	.036	.076
9	2.333	2.540	2.266	2.333	3.775	3.524	.022	.078	.112	.022	.116	.172
10	3.071	2.643	2.549	3.571	3.872	4.277	.034	.096	.133	.039	.140	.223
11	2.800	2.550	2.464	2.800	2.345	4.275	.044	.114	.150	.044	.128	.261
12	2.857	2.630	2.830	3.000	3.753	5.426	.095	.189	.195	.100	.269	.374
13	2.590	2.445	2.755	2.917	3.969	6.588	.098	.247	.255	.111	.401	.610
14	2.677	2.578	2.821	4.125	5.032	8.158	.271	.314	.357	.417	.613	1.033
15	2.897	2.646	2.726	5.988	5.659	7.028	.380	.424	.402	.785	.907	1.037
16	2.291	2.386	2.587	3.476	4.905	6.113	.525	.522	.545	.796	1.074	1.289
17	2.220	2.314	2.719	4.381	4.893	5.895	.487	.582	.568	.962	1.230	1.232
18	2.402	2.136	2.661	4.962	4.545	5.625	.497	.510	.551	1.027	1.086	1.165
19	2.205	2.222	2.716	4.138	4.763	6.116	.380	.478	.489	.712	1.025	1.101
20	2.217	2.095	2.820	3.981	4.574	5.969	.375	.405	.503	.673	.885	1.064
21	2.254	2.242	2.712	4.585	4.975	4.950	.335	.408	.458	.681	.913	.836
22	2.106	2.306		4.124	4.913		.296	.429		.580	.886	
23	2.121	2.381		4.485	5.330		.345	.417		.730	.933	
24	2.171	2.181		3.330	4.621		.322	.328		.509	.695	
25	1.883			3.029			.208			.335		
26	1.995			3.057			.279			.420		
27	2.154			4.838			.337			.757		
28	2.210			4.228			.321			.615		
29	2.397			3.711			.288			.460		
30	2.196			3.987			.260			.479		
31	2.028			3.138			.186			.288		

* The first set of averages is based on the average of the average seriousness of the contacts that a person had at a given age and the second set is based on the average seriousness of all contacts that a person had at a given age; both sets of averages were divided by the number of persons with contacts.

** These averages were obtained by dividing the averages described above by the number of persons in the cohort.

the average seriousness of the contacts that each person in the cohort had at each year of age, in other words the average seriousness of reasons for police contacts of the persons who had contacts at each age. In the 1942 Cohort the number of persons with police contacts was less than 10 until the age of 11 had been reached. In both the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts there were more than 10 with contacts at age 6. It is apparent that the average seriousness of that year's contacts for persons with contacts fluctuated in the early years when there were fewer contacts, but after the age of 12 average seriousness fluctuated within a range that was generally lower (early years discounted). When the average of the averages was based on the number of persons in the cohort (thus reducing average seriousness in the early and later years when fewer persons were having police contacts), it was apparent that the seriousness had reached its peak by the age of 16 for the 1942 Cohort and 17 for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. What we see is that seriousness for those with contacts shows less trend than does seriousness for the cohort. Each cohort reaches a seriousness peak in the middle of the teens and declines slowly thereafter in terms of the seriousness of the kinds of contacts that members of the cohorts have with the police. (See Diagrams 1 and 2.)

Another approach is to observe the average seriousness of all contacts that a person has had by a given age. This produces a higher rate because accumulated career scores at a given age are the basis for the averages rather than the average of the seriousness of contacts. This, we believe, is the best approach because it takes into consideration the repetitive nature of some juveniles' police contacts, one contact succeeding another within a given year. Here we find that the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts reached their peak at the age of 15, the 1955 Cohort at the age of 14, and all cohorts declined

DIAGRAM 1. AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS BY PERSONS WITH CONTACTS AT AGE

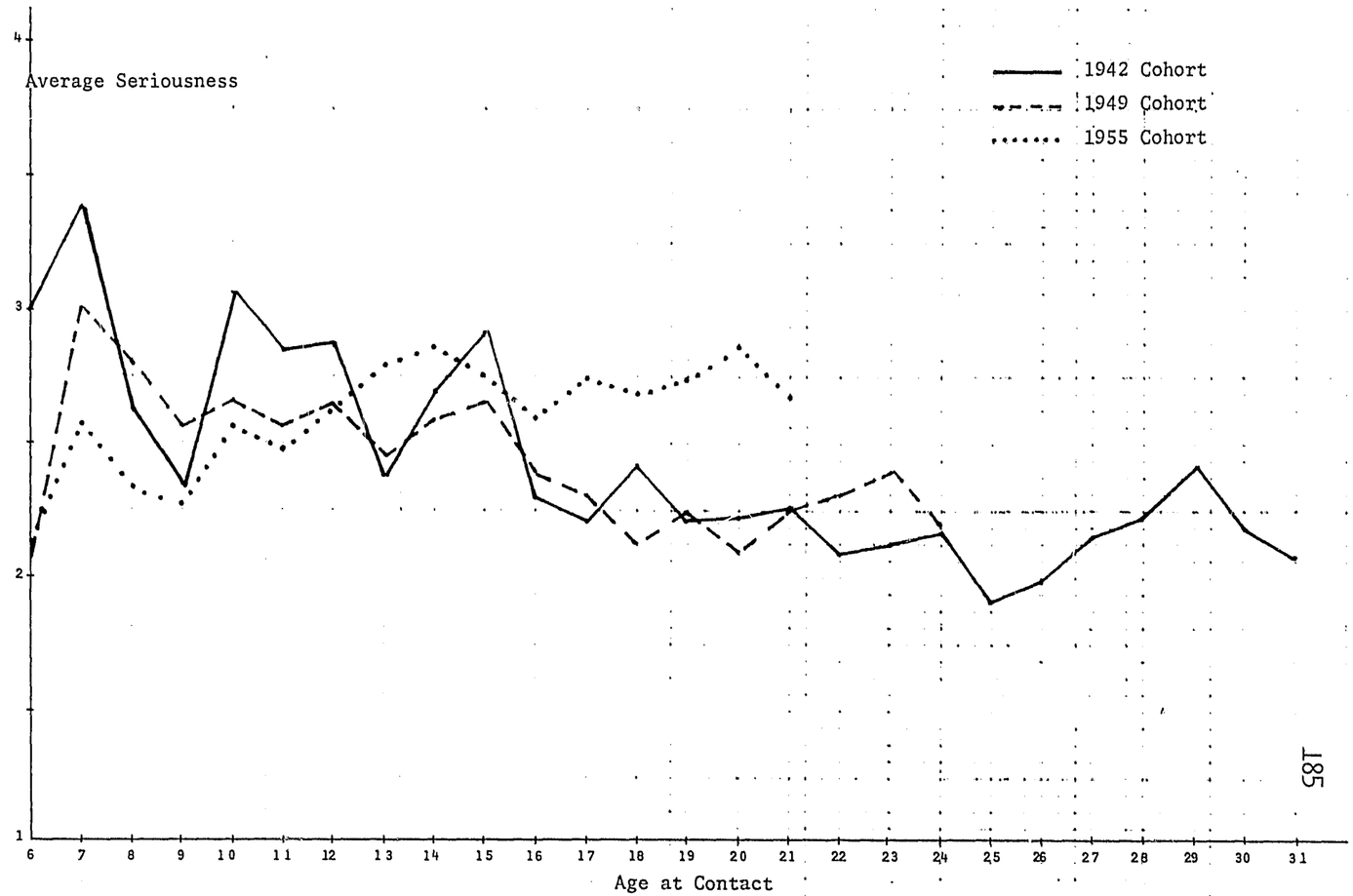
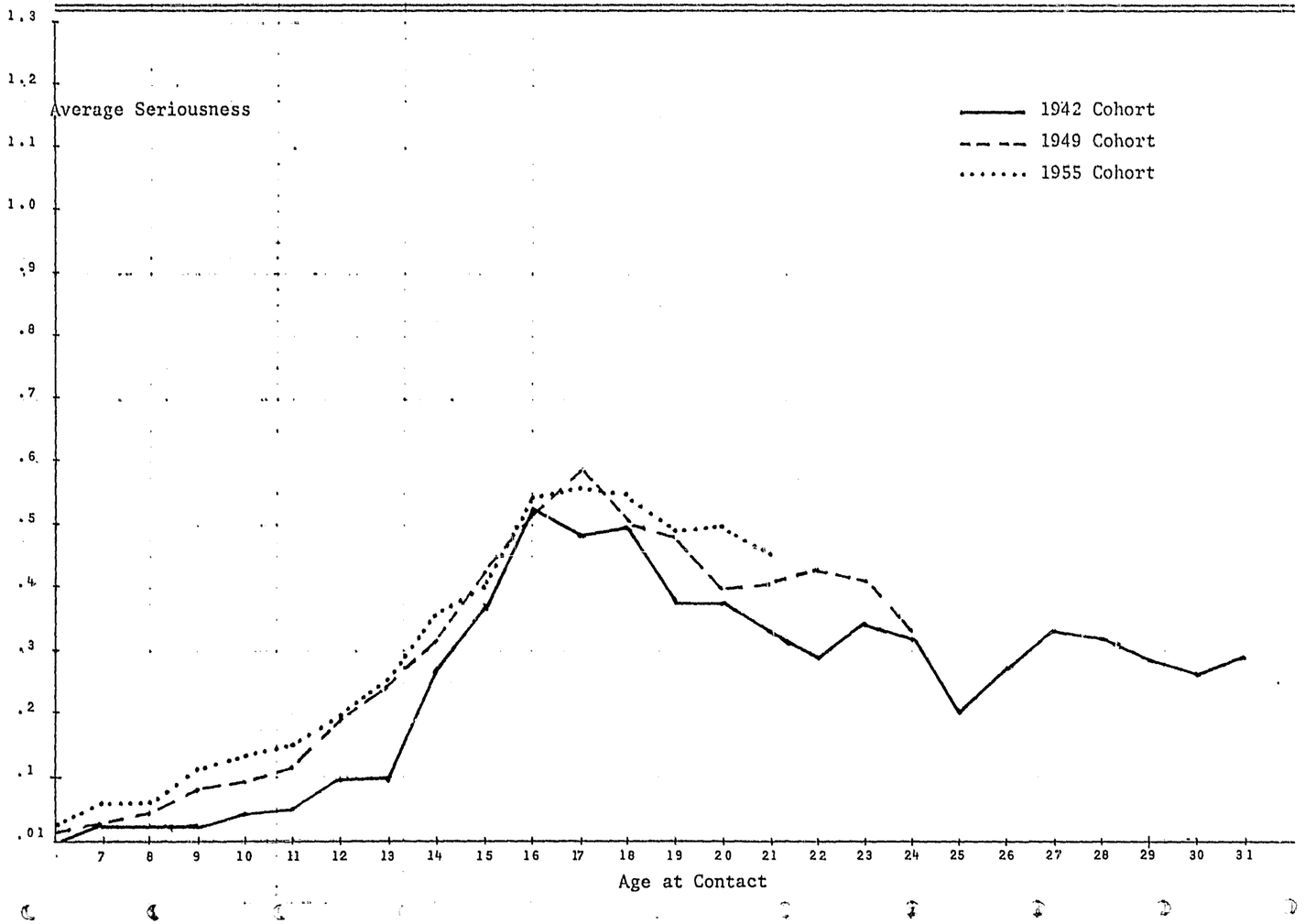


DIAGRAM 2. AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS FOR COHORT AT AGE



slowly after that with some irregularity in rates but no systematic rises associated with any period of years. When the average seriousness of careers based on the entire cohort is considered we find that the 1955 Cohort reaches its peak at the age of 16 but the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts do not do so until the ages of 17 and 18, all declining slowly thereafter (See Diagrams 3 and 4).

SUMMARY

While it has been the fashion to accept the idea of repetitiveness, continuity between juvenile and adult careers in delinquency and crime, and the idea of ever-expanding careers into more serious delinquency and crime with the passage of time, the data from Racine reveal that most juveniles cease their delinquent behavior after relatively few police contacts of any kind. Discontinuation rather than continuation is the most frequent sequence of events. Added to this is the fact that no matter how seriousness of reasons for police contact is handled statistically, seriousness peaks for most people in their teens and most people in each cohort fail to become involved in increasingly serious misbehavior as time passes. The implications of this for prediction will become clear when the distribution of felonies before and after the age of 18 is presented in a chapter on that most difficult problem.

DIAGRAM 3. AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACT CAREERS BY PERSONS AT AGE

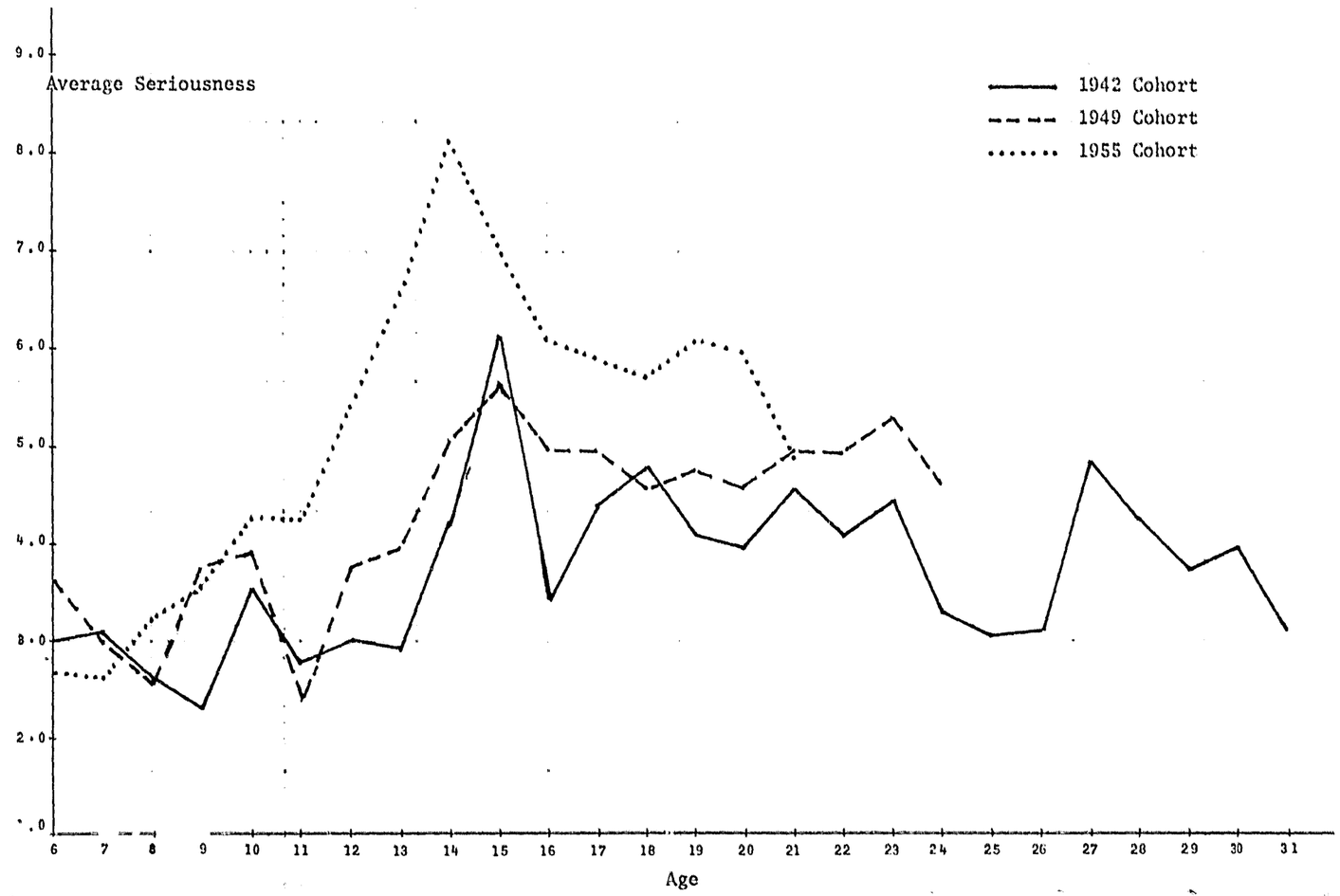
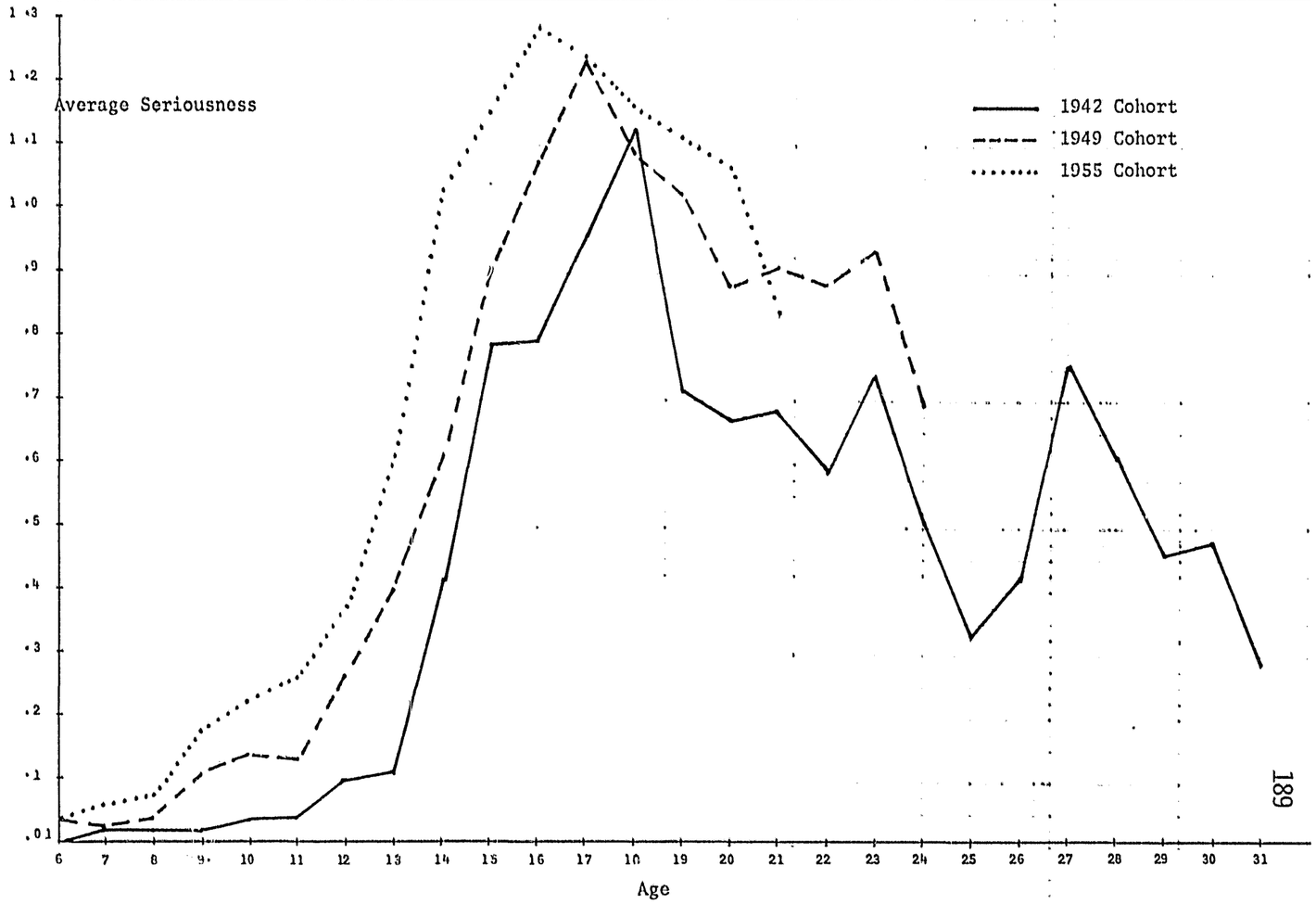


DIAGRAM 4. AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACT CAREERS FOR COHORT AT AGE



FOOTNOTES

[1] Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders* (New York: The Free Press, 1963): pp. 22-39.

[2] Marvin Wolfgang, Robert Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); and, Marvin E. Wolfgang and James J. Collins, Jr., *Offender Careers and Restraint: Probabilities and Policy Implications*. Unpublished Final Report LEAA Project 76NI-99-0089. (Philadelphia: Center for Studies in Ciminology and Criminal Law, 1978): p. 19. The Racine and Philadelphia data differ in that the Racine cohorts include both sexes rather than only males, and the time period during which the police contact careers of the Racine cohort members were followed is considerably longer than that in the Philadelphia study. For a critique of the conceptual neglect of the sex variable in criminological theory see Anthony R. Harris, "Sex and Theories of Deviance: Toward a Functional Theory of Deviant Type-Scripts," *American Sociological Review* 42 (1977): 3-16.

[3] Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249 and 312.

Chapter 9. Continuity in Careers by Age Periods

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CONTINUITY BY AGE PERIODS

Continuities and discontinuities in police contacts and the hypothesis of increasing seriousness with successive contacts and age were considered in the last chapter. In this chapter continuity refers to the relationship of the number and seriousness of police contacts in one age period to the number and seriousness of police contacts in a following age period. Most pertinent to our concerns is the relationship of police contacts during the juvenile age period 6 through 17 to the young adult period 18 through 20, since the juvenile period is the one in which continuers would supposedly be singled out for special assistance because of their youth in contrast to the more stringent sanctions applied to older adult offenders. This leads to the question of the relationship not only of these periods to each other, but to the simple question of just what proportion of each cohort does have police contacts in each period, in none of the age periods, or in perhaps only one or two age periods. Before commencing this analysis we shall examine frequency of contacts by years of age for each cohort. This will enable the reader to see why these age-period cutting points are appropriate for the analysis presented in this chapter.

Table 1 and Diagrams 1 and 2 show the average number of contacts (including referrals by non-police sources) per person in the cohort for each age. The average number of contacts per person for each cohort is very low at the earliest ages and does not commence to rise until the age of 12 or 13, reaches its peak at age 16 or 17 for males regardless of cohort, by 20 or 21 for the 1942 females, by 18 or 19 for the 1949 females, and by 17 or 18 for the 1955 females. Other tables (not presented here) reveal that

TABLE 1. AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONTACTS BY MEMBERS OF COHORT BY AGE AT CONTACT, TOTAL, MALE, AND FEMALE

	Total			Male			Female		
Age	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
6	.002	.013	.013	.003	.020	.022		.004	.004
7	.006	.008	.022	.011	.012	.039		.004	.004
8	.008	.013	.030	.014	.020	.053		.004	.006
9	.009	.042	.069	.017	.073	.122		.002	.012
10	.013	.052	.083	.020	.086	.142	.004	.005	.020
11	.016	.081	.098	.028	.077	.169	.000	.016	.021
12	.035	.099	.126	.059	.153	.220	.004	.027	.025
13	.044	.160	.209	.076	.230	.340	.004	.068	.069
14	.155	.230	.303	.244	.339	.476	.040	.084	.118
15	.272	.325	.334	.427	.501	.497	.072	.090	.160
16	.348	.436	.420	.537	.661	.637	.100	.136	.186
17	.414	.507	.360	.643	.784	.514	.119	.140	.193
18	.302	.396	.338	.483	.589	.513	.069	.140	.151
19	.251	.352	.316	.404	.480	.474	.054	.183	.147
20	.234	.318	.280	.351	.435	.414	.083	.162	.135
21	.223	.333	.245	.329	.469	.347	.087	.153	.134
22	.205	.311		.312	.466		.069	.106	
23	.269	.302		.427	.438		.065	.122	
24	.201	.253		.306	.354		.065	.118	
25	.142			.211			.054		
26	.185			.289			.051		
27	.270			.438			.054		
28	.223			.357			.051		
29	.153			.228			.058		
30	.163			.242			.061		
31	.114			.188			.018		
N =	633	1297	2149	356	740	1114	277	557	1035

DIAGRAM 1. RATE OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON BY COHORT AND AGE AT CONTACT

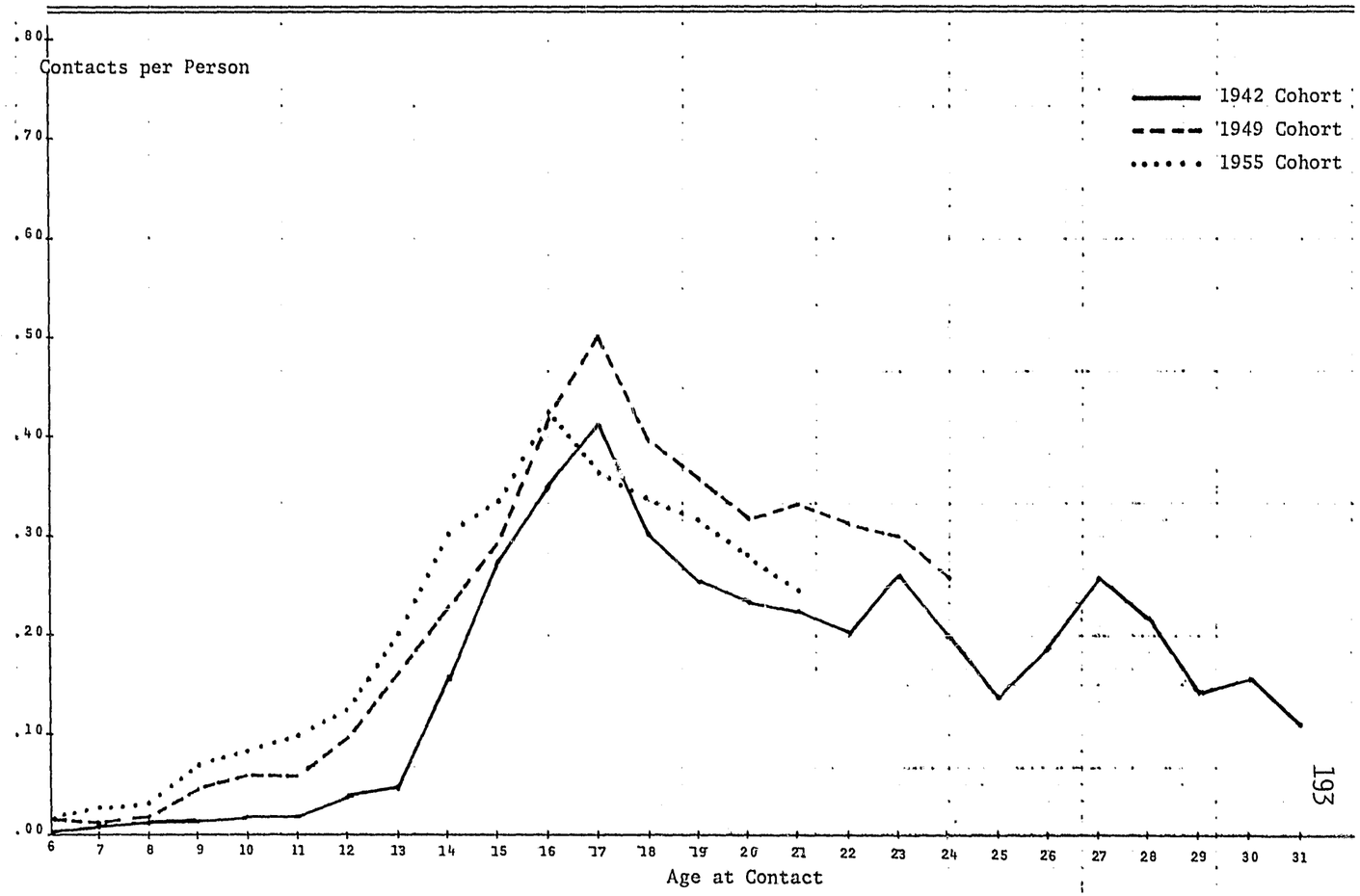
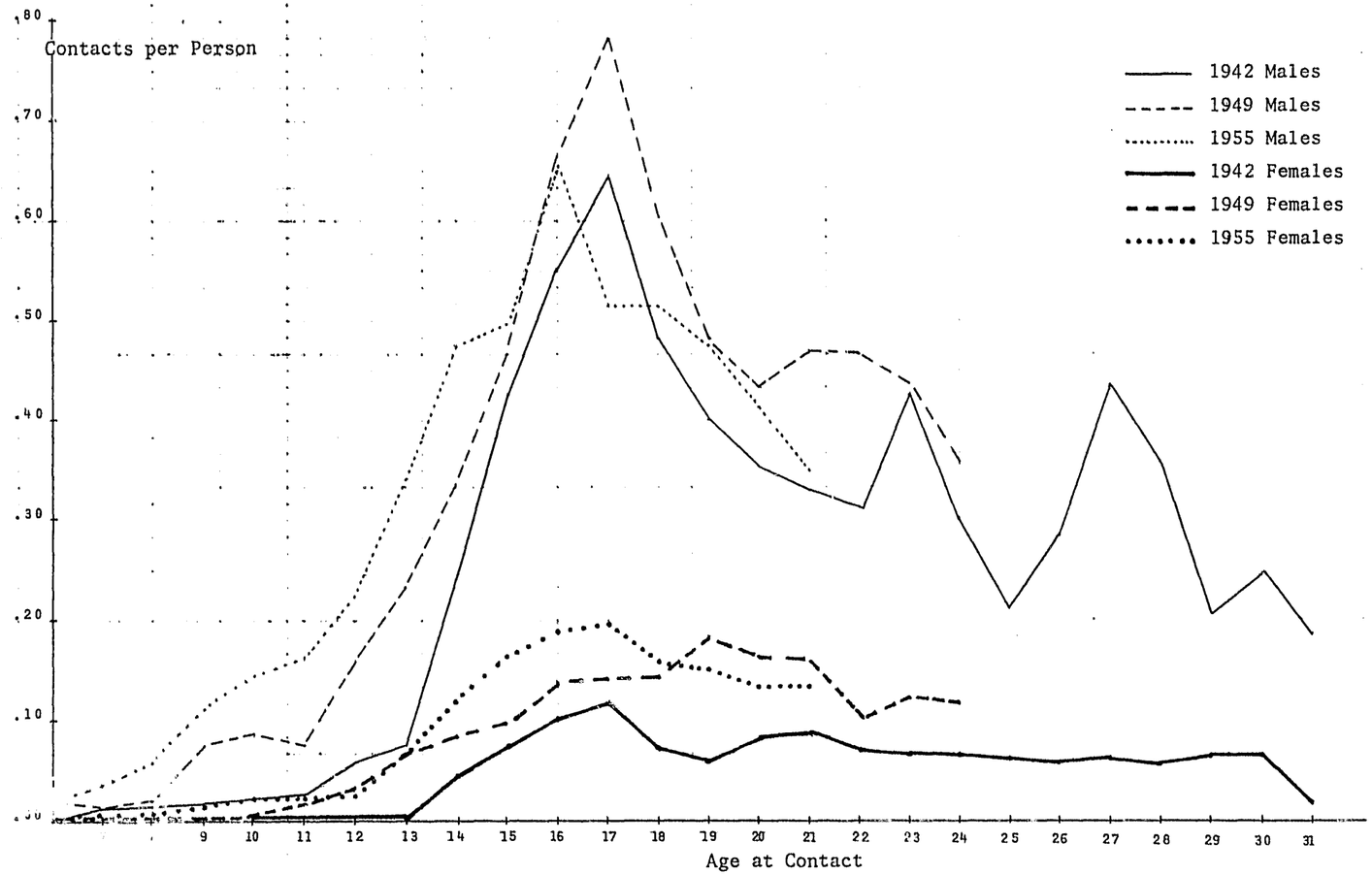


DIAGRAM 2. RATE OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON BY COHORT, SEX, AND AGE AT CONTACT



regardless of area of socialization, the age at which the largest number of persons had a police contact ranges from 16 through 18 with a few race/ethnic exceptions. While more Blacks had contacts earlier than Whites, Whites socialized in the inner city had contacts earlier than did those socialized in outlying areas. Females of all groups reached their peak proportion with contacts later than did males in this group, although this difference has declined from cohort to cohort with the increase in police contacts by females. All of this suggests that even though some variation exists between cohorts and within various segments of each cohort the period from age 6 through 17 is the one during which the frequency of police contacts reaches its peak. It is also apparent, particularly for males, that the frequency of police contacts declines from the age of 18 through 20. The relatively small number of persons who continue to have contacts with the police produces a more erratic curve after the age of 21.

After presentation of several sets of tables which give some idea of the proportion of each cohort with various patterns of continuity from period to period, we shall examine the relationship of number and seriousness of contacts across these age periods.

Table 2 has been condensed from more detailed tables (contained in Appendix I) which control for race/ethnicity and area of socialization. Each cohort is distributed throughout eight different continuity types descending from those with complete continuity at the top to those who are in types least representative of continuity between the juvenile and adult periods.

As we go from cohort to cohort we note that 31.2% of the males from the 1942 Cohort, 27.2% from the 1949, but only 12.3% from the 1955 Cohort

TABLE 2. CONTINUITY OF CAREERS FOR TOTAL, NON-TRAFFIC, AND TRAFFIC CONTACTS BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS AND SEX

Time Period/Continuity Contact Types			Total		Traffic Only		Non-Traffic	
Juv	18-20	21+	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Yes	Yes	Yes	31.2	2.2	13.8	.4	14.0	1.4
Yes	Yes	No	3.7	2.2	2.5	.4	5.6	.7
Yes	No	Yes	14.9	5.4	9.8	2.5	9.8	2.5
Yes	No	No	6.7	9.1	8.4	4.0	14.0	7.9
No	Yes	Yes	7.6	3.6	14.0	3.2	5.1	1.8
No	Yes	No	3.4	5.4	5.1	5.8	4.5	2.2
No	No	Yes	16.6	19.2	20.8	18.8	16.9	6.9
No	No	No	16.0	52.9	25.6	65.0	30.1	76.5
			100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9
	1942 N =		356	277	356	277	356	277
Yes	Yes	Yes	27.2	6.3	8.2	.5	15.3	3.8
Yes	Yes	No	12.2	3.9	6.4	.9	10.4	2.3
Yes	No	Yes	11.2	4.8	6.2	1.6	8.6	3.1
Yes	No	No	12.6	13.1	12.3	6.5	18.6	13.5
No	Yes	Yes	4.9	3.6	7.2	3.4	3.0	1.4
No	Yes	No	6.2	12.2	11.6	12.6	5.7	4.7
No	No	Yes	7.6	8.4	13.0	8.8	5.9	4.5
No	No	No	18.2	47.6	35.1	65.7	32.4	66.8
			100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1
	1949 N =		740	557	740	557	740	557
Yes	Yes	Yes	12.3	3.2	10.6	1.4	12.1	3.2
Yes	Yes	No	20.5	8.3	16.0	5.1	19.6	7.8
Yes	No	Yes	3.5	2.1	2.7	1.4	3.3	1.9
Yes	No	No	19.9	17.3	7.9	4.7	15.5	13.7
No	Yes	Yes	3.3	1.4	2.5	.9	2.4	1.3
No	Yes	No	9.4	10.0	6.3	6.9	4.9	3.7
No	No	Yes	2.8	3.2	1.8	1.7	1.2	1.5
No	No	No	28.3	54.5	52.2	77.9	40.9	66.9
			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
	1955 N =		1114	1035	1114	1035	1114	1035

had a contact in each age period, the latter cohort having barely gone beyond the age of 21. However, when the age periods 6-17 and 18-20 are considered, an additional 20.5% of the 1955 Cohort had contacts in the juvenile period and young adult period, compared with only 12.2% in the 1949 Cohort and 3.7% in the 1942 Cohort. Thus, one-third or more of each cohort had police contacts in both the juvenile and young adult periods.

The pattern is, of course, quite different for the females, perhaps the most interesting variation from cohort to cohort being the increasing proportion who had contacts during the juvenile and young adult periods.

Consideration of only Traffic contacts results in considerably fewer persons in continuity categories for both sexes. The sizeable increases from cohort to cohort for males with no Traffic contacts at any period and corresponding decrease in those with contacts only after 21 is a function of the number of years of exposure to the possibility of Traffic offenses.

When police contacts for only Non-traffic offenses are considered, the picture for both sexes is again different. Here we find more continuity than for Traffic contacts but, with the exception of the 1955 Cohort, about half the proportion of males have had contacts in each period as they did when all contacts were considered. Most important is the fact that when the two categories indicating continuity for males between the juvenile and young adult period are summed, 19.6% of the 1942 Cohort, 25.7% of the 1949 Cohort, and 31.7% of the 1955 Cohort had police contacts for Non-traffic offenses during both periods. Also of note is the larger proportion of males who had contacts during the juvenile period but none thereafter, 14.0% for the 1942 Cohort, 18.6% for the 1949 Cohort, and 15.5% for the 1955 Cohort. Still, and this is what highlights the difficulty in prediction, 24.1% of

the 1942 Cohort males and 34.7% of the 1949 Cohort males had contacts at either or both of the earlier periods but none after the age of 21.

The higher proportion of females than males without contacts or without continuity in their careers is further demonstrated by comparison of the males and females for Non-traffic offenses where in the 1942 Cohort 34.5% and the 1949 Cohort 40.3% of the males fall in categories indicative of continuity in comparison to only 6.4% and 10.6% of the females.

The reasons for contact among those persons (varying from 7.6% of the males in the 1949 Cohort to 19.2% of the females in the 1942 Cohort) who had their initial police contacts at the age of 21 or older is worth noting. Of 528 such contacts, 303 were for Traffic, 95 contacts for Suspicion, information, or investigation, 76 for Disorderly conduct, 18 for Other Traffic (than moving vehicle) violations, 8 for Liquor offenses, 7 for Drug offenses, 6 for Theft, 3 for Fraud, 3 for Sex, and 9 for Robbery, Forgery, Assault, Suicide, and so on.

Since we are examining continuity in careers in an effort to determine differences based on Traffic vs. Non-traffic offenses, as well as for other purposes, Tables 3 and 4 were constructed in which total careers based on Traffic and Non-traffic contacts were utilized in determining a person's category for the ages 6-17 and this was related to whether or not contacts were acquired for Non-traffic reasons during either of the two following periods.

This strategy results in considerably greater continuity in careers across all cohorts (for males more consistently than for females) than that obtained with Traffic or Non-traffic contacts alone, although not as much continuity as was found when all types of contacts as a juvenile were

TABLE 3. CONTINUITY OF MALE CAREERS BASED ON ALL CONTACTS DURING JUVENILE PERIOD AND CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC CONTACTS DURING FOLLOWING PERIODS

Age Period/Continuity Contact Types			Total			A-B*			C-D-E**
JUV	18-20	21+	White	Black	Chicano	White	Black	Chicano	White
Yes	Yes	Yes	10.9	33.3	----	12.7	33.3	----	11.0
Yes	Yes	No	15.7	----	----	15.9	----	----	17.4
Yes	No	Yes	10.7	53.3	33.3	16.7	53.3	33.3	9.0
Yes	No	No	17.8	----	----	15.1	----	----	19.4
No	Yes	Yes	1.5	----	----	1.6	----	----	1.9
No	Yes	No	6.8	----	----	5.6	----	----	7.7
No	No	Yes	3.6	----	----	4.0	----	----	2.6
No	No	No	33.1	13.3	66.7	28.6	13.3	66.7	31.0
			100.1	99.9	100.0	100.2	99.9	100.0	100.0
	1942	N =	338	15	3	126	15	3	155
Yes	Yes	Yes	12.4	18.2	31.6	13.1	19.0	20.0	12.0
Yes	Yes	No	13.6	4.5	10.5	15.5	4.8	13.3	13.9
Yes	No	Yes	13.3	45.5	31.6	19.7	45.2	40.0	10.7
Yes	No	No	22.5	18.2	15.8	16.9	19.0	13.3	27.3
No	Yes	Yes	2.2	----	----	2.8	----	----	1.1
No	Yes	No	5.3	----	----	4.2	----	----	5.7
No	No	Yes	3.2	6.8	----	2.8	4.8	----	3.0
No	No	No	27.5	6.8	10.5	24.9	7.1	13.3	26.2
			100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9
	1949	N =	677	44	19	213	42	15	366
Yes	Yes	Yes	6.6	29.2	12.8	15.8	29.8	13.2	4.5
Yes	Yes	No	13.2	31.1	36.2	15.8	29.8	34.2	12.5
Yes	No	Yes	2.4	4.7	6.4	2.3	4.8	7.9	2.5
Yes	No	No	29.6	19.8	27.7	36.7	20.2	28.9	31.5
No	Yes	Yes	2.2	.9	2.1	1.7	1.0	----	1.6
No	Yes	No	12.0	.9	6.4	11.3	1.0	5.3	11.4
No	No	Yes	2.8	2.8	2.1	3.4	2.9	2.6	2.0
No	No	No	31.3	10.4	6.4	13.0	10.6	7.9	34.0
			100.1	99.8	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
	1955	N =	961	106	47	177	104	38	553

* Persons whose principal place of residence as a juvenile was not in Area A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D, or E or a combination thereof, were excluded.

** Too few Blacks and Chicanos for inclusion in Areas C, D, and E.

TABLE 4. CONTINUITY OF FEMALE CAREERS BASED ON ALL CONTACTS DURING JUVENILE PERIOD AND CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC CONTACTS DURING THE FOLLOWING PERIODS

Age Period/Continuity Contact Types			Total			A-B*			C-E**
JUV	18-20	21+	White	Black	Chicana	White	Black	Chicana	White
Yes	Yes	Yes	.4	----	----	1.1	----	----	----
Yes	Yes	No	1.1	----	----	1.1	----	----	1.8
Yes	No	Yes	2.6	----	----	5.3	----	----	.9
Yes	No	No	15.7	20.0	20.0	14.9	33.3	20.0	16.8
No	Yes	Yes	.4	----	----	----	----	----	----
No	Yes	No	5.6	----	----	5.3	----	----	5.3
No	No	Yes	2.6	20.0	----	5.3	33.3	----	.9
No	No	No	71.5	60.0	80.0	67.0	33.3	80.0	74.3
			99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
	1942	N =	267	5	5	94	3	5	113
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.2	2.6	----	3.0	2.6	----	.7
Yes	Yes	No	3.5	2.6	----	3.8	2.6	----	3.3
Yes	No	Yes	5.3	28.2	----	6.8	28.9	----	4.0
Yes	No	No	23.8	23.1	30.0	24.2	23.7	22.2	25.2
No	Yes	Yes	.2	2.6	----	----	2.6	----	.3
No	Yes	No	4.7	----	10.0	1.5	----	11.1	5.6
No	No	Yes	3.1	5.1	30.0	3.8	5.3	33.3	3.3
No	No	No	58.1	35.9	30.0	56.8	34.2	33.3	57.6
			99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0
	1949	N =	508	39	10	132	38	9	302
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.4	14.0	6.3	3.3	14.0	7.7	1.3
Yes	Yes	No	5.5	7.0	12.5	11.5	7.0	11.5	4.0
Yes	No	Yes	1.0	3.5	9.4	.5	3.5	11.5	1.5
Yes	No	No	19.7	27.9	37.5	24.7	27.9	42.3	21.1
No	Yes	Yes	1.0	2.3	3.1	1.1	2.3	3.8	.9
No	Yes	No	10.5	10.5	3.1	12.6	10.5	----	10.2
No	No	Yes	3.2	3.5	3.1	2.7	3.5	3.8	3.2
No	No	No	57.7	31.4	25.0	43.4	31.4	19.2	57.8
			100.1	100.1	100.0	99.8	100.1	99.8	100.0
	1955	N =	917	86	32	182	86	26	531

* Persons whose principal place of residence as a juvenile was not in Area A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D, or E or a combination thereof, were excluded.

** Too few Blacks and Chicanas for inclusion in Areas C, D, and E.

included in both the juvenile and adult periods. What it does suggest is that if we wish to predict who will have Non-traffic contacts as adults we should take their Traffic and Non-traffic contacts as juveniles into consideration. This seems reasonable because the data reveal that Traffic contacts are frequently tied in with other categories of offenses, particularly for juveniles.

CAREER PROGRESSION BY AGE PERIODS

The same data that were utilized in categorizing cohorts and segments of cohorts by age-period continuity may be considered in a different way. Those persons from each cohort, male or female, White, Black, or Chicano, who have had contacts during the juvenile and young adult periods have the greatest probability of having contacts after age 21. In the 1942 Cohort, for example, 89.4% of the White males with contacts during the first two age periods had contacts after age 21. While comparable percentages were lower for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, progression was still more likely for this group than any other. At the extreme opposite end of the scale in terms of continuity, one finds that 49% of those from the 1942 Cohort, 71.0% from the 1949, and 91.8% from the 1955 Cohort, with no contacts by the age of 21 had no contacts after the age of 21. Nevertheless, in between these two extremes may be found over one-half of the males for each cohort and over 40% of the females, in six different combinations of age to age period continuity or lack thereof. While the progression of females was far less than that for the males, what should be noted is that the proportion (White females in particular) with contacts in the juvenile period who had contacts during the young adult period increased from cohort to cohort. That the males remained about the same across cohorts in this respect is further

evidence of the increasing involvement of females in delinquency and youthful criminal offenses. A series of diagrams with controls for race/ethnicity and sex is presented in Appendix I for those who wish to examine patterns of progression in more detail.

FREQUENCY AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS AND CONTINUITY

Having established that the probability of continuity in police contacts is related to police contacts during the juvenile period, we next examine the relationship between number and seriousness of offense levels resulting in police contacts during one age period and number and seriousness of police contacts during a following age period. The Pearsonian coefficient of correlation indicates the extent to which age periods are related for each race/ethnic group with controls for inner city and interstitial vs. other areas of socialization. The correlations for number and seriousness of contacts through age 17 and after, and through age 20 and after are presented in Tables 5 and 6, for Traffic vs. Non-Traffic in Appendix I.

In spite of the high percentage of persons with continuity into the adult period of those who had contacts during the preceding period, the number of contacts during any prior period has a relatively modest correlation with the number of contacts in the following period. For example, in Table 5, the correlation between the number of contacts during the juvenile (6-17) period and the 18 or older period is .503 for all areas and .696 for inner city White males in the 1942 Cohort. The highest correlations in the entire table were .745 for Chicano males between the juvenile and 18 or older age period and .714 for inner city White males between the 6-20 and 21 or older age period. It is difficult to say that there is a trend from cohort to cohort in the relationship of early to later contact careers within the race/

TABLE 5. CORRELATION OF NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS BETWEEN AGE PERIODS BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND NATURAL AREA OF JUVENILE RESIDENCE*

	WHITE						BLACK				CHICANO	
	Male			Female			Male		Female		Male	Female
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1955	1955
Entire City												
6-17 x 18+	.503	.559	.485	.274	.301	.467	.442	.548	.431	.447	.644	.478
6-20 x 21+	.526	.492	.364	.303	.403	.275	.479	.320	.504	.364	.379	.465
N	338	677	961	267	508	917	44	106	39	86	47	32
Inner City A-B												
6-17 x 18+	.696	.534	.465	.389	.530	.567	.406	.559	.434	.447	.745	.432
6-20 x 21+	.714	.489	.387	.444	.445	.222	.443	.318	.496	.369	.408	.484
N	126	213	178	94	132	182	42	103	38	86	37	26
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17 x 18+	.365	.569	.470	.144	.206	.418	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-20 x 21+	.394	.491	.334	.164	.386	.300	--	--	--	--	--	--
N	212	464	783	173	376	735	--	--	--	--	--	--

* Pearson's R computed with number of police contacts collapsed to 1,2,3,4, and 5 or+.

TABLE 6. CORRELATION OF SERIOUSNESS SCORES BETWEEN AGE PERIODS BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND NATURAL AREA OF JUVENILE RESIDENCE*

	WHITE						BLACK				CHICANO	
	Male			Female			Male		Female		Male	Female
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1955	1955
Entire City												
6-17 x 18+	.509	.516	.449	.240	.295	.394	.452	.514	.449	.416	.467	.357
6-20 x 21+	.509	.446	.362	.290	.351	.233	.476	.280	.459	.442	.330	.344
N	338	677	961	267	508	917	44	106	39	86	47	32
Inner City A-B												
6-17 x 18+	.695	.489	.423	.311	.426	.441	.408	.537	.445	.416	.630	.247
6-20 x 21+	.670	.449	.352	.322	.396	.196	.433	.286	.448	.442	.376	.309
N	126	213	178	94	132	182	42	103	38	86	37	26
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17 x 18+	.384	.525	.437	.182	.244	.347	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-20 x 21+	.404	.441	.346	.266	.334	.244	--	--	--	--	--	--
N	212	464	783	173	376	735	--	--	--	--	--	--

* Pearson's R computed with seriousness score collapsed to 1,2,3,4,5, and 6 or +.

ethnic sex subgroups because many of the differences are relatively small. It does appear that the sex differences among Whites are declining, particularly if one notes how the relationship between the number of juvenile and adult contacts for White males has declined from cohort to cohort but has increased for White females.

Table 6 shows the relationship of seriousness scores in the early age periods to seriousness scores in the years following. These relationships were more or less similar to those shown for contacts, varying by race/ethnic, sex groups and cutting points, again revealing a decline in sex differences among Whites.

We shall later find that the relationship between early and later careers is maintained even with controls for intervention, but that prior police contact records alone will not permit efficient prediction of who will have an adult criminal career.

CAREER TYPE BEFORE 18 AND SERIOUSNESS AFTER 18

The association of number and seriousness found between age periods and differences based on area of socialization suggest that continuity types may be a basis for determining which people in a cohort will have serious police records after the age of 18. Members of each cohort who were socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas vs. middle and outlying areas were selected for comparison. Everyone was placed in one of the simple career continuity types shown on the left-hand margin of Tables 7, 8, and 9. Details on various continuity types developed from the age-by-age data are presented in Appendix I.

These types consist of persons who had (1) No Contacts Ever, (2) No Contacts age 18 or After, (3) Late Starters; No Contacts Before 18 or First Contacts 15 through 17, But Contacts at 18 or After, (4) Intermittent Contacts

TABLE 7. CAREER CONTINUITY TYPE BEFORE 18, SERIOUSNESS LEVEL OF CAREERS, AND FELONY CONTACTS AT AND AFTER AGE 18 BY AREA OF SOCIALIZATION FOR 1942 COHORT

Continuity Type Before 18 and Seriousness Level 18+ Within Types	Inner City and Interstitial Areas					Middle and Outlying Areas					Total*				
	Continuity Type		Percent:			Continuity Type		Percent:			Continuity Type		Percent:		
	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type
No Contacts Ever	73	28.6				82	30.3				199	31.4			
No Contacts 18+	18	7.1				19	7.0				43	6.8			
Late Starters **	115	45.1			6.1	131	48.3			3.8	298	47.1			4.7
Low] 18+			54.8	.0				62.6	.0				58.4	.0	
Medium } Seriousness			33.0	7.9				32.1	7.1				32.6	6.2	
High]			12.2	28.6				5.3	28.6				9.1	29.6	
Intermittent Career Before 18	19	7.5			10.5	16	5.9			6.3	35	5.5			8.6
Low] 18+			36.8	.0				37.5	.0				37.1	.0	
Medium } Seriousness			47.4	11.1				56.3	.0				51.4	5.6	
High]			15.8	33.3				6.3	----				11.4	50.0	
Continuous Career Before 18	30	11.7			23.3	23	8.5			13.0	58	9.2			17.2
Low] 18+			6.7	.0				43.5	.0				24.1	.0	
Medium } Seriousness			40.0	.0				39.1	11.1				39.7	4.3	
High]			53.3	43.8				17.4	50.0				36.2	42.9	
Continuity Type Totals	255	100.0			6.3	271	100.0			3.3	633	100.0			4.3

*Includes persons whose residence could not be categorized as primarily Inner City/Interstitial or Middle/Outlying (considerable movement from one type to the other).
** No contact before 18 or first contact 15 thru 17.

TABLE 8. CAREER CONTINUITY TYPE BEFORE 18, SERIOUSNESS LEVEL OF CAREERS, AND FELONY CONTACTS AT AND AFTER AGE 18 BY AREA OF SOCIALIZATION FOR 1949 COHORT

Continuity Type Before 18 and Seriousness Level 18+ Within Types	Inner City and Interstitial Areas					Middle and Outlying Areas					Total*				
	Continuity Type		Percent:			Continuity Type		Percent:			Continuity Type		Percent:		
	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type
No Contacts Ever	113	25.2				222	32.6				400	30.8			
No Contacts 18+	35	7.8				101	14.8				153	11.8			
Late Starters **	166	37.0			5.4	212	31.1			3.8	454	35.0			5.1
Low] 18+			63.3	.0				70.8	.7				66.1	.6	
Medium } Seriousness			31.9	9.4				27.4	8.6				30.8	9.4	
High]			4.8	50.0				1.9	50.0				3.8	47.0	
Intermittent Career Before 18	48	10.7			8.3	65	9.5			9.2	118	9.1			8.5
Low] 18+			60.4	3.4				55.4	.0				56.7	1.5	
Medium } Seriousness			29.2	.0				41.5	14.8				36.4	11.8	
High]			10.4	60.0				3.1	----				5.9	71.4	
Continuous Career Before 18	87	19.4			32.2	81	11.9			9.9	172	13.3			20.9
Low] 18+			23.0	.0				29.6	.0				26.7	.0	
Medium } Seriousness			43.7	21.0				56.8	10.9				49.4	15.3	
High]			33.3	69.0				13.6	27.3				23.8	56.1	
Continuity Type Totals	449	100.1			9.1	681	99.9			3.2	1297	100.0			5.3

*Includes persons whose residence could not be categorized as primarily Inner City/Interstitital or Middle/Outlying (considerable movement from one type to the other).
** No contact before 18 or first contact 15 thru 17.

TABLE 9. CAREER CONTINUITY TYPE BEFORE 18, SERIOUSNESS LEVEL OF CAREERS, AND FELONY CONTACTS AT AND AFTER AGE 18 BY AREA OF SOCIALIZATION FOR 1955 COHORT

Continuity Type Before 18 and Seriousness Level 18+ Within Types	Inner City and Interstitial Areas					Middle and Outlying Areas					Total*				
	Continuity Type		Percent:			Continuity Type		Percent:			Continuity Type		Percent:		
	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type	N	%	in Level	with Felonies in Level	with Felonies in Type
No Contacts Ever	152	24.5				501	45.2				881	41.0			
No Contacts 18+	121	19.5				200	18.1				363	16.9			
Late Starters **	149	24.0			9.4	252	22.7			7.5	518	24.1			10.0
Low] 18+			62.4	.0				67.5	2.4				64.3	1.2	
Medium } Seriousness			34.2	19.6				31.3	16.5				33.6	22.4	
High]			3.4	80.0				1.2	66.7				2.1	81.8	
Intermittent Career Before 18	64	10.3			17.2	69	6.2			10.1	147	6.8			14.3
Low] 18+			45.3	.0				72.5	.0				57.1	.0	
Medium } Seriousness			50.0	25.0				26.1	33.3				39.5	27.6	
High]			4.7	100.0				1.4	----				3.4	100.0	
Continuous Career Before 18	135	21.7			48.1	86	7.8			25.6	240	11.2			38.3
Low] 18+			20.7	.0				38.4	.0				27.9	.0	
Medium } Seriousness			48.9	43.9				44.2	26.3				47.9	36.5	
High]			30.4	87.8				17.4	80.0				24.2	86.2	
Continuity Type Totals	621	100.0			14.5	1108	100.0			4.3	2149	100.0			7.7

*Includes persons whose residence could not be categorized as primarily Inner City/Interstitital or Middle/Outlying (considerable movement from one type to the other).
**No contact before 18 or first contact 15 thru 17.

Before 18 and Contacts at 18 or After, and (5) Continuous Contacts Before 18 and Contacts at 18 or After. Although the distribution of persons by continuity type and place of socialization produced very little relationship for the 1942 Cohort (Tau = .055) or 1949 Cohort (Tau = .088), it did produce a Tau of .261 for the 1955 Cohort, significant at the .001 level. The latter was based on the highly disproportionate number of persons with continuous careers prior to the age of 18 among those who were socialized in the inner city and its interstitial areas in comparison with persons socialized in the remainder of the city.

Commencing with the 1942 Cohort we note that of those 11.7% who were socialized in the inner city and its interstitial areas and had what we term a continuous career before 18, over half (53.3%) had a high seriousness score after 18. No other area and no other continuity type had even close to 50% with this characteristic. Furthermore, 23.3% of the 11.7% socialized in this area had a Felony after 18 and 43.8% of this group who were serious offenders had at least one Felony after the age of 18. Here is a small number of persons with continuity prior to 18 and serious careers after that age; they are the persons whose total careers display continuity of the type that has been described in the early literature on the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult crime. These are the atypical youth whose behavior resulted in the construction of the model of delinquency as an ever-expanding,continuous type of phenomena leading to a career in adult crime. While it is true that this type exists, they constitute such a small proportion of the total for each cohort that perpetuation of this model has resulted in considerable mischief when applied to juvenile populations as a whole.

Turning to the 1949 Cohort we again find a higher proportion of persons with continuous careers in the inner city and interstitial areas, that the proportion with high seriousness scores is greater than in other areas, and that the proportion with Felonies after 18 is greatest for those with high seriousness scores. While the basic relationships are the same for the 1955 Cohort, with almost half of those socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas having a Felony after the age of 18, the proportion of those with Felonies after 18 from all continuity types with a high seriousness score is greater than in the other cohorts. Since we have previously remarked about the increase in police contacts categorized as Felonies for the 1955 Cohort, this is not unexpected. There are, of course, very few persons in each of the other continuity types with high seriousness scores so that the finding of concentration of seriousness after 18 among those with continuity before 18 remains the same.

In summary, socialization in the inner city and interstitial areas increases the probability of continuous contacts before the age of 18 and a continuous career before the age of 18 maximizes the probability of a serious career after the age of 18 for all cohorts.

SUMMARY

Males who had one or more police contacts during the juvenile period were more likely to have one or more at each subsequent stage than those who did not. Although continuity between age periods has been increasing from cohort to cohort for females, they showed less continuity from period to period than did the males. In no cohort did the continuity of females even come close to that shown by the males. When each cohort was divided

into those who resided in Area A and B vs. those who resided in Areas C, D, and E, progression was greatest for those in Areas A and B.

When police contacts by males were divided into Traffic and Non-traffic, continuity from period to period (if the proportion of persons with contacts in any combination of two time periods was defined as continuity) was greatest for Traffic offenses in the 1942 Cohort but the opposite in the 1949 Cohort. In either case, continuity was greatest among those who lived within the inner city and its interstitial areas, where the continuity of Whites was more similar to that of Blacks than in the remainder of the community. The continuity of females was far less than male continuity; that for White females, particularly in the inner city and its interstitial areas, was less than that for Black females.

The proportion of males with continuity for Non-traffic contacts in the periods 6 through 17 and 18 through 20 increased cohort by cohort. The corresponding figure for females was approximately half of that but it too increased from cohort to cohort. Inclusion of those males who had contacts in the period 6 through 17 and 21 or older raised the proportion with continuity by no more than 10% in any cohort. Although White, Black, and Chicano males and females (where comparison was possible) in the inner city and interstitial areas were more similar in continuity than were all Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos, Black and Chicano continuity remained higher than White continuity.

When total male contacts during the juvenile period, Traffic contacts, and Non-traffic contacts were utilized in assessing continuity of careers consisting of only Non-traffic contacts during the 18 through 20 and/or 21 or older period, greater continuity was present than for either

Traffic or Non-traffic contacts alone, White vs. Black and Chicano differences also remaining.

When the number of police contacts through age 17 were correlated with contacts occurring after that age and similarly through age 20 and after that age, the trends and differences previously described were not as clear-cut. The higher continuity of persons socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas was definitely declining for White males but the relationship between the number of juvenile police contacts and later police contacts appeared to be increasing for their female counterparts. In other words, sex differences were declining.

When seriousness scores of persons for the same age period were correlated with seriousness scores for all ages following, there were only selective increases in the correlations over those based on simply the number of police contacts. On the other hand, it is quite apparent that construction of continuity types and controlling for place of socialization enables one to select out that 10% or 20% who are more likely to have serious careers after the age of 18 and whose careers, in addition, include a high proportion of felonies.

Thus far we have found that there are differences in the probability that certain categories of juvenile offenders will continue to come to the attention of the police during the young adult and adult periods. In the next chapter we shall take a hard look at the possibility of predicting who these will be.

Chapter 10. Predicting Continuity

THE PROBLEM OF PREDICTION VS. DESCRIPTION

We have described how some individuals proceed through the various stages of what might be called developing delinquent and criminal careers while some drop out at various stages, some have no contacts with the police, or,in some instances, do not have contacts until later stages of their lives.

Regardless of the seriousness of reason for first contact, with few exceptions, over 75% of the males from each cohort are found to have a second contact. The probability of a second contact is, of course, considerably lower for females. It is apparent, however, that seriousness of reason for first police contact does not have a systematic relationship to the probability of a second police contact for either sex, first as shown in the top panel of Table 1 where all reasons for police contact are included and again in the lower panel with traffic contacts removed. For this reason our approach will be to examine the possibility of predicting later delinquent and criminal behavior from early juvenile misbehavior, first on a basis of all contacts through a given year, then seriousness scores through a given year, next with traffic contacts removed, and then from the more serious categories of police contacts in an effort to determine which approach maximizes efficiency of prediction. As a final step we shall see if it is possible to predict who will commit a felony as an adult from juvenile police contacts.

Citations to the disappointing literature on the prediction of continuity in delinquency and crime, hopefully at an early age, were made in Chapter 1.

TABLE 1. PERCENT WHO HAVE AT LEAST ONE ADDITIONAL POLICE CONTACT BY SERIOUSNESS OF FIRST CONTACT

Including Traffic Contacts

Cause of Contact	1942 Males %	1942 Males N	1942 Females %	1942 Females N	1949 Males %	1949 Males N	1949 Females %	1949 Females N	1955 Males %	1955 Males N	1955 Females %	1955 Females N
Suspicion or Investigation	76.8	112	48.2	83	75.7	222	46.9	162	58.7	230	39.7	174
Juvenile Condition	96.4	28	57.1	7	92.8	69	70.6	17	88.6	167	63.6	77
Misdemeanor, Minor	93.0	129	56.8	37	82.1	235	51.2	82	68.5	267	48.3	143
Misdemeanor, Major	95.5	22	33.3	3	89.1	64	80.0	20	87.4	103	71.7	53
Felony, Property	100.0	7	----	--	83.3	12	66.7	3	76.2	21	85.7	7
Felony, Person	100.0	1	33.3	3	100.0	2	57.1	7	81.8	11	50.0	16
Excluding Traffic Contacts												
Suspicion or Investigation	60.0	35	47.8	23	66.1	115	53.3	71	58.1	124	54.1	74
Juvenile Condition	89.3	29	42.9	7	81.2	69	52.9	17	79.6	167	63.6	77
Misdemeanor, Minor	71.9	89	50.0	20	74.8	159	50.0	52	69.7	165	46.2	93
Misdemeanor, Major	81.8	22	.0	3	84.4	64	60.0	20	77.7	103	60.4	53
Felony, Property	100.0	7	----	--	83.3	12	33.3	3	61.9	21	71.4	7
Felony, Person	100.0	1	33.3	3	100.0	2	57.1	7	45.5	11	31.3	16

* N - Number with first contact in category.

That researchers have had difficulty with this problem should not be surprising.[1] The number of persons who have contacts at all or who have repeated and frequent contacts in the pre-teen period is so small in comparison to the number who have records by their middle and late teens of the magnitude which will be useful in prediction that to attempt prediction of continuity into the adult period from the pre-teen period is not a productive approach. This is true whether the predictor is frequency of contacts or seriousness of behavior resulting in contacts. Prediction at an early age will produce too many errors of omission if we overlook the continuity of those whose delinquent records are acquired in their middle and later teens. This will become clearer as the data are presented in this chapter.

PREDICTING FUTURE CAREERS FROM NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS AT A GIVEN AGE

In spite of this rather pessimistic introduction, the continuing concern of professionals on the firing line mandates that we examine the possibility of predicting future careers on the basis of the number and seriousness of police contacts through a given age. Table 2 reveals that as persons in each cohort accumulate contacts with the police throughout the early years of their lives the more contacts they have accumulated through any given age, the greater will be the probability of having contacts after that age. While this relationship is not without exceptions, the age of 15 is a good example.

Of those in the 1942 Cohort with neither Traffic nor Non-traffic contacts through age 15, 59.8% had at least one contact after that age but 92.5% of those who did have a contact through age 15 had at least one more contact in the future. However, 100% of those who had two or more contacts

TABLE 2. PERCENT WITH ANY POLICE CONTACT AFTER AGE BY NUMBER OF CONTACTS PRIOR TO AND AT AGE: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

Number of Contacts Through Age ——→	PERCENT OF 1942 COHORT WITH CONTACTS AFTER AGE																					
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	68.1	67.9	67.6	67.3	66.6	65.7	63.1	59.8	53.3	47.4	43.1	39.9	36.2	33.2	30.9	26.3	21.3	17.8	15.0	10.8	6.6	4.3	2.0
1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.1	92.5	82.5	71.3	68.9	63.3	57.3	54.6	49.0	46.7	39.1	34.8	29.7	20.4	16.5	12.0	4.8
2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	89.1	72.1	71.1	57.4	54.9	54.2	45.9	38.8	32.4	22.9	17.3	13.3	9.1	1.3
3	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	91.7	90.0	86.5	76.5	69.4	66.7	61.8	61.5	56.4	52.4	47.7	38.6	33.3	20.0	11.4
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	88.9	88.9	94.7	91.3	85.7	80.8	70.8	60.0	63.0	60.7	51.9	51.5	41.2	29.4	13.9
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.3	93.3	93.6	92.3	91.6	87.7	86.5	83.5	81.0	76.6	67.3	61.3	51.3	37.9	23.2
Lambda*	.0184	.0254	.0369	.0484	.0668	.0876	.1409	.1935	.1961	.1867	1693	.1229	.1483	.1239	.1226	.1007	.0586	.0200	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
Somers' D	.6462	.6761	.6772	.6890	.6440	.6345	.6210	.6285	.5644	.4991	.4961	.4744	.4624	.4421	.4330	.4176	.3979	.3808	.3304	.3048	.2609	.1899	.1171
Pearson's R	.1361	.1713	.2078	.2223	.2620	.2783	.3724	.4699	.5266	.5460	.5861	.5838	.5977	.5821	.5841	.5758	.5517	.5385	.4958	.4662	.4158	.3409	.2674

Number of Contacts Through Age ——→	PERCENT OF 1949 COHORT WITH CONTACTS AFTER AGE															
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
0	68.3	67.5	66.7	65.5	63.7	61.2	58.3	54.7	48.1	40.6	33.1	26.1	20.5	15.4	8.7	4.5
1	93.9	92.2	93.4	91.6	89.1	83.9	79.7	74.7	68.1	58.4	47.5	37.9	29.1	19.6	14.2	7.2
2	100.0	100.0	96.0	95.8	96.8	95.1	94.7	88.4	80.8	75.0	63.6	54.1	41.5	32.7	24.4	15.1
3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	88.2	90.0	85.7	81.5	78.7	72.6	65.9	53.4	46.0	29.6	19.8
4	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.7	96.0	91.7	88.9	82.0	72.9	61.2	51.4	35.9	19.8
5 or +	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.0	97.9	94.5	87.3	81.7	72.3	59.8	38.3
Lambda	.0257	.0470	.0673	.0890	.1134	.1282	.1501	.1575	.1660	.1425	.1313	.1076	.0068	.0000	.0000	.0000
Somers' D	.5478	.5368	.5529	.5428	.5320	.4907	.4857	.4763	.4736	.4674	.4426	.4185	.3816	.3417	.2860	.1879
Pearson's R	.1527	.2087	.2573	.2990	.3584	.3981	.4467	.4888	.5536	.5899	.5884	.5801	.5517	.5151	.4463	.3577

Number of Contacts Through Age ——→	PERCENT OF 1955 COHORT WITH CONTACTS AFTER AGE												
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	56.9	55.4	53.9	52.2	50.6	48.4	45.0	40.9	33.4	25.8	18.3	11.7	6.4
1	89.2	84.4	83.0	79.7	78.7	77.1	69.9	63.6	53.5	44.1	31.2	23.2	12.0
2	92.3	93.1	92.7	91.4	87.1	89.3	86.2	81.3	72.2	59.3	46.6	33.7	23.7
3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.2	93.3	83.3	69.9	54.1	39.3	22.8
4	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.5	82.5	77.6	67.1	46.6	31.7
5 or +	100.0	100.0	92.3	96.4	97.8	95.8	95.6	95.4	90.9	85.3	74.7	64.0	47.2
Lambda	.0445	.0626	.0833	.0931	.1005	.1203	.1272	.1336	.1196	.0853	.0352	.0000	.0000
Somers' D	.5716	.5363	.5456	.5330	.5279	.5480	.5172	.5011	.4617	.4164	.3569	.3038	.2206
Pearson's R	.2720	.2940	.3410	.3851	.4225	.4749	.5157	.5577	.5815	.5681	.5413	.4999	.4036

*Lambda and Somers' D asymmetric with number of police contacts after age as the dependent variable collapsed to same categories through age.

through the age of 15 had at least one contact after that age. Note that Lambda (also known as Guttman's Coefficient of Predictability), a measure of the proportional reduction of error in predicting the number of future contacts from the number of contacts through a given age, is highest at the ages of 15, 16, and 17 while Somers' D, an asymmetrical measure of association, is higher in the years preceding 16 and Pearson's R is higher after the age of 15 than prior to it. What this tells us is that even though persons who have contacts at a very early age are almost sure to have continuing contacts (and this is why Somers' D is high at the early ages), a large proportion of the cohort does not commence their careers at such an early age. Those who start early will have additional contacts but there are many who first have police contacts between the ages of 15 and 18 who will also continue to have contacts. This is why the Pearson's R reaches its greatest value in the late teens and early twenties, the period when contacts through a given age are most highly correlated with the number of future contacts.

The measures of association and proportional reduction of error for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts follow essentially the same pattern but, because of the fewer years of exposure, the percentages of those who will have at least one more contact after the age of 15 are lower.

While Table 2 has been constructed to show the proportion of each group who will have at least one more contact after a given age on a basis of the number of contacts that they have had through that age, the statistics are based on the number of contacts through a given age and the number after that age. We shall now turn to Table 3 which reveals the percent who had 5 or more contacts after a given age by the number of contacts that they

TABLE 3. PERCENT OF COHORT WITH FIVE OR MORE CONTACTS AFTER AGE BY NUMBER OF CONTACTS PRIOR TO AND AT AGE: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

PERCENT OF 1942 COHORT WITH FIVE OR MORE CONTACTS AFTER AGE

Number of Contacts Through Age →	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	26.8	26.3	25.7	25.1	24.0	22.7	18.7	13.9	9.6	7.1	4.9	3.9	1.9	1.3	1.0	.4	.4	.4	.4	.0	.0	.0	.0
1	87.5	90.0	85.7	87.5	70.4	69.4	57.7	52.2	29.9	18.8	15.1	11.0	10.7	8.3	5.9	2.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	.9	.0	.0	.0
2	-----	66.7	80.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	73.9	66.7	57.5	38.2	18.6	11.1	5.6	2.0	6.8	3.3	3.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
3	-----	-----	-----	50.0	85.7	80.0	75.0	66.7	66.7	53.3	35.1	23.5	8.3	11.1	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.4	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	88.9	66.7	55.6	57.9	34.8	42.9	34.6	12.5	.0	3.7	3.6	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	50.0	71.4	82.6	75.7	75.0	65.4	59.3	50.5	44.7	44.4	39.1	30.7	27.0	23.8	12.7	9.1	5.0	1.8
Median Number of Contacts by Age of First Contact	11.00	14.50	17.50	16.00	6.00	10.50	8.00	8.25	3.69	2.42	3.25	2.00	3.63	1.90	2.00	2.06	1.27	1.42	1.50	1.19	1.50	1.13	1.13

PERCENT OF 1949 COHORT WITH FIVE OR MORE CONTACTS AFTER AGE

Number of Contacts Through Age →	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
0	24.1	22.8	21.5	20.1	18.1	16.1	13.5	10.2	6.1	3.3	1.8	1.3	.6	.2	.2	.0
1	66.7	60.8	55.7	53.7	45.3	38.1	35.0	30.0	21.6	12.0	4.9	1.6	2.0	1.3	.8	.0
2	100.0	90.0	80.0	75.0	71.0	58.6	47.4	42.1	32.7	19.5	12.4	8.3	3.5	.6	.6	.0
3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.3	76.5	83.3	68.6	48.1	25.3	17.9	9.9	4.5	2.3	-----	.0
4	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	87.5	92.9	62.5	72.0	66.7	48.9	27.9	18.6	10.4	6.8	3.8	.0
5 or +	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	82.6	80.2	62.2	50.8	42.3	32.5	22.8	12.3	4.8
Median Number of Contacts by Age of First Contact	9.00	12.00	10.50	6.75	6.17	4.25	5.25	5.00	3.46	2.44	2.04	1.48	1.41	1.50	1.23	1.21

PERCENT OF 1955 COHORT WITH FIVE OR MORE CONTACTS AFTER AGE

Number of Contacts Through Age →	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	16.8	15.3	13.6	12.2	11.0	8.8	7.4	5.2	2.9	1.3	.5	.0	.0
1	57.8	46.9	43.4	35.8	31.8	29.6	19.7	14.5	7.8	3.9	1.7	.5	.0
2	84.6	75.9	75.6	67.2	50.0	45.2	37.6	27.6	18.4	8.4	3.7	1.5	.0
3	100.0	100.0	81.8	71.4	75.9	68.3	57.1	40.0	29.2	16.5	6.6	2.6	.0
4	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.9	72.2	71.4	68.0	58.1	40.0	24.1	15.7	2.7	1.2
5 or +	100.0	100.0	92.3	96.4	93.5	85.9	78.8	75.0	61.6	45.7	34.3	20.6	7.2
Median Number of Contacts by Age of First Contact	6.12	5.14	5.28	4.15	3.38	5.03	3.04	2.43	2.18	2.10	1.23	1.12	1.47

had through that age. One must not conclude that because those with early first contacts (age 10 in the 1942 Cohort for example) have the highest median number of contacts throughout their careers, that early prediction is feasible. The point becomes even clearer when we look at those who have contacts through age 13.

Although 50% to 100% of those in the 1942 Cohort who had a contact through age 13 had 5 or more contacts after that age and only 22% of those who had no contacts through age 13 had 5 or more afterward, a sizeable proportion of each cohort develops a continuing career at an even later age. Only 9.6% of those who had no contacts through the age of 16 had 5 or more contacts afterward but 75% of those who had 5 or more through that age had 5 or more contacts after that age. It is also interesting to note that the median number of contacts by age of first contact is considerably higher for those who had their first contact by the age of 15, the point at which the median number of career police contacts drops from 8.25 to 3.69 for the 1942 Cohort. The 1949 and 1955 Cohorts are similar but have lower percentages in some columns because the future contains fewer years of exposure.

The same general pattern of relationships for seriousness is presented in Table 4. One should also note that when relating number of contacts or seriousness scores from past and present ages to those in the future, the correlations for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts drop below those of the 1942 Cohort several years before the last year for which these cohorts have had recorded experiences because the very immediate future may be a period in which there are no contacts. Later in the chapter we shall examine the possibility of improving prediction with a more stringent definition of

TABLE 4. PERCENT WITH SERIOUSNESS SCORE OF SIX OR MORE AFTER AGE BY SERIOUSNESS SCORE PRIOR TO AND AT AGE: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

Seriousness Score Through Age ⟶	PERCENT OF 1942 COHORT WITH SERIOUSNESS SCORE OF SIX OR MORE AFTER AGE																					
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	36.2	35.8	35.2	34.6	33.4	31.8	28.0	22.8	16.4	13.2	9.7	8.5	5.1	4.4	3.5	1.9	1.6	1.7	1.3	.4	.5	.0	.0
1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	66.7	60.0	50.0	40.6	20.0	26.9	17.0	19.2	13.8	10.2	5.2	3.0	2.8	2.9	1.5	.0	.0	.0
2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	75.0	90.0	77.8	58.3	35.7	8.3	17.6	13.0	4.8	14.8	15.4	10.0	6.1	5.6	2.4	2.6	2.5	-----
3	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	80.0	85.0	56.0	54.1	45.8	38.3	32.7	28.6	28.9	27.3	21.6	24.3	15.8	13.2	15.8	15.0	10.3	5.3	.0
4	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	83.3	84.6	80.0	64.7	37.5	16.7	14.3	0.0	7.7	12.0	13.8	10.0	6.7	.0	.0	.0	3.2	.0
5	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	70.0	50.0	36.4	7.1	14.3	6.3	11.8	19.0	5.9	5.3	5.3	4.8	5.0	6.3
6 or +	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	92.3	89.3	86.9	80.2	74.8	70.4	63.6	56.6	51.2	48.6	42.9	35.4	33.7	30.0	24.5	18.3	11.1	3.0
Lambda*	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0025	.0371	.1195	.2091	.2694	.2590	.2600	.2342	.2187	.1879	.1739	.1313	.0735	.3060	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
Somers' D	.6342	.6369	.6208	.6284	.5823	.5905	.5684	.5849	.5377	.4918	.4899	.4723	.4625	.4443	.4273	.4152	.4018	.3850	.3353	.3049	.2625	.1910	.1162
Pearson's R	.1252	.1486	.1791	.2093	.2423	.2865	.3737	.4733	.5242	.5409	.5534	.5547	.5590	.5449	.5303	.5291	.5198	.5028	.4624	.4386	.3917	.3214	.2507

Seriousness Score Through Age ⟶	PERCENT OF 1949 COHORT WITH SERIOUSNESS SCORE OF SIX OR MORE AFTER AGE															
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	21	21	22	23
0	35.3	34.4	32.8	31.1	28.5	25.8	22.7	19.0	13.4	8.6	6.2	4.3	3.4	2.3	1.1	.2
1	71.4	63.6	58.3	62.5	56.3	43.8	39.3	33.8	30.7	16.8	12.1	6.3	5.7	5.0	3.4	1.4
2	87.5	69.2	63.2	63.6	65.5	50.0	37.9	29.0	13.5	15.2	7.8	4.9	3.2	.0	.0	.0
3	75.0	72.2	75.0	68.6	64.7	65.1	57.7	43.3	36.8	25.3	16.3	5.8	5.1	1.1	1.0	.0
4	100.0	100.0	92.3	84.2	76.0	68.4	66.7	54.7	48.2	32.8	29.2	20.6	9.0	5.4	3.8	.0
5	.0	33.3	83.3	85.7	83.3	72.7	78.3	63.3	51.4	40.6	36.8	25.6	13.9	15.0	3.0	.0
6 or +	100.0	100.0	91.3	93.5	95.7	88.6	83.0	80.2	75.9	67.0	56.3	48.6	41.1	30.7	20.8	9.8
Lambda	.0012	.0000	.0073	.0469	.1025	.1573	.2005	.2103	.2256	.2366	.2139	.1788	.1050	.0000	.0000	.0000
Somers' D	.4890	.4700	.4944	.4866	.4869	.4511	.4460	.4433	.4449	.4548	.4327	.4122	.3723	.3294	.2758	.1805
Pearson's R	.1406	.1880	.2329	.2728	.3302	.3616	.4058	.4479	.5041	.5488	.5455	.5360	.5010	.4642	.4131	.3208

Seriousness Score Through Age ⟶	PERCENT OF 1955 COHORT WITH SERIOUSNESS SCORE OF SIX OR MORE AFTER AGE												
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	30.6	29.1	27.4	25.9	24.2	21.7	19.4	15.9	11.4	6.9	4.2	2.2	1.1
1	65.2	59.5	56.5	48.2	45.2	36.7	31.1	26.6	14.3	8.3	3.2	1.2	.0
2	65.0	63.9	60.0	54.2	50.0	50.7	37.0	30.4	26.9	18.4	3.8	2.5	.0
3	76.7	69.6	66.7	63.6	55.1	50.7	41.5	37.1	28.8	21.3	16.3	7.8	.7
4	90.0	88.0	83.8	78.7	73.5	71.4	57.8	48.1	36.5	20.8	15.9	6.8	5.6
5	100.0	87.5	76.9	70.6	63.6	64.3	56.3	50.0	36.2	30.0	20.4	13.3	6.7
6 or +	100.0	100.0	93.0	95.8	90.7	86.3	81.7	78.3	68.8	53.3	41.0	30.8	16.9
Lambda	.0549	.0859	.1132	.1373	.1549	.1851	.1913	.2039	.1961	.1606	.0487	.0000	.0000
Somers' D	.4957	.4703	.4716	.4661	.4688	.4900	.4664	.4588	.4304	.4045	.3503	.3009	.2208
Pearson's R	.1988	.2485	.2906	.3329	.3674	.4137	.4431	.4796	.5059	.5098	.4845	.4603	.3846

*Lambda and Somers' D asymmetric with seriousness of careers after age as the dependent variable collapsed to same categories as seriousness through age.

seriousness than the seriousness scale from which the data in this table were generated.

Observation of some of the detailed tables from which the percentages in each age column of Tables 2 and 3 were constructed reveals even better the nature of the prediction problem. We commence with age 18 for each Cohort. Table 5 for the 1942 Cohort shows that Pearson's R and Somers' D are fairly high as correlations in sociology go but Lambda is low and that is the key to understanding the larger problem, namely how to increase predictive efficiency over that obtainable from the marginals.

Let us start out by looking at the lowest row of each table, those who had 5 or more contacts through the age of 18. In the 1942 Cohort 65.4% of these persons had 5 or more contacts after 18. In the 1949 Cohort 50.8% had 5 or more--remember, they had seven years less exposure than the 1942 Cohort. Only 34.3% of the 1955 Cohort had 5 or more contacts after 18--and they had even fewer years of exposure. Now go up to the next row, those with 4 contacts through the age of 18 and note that fewer had 5 or more contacts after 18 but that about the same percent had 4 or more as had 5 or more in the row below, except that it is less for the 1949 Cohort, etc. As one moves up, the distribution shifts more and more to a smaller proportion with contacts after 18. Of those who had 4 or more through 18, 72% of the 1942 Cohort and 45% of the 1949 Cohort had 4 or more after 18.

But if we are attempting to set this up as a prediction problem, how much improvement over the marginals do we have by using the number of contacts through age 18 as the predictor of how many contacts after age 18? Lambda tells us that it is less than 16.9%.

Let us look at the raw numbers in the 1942 Cohort table and simplify

TABLE 5. PEOPLE WITH ACCRUED CONTACTS THROUGH AGE 18 BY THEIR ACCRUED CONTACTS AFTER 18: 1942 COHORT

Contacts Thru Age 18	Number and Percent of Persons by Number of Contacts After Age 18						
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or +	Total
0	199 *56.9*	69 *19.7*	47 *13.4*	10 *2.9*	8 *2.3*	17 *4.9*	350 *100.1*
1	33 *31.1*	25 *23.6*	16 *15.1*	11 *10.4*	5 *4.7*	16 *15.1*	106 *100.0*
2	12 *27.9*	8 *18.6*	9 *20.9*	4 *9.3*	2 *4.7*	8 *18.6*	43 *100.0*
3	5 *13.5*	5 *13.5*	4 *10.8*	7 *18.9*	3 *8.1*	13 *35.1*	37 *99.9*
4	1 *5.3*	2 *10.5*	1 *5.3*	2 *10.5*	2 *10.5*	11 *57.9*	19 *100.0*
5 or +	5 *6.4*	5 *6.4*	8 *10.3*	1 *1.3*	8 *10.3*	51 *65.4*	78 *100.1*
Total	255 *40.3*	114 *18.0*	85 *13.4*	35 *5.5*	28 *4.4*	116 *18.3*	633 *99.9*

Somers' D asymmetric with number of contacts after age as the dependent variable: .4961

Pearson's R: .5861

Lambda asymmetric with number of contacts after age as the dependent variable: .1693

Statistics computed on data as collapsed in this table.

the problem. If we are attempting to predict who would have 5 or more contacts after the age of 18 we make 116 errors out of 633 cases or 18.3% if we predict that no one would have 5 or more contacts--that is the best prediction from the marginals. If we utilize the number of contacts before 18 as the predictor we predict that no one with 3 or fewer through 18 will have 5 or more contacts after 18 and make 54 errors. We predict that persons with 4 or more contacts will have 5 or more and make 35 errors. Thus, we have a total of 89 errors, a reduction of 23.3% over the marginal prediction of 116 errors.

What is the social cost of doing something for or to the 35 people who had 4 or more contacts through age 18 but did not have 5 or more after 18? That is the way we must look at it. Also, we must remember that we have still missed 54 people who ended up with 5 or more contacts but had less than 4 through age 18.[2]

Take the 1949 Cohort (Table 6) and apply the same strategy, assuming that these data are the basis for decision making. Here we make 163 errors out of 1,297 cases if we predict that no one would have 5 or more contacts after 18, or 12.5% if we predict from the marginals. If we attempt to utilize the number of contacts before 18 as the predictor of how many persons would have 5 or more contacts it is not possible to find cutting points that improve predictive efficiency over the marginals because, no matter which cutting point is selected, it is not possible to have fewer errors than those which would be made in predicting from the modal category of the marginals. The same is true for the 1955 Cohort (Table 7).

On the other hand, the relationship between the number and seriousness of contacts through the late teens and contacts after the late teens is

TABLE 6. PEOPLE WITH ACCRUED CONTACTS THROUGH AGE 18 BY THEIR ACCRUED CONTACTS AFTER 18: 1949 COHORT

Contacts Thru Age 18	Number and Percent of Persons by Number of Contacts After Age 18						
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or +	Total
0	400 *66.9*	120 *20.1*	38 *6.4*	18 *3.0*	11 *1.8*	11 *1.8*	598 *100.0*
1	128 *52.5*	60 *24.6*	26 *10.6*	14 *5.7*	4 *1.6*	12 *4.9*	244 *99.9*
2	47 *36.4*	27 *20.9*	19 *14.7*	9 *7.0*	11 *8.5*	16 *12.4*	129 *99.9*
3	23 *27.4*	24 *28.6*	11 *13.1*	8 *9.5*	3 *3.6*	15 *17.9*	84 *100.1*
4	11 *18.0*	14 *23.0*	5 *8.2*	6 *9.8*	8 *13.1*	17 *27.9*	61 *100.1*
5 or +	10 *5.5*	25 *13.8*	22 *12.2*	16 *8.8*	16 *8.8*	92 *50.8*	181 *99.9*
Total	619 *47.7*	270 *20.8*	121 *9.3*	71 *5.5*	53 *4.1*	163 *12.6*	1297 *100.0*

Somers' D asymmetric with number of contacts after age as the dependent variable: .4426

Pearson's R: .5884

Lambda asymmetric with number of contacts after age as the dependent variable: .1313

Statistics computed on data as collapsed in this table.

TABLE 7. PEOPLE WITH ACCRUED CONTACTS THROUGH AGE 18 BY THEIR ACCRUED CONTACTS AFTER 18: 1955 COHORT

Contacts Thru Age 18	Number and Percent of Persons by Number of Contacts After Age 18						
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or +	Total
0	881 *81.7*	131 *12.2*	46 *4.3*	9 *.8*	6 *.6*	5 *.5*	1078 *100.1*
1	276 *68.8*	72 *18.0*	27 *6.7*	12 *3.0*	7 *1.7*	7 *1.7*	401 *99.9*
2	101 *53.4*	46 *24.3*	16 *8.5*	10 *5.3*	9 *4.8*	7 *3.7*	189 *100.0*
3	56 *45.9*	29 *23.8*	15 *12.3*	6 *4.9*	8 *6.6*	8 *6.6*	122 *100.1*
4	23 *32.9*	22 *31.4*	10 *14.3*	3 *4.3*	1 *1.4*	11 *15.7*	70 *100.0*
5 or +	73 *25.3*	48 *16.6*	18 *6.2*	26 *9.0*	25 *8.7*	99 *34.3*	289 *100.1*
Total	1410 *65.6*	348 *16.2*	132 *6.1*	66 *3.1*	56 *2.6*	137 *6.4*	2149 *100.0*

Somers' D asymmetric with number of contacts after age as the dependent variable: .5413

Pearson's R: .3569

Lambda asymmetric with number of contacts after age as the dependent variable: .0352

Statistics computed on data as collapsed in this table.

very similar for all three cohorts; this suggests that a prediction for the future behavior of the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts could be made on a basis of the data from the 1942 Cohort. This is an important point since the prediction device must be shown to be applicable to future cohorts.

Turning back to Table 2, we have the percent with at least one police contact after age 8 through age 30 for the 1942 Cohort by the number of contacts through each age. This table, as we have said, is based on detailed tables for each age of each cohort. For example, for the 1942 Cohort at age 18 we see that 43.1% of those who had no contacts through age 18 have had at least one contact thereafter; this percent is the sum of all percents from 1 to 5 or more contacts in the top row of Table 5 for the 1942 Cohort.

Taking age 18 again we find that 68.9% of those with one contact through age 18 have had at least one contact after that age. And so on. These tables clearly show that the probability of having future contacts at any given age is related to how many contacts were acquired through that age since 93.6% of those who had 5 or more contacts have at least one more contact.

The percentages given for the 1949 Cohort are similar at the lower ages and for those who have had several contacts but the percentages for the 1949 Cohort decline commencing in the late teens, as previously noted, because they have fewer years of exposure. Similar observations may be made for the 1955 Cohort.

PREDICTIVE EFFICIENCY AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF SERIOUSNESS

Before presenting and discussing the next series of prediction attempts, the reader must again be reminded that the basic problem in attempting to predict any behavior that is deviant, and the more deviant the more difficult, stems from

the fact that fewer than half of the group may fall in the category predicted. It is a problem of skewed marginals. As we progress from the prediction of police contacts to the prediction of felonies the problem is even further exacerbuted.

We commence, and for the purpose of simplification, have dichotomized the data according to those who have had a contact at a given level of seriousness through the age of 17 vs. those who have not and those who have had a contact at a given level of seriousness at age 18 or later vs. those who have not.

The problem is illustrated by reference to the 1949 Cohort in Table 8, predicting police contacts at age 18 or after from contacts age 6 through 17. This is an example in which the marginals are only slightly skewed, the relationship between police contact status prior to 18 and after 18 is sufficiently high (Pearson's R is .3307 and Somers' D is .3283) that prior behavior permits improved prediction over the marginals. Lambda indicates that prediction from knowledge of the predictor improves efficiency 22% over that which could be obtained by simply utilizing the modal category of the marginals at 18 or over as the category into which it would be predicted that everyone will fall, i.e., the prediction that no one would have a police contact after reaching the age of 18. Had the distribution been highly skewed in either direction after 18 a higher correlation would have been necessary to improve prediction over that obtainable from the marginals.

There are, of course, two strategies that can be utilized in prediction.[3] The first, as we have indicated, makes use of police contact status at Time 1 in predicting police contact status at Time 2. This is Lambda (the Coefficient of Predictability), $\frac{E^2 - E^1}{E^2}$, where E^2 equals the

TABLE 8. PREDICTING POLICE CONTACTS AND FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS AGE 18 AND LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS AND FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORTS

1942
Police Contact Age 18 or +

Police Contact Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	199 (52.5)*	180 (47.5)	379 (59.9)
Yes	49 (19.3)	205 (80.7)	254 (40.1)
Total	248 (39.2)	385 (60.8)	633 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3335
Somers' D .3321
Lambda .0766

1949
Police Contact Age 18 or +

	No	Yes	Total
No	400 (59.4)	273 (40.6)	673 (51.9)
Yes	166 (26.6)	458 (73.4)	624 (48.1)
Total	566 (43.6)	731 (56.4)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3307
Somers' D .3283
Lambda .2244

1955
Police Contact Age 18 or +

	No	Yes	Total
No	881 (73.3)	321 (26.7)	1202 (55.9)
Yes	402 (42.4)	545 (57.6)	947 (44.1)
Total	1283 (59.7)	866 (40.3)	2149 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3122
Somers' D .3084
Lambda .1651

1942
Felony or Misdemeanor Age 18 or +

Felony or Misdemeanor Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	332 (74.8)	112 (25.2)	444 (70.1)
Yes	61 (32.3)	128 (67.7)	189 (29.9)
Total	393 (62.1)	240 (37.9)	633 (100.0)

Pearson's R .4009
Somers' D .4250
Lambda .2792

1949
Felony or Misdemeanor Age 18 or +

	No	Yes	Total
No	650 (77.9)	184 (22.1)	834 (64.3)
Yes	195 (42.1)	268 (57.9)	463 (35.7)
Total	845 (65.2)	452 (34.8)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3602
Somers' D .3582
Lambda .1615

1955
Felony or Misdemeanor Age 18 or +

	No	Yes	Total
No	1210 (81.6)	272 (18.4)	1482 (69.0)
Yes	326 (48.9)	341 (51.1)	667 (31.0)
Total	1536 (71.5)	613 (28.5)	2149 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3358
Somers' D .3277
Lambda .0245

* The small percent figures in parentheses in the 2x2 tables add to 100% across and the small percent figures under the totals on each marginal add to 100%. Improvement over a prediction from the modal category (largest percent) of the marginals by the use of the predictor is possible only if two diagonal figures in the 2x2 tables are lower than the non-modal number of the lower marginals. In this case: 49 + 180 = 229, which is lower than 248.

number of errors that would be made by utilizing the modal category at Time 2 as the category into which it would be predicted everyone will fall (the non-modal category of the predictand, $E^2 = 566$) and where E^1 equals the number of errors from knowledge of the predictor (a prediction that those with no contacts in Time 1 will have none in Time 2 and that those who have contacts in Time 1 will do so in Time 2 gives us 439). As we have seen, this strategy works well for the example cited: $\frac{566 - 439}{566} = \frac{127}{566} = .2244$.

The second strategy might be to assume that the modal category at Time 1 is the best predictor of where everyone will be found at Time 2 on the assumption that the group will become more homogeneous as time goes by, shifting in the direction of the modal category. This seems to make sense if one remembers the high rate of discontinuation described in the last chapter and if less than half of the group has had police contacts. Whether this prediction is better than that made by the first strategy can be determined in this case by looking at the modal category at Time 2 where we see that 556 errors would be made by predicting that everyone would be in the same modal category in Time 2 as in Time 1.

Since this strategy would not increase predictive efficiency, why mention it? It sometimes works if the distributions of the marginals are quite skewed. The 1949 Cohort males in the lowest panel of Table 10, predicting felonies in the future from felonies in the past, is an excellent example. We note a Pearson's R of .2729 and a Somers' D of .2572 but Lambda is zero, indicating that the predictor fails to reduce error over that obtained by simply predicting that everyone at Time 2 will have the same characteristic as those in the modal category of the marginals at Time 1, i.e., none of the males will have had a police contact for a Felony after the age of 18.

In this case the first strategy was poor because there were 49 errors of omission and 59 errors of commission, that is, false positives.

The second strategy produced 74 errors, 25 less than predicting that each person would at Time 2 have the status that they had at Time 1. The fact is that the second strategy frequently works best for the females because their distributions are so skewed toward no police contacts. The same data as those in Tables 8, 9, and 10 are presented in Appendix J with controls for sex.

But to return to the point of this section and the top panel of Table 8, predictive efficiency at various levels of seriousness, those who have police contacts during the juvenile period are more likely to have them after reaching age 18 than those who do not but the relationship is not sufficiently high to produce a great reduction in error by predicting from past to future behavior.

When the same attempts at prediction were made for males and females separately, quite different, but yet disappointing results, were obtained. There were always more males in the contact category than without contacts, the correlations were lower, but with an increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals for only the 1955 Cohort. Correlations were much lower and there was little or no increase in predictive efficiency for the females (See Appendix J, Tables 1 and 2).

In the lower panel of Table 8 the results are shown for an attempt to predict who would have a police contact for a Felony or Misdemeanor after reaching age 18 from prior Felonies and Misdemeanors. Although a smaller proportion of each cohort has had police contacts before 18 and after reaching that age for Felonies or Misdemeanors than has had contacts for all

reasons, the relationship of prior to subsequent behavior was sufficiently high for the 1942 Cohort that there was a 28% decrease in errors of prediction over what would have been obtained from the marginals. Similar increases in predictive efficiency were not present for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, however, with the least improvement for the 1955 Cohort.

In this case the increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals was greater for the males than for the total cohort for each cohort ranging from .29% for the 1942 Cohort to .24% for the 1949 Cohort to .15% for the 1955 Cohort. The more skewed distributions for the females and their lower correlations resulted in no decrease in errors over that obtained from the prediction that no one would have a police contact for a Felony or Misdemeanor after reaching the age of 18. Obviously, improvement in predictive efficiency is greatest for the 1942 Cohort because there has been more time for those who were most likely to continue their difficulties beyond the juvenile period to do so. Since this too has involved a fairly broad definition of adult crime we next turn to a narrower definition, Felony or Major Misdemeanor.

In Table 9 the results are presented for three attempts to predict who will have a police contact for a Felony or Major Misdemeanor after reaching age 18. In not a single case is there an improvement over the prediction that no one will have a police contact for behavior at this level of seriousness. Prior and future police contacts at this level are correlated but the prediction problem is exacerbated by the fact that only 9%, 10%, and 11% of the members of each cohort have had one or more contacts at this level after reaching the age of 18. That persons who have had Felony and

TABLE 9. PREDICTING WHO WILL COMMIT A FELONY OR MAJOR MISDEMEANOR AT AGE 18 OR LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS, PRIOR NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS, AND PRIOR FELONIES

1942

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	369 (97.4)	10 (2.6)	379 (59.9)
	Yes	208 (81.9)	46 (18.1)	254 (40.1)
	Total	577 (91.2)	56 (8.8)	633 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2670
Somers' D .1547
Lambda .0000

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	424 (95.7)	19 (4.3)	443 (70.0)
	Yes	153 (80.5)	37 (19.5)	190 (30.0)
	Total	577 (91.2)	56 (8.8)	633 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2451
Somers' D .1519
Lambda .0000

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Felony or Major Misdemeanor Before Age 18	No	529 (93.6)	36 (6.4)	565 (89.3)
	Yes	48 (70.6)	20 (29.4)	68 (10.7)
	Total	577 (91.2)	56 (8.8)	633 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2512
Somers' D .2304
Lamdba .0000

1949

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	650 (96.6)	23 (3.4)	673 (51.9)
	Yes	520 (83.3)	104 (16.7)	624 (48.1)
	Total	1170 (90.2)	127 (9.8)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2227
Somers' D .1325
Lambda .0000

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	752 (96.5)	27 (3.5)	779 (60.1)
	Yes	418 (80.7)	100 (19.3)	518 (39.9)
	Total	1170 (90.2)	127 (9.8)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2610
Somers' D .1584
Lambda .0000

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Felony or Major Misdemeanor Before Age 18	No	1033 (94.1)	65 (5.9)	1098 (84.7)
	Yes	137 (68.8)	62 (31.2)	199 (15.3)
	Total	1170 (90.2)	127 (9.8)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3060
Somers' D .2524
Lambda .0000

1955

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	1165 (96.9)	37 (3.1)	1202 (55.9)
	Yes	743 (78.5)	204 (21.5)	947 (44.1)
	Total	1908 (88.8)	241 (11.2)	2149 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2879
Somers' D .1830
Lambda .0000

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	1294 (96.4)	48 (3.6)	1342 (62.4)
	Yes	614 (76.1)	193 (23.9)	807 (37.6)
	Total	1908 (88.8)	241 (11.2)	2149 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3121
Somers' D .2034
Lambda .0000

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Felony or Major Misdemeanor Before Age 18	No	1652 (94.1)	104 (5.9)	1756 (81.7)
	Yes	256 (65.1)	137 (34.9)	393 (18.3)
	Total	1908 (88.8)	241 (11.2)	2149 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3545
Somers' D .2894
Lambda .0000

Major Misdemeanor contacts during the juvenile period are more likely to have them after that age is not surprising, but there are even more persons in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts who did not have contacts for Felonies and Major Misdemeanors before 18 who had them after reaching that age.

Although police contacts, Non-traffic police contacts, and Felonies and Major Misdemeanors before age 18 were correlated with Felonies and Major Misdemeanors after reaching that age, for both males and females separately, there was no increase in predictive efficiency over that obtained from the marginals. For both males and females, and particularly when Felonies and Major Misdemeanors were utilized as the predictor, the correlations increased from cohort to cohort, most notably for females. Yet, even though the proportion of those females who had a Felony or Major Misdemeanor before age 18 and who had a Felony or Major Misdemeanor after reaching that age (16.5%) was five times as large as the proportion of those who had not had a prior offense at that level before age 18 but had had one at 18 or later (3.0%), there was no increase in predictive efficiency by utilizing prior behavior as the predictor. This example where only 4.4% of the females had a Felony or Major Misdemeanor illustrates the difficulty, if well nigh not the almost zero probability, of bettering the marginal prediction that no one in the cohort would have a police contact at that level of seriousness after reaching the age of 18 (See Tables 3 and 4 in Appendix J).

In Table 10 the criterion is having a police contact for a Felony after reaching age 18, again with three levels of seriousness utilized as the predictor. No improvement in predictive efficiency is produced; the problem is even more difficult because even fewer have had a police contact at that level of seriousness than at the levels utilized for the criterion in the tables

TABLE 10. PREDICTING WHO WILL COMMIT A FELONY AT AGE 18 OR LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS, PRIOR NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS, AND PRIOR FELONIES

1942

		Felony Age 18 or + No	Felony Age 18 or + Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	374 (98.7)	5 (1.3)	379 (59.9)
	Yes	230 (90.6)	24 (9.4)	254 (40.1)
	Total	604 (95.4)	29 (4.6)	633 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1906
Somers' D .0813
Lambda .0000

		No	Yes	Total
Non-Traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	436 (98.4)	7 (1.6)	443 (70.0)
	Yes	168 (88.4)	22 (11.6)	190 (30.0)
	Total	604 (95.4)	29 (4.6)	633 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2192
Somers' D .1000
Lambda .0000

		No	Yes	Total
Felony Before Age 18	No	580 (96.5)	21 (3.5)	601 (94.9)
	Yes	24 (75.0)	8 (25.0)	32 (5.1)
	Total	604 (95.4)	29 (4.6)	633 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2254
Somers' D .2151
Lambda .0000

1949

		Felony Age 18 or + No	Felony Age 18 or + Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	661 (98.2)	12 (1.8)	673 (51.9)
	Yes	562 (90.1)	62 (9.9)	624 (48.1)
	Total	1223 (94.3)	74 (5.7)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1756
Somers' D .0815
Lambda .0000

		No	Yes	Total
Non-Traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	766 (98.3)	13 (1.7)	779 (60.1)
	Yes	457 (88.2)	61 (11.8)	518 (39.9)
	Total	1223 (94.3)	74 (5.7)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2134
Somers' D .1011
Lambda .0000

		No	Yes	Total
Felony Before Age 18	No	1164 (96.0)	49 (4.0)	1213 (93.5)
	Yes	59 (70.2)	25 (29.8)	84 (6.5)
	Total	1223 (94.3)	74 (5.7)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2729
Somers' D .2572
Lambda .0000

1955

		Felony Age 18 or + No	Felony Age 18 or + Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	1177 (97.9)	25 (2.1)	1202 (55.9)
	Yes	796 (84.1)	151 (15.9)	947 (44.1)
	Total	1973 (91.8)	176 (8.2)	2149 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2479
Somers' D .1370
Lambda .0000

		No	Yes	Total
Non-Traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	1308 (97.5)	34 (2.5)	1342 (62.4)
	Yes	665 (82.4)	142 (17.6)	807 (37.6)
	Total	1973 (91.8)	176 (8.2)	2149 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2660
Somers' D .1506
Lambda .0000

		No	Yes	Total
Felony Before Age 18	No	1837 (94.8)	100 (5.2)	1937 (90.1)
	Yes	136 (64.2)	76 (35.8)	212 (9.9)
	Total	1973 (91.8)	176 (8.2)	2149 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3337
Somers' D .3069
Lambda .0000

just described. In each cohort there are more persons who have had contacts for a Felony after 18 who did not have one before than for persons who had such a prior contact. While the proportion of those who had no prior contacts for Felonies but who had a contact after age 18 was small, as seen from the percentage figures included in each 2 x 2 table, this is pretty much beside the point.

When controls for sex were introduced the results were the same. Here again we find an increase in the correlation between the predictor variable, prior Felony, and the criterion from cohort to cohort but no increase in predictive efficiency over that obtained from the modal category of the marginals (See Tables 5 and 6 in Appendix J).

At this point we must conclude that while the existence of continuity for a portion of each cohort has been demonstrated, the distribution of police contacts is sufficiently skewed toward none in later periods that contact or no contact in the juvenile period has limited value as a predictor of whether or not a person will have one or more contacts at any seriousness level after reaching the age of 18.

SUMMARY

That there is a relationship between more frequent and more seriousness contacts at an early age and continuity in careers cannot be denied. But this alone does not enable us to improve our predictive efficiency because we still make too many errors of omission and commission if we act on these data alone. In the next chapter we shall examine the data on referrals, follow this with a chapter on predicting referrals, and then incorporate the effects of referrals and sanctions in order to determine how they increase or decrease continuity and seriousness of later careers.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Although previously cited, it should again be mentioned that the basic difficulties faced when attempting to predict delinquency and crime have been outlined exactly as we see them in 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. 401-24. In this chapter we are concerned with the base rate problem when attempting to predict who will commit serious misdemeanors and felonies, or felonies alone. We are simply interested in predicting who would have one or more police contacts in a subsequent period on the assumption, perhaps false, that prior behavior has some predictive efficiency.

[2] The trade-off in costs and consequences of the two types of errors is discussed at some length by Leslie Wilkins in "Putting 'Treatment' on Trial," *The Hastings Center Report* (Hastings-on-the-Hudson: Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences, 1975), reprinted in Norman Johnson and Leonard D. Savitz, *Justice and Corrections* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978), pp. 670-687.

[3] See Chapter 2 in David K. Hildebrand, James D. Laing, and Howard Rosenthal, *Prediction Analysis of Cross Classifications* (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1977).

Chapter 11. The Disposition of Police Contacts

DIFFERENTIAL PATTERNS OF REFERRAL

During the late 1970's over 30% of the populations of juvenile institutions and 40% of the adult institutions were Nonwhite in Wisconsin, a state with less than 5% of the population Nonwhite. Even if we consider the proportion of Nonwhites in Wisconsin's major metropolitan areas (where percent Nonwhite is double that of the entire state) we will find that the minority component of the state's institutionalized population is proportionally over-represented.

Although this over-representation has often been attributed to step-by-step discrimination against minorities and/or persons of lower socioeconomic status in the chain of events between commission of an act and institutionalization, most cross-sectional studies have produced contradictory and/or inconclusive evidence of significant race/ethnic or socioeconomic status discrimination at any given point in the process.[1] These contradictory findings do not prevent us from taking the position that as an individual proceeds through the system the decision to take the next formal step is more likely to be made if the miscreant is Nonwhite or of lower socioeconomic status than if he/she is White or of higher socioeconomic status. Each step, it is hypothesized, adds an increment of Nonwhites and/or persons of lower socioeconomic status (although perhaps not a statistically significant increment) to those who will be formally processed and thus brought closer to institutionalization.[2] In the end, a significantly larger proportion of the institutionalized population is Nonwhite and/or from lower socioeconomic status groups.

Referral rates are dependent upon the action of persons in the police and juvenile justice systems whose attitudes may be influenced by sensationalized events or concerns expressed by citizens' groups. At the point of referral action may be initiated which eventuates in highly disproportionate numbers of institutionalized minority group members, reflecting and reinforcing racist explanations of delinquency and crime. While it may be that differentials in delinquency and crime rates play a part in determining the disproportionate minority group composition of institutions, the question is to what extent is it race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status (race/ethnicity is a status and not an explanatory sociological category) combined and to what extent is it race/ethnic definitions (definitions of groups are sociological categories) of what should be done in response to behavior observed by the police? May it not be that the initial screening process, the decision to refer or not to refer, is the first step in a chain of events, each sending a few percent more of the minority or low socioeconomic status persons on to the next stage of the process? [3]

REFERRAL ALTERNATIVES

The manner in which each police contact was disposed of at the time of contact or as a consequence of questioning in the Juvenile Bureau was placed in the following operationally-defined categories:

1. Contact, released; counselled and released
2. Referred to County Probation Department
3. Referred to County Welfare
4. Referred to State Department of Public Welfare
5. Referred to Juvenile Traffic Court

6. Referred, other
7. Referred to District Attorney (Adult)
8. Other Adult Referral

Approximately two-thirds of the males' and 80% of the females' contacts in all cohorts were counselled and released by the police (see Table 1). The larger proportion of referrals to the County Probation Department from cohort to cohort, it should be cautioned, is probably a function of the fewer years of exposure to the possibility of an adult referral from cohort to cohort as well as increasing community concern that has been shown for the problem of delinquency in more recent years. Increased use of the Juvenile Traffic Court should also be noted during the juvenile period for the 1955 Cohort. Eighty percent of the contacts in the 1942 Cohort were disposed of in one way or another the same day (usually as a result of counselling and release) as were 73% of the 1949 Cohort and 64% of the 1955 Cohort contacts. Within 15 days 93% of the 1942 and 1949 Cohort contacts and 90% of the 1955 Cohort contacts had been disposed of. While a few cases in each cohort were obviously not dealt with immediately (within a few weeks), no more than 2% of the contacts in any cohort had disposition dates beyond six months from the time of initial police contact.

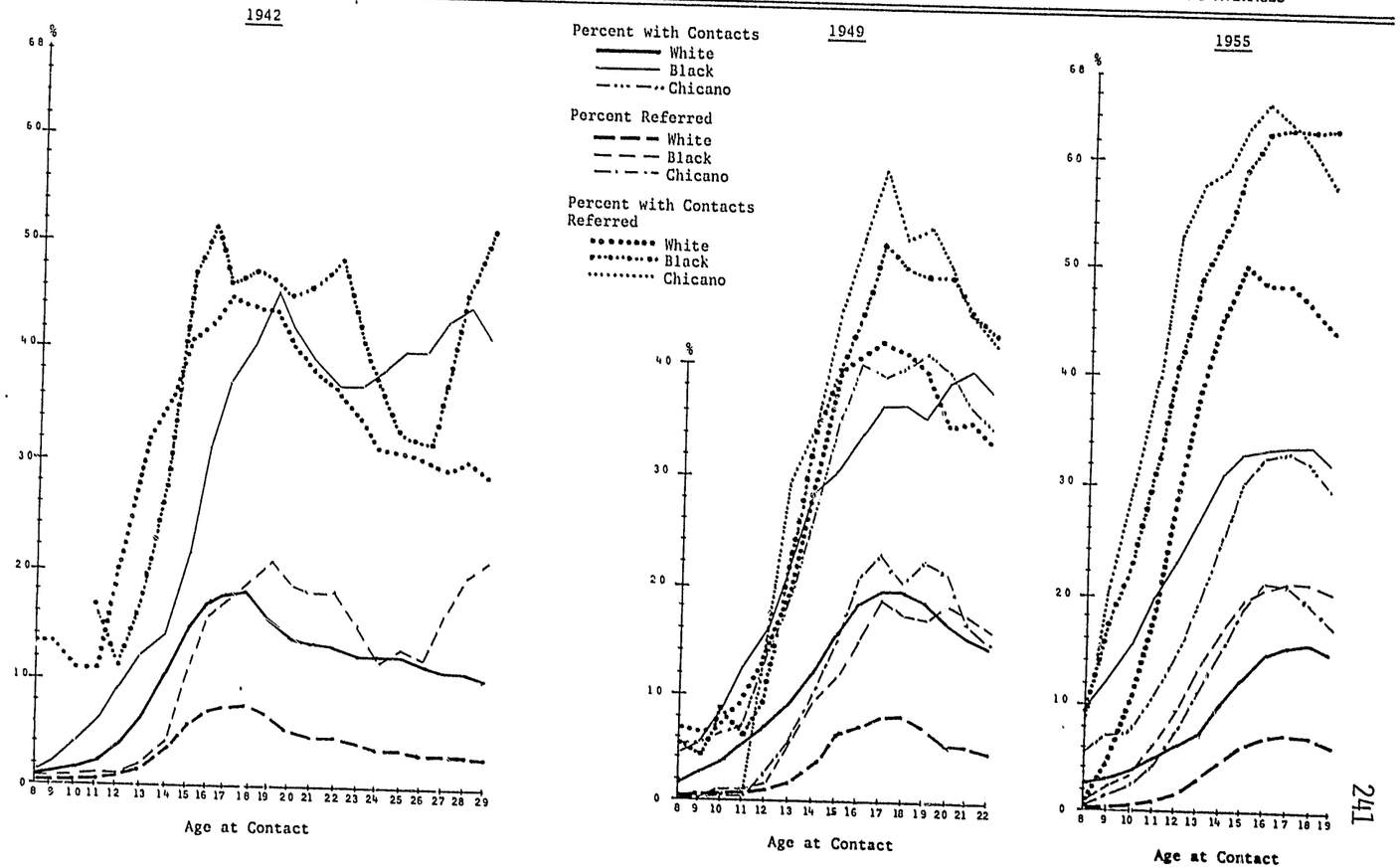
DIFFERENTIALS IN REFERRAL BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Since the cohort data enable us to examine the progression of careers, we were able to ascertain if referral rates (proportion of contacts referred) increase for some sex, race/ethnic, and residential groups more rapidly than for others. When curves were drawn (see Diagram 1) comparing the proportions of Whites and Blacks who had had at least one contact, at

TABLE 1. PERCENT ACCORDED TYPE OF DISPOSITION AT CONTACT BY COHORT AND SEX

	1942		1949		1955	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Contact, released; counselled & released	65.4	78.2	66.5	79.1	57.0	65.1
Referred to County Probation Department	9.2	5.5	13.0	7.9	22.4	20.2
Referred to County Welfare	.1	.0	- .1	.2	.2	.1
Referred to State Dept. of Public Welfare	.0	.0	.1	.0	- .1	.1
Referred to Juvenile Traffic Court	.2	.3	.2	.0	14.2	10.2
Other Juvenile Referral	.4	.0	.6	.2	.1	.1
Referred to District Attorney (Adult)	8.3	3.0	8.1	4.1	4.7	2.6
Other Adult Referral	13.7	7.0	8.4	5.8	.4	.3
Not Ascertained	2.8	6.1	3.1	2.6	1.0	1.5
TOTAL CONTACTS (N)	2371	330	4586	875	5617	1443

DIAGRAM 1. PERCENT WITH POLICE CONTACTS, PERCENT REFERRED, AND PERCENT OF PERSONS WITH CONTACTS REFERRED BY AGE: FIVE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES



least one referral, and with contacts who had been referred by a given age, the most telling curve in terms of its suggestion of differential handling of Blacks was that applying to the percent with contacts who were referred. At its peak in the late teens more than twice as large a proportion of Blacks and Chicanos as Whites were referred. While the proportion of Blacks with one referral was greater than that of the Whites, this distinction was not as great in the 1942 Cohort as in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts where both Blacks and Chicanos were referred disproportionately for their police contacts even before the age of 12 and continued their unenviable status throughout the years covered by the study. The shapes of the curves are similar from cohort to cohort for the ages that they share but it is apparent that the referral curves for Blacks and Chicanos rose more rapidly and reached their peaks earlier than did the curves for Whites. Other curves (not shown) based on the accumulated proportions of those with referrals show that the proportion of the White group that was referred reached its peak earlier and at a lower point than that of the Black group. In other words, all of the Black youth who were to become involved with the police did so at an earlier age than did the Whites but the proportion who had sufficiently serious contacts to be referred continued above the peak for Whites and continued to rise for several years.

Let us now look at referral rates by place of residence at time of police contact. The definition of referred has been narrowed to a referral to either the Racine County Probation Department or the District Attorney--the types of referrals most indicative of police concern regarding the seriousness of the behavior resulting in contact. The percent of each race/ethnic group's contacts that were referred to either of the latter is shown

by natural area of residence at time of referral in Table 2. For the males we find some, but not a consistent, decline in the proportion of contacts referred as one moves from the poorest to the best residential areas. This decline is not found, however, for females from all cohorts. A consistent pattern of decline from the inner city to suburban areas was not expected for the Blacks and Chicanos since most resided in the inner city or interstitial areas at time of referral. Since the decline in percentage of contacts referred was not consistent for the Whites, this suggests that place of residence at time of contact, in itself, has relatively little to do with the decision to refer.

This table does, however, permit one to observe that in contrast to the overall indication of a higher proportion of contacts referred for Blacks than Whites and the generally higher referral of contacts by Chicanos than Blacks, when area of residence at time of referral was controlled, the Blacks and Chicanos did not in every case have a higher proportion of their contacts referred than did the Whites. Black and Chicano males from the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts who resided in the inner city, and from the interstitial areas in the 1955 Cohort, did however, have a disproportionately higher proportion of their contacts referred than did White males who resided in these areas.[4]

RACE/ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN REFERRAL BY TYPE OF POLICE CONTACT

The percent of the contacts by members of each cohort which were referred to the County Probation Department or the District Attorney (as in Table 2), by reason for contact, race/ethnicity, and sex, is shown in Table 3. Here we find that while the percent of the contacts by Black and Chicano males referred by reasons for contact was higher than that for the White males for some types of offenses by the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, they were very similar

TABLE 2. PERCENT OF CONTACTS REFERRED INTO JUDICIAL SYSTEM BY NATURAL AREA OF RESIDENCE AT TIME OF REFERRAL

		MALE								FEMALE							
	Natural Area	White		Black		Chicano		Total		White		Black		Chicana		Total	
		%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1942:	A	18.6	231	17.6	227	20.0	5	18.1	463	7.3	41	.0	9	50.0	2	7.7	52
	B	18.0	589	21.3	47	.0	4	18.1	640	9.3	86	.0	3	----	---	9.0	89
	C	18.3	536	.0	4	.0	2	18.1	542	2.7	74	----	---	----	---	2.7	74
	D	17.5	388	----	---	.0	3	17.4	391	13.3	60	----	---	----	---	13.3	60
	E	14.8	183	----	---	----	---	14.8	183	8.8	34	----	---	----	---	8.8	34
	Total:	17.7	1927	18.0	278	7.1	14	17.7	2219	8.1	295	.0	12	50.0	2	8.1	309
1949:	A	19.6	491	25.3	546	27.2	151	23.1	1188	6.0	116	19.1	136	33.3	3	13.3	255
	B	21.3	1063	14.1	78	14.9	87	20.4	1228	11.1	162	7.9	38	14.3	7	10.6	207
	C	16.9	815	.0	4	35.7	14	17.2	833	10.5	162	40.0	5	.0	6	11.0	173
	D	19.5	667	18.2	33	46.5	43	21.0	743	8.9	124	.0	1	100.0	1	9.5	126
	E	17.7	300	.0	3	12.5	8	17.4	311	15.2	66	----	---	----	---	15.2	66
	Total:	19.3	3336	23.3	664	26.4	303	20.4	4303	10.0	630	17.2	180	17.6	17	11.7	827
1955:	A	30.4	411	33.9	998	32.5	151	32.8	1560	18.4	196	19.7	173	17.2	29	18.8	398
	B	25.0	1015	33.1	438	44.8	194	29.5	1647	22.9	249	24.7	85	39.6	53	25.6	387
	C	19.6	796	14.3	21	35.1	37	20.1	854	22.8	232	16.7	6	.0	3	22.4	241
	D	23.5	762	29.4	17	29.2	24	23.8	803	30.1	186	75.0	4	28.6	7	31.0	197
	E	15.0	333	22.2	9	.0	7	14.9	349	15.0	133	.0	4	----	---	14.6	137
	Total:	23.0	3317	33.2	1483	37.8	413	27.1	5213	22.3	996	21.7	272	30.4	92	22.7	1360

* Includes only contacts for persons who lived within one of the five natural areas at the time of contacts.

TABLE 3. PERCENT OF CONTACTS REFERRED INTO JUDICIAL SYSTEM BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY

	MALE						FEMALE					
	White		Black		Chicano		White		Black		Chicana	
1942 Cohort	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Felony Against Person	41.2	17	90.0	10	----	---	33.3	6	----	---	----	---
Felony Against Property	74.5	51	90.9	11	----	---	100.0	1	----	---	----	---
Major Misdemeanor	36.4	107	30.8	26	----	---	25.0	8	----	---	----	---
Minor Misdemeanor	26.9	950	17.5	137	10.0	10	16.2	117	.0	7	50.0	2
Juvenile Condition	17.1	70	.0	3	----	---	23.1	13	----	---	----	---
Suspicion or Investigation	.5	875	.0	92	----	3	.0	170	.0	5	----	---
Total	17.2	2070	18.3	279	7.1	13	8.6	315	.0	12	50.0	2
1949 Cohort												
Felony Against Person	56.1	41	71.4	14	50.0	6	21.1	19	.0	1	----	---
Felony Against Property	72.3	137	67.4	46	66.7	9	50.0	4	100.0	2	----	---
Major Misdemeanor	38.7	274	25.8	93	42.3	26	28.0	25	33.3	18	50.0	2
Minor Misdemeanor	28.7	1552	30.3	271	35.8	148	15.7	267	15.2	79	14.3	7
Juvenile Condition	16.5	231	11.1	36	33.3	21	29.2	48	52.4	21	100.0	1
Suspicion or Investigation	1.1	1385	1.4	208	.0	93	.6	315	.0	61	.0	7
Total	20.1	3620	23.5	668	26.4	303	10.5	678	17.0	182	17.6	17
1955 Cohort												
Felony Against Person	71.1	142	71.4	112	76.2	21	46.5	43	46.7	15	50.0	2
Felony Against Property	76.3	329	75.0	196	75.6	41	60.6	33	50.0	8	50.0	4
Major Misdemeanor	41.5	410	43.2	308	57.1	77	51.1	94	34.5	55	70.6	17
Minor Misdemeanor	12.4	1279	14.5	422	19.4	129	11.2	374	6.2	97	13.8	29
Juvenile Condition	29.4	633	36.4	209	55.4	74	53.1	209	43.4	53	34.6	26
Suspicion or Investigation	.1	889	1.5	262	.0	83	.0	319	.0	49	.0	16
Total	23.6	3682	33.2	1509	36.9	425	22.5	1072	21.3	277	29.8	94

* N = Number of contacts.

for the 1955 Cohort, particularly for the more serious categories. The proportion of the contacts by females which were referred showed little systematic variation by reason for contact and race/ethnicity. The point to be noted, however, is that for serious offenses, even though the percent of Black and Chicano males referred is not greater than that of White males, it is the disproportionate number of Blacks referred for offenses most likely to result in institutionalization (felonies against the person, for example) that constitutes the final step toward the eventual very high proportion of minority group members, Blacks in particular, in institutions. More detailed tables on the percent of contacts referred by race/ethnicity|sex and age period are presented in Appendix K.

Table 4 shows the same data percentaged across and gives us the proportion of those referred within each seriousness category and for total referrals by race/ethnicity, illuminating the point even more clearly. While Black males produced less than 12% of the contacts and 12.5% of those referred from the 1942 Cohort, they are disproportionately represented in this table in the total number of referred for the most serious offenses (felonies against property and the person and major misdemeanors), ones that are most likely to eventuate in institutionalization. In the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, Black males again made up a disproportionate share of those referred for the most serious offenses.

Black females and Chicanas were also referred disproportionately to their numbers in the 1949 Cohort, both in the major misdemeanor category and juvenile condition category, as well as overall. The contribution of Black females from the 1955 Cohort to the total number referred was less than their contribution to the total number of contacts by females in the

TABLE 4. RACE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF POLICE CONTACTS REFERRED INTO JUDICIAL SYSTEM BY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY AND SEX

	MALES				FEMALES			
	White	Black	Chicano	N*	White	Black	Chicana	N*
1942 Cohort								
Felony Against Person	43.8	56.3	.0	27	100.0	.0	.0	6
Felony Against Property	79.2	20.8	.0	62	100.0	.0	.0	1
Major Misdemeanor	83.0	17.0	.0	133	100.0	.0	.0	8
Minor Misdemeanor	91.1	.4	8.5	1097	95.0	.0	5.0	126
Juvenile Condition	100.0	.0	.0	73	100.0	.0	.0	13
Suspicion or Investigation	100.0	.0	.0	970	.0	.0	.0	175
TOTAL REFERRED	87.3	12.5	.2		96.4	.0	3.6	
TOTAL CONTACTS	87.6	11.8	.6	2362	95.7	3.6	.6	329
1949 Cohort								
Felony Against Person	63.9	27.8	8.3	61	100.0	.0	.0	20
Felony Against Property	72.8	22.8	4.4	192	50.0	50.0	.0	6
Major Misdemeanor	73.6	18.8	7.6	393	50.0	42.9	7.1	45
Minor Misdemeanor	76.8	14.1	9.1	1971	76.4	21.8	1.8	353
Juvenile Condition	77.8	8.2	14.3	288	53.8	42.3	3.8	70
Suspicion or Investigation	83.3	16.7	.0	1686	100.0	.0	.0	383
TOTAL REFERRED	75.4	16.3	8.3		67.6	29.5	2.9	
TOTAL CONTACTS	78.8	14.6	6.6	4591	77.3	20.8	1.9	877
1955 Cohort								
Felony Against Person	51.3	40.6	8.1	275	71.4	25.0	3.6	60
Felony Against Property	58.5	34.3	7.2	566	76.9	15.4	7.7	45
Major Misdemeanor	49.0	38.3	12.7	795	60.8	24.1	15.2	166
Minor Misdemeanor	64.9	24.9	10.2	1830	80.8	11.5	7.7	500
Juvenile Condition	61.4	25.1	13.5	916	77.6	16.1	6.3	288
Suspicion or Investigation	20.0	80.0	.0	1234	.0	.0	.0	384
TOTAL REFERRED	56.9	32.8	10.3		73.5	18.0	8.5	
TOTAL CONTACTS	65.6	26.9	7.6	5616	74.3	19.2	6.5	1443

* N = Number of contacts; 43.8% of those referred for a Felony Against the Person were White and 56.3% were Black.

cohort. Although the disproportional referral of Blacks and Chicanas was not found for both of the felony categories for the 1955 Cohort, it was present for major misdemeanors and juvenile conditions. One interesting male/female difference was the disproportionate number of Black females compared to Black males in the 1949 Cohort among those referred for a juvenile condition, suggesting that Black females may have been perceived by the police as needing more attention for status offenses than did Black males at that time.

What becomes apparent is that while race/ethnicity is not an explanation of delinquency and crime, it is a status or characteristic that places persons in areas where police contacts have a somewhat higher referral rate (1949 and 1955 Cohorts) and where the patterns of delinquency and crime that persons are most likely to acquire (felonies and major misdemeanors) are those which have higher rates of referral into the justice system than do other offenses. As a consequence, Black males become the most disproportionately referred group in each cohort.

Since our classification by seriousness is only one approach to the problem, we have presented the data according to a different set of categories in Tables 5 and 6. The greatest differential in percent of contacts referred between the 1942 Cohort White and Black males is for FBI Part I offenses, as indicated in Table 5. The reverse is found, however, in the 1949 or 1955 Cohorts. As in the case of their disproportionate contribution to referrals for serious offenses shown in Table 4, Blacks contribute, as shown in Table 6, disproportionately to contacts referred for the FBI Part I offenses. Similarly, the proportion of Part I contacts generated by Black females, particularly in the 1949 Cohort, provides rather definitive evidence

TABLE 5. PERCENT OF CONTACTS REFERRED INTO JUDICIAL SYSTEM BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND CONTACT CATEGORY

	MALE						FEMALE					
	White		Black		Chicano		White		Black		Chicana	
1942 Cohort	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
F.B.I. Part I	48.1	133	61.8	34	----	---	33.3	9	----	---	----	---
F.B.I. Part II	25.4	658	24.2	91	7.6	13	18.5	92	----	12	50.0	2
Traffic	13.9	888	8.6	93	----	---	4.4	160	----	---	----	---
Suspicion or Investigation	1.8	391	----	61	----	---	----	54	----	---	----	---
TOTAL	17.4	2070	18.3	279	7.6	13	8.6	315	----	12	50.0	2
1949 Cohort												
F.B.I. Part I	48.0	354	40.3	124	45.7	35	11.8	17	26.7	15	50.0	2
F.B.I. Part II	25.5	1379	32.1	271	31.9	138	14.7	278	24.2	91	33.3	6
Traffic	18.6	1101	16.1	124	17.5	57	11.3	239	18.5	27	----	7
Suspicion or Investigation	.3	786	----	149	1.4	73	.7	144	----	49	----	2
TOTAL	20.1	3620	23.5	668	23.4	303	10.5	678	17.0	182	17.6	17
1955 Cohort												
F.B.I. Part I	60.0	643	57.4	514	70.0	110	53.3	105	39.6	53	66.7	21
F.B.I. Part II	25.9	1726	29.8	660	31.2	199	31.8	563	22.6	155	28.0	50
Traffic	4.4	767	5.7	123	9.4	64	2.3	256	10.0	30	----	14
Suspicion or Investigation	.2	546	.9	212	----	52	----	148	----	39	----	9
TOTAL	23.6	3682	33.2	1509	36.9	425	22.5	1072	21.3	277	29.8	94

* N = Number of contacts.

TABLE 6. RACE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CONTACTS REFERRED INTO JUDICIAL SYSTEM BY CONTACT CATEGORY AND SEX

	MALE				FEMALE			
	White %	Black %	Chicano %	Total N*	White %	Black %	Chicana %	Total N*
1942 Cohort								
F.B.I. Part I	75.3	24.7	----	167	100.0	----	----	9
F.B.I. Part II	87.9	11.6	.5	762	94.4	----	5.6	106
Traffic	93.9	6.1	----	981	100.0	----	----	160
Suspicion or Investigation	100.0	----	----	452	----	----	----	54
TOTAL REFERRED	87.4	12.3	.2		96.4	.0	3.6	
TOTAL CONTACTS	87.6	11.8	.6	2362	95.7	3.6	.6	329
1949 Cohort								
F.B.I. Part I	72.0	21.2	6.8	513	28.6	57.1	14.3	34
F.B.I. Part II	72.9	18.0	9.1	1788	63.1	33.8	3.1	375
Traffic	87.2	8.5	4.3	1282	84.4	15.6	----	273
Suspicion or Investigation	66.7	----	33.3	1008	100.0	----	----	195
TOTAL REFERRED	76.2	16.4	7.4		67.6	29.5	2.9	
TOTAL CONTACTS	78.8	14.6	6.6	4591	77.3	20.8	1.9	877
1955 Cohort								
F.B.I. Part I	50.9	38.9	10.2	1267	61.5	23.1	15.4	179
F.B.I. Part II	62.3	27.4	10.3	2585	78.5	15.4	6.1	768
Traffic	72.3	14.9	12.8	954	66.7	33.3	----	300
Suspicion or Investigation	33.3	66.7	----	810	----	----	----	196
TOTAL REFERRED	56.9	32.8	10.3		73.5	18.0	8.5	
TOTAL CONTACTS	65.6	26.9	7.6	5616	74.3	19.2	6.5	1443

* N = Number of contacts; 75.3% of those referred for a Part I offense were White and 24.7% were Black.

of how Blacks come to constitute such a large proportion of the institutionalized population in Wisconsin. Taken together, Tables 5 and 6 also make it clearer that the overall disproportional contribution of minorities, most consistently Black males, to those referred, is a function of both differential referral rates and their disproportionate percent of contacts for Part I offenses.

We conclude that minorities make up a disproportionately larger number of those referred because, however irregular and inconsistent the pattern between cohorts, they have more contacts, more contacts for more serious behavior, and are referred somewhat more frequently than would be expected considering the categories of behavior into which their reasons for police contact fall. Thus, they are on the way to making up a disproportionate share of those who will be adjudicated delinquent or convicted of offenses leading to institutionalization.

THE ACCUMULATION OF REFERRALS BY PERSONS WITH MULTIPLE CONTACTS

The effect of successive contacts is added to the analysis in Tables 7 and 8 where the percents of those referred are presented with controls for the number of contacts that they have had, 1 contact, 2 to 4 contacts, or 5 or more contacts. The reason for contacts has been dichotomized into Traffic vs. Non-traffic and Non-felony vs. Felony contacts.

In Table 7 we note that in each cohort the proportion of persons referred increases in both the Non-traffic and the Traffic categories with the frequency of contacts in every instance where there are sufficient cases to compare. What we see here is a massing of contributions to the official records (referrals) by a relatively small number of chronic offenders, but not consistently more so for Black and Chicano offenders.

TABLE 7. PERCENT OF PERSONS WITH GIVEN NUMBER OF NON-TRAFFIC VS. TRAFFIC CONTACTS WHO HAVE HAD A REFERRAL, BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

	1 Contact		Recidivists (2-4)		Chronic (5 or +)	
	Non-traffic	Traffic	Non-traffic	Traffic	Non-traffic	Traffic
1942						
White						
Males	18.9	19.7	39.0	29.0	70.3	60.0
Females	18.8	5.1	21.1	9.1	62.5	----
Black						
Males	----	----	----	----	83.3	66.7
Females	----	----	----	----	----	----
Chicano						
Males	----	.0	----	.0	----	----
1949						
White						
Males	13.0	19.1	35.2	38.2	73.8	62.5
Females	7.7	11.8	25.9	27.5	66.7	----
Black						
Males	----	.0	27.3	40.0	92.0	75.0
Females	.0	20.0	.0	50.0	66.7	----
Chicano						
Males	----	----	----	33.3	92.3	----
Females	----	----	----	----	----	----
1955						
White						
Males	15.3	4.2	37.8	9.8	86.0	23.1
Females	17.0	2.5	43.2	2.7	86.5	----
Black						
Males	18.2	3.8	56.3	14.3	86.2	.0
Females	29.4	.0	42.9	33.3	86.7	----
Chicano						
Males	20.0	6.3	50.0	15.4	94.7	----
Females	27.3	.0	66.7	----	100.0	----

TABLE 8. PERCENT OF PERSONS WITH GIVEN NUMBER OF NON-FELONY VS. FELONY CONTACTS WHO HAVE HAD A REFERRAL, BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

	1 Contact		Recidivists (2-4)		Chronic (5 or +)	
	Non-felony	Felony	Non-felony	Felony	Non-felony	Felony
1942						
White						
Males	28.1	58.3	60.2	92.9	86.4	----
Females	23.7	----	36.8	----	66.7	----
Black						
Males	----	----	----	----	100.0	----
Females	----	----	----	----	----	----
Chicano						
Males	----	----	----	----	----	----
Females	----	----	----	----	----	----
1949						
White						
Males	31.6	57.1	56.2	88.9	89.7	100.0
Females	24.4	33.3	44.2	----	69.2	----
Black						
Males	----	83.3	50.0	100.0	87.5	----
Females	----	----	42.9	----	70.0	----
Chicano						
Males	----	----	83.3	----	100.0	----
Females	42.9	----	----	----	----	----
1955						
White						
Males	13.7	63.1	31.4	93.8	77.5	100.0
Females	15.3	51.4	45.6	80.0	84.4	----
Black						
Males	25.0	73.9	35.7	84.2	80.0	100.0
Females	30.0	83.3	40.0	----	71.4	----
Chicano						
Males	20.0	100.0	22.2	87.5	90.5	----
Females	33.3	----	50.0	----	----	----

The percent referred for Non-felony and Felony categories (Table 8), while not presenting exactly the same pattern as that in Table 7, increases for almost each race/ethnic|sex group with frequency of contact. While an increasing proportion of the persons from each category is referred as one progresses to high contact categories, the high proportion of Black and White males with 5 or more contacts who have had at least one referral is noteworthy. At the same time, it is also apparent that a larger proportion of the females from the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts who are either recidivists or chronic offenders is referred than are similar males. This table suggests, as we have so frequently stated before, that persons who have become recognizable, well-known offenders are more frequently dealt with officially. To the extent that minority group members reside in areas which generate recidivists and chronic offenders more than do Whites, then they will step by step become a larger and larger proportion of those who are dealt with officially, even if they are treated even-handedly by the police at the time of contact.

The data in Diagram 1 indicate that on the average Blacks have police contacts earlier and continue to have them for a lengthier period of time than do Whites. That the Black male is more likely to become a recognizable, well-known offender, either as a consequence of his own behavior or of that of the police and others with a labelling function, is further evidenced by the fact that the 1942 Cohort Black males had a median career between first and last contact of 168 months as compared to 135 months for Whites and 60 months for Chicanos. The median length of careers for males in the 1949 Cohort was 108 months for Blacks, 80 months for Whites, and 92 months for Chicanos. White females in the 1942 Cohort had a median career length

of 66 months and Blacks 151 months, while in the 1949 Cohort White females had a career length of 49 months and Black females 95 months.

THE CONSEQUENCE OF REFERRAL

While it is assumed that the juvenile who is referred is being helped by professional persons whose skills will change him or her into a more conforming individual, at least by middle-class standards, the data indicate that this may not be the case. In order to examine continuities in contacts and referrals, we constructed a tree diagram in which the cohort was divided into three categories for each period commencing with 6 through 17: (1) a category consisting of those who had at least one contact and referral, (2) those who had at least one contact but no referral, and (3) those who had no contacts. Each of these groups was then further divided for the age period 18 through 20 in the same manner. This produced a total of nine categories or combinations of contact and referral considering both age periods. These nine categories were in turn categorized in the same way for the age period 21 or older, thus creating a total of 27 categories (see Appendix K).

Only 2.5% of the 1942 Cohort had a contact and referral in each age period and 31.4% had neither a contact nor referral in any age period. Those who acquired at least one contact and one referral had successively higher seriousness scores in the next age period, seriousness scores increasing from a median of 7.4 to 10.67 to 34.0. The 1949 Cohort presents a similar picture with 2.2% having a contact and referral in each age period and 30.9% having neither a contact nor referral in any age period. Those who had at least one contact and referral in each age period had successively higher seriousness scores increasing from 9.04 to 13.1 to 27.0.

By contrast, those who had contacts but no referrals in each age period had very stable median seriousness scores, 2.63, 2.61, and 3.50 for the 1942 Cohort and 3.09, 2.13, and 2.88 for the 1949 Cohort. Perusal of the diagrams reveals that those with referrals always had higher median seriousness scores than did those who were not referred. Likewise, with few exceptions, the groups who were referred at any stage went on to have higher seriousness scores at the next stage than those who were not referred.

Since we have previously shown that referral rates are higher for the more serious reasons for police contact, it would appear that at least at the first stage seriousness of behavior leads to referral. At each subsequent stage, however, there is the problem of determining the effects of prior referrals on succeeding behavior and it may be that referrals result in more serious delinquent and criminal behavior rather than the presumed deterrent effect. The soundness of this concern, must however, await the results of the multivariate analysis on the impact of referral which will be presented in Chapter 20.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The proportion of Nonwhites in institutions in Wisconsin is three or four times greater than their proportion in contributing areas because minorities are more delinquent and criminal in their behavior than the majority, their behavior is more susceptible to formal disposition than is that of the majority, and they are to some extent disproportionately referred rather than counselled and released.

When contacts and referrals were plotted against age at time of contact on a series of curves, it was found that the contact and referral curves were similar from cohort to cohort but that Blacks and Chicanos differed

from Whites in several respects. Black and Chicano curves peaked more rapidly than did the White curves, particularly the curve representing the proportion of those with contacts who were referred. Cumulatively, the Black and Chicano curves not only reached higher levels than did the curves for Whites but continued to rise for several years after passing the White peak.

When the percentage of each race/ethnic|sex group referred by natural area of residence at time of referral was calculated, there was little consistent decline from the poorest to best residential areas in the percent of Whites referred and no regularity for either Blacks or Chicanos or for females of any group.

Higher percentages of Black and Chicano than White males were referred from all cohorts although when controls for seriousness were introduced race/ethnic differentials became less consistent. Black males, while disproportionately referred beyond their contribution to the most serious categories of contacts in the 1942 Cohort, had similar proportions of their contacts referred in the 1955 Cohort. The proportion of persons referred from all cohorts increases in both Non-traffic and Traffic categories with the frequency of contact category, i.e., 1 contact, 2-4 contacts, and 5 or more contacts. Whether referrals are for Non-felonies or Felonies, that proportion of persons referred also increases with frequency of contact category and is particularly high among White and Black males with 5 or more contacts. In other words, a larger proportion of the chronic offenders have had at least one of their contacts referred--a massing of contributions to the official records (referrals for the relatively small number of chronic offenders) regardless of what they have done, but most of all for those who have had 5 or more contacts for Felonies.

In summary, minorities make up a disproportionate number of those referred because, however irregular and inconsistent the pattern between cohorts, they have more contacts, more contacts for more serious categories of behavior, and are to some extent disproportionately referred beyond what would be expected considering the categories of behavior into which their reasons for police contact fall.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Evaluation of the existing literature may lead to the conclusion that police, probation officers, and judges do not discriminate against juveniles or adults on a basis of race/ethnicity or socioeconomic status when controls for seriousness of offense, previous record, etc. have been introduced: Nathan Goldman, "The Differential Selection of Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance," National Council on Crime and Delinquency (1963); Alexander W. McEachern and Riva Bauzer, "Factors Related to Disposition in Juvenile Police Contacts," in M.W. Klein (ed), *Juvenile Gangs in Context* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967): pp. 148-60; William F. Hohenstein, "Factors Influencing the Police Disposition of Juvenile Offenders," in T. Sellin and M.E. Wolfgang (eds), *Delinquency: Selected Studies* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969): pp. 138-49; Donald J. Black, "Production of Crime Rates," *American Sociological Review* 35 (1970): 733-48; Donald J. Black and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Police Control of Juveniles," *American Sociological Review* 35 (1970): 63-77; Theodore G. Chiricos and Gordon P. Waldo, "Socioeconomic Status and Criminal Sentencing: An Empirical Assessment of a Conflict Proposition," *American Sociological Review* 40 (1972): 753-72; Norman L. Weiner and Charles V. Willie, "Decisions by Juvenile Officers," *American Journal of Sociology* 77 (1971): 199-210. There are other studies which suggest that the opposite is the case: Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," *American Journal of Sociology* 70 (1964): 206-14; Theodore N. Ferdinand and Elmer C. Luchterhand, "Inner-city Youths, the Police, the Juvenile Court, and Justice," *Social Problems* 17 (1970): 510-27; Theodore G. Chiricos, Phillip D. Jackson and Gordon P. Waldo, "Inequality in the Imposition of a Criminal Label," *Social Problems* 19 (1972): 553-72; Terrence P. Thornberry, "Race, Socioeconomic Status and Sentencing in the Juvenile Justice System" *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 64 (1973): 90-8; William R. Arnold, "Race and Ethnicity Relative to Other Factors in Juvenile Court Dispositions," *American Journal of Sociology* 77 (1971): 211-27; Alan J. Lizotte, "Extra-legal Factors in Chicago's Criminal Courts: Testing the Conflict Model of Criminal Justice," *Social Problems* 25 (1978): 564-80. While these are only selected studies of discrimination at various levels in the justice system,

they are illustrative of the conflicting findings that have been reported and indicate the basis on which it has been concluded that evidence of direct discrimination by the police or courts has been considered sparse or the conclusion that discrimination is present in some places at some times but not in other places; as concluded by Don C. Gibbons, *Delinquent Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976); LeMar T. Empey, *American Delinquency: Its Meaning and Construction* (Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1978).

[2] One of the most recent efforts to examine the effects of extra-legal factors in determining the length of prison sentences has indicated the nature of the problem with the conclusion that research strategy should pay more attention to the role of accumulated disadvantage: Ilene Nagel Bernstein, William R. Kelley, and Patricia A. Doyle, "Societal Reaction to Deviants: The Case of Criminal Defendants," *American Sociological Review* 42 (1977): 743-55.

[3] How this initial screening process works so as to increase the probability of arrests for Blacks (they are more likely to show disrespect for the police) has been described by Donald Black in "The Social Organization of Arrest." *Stanford Law Review* 23(1971): 1087-1111.

[4] As Edward Green, "Race, Social Status and Criminal Arrest," *American Sociological Review* 35 (1970): 476-490, concludes ".... the high official rate of crime for Negroes compared with whites results predominantly from the wider distribution among Negroes of lower class characteristics associated with crime." To the extent that place of residence (inner city and interstitial areas) is an indicator of social class, it is apparent that race/ethnicity and social class combine to produce a referral rate for Blacks that is higher than that which they would obtain from place of residence alone.

Chapter 12. Predicting Continuity from Referrals

INTRODUCTION

Since referral rates are higher for persons who have greater continuity in their careers, prediction of future referrals and frequency of contacts and seriousness scores from referrals may permit improvement over the predictions described in Chapter 10. Had we been concerned in Chapter 10 only with whether or not frequency of police contacts and seriousness scores through any given age were correlated with frequency and seriousness after that age, the coefficients ranging from .500 to .600 could have been regarded less critically. However, Lambda, the measure of proportional reduction of error, indicated that even at the point when prior contacts or seriousness could best be utilized as predictors of future contacts or seriousness, the reduction in error predicting future contacts from past contacts was never above 20% for the 1942 Cohort, 17% for the 1949 Cohort, or 14% for the 1955 Cohort. In attempting to predict seriousness in the future from seriousness in the past the proportional reduction in error never exceeded (at a period when prediction could be useful) more than 27%, and that at about the age of 16 for the 1942 Cohort, 24% for the 1949 Cohort at the age of 17, and 20% for the 1955 Cohort at the age of 15. It was not possible to improve on marginal predictions more than 25% even when the data were collapsed following cutting point strategies that minimized prediction error.

While it was true that during the late teens and the early twenties those who had not yet had a contact would be unlikely to have one in the future and the percent of those with four or five contacts by that age

who would have at least one more was very large, the proportion of the cohort with continuity was so small that relatively little improvement could be made over prediction from the marginals. Similarly, a prediction based on the marginals of who would have more than five contacts or a high seriousness score beyond any given age was not greatly improved by using prior record as a predictor. At the same time, these percentage differences were great enough to appear quite impressive to persons unsophisticated in the problems of prediction and the importance of considering errors of omission as well as errors of commission.

REFERRALS AS A PREDICTOR OF CONTINUITY

Predicting Referrals from Referrals

In developing prediction tables the question arose as to which types of referrals of those mentioned in the previous chapter should be included in the analysis. Inasmuch as we were concerned in that chapter about the extent to which referrals may take place at a higher rate for Blacks and Chicanos than Whites, only the two most serious categories of referral were included. These were the categories that would take the persons referred one step closer to formal court handling and the possibility of sanctions. In this chapter all types of referrals have been included because we were concerned about the possibility that any kind of referral, whether to the Racine County Probation officer or to the District Attorney, would have some effect on the probability of future referrals and police contacts. Even then, there will be, of course, a much smaller percentage of each cohort who have had a referral prior to and at any given age than had police contacts but our assumption is that those who have been referred either engaged

in more serious behavior which really warrants referral or that their characteristics are those which define them as persons who need more formal consideration. In either case, we hypothesize that these are the persons who are most likely to have continuity in their careers.

Let us first look at a table showing the percentage of each cohort referred after any given age based on the number of referrals they have accrued (Table 1). These correlations reached their peak about the same time as those that were obtained between contacts through a given age and contacts after that age. The highest correlations obtained came at the ages of 19 through 25 for the 1942 Cohort, at 16 through 22 for the 1949 Cohort, and appeared even earlier, age 13, for the 1955 Cohort, not because there are cohort differences as much as because of the limited time after the late teens for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. What we must emphasize is that at no time was Lambda higher than .125, indicating that the predictor (number of referrals through a given age) enables us to reduce errors of prediction by less than 13% over prediction from the marginals. Of course, when we turn to any age, such as 18 or 19, we note that those who had no referrals through that age have less than one chance in five of having a referral after that age but those who have had five referrals through that age have at least nine out of 10 chances of having another referral. The differences are somewhat less for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts but they clearly show that there is a small group that has referrals, but as we said, this group is so small that the errors of omission at any age for those who have had no referrals or only one referral through that age result in relatively little increase in predictive efficiency.

The percent with three or more referrals after any age by the number

TABLE 1. PERCENT WITH ANY POLICE REFERRAL AFTER AGE BY NUMBER OF REFERRALS PRIOR TO AND AT AGE: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

Number of Referrals Through Age ⟶	PERCENT OF 1942 COHORT WITH REFERRALS AFTER AGE																						
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	37.2	37.2	37.0	37.0	36.8	36.5	34.9	31.5	26.3	20.0	17.2	15.2	12.2	11.2	10.0	7.7	6.4	5.5	5.0	4.1	2.7	2.0	.5
1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	75.0	72.7	76.2	55.6	44.9	37.0	33.7	30.3	30.0	25.8	22.9	14.9	12.5	10.5	7.4	4.1	1.0	.0
2	-----	-----	-----	.0	.0	.0	50.0	77.8	68.4	61.8	54.5	41.2	42.5	36.8	36.6	32.5	25.6	23.5	20.9	14.6	18.6	7.5	2.4
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	92.9	73.7	61.1	56.3	52.9	50.0	42.1	36.4	37.5	36.0	21.0	17.4	11.1	7.1
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	75.0	81.8	57.1	68.4	58.8	50.0	47.1	33.3	33.3	25.0	6.7	5.6	.0	.0
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	75.0	90.9	94.1	94.4	88.0	82.8	71.9	69.4	66.7	62.2	59.1	40.9	22.2	6.7
Lambda	.0042	.0042	.0084	.0042	.0042	.0000	.0044	.0089	.0296	.0283	.0184	.0338	.0435	.0833	.0813	.0467	.0556	.0482	.0658	.0794	.0870	.0800	.1250
Somers' D	.6973	.6973	.7067	.5062	.6230	.4195	.4627	.5475	.4324	.4007	.3855	.3433	.3563	.3433	.3266	.2962	.2510	.2410	.2195	.1843	.1389	.0635	.0235
Pearson's R	.1194	.1194	.2995	.2146	.2380	.2039	.1761	.3277	.3615	.4147	.4686	.4842	.5018	.4980	.5083	.5131	.4923	.4910	.4542	.4355	.5248	.4640	.3572

Number of Referrals Through Age ⟶	PERCENT OF 1949 COHORT WITH REFERRALS AFTER AGE															
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
0	36.6	36.5	36.3	36.2	35.9	35.3	34.0	31.2	25.2	17.2	13.2	9.8	8.1	5.5	3.2	1.6
1	80.0	80.0	75.0	80.0	85.7	80.0	81.6	72.7	59.5	39.7	32.0	26.2	21.5	16.1	9.1	3.6
2	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	71.4	54.5	48.3	43.7	37.2	23.3	16.0	7.3
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	70.0	87.0	63.3	56.8	45.7	34.4	26.3	21.4	9.1
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	85.7	64.7	65.0	52.4	48.1	41.4	33.3	20.0
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	86.7	87.2	74.0	65.5	51.4	40.5	16.7
Lambda	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0063	.0064	.0107	.0155	.0122	.0185	.0387	.0377	.0529	.0732	.0818	.0566
Somers' D	.3066	.5986	.5610	.6124	.6671	.6205	.6707	.5897	.4988	.3704	.3474	.3031	.2657	.2243	.1605	.0753
Pearson's R	.0827	.1458	.1500	.1569	.1943	.2903	.3786	.4668	.5290	.5379	.5922	.5531	.5134	.5474	.4918	.2891

Number of Referrals Through Age ⟶	PERCENT OF 1955 COHORT WITH REFERRALS AFTER AGE												
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	33.6	33.4	33.3	32.6	31.6	29.9	27.0	23.8	18.7	12.7	9.5	5.2	2.9
1	.0	66.7	85.7	77.8	73.7	75.8	66.0	54.5	37.4	26.0	17.5	12.2	6.7
2	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	88.9	87.1	72.7	62.1	45.9	36.0	27.4	14.7
3	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	81.8	87.5	73.3	63.4	45.0	35.4	21.1
4	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	76.5	66.7	60.9	58.6	39.4	15.6
5 or +	-----	-----	100.0	75.0	87.5	95.7	94.6	88.3	82.6	69.2	59.8	53.4	35.1
Lambda	.0000	.0028	.0042	.0070	.0113	.0142	.0192	.0268	.0293	.0330	.0235	.0363	.0464
Somers' D	-.3357	.6894	.7936	.7042	.6800	.6873	.6079	.5256	.4119	.3199	.2570	.2243	.1355
Pearson's R	-.0075	.1819	.2000	.3106	.4494	.5236	.5185	.5422	.5486	.5369	.4975	.4850	.3349

of referrals prior to and at the age are shown in Table 2. Here again we see that at 16 in the 1942 Cohort for example, less than 8% of those who had no referrals will have three or more after that age while 100% of those who had five or more referrals will have three or more after that age. Similar differences are found for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, with proportional differences very high as early as the age of 13. The problem is illustrated by the fact that at that age, in the 1949 Cohort, there were only 29 out of 1,297 persons who had had one or more referral and although only five of these would fail to have another referral, there were 477 who had not had a referral who would be referred at some time in the future. And of these, 146 would have three or more referrals in the future. All would have been missed by using past referrals as a predictor. As another example, the knowledge that 12 out of 16 persons who have had five or more referrals through the age of 16 will have three or more referrals in the future is a far cry from the ability to predict who out of the entire group will eventually have three or more referrals. We shall take several examples from these tables and discuss the prediction problem in more detail after describing the first five tables in this section.

Predicting Contacts from Referrals

In Table 3 we look at the percent of each cohort that has had a given number of referrals through an age that went on to have one or more contacts. We do not find the sharp percentage differences obtained when predicting referrals from referrals but we do find a situation in which very high percentages of those who have referrals by the teens will continue to have contacts. Thus, referrals are predictive of future contacts because persons

TABLE 2. PERCENT OF COHORT WITH THREE OR MORE REFERRALS AFTER AGE BY NUMBER OF REFERRALS PRIOR TO AND AT AGE

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1942 COHORT WITH THREE OR MORE REFERRALS AFTER AGE																					
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	14.6	14.6	14.5	14.5	14.2	14.1	12.7	10.2	7.8	4.2	3.1	2.6	1.8	1.1	.7	.2	.2	.2	.2	.0	.0	.0	.0
1	50.0	50.0	50.0	66.7	80.0	62.5	54.5	40.5	25.4	19.2	14.8	12.0	9.0	7.8	4.5	4.2	3.2	2.1	1.1	.0	.0	.0	.0
2	----	----	----	.0	.0	.0	.0	55.6	36.8	26.5	18.2	11.8	15.0	10.5	7.3	5.0	4.7	4.7	4.7	.0	.0	.0	.0
3	----	----	----	----	----	----	.0	50.0	54.5	57.1	26.3	38.9	18.8	11.8	16.7	10.5	4.5	4.2	8.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
4	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	100.0	62.5	63.6	21.4	36.8	29.4	18.8	11.8	6.7	13.3	12.5	.0	.0	.0	.0
5 or +	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	50.0	72.7	82.4	66.7	52.0	51.7	43.8	30.6	30.6	21.6	13.6	9.1	6.7	2.2
Median Number of Referrals by Age of First Referral							3.83	3.25	1.92	2.50	1.67	1.88	1.70	2.75	1.50	1.19	1.00	1.00	1.50	1.33	1.00	1.00	1.10

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1949 COHORT WITH THREE OR MORE REFERRALS AFTER AGE															
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
0	12.7	12.6	12.5	12.4	12.0	11.5	10.2	7.8	4.6	2.2	1.3	.9	.4	.3	.0	.0
1	50.0	60.0	62.5	60.0	50.0	52.0	47.4	47.0	26.2	14.4	9.1	7.1	5.3	1.8	.5	.0
2	----	----	----	----	100.0	100.0	88.9	62.5	46.4	25.5	17.2	12.7	9.0	1.4	1.2	.0
3	----	----	----	----	-----	100.0	66.7	50.0	60.9	26.7	24.3	14.3	18.8	5.3	2.4	.0
4	----	----	----	----	100.0	-----	100.0	75.0	71.4	47.1	30.0	14.3	7.4	10.3	7.4	.0
5 or +	----	----	----	----	-----	100.0	100.0	85.7	75.0	66.7	64.1	46.0	31.0	21.4	13.4	4.7
Median Number of Referrals by Age of First Referral					3.50	5.25	4.50	4.50	2.24	1.48	1.28	1.36	1.44	1.13	1.12	1.04

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1955 COHORT WITH THREE OR MORE REFERRALS AFTER AGE												
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	12.1	11.9	11.7	11.0	10.1	8.4	6.2	4.5	2.7	1.7	1.0	.3	.1
1	.0	66.7	85.7	55.6	50.0	48.4	42.5	23.8	9.6	4.8	3.5	1.3	3.1
2	-----	100.0	100.0	80.0	77.8	77.8	67.7	48.5	31.0	9.5	8.0	4.4	.9
3	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	66.7	54.5	50.0	33.3	34.1	15.0	8.3	1.8
4	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	70.0	58.8	23.8	26.1	24.1	12.1	.0
5 or +	-----	-----	100.0	75.0	87.5	87.0	78.4	78.3	64.0	50.0	42.7	23.7	6.8
Median Number of Referrals by Age of First Referral			8.0	17.75	7.83	5.30	3.94	2.21	1.48	1.28	1.34	1.32	1.23

TABLE 3. PERCENT WITH ANY POLICE CONTACT AFTER AGE BY NUMBER OF REFERRALS PRIOR TO AND AT AGE: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1942 COHORT WITH CONTACTS AFTER AGE																						
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	68.5	68.5	68.4	68.4	68.3	68.1	67.3	65.2	60.5	53.9	50.8	47.3	43.2	40.8	38.6	33.8	29.3	25.1	20.9	16.0	12.3	7.9	3.8
1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.5	92.9	87.3	83.3	77.8	77.1	73.0	67.8	64.0	62.5	57.4	56.3	45.3	38.9	32.7	22.4	7.8
2	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.1	93.9	91.2	87.5	81.6	75.6	75.0	69.8	65.1	60.5	46.3	41.9	29.3	17.1
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.4	93.8	88.2	88.9	84.2	81.8	75.0	68.0	60.0	43.5	33.3	21.4
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.8	94.1	93.3	86.7	68.8	66.7	38.9	27.8	15.8
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.9	91.7	91.7	91.9	86.4	79.5	71.1	44.4
Lambda	.0023	.0023	.0023	.0046	.0046	.0046	.0069	.0117	.0218	.0256	.0318	.0412	.0436	.0574	.0503	.0571	.0476	.0478	.0505	.0703	.0861	.0826	.0678
Somer' D	.6664	.6664	.8025	.7709	.7945	.7280	.6572	.6646	.5875	.5903	.5727	.5627	.5434	.5302	.5189	.5148	.4891	.4845	.4346	.3993	.3274	.2258	.1588
Pearson's R	.0695	.0698	.2153	.1567	.1885	.1935	.1831	.3410	.4097	.4610	.5008	.5277	.5263	.5623	.5674	.5659	.5616	.5741	.5391	.5704	.6209	.5835	.5460

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1949 COHORT WITH CONTACTS AFTER AGE															
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
0	69.0	68.8	68.7	68.3	67.7	66.2	64.5	61.6	55.4	47.7	40.9	33.6	27.4	21.4	15.1	8.9
1	50.0	80.0	87.5	90.0	92.9	92.0	94.7	90.9	87.3	82.8	75.1	68.1	57.4	47.2	32.3	18.1
2	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	89.3	90.9	89.7	83.1	73.1	60.3	44.4	24.4
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	91.9	85.7	78.1	71.1	66.7	36.4
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.0	90.5	88.9	79.3	70.4	50.0
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.4	94.0	91.4	84.3	70.9	53.5
Lambda	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0023	.0046	.0094	.0168	.0139	.0255	.0443	.0348	.0420	.0272	.0385	.0521
Somers' D	.1479	.5413	.6726	.7124	.7323	.7071	.7483	.6879	.6339	.6069	.5511	.5238	.4766	.4245	.3389	.2183
Pearson's R	.0942	.1145	.1365	.1483	.1778	.2542	.3391	.4353	.5143	.5552	.5877	.5868	.5765	.5950	.5373	.4449

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1955 COHORT WITH CONTACTS AFTER AGE												
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	58.5	57.9	57.4	56.4	55.3	53.8	50.7	47.0	40.2	32.5	24.5	16.8	10.0
1	100.0	100.0	85.7	94.4	94.7	95.2	87.7	79.7	68.7	61.5	50.0	39.2	23.9
2	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.9	84.5	79.7	66.0	53.1	37.9
3	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.3	85.4	75.0	50.0	38.6
4	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	87.0	79.3	66.7	43.8
5 or +	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.3	98.3	96.5	86.5	76.9	74.0	59.5
Lambda	.0008	.0024	.0024	.0057	.0107	.0158	.0179	.0249	.0284	.0277	.0176	.0172	.0204
Somers' D	.9167	.8737	.7461	.8035	.7606	.7485	.6965	.6400	.5536	.4781	.4119	.3630	.2662
Pearson's R	.0460	.1224	.1279	.2521	.3950	.4628	.4731	.5065	.5119	.5188	.4796	.4944	.3841

with referrals, particularly frequent referrals, are very likely to have future contacts. However, there is practically no increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals on this basis. When the criterion becomes five or more contacts after a particular age, as shown in Table 4, a very small percentage of those with no referrals through a given age has five or more contacts after that age but a very large percentage of those who have frequent referrals has five or more contacts after that age, but still there is little improvement over the marginal predictability.

Predicting Seriousness Scores from Referrals

The last in this series, Table 5, shows the relationship between referrals through any given age and seriousness scores after that age. The few from the 1942 Cohort who have two or more referrals by the age of 14 will have a high seriousness score after that age. Those who have two or more referrals by the age of 15 and those who have four or more by the age of 16 are also certain to have high seriousness scores after that age. The probabilities are similar for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts and, although they have fewer years of exposure, the pattern of correlations for these cohorts indicates that the process is essentially the same as for the 1942 Cohort.

REFERRALS VS. POLICE CONTACTS AS A PREDICTOR

Let us now explore the basic data for referrals through age 18 by referrals after age 18 which were used in obtaining the percentages for the age 18 segment in Tables 1 and 2 of this chapter. This will enable us to better understand the prediction problem to which we have referred. These data have been collapsed for each cohort and are presented in Table 6.

TABLE 5. PERCENT WITH SERIOUSNESS SCORE OF SIX OR MORE AFTER AGE BY NUMBER OF REFERRALS PRIOR TO AND AT AGE

Number of Referrals Through Age	PERCENT OF 1942 COHORT WITH SERIOUSNESS SCORE OF SIX OR MORE AFTER AGE																						
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	36.9	36.9	36.6	36.6	36.0	35.4	32.9	29.4	24.4	18.2	15.5	13.1	10.2	8.7	7.5	5.6	4.7	3.8	3.6	2.4	1.7	1.5	.3
1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	90.9	81.0	65.1	59.0	45.7	42.2	30.3	27.8	25.8	27.1	19.1	16.7	14.7	10.5	7.1	5.1	2.0
2	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	89.5	79.4	78.8	61.8	57.5	52.6	46.3	37.5	27.9	25.6	20.9	19.5	16.3	9.8	.0
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	90.9	85.7	78.9	83.3	75.0	58.8	61.1	52.6	45.5	50.0	48.0	28.0	17.4	7.4	3.6
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.9	71.4	73.7	64.7	56.3	47.1	26.7	26.7	25.0	20.0	16.7	11.1	5.3
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.1	88.9	88.0	89.7	81.3	80.6	77.8	64.9	59.1	47.7	28.9	11.1
Lambda	.0023	.0023	.0023	.0046	.0046	.0046	.0069	.0093	.0145	.0205	.0238	.0275	.0262	.0393	.0440	.0369	.0366	.0319	.0498	.0426	.0520	.0446	.0645
Somers' D	.7108	.7108	.8160	.7817	.7972	.7235	.6697	.6775	.6102	.6170	.5967	.5878	.5672	.5532	.5385	.5343	.5042	.4938	.4444	.4065	.3322	.2556	.1584
Pearson's R	.0749	.0751	.2260	.1643	.1925	.1915	.1794	.3339	.3958	.4431	.4762	.5039	.5068	.5375	.5514	.5528	.5540	.5689	.5488	.5651	.5911	.5461	.5340

Number of Referrals Through Age	PERCENT OF 1949 COHORT WITH SERIOUSNESS SCORE OF SIX OR MORE AFTER AGE															
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
0	36.8	36.5	35.8	35.4	34.7	33.2	30.9	27.1	20.8	13.6	10.4	7.1	5..	3.7	2.1	1.1
1	50.0	80.0	87.5	90.0	85.7	80.0	86.8	75.8	68.3	52.3	42.6	31.0	23.9	13.8	9.1	1.8
2	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	78.6	72.7	55.2	46.5	41.0	24.7	13.6	4.9
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	80.0	91.3	83.3	67.6	60.0	50.0	39.5	26.2	13.6
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	85.7	76.5	80.0	71.4	59.3	55.2	37.0	16.7
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.3	87.2	82.0	74.1	62.9	45.6	23.3
Lambda	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0011	.0034	.0035	.0070	.0120	.0152	.0202	.0354	.0199	.0267	.0226	.0355	.0330
Somers' D	.1471	.5446	.6652	.7024	.7075	.6911	.7424	.6916	.6490	.6244	.5726	.5361	.4862	.4310	.3460	.2232
Pearson's R	.0967	.1336	.1512	.1536	.1942	.2733	.3449	.4390	.5149	.5548	.5826	.5741	.5520	.5853	.5273	.4408

Number of Referrals Through Age	PERCENT OF 1955 COHORT WITH SERIOUSNESS SCORE OF SIX OR MORE AFTER AGE												
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	32.7	32.5	32.0	31.1	29.5	27.4	24.2	20.8	16.1	10.8	7.5	3.9	1.8
1	100.0	100.0	85.7	94.4	84.2	79.0	68.9	58.7	44.4	30.0	20.3	13.5	4.0
2	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.4	87.1	81.8	65.5	47.3	35.0	23.9	12.9
3	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.9	87.5	80.0	70.7	50.0	37.5	17.5
4	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.0	88.2	66.7	60.9	58.6	45.5	18.8
5	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.7	94.6	93.3	89.5	76.9	60.7	52.7	29.7
Lambda	.0008	.0024	.0024	.0058	.0075	.0134	.0138	.0188	.0198	.0168	.0152	.0142	.0165
Somers' D	.9074	.8717	.7557	.8071	.7778	.7609	.7047	.6410	.5599	.4895	.4180	.3624	.2498
Pearson's R	.0381	.1482	.1507	.2636	.3945	.4599	.4672	.5026	.5026	.5140	.4705	.4830	.3541

TABLE 4. PERCENT OF COHORT WITH FIVE OR MORE CONTACTS AFTER AGE BY NUMBER OF REFERRALS PRIOR TO AND AT AGE

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1942 COHORT WITH FIVE OR MORE CONTACTS AFTER AGE																						
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
0	27.4	27.4	27.2	27.2	26.6	26.1	23.7	20.1	16.4	11.9	9.6	7.3	5.5	4.9	4.1	2.3	1.9	1.2	1.0	.2	.2	.2	.0
1	50.0	50.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	77.3	69.0	44.4	39.7	25.9	24.1	16.9	13.3	10.1	7.3	5.3	4.2	4.2	2.1	.0	.0	.0
2	-----	-----	-----	.0	.0	.0	50.0	88.9	78.9	61.8	54.5	35.3	30.0	23.7	22.0	17.5	9.3	9.3	7.0	4.9	.0	.0	.0
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	81.8	78.6	63.2	61.1	50.0	52.9	50.0	36.8	31.8	29.2	32.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	87.5	81.8	50.0	52.6	29.4	25.0	29.4	20.0	20.0	18.8	13.3	11.1	5.6	.0
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	90.9	94.1	88.9	84.4	82.8	71.9	61.1	55.6	43.2	29.5	25.0	13.3	6.7

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1949 COHORT WITH FIVE OR MORE CONTACTS AFTER AGE															
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
0	25.3	25.1	24.5	24.2	23.5	22.5	20.7	17.7	12.4	7.0	4.8	3.0	2.1	1.0	.5	.1
1	50.0	80.0	87.5	90.0	78.6	76.0	76.3	62.1	52.4	31.5	21.8	16.2	11.0	6.4	2.7	.5
2	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.8	71.4	38.2	27.6	21.1	14.1	8.2	3.7	.0
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	80.0	87.0	70.0	54.1	45.7	34.4	21.1	9.5	6.8
4	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	85.7	64.7	50.0	42.9	29.6	20.7	11.1	.0
5 or +	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	80.0	74.4	68.0	50.0	42.9	29.1	11.6

Number of Referrals Through Age →	PERCENT OF 1955 COHORT WITH FIVE OR MORE CONTACTS AFTER AGE												
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0	19.1	18.5	18.0	16.9	16.2	13.7	11.0	8.4	5.5	3.5	1.9	.5	.1
1	100.0	100.0	85.7	72.2	57.9	58.1	49.1	32.2	19.2	9.5	5.6	2.2	.3
2	-----	100.0	100.0	80.0	88.9	77.8	74.2	60.6	46.6	21.6	13.0	6.2	.9
3	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	79.5	75.0	56.7	53.7	25.0	16.7	10.5
4	-----	100.0	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	76.5	52.4	34.8	44.8	24.2	.0
5 or +	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	91.3	89.2	88.3	74.4	55.8	48.7	32.8	12.8

TABLE 6. PEOPLE WITH ACCRUED REFERRALS THROUGH AGE 18 BY THEIR ACCRUED REFERRALS AFTER 18

Cohort	Referrals Thru Age 18	Number and Percent of Persons by Number of Referrals After Age 18															
		0		1		2		3		4		5 or +		Total	
1942	0	396	82.8	53	11.1	14	2.9	8	1.7	4	.8	3	.6	478	99.9
	1	51	63.0	11	13.6	7	8.6	5	6.2	0	----	7	8.6	81	100.0
	2	15	45.5	7	21.2	5	15.2	0	----	0	----	6	18.2	33	100.1
	3	5	26.3	5	26.3	4	21.1	2	10.5	0	----	3	15.8	19	100.0
	4	2	18.2	1	9.1	1	9.1	1	9.1	1	9.1	5	45.5	11	100.1
	5 or +	1	9.1	1	9.1	1	9.1	1	9.1	2	18.2	5	45.5	11	100.1
	TOTAL:	470	74.2	78	12.3	32	5.1	17	2.7	7	1.1	29	4.6	633	100.0
	Somers' D asymmetric with referrals after age dependent: .385 Pearson's R: .523 Lambda asymmetric with number of referrals after age dependent: .043														
1949	0	821	86.8	91	9.6	22	2.3	4	.4	5	.5	3	.3	946	99.9
	1	134	68.0	33	16.8	12	6.1	6	3.0	6	3.0	6	3.0	197	99.9
	2	30	51.7	13	22.4	5	8.6	4	6.9	0	----	6	10.3	58	99.9
	3	16	43.2	6	16.2	6	16.2	3	8.1	3	8.1	3	8.1	37	99.9
	4	7	35.0	5	25.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	0	----	4	20.0	20	100.0
	5 or +	5	12.8	3	7.7	6	15.4	7	17.9	5	12.8	13	33.3	39	99.9
	TOTAL:	1013	78.1	151	11.6	53	4.1	26	2.0	19	1.5	35	2.7	1297	100.0
	Somers' D asymmetric with referrals after age dependent: .347 Pearson's R: .533 Lambda asymmetric with number of referrals after age dependent: .028														
1955	0	1427	90.5	105	6.7	30	1.9	7	.4	4	.3	4	.3	1577	100.1
	1	236	82.5	28	9.8	12	4.2	6	2.1	1	.3	3	1.0	286	99.9
	2	64	64.0	20	20.0	8	8.0	5	5.0	1	1.0	2	2.0	100	100.0
	3	22	55.0	9	22.5	3	7.5	3	7.5	1	2.5	2	5.0	40	100.0
	4	12	41.4	7	24.1	3	10.3	2	6.9	4	13.8	1	3.4	29	99.9
	5 or +	47	40.2	16	13.7	10	8.5	7	6.0	8	6.8	29	24.8	117	100.0
	TOTAL:	1808	84.1	185	8.6	66	3.1	30	1.4	19	.9	41	1.9	2149	100.0
	Somers' D asymmetric with referrals after age dependent: .258 Pearson's R: .482 Lambda asymmetric with number of referrals after age dependent: .000														

Somers' D, Pearson's R, and Lambda are calculated on the basis of collapsed data and therefore differ slightly from those shown in Table 1 of this chapter.

Let us commence by looking at the marginals for the 1942 Cohort. We note that after the age of 18, 163 people either received their first or an additional referral. Were we to predict that no one would have a referral after the age of 18 we would make 163 errors. The question is, can errors be reduced by using the number of referrals through the age of 18 in predicting who will have a future or any given number of referrals after that age? It takes very little statistical sophistication to see that the best cutting point in order to minimize errors of prediction is two or more referrals through age 18. Thus, we will predict that those who had no referrals or only one referral through age 18 will not have one in the future and make 112 errors and that those who had two or more referrals through the age of 18 will have at least one more referral and here make 23 errors, for a total of 135 errors. This is 28 fewer errors than would have been made from the modal categories of the marginals and a reduction of 17%. We see that 284 errors would be made if we predicted that no one in the 1949 Cohort would have a referral after the age of 18 but by predicting that those with no more than two referrals through the age of 18 will not have an additional referral we make 216 errors, to which we add 28 errors for those with three or more referrals through age 18 whom we predict will have at least one more referral but who do not. Here we reduce our errors from the marginal prediction by 14%. We select those with four or more referrals through the age of 18 from the 1955 Cohort as having a probability of at least one more referral and, following the same procedure utilized for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, reduce the marginal prediction by 9%.

That previous records are related to future records has been established in a number of ways but we have attempted to emphasize, chapter by chapter, the danger in assuming that enormous increases in predictive efficiency over the modal category of the marginals can be made with skewed distributions and relatively modest correlations. We have also attempted to make it quite clear that serious consideration must be given to the high errors of omission that are obtained with low cutting points which reduce errors of commission; that is, errors which classify people as likely continuers when they are not. Perhaps this approach suggests that we are unduly concerned with the consequences of labelling people early in their careers but these concerns are not unfounded if labelling is accepted as a variable which plays a part in generating continuity.

There are, of course, a variety of prediction attempts that could be made from the data should we wish to predict who will have two or more referrals after the age of 18. We would commence with a modal error of only 75 because only 75 persons out of 633 have two or more referrals after the age of 18. Depending on whether two or more or three or more referrals is selected as the cutting point, we would still make almost the same number of errors in prediction as predicting from the modal category of the marginals. If two or more is picked as the cutting point we will miss fewer people but label some who do not have two or more referrals after 18, and if three or more is picked as the cutting point we will mislabel fewer but miss more who have two or more referrals after the age of 18.

At this point we could return to a discussion of which type of error is the most serious but that depends on how much money the community has for programs for those who are not likely to have continuity in their

careers and how serious the community perceives the damage of not intervening on behalf of those juveniles who are likely to continue their misbehavior. All this, of course, brings us just a bit ahead of time to the subject of Chapter 13, the consequences of sanctions. Early intervention is based on the assumption that intervention and the application of sanctions deters people from further misbehavior. This common assumption has not been supported by the evidence.

In Table 7 we are able to see how number of referrals through the age of 18 relates to number of contacts after 18. Briefly stated, if we attempt to predict who will have three or more contacts after the age of 18 by predicting that those with two or more referrals through the age of 18 will have three or more contacts after that age, we reduce marginal errors by 26% in the case of the 1942 Cohort. The best cutting point for the 1949 Cohort is three or more referrals through the age of 18 but we reduce marginal errors by only 14%. If we use four or more referrals through the age of 18 as a predictor for the 1955 Cohort we increase predictive efficiency over the marginals by only 3%.

If the data in Table 7 are used as a basis for predicting who will have five or more contacts after the age of 18, marginal errors may be reduced by only 15% for the 1942 Cohort, 7% for the 1949 Cohort, but there will be no reduction from the marginal predictability for the 1955 Cohort. One should not conclude that there are cohort differences which reduce predictability, but the data do demonstrate how inclusions of what for all practical purposes is a total career increases predictive efficiency over what is obtained if records are followed for a shorter period of time. What this leads to is the conclusion that prior records of referral will

TABLE 7. PEOPLE WITH ACCRUED REFERRALS THROUGH AGE 18 BY THEIR ACCRUED CONTACTS AFTER 18

Cohort	Referrals Thru Age 18	Number and Percent of Persons by Number of Contacts After Age 18													
		0		1		2		3		4		5 or +		Total	
1942	0	235	49.2	97	20.3	66	13.8	22	4.6	12	2.5	46	9.6	478	100.0
	1	18	22.2	12	14.8	12	14.8	10	12.3	8	9.9	21	25.9	81	99.9
	2	2	6.1	4	12.1	2	6.1	2	6.1	5	15.2	18	54.5	33	100.1
	3	0	----	1	5.3	4	21.1	1	5.3	1	5.3	12	63.2	19	100.2
	4	0	----	0	----	1	9.1	0	----	1	9.1	9	81.8	11	100.1
	5 or +	0	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	1	9.1	10	90.9	11	100.0
	TOTAL:	255	40.3	114	18.0	85	13.4	35	5.5	28	4.4	116	18.3	633	99.9
	Somers' D asymmetric with contacts after age dependent: .554 Pearson's R: .508 Lambda asymmetric with number of contacts after age dependent: .132														
1949	0	559	59.1	203	21.5	80	8.5	40	4.2	19	2.0	45	4.8	946	100.1
	1	49	24.9	41	20.8	24	12.2	18	9.1	22	11.2	43	21.8	197	100.0
	2	6	10.3	14	24.1	6	10.3	10	17.2	6	10.3	16	27.6	58	99.8
	3	3	8.1	8	21.6	4	10.8	0	----	2	5.4	20	54.1	37	100.0
	4	1	5.0	1	5.0	6	30.0	2	10.0	0	----	10	50.0	20	100.0
	5 or +	1	2.6	3	7.7	1	2.6	1	2.6	4	10.3	29	74.4	39	100.2
	TOTAL:	619	47.7	270	20.8	121	9.3	71	5.5	53	4.1	163	12.6	1297	100.0
	Somers' D asymmetric with contacts after age dependent: .540 Pearson's R: .510 Lambda asymmetric with number of contacts after age dependent: .094														
1955	0	1190	75.5	226	14.3	80	5.1	27	1.7	24	1.5	30	1.9	1577	100.0
	1	143	50.0	69	24.1	29	10.1	20	7.0	9	3.1	16	5.6	286	99.9
	2	34	34.0	25	25.0	13	13.0	4	4.0	11	11.0	13	13.0	100	100.0
	3	10	25.0	9	22.5	1	2.5	5	12.5	5	12.5	10	25.0	40	100.0
	4	6	20.7	4	13.8	3	10.3	2	6.9	1	3.4	13	44.8	29	99.9
	5 or +	27	23.1	15	12.8	6	5.1	8	6.8	6	5.1	55	47.0	117	99.9
	TOTAL:	1410	65.6	348	16.2	132	6.1	66	3.1	56	2.6	137	6.4	2149	100.0
	Somers' D asymmetric with contacts after age dependent: .412 Pearson's R: .494 Lambda asymmetric with number of contacts after age dependent: .047														

not be of great use if we are concerned about what persons in the cohort will be doing in the immediate future. In fact, it is the discontinuous nature of careers of even those who have contacts over a lengthy period that makes it so difficult, if not impossible, to predict for the entire cohort. While it is true that a very high proportion (75% or more of those who have three or more referrals through the age of 18) is going to have another referral within the next three years, there are in sheer numbers far more persons in the cohort who have never had a referral through that age who will do so within the next three years. Persons on the firing line know that those who have received frequent referrals through the age of 18 are likely to continue their misbehavior and, from the viewpoint of those who are concerned about the labelling process, it is a considerable concern that far larger proportions of those who have had frequent referrals have five or more contacts after a given age than do those who have had only infrequent contacts. For example, while only 51% of those in the 1949 Cohort who had five or more contacts through the age of 18 had five or more after that age, almost 75% of those with five or more referrals through the age of 18 had five or more contacts after that age. While it can be argued that those who had five or more referrals must have committed more serious types of misbehavior than those who had five or more contacts, the difference in the proportion who will continue to have police contacts is so great that the possibility of a labelling effect cannot be disregarded. This leads us to an examination of the next set of data, Table 8, which relates number of referrals through a given age to seriousness scores after that age.

When we attempt to predict who from the 1942 Cohort would have a

TABLE 8. PEOPLE WITH ACCRUED REFERRALS THROUGH 18 BY THEIR ACCRUED SERIOUSNESS SCORES AFTER 18

Cohort	Referrals Thru Age 18	Number and Percent of Persons by Seriousness Scores After Age 18																	
		0		1		2		3		4		5		6 or +		Total			
1942	0	235	49.2	76	15.9	32	6.7	26	5.4	29	6.1	6	1.3	74	15.5	478	100.1		
	1	18	22.2	3	3.7	6	7.4	8	9.9	3	3.7	6	7.4	37	45.7	81	100.0		
	2	2	6.1	2	6.1	1	3.0	2	6.1	0	----	0	----	26	78.8	33	100.1		
	3	0	----	1	5.3	1	5.3	0	----	2	10.5	0	----	15	78.9	19	100.0		
	4	0	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	1	9.1	0	----	10	90.0	11	100.0		
	5 or +	0	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	11	100.0	11	100.0		
	TOTAL:	255	40.3	82	13.0	40	6.3	36	5.7	35	5.5	12	1.9	173	27.3	633	100.0		
	Somers' D asymmetric with seriousness after age dependent: .556													Pearson's R: .479					
	Lambda asymmetric with seriousness after age dependent: .209																		
1949	0	559	59.1	134	14.2	35	3.7	69	7.3	33	3.5	18	1.9	98	10.4	946	100.1		
	1	49	24.9	24	12.2	9	4.6	18	9.1	9	4.6	4	2.0	84	42.6	197	100.0		
	2	6	10.3	2	3.4	0	----	13	22.4	3	5.2	2	3.4	32	55.2	58	99.9		
	3	3	8.1	2	5.4	0	----	5	13.5	2	5.4	0	----	25	67.6	37	100.0		
	4	1	5.0	0	----	2	10.0	1	5.0	0	----	0	----	16	80.0	20	100.0		
	5 or +	1	2.6	0	----	1	2.6	3	7.7	0	----	0	----	34	87.2	39	100.1		
	TOTAL:	619	47.7	162	12.5	47	3.6	109	8.4	47	3.6	24	1.9	289	22.3	1297	100.0		
	Somers' D asymmetric with seriousness after age dependent: .543													Pearson's R: .488					
	Lambda asymmetric with seriousness after age dependent: .193																		
1955	0	1187	75.3	138	8.8	14	.9	76	4.8	34	2.2	8	.5	120	7.6	1577	100.1		
	1	143	50.0	16	5.6	1	.3	48	16.8	16	5.6	3	1.0	59	20.6	286	99.9		
	2	34	34.0	2	2.0	0	----	21	21.0	8	8.0	0	----	35	35.0	100	100.0		
	3	10	25.0	5	12.5	0	----	4	10.0	0	----	1	2.5	20	50.0	40	100.0		
	4	6	20.7	0	----	1	3.4	4	13.8	0	----	0	----	18	62.1	29	100.0		
	5 or +	27	23.1	5	4.3	0	----	8	6.8	3	2.6	0	----	74	63.2	117	100.0		
	TOTAL:	1407	65.5	166	7.7	16	.7	161	7.5	61	2.8	12	.6	326	15.2	2149	100.0		
	Somers' D asymmetric with seriousness after age dependent: .410													Pearson's R: .443					
	Lambda asymmetric with seriousness after age dependent: .094																		

seriousness score of six or more after the age of 18, we find that simply having vs. not having a referral through the age of 18 increases predictive efficiency over the modal category of the marginals by 42%. Almost all of the errors consist of those who had no referrals through the age of 18 but acquired a seriousness score of six or more after that age. Almost everyone in the 1942 Cohort who had a referral through the age of 18 had a score of six or more after that age. In the 1949 Cohort predictive efficiency was increased 21% by predicting that those who had two or more referrals through the age of 18 would have a seriousness score of six or more after that age, but for the 1955 Cohort predictive efficiency increased only 12% with the most efficient prediction being that those with four or more referrals would have a seriousness score of six or more after that age.

Comparison of Tables 7 and 8 in this chapter with Tables 3 and 4 in Chapter 10 reveals,as would be expected, that persons with a given number of referrals before the age of 18 were more likely to have five or more contacts and seriousness scores of six or more after that age than were those who had the same number of contacts or an equivalent seriousness score.

An analysis of the relationship of frequency of contacts and seriousness scores to future court dispositions, the relationship of court dispositions to future frequency of contacts and seriousness scores, and the relationship of past court dispositions to future court dispositions has disclosed that having at least one court disposition through the age of 19 is more predictive of at least one future court disposition than of future seriousness scores. Since we shall deal with court sanctions and their relationship to future behavior in the next chapter. These data are included in Appendix L rather than in this chapter.

SUMMARY

We conclude that although a record of past referrals is correlated with future referrals and that while some manipulation of cutting points does permit an increase in predictive efficiency over the modal category of the marginals, there is relatively little increase in predictive efficiency. It is clear, however, that referral status through the age of 18 is a better predictor of frequency of contacts and seriousness scores after the age of 18 than of referrals after that age.

We are now prepared to examine the relative weight of frequency of contacts, seriousness scores, referrals, and severe sanctions through a given age in accounting for frequency of contacts and seriousness scores after that age, a task to which we shall turn in the next chapter.

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Chapter 13. Sanctions and Their Consequences

MEASURING SANCTIONS

The effectiveness of intervention and court sanctions for both juvenile delinquency and adult crime has been questioned in a lengthy literature that has almost invariably culminated in the conclusion that nothing works for either juveniles or adults if a decline in delinquency and crime is the criterion.[1] While earlier studies of post-release juveniles and adults concluded that recidivism ran as high as 80%, there has been little effort to match the continuing behavior of those who have had the hypothesized benefits of intervention with the behavior of those who have also had contacts with the justice system at the same level without similar intervention. This is, of course, a consequence of the fact that most research has concentrated on following cases in which there has been intervention or sanctioning by the courts rather than the observation of birth cohorts over a continuing period of time.

Only in recent years has it been possible to conduct research designed to answer the question of effectiveness in a more definitive fashion by comparing members of cohorts who have and have not experienced intervention at various levels in the justice system.[2] As we see it, we wish to determine if those who are ignored are more or less likely to cease their delinquent and criminal behavior than are those who receive the attention of the judicial system.

We have already shown that the decision to refer is not only one further step in the process of becoming known to persons in the justice system but is a forerunner of increasingly serious police contacts. The issue of self-labelling vs. official labelling is another question. But whether we are dealing with self-report data or official data on delinquent and criminal behavior we may assume that those persons who have been referred (and perhaps sanctioned) and who

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have a record of continuing and more serious reasons for police contact are at least to a degree not benefitting from intervention in the direction desired or anticipated by society.[3]

In this chapter we shall examine the consequences of juvenile intervention and sanctions, controlling for number and seriousness of reasons for police contact. A complete description of the operation of the process including alternatives at each step for handling juveniles who have been referred to the juvenile court takes 14 pages of schematic diagrams. Obviously, it is not feasible to examine the process in its complexity to determine the consequences of each alternative step for each category of juveniles referred to the court. It may well be that some of the effects are lost through simplification. On the other hand, analysis of police contacts, referrals, and sanctions does present some idea of what happens to that proportion of each cohort that comes to the attention of the police and courts. Undoubtedly some juveniles who have police contacts and referrals by the police or some other agency have more trying experiences (and are also more trying to the police and court) than others, but we shall attempt to encapsulate their experiences to determine if the experience deters them, has no effect, or seems to propel them into even more serious misbehavior.

In order to assess the severity of dispositions and sanctions, the following procedures were followed. Persons whose record of police contacts indicated a referral for further action became those whose records were checked for formal juvenile or adult dispositions. The initial coding was done on a basis of expected categories (sentence suspended, commuted, etc., 20 categories of fines, 11 categories for time in institutions, etc.) which were then combined within each type of category on a basis of degrees of

penalties imposed. This collapsing process resulted in the following basic code categories with variation in severity of sanctions within major categories:

Dismissal (1)
Dismissal (2-3)
Dismissal (4-5)
Dismissal (6 or more)
Supervision
Custody transfer
Forfeit of bail
Fine: $1-30
Fine: $31-60
Fine: $61-100
Fine: $101-350
Fine: $351 or more
Sentence suspended
Drivers License suspended/revoked: to 9 months; unspecified time
Drivers License suspended/revoked: 10 months or more
Probation: to 1 year; time unspecified
Probation: 1 year or more
Time: 1-29 days; time unspecified
Time: 30-89 days
Time: 90 days to 1 year
Time: 1 year or more

With the data collapsed and the penalty groups rank ordered, the data were converted to a Dispositions Type Geometric Score by assigning a code of 1 to a single dismissal, 2 to 2-3 dismissals, 4 to 4-5 dismissals, through 1,048,576 for 1 or more years of institutionalization. The lowest Geometric score involving a sentence of time was 131,072. If the score was 1,048,576 or more, then the person had been incarcerated for a minimum of one year. This was, of course, a rather unwieldy scoring technique but it did enable us to determine at any time if the Geometric scale score included served jail time of up to one year or served prison sentences of one year or more and to preserve that combination of dispositions that a person had received.

Having established this rather unwieldy scale which contains the most extensive description of sanctions received, we next constructed an abbreviated

version by collapsing categories into basic types of dispositions with no indication of degree within categories and assigning each a Geometric score as follows:

1 Dismissals
2 Juvenile controls (supervision and custody transfer)
4 Probation (including suspended sentence)
8 Fines (including forfeit of bail)
16 Drivers license suspension/revocation
32 Incarceration (jail, reformatory, prison)

These geometric scores could range from 1 to 63 for any period of time. Each person's new Dispositions Type Geometric score was then recoded, age-by-age, according to this scoring system.

While Geometric scores may be utilized in generating tables for analysis by nominal statistical techniques, they should not be used in correlational analyses without some transformation technique. A table was constructed showing each combination of sanctions (there were 788 combinations based on the 21 categories in the first dispositions scale) from one dismissal (a score of 1) to the most extensive combination of sanctions acquired by anyone in the three cohorts including more than a year in the penitentiary (a score of 1,132,616). Inasmuch as we wished to determine the relationship of level of sanctions at or through any given age to later reasons for police contacts, referrals, and sanctions, dismissals were eliminated in yet another Geometric scale which we have called the Severity of Sanctions scale. Each score on this scale received a rank order based on the level of severity which it represented, with similar levels combined so that scores range from 0 to 60. Thus, severity of sanctions during any age period may be correlated with the number and seriousness of offenses during any age period. For example, through age 18 past and

present severity of sanctions for the 1942 Cohort had a Pearsonian correlation of .323 with number of police contacts in the future and a Somers' D of .602. For the 1949 Cohort the corresponding correlations were .385 and .600 and for the 1955 Cohort they were .412 and .400.

PRIOR CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO FUTURE CONTACTS

In order to give the reader a feel for the data they are presented on a simple percentage basis in Tables 1 through 4. The results are startling in the extent to which they suggest that sanctions (as applied) may be counter-productive.

In order to control for the number of police contacts and seriousness of the contacts which juveniles have had and the sanctions meted out by the courts, we have placed everyone in each cohort in one of seven combinations of contacts and sanctions shown on the left of each segment of Tables 1 through 4. The rows in Table 1 start with persons who have had no police contacts (and thus no sanctions) through age 18 and descend to the bottom row of persons who have had 5 or more contacts and a seriousness score of 6 or more and higher sanctions, i.e., a score of 7 or more on the severity of sanctions scale.

The columns across each segment of the tables show what percentage of each group has had none, 1 through 4, or 5 or more contacts or increasing seriousness scores. While the data in Tables 1 and 3 are the same, they are arranged differently. In Table 1 the number and seriousness of contacts determine the order of rows while in Table 3 severity of sanctions determines the order of the rows. From the percentages by severity of sanctions and by number and severity of contacts through age 18 it is clear that both

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 AND POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 18 FOR MALES IN ALL COHORTS

Through Age 18		Number of Contacts After 18				Through Age 18		Seriousness Score After 18			
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 2. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 AND POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 18 FOR FEMALES IN ALL COHORTS

Through Age 18		Number of Contacts After 18				Through Age 18		Seriousness Score After 18			
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	66.7	31.9	1.4	216	None	None	66.7	28.2	5.1	216
1-4	None	51.8	41.1	7.1	56	1-5	None	53.7	31.5	14.8	54
1-4	Low	----	----	----	0	1-5	Low	----	----	----	0
1-4	High	----	----	----	0	1-5	High	----	----	----	0
5 or +	None	100.0	----	----	1	6 or +	None	33.3	66.7	----	3
5 or +	Low	----	----	100.0	1	6 or +	Low	----	----	100.0	1
5 or +	High	----	66.7	33.3	3	6 or +	High	----	66.7	33.3	3
	Number:	174	94	9	277			174	82	21	277
1949 Cohort											
None	None	73.0	25.6	1.4	363	None	None	72.4	22.4	5.2	366
1-4	None	54.7	40.1	5.2	172	1-5	None	57.3	28.7	14.0	150
1-4	Low	50.0	25.0	25.0	4	1-5	Low	50.0	25.0	25.0	4
1-4	High	----	----	100.0	1	1-5	High	----	----	----	0
5 or +	None	23.1	30.8	46.1	13	6 or +	None	34.4	34.4	31.2	32
5 or +	Low	----	----	100.0	1	6 or +	Low	----	----	100.0	1
5 or +	High	----	33.3	66.7	3	6 or +	High	----	25.0	75.0	4
	Number:	364	168	25	557		Number:	364	138	55	557
1955 Cohort											
None	None	86.0	13.7	.5	658	None	None	86.0	11.4	2.6	658
1-4	None	72.8	26.1	1.1	257	1-5	None	76.6	18.2	5.1	214
1-4	Low	62.3	31.2	6.3	64	1-5	Low	62.5	15.6	21.9	32
1-4	High	80.0	20.0	----	5	1-5	High	100.0	----	----	1
5 or +	None	25.0	58.5	16.7	12	6 or +	None	47.3	32.7	20.0	55
5 or +	Low	25.0	65.0	10.0	20	6 or +	Low	48.1	36.5	15.4	52
5 or +	High	31.6	31.6	36.8	19	6 or +	High	39.1	8.7	52.2	23
	Number:	811	203	21	1035		Number:	811	158	66	1035

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 AND POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 18 FOR MALES IN ALL COHORTS

Through Age 18		Number of Contacts After 18				Through Age 18		Seriousness Score After 18			
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

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 AND POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 18 FOR FEMALES IN ALL COHORTS

Through Age 18		Number of Contacts After 18				Through Age 18		Seriousness Score After 18			
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	66.7	31.9	1.4	216	None	None	66.7	28.2	5.1	216
None	1-4	51.8	41.1	7.1	56	None	1-5	53.7	31.5	14.8	54
None	5 or +	100.0	----	----	1	None	6 or +	33.3	66.7	----	3
Low	1-4	----	----	----	0	Low	1-5	----	----	----	0
Low	5 or +	----	----	100.0	1	Low	6 or +	----	----	100.0	1
High	1-4	----	----	----	0	High	1-5	----	----	----	0
High	5 or +	----	66.7	33.3	3	High	6 or +	----	66.7	33.3	3
	Number:	174	94	9	277			174	82	21	277
1949 Cohort											
None	None	73.0	25.6	1.4	363	None	None	72.4	22.4	5.2	366
None	1-4	54.7	40.1	5.2	172	None	1-5	57.3	28.7	14.0	150
None	5 or +	23.1	30.8	46.1	13	None	6 or +	34.4	34.4	31.2	32
Low	1-4	50.0	25.0	25.0	4	Low	1-5	50.0	25.0	25.0	4
Low	5 or +	----	----	100.0	1	Low	6 or +	----	----	100.0	1
High	1-4	----	----	100.0	1	High	1-5	----	----	----	0
High	5 or +	----	33.3	66.7	3	High	6 or +	----	25.0	75.0	4
	Number:	364	168	25	557			364	138	55	557
1955 Cohort											
None	None	86.0	13.7	.5	658	None	None	86.0	11.4	2.6	658
None	1-4	72.8	26.1	1.1	257	None	1-5	76.6	18.2	5.1	214
None	5 or +	25.0	58.5	16.7	12	None	6 or +	47.3	32.7	20.0	55
Low	1-4	62.3	31.2	6.3	64	Low	1-5	62.3	15.6	21.9	32
Low	5 or +	25.0	65.0	10.0	20	Low	6 or +	48.1	36.5	15.4	52
High	1-4	80.0	20.0	----	5	High	1-5	100.0	----	----	1
High	5 or +	31.6	31.6	36.8	19	High	6 or +	39.1	8.7	52.2	23
	Number:	811	203	21	1035			811	158	66	1035

have consistent effects on the proportion of persons with additional and serious contacts after the age of 18.

Similar tables have been created for other ages and the data are set up, of course, for all ages (correlations have been run for ages 13 through 30 for the 1942 Cohort, for example, for the number and seriousness of contacts and severity of sanctions before, at, and after these ages, etc.) but the data for through and after age 18 are presented for illustrative purposes. It should be noted that although seriousness of sanctions has been presented in collapsed form, the basic relationships exist when the entire range of sanctions scores is correlated with frequency and seriousness of contacts. We shall later deal with variation in the effectiveness of sanctions at other ages but shall at the moment concentrate on through and after age 18 as indicative of the severity of the problem which faces people on the firing line.

What we see is a larger number of additional contacts and more serious reasons for contacts as severity of sanctions increases, with considerable regularity for males in all cohorts but with less regularity for females. Few females received sanctions in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts but there were sufficient numbers in the 1955 Cohort to discern that neither sanctions, nor their severity, has deterred them from continued police contacts.

Among those on Table 1 from the 1942 Cohort who had 1-4 contacts through age 18, the percent with 5 or more contacts after 18 increases from 22.9% for those with no sanctions to 75.0% for those with high severity of sanctions. The increase in not as marked among those with 5 or more contacts through 18, but it is there. A similar pattern is found when rows are arranged according to seriousness scores through age 18. Turning to Table 3,

where rows are arranged according to severity of sanctions and number of contacts within severity of sanctions categories, we see how behavior through 18 is related to behavior after 18 within sanctions categories. For example, 78.6% of those in the 1942 Cohort who had 5 or more contacts and severe sanctions through age 18 had 5 or more police contacts after that age. Table 2 and 4 for the females have some segments showing essentially the same relationships as those found for males but there are other segments where progression is not as regular.

Going back to Table 1, note that among those with 5 or more contacts or seriousness scores of 6 or more and high sanctions through age 18 there are either none or a very low percentage with no contacts after 18 in both the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. Similarly, in Table 3, none or a very small percent of those who received high sanctions through age 18 failed to have contacts after that age.

Tables have also been constructed in which categories of persons are viewed in terms of the severity of sanctions accorded them after 18, indicating the past and present contact and sanctions categories that generated various levels of sanctions. What we find suggests that sanctions have not been evenly applied over the years by the various judges or, for that matter, may not have been evenly applied during a given period of time. For example, only 2.4% of the 1942 Cohort males and 4.3% of the 1949 Cohort males with 1-4 contacts after the age of 18 has been severely sanctioned after 18 while 18.5% of the 1955 Cohort with 1-4 contacts had already been severly sanctioned after that age. Similarly, in terms of the trend toward higher sanctions, only 34.6% of the 1942 Cohort males, 46.4% of the 1949 Cohort, but 81.0% of the 1955 Cohort with 5 or more contacts after 18 had

been severely sanctioned since then (Table 1, Appendix M).

Progression from cohort to cohort in severity of sanctions is also present with seriousness scores after the age of 18 controlled. A similar pattern of progression is found for females, particularly in the increasing proportion severely sanctioned among persons with high seriousness scores after the age of 18 (Table 2, Appendix M).

Although there is evidence of a heightened relationship between previous record and sanctions through age 18, police record after 18, and severity of sanctions administered after that age from cohort to cohort (Tables 4-7, Appendix M), severity of sanctions within each category of contacts or seriousness scores after 18 is not consistent with the number of contacts or seriousness scores and sanctions meted out through 18. While an adult justice model does not call for a one-to-one relationship between juvenile misbehavior, juvenile sanctions, adult misbehavior, and adult sanctions, the fact remains that adult sanctions are far from perfectly correlated with adult misbehavior.

THE EFFECTS OF SANCTIONS ON CONTINUITY AND SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS

Controlling for Number of Contacts and Seriousness Scores

When the number of contacts and seriousness scores through the ages 15, 17, and 21 were controlled and measures of association calculated between severity of sanctions through and number of contacts and seriousness scores after these ages, as shown in the top panels of Tables 5 and 6 for males through ages 17 and 20 (Tables 8 and 9 for males and females through age 15 and Tables 10 and 11 for females through ages 17 and 20 may be found in Appendix M), there was not a single Pearsonian coefficient of correlation that would indicate that those who received more severe sanctions through

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH 17 TO POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES AFTER 17 AND RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS THROUGH AND AFTER 17 WITH CONTROLS FOR CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS AND SANCTIONS: MALES

	Number of Contacts Through 17	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 17 to Number of Contacts After 17					Seriousness Score Through 17	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 17 to Seriousness Score After 17				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda*	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	1 - 4	----**	----	----	----	147	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	86
	5 or +	.154	.065	.165	.125	55	6 or +	.148	.080	.269	.064	116
1949 Cohort	1 - 4	----	----	----	----	337	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	215
	5 or +	.335	.128	.265	.155	130	6 or +	.340	.129	.391	.090	252
1955 Cohort	1 - 4	.089	.097	.229	.070	435	1 - 5	.061	.097	.310	.032	279
	5 or +	.166	.124	.139	.216	200	6 or +	.269	.172	.207	.122	356

	Severity of Sanctions Through 17	Relationship of Number of Contacts Through Age 17 to Number of Contacts After 17					Severity of Sanctions Through 17	Relationship of Seriousness Score Through Age 17 to Seriousness Score After 17				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	None	.406	.278	.347	.083	184	None	.456	.319	.350	.163	184
	Low	----	----	----	----	7	Low	----	----	----	----	7
	High	.587	.417	.447	.500	11	High	.596	.446	.462	.778	11
1949 Cohort	None	.475	.337	.442	.094	421	None	.451	.353	.400	.129	421
	Low	.559	.166	.177	.611	22	Low	.482	.118	.121	.842	22
	High	.435	.306	.318	.800	24	High	.379	.255	.257	.909	24
1955 Cohort	None	.223	.197	.337	.010	337	None	.206	.212	.283	.050	337
	Low	.646	.264	.333	.115	182	Low	.658	.243	.279	.212	182
	High	.308	.245	.259	.434	116	High	.312	.279	.288	.616	116

* Lambda Asymmetrical with Number of Contacts and Seriousness Scores dependent.

** Insufficient persons in category or insufficient persons with variability in independent variable for correlation.

TABLE 6. RELATIONSHIP OF SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 20 TO POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES AFTER 20 AND RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS THROUGH AND AFTER 20 WITH CONTROLS FOR CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS, AND SANCTIONS: MALES

		Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 20 to Number of Contacts After 20						Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 20 to Seriousness Score After 20				
	Number of Contacts Through 20	Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda*	N	Seriousness Score Through 20	Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	1 - 4	.185	.133	.413	.048	142	1 - 5	.018	.029	.209	.000	87
	5 or +	.255	.162	.209	.163	100	6 or +	.286	.230	.316	.151	155
1949 Cohort	1 - 4	.124	.065	.388	.026	325	1 - 5	----**	----	----	----	220
	5 or +	.336	.115	.150	.196	224	6 or +	.371	.183	.263	.132	329
1955 Cohort	1 - 4	.101	.087	.306	.019	464	1 - 5	.073	.044	.341	.000	280
	5 or +	.107	.080	.113	.105	307	6 or +	.189	.147	.243	.054	491

		Relationship of Number of Contacts Through Age 20 to Number of Contacts After						Relationship of Seriousness Score Through Age 20 to Seriousness Score After 20				
	Severity of Sanctions Through 20	Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N	Severity of Sanctions Through 20	Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	None	.365	.231	.302	.158	157	None	.145	.259	.300	.200	157
	Low	.000	.087	.101	.250	54	Low	.004	.079	.084	.457	54
	High	.312	.308	.324	.571	31	High	.253	.279	.284	.821	31
1949 Cohort	None	.534	.259	.410	.113	373	None	.491	.250	.354	.133	373
	Low	.398	.163	.198	.217	111	Low	.389	.179	.203	.265	111
	High	.577	.307	.328	.500	65	High	.516	.273	.282	.807	65
1955 Cohort	None	.143	.052	.197	.017	331	None	.158	.070	.229	.034	331
	Low	.309	.144	.247	.064	191	Low	.309	.158	.256	.128	191
	High	.292	.230	.325	.210	249	High	.282	.215	.298	.403	249

*Lambda Asymmetrical with Number of Contacts and Seriousness Scores dependent.

**Insufficient persons in category or insufficient persons with variability in independent variable for correlation.

a given age had fewer police contacts or lower seriousness scores than was the case for persons who received less severe sanctions through that age. (Tau was included for the benefit of persons who would argue that the severity of sanctions scale score should be treated as an ordinal rather than an interval variable.) Most of the correlations were very low but out of 45 correlations there were four that exceeded .300, indicating a positive relationship between severity of sanctions through that age and either number of contacts or seriousness scores after that age. (These few could, of course, have occurred by chance alone.)

This is such an important point that it is well to look at the distributions carefully. What do we find if we examine those males with 5 or more contacts through age 17? Although those in the 1949 Cohort had a Pearson's R of .335 between severity of sanctions through 17 and number of contacts after 17, such a small proportion of the cohort had been sanctioned that little improvement over the modal category of the marginals (using Lambda as a measure of proportional reduction in error) is made by attempting to predict future contacts from prior sanctions.

Turning to the 1955 Cohort, where sanctions have been administered with somewhat greater frequency, we find that although the Pearson's R is only .089 between sanctions through 17 and number of contacts after 17, of the males with 1-4 prior contacts through 17 who had not been sanctioned, 57% had already had additional contacts and of those who had been sanctioned, 75% had additional contacts. For those with 5 or more contacts (the overall correlation was .166) through 17, 73% of those who had not been sanctioned had further contacts but 88% of those who had been sanctioned did so.

Given that sanctions have been meted out to juveniles with caution (juvenile court judges have been characterized as far too lenient during the period of this study) we should examine the consequences of sanctions through age 20 where we would expect to have less difficulty with skewed marginals. Still, the linear associations differ little from those for the 1942 and 1949 Cohort males and there is little relationship between severity of sanctions through and the number of contacts after age. Of those in the 1949 Cohort with 1-4 contacts through 20, 44% of those not sanctioned had additional contacts and 71% of those sanctioned had additional contacts after 20. Of those who had 5 or more contacts through that age, 80% and 83% respectively continued to have contacts after 20. In the case of the 1955 Cohort the percentages who continued to have contacts of those not sanctioned and those sanctioned with from 1-4 contacts prior to 20 were 17% and 32% and of those with 5 or more contacts 24% and 53% respectively.

We shall not discuss the females in such detail but let it suffice to say that after the age of 20 those who had been sanctioned in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts had higher continuity rates than those who had not been sanctioned, that sanctions were related to continuity in the same manner as they were for the males with one exception -- sanctioning had relatively less effect in the undesired direction on females with 1-4 contacts than it had on females with 5 or more contacts. There was little difference in continuity between sanctioned and unsanctioned females with 1-4 contacts but considerable difference between sanctioned and unsanctioned females with 5 or more contacts.

Whatever has been said about continuity in contacts following sanctions is found to a somewhat greater degree for seriousness scores. For example,

among those males from the 1949 Cohort with scores of 6 or more who were not sanctioned only 13% had a score above 31 after the age of 17 but 42% of those who were sanctioned did so.

Controlling for Severity of Sanctions

Be all that as it may, our concern over the apparent ineffectiveness of sanctions prompted a different arrangement of the data in which controls are introduced for severity of sanctions and the relationship presented for number of contacts and seriousness scores through and after the ages of 15, 17, and 20. If failure to sanction results in continuity in contacts for members of each cohort that is proportional to their careers before a given age, and if sanctions are effective in that at least a portion of each cohort has fewer contacts and lower seriousness scores after sanctions, measures of association should be highest in the unsanctioned group and lowest in the severely sanctioned group for each age. We find that there is no consistency in the increase or decrease in correlations from unsanctioned to severly sanctioned groups.

While this is somewhat of an oversimplification of the analysis, the correlation scattergrams have also been examined to see if the pattern changes for those who have been sanctioned vs. those who were unsanctioned to indicate positive or negative effects of sanctions. In some cases the pattern is one of increasing linearity or, if not increasing linearity, one indicating that the correlation has declined because a sizeable proportion of those who had fairly modest careers through the age utilized in the analysis took a turn for the worse after sanctioning. In other words, those who have been sanctioned turn into a mixed bag, some accumulating numerous

additional contacts and high seriousness scores and others accumulating no further or few additional contacts and a lower seriousness score.

Were sanctions effective there would be some decline in the accumulation of additional contacts and seriousness after any given age and, even if the correlation between prior measures and future measures did not decline markedly, the slope of the curve would become more vertical. While this was the case for sanctioned persons in one or two groups of the 1955 Cohort, the effectiveness of sanctions could not be considered entirely responsible for this change.

Considering all that we have said before about the overall lack of continuity in careers, one would suspect that even when continuity declines more for those who have been severly sanctioned than for others, only a part of the declines can be attributed to sanctions. In those cases where the relationship between contacts and seriousness scores to a given age and the future exceeds that for unsanctioned vs. sanctioned persons, the difference is so small that very little weight can be given to the impact of sanctions.

We shall utilize path analysis and other multivariate techniques in assessing the impact of juvenile seriousness, referrals, and sanctions on continuities in careers and continuing seriousness of misbehavior in the next chapter.

CONCLUSION

Although we have not meant to imply that sanctions in themselves generate continuity in careers from delinquency to adult crime, the analyses described in this chapter do indicate that severity of sanctions, all other things roughly equal, is not followed by a decline in the accumulation of

police contacts and high seriousness scores. The extent to which continued police contacts are a response to sanctions and are not simply an extension of a pattern of misbehavior (in spite of the efforts of persons in positions of authority who know the records of juveniles and who exercise their best judgement) has yet to be determined. To the extent that some decline has been found following the application of sanctions it cannot be said that the decline is not a part of the general attrition in contacts also found among persons who have not been sanctioned.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For an excellent introduction to the problems of the juvenile court see Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pps. 2-9. Among the numerous publications which have been highly critical of the operations of the court are the following: Patrick T. Murphy, *Our Kindly Parent . . . The State: The Juvenile Justice System and How It Works* (New York: Viking Press, 1974); Anthony Platt, *The Child Savers* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969); Nathan F. Leopold, Jr., *Life Plus 99 Years* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1958). For a very recent critical text see: Barry Krisberg and James Austin, *The Children of Ishmael: Critical Perspectives on Juvenile Justice* (Palo Alto, California: Mayfield, 1978). LaMar T. Empey has also summed it up quite well in "Juvenile Court: The Tarnished Superparent," Chapter 16, *American Delinquency: Its Meaning and Construction* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1978), pp. 440-483. It may well be, as suggested by Martinson after consideration of over 200 studies, that nothing works. See Robert Martinson's "What Works? 'The Martinson Report'," from "What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform," *The Public Interest* 35 (1974): 22-55, reprinted in Norman Johnson and Leonard D. Savitz (eds.), *Justice and Corrections* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978), pp. 788-810. Lest the reader conclude that nothing has been learned, Palmer's reply should be noted, Ted Palmer, "Martinson Revisited," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 12 (1975): 133-152, also reprinted, *op. cit.*, pp. 811-827. Whether juveniles who have committed non-criminal acts should be dealt with by a correctional system has become an issue in more recent years as well-stated by William H. Sheridan, "Juveniles Who Commit Non-Criminal Acts: Why Treat in a Correctional System?" *Federal Probation* 31 (1967): 26-30.

[2] A review of the even more recent literature on corrections in the United States to 1975 has been conducted by David F. Greenberg. Studies are cited in which random assignment to experimented and control groups were made

but the results were no more heartening in terms of evidence of correctional program effectiveness than from previous surveys. In concluding a chapter, "The Correctional Effects of Corrections," he refers again to the Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks survey by saying that, "The blanket assertion that 'nothing works' is an exaggeration, but not by very much." David F. Greenberg (ed.), *Corrections and Punishment* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978), Chapter 5, p. 141.

[3] Some indication of the negative effects of processing, particularly for White males, has been found by Suzanne S. Ageton and Delbert S. Elliott, "The Effects of Legal Processing on Delinquent Orientations," *Social Problems* 22 (1974): 87-100.

Chapter 14. A Multivariate Analysis of the Relationships of Seriousness of Juvenile Careers and Intervention to Adult Seriousness*

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we continue to investigate how the relationship between juvenile and adult police contact careers is mediated by the intervention of social control agencies (the police and the courts), utilizing the multivariate techniques of analysis of covariance and path analysis. Intervention by social control agencies during the juvenile period is measured by the number of referrals by police to juvenile probation and the severity of juvenile court sanctions. These variables are conceptualized as more or less dependent on juvenile seriousness and as influencing adult seriousness and they therefore constitute a set of intervening variables in the model.

The causal model which will be used in the subsequent analysis is presented in Figure 1. The model specifies that the seriousness of adult police contacts is determined by the seriousness of juvenile contacts, referrals, and sanctions. In turn, referrals and sanctions are hypothesized to be determined by juvenile seriousness. The residual terms (μ_i) are included to indicate incomplete determination of the dependent variables by the independent variables.

The criterion that a cause must precede its effect in time is satisfied for the juvenile-adult distinction since adult seriousness is preceded by the occurence of juvenile contacts, referrals, and sanctions. However, the causal ordering among the juvenile period variables is more problematic. Since the data for these variables are aggregated for the entire juvenile

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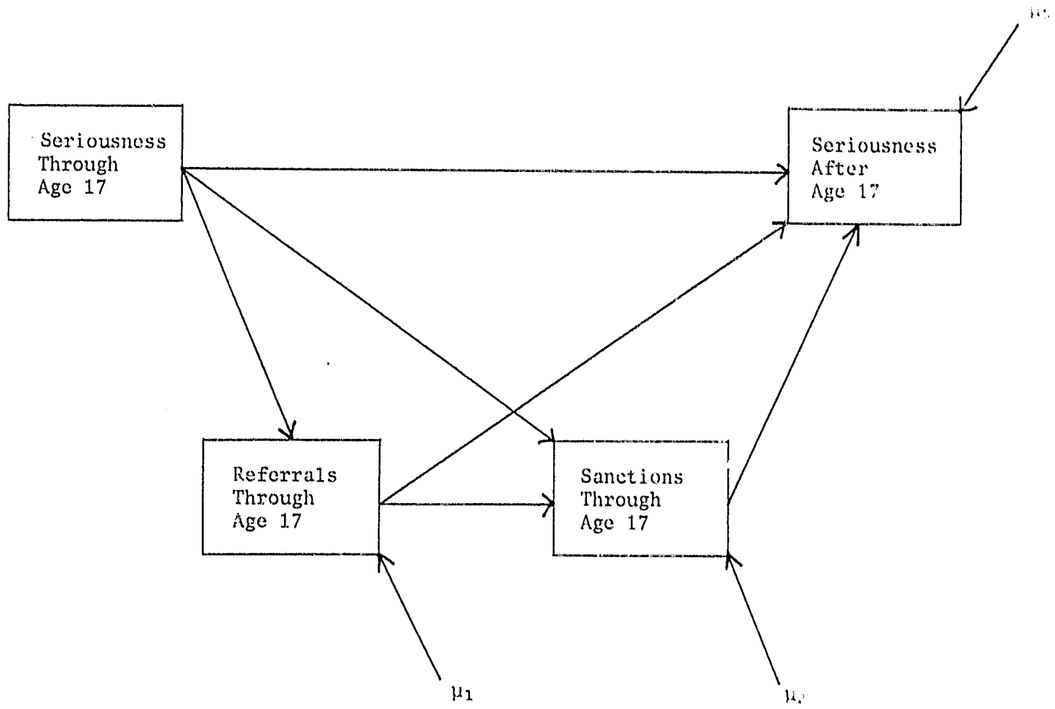
* This chapter is an abridged version of a paper by James P. Curry, Ph.D., Assistant Research Scientist, Iowa Urban Community Research Center.

Figure 1. A Causal Model of the Effects of Juvenile Seriousness, Referrals, and Sanctions on Adult Seriousness.



period (they were originally coded sequentially by date) this means that in some cases the temporal ordering of events is not strictly maintained. Despite this problem, the data as cumulated for the entire period will be used for four reasons. First, the use of the completely disaggregated data would pose very difficult problems for analysis since relatively few contacts occur during any age. We would also contend that the cumulative experiences of the cohort members represent a meaningful concept for the present analysis. Second, the distinction between the juvenile and adult periods follow the practice of the criminal justice system in Racine (and most other places) which treats most offenders under the age of 18 as juveniles. To the extent that this practice and the transition from juvenile to adult status creates similarity in careers within the juvenile and adult age periods and dissimilarity across them, our causal ordering is a reasonable one. Third, our previous examination of police contacts, referrals, and sanctions for detailed age breakdowns shows that each tends to be encountered somewhat later in the juvenile period. Fourth, offenses must precede referrals and referrals must precede court action. Thus, there is a logic to the working of the criminal justice system which supports the causal ordering of the variables. In short, we cannot make a strong argument for causal ordering among the juvenile period variables based on temporality but the points just discussed provide a basis for this ordering. At the same time, we have recognized that the aggregation of the data into two life-cycle periods may obscure important relationships and shall present additional analyses at an appropriate point in Chapter 16 (The Generation of Official Careers). This analysis will evaluate alternative specification of life cycle stages in the devel-

opment of police contact careers, following a presentation of data on the changing age by age relationship between past and present sanctions and future seriousness of careers.

The analysis consists of four sections: (1) an examination of mean adult seriousness scores for four types of juvenile career patterns, (2) a path analysis of the model of police contact careers by sex within cohorts, (3) a comparison of the model by sex within the 1955 Cohort, and (4) cohort comparisons of males.

JUVENILE CAREER PATTERNS AND THE SERIOUSNESS OF ADULT CAREERS

The primary questions addressed in this section are: (1) to what extent does adult seriousness differ by juvenile career patterns and (2) to what extent do the seriousness of juvenile police contacts, the number of juvenile police referrals, and the severity of juvenile sanctions affect adult seriousness over and above the influence of career patterns alone? Although the juvenile period includes the ages of 6 through 17 and the adult period includes age 18 through the date when data collection was terminated, for the purposes of direct comparisons across cohorts data for the adult period utilizes only ages 18 through 21.

We have classified the cohort members into four juvenile career types according to the presence or absence of juvenile police contacts, juvenile police referrals, and juvenile sanctions. The first type includes those who had no police contacts, referrals, or sanctions as juveniles. The second type includes those who had at least one police contact as juveniles but no referrals or sanctions. The third type includes those who had at least one police contact, at least one referral, and no sanctions. The fourth type

includes those who had at least one police contact, at least one referral, and at least one sanction. Thus, the four categories reflect increasing involvement in the juvenile justice system but do not necessarily reflect the seriousness of juvenile contacts, the numbers of referrals, or the severity of sanctions.

To answer the questions posed at the outset of this section, we examine the mean adult seriousness scores for each of the four categories with and without statistically controlling for juvenile seriousness, the number of juvenile police referrals, and the severity of juvenile sanctions. This strategy permits us to examine predicted adult seriousness scores for each of the four categories as if they are equivalent in terms of the control variables. Obviously, they are not equivalent but the analysis of covariance method allows us to gain some insight into the effects of juvenile seriousness and official intervention on adult seriousness for persons who have experienced different juvenile career patterns.[1]

We should emphasize that career patterns and control variables are not independent. For example, those cohort members who have had no juvenile police contacts necessarily have no juvenile seriousness scores. This means that the career patterns and control variables are artifactually correlated to some extent but we have applied dummy variable multiple regression so that these intercorrelations are taken into account. This procedure will not satisfy the statistical purist but does allow us to partially address the important substantive issue of how the adult seriousness of the four juvenile career types varies according to the seriousness of juvenile police contact careers, the number of juvenile police referrals, and the severity

of juvenile sanctions.

The analysis of covariance results for the 1942 Cohort are presented in Table 1. The "unadjusted" figures are the mean adult seriousness scores broken down by juvenile career pattern and expressed as deviations from the grand mean. Deviating the means for the career patterns from the grand mean provides a common reference point for the unadjusted and adjusted means in terms of the average adult seriousness for the entire sex subgroup.

The results for the males show that increased involvement with the juvenile justice system in terms of contacts, referrals, and sanctions is associated with higher levels of adult seriousness. Thus, while those who had no police contacts, referrals, or sanctions as juveniles are well below average in adult seriousness (-8.365), those who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions are well above average (26.148) in adult seriousness. On the basis of career pattern alone, then, we would predict substantial differences in a mean adult seriousness for the 1942 Cohort males.

With juvenile seriousness held constant, the mean adult seriousness for 1942 males with no contacts and those with contacts is below average but for those with contacts and referrals or contacts, referrals, and sanctions it is above average. Also, it is clear that juvenile seriousness serves to induce variation in adult seriousness as evidenced by the difference between the unadjusted and adjusted mean seriousness. For example, those 1942 Cohort males who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions exhibit unadjusted adult mean seriousness scores substantially higher than that with seriousness held constant (26.148 vs. 12.893). Thus, there is a positive relationship between juvenile seriousness which exists above and beyond the effect of

TABLE 1. UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED MEAN ADULT SERIOUSNESS (EXPRESSED AS DEVIATIONS FROM THE GRAND MEAN), BY JUVENILE CAREER PATTERN AND SEX: 1942 COHORT

Juvenile Career Pattern						Adjusted for:			
Contacts 6-17	Referrals 6-17	Sanctions 6-17	N	%	Unadjusted	Seriousness 6-17	Referrals 6-17	Sanctions 6-17	Referrals and Sanctions, 6-17
MALES									
No	No	No	154	43.3	-8.365	-3.694	-4.766	-8.176	-4.784
Yes	No	No	81	22.8	-2.210	-1.329	1.390	-2.021	1.372
Yes	Yes	No	103	28.9	9.676	4.316	3.555	9.865	3.499
Yes	Yes	Yes	18	5.1	26.148	12.893	14.173	22.588	14.730
Grand Mean = 13.169			356	100.1					
FEMALES									
No	No	No	224	80.9	-.552	.157	-1.342	---*	---
Yes	No	No	36	13.0	1.208	-.453	.418	---	---
Yes	Yes	No	14	5.1	1.967	-1.877	12.898	---	---
Yes	Yes	Yes	3	1.1	17.514	2.147	34.958	---	---
Grand Mean = 1.820			277	100.1					

* Too few cases to adjust for sanctions.

career patterns. Alternatively, if the four career patterns were equivalent in terms of juvenile seriousness the differences in their mean adult seriousness would be substantially reduced.

The next column presents the mean adult seriousness scores adjusted for referrals. The mean seriousness for those who had no juvenile contacts is again below the grand mean and is above the grand mean for those who had some type of involvement with the criminal justice system. However, the differences by career pattern are markedly reduced as shown by the mean for those who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions. The predicted mean for this group is about half the unadjusted mean (14.173 vs. 26.148). The interpretation of this result is that referrals serve to induce variation in adult seriousness in the same direction as the group's juvenile seriousness; that is, the greater the number of juvenile referrals, the more serious the adult career.

When the severity of juvenile sanctions is held constant the adjusted mean seriousness is not changed very much from the unadjusted mean. This small degree of change indicates a weak positive relationship between juvenile sanctions and adult seriousness: the more severe the sanctions, the more serious the adult career.

The data on the adjusted adult seriousness scores with both juvenile referrals and sanctions held constant are especially interesting because they reflect the combined influence of referrals and sanctions on adult seriousness. The resulting pattern of differences in mean adult seriousness is quite similar to that when juvenile seriousness is held constant; that is, the combined influence of the number of juvenile referrals and severity of

juvenile sanctions results in increased adult seriousness.

To summarize the findings for the 1942 Cohort males, the seriousness of juvenile police contacts, number of referrals by the police, and severity of court sanctions are all positively related to adult seriousness. Also, none of the adjustment procedures has reduced the mean seriousness of those with contacts, referrals, and sanctions to the level of the grand mean for the sex subgroup. This can readily be seen by scanning the mean scores for this group in the bottom row of each column.

The implications of these findings for the effectiveness of official intervention by social control agencies are quite clear: neither referrals nor sanctions during the juvenile period result in substantially reduced adult seriousness. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that the number of police referrals or severity of sanctions, alone or in combination, serves to increase the seriousness of adult careers of the 1942 Cohort males. At the same time, we should stress that this analysis does not show the strength of these relationships within a comprehensive multivariate framework. For example, it will be useful to know the strength of the influence of official intervention on adult seriousness when seriousness of juvenile careers is controlled. Answers to such questions will be provided in the next section following our continuing discussion of the analysis of covariance.

Before examining the mean adult seriousness for the 1942 Cohort female juvenile career patterns, two things should be noted. First, there are very few females who had contacts and referrals or contacts, referrals, and sanctions. Thus, estimates based on these categories are likely to be rather unreliable. Second, as we have noted in previous chapters, fewer 1942 Cohort

females have had either juvenile or adult police contacts (80.9% of them had no juvenile contacts as contrasted with 43.3% of the males). The mean seriousness of the adult careers of the females (1.820) is also substantially lower than that of the males (13.169).

As with the males, more serious adult careers are associated with greater involvement in the juvenile justice system. However, holding juvenile seriousness constant substantially reduces the mean differences between the juvenile career patterns. For example, the difference in mean adult seriousness for those who had no contacts, referrals, or sanctions vs. those who did have contacts, referrals, and sanctions is 18.066 with no variables held constant and 2.304 with juvenile seriousness held constant. Contrary to the finding for the 1942 Cohort males, however, is evidence that referrals decrease adult seriousness among the females. When juvenile referrals are held constant mean adult seriousness for those who had contacts, referrals, and no sanctions is increased from 1.967 to 12.898 and from 17.514 to 34.958 for those who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions. Another way to express this finding is that if these two groups had no juvenile referrals at all, their mean adult seriousness scores would be higher than they actually are (as unadjusted means).

To summarize the findings for the 1942 Cohort females, we find that more serious juvenile careers are associated with more serious adult careers and that an increase in the number of police referrals is associated with decreased adult seriousness. In contrast to the males, then, there is some evidence that contact with social control agencies decreases the adult seriousness of these females. Unfortunately, the number of females who received

sanctions in the 1942 Cohort was too small to permit computation of adjusted mean adult seriousness for them and so we are not able to infer anything about the effects of sanctions for this particular group.

Table 2 presents the unadjusted and adjusted mean adult seriousness scores for the 1949 Cohort. The association of adult seriousness with greater juvenile involvement in the juvenile justice system is considerably diminished for the males when either juvenile seriousness or referrals is held constant, another indication that these variables contribute to increased adult seriousness. The same effect appears although in somewhat weaker form when juvenile sanctions are held constant. When both referrals and sanctions are held constant the differences are again reduced, indicating that the combined influence of referrals and sanctions is to increase adult seriousness.

Turning to the 1949 Cohort females in Table 2, we again find a large difference in juvenile and adult police contacts by sex. As opposed to 36.9% of the males, 71.8% had no juvenile contacts, referrals, or sanctions. Similarly, the mean adult seriousness for the females is 2.377 in contrast to 9.597 for the males.

As with other groups just discussed, the mean adult seriousness for the 1949 Cohort females increases with greater juvenile involvement in the juvenile justice system. When juvenile seriousness is held constant, however, these differences between career patterns are markedly reduced.

When juvenile referrals are held constant we find a partial reduction in the differences in adult seriousness by career pattern. This suggests a weak positive relationship between referrals and adult seriousness as opposed

TABLE 2. UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED MEAN ADULT SERIOUSNESS (EXPRESSED AS DEVIATIONS FROM THE GRAND MEAN), BY JUVENILE CAREER PATTERN AND SEX: 1949 COHORT

Juvenile Career Pattern						Adjusted for:			
Contacts 6-17	Referrals 6-17	Sanctions 6-17	N	%	Unadjusted	Seriousness 6-17	Referrals 6-17	Sanctions 6-17	Referrals and Sanctions, 6-17
MALES									
No	No	No	273	36.9	-7.180	-2.668	.213	-6.624	3.459
Yes	No	No	208	28.1	-3.713	-1.970	3.680	-3.157	.008
Yes	Yes	No	213	28.8	6.013	2.555	5.403	6.569	1.445
Yes	Yes	Yes	46	6.2	31.555	12.908	16.542	23.272	13.800
Grand Mean = 9.597			740	100.0					
FEMALES									
No	No	No	400	71.8	-1.162	.331	-.837	---*	---*
Yes	No	No	110	19.7	.178	-2.306	.503	---	---
Yes	Yes	No	42	7.5	7.742	.636	4.605	---	---
Yes	Yes	Yes	5	.9	24.023	4.409	17.215	---	---
Grand Mean = 2.377			557	99.9					

* Too few cases to adjust for sanctions.

to the 1942 Cohort females where we found a negative relationship. In other words, if the 1942 Cohort females had received no referrals they would have had more serious adult careers whereas the 1949 Cohort females would have had less serious adult careers.

In summary, juvenile seriousness and referrals are associated with increased adult seriousness among the 1949 Cohort females. This pattern is similar to that found for the 1942 and 1949 Cohort males but differs from that for the 1942 Cohort females. Remember that we have already expressed some concern for the statistic for the 1942 Cohort females because of the small number that had been referred and sanctioned.

Table 3 presents the results of the analysis of covariance for the 1955 Cohort. We find that male juvenile career patterns which reflect greater involvement with the juvenile justice system are associated with higher levels of adult seriousness. When juvenile seriousness is held constant, however, the differences by career pattern are substantially reduced and indicate that juvenile seriousness is associated with more serious adult careers over and above any effects of the juvenile career pattern. Very similar results are obtained when the number of juvenile referrals is held constant. This again indicates that juvenile referrals are related to increased adult seriousness. When the severity of juvenile sanctions alone is held constant we find that the mean adult seriousness for those who had juvenile contacts, referrals, and sanctions is essentially the same as that for those who had juvenile contacts and referrals but no sanctions. In other words, the severity of juvenile sanctions appears to increase the seriousness of adult careers over and above the fact of being referred when this pattern is con-

TABLE 3. UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED MEAN ADULT SERIOUSNESS (EXPRESSED AS DEVIATIONS FROM THE GRAND MEAN), BY JUVENILE CAREER PATTERN AND SEX: 1955 COHORT

Juvenile Career Pattern						Adjusted for:			
Contacts 6-17	Referrals 6-17	Sanctions 6-17	N	%	Unadjusted	Seriousness 6-17	Referrals 6-17	Sanctions 6-17	Referrals and Sanctions, 6-17
MALES									
No	No	No	479	44.1	-4.784	-2.147	-2.462	-3.180	-2.565
Yes	No	No	247	22.7	-2.141	-.500	.182	-.536	.079
Yes	Yes	No	90	8.3	2.947	2.598	2.390	4.552	2.132
Yes	Yes	Yes	271	24.9	9.429	3.389	3.393	4.596	3.754
Grand Mean = 6.586			1087	100.0					
FEMALES									
No	No	No	709	68.8	-.987	.010	-.496	-.712	-.491
Yes	No	No	167	16.2	.611	.351	1.102	.886	1.107
Yes	Yes	No	74	7.2	2.450	-.133	.790	2.724	.911
Yes	Yes	Yes	80	7.8	5.240	-.698	1.362	1.944	1.199
Grand Mean = 1.658			1030	100.0					

trasted with the unadjusted means. When both referrals and sanctions are held constant some differences in adult seriousness among the career patterns remain, but they are largely attenuated. This latter finding indicates that the combined influence of juvenile referrals and sanctions is to slightly increase adult seriousness. It is clear from these data that referrals and sanctions do not have a deterrent effect on adult seriousness.

In summary, we find that higher levels of juvenile seriousness, greater numbers of police referrals, and more severe juvenile sanctions are associated with increased adult seriousness for the 1955 Cohort males. This pattern is essentially similar to that found for the 1942 and 1949 Cohort males despite the different historical periods involved.

While the 1955 Cohort females have a lower level of involvement with the police as juveniles and adults than did the males (as did the 1942 and 1949 Cohort females), we again note that the percent of females with no involvement of any kind has continued to decline from cohort to cohort. Thus, 68.8% of the 1955 Cohort females had no involvement with the police as contrasted with 71.8% of the 1949 Cohort females and 80.9% of the 1942 Cohort females. These data, as discussed in another context, reflect the often-noted increase in delinquency among females.

Like the 1955 Cohort males, we find that career patterns of the 1955 females which reflect greater juvenile involvement are associated with greater adult seriousness, although the magnitude of these differences is less than that for the males. When juvenile seriousness is held constant the differences in mean adult seriousness by juvenile career pattern largely disappear. Thus, we may say that juvenile seriousness accounts for most of the

observed differences in adult seriousness by career pattern. When juvenile referrals are held constant the differences are reduced but not eliminated indicating a weak positive effect of juvenile referrals on adult seriousness. The adjusted adult seriousness scores for those who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions as juveniles is lower than that for those who had contacts and referrals but no sanctions when the severity of juvenile sanctions is held constant. Thus, the imposition of more severe sanctions produced an increase in adult seriousness beyond that which would be expected on the basis of referrals alone. When referrals and sanctions are both held constant the differences in adult seriousness by career patterns again largely disappear, an indication that the combined impact of referrals and sanctions results in an increase in adult seriousness above and beyond that expected on the basis of career pattern alone.

In summary, we find that the differences in adult seriousness associated with juvenile career pattern, number of juvenile referrals, and severity of juvenile sanctions for the 1955 Cohort females are similar to those of the other male and females groups examined here with the exception of the 1942 Cohort females. Thus, the seriousness of juvenile careers, number of juvenile referrals, and severity of juvenile sanctions all work to increase adult seriousness. In addition, we find the interesting effect that, for the 1955 Cohort females, severity of juvenile sanctions produces an increase in adult seriousness that more than accounts for the differences between the juvenile career patterns.

Tables 4 and 5 report similar analyses to those just discussed. Here, however, the adult period is defined as ages 18-21 to permit direct within-

sex comparison across cohorts. In effect we are holding constant the adult age range so that the length of exposure to the possibility of police contacts is the same for all three cohorts.

Table 4 presents the results for males by cohort. When no variables are held constant the career patterns which reflect greater involvement with the juvenile justice system are associated with more serious adult careers as before. The 1942 and 1955 Cohorts exhibit very similar differences in mean adult seriousness by juvenile career pattern; however, the unadjusted deviation from the grand mean for the 1949 Cohort males who have contacts, referrals, and sanctions is more than twice as great as that for either the 1942 or 1955 Cohort males. This difference is all the more striking if we recall that years of exposure are the same for all three cohorts. This is consistent with our previous finding that the percentage of males with no involvement in the juvenile justice system was lower for the 1949 Cohort males than for males in either of the other cohorts.

Differences in adult seriousness by juvenile career pattern are largely reduced when juvenile seriousness is held constant, although the same group in the 1949 Cohort again shows a relatively high level of adult seriousness. Overall, however, this indicates that juvenile seriousness is a major factor in producing adult seriousness over and above the career pattern. As before, an alternate way of stating this is that the adult seriousness scores associated with the various juvenile career patterns would be very similar (with the exception of the 1949 Cohort group) if their levels of juvenile seriousness were equivalent.

A similar pattern emerges when referrals are held constant which sug-

TABLE 4. UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED MEAN SERIOUSNESS DURING AGES 18-21 (EXPRESSED AS DEVIATIONS FROM THE GRAND MEAN), BY JUVENILE CAREER PATTERN: MALES

Juvenile Career Pattern			Unadjusted			Adjusted for Seriousness, 6-17		
Contacts 6-17	Referrals 6-17	Sanctions 6-17	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
No	No	No	-3.522	-4.425	-4.613	-1.198	-2.137	-2.108
Yes	No	No	-.847	-2.337	-2.016	-.409	-1.454	-.459
Yes	Yes	No	4.366	3.826	3.125	1.699	2.072	2.792
Yes	Yes	Yes	8.961	19.114	8.953	2.366	9.659	3.216

Adjusted for Referrals, 6-17			Adjusted for Sanctions, 6-17			Adjusted for Referrals and Sanctions, 6-17		
1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
-1.688	-2.564	-2.405	-2.986	-4.155	-3.112	-1.442	-2.548	-2.521
.987	-.476	.192	-.311	-2.067	-.515	1.252	-.460	.075
1.247	1.657	2.595	4.903	4.096	4.626	2.006	1.494	2.301
2.859	9.693	3.214	-1.113	15.044	4.433	-4.688	10.288	3.624

Grand Means: 1942 = 4.983, 1949 = 5.799, 1955 = 6.364

gests that referrals act in much the same manner as seriousness in terms of their effects on adult seriousness. Again, the one exception is members of the 1949 group who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions. When sanctions are held constant juvenile career pattern differences in adult seriousness are again reduced in a manner which is similar across cohorts with the exception of the 1949 Cohort males.

In general, we find that the seriousness of police contacts during the ages 18-21 is determined in a very similar manner among the males of the three birth cohorts. The one exception is in the 1949 Cohort for those who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions during the juvenile period. This group consistently exhibits a high level of adult seriousness relative to the other groups with and without controls. However, the similarity across cohorts is the predominate finding of this analysis and this is despite evidence of an upward trend in adult seriousness over time (see the cohort grand means in Table 4). At the same time, this analysis does not address intercohort differences in a manner rigorous enough to permit the inference that there have been no changes in career continuity over time.

Table 5 presents the intercohort comparisons for the females. When no other variables are held constant we find that the mean adult seriousness of the two least involved career patterns is fairly similar across the three cohorts. However, among those who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions, the 1949 Cohort females have the highest unadjusted mean adult seriousness (15.201) which is about three times as great as that for the 1955 Cohort females. This finding is based on very few cases in the earlier cohorts, however, and therefore must be viewed with caution.

TABLE 5. UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED MEAN SERIOUSNESS DURING AGES 18-21 (EXPRESSED AS DEVIATIONS FROM THE GRAND MEAN), BY JUVENILE CAREER PATTERN: FEMALES

Juvenile Career Patterns			Unadjusted			Adjusted for Seriousness, 6-17		
Contacts 6-17	Referrals 6-17	Sanctions 6-17	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
No	No	No	-.312	-.716	-.981	.089	.349	.011
Yes	No	No	.891	-.026	.582	-.049	-1.326	.324
Yes	Yes	No	.264	5.078	2.481	-1.910	.008	-.091
Yes	Yes	Yes	11.336	15.201	5.185	2.820	1.209	-.692

Adjusted for Referrals, 7-17			Adjusted for Sanctions, 6-17			Adjusted for Referrals and Sanctions, 6-17		
1942	1949	1955	1942*	1949*	1955	1942*	1949*	1955
-.670	-.550	-.492	---	---	-.712	---	---	-.488
.533	.141	1.072	---	---	.852	---	---	1.076
5.231	3.471	.825	---	---	2.750	---	---	.919
19.261	11.714	1.354	---	---	1.980	---	---	1.228

Grand Means: 1942 = .664, 1949 = 1.399, 1955 = 1.627

* Too few cases with sanctions to compute adjusted means.

Nevertheless, this finding is interesting since, as with the males, there is evidence of an upward trend in adult seriousness over time (see the grand means in Table 5). In other words, the 1955 Cohort females with the most involved juvenile career pattern have a lower mean adult seriousness than their older counterparts despite an upward trend in seriousness over time. The reason for this can be found by returning to Tables 1-3 which show the percent of each cohort with a given career pattern. These data show that the percent of females in the two most involved career patterns is highest for the 1955 Cohort females. Since those with highly involved juvenile career patterns are also the highest in terms of adult seriousness, this trend toward more involved juvenile careers increases the overall mean adult seriousness even though the 1955 Cohort females have relatively low scores, as shown in Table 5. Put differently, one reason for the overall increase in mean seriousness across cohorts for the females is that a greater proportion of females in the 1955 Cohort were either referred or sanctioned, and it is they who also have the highest mean adult seriousness.

A number of different processes may underlie this phenomenon. For instance, it may be that females in the 1955 Cohort are treated more legalistically and therefore are more likely to have serious adult careers. Because females are permitted to play roles with more equality than previously there is also a greater likelihood of exposure to official intervention. Another possibility is that juvenile seriousness has come to have a greater impact on adult seriousness over time. Thus, the greater proportion of females being referred or sanctioned may reflect an increasing articulation between offense and official response. Yet another possi-

bility is that the increased adult seriousness is due to an increased level of juvenile seriousness.

This latter interpretation receives some support from Table 5 when we examine the mean adult seriousness for the juvenile career pattern with juvenile seriousness held constant. We find that the adjusted mean adult seriousness for the 1955 Cohort females who had contacts, referrals, and sanctions is below the cohort grand mean (-.692). This indicates that the adjusted mean for these 1955 Cohort females is relatively lower than the adjusted means for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. The interpretation offered here is that the relationship between juvenile seriousness and adult seriousness not only accounts for the observed differences in the unadjusted adult seriousness but may also differ across cohorts and by juvenile career patterns. This possibility will be examined in a more rigorous manner as we proceed.

When referrals are held constant the intercohort differences found in Tables 1-3 are more clearly illustrated. The effect of this adjustment procedure is a decrease in the differences in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. Thus, the effect of referrals is an increase in adult seriousness in the two younger cohorts. Opposite findings are shown for the 1942 Cohort but, as we have said, they are based on relatively few referrals. This is all the more problematic from a policy point of view since an increasingly larger proportion of females is experiencing this type of exposure to the juvenile justice system.

The effects of holding constant only sanctions and both sanctions and referrals are shown in the next two columns. The 1942 and 1949 Cohorts are excluded here because there are too few cases to compute adjusted adult

seriousness. Differences in adult seriousness by career pattern only are somewhat reduced when both referrals and sanctions are held constant. In other words, if referrals and sanctions were equivalent across the career patterns we would predict that the differences in adult seriousness by juvenile career pattern would not be very great.

Although these data provide some interesting insights into the factors affecting adult seriousness, they do not tell us much about the magnitude of these effects or the strength of their influence when all other variables in the analysis are held constant. To examine these relationships in a more parsimonious and rigorous manner path analysis is applied to the causal model of adult seriousness in the next section. To anticipate these findings, we may note two major findings from this analysis which will hold up under more rigorous analysis. First, juvenile seriousness has an important causal relationship to adult seriousness. Again the reader is reminded that we distinguish between the existence of relationships between juvenile delinquency and adult crime and the ability to predict one from the other. What we will demonstrate in the following section is that this relationship persists despite the intervening effects of juvenile referrals and sanctions and that intervention by agencies of social control does not have the effect on later criminality for which the programs were designed. We have suggested that intervention and sanctions have a role in increasing seriousness. What we shall find is that with few exceptions, this is the case or that their influence on later behavior is negligible.

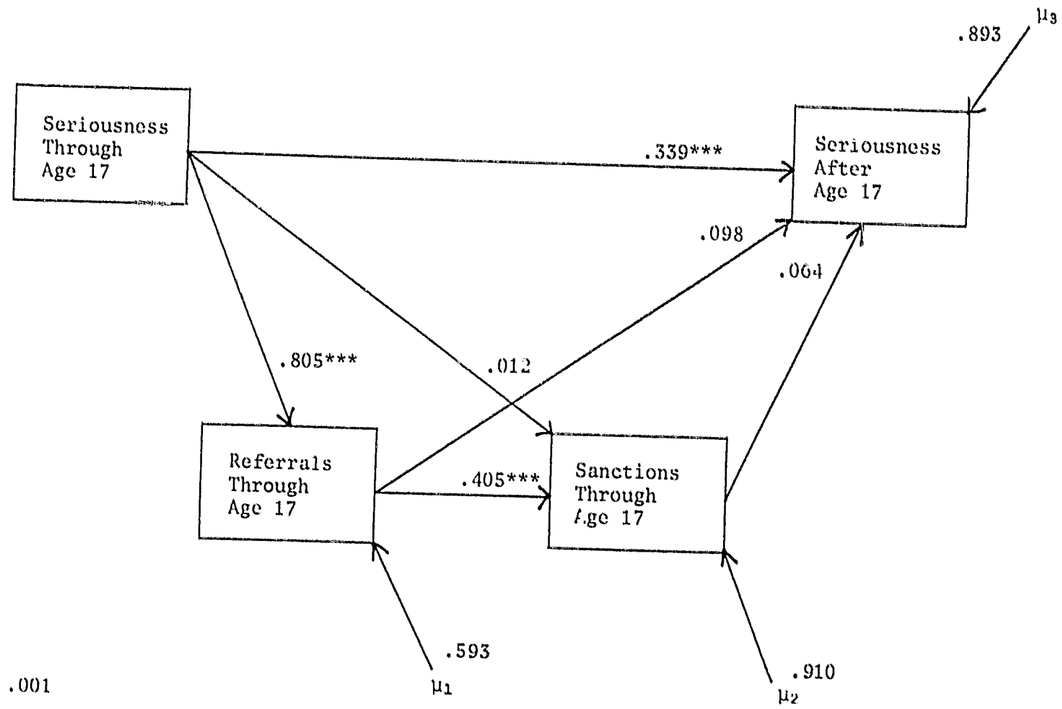
PATH ANALYSIS RESULTS WITHIN COHORT BY SEX

To evaluate the causal model, we employ the method of path analysis

in this section.[2] Two types of coefficients are presented in the analysis which follows: the standardized regression coefficients (path coefficients) and the metric or unstandardized partial regression coefficients. The standardized coefficients permit the assessment of the relative strengths of the causal effects of the independent variables in the model while the metric coefficients may be used to indicate the relative contribution of the independent variables to the dependent variable across subgroups.[3] The results of the analysis are presented in three sections: (1) an estimation of the model within cohorts by sex, (2) sex comparisons within cohorts, and (3) cohort comparisons within sex subgroups.

Figure 2 presents the path analysis results for the 1942 Cohort males. The coefficients displayed are path coefficients (standardized partial regression coefficients) and may be interpreted as reflecting the strength of a given independent variable in its influence on the dependent variable when the effects of the other variables in the model are held constant. The results show that juvenile seriousness has a statistically significant effect on adult seriousness holding constant juvenile referrals and sanctions, such that the greater the juvenile seriousness, the greater the adult seriousness. Referrals and sanctions are not related to adult seriousness. What is noteworthy about these findings is that juvenile sanctions and referrals play essentially no role as intervening variables in the model. One way to evaluate this is to examine the indirect effects of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness through referrals and sanctions. Indirect effects may be computed as the product of the direct effects found when the paths are traced in sequence through the model. The largest indirect effect in this

Figure 2. Path Analysis Results for the 1942 Cohort Males with Continuous Residence (N=356).



*** p < .001

model is the rather small influence of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness through referrals which is .079 (.805 x .098). In short, juvenile seriousness is the only variable which is found to have a significant effect on adult seriousness for the 1942 Cohort males and this effect is moderate in strength. Since no significant effects of either referrals or sanctions are found, it is clear that they neither promote nor deter police contacts. Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations for all cohorts are in Appendix N.

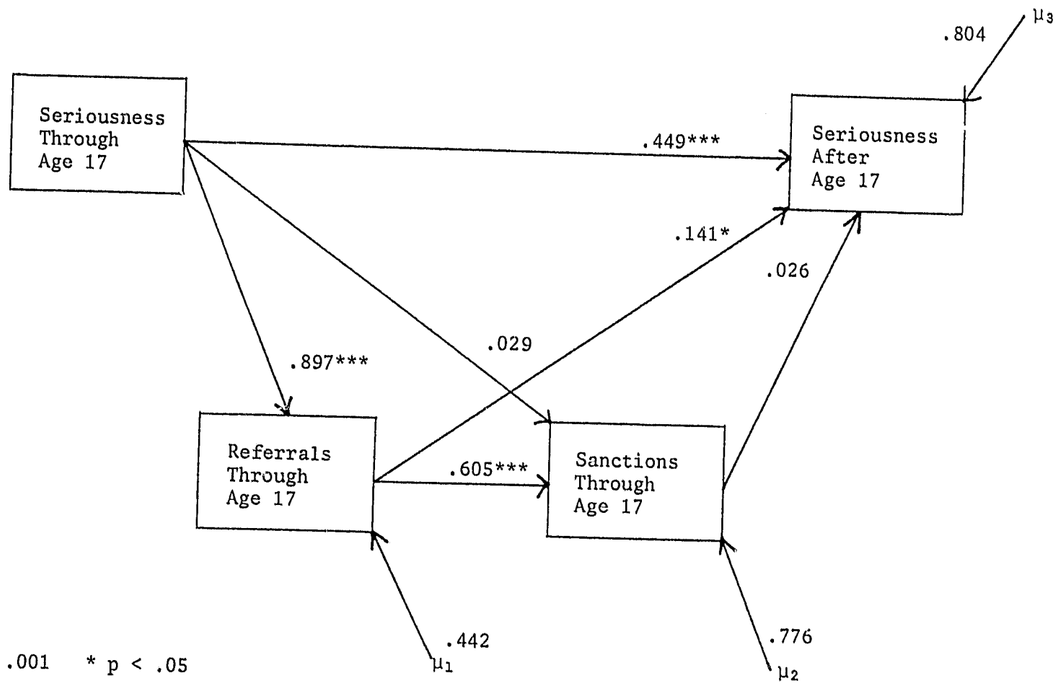
We also find that receiving more severe sanctions is associated with a greater number of juvenile referrals but that there is no direct effect of juvenile seriousness on sanctions. Seriousness is found to have a substantial effect on referrals (p = .805) and is also related to sanctions indirectly through referrals (.326 = .805 x .405).

To summarize, we find some evidence for continuity in the seriousness of official police contact careers between the juvenile and adult periods for the 1942 Cohort males. However, this effect is only moderate in strength and is not mediated by juvenile referrals or sanctions. Sanctions are influenced directly by referrals and indirectly by seriousness through referrals. The findings of no effect of referrals and sanctions on adult seriousness are important for both criminal justice policy and criminological theory. From a policy point of view they again imply that intervention by agencies of social control has little to do with later police contact careers. From a theoretical point of view they support neither the view that such intervention deters deviant behavior nor the view that intervention promotes deviant behavior as proposed by labelling theory. The 1942 and 1949 Cohorts' females are not dealt with further in the analysis for reasons previously presented. Suffice it to say that the analysis turned up nothing at variance with previous findings for the females.

Figure 3 presents the path analysis results for the 1949 Cohort males which are basically similar to those for the 1942 Cohort males. The most important effect on adult seriousness is the moderate positive effect of juvenile seriousness. The severity of juvenile sanctions is influenced directly by juvenile referrals and indirectly by juvenile seriousness. The latter variable shows no direct effect on sanctions. Unlike the model for the 1942 Cohort males, however, we find a weak but statistically significant positive relationship between juvenile referrals and adult seriousness; that is, the greater the number of juvenile referrals, the greater the adult seriousness. Overall, this model indicates that there is a moderate degree of continuity in seriousness from the juvenile to the adult period. While seriousness of contacts is only related to severity of sanctions through referrals, seriousness has an important influence on the number of referrals during the juvenile period.

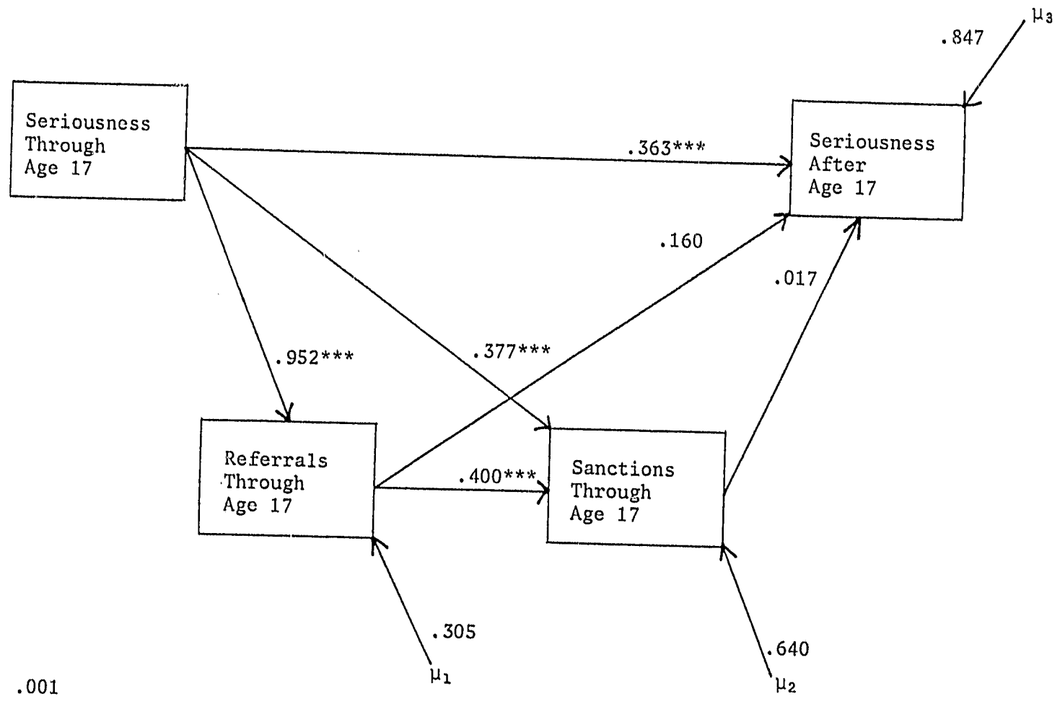
Path analysis results for the 1955 Cohort males are presented in Figure 4. As with the previous models, juvenile seriousness has a significant positive influence on adult seriousness. However, this model differs from previous ones for males in that juvenile seriousness has both a direct effect (p = .377) on juvenile sanctions and an indirect effect through referrals (.381 = .952 x .400). This suggests that the seriousness of juvenile careers has become a more important factor in determining the severity of juvenile court sanctions over time.[9] In addition, the direct effects of seriousness and referrals on sanctions are about the same. As with the previous models

Figure 3. Path Analysis Results for the 1949 Cohort Males with Continuous Residence (N=740).



*** p < .001 * p < .05

Figure 4. Path Analysis Results for the 1955 Cohort Males with Continuous Residence (N=1114).



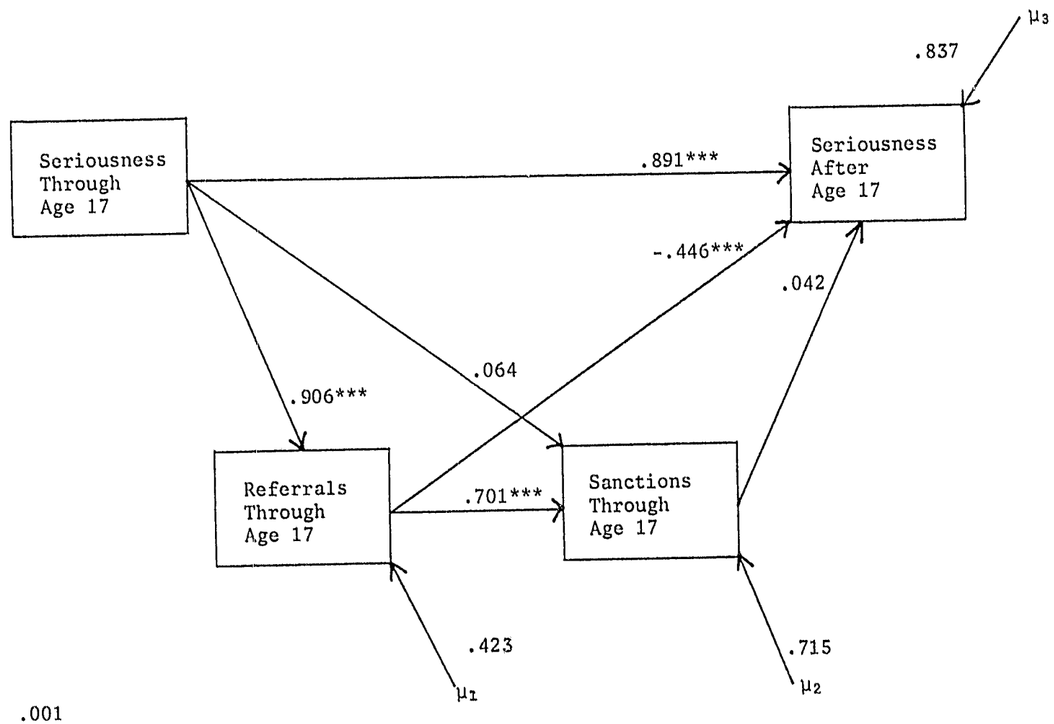
*** p < .001

for both males and females, seriousness is an important determinant of referrals, explaining over 80% of the variance.

Figure 5 presents the path analysis results for the 1955 Cohort females. These results differ from those for the males in several ways. First, juvenile seriousness has a rather substantial impact on adult seriousness (p = .891) and juvenile referrals also are related to adult seriousness (p = -.446). This latter relationship means that a greater number of referrals during the juvenile period is associated with less adult seriousness holding constant juvenile sanctions and seriousness. However, juvenile sanctions are not related to adult seriousness. Second, there is no direct effect of juvenile seriousness on sanctions but, like most of the male models, there is an indirect effect through referrals. It bears emphasizing that this is the only model examined thus far in which intervention by social control agencies has any effect of substance on adult seriousness.

To summarize the path analysis results, we find that the strongest influence on adult seriousness is juvenile seriousness. We must remember that seriousness is based on number of contacts x seriousness of reason for contact so that numerous contacts for relatively minor offenses may generate the same score as one or two contacts for more serious reasons. Juvenile referrals is consistently the most important determinant of the severity of juvenile sanctions. However, the seriousness of juvenile contacts is also related to sanctions indirectly through referrals. In only one case (the 1955 Cohort males) did we find a direct effect of seriousness on sanctions of any magnitude in all cohorts. Juvenile seriousness exhibits a strong effect on referrals, thus it is clear that seriousness plays an important

Figure 5. Path Analysis Results for the 1955 Cohort Females with Continuous Residence (N=1035).



*** p < .001

role in the likelihood of being processed by social control agencies. In turn, it is also clear that action taken by such agencies, whether measured as the number of referrals or the severity of sanctions, has little effect on later seriousness. Only among the 1955 Cohort females did we find any evidence for an effect of official intervention on adult seriousness.

Finally, it might be observed that the strengths of the relationships we have found may be due to the fact that one cannot be referred without having contacts and cannot be sanctioned without having contacts and being referred. We have conducted parallel analyses where possible for those cohort members with only contacts or those with only contacts and referrals. These analyses indicate that the effects found here reflect either the level of seriousness or the number of referrals and not simply the fact of having a contact or of being referred.

SEX COMPARISONS WITHIN THE 1955 COHORT

Table 6 differs in that it presents metric or unstandardized partial regression coefficients by sex for the 1955 Cohort, using them as examples of the kinds of differences that may appear when there are sufficient females for rigorous comparison. These coefficients may be compared across sex subgroups since they are not affected by unique subgroup variances but, unlike those discussed in the previous sections, these coefficients do not reflect the strength of the relationships. Rather, they measure the contribution of the independent variable to the dependent variable in terms of the latter's metric of measurement. Thus, these coefficients may be used to predict adult seriousness scores, for example, based on one unit change

TABLE 6. PARTIAL REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS IN METRIC FORM: 1955 COHORT MALES AND FEMALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables: Seriousness After Age 17		Sanctions Through Age 17		Referrals Through Age 17	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Seriousness Through Age 17	.208***	.769***	.101***	.026	.138***	.180***
	(.049)	(.053)	(.017)	(.020)	(.001)	(.003)
Referrals Through Age 17	.632	-1.936***	.736***	1.436***	---	---
	(.335)	(.294)	(.116)	(.098)	---	---
Sanctions Through Age 17	.037	.090	---	---	---	---
	(.085)	(.085)	---	---	---	---
$\bar{R}^{2b}$	.280	.297	.589	.576	.907	.821

N (Males = 1114) (Females = 1035)

[a] Standard errors shown in parenthesis.

[b] R^2 Adjusted for degrees of freedom.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

in a given independent variable. However, our interest in this section is primarily with sex differences in the process of police contact career continuity and the linkages among juvenile seriousness, referrals, and sanctions. This analysis will not examine indirect effects but rather will be concerned only with direct effects as expressed in metric form.

Although relatively few females have police contacts as juveniles, the influence of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness is more than three times as strong for the females as for the males. This is one of the more interesting findings in these data because it suggests greater career continuity (as measured by accumulated seriousness) among females than males. This is despite the fact that intervention by social control agencies (police referrals and court sanctions) generally has a greater impact on adult seriousness among females than males, referrals being negatively related to adult seriousness for the females but having a positive relationship for the males. Juvenile sanctions, while not significant in their relationship to adult seriousness for either group, have a greater relationship for the females. Overall, the proportion of variance explained in adult seriousness ends up about the same for males and females (see R^2).

Although it is clear from these sex comparisons and the earlier tables that seriousness has a strong effect on the number of referrals received during the juvenile period, the sex differences in this relationship are not very large. Since the data show essentially no sex-linked difference in the relationship between juvenile seriousness and referrals by the police, we may infer that at the point of initial involvement in the juvenile justice system males and females now undergo much the same treatment. Once in the

system, however, it is clear that sex-linked differences in treatment by the courts and subsequent careers are present. With respect to juvenile sanctions we find that the effect of juvenile seriousness is much stronger for the males, the effect of referrals on sanctions is stronger for the females than the males, and that the proportion of variance explained in juvenile sanctions is about the same for both sexes.

CROSS-COHORT COMPARISONS OF MALES

Table 7 presents the metric coefficients for the males in all three cohorts. The purpose of presenting the data in this form is to permit within-sex comparisons across cohorts. To make the dependent variable comparable across cohorts, adult seriousness refers to contacts which occurred during the ages 18-21 so that the length of exposure is the same for all three cohorts. Comparison of the metric coefficients, therefore, allows an assessment of changes in the relationships among the variables over time.

Our first observation is that the extent to which juvenile seriousness contributes to adult seriousness has declined over time. Put another way, the magnitude of the metric coefficient is largest for the 1942 Cohort males and least for the 1955 Cohort males. In all three cohorts, however, there is a statistically significant degree of continuity between the juvenile and adult periods holding constant referrals and sanctions. But only in the 1949 Cohort is there a significant positive relationship between juvenile referrals and adult seriousness. Thus, there is no evidence for a consistent trend in this relationship over time. The association between sanctions and adult seriousness, however, does appear to have declined from cohort to cohort. There is a statistically significant positive

TABLE 7. PARTIAL REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS IN METRIC FORM: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT MALES [a]

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables: Seriousness, Ages 18-21			Sanctions Through Age 17			Referrals Through Age 17		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Seriousness Through Age 17	.437*** (.075)	.292*** (.057)	.197*** (.048)	.004 (.028)	.008 (.018)	.101*** (.017)	.101*** (.004)	.110*** (.002)	.138*** (.001)
Referrals Through Age 17	.546 (.621)	1.073* (.494)	.624 (.328)	1.085*** (.219)	1.348*** (.144)	.736*** (.116)	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
Sanctions Through Age 17	.328* (.146)	.083 (.120)	.020 (.084)	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
$\bar{R}^{2}$ [b]	.290	.277	.268	.167	.397	.589	.648	.804	.907
N	356	740	1114	356	740	1114	356	740	1114

[a] Standard errors are shown in parentheses.

[b] R^2 Adjusted for degrees of freedom.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

relationship between the severity of juvenile sanctions and adult seriousness holding constant referrals and juvenile seriousness in the 1942 Cohort only. Although the magnitude of the coefficient declines from the 1949 to the 1955 Cohort, it is not significant for either.

When the severity of juvenile sanctions is taken as the dependent variable we find that the effect of juvenile seriousness increases over time. There is no significant relationship in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts but there is a statistically significant relationship for the 1955 Cohort. The effect of juvenile referrals on the severity of juvenile sanctions shows no consistent trend. This relationship is statistically significant and positive in direction in each cohort. Consistent with the increasing influence of seriousness on sanctions over time there is a marked increase in the explanatory power of the model with respect to juvenile sanctions. For example, the model explains 16.7% of the variance in juvenile sanctions in the 1942 Cohort and 58.9% in the 1955 Cohort.

The relationship between juvenile seriousness and the number of juvenile referrals also shows an increase in strength from cohort to cohort. Seriousness contributes least to referrals for the 1942 Cohort males and most for the 1955 Cohort males and, consistent with this finding, the percent of explained variance is least for the 1942 Cohort (64.8%) and most for the 1955 Cohort (90.7%).

To summarize the cohort differences for the males, three consistent trends appear evident. First, the extent of continuity between the seriousness of juvenile and adult police contacts has declined over time. Second, the effect of juvenile seriousness on juvenile sanctions has increased over time. Third, the influence of juvenile seriousness on juvenile referrals

has increased over time. In other words, these data suggest that the articulation between the seriousness of the offense and reactions by agencies of social control has become greater in recent years. We suggest that at least two factors may be involved in this process. First, police officers may be exercising less discretion in the disposition of juvenile offenders in recent as opposed to earlier years. Second, it may be that the treatment of offenses within the juvenile justice system has become more legalistic in recent times. That is, not only is less discretion being exercised by the police officer, but less discretion in disposing of a variety of offenses is being exercised by the juvenile courts, a position for which we have considerable evidence. A similar comparison is not included for the females for the same reason that they were not included in the male-female discussion in the previous section.

SUMMARY

Multivariate techniques have been utilized in this chapter to determine more precisely how the continuity between the seriousness of juvenile and adult police contact careers is influenced by the intervening variables (number of police referrals and the severity of sanctions during the juvenile period). The model which was tested in this chapter will be elaborated further in a later chapter by the addition of intervening, independent, and dependent variables derived from the various data that have been collected, including the interviews. The reader recognizes, of course, that the multivariate techniques have enabled us to reaffirm some of the conclusions which were reached in earlier chapters but which were held more tentatively be-

cause the analytic technique did not permit us to say, "all other things being equal." At this point we may say that earlier indications about the ineffectiveness of referrals and sanctions as procedures for changing behavior for the better still prevail.[5]

The major findings of this chapter may now be summarized. First, there is a significant effect of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness which persists when the intervening influences of juvenile referrals and sanctions are held constant. Secondly, with two exceptions (in the cohort/sex groups with sufficient persons with sanctions for a proper test), intervention by the agencies of social control does not play even a moderate role in decreasing or increasing the seriousness of adult police contacts, although referrals and sanctions if anything seemed to promote adult seriousness. The 1949 Cohort males produced some evidence that referrals during the juvenile period increased later seriousness and the number of police referrals decreased adult seriousness for the 1955 Cohort females. Overall, however, neither referrals nor sanctions has an impact on later seriousness comparable to that of juvenile seriousness. It is also true that the model explains at best about one-third of the variation in adult seriousness. The amount of explained variance will be markedly increased through the addition of other variables in a later chapter.

The second major set of findings has to do with the effect of juvenile seriousness and referrals on juvenile sanctions. The number of juvenile referrals is an important determinant of the severity of juvenile sanctions. There are no striking sex-linked differences in this relationship nor does a consistent trend emerge. In all subgroups examined juvenile seriousness

also influences sanctions indirectly through referrals. With respect to the direct effects of seriousness on sanctions, we find that this has increased over time for the male subgroups. We conclude that the process of involvement in the juvenile justice system differs by sex and that the relationships within and between the sex subgroups (so far as they have been examined) have changed over time. Although the primary purpose of the model is not to explain variation in the severity of juvenile sanctions, it performs reasonably well in this respect, explaining nearly 60% of the variation in some subgroups.

The final set of findings refers to the effect of juvenile seriousness on the number of juvenile referrals. We have found that this relationship is quite substantial, explaining as much as 90% of the variance in referrals. Thus there is strong evidence for the idea that the more serious offenses are likely to be referred by the police to other social control agencies. We have found no major sex-linked differences in this relationship; however, we have found that the effect of seriousness on referrals has increased over time. This suggests that the initial stages of involvement in the criminal justice system may have become more legalistic in recent times and, further, that this has affected males and females in much the same manner. In conjunction with the sex-linked differences in referrals and sanctions it appears that differential treatment of males and females within the juvenile justice system occurs primarily within referral agencies or the juvenile court.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Analysis of covariance is an application of the general linear model designed for the analysis of an interval-level dependent variable with at least one nominal-level independent variable and at least one interval-level independent variable. The logic of the technique was originally intended for the examination of the effects of experimental treatments (factors) while holding constant some quantitative variable (covariate). The method permits a more rigorous assessment of effects of the factors than is possible when no covariates are taken into account. In the context of the present analysis, the four juvenile career patterns are analagous to "factors" and the seriousness of juvenile police contacts, number of juvenile police referrals, and the severity of juvenile sanctions are the covariates.

[2] Discussions of path analysis may be found in Kenneth C. Land, "Principles of Path Analysis," in Edgar F. Borgatta, ed., *Sociological Methodology* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969) and Otis Dudley Duncan, *Introduction to Structural Equation Models* (New York: Academic Press, 1975).

[3] Discussions of standardized vs. unstandardized coefficients as a basis for comparison may be found in Jae-On Kim and Charles W. Mueller, "Standardized and Unstandardized Coefficients in Causal Analysis: An Expository Note," *Sociological Methods and Research* 4 (1976): 423-438, and Ronald Schoenberg, "Strategies for Meaningful Comparison," in Herbert L. Costner, ed., *Sociological Methodology* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972).

[4] Differences between the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts and the 1955 Cohort may in this respect be in part an artifact of a change in juvenile court procedures which will be described as they affect other cohort differences in the next chapter.

[5] The difficulty of disentangling the effects of arrest on crime and crime on arrests in order to assess the deterrence effect has long been considered a thorny problem. Greenwood, et al., contend that studies of crime rates which have appeared over the last decade and which have been

interpreted as supportive of the deterrence position are really not. See David F. Greenberg, Ronald C. Kessler, and Charles H. Logan, "A Panel Model of Crime Rates and Arrest Rates," *American Sociological Review* 44 (1979): 843-850.

Chapter 15. The Characteristics of Persons Incarcerated and the Effects of Incarceration on Continuation and Later Seriousness

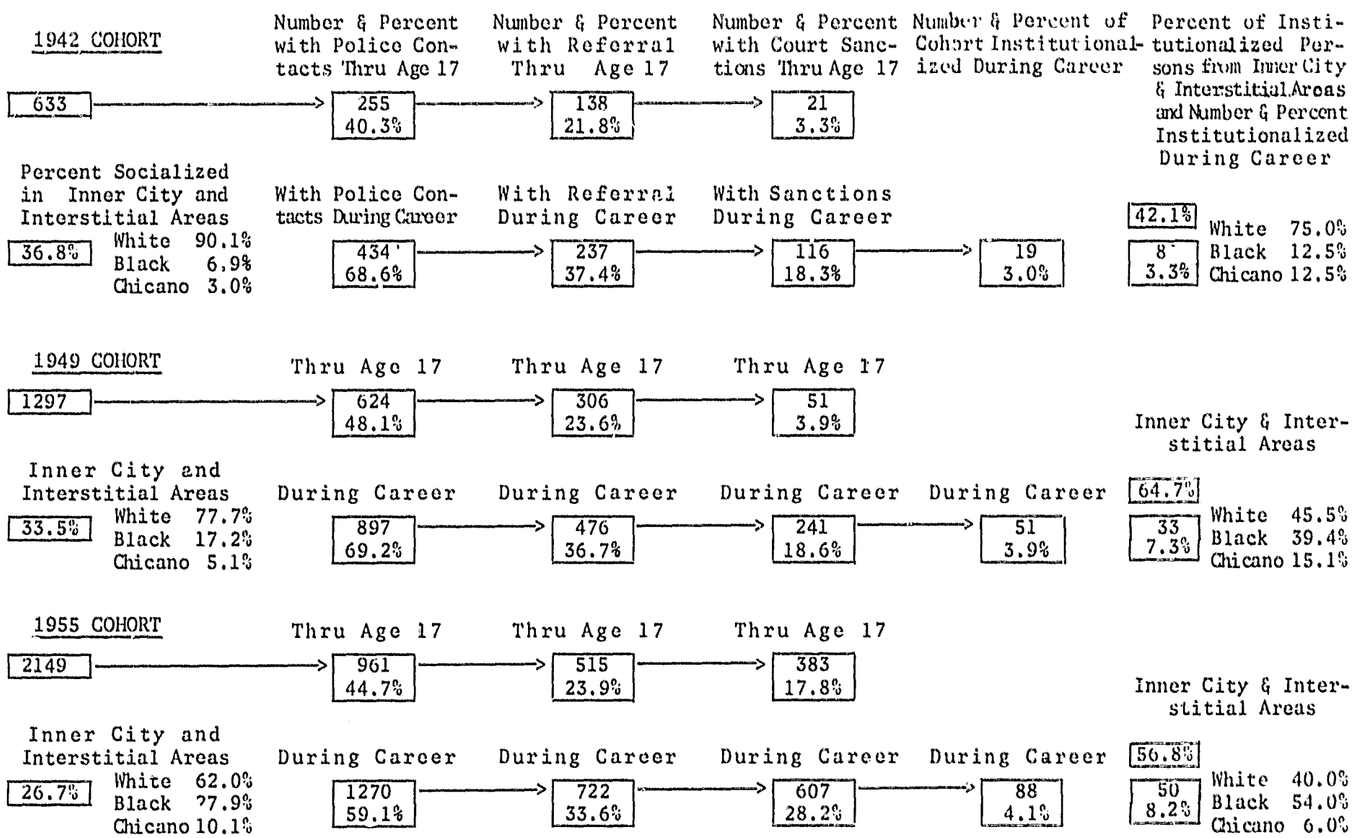
RACE/ETHNIC, SEX, AND PLACE OF SOCIALIZATION DIFFERENCES IN RATES OF INCARCERATION

Early in the report we referred to the fact that although minority groups make up only a relatively small proportion of Wisconsin's population (though they constitute a larger proportion of the urban areas which contribute most heavily to the crime picture in Wisconsin they are still no more than 15% of Racine's population), they constitute a highly disproportionate percentage of those who are dealt with by either the juvenile or adult justice system and ultimately sanctioned and incarcerated.

The percent of each cohort ever incarcerated is presented by race/ethnicity and sex in Table 1. Although there were very few persons who had been incarcerated from either the 1942 or the 1949 Cohorts, the numbers do indicate that the proportion of the Black and Chicano males incarcerated from each of these cohorts was much higher than the proportion of White males incarcerated. While chance may have played a part in these high percentages for the minority groups in these cohorts, the proportion of those who were Black or Chicano in the 1955 Cohort was sufficient that the high percentage of Blacks incarcerated could not be attributed to chance alone. When all three cohorts are combined we continue to see that a far larger percentage of the Blacks and Chicanos had either spent time in juvenile institutions, had been sentenced to jail, or had received prison terms than had the Whites.

In Diagram 1 the processes of attrition and continuation through the justice system are represented as they occur through the age of 17, as they

DIAGRAM 1. POLICE CONTACTS AND PROCESSING: ATTRITION AND CONTINUATION FROM COHORT MEMBERSHIP TO INSTITUTIONALIZATION (INCARCERATION)



CONTINUED

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TABLE 1. PERCENT OF EACH COHORT EVER INCARCERATED BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

	1942						1949						1955						Total	
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total			
	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White	15	4.4	2	.7	17	2.8	28	4.1	3	.6	31	2.6	48	5.0	8	.9	56	3.0	104	2.8
Black	1	6.7	--	----	1	5.0	11	25.0	2	5.1	13	15.7	25	23.6	3	3.5	28	14.6	42	14.2
Chicano	1	33.3	--	----	1	12.5	7	36.8	--	----	7	24.1	3	6.4	1	3.1	4	5.1	12	10.3
TOTAL	17	4.8	2	.7	19	3.0	46	6.2	5	.9	51	3.9	76	6.8	12	1.2	88	4.1	158	3.9

* N = number of persons incarcerated.

occur throughout the entire careers of the members of each cohort, and as continuation differentially affects the place of socialization and race/ethnic composition of those who are ultimately institutionalized or incarcerated. Similar data from police contacts to the administration of sanctions are presented in Table 2 with detailed statistics showing not only the percent who have reached each stage in the justice system at sometime in their careers but the percent of those who have reached a given stage and then gone on to the next stage at ages 17 and 18.

Table 2 enables the reader to take note of the relative similarity of police contact and referral data for the three cohorts where age is controlled, reveals that there has been an increase in the percentage who have had formal court dispositions for the 1955 Cohort, shows that formal sanctions have increased for the 1955 Cohort at the juvenile level, permits the reader to conclude that all cohorts are similar in terms of the percent who have been sanctioned of those who had formal dispositions as adults, and finally to conclude that there has been little or no increase in the use of incarceration, depending on the basis for comparison.[1] The discussion that follows is limited to the more simplified version presented in Diagram 1.

We should note that by the age of 17 less than 4% of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts had received court sanctions in comparison with almost 18% of the 1955 Cohort. During their entire careers about 18% of each of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts had received sanctions compared to 28% of the 1955 Cohort. Those who have been institutionalized during their careers were even fewer for each cohort with the largest percentage being 4.1 for the 1955 Cohort (also shown on Table 1.)[2]

TABLE 2. ATTRITION AND CONTINUATION THROUGH TOTAL CAREER AND AGES 17 AND 18

	1942	%	1949	%	1955	%
NUMBER IN COHORT	1352		2099		2676	
NUMBER WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE	633	46.8	1297	61.8	2149	80.3
With Police Contacts	434	68.6	897	69.2	1270	59.1
With Police Contacts thru Age 17	255	40.3	624	48.1	961	44.7
With Police Contacts thru Age 18	283	44.7	699	53.9	1071	49.8
With Referrals	237	37.4	476	36.7	722	33.6
% with Police Contacts Referred		54.6		53.1		56.8
With Referral thru Age 17	138	21.8	306	23.6	515	24.0
% with Police Contacts thru 17 Referred		54.1		49.0		53.6
With Referral thru Age 18	155	24.5	351	27.1	572	26.6
% with Police Contacts thru 18 Referred		54.8		50.2		53.4
With Court Dispositions	118	18.6	260	20.0	652	30.3
% with Contacts with Dispositions		27.2		29.0		51.3
% with Referrals with Dispositions		49.8		54.6		90.3
With Court Dispositions thru Age 17	22	3.5	54	4.2	438	20.4
% with Contacts with Dispositions		5.1		6.0		34.5
% with Referrals with Dispositions		9.3		11.3		60.7
% with Contacts thru 17 with Dispositions		8.6		8.7		45.6
% with Referrals thru 17 with Dispositions		15.9		17.6		86.0
With Court Dispositions thru Age 18	72	11.4	142	10.9	514	23.9
% with Contacts with Dispositions		16.6		15.8		40.5
% with Referrals with Dispositions		30.4		29.8		71.2
% with Contacts thru 18 with Dispositions		25.4		20.3		48.0
% with Referrals thru 18 with Dispositions		46.4		40.4		89.9
With Sanctions	116	18.3	241	18.6	607	28.2
% with Contacts with Sanctions		26.7		26.9		47.8
% with Referrals with Sanctions		48.9		50.4		84.1
% with Dispositions with Sanctions		98.3		92.7		93.1
With Sanctions thru Age 17	21	3.3	51	3.9	383	17.8
% with Contacts thru 17 with Sanctions		8.2		8.2		39.8
% with Referrals thru 17 with Sanctions		15.2		16.7		74.4
% with Dispositions thru 17 with Sanctions		17.8		19.6		58.7
With Sanctions thru Age 18	70	11.1	131	10.1	468	21.8
% with Contacts thru 18 with Sanctions		24.7		18.7		43.7
% with Referrals thru 18 with Sanctions		45.2		37.3		81.8
% with Dispositions thru 18 with Sanctions		97.2		92.2		91.0
Incarcerated	19	3.0	51	3.9	88	4.1
% with Contacts with Incarceration		4.4		5.7		6.9
% with Referrals with Incarceration		8.0		10.7		12.2
% with Dispositions with Incarceration		16.1		19.6		13.5
% with Sanctions with Incarceration		16.4		21.2		14.5

What is more pertinent, however, is the fact that 36.8% of the 1942 Cohort had been socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas but 42.1% of those who had been institutionalized in that cohort were from these areas. While the percent who have been institutionalized from those in inner city and interstitial areas was essentially the same as the percent of all who had been institutionalized, the data suggest that the probability of being institutionalized is greater if socialized in the inner city. Further, we find that while 90.1% of those who were socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas were White, only 75.0% of those from the area who were institutionalized were White. Since these are relatively small numbers from the 1942 Cohort we turn to the larger 1949 Cohort and find that while only 33.5% were socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas, 64.7% of those who were institutionalized were from that area. We also note that 7.3% of those from the inner city and interstitial areas were institutionalized in comparison to 3.9% of the total cohort. We find an even larger difference in the race/ethnic composition of those socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas of the city with 77.7% of those socialized in the area being White but only 45.5% of those institutionalized being White. The Blacks made up over twice as large a proportion of those from the inner city who were institutionalized as their proportion of persons socialized there. The Chicano difference was even greater proportionately.

Moving on to the 1955 Cohort we note that 26.7% of its members were socialized in the inner city but 56.8% of those who were institutionalized had been socialized there, an even greater difference than found for the

1949 Cohort. Of those socialized in the inner city 62.0% were White but of those institutionalized from the inner city only 40.0% were White. Again, proportionately twice as many Blacks from the inner city were institutionalized as their proportion socialized there, but in this case the Chicanos as well as the Whites were institutionalized disproportionately less than would be expected. We also note that while only 4.1% of the total cohort had been institutionalized, 8.2% of those socialized in the inner city had had this experience.

It is thus apparent that the processes of attrition and continuation result in disproportional numbers of persons from the inner city and interstitial areas being institutionalized and that the disproportional race/ethnic composition of the inner city results in Blacks making up a highly disproportional percentage of those who have ever been institutionalized. It, of course, could be turned around and stated that the Blacks are more likely to be institutionalized and that their disproportionate numbers in the inner city and interstitial areas has generated the disproportional institutionalization of persons socialized in these areas.[3]

For this reason we turn to Table 3 to determine if rates of incarceration are consistently higher for those who reside in the inner city and interstitial areas regardless of race/ethnicity and to see if there are differences within the White groups (this cannot be done for each race/ethnic group) on a basis of the area in which they were socialized. In the top section of Table 3 the data are presented without controls for race/ethnicity and here we note that in each cohort a higher percentage of those socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas were at one time or another incar-

TABLE 3. PERCENT OF EACH COHORT EVER INCARCERATED AND PERCENT OF THOSE EVER SANCTIONED WHO WERE INCARCERATED BY NATURAL AREA OF SOCIALIZATION AND RACE/ETHNICITY

	Area of Socialization							
	Inner City and Interstitial Areas				Outlying Areas			
Cohort	Number of Persons	Percent Incarcerated	Number of Persons Sanctioned	Percent Incarcerated	Number of Persons	Percent Incarcerated	Number of Persons Sanctioned	Percent Incarcerated
1942	246	3.3	53	15.1	269	2.6	47	14.9
1949	449	7.3	118	30.0	675	2.3	116	13.8
1955	612	8.2	256	19.5	1098	2.2	277	8.7
1942								
White	220	2.7	46	13.0	268	2.6	47	14.9
1949								
White	345	4.3	80	18.8	668	2.1	116	13.8
Black	80	16.2	27	48.1	----	----	----	----
Chicano	24	20.8	11	45.4	----	----	----	----
1955								
White	360	5.5	126	19.5	1085	2.1	270	8.5
Black	189	14.2	98	27.5	----	----	----	----
Chicano	63	4.8	32	9.4	----	----	----	----

cerated. This is not surprising, of course, since we have noted some relationship of seriousness of careers to being socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas. While the inner city/outlying areas difference is relatively small for the 1942 Cohort it is considerable for both the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts.

In the lower section of Table 3 controls are introduced for race/ethnicity (Blacks and Chicanos are dropped from comparisons involving outlying areas) and here we note that the proportion of Whites ever incarcerated is higher among those socialized in the inner city areas than it is among those socialized in the outlying areas. Race/ethnic differences within the group from each cohort who were socialized in the inner city were even greater in some respects. In the 1949 Cohort almost four times as large a percentage of the Blacks and five times as large a percentage of the Chicanos who resided in the inner city areas were incarcerated at one time or another as were the Whites. This difference between Whites and Blacks in the 1955 Cohort was slightly less but the percentage of Chicanos incarcerated is slightly less than that of even the Whites. This is particularly interesting since overall a higher percentage of the Chicanos had been incarcerated from the 1955 Cohort than had the Whites.

In the next two columns of the table we are concerned with the percent who were incarcerated of those ever-sanctioned. The findings without control for race/ethnicity and sex indicate that about the same proportion of those who resided in the inner city areas as in outlying areas were incarcerated in the 1942 Cohort but in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts the proportion was twice as high among those who were socialized in the inner city areas. Essentially

what this means is that socialization in the inner city, for one reason or another including seriousness of offenses for which persons were sanctioned, resulted in more severe sanctions for them than for those who were socialized in outlying areas. When the same data are presented for all cohorts with controls for race/ethnicity we find that the proportion of Whites incarcerated was slightly higher for those socialized in outlying areas, but only slightly more so. In the 1949 Cohort the difference is again indicative of more severe sanctions for Whites socialized in the inner city and even more indicative of severe sanctions for Whites in the 1955 Cohort where the percentage of those sanctioned who were incarcerated is more than twice as great for persons from the inner city areas than from outlying areas. Examining the same data on the basis of race/ethnicity for the 1949 Cohort reveals a much higher proportion incarcerated among those sanctioned who were inner city Blacks and Chicanos than were inner city Whites. And in the 1955 Cohort we again find that although proportionately more of the Blacks than the Whites received institutionalization, the proportion of Chicanos institutionalized was lower than that of Whites or Blacks.

Whatever the shortcomings of Tables 1 and 3 because of relatively few Blacks and Chicanos in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, one thing stands out and that is the disproportionate number of Blacks who were incarcerated. While it is apparent that differences in the proportion incarcerated are greater for those socialized in the inner city areas than in outlying areas, these differences are not as consistent as the differences found on a basis of race/ethnicity. Although it is obvious that in some respects Chicanos were more severely dealt with than Whites, the consistent difference regardless of

cohort or control is between Blacks and Whites.

THE EFFECTS OF INCARCERATION ON LATER SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS

Although we have dealt with the effects of sanctions on the seriousness of police contact records after the juvenile period, we have not considered each cohort in terms of differences based on no sanctions, sanctions less serious than incarceration, and incarceration. Different age cutting points have been selected for each segment of Table 4. Age 21 was selected for the 1942 Cohort in order to maximize the number of persons who would have been sanctioned before the age for which before and after mean seriousness scores were calculated. Ages 18 and 21 were utilized for the 1949 Cohort (to compare results for two cutting points) and age 18 for the 1955 Cohort, the latter in order to maximize time after age 18 for developing seriousness scores.

The 1942 Cohort segment of the table indicates that for the total cohort there was a reduction in after-age seriousness for those who had been incarcerated before 21 but with controls for seriousness before 21 those with prior high seriousness who had been incarcerated had about the same after 21 seriousness as those who had been sanctioned but not incarcerated, both however being almost double that for those who had not been sanctioned. For males with high seriousness prior to 21, those who had been incarcerated had higher seriousness scores than those who had been sanctioned but not incarcerated and both had considerably higher seriousness scores than those who had not been sanctioned.

When the same age cutting point was utilized for the 1949 Cohort the overall after-age seriousness scores were again lower for those who had been

TABLE 4. MEAN SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS PRIOR TO AGE COMPARED TO MEAN SERIOUSNESS AFTER AGE BY SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS BEFORE AGE

	1942 Cohort Sanctions Before Age 21				1949 Cohort Sanctions Before Age 18			
	No Sanctions	Sanctions: No Incarceration	Incarceration	Total	No Sanctions	Sanctions: No Incarceration	Incarceration	Total
Seriousness								
Before Age	3.0	20.9	31.9	5.7	3.6	24.7	57.7	5.0
After Age	3.4	19.9	21.2	5.8	5.1	38.1	42.3	6.5
Seriousness After Age								
Low Before*	1.8	5.2	---**	1.8	2.7	---	---	2.7
High Before	12.9	20.9	21.2	16.9	15.6	38.1	43.6	19.9
Seriousness After Age								
High Before:Males	13.4	20.8	25.8	17.5	15.8	38.7	47.7	20.4
Females	7.4	---	---	8.9	13.8	---	---	15.7
Seriousness After Age								
High Before:White	9.6	19.8	18.6	14.7	13.3	30.8	50.0	17.2
Black	48.4	---	---	46.3	26.8	80.8	---	35.6
Chicano	---	---	---	---	28.4	---	---	24.4
	1949 Cohort Sanctions Before Age 21				1955 Cohort Sanctions Before Age 18			
Seriousness								
Before Age	3.8	21.1	68.3	8.0	1.7	20.8	93.7	6.4
After Age	1.9	8.4	27.0	3.5	2.2	12.4	26.8	4.3
Seriousness After Age								
Low Before	1.0	2.6	---	1.0	1.6	4.8	---	1.7
High Before	5.9	8.7	27.0	9.3	8.9	14.7	26.8	13.6
Seriousness After Age								
High Before:Males	6.5	8.3	28.3	9.8	10.2	16.9	26.2	15.5
Females	3.5	12.2	---	6.2	6.0	5.7	29.3	7.4
Seriousness After Age								
High Before:White	4.9	7.9	26.8	7.9	7.0	12.3	16.2	10.6
Black	9.7	21.5	36.0	17.1	14.5	27.9	35.8	24.3
Chicano	20.8	4.3	17.4	13.1	15.5	12.9	---	17.0

*Low Before less than 7 on seriousness scale.
** --- = less than 5 persons in cohort category.

incarcerated but in this case the scores were higher for those who had been sanctioned but not incarcerated. However, with controls for seriousness of prior career, those who had been incarcerated had higher after-age seriousness scores than those who had not, males and females combined and males alone. When age 21 was selected as the cutting point after-age seriousness was considerably lower in all groups but the difference between those incarcerated and others was greater than in other comparisons for the entire group, for males, and for Whites and Blacks. The Chicano pattern differed in that those who had not been sanctioned had the highest after 21 seriousness scores.

We find the overall pattern of the 1955 Cohort similar to that of the 1949 Cohort with age 18 as the cutting point and, although the mean after-age seriousness scores are not the same, the pattern of differences is similar except that there were too few incarcerated Chicanos for an after-age mean seriousness score for them.

One must conclude that the data in Table 4 present little support for the idea that incarceration as a juvenile deters people from continuing to accumulate fairly high seriousness scores as adults. On the other hand, a more precise answer to the question of what are the consequences of incarceration awaits analysis with even more stringent controls, but here the number of persons incarcerated makes this difficult except with the 1955 Cohort.[4] Before leaving the subject, however, we shall briefly examine the extent to which incarceration prior to age 18 is related to incarceration after that age with some control for seriousness of reasons for police contact.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE SANCTIONS TO ADULT SANCTIONS

The data in Table 5 have been taken from a series of tables which control for seriousness of reasons for police contacts ages 6-17, a series which reveals the level of sanctions imposed during ages 6-17 and 18 or older and the relationship of prior to age to after age level. The percentages in each segment of the table reveal that even with controls for seriousness of reasons for contacts ages 6-17 there were previously unsanctioned persons whose behavior resulted in incarceration after that age (no more than 11.5%) but that from 20% to 28% of those who were incarcerated during the earlier period had this experience after 18. In each case, however, with the percentages larger for the 1949 Cohort than the 1942 Cohort (zero to 5% for the 1942 Cohort and 15% to 20% of the 1949 Cohort), some who were incarcerated had failed to engage in sufficiently serious behavior to again have that experience. Overall, however, the various segments of this table suggest that sanctions and, more specifically, incarceration do not break the continuity in careers of those who receive them but that persons with the same levels of seriousness of behavior prior to 18 who have *not* been sanctioned apparently modify their behavior in such a manner that very few are sanctioned after age 18.

While it may be stretching the point somewhat to continue in this vein, it is peculiar indeed that fewer of those in each group who received no sanctions ages 6-17 have also failed to behave in such a fashion as to be incarcerated after age 18 while such larger proportions of those from the same group who have been sanctioned or incarcerated during the juvenile period are sanctioned and incarcerated as adults. As we have indicated, relatively few

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS 6-17 TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS 18 OR OLDER WITH CONTROLS FOR SERIOUSNESS OF BEHAVIOR 6-17: 1949 AND 1955 COHORTS

	Severity of Sanctions Age 18 or +				
	No Sanctions	Non-Institutionalized	Institutionalized	Total %	N
1949 COHORT					
No Control for Contact Seriousness 6-17					
No Sanctions	83.4	14.8	1.8	100.0	1243
Non-Institutionalized	8.8	61.8	29.4	100.0	34
Institutionalized	5.0	70.0	25.0	100.0	20
	1041	219	37		1297
	Pearson's R .3978		Lambda .1211		
High Seriousness Scores 6-17					
No Sanctions	47.6	45.9	6.4	99.9	233
Non-Institutionalized	9.4	62.5	28.1	100.0	32
Institutionalized	5.3	73.7	21.1	100.1	19
	115	141	28		284
	Pearson's R .3255		Lambda .0280		
Fel. or Maj. Misdem. 6-17					
No Sanctions	53.5	37.7	8.8	100.0	159
Non-Institutionalized	13.0	60.9	26.1	100.0	23
Institutionalized	5.9	70.6	23.5	100.0	17
	89	86	24		199
	Pearson's R .3336		Lambda .2000		
Felonies 6-17					
No Sanctions	51.9	36.5	11.5	99.9	52
Non-Institutionalized	18.8	56.3	25.0	100.0	16
Institutionalized	.0	75.0	25.0	100.0	16
	30	40	14		84
	Pearson's R .3910		Lambda .1818		
1955 COHORT					
No Control for Contact Seriousness 6-17					
No Sanctions	87.5	11.7	.8	100.0	1715
Non-Institutionalized	39.0	51.1	9.8	99.9	397
Institutionalized	21.6	51.4	27.0	100.0	37
	1663	423	63		2149
	Pearson's R .4911		Lambda .1214		
High Seriousness Scores 6-17					
No Sanctions	56.2	39.2	4.6	100.0	130
Non-Institutionalized	31.3	55.5	13.3	100.1	256
Institutionalized	21.6	51.4	27.0	100.0	37
	161	212	50		423
	Pearson's R .2732		Lambda .1043		
Fel. or Maj. Misdem. 6-17					
No Sanctions	62.5	33.1	4.4	100.0	136
Non-Institutionalized	33.5	52.0	14.5	100.0	221
Institutionalized	19.4	52.8	27.8	100.0	36
	166	179	48		393
	Pearson's R .3213		Lambda .1869		
Felonies 6-17					
No Sanctions	69.8	25.6	4.7	100.1	43
Non-Institutionalized	31.4	52.6	16.1	100.1	137
Institutionalized	15.6	56.3	28.1	100.0	32
	78	101	33		212
	Pearson's R .3414		Lambda .1712		

from each cohort have been incarcerated, controls for seriousness ages 6-17 have not been fine-tuned, and there has been no control for seriousness after 18, but even then it is apparent that non-sanctioned, non-institutionalized, and institutionalized (incarcerated) persons differ in terms of their sanctioning experience after 18. Those who had been sanctioned and those who had been incarcerated as juveniles were more likely to be incarcerated as adults. As in most other tables there is little improvement in predictability over the marginals, but this is not the crucial point in this type of analysis.

SUMMARY

The data in this chapter reveal that persons socialized in the inner city and its interstitial areas and Blacks in particular were more likely to have been incarcerated than Whites socialized in outlying areas. Step by step the processes of continuation and contact worked to place a disproportional number of inner city Blacks in institutions before the age of 18 and to continue to place them in institutions after that age. As the data indicate, this is a function of the interaction of place of socialization, race, response to intervention, and, even more specifically, to severity of sanctions including incarceration.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Prior to 1966 Juvenile Court was held one half day per week. This period was set aside for more serious juvenile matters. Other juvenile cases were handled informally by one person from Juvenile Probation. No records were kept of these cases and their dispositions. The new juvenile court judge increased the schedule for juvenile court to two days per week and then to three days per week. These changes came after the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts were no longer juveniles so that only the 1955 Cohort benefitted from the increasing amount of time spent hearing juvenile cases and the record system which now covered most of those juveniles who were actually referred to the court. The Juvenile Court judge believes that between the 1942 and 1949 vs. 1955 Cohort the difference in percent with dispositions and percent with sanctions may be explained by this major change in the Juvenile Court.

[2] The figure that may be used for comparison with other juvenile courts from counties of 50,000 population or over is the percent of those who have been referred who have also been incarcerated, i.e., the overall commitment rate. This average rate for 253 juvenile courts in the United States in a 1974 survey was 5%. This rate for Racine was 8.6% for the 1942 Cohort, 6.5% for the 1949 Cohort, and 7.2% for the 1955 Cohort (that cohort whose historical position was most comparable). While the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections survey was based on dispositions of juveniles in the juvenile courts at that time and the cohort data refer to the percent of those referred who had ever been incarcerated through the age of 17. While this is a different statistic, it does suggest that the commitment rate in Racine is close to the national average. See Michael Sosin, *Juvenile Court Commitment Rates: The National Picture*. A Discussion Paper of the Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin - Madison, DP# 550-79, 1979.

[3] Thornberry has utilized the Philadelphia data, controlling for seriousness of offense and recidivism, to demonstrate that more severe sentences are meted out to Blacks and low SES members of the cohort. See Terrence P. Thornberry, "Race, Socioeconomic Status and Sentencing in the Juvenile Justice

System," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 64 (1973): 90-98.

4 Very few studies have been designed in such a fashion to give a definitive answer to the question of what are the consequences of incarceration although those that have attempted to introduce appropriate controls conclude that incarceration does not work. For one of the more definitive studies see Andrew Hopkins, "Imprisonment and Recidivism: A Quasi-Experimental Study," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 13 (1976):13-32. Hopkins concludes that incarceration may actually be worse than non-institutional treatment.

Chapter 16. The Generation of Official Careers as Part of the Decision-Making Process

FROM NEIGHBORHOOD TO INSTITUTION

By now we know that some young people from some neighborhoods have a much higher probability of ending in a juvenile institution, reformatory, or the state penitentiary than do others. We also know that the probability is greater for inner city minority group males than for any other status group.

Persons on the firing line would like more specific information as early as possible about who is most likely to continue their behavior in such a fashion as to ultimately be incarcerated in an adult institution in order to effectively intervene. A considerable segment of the public shares this goal, i.e., they see intervention as a step which may decrease the probability of ultimate incarceration. There is, of course, another segment of the public that would like to see intervention as a means for immediately reducing the amount of delinquency (crime) by removal of the juvenile from the community and commitment to an institution. Whichever goal is to be implemented by intervention, one must first know more about the systematic linkages from neighborhood to institution in order to determine if various measures of frequency and seriousness of contacts at different stages in the juvenile and adult justice systems enable the prediction of future behavior with sufficient accuracy to justify intervention.

The data in several earlier chapters have indicated that while there are relatively substantial correlations between number and seriousness of contacts and number of referrals through several given ages and the same measures during the period following, relatively little improvement in predictive efficiency

may be made over the modal category of the marginals (in the 2 x 2 case) or the distribution of the marginals in other cases. While from a practical or perhaps legalistic viewpoint we are concerned about the relationship in terms of stages or decision points in the juvenile and adult justice processes, the age or ages at which the relationship between past and future behavior is the greatest is also of concern in terms of understanding the processes of attrition and continuation.

We have shown that each cohort has a high degree of attrition by its members, i.e., discontinuation of police contacts after the teenage peaks. There are, however, those who continue to have police contacts, referrals, court appearances, and sanctions as a consequence of their behavior or a combination of their behavior and recognition as juveniles in need of special attention and formal processing within the system. We have shown that there are differences between the inner city and interstitial areas and outlying areas of the community in frequency of contacts, seriousness of contacts, rate of referral, and so on, when considering either place of activity or place of residence of those who have had contacts and referrals. While these differences between inner city and interstitial areas and outlying areas of the community have not always been substantial at each step in the process from contact to institutionalization, they have been consistent from one analysis to the other.

Whichever way it is, as we have shown, it is apparent that the process of attrition for some and continuation for others works differently for persons with different statuses. Being socialized and probably continuing to reside in the inner city and/or being a minority group member are obviously statuses which have important effects in the process by which some proceed

through the juvenile and adult justice systems to institutions disproportionally more than do those not of these statuses.

THE CHAIN OF RELATIONSHIPS

The interrelationships of past (including the present age) vs. future number and seriousness of police contacts, referrals, court dispositions, and severity of sanctions are represented in Diagram 1 by a series of Pearsonian coefficients of correlation. There are also selected examples of the relationship of measures at the ages of 17 or 19 to future measures and the relationship of measures based on past ages to present age. After examining this diagram we shall turn to more detailed tables which present the data for ages 15 through 21, go a step further with correlations for males, and then one step further with correlations for only those males who live in the inner city and its interstitial areas. Thus, it will be seen, Chapter 16 builds upon Chapter 15 but goes further in controlling for sex and examining differences in continuity at various mid-teen ages to the age of 21.

In order to describe how this process works differently by sex and area of socialization we shall also compare age by age correlation tables for males and females and finally for males who were socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas vs. outlying areas. We are interested in determining if there is not only more continuity step-by-step within the system for males than for females but if (as we would expect) there is more continuity among those socialized in the inner city and interstitial area. Selected tables will be included with the text of this chapter and others in Appendix O.

We have chosen the age of 17 for some of the correlations presented in Diagram 1 because juveniles have had sufficient experience through that age that the correlations are not based on data highly skewed towards no contacts

DIAGRAM 1. SELECTED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS, NUMBER OF REFERRALS, NUMBER OF COURT DISPOSITIONS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS: PEARSON'S COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATIONS FOR ALL COHORTS*

Number Past Contacts x Number Present Age 17
.50 .50 .49

Number Referrals thru 17 x Number Contacts in Future
.47 .50 .50

Number Dispositions Age 19 x Dispositions in Future
.44 .40 .40

Number Contacts thru 17 x Severity of Sanctions in Future
.42 .44 .46

Number Contacts Age 17 x Number in Future
.38 .46 .44

Number Contacts thru 17 x Number Referrals in Future
.50 .51 .51

Number Contacts thru 17 x Number Dispositions in Future
.53 .53 .54

Number Dispositions thru 19 x Number Contacts in Future
.41 .44 .50

Severity Sanctions thru 19 x Number Contacts in Future
.32 .38 .41

Number Contacts thru 17 x Number Contacts in Future
.55 .59 .57

Number Referrals thru 17 x Number Referrals in Future
.45 .52 .52

Number Court Dispositions thru 19 x Number Dispositions in Future
.62 .58 .52

Seriousness Contacts Referred thru 19 x Severity Sanctions in Future
.39 .44 .40

Severity Sanctions thru 19 x Severity Sanctions in Future
.55 .51 .42

Seriousness thru 17 x Seriousness in Future
.54 .55 .51

Seriousness Past x Seriousness Present Age 17
.46 .45 .44

Seriousness thru 17 x Number Referrals in Future
.46 .44 .43

Seriousness thru 17 x Number Dispositions in Future
.54 .50 .48

Number Dispositions age 19 x Seriousness in Future
.31 .33 .36

Severity Sanctions thru 19 x Seriousness in Future
.30 .36 .39

Seriousness Age 17 x Seriousness Future
.38 .47 .42

Number Referrals thru 17 x Seriousness in Future
.45 .47 .45

Number Dispositions thru 19 x Seriousness in Future
.37 .42 .49

Seriousness thru 17 x Severity Sanctions in Future
.40 .41 .40

* Coefficients presented in order under each heading: 1942, 1949, and 1955.

or the very low seriousness scores of their early years. On variables which were highly skewed toward the low end of the continuum, such as cohort dispositions or severity of sanctions prior to age, the age of 19 was selected. A discussion of improvement in predictive efficiency over the marginals will be included at the time that more detailed tables are discussed. It will be sufficient at this point to examine the Pearsonian coefficients of correlation in order to obtain some notion of the relationships of past to future behavior, past behavior to present behavior, and present behavior to future behavior.

What we immediately notice is that the number of contacts through the age of 17 and the number of future contacts have correlations roughly similar to those for seriousness of contacts through 17 and seriousness of contacts in the future for each cohort. Likewise, the number and seriousness of past contacts have correlations roughly similar to those for number and seriousness of present contacts and the number and seriousness of contacts at age 17 have similar correlations to those for number and seriousness of future contacts. When measuring the relationship of past to present or present to future, the correlations are, of course, lower than those obtained when relating past to future. This is a function of the fact that a given year's experience is not as representative of a person's overall behavior as is the sum of their past behavior or the sum of their future behavior. As we progress across the diagram this becomes even clearer.

At the next stage we find another set of similar correlations for each cohort. The interesting thing to note here is that just a seriousness of past contacts had about the same or a slightly lower correlation with seriousness in the future as did the number of past contacts with future contact, seriousness of contacts in the past has about the same or a lower correlation

with future referrals as do number of contacts and referrals.

The next column of correlations in the diagram includes a variety of correlations of past and present contacts, referrals, and court statuses with future statuses, all through the age of 17 except past court dispositions which are through the age of 19. Although the number of past dispositions is generally more highly correlated with the number of future dispositions than is the case for other combinations of variables, the differences are not sufficient to prevent us from saying, whether we are speaking of number of past contacts, seriousness of past contacts, past referrals, or past dispositions, that there is essentially the same amount of variance between the independent variable and the dependent variable which measures future involvement with the juvenile system.

In the next column we deal with past dispositions and dispositions at the age of 19 vs. dispositions in the future and number and seriousness of contacts in the future. Here again we find that the correlations between behavior at 19 and in the future are generally lower than their parallel correlations based on past vs. future behavior.

Seriousness of past contacts referred and severity of sanctions in the future produces a set of correlations which ties in with the last column of correlations in this diagram.

Here we note that severity of past sanctions has a positive but comparatively low correlation with the number and seriousness of contacts in the future, that number and seriousness of past contacts have generally higher correlations with severity of sanctions in the future, but that the highest correlations are between severity of past sanctions and severity of future sanctions.

Perhaps most interesting is the fact that the number of past dispositions by the number of future dispositions and the severity of past sanctions by severity of future sanctions declined from the 1942 Cohort to the 1955 Cohort consistently and that these are the only two sets of correlations showing a consistent decline from cohort to cohort. This decline is apparently related to the progressively increasing proportion of persons who receive formal dispositions and the progressive increase in severity of these sanctions, an increase apparently unrelated to the previous recorded court experiences of persons through the age of 19.

What we must conclude is that while there is a correlation between each measure and every other measure, those which involve past formal court action vs. court action in the future are generally higher than those which involve formal court action vs. police action (recorded contacts or the seriousness of contacts) in the future. And those which involve police action in the past vs. police action in the future are higher than those which involve police actions and court action. There is a suggestion here that police actions in reference to persons in each cohort are more consistently related than police actions and court actions and that court actions in reference to persons in each cohort are more consistently related than court actions vs. police actions. Thus, there may be more consistency based on the view that police have developed their definitions of people in each cohort as delinquent or criminal types and that the courts are operating on a different set of data, namely their records of the behavior of persons in each cohort. Since the range of correlations to which we refer is not really great this must be taken only as a suggestion at present.

Let us now turn to an examination of the more detailed tables for each of the sets of correlations presented in Diagram 1. In Table 1 we note that almost without exception the correlations for ages 15 through 17 for males are lower than the correlations for the cohort as a whole.[1] This is because the range in number of contacts for the males and females combined is greater than for the males alone. And with the exception of the 1942 Cohort the correlations for inner city and interstitial area males are about the same or a bit lower than those for all males. Even the asymmetric measure, Somers' D, suggests that there is relatively little difference in the pattern of correlations as we proceed from the total cohort to the males to interstitial area males, except for the 1942 Cohort. These higher relationships are likewise reflected in Lambda where we find that knowledge of the number of past contacts reduces errors of prediction to number of future contacts by over 20% commencing at the age of 17 for inner city and interstitial area males.

Similarly, when seriousness of past contacts is related to seriousness of future contacts we find these differences in the correlations produced by the total cohort, the males, and the inner city and interstitial area males. Again, for the 1942 Cohort, Lambda is considerably higher at the older ages for males who were socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas.

While the relationship between contacts, either number of seriousness, through an age and number and seriousness after that age increases from the age of 15 through 21 for the 1942 Cohort (although not consistently), the highest correlation for the 1949 Cohort comes at the age of 17 or 18 and that for the 1955 Cohort declines fairly consistently after the age of 16 or 17, the latter an artifact of the relatively fewer years of experience after the late teens for the 1955 Cohort. The asymmetrical measure of association,

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF PAST CONTACTS TO NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS IN THE FUTURE FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

	Number of Past Contacts by Number of Contacts in Future									Seriousness of Past Contacts by Seriousness of Contacts in Future								
	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.47	.49	.56	.63	.48	.50	.19	.16	.13	.47	.45	.48	.58	.44	.46	.21	.21	.20
16	.53	.55	.58	.56	.47	.46	.20	.17	.12	.52	.50	.51	.54	.44	.43	.27	.23	.20
17	.55	.59	.57	.50	.47	.42	.19	.14	.09	.54	.55	.51	.49	.45	.40	.26	.24	.16
18	.59	.59	.54	.50	.44	.36	.17	.13	.04	.55	.55	.48	.49	.43	.35	.26	.21	.05
19	.58	.58	.50	.47	.42	.30	.12	.11	.00	.55	.54	.46	.47	.41	.30	.23	.18	.00
20	.60	.55	.40	.46	.38	.22	.15	.01	.00	.56	.50	.38	.46	.37	.22	.22	.11	.00
21	.58	.52	---	.44	.34	---	.12	.00	---	.54	.46	---	.44	.33	---	.19	.0	---
Males																		
Age 15	.40	.45	.54	.46	.41	.49	.00	.13	.19	.40	.40	.46	.39	.37	.42	.00	.03	.24
16	.46	.53	.56	.45	.44	.46	.09	.20	.17	.46	.47	.49	.42	.41	.41	.01	.17	.29
17	.48	.57	.54	.43	.46	.42	.14	.21	.12	.49	.53	.49	.43	.45	.41	.10	.25	.23
18	.53	.57	.53	.44	.45	.38	.17	.19	.06	.50	.53	.47	.45	.44	.38	.18	.30	.13
19	.52	.55	.49	.43	.43	.33	.21	.15	.00	.50	.51	.45	.44	.44	.34	.18	.24	.00
20	.54	.57	.39	.43	.39	.25	.20	.08	.00	.50	.46	.38	.45	.39	.25	.25	.14	.00
21	.52	.48	---	.41	.36	---	.17	.00	---	.48	.43	---	.43	.35	---	.25	.00	---
Inner City and Interstitial Area Males																		
Age 15	.48	.49	.54	.53	.46	.45	.04	.06	.10	.45	.45	.48	.40	.42	.38	.00	.00	.04
16	.56	.54	.55	.53	.47	.45	.15	.15	.19	.55	.50	.47	.46	.44	.39	.03	.09	.13
17	.63	.54	.56	.55	.44	.45	.21	.19	.27	.61	.50	.50	.51	.44	.44	.19	.15	.22
18	.67	.55	.52	.56	.45	.41	.27	.26	.19	.62	.52	.46	.55	.45	.41	.25	.23	.29
19	.67	.54	.48	.55	.45	.38	.29	.24	.05	.60	.51	.42	.53	.47	.39	.26	.27	.16
20	.70	.49	.38	.58	.40	.31	.36	.14	.00	.61	.45	.34	.57	.41	.31	.33	.20	.00
21	.67	.46	---	.56	.37	---	.34	.03	---	.58	.40	---	.54	.35	---	.32	.03	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of police contacts and seriousness scores collapsed 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or + respectively.

Somers' D, declines with age for all cohorts when based on the entire cohort from age to age, declines somewhat less when it involves only the males, and increases slightly for the 1942 males socialized in the inner city and interstitial area but declines for the 1949 and 1955 males. While little increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals is obtained for the total cohort or the males alone, it is apparent that at the age of 17 or 18 an increase of 20% or more in predictive efficiency may be obtained for those who were socialized in the inner city for each of the cohorts. And as we have previously indicated, the pattern for seriousness was similar to that for number of contacts with some reduction in errors possible at the age of 17 or 18 for each of the cohorts, particularly males or males socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas.

Tables of comparable correlations for number and seriousness for females and for males socialized outside the inner city and interstitial areas are included as Table 1 in Appendix O. Suffice it to say that the correlations for females were considerably lower than those for males and those for males outside the inner city were lower than those for males from the inner city. There was practically no increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals (as indicated by Lambda).

The main point that should be made is that although the proportional reduction of error obviously increases with age for the 1942 Cohort inner city males, predictions for all practical purposes in terms of intervention in the careers of youth can best be made around the age of 17 or 18. We are not saying that intervention will be effective but that simply this is the period before adulthood when the best prediction can be made. What we must again conclude is that police contacts and seriousness of police contacts alone do not

facilitate the prediction of future behavior at any early age for the use of persons involved in the decision-making process. The increase in predictive efficiency is not sufficient to justify use of early experience data as a predictive device.

Table 2 is an exposition of the data on the relationship of past contacts to present contacts and present contacts to future contacts, both number and seriousness of contacts. When we look at number and seriousness of past contacts by number and seriousness of present contacts, we note considerable similarity between the cohorts because the number of years after the behavior to be predicted has been eliminated. While there are differences, it is obvious that at the age of 17, for example, the statistics for all cohorts are almost identical whether we are discussing number or seriousness of contacts. However, there is absolutely no increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals for the simple reason that the best prediction is that no one will have a contact or, if they do have contacts, there will be very few or that seriousness will be very low during any given year.

When we turn to predicting the future from any given year there is some rather irregular variation from year to year, as would be expected considering the discontinuous nature of police contact experiences. Here again, however, we are predicting to the future and, with fewer years of experience after the present year, the greatest increase in predictive efficiency is for persons in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts with relatively less for the 1955 Cohort. Since the frequency of police contacts declines after the ages of 17 and 18, the increase of from 10-20% in predictive efficiency from present to future declines after that time for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.

In Table 3 we see the relationship of past and present referrals to

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS IN PAST TO PRESENT AND IN PRESENT TO FUTURE FOR TOTAL COHORT

	Number of Past Contacts by Number of Present Contacts									Seriousness of Past Contacts by Seriousness of Present Contacts								
	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.43	.56	.57	.34	.32	.31	.04	.04	.00	.37	.46	.48	.32	.31	.30	.00	.00	.00
16	.53	.51	.59	.42	.31	.35	.04	.01	.00	.48	.43	.50	.42	.29	.33	.00	.00	.02
17	.50	.50	.49	.33	.32	.29	.00	.00	.00	.46	.45	.44	.33	.31	.28	.00	.00	.00
18	.53	.45	.46	.34	.28	.26	.00	.00	.00	.54	.44	.42	.34	.28	.26	.00	.00	.00
19	.48	.42	.44	.28	.24	.23	.00	.00	.00	.44	.39	.39	.28	.23	.22	.00	.00	.00
20	.35	.41	.45	.22	.22	.24	.00	.00	.00	.36	.39	.42	.23	.22	.23	.00	.00	.00
21	.44	.40	.38	.22	.21	.21	.00	.00	.00	.41	.37	.37	.21	.21	.21	.00	.00	.00

	Number of Present Contacts by Number of Contacts in Future									Seriousness of Present Contacts by Seriousness of Contacts in Future								
	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.39	.38	.46	.63	.54	.58	.13	.13	.10	.37	.35	.39	.58	.49	.52	.13	.15	.15
16	.41	.44	.50	.51	.52	.52	.14	.13	.10	.40	.41	.43	.48	.48	.47	.19	.18	.16
17	.38	.46	.44	.44	.52	.47	.12	.11	.05	.38	.47	.42	.42	.51	.46	.16	.19	.12
18	.49	.44	.46	.61	.46	.42	.15	.08	.04	.47	.44	.43	.57	.46	.41	.20	.14	.09
19	.42	.45	.50	.55	.45	.44	.10	.07	.04	.41	.41	.47	.52	.42	.43	.14	.11	.09
20	.39	.46	.49	.50	.43	.40	.06	.06	.01	.39	.42	.53	.47	.42	.41	.11	.10	.07
21	.45	.48	---	.56	.44	---	.09	.04	---	.41	.44	---	.53	.44	---	.12	.09	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of police contacts and seriousness collapsed 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 or + and 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or + respectively.

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF PAST REFERRALS TO FUTURE REFERRALS AND PAST DISPOSITIONS TO FUTURE DISPOSITIONS FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

	Number of Past Referrals by Number of Referrals in Future									Number of Past Dispositions by Number of Dispositions in Future								
	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.35	.39	.53	.55	.58	.52	.03	.04	.06	.24	.17	.44	.66	.76	.63	.03	.02	.06
16	.40	.50	.54	.43	.50	.41	.03	.04	.04	.29	.32	.49	.62	.78	.57	.04	.05	.07
17	.45	.52	.52	.40	.37	.32	.04	.02	.01	.35	.35	.52	.70	.78	.50	.06	.06	.04
18	.52	.53	.48	.39	.35	.26	.04	.03	.00	.65	.54	.52	.74	.71	.43	.16	.07	.02
19	.52	.48	.47	.34	.30	.22	.04	.00	.00	.62	.58	.52	.65	.61	.37	.11	.07	.00
20	.55	.46	.34	.30	.27	.14	.04	.00	.00	.69	.57	.45	.66	.55	.27	.12	.03	.00
21	.54	.44	---	.34	.22	---	.05	.00	---	.70	.55	---	.60	.48	---	.09	.00	---
Males																		
Age 15	.31	.40	.53	.45	.59	.55	.04	.08	.09	.27	.17	.44	.84	.74	.63	.06	.02	.11
16	.35	.47	.54	.36	.47	.43	.04	.05	.07	.30	.30	.48	.83	.73	.55	.07	.09	.09
17	.40	.48	.53	.35	.34	.36	.05	.03	.04	.34	.33	.50	.74	.70	.49	.08	.07	.07
18	.48	.51	.48	.35	.33	.29	.06	.04	.00	.63	.53	.51	.72	.66	.45	.20	.09	.03
19	.49	.47	.49	.32	.31	.26	.05	.01	.00	.59	.57	.52	.60	.59	.40	.11	.10	.00
20	.51	.45	.34	.34	.28	.16	.04	.00	.00	.66	.55	.44	.64	.53	.29	.13	.04	.00
21	.50	.42	---	.33	.24	---	.05	.00	---	.69	.53	---	.58	.46	---	.09	.00	---
Inner City and Interstitial Males																		
Age 15	.38	.41	.52	.53	.56	.52	.12	.14	.16	.29	.22	.46	.82	.70	.57	.08	.04	.22
16	.42	.47	.53	.45	.46	.44	.08	.09	.13	.33	.32	.51	.83	.65	.55	.13	.08	.20
17	.47	.52	.58	.43	.33	.42	.07	.09	.13	.35	.37	.52	.82	.64	.50	.15	.10	.16
18	.51	.55	.51	.40	.36	.33	.09	.08	.04	.63	.54	.51	.73	.61	.44	.36	.17	.11
19	.52	.49	.52	.36	.32	.33	.11	.04	.00	.64	.58	.53	.70	.53	.43	.35	.16	.06
20	.54	.50	.34	.40	.33	.19	.15	.03	.00	.74	.50	.46	.77	.43	.36	.30	.06	.00
21	.54	.48	---	.37	.30	---	.10	.00	---	.73	.48	---	.72	.38	---	.30	.00	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of referrals and dispositions collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +.

number of referrals in the future and, while the correlations are slightly higher for males residing in the inner city than for the total cohort or for males alone (the difference is really not significant), there is little increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals, even less than in the tables based on number of contacts and seriousness of contacts. Turning to the number of past dispositions by the number of dispositions in the future, we find the 1942 Pearsonian correlations relatively higher in the later ages, having increased considerably for both the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts from the age of 15 onward, suggesting that past appearances in court become increasingly indicative of future court appearances. While these increases are not consistent, they are present. The 1955 Cohort shows no increase from age 15 to 20, the latest age for which a correlation could be computed considering the dropoff in dispositions after the age of 20. The asymmetric Somers' D's are very high at the early ages because those few who do have early dispositions are very likely to have future dispositions.

With few exceptions the correlations for females and for males socialized outside the inner city (see Table 2, Appendix O) were lower than their counterparts in Table 3. With even fewer exceptions Lambda indicated less proportional reduction in error over the marginals when predicting from the past to the future. The data also show that males socialized in the inner city who have court appearances in their late teens or immediately thereafter are more likely than others to continue to have court appearances. Generally lower correlations are generated when relating the number of dispositions at any single age to the number of future dispositions (tables not included).

Turning to Table 4 we expand the data on the relationship of past contacts and seriousness of past contacts to number of referrals in the future.

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF PAST CONTACTS TO NUMBER OF FUTURE REFERRALS FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

	Number of Past Contacts by Number of Referrals in Future									Seriousness of Past Contacts by Number of Referrals in Future								
	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.49	.54	.58	.51	.39	.40	.05	.07	.06	.51	.49	.52	.51	.38	.39	.08	.03	.01
16	.50	.55	.54	.42	.36	.34	.02	.05	.01	.50	.50	.48	.42	.35	.33	.01	.00	.00
17	.50	.51	.51	.33	.28	.28	.01	.00	.00	.46	.44	.43	.33	.28	.27	.00	.00	.00
18	.51	.50	.46	.32	.27	.23	.00	.00	.00	.47	.43	.39	.32	.26	.22	.00	.00	.00
19	.49	.44	.42	.28	.23	.18	.00	.00	.00	.44	.38	.34	.27	.22	.18	.00	.00	.00
20	.49	.40	.30	.28	.20	.11	.00	.00	.00	.43	.34	.26	.27	.19	.11	.00	.00	.00
21	.47	.35	---	.27	.17	---	.00	.00	---	.41	.29	---	.26	.16	---	.00	.00	---
Males																		
Age 15	.41	.53	.57	.40	.40	.41	.06	.10	.09	.43	.47	.52	.40	.38	.39	.09	.07	.05
16	.43	.53	.52	.37	.37	.34	.03	.08	.03	.42	.47	.46	.36	.36	.33	.02	.00	.00
17	.44	.48	.50	.31	.30	.32	.02	.00	.00	.39	.40	.43	.31	.28	.31	.01	.00	.00
18	.45	.47	.46	.32	.29	.28	.00	.00	.00	.41	.39	.39	.32	.28	.27	.00	.00	.00
19	.43	.41	.41	.28	.26	.23	.00	.00	.00	.38	.35	.34	.28	.25	.22	.00	.00	.00
20	.44	.37	.29	.30	.22	.13	.00	.00	.00	.37	.31	.24	.30	.21	.13	.00	.00	.00
21	.43	.32	---	.29	.19	---	.00	.00	---	.36	.26	---	.28	.18	---	.00	.00	---
Inner City and Interstitial Males																		
Age 15	.58	.58	.55	.52	.46	.42	.16	.19	.16	.53	.53	.52	.50	.46	.42	.24	.18	.12
16	.57	.56	.51	.49	.43	.39	.18	.16	.07	.52	.49	.48	.46	.42	.39	.14	.09	.00
17	.55	.51	.52	.43	.34	.39	.07	.03	.01	.51	.42	.45	.45	.33	.40	.03	.00	.00
18	.54	.50	.47	.43	.36	.35	.05	.00	.00	.48	.41	.39	.44	.34	.35	.00	.01	.00
19	.53	.42	.41	.40	.31	.30	.00	.00	.00	.44	.37	.32	.38	.31	.30	.02	.00	.00
20	.53	.40	.26	.42	.30	.17	.00	.00	.00	.45	.33	.20	.43	.28	.17	.00	.00	.00
21	.51	.35	---	.41	.27	---	.00	.00	---	.43	.28	---	.40	.23	---	.00	.00	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of contacts and referrals collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

Here, even more than in other cases, we find higher correlations for males socialized in the inner city compared to all males, with the ages of 15 through 18 having the highest correlations. And here we find the correlations are far higher for males who were socialized in the inner city than for those who were socialized in outer areas, just as the relationships were generally much lower for females than for males in each cohort (see Table 3, Appendix O). The greatest proportional reduction in error, particularly for males socialized in the inner city, occurs at the ages of 15 and 16 with relatively little or no reduction for older ages. In other words, frequency and seriousness of contacts through the early ages are most predictive (although the reduction in predictive error is less than 20%) of the number of referrals that a male in the inner city and interstitial areas will have in the future. The crucial point that must be remembered, however, is that we cannot say that it is totally a matter of the behavior of the juveniles for the referral process does result in a disproportional number of those residing in inner city receiving a referral for essentially the same behavior exhibited by those who reside outside this area and who do not receive a referral.

The correlations in Table 5 between number of past referrals and number and seriousness of contacts in the future are relatively similar. In both cases it appears that a buildup of referrals generates higher correlations for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts as the years go by and that persons who have frequent referrals are sufficiently likely to have later and more serious reasons for contact that errors of prediction for inner city males may be reduced by 20% or more for the later ages. This, however, is beyond the juvenile period so that the data are really of little more use than those which we have

previously presented in terms of predicting seriousness of adult careers from records of behavior in the late teens. Again, the various measures of association and proportional reduction in error were generally lower for the females than the males and lower for males socialized in outer areas than in the inner city (see Table 4, Appendix O).

Table 6 presents data on the number and seriousness of past contacts by number of dispositions in the future and, while both are correlated with dispositions in the future, give us (with several exceptions for males socialized in the inner city) little increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals. As in other cases there was even less or no increase in predictive efficiency for females or for males socialized in the inner city (see Table 5, Appendix O). Predicting number of dispositions in the future from the number of contacts at the present results, of course, in even less reduction in error (see Table 8).

While it may appear that we are being unduly critical of the data, the reader must be reminded that this project set out to determine if it was possible to predict future behavior from past behavior, which implies that the prediction should increase efficiency over that which could be obtained from the marginals.

In Table 7 we turn to number of past dispositions as a predictor of number and seriousness of contacts in the future. Since relatively few members of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts received dispositions at an early age and a large proportion of them had contacts at later ages whether they had early dispositions or not, the Pearsonian correlations are low at the age of 15 and increase only as it develops that larger proportions of the persons in these cohorts have had dispositions, persons who go on to have more contacts and

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF PAST REFERRALS TO NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF FUTURE CONTACTS FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

		Number of Past Referrals by Number of Contacts in Future									Number of Past Referrals by Seriousness of Contacts in Future								
		Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total		1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age	15	.32	.31	.45	.63	.63	.62	.09	.08	.10	.29	.27	.37	.59	.58	.57	.07	.09	.15
	16	.39	.42	.50	.56	.60	.55	.11	.14	.10	.36	.37	.43	.55	.57	.52	.15	.17	.16
	17	.47	.50	.50	.57	.59	.47	.15	.14	.08	.45	.47	.45	.57	.58	.47	.21	.22	.14
	18	.51	.51	.49	.55	.54	.41	.13	.09	.05	.48	.49	.44	.56	.54	.41	.21	.19	.09
	19	.52	.54	.51	.55	.52	.36	.12	.09	.02	.50	.51	.48	.55	.52	.37	.20	.15	.07
	20	.55	.54	.43	.54	.47	.27	.12	.07	.00	.53	.52	.44	.53	.48	.27	.17	.14	.00
	21	.57	.54	---	.52	.42	---	.11	.04	---	.54	.53	---	.53	.43	---	.16	.11	---
Males																			
Age	15	.28	.30	.45	.49	.57	.62	.00	.00	.16	.25	.26	.36	.43	.50	.53	.00	.00	.14
	16	.35	.40	.50	.44	.54	.56	.00	.13	.15	.33	.36	.42	.44	.51	.50	.00	.03	.25
	17	.42	.48	.49	.46	.53	.47	.06	.20	.11	.41	.46	.44	.47	.53	.46	.00	.23	.20
	18	.46	.48	.48	.46	.48	.41	.12	.14	.07	.45	.47	.43	.47	.49	.40	.06	.28	.14
	19	.48	.51	.52	.46	.48	.38	.17	.11	.03	.47	.50	.48	.47	.49	.38	.13	.23	.10
	20	.51	.50	.42	.46	.44	.29	.16	.08	.00	.51	.51	.45	.48	.45	.29	.20	.16	.00
	21	.53	.52	---	.45	.40	---	.15	.06	---	.52	.52	---	.47	.42	---	.22	.13	---
Inner City and Interstitial Males																			
Age	15	.32	.36	.46	.50	.57	.53	.00	.00	.03	.26	.29	.38	.38	.44	.43	.00	.00	.00
	16	.37	.42	.51	.45	.50	.50	.00	.00	.16	.34	.37	.43	.41	.44	.43	.00	.00	.01
	17	.47	.46	.52	.51	.45	.44	.11	.12	.22	.44	.44	.48	.46	.43	.42	.00	.04	.15
	18	.50	.49	.48	.48	.46	.38	.13	.22	.16	.46	.47	.43	.45	.44	.36	.03	.18	.23
	19	.52	.52	.52	.47	.47	.39	.19	.24	.12	.49	.49	.49	.45	.46	.38	.13	.24	.23
	20	.57	.51	.42	.51	.43	.30	.24	.14	.00	.54	.49	.47	.50	.42	.32	.22	.20	.09
	21	.59	.51	---	.51	.40	---	.27	.10	---	.56	.51	---	.49	.40	---	.23	.18	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of contacts and referrals collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and serious scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

TABLE 6. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF PAST CONTACTS TO NUMBER OF DISPOSITIONS IN THE FUTURE FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

	Number of Past Contacts by Number of Dispositions in Future									Seriousness of Past Contacts by Number of Dispositions in Future								
	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.42	.41	.54	.36	.30	.41	.03	.00	.10	.44	.40	.50	.36	.29	.40	.02	.00	.06
16	.49	.47	.55	.37	.32	.38	.01	.00	.06	.51	.46	.50	.37	.32	.37	.00	.00	.00
17	.53	.53	.54	.35	.34	.35	.01	.00	.01	.54	.50	.48	.36	.34	.34	.00	.00	.00
18	.54	.54	.51	.31	.32	.30	.00	.00	.00	.52	.48	.45	.32	.31	.29	.00	.00	.00
19	.49	.50	.47	.27	.27	.25	.00	.00	.00	.46	.44	.40	.27	.27	.24	.00	.00	.00
20	.49	.46	.38	.26	.24	.17	.00	.00	.00	.46	.39	.32	.27	.23	.17	.00	.00	.00
21	.46	.40	---	.23	.20	---	.00	.00	---	.42	.34	---	.24	.19	---	.00	.00	---
Males																		
Age 15	.35	.38	.52	.28	.29	.42	.03	.00	.13	.36	.36	.49	.28	.29	.41	.03	.00	.10
16	.42	.44	.53	.35	.33	.40	.01	.00	.10	.45	.43	.49	.36	.33	.39	.01	.00	.04
17	.48	.50	.53	.36	.36	.38	.02	.00	.04	.49	.47	.47	.38	.37	.38	.00	.00	.00
18	.49	.51	.51	.33	.36	.35	.00	.00	.00	.47	.45	.45	.36	.35	.35	.00	.00	.00
19	.44	.47	.47	.28	.32	.31	.00	.00	.00	.41	.41	.40	.30	.32	.31	.00	.00	.00
20	.45	.44	.37	.29	.28	.22	.00	.00	.00	.42	.37	.31	.31	.28	.21	.00	.00	.00
21	.43	.38	---	.26	.24	---	.00	.00	---	.39	.32	---	.28	.23	---	.00	.00	---
Inner City and Interstitial Males																		
Age 15	.42	.35	.52	.29	.30	.44	.13	.01	.22	.38	.35	.52	.29	.31	.44	.02	.02	.19
16	.51	.39	.54	.36	.33	.45	.17	.00	.17	.47	.40	.53	.36	.34	.46	.08	.02	.15
17	.55	.44	.56	.38	.36	.45	.17	.00	.14	.50	.43	.50	.39	.39	.46	.02	.03	.08
18	.53	.47	.52	.35	.36	.41	.05	.00	.03	.47	.42	.45	.37	.37	.43	.00	.02	.00
19	.48	.42	.48	.34	.30	.39	.00	.00	.00	.43	.39	.40	.34	.34	.39	.02	.00	.00
20	.52	.37	.37	.37	.25	.31	.00	.00	.00	.45	.32	.29	.39	.27	.29	.00	.00	.00
21	.48	.31	---	.34	.20	---	.00	.00	---	.43	.28	---	.38	.21	---	.00	.00	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of police contacts and dispositions collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or+ and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF PAST DISPOSITIONS TO NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS IN THE FUTURE FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

		Number of Past Dispositions by Number of Contacts in Future									Number of Past Dispositions by Seriousness of Contacts in Future								
		Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total		1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age	15	.12	.14	.39	.55	.74	.65	.01	.02	.09	.11	.12	.31	.52	.66	.58	.00	.02	.11
	16	.15	.22	.46	.54	.75	.57	.02	.04	.08	.12	.19	.39	.43	.67	.53	.02	.04	.15
	17	.19	.27	.48	.58	.74	.50	.04	.05	.06	.18	.25	.44	.11	.71	.50	.04	.06	.13
	18	.40	.37	.49	.65	.64	.44	.11	.08	.04	.36	.35	.45	.61	.64	.44	.14	.13	.10
	19	.41	.44	.50	.60	.61	.40	.10	.08	.02	.37	.42	.49	.58	.62	.40	.13	.15	.07
	20	.48	.45	.44	.63	.54	.30	.10	.06	.00	.44	.45	.46	.62	.56	.31	.15	.12	.00
	21	.50	.44	---	.59	.48	---	.10	.03	---	.46	.45	---	.59	.49	---	.14	.07	---
Males																			
Age	15	.11	.14	.40	.47	.67	.65	.00	.00	.13	.08	.11	.32	.31	.56	.55	.00	.00	.09
	16	.14	.20	.46	.53	.63	.56	.00	.00	.14	.10	.17	.39	.32	.55	.50	.00	.00	.22
	17	.17	.26	.46	.46	.61	.47	.00	.06	.09	.14	.24	.43	.34	.60	.47	.00	.00	.22
	18	.37	.36	.48	.51	.53	.43	.05	.11	.05	.32	.35	.44	.46	.55	.43	.00	.18	.14
	19	.38	.42	.50	.47	.52	.40	.11	.11	.02	.35	.41	.49	.44	.54	.40	.00	.20	.09
	20	.45	.42	.42	.51	.46	.30	.14	.07	.00	.42	.44	.46	.50	.49	.31	.14	.16	.00
	21	.46	.42	---	.47	.41	---	.12	.03	---	.43	.44	---	.47	.43	---	.18	.09	---
Inner City and Interstitial Males																			
Age	15	.14	.17	.43	.55	.60	.55	.00	.00	.00	.06	.13	.35	.16	.45	.44	.00	.00	.00
	16	.17	.23	.47	.59	.56	.52	.00	.00	.16	.10	.19	.40	.25	.45	.43	.00	.00	.00
	17	.20	.29	.48	.62	.54	.45	.00	.00	.22	.13	.25	.44	.33	.49	.42	.00	.00	.15
	18	.37	.37	.46	.52	.48	.39	.01	.12	.16	.30	.34	.41	.39	.46	.37	.00	.00	.26
	19	.39	.43	.49	.48	.47	.40	.07	.16	.11	.35	.39	.48	.42	.46	.39	.00	.15	.21
	20	.49	.42	.41	.54	.40	.31	.17	.12	.01	.44	.44	.47	.50	.43	.33	.11	.18	.08
	21	.51	.40	---	.54	.38	---	.19	.08	---	.46	.42	---	.50	.40	---	.16	.14	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of contacts and dispositions collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

contacts for more serious reasons than those who did not have dispositions. And, of course, those who did not have dispositions by the late teens become less and less likely to have frequent or serious contacts thereafter, the correlations thus becoming higher year-by-year with some increase in predictability for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.

Earlier and larger number of court dispositions result in a somewhat different picture for the 1955 Cohort with relatively stable correlations from the ages of 15 through 20. The asymmetric measure, Somers' D, high at the age of 15 for each cohort, remained relatively high because those who had dispositions early in their careers continued to have contacts in the future. There was, however, little increase in the ability to predict number of contacts in the future from past dispositions for any of the cohorts, although there was some reduction in error for the later years in the 1942 Cohort and somewhat earlier for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, this again being in part a function of the years of exposure for contacts after court dispositions and the fact that more of the persons in the 1955 Cohort received court dispositions early in their careers.

The pattern of Pearsonian correlations for females was similar to those for males but generally lower while the Somers' D's were considerably higher for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts but lower for the 1955 Cohort. This may be explained by the fact that those few females from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts who had received dispositions in the past were the most frequent and serious offenders from the female segment of these cohorts and are very likely to have additional frequent contacts and more serious trouble, while those who had not received dispositions in the past were less likely to have contacts and serious contacts in the future than were the males. However, by the time

TABLE 8. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF DISPOSITIONS PRESENT AGE TO NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS IN THE FUTURE AND NUMBER OF DISPOSITIONS AND CONTACTS PRESENT AGE TO DISPOSITIONS IN FUTURE FOR TOTAL COHORT

	Number of Dispositions Present by Number of Contacts in Future									Number of Dispositions Present by Seriousness of Contacts in Future								
	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.12	.12	.32	.63	.73	.67	.01	.01	.06	.13	.10	.26	.66	.65	.60	.00	.01	.07
16	.14	.19	.37	.70	.74	.57	.01	.02	.06	.12	.16	.33	.63	.66	.54	.01	.03	.11
17	.15	.22	.33	.60	.72	.50	.02	.03	.02	.13	.22	.33	.57	.74	.51	.02	.04	.09
18	.40	.34	.38	.67	.61	.51	.09	.06	.03	.36	.33	.36	.65	.62	.51	.12	.10	.08
19	.33	.35	.37	.66	.62	.50	.06	.05	.00	.31	.33	.36	.65	.62	.51	.08	.09	.04
20	.39	.36	.43	.80	.59	.48	.07	.04	.00	.34	.35	.45	.76	.60	.49	.09	.07	.04
21	.38	.38	---	.73	.60	---	.07	.02	---	.33	.35	---	.69	.60	---	.08	.08	---

	Number of Dispositions Present by Number of Dispositions in Future									Number of Contacts Present by Number of Dispositions in Future								
	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.19	.18	.35	.70	.83	.64	.03	.04	.05	.37	.34	.49	.36	.37	.54	.02	.00	.08
16	.21	.24	.38	.72	.75	.58	.04	.06	.01	.45	.42	.51	.40	.39	.46	.05	.04	.05
17	.23	.29	.35	.74	.82	.50	.05	.10	.01	.33	.49	.46	.32	.42	.42	.01	.05	.04
18	.54	.45	.43	.72	.68	.53	.29	.18	.00	.47	.49	.49	.34	.37	.38	.05	.06	.02
19	.44	.40	.40	.66	.58	.48	.17	.11	.00	.34	.45	.52	.30	.29	.37	.02	.03	.04
20	.52	.42	.46	.86	.61	.45	.28	.12	.00	.38	.53	.54	.29	.31	.32	.01	.05	.00
21	.49	.49	---	.70	.61	---	.20	.09	---	.45	.46	---	.27	.29	---	.04	.05	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of police contacts and dispositions collapsed 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and seriousness 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

that the 1955 Cohort had reached the point that its members were receiving police contacts and dispositions, females were more likely to experience court dispositions and those who had not received them at an early age were more likely to have contacts in the future than were females from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. *In other words, the female experience was becoming more similar to that of the males.*

Analogously, a patterned difference existed between males socialized in the inner city and outlying areas (particularly the 1955 Cohort) which indicated that those males who were socialized in the outer areas but who received dispositions at an early age were those with the highest probability of having contacts and serious contacts in the future and those who did not receive a disposition less likely than persons in the inner city to ultimately have frequent and serious contacts. By the time that the 1955 Cohort was exposed to the possibility of contacts and dispositions, inner and outer area juveniles were having more similar experiences with the police and courts. The correlations to which we refer for females and for males socialized outside the inner city may be found in Table 6 of Appendix O.

Table 8 reveals that while number of dispositions has somewhat lower correlations at most ages with number and seriousness of contacts in the future than do past dispositions, relatively higher Somers' D's are generated because those who do have a disposition at any given age are also the persons most likely to have future and more serious contacts. But here we see that the number of dispositions at present age by number of contacts and seriousness of contacts in the future does not permit an increase in predictive efficiency over the marginals. There is no doubt that those who had dispositions during any given year were more likely to have frequent and more

serious contacts in the future, but the number of contacts a person with a disposition in any given year would have was not sufficiently greater than the number of contacts that others would have in the future to permit very much proportional reduction in error.

In Table 9 we examine the possibility of predicting severity of sanctions in the future from seriousness of past contacts referred and from severity of past sanctions. Little improvement over the marginals is made in predicting severity of sanctions in the future from seriousness of past contacts referred. Some improvement was possible, however, when predicting from severity of past sanctions to future sanctions. Those who are severely sanctioned in the past are more likely to be severely sanctioned in the future than are the larger proportion of persons who have not been sanctioned, the shape of this relationship, as did several others, producing a high asymmetric Somers' D. A greater increase in predictive efficiency is found here, particularly for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts than in most previous tables of interrelationships. Since there was relatively little time for the 1955 Cohort to experience sanctions in the future, these correlations and the Lambdas are relatively low. Correlations for the females were generally lower than those for the males and where there were larger increases in predictive efficiency for the females than the males in the 1942 Cohort it was based on only a handful of cases where females had been sanctioned before that age, half of whom received sanctions after that age while only a small proportion of those who had not been sanctioned before 19, for example, received sanctions after that time. The pattern of correlations and the proportional reductions in error were generally higher for males socialized in the inner city than for those socialized outside the inner city (see Table 7, Appendix O).

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF PAST SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS REFERRED AND SEVERITY OF PAST SANCTIONS TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS IN THE FUTURE FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

		Seriousness of Past Contacts Referred by Severity of Sanctions in Future									Severity of Past Sanctions by Severity of Sanctions in Future								
		Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total		1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age	15	.35	.37	.45	.60	.50	.55	.03	.00	.01	.25	.22	.32	.75	.76	.63	.02	.02	.02
	16	.36	.48	.45	.55	.51	.49	.06	.00	.01	.21	.35	.38	.71	.81	.54	.04	.04	.02
	17	.39	.50	.42	.52	.54	.41	.00	.00	.00	.26	.29	.38	.71	.78	.45	.06	.09	.02
	18	.40	.49	.40	.46	.47	.35	.02	.00	.00	.44	.44	.39	.73	.66	.40	.13	.11	.01
	19	.39	.44	.40	.41	.39	.30	.01	.00	.00	.55	.51	.42	.62	.57	.35	.15	.08	.01
	20	.43	.42	.33	.39	.34	.20	.01	.00	.00	.57	.44	.34	.64	.50	.23	.14	.07	.01
	21	.41	.37	---	.35	.27	---	.00	.00	---	.54	.46	.17	.58	.42	.07	.18	.06	.00
Males																			
Age	15	.31	.37	.45	.54	.48	.56	.04	.00	.03	.26	.23	.28	.79	.77	.62	.03	.03	.04
	16	.32	.46	.45	.53	.49	.51	.07	.00	.03	.22	.34	.35	.79	.78	.52	.06	.04	.06
	17	.35	.48	.42	.51	.54	.43	.02	.01	.00	.26	.28	.36	.70	.72	.43	.08	.10	.03
	18	.35	.47	.40	.44	.47	.39	.05	.00	.00	.42	.43	.33	.69	.62	.39	.16	.13	.01
	19	.34	.41	.41	.39	.39	.35	.01	.00	.00	.55	.50	.37	.58	.56	.35	.19	.10	.02
	20	.39	.39	.34	.38	.34	.24	.01	.00	.00	.56	.43	.29	.61	.48	.24	.18	.08	.01
	21	.37	.34	---	.35	.27	---	.00	.00	---	.53	.44	---	.56	.40	---	.23	.06	---
Inner City and Interstitial Areas																			
Age	15	.40	.37	.46	.47	.41	.54	.04	.02	.06	.39	.29	.30	.82	.74	.59	.06	.05	.07
	16	.39	.45	.45	.41	.45	.51	.04	.01	.05	.33	.33	.37	.77	.71	.53	.09	.06	.14
	17	.48	.45	.41	.44	.48	.45	.02	.02	.00	.42	.28	.39	.78	.67	.44	.13	.12	.16
	18	.42	.47	.38	.40	.45	.39	.07	.01	.00	.49	.42	.26	.67	.60	.37	.24	.20	.11
	19	.39	.39	.41	.37	.36	.40	.05	.01	.01	.50	.54	.33	.68	.51	.40	.27	.21	.07
	20	.46	.38	.33	.41	.30	.29	.05	.02	.00	.57	.48	.23	.73	.44	.29	.28	.22	.05
	21	.43	.31	---	.38	.23	---	.03	.00	---	.53	.45	---	.67	.34	---	.35	.21	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with adjacent sanctions collapsed and seriousness scores collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

The relationship between severity of past sanctions and number and seriousness of contacts in the future is shown in Table 10 and while the asymmetrical Somers' D's were high in contrast to relative low Pearsonian R's, there was little increase in predictive efficiency in the early years, the only sizeable increases coming after members of the cohorts were young adults. These asymmetrical relationships were again higher for females than males for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts but lower for the 1955 Cohort, consistent with other male/female differences in which severity of sanctions was one of the variables. Differences for males socialized in the inner city rather than outlying areas were also consistent with those mentioned previously (see Table 8, Appendix O). On the other hand, the fact that this relationship existed might be a reason for dismay, for surely, as we have suggested before, severe past sanctions is not expected to be followed by more frequent and more serious contacts in the future.

Reference was made in Chapter 14 to the development of models in which juvenile careers would be divided into several stages for further testing of the effects of sanctions on adult seriousenss. This is an appropriate place in which to briefly describe the results since they go beyond the simple first-order correlations that have been presented in Table 10, controlling for a variety of variables they may have had underlying or intervening effects on seriousness of adult careers or later juvenile careers. It may well be that the data in Table 10 create an impression of a greater impact of sanctions on later seriousness that will disappear with the introduction of proper controls.

Accordingly, two-, three-, and four-stage models were constructed for the effect of the independent variable, severity of sanctions on the depen-

TABLE 10. RELATIONSHIP OF SEVERITY OF PAST SANCTIONS TO NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF FUTURE CONTACTS FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

		Severity of Past Sanctions by Number of Contacts in Future									Severity of Past Sanctions by Seriousness of Contacts in Future								
		Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total		1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age	15	.13	.14	.31	.64	.75	.67	.01	.02	.08	.13	.12	.24	.66	.66	.59	.00	.02	.09
	16	.16	.20	.39	.64	.77	.58	.02	.04	.09	.15	.17	.32	.58	.69	.54	.02	.04	.14
	17	.18	.23	.40	.60	.74	.50	.04	.05	.06	.17	.21	.36	.56	.72	.50	.04	.06	.13
	18	.34	.32	.39	.65	.62	.44	.11	.08	.04	.30	.30	.36	.61	.63	.44	.14	.12	.09
	19	.32	.38	.41	.60	.60	.40	.10	.09	.02	.30	.36	.39	.59	.61	.40	.14	.15	.06
	20	.38	.40	.34	.61	.53	.30	.10	.06	.01	.35	.38	.35	.62	.55	.30	.15	.12	.02
	21	.40	.41	---	.59	.47	---	.09	.05	---	.37	.39	---	.59	.48	---	.15	.09	---
Males																			
Age	15	.11	.14	.32	.47	.67	.68	.00	.00	.12	.11	.11	.24	.48	.56	.55	.00	.00	.06
	16	.14	.18	.39	.52	.66	.55	.00	.00	.14	.12	.16	.32	.43	.58	.50	.00	.00	.21
	17	.16	.22	.38	.45	.61	.46	.00	.07	.11	.15	.21	.35	.40	.61	.45	.00	.00	.20
	18	.31	.30	.33	.51	.51	.41	.05	.11	.06	.28	.29	.30	.47	.53	.41	.00	.17	.15
	19	.30	.37	.37	.46	.50	.38	.12	.12	.04	.28	.36	.36	.45	.53	.38	.00	.20	.07
	20	.35	.37	.30	.49	.44	.28	.14	.08	.02	.35	.35	.32	.51	.48	.29	.14	.16	.02
	21	.37	.37	---	.46	.40	---	.13	.07	---	.35	.36	---	.48	.42	---	.19	.12	---
Inner City and Interstitial Areas																			
Age	15	.15	.18	.34	.55	.60	.58	.00	.00	.00	.12	.14	.25	.40	.45	.43	.00	.00	.00
	16	.20	.20	.40	.59	.61	.52	.00	.01	.16	.16	.17	.33	.43	.50	.43	.00	.00	.00
	17	.22	.24	.41	.61	.57	.43	.00	.02	.25	.17	.22	.38	.46	.52	.41	.00	.00	.14
	18	.34	.33	.28	.52	.48	.37	.01	.13	.19	.28	.29	.26	.43	.46	.36	.00	.01	.28
	19	.34	.40	.36	.48	.47	.40	.07	.18	.16	.31	.36	.35	.46	.47	.39	.00	.17	.29
	20	.41	.39	.26	.53	.41	.29	.18	.14	.08	.37	.36	.33	.52	.44	.31	.11	.22	.12
	21	.43	.41	---	.54	.39	---	.20	.16	---	.37	.38	---	.51	.40	---	.17	.19	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with adjacent sanctions collapsed, number of contacts collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of +, and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

dent variable, and seriousness scores at various ages. The first order correlations and β s for all models are shown in Tables 11A and B.[2] Although there are positive relationships between severity of sanctions and seriousness scores during specified succeeding ages in the two-stage model, these effects are reduced when controls for area of socialization, race/ethnicity, sex, age at first contact, and severity of past sanctions are held constant. But even then, positive effects remain.

Turning to the three-stage model, first order r's are again positive in all cases but when controls are introduced as in the two-stage model, severity of sanctions during the ages 18 through 20 has a small inverse relationship with seriousness for persons 21 years of age in the 1955 Cohort. Since this involves a period of only one year, we would maintain the position that severity of sanctions is not related to a decline in seriousness of careers in age periods following the period of sanctions. Further, it is clear that (with the exception of the 1955 Cohort), the unplanned effects of sanctions are strongest in the period immediately following them.

The four-stage model produces even more interesting results. At every stage the first-order correlations of severity of sanctions and following age period seriousness scores are positive. But more than half of the relationships between severity of sanctions during the ages of 6 through 15 and later age periods reverse when controls are inserted. Most, however, were very small even if statistically significant. Since very few persons, particularly in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, were sanctioned at such early ages these results do not change the conclusions that sanctions have little or no effect in deterring juveniles from continuing contacts with the police as older juveniles or

TABLE 11 A. MULTI-STAGE MODELS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF SANCTIONS TO SERIOUSNESS SCORES DURING LATE JUVENILE OR ADULT PERIODS

FROM TWO-STAGE MODELS				FROM THREE-STAGE MODELS					
Independent Variable: Sanctions During Ages[1]		Dependent Variable: Seriousness During Ages		Independent Variable: Sanctions During Ages		Dependent Variable: Seriousness During Ages			
		Total Cohort	Males			Total Cohort		Males	
1942 Cohort		18-30	18-30	1942 Cohort		18-20	21-30	18-20	21-30
6 - 17	r	.245	.229	6 - 17	r	.274	.201	.260	.184
	β	.084*	.097		β	.082*	.014	.095	.017
				18 - 20	r	--	.480	--	.449
					β	--	.171*	--	.168*
1949 Cohort		18-23	18-23	1949 Cohort		18-20	21-23	18-20	21-23
6 - 17	r	.376	.385	6 - 17	r	.350	.320	.345	.327
	β	.100*	.096*		β	.112*	.017	.105*	.021
				18 - 20	r	--	.454	--	.460
					β	--	.007	--	.111*
1955 Cohort		18-21	18-21	1955 Cohort		18-20	21	18-20	21
6 - 17	r	.420	.403	6 - 17	r	.412	.246	.395	.227
	β	.014	.011		β	.003	.045	.003	.034
				18 - 20	r	--	.281	--	.265
					β	--	-.088*	--	-.089

[1] β is the effect of sanctions when natural area, race, sex (for the total cohort), age at first contact, past seriousness, and past sanctions are held constant.

* $p < .05$

TABLE 11 B. MULTI-STAGE MODELS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF SANCTIONS TO SERIOUSNESS SCORES DURING LATE JUVENILE OR ADULT PERIODS

FROM FOUR-STAGE MODELS

Independent Variable: Sanctions During Ages		Dependent Variables: Seriousness During Ages					
		Total Cohort			Males		
1942 Cohort		16-17	18-20	21-30	16-17	18-20	21-30
6 - 15	r	.157	.249	.115	.138	.262	.114
	β	-.026	.134*	-.060	-.036	.177*	-.056
16 - 17	r	--	.219	.187	--	.197	.167
	β	--	.019	.041	--	-.015	.043
18 - 20	r	--	--	.480	--	--	.449
	β	--	--	.176*	--	--	.171*
1949 Cohort		16-17	18-20	21-23	16-17	18-20	21-23
6 - 15	r	.238	.219	.162	.254	.236	.179
	β	-.113*	.034	-.070*	-.097*	.038	-.083*
16 - 17	r	--	.358	.308	--	.350	.305
	β	--	.128*	.017	--	.123*	.021
18 - 20	r	--	--	.454	--	--	.460
	β	--	--	.008	--	--	.113*
1955 Cohort		16-17	18-20	21	16-17	18-20	21
6 - 15	r	.356	.286	.189	.368	.279	.161
	β	-.052	-.095*	.021	-.030	-.127*	-.011
16 - 17	r	--	.373	.197	--	.354	.182
	β	--	.016	.011	--	.013	.002
18 - 20	r	--	--	.281	--	--	.630
	β	--	--	-.087*	--	--	-.088

as adults. Moreover, severity of sanctions during ages 16 and 17, when they are most frequently applied, has significant positive effects on seriousness scores in the immediately following age period 18-20, the strongest effects to be found in the 1949 Cohort.

Table 12 reveals that neither number nor seriousness of past contacts was highly correlated with severity of sanctions in the future and there was no increase in predictive efficiency. However, since past contacts and past seriousness of contacts were not very predictive of future frequency and seriousness of contacts, we would not expect, even if the juvenile and adult system operated with great efficiency, to have an exceptionally high correlation at this point. Measures were generally lower for females than for males but the differences were small between males socialized outside the inner city and the inner city (see Table 9, Appendix O).

CONTINUITIES AND THE PREDICTION PROBLEM

There are two basic kinds of discontinuities that make prediction difficult. The first has to do with what would appear to be discontinuities in behavior which may really not be discontinuities in behavior, but rather discontinuities in contacts with the police. These then become discontinuities in the official records of police contact and make it difficult to predict from any given year or two to the future. Similarly, past contacts cannot be utilized in predicting to any present or several relatively present years. While this problem does not have much effect upon the prediction of past to the future in any middle range of years for the 1942 Cohort and only slightly less for the 1949 Cohort, we have shown that prediction from past to the future becomes rather difficult for later years for the 1955 Cohort.

TABLE 12. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF PAST CONTACTS TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS IN THE FUTURE FOR TOTAL COHORT, FOR MALES, AND FOR INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREA MALES

		Number of Past Contacts by Severity of Sanctions in Future									Seriousness of Past Contacts by Severity of Sanctions in Future								
		Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda			Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Total		1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age	15	.37	.39	.51	.36	.28	.38	.00	.00	.00	.36	.35	.45	.36	.27	.37	.01	.00	.00
	16	.40	.43	.47	.36	.30	.35	.00	.00	.00	.40	.40	.42	.37	.30	.34	.00	.00	.00
	17	.42	.44	.46	.35	.33	.31	.00	.00	.00	.40	.41	.40	.35	.33	.31	.00	.00	.00
	18	.41	.44	.43	.31	.30	.27	.00	.00	.00	.38	.39	.38	.32	.29	.26	.00	.00	.00
	19	.37	.41	.41	.26	.25	.22	.00	.00	.00	.34	.36	.35	.26	.25	.22	.00	.00	.00
	20	.40	.38	.33	.26	.22	.15	.00	.00	.00	.37	.33	.28	.26	.22	.15	.00	.00	.00
	21	.36	.34	---	.22	.18	---	.00	.00	---	.35	.29	---	.23	.17	---	.00	.00	---
Males																			
Age	15	.31	.37	.48	.28	.28	.39	.00	.00	.00	.29	.33	.44	.28	.27	.38	.02	.00	.00
	16	.35	.40	.44	.35	.32	.36	.00	.00	.01	.34	.37	.40	.36	.32	.36	.01	.00	.00
	17	.37	.41	.44	.35	.35	.34	.00	.00	.00	.35	.38	.40	.38	.36	.35	.01	.00	.00
	18	.36	.41	.42	.32	.33	.31	.00	.00	.00	.33	.36	.38	.35	.33	.32	.00	.00	.00
	19	.32	.38	.41	.27	.29	.28	.00	.00	.00	.29	.33	.35	.29	.30	.28	.00	.00	.00
	20	.35	.35	.33	.28	.26	.19	.00	.00	.00	.33	.30	.28	.30	.26	.19	.00	.00	.00
	21	.32	.31	---	.25	.21	---	.00	.00	---	.31	.26	---	.27	.21	---	.00	.00	---
Inner City and Interstitial Areas																			
Age	15	.35	.36	.50	.28	.29	.42	.04	.00	.00	.29	.34	.44	.27	.30	.41	.02	.00	.00
	16	.41	.39	.43	.36	.33	.40	.04	.00	.03	.37	.38	.39	.35	.34	.41	.00	.00	.00
	17	.45	.40	.44	.38	.36	.39	.00	.00	.00	.42	.37	.40	.39	.38	.41	.00	.01	.00
	18	.40	.40	.42	.33	.34	.36	.00	.00	.00	.36	.35	.36	.36	.36	.37	.00	.00	.00
	19	.38	.35	.39	.32	.28	.35	.00	.00	.00	.33	.32	.32	.34	.32	.35	.02	.00	.00
	20	.45	.33	.32	.36	.24	.27	.00	.00	.00	.40	.29	.24	.39	.27	.25	.00	.00	.00
	21	.40	.26	---	.33	.18	---	.00	.00	---	.37	.22	---	.37	.19	---	.00	.00	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with adjacent sanctions collapsed, number of contacts to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +, and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

The second problem refers to discontinuities that come about as police patrols change, as emphasis on referrals changes, as proneness to send juveniles to court for formal disposition changes, as emphasis on sanctions and severity of sanctions changes over the years, and as emphasis on record-keeping changes. Thus, while juvenile behavior (at least as measured by police contacts) is undoubtedly changing over the years, police and court behavior is changing as well. The meaning of a referral changes if there is an increased emphasis on street dispositions and the meaning of a court disposition changes if there is a change in the behaviors for which people are likely to be sent to court. If formal sanctions are meted out with greater regularity than at earlier periods of time, the picture will change between all three cohorts, but the impact will come in the later years for the 1942 Cohort, in the intermediate years for the 1949 Cohort, and earlier for the 1955 Cohort. All of these factors have their effects on the proportion of each cohort that will experience increasing involvement in juvenile justice systems, the measures of association between past and future recorded behaviors, and the ability to increase predictive efficiency over the marginals.[3]

It is not surprising that the correlations presented in Tables 1 through 12 differed for the 1955 Cohort from those of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. With the entire juvenile and adult justice system in a state of change, and producing records indicative of change, it is indeed difficult to speak about the ability to predict into the future from prediction tables developed with data from earlier cohort. But even then, the ability to predict future behavior from past behavior (with a high proportional reduction in error) beyond the kind of prediction that can be made from the marginals has not been demonstrated to be great for any of the cohorts.

With all of the data that we have from police and court records we find it difficult to understand how the officer on patrol may be faulted if he misjudges who should be referred and who should be handled by counseling and release. Considering the fact that his training has been in the ordinances and laws which must be enforced, procedures for taking people into custody, and procedures for dealing with people who appear at time of contact as dangerous to themselves or to society, how can he be expected to be an expert in determining who is most likely to continue their misbehavior if some sort of formal intervention is not initiated?

Going a step further, if the police officer who had contact with the juvenile refers him or her to the juvenile bureau, officers in the bureau are faced with the same problem of deciding what to do. Even given the fact that they may be able to readily ascertain the number of contacts that a juvenile has previously had and the seriousness of the behavior that resulted in these contacts, can they be expected to take only that into consideration in making the decision to refer the juvenile on to county probation or juvenile court intake? Surely one cannot expect them to refrain from considering such additional, and relatively intangible or impressionistic items, as the area of the community from which the juvenile comes, the attitude of the juvenile while being questioned, the nature of the juvenile's associates insofar as they may know this from previous encounters, knowledge of the family situation from which the juvenile comes, and so on? For that matter it is understandable when the juvenile bureau utilizes sex and race/ethnicity as predictors since they are indicative of a status, one which carries with it a greater or lesser likelihood of future police encounters.

If people in the community demand police actions and demand increasing formality and intervention, then those on the firing line must determine if better indicators are available than those upon which they have traditionally relied.

To us, it is a question of whether traditional methods have resulted in intervention in the appropriate cases at the appropriate times in order to maximize discontinuity in behavior, or whether intervention has simply maximized continuity and created the impression that traditional predictors are somehow or the other associated with continuities in delinquent behavior rather than continuities in police behavior.

THE JUVENILE COURT'S PROBLEMS

Juvenile probation or juvenile court intake, whichever it may be, has a similar problem. Here, the data upon which the county probation or intake officer must rely are previous records available in that office with some data from the juvenile bureau. One would expect the probation officer or intake officer to have a wider variety of relevant pieces of information upon which to base a decision. The framework within which this decision is made is quite different from that faced by the police in that the professional staff may obtain background data on school performance, adjustment in the family, prior attempts at intervention by private agencies, and so on. Here again the literature in the field has been based on case studies which are frequently of dubious value and have been incorporated as supportive examples of a position which has not really been established by empirical research on either large samples of the population or thorough longitudinal studies of cohorts. To the extent that the community demands action, then the court

is forced to respond even though it may doubt that the limited alternatives available are appropriate for most of the cases at hand.

While it may appear that we have been critical of the courts, this has not been our intent. Our intent has been to present data which will support the fear of many court personnel that what they are doing is no more likely to change behavior than doing nothing. Since the community is concerned with reducing delinquency and crime, it appears to many persons that removing delinquents and criminals from the community must at least reduce delinquency by a certain amount while the miscreant is absent.

Up to a certain point, that is the late teens, the relationship between past behavior and future behavior seems to increase. In those cases where correlations declined from the age of 15 on it was because very few persons in the cohort had the predictor characteristic at an early age and those who did were very likely to continue to have it, while as the years went by others also acquired it thus lowering the association between past and future characteristics. Relatively high asymmetric correlations at an early age do not indicate that there is a basis for reducing errors of predictions over prediction from the marginals. Furthermore, as we have also shown, there is an overall decline in behavior which generates police contacts and referrals as time goes by (commencing at the age of 18), and there is no evidence that intervention aids in this process.

We would remind those who are shocked by this general lack of effectiveness of sanctions that this research deals with cohorts and not individuals, since all of us are aware of instances where intervention has indeed been effective.

FOOTNOTES

1 Pearson's R, Somers' D, and Lambda are presented in the tables in this chapter (with the exception of Tables 11A and B) with the variables collapsed as indicated on each table. We have computed most of the correlations collapsed and uncollapsed. In the middle range of ages Pearson's R and Somers' D were very similar, collapsed or uncollapsed, but collapsing increased the value of Lambda, i.e., indicated greater proportional reduction in error from use of the predictor than did the uncollapsed runs. At later ages collapsing tended to reduce Pearson's R but Somers' D remained essentially the same whether collapsed or uncollapsed. For the range of ages presented in the tables in this chapter, the only consequence was a greater predictability than would have been suggested by Lambda's based on uncollapsed data. We have, however, made the point that relatively little increase in predictability has been found so that it cannot be said that collapsing categories has lead to misleading conclusions.

2 The zero-order r's in this table are based on uncollapsed data, as are the multivariate analyses which produced the β's. The r's are somewhat higher than those based on collapsed data and are presented in Tables 11, A and B.

3 Referring back to Table 2 in Chapter 15 we see how variations in recorded contacts, referrals, dispositions, and sanctions for the three cohorts undoubtedly had their impact on the correlations that we have just discussed. Some of the statistics are presented again and, with processual analysis in mind, they may have a different meaning or different import to their reader than they previously had. Over 68% of the 1942 and 69% of the 1949 Cohort had a police contact but only 59% of the 1955 Cohort had a contact. Presumably this cohort would equal the previous two cohorts as its members acquired automobiles and were involved in violations of one sort or another or were exposed to the probability of other types of contacts. Through the age of 17, 40% of the 1942 Cohort, 48% of the 1949 Cohort, but only 45% of the 1955 Cohort had had a police contact. This reminds us that differences in the

cohorts remain even with a control for years of exposure. Similar differences were present when we looked at the percent that had a police contact through the age of 18 for each cohort.

Turning to referrals, about 37% of the 1942 and the 1949 Cohorts had received a referral but only 33% of the 1955 Cohort had already done so. Of those with police contacts there was relatively little difference in the percent who had been referred but the 1955 Cohort had been referred at a slightly higher rate than either of the earlier cohorts. Similarly, there was only a slight increase in the percent who had been referred through the age of 17 from cohort to cohort, and while there was a small increase between the 1942 and the 1949 Cohort of those who had been referred to age 18, there was a small decline for the 1955 Cohort. Of those who had had police contacts through the age of 18, almost 55% of the 1942 Cohort, 50% of the 1949 Cohort, and 53% of the 1955 Cohort had been referred. Thus, it does not appear that increased emphasis on street-level handling (change in referral policy) that took place during the period of the study brought about sizeable differences between the cohorts in the proportion of referrals to police contacts.

The really big difference comes at the point of court dispositions. While less than 19% of the 1942 Cohort had had a court disposition and only 20% of the 1949 Cohort had had a court disposition, over 30% of the 1955 Cohort had had a recorded court disposition. Furthermore, the difference between the 1942 and 1949 Cohort vs. the 1955 Cohort in the portion of those with contacts with dispositions was considerable. The percent of those who had referrals who also had a disposition was even greater from cohort to cohort, particularly the difference between the 1949 and 1955 Cohort.

Going a step further, we look at the percent with court dispositions through the age of 17, again finding large differences between the 1955 Cohort and the previous cohorts. It is very obvious that both contacts and referrals are more likely to lead to a formal disposition at an early age for the 1955 Cohort. Relevant changes in court policy were mentioned in Chapter 15, indicating the impact that this has had on dispositions and records thereof. It is here that we find at least a partial explanation of the difference in the relationship between contacts and referrals and dispositions for the 1955 Cohort compared with the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.

The problem of predicting juvenile behavior is thus compounded by changes in the behavior of people in the juvenile justice system, obviously by those who must make the decision to send a juvenile on to the court. The end result is that both contacts and referrals are more likely to result in recorded dispositions than previously.

Turning to sanctions we find that while the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts were almost identical in the proportion who had been sanctioned by the Courts, 10% more of the 1955 Cohort had been sanctioned in the relatively fewer years that they had been exposed. Similarly, the proportion of those with contacts who had been sanctioned, those with referrals who had been sanctioned, and those who had had a court disposition who had been sanctioned differed. The three cohorts were not as dissimilar on the latter as on other dispositional comparisons, 98% of the 1942 Cohort who had had a formal disposition had been sanctioned and about 93% of the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts of those with dispositions had been sanctioned.

Through the age of 17 less than 4% of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts had been sanctioned but almost 18% of the 1955 Cohort had received sanctions. And again, while the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts were similar in terms of the proportion that had received sanctions among those with contacts, those with referrals and with court dispositions, far larger percentages of the 1955 Cohort had been sanctioned among those with contacts, referrals, and court dispositions. Obviously the courts were sanctioning far more frequently than previously (and/or better records were kept). These same kind of differences were found through the age of 18.

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Chapter 17. Interviews with Two Cohorts and Some Basic Findings

THE SEARCH AND INTERVIEWING PROCESS

We have thus far made only brief mention of the search and interviewing phase of this research. Although we had obtained the most recent address of 3,451 persons (or their parents) in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts from Racine City Directories and Racine area telephone books, we were aware that not everyone would still be available at that address when interviewing commenced on June 1, 1976. We were also aware that time in the community from age 6 to the present should be verified for those whom we had been unable to follow through 1975. It was decided to employ community contact workers, all of whom had been lifetime residents in the community, to telephone the parents of those Whites whom we had not been able to follow in order to determine their whereabouts in the Racine area or elsewhere. Since we would attempt to interview all Blacks and Chicanos, the minority group interviewers utilized numerous community sources of information (clubs, associations, churches, neighbors, and relatives) in order to determine the whereabout of those who were not to be found at the addresses that we had in our records. In other words, the search for missing Whites commenced while the interviewer training course was in progress but the search for missing minorities did not commence until interviewing was under way.[1]

Prior to the week-long course in interviewer training, other members of our regular staff and those whom we had added to the local staff had searched the records of the Racine City Health Department for the married names of females whom we had previously been unable to follow or find.

This cross-index of married and maiden names was invaluable.[2] This, of course, generated an additional records check in the Police Department in order to complete the police contact records of females.

Interviewers were assigned respondents of their same sex/ethnicity and work proceeded apace. The White interviewers usually found respondents where they were last shown to be in our records but, if not, addresses were usually obtained by our community contact workers. Two interviewers who had proved themselves to be unusually adept at relating to people were added to the community contact group to work with the telephone company and other resources in tracking down the most difficult cases. Two Black interviewers spent a major portion of their time locating those who had frequent moves or name changes. They found that, contrary to our experience with older Blacks in previous years, the rate of out-migration of younger Blacks to other states had been very high. Most difficult of all were the Chicanos; they had left the community or moved more than had either of the other groups. Fortunately, one of our bilingual White interviewers had worked with Chicano children for several years and had the confidence of this group. She had more success than any of the Chicanos in locating those who were hard to find.

As each interview was returned to the office in Racine, pertinent items were checked against the data in our files on the respondents. This validity check turned up some cases of the wrong person being interviewed and some cases of inadequte probing by the interviewers. In those instances where the wrong person had been interviewed the correct person was located and interviewed. Each interview was read for quality and if interviewers had not obtained responses to the questions but rather had obtained irrelevant comments,

they were asked to return (or someone else returned) in an effort to obtain "better" responses. Success was not always possible because some respondents simply could not verbalize as well as others.

There were some refusals and cases where the respondent had left the community. The rule for Whites was to substitute the next person of the same sex on the list. The cohort lists had been obtained from the Unified School System and were not in complete alphabetical order, but rather were in segmented alphabetical order. Statisticians in the department concluded that no bias would be introduced by substitution. It should be noted that we did not accept a first refusal as final. Another interviewer was sent. Interviewers sometimes suggested that an opposite sex interviewer would have better success in establishing rapport with the respondent and, while we had intended to always utilize same sex|race/ethnic interviewers, we found that in some cases different sex|race/ethnic interviewers were more effective. In essence, we utilized information from the interviewer who went to the home and other interviewers who knew the respondent in determining who should next attempt the interview. While this did not always result in obtaining the interview, it did minimize the number of final refusals.

The first 180 interviews were read by Center staff in order to ascertain the range of responses to open-ended questions. Preliminary code categories were developed from these responses. Five members of the staff coded each of the same 20 schedules in order to determine if responses could be coded with reliability. As might be expected, it was necessary to clarify and/or collapse some codes before final coding. As schedules were returned from Racine they were coded and check-coded in Iowa City.

Our original goal was to interview all of the minority members and 25% of the White members of each cohort. Table 1 presents the results and shows the count and percentages of each group remaining in Racine. Essentially all whom we intended to interview among the Whites were interviewed (constituting over 40% of those available in each instance). Blacks and Chicanos were present in the cohorts in substantially smaller numbers. As we have indicated, these numbers diminished considerably when we counted those actually close enough to Racine to attempt to interview them. While it is obvious that we could not interview those not in residence, the percentage of those interviewed from among those available exceeds 50%. This is not what we had initially hoped to achieve but far exceeds what we came to believe possible when we commenced interviewing such highly mobile young people. Many were located and interviewed simply through the efforts and persistence of our interviewers. The final interview status of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts by race/ethnicity|sex is shown in Appendix P.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Since we did not achieve the goal of interviewing all Blacks and Chicanos in the cohort or 25% of the Whites without substitution, there was a question of how representative those interviewed were of their segments of the two cohorts. The distributions of the total cohort and those interviewed were compared in a variety of ways in order to determine if significant differences existed on major characteristics of the interviewed sample and the cohort.

There was not a single significant difference that reached the .05 level between those interviewed and those with continuous Racine residence in either cohort among either the males or females in number of police contacts for

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF COHORT MEMBERS AVAILABLE IN RACINE AND INTERVIEWED TO SIZE OF COHORTS

	White		Black		Chicano	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1942 Cohort						
Number in Cohort	639	638	31	20	9	15
In Racine Area 1976	362	329	19	13	4	9
Interviewed	145	158	10	10	2	8
% of Cohort in Area	56.7	51.6	61.3	65.0	44.4	60.0
% of in Area Interviewed	40.1	48.0	52.6	76.9	50.0	88.9
% of Cohort Interviewed	22.7	24.8	32.3	50.0	22.2	53.3
1949 Cohort						
Number in Cohort	974	931	74	59	33	28
In Racine Area 1976	569	454	49	43	19	22
Interviewed	230	229	32	28	17	20
% of Cohort in Area	58.4	48.8	66.2	72.9	57.6	78.6
% of in Area Interviewed	40.4	50.4	65.3	65.1	89.5	90.9
% of Cohort Interviewed	23.6	24.6	43.2	47.5	51.5	71.4

either the 6 through 13 age period, the 14 through 17 period, the combined 6 through 17 period, the 18 through 20 period, the 21 and over period, or for total careers. There were also no significant differences in reasons for police contact between those interviewed and persons in the cohort with continuous residence. We further checked the possibility of significant differences between those interviewed and those who always lived in Racine on type-seriousness of first contact in each age period, who the complainant was, the number of persons involved in the incident, and whether or not the contact had been referred. There were no statistically significant differences for either sex in either cohort. In another test those who had been interviewed, males and females from both cohorts were distributed according to their natural area of residence in Racine, its immediately outlying areas, and communities adjacent to Racine including Milwaukee and Kenosha and the places of residence of persons in the cohort who were located in 1976. There were no significant differences at the .05 level.

We were also concerned about whether those who were interviewed did or did not have police contact records similar to those who were not interviewed. Tables 2 and 3 are based on the data from the 1942 Cohort for Whites, males and females, and the Black males, and from the 1949 Cohort for males and females of all groups (these groups had sufficiently large numbers of persons with a range of contacts to make comparison reasonable). Perusal of the mean seriousness scores for persons interviewed and not interviewed, those with contacts and those for the entire cohort, shows little difference in mean seriousness scores between those interviewed and not interviewed for the Whites in either cohort, age period by age period, although the differences

TABLE 2. SELECTED INDICATORS OF SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS AMONG INTERVIEWED VS. NON-INTERVIEWED 1942 COHORT MEMBERS

	White		Black	Total	
	M	F	M	M	F
Juvenile 6-17					
Mean Seriousness:					
Persons Interviewed					
With Contacts	9.34	2.59	4.00	9.64	3.39
In Cohort	5.28	.47	.80	5.28	.64
Not Interviewed					
With Contacts	9.23	4.32	9.00	9.22	4.28
In Cohort	5.18	.83	7.20	5.24	.84
Intermediate 18-20					
Mean Seriousness:					
Persons Interviewed					
With Contacts	5.23	2.36	2.00	5.73	2.83
In Cohort	2.23	.37	.60	2.59	.48
Not Interviewed					
With Contacts	5.93	3.47	7.22	6.04	3.44
In Cohort	2.66	.40	6.50	2.82	.42
Adult 21+					
Mean Seriousness:					
Persons Interviewed					
With Contacts	6.67	3.94	15.57	9.73	5.34
In Cohort	4.05	1.30	10.90	6.13	1.88
Not Interviewed					
With Contacts	9.37	4.03	35.33	10.75	4.11
In Cohort	6.87	1.02	31.80	7.98	1.05
Total					
Mean Seriousness:					
Persons Interviewed					
With Contacts	13.64	4.19	15.38	16.29	5.74
In Cohort	11.57	2.15	12.30	14.01	3.00
Not Interviewed					
With Contacts	17.59	5.48	45.50	18.99	5.52
In Cohort	14.71	2.25	45.50	16.04	2.31

TABLE 3. SELECTED INDICATORS OF SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS AMONG INTERVIEWED VS. NON-INTERVIEWED 1949 COHORT MEMBERS

	White		Black		Chicano		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Juvenile 6-17								
Mean Seriousness:								
Persons Interviewed								
With Contacts	9.93	3.75	21.23	9.42	16.00	3.86	11.77	4.62
In Cohort	6.17	.98	14.59	4.04	12.24	1.35	7.51	1.32
Not Interviewed								
With Contacts	11.38	4.22	17.61	4.90	27.38	3.00	12.14	4.28
In Cohort	6.87	1.08	15.85	3.27	24.33	1.00	7.53	1.18
Intermediate 18-20								
Mean Seriousness:								
Persons Interviewed								
With Contacts	5.35	4.15	13.42	7.42	5.33	4.00	6.77	4.71
In Cohort	2.40	.96	10.06	3.18	2.82	.80	3.30	1.17
Not Interviewed								
With Contacts	5.72	2.79	14.53	5.67	16.25	2.00	6.56	2.99
In Cohort	2.76	.68	10.90	2.27	14.44	1.33	3.29	.76
Adult 21+								
Mean Seriousness:								
Persons Interviewed								
With Contacts	5.19	5.84	24.54	11.33	8.00	5.50	8.21	6.98
In Cohort	2.91	.97	18.41	4.86	6.12	1.65	4.89	1.41
Not Interviewed								
With Contacts	7.32	4.04	16.63	2.29	.00	2.00	8.36	3.84
In Cohort	3.31	.98	13.30	1.07	16.00	1.33	3.93	.98
Total								
Mean Seriousness:								
Persons Interviewed								
With Contacts	13.83	5.90	45.93	18.78	24.00	6.33	18.56	7.56
In Cohort	11.48	2.91	43.06	12.07	21.18	3.80	15.70	3.90
Not Interviewed								
With Contacts	16.35	5.39	42.16	9.00	54.78	3.67	18.40	5.59
In Cohort	12.94	2.73	40.05	6.60	54.78	3.67	14.75	2.92

did build up for total careers for the White males from both cohorts so that, for the total, those who were *not* interviewed did have somewhat more serious scores than did those who were. Differences between those interviewed and not interviewed were quite marked among the Chicano males, suggesting that even with the relatively small numbers involved we cannot consider the Chicano interviews to be representative of Chicanos in the cohort (this is not a real problem as far as the overall objectives of the study are concerned, however, since they make up a small proportion of those who were interviewed). Similarly, Black males from the 1942 Cohort who were *not* interviewed had higher seriousness scores than did Blacks who were. For the 1949 Cohort most differences between the Blacks were in the opposite direction, with those who were interviewed having higher mean seriousness scores than those who were not. Therefore, the Black males interviewed from the 1942 Cohort, the Chicano males from the 1949 Cohort, and the Black females from the 1949 Cohort are less than representative of their race/ethnic|sex group. The total of those interviewed from both cohorts, however, has essentially the same seriousness scores as those who were not interviewed.

We shall next present some of the more basic data obtained from interviews with persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts and at the same time examine the relationships of those variables to the measures of delinquency that we have obtained from police records. While not all of these variables are antecedent to police contacts that might take place in early or late teens, some are and would (if not already known to officers in the juvenile bureau of a police department) be readily ascertainable in the course of an officer's discussion with the juvenile at the time of contact or during an interview if

the juvenile was taken into custody. Many of the variables could be utilized in making the decision to intervene or not to intervene, or to observe the development of the juvenile's career with the possibility of intervening if behavior continues to develop in a given direction. Furthermore, these data establish what might be called the "normalcy" of the cohort of residents of an urban-industrial city with a mix of race/ethnic groups that does not include minority group persons in such disproportionate numbers as do our largest metropolitan areas. (The Interview Schedule may be found in Appendix Q.)

EDUCATION AND POLICE CONTACTS

About 95% of the Whites, male and female, in each cohort had completed at least high school, trade school, or technical school. While only 25% of the females and 36% of the males in the 1942 Cohort had completed college, 39% of the females and 47% of the males in the 1949 Cohort had done so.

High school completion for Blacks was almost as high as that for the White males in both cohorts, but among both the Black females and Chicanas the completion rate was lower. College completion rates for the Black females were generally lower than those for the Whites but as high as 43% for the Black females in the 1949 Cohort and as low as 10% for the 1942 Black females. Black males were in between with 20% in the 1942 Cohort and 32% in the 1949 Cohort having completed college. Among the Chicanos the highest completion rate for college was 20% for the 1949 Cohort females while none of the 1942 Cohort males had completed college.

Much has been written about delinquency and dropouts and the relationship between them has turned out to be less direct than expected. Voss and Elliott determined that juveniles may actually have less police involvement after

leaving school than before, depending on their reasons for leaving.[9] This too seems to be the case for Racine for some subgroups with controls for sex and attitude toward school, but the findings are by no means consistent within or between cohorts.

Mean seriousness scores through the age of 17 and after the age of 17 are presented in Tables 4 and 5 for those who received high school diplomas and those who did not with controls for attitude toward school and sex. With several exceptions, those in the 1942 Cohort (even fewer exceptions for the 1949 Cohort) who received a diploma had lower seriousness scores during both age periods than did those who did not receive a diploma. In all cases except one in the 1942 Cohort, the deviant cases numbered no more than three persons. There were eight or nine persons in the deviant groups in the 1949 Cohort. The only major discrepancy in the pattern for the 1942 Cohort was for males with a negative attitude toward school who had been expelled or left school for other negative reasons. This group did have a slightly lower average seriousness after the age of 18 than did those who had received a diploma. Of further interest is the fact that these were the only groups containing more than two persons in which the mean seriousness score was greater through the age of 17 than at the age of 18 or older. These males, relatively speaking, seem to have benefited from leaving school disproportionately more than any other group in the 1942 Cohort. There were the same number of deviant females in the 1949 Cohort who did not receive a diploma, had negative attitudes toward school, and had slightly lower mean seriousness scores at the age of 18 and after. Of these, the females who did not receive a diploma because of expulsion or other negative reasons had lower mean seriousness scores after the age of 18 than before.

TABLE 4. MEAN SERIOUSNESS SCORES BY ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL AND WHETHER GRADUATED OR NOT GRADUATED AND REASONS NOT GRADUATED: 1942 COHORT*

	Positive Attitude Toward School			Negative Attitude Toward School		
1942 Cohort	Mean Seriousness Scores 6-17	18 or +	N	Mean Seriousness Scores 6-17	18 or +	N
Received Diploma	1.535	9.735	185	3.067	5.944	90
Failed to Receive Diploma:						
Personal Reasons	5.000	12.714	7	2.667	4.333	3
Expelled or other Negative Reasons	11.250	39.125	8	4.720	7.320	25
Total	2.045	11.015	200	3.407	6.195	118
Males	6-17	18 or +	N	6-17	18 or +	N
Received Diploma	3.969	25.375	64	4.492	7.831	59
Failed to Receive Diploma:						
Personal Reasons	12.000	7.000	1	2.000	7.000	1
Expelled or other Negative Reasons	15.000	52.167	6	7.385	7.231	13
Females	6-17	18 or +	N	6-17	18 or +	N
Received Diploma	.248	1.463	121	.355	2.355	31
Failed to Receive Diploma:						
Personal Reasons	3.833	13.667	6	3.000	3.000	2
Expelled or other Negative Reasons	.0	.0	2	1.833	7.417	12

*Several questions were pertinent to the classification of persons in this table: "How far did you go in school?" If not a high school graduate, "How did you happen to leave school before you graduated?"
Attitute toward high school for those who had any high school was based on responses to: "Overall, how did you feel about high school?" and "What did you like about school? What did you dislike about high school?"

TABLE 5. MEAN SERIOUSNESS SCORES BY ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL AND WHETHER GRADUATED OR NOT GRADUATED AND REASONS NOT GRADUATED: 1949 COHORT *

	Positive Attitude Toward School			Negative Attitude Toward School		
1949 Cohort	Mean Seriousness Scores 6-17	18 or +	N	Mean Seriousness Scores 6-17	18 or +	N
Received Diploma	2.385	3.558	278	3.976	4.888	206
Failed to Receive Diploma:						
Personal Reasons	4.500	8.417	12	2.111	5.778	9
Expelled or other Negative Reasons	15.200	20.800	5	20.581	35.129	31
Total	2.688	4.048	295	6.000	8.732	246
Males						
Received Diploma	4.256	6.289	121	5.924	5.424	118
Failed to Receive Diploma:						
Personal Reasons	16.500	26.500	2	14.000	25.000	1
Expelled or other Negative Reasons	20.000	25.000	3	24.560	43.000	25
Females						
Received Diploma	.943	1.452	157	1.364	4.171	88
Failed to Receive Diploma:						
Personal Reasons	2.100	4.800	10	.625	3.375	8
Expelled or other Negative Reasons	8.000	14.500	2	4.000	2.333	6

*Several questions were pertinent to the classification of persons in this table: "How far did you go in school?" If not a high school graduate, "How did you happen to leave school before you graduated?"
Attitude toward high school for those who had any high school was based on responses to: "Overall, how did you feel about high school?" and "What did you like about school? What did you dislike about high school?"

At this point it should be noted that persons who did not receive diplomas because they were expelled had disproportionately negative attitudes toward school and that disproportionate numbers of those who had negative attitudes failed to receive a diploma. In both ways the females were even more disproportionate than the males for the 1942 Cohort but not for the 1949 Cohort. Several other differences make the picture even more complex, however. Although those in the 1942 Cohort who received their diplomas and who had a positive attitude toward school had lower mean seriousness scores than persons with a negative attitude toward school during the ages 6-17, the opposite was the case for persons who failed to receive a diploma.[4] This was the case for 1942 Cohort males and females but only for females in the 1949 Cohort. Further complicating the findings was the fact that those with positive attitudes toward school had higher mean seriousness scores at the age of 18 or older whether they received a diploma or not than did those with negative attitudes. While this group finding was also true for males, an "inverse" relationship was found for the females as in the case of ages 6-17. This was not found for the 1949 Cohort as a whole or for the males where it was apparent that the combination of negative attitudes toward school and being expelled combined to generate the highest 18 and after seriousness scores. What makes this table even more puzzling is the fact that seriousness at the age of 18 and later was proportionately higher than at the ages 6-17 for those who received a diploma than for those who did not for the entire 1942 Cohort, regardless of sex or attitude toward school. Differences were small and inconsistent in the 1949 Cohort for both males and females.

At the same time, and this tends to be supportive of the Voss and Elliott findings, those males in the 1942 Cohort with negative attitudes toward

school had lower seriousness scores after the age of 18 than did those with positive attitudes toward school. This is also in spite of the fact that these males had higher 6-17 seriousness scores than did those who had a positive attitude. And, as we have said, this was not as clear-cut for the 1949 Cohort because this relationship was present only for those who had received a diploma and the size of the group with positive attitudes made comparison difficult for persons who did not receive a diploma.

While interpretation of these tables is not simple and some of the categories have very few persons, they definitely suggest that for the 1942 Cohort the seriousness scores of persons who have a negative attitude toward school do not increase after leaving school proportionately to those who professed a positive attitude. The findings for the 1949 Cohort, while parallel to those for the 1942 Cohort in some respects, reveal fewer striking differences in police records that suggest removal from school as removal from a trouble-producing situation. On balance, however, it may be said that the data suggest that males who do not look favorably on the school system are more likely to have a decline in the seriousness of their careers after 18 than are males who have positive attitudes toward school.

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL AND INCOME AND POLICE CONTACTS

The first jobs held by Whites were always at significantly higher levels than those of Chicanos and Blacks and the latter higher (but not significantly so) than Chicanos. There were also significant differences in occupational levels for present jobs of Chicanos, Blacks, and Whites (Whites were always at significantly higher levels than Blacks and Blacks were slightly above Chicanos). The occupational levels of the males born in 1942 were signifi-

cantly higher, as would be expected, than those born in 1949. There were relatively few wives employed, but here again the White wives had higher level jobs than did those of Chicanas and Blacks, the latter having jobs at almost the same levels.

Total family income was also significantly higher for those in the 1942 Cohort than those in the 1949 Cohort. Within each cohort, Whites had significantly higher family incomes than did Chicanos or Blacks, while the latter were earning essentially the same incomes. When occupational level of the head of the household was related to income, there was variation in the occupational level of persons within income categories in both cohorts, but the difference was significant only for the 1949 Cohort. Examination of income by occupational level revealed that the standard deviation within each income level at the top three levels was about one-third of the mean and sometimes greater and that the mean of the clerical and sales level was lower than that for craftsmen and foremen. Other similar "discrepancies" and peculiarities, particularly for industrial laborers in families where both husband and wife were employed, explained the lack of a linear relationship between head of household's occupation and total family income. The not unexpected lack of a linear relationship between occupational levels and income reinforces our reliance on the natural area scheme of Racine as a better indicator of socioeconomic status. It should also be noted that while first job and present job of respondents from both cohorts were significantly related, there was considerable upward mobility between first and present jobs.

OCCUPATION AND REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT OF PARENTS AND POLICE CONTACTS OF RESPONDENTS

There was been great emphasis in the literature on the causal relation-

ship between socioeconomic status and rates of juvenile delinquency and crime. Although we found considerable variation by natural area in Racine, by place of socialization, and place of residence as indicators of the SES of the milieu in which the behavior took place, the findings were not as clear at the individual level. There was practically no linear relationship between occupational level of the head of the household in a respondent's family and the number of contacts that respondents had had with the police. However, if occupational levels are dichotomized (highest three occupational levels vs. others or highest four occupational levels vs. others) and the average number of police contacts calculated, those with parents in either of the lower occupational level groups have a higher mean number of contacts. For the White males during the period 6-17 in the 1942 Cohort the mean is 2.0 contacts for the top four levels and 2.5 for the bottom four levels; for the 1949 Cohort it is 2.0 vs. 3.0. With the exception of Black males in both 1942 and 1949 where the means are .7 vs. 4.0 (1942) and 3.4 vs. 5.6 (1949), other race/ethnic|sex differences are less or nonexistent. For the ages 18-20 there is practically no difference between the Whites but there is for the Blacks. Again, at the age period 21 or older, differences between Whites in mean number of police contacts by occupational level of parents is very small or nonexistent while differences for Blacks remain only for the 1949 Cohort, 10.3 vs. 14.6 police contacts. One further note, and here it might be thought that we are pushing the data if each race/ethnic|sex group is dichotomized not only on occupation but on whether or not persons in the groups had any police contacts, consistent differences are found on a basis of parental occupational levels for Black males in both cohorts during every age period. Our initial

conclusion is that occupational level of parents has its strongest and most consistent relationship to juvenile delinquency and adult crime among Black males.

We next turned to regularity of employment of the head of the household and its relationship to the child's police contacts. Regularity of employment was coded: "Yes, all the time," "Employed during age 6 through 13," "Employed during age 14 through 17," and "Never regularly employed." Although there were no significant relationships between number of police contacts or seriousness scores and regularity of employment, no matter how the data were manipulated for any race/ethnic|sex or age period group of either cohort, those who came from families where the head was not regularly employed did have delinquency score distributions that were either skewed toward the high end of the scale or less skewed toward the lower end than were those where the head was always regularly employed.[5]

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR POLICE CONTACT RECORDS

Although the value of work for youth has been widely accepted and much has been said about how it builds citizenship, the relationship of work to delinquency is not really straightforward. Responses to a series of questions on work while in high school were divided into four categories: (1) no work, (2) work during the summer only, (3) work during the school year, and (4) work all year round. No way of arranging the data (for the periods 6 through 17, 18 through 20, or 21 or over) in order to maximize the relationship produced a statistically significant difference for any group or for all race/ethnic groups combined.

Although the tables suggested that those who worked, particularly the

males, during both the summer and school year during the ages 12 through 18 (the years in which most persons would have been in junior high and high school) had more police contacts, higher Geometric scores, and higher seriousness scores than had others, there were no significant differences related to high school employment.

One other way to approach the supposedly deterrent effect of gainful employment at an early age was to determine the relationship of age at first full time job to number of recorded police contacts at each age period. Those males who began working full time prior to age 18 had significantly more contacts during that period than did those who did so at later periods. Does this mean that early entry into full time work leads to early delinquency because the nature of some work makes one more likely to have police contacts or is it simply a function of the fact that those who commence working full time at an early age are from the lower socioeconomic groups? Is it perhaps because employment provides the funds for liquor, drugs, automobiles, and other kinds of activities that lead to police contacts? We shall find out more about this when age that driver's license was obtained and availability of an auto are examined.

When police contacts for the age period 18-20 were considered the pattern was similar to that for the previous period but the relationship was not quite as strong. This suggests that the economic factor (as it influenced the decision to enter the work force at an early age) was probably not as much a determinant of the number of police contacts that young males had who had commenced work during the 18-20 age period as it was for young males who entered even earlier. Further decline in the relationship of age at first full time job to number of police contacts was noted when contacts at the age

of 21 or older were arrayed by age of first full time work experience. In this table (but not in others) there is a tendency for females who entered their first full time jobs at the ages of 18 through 20 to have more contacts than those who did so prior to 18, followed of course by those who commenced working full time at the age of 21 or older. This raises the question of how commencing to work full time at the ages of 18 through 20 for females might lead to more police contacts as adults than other ages of entry into work, a question which we have not yet answered.

Since we hypothesize that juveniles from lower socioeconomic status homes entered the labor market earlier than did those at the other end of the continuum and this increases the risk of certain types of police contacts in the course of work and other types as a consequence of having spending money, and since area of socialization as a proxy for socioeconomic status is related to police contacts, it is clear that early employment may be correlated with police contacts for a variety of reasons.

We next examined the data age by age, controlling for years of exposure before and after first full time job, and compared number and seriousness of contacts before and after age of first full time job. Although this reduced the number of years for which valid comparisons could be made for the 1942 Cohort, the results are more definitive, as shown in Table 6. While there are significant differences between the average number of police contacts and seriousness scores before and after full time employment among those who commenced work at almost any age, the ratio being 2 to 1 for all years shown in Table 6 for males from both cohorts, and although the same for females in the 1949 Cohort, it was close to 4 to 1 for the 1942 Cohort. How

TABLE 6. AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES PER PERSON PER YEAR OF EXPOSURE BEFORE AND AFTER FIRST FULL TIME JOB: 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS*

1942 Cohort

	Males				Females			
Age at First Full time Job:	Before Mean	After Mean	Ratio	N	Before Mean	After Mean	Ratio	N
Number of Police Contacts								
17	.1273	.4400	3.5	25	.0114	.0375	3.3	40
18	.1194	.2144	1.8	60	.0203	.0660	3.3	74
19	.1566	.3058	2.0	28	.0043	.0625	14.5	18
Mean for 17-19	.1304	.2876	2.2	113	.0154	.0569	3.7	132
Seriousness Scores								
17	.3309	1.0778	3.3	25	.0205	.0708	3.5	40
18	.2986	.4377	1.5	60	.0439	.1351	3.1	74
19	.4176	.7835	1.9	28	.0043	.1806	42.0	18
Mean for 17-19	.3352	.6670	2.0	113	.0314	.1218	3.9	132

1949 Cohort

Number of Police Contacts								
16	.1882	.7330	3.9	17	--	--	--	4
17	.4571	1.0139	2.2	36	.0771	.0581	0.8	33
18	.2026	.3478	1.7	109	.0295	.0771	2.6	99
19	.0892	.2440	2.7	25	.0581	.1429	2.5	49
20	.1122	.1005	0.9	21	.0280	.0918	3.3	23
21	.0982	.1974	2.0	19	.0303	.0511	1.7	22
22	.0795	.1494	1.9	22	.0000	.0110	--	13
Mean for 16-22	.2006	.4101	2.0	249	.0400	.0849	2.1	243
Seriousness Scores								
16	.3765	1.9548	5.2	17	--	--	--	4
17	1.2475	2.8194	2.3	36	.1763	.1540	0.9	33
18	.5344	.8624	1.6	109	.0648	.1625	2.5	99
19	.2369	.5360	2.3	25	.1460	.3510	2.4	49
20	.2789	.1958	0.7	21	.0404	.1691	4.2	23
21	.2667	.4342	1.6	19	.0576	.1364	2.4	22
22	.1932	.3052	1.6	22	.0000	.0110	--	13
Mean for 16-22	.5247	1.0490	2.0	249	.0913	.1948	2.1	243

* Years at which first full-time job was obtained by a sufficient number of persons for comparison.

these ratios vary by age is that with which we are concerned. For males, if first full time employment occurred at the age of 17, number of contacts and seriousness scores were greater after employment by a ratio of 3.5 to 1 to 5.2 to 1. There was less difference or the opposite relationship for those who commenced work at a later age, the ratios being below or only slightly above the mean. No such relationship was produced for females in the 1942 Cohort; in the case of contacts and seriousness the ratio was highest at age 19, which is consistent, of course, with the age-period analysis which found greater increases during the period 18-20 for females rather than prior to 18. With proportionately more female police contacts in the 1949 Cohort and the growing similarity of female and male patterns of delinquency, the before and after first job contact and seriousness ratios still presented a quite different pattern. Early first full time jobs did not generate higher police contact rates but the ratios for females who first worked at age 20 did become similar to early employment ratios for men who were first employed at an early age.

While it is impossible to say just how much the difference in police contacts among those who commenced work at an early age can be attributed to a different kind of exposure as a result of going to work or to lower socio-economic status of those who entered work at an early age, the fact remains that those males who did commence work early were not prevented from having a disproportionate share of police contacts and higher seriousness scores in the years to follow. There is also the possibility that commitment to work detracts from commitment to school, as suggested by reasons given for leaving school before graduation. This complex interrelationship along with

that of numerous other intriguing variables will be explored through multivariate techniques in a later chapter. Our strategy, of course, is to examine and discuss several variables at a time, chapter by chapter, in order to obtain greater understanding of the nature of the data and some basic interrelationships than we would have if multivariate analyses were presented at the outset.

Respondents were also asked if the kinds of work available to them (as adults) were the kinds that they would really like to do. Sizeable proportions (66% of the Black males from the 1949 Cohort) said that the kinds of work available to them were not what they would really like to do. Nevertheless, responses to this question had no significant relationship to number of police contacts, although White males from the 1949 Cohort were more likely to have had police contacts if dissatisfied with the availability of preferred types of work than other race/ethnic|sex segments from either cohort.

Regardless of the evidence that there was some relationship between socioeconomic status and police contacts, there was little or no relationship between family income of respondents in 1976 and their record of police contacts as juveniles 6 through 17, youth 18 through 20, or 21 or older except for males at the later period. When the data were controlled for race/ethnicity and sex there was some indication for both White and Black males (1949 Cohort) that those who had five or more police contacts were skewed toward the lower income levels (less than $15,000 total family income per year) but until this point was reached there was little variation in contact type with income levels. This was again true for the White and Black males from the 1949 Cohort for the period 18 through 20. Skewness toward the

lower income categories for those Whites and Blacks with five or more contacts was even more noticeable for the 21 or older age period for both cohorts. This type of relationship was present to a smaller degree for females.

FAMILY TYPE, MARITAL STATUS, AND POLICE CONTACTS

Each family was coded into one of 20 different family types depending on whether or not both parents were present in the household during the period 6 through 17 or was comprised of some combination of the parents, step-parents, grandparents, etc. Less than 10% of those who were interviewed from either cohort were in the categories describing some family type other than both parents present for the age period 6-17, although among the Blacks about half of those in the 1942 Cohort and one third of those in the 1949 Cohort were in categories other than both parents present throughout the entire period.[6]

When the distributions of police contacts were dichotomized (no contacts vs. one or more), those from homes with both parents present for the age period 6-17 did have a greater percentage (but not statistically significant) without contacts (from 8% for the 1949 Cohort's females to 21% for the 1942 Cohort's males) than did those who came from families where both parents were not present the entire time. There were also correlations between number of contacts and seriousness scores and family status for both males and females of each cohort but all were small (.124 was the highest). In all cases the difference between those from homes with both parents present and those from homes in which they were not present was the opposite of that suggested by Toby, i.e., having both parents present produced less difference for the females than for the males.[7] This may be another case in which historical effects are no longer present.

Again, we conclude that there is some relationship between family type, seriousness, and patterns of delinquency for young males but that it is not as strong as the literature has suggested, probably because most of the studies have been based on cases referred to the juvenile court and there is a tendency to refer when both parents are not present in the home.

Another set of relationships derived from the interview data should be noted as they pertain to the family. Respondents were asked: "Did either of your parents (to the best of your knowledge) ever do anything that could have gotten them into trouble with the police?" Presumably, there should be a relationship between parental behavior and the behavior of their children. There was practically no relationship between responses to the question and number of police contacts during the age period 6-17 or 18-20 for either male or female respondents from either cohort, and with the only suggestion of any kind of relationship for males from both cohorts for the age period 21 or older. Since one might argue that respondent reports on parental misbehavior may be based on faulty knowledge, we are not presenting these findings as evidence of no relationship between parental misbehavior and respondent's records of police contacts but only that respondents do not report their parents' behavior as consistent with their own police records. In a chapter following, the police contact records of parents are compared with those of their children.

Although we have not found the family type in which respondents were reared to be an efficient predictor of police contacts or seriousness of careers at any age period, there remains a possibility that current marital status may be related to one or the other of these measures. Although the

number of minority persons interviewed from the 1942 Cohort is small, the present status reported most frequently was married. The much larger number of Whites interviewed from this cohort reported a majority of themselves (over 80%) married and very few reported experiencing divorce, being widowed, or being separated.

Those interviewed from the 1949 Cohort did not report such marital stability. Almost 90% of the Chicano males said they were married but among the Chicanas only 60% were married and 30% either had never married or were divorced and not remarried. Half of the Black males were not presently married (34% never married) and, while 40% of them were married, 15% of those married reported themselves separated from their wives. Almost 19% of this group (Black males) also reported themselves as living with someone. As would be expected, fewer White males were married (65%) than White females (75%) and the remainder were in various other categories of marital status.

Since marriage has been considered a stabilizing influence, we have utilized the same analytic approach as with age of first full time employment, determining the number of contacts and seriousness scores for respondents before and after marriage by age of marriage. Whether the marriage was very early or later in life it presumably has some influence on the nature of the impact of this change in status on number of contacts afterwards. The impact of age of marriage is of course related to a number of other variables such as employment status so that the analysis, even with controls for years of before and after exposure, is not to be considered definitive.

The average number and seriousness of police contacts per year of exposure before and after age of marriage (age of marriage included in after)

is shown in Table 7. Note that the average number and seriousness of contacts for all years included in the analysis is about the same for males of both cohorts but that for females in the 1942 Cohort the ratio is about 1 to 3 for contacts and 1 to 4 for seriousness, falling to 1 to 1.3 and 1.5 for females in the 1949 Cohort.

With the exception of the age of 19 for the 1942 Cohort males, there was no age of marriage followed by a marked increase in the average number or seriousness of contacts. Furthermore, there did not seem to be a trend in the ratios for either number of seriousness of contacts for either cohort for the males.

By contrast, marriage at either the age of 18 or 21 was followed by a disproportionate increase in number and seriousness of police contacts for females from the 1942 Cohort while the age of 17 and 21 produced the most disproportionate increase for those from the 1949 Cohort. We have no theoretical explanation for those sex differences but it is apparent that differences exist in before and after number of contacts and seriousness but that they are patterned by age of marriage. Our final statement on the impact of family status, marital status of respondent, and age of marriage will come from the multivariate analyses.

One remaining and closely related variable must be given consideration in this chapter, and that is the age at which the respondent reported moving away from home. There are several conflicting propositions which would suggest differences in police contact records before and after the event, with one hypothesizing an increase in police contacts without parental restraints and the other suggesting a decline as a consequence of removal from a con-

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TABLE 7. AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES PER PERSON PER YEAR OF EXPOSURE BEFORE AND AFTER AGE OF MARRIAGE: 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

1942 Cohort

Number of Police Contacts

Age of Marriage:	Males Before Mean	Males After Mean	Males Ratio	Males N	Females Before Mean	Females After Mean	Females Ratio	Females N
18	--	--	--	4	.0222	.0980	4.4	30
19	.1615	.3819	2.4	10	.0282	.0854	3.0	30
20	.2619	.2267	0.9	15	.0106	.0247	2.3	27
21	.2583	.3482	1.3	24	.0116	.0621	5.4	23
22	.1696	.1648	1.0	21	.0083	.0205	2.5	15
23	.1267	.0705	0.6	13	.0294	.0324	1.1	18
24	.1242	.1337	1.1	17	--	--	--	5
Mean for 18-24	.1977	.2224	1.1	104	.0184	.0592	3.2	148

Seriousness Scores

18	--	--	--	4	.0500	.2667	5.3	30
19	.3769	.9097	2.4	10	.0487	.2292	4.7	30
20	.7286	.4889	0.6	15	.0238	.0444	1.9	27
21	.6444	.8244	1.3	24	.0261	.1460	5.6	23
22	.4048	.3736	0.9	21	.0083	.0410	4.9	15
23	.2986	.1346	0.5	13	.0359	.0509	1.4	18
24	.2941	.2727	0.9	17	--	--	--	5
Mean for 18-24	.4924	.5004	1.0	104	.0336	.1447	4.3	148

1949 Cohort

Number of Police Contacts

17	--	--	--	0	.0519	.1548	3.1	14
18	--	--	--	3	.0735	.0775	1.1	34
19	.2105	.1737	0.8	19	.0385	.0528	1.4	36
20	.2232	.1759	0.8	24	.0348	.0379	1.1	41
21	.2450	.2762	1.1	43	.0216	.0368	1.7	34
22	.1304	.1592	1.2	35	.0677	.0595	0.9	24
23	.1923	.2179	1.1	26	.0425	.0463	1.1	18
24	.2257	.0375	0.2	16	.0159	0.0000	0.0	7
Mean for 17-24	.2027	.2002	1.0	166	.0446	.0566	1.3	208

Seriousness Scores

17	--	--	--	0	.1039	.3929	3.8	14
18	--	--	--	3	.1740	.2246	1.3	34
19	.5223	.3105	0.6	19	.0940	.1278	1.4	36
20	.6161	.4444	0.7	24	.0784	.0759	1.0	41
21	.6729	.7267	1.1	43	.0333	.0919	2.8	34
22	.3482	.4041	1.2	35	.1510	.1726	1.1	24
23	.4955	.4423	0.9	26	.0817	.1852	2.3	18
24	.5417	.1125	0.2	16	.0317	0.0000	0.0	7
Mean for 17-24	.5379	.4818	0.9	166	.0982	.1512	1.5	208

flict situation and the assumption of adult roles. Still another viewpoint would hypothesize that the nature of the conflict situation determines whether moving away from home increases or decreases involvement with the police. The immediate problems faced by the juvenile may be in themselves generative of certain types of police contacts.

Rather than take a fixed position on the issue we should commence by subjecting the data to the same analytic procedures as age of marriage, as shown in Table 8.

Surprisingly enough, the average number of police contacts actually decreased after respondents reported moving away from home but seriousness scores increased for males in the 1942 Cohort. Both increased for males from the 1949 Cohort. Leaving home at the age of 18 seems to have resulted in a marked increase in police contacts and seriousness for those males from the 1942 Cohort and a somewhat lesser increase, but still an increase, for those who left at 17 and 19. The 1949 Cohort males did not produce such a straightforward pattern but leaving home at age 20 seemed to produce the greatest future difference in number and seriousness of police contacts.

Turning to the females for both cohorts, there is some indication of a decline in the ratio of before and after number of contacts and seriousness with age at which they left home but it is not consistent. Again, while the overall ratio of before and after contacts and seriousness differed from that for the males in the 1942 Cohort, these ratios were similar for the 1949 Cohort. For whatever reason, however, moving away from home at an early age was followed by higher average yearly rates thereafter for the females than for the males from both cohorts.

TABLE 8. AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES PER PERSON PER YEAR OF EXPOSURE BEFORE AND AFTER MOVING AWAY FROM HOME: 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

1942 Cohort

Number of Police Contacts

Age at Time of Move:	Males Before Mean	Males After Mean	Males Ratio	Males N	Females Before Mean	Females After Mean	Females Ratio	Females N
17	.1866	.3421	1.8	19	--	--	--	6
18	.0714	.2723	3.8	28	.0183	.0918	5.0	50
19	.1255	.2007	1.6	19	.0158	.0625	4.0	39
20	.2078	.2485	1.2	22	.0110	.0410	3.7	26
21	.2524	.2602	1.0	28	.0127	.0340	2.7	21
22	.2132	.1719	0.8	17	.0069	.0085	1.2	9
Mean for 17-22	.1744	.1504	0.9	133	.0178	.0610	3.4	151

Seriousness Scores

17	.4641	.7339	1.6	19	--	--	--	6
18	.1845	.7081	3.8	28	.0350	.2212	6.3	50
19	.3036	.4803	1.6	19	.0217	.1619	7.5	39
20	.5714	.5576	1.0	22	.0302	.0846	2.8	26
21	.6429	.6250	1.0	28	.0127	.0748	5.9	21
22	.4669	.4163	0.9	17	.0069	.0085	1.2	9
Mean for 17-22	.4381	.5987	1.4	133	.0312	.1438	4.6	151

1949 Cohort

Number of Police Contacts

17	.4229	.9601	2.3	23	.0545	.1333	2.4	20
18	.2163	.3483	1.6	89	.0507	.1304	2.6	69
19	.2276	.2939	1.3	49	.0502	.0510	1.0	49
20	.1404	.4061	2.9	29	.0403	.0456	1.1	39
21	.0853	.0900	1.1	25	.0280	.0363	1.3	31
22	.1349	.2932	2.2	19	.0286	.0179	0.6	24
Mean for 17-22	.2090	.3721	1.8	234	.0439	.0754	1.7	232

Seriousness Scores

17	1.1344	.6630	0.6	23	.1136	.3292	2.9	20
18	.5852	.9152	1.1	89	.1159	.3228	2.8	69
19	.5714	.6755	1.2	49	.1256	.1224	1.0	49
20	.3670	1.1303	3.1	29	.0806	.0855	1.1	39
21	.1813	.1600	0.9	25	.0452	.0968	2.1	31
22	.2961	.7444	2.5	19	.0495	.0952	1.9	24
Mean for 17-22	.5426	.9689	1.8	234	.0955	.1874	2.0	232

SUMMARY

Although we have discussed numerous variables from the interviews and their relationship to police contacts, only a portion of these variables contributed to an understanding of the process whereby juveniles develop official records.

Although the impact of the school on delinquency has been explored in a limited fashion, it is apparent that reason for not obtaining a high school diploma and attitude toward school are related in no simple fashion to number and seriousness of police contacts that respondents acquired at the age of 18 or older. However, it is also apparent that a negative attitude toward school may be followed by fewer and less serious police contacts after leaving school.

Those who came from families where the head was not regularly employed did have delinquency score distributions that were either skewed toward the high end of the scale or less skewed toward the lower end than were those where the head was always regularly employed. Those who worked during the years in which most persons would have been in junior high and high school, particularly the males, during both the summer and school year, had more police contacts and higher seriousness scores than did others. When police contacts before and after age of first full time job for males were compared, we found very significant differences between the number of police contacts and seriousness scores before and after full time employment among those who commenced work at an early age, particularly if first full time employment was at the age of 16 or 17. While contact rates and seriousness scores were higher after first full time employment than before for the females in both

cohorts, the pattern for the 1942 Cohort differed from that for the 1949 Cohort with neither showing an effect of early employment such as that found for males, regardless of age of first full time job.

White males from the 1949 Cohort were more likely to have had police contacts if dissatisfied with the availability of preferred types of work than were other race/ethnic|sex segments from either cohort.

Male respondents married at the age of 19 had, on the average, more and more serious police contacts in the years to follow than did respondents who were married at the age of 20 to 24. Early marriage seemed to be associated with more frequent and more serious contacts for females but the picture was not clear because a high ratio of average contacts after marriage to the average for years previous to marriage was found for both cohorts at the ages of 18 and 21.

Moving away from home at an early age had a definite impact on the police contact records of males from the 1942 Cohort and a less clear impact on the 1949 Cohort. In both cohorts, moving away from home at a relatively early age seemed to have more impact on police contacts and seriousness scores for the females than the males.

FOOTNOTES

[1] During the period between April 15, 1976, and the beginning of the interviewer training course on May 24, well over 100 persons were interviewed in Racine for consideration for employment on the project. From these were selected 71 persons as interviewers, as community contact workers, or for clerical work in the Racine Police Department, or the Center's office at the Gateway Technical Institute.

Of those selected for employment, 60 were trained as interviewers, three as community contact personnel, and eight assigned to the Police Department, or to our Gateway office. The Gateway Technical Institute supplied us with an excellent suite of offices without charge. The cooperation of Dr. Keith W. Stoehr, District Director of the Institute, Dr. Milton C. Millery, Assistant Director, Ralph Troeller, Coordinator of Instructional Services, Mr. Tom Bishop, and many others at Gateway factilitated the task of finding interviewers and housing the project. The staff of the Racine Environment Committee was also helpful in securing interviewers. Professor James McKeown of the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin--Parkside was particularly helpful to us in finding interviewers.

[2] A very large debt is owed to Dr. Gabriel P. Ferrazzano, Commissioner of Health, Racine City Health Department, for without his files it would have been impossible to follow such a large proportion of the females under their married names.

[3] Elliott and Voss (Delbert S. Elliott and Harwin L. Voss, *Delinquency and Dropout* [Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., Lexington Books, 1974] and an earlier report by Elliott, "Delinquency, School Attendance and Dropout," *Social Problems* 13 [1966] pp. 307-14) are not alone in their concern about the role of the school in delinquency. We have also previously referred to Kenneth Polk and Walter E. Schafer (eds.) *Schools and Delinquency* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972). There has also been extensive literature on the relationship of school performance to delinquency (see Chapter 9, LaMar T. Empey, *American Delinquency: Its Meaning and Construction* [Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1978] for an excellent discussion). As he states, the relationship between school

performance and delinquency has been established but the question is how it is to be interpreted. We are inclined to think that both control theory and strain theory play a part in explaining the relationship between the school and delinquency.

[4] The literature on both school achievement and attachment to teachers and school suggests that academic success and a positive attitude toward teachers and school are associated with low delinquency rates while in school. See, for example, Gary F. Jensen, "Race, Achievement and Delinquency: A Further Look at Delinquency in a Birth Cohort," *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (1976) pp. 379-87. Also see Chapter 7, "Contexts for Adolescent Socialization: Family, School, and Adolescent Society," Gary F. Jensen and Dean G. Rojek, *Delinquency: A Sociological View* (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1980). Jensen and Rojek, in summarizing the literature, conclude as do we, that variables related to high in-school delinquency are not predictive of continued delinquency after leaving school. The relationship of socioeconomic status to delinquency varies depending on whether the status of the household is considered or whether contextual measures of socioeconomic status are employed. We have shown that there is some decline in police contact rates, referral rates, and so on moving from the inner city to higher socioeconomic status areas on the fringe of the community. Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, *op. cit.*, also found that lower socioeconomic status youth had a greater probability of having a delinquent record. It is very possible that Tittle, Villemez, and Smith have made a major point in noting that social class may have been more important in earlier years than at present. Just as we have shown that differences between males and females are declining, so may socioeconomic status differences in rates. See Charles R. Tittle, Wayne J. Villemez, and Douglas A. Smith, "The Myth of Social Class and Criminality," *American Sociological Review* 43 (1978) pp. 643-656. But there is again a question of whether behavior has changed or is a matter of converging rates because the police are more even-handed in record keeping and referrals.

[5] Although there has been lengthy literature on the relationship of family type and family interaction to juvenile delinquency with inconsistent findings one obtains the impression that those with a positive finding (broken

or disrupted homes associated with delinquency) are more frequently cited. Roland J. Chilton and Gerald E. Markle, "Family Disruption, Delinquent Conduct and the Effect of Subclassification," *American Sociological Review* 37 (1972) pp. 93-99, find differences in referral rates based on family status. For an example of negative findings see Robert E. Dentler and Lawrence J. Monroe, "Social Correlates of Early Adolescent Theft," *American Sociological Review* 26 (1961) pp. 733-743. Jensen and Rojek, *op. cit.*, mention both and numerous others, referring as well to the self-fulfilling prophesy nature of the system.

[6] That family disorganization does not have the same effects on males as on females has been noted in other studies. Jackson Toby dealt with this issue and provided a theoretical basis for explaining sex differences in "The Differential Impact of Family Disorganization," *American Sociological Review* 22 (1957) pp. 505-512.

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Chapter 18. A Retrospective Description of How Juveniles Perceived Their Contacts With the Police

WHAT THEY REPORT ABOUT THEMSELVES AS JUVENILES AFTER THEY ARE ADULTS

We have shown that very few juveniles continue to have police contacts after the age of 18 and that attrition is very rapid after that age with only a small percentage continuing to have contacts throughout the period covered by this study. A look at how a sample of cohort members perceived the misbehavior which resulted in police contacts (if any) and how they perceived their misbehavior that did not result in police contacts (if any) will give us some idea of why we should not even have expected a large proportion to continue their misbehavior beyond the late teens. Responses by those interviewed from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts provide us with some very illuminating material.

Before 18 Misbehavior That Resulted in Police Contacts

Over half of each cohort (53.6% of the 1942 Cohort and 59.4% of the 1949 Cohort) stated that they had been stopped by the police before the age of 18 for doing something wrong or something the police suspected was wrong, but only 37.5% and 48.0% had ever had their contacts recorded by the police. Of those who reported being stopped by the police, about 45% of each cohort had had only one incident of this nature and almost 70% had reported being stopped only once or twice before the age of 18. About 60% of each cohort indicated that their contact with the police had been around the age of 16 or 17. So, just as our official data have shown, relatively few began to have contacts with the police at an early age and most police contacts

took place around the age of 16 or 17.

What the police said the juveniles were doing differed somewhat from what the respondents said they were actually doing, but in both cases more of the contacts by far were for traffic offenses than any other reason (see Table 1). Between 16% and 17% of the police contacts involve disorderly conduct on the part of the juveniles, with the juveniles agreeing to this to a somewhat lesser extent. In around 20% of the cases the juveniles saw their misbehavior as unintentional or simply mischievous. Even as the police saw it only a small percentage of the contacts involved what would be considered a serious misdemeanor or a felony if they had been adult; in fact, only 4.9% of the 1949 contacts could be described as felonious behavior and only 6.2% of the 1942 contacts could be described in that way. Eighty-eight percent and 80% respectively of the 1942 and 1949 Cohort contacts were for misdemeanors.

Misbehavior Before 18 Which Did Not Result in Police Contact

In addition to the self-report forms administered along with the interview schedule (to be discussed in Chapter 19) a line of questioning also dealt with misbehavior before the age of 18 which did not result in being caught by the police. Over 66.4% and 69.6% of the two cohorts stated that they had done things before they were 18 for which they could have been caught by the police. When asked what things they did, Liquor violations headed the list, as shown in Table 2, followed by Theft and Disorderly conduct. Since relatively few admitted traffic offenses for which they were not caught it is fairly obvious that the high rate of police contacts for this behavior indicates that these offenses are considerably more visible while liquor violations are relatively less visible. But here again, there were relatively

TABLE 1. REASONS FOR WHICH RESPONDENTS WERE STOPPED BY POLICE BEFORE AGE 18, ACCORDING TO RESPONDENTS AND ACCORDING TO WHAT RESPONDENTS REPORTED THE POLICE AS SAYING

	Percent of Total Incidents Described by Respondents*			
	1942		1949	
	Police Statements	Respondent Statements	Police Statements	Respondent Statements
Traffic Offense	43.0	31.1	37.5	25.5
Disorderly Conduct	16.3	13.3	16.9	13.3
Liquor Violation	5.9	8.9	6.4	8.9
Theft	5.6	6.3	7.7	6.0
Incorrigible, Runaway	5.6	6.3	11.8	9.9
Sex Offense	1.1	5.2	1.1	6.0
Vagrancy	7.8	4.4	7.1	5.3
Truancy	.7	1.5	.6	.4
Auto Theft	1.1	1.1	.9	1.7
Burglary	1.5	.7	2.4	1.3
Robbery	.4	.4	.0	.2
Property Destruction	.7	.4	.2	.0
Assault	.0	.0	.2	.4
Drugs	.0	.0	.2	.0
Forgery, Fraud	.0	.0	1.0	.6
Weapons	.0	.0	.6	.4
Unintentional or Mischievous Behavior		20.4		18.6
Contact: Suspicion, Investigation, or Information	10.4		5.4	
	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 270		N = 533	

* "How many times before you were 18 did the police stop you for doing something wrong or something that they suspected was wrong?" [1942 N=333; 1949 N=556]

"Tell me about the ones you remember best." "According to the police, what were you doing that attracted their attention?" "What were you (respondent) really doing?"

TABLE 2. MISBEHAVIOR BEFORE 18 WHICH DID NOT RESULT IN POLICE CONTACTS

"What things did you do?"	Percent of Total Incidents Described*	
	1942	1949
Liquor violation	31.5	38.9
Theft	24.8	20.1
Disorderly conduct	12.2	11.8
Traffic offense	10.0	5.4
Incorrigible, runaway	4.1	4.9
Vagrancy	3.6	2.6
Weapons	3.2	2.6
Sex Offenses	2.2	2.1
Truancy	1.8	.3
Forgery, fraud	1.3	3.7
Drugs	1.3	3.3
Auto theft	1.3	1.0
Property destruction	.9	.0
Burglary	.5	1.8
Assault	.0	.3
Gambling	.0	.3
Not ascertained	1.3	1.0
	100.0	100.1
	N = 222	N = 388

"Can you think of any things you used to do (before you were 18) for which you could have been caught by the police but which they never found out about?" [1942 N=333; 1949 N=556]

few admissions, aside from theft, of behavior which had they been adult would have been classified as a felony. In all likelihood, most of the theft behavior would have been only a misdemeanor. Probably only between 10% and 15% of the misbehaviors which are described would have been considered serious misdemeanors or felonies if committed by an adult. And we must remember that these behaviors were committed by that two-thirds who said that they had done things for which they could have been caught but were not. In other words, only a relatively small proportion of each cohort had engaged in serious misbehavior for which they were not apprehended. Table 3 facilitates comparison of the incidents for which police stopped respondents with the things that they stated they had done for which they were not caught. Here the discrepancies for Traffic offenses, Liquor violations, and Theft are quite obvious. Admissions of offenses involving Drugs, Forgery, Fraud, and Weapons as a group indicate that they constitute a more sizeable proportion of the behavior for which juveniles were not caught than the proportion for which they were.

The Fullness of Participation

When the persons from each cohort who were stopped by the police or who had engaged in behavior for which they could have been stopped (by their own accounts) are combined, they add up to well over 90% participation in youthful misbehavior of one type or another for the males and 65% to 70% for the females. And as Table 4 reveals, female participation has increased in the 1949 Cohort over that of the 1942 Cohort by over 15%.

Even though traffic offenses constitute a large proportion of all incidents, liquor and theft make up from 55% to 60% of the incidents which did

TABLE 3. WHAT POLICE STOPPED RESPONDENT FOR AND WHAT RESPONDENTS SAID THEY DID FOR WHICH THEY WERE NOT CAUGHT

	Percent of total incidents or things described			
	1942		1949	
	Stopped for	Not Caught for	Stopped for	Not Caught for
Traffic offense	43.0	10.0	37.5	5.4
Disorderly conduct	16.3	12.2	16.9	11.8
Vagrancy	7.8	3.6	7.1	2.6
Liquor violation	5.9	31.5	6.4	38.9
Theft	5.6	24.8	7.7	20.1
Incorrigilibity, runaway	5.6	4.1	11.8	4.9
Burglary	1.5	.5	2.4	1.8
Sex offense	1.1	2.2	1.1	2.1
Auto theft	1.1	1.3	.9	1.0
Truancy	.7	1.8	.6	.3
Property destruction	.7	.9	.2	.0
Robbery	.4	.0	.0	.0
Assault	.0	.0	.2	.3
Gambling	.0	.0	.0	.3
Drugs	.0	1.3	.2	3.3
Forgery, fraud	.0	1.3	1.0	3.7
Weapons	.0	3.2	.6	2.6
Contact: suspicion, investigation, or information	10.4		5.4	
Not ascertained		1.3		1.0
	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1

TABLE 4. PERCENT OF THE 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS INTERVIEWED WHO ADMITTED MISBEHAVIOR BEFORE THE AGE OF 18 (DETECTED AND UNDETECTED)

	1942			1949		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Stopped by police and did things	62.3	21.6	40.4	65.3	28.2	46.8
Stopped by police but didn't do things	13.9	11.9	12.8	12.3	13.4	12.8
Not stopped by police but did things	19.2	31.3	25.7	16.2	29.6	22.9
Not stopped and didn't do things	4.6	35.2	21.1	6.1	28.9	17.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0
Either stopped or did things	95.4	64.8	78.9	93.9	71.1	82.5
N =	151	176	327	277	277	554

not result in apprehension. Why sex offenses are so low is difficult to explain unless persons from both cohorts no longer perceive premarital sex as something which the police would consider wrong or are more reluctant to admit sex offenses than other types of offenses.

We shall return to the line of questioning which followed these reports but before doing so we should discuss the definitely agreed upon view that traffic contacts constitute a greater proportion of all police contacts with juveniles than any other type of contact.[1] We have made several references to the possibility that police contacts for moving vehicle and other automobile violations are part and parcel of the larger picture of delinquency and crime. If this is the case, as the factor analysis indicated, then a high proportion of responses to the question, "Did you and your friends spend much time driving around in a car just for something to do?" should help us understand how juveniles acquire contacts of a related nature, contacts that could reasonably stem from leisure-time use of the automobile. Of the 1942 Cohort, 50.2% responded "yes" to the question and 16.5% were in the "Some, but not a lot" category; 44.4% and 17.3% of the 1949 Cohort responded accordingly. Since the question was asked in reference to the high school period it is not difficult to say how leisure-time use of the automobile could lead to police contact at the ages of 16 and 17. Race/ethnic differences in patterns of delinquency must stem in part from differential access to and use of the automobile. In both cohorts more Blacks and Chicanos reported that they never had access to an automobile (over 50%) than reported all of the other categories (unlimited, frequent, and casual) while only 29.9% and 24.3% of the Whites reported never having access.

Responses to the question about time spent driving around produced low

but positive correlations with the number of police contacts during the juvenile period (none were higher than that for the 1949 Cohort's males, .176) and the 18-20 age period (none were higher than the 1942 Cohort's males, .235). The group nature of driving around (more people drove around than had access to a car) would tend to lower the correlation because the driver would be most likely to acquire the police contact.

Further investigation turned to age that respondents acquired a driver's license. The question is not just whether more police contacts are generated after a driver's license has been obtained but whether or not the seriousness of contacts changes and, of course, how all are related to the age at which the license was obtained. For example, among those from both cohorts who obtained their licenses at the age of 16 or earlier, police contacts and seriousness scores were significantly greater after obtaining the license compared to before for both males and females. Among those who received their driver's licenses between the ages of 17 and 21 there were no significant differences in before and after police contacts. But this did not answer the question quite precisely enough so the age-by-age data were pursued even further, with mean before and after seriousness scores adjusted for years of risk before obtaining a driver's license and years of risk afterwards, including the year that it was obtained. The results are shown in Table 5 but shed little light on the matter other than to reveal that the ratio of average yearly after-license seriousness to prior-to-license seriousness is not greater for younger ages for males in either cohort. The only evidence for disproportionately greater female involvement after obtaining a driver's license at an early age was found in the 1942 Cohort. Any idea that an early driver's license leads to greater later seriousness than does a later dri-

TABLE 5. AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES PER PERSON PER YEARS OF EXPOSURE BEFORE AND AFTER RECEIVING DRIVER'S LICENSE: 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS*

1942 Cohort

Age Driver's License Received:	Males Before Mean	Males After Mean	Ratio	N	Females Before Mean	Females After Mean	Ratio	N
			Number of Police Contacts					
16	.1028	.3083	3.0	106	.0031	.0567	18.3	65
17	.1176	.4281	3.6	17	.0091	.0444	4.9	20
18	.0720	.2219	3.1	22	.0100	.0565	5.6	25
Mean for 16-18	.0999	.3092	3.1	145	.0057	.0544	9.5	110
			Seriousness Scores					
16	.2792	.7063	2.5	106	.0108	.1150	10.6	65
17	.3422	1.1078	3.2	17	.0182	.0944	5.2	20
18	.1856	.5267	2.8	22	.0233	.0988	4.2	25
Mean for 16-18	.2724	.7262	2.7	145	.0150	.1076	7.2	110

1949 Cohort

			Number of Police Contacts					
16	.1280	.3387	2.6	161	.0233	.0814	3.5	103
17	.2273	.4727	2.1	58	.0364	.1591	4.4	55
18	.1935	.5260	2.7	28	.0488	.1619	3.3	41
19	.0865	.6500	7.5	8	.0513	.1600	3.1	15
Mean for 6-19	.1564	.3995	2.5	255	.0335	.1223	3.6	214
			Seriousness Scores					
16	.3460	.8036	2.3	161	.0417	.1538	3.7	103
17	.6458	1.2399	1.9	58	.0694	.4136	5.9	55
18	.4524	1.4123	3.1	28	.1301	.3747	2.9	41
19	.2308	1.8500	8.0	8	.1333	.3200	2.4	15
Mean for 6-19	.4222	1.0025	2.4	255	.0722	.2746	3.8	214

* Years at which driver's license was obtained by sufficient persons for comparison.

ver's license is not supported.

Having detoured a bit we now return to further examination of what respondents had to say about their police contacts before the age of 18 and what they said about their undetected behavior which could have led to a police encounter but didn't.

HOW THEY HAPPENED TO DO IT

In Table 6 we see that when respondents were asked "Why were you doing this?", over 50% of the incidents described by members of each cohort were seen as just for fun, use of their unstructured time, unintentional behavior, or they just happened to be there. Responses permitted classifying only about 35% of the behavior as deliberate violations of the law. And even then we must remember that most of these were not very serious violations. Around 40% of the incidents described by members of each cohort were considered by the respondents as their own idea with smaller percentages of the incidents blamed on somebody else. In less than 20% of the incidents the respondent was the only one involved. And in over 85% of the incidents the others involved were the people that the respondent usually ran around with.

As would be expected, respondents indicated that they commenced doing things for which they were not caught somewhat earlier than the things for which they had been caught (see Table 7).

But here again when asked, "Why did you do it?", 48% of the 1942 Cohort and 40% of the 1949 Cohort stated that they had done it just for fun or to use their unstructured time, even higher percentages than given for the behavior that resulted in police contacts. Relatively small percentages of each group gave a reason suggesting that there was anything close to

TABLE 6. REASONS RESPONDENT WAS ENGAGING IN BEHAVIOR WHICH ATTRACTED ATTENTION OF POLICE AND EXTENT OF GROUP INVOLVEMENT

"Why were you doing this?"
Responses were coded in the following categories: [1942 N=273; 1949 N=551]

	% of Total Incidents Described	
	1942	1949
Just for fun; use of unstructured time	32.2	32.8
Unintentional; just happened to be there	21.6	21.2
Everyone doing it; for group acceptance	4.8	2.7
Testing the law; to see if I could get away with it	.4	1.1
Testing the law to further a cause	.0	.2
Response to provocative/agressive behavior of another person	1.8	1.6
Needed money; financial, economic reasons	.4	1.6
Deliberate violation of the law	35.9	35.4
Not ascertained	2.9	3.3
	100.0	99.9

"Whose idea was it, yours or somebody else's?"

	% of Total Incidents Described	
	1942	1949
Respondent's idea	41.9	38.5
Somebody else's idea	16.5	25.5
Collective or group idea	37.5	31.6
Not ascertained	4.0	4.4
	99.9	100.0

"How many people were involved, including yourself?"

	% of Total Incidents Described	
	1942	1949
1	19.5	18.2
2	28.7	27.3
3	13.6	16.5
4	9.2	12.4
5	6.3	4.5
6 or +	9.2	13.1
More than one but a range of numbers given	10.7	8.2
Not ascertained	2.9	.7
	100.1	99.9

"Were they the people that you usually ran around with?"
(If more than one person was involved) [1942 N=220; 1949 N=450]

	% of Total Incidents Described (with more than one person)	
	1942	1949
Yes	85.0	88.7
No	11.8	9.6
Not ascertained	3.2	1.8
	100.0	100.1

TABLE 7. AGE AT WHICH MISBEHAVIOR COMMENCED, REASONS FOR MISBEHAVIOR, AND GROUP INVOLVEMENT

"How old were you when you started doing this?"
[1942 N=360; 1949 N=613]

At or around age	% of total things described	
	1942	1949
Before 12	17.5	8.8
12	5.8	5.2
13	7.2	6.8
14	10.9	11.9
15	14.8	15.3
16	25.1	26.4
17	18.7	25.4
	100.0	99.8

"Why did you do it?"

	% of total things described	
	1942	1949
Just for fun; use of unstructured time	47.8	40.0
Peer influences	26.7	31.2
Curiosity and/or experience	11.4	13.1
Testing the law	6.4	6.9
Economic reasons	5.0	7.8
Getting even, retaliatory action	.3	.0
Not ascertained	2.5	1.1
	100.1	100.1

"Did you do it alone or with other people?"

	% of total things described	
	1942	1949
Alone	9.7	9.3
With one other person	9.7	6.7
Sometime alone, sometimes with others	7.2	7.0
With others (group)	71.9	76.0
Not ascertained	1.4	1.0
	99.9	100.0

what might be considered a willful or malicious intent. Over 70% said that they did it with others.

The data presented in this chapter could, in combination with other variables, be analyzed within the framework used by the Jessors in their volume, *Problem Behavior and Psychosocial Development*. They divide a juvenile's perceived environment into the distal and proximal environment. The responses presented in this chapter may be dealt with in the same way.[2]

One additional question was asked about why respondents had done things for which they were stopped or could have been stopped and here we find (Table 8) that as they looked back and thought about these things, fun and leisure time activity was still the top response, followed by peer influences and curiosity or experience. While retrospective judgements about behavior must be questioned, most juveniles gave responses which indicate that their behavior would be viewed as a part of growing up, as a part of the process of learning how one must behave while eager to become an adult but still a juvenile.

In both categories, behavior which resulted in a police contact and that which did not, respondents were involved in group activity in 70% to 80% of the incidents reported, further attesting to the position that most juvenile misbehavior is group activity and fun. The official reports for all cohorts revealed essentially the same finding. Police contacts with juveniles showed that through the age of 15 over 70% of the 1942 Cohort's contacts had involved more than one person, as had 57.0% of the 1949 Cohort through the age of 14 and 66.3% of the 1955 Cohort through that age. But what happened when they were caught and what happened when they were not?

TABLE 8. PERCENT OF 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS WHO WERE INTERVIEWED AND STATED THAT THEY HAD BEEN STOPPED BY THE POLICE OR DONE THINGS FOR WHICH THEY COULD HAVE BEEN CAUGHT BY REASON FOR MISBEHAVIOR

"Now that you have looked back and thought about some of the things you did that attracted, or could have attracted, the attention of the police, overall why do you think you did them?" [1942 N=263; 1949 N=456]

	1942	1949
Fun; leisure time activity	36.9	34.0
Peer influences	26.2	28.2
Curiosity and/or experience	12.9	16.0
Testing the law	8.4	8.3
Mischievous behavior	8.7	5.5
Accidental	2.7	2.2
Economic reasons	1.8	2.8
Considered falsely accused	1.9	1.7
Not ascertained	.8	1.1
	100.0	99.8

How much does this tell us about why so few juveniles continue to have police contact after police contact? In the next section we shall go a step further in putting it all together.

THE AWFUL CONSEQUENCES OF DETECTION

How the police disposed of these contacts and how the respondents reacted does give us further indication of why these contacts or incidents did not lead to continuity in misbehavior. In over half of the cases the police released the juvenile after counseling and in almost another 20% they were released but their parents were notified. In about 17% of the cases the juveniles were taken to the police station but in only 12% of these cases were they referred (see Table 9).

The most frequent consequence consisted of revocation of driver's licenses followed by what is obviously an appearance in traffic court or bicycle court or some similar disposition. Less than 15% were even put on probation or under supervision. Only 20% were sent to a detention home, training school, or to jail.

Perhaps even more important in understanding why so few continued to get into trouble with the police may be obtained from their responses to the question, "How did you react to the police and what they did?" While 11% of the 1942 Cohort and 18% of the 1949 Cohort stated that they reacted with hostility and rebellion, most reacted with courtesy, deferrence, obedience, compliance, fear and anxiety, or had a casual or no reaction at all. Obviously the police dealt with juveniles in such a way as to not instill hostility and rebellion in most of them.

This is not to say that there are not differences among juveniles in

TABLE 9. DISPOSITION OF CONTACTS BY POLICE AND RESPONDENT'S REACTION AT TIME OF CONTACT

"What did the police do to you?" [1942 N=273; 1949 N=551]	% of Total Incidents Described 1942	1949
Counsel, release with warning	50.4	55.0
Counsel, release, notified parents	18.0	19.2
Taken into custody and to police station, released	5.9	5.8
Taken into custody and to police station, referred	11.8	11.8
Traffic violation, fined	12.9	7.4
Not ascertained	1.1	.7
	100.1	99.9

"What happened to you as a result of the police action?" [1942 N=35; 1949 N=69]	% of Total Incidents Described 1942	1949
Driver's license revoked	37.1	33.3
Put on probation or supervision	11.4	14.5
Sent to detention home*	5.7	7.2
Sent to training school*	2.7	8.7
Sent to jail*	11.4	4.3
Fine	5.7	4.3
Other disposition such as bicycle court	11.4	20.3
Not ascertained	14.3	7.2
	99.9	99.8

(*probation, parole, etc. may have been revoked)

"How did you react to the police and what they did?" [1942 N=273; 1949 N=551]	% of Total Incidents Described 1942	1949
Hostility, rebellion	11.0	18.1
Casual or no reaction	19.0	20.1
Courtesy, deference	11.4	12.7
Obedience, compliance	27.1	23.8
Fear, anxiety	27.5	24.7
Not ascertained	4.0	.5
	100.0	99.9

attitude toward the police. When respondents were asked, "What kind of attitude did you and your two or three closest friends have toward the police when you were in junior high and high school?" and responses were coded as positive, negative, or indifferent, most responses were positive or indifferent with the exception of the 1949 Cohort males where 33% were positive, 39% indifferent, and 28% negative. Mean seriousness scores for the age period 6-17 and 18 or+ are related to attitudes toward the police in Table 10. As would be expected from examination of the relatively low mean seriousness scores for persons with positive attitudes toward the police and the higher mean seriousness scores for those with negative attitudes, the correlation of attitudes toward the police and seriousness scores was positive but rather modest, the highest being for males from the 1949 Cohort, a Tau of .443 for the age period 6-17.

Here again interpretation is not simple. Do juvenile attitudes generate police contacts or do police contacts generate juvenile attitudes? This, of course, makes it difficult to decide if attitude toward the police is predictive of continuity in careers or if continuity develops negative attitudes toward the police. Furthermore, attitudes toward the police during junior high and high school are significantly correlated with police contacts during the 6-17 and the 18-20 age periods. One might be inclined to surmise that attitudes toward the police during earlier years carried over and were related to the generation of continuing police contacts during the 18 through 20 period but this is a bit difficult with retrospective data when the two periods in question could be intertwined in the memory of respondents.

Interpretation becomes even more difficult when the correlations of seriousness scores between the age period 6-17 and 18 or+ within attitude

TABLE 10. RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE TOWARD POLICE TO SERIOUSNESS SCORES: MEANS AND PEARSON'S COEFFICIENTS*

1942 Cohort

	Attitude Toward Police: Positive			Indifferent			Negative		
	Seriousness Scores by Age:			Seriousness Scores by Age:			Seriousness Scores by Age:		
	6-17 Mean	18 or + Mean	N	6-17 Mean	18 or + Mean	N	6-17 Mean	18 or + Mean	N
Total	1.663	4.449	208	4.010	9.268	97	7.840	16.640	25
Male	3.769	9.234	78	6.158	12.193	57	9.700	20.150	20
Female	.400	1.615	130	.950	5.100	40	.400	2.600	5
	Seriousness 6-17 x 18 or +:			Seriousness 6-17 x 18 or +:			Seriousness 6-17 x 18 or +:		
Total	.370**			.473			.775		
Male	.308			.465			.753		
Female	.273			.389			--		

1949 Cohort

	Attitude Toward Police: Positive			Indifferent			Negative		
	Seriousness Scores by Age:			Seriousness Scores by Age:			Seriousness Scores by Age:		
	6-17 Mean	18 or + Mean	N	6-17 Mean	18 or + Mean	N	6-17 Mean	18 or + Mean	N
Total	1.867	3.159	233	3.516	4.747	225	13.271	20.323	96
Male	3.283	3.826	92	5.889	7.593	108	15.241	22.937	79
Female	.943	2.723	141	1.325	2.120	117	4.118	8.176	17
	Seriousness 6-17 x 18 or +:			Seriousness 6-17 x 18 or +:			Seriousness 6-17 x 18 or +:		
Total	.599			.250			.678		
Male	.606			.200			.685		
Female	.790			.261			.287 n.s.		

* "What kind of attitude did you and your 2 or 3 closest friends have toward the police when you were in junior high and high school?"

** All coefficients of correlation significant at .05 level or more unless indicated by n.s.

toward the police categories are examined. Juvenile and adult seriousness scores have a lower (but statistically significant) relationship among persons with a positive attitude toward police from the 1942 Cohort than among the similar group in the 1949 Cohort. Those persons with indifferent attitudes toward the police have only modest (but significant) correlations between the juvenile and adult period for the 1949 Cohort, although higher correlations for the 1949 Cohort. But the greatest consistency between cohorts is found among those with negative attitudes toward the police. In other words, whether they had relatively high or low seriousness scores during the juvenile period, those with positive or negative attitudes toward the police continued to have similar seriousness scores as adults.

With the males from both cohorts it was clear that attitude toward the police was related to seriousness scores for both the juvenile and adult periods but this relationship was not as straightforward among the females.

Turning to Table 11 we see that in 77% of the cases nothing happened to the juveniles outside of what the police did but that in about 10% or more of the cases parents took additional action.

When we asked them what their parents thought about their behavior, it was quite obvious that those who knew disapproved. And it was also obvious that a large proportion did not tell their parents about the experience and that their parents apparently did not learn about it from some other source. In very few cases did the parents have an attitude that could be considered supportive of the juvenile. When we look at groups and persons whom the juveniles considered important in influencing their lives we shall see that 67% in the 1942 Cohort stated that their parents had a positive influence on them as did 71% of those in the 1949 Cohort. It is quite apparent that relatively

TABLE 11. CONSEQUENCES OF CONTACTS AND REACTIONS OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

"What happened to you besides what we've already talked about?"
[1942 N=273; 1949 N=551]

	% of Total Incidents Described	
	1942	1949
Nothing	77.2	77.0
Non-parental action by school officials, coaches, etc.	.0	.4
Non-parental action exacting financial penalty	.0	.7
Restitution required	1.1	1.5
Parental action (grounding, restrictions, but not including restitution)	12.9	9.5
Ostracized by persons other than close friends	.0	.5
Not ascertained	8.8	10.4
	100.0	100.0

"What did your parents think about the behavior that got you into trouble with the police?"

	% of Total Incidents Described	
	1942	1949
Disapproved of respondent's behavior	42.9	37.9
Didn't know	27.1	37.2
Unconcerned, casual reaction	17.2	14.9
Blamed it on others involved in incident	2.2	1.5
Mother and father disagreed	.7	.4
Thought police wrong in what they did considering respondent's behavior	1.8	3.1
Not ascertained	8.1	5.1
	100.0	100.0

"What did your friends think about the behavior that got you into trouble with the police?"

	% of Total Incidents Described	
	1942	1949
Didn't see anything terribly wrong; sympathetic, etc.	37.4	36.7
Didn't know	17.2	12.9
Indicated disapproval of respondent's behavior	6.2	4.2
Negative reaction toward police and/or what they did	1.5	5.1
No reaction; nothing; indifference	23.4	25.4
Not ascertained	14.3	15.8
	100.0	100.1

few of the parents had attitudes which were contributory to the misbehavior of their children.

It is also apparent that relatively few juveniles received any kind of disapproval from their peers, with a sympathetic attitude expressed by their peers in about 40% of the cases described. Thus, the data in Table 11 suggests that support did not come from the family but that one's peers were generally understanding and sympathetic.

This is an appropriate point at which to examine the seriousness scores of the kinds of friends that members of each cohort reported.

Sutherland's differential association hypothesis, tested and retested, sometimes supposedly rejected (or at least not strongly supported by the data), should be supported by responses to the question, "Did any of your 2 or 3 closest friends get into trouble with the police during the junior high and high school years?" Here we find significant correlations between friends with trouble vs. no friends with trouble and the number of police contacts 6 through 17 for males and females in both cohorts, males having higher correlations than females, .362 for the 1942 Cohort males and .295 for the 1949 males, .144 and .179 for the females.

A similar question was asked in reference to their adult period, "How about your closest friends since you have been an adult? Have any of them been in trouble with the police?" There were relatively few who had adult friends who had been in trouble with the exception of 1949 males (about 40% of the Black males as compared to 23% of the White males) and it was only with the 1949 males that any significant relationship was found (Tau .326).

The mean seriousness scores in Table 12 tell the story. If they, as juveniles, had friends in trouble with the police, the mean seriousness

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A similar question was asked in reference to their adult period, "How about your closest friends since you have been an adult? Have any of them been in trouble with the police?" There were relatively few who had adult friends who had been in trouble with the exception of 1949 males (about 40% of the Black males as compared to 23% of the White males) and it was only with the 1949 males that any significant relationship was found (Tau .326).

The mean seriousness scores in Table 12 tell the story. If they, as juveniles, had friends in trouble with the police, the mean seriousness

TABLE 12. MEAN SERIOUSNESS SCORES AS JUVENILES AND ADULTS OF PERSONS WITH OR WITHOUT FRIENDS IN TROUBLE WITH POLICE AS JUVENILES COMPARED TO SERIOUSNESS SCORES OF PERSONS AS JUVENILES AND ADULTS WITH OR WITHOUT ADULT FRIENDS IN TROUBLE WITH POLICE *

1942 Cohort

	Friends in Trouble with Police Ages 6-17						No Friends in Trouble with Police Ages 6-17					
	6-17	18 or +	N				6-17	18 or +	N			
	6.516	12.946	93				1.385	4.344	239			
	(.5124)**						(.3872)					
	YES			NO			YES			NO		
	6-17	18 or +	N	6-17	18 or +	N	6-17	18 or +	N	6-17	18 or +	N
Adult Friends in Trouble with Police	3.375	12.625	8	6.821	13.107	84	5.533	16.467	15	1.040	3.531	223
	(.3030) n.s.			(.5234)			(.2808)			(.3878)		

1949 Cohort

	Friends in Trouble with Police Ages 6-17						No Friends in Trouble with Police Ages 6-17					
	6-17	18 or +	N				6-17	18 or +	N			
	9.179	11.990	196				1.975	3.906	360			
	(.5983)						(.5313)					
	YES			NO			YES			NO		
	6-17	18 or +	N	6-17	18 or +	N	6-17	18 or +	N	6-17	18 or +	N
Adult Friends in Trouble with Police	16.745	27.145	55	6.029	5.893	140	2.879	7.606	33	1.749	2.861	323
	(.5470)			(.5555)			(.6262)			(.5282)		

* "Did any of your 2 or 3 closest friends get into trouble with the police during the junior high and high school years?" "How about your closest friends since you have been an adult? Have any of them been in trouble with the police?"

** All coefficients of correlation significant at .05 level or more unless indicated by n.s.

score of the groups was higher then and as adults than for those who did not have friends in trouble. The group that had friends in trouble with the police both as juveniles and as adults had the highest mean seriousness score as adults in the 1949 Cohort and the second highest mean seriousness score as juveniles. This pattern was not as evident for the 1942 Cohort since those who had no adult friends in trouble with the police, although they had had them as juveniles, had higher mean seriousness scores than did their counterparts with adult friends in trouble.

Turning to those who had no friends in trouble with the police as juveniles we find that those who did have friends in trouble with the police as adults had higher mean scores as adults than did those in both cohorts who did not have adult friends in trouble with the police. And those who had no friends in trouble with the police as either juveniles or adults had the lowest seriousness scores, first as juveniles and second as adults.

We shall later see how much friends in trouble with the police contribute to the ability to predict who will continue from juvenile delinquency into adult crime but these data do suggest that continuity in behavior of associates is related to continuity in more serious delinquent and criminal behavior.

One other related associational issue should be considered at this point, and that is the impact of juveniles' perception of patrolling their neighborhood on their police contacts.

The squirrel-cage effect (areas highly patrolled have more police contacts than other areas with resulting statistics increasing the number of police officers in an area with further increases in police contacts) has been frequently considered as a factor in explaining the notably higher

police contact rates in some areas than in others. If it has merit and if respondents have an accurate perception of the extent to which their neighborhoods are patrolled, there should be a relationship between responses to "When you were in junior high and high school, was your neighborhood heavily, moderately, or lightly patrolled by the police, or not patrolled at all?" and the frequency of police contacts by juveniles at the two earliest age periods. When responses were dichotomized (high and medium vs. low and not patrolled) it could readily be seen that a higher proportion of those from the low or unpatrolled areas had had either no police contacts or very few contacts.

It has not yet been determined, however, if patrolling in fact was greater in areas in which respondents perceived it to be and did increase the number of police contacts or if these were simply the low socioeconomic status areas in which juvenile misbehavior was perceived by the police to merit more official recognition.

In Table 13 we look at respondent's total reaction to the experience. We find that only a very small percentage indicated rebellion towards authority while the others stated that it had either no effect on their behavior, very little effect, or a deterrent effect. The nature of the behavior in which juveniles engaged was, however, such that we cannot say that the overall effect of the experience would be likely to generate even more serious misbehavior in juveniles. This position is further bolstered by the fact that when the respondent was asked, "Why do you think you reacted that way?" or "What people or parts of the experience made you react that way?", very few mentioned a negative reaction to the police and what they said or did. Aside from the 30% or more who stated that they really hadn't done anything

TABLE 13. REACTION OF RESPONDENT TO POLICE CONTACT AND CONSEQUENCES

"What effect did this experience have on your behavior?" [1942 N=273; 1949 N=551].

	% of Total Incidents Described	
	1942	1949
None, or very little	52.7	59.0
Deterrent effect on behavior	42.5	33.0
Rebellion toward authority	2.2	7.3
Not ascertained	2.6	.7
	100.0	100.0

"Why do you think you reacted that way? What people or parts of the experience made you react that way?"

	% of Total Incidents Described	
	1942	1949
Positive reaction to police and what they said and/or did	7.0	5.6
Learned from the experience; general deterrent effect, including the consequences	24.9	14.9
Feared possible consequences (including economic) enough to change behavior; didn't want negative evaluation by friends	7.0	10.0
Positive reaction because of parental response, actual or anticipated	3.3	4.2
Hadn't done anything wrong; incident of too minor nature to have much effect; everyone does it; did because of peer pressure	30.8	35.0
Nothing happened because of it; no effect	13.9	13.6
Negative reaction to police and what they said and/or did	2.6	6.7
No longer feared consequences	.7	.7
Not ascertained	9.9	9.3
	100.1	100.0

wrong or that the incident was of too minor a nature to have much effect and that everyone does it, the largest group was those who stated that they learned from the experience and that it had a generally deterrent effect. While some of the responses could be interpreted as not indicating that the experience had had much impact on the juveniles, what most of them did was really not very serious, and if the various reactions are lumped together, it can be said that 35% or 40% thought that the experience was generally beneficial in terms of their future behavior.

Turning back again to those who misbehaved but did not get caught by the police (Table 14) we find that only about 20% were caught by anyone else, if caught it was most often someone in their own family or the victim, and that the usual reaction was a verbal or physical reprimand, the latter something which the police in theory cannot administer.

Eighty percent of the respondents said that they no longer do these things and most of those who stated that they had stopped doing these things said they did so because they had changed their self-concept, values, reassessed their behavior, and/or recognized the responsibilities associated with new life statuses. The decision to cease these behaviors could be attributed to the normal consequences of socialization into adult groups. In fact, the effect of getting caught or the fear of the consequences of getting caught made up less than 15% of these responses. Bolstering the position that misbehavior ceased as a consequence of the process of socialization are the figures in Table 15 indicating that cessation of the behavior took place by the age of 18 for most respondents.

Before leaving this discussion a word must be said about those who said that they had never done anything that could have resulted in a police contact.

TABLE 14. CONSEQUENCES OF DETECTION BY PERSONS OTHER THAN POLICE

"Did anyone ever catch you?" [1942 N=360; 1949 N=613]

	% of total things described 1942	1949
Yes	20.6	22.0
No	77.4	77.0
Not ascertained	1.9	1.0
	99.9	100.0

"Who caught you?" [1942 N=82; 1949 N=141]

	% of total things described 1942	1949
Victim	24.4	29.1
School personnel (acting as such)	12.2	9.2
Uninvolved individual (not a member of respondent's family)	12.2	19.1
Uninvolved individual (member of respondent's family)	41.5	36.9
Not ascertained	9.8	5.7
	100.1	100.0

"What did they do?"

	% of things done 1942	1949
Nothing	13.4	12.1
Counselled	2.4	1.4
Notified parents	7.3	11.3
Verbal reprimand	28.0	30.5
Physical reprimand or action	34.1	33.3
Demanded restitution (if victim)	.0	2.1
	99.8	99.9

TABLE 15. THE CESSATION OF MISBEHAVIOR

"Do you still do this?" [1942 N=251; 1949 N=358]

	% of incidents described 1942	1949
Yes	10.8	14.8
No	86.9	82.4
Not ascertained	2.4	2.8
	100.1	100.0

"What caused you to stop?" [1942 N=223; 1949 N=306]

	% of things stopped 1942	1949
Reached legal age	6.3	10.5
Changed self-concept, values, reassessment of behavior	60.5	52.9
Recognition of new responsibilities associated with new statuses	2.7	1.3
Fear of consequences of getting caught	7.2	7.8
One time, isolated event in life	6.7	11.1
Reaction to or action of significant others	2.7	2.0
Effect of getting caught	4.5	4.9
Changed self-concept and fear of consequences of getting caught	1.3	1.3
Not ascertained	8.1	8.2
	100.0	100.0

"How old were you when you stopped?"

At or around age	% of things stopped 1942	1949
Less than 14	25.6	14.1
14	7.6	10.0
15	9.9	15.8
16	13.0	15.4
17	17.0	16.7
18	12.1	9.6
18 or +	2.2	1.9
19	1.3	4.5
20	3.6	3.5
21 or over	4.9	4.2
Not ascertained	2.7	4.2
	99.9	99.9

We asked this group, predominantly females, "How does it happen that you never did anything that could have attracted the attention of the police?" Of the 106 persons in the 1942 Cohort in this group, 50.0% gave a response that was categorized as referring to parental controls. Of the 145 persons in the 1949 Cohort in this category, 53.8% did so. Responses indicative of a good self-concept characterized 24.5% and 22.7% of the 1942 and 1949 Cohort. Only 6.6% referred to social pressure.

HOW JUVENILES PERCEIVED THEIR FAMILIES, FRIENDS, SCHOOL, AND ADULT FIGURES IN LARGER SOCIETY

In another section of the interview respondents were asked to respond to several groups of people, one at a time, in terms of whether someone in the group was particularly important in influencing them in one direction or another in terms of their decisions, attitudes, and/or behavior. While coding a question of this nature presented some difficulties, Table 16 will give the reader an idea of the extensiveness of positive vs. negative influences of each of the groups mentioned. As indicated, over two-thirds of each cohort said that their parents had a positive influence on their lives, this followed by siblings, entire family, and in almost 40% of the cases by teachers at school. About 25% of each cohort even stated that their employers or supervisors had had a positive influence on their lives. In terms of a negative influence only 7% of the 1942 Cohort and less than 11% of the 1949 Cohort stated that students at school had had a negative impact on their lives. This was followed in both cases by mention of negative impacts from employers. All other groups had smaller negative influences.

The sum and substance of the responses obtained from the lines of

TABLE 16. INFLUENCES ON LIVES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED

"I'm going to name several groups of people, one at a time. If the group or someone in the group was particularly important in influencing you in one direction or another in terms of your decisions, attitudes, and/or behavior, we would like to know what happened and how old you were."

	1942 Cohort Percent*				1949 Cohort Percent			
	Positive	None	Pos from Neg	Negative	Positive	None	Pos from Neg	Negative
Brothers, sisters	19.5	48.9	4.2	2.4	28.2	42.4	3.2	2.0
Parents	67.0	8.4	1.8	3.6	70.7	4.7	2.0	5.4
Entire family	27.6	38.4	1.5	.9	23.8	46.2	1.3	1.1
Students at school	21.9	42.6	1.2	6.9	20.3	41.4	2.2	10.6
Teachers at school	38.1	25.8	.0	3.3	39.2	28.8	.0	3.8
Police	8.9	37.5	.0	2.1	7.4	39.7	.0	3.4
Judges, probation officers, etc.	4.5	14.1	.0	1.2	2.5	12.4	.0	.9
Landlords	2.7	17.1	.0	1.2	1.4	16.0	.0	3.2
Employers or supervisors	24.6	35.4	.0	4.5	26.6	35.3	.0	6.3
"Is there any person or group we left off this list whose influences you think we should know about?"								
Grandparents	10.2	.0	.3	.3	7.7	.0	.0	.0
Spouse, boy/girl friend	17.1	.0	.0	1.2	8.3	.0	.0	.4
Religious figures	13.5	.0	.0	.3	11.2	.0	.0	.4
Friends	2.4	.0	.6	.6	3.4	.0	.2	.0
Military figures	4.2	.0	.0	.0	5.8	.0	.2	.5

* Percents do not add across to 100% because some groups were inapplicable for some respondents, e.g. no siblings, some were not mentioned in any way by respondents, and some stated that influence was both positive and negative.

questioning described in this chapter make it clear that the process of socialization into adult roles works for most juveniles.[3] While a large percentage of each cohort has contacts with the police before 18 and even a larger percentage admit engaging in behavior for which they could have had police contacts, most cease these behaviors by the time they are 18. The impact of being caught by the police or by families has generally had a positive rather than negative effect. Very few have developed generally antisocial attitudes as a consequence of their juvenile misbehavior in either failure to be apprehended for or apprehension and the ensuing consequences.

FOOTNOTES

[1] In their research on juvenile delinquency in Denver, Colorado, Conger and Miller operationally defined as delinquent those whose cases had been accepted by the Juvenile Court. This would eliminate those who were involved in trivial incidents. Yet they report that joyriding was the most frequent offense (of 410 offenses, 71 were joyriding) followed by incorrigibility (64 offenses). John Janeway Conger and Wilbur C. Miller, *Personality, Social Class, and Delinquency* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966).

[2] The Jessors conceive of a person's perceived environment as consisting of a distal and a proximal structure. The distal structure is more remote than the proximal and refers, for example, to a person's perception of support on one hand and controls on the other from parents and friends in reference to one's behavior. The influence of the distal structure is diminished or enhanced by perception of whether agreement or disgreement exists between parents and friends. To the extent that respondents see their parents as supportive of them but disapproving of serious misbehavior and their friends as being similar, the distal environment produces discontinuity rather than continuity in behavior productive of police contacts. If parents and friends differ the question of relative influence becomes important as does whose influence is greatest at the time that juveniles are most susceptible to having police contacts. (The Jessors found that persons with problem behavior had less compatability between parents and friends than those who did not have problem behavior. They also found greater friends' than parents' influence.)

The proximal structure refers to the location of the juvenile in terms of the kinds of role models to be found around him or her, the types of role models in the neighborhood and in the school. This varies depending on one's area of socialization, although school attendance may not be tied to area of socialization so that it is not an exact measure of the proximal structure. Similarly, role models at place of work may be important, as suggested by the higher rates and more serious police contact scores of persons who have taken their first full time job at an early age. The Jessors found that proximal aspects of the environment were more closely related to problem

and conventional behaviors than distal aspects, for both sexes. See Richard and Shirley L. Jessor, *Problem Behavior and Psychosocial Development: A Longitudinal Study of Youth* (New York: Academic Press, 1977) pp. 26-42, pp. 113-125, and pp. 127-142.

[3] The Jessors concluded in their final chapter that problem behavior was more or less part of the process of socialization. "It would be an important step forward for prevention and control if problem behavior in youth came to be seen as part of the dialectic of growth, a visible strand in the web of time." Jessor and Jessor, *op. cit.*, p.248.

Chapter 19. Official Records, Self-Report, and Self-Concept as Delinquents

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on three different but related questions, all of which ask about the relationship of self-report data to official data. We take the same position as do Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, regarding them as interesting and useful measures and are not primarily concerned with which is the best or most accurate for each represents a somewhat different phenomenon.[1]

First, have respondents reported the number of police encounters that they had as juveniles accurately, and have they described them in essentially the same manner as reported by the police officers with whom they had contact? An answer to this question involves a comparison of official juvenile records and the accounts which juveniles presented of their police encounters, the accounts to which we referred in the last chapter. The second question asks whether adults remember and report the frequency and seriousness of their delinquent and criminal behavior for all age periods in a way that corresponds with official records. This question may be answered by a comparison of various measures of delinquency and crime based on police contact data and the self-report measures which will be described in this chapter. The third question is concerned with whether or not retrospective statements about their self-concept as delinquent or non-delinquent and their recollection of how they thought others perceived them correlate with self-report measures and official records of contacts, referrals, and sanctions.

ACCOUNTS OF RESPONDENTS' POLICE CONTACTS

We commenced by comparing the number of police contacts found in

official records to the number of contacts respondents said they had before they were 18 in response to the question "How many times before you were 18 did the police stop you for doing something wrong or something they suspected was wrong? If you can't remember the exact number of times, please give me an estimate." Around 80% of the Whites in each cohort either reported their number of police contacts accurately or estimated the number a bit higher than was correct; only half of the Blacks reported as accurately while the other half reported fewer contacts than our records showed. Furthermore, the proportion of Blacks who said that they had had no police contacts before 18 but who did have contact records was considerably higher than that of the Whites. Chicano males in the 1949 Cohort also were higher than the Whites in this respect (Table 1). Our concern over this matter was furthered by the fact that the average number of times that respondents reported being stopped by the police before the age of 18 varied considerably on the same basis. While the average White male from the 1942 Cohort reported 3.66 police contacts and the average 1949 White male 2.94 before the age of 18, police records provided averages of 2.13 and 2.43 (average number of times respondent reported being stopped from Appendix R, Table 1). For the Black males from the 1949 Cohort an average of 2.03 contacts with the police was reported but official records presented an average of 5.31 contacts before the age of 18.[2]

This pattern of differences suggested to us that the Blacks either did not have the same definition of being stopped by the police or did not have the same confidence in interviewers (as representatives of the community and the Racine Community Study) as did the Whites. The interviewers (although Black themselves and with past police contacts, convictions, and more to

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESPONDENTS' ADMISSION OF POLICE CONTACTS AND POLICE RECORD OF CONTACTS BY PERCENT

	White		Black		Chicano	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1942 Cohort						
No Police Record and No Admitted Contacts	15.2	58.2	.0	80.0	50.0	50.0
Police Record but Admits No Contacts	8.3	7.0	10.0	10.0	.0	12.5
Admits Contacts but No Police Record	28.3	23.4	30.0	.0	.0	25.0
Police Record and Admits Contacts	48.3	11.4	60.0	10.0	50.0	12.5
	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	145	158	10	10	2	8
1949 Cohort						
No Police Record and No Admitted Contacts	13.5	45.4	15.6	46.4	.0	60.0
Police Record but Admitted No Contacts	7.4	9.6	18.8	32.1	23.5	10.0
Admits Contacts but No Police Record	24.3	28.4	15.6	10.7	23.5	5.0
Police Record and Admits Contacts	54.8	16.6	50.0	10.7	52.9	25.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0
N =	230	229	32	28	17	20

come) might not have been perceived as persons who could be trusted with the whole truth because the White-dominated community is organized in such a fashion that it could be dangerous for a Black to completely confide even to another Black on such a matter if it was to be put in writing. A third hypothesis might be that Whites reported the number of times that they were stopped accurately but that the police had not made a record of all encounters.

However, since more than half of each race/ethnic|sex group responded with the number of contacts that appeared in police records and most of those who erred stated that they had contacts when they did not have a record of contacts at the police station, we concluded that there was no real overall problem in terms of reluctance of respondents to admit having police contacts.

When the police contact records of persons interviewed were compared with their own descriptions of their contacts with the police (first three mentions) for responses to, "According to the police, what were you doing that attracted their attention?" and "What were you really doing?" the distributions of each were generally significantly different (see Table 1 in Chapter 18 and Appendix R, Tables 2, 3a, and 3b for tables with controls for race/ethnicity and sex). At the same time, one could note basic similarities in that Traffic offenses, Disorderly conduct, Liquor offenses, Incorrigible and runaway, and Theft made up major proportions of each distribution. Similarly, some other offense categories such as Narcotics and drugs were seldom or never mentioned.

While there were some mentions of Part I offenses by persons in groups for which there were no recorded police contacts (Burglary for Black males), recorded Part I police contacts for members of the group were more often not mentioned by anyone in that group. There were numerous other less serious offenses such as Vagrancy, Liquor, Sex, and Traffic which had mentions disproportionate to those in the official records.

Since the offenses in the official records may or may not have been those to which respondents referred and the distribution of offenses categories according to what the police said the respondent was doing and what he/she was really doing were not matched but were simply the gross distributions, this does not deal with the question of agreement or disagreement with police versions of specific incidents. We therefore turn to Tables 2 and 3 which compare what respondents reported the police as having said and what they believed that they were actually doing.

The congruence of what the police said and what the respondent said is even greater than what might appear at first glance at these tables. While the proportion in which the respondent said one thing and the police said another was 38.0% in the 1942 Cohort and 31.5% in the 1949 Cohort, the point to note is that when the respondents reported that the police said Theft, Disorderly conduct, Vagrancy, Liquor, Incorrigibility, and Traffic, that is usually what respondents said they were doing. For those in the 1942 Cohort the reasonable and readily explainable discrepancies fell in the following categories: Theft was considered unintentional, Disorderly conduct and Vagrancy were perceived as a consequence of drinking and/or mischievous behavior, Traffic offenses were mischievous rather than real moving vehicle violations, and, in 13 cases, the Other traffic violations were related to normal, youthful, evening activities. Among those with police contacts in the 1949 Cohort, discrepancies fell into the following similar categories: Theft, Disorderly conduct, Vagrancy, Incorrigibility, and Traffic (these were unintentional or mischievous behavior) and 27 Other traffic violations

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF WHAT POLICE SAID RESPONDENT WAS DOING TO WHAT RESPONDENT SAID HE/SHE WAS DOING: 1942 COHORT INTERVIEWED

WHAT POLICE SAID	WHAT RESPONDENT SAID														
	ROB	BURG	THEFT	AUTO THEFT	DISORD	VAG	LIQ	INCOR	TRU	SEX	TRAF	OTHER TRAF	VIO PROP	UNIN	MISCH
ROBBERY	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BURGLARY	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
THEFT	0	0	9	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1
AUTO THEFT	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DISORDERLY CON	0	0	1	0	35	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
VAGRANCY	0	0	2	0	1	10	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	2
LIQUOR	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
INCOR RUNAWAY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
TRUANCY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
SEX OFFENSES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
TRAFFIC	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	77	0	0	0	20
OTHER TRAFFIC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	13	0	3	0	0	0
VIO PROP DEST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
CONTACT	0	1	5	1	0	0	4	4	0	0	3	0	0	7	3

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF WHAT POLICE SAID RESPONDENT WAS DOING TO WHAT RESPONDENT SAID HE/SHE WAS DOING: 1949 COHORT INTERVIEWED

WHAT POLICE SAID	WHAT RESPONDENT SAID																		
	ROB	BURG	THEFT	AUTO THEFT	DISORD	VAG	LIQ	INCOR	TRU	ASULT	SEX	DRUGS	FORG	TRAF	OTHER TRAF	WEAP	FRAUD	UNIN	MISCH
BURGLARY	0	7	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
THEFT	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
AUTO THEFT	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DISORDERLY CON	0	0	0	0	70	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	10
VAGRANCY	0	0	0	0	0	22	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	11
LIQUOR	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
INCOR RUNAWAY	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5
TRUANCY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
ASSAULT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SEX OFFENSES	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
DRUGS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
FORGERY	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
TRAFFIC	0	0	0	3	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	128	0	0	0	6	19
OTHER TRAFFIC	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
WEAPONS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
FRAUD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
VIO PROP DEST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
CONTACT	1	0	1	1	1	2	6	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0

were related to sexual activities. In sum, most of the discrepancies in both cohorts could be explained by police-juvenile differences in perception of juvenile behavior.

Since discrepancies do exist, we next compared police contact reports for identifiable incidents with what respondents reported the police said at the time of the incident and what they themselves said that they were doing in order to obtain an even better evaluation of the validity of this type of interview data. While it was possible to match or probably match 115 police records of contacts by respondents and respondents' descriptions of their police contacts, there were more than that number (158) described in the interviews that could not be matched with confidence to official police records for the 1942 Cohort. While there were 267 contacts in the police records that were not described by respondents, this was expected because the typical respondent, when asked about police contacts ("Tell me about the ones you remember best."), could only remember a few well enough to describe them and there were some respondents who had dozens of official police contacts. Furthermore, we attempted to match only the first three mentioned. For the 1949 Cohort, 270 contacts were matched or probably matched with police records of these contacts while there were 280 described but not matched with police records. Again, while there were 684 contacts in the police records that were not described in the interviews, this was not unexpected. The discrepancies in terms of contacts described but not found in police records could be accounted for, most likely, by respondents' faulty memories of the ages at which they had police contacts or the reasons for the contacts, both differing so markedly from police records that a match was not possible or even probable. Some may have had

the police contacts which they described in communities outside of Racine.

The inadequate (and in fact difficult) recall problem becomes even clearer when we turn from contacts to people. While good matches were made on the careers of 33% of the 1942 and 39% of the 1949 Cohort members who were interviewed, some matches of interview and police record data could be made for 68% of those from the 1942 Cohort and 85% of those from the 1949 Cohort (See Appendix R, Tables 4a and 4b).

There is always the question of how respondents' perceptions of what they did and got away with related to what they did and did not get away with. Remember that when asked, "Can you think of any things you used to do (before you were 18) for which you could have been caught by the police but which they never found out about?", over 80% of the males in each cohort said that they had done things for which they weren't caught. Among the females, 53% of the 1942 Cohort and 58% of the 1949 Cohort said that they had done so. However, of those males who had done things for which they hadn't been caught 60% of the 1942 Cohort and 65% of the 1949 Cohort did have police contacts. Among those males who said that they had not done things for which they escaped detection 43% in the 1942 Cohort did have police contacts as did 31% of the 1949 Cohort. While those who weren't caught for everything they did were still more likely to have been caught than those who did not do things for which they were not caught, there is a sizeable proportion which escaped police contacts for their self-defined delinquent behavior. This is not surprising since many juveniles complain that they can't seem to get away with anything while others who are far more delinquent "get away with murder."

Among those females who stated that they hadn't committed acts for

which they could have been caught (47% and 42%), only 12% from the 1942 Cohort and 20% from the 1949 Cohort had police contacts while 25% and 34% of those who admitted to doing things for which they escaped being caught (53% and 58%) had police contacts. Thus, an even larger proportion of females who had escaped detection for some of their delinquent behavior had also completely escaped having any police contacts.

One further note in terms of inequality. Only 28% of those Blacks who said that they had done things for which they could have been caught but escaped detection had no police contacts and, of those who denied doing things for which they could have been caught but were not, 83% had had police contacts. Surely the latter must believe that it is difficult to walk down the street without being stopped by the police.

SELF-REPORT SCORES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO SCORES DERIVED FROM POLICE RECORDS

In addition to their accounts of police contacts, respondents also filled out a self-report sheet (see Appendix Q) in which they indicated the number of times that they had actually committed offenses during each of the age periods 6-13, 14-17, 18-20, and 21 and older. From these were generated two measures similar to those developed from police contact data. The first, a Geometric score, gave 1 point for being stopped by the police for questioning, 2 points for behavior classified as incorrigibility, 4 points for moving vehicle violations, disorderly conduct, and liquor offenses including drunkeness, 8 points for minor thefts, robbery,[3] assault, violent property destruction, carrying weapons, and drug offenses, and 16 points for auto theft, other major thefts, and burglary. This scale had a range in scores from 0 to 31, 31 indicating that the respondent had mentioned some-

thing in each category at least once. A similar scale gave from 1 to 5 points for each of these categories (1 = stopped for questioning . . . 5 = major theft and burglary), multiplying the number of types of offenses in each category by the weight for the category. This scale could produce a range in scores from 0 to 60. A score of 60 meant that the respondent had stated that he/she did at least one thing in each category all of the time during the age period in question. Both scoring systems are described in Diagram 1. While both are rather simple scales they do permit assignment of numbers to each person based on the kinds of things that they had admitted engaging in during each age period. Both are scales which generate a score representing the seriousness of the kinds of things that respondents admitted doing with an increment of frequency.

The median scores for both scales for each race/ethnic group are shown in Table 4 by age period and sex. There are a number of things that should be noted about these self-report data. First of all, the females have consistently lower self-report scores than the males, as in the case of all frequency or seriousness of contact data which have been presented based on official police reports. Males admitted doing more serious things more frequently. Second, self-report scores for the males are consistently higher for the juveniles period 14-17 than for any other period which is not consistent with the official police data for the 1942 Cohort where both number of contacts and seriousness were highest for the age period 21 and older. By contrast, self-report scores for females from both cohorts were higher or almost the same for the age periods 18-20 and 21 and older as for the period 14-17, which was also the case for scores on official data. Thus, age period to age period consistency in self-report vs. official data was greater

DIAGRAM 1. SELF-REPORT SCALE CODING SYSTEMS

Geometric Weights*	Original Additive Weights**	New Additive Weights***
1 Contact	1 Contact	1 Contact
2 Incorrigible	2 Incorrigible	2 Incorrigible Disorderly conduct (juvenile period)
4 Moving vehicle violations, Disorderly conduct (age 18 and over), Liquor violations (underage), Drunk driving	3 Same as geometric categories	3 Same as geometric categories
8 Misdemeanor thefts, Robbery, Assault, Violent property destruction, Weapons, Drugs including marijuana	4 Same as geometric categories	4 Same as geometric except omit Robbery
16 Auto theft, Burglary, Felony thefts	5 Same as geometric categories	5 Auto theft, Burglary 6 Robbery

* The Geometric score for each category was obtained by adding the *geometric weights* 1-16 for each category in which a person had admitted having done one of the things at least once to produce a maximum score of 31.

** The original additive self-report score was obtained by multiplying the *weight* for the categories in which a person had admitted engaging in behavior by the number representing the highest frequency for that category as follows: 1) Once or twice - very rarely, 2) Occasionally, 3) Frequently, 4) All the time.

*** The new additive self-report scores were obtained by multiplying the number of different offenses admitted within each category by the weight of that category of offenses by the frequency numbers utilized for the first additive scale, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

TABLE 4. MEDIAN SELF-REPORT SCORES FOR PERSONS INTERVIEWED FROM 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

	Males			Females				
1942 Cohort	White	Black	Chicano	White	Black	Chicana	Total Males**	Total Females
Geometric Seriousness Scores								
Ages 6 - 13	7.857	------*	------	.363	.556	-----	7.783	.333
14 - 17	12.500	------	------	3.736	2.000	-----	12.474	3.697
18 - 20	4.445	------	------	3.674	.214	-----	4.491	3.637
21 or +	4.420	------	------	3.886	2.800	-----	4.451	3.849
Type-Seriousness Scores								
Ages 6 - 13	4.065	------	------	.363	.333	-----	3.960	.333
14 - 17	10.167	------	------	2.793	.500	-----	9.950	2.742
18 - 20	6.132	------	------	2.723	.214	-----	6.158	2.675
21 or +	5.900	------	------	3.080	2.100	-----	5.925	3.000
1949 Cohort								
Geometric Seriousness Scores								
Ages 6 - 13	5.625	8.375	7.800	.332	.471	.333	7.549	.322
14 - 17	12.676	12.125	12.500	4.027	2.000	.818	12.632	3.951
18 - 20	8.313	8.000	12.200	3.973	.462	.409	11.510	3.918
21 or +	11.684	7.750	11.250	3.944	.462	1.333	11.655	3.881
Type-Seriousness Scores								
Ages 6 - 13	3.703	4.667	4.500	.332	.235	.333	3.859	.322
14 - 17	11.292	11.000	13.500	3.117	2.000	.818	11.367	3.029
18 - 20	9.523	8.250	11.333	3.204	.462	.409	9.565	3.100
21 or +	7.290	7.750	8.000	3.063	.462	.333	7.328	2.986

* Less than 10 persons.
** All race/ethnic groups included in total.

for females than for the males.

Where race/ethnic comparisons were possible differences between the males were relatively small compared to those generated by official police contact data and in more than half the age periods the median scores of the Black males were lower than those for the White males. One must conclude that either Black males were underreporting the seriousness and frequency of their misbehavior or that the police had contacts with and/or reported Black males disproportionately to White males in terms of the "real" amount of each group's delinquent and criminal behavior. This finding of admissions of relatively less serious and less frequent misbehaviors by Blacks is, of course, also consistent with the Black/White differences for the number of recorded vs. admitted police contacts already presented in this chapter.[4]

While race/ethnic differences were present among the females in terms of which age periods produced the highest self-report scores, White females generally had higher scores than did either Black females or Chicanas, again an indication that both self-reports and official data must be questioned as not perfectly representing the extent to which delinquent and criminal behavior had been engaged in by persons in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.[5] But, as we have said, each measure represents a different dimension of behavior and the fact that comparison reveals that official and self-report data lead to different conclusions is in itself an important finding - - but not a new one.

Before discussing the next self-report measure we shall discuss the age-period patterns of correlation which were found with those measures to which we have already referred. Tables 5 and 7 present the relationship (Pearsonian coefficients of correlation) of each measure of delinquency and crime derived from official records to each other measure for each age period as

TABLE 5. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS DEVELOPED FROM POLICE CONTACT AND SELF-REPORT DATA: PERSONS INTERVIEWED FROM 1942 COHORT

	A613	A1417	JUVENILE	EIGHTEEN	ADULT	CONTACTS	GEOJUV	GEO18	GEOADULT	GEOTOTAL	JUVXN	EIGHTXN	ADULTXN	TOTALXN	GEO613	GEO1417	GEO1820	GEO21	TS613XN	TS1417XN	TS1820XN	TS21XN
	(Number of Contacts)						(Geometric Score)				(Type-Seriousness)				(Geometric: Self Report)				(Type-Seriousness: Self Report)			
A613	1.00																					
A1417	.50	1.00																				
JUVENILE	.66	.98	1.00																			
EIGHTEEN	.22	.57	.54	1.00																		
ADULT	.08	.36	.33	.51	1.00																	
CONTACTS	.36	.74	.73	.77	.86	1.00																
GEOJUV	.53	.75	.77	.51	.37	.66	1.00															
GEO18	.19	.38	.37	.52	.43	.53	.29	1.00														
GEOADULT	.08	.29	.27	.34	.68	.60	.30	.44	1.00													
GEOTOTAL	.33	.55	.56	.54	.61	.72	.72	.65	.76	1.00												
JUVXN	.67	.95	.96	.53	.36	.73	.83	.36	.29	.59	1.00											
EIGHTXN	.27	.59	.57	.95	.52	.77	.54	.66	.39	.62	.56	1.00										
ADULTXN	.07	.35	.32	.49	.98	.84	.36	.42	.75	.63	.35	.50	1.00									
TOTALXN	.37	.73	.72	.73	.86	.98	.68	.55	.66	.76	.74	.76	.87	1.00								
GEO613	.21	.27	.28	.03	.02	.13	.17	.05	-.01	.08	.25	.05	-.01	.10	1.00							
GEO1417	.15	.41	.39	.24	.18	.32	.34	.09	.13	.25	.36	.25	.15	.29	.40	1.00						
GEO1820	.06	.21	.20	.23	.23	.28	.21	.19	.14	.21	.21	.25	.18	.25	.28	.48	1.00					
GEO21	-.01	.13	.11	.20	.25	.25	.15	.15	.17	.20	.11	.20	.20	.21	.22	.34	.58	1.00				
TS613XN	.17	.26	.26	.01	.03	.13	.17	.02	.00	.08	.23	.02	-.00	.10	.79	.40	.41	.37	1.00			
TS1417XN	.11	.40	.38	.20	.15	.29	.28	.08	.08	.19	.33	.20	.11	.25	.45	.83	.58	.41	.61	1.00		
TS1820XN	.02	.17	.16	.17	.16	.20	.17	.09	.06	.12	.16	.17	.11	.18	.34	.45	.83	.60	.60	.67	1.00	
TS21XN	-.03	.12	.10	.17	.24	.23	.14	.14	.21	.22	.10	.17	.21	.21	.28	.36	.55	.85	.55	.52	.72	1.00

TABLE 6. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS DEVELOPED FROM POLICE CONTACT AND SELF-REPORT DATA: PERSONS INTERVIEWED FROM 1949 COHORT

	A613	A1417	JUVENILE	EIGHTEEN	ADULT	CONTACTS	GEOJUV	GEO18	GEOADULT	GEOTOTAL	JUVXN	EIGHTXN	ADULTXN	TOTALXN	GEO613	GEO1417	GEO1820	GEO21	TS613XN	TS1417XN	TS1820XN	TS21XN
	(Number of Contacts)						(Geometric Score)				(Type-Seriousness)				(Geometric: Self Report)				(Type-Seriousness: Self Report)			
A613	1.00																					
A1417	.49	1.00																				
JUVENILE	.70	.97	1.00																			
EIGHTEEN	.45	.52	.56	1.00																		
ADULT	.38	.52	.54	.76	1.00																	
CONTACTS	.61	.81	.84	.87	.88	1.00																
GEOJUV	.52	.68	.71	.32	.37	.57	1.00															
GEO18	.28	.42	.43	.72	.56	.64	.34	1.00														
GEOADULT	.27	.49	.48	.57	.77	.70	.44	.44	1.00													
GEOTOTAL	.47	.67	.69	.61	.63	.75	.80	.66	.75	1.00												
JUVXN	.70	.95	.99	.55	.53	.83	.75	.43	.47	.71	1.00											
EIGHTXN	.44	.50	.54	.98	.77	.85	.31	.76	.56	.62	.53	1.00										
ADULTXN	.35	.50	.51	.75	.98	.85	.37	.57	.82	.66	.50	.76	1.00									
TOTALXN	.60	.79	.83	.86	.88	.99	.59	.66	.73	.98	.82	.86	.88	1.00								
GEO613	.20	.22	.24	.08	.13	.19	.20	.09	.10	.17	.25	.08	.12	.19	1.00							
GEO1417	.26	.36	.37	.26	.23	.34	.31	.28	.21	.35	.38	.27	.20	.34	.39	1.00						
GEO1820	.23	.28	.30	.29	.26	.33	.26	.27	.21	.33	.30	.28	.23	.32	.28	.51	1.00					
GEO21	.23	.25	.27	.26	.27	.31	.17	.26	.22	.27	.27	.26	.25	.31	.25	.39	.50	1.00				
TS613XN	.16	.17	.19	.10	.11	.16	.16	.09	.10	.15	.19	.09	.11	.16	.79	.34	.28	.26	1.00			
TS1417XN	.27	.38	.39	.25	.24	.36	.32	.27	.25	.36	.40	.27	.21	.36	.42	.85	.55	.44	.45	1.00		
TS1820XN	.26	.31	.33	.34	.26	.36	.27	.30	.25	.36	.34	.33	.23	.35	.29	.53	.84	.52	.38	.66	1.00	
TS21XN	.25	.29	.31	.31	.31	.36	.20	.31	.24	.33	.31	.32	.29	.36	.26	.42	.54	.83	.38	.53	.70	1.00

well as the relationship of each self-report measure to every other measure for each age period. In essence, there are three official measures which we have mentioned in earlier chapters: 1) number of contacts, 2) geometric scores based on most to least serious reasons for police contacts, and 3) type-seriousness scores based on the sum of the frequency and seriousness of police contacts. There are two self-report measures: 1) the geometric scores and 2) the type-seriousness scores. Both of the self-report measures have been described in this chapter. Each has been calculated for at least four age periods or combinations of age periods.

The correlations of each measure with every measure for each of the four age periods (6-13, 14-17, 18-20, 21 and older) or combinations thereof are shown for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts without controls for sex. Corresponding Tables 5 through 8 for males and females may be found in Appendix R. Rather than discuss segments of each table in detail we shall discuss a single point for all tables in general terms, then proceed to the next point for all tables. Basically, we are concerned with which type of measure for the juvenile period is most highly related to scores on the same type of measure in the following period or the adult period. It is also possible to see which measure for an earlier age period or the adult period is most highly correlated with the same measure for a total career.

Overall, the type-seriousness self-report scores for the ages 14-17 (TS1417XN) are most highly correlated with type-seriousness self-report scores for the ages 18-20 (TS1820XN), with the exception of the females. For the 1942 Cohort females, number of police contacts (A613) and police contacts type-seriousness scores (JUVXN) have the same correlation with

their respective age 18-20 scores, while JUVXN is most highly correlated for these two periods for the 1949 Cohort's females. From a more practical standpoint, however, juvenile type-seriousness would be the best predictor since it is generated from police contact rather than self-report data. For both cohorts and both sexes within each cohort juvenile type-seriousness has either the highest correlation with type-seriousness for the 18-20 age period or a correlation which is equal to or very little different from the highest correlation. It should also be noted that the number of police contacts for the age period 14-17 (A1417) or 6-17 (JUVENILE) produced similar correlations in most cases.

It is more difficult to decide which of these measures would serve as the best predictor for the age period 21 and older. For the 1942 Cohort, type-seriousness self-report for the period 6-13 (TS613XN) is probably the best, although (TS1417XN) has a slightly higher correlation for the females. The number of police contacts 6-17 (JUVENILE) has the highest correlation for the 1949 Cohort, although it differs little from the same score for the 14-17 age period (A1417). Here again, however, from the viewpoint of usefulness one of the measures based on police contacts would be best, and while simple number of police contacts does not have the highest correlations for the 1942 Cohort (as it does for the 1949 Cohort), either number of contacts (A1417) or type-seriousness (JUVXN) could be selected as an alternative.

The best predictions of what will happen after the age of 20 are made, however, from the 18-20 age period. Here type-seriousness from self-report data (TS1820XN) is consistently correlated with type-seriousness for the 21 and older period (TS21XN) except where number of police contacts (EIGHTEEN)

are of equal value. Again, from a practical viewpoint we would select a police contact measure and while number of contacts (EIGHTEEN) or type-seriousness for the 18-20 period (EIGHTXN) do not have the highest correlations for both sexes for both cohorts, they are of almost equal value and either could be utilized. In the case of the 1942 females, none of the correlations is very high but Geometric scores (GEO18) are most highly correlated with scores for 21 and older (GEOADULT).

We therefore concluded, as indicated by the analyses presented in earlier chapters, that predicting type-seriousness based on official data for one age period from type-seriousness for an earlier period would be the most productive course of action when attempting to predict future behavior for those who were interviewed from each cohort. While number of police contacts at the adult period may just as well be predicted from number of police contacts at earlier periods, we would opt for the type-seriousness measure because persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems are more concerned in differentiating who will continue to have contacts for more serious types of crimes than in who will have the greatest number of police contacts. However, we shall as a point of interest follow this chapter with an investigation of the possibility of improving predictability by combining official and self-report data.

Another point to be made is that number of police contacts and type-seriousness for the period 6-17 are more highly correlated with the period 18-20 for the 1942 Cohort as is the period 6-17 with the 21 and older age periods. For the 1942 Cohort, the 18-20 age period is more highly correlated with the 21 and older period than with the 6-17 period. For the 1949 Cohort the earliest period correlates with the 18-20 and with the 21 and older periods about equally. But, as in the case of the 1942 Cohort, scores for the 21 and

older period are more highly correlated with 18-20 scores. In other words, the earliest period would best predict scores for the age period 18-20 for both cohorts and the 18-20 age period scores would best predict scores for the 21 and older period.

One last question must be answered -- is there a possibility that type-seriousness for the 18-20 age or 21 and older age periods could better be predicted by a different type of measure for an earlier age? While there are some instances when either number of police contacts (JUVENILE) or Geometric scores (GEOJUV) have higher correlations with type-seriousness for the 18-20 period (EIGHTNX) than does JUVXN, generally speaking juvenile type-seriousness is the best predictor of type-seriousness for the 18-20 period. Similarly, while there are several instances where other types of scores for the juvenile period are correlated with type-seriousness for the adult period better than is type-seriousness, type-seriousness is generally the most highly correlated. Type-seriousness for the period 18-20 is even more consistently highly correlated with adult type-seriousness. This further solidifies our decision to concentrate on utilization of type-seriousness for earlier periods in predicting type-seriousness at later periods, these to be incorporated with other variables in development of the final prediction device.

Before leaving the issue of the interrelationship of various measures to each other and the relationship of measures for one age period to another age period it was decided to rescore the self-report data in still another way, one which would take into consideration the number of different types of behavior admitted within each of the larger seriousness categories shown in Diagram 1 as well as the frequency with which respondents admitted engaging in them. We shall not go into race/ethnic differences in how these scores turned out but suffice it to say that for the 6-17 age period the mean for males in the 1942 Cohort was 13.612 and for females 4.006 while males for the 1949 Cohort had a mean of 13.644 and females 4.537. Similarly, for the age period of 18 and older, males in the 1942 Cohort had a mean of 12.017 and females 4.480 and for the 1949 Cohort males a mean of 16.989 and females 6.958. Means for these age periods are mentioned since we shall in the next-to-the-last chapter determine how much of the variance in official type-seriousness scores and self-report scores for the age period 18 and older may be explained by adding interview data to scores for the juvenile (6-17) age period. What we are concerned about is the extent to which the two self-report additive scales correlated with each other and official type-seriousness, a simpler version of Tables 5 and 6.

Table 7 enables us to compare the relationship of police contacts type-seriousness scores (TS age period) and both self-report scores (TS age period XN) of the males from each cohort for the age periods 6-17, 18-20, 18 and older, and 21 and older and to compare the relationship of scores for each age period with each other age period for each of these measures. The correlations with which we should be most concerned are in boxes. As in previous similar comparisons of measures we find the measures for official type-seriousness have fairly modest but significant correlations with self-report seriousness in each same age period. We, of course, find very high correlations (.900 or close to it) between the two self-report measures in each same age period. Consistent with other comparisons that have been made, we find that regardless of measure, the age period 6-17 for that measure is always more highly correlated with the age period 18-20 than with

TABLE 7. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS DEVELOPED FROM POLICE CONTACT AND SELF-REPORT DATA: MALES FROM 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

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	TS6-17	TS6-17XN	SRN6-17	TS18-20	TS18-20XN	SRN18-20	TS18+	TS18XN+	SRN18+	TS21+	TS21XN+
1942 Cohort:											
TS6-17XN	[.302*]										
SRN6-17	[.237]	.894									
TS18-20	[.564]	.068	.076								
TS18-20XN	.050	[.400]	[.391]	[.189]							
SRN18-20	.069	[.407]	[.546]	[.195]	.865						
TS18+	[.464]	.017	.047	.799	.140	.136					
TS18XN+	.050	[.352]	[.373]	.230	.875	.793	[.241]				
SRN18+	.046	[.345]	[.524]	.218	.723	.879	[.221]	.885			
TS21+	[.364]	-.005	.031	[.615]	.108	.100	.966	.223	.201		
TS21XN+	.036	[.208]	[.255]	.210	[.513]	[.508]	.282	.865	.818	[.283]	
SRN21+	.013	[.195]	[.383]	.190	[.395]	[.561]	.252	.745	.888	[.253]	.911
1949 Cohort:											
TS6-17XN	[.357**]										
SRN6-17	[.318]	.931									
TS18-20	[.595]	.262	.305								
TS18-20XN	.299	[.523]	[.496]	[.420]							
SRN18-20	.336	[.584]	[.613]	[.433]	.915						
TS18+	[.602]	.255	.290	.911	.354	.372					
TS18XN+	.339	[.502]	[.479]	.454	.925	.856	[.423]				
SRN18+	.357	[.531]	[.564]	.458	.852	.924	[.434]	.921			
TS21+	[.529]	.215	.239	[.719]	.253	.272	.942	.342	.357		
TS21XN+	.318	[.376]	[.362]	.404	[.648]	[.613]	.420	.890	.819	[.379]	
SRN21+	.309	[.357]	[.391]	.396	[.598]	[.645]	.420	.807	.888	[.386]	.896

TS6-17, 18-20, 18+, and 21+ = Type-seriousness scores based on police contact data.

TS6-17XN, 18-20, 18+, and 21+ = Self-report seriousness scores based on average seriousness of categories containing contacts x frequency.

SRN6-17, 18-20, 18+, and 21+ = Self-report seriousness scores based on average seriousness of all types of contacts within categories x frequency.

* Lowest correlation significant at .05 or higher = .140.
** Lowest correlation significant at .05 or higher = .189.

the 21 and older period for the same measure and the age period 18-20 is more highly correlated with age 21 and older than 6-17 with 21 and older or 6-17 with 18-20. In fact, the highest correlations within any measure were between the 18-20 and 21 and older age periods. In other words, after the age of 17 there was more stability in either police records or self-reports than between the age of 6-17 and either later age period.

It should also be noted that official seriousness did not produce high correlations with one or the other of the self-report seriousness measures, varying from age period to age period but producing fairly consistent correlations. Some of the correlations not placed in boxes are very high because they involve overlapping age periods and others are very low because they involve different measures for different age periods.

A similar pattern of correlations is shown for the females of both cohorts in Table 8, with major differences found where official type-seriousness for the age periods 18-20, 18 and older, or 21 and older were correlated with self-report measures for those or other periods. Nevertheless, we conclude that continuity and the interrelationship of measures for those interviewed is relatively similar for both cohorts and that differences in the final analysis based on which self-report measure has been utilized will be minimal. Of the two self-report measures, we shall opt for the second because its scoring system goes beyond seriousness alone and permits a wider range of scores based on the number of different things which a person admits having done within each of the seriousness categories.

Lest the reader have by now been convinced that consideration of the possibility of developing a prediction device that will account for most of

TABLE 8. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS DEVELOPED FROM POLICE CONTACT AND SELF-REPORT DATA: FEMALES FROM 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

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	TS6-17	TS6-17XN	SRN6-17	TS18-20	TS18-20XN	SRN18-20	TS18+	TS18XN+	SRN18+	TS21+	TS21N+
1942 Cohort:											
TS6-17XN	.212*										
SRN6-17	.268	.945									
TS18-20	.588	.106	.182								
TS18-20XN	.093	.584	.491	.090							
SRN18-20	.194	.420	.403	.259	.861						
TS18+	.382	.036	.072	.420	.027	.077					
TS18XN+	-.008	.584	.489	.087	.851	.714	.016				
SRN18+	.049	.440	.418	.208	.717	.813	.064	.873			
TS21+	.249	.010	.027	.176	.004	.011	.967	-.007	.011		
TS21XN+	-.094	.444	.371	.064	.512	.411	.002	.887	.798	-.016	
SRN21+	-.098	.317	.297	.094	.351	.375	.031	.734	.845	.008	.892
1949 Cohort:											
TS6-17XN	.199**										
SRN6-17	.259	.955									
TS18-20	.503	.067	.108								
TS18-20XN	.096	.300	.324	.009							
SRN18-20	.013	.299	.324	.014	.929						
TS18+	.536	.045	.092	.960	-.015	.002					
TS18XN+	.090	.337	.376	.007	.846	.785	-.012				
SRN18+	.016	.344	.389	.016	.834	.872	.013	.943			
TS21+	.530	.019	.061	.863	-.030	-.008	.970	-.025	.008		
TS21XN+	.057	.271	.312	.005	.426	.394	-.004	.843	.758	-.010	
SRN21+	.077	.289	.343	.014	.468	.456	.023	.828	.884	.025	.933

* Lowest correlation significant at .05 or higher = .194.
** Lowest correlation significant at .05 or higher = .199.

TS6-17, 18-20, 18+, and 21+ = Type-seriousness scores based on police contact data.

TS6-17XN, 18-20, 18+, and 21+ = Self-report seriousness scores based on average seriousness of categories containing contacts x frequency.

SRN6-17, 18-20, 18+, and 21+ = Self-report seriousness scores based on average seriousness of all types of contacts within categories x frequency.

the variance in adult seriousness scores is not worth the effort involved, he/she should again be reminded that we have not yet reached the chapter in which interview data have been incorporated into the multivariate analysis in an attempt to predict (or explain) either official or self-report seriousness.

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEMSELVES AS DELINQUENT OR CRIMINAL AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF PERCEPTIONS TO OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORT MEASURES

One section of the interview was devoted to respondents' self-concept as delinquent or criminal, age period by age period. Respondents were requested to choose a number from 1 to 7, 1 being non-delinquent and 7 being highly delinquent or criminal, which they thought best described themselves at each period. They were also requested to select a number which represented how they thought their parents, their teachers, their friends, and the police thought of them during each of the age periods. As a consequence of a misunderstanding on whether all should respond to the police question, whether they had contact with the police or not, it was decided that responses to that question should be eliminated.

Table 9 shows that respondent's average self-concept was non-delinquent for all groups at all age periods and that females almost always saw themselves and thought that others saw them as less delinquent or criminal than did the males. Neither Black males nor females consistently rated themselves as more delinquent than Whites, nor did they consistently perceive others as having a more delinquent image of them than did others have of the Whites. Where comparison was possible younger Chicanas perceived themselves as more delinquent than either Whites or Blacks.

Table 10 presents the correlation of every appropriate self-concept mea-

TABLE 9. PERCEPTION OF SELF AND PERCEPTION OF HOW OTHERS LOOK AT YOU AS DELINQUENT OR CRIMINAL: MEAN SCORES BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

	Males					Females				
Age Period:	1942 White	1942 Black	1949 White	1949 Black	1949 Chicano	1942 White	1942 Black	1949 White	1949 Black	1949 Chicana
Before 14:										
Self	1.75	2.30	1.70	1.74	1.82	1.18	1.44	1.27	1.35	1.31
Parents	1.64	1.50	1.80	1.47	1.76	1.18	1.44	1.25	1.38	1.77
Teachers	1.68	2.50	1.95	2.00	2.18	1.17	1.11	1.27	1.50	1.46
Friends	1.88	2.70	1.89	1.90	1.88	1.23	1.11	1.30	1.42	1.31
N	143	10	227	31	17	121	9	201	23	13
14-17:										
Self	2.15	1.90	2.42	1.90	2.82	1.60	1.56	1.69	1.54	2.08
Parents	1.94	1.80	2.20	1.76	2.35	1.54	1.33	1.67	1.54	2.00
Teachers	2.13	2.50	2.36	1.94	2.71	1.34	1.33	1.54	1.46	2.00
Friends	2.27	2.70	2.43	1.90	2.82	1.51	1.56	1.75	1.46	1.85
N	144	10	228	31	17	121	9	200	24	13
18-20:										
Self	1.67	1.60	2.06	2.10	2.12	1.35	1.11	1.55	1.38	1.31
Parents	1.62	1.90	1.91	2.50	1.82	1.34	1.11	1.49	1.25	1.38
Friends	1.68	2.00	2.02	2.03	2.29	1.24	1.11	1.48	1.50	1.46
N	144	10	228	31	17	121	9	201	24	13
21 & Older:										
Self	1.33	2.00	1.49	1.77	1.88	1.22	1.78	1.28	1.33	1.54
Friends	1.26	1.44	1.51	2.13	1.88	1.21	1.44	1.25	1.25	1.15
N	143	10	228	31	17	121	9	201	24	13

TABLE 10. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-CONCEPT AS DELINQUENT OR NON-DELINQUENT TO PERCEPTION OF PARENTS', TEACHERS', AND FRIENDS' EVALUATIONS

1942 Cohort

		Males			Females		
		6-17			6-17		
		Parents	Teachers	Friends	Parents	Teachers	Friends
6-17	Self	.673*	.636	.752	.744	.682	.791
	Parents	--	.594	.657	--	.565	.506
	Teachers	--	--	.612	--	--	.650
		18-20			18-20		
18-20	Self	.731	--	.721	.560	--	.773
	Parents	--	--	.653	--	--	.478
		21 or +			21 or +		
21 or +	Self	--	--	.790	--	--	.827
		N = 152 to 156			N = 134 to 136		

1949 Cohort

		Males			Females		
		6-17			6-17		
		Parents	Teachers	Friends	Parents	Teachers	Friends
6-17	Self	.638	.627	.708	.414	.385	.613
	Parents	--	.694	.546	--	.465	.387
	Teachers	--	--	.543	--	--	.541
		18-20			18-20		
18-20	Self	.753	--	.721	.646	--	.773
	Parents	--	--	.611	--	--	.512
		21 or +			21 or +		
21 or +	Self	--	--	.742	--	--	.731
		N = 271 - 276			N = 236 - 238		

* All Pearsonian coefficients of correlation significant at the .05 level or higher.

sure with every other appropriate measure for each age period. While self-concept and evaluation of how one's friends perceived one produced reasonably high coefficients of correlation for males and females of both cohorts, .613 to .791, self-concept and evaluation of how one's parents perceived one produced correlations varying from .414 to .753. Even the correlations between the evaluations of parents and teachers had a range of .465 to .694. Although these self-concept measures were highly intercorrelated, it is also obvious that respondents did not see themselves in exactly the same manner as they believed that their parents, teachers, and friends saw them.

Respondents' mean self-concept and view of how others perceived them is only one of our concerns, however. We are even more interested in how the responses to self-concept questions related to other measures of delinquency and crime. Comparison is made of one self-report measure (seriousness scores), three measures indicative of official processing (seriousness scores for police contacts, number of referrals, and severity of sanctions), and each of the self-concept measures. Table 11 presents the Pearsonian coefficients of correlation by sex, cohort, and age period.

Commencing with the males we find that self-concept had its highest correlation with official seriousness in the 1942 Cohort but with self-report seriousness for the 1949 Cohort for the age period 6-17. How respondents reported their parents, teachers, and friends as evaluating them on the same scale had in every case their highest correlation with self-report seriousness.[6]

Although there was relatively little cohort difference in the strength of these correlations with self-report seriousness, one notes that differences do develop as one moves down the rows through official seriousness scores,

TABLE 11. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-CONCEPT AND HOW RESPONDENTS BELIEVED OTHERS PERCEIVED THEM BY SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, NUMBER OF REFERRALS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS

	Ages 6-17				Ages 18-20			Ages 21 or +	
	Self**	Parents	Teachers	Friends	Self	Parents	Friends	Self	Friends
MALES									
1942 Cohort:									
Self-report Seriousness	.382*	.406*	.360*	.416*	.298*	.191*	.312*	.392*	.132
Official Seriousness	.403*	.381*	.280*	.269*	.302*	.258*	.272*	.211*	.104
Number of Referrals	.317*	.301*	.222*	.211*	.302*	.269*	.317*	.298*	.117
Severity of Sanctions	-- ***	--	--	--	.240*	.129*	.213*	.020	-.009
1949 Cohort:									
Self-report Seriousness	.364*	.307*	.384*	.327*	.273*	.253*	.214*	.315*	.225*
Official Seriousness	.191*	.218*	.274*	.190*	.336*	.407*	.183*	.194*	.116
Number of Referrals	.173*	.184*	.243*	.115	.331*	.438*	.197*	.207*	.127
Severity of Sanctions	.120*	.103	.111	.011	.257*	.335*	.162*	.098	.019
FEMALES									
1942 Cohort:									
Self-report Seriousness	.216*	.193*	.146	.221*	.079	.016	-.025	.005	.021
Official Seriousness	.141	.077	.113	.343*	.004	-.011	.009	.399*	.252*
1949 Cohort:									
Self-report Seriousness	.366*	.382*	.243*	.248*	.354*	.355*	.240*	.297*	.199*
Official Seriousness	.180*	.174*	.184*	.085	.033	.077	.071	.014	-.016
Number of Referrals	.083	.106	.116	.049	--**	--	--	--	--

* Pearsonian coefficients of correlation significant at .05 levels or higher.
** Each set of correlations applies to the same age period, i.e., self-report seriousness 6-17 is correlated with self-concept 6-17, self-report 18-20 is correlated with self-concept 18-20, and so on.
*** Too few persons with sanctions and self-concept; too few with referrals and self-concept.

number of referrals, and severity of sanctions, the row in which the lowest correlations are found. This in itself is rather interesting because it shows that perception of how one is evaluated by friends has its closest relationship to self-report seriousness and, in the case of the 1949 Cohort, its lowest relationship to severity of sanctions. The latter had its highest correlation with respondent's own self-concept and its lowest correlation with how friends evaluated him. The fact that self-report and self-concept had fairly modest correlations and that friends' reported evaluation and severity of sanctions had the lowest correlations suggests that respondents' friends (if their perceptions were reported accurately) were not influenced by severity of sanctions in their evaluation of respondents (the interview data on how respondents thought that their friends reacted to their police contacts and experiences indicated that most friends were not very concerned about these incidents). They must, however, have had some knowledge of respondent's actual behavior because the self-report seriousness correlations were the highest of those with friends' evaluations.

It should also be noted that official seriousness always had either the highest or next to the highest correlation with the self-concept measures. These were in turn followed by number of referrals. We conclude that the overall pattern of correlations here indicates that self-concept is most closely related to what one knows about oneself and the contacts that one has had with the police and is least closely related to the official acts of those who are furthest from one. That official seriousness scores based on police contact data and self-report seriousness have the highest sets of correlations with self-concept indicates that respondents' knowledge of themselves and what was in the police contact records has the best fit to

juvenile self-concept as delinquent or non-delinquent during the age period 6-17. Later age periods do not reveal the same pattern, however, with number of referrals and severity of sanctions being more highly correlated with the self-report measures than for the period 6-17.

Since we have dealt at some length in earlier chapters with the relationship of various measures of delinquency and crime to the ecology of the city, it should be noted that mean differences in the self-concept measure by inner city and interstitial vs. outer areas were very small. Even when controlled for official seriousness there was a patterned relationship between mean self-concept measures and place of socialization (see Table 13, Appendix R). It should also be added that delinquent self-concept for ages 6-17, while correlated with the self-report seriousness measure, varied by cohort, by official seriousness, and by place of socialization. With the exception of one instance (it being lower than the others), all correlations ranged from .3135 to .4903 (see Table 14, Appendix R). There was no discernable pattern but it was obvious that neither official seriousness nor area of socialization had much impact on the relationship of self-concept to self-report, even though official seriousness (as we have shown in a variety of ways) was related to self-concept as delinquent or non-delinquent. Since we have commented on some Black-White differences in self-report, self-concept, and official seriousness, it may well be that the inner city and interstitial area of socialization of Blacks may have a bearing on these results, differences in the interrelationship of these variables among Blacks playing an important part in the overall relationships by area of socialization.

This problem is not central to our concerns in this report. We shall therefore leave further exploration of it to later and return to an exami-

nation of the relationship of self-concept to self-report and various official measures of delinquency and crime among the males of both cohorts.

There is less symmetry in the pattern of relationships for the age period 18-20 than was found for the age period 6-17. First of all, we have the suggestion that parents knew less about respondents (those in the 1942 Cohort) as young adults than they knew at the earlier periods and that during this period all measures (official and unofficial) have more nearly the same relationship to self-concept than they did during the juvenile period. Respondents' perception of parents' evaluation is more highly correlated with official measures for the 1949 Cohort and respondents' perception of friends' evaluation more highly correlated for the 1942 Cohort.

When the period commencing at age 21 is considered the relationship of severity of sanctions to self-concept and friends' concept disappears. While self-concept continues to be related to all measures except severity of sanctions and is particularly related to self-report seriousness, perception of friends' concept of oneself is significantly correlated with other measures in only one case -- self-report seriousness for the 1949 Cohort.

Before leaving the discussion of self-concept to measures of delinquent and criminal behavior we must mention that describing the results would have been even more difficult had the correlations of the self-concept measures with each of the delinquency and crime measures for the following, other, or prior age periods also been presented (see Tables 9-12, Appendix R).

The females are more difficult to describe than the males. While there is less symmetry of the sort that was described for the males (there were too few females with self-concept scores, referrals, and sanctions to make the same kinds of comparisons), one immediately notes that for the

1949 Cohort females every self-concept measure had its highest correlation with self-report seriousness. By comparison, other official measures of delinquency and crime produced very small correlations with the self-concept measures. The self-concept measures were correlated with self-report seriousness for the 1942 females, but unlike the 1949 females, their report of how their friends perceived them was more highly correlated with official seriousness scores. The period 18-20 produced modest correlations between self-concept measures and self-report seriousness but no other significant correlations. For the 1942 Cohort during the age period 21 and older, both self-concept measures were correlated with official seriousness; for the 1949 Cohort they were correlated with self-report seriousness, a reversal not found for the males.

Consideration of these correlations led to the conclusion that the self-concept measure referring to one's own self-concept as delinquent or criminal, or an index representing the appropriate persons in addition to self-concept, should be used in the multivariate analysis of interview data.

SUMMARY

When the number of police contacts recorded for each respondent before the age of 18 was compared with the number of police contacts that he/she reported having, more than half of each race/ethnic|sex group responded correctly and most of those who erred stated that they had had contacts when they did not have a record of police contacts.

Around 80% of the Whites in each cohort reported either their number of police contacts accurately or estimated somewhat higher than the number recorded in the files. Only half of the Blacks reported accurately and the other half reported fewer contacts than our records showed.

Eighty-two percent of the males in each cohort said that they had done things for which they could have been caught but weren't. Among the females, 53% in the 1942 Cohort and 58% in the 1949 Cohort said that they had done so. Those who stated that they did things for which they were not caught were more likely to have been caught for other alleged misbehaviors than those who stated that they did not do things for which they were not caught. Relatively fewer Blacks who said that they had done things for which they could have been caught but were not had no police contacts and most of those had police records who denied doing things for which they could have been caught but were not.

When the distributions of total recorded police contacts of persons interviewed in 1976 were compared with the distribution of their own descriptions of the contacts that they had with the police (first three mentions for each race/ethnic|sex group) and the distributions of what the police said they were doing and what they were really doing, most discrepancies could be explained by differences in perception, e.g., Disorderly conduct and Vagrancy were sometimes perceived by respondents as the consequence of drinking and/or mischievous behavior. At the same time, other differences in self-report data vs. official data could be accounted for because some of the more serious offense categories were seldom or never mentioned by respondents.

For both cohorts and both sexes within each cohort juvenile type-seriousness had either the highest or close to the highest correlation with type-seriousness for the 18-20 age period. Correlations also indicated that the best predictions of what will happen after the age of 21 could be made from scores for the 18-20 period. We concluded that the type-seriousness measure was best for all purposes (in spite of some high correlations between other measures for a given sex at a specified age period) because persons in

the juvenile and adult justice systems are more concerned about explaining or predicting continuity in more serious types of misbehavior (delinquency and crime) than who will have the greatest number of police contacts.

Self-report seriousness scores added a new dimension to juvenile and adult measures of delinquency and crime, one indicating less race/ethnic difference than obtained from official measures. No attempt is made to conclude that one measure is correct and/or that another is incorrect. While all measures are more or less correlated, it is concluded that seriousness scores of police contacts and seriousness scores from self-report data should be utilized in the multivariate analysis because the correlations of these measures for the juvenile period with later periods provide the most solid basis for developing a prediction device or explaining variance.

Several self-concept measures were examined and it was concluded that respondents' own self-concept or a summation of all self-concept variables should also be included in the multivariate analysis.

It was also concluded that self-concept, even though based on retrospective data, is a valid indicator because it (all of the measures) is generally correlated with self-report (which it should be because data which provide the basis for both were obtained in the same interview) and with seriousness scores based on official police contact data.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a definitive discussion of the research literature and their conclusions see Michael J. Hindelang, Travis Hirschi, and Joseph G. Weis, "Correlates of Delinquency: The Illusion of Discrepancy Between Self-Report and Official Measures," *American Sociological Review* 44 (1979): 995-1014.

[2] Although we have sometimes reported simple percentages for all race/ethnic|sex groups when there may be only a few persons in the cohort in a given group, particularly among those who were interviewed, we have usually not utilized such small numbers when statistics were involved.

[3] The inclusion of robbery in this category was based on the fact that descriptions of offenses included in that category by respondents did not involve deadly weapons and were really not the type of incidents usually classified as such. When the new additive self-report scale was constructed it was decided that if persons thought of themselves as having engaged in a robbery we should place them in that category. Since there were few who admitted robbery it probably made little difference one way or the other.

[4] While these findings are inconsistent with those of Delbert S. Elliott and Suzanne S. Ageton, "Reconcilling Race and Class Differences in Self-Reported and Official Estimates of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review* 45 (1980): 95-110, it must be noted that their sample consisted of youth ages 11-17, did not involve as much retrospection as did interviews with the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, and utilized a different self-report instrument. It may well be that the differences which they found would also have appeared had we compared only youthful Blacks and Whites from the 1955 Cohort.

[5] As Venetta D. Young, "Women, Race, and Crime," *Criminology* 18 (1980): 26-34, has recently concluded, ". . . there is no simplistic answer to the question of whether female offenders differ by race." If comparisons are limited to seriousness of the kinds of misbehaviors admitted, the self-report data indicate that Black and White males have more similar scores than do Black and White females, Black females having even lower seriousness scores than White females. There was also less difference between White males and females than between Black males and females. Racine self-report data, while not

comparable to Young's, produces findings inconsistent with Adler's position that the pattern of crime for Black females is closer to that of White males than to White females, if Geometric scores based on seriousness can be taken as a rough indicator of pattern. Freda Adler, *Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

It will be recalled, on the other hand, that race/ethnic|sex comparisons based on seriousness of police contacts produced scores for Black females from the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts which were similar to those for White males. The Black females had scores exceeding those of White females by ratios of 2 or 3 to 1. In fact, a variety of ways of determining seriousness with official data revealed that Black females and White males were similar.

The complexity of the question is perhaps best described in a recent article by Darrell J. and Renee H. Steffensmeier, "Trends in Female Delinquency: An Examination of Arrest, Juvenile Court, Self-Report, and Field Data," *Criminology* 18 (1980): 62-85. Although they conclude that changes have taken place in female rates of delinquency and crime, these changes are based in part on the lower base rate for females and the overall increase in delinquency and crime rates. Thus, one must continue to say that there is no simplistic answer to the question.

[6] The discussion of self-report measures will be limited in this report. Labelling theory, depending on how it is perceived, would suggest that severity of sanctions should be highly correlated with self-concept. James P. Curry is exploring this question and will prepare a separate report on the extent to which varieties of labelling theory are supported by these data.

Chapter 20. Predicting Level of Future Police Contacts from Official and Self-Report Data and the Relationship of Sanctions to Official and Self-Report Data

PERCEPTION OF BEHAVIOR AND POLICE CONTACTS AS A PRE-PREDICTION CLASSIFIER

Accounts of one's own behavior vary from being almost identical to that obtained from police records to being so different that it is almost impossible to believe that the respondent is even attempting to provide an accurate description of his/her behavior and experience with the police. Yet, we have shown in Chapter 19 that a variety of questions and ways of manipulating the data produce evidence of some relationship of self-report and self-concept measures to official measures.

In this chapter we shall explore the possibility of placing people in categories based on their own perceptions of their experiences and behaviors to see if this permits better prediction of later official criminal careers from juvenile misbehavior (police contact records).

Tables 1 through 4 are similar to the tables presented in Chapter 10 where police contacts before age 18 were utilized in an attempt to predict different levels of seriousness after age 18. It will be recalled that we invariably found pre-age 18 police contact records correlated with age 18 and later records but that with few exceptions there was little improvement in predictive efficiency over the modal category of the marginals.

Tables 1 and 2 include data for the 1942 Cohort and Tables 3 and 4 for the 1949 Cohort. Commencing at the top of each table the data are presented for those persons who stated that they had not been stopped by the police before age 18 and hadn't done things for which they could have been caught. At the bottom of each table are those who stated that they had

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : PERSONS INTERVIEWED 1942 COHORT

Before Age 18

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18

	No	Yes	Total
No	35 (57.4)	26 (42.6)	61 (88.4)
Yes	0 (0.0)	8 (100.0)	8 (11.6)
Total	35 (50.7)	34 (49.3)	69 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3674 Lambda .2353
Somers' D .5738

Police Contacts Prior to 18

	No	Yes	Total
No	50 (82.0)	11 (18.0)	61 (88.4)
Yes	3 (37.5)	5 (62.5)	8 (11.6)
Total	53 (76.8)	16 (23.2)	69 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3373 Lambda .1250
Somers' D .4447

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18

	No	Yes	Total
No	35 (53.0)	31 (47.0)	66 (78.6)
Yes	6 (33.3)	12 (66.7)	18 (21.4)
Total	41 (48.8)	43 (51.2)	84 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1617 Lambda .0976
Somers' D .1970

Police Contacts Prior to 18

	No	Yes	Total
No	53 (80.3)	13 (19.7)	66 (78.6)
Yes	10 (55.6)	8 (44.4)	18 (21.4)
Total	63 (75.0)	21 (25.0)	84 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2345 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .2475

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18

	No	Yes	Total
No	12 (42.9)	16 (57.1)	28 (66.7)
Yes	5 (35.7)	9 (64.3)	14 (33.3)
Total	17 (40.5)	25 (59.5)	42 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0686 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0714

Police Contacts Prior to 18

	No	Yes	Total
No	21 (75.0)	7 (25.0)	28 (66.7)
Yes	9 (64.3)	5 (35.7)	14 (33.3)
Total	30 (71.4)	12 (28.6)	42 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1118 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1071

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18

	No	Yes	Total
No	24 (43.6)	31 (56.4)	55 (41.7)
Yes	20 (26.0)	57 (74.0)	77 (58.3)
Total	44 (33.3)	88 (66.7)	132 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1847 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1766

Police Contacts Prior to 18

	No	Yes	Total
No	39 (70.9)	16 (29.1)	55 (41.7)
Yes	38 (49.4)	39 (50.6)	77 (58.3)
Total	77 (58.3)	55 (41.7)	132 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2156 Lambda .0182
Somers' D .2156

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : PERSONS INTERVIEWED 1942 COHORT

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Felonies Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	61 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	61 (88.4)
Yes	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	8 (11.6)
Total	68 (98.6)	1 (1.4)	69 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3349 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1250

Felonies or Major Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	60 (98.4)	1 (1.6)	61 (88.4)
Yes	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	8 (11.6)
Total	67 (97.1)	2 (2.9)	69 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2073 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1086

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	64 (97.0)	2 (3.0)	66 (78.6)
Yes	18 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	18 (21.4)
Total	82 (97.6)	2 (2.4)	84 (100.0)

Pearson's R-.0816 Lambda .0000
Somers' D-.0303

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	63 (95.5)	3 (4.5)	66 (78.6)
Yes	17 (94.4)	1 (5.6)	18 (21.4)
Total	80 (95.2)	4 (4.8)	84 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0195 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0101

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	28 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	28 (66.7)
Yes	11 (78.6)	3 (21.4)	14 (33.3)
Total	39 (92.9)	3 (7.1)	41 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0816 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0305

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	28 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	28 (66.7)
Yes	10 (71.4)	4 (28.6)	14 (33.3)
Total	38 (90.5)	4 (9.5)	42 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0195 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0101

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	53 (96.4)	2 (3.6)	55 (41.7)
Yes	72 (93.5)	5 (6.5)	77 (58.3)
Total	125 (94.7)	7 (5.3)	132 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0629 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0286

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	51 (92.7)	4 (7.3)	55 (41.7)
Yes	67 (87.0)	10 (13.0)	77 (58.3)
Total	118 (89.4)	14 (10.6)	132 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0915 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0571

been stopped before 18 and had done things for which they could have been caught before 18 (but were not). Note that the highest associations between before-18 and after-18 official police contact records are for those who claimed that they had not been stopped before 18 and had done nothing for which they could have been caught before 18. And it is only for this group that there was an increase of more than 20% in predictive efficiency over the modal category of the marginals, and this for only the any-kind-of-police-contact age 18 and after group.

It is particularly interesting to note, however, that only 11.6% of those who claimed no police contacts or misbehavior before 18 had a record of any contact but that of those who claimed police contacts and misbehavior before 18, 58.3% had recorded police contacts. It is also interesting to note that 49.3% of those who claimed no involvement before 18 had police contacts after that age and that of those who claimed contacts and misbehavior before 18, 66.7% had recorded contacts after that age. A similar progression is noted for felonies and misdemeanors. But again, and we cannot emphasize this type of finding too frequently, the group with the highest percent (only 7.1%) who had a felony contact at age 18 or later was that group who admitted contacts before 18 but who said they didn't do things for which they were not caught.

How consistent are these findings with what we observe for the 1949 Cohort? All of the measures of association are still modest and only two Lambdas indicate a proportional reduction in error greater than 20%, but not for the same groups as in the 1942 Cohort. But again it is interesting to note that 18.6% of the persons in the group who claimed no police con-

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : PERSONS INTERVIEWED 1949 COHORT

Before Age 18: Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	49 (62.0)	30 (38.0)	79 (81.4)
Yes	8 (44.4)	10 (55.6)	18 (18.6)
Total	57 (58.8)	40 (41.2)	97 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1388 Lambda .0500
Somers' D .1758

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	67 (84.8)	12 (15.2)	79 (81.4)
Yes	13 (72.2)	5 (27.8)	18 (18.6)
Total	80 (82.5)	17 (17.5)	97 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1287 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1259

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	51 (59.3)	35 (40.7)	86 (67.7)
Yes	13 (31.7)	28 (68.3)	41 (32.3)
Total	64 (50.4)	63 (49.6)	127 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2581 Lambda .2381
Somers' D .2760

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	70 (81.4)	16 (18.6)	86 (67.7)
Yes	21 (51.2)	20 (48.8)	41 (32.3)
Total	91 (71.7)	36 (28.3)	127 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3131 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .3018

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	27 (69.2)	12 (30.8)	39 (54.9)
Yes	17 (53.1)	15 (46.9)	32 (45.1)
Total	44 (62.0)	27 (38.0)	71 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1651 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1611

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	36 (92.3)	3 (7.7)	39 (54.9)
Yes	21 (65.6)	11 (34.4)	32 (45.1)
Total	57 (80.3)	14 (19.7)	71 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3337 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .2668

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	50 (53.2)	44 (46.8)	94 (36.3)
Yes	40 (24.2)	125 (75.8)	165 (63.7)
Total	90 (34.7)	169 (65.3)	259 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2923 Lambda .0667
Somers' D .2895

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	71 (75.5)	23 (24.5)	94 (36.3)
Yes	70 (42.4)	95 (57.6)	165 (63.7)
Total	141 (54.4)	118 (45.6)	259 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3197 Lambda .2119
Somers' D .3311

TABLE 4 . RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : PERSONS INTERVIEWED 1949 COHORT

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Felonies Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	78 (98.7)	1 (1.3)	79 (81.4)
Yes	18 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	18 (18.6)
Total	96 (99.0)	1 (1.0)	97 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0487 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0127

Felonies or Major Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	76 (96.2)	3 (3.8)	79 (81.4)
Yes	17 (94.4)	1 (5.6)	18 (18.6)
Total	93 (95.9)	4 (4.1)	97 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0344 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0176

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	85 (98.8)	1 (1.2)	86 (67.7)
Yes	39 (95.1)	2 (4.9)	41 (32.3)
Total	124 (97.6)	3 (2.4)	127 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1144 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0372

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	85 (98.8)	1 (1.2)	86 (67.7)
Yes	37 (90.2)	4 (9.8)	41 (32.3)
Total	122 (96.1)	5 (3.9)	127 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2066 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0859

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	39 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	39 (54.9)
Yes	29 (90.6)	3 (9.4)	32 (45.1)
Total	68 (95.8)	3 (4.2)	71 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2319 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0938

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	39 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	39 (54.9)
Yes	29 (90.6)	3 (9.4)	32 (45.1)
Total	68 (95.8)	3 (4.2)	71 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2312 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0938

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	89 (94.7)	5 (5.3)	94 (36.3)
Yes	149 (90.3)	16 (9.7)	165 (63.7)
Total	238 (91.9)	21 (8.1)	259 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0771 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0438

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	88 (93.6)	6 (6.4)	94 (36.3)
Yes	135 (81.8)	30 (18.2)	165 (63.7)
Total	223 (86.1)	36 (13.9)	259 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1640 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1180

tact and no misbehavior prior to 18 had police contact records higher than for the 1942 Cohort, and that those who admitted contacts and misbehavior before 18 (63.7%) had the highest percent of any group with official records before that age. Fewer (41.2%) of those admitting no contacts or misbehavior before 18 had contacts after that age while 65.3% of those who admitted contacts and misbehavior had contacts after that age. Progression in the percent with contacts at various seriousness levels was not quite as consistent among the 1949 Cohort's groups as it was among the 1942 Cohort's groups. However, in the column for those who had felony contacts at 18 or later we find a nice geometric progression from those who had admitted no contacts or misbehavior before 18 to those who admitted both: 1.0%, 2.4%, 4.2%, and 8.1%. Even then, only 8.1% of those whom we might expect to have erious involvement after 18 did so. One other statistic worth noting is that almost half of the persons who admitted contacts and undetected misbehavior before 18 had contacts at age 18 or later.

Similar findings were made for the males of both cohorts when considered separately (see Appendix S). As one moves from the group that did not admit contacts or misbehavior prior to age 18 to those who admitted both, the percent who had recorded contacts before age 18 increased for both cohorts, from 14.3% to 63.8% in the 1942 Cohort and from 29.4% to 71.8% for the 1949 Cohort. The percent who had contacts at various levels of seriousness at age 18 or later did not increase as systematically as it did for the total cohorts.

There is one last finding worth mentioning. Even more than in the case of the total cohort, those males who had police contacts prior to age 18

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were likely to have them at age 18 or later. In fact, of those who had police contacts and engaged in undetected misbehavior, and who in addition had a police contact record before 18, more than four times as many had police contacts at age 18 and after than before. And over half of the males in the "admit everything" category had police contacts at age 18 and after.

Findings for the females differed from the males in that the percentage of those with police contacts before age 18 showed more progression from those who were not stopped by the police and did not admit undetected misbehaviors to those who admitted contacts and undetected misbehavior, changing from 11.3% to 44.7% in the 1942 Cohort and from 16.3% to 44.9% in the 1949 Cohort. After age 18, progression in the proportion with police contacts at various seriousness levels from those who made no admissions to those who admitted contacts and undetected misbehaviors was not consistent on any seriousness level for which there were sufficient persons with age 18 or after contacts to make a comparison. Probably the most consistent finding for the females was the very small number of persons who had contacts before 18 and contacts at and after that age regardless of what they admitted in terms of police contacts or misbehavior prior to 18.

But we must again conclude that no matter how interesting these interrelationships are, how much general consistency they show in disproportional continuity for high-risk groups, it is not possible to predict future behavior of the type which we wish to predict from past behavior and associated prediction groupings.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SANCTIONS TO OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORT DATA

The issue has been raised as to whether persons with high self-report scores have for one reason or another also had sufficient contact with the police to have been sanctioned to a degree that correlates with their admitted behavior to essentially the same extent as persons with high seriousness scores have been sanctioned based on their police contact records. Similarly, have those with both high self-report and high police contact scores been the persons who were most sanctioned of all and those with neither official records nor self-reported misbehavior been unsanctioned as we would expect if official records and self-reports of no delinquent or criminal activity were correct? Examination of various combinations of self-report and official seriousness scores should indicate the extent to which equity may or may not prevail from group to group.[1]

Table 5 presents an extremely simplified picture of the relationship between the seriousness scores based on contacts that respondents had during each age period or their self-report seriousness scores[2] (TS6-17XN, etc., described in Chapter 19) and their scores on the severity of sanctions scale. One immediately notes that the correlation between official seriousness and severity of sanctions is higher for each age period than for self-report seriousness and sanctions. The percentages in the tables for self-report seriousness indicate that considerably fewer people reporting relatively high levels of seriousness have been severely sanctioned than is the case for official seriousness. This is not surprising and the difference is consistent for all age periods for both cohorts.

While it may appear that there is a discrepancy in that some persons

TABLE 5. PERCENT WITH GIVEN SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS BY SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS OF SELF-REPORTS BY AGE PERIODS: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS INTERVIEWED*

1942 Cohort	Ages 6-17 Severity of Sanctions				Ages 18-20 Severity of Sanctions				Ages 21+ Severity of Sanctions			
Police Contacts:	None	1-5	6 or+	N	None	1-5	6 or+	N	None	1-5	6 or+	N
1. No Contacts	100.0			211	97.4	2.6		232	97.1	2.9		172
2. Low Seriousness	100.0			69	80.8	13.7	5.5	73	90.6	5.7	3.8	106
3. High Seriousness	86.8	3.8	9.4	53	53.6	7.1	39.3	28	60.0	10.9	29.1	55
N	326	2	5	333	300	18	15	333	296	17	20	333
Pearson's R		.2771				.4839				.4164		
Self-Report:												
1. No Self-Report	99.5		.5	211	94.1	4.6	1.3	239	93.5	4.7	1.8	170
2. Low Self-Report	98.4		1.6	63	82.5	7.0	10.5	57	87.2	6.0	6.8	117
3. High Self-Report	92.2	3.9	3.9	51	78.6	10.7	10.7	28	78.9	2.6	18.4	38
N	319	2	4	325	294	18	12	324	291	16	18	325
Pearson's R		.1567				.2184				.1994		
1949 Cohort												
Police Contacts:												
1. No Contacts	100.0			299	96.9	2.3	.9	351	97.3	2.1	.6	334
2. Low Seriousness	100.0			145	82.4	12.7	4.9	142	80.6	13.5	5.8	155
3. High Seriousness	78.6	11.6	9.8	112	55.6	14.3	30.2	63	52.2	6.0	41.8	67
N	532	13	11	556	492	35	29	556	485	32	39	556
Pearson's R		.3386				.4286				.4782		
Self-Report:												
1. No Self-Report	99.0			298	93.5	4.1	2.4	339	91.9	3.5	4.5	310
2. Low Self-Report	99.2	.8		133	88.8	7.7	3.5	143	87.7	8.2	4.1	171
3. High Self-Report	83.6	9.1	7.3	110	67.2	13.8	19.0	58	68.3	10.0	21.7	60
N	519	11	11	541	483	33	24	540	476	31	34	541
Pearson's R		.2335				.2462				.1991		

*1942 Cohort

Official Seriousness Scores: Low = 1-5; High = 6 or+.
Self-Report Scores: 6-17, Low = 0-11; Medium = 12-21; High = 22-84.
18-20, Low = 0-6; Medium = 7-13; High = 14-60.
21 or +, Low = 0-3; Medium = 4-10; High = 11-60.

1949 Cohort

Official Seriousness Scores: Low = 1-5; High = 6 or +.
Self-Report Scores: 6-17, Low = 0-10; Medium = 11-20; High = 21-77.
18-20, Low = 0-8; Medium = 9-18; High = 19-47.
21 or +, Low = 0-6; Medium = 7-14; High = 15-53.

with no contacts have been sanctioned, it is possible to have been involved in a court action that for one reason or another did not involve a police contact but did involve an actionable matter as far as the court was concerned. Referral came from a source other than the police. More interesting is the percent who reported no misbehavior but were sanctioned during either the 18-20 or 21 and older age period, all of whom apparently engaged in sufficiently serious behavior to have been sanctioned by the court in spite of their denials of misbehavior.

Tables 6 and 7 are based on a classification of everyone according to their combined official and self-report seriousness. Although the percent of each of the eight categories that had been sanctioned or severly sanctioned does not progressively increase from those with no police contacts and a low seriousness self-report to those who were high in both respects, note that the percentage of those who were severly sanctioned is higher for the latter group than for either high official seriousness or for high self-report seriousness alone, although most similar to that for official seriousness. The incremental increase by combining categories was even greater for the 1949 Cohort, but sanctions were more frequently applied to this cohort than to the 1942 Cohort so that such an increase would be expected.

Also note that the same percentage of persons with high scores on self-report and low scores on official seriousness or the opposite fell in the highest category for sanctions for the 1942 Cohort at age 21 and older but that for the 1949 Cohort these same groups were similar only if both categories of sanctioned persons were combined, and then more for the 18-20 age period than for the 21 and older period. What these tables mean is that

TABLE 6. PERCENT WITH GIVEN SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS BY COMBINATIONS OF SERIOUSNESS SCORES AND SERIOUSNESS OF SELF-REPORTS BY AGE PERIODS: 1942 COHORT MEMBERS INTERVIEWED*

	Ages 6-17 Severity of Sanctions				Ages 18-20 Severity of Sanctions				Ages 21+ Severity of Sanctions			
	None	1-5	6 or+	N	None	1-5	6 or+	N	None	1-5	6 or+	N
0. No Contacts Low Self-Report	100.0			156	98.3	1.7		178	98.1	1.9		103
1. Low Seriousness Low Self-Report	100.0			37	86.3	13.7		51	92.0	6.0	2.0	50
2. High Seriousness Low Self-Report	94.4		5.6	18	60.0	10.0	30.0	10	70.6	17.6	11.8	17
3. No Contacts Medium Self-Report	100.0			38	94.3	5.7		35	94.4	5.6		54
4. Low Seriousness Medium Self-Report	100.0			14	72.7	9.1	18.2	11	90.9	4.5	4.5	44
5. High Seriousness Medium Self-Report	90.9		9.1	11	54.5	9.1	36.4	11	57.9	10.5	31.6	19
6. No Contacts High Self-Report	100.0			12	92.9	7.1		14	100.0			13
7. Low Seriousness High Self-Report	100.0			17	70.0	20.0	10.0	10	81.8	9.1	9.1	11
8. High Seriousness High Self-Report	81.8	9.1	9.1	22	50.0		50.0	4	57.1		42.9	14

*Official Seriousness Scores: Low = 1-5; High = 6 or +.
Self-Report Scores: 6-17, Low = 0-11; Medium = 12-21; High = 22-84.
18-20, Low = 0-6; Medium = 7-13; High = 14-60.
21 or +, Low = 0-3; Medium = 4-10; High = 11-60.

TABLE 7. PERCENT WITH GIVEN SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS BY COMBINATIONS OF SERIOUSNESS SCORES AND SEROUSNESS OF SELF-REPORTS BY AGE PERIODS: 1949 COHORT MEMBERS INTERVIEWED*

	Ages 6-17 Severity of Sanctions				Ages 18-20 Severity of Sanctions				Ages 21+ Severity of Sanctions			
	None	1-5	6 or +	N	None	1-5	6 or +	N	None	1-5	6 or +	N
0. No Contacts Low Self-Report	100.0			200	98.3	1.3	0.4	237	98.6	0.9	0.5	214
1. Low Seriousness Low Self-Report	100.0			70	84.4	11.7	3.9	77	84.3	8.6	7.1	70
2. High Seriousness Low Self-Report	89.3		10.7	28	76.0	8.0	16.0	25	57.7	11.5	30.8	26
3. No Contacts Medium Self-Report	100.0			60	95.4	3.4	1.1	87	94.8	4.2	1.0	96
4. Low Seriousness Medium Self-Report	100.0			46	80.9	12.8	6.4	47	81.4	15.3	3.4	59
5. High Seriousness Medium Self-Report	96.3		3.7	27	66.7	22.2	11.1	9	68.8	6.3	25.0	16
6. No Contacts High Self-Report	100.0			33	90.0	5.0	5.0	20	94.1	5.9		17
7. Low Seriousness High Self-Report	100.0			25	76.5	17.6	5.9	17	70.8	20.8	8.3	24
8. High Seriousness High Self-Report	65.4	19.2	15.4	52	38.1	19.0	42.9	21	42.1		57.9	19

*Official Seriousness Scores: Low = 1-5; High = 6 or +.
Self-Report Scores: 6-17, Low = 0-10; Medium =11-20 ; High = 21-77
18-20, Low = 0-8; Medium =9-18 High = 19-47
21 or +, Low = 0-6; Medium = 7-14; High = 15-53

what the police have observed people doing has more impact on what happens to them than does what respondents report about themselves -- not surprising.

It is also obvious that any high official seriousness category, regardless of the seriousness level of self-report, produces more severely sanctioned persons than other combinations, regardless of the seriousness level of their self-reports, as would be expected.

CONCLUSION

The sum and substance of the first set of findings in this chapter is that while continuity in police contact records between the juvenile (6-17) and adult (18 and older) periods is related to what juveniles do and are caught for and what they do and are not caught for, the degree and seriousness level of their continuity is not consistently related to their pre-age 18 reported behavior and experience with the police for either sex or cohort. There is a degree of continuity for each group as categorized by pre-age 18 descriptions of their own behavior but this does not enable us to set up tables with predictability above that previously determined without this information, however intriguing these tables may be.

The second set of tables confirms that persons with high official and self-report seriousness scores are sanctioned more severely than those who have low scores and that the relationship is consistently higher for official seriousness, it overweighing self-report seriousness regardless of the combination of official and self-report seriousness. The fact that increasing self-report seriousness has a somewhat incremental impact on severity of sanctions for combinations of self-report and official seriousness should provide a small degree of satisfaction for those who believe that there is

little, if any, relationship between "real" seriousness of careers and the severity of sanctions that are meted out in the courts.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For an excellent discussion of the literature and a report on the related problem of a sense of injustice, see Marvin Krohn and John Stratton, "A Sense of Injustice: Attitudes Toward the Criminal Justice System," *Criminology* 17 (1980): 495-504. They present data which lead them to question the development of a sense of injustice among imprisoned adult offenders as a consequence of their experience in the criminal justice system prior to imprisonment. That a sense of injustice unrelated to experiences in prison may have also existed prior to imprisonment as a consequence of contact and police dispositions has been shown by Geoffrey P. Alpert and Donald A. Hicks, "Prisoners' Attitudes Toward Components of the Legal and Judicial Systems," *Criminology* 14 (1977): 461-481. We are concerned about how the perception of "caught" others of the delinquent and criminal behavior of "uncaught" others may play a part in the development of a sense of injustice. But is it possible that the "uncaught" others have also been caught enough times that they too have been sanctioned proportionately to those who have been caught?

[2] Self-report scores were originally generated for the age periods 6-13 and 14-17. In this table scores were added together for these periods, producing a range that appears quite high for the earlier period. However, cutting points were relative to the distribution of scores so that the conclusions are the same as they would have been had the score been derived for the 6-17 period.

Chapter 21. The Relationship of Parental Police Contacts to Juvenile Police Contacts

INTRODUCTION

To this point we have systematically analyzed many variables derived from police contact records and from interviews with a sample of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, all variables pertaining to the background of cohort members or their life experiences. While many of the variables from the interview data have been descriptive of the respondents' home environments and contain some parental statuses, none have focused on parental behavior which might have resulted in police contacts. In this chapter we shall investigate the relationship of police contact records of the parents to the police contact records of those from all three cohorts who had 13 or more police contacts.

Collecting the police contact records of all cohort members' parents was prohibitive in terms of time and money so we opted to secure the records of only the parents of cohort members who themselves had acquired numerous contacts, 13 or more, and for whom we had established continuous residence in Racine. Thirteen, of course, is an arbitrary number but does allow us to compare parent and child records of those cohort members whose police contact records are the most serious.

In the course of the analysis utilizing the parent contact information we shall determine if contact-generating behavior of the parents influences the contact-generating behavior of the child, either immediately or over time.

Before proceding further it should be noted that attention has been

focused on the role of the family in the development of juvenile delinquency since the delinquency concept was invented and before that in considering the antecedents of criminal behavior.[1] Findings which suggested that the broken home or other familial characteristics played a major role in the development of delinquent and criminal behavior were frequently based on flawed research designs. The conclusion that broken homes or the presence of irascible parents in the backgrounds of sizeable proportions of delinquents and criminals was accepted as evidence of a causal effect which tended to overlook the fact that similar unsettling home conditions might be found in the backgrounds of non-delinquent and non-criminal members of the same community or that these background characteristics were the determinants of the decision to intervene in one way or another when intervention would not have taken place otherwise.[2] As we have stated, the Racine cohort data presented little evidence that family structure was related to official measures of delinquent or criminal behavior.

Other studies have indicated that the influence of the family is far more complex and that it is the type of relationship which has developed between a parent or parents and the child that is most useful in understanding how some children may be propelled into various forms of misbehavior (simply becoming ungovernable, for example) or youthful criminal activity.[3]

Parallel to this general concern about the role of the family in delinquency causation has been that of the extent to which the delinquent and criminal careers of parents have been in some fashion or other transmitted to their offspring. While the idea of biological transmission has long

since been interred, the notion of social transmission has persisted and is at least treated by example in many texts on juvenile delinquency or crime. In his text, *The Juvenile Offender*, Charles Vedder quotes E. Franklin Frazier as saying in *The Negro Family in the United States*, "Not infrequently a delinquent may have modeled himself after some family member who may also be delinquent. Though some children cry out in court, "I would rather die than go home," others have strong attachments to unworthy parents or to depraved relatives and crave to return to their 'care.'"[4]

At the same time, references to the literature reveal that those delinquents or criminal groups who have been studied have quite varied proportions with parents of delinquent or criminal backgrounds.[5] The process by which transmission occurs socially would be presumed to be direct in that children would have learned from their parental example but it has also been stated that few indeed have knowledge of the misbehavior of their parents.[6] In the Racine study, only 13.1% of the 1942 Cohort and 12.1% of the 1949 Cohort reported that their parents had ever done anything that could have gotten them into trouble with the police and this knowledge was not correlated with their own police contact records.

THE DATA COLLECTED

Parental police contact data were collected for each cohort member who had acquired at least 15 police contacts and were collected for each parent and step-parent of whom we were aware. Type, seriousness, and disposition of each contact was collected and recorded according to the

same schemes used in collecting and recording contact data. Any parent whose contact record indicated a referral for possible court action was checked for a record of court dispositions.

When the data collection was completed for each cohort member's parents the parental history was ready for coding. Each parental history was divided into three time periods:

1) contacts acquired prior to birth of the cohort member,
2) contacts acquired during the years each parent was present in the family from the cohort member's birth through age 17, and
3) contacts acquired after the cohort member became 18 OR after the parent's departure from the family.

Data for the before-birth and after-18/after-departure periods were coded in summary fashion. Number of contacts and their type-seriousness and a Geometric score were coded according to the same procedures used for summarizing cohort records which we have already described."

Contacts during the cohort member's juvenile years acquired by parents who were present in the family were coded sequentially. Each contact was coded according to who the parent was, the type of contact, the contact's seriousness, its disposition (sanction), and the age of the cohort member at the time of the parent's contact. The data set was designed to facilitate comparison with the cohort member's age-by-age record.

Although no attempt was made to establish length of residence in Racine for the before birth and after-18/after-departure-from-family periods, this would be desirable in any future research involving cohorts and their parents. The pre-birth data can only be considered indicative of a behavior-generating climate unless further search is made to establish duration of residence.

THE PEOPLE WITH THIRTEEN OR MORE CONTACTS

First of all, the members of the three cohorts who acquired at least 13 police contacts, a total of 294 persons, are almost entirely males. The four females from the 1942 Cohort (two White, two Black) out of 59, nine from the 1949 Cohort (four White, five Black) out of 111, and 13 from the 1955 Cohort (10 White, four Black, one Chicana) out of 124 represent such small proportions of those with 13 or more contacts that our analyses will not contain controls for sex. Even though they are such a small part of the group under discussion, the fact that females constituted 6.8% of the 1942 Cohort's group with 13 or more contacts and that this figure rose to 8.1% in the 1949 group and to 12.1% in the 1955 group highlights the increasing involvement of females in contact-generating behavior to which we have previously referred.

All of the Blacks except one female grew up in the inner city and interstitial areas. The Whites (males and females) are fairly evenly divided between inner city/interstitial areas and the remainder of the city. Slightly over three-quarters of the Chicanos (77.3%) grew up in the inner city, interstitial areas.

The age at which members of the cohort have accumulated 13 contacts declines from each cohort to the next (see Table 1). Furthermore, the 1955 Cohort has be far the highest percentages acquiring the 13th contact by or during age 17. This holds true if one controls for age and considers

TABLE 1. COHORT MEMBERS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND AREA OF SOCIALIZATION: AGE AT WHICH 13 CONTACTS WERE ACQUIRED, AND PERCENT OF COHORT WITH 13 OR MORE CONTACTS

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort				1955 Cohort			
	White		Blacks	White		Blacks	Chicano	White		Blacks	Chicano
Age	Inner City	Other		Inner City	Other			Inner City	Other		
9									1	1	
10										1	
11								1	1		
12								1	1	2	
13				2				3	2	4	1
14				7	1			4	7	3	1
15		1		5	5	2	2	8	4	5	3
16	2	1		2	1	2	1	3	5	5	2
17	3	2		4	4	2	1	5	5	1	1
	21.7%	*9.1%*	*0.0%*	*11.1%*	*10.5%*	*21.4%*	*44.4%*	*73.5%*	*61.9%*	*65.7%*	*61.5%*
18	3	2		6	2	4	2	3	6	3	2
19		4		2	4	7	1	2	5	4	1
20			1	2	1	1	1	2	4	1	
21	4	1	2	2	8	2		2	1	4	
22	2		2		7	1	1				2
23	2	1		1	1	3					
24	3	1		3	4	3					
25	1		1			1					
26		2	2								
27	1	4	3								
28		2	2								
29	2										
30			1								
31		1									
TOTAL	23	22	14	36	38	28	9	34	42	35	13
	11.0%	*5.6%*	*70.0%*	*10.7%*	*4.5%*	*58.7%*	*31.0%*	*9.6%*	*2.8%*	*18.2%*	*16.5%*

* % of Cohort with 13 or more contacts.

only those who have acquired the 13th contact by or during age 22. The only possible exception is 1949 Cohort Whites socialized in the inner city/interstitial areas (62.5% of those with the 13th contact through age 22 have acquired it through age 17); however, this is still lower than the comparable 1955 Cohort White group and the comparable percentages of Whites in both cohorts (50.0% and 67.1%) maintains the difference between the two cohorts.

Although there was some race/ethnic variation, the stability of the families of those with 13 or more contacts (see Table 2) was sufficient that controls were not crucial to several basic analyses. Over two-thirds of the families of each cohort were stable, two-parent families from the child's birth through age 17. In most of the remainder of the families one of the parents was present throughout these years, usually the mother. Although it would be ideal to conduct the analysis on those families in which both parents were present throughout the period of socialization and to compare them with families in which only the mother or father was present, the number of families of the latter type precluded such a strategy.

THE ANALYTIC STRATEGY AND FINDINGS

Table 3 is presented for illustrative purposes, to give the reader an idea of how the data could be collapsed from the larger tables. Each of the juveniles, although selected for this group because they had 13 or more police contacts during their careers, did not necessarily have these contacts during the period of residence with the parents (his or her, one or both). The point is, did they have a contact record similar to that

TABLE 2. FAMILY STABILITY FOR PERSONS WITH 13 OR MORE CONTACTS

	1942 Cohort				1949 Cohort				1955 Cohort			
	Total	White	Black	Chicano	Total	White	Black	Chicano	Total	White	Black	Chicano
1. Both parents present 0-17:	45 *76.3%*	37 *82.2%*	8 *61.6%*	0 *0.0%*	76* *68.5%*	53* *71.6%*	16 *57.1%*	7 *77.8%*	81* *65.3%*	53 *69.7%*	18 *51.4%*	10* *76.9%*
2. Either mother or father present 0-17, other parent 0-13/16:	4 *6.8%*	4 *8.9%*	0 *0.0%*	0 *0.0%*	7 *6.3%*	4 *5.4%*	2 *7.1%*	1 *11.1%*	14 *11.3%*	8 *10.5%*	6 *17.1%*	0 *0.0%*
3. Either mother or father present 0-17, other parent 0-13/16:	4 *6.8%*	3 *6.7%*	1 *7.7%*	0 *0.0%*	22 *19.8%*	12 *16.2%*	9 *32.1%*	1 *11.1%*	20 *16.1%*	8 *10.5%*	9 *25.7%*	3 *23.1%*
4. Unstable or not ascertained	6 *10.2%*	1 *2.2%*	4 *30.8%*	1 *100.0%*	6 *5.4%*	5 *6.8%*	1 *3.6%*	0 *0.0%*	9 *7.3%*	7 *9.2%*	2 *5.7%*	0 *0.0%*
TOTAL	59 *100.0%*	45 *100.0%*	13 *100.1%*	1 *100.0%*	111 *100.0%*	74 *100.0%*	28 *99.9%*	9 *100.0%*	124 *100.0%*	76 *99.9%*	35 *99.9%*	13 *100.0%*
Percent of 13 or + in race/ethnic category:		*76.3%*	*22.0%*	*1.7%*		*66.7%*	*25.2%*	*8.1%*		*61.3%*	*28.2%*	*10.5%*
Percent of Cohort:		*96.6%*	*3.3%*	*1.3%*		*91.4%*	*6.4%*	*2.5%*		*87.4%*	*8.9%*	*3.7%*

* One family included in which both parents were present birth through 16.

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF CONTACTS BY BOTH PARENTS DURING A GIVEN AGE PERIOD TO NUMBER OF CONTACTS DURING SAME AGE PERIOD BY JUVENILES WITH 13 OR MORE CONTACTS OVERALL: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORTS

1942
Juvenile Contact Through Age 14

Parent Contacts Through Age 14 Of Child		No	Yes	Total
	No	25 (75.8)	8 (24.2)	33 (55.9)
	Yes	15 (57.7)	11 (42.3)	26 (44.1)
	Total	40 (67.8)	19 (32.2)	59 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3669**
Somers' D .2371
Lambda .4211

1949
Juvenile Contact Through Age 14

		No	Yes	Total
	No	5 (25.0)	15 (75.0)	20 (18.0)
	Yes	31 (34.1)	60 (65.9)	91 (82.0)
	Total	36 (32.4)	75 (67.6)	111 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1430
Somers' D .0142
Lambda .1733

1955
Juvenile Contact Through Age 14

		No	Yes	Total
	No	0 (.0)	8 (100.0)	8 (6.4)
	Yes	13 (11.1)	104 (88.9)	117 (93.6)
	Total	13 (10.4)	112 (89.6)	125 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0950
Somers' D .0321
Lambda .2745

1942
Juvenile Contacts Through Age 17

Parent Contacts Through Age 17 Of Child		0 - 4	5 or +	Total
	0 - 4	15 (60.0)	10 (40.0)	25 (42.4)
	5 or +	20 (58.8)	14 (41.2)	34 (57.6)
	Total	35 (59.3)	24 (40.7)	59 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0638
Somers' D .0636
Lambda .1800

1949
Juvenile Contact Through Age 17

		0 - 4	5 or +	Total
	0 - 4	2 (18.2)	9 (81.8)	11 (9.9)
	5 or +	29 (29.0)	71 (71.0)	100 (90.1)
	Total	31 (27.9)	80 (72.1)	111 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1019
Somers' R .0705
Lambda .2772

1955
Juvenile Contacts Through Age 17

		0 - 4	5 or +	Total
	0 - 4	0 (.0)	8 (100.0)	8 (6.4)
	5 or +	9 (7.7)	108 (92.3)	117 (93.6)
	Total	9 (7.2)	116 (92.8)	125 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0089
Somers' D -.0271
Lambda .3265

* The small percent figures in parentheses in the 2x2 tables add to 100% across and the small percent figures under the totals on each marginal add to 100%.

** All statistics on uncollapsed data.

of their parents during a period of residence with them and/or did they have a contact record similar to that of their parents after that age period of residence?

Two age periods of residence have been selected for comparison of parents and juveniles in Table 3. Since all of these juveniles have ultimately had 13 or more contacts, it is not surprising that most of their parents have had police contacts during the age periods observed.

The most important thing to note is that from 44.1% of the parents in the 1942 Cohort to 93.6% in the 1955 Cohort had at least one police contact during the period that their children were less than 15 years of age. The proportion of the children who had contacts changed from 32.2% in the 1942 Cohort to 89.3% in the 1955 Cohort. While some of the police contacts of the parents were for traffic and minor offenses, the combined higher proportion of parents with police contacts suggests that this group of juveniles had some familiarity with the police on a basis of their own behavior and the possibility of being aware of contacts by their parents. When the age period was changed to through 17 and the cutting point was changed to 0-4 vs. 5 or more contacts similar marginals were generated, indicating that both parents and children had a considerable number of police contacts during this longer period of socialization. Yet, in spite of the evidence of numerous parental police contacts before their children had reached the age of 18 and numerous police contacts by their children, the linear relationship between parental number of police contacts and childrens' number was, with one exception, relatively low. Since the statistics presented are for uncollapsed data, selection of different

cutting points for heuristic purposes did not change the measures of association or proportional reduction in error. Turning to Tables 4 and 5 Pearsonian coefficients of correlation are presented for both parents, mothers, and fathers, for a variety of age periods. We find that there is considerable variation in the pattern of association from cohort to cohort, that the combined influence of father's and mother's police contacts is not always greater than that of the father, that the father's influence is not always greater than that of the mother, and that number of contacts produces higher correlations in one instance, seriousness scores in another.

Although the comparison of childrens' records with those of their parents with the subset selected was more likely to produce a set of parents with contacts than if the entire cohort had been observed, it is important to note that there is relatively little relationship between juvenile and parental records for the same period for a cohort members' behavior during a period following that with the parents.

These correlations may well have been reduced because both parents were not present in all cases, and so on. What we have seen does indicate that a search of the records of all parents for the members of each cohort would be worthwhile. Then too, the matter of a relationship between the records of cohort members and their parents involves more than simply the police contacts of the father or the mother. Which parent has the closest relationship to the juvenile during the period of socialization or the period that follows and is that parent the deviant parent? This has been dealt with at considerable length in the literature.

TABLE 4. PEARSONIAN COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION FOR MEASURES OF PARENTS' VS. CHILD'S NUMBER OF CONTACTS: COHORT MEMBERS WITH 13 OR MORE CONTACTS

Measures	1942	1949	1955
Parents' Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 0-14			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 6-14	.3669	.1430	.0950
X Child's Number of Contacts After 14	.1606	-.0479	.0675
Parents' Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 15-17			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 15-17	-.0682	.0673	.1618
X Child's Number of Contacts After 17	.1948	.0535	.1242
Parents' Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 0-17			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 6-17	.0638	.1019	-.0089
X Child's Number of Contacts After 17	.1999	.0077	.1487
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 18-20	.0089	.0737	.0544
Father's Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 0-14			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 6-14	.3543	.1289	.0684
X Child's Number of Contacts After 14	.1818	-.0728	.1115
Father's Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 15-17			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 15-17	-.0308	.0348	.2738
X Child's Number of Contacts After 17	.2104	-.0743	.0864
Father's Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 0-17			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 6-17	.0801	.1015	.0299
X Child's Number of Contacts After 17	.2282	-.0501	.1375
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 18-20	.0245	.0482	.0840
Mother's Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 0-14			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 6-14	.2732	.1523	.1083
X Child's Number of Contacts After 14	.0370	-.0167	-.0216
Mother's Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 15-17			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 15-17	-.1513	.0865	.0022
X Child's Number of Contacts After 17	-.0027	.1650	.1259
Mother's Number of Contacts, Child's Ages 0-17			
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 6-17	-.0137	.0953	-.0615
X Child's Number of Contacts After 17	.0294	.0737	.1188
X Child's Number of Contacts, Ages 18-20	-.0441	.0980	-.0047

TABLE 5. PEARSONIAN COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION FOR MEASURES OF PARENTS' VS. CHILD'S TYPE-SERIOUSNESS: COHORT MEMBERS WITH 13 OR MORE CONTACTS

Measures	1942	1949	1955
Parents' Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 0-14			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 6-14	.3795	.0886	.0246
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 14	.1883	-.0463	.0575
Parents' Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 15-17			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 15-17	-.1046	.0364	.1366
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 17	.1684	.0724	.1620
Parents' Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 0-17			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 6-17	.1012	.0544	-.0473
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 17	.2084	.0061	.1636
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 18-20	.0236	.0484	.0131
Father's Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 0-14			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 6-14	.3758	.0722	-.0078
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 14	.2100	-.0661	.0771
Father's Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 15-17			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 15-17	-.0953	.0092	.2442
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 17	.1773	-.0505	.1351
Father's Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 0-17			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 6-17	.1137	.0301	-.0167
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 17	.2355	-.0377	.1426
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 18-20	.0259	.0092	.0328
Mother's Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 0-14			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 6-14	.2344	.1018	.0816
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 14	.0652	-.0198	.0026
Mother's Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 15-17			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 15-17	-.0770	.0554	-.0271
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 17	.0207	.1752	.1572
Mother's Type-Seriousness, Child's Ages 0-17			
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 6-17	.0339	.0784	-.0853
X Child's Type-Seriousness After 17	.0661	.0572	.1488
X Child's Type-Seriousness, Ages 18-20	.0098	.0905	-.0248

Of those studies currently referenced in the literature, the McCord's reanalysis of the Cambridge-Somerville data is not only the most frequently cited but is undoubtedly the most substantial.[8] In summarizing their findings the most pertinent are as follows: "....(6) Only when both parents' role model is deviant does criminality appear to be primarily a reflection of role model. (7) Consistent discipline generally negates the influence of deviant models; erratic-punitive discipline coupled with deviant models greatly increases criminality. (8) Maternal love tends to negate the influence of a criminal father. Sons of criminals with loving mothers are less likely than sons of criminals with non-loving mothers to become criminal.... Both parental role models and parental personality influence criminal rates. These variables seem to interact so that any combination of two factors (non-loving parents or deviant parental model) results in sharply increased criminal rates."[9]

CONCLUSION

Thus, as we have stated, the relationship between family characteristics and delinquency and crime is not simple. It is the complexity of these relationships, however, which no doubt gives rise to the phenomenon of "good boys" and "bad boys" from the same home. Aside from this, we must conclude that there has been little done that sheds light on the impact of parental difficulties with the law and its relationship to juvenile delinquency. The data set that we have may be further analyzed with a variety of controls, but a more definitive answer will require investigation of the police contact records of all cohort members.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For an excellent review of 60 studies of children in fatherless homes see the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare study entitled *Boys in Fatherless Families* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970).

[2] Ruth Shonle Cavan and Theodore N. Ferdinand, *Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1975) have dealt with these methodological issues with unusual perceptivity in Chapter 10 of their text, "The Family Setting of Delinquency."

[3] Although aware of the extent to which sociologists disagree and the methodological problems involved in evaluating the impact of different family statuses, Thomas P. Monahan, "Family Status and the Delinquent Child: A Reappraisal and Some New Findings," *Social Forces* 35:251-258, contended that if ways to strengthen and preserve family life could be found it would accomplish more than any other program devised.

[4] Clyde Vedder, *The Juvenile Offender* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1954)55; E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). For one of the more extreme examples see: Robert G. Caldwell and James J. Black, *Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: Ronald Press, 1971)109, "Children exposed to lewdness, vulgarity, drunkeness, brutality, immorality, vice, and crime in the home tend to accept these conditions as normal and desirable, fashion themselves after the models so seductively exhibited, and, hardened and debased at an early age, easily slide into delinquency and crime. The road to law violation, of course, is even more accessible if parents deliberately teach the children to engage in criminal practice." Caldwell and Black follow with an example of a father who taught his son to steal cars.

Another example from Martin R. Haskell and Lewis Yablonsky, *Crime and Delinquency* (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1974)459, reads as follows: "If one can assume that parental values generally support conventional behavior, and that affectionate parent-child relation-

ships promote such internalization, then affectional parent-child relationships can serve to insulate the child against delinquency. The opposite, however, can also no doubt be assumed. One of the authors recalls the case of a fifteen-year-old delinquent boy in juvenile hall talking to his father on visiting day. The father put his arm around the boy when they met, and both father and son continued to relate to each other in a very affectionate and friendly manner. The entire conversation was nevertheless restricted to the father's relating his latest physical altercations to the boy. He told his son how he had assaulted a neighbor when the latter had requested that he move his car because it was partially blocking the driveway. The boy's eyes glowed as his father related his *macho* adventures in great detail. It is of interest that the boy was in juvenile hall for gang activity related to an assault he had committed on a boy who was then in critical condition in the hospital."

[5] See Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934)75-77; *Five Hundred Criminal Careers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930)116-118; *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950)102. High incidents of delinquency were found in the family background of 86.7% of the juvenile delinquents, 84.8% in young reformatory offenders, and 80.7% in women offenders. The *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* samples produced 66.2% with a criminal example of fathers of the delinquents but only 32% of the non-delinquents had fathers with a history of criminality. The mothers were little better, 44.8% of the delinquents having mothers with a history of criminality but only 15% of the non-delinquent mothers having such a history. In commenting on the Gluecks' findings, Harry Manuel Shulman, *Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1961)397, points out that while only 43% of those truants released from a training school who had no further court records had a delinquent example in their family, 83% of those with subsequent felony arrests did so. Also see Pauline Morris, *Prisoners and Their Families* (New York City: Hart Publishing Co., Inc. 1965)210.

[6] Travis Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969)341.

[7] Parental police contact dispositions were summarized in a modified "severity of sanctions" code. No contacts, a contact receiving no referral, or a court dismissal received a score of "0," a sanction of a fine or restitution received a score of "1," a sanction of driver's license suspension or revocation received a score of "2," a sanction of parole or probation received a score of "3," and a sentence of jail or institutionalization received a score of "4." Scores for all dispositions received were added to create the summary of sanctions score. We have not yet investigated the relationship of parental sanctions to the delinquent and criminal behavior of their children.

[8] Joan and William McCord, "A Follow-up Report on the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 332:89-98. For the original study see: Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer, *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

[9] William and Joan McCord, *Origins of Crime: A New Evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959)116-117. Also see Joan and William McCord, "The Effect of Parental Role Model on Criminality," *Journal of Social Issues* 14, No. 3, pp. 66 [illegible]

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Chapter 22. A Multivariate Analysis of the Correlates of Adult Seriousness

INTRODUCTION

Step by step we have described how a variety of variables or combinations of associated variables are related to continuity in delinquent and criminal careers or to the juvenile or adult measures of official or self-report seriousness. At each step we have been concerned about length of exposure or some other pertinent control variable and have taken this into consideration statistically or in terms of the interpretation placed on the data.

Some would argue that the evidence should not be presented in a piecemeal fashion, variable by variable, as though it was a mystery story. This viewpoint has much merit if we accept the premise that the basic purpose of social science is to explain patterns of human behavior. Accepting this premise might imply that a report such as this should begin with a theoretical model to be tested by the appropriate multivariate techniques.

On the other hand, there are questions which those in search of answers to the problems of juvenile delinquency and crime would like to have answered, and they would like to know about delinquents and criminals on the basis of some very simple classifications into which people may be placed. It may well be that the answers obtained in earlier chapters will be different all other things being equal, that is, with the application of statistical controls. But all other things are seldom equal and persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems who must make decisions have less chance of knowing it than do we as researchers.

For this reason we commenced by describing the cohorts in very simple

terms, utilizing few controls, keeping the analysis rather simple, but step by step obtaining some idea of the characteristics of those who were most likely to continue from delinquency to serious adult crime.

We have now arrived at the chapter in which we will apply a multivariate technique to a variety of background and intervening variables to determine how much of the variance in juvenile delinquency and adult crime may be explained when the effects of these variables are considered simultaneously.

In this chapter we utilize path analysis[1] (also used in Chapter 14) to analyze a complex model which includes variables from the interviews with the samples of the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. A description of the variables and their codes is presented in Table 1.[2] The causal ordering which we assume to be operative among the variables is presented in Figure 1. Although the model implies a complex pattern of relationships, our discussion will focus on four dependent variables: the type-seriousness of juvenile and adult police contacts and the type-seriousness of juvenile and adult self-report behavior. Two parallel models are analyzed: one which includes the measures of official seriousness and one which includes the measures of self-report seriousness.

Figure 1 shows the direct effects of the various independent variables which will be of interest. We will, however, also examine indirect effects which are considered to be important. For example, we have shown in Chapter 14 that juvenile seriousness has an important direct effect on adult seriousness. Therefore it is reasonable to expect that juvenile seriousness may serve as an intervening variable between causally antecedent variables

TABLE 1. DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

Variable Name	Description
DNATAREA	Natural area of socialization. 1 = Inner city and interstitial areas; 0 = Other areas.
DRACE[a]	Respondent's race/ethnicity. 1 = Anglo; 0 = Black or Chicano.
HHEMP	Regularity of head of household's employment while respondent was growing up. 1 = regularly employed; 0 = irregularly or intermittently employed.
HHJBSEI	Duncan score for head of household's occupational status. Scores assigned on the basis of average SEI scores for broad occupational categories. Range is from 11.5 = farmer, agricultural laborer to 66 = professional, technical, managerial, proprietor.
HHSEX	Sex of head of household. 1 = male (father, stepfather, or uncle); 0 = female (mother, grandmother, stepmother).
MWORK	Mother's employment status while respondent was growing up. 1 = mother not employed; 2 = mother employed part of the time; 3 = mother employed all of the time.
SIBS	Number of respondent's siblings.
JOBHSR	Respondent's employment history during junior high and high school. 0 = not employed; 1 = summers only; 2 = school year only; 3 = summers and school year.
ATTSCHR	Respondent's attitude toward school. 1 = positive; 0 = negative.
NODIPLMR	Respondent's high school drop-out status. 1 = quit high school; 0 = did not quit high school.
ADAUTOSC	Additive scale of auto use during junior high and high school. Range is from 0 = low use to 3 = high use.
DAGEDLR	Age at which respondent obtained driver's license. 1 = before 18; 0 = after 18.
DIFFJR	Respondent's desire to be a different kind of person when in junior high and high school. 1 = yes; 0 = no.

(Table 1 cont.)

Variable Name	Description
ANEG017	Additive scale of negative influences before age 17. Range is from 0 = no negative influences to 5 = all negative influences.
APOS017	Additive scale of positive influences before age 17. Range is from 0 = no positive influences to 5 = all positive influences.
ADJFRTR	Additive scale of juvenile friends' trouble during junior high and high school. Range is from 0 = friends not in trouble to 5 = friends institutionalized.
PATROLR	Respondent's perception of police patrol in his/her neighborhood during junior high and high school. 1 = none; 2 = light; 3 = moderate; 4 = heavy.
ATTPOLR	Attitude of respondent and closest friends toward police during junior high and high school. 1 = negative; 2 = indifferent; 3 = positive.
TS617[b]	Type-seriousness index of official police contacts, ages 6-17.
SRN617[b]	Type-seriousness index of self-report offenses, ages 6-17.
SELF617	Respondent's delinquent self-concept during the ages 6-17. Range is from 1 = nondelinquent to 7 = highly delinquent.
EDUC	Respondent's years of completed formal schooling.
DAGEFJOB	Age when respondent obtained first full time job. 1 = before 18; 0 = after 18.
FJOBSEI	Duncan SEI score for respondent's first full time job. Scores assigned on the basis of average SEI scores for broad occupational categories. Codes are same as for HHJBSEI.
AGEMARRY	Age at marriage. Never-married respondents assigned value of 35 in the 1942 Cohort, 28 in the 1949 Cohort.
TS18P[b]	Type-seriousness index of official police contacts, ages 18 and older.
SRN18P[b]	Type-seriousness index of self-report offenses, ages 18 and older.

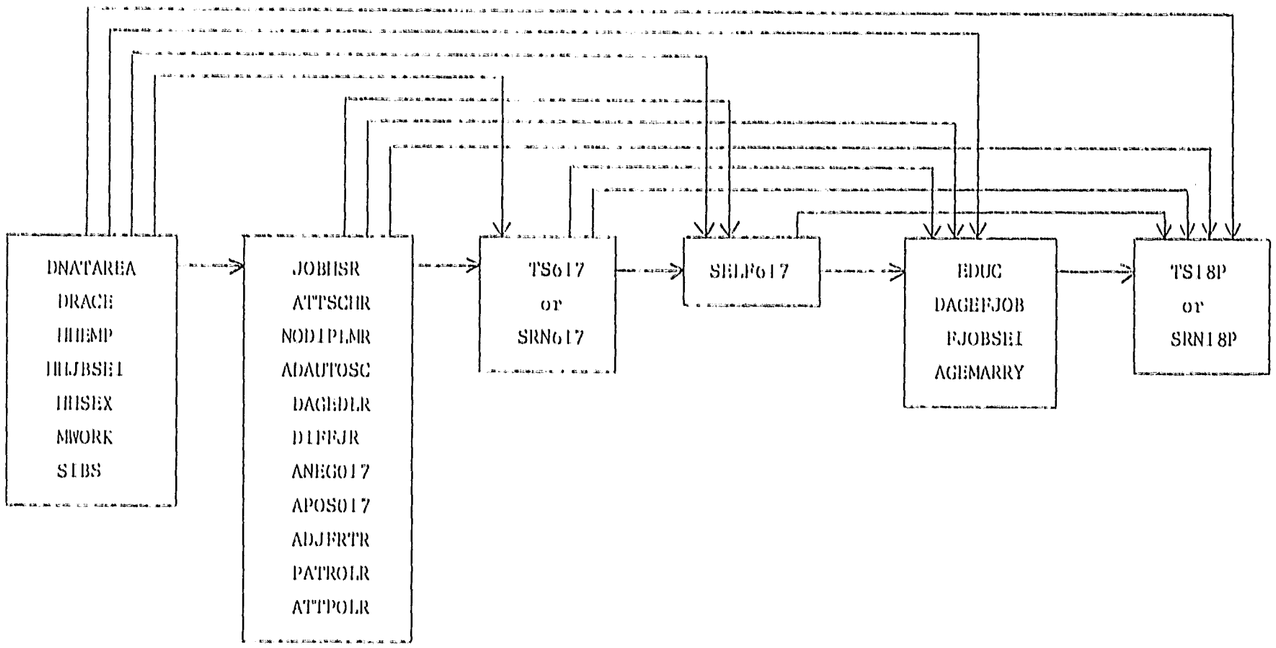
[a] There were too few Chicanos to permit the use of dummy variables representing all categories of race/ethnicity.

[b] The type-seriousness index for official police contacts is the seriousness

(Table 1 cont.)

of the contact multiplied by the number of times that type of contact occurred. The self-report indexes were computed in a similar fashion except frequency ranges from 0 = never to 4 = all the time. Codes of seriousness in both types of indexes are 0 = no contact, 1 = contact for suspicion, investigation, etc., 2 = juvenile status offense, 3 = minor misdemeanor, 4 = major misdemeanor, 5 = felony against property, and 6 = felony against a person.

FIGURE 1. PATH MODEL FOR EFFECTS ON OFFICIAL OR SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS DURING THE JUVENILE AND ADULT AGE PERIODS*



* See Table 1 for an explanation of the variable names. Residual paths have been omitted for simplicity.

and adult seriousness.

The first set of variables in the model includes "background" variables, that is, potential sociodemographic correlates of official or self-report seriousness. For example, we use a measure of the neighborhood in which the individual lived during the juvenile period, the head of household's occupational status, and a measure of family size. The second set of variables includes various behaviors and attitudes during the juvenile period which are often seen as determinants of official or self-report offenses. These variables are proposed to intervene between the background variables and the "outcome," that is, juvenile seriousness. In the next step, delinquent self-concept[3] is taken as an outcome of the variables just discussed and, in turn, taken as a determinant of life-cycle events which mark the transition from adolescence to adulthood as well as adult seriousness. Finally, the life cycle events are taken as determinants of adult seriousness.

In sum, the model attempts to specify the processes through which various characteristics and attitudes affect the seriousness of police contacts or self-report behavior as we move from the individual's experiences during childhood to the adult outcomes. While we recognize that in some instances the direction of causal effects may be questioned, we feel that the model reflects the usual thinking with respect to the appropriate causal ordering. In addition, it is necessary to make some simplifying assumptions to render the analysis manageable without recourse to complex specifications such as reciprocal effects (e.g., between high-school drop-out and juvenile seriousness).

THE CORRELATES OF MALE JUVENILE AND ADULT SERIOUSNESS

Table 2 presents the direct effects of the independent variables on official and self-report seriousness during the juvenile and adult periods for the 1942 Cohort males. Three variables are found to have a significant direct effect on juvenile official seriousness: natural area, employment during the school years, and the juvenile friends in trouble scale. Growing up in the inner city or an interstitial area and having friends in trouble are associated with higher official seriousness while being employed during the school years is associated with lower scores. While the effects of natural area and the friends in trouble scale are consistent with our expectations, the effect of employment requires a brief discussion since a rationale for both a positive and negative effect could be developed. For example, employment during high school may offer opportunities for police contacts or indicate early integration into the economic system. What we find here is that employed high school youth may have less serious delinquency during the juvenile period while early full-time employment is related to higher adult seriousness (Chapter 17, Table 6). A further implication of this finding is evident in Table 3 where we find a small indirect effect of race on juvenile official seriousness through employment. The direction of the relationship means that Whites have less serious juvenile contacts in part because they are much more likely than non-White males to be employed during the school years (the direct effect of race on employment is .274). An examination of the correlation matrix in Appendix T, Table 2 reveals that employment is not very strongly related to the measures of socioeconomic status such as the head of household's occupation or the regularity of his/her employment. Thus, this effect appears to reflect in large part race/ethnic differences in opportunities for employment during the school years.

The second column of Table 2 presents the results for adult official seriousness. The finding is that being White and better educated are associated with lower seriousness scores. Having a positive attitude toward school as a juvenile, more serious juvenile careers, and a more delinquent self-concept as a juvenile are associated with higher seriousness scores although juvenile seriousness has by far the strongest effect. Race and attitude toward school are roughly equal in strength followed by education and self-concept. All of the signs of the coefficients are in the expected direction except that for attitude toward school. Given the effects of dropping out of school which we will soon encounter, this finding is rather anomalous. It will be recalled that the complexity of this relationship was discussed in Chapter 17 in reference to the data in Table 4 where those who as juveniles had a positive attitude toward school but failed to receive a diploma had higher 6-17 seriousness scores than did any other group regardless of their attitude toward school.

Turning to the indirect effects on adult official seriousness in Table 3, those strong enough to be considered important are transmitted through juvenile seriousness and education. Individuals who grew up in the inner city or interstitial areas and those with juvenile friends in trouble have higher adult seriousness scores in part due to their higher levels of juvenile seriousness. Employment during the high school years has a negative indirect effect on adult seriousness through juvenile ser-

TABLE 2. DIRECT EFFECTS OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS DURING THE JUVENILE AND ADULT AGE PERIODS: 1942 COHORT MALES (N=157)[a]

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	TS617	TS18P	SRN617	SRN18P
DNATAREA	.267**	.107	-.022	.030
DRACE	.069	-.249**	.014	-.192*
HHEMP	.152	-.026	-.007	.194*
HHJBSEI	-.014	-.002	-.016	-.025
HHSEX	.086	-.011	.046	-.028
MWORK	-.030	-.064	-.051	.043
SIBS	.061	.049	-.107	.036
JOBHSR	-.182*	.001	.029	-.009
ATTSCHR	.127	.206**	-.011	.122
NODIPLMR	.066	.070	.356***	-.032
ADAUTOSC	.158	.066	.242**	.107
DAGEDLR	.052	-.005	-.019	-.090
DIFFJR	.039	-.029	.083	-.060
ANEG017	.019	.035	.015	.141
APOS017	-.119	-.035	.043	-.086
ADJFRTR	.302***	-.059	.274***	-.140
PATROLR	-.031	-.123	.040	-.097
ATTPOLR	-.137	-.052	-.088	-.020
TS617[b]		.362***		.579***
SELF617		.175*		-.054
EDUC		-.177*		-.107
DAGEFJOB		.087		.090
FJOBSEI		.059		.075
AGEMARRY		.117		.139
R^2	.330	.468	.442	.457

[a] See Table 1 for a description of the variables.

[b] SRN617 was used where SRN18P is the dependent variable.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

TABLE 3. INDIRECT EFFECTS IN THE MODELS FOR THE 1942 COHORT MALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables	
	TS617	SRN617
Via JOBHSR:		
DRACE	-.050	---
Via NODIPLMR:		
DNATAREA	---	.088
DRACE	---	.096
HHJBSEI	---	-.068
Via ADJFRTR:		
HHJBSEI	-.049	-.045
	TS18P	SRN18P
Via ATTSCHR:		
MWORK	-.036	---
Via TS617:		
DNATAREA	.097	---
JOBHSR	-.066	---
ADJFRTR	.109	---
Via SRN617:		
NODIPLMR	---	.206
ADAUTOSC	---	.140
ADJFRTR	---	.139
Via SELF617:		
HHEMP	.031	---
TS617	.037	---
Via EDUC:		
NODIPLMR	.052	---
ADJFRTR	.038	---

iousness. Educational attainment serves to transmit two positive indirect effects on adult seriousness of school drop-out and juvenile friends in trouble. In each case, the positive sign of the indirect effect is the result of the multiplication of two negative direct effects. For example, the indirect effect of school drop-out is due to its negative direct effect on the ultimate level of formal education ($p = -.291$) and the direct effect of education on adult seriousness ($p = -.177$).[4]

Column 3 of Table 2 presents the direct effects on juvenile self-report seriousness. School drop-out has the strongest effect (lacking a high school diploma is related to higher seriousness), followed by the juvenile friends in trouble scale and the auto use scale. In each case, the relationship is in the expected direction. Table 3 shows that growing up in the inner city and being White are associated with greater self-report seriousness through school drop-out while head of household's occupational status has a negative indirect effect through school drop-out. Although we do not consider the indirect effect of head of household's occupational status through the juvenile friends trouble scale to be strong enough to merit discussion, it is interesting to note that essentially the same relationship appears for both official and self-report seriousness. Thus, while our findings show no direct effect of social class on various measures of official contacts or self-report behavior, we do find some limited evidence for a relationship due to its association with friends who have been in trouble with the law.

Turning to adult self-report seriousness, we find that juvenile self-report seriousness has the strongest direct effect followed by the head

of household's regularity of employment and race. The signs of these coefficients indicate that being non-White, having a regularly employed head of household, and reporting greater juvenile involvement are associated with greater adult self-report seriousness. In addition, Table 3 shows that juvenile self-report seriousness transmits some relatively strong indirect effects of school drop-out, auto use during the juvenile period, and juvenile friends in trouble. The effects of all of these variables are in the expected direction.

To summarize the findings for the 1942 Cohort males, it is clear that juvenile seriousness, whether official or self-report, is the most important determinant of adult official or self-report seriousness, and that being White is related to less adult seriousness of both types. In addition, the juvenile friends in trouble scale exhibits a rather pervasive pattern of effects. It is directly related to higher official and self-report juvenile seriousness scores, has indirect effects on both types of adult seriousness through juvenile seriousness, and serves to transmit a weak effect of head of household's occupational status.

It is wise, however, to forego a comprehensive interpretation of these findings before examining the results for the 1949 Cohort males or the female subsamples. In addition, although the models explain a reasonable amount of the variance in the dependent variables (see the R^2 values), it is clear that they do not serve to strongly predict either juvenile or adult seriousness (whether official or self-report).

Table 4 presents the direct effects on official and self-report seriousness for the 1949 Cohort males. Concerning juvenile official serious-

TABLE 4. DIRECT EFFECTS OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS DURING THE JUVENILE AND ADULT AGE PERIOD: 1949 COHORT MALES (N=279)[a]

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	TS617	TS18P	SRN617	SRN18P
DNATAREA	.017	.063	.019	.007
DRACE	-.035	-.087	-.079	-.045
HHEMP	-.093	.048	-.037	-.018
HHJBSEI	-.053	-.026	.038	.066
HHSEX	-.138*	-.060	.059	.121*
MWORK	.029	.002	.126*	-.006
SIBS	.071	.038	.039	-.097
JOBHSR	-.014	.036	.081	-.017
ATTSCHR	-.038	.061	-.010	-.027
NODIPLMR	.284***	.270***	.242***	.131*
ADAUTOSC	.131*	.072	.223***	.066
DAGEDLR	.088	-.053	.135*	.056
DIFFJR	-.057	.045	-.029	.002
ANEG017	-.005	.063	.078	.089
APOS017	.045	-.030	-.047	-.047
ADJFRTR	.209**	-.047	.109	.106
PATROLR	-.034	.111*	.012	.069
ATTPOLR	-.145*	-.085	-.211***	-.059
TS617[b]		.407***		.402***
SELF617		-.075		.006
EDUC		.008		-.045
DAGEFJOB		.032		-.072
FJOBSEI		.015		-.117*
AGEMARRY		.097*		.148**
R^2	.373	.524	.349	.449

[a] See Table 1 for a description of the variables.

[b] SRN617 was used where SRN18P is the dependent variable.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

TABLE 5. INDIRECT EFFECTS IN THE MODELS FOR THE 1949 COHORT MALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables	
	TS617	SRN617
Via NODIPLMR:		
SIBS	.045	.038
Via DAGEDLR:		
HHSEX	---	.022
SIBS	---	-.026
Via ADJFRTR:		
HHEMP	-.029	---
Via ATTPOLR:		
DRACE	-.026	-.038
	TS18P	SRN18P
Via NODIPLMR:		
SIBS	.043	.021
Via PATROLR:		
DNATAREA	.033	---
Via TS617:		
HHSEX	-.056	---
NODIPLMR	.116	---
ADAUTOSC	.053	---
ADJFRTR	.085	---
ATTPOLR	-.059	---
Via SRN617:		
MWORK	---	.051
NODIPLMR	---	.097
ADAUTOSC	---	.090
DAGEDLR	---	.054
ATTPOLR	---	-.085
Via FJOBSEI:		
ADAUTOSC	---	.016
Via AGEMARRY:		
SIBS	-.015	-.022
ANEG017	-.020	-.030

ness, school drop-out has the strongest direct effect followed by juvenile friends in trouble, juvenile attitude toward the police, and sex of head of household. The latter two variables are about equivalent in the strength of their effects. The signs of the coefficients indicate that not having a high school diploma and reporting having juvenile friends in trouble are associated with higher seriousness scores while a positive attitude toward the police and having a male head of household are associated with lower scores. While we reserve a more rigorous comparison of cohort differences for a later section, it is worth noting that only juvenile friends in trouble appears as a common determinant of official juvenile seriousness for both the 1942 and 1949 Cohort males. The indirect effects reported in Table 5 are too small to merit much consideration (although there is some indication that coming from a large family may increase juvenile seriousness due to an increased likelihood of dropping out of school).

Turning to adult official seriousness, direct effects are found for juvenile seriousness, school drop-out, perceived police patrol activity, and age at marriage. Higher juvenile seriousness scores, having dropped out of school, greater perceived police patrol, and older age at marriage are associated with higher adult seriousness scores.

The finding for age at marriage, although rather weak, deserves some comment. We have previously reported that when length of exposure is taken into account, seriousness after marriage is about the same as seriousness before marriage for most ages of marriage. Other path analyses (not shown here) show that higher juvenile seriousness scores have a rather consistent effect of increasing age at marriage among males. This is also suggested

by the data in Chapter 17, Table 7. Thus a serious juvenile career appears to delay entry into marriage which is commonly assumed to be a major factor in the "maturation" effect. However, as far as we have been able to determine, marriage neither has this effect nor is a younger age at marriage associated with a high level of juvenile official seriousness.

Several relatively important indirect effects on adult official seriousness are found in Table 5, all transmitted through juvenile seriousness. These involve higher adult seriousness scores associated with school drop-out, greater auto use as a juvenile, and having juvenile friends in trouble. Lower adult seriousness scores are associated with growing up in a household with a male head and having a more positive attitude toward the police as a juvenile. Although this pattern is somewhat different from that found for the 1942 Cohort males, it serves to emphasize the utility of a processual model: a high degree of involvement with the police as a juvenile clearly serves as the intervening link between these variables and adult seriousness.

The third column of Table 4 shows the direct effects on juvenile self-report seriousness for the 1949 Cohort males. School drop-out, auto use, and attitude toward the police are found to have direct effects on adult seriousness which are about equal in strength and in the expected direction. In addition, mother's employment and obtaining a driver's license before 18 have weak but statistically significant positive direct effects. No important indirect effects on juvenile self-report seriousness are found although a weak effect of family size through school drop-out appears as it did for official seriousness.

Turning to adult self-report seriousness, we find that juvenile seriousness has the strongest direct effect and substantially exceeds any of the other direct effects in its strength. Statistically significant but weak direct effects are found for sex of head of household, school drop-out, status of first job, and age at marriage. With the exception of age at marriage, all of the signs of the coefficients are in the expected directions. As with adult official seriousness, an older age at marriage is associated with a higher level of adult self-report seriousness. Table 5 shows that the only important indirect effects on adult self-report seriousness are transmitted through juvenile self-report seriousness. These include the effects of mother's employment, school drop-out, auto use, age at obtaining driver's license, and attitude toward the police. The direction of all of these relationships are consistent with our expectations.[5]

In summary, we find for the 1949 Cohort males, as we did for the 1942 Cohort males, that the strongest determinant of adult official or self-report seriousness is the relevant measure of juvenile seriousness. Unlike the findings for the older cohort, we find that school drop-out has relatively important direct and indirect effects on both official and self-report seriousness whereas it was related only to self-report seriousness in the older cohort. We cannot ascertain, of course, whether this is a cohort effect or an historical effect. It is reasonable to expect that the lack of a high school diploma may have more effect on the official or self-report careers of young adults and therefore involve a cohort effect. It may also be that historical changes in the importance of a high school

diploma for employment have resulted in its lack being a more severe social and economic handicap for younger cohorts. The importance of this variable underscores the lack of important effects in this subsample for natural area, race, and the occupational status of the head of the household.

Concerning official seriousness, this pattern is consistent with the data in Chapter 14 which suggest that there has been a trend toward more legalistic disposition of contacts by the police which would decrease the salience of variables like race.

In terms of overall effects, two variables merit final attention: the juvenile friends in trouble and the auto use scales. Unlike the 1942 Cohort males, we find that juvenile friends in trouble is related only to official seriousness for this subsample. This finding is somewhat surprising since we would expect that one's friendship patterns would have stronger effects in the younger cohort. Auto use is related most strongly to the measures of self-report seriousness although it has direct and indirect effects on the measures of official seriousness. In both instances, however, it directly affects juvenile seriousness and therefore indirectly affects adult seriousness. This finding suggests that the automobile has become increasingly important as a potential source of trouble for juveniles and therefore indirectly contributes to adult involvement.

THE CORRELATES OF FEMALE JUVENILE AND ADULT SERIOUSNESS

Table o presents the direct effects for the 1942 Cohort females. Only race and school drop-out have significant direct effects on juvenile official seriousness. White females have less serious juvenile careers

TABLE 6. DIRECT EFFECTS OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS DURING THE JUVENILE AND ADULT AGE PERIODS: 1942 COHORT FEMALES (N=176)[a]

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	TS617	TS18P	SRN617	SRN18P
DNATAREA	.012	.204*	-.040	-.080
DRACE	-.208*	-.180	.011	.022
HHEMP	-.016	.046	.061	-.150
HHJBSEI	-.014	.009	.057	-.027
HHSEX	-.007	-.164	.026	-.146
MWORK	.019	-.041	-.023	-.174
SIBS	-.165	-.136	-.085	-.085
JOBHSR	.049	-.112	.175*	-.069
ATTSCHR	-.024	-.032	.017	-.059
NODIPLMR	.248**	.145	.064	-.221*
ADAUTOSC	.142	.086	.279***	.042
DAGEDLR	-.089	.035	-.236**	.030
DIFFJR	-.118	-.014	.054	.057
ANEG017	.129	-.060	.264***	.028
APOS017	-.041	-.006	-.029	-.056
ADJFRTR	-.018	-.050	.043	-.078
PATROLR	.075	-.148	.043	-.115
ATTPOLR	-.011	-.066	-.049	-.071
TS617[b]		.263**		.466***
SELF617		.178		-.137
EDUC		.036		.197
DAGEFJOB		.030		.102
FJOBSEI		.033		-.263*
AGEMARRY		-.057		-.037
R^2	.191	.332	.236	.389

[a] See Table 1 for a description of the variables.

[b] SRN617 was used where SRN18P is the dependent variable.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

and those who dropped out of school have more serious careers. Table 7 indicates that there are no important indirect effects on juvenile official seriousness although there is a weak indirect effect of family size through school drop-out as was found for the 1949 Cohort males. Concerning adult official seriousness, significant direct effects are found for natural area of socialization and juvenile seriousness. Those 1942 Cohort females who grew up in the inner city or interstitial areas and who had more serious juvenile careers also have more serious adult careers. In addition, race and school drop-out have indirect effects on adult seriousness through juvenile seriousness. Consistent with the findings for juvenile seriousness, White females have less serious adult careers and those who dropped out of school have more serious adult careers due to the intervening effects of juvenile seriousness.

Turning to the results for juvenile self-report seriousness, we find direct effects for auto use, perceived negative influences during childhood, obtaining a driver's license before 18, and employment during the school years, in that order of importance. Higher auto use scale scores, higher perceived negative influences, and being employed during the school years are associated with higher self-report seriousness. Obtaining a driver's license before 18 is associated with less self-report seriousness. The effect for auto use is the only one that is consistent with what we have previously found for the male subsamples. Specifically, the effects of obtaining a driver's license before 18 and being employed during the school years are the opposite of those for the males. While we may interpret the effect of employment as increasing opportunities

TABLE 7. INDIRECT EFFECTS IN THE MODELS FOR THE 1942 COHORT FEMALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables: TS617	SRN617
Via JOBHSR:		
DRACE	---	.055
SIBS	---	.030
Via NODIPLMR:		
SIBS	.045	---
Via ADAUTOSC:		
HHJBSEI	---	.046
HHSEX	---	.049
MWORK	---	.050
Via DAGEDLR:		
HHJBSEI	---	-.041
Via ANEG017:		
MWORK	---	.058
SIBS	---	.050
	TS18P	**SRN18P**
Via NODIPLMR:		
SIBS	---	-.040
Via TS617:		
DRACE	-.055	---
NODIPLMR	.065	---
Via SRN617:		
JOBHSR	---	.082
ADAUTOSC	---	.130
DAGEDLR	---	-.110
ANEG017	---	.123
Via FJOBSEI:		
HHJBSEI	---	-.053
SIBS	---	.060
NODIPLMR	---	.057
SELF617	---	.072

for self-report behavior for these females, the reason for the effect of age at obtaining driver's license is not clear. Finally, the effect of perceived negative influences has not previously appeared in either of the male subsamples.

Four relatively important indirect effects on juvenile self-report seriousness are found in Table 7: a positive effect of race through employment during the school years White females have higher seriousness scores due to a higher likelihood of being employed), a positive effect of mother's employment through auto use and perceived negative influences, and a positive effect of family size through perceived negative influences. However, these indirect effects are only marginally larger than the criterion (.05 or larger) that we have adopted to indicate an important indirect effect.

The direct effects of the independent variables on adult self-report seriousness are presented in column four of Table 6. By far the strongest effect is due to self-report juvenile seriousness followed by status of first job and school drop-out. The effects of juvenile seriousness and first job status are as might be expected: higher juvenile self-report seriousness scores are associated with higher adult seriousness scores; high status first jobs are associated with lower adult seriousness scores. However, the effect of school drop-out is the opposite of all our previous findings: not having finished high school is associated with less self-report adult seriousness. This finding is quite puzzling since the zero-order correlations between school drop-out and other variables are consistent with our expectations and with those found in the other subsamples (see Appendix T).

Table 7 indicates that the indirect effects on self-report adult seriousness are large enough to be considered important are due to two intervening variables: juvenile self-report seriusness and first job status. Employment during the school years, auto use, and perceived negative influences have positive indirect effects through juvenile seriousness while obtaining a driver's license before 18 has a negative effect. The indirect effects through first job status are such that a higher head of household's occupation status is associated with lower adult seriousness scores while a large family, dropping out of school, and a more delinquent self-concept are associated with higher scores. The finding for school drop-out is especially interesting since it counteracts the negative direct effect discussed above. That is, dropping out of school has a negative direct effect on adult self-report seriousness but a positive indirect effect since it has a negative influence on first job status ($p = -.216$). The consequence is that the two effects tend to cancel each other out although the direct effect predominates.

To summarize the findings for the 1942 Cohort females, we again find that the most important determinants of both adult official and self-report seriousness are the appropriate juvenile seriousness variables. However, the effect of juvenile official seriousness on adult seriousness is not especially strong and is only slightly more important than the effect of natural area. Furthermore, an examination of the R^2 values indicates that the model does not perform as well for females as males, a point which will be more clearly demonstrated in a later section.

Although a number of the findings discussed above are similar to those

found for the male cohorts (e.g., the effects of natural area, race, and school drop-out on both measures of official seriousness), they indicate that some of the variables have quite different effects in this subsample. This is especially true for employment during the school years, school drop-out, and age at obtaining driver's license, all of which have effects on one or the other self-report measures opposite to those found for the male subsamples. In addition, perceived negative influences during the juvenile period emerges as an important influence on self-report juvenile seriousness. Whether or not these effects are unique to this subsample or more generally related to seriousness among females will be seen as we examine the results for the 1949 Cohort females.

Table 8 presents the direct effects on official and self-report seriousness for the 1949 Cohort females. Turning to juvenile official seriousness, only two significant effects are apparent. Those with a regularly employed head of household during the juvenile period have lower seriousness scores while those with higher scores on the juvenile friends in trouble scale tend to have higher scores. There are no indirect effects on official juvenile seriousness for this subsample which means that none of the background variables has a significant effect on juvenile friends in trouble. While the overall lack of relationships is obvious, it is also reflected in the low explained variance ($R^2 = .205$). Only two variables have significant direct effects on official adult seriousness: auto use and juvenile seriousness. However, the finding for auto use is contrary to the findings for all previously examined subsamples since it indicates that the greater the auto use during the juvenile period, the less the adult

TABLE 8. DIRECT EFFECTS OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS DURING THE JUVENILE AND ADULT AGE PERIODS: 1949 COHORT FEMALES (N=277)[a]

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	TS617	TS18P	SRN617	SRN18P
DNATAREA	.035	.106	.058	-.095
DRACE	-.096	.071	.082	-.083
HHEMP	-.220***	-.037	.047	.033
HHJBSEI	.001	-.051	.117	-.051
HHSEX	-.072	-.105	-.044	.052
MWORK	-.031	-.019	.137*	-.094
SIBS	.027	-.092	.084	-.129
JOBHSR	.101	-.029	.101	.020
ATTSCHR	-.049	-.055	-.085	-.101
NODIPLMR	.100	-.016	.001	.099
ADAUTOSC	.011	-.144*	.179**	.116
DAGEDLR	.036	.100	-.006	.038
DIFFJR	-.059	-.021	.060	-.069
ANEG017	.025	.007	.154*	.085
APOS017	-.032	.054	-.005	.062
ADJFRTR	.207***	-.040	.182**	.053
PATROLR	-.044	-.025	-.003	-.059
ATTPOLR	-.049	-.009	-.126	-.158*
TS617[b]		.538***		.340***
SELF617		-.084		-.038
EDUC		-.079		.155
DAGEFJOB		-.090		.060
FJOBSEI		-.093		.002
AGEMARRY		.051		.127
R^2	.203	.372	.200	.310

[a] See Table 1 for meaning of variable names.

[b] SRN617 was used where SRN18P is the dependent variable.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

seriousness. The strong positive effect of juvenile seriousness is consistent with our previous findings and obviously represents the only substantively important direct effect. Two indirect effects on official adult seriousness are shown in Table 9. Head of household's regularity of employment has a negative effect and juvenile friends in trouble has a positive effect through juvenile seriousness. Although there is a general absence of strong effects on adult seriousness as was the case for juvenile seriousness, there is no indication that the relationships which do appear are contrary to expectations or differ much from those for the male subsamples.

Turning to the direct effects on juvenile self-report seriousness in the third column of Table 8, we find that higher scores on the friends in trouble and auto use scales are associated with higher seriousness scores and the strength of these effects is about the same. Perceived negative influences during the juvenile period and mother's employment are also associated with more serious scores but their effects are slightly weaker. Although these results do not indicate that the somewhat anomalous findings for the 1942 Cohort females (e.g., for school drop-out and employment during the school years) are sex-specific, the finding for perceived negative influences does appear to be sex-specific although its effect appears to be somewhat weaker in this subsample. No indirect effects on juvenile self-report seriousness were found which means that auto use and perceived negative influences are not influenced by any of the background variables.

Column 4 of Table 8 reports the direct effects on adult self-report seriousness for the 1949 Cohort females. Juvenile seriousness has a significant positive effect and attitude toward the police a significant

TABLE 9. INDIRECT EFFECTS IN THE MODELS FOR THE 1949 COHORT FEMALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables TS18P	SRN18P
Via ATTPOLR:		
DNATAREA	---	-.030
DRACE	---	-.075
Via TS617:		
HHEMP	-.118	---
ADJFRTR	.111	---
Via SRN617:		
MWORK	---	.047
ADAUTOSC	---	.061
ANEG017	---	.052
ADJFRTR	---	.062

negative effect which is about half as strong as that for juvenile seriousness. The negative effect for attitude toward police means that a more positive attitude toward the police is associated with lower self-report seriousness.

Table 9 shows that four variables have relatively important indirect effects on adult self-report seriousness for this subsample which are worthy of attention: race, auto use, perceived negative influences, and juvenile friends in trouble. Attitude toward police transmits a negative indirect effect of race such that Whites have lower adult self-report seriousness scores because they hold more favorable attitudes toward the police (the direct effect of race on attitudes toward police in this subsample is p = .473). A higher score on the auto use scale, a higher level of perceived negative influences during the juvenile period, and a higher score on the juvenile friends in trouble scale are associated with higher adult seriousness scores due to their effects on juvenile seriousness.

To summarize the findings for the 1949 Cohort females, we may say that the overall pattern of effects generally conforms to our expectations where those effects occur. The only effect which is counter-intuitive is the negative direct effect of the auto use scale on adult official seriousness. Although this female subsample does not confirm some of the unexpected results obtained for the 1942 Cohort females, we may note that the signs of some of the coefficients for employment during the school years and school drop-out, although not statistically significant, are in the same direction as those found for the 1942 Cohort females. However, one finding which is common to both female subsamples is the positive direct

effect of perceived negative influences on juvenile self-report seriousness and its consequent indirect effect on adult self-report seriousness. Another finding which deserves mention is the apparent decline in the importance of natural area of socialization and race from the older to younger cohort which replicates a similar finding for the male subsamples. This difference is addressed again in the following section. Finally, it is apparent that the major influence on both types of adult seriousness is juvenile seriousness. For both official and self-report seriousness, this effect is relatively substantial and serves as a vehicle for the transmission of various indirect effects.

COMPARISONS BY COHORT AND SEX

Tables 10-13 present the direct effects of the independent variables in metric form. These coefficients permit a direct comparison across subsamples since they are not affected by unique subsample variances. The adjusted R^2 values are also presented in the tables since they are estimates of the population R^2 values and are more appropriate for comparisons across subgroups than the unadjusted values.[6]

Table 10 presents the results for juvenile and adult official seriousness for the 1942 and 1949 Cohort males. The results for juvenile seriousness show that there are six important differences between the two male subsamples. Natural area and employment during high school have stronger effects for the 1942 Cohort males than for the 1949 Cohort males while the reverse is true for sex of head of household, school drop-out, the auto use scale, and attitude toward police. In both subsamples, the

TABLE 10. DIRECT EFFECTS ON JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS IN METRIC FORM: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables and Cohort			
	TS617		TS18P	
	1942	1949	1942	1949
DNATAREA	4.698**	.501	4.707	2.980
DRACE	2.261	-1.324	-20.476***	-5.205
HHEMP	4.994	-6.512	-2.163	5.367
HHJBSEI	-.006	-.038	-.002	-.031
HHSEX	3.067	-8.242*	-.998	-5.681
MWORK	-.308	.475	-1.660	.045
SIBS	.253	.410	.511	.354
JOBHSR	-1.583*	-.173	.020	.716
ATTSCHR	2.217	-1.075	8.983**	2.777
NODIPLMR	1.566	12.138***	4.179	18.486***
ADAUTOSC	1.464	2.204*	1.514	1.937
DAGEDLR	1.125	3.070	-.255	-2.949
DIFFJR	.804	-1.724	-1.489	2.189
ANEG017	.329	-.119	1.551	2.557
APOS017	-1.061	.575	-.780	-.614
ADJFRTR	1.637***	1.623***	-.797	-.581
PATROLR	-.364	-.581	-3.586	3.009*
ATTPOLR	-1.700	-2.650*	-1.630	-2.497
TS617			.903***	.652***
SELF617			3.702*	-1.633
EDUC			-2.157*	.095
DAGEFJOB			4.538	1.723
FJOBSEI			.077	.017
AGEMARRY			.555	.680*
$\bar{R}^{2a}$	.235	.327	.361	.477

[a] R^2 adjusted for degrees of freedom.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

TABLE 11. DIRECT EFFECTS ON JUVENILE AND ADULT SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS IN METRIC FORM: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables and Cohort: SRN617 1942	SRN617 1949	SRN18P 1942	SRN18P 1949
DNATAREA	-.523	.491	.672	.211
DRACE	.609	-2.665	-7.988*	-1.690
HHEMP	-.307	-2.328	8.016*	-1.286
HHJBSEI	-.010	.025	-.014	.048
HHSEX	2.211	5.167	-1.257	7.222*
MWORK	-.710	1.846*	.566	-.099
SIBS	-.601	.202	.188	-.559
JOBHSR	.341	.900	-.103	-.214
ATTSCHR	-.268	-.253	2.700	-.772
NODIPLMR	11.511***	9.338***	-.961	5.600*
ADAUTOSC	3.032**	3.386***	1.250	1.108
DAGEDLR	-.546	4.216*	-2.468	1.932
DIFFJR	2.296	-.798	-1.543	.053
ANEG017	.349	1.776	3.156	2.235
APOS017	.523	-.535	-.969	-.600
ADJFRTR	2.014***	.760	-.961	.819
PATROLR	.636	.188	-1.433	1.165
ATTPOLR	-1.479	-3.471***	-.314	-1.079
SRN617			.540***	.445***
SELF617			-.579	.083
EDUC			-.660	-.342
DAGEFJOB			2.391	-2.423
FJOBSEI			.049	-.084*
AGEMARRY			.333	.645**
$\overline{R}^{2a}$	.361	.301	.323	.393

[a] R^2 adjusted for degrees of freedom.

TABLE 12. DIRECT EFFECTS ON JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS IN METRIC FORM: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT FEMALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables and Cohort: TS617 1942	TS617 1949	TS18P 1942	TS18P 1949
DNATAREA	.051	.264	2.881*	2.805
DRACE	-1.474*	-.907	-4.051	2.360
HHEMP	-.115	-3.721***	1.069	-2.183
HHJBSEI	-.002	.000	.003	-.031
HHSEX	-.064	-1.101	-4.579	-5.676
MWORK	.049	-.127	-.336	-.275
SIBS	-.156	.040	-.413	-.475
JOBHSR	.080	.276	-.585	-.278
ATTSCHR	-.115	-.362	-.491	-1.431
NODIPLMR	1.604**	1.147	2.981	-.658
ADAUTOSC	.350	.050	.668	-2.204*
DAGEDLR	-.383	.260	.475	2.544
DIFFJR	-.512	-.425	-.191	-.526
AGEN017	.460	.139	-.670	.133
APOS017	-.082	-.101	-.039	.601
ADJFRTR	-.047	.721***	-.401	-.495
PATROLR	.202	-.208	-1.263	-.413
ATTPOLR	-.046	-.289	-.876	-.194
TS617			.834**	1.896***
SELF617			1.736	-1.715
EDUC			.141	-.524
DAGEFJOB			.463	-3.206
FJOBSEI			.013	-.063
AGEMARRY			-.089	.180
$\overline{R}^{2a}$	.091	.144	.178	.296

[a] R^2 adjusted for degrees of freedom.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

TABLE 13. DIRECT EFFECTS ON JUVENILE AND ADULT SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS IN METRIC FORM: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT FEMALES

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables and Cohort			
	SRN617		SRN18P	
	1942	1949	1942	1949
DNATAREA	-.402	.619	-.744	-1.526
DRACE	.178	1.098	.321	-1.693
HHEMP	1.004	1.131	-2.264	1.216
HHJBSEI	.014	.028	-.006	-.019
HHSEX	.518	-.956	-2.681	1.700
MWORK	-.135	.791*	-.942	-.817
SIBS	-.185	.173	-.169	-.403
JOBHSR	.656*	.388	-.235	.115
ATTSCHR	.192	-.887	-.598	-1.595
NODIPLMR	.944	.012	-2.971*	2.445
ADAUTOSC	1.565***	1.096**	.216	1.077
DAGEDLR	-2.311**	-.064	.268	.594
DIFFJR	.533	.605	.513	-1.064
ANEGO17	2.134***	1.232*	.204	1.012
APOSO17	-.133	-.023	-.231	.418
ADJFRTR	.248	.900**	-.412	.400
PATROLR	.261	-.016	-.639	-.599
ATTPOLR	-.471	-1.048	-.618	-1.995*
SRN617			.425***	.515***
SELF617			-.878	-.470
EDUC			.508	.620
DAGEFJOB			1.023	1.308
FJOBSEI			-.066*	.001
AGEMARRY			-.037	.274
$\bar{R}^2$ [a]	.142	.140	.248	.227

[a] R^2 adjusted for degrees of freedom.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

positive effect of the juvenile friends in trouble scale is about the same. The cohort differences for natural area and school drop-out are especially striking. Growing up in the inner city or an interstitial area is associated with an increase in juvenile seriousness which is more than nine times as large as the (nonsignificant) effect coefficient for the 1949 Cohort males. In contrast, the effect of school drop-out for the 1949 Cohort males results in an increase of more than 12 points in the seriousness index which is nearly eight times larger than the (nonsignificant) effect for the 1942 Cohort males. Since school drop-out is a dichotomy coded 1 for dropping out and 0 for obtaining a high school diploma (see Table 1), we may also interpret this effect as showing that school drop-outs have a predicted juvenile seriousness score 12 points higher than those who did not drop out among the 1949 Cohort males.

Columns 3 and 4 of Table 10 indicate that there are eight differences in the equations for adult official seriousness between the two cohorts. These involve race, attitude toward school, school drop-out, perceived police patrol, juvenile seriousness, delinquent self-concept, education, and age at marriage. Among the more important of these differences are the effects for the 1942 Cohort males which show that being White and better educated are associated with lower seriousness scores while juvenile seriousness is associated with a larger predicted increase in adult seriousness than in the 1949 Cohort. While the differences in the coefficients for juvenile seriousness do not appear large, it is worth noting that a one unit increase in juvenile seriousness contributes nearly 40% more in terms of a proportional increase in adult seriousness for the 1942 Cohort

males than does a one unit increase for the 1949 Cohort males. As with juvenile seriousness, dropping out of school is associated with a substantial increase in adult seriousness for the 1949 Cohort males where there is no significant effect for the 1942 Cohort males. Finally, the adjusted R^2 values indicate that the equations explain about 10% more of the variance in both juvenile and adult seriousness for the 1949 Cohort males than for the 1942 Cohort males.

Table 11 presents the same type of analysis for self-report seriousness. The results for juvenile self-report seriousness show four cohort differences involving mother's employment, age at obtaining driver's license, the juvenile friends in trouble scale, and attitude toward the police. For the 1949 Cohort males, mother's employment and obtaining a driver's license before 18 are associated with higher seriousness scores and a positive attitude toward the police is associated with lower scores. These variables have no significant effects for the 1942 Cohort males. At the same time, a higher score on the juvenile friends trouble scale is associated with higher seriousness scores for the 1942 Cohort but not the 1949 Cohort. School drop-out and auto use are both related to juvenile seriousness in essentially the same manner for both cohorts. The finding for school drop-out is especially interesting in view of the large cohort differences we have found in the effect of this variable on official seriousness. This suggests that while the lack of a high school education may have some consequences for behavior (as measured by the self-report variables), its most important consequences have to do with official careers in the younger cohort which may reflect differences in reactions by officials to offenders

as well as actual behavior.

The results for adult self-report seriousness in columns 3 and 4 show that seven variables differ in their effects by cohort: race, regularity of head of household's employment, sex of head of household, school drop-out, status of first job, and age at marriage. The effects which appear only for the 1942 Cohort males reveal that Whites have lower seriousness scores and that having a regularly employed head of household is associated with higher scores. The effects unique to the 1949 Cohort males show that those who grew up in male-headed households, dropped out of school, or married at older ages also tend to have higher seriousness scores while those who held high-status first jobs tend to have lower seriousness scores. The effects for first job and age at marriage in the younger cohort invite the speculation that these life-cycle events have a more important impact on the early stages of potentially criminal behavior. As we have seen in the previous section and will find for the female subsamples, this pattern does not apply to the females.

It should be noted that the effect of juvenile self-report seriousness on adult seriousness is larger for the 1942 Cohort males than for the 1949 Cohort males in about the same ratio as we found for official seriousness. This apparent decline in the influence of both types of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness is consistent with the findings for all three male cohorts reported for official seriousness in Chapter 14.

In terms of both types of juvenile seriousness, only one cohort difference is consistent. A positive attitude toward the police is associated with lower official and self-report juvenile seriousness scores.

Three cohort differences are consistent for both measures of adult seriousness. These involve the lower seriousness scores associated with being White in the 1942 Cohort and the higher seriousness scores associated with school drop-out and older age at marriage in the 1949 Cohort. However, the most crucial difference involves race as shown by the strength of its effects as discussed in the previous section and by the cohort differences in the metric coefficients presented here. The pattern clearly suggests a decline in the salience of race across cohorts for both adult behavior (as measured by self-report) and official contacts.

Table 12 presents the results for juvenile and adult official seriousness for the 1942 and 1949 Cohort females. We find that being White and dropping out of school are associated with higher juvenile seriousness scores for only the 1942 Cohort females. For the 1949 Cohort females, regularity of head of household's employment is associated with lower seriousness scores while a higher score on the juvenile friends in trouble scale is associated with higher seriousness. Concerning adult official seriousness, only natural area has an effect only for the 1942 Cohort females, auto use has an effect only for the 1949 Cohort females, and the effect of juvenile seriousness is considerably larger for the 1949 Cohort females. The effect of juvenile on adult seriousness is more than twice as large for the 1949 Cohort females as it is for the 1942 Cohort females. It is important to note that this finding is the opposite of that for the males where there is a decline in this relationship from the older to the younger cohort. None of these differences between the female subsamples

is consistent with the differences for the male subsamples and therefore raises the question as to whether these are actual cohort differences or represent a combination of sex-cohort differences.

Comparisons of the effects of the independent variables on juvenile and adult self-report seriousness for the female subsamples are presented in Table 13. The effects unique to the 1949 Cohort females are the positive effects of mother's employment and a higher score on the juvenile friends trouble scale. While both auto use and perceived negative influences are apparent for both females subsamples, the effects are somewhat stronger for the 1942 Cohort. Concerning adult self-report seriousness, an effect of school drop-out and status of first job appear only for the 1942 Cohort females. As we found for adult official seriousness, the influence of juvenile seriousness is greater for the 1949 Cohort females which again contradicts the finding for the differences in the male subsamples.

There are two cohort differences between the females which involve both official and self-report seriousness. For both types of juvenile seriousness, a higher score on the juvenile friends in trouble scale is associated with higher seriousness scores only for the 1949 Cohort females. The second cohort difference between the female subsamples is found in the greater effect of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness for the 1949 Cohort females. Although both findings are consistent with the view that experiences during the juvenile period may have less impact on official or self-report careers in the older cohort, they are not consistent with the differences we have found for the male subsamples.

SUMMARY

Consistent with the evidence presented in earlier chapters, we find that the single most important determinant of the seriousness of adult careers is the seriousness of juvenile careers. It is important to note that this finding holds true across all four cohort-sex subsamples and is evident with controls for a variety of antecedent variables and intervening variables which measure life-cycle events associated with late adolescence and early adulthood.

The interpretation of this relationship differs somewhat for the official and self-report indexes. Continuity between juvenile and adult official police contacts may reflect the working of the criminal justice system as well as actual behavior. Individuals coming into contact with the police acquire a record whether or not they are eventually charged and adjudicated. The police often check this record when they have contact with an individual and it is reasonable to suppose that prior contact histories may influence an officer's decision on whether or not to informally dispose of the incident. The relationship between the self-report indexes, however, should more strongly reflect behavioral patterns even though contact with official agencies may also account for part of this relationship. One consequence of this relationship is that juvenile seriousness intervenes between its antecedents and later outcomes given the structure of the present model. Among the more important of the indirect effects transmitted by juvenile seriousness are those due to dropping out of school and having friends in trouble with the law during the

juvenile period. Other indirect effects also appear, especially those associated with automobile use, but these are not always consistent across the subsamples.

We also find evidence for cohort-sex differences in the effect of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness for both the official and self-report indexes. Among the males, this effect appears to decline over time while it increases over time for the females.

Among the more important effects on juvenile seriousness are those due to natural area, race, dropping out of school, and having friends in trouble with the law during the juvenile period. There is some evidence that the effects of natural area and race are weaker in the younger cohort. Since this difference appears for both official and self-report seriousness, it may reflect temporal changes in the treatment of residents of different areas and members of race/ethnic groups by the police as well as behavioral changes. Another interpretation consistent with this finding is that natural area and race may have long-term effects on careers which are not yet evident in the younger cohort.

The association between dropping out of school and higher seriousness scores is strongest for the males, increases in strength from the 1942 to 1949 Cohorts for males, and is apparent for both official and self-report seriousness. This finding is consistent with the idea that educational attainment has become a more important resource for social and economic integration into our society but may also reflect an aging difference like that suggested for natural area and race.

Having juvenile friends in trouble with the law is associated with

higher seriousness scores but this does not vary consistently by cohort, sex, or the type of index used (official vs. self-report). However, the contribution of this variable to seriousness is least among the female subsamples where we find, on the other hand, a significant contribution of perceived negative influences from family and/or friends. These findings indicate that associations during the juvenile period do have consequences for official and self-report careers and, because of this, indirectly affect adult careers.

CONCLUSION

However complex the findings may appear, we have pointed out the consistencies which assist us in understanding the process by which juveniles come to engage in illegal behavior or acquire a history of police contacts which in some cases continues into serious adult careers. Although we have suggested that some of the differences in the models across the various subsamples may be meaningfully interpreted, we feel compelled to note other factors which should temper this interpretation. Part of the appearance of complexity arises from: 1) the large number of variables which were not linked to underlying theoretical constructs with the attendant problems of multicollinearity and effects due to chance, and 2) some anomalies which for the most part involve relatively weak relationships. To the extent that the findings vary from cohort to cohort and year to year, that in itself helps us to understand the problems of persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems.

A critical view of our research prompts us to say that if the antecedents of delinquency and crime (as operationally defined in this research)

are ever-shifting rather than basic to these phenomena, does that not call for the development of variables that have been conceptualized in a more sophisticated sociological manner? Does that not suggest that the research was conceptualized as a social problem rather than as a sociological problem? Conceptualizing at this higher level is what sociologists should attempt to do so that their theoretical explanations will therefore be at a level relatively free of the influence of historical events. A strictly sociological explanation of delinquency and crime should transcend historical events unless they too have been conceptualized in a sociological fashion. The development of an explanation of the process by which people acquire delinquent careers and continue into adult crime requires the successful test of a model which includes explanatory variables with sufficient delinquency-and-crime-producing effects so that the fluctuation of tangentially related phenomena will not overshadow their effects. This is not an easy task.

Although our model has achieved a reasonable level of explanatory power for the male subsamples, it is clear that much variation in the dependent variables remains to be explained and this is especially true for the females in our study. No doubt we have yet to fully capture the inability of the larger community to successfully socialize its youth into patterns of behavior that are defined as law-abiding.

Some of the findings in this and earlier chapters suggest that minority group status or growing up in the inner city and interstitial areas have direct effects on the seriousness of delinquency and crime and indirect effects primarily due to economic opportunities and association with delinquent friends. Coupled with the effects of variables indicative of lack

of integration into or failure to succeed in the educational system and the characteristics of family and friends, does this not indicate that the findings are supportive of the general theoretical position that delinquency is explained by the fact that young people in certain ascribed groups (e.g., minority group members and inner cit. residents) are very early-on socialized into their objective lack of social and economic opportunities and stigmatized status. Delinquent acts are perceived as a solution to their problems because no other solution seems available to them. This is, of course, the reason that some persons who are concerned about the problems of delinquency and crime have been so critical of explanations that focus on the individual rather than the organization of society. The next step, from a purely scientific point of view, should be to reconsider how these data may be used to test competing explanations of juvenile delinquency and adult crime.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Discussions of path analysis may be found in Kenneth C. Land, "Principles of Path Analysis," in Edgar F. Borgatta (ed.), *Sociological Methodology* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969) and Otis Dudley Duncan, *Introduction to Structural Equation Models* (New York: Academic Press, 1975). The direct and indirect effects presented in Tables 2-9 may be interpreted as reflecting the relative strengths of the effects of the variables. More technically, a direct effect represents the proportional change in one standard deviation unit on the dependent variable associated with a change of one standard deviation unit on the independent variable. The "metric" effects presented in Tables 10-13 are explained below.

As explained in Chapter 14, indirect effects are computed as the product of the path coefficients found when the effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable is traced through an intervening variable. Because of the large number of possible indirect effects in the model, we report only those which were obtained by multiplying two statistically significant direct effects. In addition, we discuss only those whose magnitude equals or exceeds .05 in absolute value.

Pairwise deletion of missing data was used in all analyses; see Jae-On Kim and James Curry, "The Treatment of Missing Data in Multivariate Analysis," *Sociological Methods and Research* 6(1977):215-240.

[2] The reader may notice that referrals and sanctions are absent from the model. There are two reasons for this omission. First, there were too few cases with referrals and sanctions in some of the subsamples to provide reliable results. For example, only two of the 1949 cohort females who were interviewed received juvenile court sanctions through age 17. Thus referrals and sanctions were dropped in order to obtain comparable analyses for all the subgroups. Second, the high intercorrelations among seriousness, referrals, and sanctions pose problems for an analysis of this type in that estimates of the path coefficients may be rather unstable. However, we did perform the analyses reported in this chapter with referrals and sanctions included in the models. The findings did not alter

our conclusions in Chapter 14 that juvenile referrals and sanctions are not important determinants of adult seriousness and also do not alter in any important way the substantive conclusions we make in this chapter. At the same time, it should be noted that this omission results in overestimates of some effects, especially those for juvenile seriousness. This overestimation is not large since the primary effect of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness is a direct effect as noted in Chapter 14.

Since the measures of official seriousness are rather skewed and tests for nonlinearity showed some nonlinear relationships, we also performed the analyses using square root transformations of the appropriate variables (see Jacob Cohen and Patricia Cohen, *Applied Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis for the Behavior Sciences* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates):252. The results of those analyses also did not alter the conclusions we present in this chapter.

[3] In addition to the respondent's report of his/her delinquent or criminal self-concept at various ages, we have various measures of how the respondent believes others (parents, teachers, friends) evaluated him/her in terms of delinquency/criminality. For any given age period (e.g., ages 16-17, 18-20) to which these questions apply, the responses are highly intercorrelated. This means that it is difficult if not impossible to obtain satisfactory estimates of the importance of the respondent's own self-rating versus his/her perceptions of the ratings of significant others. Nevertheless, we performed the analyses reported here with all of the relevant items included and obtained generally unstable and in some cases counter-intuitive results due to the problem of multicollinearity. We also created an additive index which combined responses to all of the items and conducted analyses similar to those reported here. The results were virtually the same as those which we report but we prefer the single "self-concept" item since it allows a more straightforward interpretation than the overall index.

[4] It could be argued that indicators of both school drop-out and educational level should not be included in the same model because of their obvious overlap. However, we regard the school drop-out dummy variable as a useful indicator of possible qualitative, nonlinear aspects of educational attainment, that is, the "credentialing" effect of not obtaining a high school diploma. Also, the zero-order correlations between the two variables are not so strong as to rule out their inclusion in the same analysis (see the correlations between NODIPLMR and EDUC in Appendix T).

[5] It could be hypothesized that mother's employment would have the effect of decreasing seriousness by contributing to the economic status of the family or of increasing seriousness by reflecting a lack of parental supervision during the juvenile period. Our finding is consistent with the latter interpretation. However, it is associated only with self-report seriousness, not official seriousness, which suggests that it may be associated with relatively innocuous forms of behavior which usually predominate among the self-report offenses.

[6] The metric or "raw" coefficients are the unstandardized partial regression coefficients. The value of a metric coefficient may be interpreted as the proportional change in one unit of the dependent variable associated with one unit change in the independent variable. Another way to say this is that if the independent variable was increased (or decreased) by one unit the dependent variable would change proportionally as reflected by the size of the metric coefficient. Since the metrics of many social science variables do not have readily interpretable metrics such as dollar values, the values of the metric coefficients often to not provide a meaningful numerical value. However, they are appropriate for comparisons across subsamples since their magnitude is not affected by unique subsample variances as are the path (standardized) coefficients. Discussions of the appropriate strategies and issues may be found in Ronald L. Schoenberg, "Strategies for Meaningful Comparison," Herbert L. Costner (ed.), *Sociological Methodology* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972), and Jae-On Kim and Charles W. Mueller, "Standardized and Unstandardized Coefficients in Causal Analysis: An Expository Note," *Sociological Methods and Research* 4(1976):423-348.

Chapter 23. Summary of the Research and Recommendations for the Police, the School, the Courts, and the Community

INTRODUCTION

Much of the concern in the United States and the rest of the world with juvenile delinquency has been based on the premise that it leads to adult crime. Although a variety of analytical techniques and measures of continuity and seriousness of careers have generated the conclusion that there is some relationship between juvenile delinquency and adult criminality, the relationship is not sufficient to permit prediction of adult criminality from juvenile delinquency. Furthermore, to the extent that a relationship exists it may be explained by the operation of the juvenile and adult justice systems as well as by continuities in the behavior of persons. While those who are involved in the expenditure of vast sums of money for intervention find this difficult to accept, it is unrealistic to posit juvenile delinquency as the precursor to adult crime and continue to intervene as though the facts were different from what they are.

Many of the findings described in this final report are consistent with those of existing research by sociologists. The findings are unique in that they are based on an analysis of three birth cohorts. The Racine data have permitted us to describe changes in patterns of delinquency and crime that have taken place over time as well as to analyze the dynamics of delinquency and crime, the nature of career patterns, the processual similarities that are found in each cohort, and the differences from cohort to cohort which must be expected as a consequence of societal change.

THE DATA AND SOME INITIAL CONCERNS

The three birth cohorts (1942, 1949, and 1955) are comprised of 6,127 persons, of whom 4,079 persons had essentially continuous residence in Racine from at least the age of 6 until the cut-off date for data collection (1974 for the first two cohorts and 1976 for the third cohort). In addition to analyzing the data on police contacts, referrals, and court dispositions for persons in the three cohorts, we have conducted extensive analyses of the interview with 889 persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.

Neither sex nor race/ethnicity was conceptualized as an explanatory variable. Both are statuses which may have some predictive value but in themselves they do not help to explain delinquent and criminal behavior. At the same time, these statuses are important in terms of the extent to which persons have recorded contacts with the police, contacts for more serious forms of misbehavior, referrals, and dispositions which eventuate in the incarceration of disproportionate numbers of people with specific race/ethnic and sex characteristics. So, in a sense, certain statuses have some explanatory value in understanding the manner in which the juvenile and adult justice systems work.

As the data were examined it became apparent that there were not only significant differences related to sex but to race and ethnicity as well. While sex differences were therefore explored throughout the research, the number of persons from minority groups was sufficiently large in only the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts to permit extended discussion of White, Black, and Chicano variation. Even then, in some analyses where they were included it was necessary to issue words of caution about the tentative conclusions

that could be reached.

Although over half of the White males of each cohort and approximately three-quarters of the Black males had a police contact between the ages of 6 and 17, White males still accounted for 77% of all police contacts in the 1942 Cohort, 66% of the 1949 Cohort, and even 52% in the 1955 Cohort (where the proportion of contacts by females of each race/ethnic group had markedly increased). On the other hand, no matter which measure of frequency or seriousness of police contacts is utilized, White females generally have the fewest contacts and the least serious involvement with the police and Black males have the most contacts and most serious involvement with the police. But even though minorities have disproportional involvement, the great bulk of the police contacts in Racine has been with White males, regardless of the age period considered.

INCREASING INVOLVEMENT AND SERIOUSNESS FROM COHORT TO COHORT

Comparison of the three cohorts revealed that overall rates of contact with the police did not increase from cohort to cohort as much as did rates of police contact for the more serious offenses such as Assault, Burglary, Theft, and Robbery (contacts for Part I offenses increased from cohort to cohort considerably more than did all reasons for police contacts). Coupled with this, however, is the fact that while researchers deal in rates (and various measures of seriousness of offenses), people in the community are concerned about the increase in sheer numbers of behaviors which they define as delinquency and crime. We noted that from cohort to cohort contacts for Assault increased from 5 to 40 to 150 and for Armed robbery from 1 to 15 to 77, numerical changes of the order that have aroused

the concern of persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems and the public who learn about it in the media or experience it as victims.

Delinquency among females increased from cohort to cohort even more than it did among males regardless of the measure of frequency or seriousness employed. In particular, females from the 1955 Cohort had police contacts for more serious offenses than was the case in earlier cohorts.

What is perhaps of greatest concern to those on the firing line, whether they be police officers on patrol, juvenile bureau personnel, juvenile court personnel, probation officers, or their counterparts who are faced with young adult offenders, is not just the increase in juvenile police contacts but the increase in the proportion of contacts which involve serious offenses, a proportion which more than doubled from the 1942 to the 1955 Cohorts for the age period 6-17 and more than tripled for the age period 18-20.

COHORTS IN THE RACINE SETTING

We next examined cohort contact rates, age by age, in their historical perspective. At the same time that frequency and seriousness of police contacts were increasing from cohort to cohort, rates of police contact, particularly for Part I offenses, were increasing for Racine as a whole over the years covered by the research. Consequently the increase in the proportion of each cohort with contacts and contacts for more serious reasons would be considered part of the public's reaction to increasing delinquency and crime in the community. This period was one in which the number of police officers patrolling the community rose from 89 to 209. However, this increase did not begin to match the increase in arrest rates

in the community so it could not be said that increases in police contacts, seriousness of offenses, or increases in arrest rates for the city were merely a function of an increasing probability of contact with police officers.

That changes in police administrative policies could have had the effect of increasing contact rates for the 1955 Cohort juveniles in their late teens and those who were in the age period from 18-20 is another matter, just as total arrest rates and rates for Part I offenses for the same age groups could have been increased by stricter enforcement of the law. By the same token, it is very likely that recording procedures had an impact on the number of arrests that were categorized as Part I offenses. Thus the probability is that, whatever the increases in frequency and seriousness of reasons for contacts or arrests, only part of the increase for the cohorts and the city as a whole could be attributed to the behavior of the residents of Racine.

THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

Having conceptualized juvenile delinquency as a product of the learning process in which juveniles grow up in social areas characterized by different levels of crime and delinquency, we examined the police contact data from an ecological perspective. No matter how delinquency and crime rates are computed for the 26 statistical areas which were developed for the city of Racine it is apparent that police contacts and more serious contacts are concentrated in the inner city and its interstitial areas. This is the case in terms of place of contact and place of residence of persons with contacts, rates decreasing as one moves outward from the inner city

according to the classical pattern. At the same time, police patrolling is more intensive in areas which have a high incidence of delinquency and crime. As a result, residents of these areas as well as those who frequent them have a greater probability of police contacts than do persons who do not reside there and who seldom go there.

The high concentration of Racine's Black population in the inner city and its interstitial areas and a similar but different pattern of concentration of the Chicanos play a part in explaining why they have more frequent contacts with the police than do Whites. Although there was a decline in the proportion of White males with police contacts from the center of the city outward in most age periods, at least half of the White males in high socioeconomic status areas had at least one non-traffic police contact during their lives. It is consonant with the growth of Racine to find that areas with high rates of police contacts (the inner city and interstitial areas) expanded from cohort to cohort no matter how delinquency and crime were measured.

Although Blacks are more concentrated by subarea of residence and of contact than Whites, police contacts by Whites became more concentrated (from cohort to cohort) by subarea of residence and more dispersed by subarea of contact. It is apparent that the Whites have become more involved in crime and delinquency in areas of the city other than those in which they reside and that even those who live on the periphery have contributed to the high rates of delinquency and crime in the inner city and its interstitial areas.

When we look at the race/ethnic proportions in the various residential

areas in Racine we find that the proportions who have ever had a contact by race/ethnicity are not greatly different from the proportion of each race/ethnic group in each area. This, more than anything else, indicates that the idea of Blacks and Chicanos as the focal point of the delinquency and crime problem is not only distorted by the failure to consider the spatial distribution of minorities (their ecological status), but is to a considerable extent a fiction based on confusing contextually-derived behavior and the characteristics of groups. The consistency with which the race/ethnicity of persons with contacts parallels the race/ethnic composition of each area of the community reinforces the position that delinquent and criminal behavior is generated in a social milieu which provides grounds for contacts with the police.

CONCENTRATION AMONG MULTIPLE OFFENDERS

While police contacts for delinquent and criminal behavior are highly concentrated among some individuals in each cohort, they are also widely dispersed -- 60% to 70% of the males in each cohort had at least one contact for an offense other than a traffic violation. A small portion of each cohort had continuing police contacts but most of the people did not. Rather, they generally had contacts only at one time in their lives. Thus, single or occasional contacts with the police for alleged delinquent and criminal behavior are widespread but there is a small proportion of the population continuously and seriously involved with the police throughout their lives.

For example, less than 25% of each cohort's males have had five or more non-traffic contacts but these chronic offenders account for from

77% to 83% of all contacts by the males in their cohort.

From 5% to 7% of the persons in each cohort is responsible for over half of the non-traffic police contacts, roughly 20% of each cohort's members are responsible for 80% of the non-traffic police contacts generated by that cohort, and an even smaller percent (from 8% to 14% of each cohort) was responsible for all of the cohort's felonies. We have also shown that while males have more frequent and more serious contacts with the police than do females, the concentration of contacts for more serious offenses is greater among females than males, from 2% to 7% of the females in each cohort having generated 100% of the felonies by females in their cohorts. If one wished to identify the persons who are responsible for about 75% of the felonies (and much of the other crime), then approximately 5% of each cohort, the persons with two or three felony contacts, would be the target population.

CONTINUATION AND DISCONTINUATION

Contact Sequences

Although the probability of having an initial police contact is very large (more than 80% of the males in the 1942 and 1949 Cohort and over 70% in the 1955 Cohort have at least one contact as do 48% of the females in the 1942 Cohort, 52% in the 1949 Cohort, and 45% in the 1955 Cohort) and the probability of continuing contacts for males is at least 80% after the fourth contact, over half of the males with a first contact discontinue having police contacts before their fifth contact and half of the females before their second contact. By their tenth contact 80% of the males in each cohort have discontinued having any sort of police contact. They

discontinue even sooner in the felony sequences. Approximately 80% of the males in each cohort did not have a felony contact after their third contact. Discontinuation rates for females are even more abrupt for every sequence. The existence of a "hard core" group of continuers suggests again that there is a relatively small group on whom attention should be focused by the juvenile and adult justice systems. Continuation probabilities for the Racine cohort, with controls inserted to make the Racine data comparable to the Philadelphia data, produced quite similar results.

Increasing Seriousness

Although a variety of analyses were conducted to test the hypothesis that offenders proceed to more serious offenses, little evidence of *systematic* progression in seriousness was found. In no case do the data generate what might be called a smooth curve but seriousness does gradually increase from contact to contact among males, reaches an initial peak (for most persons in their teens), then declines, only to rise again among those who continue to have frequent contact with the police. This is especially true among persons with 40 or more contacts. The most prevalent pattern, however, is one of declining seriousness and discontinuation after the teen-age period. The few who continue to have police contacts into their late twenties with an increase in seriousness (and finally a decline) are those who become well known to the adult justice system and thus create the impression of continuity and increasing seriousness in delinquent and criminal careers. The careers of these persons are atypical of all who have had contacts with the juvenile and adult justice systems.

Age Period Continuity

When continuities in police contacts are examined by age period we find that there are a variety of patterns based on combinations of the juvenile period (age 6-17), the intermediate period (age 18-20), and the 21 and over age period. Most persons who had contacts in more than one period commenced in the juvenile period but, if traffic offenses are excluded, no more than 15% of the males and 4% of the females in any cohort had contacts in each age period. Those persons with continuous careers comprise only a small percentage of each cohort. While there is variation based on the place of socialization and race/ethnicity, not even among Blacks who were socialized in the inner city do we find more than a third with contacts in each age period.

While disproportionately more Blacks had police contacts in every period than did Whites, whether traffic contacts are included or excluded, race/ethnic differences were considerably smaller for those who lived in the inner city and the interstitial areas than for the entire city. Continuity, then, was related to race/ethnicity and place of residence but, again, it is a mistake to think of these as explanatory variables. Race/ethnicity and place of residence are statuses related to underlying conditions of life which are the more basic variables explaining differences in crime and delinquency.

Nevertheless, it has been established that some individuals have police contacts during the juvenile period, continue to have them as young adults, and even beyond the age of 21 while others do not. This raises the question of the probability of continuity between age periods and the correlation between number and seriousness of contacts in one

period and subsequent periods.

There is some probability of continuation, but the correlations and measures of proportional reduction of error for either frequency or seriousness of contacts between adjacent age periods were too low to permit prediction of the extent and seriousness of a person's career in a following age period from his or her record in a prior age period. Interestingly enough, the highest association (.696) was between the number of police contacts by inner city White males from the age of 6 through 17 and their number of contacts from the age of 18 and on.

Concentration and Dispersion

On the other hand, construction of continuity types and use of controls for place of socialization permit selection of a relatively small percentage of offenders who are most likely to have criminal careers after the age of 18, careers which include a large number of felonies. For example, of a high risk group composed of that 11.7% of the 1942 Cohort who were socialized in the inner city and its interstitial areas and had continuous careers before 18, 53.3% had high seriousness scores after 18. No other area and no other continuity type had even close to 50% with high seriousness scores after 18. Persons from the inner city and interstitial areas with continuous careers before 18 also produced the largest proportion with high seriousness scores for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts as well. Thus, the crucial predictor is a continuous career before the age of 18 and persons in the inner city are most likely to meet this criterion.

As promising as this sounds, one must look at the total picture. While 43.8% of the inner city group with continuous contact careers before 18

and high later seriousness scores committed at least one felony after 18, they comprise only 26% of the persons in the 1942 Cohort and 29% and 22% of the persons with felony contacts in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. Felony offenders are spread throughout the community and, of these, some never had a police contact before the age of 18.

As in every other manner in which the data have been examined, it is found that there is a high degree of concentration, i.e., there are certain categories of persons who have a high probability of having serious careers that include felonies, but there is also a high degree of dispersion in that people scattered throughout the community who either had no juvenile record or only had intermittent contacts for minor offenses ultimately are charged with serious offenses by law enforcement agencies. Because they do not have extensive records as juveniles there is no basis for prediction of their later criminal behavior. Prediction for a high risk group is not the same as prediction for a total cohort and it is the latter with which we are most concerned.

PREDICTING FROM ACCUMULATED EXPERIENCE

Since it was apparent that predicting number or seriousness of contacts from one age to another with any degree of accuracy was not possible, several other approaches were explored. When a series of prediction tables were constructed based on the number of police contacts a juvenile had had through each age, it was found that in the 1942 Cohort over 90% of those who had one contact through age 15 had at least one subsequent contact and 100% of those who had two or more contacts through the age of 15 had at least one more contact after that age. But 60% of those with no contacts through age 15 had at least one contact after that age. By

the age of 18 only 43% of those who had no contacts through that age had a contact sometime in the future and 72% of those who had had two or more contacts had at least one more contact in the future. Similar findings were present for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. Tables were also constructed with the criterion of five or more contacts after any given age. The differences were even sharper in that at the age of 18, for example, only 5% of those who had had no contacts previously would have five or more contacts after that age, while 65% of those who had five or more contacts through the age of 18 would have five or more after that age.

Prediction tables based on seriousness scores in which the criterion was a seriousness score of six or more after any given age produced similar results. However, when the data for any given age were used in prediction, it was found that the combined errors of omission and commission were greater than or only slightly less than those which would be made by a prediction from the modal category of the marginals. In other words, at any given age, for example 18 for the 1942 Cohort, if one were to predict that no one would have five or more contacts one would only make marginal errors of 18%. By utilizing past police contacts of four or more contacts as the basis for predicting who would have five or more contacts in the future, these errors would be reduced to 14% but we would have falsely predicted that 35 persons would have five or more contacts who did not (5.5%) and that 54 persons would not have five or more contacts when they did. Whatever would be done to those whom we predicted would have five or more contacts would be done to 97 persons (35 of whom

did not need it) and 54 who should have received special attention would not have had it. This illustrates the nature of the problem faced by persons on the firing line if they are expected to deal effectively with the problem of crime prevention. The 1949 and 1955 Cohorts produced similar findings.

We concluded that although there is a relationship between frequent and more serious contacts in the early years and continuity of careers, it alone does not enable us to improve our predictive efficiency over that based on the marginals because too many errors of omission and commission are made if we act on these data alone.

THE DISPOSITION OF POLICE CONTACTS

The Decision to Refer

Given the fact that during the late 1970's over 30% of the population in juvenile institutions and 40% in adult institutions were Nonwhite in Wisconsin, a state with less than 5% of its population Nonwhite, one must conclude that minorities are either more delinquent and criminal in their behavior than the majority or that their behavior is more susceptible to formal disposition than is that of the majority. Although this has often been attributed to step-by-step discrimination in the chain of events between the commission of an act and institutionalization, most cross-sectional studies have produced contradictory and/or inconclusive evidence of significant race/ethnic or socioeconomic discrimination at any decision-making point. These contradictory findings do not prevent hypothesizing that as an individual proceeds through the system the decision to take the next formal step is more likely to be made if the miscreant

is Nonwhite or of lower socioeconomic status than if he/she is White or of high socioeconomic status. Each step adds an increment of Nonwhites and/or persons of lower socioeconomic status to those who will be formally brought closer to institutionalization. In the end, a significantly large proportion of the institutionalized population is Nonwhite or from lower socioeconomic status groups. This phenomenon is of such importance that we devoted an entire chapter to the subject of disproportionate incarceration and its impact on later continuation of criminal careers for inner city Blacks. Although differentials in delinquency and crime rates, for whatever reason they occur, play a major part in determining the disproportional minority population of institutions, the question is to what extent are these differences based on both race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status? To what extent are they generated by definitions of what should be done in response to delinquent and criminal behavior, definitions which vary with the race/ethnicity of persons who are being processed by the justice system?

The initial screening process, the decision to refer or not to refer, is often the first step in a chain of events that send a few percent more of minority or low socioeconomic status persons on to the next stage of the process. Although a higher percentage of Black and Chicano than White males were referred from each cohort, when controls for seriousness were introduced, race/ethnic differentials became less consistent. Black males, however, are still disproportionately referred beyond their contribution to the most serious categories of contacts. When referrals are for non-felonies or felonies, that proportion of persons referred also

increases in each race/ethnic group with frequency of contact, particularly among Black males with five or more contacts. In other words, a larger proportion of the chronic offenders have had at least one of their contacts referred (a massing of contributions to the official records) regardless of what they have done. All of this indicates that minorities make up a disproportionate number of those referred because they have more police contacts and more contacts for more serious offenses and because a disproportionate number are referred beyond what would be expected considering the categories of behavior into which their reasons for police contact fall.

Continuity in Referrals

The next question was whether or not referrals through a given age were highly associated with the number of referrals after that age. In each cohort we found relatively high correlations between the number of referrals through an age, such as ages 17 through the early 20's, and referrals after that age but the ability to increase predictive efficiency over that obtained from the marginals was limited. The problem is best described by presenting an example. At the age of 18 in the 1942 Cohort, only 17% of those who had no referrals through that age would have a referral after that age, while 91% of those who had five or more referrals through that age would have at least one referral after that age. However, only 11 of the 633 persons in the cohort had five or more referrals before the age of 18 and, while 10 of these 11 had referrals in the future, there were 82 people who had no referrals at all through the age of 18 but who did have a later referral. Although persons who are frequently

referred through a given age will continue to have referrals, many who have not been referred frequently or have not been referred at all will have referrals in the future.

When the number of referrals that people had through a particular age was used in an attempt to predict those who would have three or more after that age, those who would have any police contacts after that age, those who would have five or more police contacts after that age, or those who would have seriousness scores of six or more after that age, the same problems were encountered. Reasonably high associations were found between the number of referrals through any given age in the teens or early 20's as the independent variable and other dependent variables but the increase in predictive efficiency was very small in each case. In short, one can predict that a large proportion of those who have frequent contacts and a large proportion of those who have frequent referrals will continue to be referred, but there are numerous others who will have contacts and referrals after their teens who have not had them to that time.

Although it is apparent that many of those who have frequent contacts and numerous referrals as juveniles will continue to have them, we are still faced with the question as to whether this is characteristic of the persons or characteristic of responses by authorities to prior behavior -- resulting in fulfillment of the prophecy regardless of how the individual behaves in the future. Does early identification and intervention effectively deter juveniles from further misbehavior or does it insure that they will continuously be identified as miscreants? This led

to the question of the effectiveness of sanctions and the necessity of deciding if persons with equal or similar careers who are severely sanctioned, mildly sanctioned, or not sanctioned at all have similar or different rates of continuity. Theoretically, one would expect if sanctions are effective, all other things being equal, sanctioned persons would have less continuity than unsanctioned persons.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SANCTIONS

What we found, in a variety of analyses and with considerable regularity, was an increase in frequency and seriousness of misbehavior in the periods following those in which sanctions were administered. This was more the case for males than females but the best that could be said is that sanctions have a benign effect on the females. The extent to which continued police contacts are a response to sanctions and not an extension of a pattern of misbehavior is yet to be determined, but the data make one wonder. We have not meant to imply that sanctions in themselves generate continuity in careers from delinquency to adult crime but, all other things being relatively equal, the imposition of sanctions is not followed by a decline in frequency and seriousness of contacts. That there have been some instances of decline in future police contacts upon the application of sanctions cannot be denied, but that may be for the same reason that there is a general decline in contacts among persons who have not been sanctioned. It may well be that the factors which make for effectiveness in sanctioning are so complex and this coupled with the complexity of people make it difficult, if not impossible, to impose sanctions (within statutory limits) in an effective

manner. The results obtained when an attempt was made to determine the effects of all other variables as well as the effects of sanctions were far from illuminating and of no practical use because these variables cannot be taken into consideration by the courts in the sentencing process. If they were employed there would be the most awful hue and cry because it would require gross departures from any notion of equity and would be inconsistent with traditional American notions of justice.

We concluded from a variety of multivariate analyses that the significant effect of juvenile seriousness on adult seriousness persists even when the intervening effects of juvenile referrals and sanctions are held constant. With few exceptions intervention by the agencies of social control does not play even a moderate role in decreasing the seriousness of adult contacts. Overall, neither referrals nor sanctions had an impact on later seriousness comparable to juvenile seriousness. But, at best, only one-third of the variation in adult seriousness was explained by juvenile seriousness, referrals, and sanctions.

WHAT THE INTERVIEWS TOLD US

Family, Work, and School

Interviews with persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts were valuable in enabling us to see how persons from these cohorts viewed themselves and how their reports of their own misbehavior related to their official records. One of the contributions of these interviews was to show that some long-cherished notions about the causes of delinquency, if expressed in their simplest form, receive little support from longitudinal cohort data. For example, the marital status of parents had little relationship

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to the delinquent behavior of juveniles.

Although police contact rates for persons in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts declined after they were married, the introduction of appropriate controls for years of exposure before and after marriage produced neither simple nor consistent effects for both sexes or cohorts. Similarly, age of leaving home failed to have a consistent impact on the number and seriousness of contacts for both cohorts of either sex.

Although the ecological analyses suggested that socioeconomic status and number and seriousness of police contacts were related, there was little relationship when occupational level and regularity of employment of heads of families were considered, except for the Blacks. And, contrary to the notion that employment while in high school deterred delinquency, those who were employed during both the summer and the school year, particularly the males, had somewhat more police contacts and higher seriousness scores than did others. Furthermore, there were the significant increases in the number of police contacts and seriousness scores after full-time employment for those who commenced their first full-time employment at the age of 17 or earlier. These differences remained for the males from both cohorts with the introduction of controls for years of exposure. The nature of some jobs available to juveniles has historically been such that those employed in them are routinely exposed to the possibility of police contacts.

It may well be that commitment to work at an early age reduces commitment to school and is thus tied in with leaving school before obtaining a diploma. Leaving school without a diploma and reasons for doing so

turned out to be related to seriousness of official police contact records, both of which had a complex relationship to attitude toward school.

The Normalcy of Juvenile Misbehavior

Be all that as it may, the interview data enabled us to see juvenile delinquency from a completely different viewpoint. At the outset we had stated that it was just as important to understand why so *few* juveniles went on to careers in adult crime as to explain the continuity of a few. To understand this we must know more about how juveniles perceived their police contacts and their misbehavior which did not result in police contacts. Almost 70% of each cohort admitted that they had been stopped by the police once or twice before 18, about 60% of them around the age of 16 or 17. Most had not been stopped for anything serious, even as the police saw it. About two-thirds of each cohort also admitted doing things for which they were not caught. When official contact records and self-report measures were combined, well over 90% of each cohort's males appeared to have engaged in youthful misbehavior, followed by 65% to 70% of the females. Nevertheless, few continued to get into trouble after age 18 and even fewer were involved in serious trouble after 18. Of those who had been both stopped by the police and done things for which they could have been caught (the group that would be most likely to continue their misbehavior into adulthood) only 10.6% of the 1942 Cohort and 13.9% of the 1949 Cohort had a major misdemeanor or felony police contact after the age of 18. Only 5.3% and 8.1% had a felony level police contact after that age. Furthermore, most of those who were caught and most of those who were not caught reappraised their

behavior and ceased to engage in the acts which either got them or could have gotten them into trouble.

Looking at it even more carefully we saw how frequently the automobile got juveniles into trouble with the police and how other behaviors were related to it. It was not an early driver's license *per se* that resulted in police contacts but simply having access to the automobile, just as early employment may have exposed some juveniles to greater contact risk and also given them funds to be spent in a trouble-producing way during the years of socialization. Both males and females had more police contacts after receiving their driver's licenses but we must remember that most were receiving their licenses just at the time that they were eager to have the rights and privileges of adults -- to engage in unfettered fun and to enjoy the freedom of adults, without perhaps knowing how to be as careful as adults.

When asked why they were doing the things that got them or could have gotten them in trouble from 30% to almost 50% of the incidents described by members of each cohort were seen as "just for fun." Even those activities which resulted in a police contact were done with someone else in four out of five cases, usually with the persons that they ran around with.

Responses to Community Disapproval

Most juveniles were not dealt with by referral, those who were were generally not severely sanctioned, and few stated that they reacted to the situation with hostility and rebellion. While negative attitudes toward the police were related to high seriousness scores before and

after the age of 18 it is difficult to say whether negative attitudes generate serious trouble with the police or serious trouble generates negative attitudes. Most important, however, is the fact that relatively few of each cohort had negative attitudes toward the police. These few did have the highest correlation between juvenile and adult seriousness, however.

Coupled with what appeared to be considerable police understanding of the juveniles was the failure of persons close to them (with the exception of some sympathy from peers) to condone their delinquent behavior. And over two-thirds of each cohort stated that their parents had a positive influence on their lives. Only 7% of the 1942 Cohort and less than 11% of the 1949 Cohort stated that students at school had a negative impact on their lives.

Going further, while having friends in trouble with the police as juveniles or adults was correlated with seriousness scores as juveniles and adults, relatively few had friends in trouble with the police during both periods (2.4% in the 1942 Cohort and 9.8% in the 1949 Cohort). While this associational variable has considerable value in explaining the continuity in careers for a portion of each cohort, the fact that so few members of each cohort had delinquent and/or criminal friends helps explain why so few had continuing trouble with the police.

The conclusion that most misbehavior ceased as a consequence of the process of socialization into adult roles was bolstered by the fact that most juveniles had ceased the type of misbehavior for which they could have been caught but were not by the age of 18. And their responses to

the question, "What caused you to stop?" revealed that most had ceased for positive reasons rather than the fear of getting caught (less than 8% stopped because they feared getting caught).

DEVELOPING DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL TYPOLOGIES

It has been asked, what are the characteristics of persons who have no contact, of those who have a few contacts, and of those who are frequently in contact with the police? The question was also asked, how do those who commit felonies differ from those who do not? It has become almost traditional (since Wolfgang *et al.*) to think of people as non-offenders, one-time offenders, non-chronic offenders (2-4 contacts), and chronic offenders (5 or more contacts). Although we found little cross-cohort agreement when the data were analyzed according to these categories, there were differences between the extremes of groups, those who had no contact or those who had 5 or more contacts. Some of the variables characteristic of those with 5 or more contacts during the juvenile period were attitudes toward the police, frequency of auto use, having friends in trouble with the police, and socioeconomic status of place of residence during the period prior to age 21.

When the analysis was conducted utilizing all possible cutting points between high frequency and low frequency of contacts, persons with frequent contacts in both cohorts were characterized as having high levels of automobile use as juveniles, a negative attitude toward the police, and friends in serious trouble with the law. Although other variables such as socioeconomic status of residential area were significant in different cohorts or with different cutting points, these three factors

consistently appeared as characteristic of persons with numerous police contacts. For the adult period, attitude toward the police, status of present occupation, and age at marriage appeared consistently as characteristics of those with numerous police contacts. Differences between those who have felony records and those who do not were similar, those with felony records having low socioeconomic status of residence, negative attitudes toward the police, having juvenile friends in serious trouble with the law, and being less tied to a single group of persons during the juvenile period. Although other variables also differentiated those who had felony records as juveniles and those who had felony records as adults or for the combined preadult period, it was again difficult to say that the two groups were entirely distinct. All of the variables which differentiated them still accounted for about only 20% of the variance.

No matter which dichotomy was used (felony vs. non-felony, Part I offenders vs. non-Part I offenders, and persons with contacts vs. no contact with the police), inner city and interstitial residence and negative attitudes toward the police were characteristics of persons with more frequent and more seriousness reasons for contact in each cohort. Perhaps the most important conclusion reached as a result of this analysis is that results will vary depending on the typology utilized and the cutting points selected.

That inner city and interstitial places of residence during socialization should appear so often as a characteristic of those who fall into the serious offender categories and that persons with group ties during

the period 14 through 17 fall so often in the less serious categories indicates that integration into various groups in the larger society does much to explain differences in the persistence and continuity of delinquent and criminal behavior. This, coupled with the community's perception of the sources of delinquency and crime and the functioning of the juvenile and adult justice systems, makes differential rates of continuity and seriousness in an urban/industrial community with a growing minority group population normal rather than a phenomenon which is startling and inexplicable.

OFFICIAL RECORDS VS. SELF-REPORT DATA

We were concerned with respondents' accounts of their police encounters and how they compared with official reports, with their self-report on delinquent and criminal behavior and how they compared with their official record, and last, how their self-concept compared with official records and self-reports.

When the number of police contacts recorded for each respondent before the age of 18 was compared with the number of police contacts that he or she reported, more than half of each race/ethnic sex group responded correctly. While 80% of the Whites in each cohort either reported their number of police contacts consistently with police records or over-estimated them, only half of the Blacks reported the number of contacts consistently with the records and the other half reported fewer contacts in comparison with official records. There were some differences between what respondents said they were doing at the time of a police contact and what they reported police said they were doing at the time of the contact (38% disagreement for the 1942 Cohort and 32% disagreement for the 1949 Cohort), but the reasons for the discrepancies appear to be differences in perception related to the police officer's interpretation of an event and a juvenile's interpretation of the same event. Perhaps the most disturbing finding was the relative unwillingness of the Blacks, even when interviewed by the Blacks, to detail their police contacts as well as did the Whites. That the median self-report scores were slightly lower for the Blacks than for the Whites could be interpreted in other ways than that Blacks under-report on self-report forms. But whatever the explanation, differences were found between official records, responses to a question about frequency of police contacts, and self-reports, with Blacks generally reporting less delinquent and criminal behavior than Whites. But as stated before, various interpretations of the results may be made, depending in part upon how one perceives official records in relation to reported behavior. Self-concept as delinquent or criminal was correlated with self-report and official measures and the results suggest that each represents a somewhat different facet of the same basic phenomenon.

Analysis of the relationship of each of the measures of delinquency and crime to each other, age period by age period, and to a variety of attitudinal scales developed from the interview data led to the conclusion that seriousness scores should be used as the criterion in the multivariate analyses which were conducted. Further, it became clear that the relationship between the age period 6-17 to 18 and older was exceeded only by relationships between the 18-20 and 21 and older age

period, both of which were really a part of the stable behavior period for most adults which follows the earlier period of socialization.

FAMILY POLICE INVOLVEMENT AND ITS EFFECT ON THE CHILDREN

The rich data that we have on family life in the homes of members of the cohort who were interviewed and the homes of persons in the subsample whose parents were in the Racine study of economic absorption and cultural integration have yet to be fully analyzed. Nor have we ascertained the extent to which members of each cohort came from families in which one or both parents had had a history of trouble with the police which continued into the period in which the child was being socialized.

We have, however, examined the number and seriousness of contacts of the parents of a subset of juveniles during the period in which their children were ages 0 through 17, comparing with them the contact records of the children during that period and the following period. Since the juveniles included had had 13 or more contacts we did not consider this to be a test of the proposition that parental police involvement is followed by juvenile involvement. The cards were stacked for a positive finding. During the period in which their children were juveniles over nine out of 10 of the parents in the subset from the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts had at least five police contacts.

Although the extent and seriousness of parental involvement (combined or separate contact records of parents) was correlated with and followed by juvenile involvement, there was considerable variation in these correlations and most were not statistically significant. We concluded that a

definitive answer to the effect of parental trouble with the police must await the collection of data on the police records of the parents of all members of each cohort.

THE MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF THE CORRELATES OF ADULT SERIOUSNESS

When path analysis was used to determine the direct and indirect effects of background and intervening variables on official and self-report seriousness scores for the age period 6-17 we did not find a high degree of consistency within either sex group or within cohorts when the sexes were compared. That is not to say that this approach failed to assist in determining effects which contribute to an understanding of the process through which juveniles acquire patterns of behavior which lead to police contacts.

Having friends in trouble with the police had a significant effect on official seriousness in every case except for the 1942 Cohort females. Extensive use of the automobile while in high school had a significant effect on self-report seriousness for both sexes of both cohorts. Failure to graduate from high school was significant for the males of both cohorts and having family and/or friends whom they believed had a negative influence on them was significant for females of both cohorts.

Not unexpectedly, these background and intervening variables had no consistent pattern of effects on either sex's or cohort's official seriousness score for the ages 18 and older and official seriousness ages 6-17 was the only variable that had a significant effect on both sexes of both cohorts' official seriousness scores for the later age period. Two school variables did, however, have significant effects, attitude toward school for the 1942 Cohort males and failure to receive a diploma for the 1949 Cohort males. While the background and intervening variables were not con-

consistently related to adult self-report seriousness, juvenile official seriousness scores were for both cohorts.

ONE LAST WARNING

At this point we can only say that it is one thing to describe delinquency and crime as they are distributed in an urban/industrial community and changes in rates during different stages in the life cycle, historical changes, changes by sex, changes in spatial distribution, particularly for more serious types of delinquent and criminal behavior, but it is quite another to predict from juvenile police contact records and experiences with the juvenile justice system who will have numerous contacts or contacts for serious violations of the law as adults. Indeed, the greatest error that has been made by sociologists and others with an interest in the relationship of early misbehavior to later misbehavior is the assumption that statistically significant relationships and reasonably high correlations translate into the ability to predict continuity in behavior. There are many fraudulent claims in the literature stemming from a lack of statistical sophistication. For this reason we have made a distinct effort to evaluate critically the Racine data and findings. Whether they permit improvement in prediction or not, these data are a contribution to the understanding of the nature of delinquent and criminal careers and how they both are generated in the community.

Data obtained from interviews and from official records of police contacts, referrals, and sanctions lead to the conclusion that if we wish to decrease delinquency rates and reduce such continuities as do exist, steps must be taken to modify the operation of the community's institutions commencing with the school system, the manner in which police forces have traditionally functioned, and the system under which

sanctions are applied. We shall therefore briefly describe some of the procedural or institutional changes that are suggested by the findings that have just been summarized.

APPROACHES TO THE REDUCTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTHFUL CRIME

This section of the report does not contain specific proposals for the reduction of juvenile delinquency and youthful crime. It does suggest aspects of institutional life which should be considered by persons who are interested in ameliorating the problem. We do not suggest that any specific program be adopted in order to integrate young people into the larger society but it is apparent that a proportion of the youth who are socialized, not only in the inner city and its interstitial areas but in other areas as well, have not seen the existing organization of society as one into which they can fit and through it progress toward socially acceptable life goals.

The School

Perhaps the best indicators of this negative attitude are the two closely related findings that attitude toward school and leaving school before graduation are related to both juvenile and adult police contact seriousness scores and self-report seriousness scores (intertwined is years of education). Much has been written in recent years on the trials and tribulations of school administrators, teachers, and counselors. The media have dramatized the problem of drugs and delinquency, sometimes with such magnification as to create the impression that the only solution is to turn the school over to police control. There is, of course, an excellent literature from the perspective of educators

which reveals that even the most dedicated school personnel have come to despair at the problem of misbehavior in the schools, their inability to achieve conformity on the part of students to conventional standards of behavior, their inability to achieve the discipline that they see as necessary if all students are to have a traditional learning experience, and even more important the high drop-out rate.[1]

Central to the findings of this study is the necessity of avoiding the labelling of students as delinquent or headed for a career in crime on a basis of their involvement in classroom or school misbehavior. The data from Racine, however analyzed, show that while most persons are troublesome at some time during their youth, few go on to careers in crime. To place youth in the "troublemaker" category early in their school careers may only result in treatment which maximizes the fulfilment of the prophesy.[2] Even if we take the position that the acquisition of a history of being difficult at an early age places some students in a high-risk category, should action be taken which maximizes the probability that rather than being integrated into the larger group they will be even more likely to have as their friends and associates persons who are also in trouble? Although the research on labelling has generated mixed conclusions, there is sufficient evidence of the labelling effect that it should be a concern.[3] In the end it is a matter of determining how to channel some students into activities that they will find more rewarding than their disruptive behavior or activities that remove them from the realities of life.

It is also difficult for adults in and out of the school system (who

have already reaped the rewards of secondary and higher education) to realize that the rewards for conformity and diligence in school are not clearly defined and may be perceived by students as unevenly distributed in school and in the world of work. Completion of high school or college does not have the same pay-off for all, no matter that there are relationships between years of education, income, and various other valued goals in the larger society.[4] And it is the inequities that may be more visible than the overall relationships between education and success.

The fact that school drop-out does not invariably lead to continued misbehavior and is sometimes symptomatic of more than the inability to achieve academically does not mean that we should be unconcerned about this basic problem. Not just those in the school system but the entire community should be concerned about why large segments of school-age youth fail to see education as at least a partial solution to their problems, as a necessary if not sufficient step toward their life goals.

The question, of course, is what can be done, if anything, to change the school and the students? Young people should have educational opportunities that they deem appropriate to their needs rather than limited alternatives based on either the vested interests of educators or the perceptions of youth which may or may not be derived from a understanding of the long-term life situations that they will encounter.

Most recently, although not a new idea, there has been considerable interest in alternative education programs which will serve to keep young people in school.[5] Whether the current concern about this approach

has its roots in a new appreciation of the fact that neither the traditional college preparatory track nor a strictly vocational track provide viable experiences for all students or in the realization that there is an overabundance of youthful manpower is irrelevant. Any community that is concerned about juvenile delinquency and school drop-outs should explore alternative education programs. What works best is a matter of question (which it will take some years to answer).

Coupled with this is the necessity of developing opportunities for all persons that are commensurate with their abilities. Education of whatever sort must have a pay-off, whether it is in terms of occupational level, income, or increased opportunities for satisfying social participation. While the school can provide education, it is up to the community to provide opportunity. This suggests that there should be closer linkages between the school and the community. What can be done to redefine the school as a center for juveniles and adults? As long as it is a place of work for teachers and administrators and a place of "detention" for youth the problem will persist. Should it not, as has been suggested before, be a place to which adults go for more than an occasional evening class, athletic, or some other social event?[6] Exactly which functions could be decentralized to the school would vary depending upon its location and whether it is an elementary school, a junior high school, or a senior high school. But the development of the school as a place for adult and youthful functions may well be the first step toward its redefinition by youth.

In a sense, what must be done is convince youth that school is part

of the real world. It may be that the solution to keeping some persons in school is an alternative education program tied in with the world of work, one in which opportunities for the acquisition of adult status are provided.[7]

The Police

No matter how the data are analyzed, police contacts and more serious police contact scores as juveniles are related to continuity in police contacts and more serious police contact scores as adults. Although we have shown that high-risk categories develop and produce disproportionately more adult offenders than do low-risk categories, little increase in predictive efficiency over the modal category of the marginals was obtained by utilizing past record as the predictor (for most groups the prediction that no further or no further serious misbehavior would take place). Taking area of socialization, sex, and other variables into consideration resulted in some increase in predictive efficiency but even with the addition of data obtained by interview it was clear that only part of the variance in adult careers had been explained and much of that by prior record, including not only police contacts but referrals and sanctions (although the latter contributed less than seriousness scores and referrals).

All of this raises the question of intervention. Diversion programs have become popular but their effectiveness is questionable, diversion itself being another form of intervention which, if available to the police, may take the place of counselling and release.[8] At this point it is not

possible to select one program over the other and one is led to believe that Schur's argument for radical non-intervention in noncriminal cases has considerable merit.[9] Considering the facts that: 1) small percentages of each cohort accounted for a large percentage of each cohort's contacts, 2) that felonies and major misdemeanors made up 14.0%, 17.7%, and 29.0% of the police contacts of each cohort in succession (only 2% more for the males in the 1955 Cohort), and 3) that while the proportion of males who were referred during the age period 6-17 was somewhat higher (decreasing from cohort to cohort) than the proportion of these more serious reasons for police contact, continuation and expansion of street-level dispositions (counselling and release by the officer) is probably a wise policy because fewer youth are brought into the justice system, a step for which we see little evidence of positive results.

It may also be that the effectiveness of a policy of street-level dispositions could be enhanced by a police training program which provides officers with a better understanding of human behavior and juvenile behavior in particular.[10] Only by providing police officers with a better basis for decision-making than that which they may acquire through encounters with juveniles over a long period of time can we expect them to employ the kind of discretion that will limit referral to only those whose behavior would be criminal (by intent if they were an adult) and those whose condition is so serious that court-imposed resources are required.

But again, we must emphasize that only a small proportion of those who have police contacts as juveniles commit serious offenses as adults

and there are as many if not more who have their first contacts with the police for serious offenses as adults. Even the most judicious decisions by the police in their encounters with juveniles cannot be expected to eliminate adult crime. To charge them with this responsibility by instituting a policy of dealing more severely with juveniles fails to accept the facts.

The Juvenile Court and Probation

Although the data on court dispositions and the application of sanctions have failed to show evidence of corrective effects, they do indicate that to the extent that the juvenile court judges believed that they could, they followed a policy of judicious nonintervention.[11] This is possible to only a limited extent, however. Consistent with the conclusion that street-level handling by well-trained officers is a desirable policy, we would also take the position that judicial nonintervention is equally wise. As long as police referrals and court sanctions are followed by more contacts, more referrals, and more severe sanctions it cannot be said that the system is accomplishing its purpose. This is not to deny that persons who have police contacts, who are referred, and who are sanctioned have done something to bring about their involvement in the justice system. But it is apparent that the consequences have been continuing misbehavior and continuing involvement while similar persons who have not become so heavily involved in the system are less likely to continue to engage in behavior which results in their names appearing in the police records.

Since the juvenile court will deal with a certain proportion of the juveniles in the community (20.4% of the 1955 Cohort had a court disposition through the age of 17 and 58.7% of these had received court sanctions) and the court has not shown evidence of effectiveness with the limited alternatives available to it, the question is raised as to what can be done, if anything. Since the juvenile court does not punish it cannot be said that making the punishment fit the crime would lead to greater effectiveness. On the other hand, increasing the variety of alternatives available to the judge should be considered as an approach to greater effectiveness. In the case of the alleged juvenile delinquent the decision as to what course of action to take should involve not only consideration of the past experiences of the person in court but other information that assists in explaining the social genesis of the juvenile's misbehavior (this involves cooperation with the juvenile bureau of the police department and appropriate persons in the school system).

One of the aims of any court procedure is the protection of society, but in the juvenile case there is a major concern with what may be done to change behavior because it is assumed that the die has not been cast, that the juvenile is plastic rather than non-malleable iron. Court effectiveness involves an understanding of the life experiences that have brought the juvenile to court. While removal from the community may be satisfying, the record shows that both juveniles and adults will be back. So, the ultimate question is not one of how to most expeditiously remove miscreants from the community but how to integrate them into the

larger social system so that their talents will be employed in socially constructive ways. This should be a major concern to the community, for if it is not the cost will become increasingly higher.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See for example: Herbert L. Foster, *Ribbin', Jivin', and Playin' the Dozens: The Unrecognized Dilemma of Inner-City Schools* (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1974); and Robert J. Rubel, *The Unruly School* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1977). For a short but perceptive chapter on the school see Chapter 8, "The School and Delinquency," in Peter C. and Lucille Dunn Kratcoski's book entitled *Juvenile Delinquency* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979).

[2] How teachers influence outcomes, perhaps unwittingly, is described by Delos H. Kelly, "The Role of Teachers' Nominations in the Perpetuation of Deviant Adolescent Careers," *Education* 96(1976): 209-217. Also see: Jackson Toby, "The Differential Impact of Family Disorganization," *American Sociological Review* 22(1957): 502-12, for a critical evaluation of early identification and intensive treatment programs.

[3] For an excellent discussion of conflicting findings see Gary F. Jensen and Dean G. Rojek, *Delinquency: A Sociological View* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1980) pp. 274-285.

[4] Arthur L. Stinchcombe, *Rebellion in a High School* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), deals with the problem of easily discernible links for students between high school studies and future status in the adult world. In an earlier Racine study it was shown that education had only limited relationships to occupation and income level, Lyle. W. Shannon and Patricia Morgan, "The Prediction of Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration Among Mexican-Americans, Negroes and Anglos in a Northern Industrial Community," *Human Organization* 25(1965): 154-162.

[5] As we stated, we do not intend to suggest any particular program of alternative education but this is an approach which should be considered in urban-industrial communities. Some pertinent reports from the literature are: Winston M. Ahlstrom and Robert J. Havinghurst, *400 Losers* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971); Ernst A. Wenk, *Delinquency Prevention and the Schools: Emerging Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1978). Although most of their volume is devoted to a description of the school problem see Section 4 of Kenneth Polk and Walter E. Schafer (eds.), *Schools and Delinquency* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

[6] Chapter 13, "Implications of the Study for Community Action," Lyle W. and Magdaline W. Shannon, *Minority Migrants in the Urban Community: Mexican-American and Negro Adjustment to Industrial Society* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1973).

[7] Much of what is currently being said borders on reinventing the wheel. For a description of the success that the California Youth Authority had in its Benica Arsenal program where young "felons" worked side-by-side with civilian men and women during World War II, see John R. Ellingstron, *Protecting Our Children From Criminal Careers* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948) Chapter 9, pp. 98-118.

[8] For a description of various models of diversion and graphic presentation see: Daniel Katkin, Drew Hyman, and John Kramer, *Juvenile Delinquency and the Juvenile Justice System* (North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1976) Chapter 12, pp. 404-455. For a useful reader on this subject see: Robert M. Carter and Malcolm W. Klein (eds.), *Back on the Street: The Diversion of Juvenile Offenders* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976).

[9] See Edwin M. Schur, *Radical Non-Intervention* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

[10] There are a number of books that could be used as a supplement to regular police training or by police officers with the responsibility of training and developing youth programs: Edward Eldefonso, *Youth Problems and Law Enforcement* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972); C.J. Flammang, *Police Juvenile Enforcement* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1972); Robert Portune, *Changing Adolescent Attitudes Toward Police* (Cincinnati: W.H. Anderson, 1971).

[11] Edwin Lemert, "The Juvenile Court - Quest and Realities," in the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967). For a sociological analysis of how the juvenile court functions see: Aaron V. Cicourel, *The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice* (New York: John Wiley, 1968); Robert M. Emerson, *Judging Delinquents* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

CODE SHEET

CARD NUMBER 1 2

ID NUMBER 3 4 5 6

CONTACT SOURCE 7

Police. 1
Juvenile Court. 2

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 24

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

COMPLAINANT 25

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

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
Other _____	6
Referred to District Attorney (Adult).	7
Other Adult Referral	8
Not Ascertained.	9
Not Applicable	0

35

DATE OF POLICE DISPOSITION 36 37 38 39

_____

DATE OF J.C. HEARING

APPENDIX B

The data presented in Tables 1A and 1B (companions to Table 2 in Chapter 2 of the text) are for all age periods and are arranged to facilitate comparison of the changing proportion of police contacts in each category for males and females. The incidence of police contacts is also shown at the bottom of the table for each sex for each cohort. Comparison of the three cohorts for the ages 6-17 and 18-20, the periods for which all cohorts have had equal years of exposure, reveals that there have been significant changes in the distribution of reasons for police contacts. Traffic offenses comprise a smaller proportion from cohort to cohort; the proportion for Disorderly conduct declined for males 6-17 but increased for both males and females 18-20; the proportion for Theft increased for both males and females; the proportion for Incorrigible, runaway, and Truancy increased for males and females 6-17; the proportion for Assault increased for both males and females; the proportion for Burglary and Robbery increased for males and Burglary increased for females. There were either none or few contacts for Drugs in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, but as high as 5% of the contacts for males in the 1955 Cohort were in the Drugs category during the period 18-20.

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). While the average number of contacts per person in the cohort increased across all cohorts

TABLE 1A. 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	8.7	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

TABLE 1B. 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

for both males and females during the age period 6-17, it did not continue to increase across all cohorts for either sex during the period 18-20. This general pattern of change can be summarized by noting that the proportion of contacts in the Part I offense categories increased for both sexes for each age period, including 21 or older. Furthermore, the proportion of contacts for Part I offenses increased disproportionately more for the females than the males in the period before age 21.

Tables 2A through 2H follow the same format as Tables 1A and 1B but are presented with controls for sex and race/ethnicity for each cohort. As we have indicated, comparison across cohorts of Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos, males and females, must be made with some hesitation. There are, however, sufficient contacts by Black and White males to note several interesting similarities as well as differences 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 in all groups. On the other hand, while the proportion of contacts for Theft increased considerably for Blacks, it did not do so as markedly for Whites or Chicanos. The mean number of contacts per person in each cohort increased considerably more for Blacks than for Whites and decreased for Chicanos. Even more distinctive was the increase in the proportion of FBI Part I offenses for Blacks and Chicanos in comparison with Whites.

Most notable in the changes for females was the increasing proportion

TABLE 2A. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR MALES AGES 6-17

	White			Black			Chicano		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	25.9	19.7	12.3	23.3	6.8	4.5	----	7.1	8.0
Disorderly Conduct	26.2	22.7	16.3	23.3	26.1	13.3	----	20.1	9.9
Suspicion, Investigation	14.8	18.0	15.4	13.3	19.3	15.0	----	26.0	12.8
Liquor	5.2	5.4	2.0	3.3	1.1	.8	----	8.4	3.3
Theft	8.2	9.1	10.9	6.7	17.8	19.8	----	7.1	12.0
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	9.2	13.0	26.2	10.0	12.1	21.2	----	13.6	27.0
Vagrancy	2.8	3.0	1.8	----	.8	1.7	----	4.5	.7
Auto Theft	2.8	2.3	2.4	10.0	1.9	3.4	----	2.0	3.3
Sex Offenses	.3	.6	.6	6.7	2.3	1.7	----	1.3	----
Assault	.6	.6	1.2	----	1.9	3.2	----	5.2	5.8
Burglary	1.8	3.2	6.1	----	4.2	9.2	----	2.6	10.2
Weapons	.6	.4	.6	----	.8	.9	----	----	1.8
Violent Property Destruction	.7	.3	.9	----	----	.7	----	----	.7
Forgery, Fraud	----	1.0	1.0	----	1.9	.8	----	----	.4
Robbery	----	.2	.3	----	1.9	2.6	----	1.3	1.5
Gambling	----	.1	----	3.3	.8	.2	----	----	----
Narcotics	----	----	1.5	----	----	.5	----	----	2.2
Homicide	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	.4
Other	1.0	.4	.4	----	.4	.3	----	.7	----
TOTAL	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.1	99.8	----	99.9	100.0
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	2.1	2.6	2.4	2.0	6.0	9.2	----	8.1	5.8
Part I	13.4	15.3	21.0	16.7	27.7	38.2	----	18.2	33.2

TABLE 2B. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR FEMALES AGES 6-17

	White			Black			Chicana		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	22.3	21.1	13.0	----	4.5	6.6	----	16.7	4.3
Disorderly Conduct	10.6	9.6	10.5	----	24.2	15.1	----	33.3	15.9
Suspicion, Investigation	30.9	30.7	15.1	100.0	19.7	16.4	----	16.7	11.6
Liquor	12.8	6.0	5.8	----	----	1.3	100.0	----	1.4
Theft	5.3	6.0	9.5	----	9.1	13.8	----	33.3	15.9
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	12.8	18.3	32.8	----	31.8	34.9	----	----	37.7
Vagrancy	2.1	2.0	1.9	----	1.5	.7	----	----	1.4
Auto Theft	1.1	----	1.0	----	----	.7	----	----	1.4
Sex Offenses	1.1	3.6	1.0	----	1.5	----	----	----	----
Assault	----	.4	1.6	----	3.0	7.2	----	----	5.8
Burglary	----	----	1.9	----	----	----	----	----	2.9
Weapons	----	----	.2	----	1.5	.7	----	----	----
Violent Property Destruction	----	----	.2	----	----	----	----	----	----
Forgery, Fraud	----	.8	.5	----	1.5	1.3	----	----	----
Robbery	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Gambling	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Narcotics	----	----	3.2	----	----	----	----	----	----
Homicide	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Other	1.1	1.6	1.9	----	1.5	1.3	----	----	1.4
TOTAL	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.7
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	.4	.5	.7	.2	1.7	1.8	.2	.6	2.2
Part I	6.4	6.4	14.0	----	12.1	21.7	----	33.3	27.5

TABLE 2C. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR MALES AGES 18-20

	White			Black			Chicano		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	53.8	42.2	36.0	30.9	20.8	14.8	66.7	30.9	26.8
Disorderly Conduct	13.4	17.4	22.6	16.7	19.1	25.2	----	23.5	33.9
Suspicion, Investigation	17.4	26.1	13.1	16.7	28.9	11.6	----	22.1	8.9
Liquor	4.3	2.2	2.5	4.8	1.7	2.5	33.3	4.4	1.8
Theft	2.8	3.0	3.9	9.5	7.5	12.1	----	2.9	.9
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	1.3	----	.1	----	1.2	.5	----	----	----
Vagrancy	1.8	1.3	.6	2.4	2.9	1.0	----	5.9	1.8
Auto Theft	1.0	.6	1.8	4.8	2.3	2.2	----	----	----
Sex Offenses	1.3	1.0	1.4	4.8	4.6	1.5	----	4.4	1.8
Assault	----	1.1	1.6	2.4	1.7	3.5	----	----	7.1
Burglary	.5	.6	3.5	2.4	.6	8.1	----	2.9	2.7
Weapons	.2	.6	1.6	----	.6	1.5	----	----	4.5
Violent Property Destruction	1.3	.8	1.5	----	1.2	1.5	----	----	----
Forgery, Fraud	.2	1.0	1.7	----	1.2	1.5	----	----	----
Robbery	.2	.1	1.9	----	1.7	4.9	----	----	----
Gambling	----	----	----	----	.6	.7	----	----	----
Narcotics	----	.6	5.2	----	1.2	6.4	----	1.5	2.7
Homicide	----	----	.1	----	.6	.2	----	----	----
Other	.5	1.4	.8	4.8	1.7	.2	----	1.5	7.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.2	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	1.2	1.3	1.1	2.8	3.9	3.8	1.0	3.6	2.4
Part I	4.5	5.4	12.8	9.5	14.5	31.1	----	5.9	10.7

TABLE 2D. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR FEMALES AGES 18-20

	White			Black			Chicana		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	56.4	49.5	40.4	50.0	13.7	15.2	----	20.0	53.3
Disorderly Conduct	20.0	28.5	33.9	50.0	35.3	40.5	----	40.0	20.0
Suspicion, Investigation	14.5	15.4	11.9	----	39.2	8.9	----	20.0	6.7
Liquor	----	.5	1.4	----	----	----	----	----	----
Theft	----	----	2.3	----	2.0	7.6	----	----	20.0
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	----	----	.6	----	----	----	----	20.0	----
Vagrancy	----	3.3	.3	----	3.9	----	----	----	----
Auto Theft	----	----	.3	----	----	1.3	----	----	----
Sex Offenses	5.5	.5	.8	----	----	1.3	----	----	----
Assault	----	----	1.4	----	2.0	6.3	----	----	----
Burglary	----	----	1.1	----	----	1.3	----	----	----
Weapons	----	----	.3	----	----	----	----	----	----
Violent Property Destruction	----	----	----	----	----	3.8	----	----	----
Forgery, Fraud	----	1.4	2.5	----	3.9	6.3	----	----	----
Robbery	----	----	----	----	----	1.3	----	----	----
Gambling	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Narcotics	----	----	2.5	----	----	3.8	----	----	----
Homicide	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Other	3.6	.9	.3	----	----	2.5	----	----	----
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	----	100.0	100.0
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	.2	.4	.7	.4	1.3	.9	----	.5	.5
Part I	----	----	5.1	----	.4	17.7	----	----	20.0

TABLE 2E. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR MALES AGES 21+

	White			Black			Chicano		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	50.4	39.1	35.8	35.3	29.9	14.4	36.4	31.7	30.8
Disorderly Conduct	18.1	24.4	30.5	20.8	22.2	37.1	45.5	36.6	20.5
Suspicion, Investigation	22.3	24.3	16.5	24.2	20.5	14.4	18.2	22.0	17.9
Liquor	2.7	1.8	1.4	.5	1.3	.8	----	1.2	2.6
Theft	.8	1.8	2.8	3.4	2.6	4.5	----	1.2	2.6
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	----	----	----	----	.4	----	----	----	----
Vagrancy	.6	.5	.7	.5	2.1	4.5	----	1.2	----
Auto Theft	.1	----	.4	1.0	.4	----	----	----	----
Sex Offenses	.9	.7	1.4	1.4	4.7	.8	----	----	2.6
Assault	.8	1.4	.7	2.9	5.1	5.3	----	2.4	10.3
Burglary	.1	.2	1.1	1.0	2.1	.8	----	----	2.6
Weapons	.4	.1	.7	1.4	2.1	1.5	----	----	7.7
Violent Property Destruction	.2	.4	1.4	----	.9	.8	----	----	----
Forgery, Fraud	.8	1.3	.7	----	2.1	1.5	----	----	----
Robbery	.2	.2	----	1.9	.9	1.5	----	----	----
Gambling	.1	.1	----	1.0	----	----	----	----	----
Narcotics	.4	2.4	5.3	----	.9	0.8	----	2.4	----
Homicide	----	----	.4	----	----	----	----	----	2.6
Other	1.1	1.1	.4	4.8	1.7	2.3	----	1.2	----
TOTAL	100.0	99.8	100.2	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.2
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	2.9	1.5	.3	13.8	5.3	1.2	3.7	4.3	.8
Part I	2.1	3.7	5.3	10.1	11.1	12.1	----	3.7	17.9

TABLE 2F. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR FEMALES AGES 21+

	White			Black			Chicana		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	64.7	37.4	33.3	11.1	26.2	17.4	----	83.3	30.0
Disorderly Conduct	20.4	36.0	44.8	55.6	38.5	37.0	100.0	----	60.0
Suspicion, Investigation	10.2	15.9	12.5	22.2	24.6	15.2	----	----	----
Liquor	----	1.4	----	----	----	----	----	16.7	----
Theft	.6	----	----	----	7.7	8.7	----	----	----
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	.6	.9	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Vagrancy	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Auto Theft	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Sex Offenses	.6	.5	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Assault	1.2	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Burglary	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Weapons	----	----	----	----	1.5	----	----	----	----
Violent Property Destruction	----	----	----	----	1.5	2.2	----	----	----
Forgery, Fraud	1.2	1.9	5.2	----	----	4.3	----	----	----
Robbery	----	.5	----	----	----	4.3	----	----	----
Gambling	----	----	----	11.1	----	----	----	----	----
Narcotics	----	3.3	4.2	----	----	6.5	----	----	10.0
Homicide	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Other	.6	2.3	----	----	----	4.3	----	----	----
TOTAL	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	.6	.4	.1	1.8	1.7	.5	.2	.6	.3
Part I	1.8	.5	----	----	7.7	13.0	----	----	----

TABLE 2G. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR MALES ALL AGES

	White			Black			Chicano		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	42.7	30.3	20.8	33.3	18.5	8.1	42.9	18.8	15.1
Disorderly Conduct	19.9	21.9	19.2	20.4	23.0	18.5	35.7	25.3	17.2
Suspicion, Investigation	18.8	21.7	14.8	21.9	22.2	14.0	14.3	24.0	12.2
Liquor	3.8	3.7	2.1	1.4	1.3	1.3	7.1	5.6	2.8
Theft	3.7	5.7	8.3	4.7	9.8	16.4	----	4.6	8.2
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	3.4	6.4	16.8	1.1	5.2	13.8	----	6.9	17.4
Vagrancy	1.6	1.9	1.4	.7	1.8	1.8	----	3.9	.9
Auto Theft	1.2	1.2	2.1	2.5	1.5	2.8	----	1.0	2.1
Sex Offenses	.8	.7	.9	2.5	3.7	1.6	----	1.6	.7
Assault	.6	.9	1.3	2.5	3.0	3.4	----	3.3	6.6
Burglary	.8	1.7	5.0	1.1	2.5	8.2	----	2.0	7.5
Weapons	.4	.4	.9	1.1	1.2	1.2	----	.3	3.1
Violent Property Destruction	.6	.5	1.1	----	.6	.9	----	----	.5
Forgery, Fraud	.4	1.1	1.2	----	1.8	1.1	----	----	.2
Robbery	.1	.2	.7	1.4	1.5	3.1	----	.7	.9
Gambling	- .1	.1	----	1.1	.4	.3	----	----	----
Narcotics	.2	.8	2.8	----	.6	2.9	----	1.0	2.1
Homicide	----	----	.1	----	.1	.1	----	----	.5
Other	1.0	.8	.5	4.3	1.2	.5	----	1.0	1.9
TOTAL	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	6.2	5.4	3.8	18.6	15.3	14.2	4.7	16.0	9.0
Part I	6.4	9.8	17.5	12.2	18.5	34.0	----	11.5	25.9

TABLE 2H. PERCENT IN POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR FEMALES ALL AGES

	White			Black			Chicana		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	50.6	35.2	23.9	16.7	14.8	10.8	----	41.2	14.9
Disorderly Conduct	17.4	23.9	21.3	50.0	32.4	26.0	50.0	23.5	21.3
Suspicion, Investigation	17.1	21.2	13.8	25.0	26.9	14.1	----	11.8	9.6
Liquor	3.8	2.8	3.8	----	----	.7	50.0	5.9	1.1
Theft	1.9	2.2	6.3	----	6.6	11.2	----	11.8	14.9
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	4.1	7.1	19.2	----	11.5	19.1	----	5.9	27.7
Vagrancy	.6	1.8	1.2	----	1.7	.4	----	----	1.1
Auto Theft	.3	----	.7	----	----	.7	----	----	1.1
Sex Offenses	1.6	1.6	.8	----	.6	.4	----	----	----
Assault	.6	.1	1.4	----	1.7	5.8	----	----	4.3
Burglary	----	----	1.5	----	----	.4	----	----	2.1
Weapons	----	----	.2	----	1.1	.4	----	----	----
Violent Property Destruction	----	----	.1	----	.6	1.4	----	----	----
Forgery, Fraud	.6	1.3	1.6	----	1.7	3.2	----	----	----
Robbery	----	.1	----	----	----	1.1	----	----	----
Gambling	----	----	----	8.3	----	----	----	----	----
Narcotics	----	1.0	3.1	----	----	2.2	----	----	1.1
Homicide	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Other	1.3	1.6	1.2	----	.6	2.2	----	----	1.1
TOTAL	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.2	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.3
Mean Contacts per Person in Cohort	1.2	1.3	1.2	2.4	4.7	3.2	.4	1.7	2.9
Part I	2.8	2.5	9.8	----	8.2	19.1	----	11.8	22.3

[illegible] for Blacks. Specifically, the proportion of Burglary and Theft contacts increased for both Whites and Blacks and Robbery for Blacks. The proportion of contacts in the Drug category and for Disorderly conduct has increased for each race/ethnic group. While the proportion of contacts for Disorderly conduct by females has markedly increased for White females, the number of contacts on which other proportions of female contacts are based are so small that little can be said except to add that the proportion of Part I offense categories has increased for 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 in-

creased for Whites and Blacks, the number of contacts involved in these proportions is 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 contacts for Part I offenses by each race/ethnic group. Again, the number of contacts by females is too small to comment on anything other than the definite increase in the proportion of contacts for Disorderly conduct by Whites and the increase in the proportion of Part I offenses by Blacks.

Since Tables 1A and 1B and Tables 2A through 2H in this appendix do not indicate how contact category rates have changed between cohorts nor how they have changed for that proportion of each cohort who have had contacts, we have also included Tables 3A through 3D which follow the same general format as Table 3 in the text.

Mean contact rates are now presented as a measure of the incidence of police contacts for each category of contacts as well as the total number of contacts. They are 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. While the contact rates for some offenses have remained fairly stable or show no pattern of decline or increase, those for Theft, Assault, Burglary, and Drugs have increased from cohort to cohort for both males and females for the periods 6-17 and 18-20. These rates have also increased for males for Robbery. Incorrigible, runaway, and Truancy rates increased from cohort to cohort for both sexes for the period 6-17. 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,

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	.011	.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	----	.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

	Ages 21+						Total					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	1.596	.650	.119	.394	.183	.042	2.773	1.732	.856	.585	.490	.290
Disorderly Conduct	.629	.437	.129	.144	.183	.064	1.340	1.387	.951	.224	.404	.309
Suspicion, Investigation	.756	.414	.066	.069	.090	.018	1.275	1.362	.727	.206	.350	.189
Liquor	.076	.030	.005	----	.007	----	.239	.215	.098	.047	.036	.043
Theft	.042	.034	.014	----	.009	.004	.253	.385	.529	.022	.052	.108
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	----	.001	----	.004	.004	----	.205	.388	.807	.047	.126	.275
Vagrancy	.020	.015	.007	----	----	----	.098	.127	.074	.007	.027	.015
Auto Theft	.008	.001	.010	----	----	----	.090	.078	.115	.004	----	.010
Sex Offenses	.034	.024	.005	.004	.002	----	.065	.077	.055	.018	.022	.010
Assault	.039	.038	.012	.007	----	----	.053	.087	.115	.007	.007	.034
Burglary	.008	.010	.005	----	----	----	.053	.116	.304	----	----	.018
Weapons	.020	.008	.006	----	.002	----	.034	.030	.057	----	.004	.003
Violent Property Destruction	.006	.008	.005	----	.002	.001	.034	.028	.052	----	.002	.005
Forgery, Fraud	.023	.024	.004	.007	.007	.007	.025	.069	.054	.007	.022	.025
Robbery	.017	.005	.002	.004	.002	.002	.020	.026	.070	----	.002	.003
Gambling	.008	.001	----	.004	----	----	.011	.008	.005	.004	----	----
Narcotics, Drugs	.011	.038	.025	----	.013	.008	.011	.049	.141	----	.013	.039
Homicide	----	----	.002	----	----	----	----	.001	.005	----	----	----
Other	.059	.022	.004	.004	.009	.002	.090	.055	.030	.014	.022	.019
TOTAL MEAN RATE	3.351	1.760	.409	.639	.512	.147	6.669	6.220	5.042	1.191	1.576	1.394
Part I Mean Rate	.115	.088	.034	.011	.011	.006	.469	.693	1.137	.033	.061	.173
Number of Contacts	1193	1302	456	177	285	152	2374	4603	5617	330	878	1443
Number of Persons in Cohort	356	740	1114	277	557	1035	356	740	1114	277	557	1035

TABLE 3C. 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 with contacts	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

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

	Ages 21+						Total					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Traffic	2.272	1.279	.545	1.298	.785	.418	3.279	2.119	1.194	1.218	.935	.637
Disorderly Conduct	.896	.859	.590	.476	.785	.641	1.585	1.696	1.325	.466	.771	.679
Suspicion, Investigation	1.076	.814	.299	.226	.385	.185	1.508	1.666	1.014	.429	.668	.416
Liquor	.108	.059	.025	----	.031	----	.282	.263	.136	.098	.069	.093
Theft	.060	.067	.062	----	.039	.039	.299	.471	.737	.045	.099	.238
Incorrigible, Runaway, Truancy	----	.003	----	.012	.015	----	.243	.474	1.125	.098	.240	.605
Vagrancy	.028	.029	.033	----	----	----	.116	.155	.103	.015	.051	.032
Auto Theft	.012	.003	.004	----	----	----	.106	.096	.160	.008	----	.021
Sex Offenses	.048	.048	.025	.012	.008	----	.076	.094	.076	.038	.041	.021
Assault	.056	.075	.053	.024	----	----	.063	.106	.160	.015	.014	.074
Burglary	.012	.019	.021	----	----	----	.063	.142	.424	----	----	.040
Weapons	.028	.016	.029	----	.008	----	.040	.036	.079	----	.007	.006
Violent Property Destruction	.008	.016	.021	----	.008	.010	.040	.035	.073	----	.003	.011
Forgery, Fraud	.032	.048	.016	.024	.031	.068	.030	.084	.075	.015	.041	.055
Robbery	.024	.011	.008	.012	.008	.019	.023	.031	.098	----	.003	.006
Gambling	.012	.003	----	.012	----	----	.013	.010	.006	.008	----	----
Narcotics, Drugs	.016	.075	.115	----	.054	.078	.013	.060	.197	----	.024	.085
Homicide	----	----	.008	----	----	----	----	.002	.006	----	----	----
Other	.084	.043	.016	.012	.039	.019	.106	.068	.041	.030	.041	.043
TOTAL MEAN RATE	4.772	3.463	1.869	2.107	2.192	1.476	7.887	7.608	7.030	2.481	3.007	3.064
Part I	.164	.173	.156	.060	.046	.058	.555	.848	1.586	.068	.116	.380
Number of Persons with contacts	250	376	244	84	130	103	301	605	799	133	292	471
Number of Contacts	1193	1302	456	177	285	152	2374	4603	5617	330	878	1443
Percent with Contacts	70.2	50.8	21.9	30.3	23.3	10.0	84.6	81.8	71.7	48.0	52.4	45.5

they increased for females in the 18-20 period. Rates for the three cohorts are not strictly comparable for the 21 or older period since, as we have previously indicated, the 1942 Cohort had 12 years of exposure after becoming 21, the 1949 Cohort five years, and the 1955 Cohort only one full year. The increase in Drug contacts was sufficiently high, however, that 1949 Cohort rates were higher than 1942 Cohort rates and the 1955 rates higher than the 1949 rates among both males and females.

Total mean contact rates in Table 3A reveal that the mean number of contacts for persons in the cohort increased from cohort to cohort for both males and females for the age period 6-17 but that 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. When only those who had police contacts were considered (Table 3C) the rate increased across cohorts for both age periods, although the mean for both sexes for the 1955 Cohort was only slightly greater than for the 1949 Cohort. The mean contact rates for Part I offenses shown below these means enables one to see that the average number of contacts for Theft, Auto Theft, Burglary, Robbery, and Homicide, usually considered the most serious types of offenses, have increased from cohort to cohort for both sexes for both age periods.

In summary, it is quite clear that reasons for police contact have changed during the time that persons from each cohort were at risk in Racine. Not only do Part I offenses constitute a greater proportion of the contacts from cohort to cohort, but the incidence is higher for both age periods before 21 for the males, for all age periods combined, and for each age period for the females, and all age periods combined. It

is also apparent that changes in the community had different effects on males and females and Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos, with the variety of offenses and the incidence of some offenses increasing more for females and for members of the minority groups than for White males, particularly for the period before age 21.

APPENDIX C

References made to this appendix in the text have not only emphasized the relative consistency with which the mean number of contacts by males has exceeded the mean number for females but that police contacts by males have been on the average for more seriousness offenses as well.

Perusal of Table 1 and Tables 2A, 2B, 2C, and 2D also indicates that the mean frequency and seriousness of contacts, no matter how they are measured, generally decline from age period to age period.

While almost any measure also suggests that Blacks have higher contact rates, a greater proportion of more serious reasons for contact, and higher seriousness scores for age segments or total careers than do Whites, and where there are sufficient Chicanos to derive a valid statistic, Chicanos generally in between (particularly for the 1955 Cohort), these race/ethnic differences must be viewed with caution since most Blacks reside within the inner city or its interstitial areas and most Chicanos reside in these areas or in the barrio on the periphery of the city. At the same time it should be pointed out that White males accounted for 77% of all police contacts in the 1942 Cohort, 66% in the 1949 Cohort, and 52% in the 1955 Cohort where the number of contacts by females of each race/ethnic group had markedly increased. While we do note that the Blacks in each cohort have generated police contacts disproportionately to their numbers in the cohort we must emphasize that contacts are generated by interaction between the police and members of each cohort. Therefore, conclusions about the relative frequency and seriousness of delinquency and crime among the Blacks and Chicanos must await the analyses in which

comparison of Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos are made for those who reside in the same area.

As we indicated in Chapter 4, it is reasonable to represent the seriousness of any person's career by simply multiplying the number of contacts in each category by the weight of that category. In Table 2E we present the mean seriousness scores for persons in each cohort by race/ethnicity and sex for each of the three age periods and for the total years of experience of each cohort. Cross-cohort comparisons are restricted, of course, to age periods 6-17 and 18-20, although it is possible to make race/ethnic comparisons for the age period 21+ or for total years within each cohort. Mean seriousness scores for Blacks and Chicanos exceed those of the Whites for each age period and for the total careers within each cohort. Mean seriousness scores for Blacks and Chicanos exceed those of the Whites for each age period and for the total careers within each cohort. For the females, within age-period differences are not quite as consistent but it is also apparent that mean seriousness scores for Black females exceed those for White females in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts for all age periods and for total careers.

When only those persons with contacts are considered, seriousness scores of Blacks and Chicanos continue to be higher than those for the Whites for each age period and for the total periods for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. Again, the Black females have higher seriousness scores than do the White females wherever comparison is possible.

Returning to mean seriousness scores for persons in each cohort for the age period 6-17 and 18-20, we find a more systematic cohort-to-cohort increase in the mean seriousness scores for Black males than for White

males. There is also a more or less systematic cohort-to-cohort increase in seriousness for the females of each race/ethnic group for the age periods 6-17 and 18-20.

For persons with contacts, the cohort-to-cohort increase for Black males is present, but with the exception of the age period 6-17 not present for the Anglos, and not found for Chicanos in any instance. By contrast, a systematic increase is shown for the females in each race/ ethnic group for the age period 6-17 and 18-20 wherever comparison is possible.

The distribution of scores for the Geometric scales to which we referred in Chapter 4 are presented in Table 3 for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts on the basis of total careers with malesand females combined. The bulk of each cohort are concentrated in those scale categories of police contacts for which a Misdemeanor is the most serious level of behavior. It is also apparent that persons who had a Felony against a Person, and that alone, were few, but that those who did have a contact at this level of seriousness were also likely to have had offenses at lower levels as well.

Tables 4 and 5 reveal that males clearly fall in those Geometric scale categories including more serious offenses far more frequently than do the females at every age period. It is also clear that even with the shorter time of exposure in the community males and females in the 1949 Cohort are more frequently found in the Geometric scale categories including Felonies and a variety of lesser offenses than are those in the 1942 Cohort.

The interrelationship of number of contacts, seriousness scores, and Geometric scores for each period, for males and females and for the total cohort is presented in Table 6. It is obvious that number of contacts

and seriousness scores are almost perfectly correlated, Geometric scores and seriousness scores are correlated more highly for males during each age period than for females, and that Geometric scores and the number of police contacts have uniformly lower correlations than those found between Geometric scores and seriousness scores.

The Geometric scores suggest that there is considerable difference between males and females in a number of combinations of Felonies, Major Misdemeanors and Minor Misdemeanors. Table 7 presents these differences based on factor analyses in which each offense category was listed as either a Felony or Misdemeanor or in both categories where the level of behavior would determine whether the contact were to be considered a Felony or Misdemeanor. Sex differences become even more apparent. The similarity of Factors 1 and 2 for males and females in each cohort would be expected, but the dissimilarity of 1942 and 1949 males has no explanation although the appearance of narcotics and drug offenses suggests that the differences are representative of qualitative difference in patterns of crime with historical antecedents. While factor analysis is a technique which enables us to determine which kinds of offenses are found together, it has always been difficult to describe factors. As we see it, the inclusion of moving vehicle violations with other more serious offenses seems to justify analyses in which they were included along with more serious reasons for police contact.

TABLE 1. PERCENT OF POLICE CONTACTS FOR FELONIES AND MAJOR MISDEMEANORS AND MEAN NUMBER OF CONTACTS PER PERSON WITH CONTACTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND AGE PERIOD*

	% Felonies and Major Misdemeanors			Mean Felonies and Major Misdemeanors per Person in Cohort			Mean Felonies and Major Misdemeanors per Person with Contacts		
Ages 6-17	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Males									
White	14.7	16.8	25.3	.3047	.4387	.6191	.5421	.7174	1.1972
Black	23.3	30.0	42.1	.4667	1.7955	3.8585	.6364	2.1944	4.5444
Chicano	----	19.5	38.3	----	1.5789	2.2340	----	1.7647	2.6923
Females									
White	6.5	10.0	19.8	.0017	.0492	.1341	.1175	.1908	.4843
Black	----	16.7	24.3	----	.2821	.4302	----	.5000	.8222
Chicana	----	33.3	27.5	----	.2000	.5938	----	.5000	.9048
TOTAL	14.0	17.7	29.0	.1833	.3423	.5993	.4585	.7115	1.3615
Ages 18-20									
Males									
White	6.7	8.6	23.7	.0769	.1108	.2570	.1745	.2308	.6144
Black	21.4	18.7	42.7	.6000	.7273	1.6321	.6923	.9412	2.4028
Chicano	----	7.4	20.5	----	.2632	.4894	----	.3571	.6970
Females									
White	5.5	2.3	10.7	.0112	.0098	.0414	.0811	.0403	.1939
Black	----	7.8	34.2	----	.1026	.3140	----	.2353	.8438
Chicana	----	----	20.0	----	----	.0938	----	----	.3333
TOTAL	7.7	8.8	25.4	.0600	.0933	.2378	.1900	.2336	.6868
Ages 21+									
Males									
White	4.7	8.1	13.7	.1361	.1182	.0406	.1957	.2446	.2086
Black	15.0	17.9	25.8	2.0667	.9545	.3208	2.2143	1.2353	.7907
Chicano	----	7.3	28.2	----	.3158	.2340	----	.4000	.7857
Females									
White	3.6	8.5	9.4	.0225	.0354	.0098	.0732	.1682	.1250
Black	----	9.2	30.4	----	.1538	.1628	----	.3333	.6667
Chicana	----	----	10.0	----	----	.0313	----	----	.1000
TOTAL	6.1	9.6	17.8	.1311	.1172	.0503	.2485	.3004	.3112
Total									
Males									
White	8.5	12.5	23.9	.5178	.6677	.9168	.6184	.8294	1.3348
Black	16.8	22.9	40.8	3.1333	3.4773	5.8113	3.1333	3.7317	6.4842
Chicano	----	13.5	32.7	----	2.1579	2.9574	----	2.1579	3.1591
Females									
White	4.8	7.1	15.9	.0562	.0945	.1854	.1181	.1868	.4381
Black	----	11.5	28.2	----	.5383	.9070	----	.7778	1.3220
Chicana	----	11.8	24.5	----	.2000	.7188	----	.2500	.9583
TOTAL	8.8	13.1	27.0	.3744	.5528	.8874	.5423	.7993	1.5016

* No Felonies or Major Misdemeanors indicated by ----.

TABLE 2A. SUMMARY OF BASIC STATISTICS ON FREQUENCY AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS AGES 6-17 BY SEX, COHORT, AND RACE/ETHINICITY*

	Males								
	White			Black			Chicano		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Number in Cohort	338	677	961	15	44	106	3	19	47
Number of Contacts	710	1770	2354	30	264	973	0	154	274
Persons with Contacts	190	414	497	11	36	90	0	17	39
% with Contacts	56.2	61.2	51.7	73.3	81.8	84.9	----	89.5	83.0
Mean Contacts per Person	2.1	2.6	2.4	2.0	6.0	9.2	----	8.1	5.8
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	3.7	4.3	4.7	2.7	7.3	10.8	----	9.1	7.0
% of Contacts Serious**	14.7	16.8	25.3	23.3	30.0	42.1	----	19.5	38.3
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	.3	.4	.6	.5	1.8	3.9	----	1.6	2.2
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.5	.7	1.2	.6	2.2	4.5	----	1.8	2.7
% of Contacts Part I	13.4	15.3	21.0	16.7	27.7	38.2	----	18.2	33.2
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	.3	.4	.5	.3	1.7	3.5	----	1.5	1.9
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	.5	.7	1.0	.4	2.0	4.1	----	1.6	2.3
	Females								
Number in Cohort	267	508	917	5	39	86	5	10	32
Number of Contacts	94	251	622	1	66	152	1	6	69
Persons with Contacts	51	131	254	1	22	45	1	4	21
% with Contacts	19.1	25.8	27.7	20.0	56.4	52.3	20.0	40.0	65.6
Mean Contacts per Person	.4	.5	.7	.2	1.7	1.8	.2	.6	2.2
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	1.8	1.9	2.5	1.0	3.0	3.4	1.0	1.5	3.3
% of Contacts Serious	6.5	10.0	19.8	----	16.7	24.3	----	33.3	27.5
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	- .1	1.1	.1	----	.3	.4	----	.2	.6
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.1	.2	.5	----	.5	.8	----	.5	.9
% of Contacts Part I	6.4	6.4	14.0	----	12.1	21.7	----	33.3	27.5
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	- .1	- .1	.1	----	.2	.4	----	.2	.6
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	.1	.1	.3	----	.4	.7	----	.5	.9

* No contacts in category indicated by ----.
** Serious Contacts = Felonies against the person or property and major misdemeanors.

TABLE 2B. SUMMARY OF BASIC STATISTICS ON FREQUENCY AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS AGES 18-20 BY SEX, COHORT, AND RACE/ETHINICITY*

	Males								
	White			Black			Chicano		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Number in Cohort	338	677	961	15	44	106	3	19	47
Number of Contacts	396	872	1043	42	173	405	3	68	112
Persons with Contacts	149	325	402	13	34	72	1	14	33
% with Contacts	44.1	48.0	41.8	86.7	77.3	67.9	33.3	73.7	70.2
Mean Contacts per Person	1.2	1.3	1.1	2.8	3.9	3.8	1.0	3.6	2.4
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	2.6	2.7	2.6	3.2	5.1	5.6	3.0	4.9	3.4
% of Contacts Serious**	6.7	8.6	23.7	21.4	18.7	42.7	----	7.4	20.5
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	.1	.1	.3	.6	.7	1.6	----	.3	.5
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.2	.2	.6	.7	.9	2.4	----	.4	.7
% of Contacts Part I	4.5	5.4	12.8	9.5	14.5	31.1	----	5.9	10.7
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	.1	.1	.1	.3	.6	1.2	----	.2	.3
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	.1	.2	.3	.3	.7	1.8	----	.3	.4
	Females								
Number in Cohort	267	508	917	5	39	86	5	10	32
Number of Contacts	55	214	354	2	51	79	0	5	15
Persons with Contacts	37	124	196	2	17	32	0	4	9
% with Contacts	13.9	24.4	21.4	40.0	43.6	37.2	----	40.0	28.1
Mean Contacts per Person	.2	.4	.7	.4	1.3	.9	----	.5	.5
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.0	3.0	2.5	----	1.3	1.7
% of Contacts Serious	5.5	2.3	10.7	----	7.8	34.2	---	----	20.0
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	- .1	- .1	- .1	----	.1	.3	----	----	.1
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.1	- .1	.2	----	.2	.8	----	----	.3
% of Contacts Part I	----	----	5.1	----	.4	17.7	----	----	20.0
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	----	----	- .1	----	.1	.2	----	----	.1
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	----	----	.1	----	.1	.4	----	----	3.3

* No contacts in category indicated by ----.
** Serious Contacts = Felonies against the person or property and major misdemeanors.

TABLE 2C. SUMMARY OF BASIC STATISTICS ON FREQUENCY AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS AGES 21+ BY SEX, COHORT, AND RACE/ETHNICITY*

	Males								
	White			Black			Chicano		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Number in Cohort	338	677	961	15	44	106	3	19	47
Number of Contacts	975	986	285	207	234	132	11	82	39
Persons with Contacts	235	327	187	14	34	43	1	15	14
% with Contacts	69.5	48.3	19.5	93.3	77.3	40.6	33.3	78.9	29.8
Mean Contacts per Person	2.9	1.5	.3	13.8	5.3	1.2	3.7	4.3	.8
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	4.1	3.0	1.5	14.8	6.9	3.1	11.0	5.5	2.8
% of Contacts Serious**	4.7	8.1	13.7	15.0	17.9	25.8	----	7.3	28.2
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	.1	.1	- .1	2.1	1.0	.3	----	.3	.2
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.2	.2	.2	2.2	1.2	.8	----	.4	.8
% of Contacts Part I	2.1	3.7	5.3	10.1	11.1	12.1	----	3.7	17.9
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	.1	.1	.1	1.4	.6	.2	----	.2	.2
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	.1	.1	.1	1.5	.8	.4	----	.2	.5
	Females								
Number in Cohort	267	508	917	5	39	86	5	10	32
Number of Contacts	167	214	96	9	65	46	1	6	10
Persons with Contacts	82	107	72	1	18	21	1	5	10
% with Contacts	30.7	21.1	7.9	20.0	46.2	24.4	20.0	50.0	31.3
Mean Contacts per Person	.6	.4	.1	1.8	1.7	.5	.2	.6	.3
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	2.0	2.0	1.3	9.0	3.6	2.2	1.0	1.2	1.0
% of Contacts Serious	3.6	8.5	9.4	----	9.2	30.4	----	----	10.0
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	- .1	- .1	- .1	----	.2	.2	----	----	- .1
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.1	.2	.1	----	.3	.7	----	----	.1
% of Contacts Part I	1.8	.5	----	----	7.7	13.0	----	----	----
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	- .1	- .1	----	----	.1	.1	----	----	----
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	- .1	- .1	----	----	.3	.3	----	----	----

* No contacts in category indicated by ----.
** Serious Contacts = Felonies against the person or property and major misdemeanors.

TABLE 2D. SUMMARY OF BASIC STATISTICS ON FREQUENCY AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS ALL AGES BY SEX, COHORT, AND RACE/ETHNICITY*

	Males								
	White			Black			Chicano		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Number in Cohort	338	677	961	15	44	106	3	19	47
Number of Contacts	2081	3628	3682	279	671	1510	14	304	425
Persons with Contacts	283	545	660	15	41	95	3	19	44
% with Contacts	83.7	80.5	68.7	100.0	93.2	89.6	100.0	100.0	93.6
Mean Contacts per Person	6.2	5.4	3.8	18.6	15.3	14.2	4.7	16.0	9.0
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	7.4	6.7	5.6	18.6	16.4	15.9	4.7	16.0	9.7
% of Contacts Serious**	8.5	12.5	23.9	16.8	22.9	40.8	----	13.5	32.7
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	.5	.7	.9	3.1	3.5	5.8	----	2.2	3.0
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.6	.8	1.3	3.1	3.7	6.5	----	2.2	3.2
% of Contacts Part I	6.4	9.8	17.5	12.2	18.5	34.0	----	11.5	25.9
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	.4	.5	.7	2.3	2.8	4.8	----	1.8	2.3
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	.5	.7	1.0	2.3	3.0	5.4	----	1.8	2.5
	Females								
Number in Cohort	267	508	917	5	39	86	5	10	32
Number of Contacts	316	679	1072	12	182	277	2	17	94
Persons with Contacts	127	257	388	4	27	59	2	8	24
% with Contacts	47.6	50.6	42.3	80.0	69.2	68.6	40.0	80.0	75.0
Mean Contacts per Person	1.2	1.3	1.2	2.4	4.7	3.2	.4	1.7	2.9
Mean Contacts per Person with Contacts	2.5	2.6	2.8	4.0	6.7	4.7	1.0	2.1	3.9
% of Contacts Serious	4.8	7.1	15.9	----	11.5	28.2	----	11.8	24.5
Mean Serious Contacts per Person	.1	.1	.2	----	.6	.9	----	.2	.7
Mean Serious Contacts per Person w/contacts	.1	.2	.4	----	.8	1.3	----	.3	1.0
% of Contacts Part I	2.8	2.5	9.8	----	8.2	19.1	----	11.8	22.3
Mean Part I Contacts per Person	- .1	- .1	.1	----	.4	.6	----	.2	.7
Mean Part I Contacts per Person w/contacts	.1	.1	.3	----	.6	.9	----	.3	.9

* No contacts in category indicated by ----.
** Serious Contacts = Felonies against the person or property and major misdemeanors.

TABLE 2E. MEAN SERIOUSNESS SCORES OF PERSONS BY COHORT, AGE PERIOD, RACE/ETHNICITY, AND SEX

Mean Seriousness Scores for Persons in Cohort

	6-17			18-20			21+			Total		
Males	W	B	C	W	B	C	W		C	W	B	C
1942	5.3	5.9	----*	2.5	7.2	----	5.9	35.4	----	13.7	48.5	----
1949	6.7	17.0	20.6	2.7	9.6	8.7	3.3	13.8	10.9	12.6	40.4	40.2
1955	6.7	28.4	17.5	3.1	13.3	6.8	.8	3.8	2.4	10.5	45.5	26.6
Females												
1942	.7	.2	.6	.4	.8	.0	1.2	4.2	.6	2.3	5.2	1.2
1949	1.0	4.1	1.8	.8	2.9	1.0	1.0	3.9	1.0	2.8	10.9	3.8
1955	1.7	4.5	5.7	.9	2.9	1.1	.3	1.6	1.0	2.8	9.0	7.8

Mean Seriousness Scores for Persons with Contacts

Males												
1942	9.4	8.0	----	5.7	8.3	----	8.5	37.9	----	16.4	48.5	----
1949	10.9	20.7	23.0	5.6	12.5	11.8	6.8	17.8	13.9	15.7	43.3	40.2
1955	12.9	33.4	21.0	7.4	19.6	9.7	4.0	9.1	8.0	15.3	50.7	28.4
Females												
1942	3.7	----	----	2.9	----	----	3.9	----	----	4.9	6.5	----
1949	4.0	7.4	----	3.3	6.6	2.5	4.7	8.5	2.5	5.6	15.8	4.7
1955	6.0	8.4	8.7	4.3	8.1	4.0	3.3	6.7	3.1	6.7	13.2	10.4

*Too few (less than 5) cases in category for statistic

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF GEOMETRIC SCORES AMONG 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS MALES AND FEMALES, AGE 6 TO PRESENT

Geo Score Type	Cohort 1942	Cohort 1949		Geo Score Type	Cohort 1942	Cohort 1949	
0	199	401	No contacts	32	2	3	Felony, person
1	124	226	Suspicion or investigation	33	1	2	32 and 1
2	4	11	Juvenile condition	34	0	0	32 and 2
3	5	12	1 and 2	35	0	0	32, 2 and 1
4	42	110	Misdemeanor, minor	36	0	3	32 and 4
5	133	214	4 and 1	37	3	5	32, 4 and 1
6	3	8	4 and 2	38	0	0	32, 4 and 2
7	20	51	4, 1 and 2	39	2	6	32, 4, 2 and 1
8	3	14	Misdemeanor, major	40	0	0	32 and 8
9	6	14	8 and 1	41	0	0	32, 8 and 1
10	0	0	8 and 2	42	0	0	32, 8 and 2
11	0	3	8, 2 and 1	43	0	0	32, 8, 2 and 1
12	6	12	8 and 4	44	0	1	32, 8 and 4
13	28	63	8, 4 and 1	45	4	7	32, 8, 4 and 1
14	1	2	8, 4 and 2	46	0	0	32, 8, 4 and 2
15	7	23	8, 4, 2 and 1	47	1	7	32, 8, 4, 2 and 1
16	0	3	Felony, property	48	0	0	32 and 16
17	0	1	16 and 1	49	0	0	32, 16 and 1
18	0	0	16 and 2	50	0	0	32, 16 and 2
19	0	0	16, 2 and 1	51	0	0	32, 16, 2 and 1
20	1	4	16 and 4	52	0	0	32, 16 and 4
21	9	16	16, 4 and 1	53	0	0	32, 16, 4 and 1
22	0	2	16, 4 and 2	54	0	0	32, 16, 4 and 2
23	3	5	16, 4, 2 and 1	55	0	1	32, 16, 4, 2 and 1
24	0	0	16 and 8	56	0	0	32, 16 and 8
25	0	0	16, 8 and 1	57	0	0	32, 16, 8 and 1
26	0	0	16, 8 and 2	58	0	0	32, 16, 8 and 2
27	0	1	16, 8, 2 and 1	59	0	0	32, 16, 8, 2 and 1
28	0	0	16, 8 and 4	60	0	0	32, 16, 8 and 4
29	6	20	16, 8, 4 and 1	61	7	4	32, 16, 8, 4 and 1
30	0	0	16, 8, 4 and 2	62	0	0	32, 16, 8, 4 and 2
31	11	23	16, 8, 4, 2 and 1	63	3	19	32, 16, 8, 4, 2 and 1

TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF GEOMETRIC SCORES AMONG 1942 COHORT BY AGE PERIOD AND SEX

Geo Score Type		6-17		18-20		21+		6-20		6-21+	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0	No contacts	155	224	195	238	105	190	116	198	55	144
1	Suspicion or investigation	31	23	51	23	94	47	34	37	61	63
2	Juvenile condition	3	4	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	3
3	1 and 2	3	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	3	2
4	Misdemeanor, minor	54	14	37	8	29	16	45	16	20	22
5-6	4 and 1 or 2	34	4	45	5	96	18	62	12	107	29
7	4, 2 and 1	13	3	1	0	0	0	16	2	18	2
8	Misdemeanor, major	3	1	2	0	0	2	2	1	1	2
9-11	8 and 1 or 2 or both	3	1	4	0	4	0	4	1	5	1
12-14	8, 4 and 1 or 2	22	0	9	0	11	1	30	0	33	2
15	8, 4, 2 and 1	5	1	1	0	0	0	5	1	6	1
16	Felony, property	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17-19	16 and 1 or 2 or both	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
20-23	16 and 4 or 1 or 2 or both	11	0	5	0	3	0	10	0	13	0
24-27	16 and 8 or 1 or 2 or both	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
28-30	16, 8 and 4 or 1 or 2	6	1	2	0	3	0	6	1	5	1
31	16, 8, 4, 2 and 1	8	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	11	0
32	Felony, person	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	2
33-35	32 and 1 or 2 or both	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
36-39	32 and 4 or 1 or 2 or both	3	0	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	3
40-43	32 and 8 or 1 or 2 or both	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
44-47	32, 8 and 4 or 1 or 2 or both	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	0
48-51	32 and 16 or 1 or 2 or both	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52-55	32, 16 and 4 or 1 or 2 or both	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56-59	32, 16 and 8 or 1 or 2 or both	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-62	32, 16, 8 and 4 or 1 or 2	1	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	7	0
63	32, 16, 8, 4, 2 and 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF GEOMETRIC SCORES AMONG 1949 COHORT BY AGE PERIOD AND SEX

Geo Score Type		6-17		18-20		21+		6-20		6-21+	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0	No contacts	274	400	367	412	364	428	192	312	136	265
1	Suspicion or investigation	67	57	157	81	138	54	98	106	108	118
2	Juvenile condition	16	9	0	1	0	0	10	6	5	6
3	1 and 2	9	2	0	0	0	0	6	6	7	5
4	Misdemeanor, minor	86	33	63	35	89	35	62	43	62	48
5-6	4 and 1 or 2	92	14	83	20	91	23	140	35	170	52
7	4, 2 and 1	30	9	0	0	0	0	38	9	42	9
8	Misdemeanor, major	15	9	2	1	2	2	10	6	9	5
9-11	8 and 1 or 2 or both	18	6	11	1	3	0	15	7	11	6
12-14	8, 4 and 1 or 2	42	9	22	2	22	6	53	11	59	18
15	8, 4, 2 and 1	15	1	0	0	0	0	20	4	19	4
16	Felony, property	3	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	2	1
17-19	16 and 1 or 2 or both	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
20-23	16 and 4 or 1 or 2 or both	24	0	12	0	5	0	24	1	25	2
24-27	16 and 8 or 1 or 2 or both	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
28-30	16, 8 and 4 or 1 or 2	10	0	6	0	3	0	16	1	19	1
31	16, 8, 4, 2 and 1	24	0	1	0	0	0	28	0	23	0
32	Felony, person	1	1	1	0	3	3	1	0	0	3
33-35	32 and 1 or 2 or both	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	2
36-39	32 and 4 or 1 or 2 or both	2	1	4	2	7	2	5	6	6	8
40-43	32 and 8 or 1 or 2 or both	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
44-47	32, 8 and 4 or 1 or 2 or both	1	2	3	0	6	0	3	2	12	3
48-51	32 and 16 or 1 or 2 or both	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52-55	32, 16 and 4 or 1 or 2 or both	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0
56-59	32, 16 and 8 or 1 or 2 or both	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-62	32, 16, 8 and 4 or 1 or 2	1	0	1	0	4	0	3	0	4	0
63	32, 16, 8, 4, 2 and 1	4	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	19	0

TABLE 6. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORTS

		Number of Contacts											
		6-17			18-20			21+			Total		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Seriousness Scores	1942:	.97	.96	.97	.96	.91	.96	.98	.94	.98	.99	.97	.99
	1949:	.99	.97	.99	.98	.97	.98	.98	.96	.91	.99	.98	.99
	1955:	.99	.98	.99	.98	.97	.97	.96	.94	.96	.99	.98	.99

		Seriousness Scores											
		6-17			18-20			21+			Total		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Geometric Scores	1942:	.80	.86	.82	.79	.64	.75	.79	.59	.78	.75	.71	.77
	1949:	.76	.72	.76	.75	.43	.71	.72	.65	.72	.76	.55	.75

		Geometric Scores											
		6-17			18-20			21+			Total		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Number of Contacts	1942:	.74	.72	.76	.69	.39	.65	.77	.46	.75	.73	.61	.74
	1949:	.72	.61	.72	.69	.41	.66	.67	.57	.66	.72	.51	.71

TABLE 7. FACTOR ANALYSIS OF TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS AMONG COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE*

Factor	1942 Males		1942 Females		1949 Males		1949 Females	
1	Robbery (F)†	88α	Disorderly Conduct (M)	43	Assault (M)	73	Disorderly Conduct (M)	75
	Theft (M)	60	Liquor (M)	66	Escapee (M)	88	Liquor (M)	48
	Auto Theft (F)	61	Incorrigible (M)	94	Violent Property Destruction (F)	77	Sex Offenses (F)	71
	Traffic-Moving Vehicles (M)	43	Sex Offenses (F)	80			Suicide (F)	75
	Escapee (M)	95	Other Traffic (M)	88				
	Escapee (F)	96	Contact	60				
	Family-Parent Status (M)	64						
2	Disorderly Conduct (M)	61	Vagrancy (M)	80	Theft (M)	40	Forgery (M)	83
	Liquor (M)	82	Incorrigible (N)	72	Disorderly Conduct (M)	73	Forgery (F)	83
	Violent Property Destruction (M)	62	Sex (M)	74	Vagrancy (M)	69	Weapons (M)	74
	Contact	48			Liquor (M)	73		
	Suicide (F)	71			Incorrigible (N)	75		
					Traffic-Moving Vehicles (M)	51		
					Contact	64		
3	Forgery (F)	86	Theft (M)	81	Narcotics and Drugs (M)	73	Incorrigible (M)	72
	Fraud (M)	78	Auto Theft (F)	79	Narcotics and Drugs (F)	74	Truancy (N)	86

4	Theft (F)	53	Family-Parent Status (M)	93	Robbery (F)	69	Incorrigible (N)	51
	Sex Offenses (F)	77			Assault (F)	72	Sex (M)	72
	Gambling (M)	73			Forgery (F)	39	Escapee (M)	82
					Weapons (M)	45	Contact	41
5	Assault (M)	49	Assault (F)	58	Incorrigible (M)	57	Traffic-Moving Vehicles (M)	57
	Sex (M)	56	Traffic-Moving Vehicles (M)	69	Homicide (F)	84	Other Traffic (M)	77
	Weapons (M)	76			Gambling (M)	65		
6	Narcotics and Drugs (M)	81	Suicide (F)	91	Sex Offenses (F)	60	Narcotics and Drugs (M)	80
	Narcotics and Drugs (F)	79			Obscene Behavior (M)	86	Narcotics and Drugs (F)	81
7	Burglary (F)	69	Gambling (M)	91	Sex (M)	79	Theft (M)	54
	Vagrancy (M)	46					Violent Property Destruction (M)	85
	Truancy (N)	67						
8	Assault (F)	81	Truancy (N)	45	Burglary (M)	83	Vagrancy (M)	59
	Other Traffic (M)	78	Fraud (M)	74	Burglary (F)	67	Assault (M)	79
9	Incorrigible (N)	53	----------		Fraud (M)	78	Fraud (M)	81
	Incorrigible (M)	83			Suicide (F)	81		
10	Violent Property Destruction (F)	91	----------		Theft (F)	50	Robbery (M)	71
					Auto Theft (F)	45	Traffic-Moving Vehicles (F)	71
					Vagrancy (N)	89		

11	Burglary (M)	80	----------	Other Traffic (M) Fraud (F) Violent Property Destruction (M)	49 74 70	----------
12	----------		----------	Family-Parent Status (M)	83	----------
13	----------		----------	Truancy (N) Forgery (M)	57 72	----------
14	----------		----------	Traffic-Moving Vehicles (F)	94	----------

* 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 PAI method with VARIMAX rotation (see SPSS Manual, pp. 468-516).

+ F=Felony; M=Misdemeanor; N=Juvenile Condition.

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

APPENDIX D

Having hypothesized that patterns of delinquency and crime are related to the meaningful dimensions of a city's social and economic organization, it was necessary to develop some measure or measures of phenomena which represent the product of social and economic activity. Space prohibits any lengthy discussion of the various models of urban growth and development and the research which has been conducted on types of residential areas. We took the position that land use and the characteristics of residential areas should be utilized in constructing a series of areas for analytic purposes.

Land use maps permitted us to develop a general map of the city's commercial, industrial, park, and public use areas (indicated on Maps 1 and 2). Block data from the 1960 and 1970 U.S. Censuses were utilized in developing scale scores representative of the housing characteristics of each block which, in turn, could be aggregated into relatively homogeneous subareas and then into larger Natural Areas.

The correlation of each of the five variables indicative of housing characteristics (average value of owner-occupied housing, average contract rent, percent of residences lacking all plumbing, percent of units renter-occupied, and percent of units overcrowded) with each other variable included in the scale for each year is presented in Table 1. The cutting points utilized for each variable for each year and the number and proportion of blocks with the characteristics indicative of poor housing are shown in Table 2. The various combinations of housing characteristics, the unique score of each, and the number of blocks with each score containing Black residents are shown in Table 3.

While a variety of scaling techniques were utilized, it was decided

TABLE 1. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DWELLING UNIT VARIABLES FOR 1960 AND 1970 BLOCK DATA*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Average Value Owner Occupied Housing	----	.75	-.46	-.46	-.24
2. Average Contract Rent	.92	----	-.46	-.40	-.14
3. Percent Lacking All Plumbing	-.23	-.29	----	.56	.24
4. Percent Units Renter Occupied	-.42	-.37	.43	----	.06
5. Percent Units Overcrowded	-.26	-.23	.02	.05	----

* 1960 correlations above diagonal, 1970 correlations below diagonal.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF BLOCKS IN RACINE 1960 AND 1970 ACCORDING TO NUMBER IN CATEGORIES THAT GENERATED POINTS FOR GEOMETRIC SCALE OF HOUSING TYPES

	1960			1970		
	Cutting Points	Number of Blocks	Percent of Total Blocks	Cutting Points	Number of Blocks	Percent of Total Blocks
Average Value Owner Occupied	-$10,000	193	18.4	-$12,501	211	18.4
Average Contract Rent	-$65	273	26.2	-$87	292	25.8
Percent Lacking All Plumbing	7% or +	295	28.3	2% or +	322	27.9
Percent Units Renter Occupied	40% or +	364	34.5	40% or +	390	34.5
Percent Units Overcrowded	9% or +	440	42.3	8% or +	484	42.0

TABLE 3. CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUAL GEOMETRIC SCORES

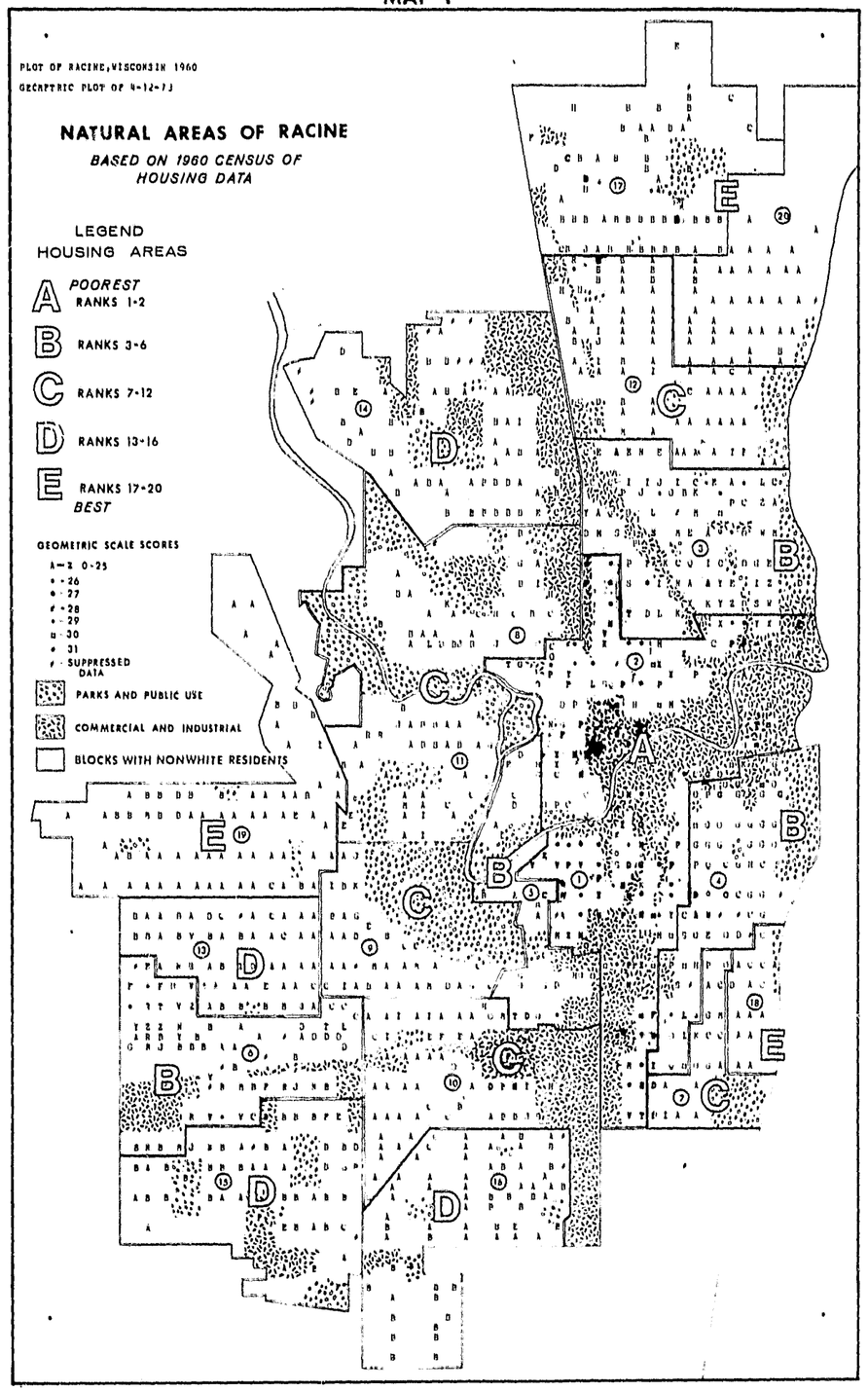
Geometric Scale Map Symbol	Score	Overcrowding	Renters	Lack Plumbing	Low Rent	Low Property Value	Total Number of Blocks Per Score and Percent Containing Non-White/Negro 1960		1970	
A	0						348	1.4	357	5.9
B	1	X					194	2.1	220	11.4
C	2		X				68	2.9	73	27.4
D	3	X	X				31	19.4	25	68.0
E	4			X			25	4.0	53	15.1
F	5	X		X			10	10.0	27	29.6
G	6		X	X			37	18.9	32	53.1
H	7	X	X	X			33	66.7	19	68.4
I	8				X		25	4.0	27	14.8
J	9	X			X		12	.0	16	37.5
K	10		X		X		10	.0	14	35.7
L	11	X	X		X		9	22.2	12	58.3
M	12			X	X		12	.0	12	16.2
N	13	X		X	X		5	.0	4	75.0
O	14		X	X	X		31	12.9	24	50.0
P	15	X	X	X	X		31	67.7	12	91.7
Q	16					X	6	.0	5	40.0
R	17	X				X	11	.0	13	30.8
S	18		X			X	8	12.5	6	83.3
T	19	X	X			X	7	71.4	7	42.9
U	20			X		X	2	.0	2	.0
V	21	X		X		X	11	54.5	2	50.0
W	22		X	X		X	4	50.0	9	55.6
X	23	X	X	X		X	14	71.4	12	91.7
Y	24				X	X	8	12.5	7	57.1
Z	25	X			X	X	6	.0	11	54.5
▪	26		X		X	X	6	33.3	15	66.7
◦	27	X	X		X	X	6	50.0	30	80.0
¢	28			X	X	X	6	16.7	11	54.5
•	29	X		X	X	X	11	63.6	13	84.6
▫	30		X	X	X	X	23	43.5	30	60.0
*	31	X	X	X	X	X	31	71.0	63	88.9
							1041	14.0	1163	32.7

that Geometric scores for blocks were best for the purposes of our research, each score representative of one, and only one, combination of housing characteristics. Although factor-analytic scores generated a similar ranking of blocks and subareas, categories of these scores did not represent distinct combinations of housing characteristics. These block data were utilized in generating the Subareas (numbered 1 through 20 in 1960 and 1 through 26 in 1970) shown on Maps 1 and 2 which were in turn combined into the larger Natural Areas (designated A, B, C, D, and E), also on Maps 1 and 2. The average Geometric score for each subarea is shown on Map 3, a computer-generated version of Map 2. Block data were also utilized in developing Map 4, which shows the shape of various housing areas outside of areas which are predominantly commercial-industrial or parks and public use areas. Computer-contoured versions of the 1960 and 1970 Natural Areas are presented in Maps 5 and 6. These maps have the advantage of showing how the average score of the 26 subareas may be combined into five larger Natural Areas.

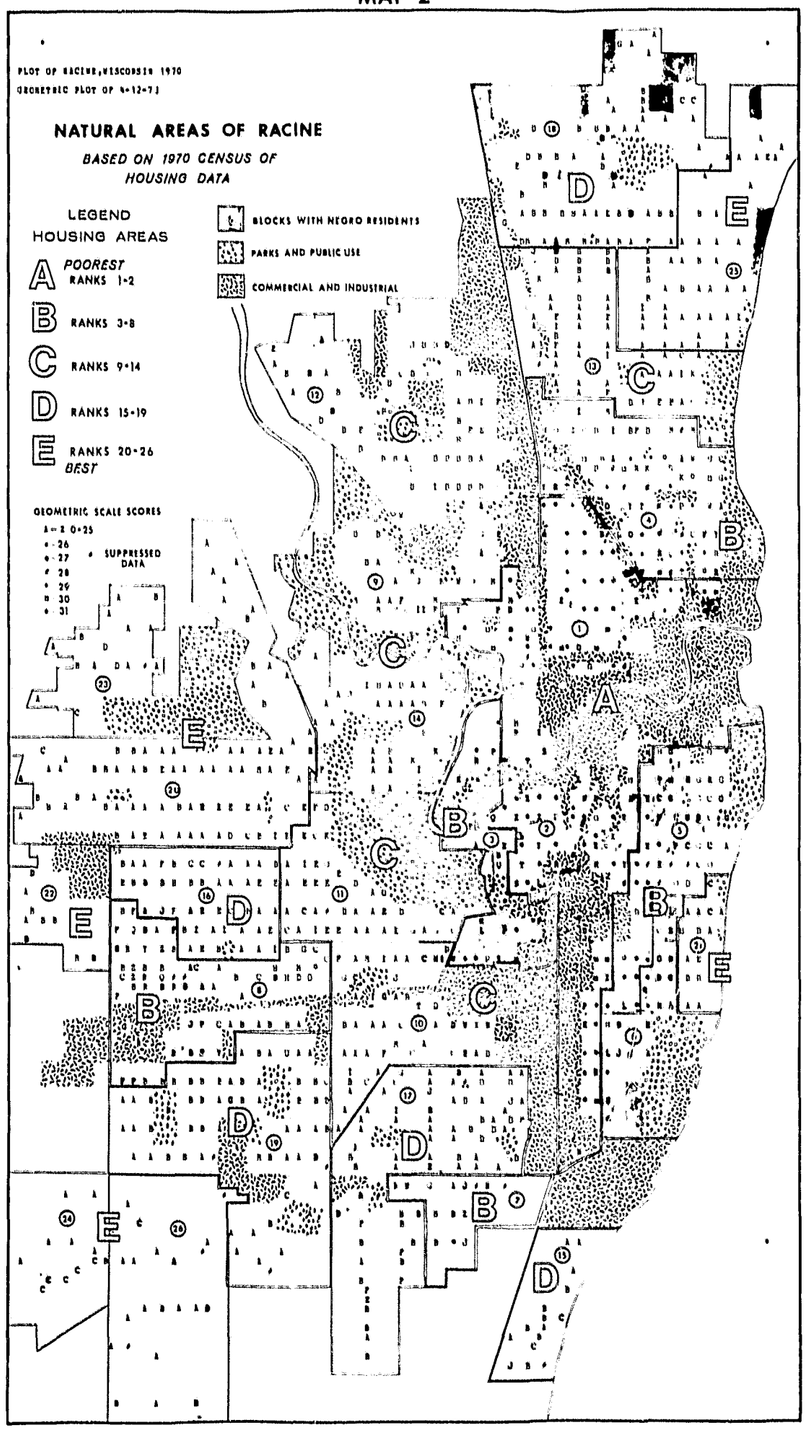
If police contacts are highly concentrated in the inner city and its interstitial areas with declining numbers in middle and outlying areas, maps for each cohort based on sheer numbers should approximate this pattern. If rates of police contact in Racine subareas and rates of police contact by the residents of subareas are highest in the inner city and interstitial areas, they should also produce a similar pattern.

While there are some heuristic advantages to visual presentation of the spatial distribution of housing characteristics and land use in Racine, for analytic purposes we statistically manipulate the characteristics of blocks or other areas in order to determine their relationship to delinquency and crime.

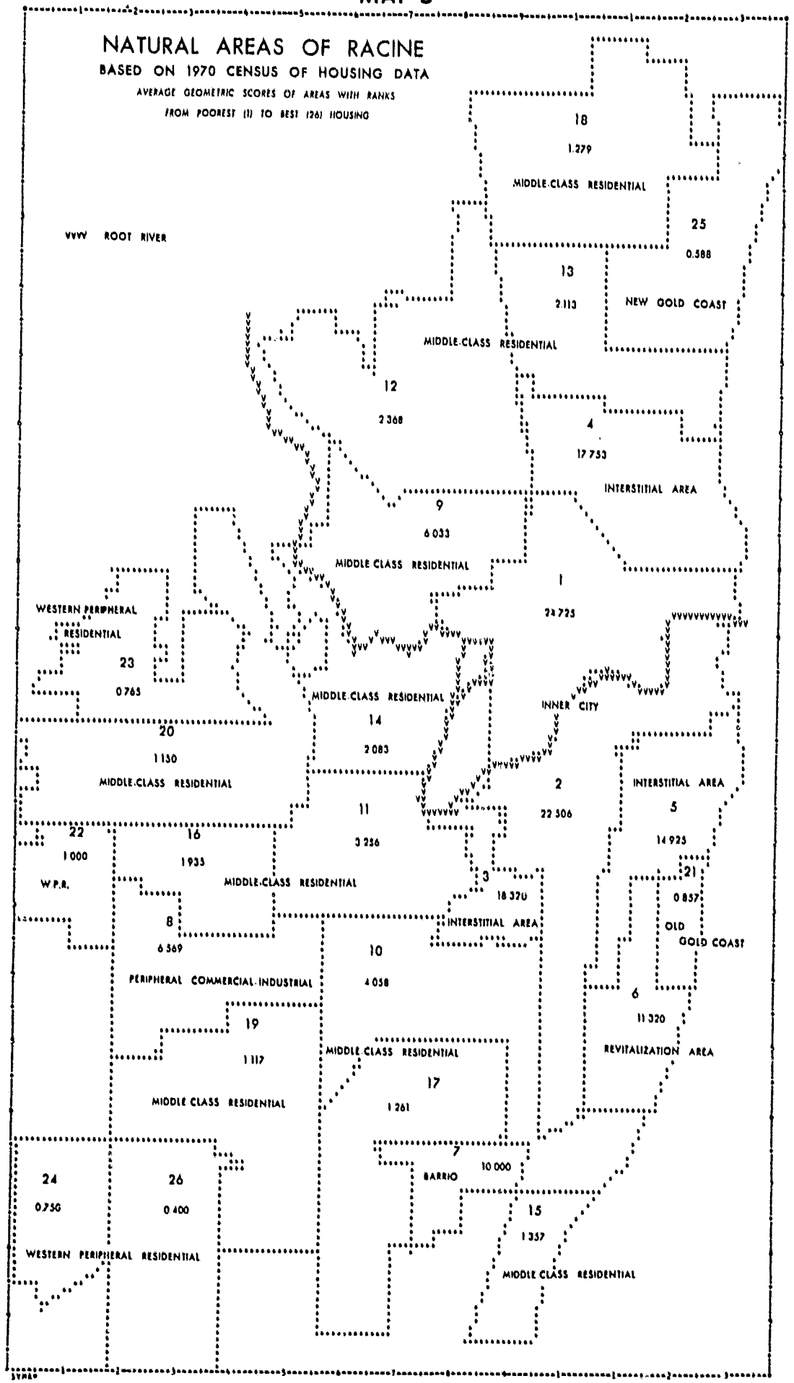
MAP 1



MAP 2


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 = 1 0-25
SUPPRESSED DATA

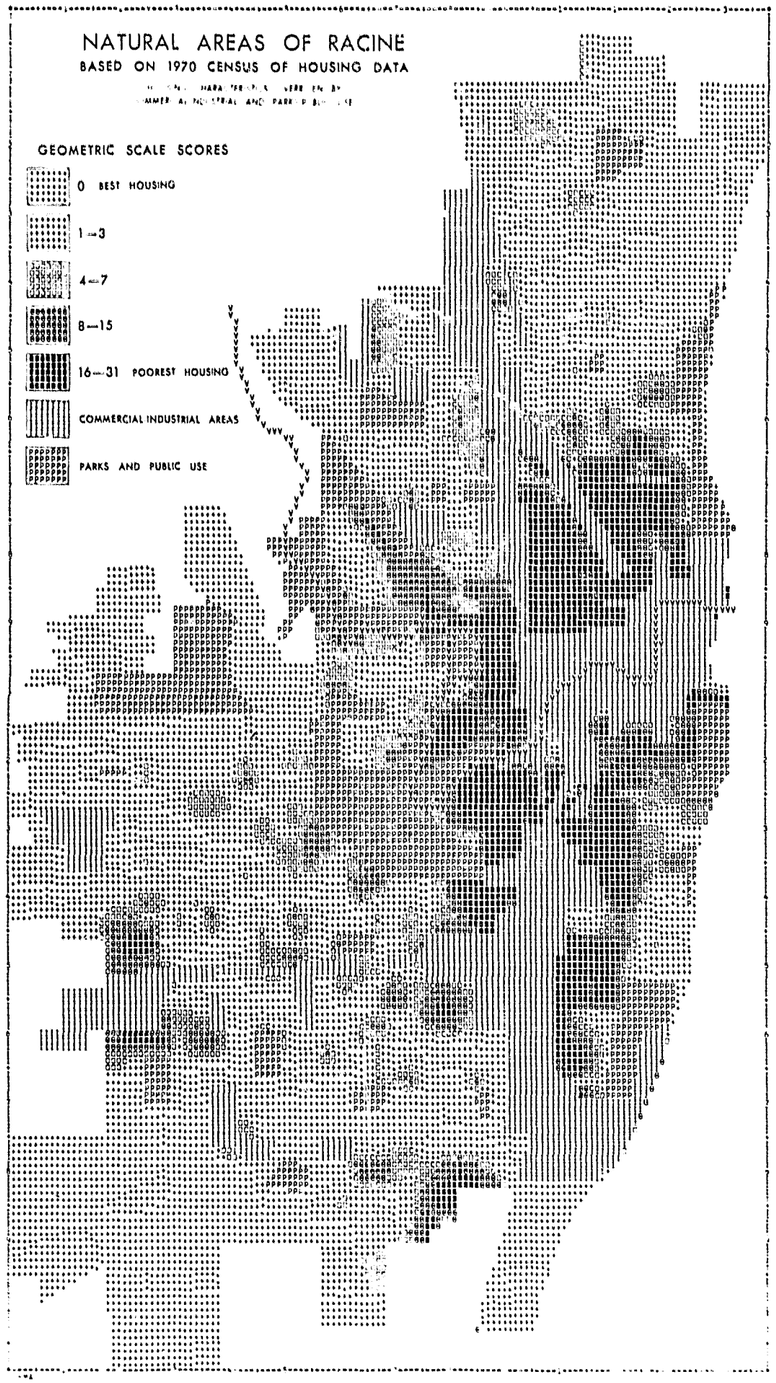
MAP 3


NATURAL AREAS OF RACINE
BASED ON 1970 CENSUS OF HOUSING DATA
AVERAGE GEOMETRIC SCORES OF AREAS WITH RANKS
FROM POOREST (1) TO BEST (26) HOUSING
VVVV ROOT RIVER
18
1.279
MIDDLE-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
25
0.588
13
2.113
NEW GOLD COAST
MIDDLE-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
12
2 368
4
17 753
INTERSTITIAL AREA
9
6 033
MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENTIAL
1
24 725
WESTERN PERIPHERAL RESIDENTIAL
23
0 765
MIDDLE-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
14
2 083
INNER CITY
20
1 130
MIDDLE-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
2
22 506
INTERSTITIAL AREA
5
14 925
11
3 256
22
1 000
W.P.R.
16
1 933
MIDDLE-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
3
18 320
21
0 857
OLD GOLD COAST
INTERSTITIAL AREA
8
6 569
10
4 058
PERIPHERAL COMMERCIAL-INDUSTRIAL
6
11 320
REVITALIZATION AREA
19
1 117
MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENTIAL
MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENTIAL
17
1 261
7
10 000
BARRIO
24
0 750
26
0 400
15
1 357
WESTERN PERIPHERAL RESIDENTIAL
MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENTIAL

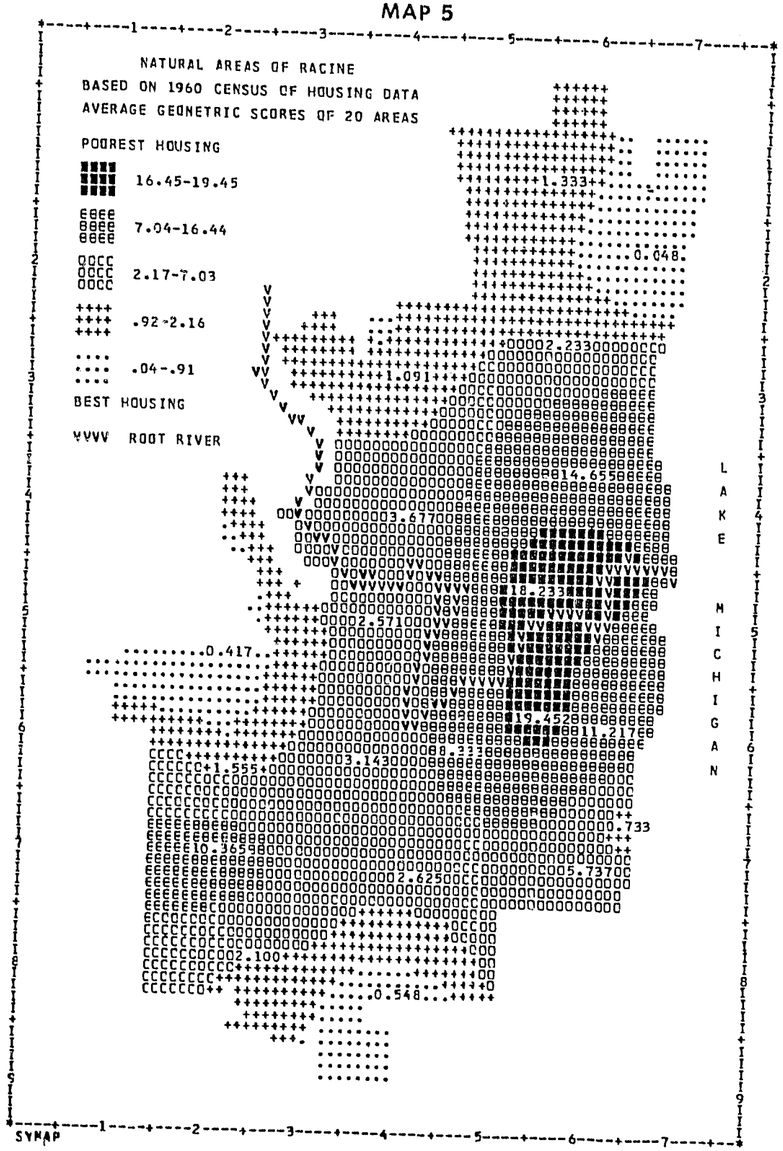
CONTINUED

9 OF 13

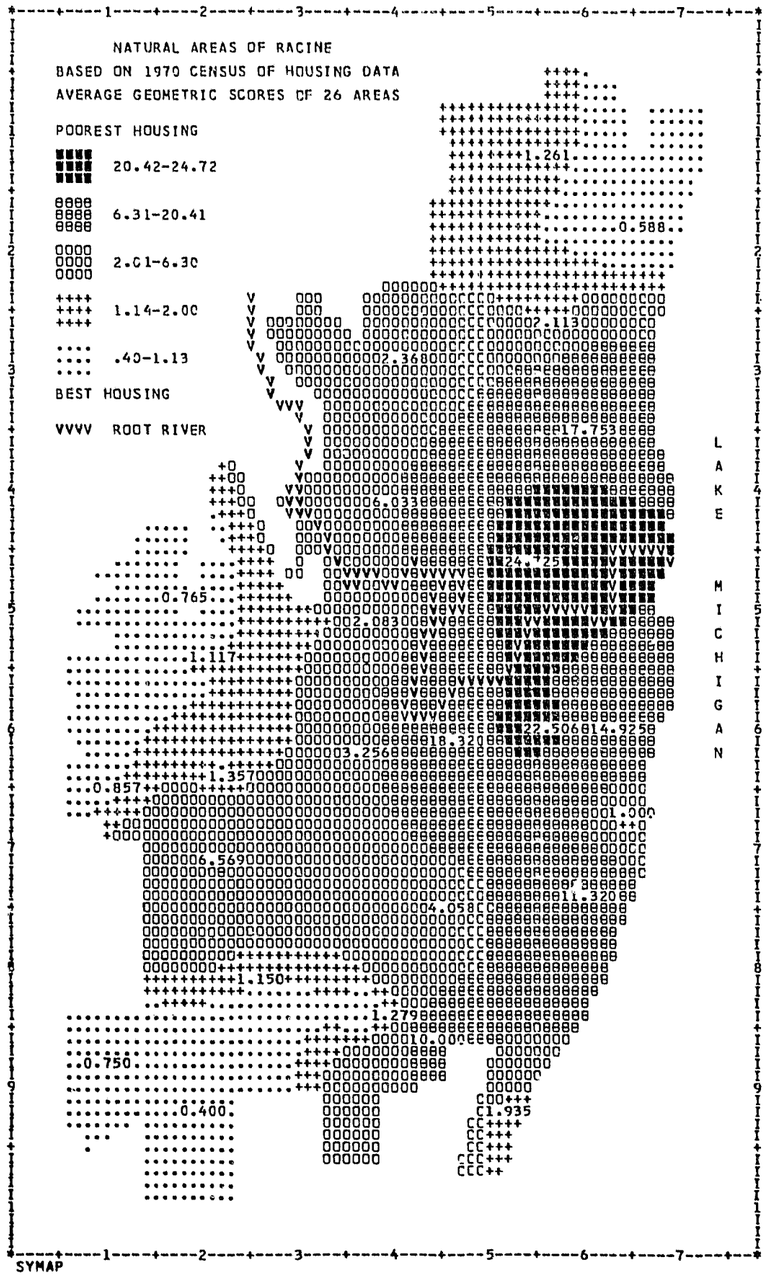
MAP 4


NATURAL AREAS OF RACINE
BASED ON 1970 CENSUS OF HOUSING DATA
GEOMETRIC SCALE SCORES
0 BEST HOUSING
1—3
4—7
8—15
16—31 POOREST HOUSING
COMMERCIAL INDUSTRIAL AREAS
PARKS AND PUBLIC USE

MAP 5


NATURAL AREAS OF RACINE
BASED ON 1960 CENSUS OF HOUSING DATA
AVERAGE GEOMETRIC SCORES OF 20 AREAS
POOREST HOUSING
16.45-19.45
7.04-16.44
2.17-7.03
.92-2.16
.04-.91
BEST HOUSING
ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 6



APPENDIX E

The data on place of residence for persons with contacts vs. place of contact have been presented in abbreviated form in Chapter 5. In this appendix more detailed information is presented for persons with greater interest in the ecology of delinquency and crime.

In order to visually represent the difference in these two patterns in yet another way than shown by the contoured maps in Chapter 5, four maps are included (1955 maps not completed) which indicate the number of police contacts which have been recorded in each block and the number of police contacts which have been acquired by persons residing in each block at the time of their contacts. The concentration of contacts in areas containing numerous taverns and other establishments (shown by overlay in Maps 1 and 3) which attract persons from not only the immediate area but from areas throughout the community is, as we have previously stated, responsible in part for the patterns observed. The considerably wider distribution of blocks in which persons resided at the time of their contacts may be noted by comparing Maps 1 and 3 with Maps 2 and 4.

Following the discussion of places of contact vs. places of residence we briefly describe the differences in subareas in terms of whether residents were contact-generating or contact-receiving or a combination (in that area or in others). The following pages describe tables which show the characteristics of each subarea in this respect.

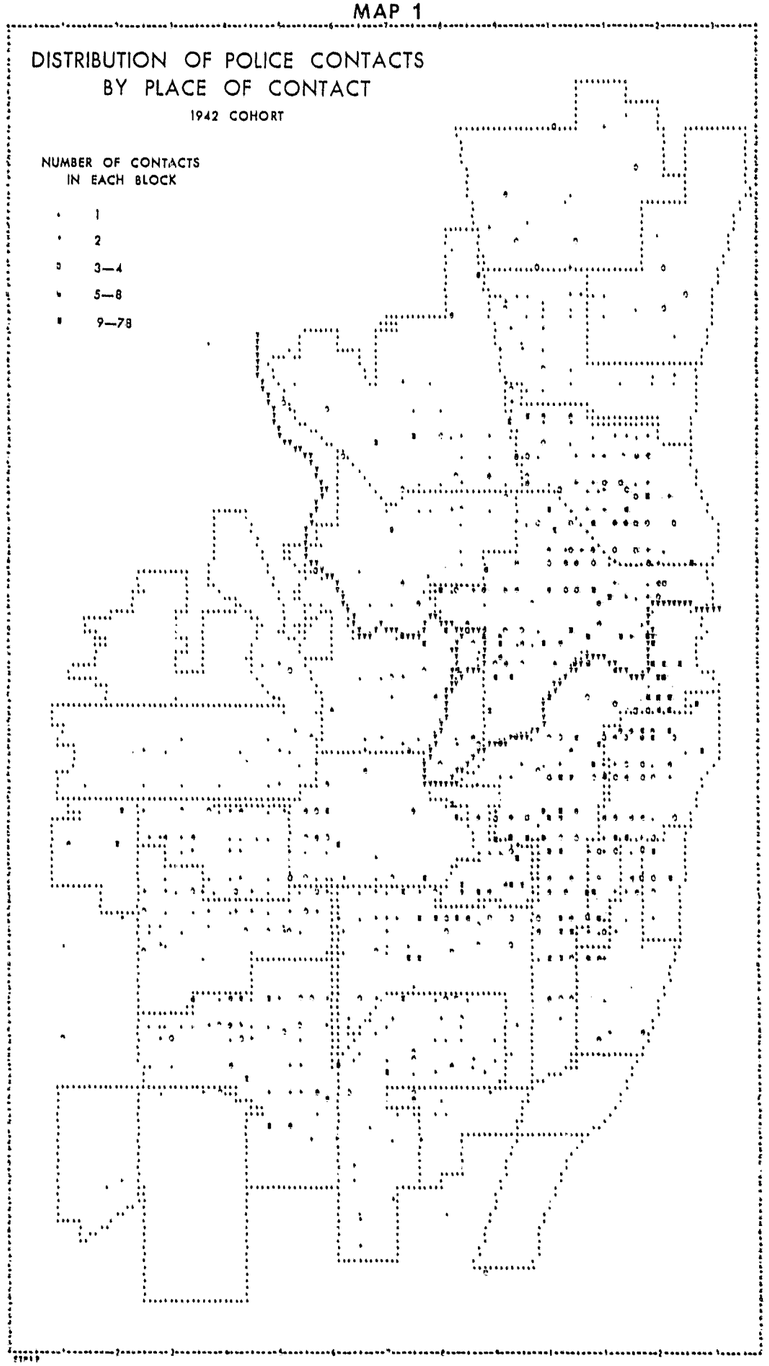
Tables 1, 2, and 3 show the proportion of all contacts for each cohort by place of contact and place of residence of persons at time of contact. Thus, it is possible to see where contacts originated for each subarea and where the people from each subarea had their police contacts. In the 1942

MAP 1

DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS
BY PLACE OF CONTACT
1942 COHORT

NUMBER OF CONTACTS
IN EACH BLOCK

- 1
- 2
- 3—4
- 5—8
- 9—78

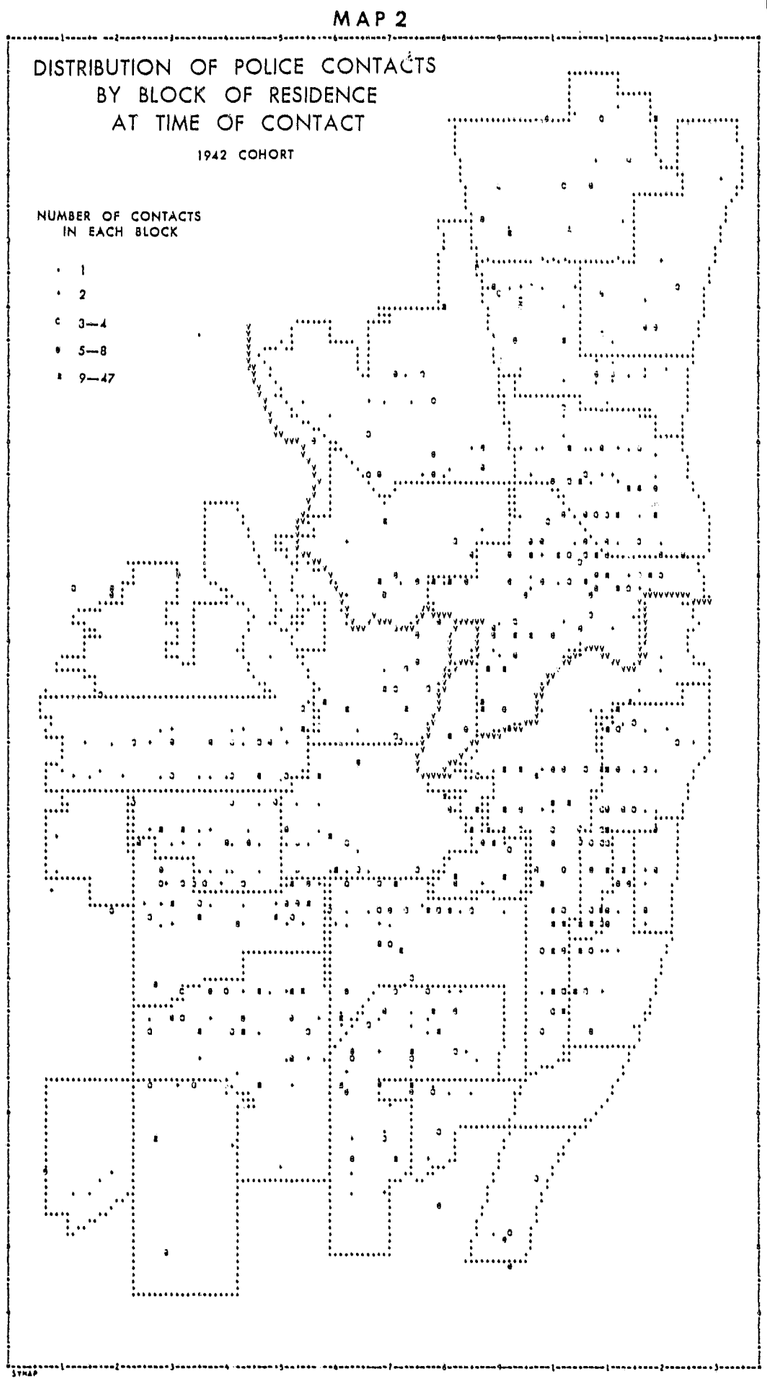


MAP 2

DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS
BY BLOCK OF RESIDENCE
AT TIME OF CONTACT
1942 COHORT

NUMBER OF CONTACTS
IN EACH BLOCK

- 1
- 2
- 3—4
- 5—8
- 9—47



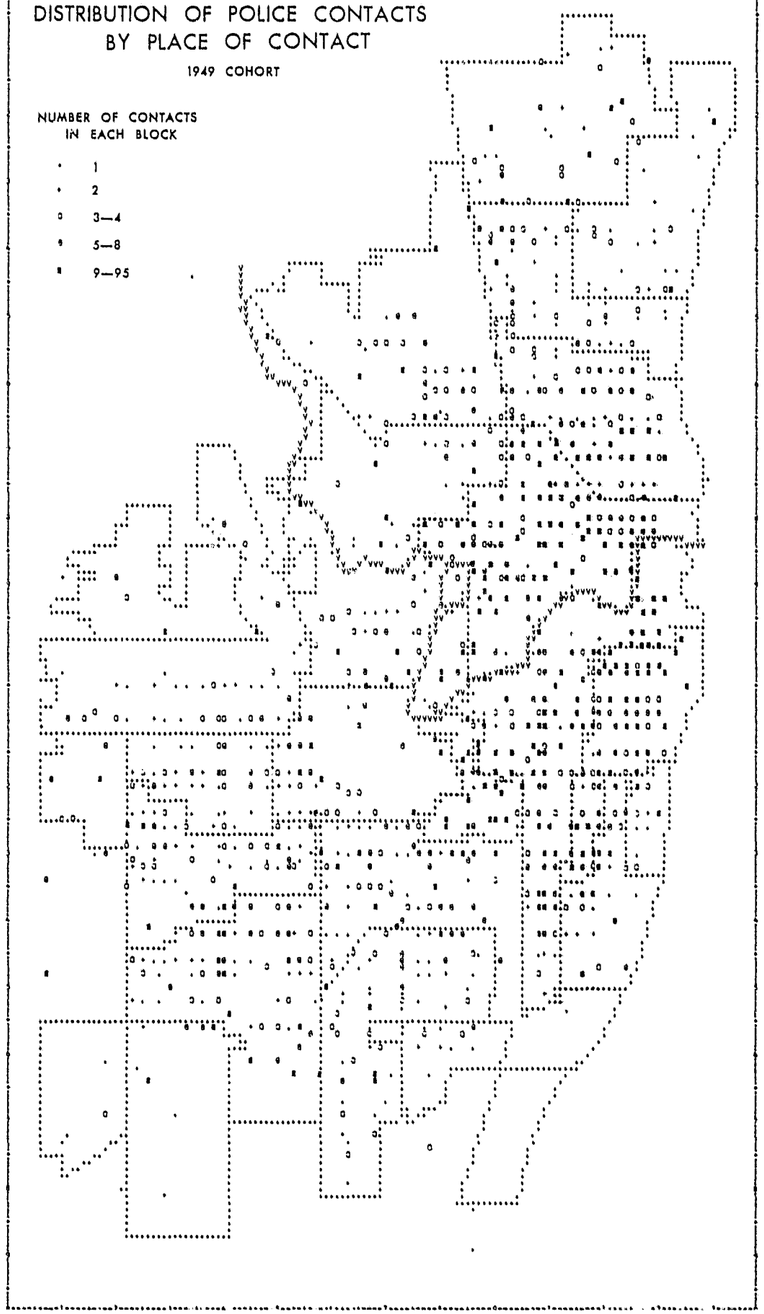
MAP 3

DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS
BY PLACE OF CONTACT

1949 COHORT

NUMBER OF CONTACTS
IN EACH BLOCK

- 1
- 2
- 3—4
- 5—8
- 9—95



MAP 4

DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS
BY BLOCK OF RESIDENCE
AT TIME OF CONTACT

1949 COHORT

NUMBER OF CONTACTS
IN EACH BLOCK

- 1
- 2
- 3—4
- 5—8
- 9—75

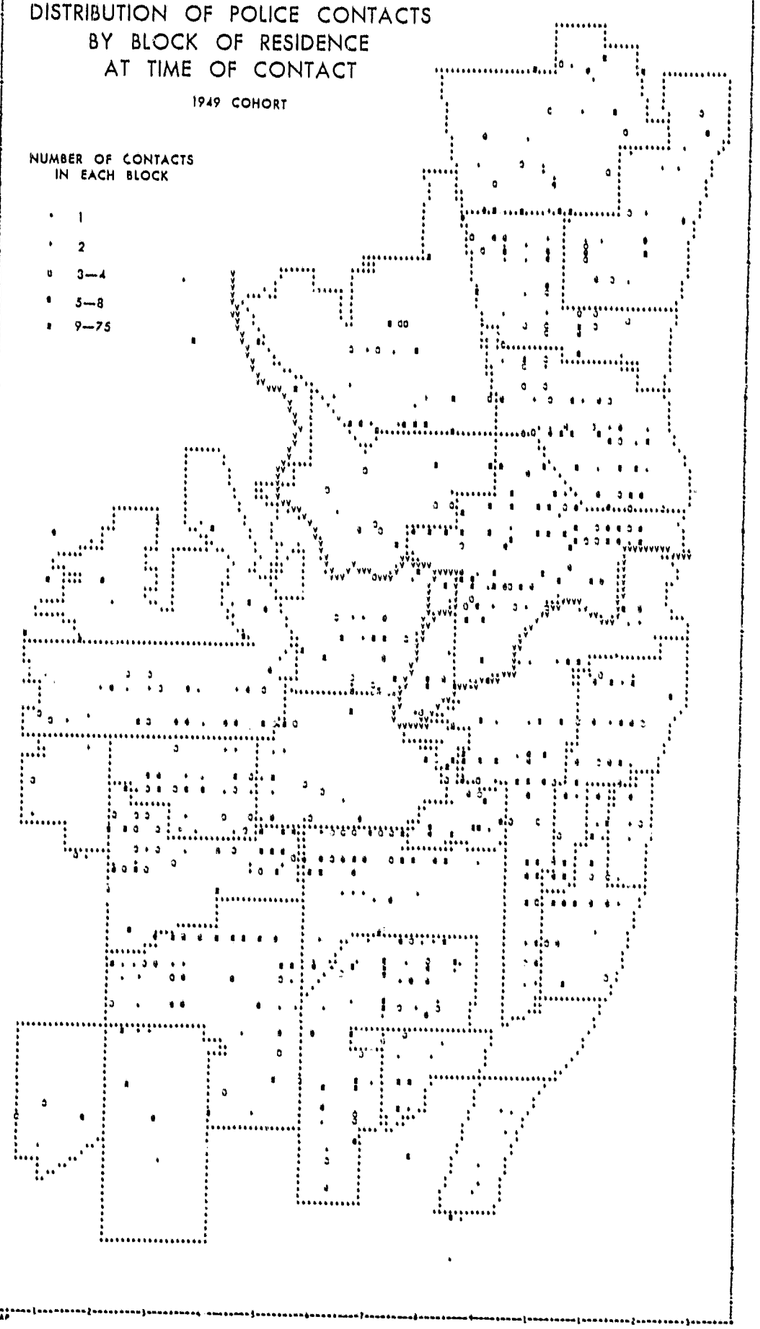


TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY PERCENT FOR 1942 COHORT BY PLACE OF CONTACT AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Subarea in Which Police Contact Took Place	Subarea of Residence at Time of Contact																													
	2	1	4	5	10	8	19	18	17	20	9	3	11	14	12	13	16	6	15	25	23	26	21	7	22	24	%
2	7.94	2.10	1.13	1.75	.92	.86	.80	.92	.50	.53	.65	.68	.98	.56	.56	.36	.36	.50	.89	.24	.18	.15	.12	.24	.03	.09	24.04
1	2.19	4.65	.83	.80	.24	.36	.12	.38	.21	.36	.74	.56	.24	.27	.44	.36	.03	.38	.12	.24	.09	.06	.06	.03		.03	13.79
5	1.10	.27	.41	2.52	.21	.27	.27	.33	.33	.12	.15	.21	.15	.30	.09		.09	.47	.12	.12	.12	.12		.03		.03	7.83
4	.18	.95	3.05	.27	.09	.24	.09	.44	.09	.06	.38	.18	.18	.12	.27	.62	.15		.09	.15	.03	.03	.06			.03	7.75
11	.36	.21	.21	.36	.47	.53	.30	.12	.24	.47	.03	.33	.89	.38	.15	.06	.33	.03	.12	.03	.06	.09	.06	.03	.06	.03	5.95
3	.62	.21	.09	.09	.38	.21	.18	.03	.36	.30		1.51	.24	.09		.12	.06	.06	.06	.03		.03	.09		.06		4.82
10	.12	.06	.03	.15	1.75	.12	.30	.06	.44	.09	.06	.09	.38	.06	.06	.09	.09	.18	.09					.09	.09	.03	4.43
19	.27	.09	.09	.15	.27	.27	1.48	.06	.36	.41	.03	.06	.12	.03		.03	.15	.06	.06	.09	.03	.15	.03	.03	.03	.06	4.41
12	.18	.44	.30	.03		.09		.15	.15	.03	.53		.09	.09	.80	.21		.03	.03	.03		.03					3.21
14	.06	.21		.06		.12	.09		.03	.33	.24	.06	.03	1.33	.12	.03	.09	.03	.03	.03	.18						3.07
9	.12	.56	.30	.06			.06	.03	.06	.06	1.18			.15	.12			.03		.06							2.79
13	.09	.30	.33	.12	.03	.06	.03	.50	.03	.06	.06	.09	.06	.03	.09	.68		.03	.03	.09	.03						2.74
17	.06	.06	.03	.15	.21	.18	.18	.03	.92	.12			.12	.03			.03	.06	.03				.03	.06		.03	2.33
8	.06			.09	.09	1.07	.15	.03	.06	.09		.09	.06	.09	.03		.12				.06			.03	.06		2.18
20	.03	.03	.06	.06	.09	.09	.03		.03	.95		.09	.06	.18			.15	.06	.03		.06	.03					2.00
18	.06	.12	.03	.12		.03		1.04	.03	.03		.03	.03	.06	.06	.06				.06		.03	.03				1.82
16	.06	.06	.06	.03	.03	.06	.06	.06	.27	.09	.03		.09	.09	.03	.03	.53				.03	.03			.06		1.70
25	.03	.18	.33		.06		.09	.12		.06	.03		.03		.03	.18	.03			.24							1.41
6	.41	.03	.06	.09	.12			.03	.03	.03			.03					.38	.09	.03				.03		.03	1.39
21	.09	.03	.06	.12		.03	.03	.03	.09	.09		.03	.12			.03	.03	.03		.03		.06	.18		.03	.03	1.14
22	.03	.06				.09	.15	.09	.03			.03													.03		.51
7	.03			.03				.03	.03								.03		.03					.06			.24
26	.06			.03			.06										.06										.24
15				.03						.03									.09								.15
24							.03		.03																	.06	.12
23																	.03										.03
%	14.15	10.62	7.40	7.11	4.96	4.68	4.50	4.48	4.32	4.31	4.11	4.01	3.90	3.86	2.88	2.86	2.56	2.33	1.91	1.47	.84	.81	.66	.63	.45	.45	100.00

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY PERCENT FOR 1949 COHORT BY PLACE OF CONTACT AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Subareas in Which Police Contact Took Place	Subarea of Residence at Time of Contact																										
	1	2	5	4	8	12	19	17	18	3	14	10	9	20	6	13	11	16	25	23	7	26	22	21	24	15	%
2	2.88	6.82	1.77	.79	.70	.70	.53	.66	.45	1.02	.39	.34	.36	.28	.65	.36	.39	.19	.26	.15	.18	.15	.11	.06	.09	.13	20.40
1	7.81	1.12	.53	.76	.21	.34	.24	.15	.21	.31	.23	.19	.53	.10	.15	.05	.03	.05	.13	.05	.06	.02			.03	.05	13.33
5	.84	.91	3.19	.23	.34	.26	.26	.26	.11	.28	.19	.10	.13	.23	.40	.15	.11	.08	.03	.02	.08	.02	.02	.05	.05	.06	8.40
4	1.33	.28	.28	3.33	.18	.57	.13	.13	.31	.10	.11	.10	.31	.08	.05	.26	.06	.03	.13	.05			.03	.06		.02	7.96
12	.81	.23	.16	.36	.08	1.85	.10	.06	.31	.02	.10	.05	.15	.08	.05	.32	.02	.03	.21	.06					.03		5.08
19	.26	.18	.15	.08	.40	.02	1.81	.55	.03	.08	.05	.19	.06	.03	.06		.13	.18	.03	.03	.06	.13	.06		.05	.06	1.68
11	.52	.52	.16	.10	.50	.06	.19	.21	.03	.11	.32	.19	.03	.31	.05	.02	.68	.29	.05	.08	.05	.05	.02		.06	.02	4.48
3	.65	.55	.10	.08	.23	.13	.21	.16	.03	1.21	.06	.11	.03	.13	.03		.11	.06			.06	.02		.03		.02	4.01
8	.15	.13	.08	.03	2.12	.13	.34	.16		.05	.03	.16	.03	.06	.05		.02	.08	.05	.05	.02	.05	.06	.02	.02	.02	4.01
10	.11	.18	.19	.11	.26	.06	.19	.21	.02	.11	.31	1.21		.10	.10	.06	.11	.05	.02	.02	.06	.02	.02				3.35
17	.05	.26	.06	.03	.10	.03	.23	1.65	.06	.05	.62	.10		.03	.11	.02	.02	.02	.02	.05	.18	.03			.03		3.15
13	.28	.15	.05	.40	.05	.21	.03	.10	.31	.02	.02	.06	.08	.08		.87	.03	.02	.18	.02			.02	.02			3.05
18	.13	.16	.08	.11	.16	.15	.03	.06	1.43	.62	.05	.02	.08	.05	.02	.08		.05	.26			.02		.02	.02		3.00
14	.32	.08	.06	.06	.08	.02	.02	.02	.05	.03	1.34	.05	.05	.11			.02	.05	.02	.03		.02					2.53
9	.29	.08	.03	.10	.10	.18	.03	.05	.10	.05	.05	.03	.85	.02	.02	.03		.02			.02	.02	.02				2.10
20	.10	.10	.10	.03	.03	.08	.08	.02	.03	.02	.13	.02	.02	.24	.02	.02	.13	.10	.02	.11			.03				1.93
6	.10	.44	.18	.08		.03	.03	.03	.05	.08		.02	.02	.02	.02		.05							.08	.05		1.88
16	.03	.08	.02	.03	.19	.05	.13	.05	.02		.05			.08	.02	.03	.11	.66		.05			.03	.02			1.65
23	.11	.03	.06	.21	.05	.06	.10	.02	.23	.02	.03	.02		.03		.11	.03	.03	.52	.02					.02	.02	1.52
22	.06		.02	.03	.23	.06	.02	.03	.06	.02	.02	.02		.08	.02	.02	.08	.03		.03			.10				.93
26	.19	.08	.05	.03	.08	.05	.05	.02			.05	.05			.03		.05		.02		.03	.05	.02	.02		.02	.89
21	.08	.03	.16	.05	.03	.02	.02	.05		.02	.05			.03	.05	.05			.03					.45	.02		.81
25	.03			.02		.02	.03		.03					.03						.19							.55
24			.02		.02	.03		.03				.03		.03			.02	.03		.02			.02	.02	.05		.52
7	.02	.03	.02	.02				.06							.02	.02					.10						.29
15	.05	.02			.08																					.02	.17
%	17.00	12.48	7.50	7.09	6.23	5.11	4.90	4.75	3.87	3.62	3.56	3.06	2.71	2.75	2.52	2.47	2.20	2.05	1.78	1.03	.90	.60	.56	.55	.51	.45	100.00

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY PERCENT FOR 1955 COHORT BY PLACE OF CONTACT AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Subarea in Which Police Contact Took Place	Subarea of Residence at Time of Contact																											
	1	2	4	5	8	3	18	19	12	10	6	17	11	20	9	7	13	16	14	23	25	24	21	26	22	15	%
2	1.85	6.64	.74	1.87	.33	.77	.41	.31	.35	.24	.58	.24	.18	.26	.18	.30	.14	.04	.04	.11	.10	.07	.10	.09	.06	.09	16.09
1	8.73	1.26	.98	.44	.11	.77	.24	.09	.23	.10	.24	.06	.11	.09	.24	.04	.11	.06	.01	.04	06	.01				.01	14.03
4	1.59	.38	5.32	.23	.14	.18	.27	.07	.58	.07	.06	.16	.04	.07	.13	.06	.30	.09	.04	.06	.07	.04	.03	.04	.01	.01	10.04
5	.64	1.48	.21	2.71	.10	.16	.09	.03	.03	.11	.38	.07	.06	.11	.01	.07	.03	.04	.09	.09	.06		.11	.04	.04	.01	6.77
12	1.08	.07	.43	.16	.04	.11	.34	.06	2.07	.07	.09	.04	.03	.07	.26	.01	.21	.03	.04	.04	.04	.01	.03	.04			5.39
19	.18	.23	.09	.10	.31	.14	.07	2.24	.10	.13	.14	.27	.13	.16	.01	.27	.01	.10	.03	.06	.01	.13	.03	.06		.01	5.01
3	.80	.11	.04	.09	.20	2.56	.09	.06	.03	.06	.06	.06	.04	.03	.01	.03	.03	.01				.01	.01	.01	.01		4.65
11	.24	.41	.09	.20	.43	.40	.03	.28	.07	.23	.16	.11	1.29	.16	.06	.10	.01	.06	.10	.04	.01	.03	.04	.03	.03		4.61
8	.20	.16	.01		2.74	.06	.01	.10	.01	.11		.06	.16	.04	.01	.03	.01	.10	.01	.07		.07		.04	.03	.03	4.36
10	.24	.17	.06	.03	.16	.14	.01	.27	.01	1.70	.07	.26	.07	.06	.01	.07	.03		.03	.03	.01	.03	.04	.07	.01		3.55
18	.17	.07	.31	.09	.04	.04	2.23	.01	.13	.04	.01		.01	.01	.01		.16		.01	.01	.14	.01					3.50
17	.04	.26		.07	.10	.13	.01	.11	.01	.20	.10	1.21		.04	.03	.47			.01			.04		.04	.01	.01	2.89
15	.43	.06	.37	.01	.03		.45	.04	.23	.03	.03		.07		.03		.41		.03	.04	.16			.01		.01	2.47
9	.41	.09	.18	.09	.07	.06	.07	.09	.18	.03	.03		.03	.01	.78		.03		.04	.03	.01	.01		.01		.01	2.26
20	.16	.07	.07	.06	.18	.06	.03	.11	.06	.04		.07	.16	.68	.09	.03	.01	.07	.06	.10	.01			.01	.03	.01	2.17
6	.21	.23	.01	.31	.03	.03			.03	.01	1.06	.01		.01	.01	.06			.01	.01	.01		.04	.03			2.14
16	.06	.09	.03		.41	.04	.03	.11	.03		.01	.04	.20	.10		.01		.54	.01	.02	.01				.01	.03	1.83
14	.35	.10	.01	.01	.06	.03	.07	.04	.04	.06			.18	.11	.09			.03	.53	.04		.01		.01		.01	1.78
22	.14	.14	.03	.13	.27	.93	.04	.09	.03	.06	.01	.04	.01	.11	.01	.04	.01	.10	.01	.07		.04		.01	.10	.07	1.62
26	.09	.14	.03	.07	.16	.06	.04	.09	.04	.03	.09	.06	.01	.01		.03	.01	.03	.01			.07	.01	.07		.04	1.19
25	.17	.06	.07	.03	.01	.09	.20		.09	.01	.01	.03		.01	.06		.09		.01	.01	.17				.01		1.13
21	.01	.09	.01	.10		.03		.01			.10	.01	.01		.03			.04		.01		.01	.21				.67
7	.01	.06		.01	.01	.03		.04			.01	.10	.01			.21											.49
24	.03	.03	.01	.03	.06			.04	.01			.01					.01			.03	.01	.16	.01	.04			.48
23		.06	.03		.01		.01	.01	.04					.06					.04	.21							.47
15																.01			.01								.02
%	17.83	12.76	9.13	6.87	6.00	5.89	4.74	4.60	4.40	3.33	3.24	2.94	2.80	2.20	2.06	1.84	1.61	1.34	1.20	1.19	.88	.75	.66	.65	.35	.35	99.61

Cohort, for example, 7.94% of all contacts took place in Subarea 2 and were by persons from that subarea. One also notes that 16.9% of all contacts took place in Subareas 1 and 2 and were generated by persons from those subareas. Going a step further, we see that 30.1% of all contacts occurred in Subareas 1, 2, 4, and 5 and were generated by persons in those areas. For the 1949 Cohort, 32.9% and for the 1955 Cohort, 35.1% of all contacts occurred in these subareas and were generated by persons who resided there at that time.

As the first step in simplifying the presentation of areas of origin of persons experiencing police contacts in each of the subareas, i.e., where they came from as opposed to where they had contacts as discussed in detail in Chapter 5, contributing areas to each area were trichotomized as number of persons experiencing contacts:

1) in home area;

2) from contiguous areas;

3) from other than home area or contiguous areas (all others).

We have only touched on the fact that there are differences by subarea in terms of where those who have contacts in the area originate, in addition to contacts by those who live in the subarea. Some subareas received 98% of their contacts from the top 10 subareas contributing to them; this indicates that the persons generating contacts in these subareas were not nearly so dispersed throughout the city as was the case for the inner city subareas, notably Subareas 1 and 2 in which persons from every cohort who resided in every or almost every subarea had contacts at one time or another during their careers. There were also sufficient cohort differences to make it difficult to say anything except that while inner city and interstitial areas

were places of contact for persons who resided in almost every subarea including the extreme periphery of the city, there were also subareas in the second tier of areas and subareas on the periphery in which people from almost every subarea had police contacts. Subareas as ranked by the proportion of their contacts which were generated by persons who lived outside the subarea (percentages are given for those from the subarea, from contiguous subareas, and from other subareas) are shown in Table 4. What we must always remember is that the number of persons residing in each subarea varied greatly, as did the number of contacts that people in each subarea produced, so that this in itself could influence the likelihood that areas contiguous to another area would play a large part in its police contacts. Subareas with relatively few persons from each cohort residing in them and in which there are relatively few police contacts may also shift their ranking between cohorts on a more or less chance basis. Subarea 15 is an example of the latter.

What this table does make apparent, however, is that even though there are relatively few contacts in some of the peripheral subareas, persons from outside the subarea, contiguous and otherwise, do have contacts in them. Subareas in the top ranks in Table 4 are, with few exceptions, located on the periphery of the city. In other words, Table 5 in the text reveals that a great proportion of the contacts occur in a person's subarea of residence or contiguous areas while Table 4 in this appendix reveals that some subareas receive large proportions of their contacts from remote as well as contiguous subareas.

This pattern of concentration and movement indicates that some subareas in the city merit special attention because of the disproportional contribution that persons from other subareas make to them.

TABLE 4. PERCENT OF CONTACTS IN AREA CONTRIBUTED BY PERSONS FROM COHORT RESIDING IN SUBAREA, CONTIGUOUS SUBAREAS, AND OTHER SUBAREAS, RANKED BY PERCENT OF CONTACTS CONTRIBUTED BY PERSONS FROM OUTSIDE SUBAREA 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORTS

Rank	1942				1949				1955			
	Area	% Own	% Contiguous	% Other	Area	% Own	% Contiguous	% Other	Area	% Own	% Contiguous	% Other
1	23	.0	.0	100.0	26	5.6	5.6	89.4	15	.0	.0	100.0
2	26	.0	25.0	75.0	15	10.0	.0	90.0	26	6.0	13.1	81.2
3	22	5.9	17.6	76.5	22	10.5	36.9	52.9	22	6.0	29.3	64.8
4	11	15.0	42.5	42.5	11	15.1	39.6	45.4	25	15.0	25.0	60.4
5	21	15.8	13.1	70.8	24	15.8	.0	84.3	13	16.7	48.8	34.2
6	25	17.0	21.3	61.7	21	17.6	25.5	57.0	11	28.1	29.6	42.2
7	7	25.0	12.5	62.5	25	21.3	22.3	56.5	14	29.1	42.5	28.4
8	13	25.0	37.1	38.3	13	29.0	37.6	33.1	16	29.2	39.3	31.5
9	12	25.0	37.1	37.9	3	30.1	37.0	32.8	21	30.6	28.6	40.5
10	6	27.7	36.2	36.0	6	33.0	37.4	29.4	24	31.4	8.6	60.2
11	3	31.3	31.9	36.7	2	33.4	32.7	33.9	20	31.4	19.0	49.9
12	16	31.6	17.6	51.2	7	35.3	23.5	41.3	9	34.4	28.1	37.7
13	5	32.3	20.2	47.4	10	36.1	32.8	31.4	12	38.4	22.8	38.8
14	2	33.0	24.8	42.1	12	36.4	22.4	41.3	5	40.0	29.2	30.6
15	19	33.8	23.7	43.0	5	38.0	16.2	46.0	2	41.3	33.0	25.7
16	1	33.8	33.3	32.8	19	38.5	27.1	34.4	17	41.5	26.8	31.9
17	4	39.5	23.7	36.6	20	39.0	26.3	34.4	7	41.7	19.4	39.0
18	10	39.6	32.9	27.3	9	39.8	26.6	33.8	23	44.1	11.8	44.0
19	17	39.7	19.3	41.2	16	40.6	25.8	33.9	19	44.1	16.4	39.7
20	20	42.1	18.4	39.2	4	41.2	27.4	30.9	10	47.8	29.2	23.2
21	9	42.6	29.8	27.6	18	48.4	16.4	34.6	6	49.0	26.9	24.5
22	14	43.7	28.2	28.2	17	52.6	16.0	31.1	4	53.0	24.6	22.4
23	8	49.3	21.8	28.7	8	53.0	18.9	27.6	3	55.0	28.1	16.6
24	24	50.0	.0	50.0	23	54.5	9.1	36.3	1	62.2	23.3	14.4
25	18	57.4	9.9	32.6	14	57.1	21.1	21.6	8	62.7	18.2	18.9
26	15	60.0	.0	40.0	1	58.6	22.1	19.5	18	63.1	12.0	24.8

One might again say that it is a question of where activity takes place that occupies the police and where the people reside who engage in behavior that is productive of so much attention from the police.

Table 5 enables us to grasp the data (with controls for race/ethnicity) in terms of where police contacts are generated and whether or not they are generated by persons residing in the subarea, persons from contiguous subareas, or from other subareas differently from previous tables. Here we can see the disproportionate concentration of contacts in the inner city and the variable race/ethnic contribution to these contacts as well. Were we to assume that every subarea had an equal likelihood of having police contacts occur in it, then 3.85% of the contacts would be found in each subarea. Since subareas differ in size, population, and social organization, all of these variables influence the distribution of contacts. (The total percents for each subarea will differ slightly from those in Tables 1, 2, and 3 because race/ethnic and source percentages have been rounded.)

Subareas 1, 2, 4, and 5, all sizeable inner city and interstitial subareas, have more contacts than would be expected from all cohorts, more generated within the subarea than the average. Subareas 3, 10, 11, and 19 are consistently higher than average for the 1942 Cohort, as were Subareas 3, 8, 11, 12, and 19 for the 1949 Cohort and Subareas 3, 8, 10, 11, 12, and 19 for the 1955 Cohort. One readily notes the concentration of contacts by Blacks in Subareas 1 and 2 for the 1942 Cohort, in Subareas 1, 2, and 5 for the 1949 Cohort, and their dispersion through Subareas 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 11 for the 1955 Cohort. And it is in only Subareas 1 and 2 for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts that Chicanos make up any sizeable proportion of the total

TABLE 5. PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTACTS TAKING PLACE IN EACH SUBAREA ACCORDING TO SOURCE AND RACE/ETHNICITY OF PERSONS*

Area	1942 White	Black	Chicano	Total	Area	1949 White	Black	Chicano	Total	Area	1955 White	Black	Chicano	Total
2					2					2				
Own	2.46	5.42	.06	7.94		2.67	3.76	.39	6.82		1.15	4.71	.78	6.64
Contiguous	4.62	1.21	.12	5.95		3.77	2.45	.44	6.66		1.59	3.34	.38	5.31
Other	9.92	.06	.15	10.13		6.35	.23	.34	6.92		3.41	.28	.46	4.15
Total	17.00	6.69	.33	24.02		12.79	6.44	1.17	20.40		6.15	8.33	1.62	16.10
1					1					1				
Own	2.90	1.33	.41	4.64		3.72	3.04	1.04	7.80		3.17	4.66	.91	8.74
Contiguous	2.84	1.72	.03	4.59		1.67	1.09	.19	2.95		1.32	1.70	.24	3.26
Other	4.09	.38	.06	4.53		2.06	.29	.23	2.58		1.39	.47	.18	2.04
Total	9.83	3.43	.50	13.76		7.45	4.42	1.46	13.33		5.88	6.83	1.33	14.04
5					5					4				
Own	2.40	.12	-----	2.52		2.72	.37	.10	3.19		4.67	.31	.34	5.32
Contiguous	.92	.65	-----	1.57		.74	.60	.02	1.36		1.57	.62	.27	2.46
Other	3.58	.12	-----	3.70		2.98	.53	.32	3.83		1.90	.25	.13	2.28
Total	6.90	.89	-----	7.79		6.44	1.50	.44	8.38		8.14	1.18	.74	10.06
4					4					5				
Own	3.02	-----	.03	3.05		2.95	.19	.10	3.24		1.38	1.21	.13	2.71
Contiguous	1.66	.15	.03	1.84		1.39	.50	.26	2.15		.30	1.38	.30	1.98
Other	2.75	.09	-----	2.84		2.17	.19	.10	2.46		1.32	.59	.20	2.11
Total	7.43	.24	.06	7.73		6.51	.88	.46	7.85		3.00	3.18	.60	6.78
11					12					12				
Own	.86	-----	.03	.89		1.83	-----	.02	1.85		2.00	.01	.06	2.07
Contiguous	2.52	-----	-----	2.52		1.07	.03	.03	1.13		1.05	.06	.13	1.24
Other	2.34	.18	-----	2.52		1.51	.39	.19	2.09		1.24	.67	.18	2.09
Total	5.72	.18	.03	5.93		4.41	.42	.24	5.07		4.29	.74	.37	5.40
3					19					19				
Own	1.24	.21	.06	1.51		1.57	-----	.24	1.81		2.13	.06	.06	2.25
Contiguous	.98	.50	.06	1.54		1.25	.02	-----	1.27		.80	.01	.03	.84
Other	1.72	.03	.03	1.78		1.18	.31	.15	1.64		1.07	.68	.24	1.99
Total	3.94	.74	.15	4.83		4.00	.33	.39	4.72		4.00	.75	.33	5.08

* No contacts by race/ethnic group in area or less than .01% from source category.

Area	1942 White	Black	Chicano	Total	Area	1949 White	Black	Chicano	Total	Area	1955 White	Black	Chicano	Total
19					11					3				
Own	1.48	-----	-----	1.48		.68	-----	-----	.68		1.76	.61	.18	2.55
Contiguous	1.04	-----	-----	1.04		1.68	.05	.05	1.78		.35	.81	.14	1.30
Other	1.60	.24	.03	1.87		1.23	.66	.15	2.04		.63	.07	.09	.79
Total	4.12	.24	.03	4.39		3.59	.71	.20	4.50		2.74	1.49	.41	4.64
10					3					11				
Own	1.75	-----	-----	1.75		.91	.26	.05	1.22		1.25	.01	.03	1.29
Contiguous	1.42	.03	-----	1.45		.68	.65	.16	1.49		.97	.31	.09	1.37
Other	1.18	.03	-----	1.21		1.05	.06	.21	1.32		.86	.86	.22	1.94
Total	4.35	.06	-----	4.41		2.64	.97	.42	4.03		3.08	1.18	.34	4.60
12					8					8				
Own	.77	.03	-----	.80		2.02	.06	.03	2.11		2.47	.04	.23	2.74
Contiguous	1.18	-----	-----	1.18		.70	-----	.06	.76		.77	-----	.03	.80
Other	1.07	.15	-----	1.22		.92	.11	.08	1.11		.57	.19	.08	.84
Total	3.02	.18	-----	3.20		3.64	.17	.17	3.98		3.81	.23	.34	4.38
14					10					10				
Own	1.33	-----	-----	1.33		1.20	-----	.02	1.22		1.66	.01	.04	1.71
Contiguous	.86	-----	-----	.86		.97	.06	.06	1.09		.89	.10	.04	1.03
Other	.83	.03	-----	.86		.94	.05	.06	1.05		.53	.13	.16	.82
Total	3.02	.03	-----	3.05		3.11	.11	.14	3.36		3.08	.24	.24	3.56
9					17					18				
Own	1.15	.03	-----	1.18		1.62	.02	.02	1.66		2.19	.01	.03	2.23
Contiguous	.74	.06	.03	.83		.32	.03	.15	.50		.43	-----	-----	.43
Other	.71	.06	-----	.77		.76	.16	.06	.98		.69	.13	.06	.88
Total	2.60	.15	.03	2.78		2.70	.21	.23	3.14		3.31	.14	.09	3.54
13					13					17				
Own	.68	-----	-----	.68		.87	-----	-----	.87		1.19	.01	-----	1.20
Contiguous	1.01	-----	-----	1.01		1.09	.03	.02	1.14		.33	.18	.27	.78
Other	.86	.12	.06	1.04		.68	.21	.11	1.00		.50	.36	.07	.93
Total	2.55	.12	.06	2.73		2.64	.24	.13	3.01		2.02	.55	.34	2.91
17					18					13				
Own	.86	-----	.06	.92		1.10	.31	.02	1.43		.38	.03	-----	.41
Contiguous	.44	-----	-----	.44		.49	-----	-----	.49		1.14	.06	.01	1.21
Other	.89	.03	.03	.95		.96	.03	.05	1.04		.57	.21	.08	.86
Total	2.19	.03	.09	2.31		2.55	.34	.07	2.96		2.09	.30	.09	2.48

Area	1942 White	Black	Chicano	Total	Area	1949 White	Black	Chicano	Total	Area	1955 White	Black	Chicano	Total
20					14					9				
Own	.95	-----	-----	.95		1.44	-----	-----	1.44		.64	.01	.13	.78
Contiguous	.38	.03	-----	.41		.39	.10	.05	.54		.40	.17	.07	.64
Other	.86	.03	-----	.89		.47	.08	-----	.55		.56	.23	.06	.85
Total	2.19	.06	-----	2.25		2.30	.18	.05	2.53		1.60	.41	.26	2.27
8					9					6				
Own	1.04	.03	-----	1.07		.81	.02	-----	.83		.35	.51	.20	1.06
Contiguous	.47	-----	-----	.47		.37	.13	.05	.55		.16	.35	.07	.58
Other	.59	.03	-----	.62		.60	.05	.03	.68		.24	.22	.07	.53
Total	2.10	.06	-----	2.16		1.78	.20	.08	2.06		.75	1.08	.34	2.17
18					20					20				
Own	1.04	-----	-----	1.04		.74	-----	-----	.74		.67	.01	-----	.68
Contiguous	.18	-----	-----	.18		.50	-----	-----	.50		.40	-----	.01	.41
Other	.56	.03	-----	.59		.49	.15	.03	.67		.85	.13	.10	1.08
Total	1.78	.03	-----	1.81		1.73	.15	.03	1.91		1.92	.14	.11	2.17
16					6					16				
Own	.41	-----	.12	.53		.44	.08	.10	.62		.54	-----	-----	.54
Contiguous	.30	-----	-----	.30		.32	.32	.05	.69		.71	.01	-----	.72
Other	.80	-----	.06	.86		.40	.06	.08	.54		.50	.06	.03	.59
Total	1.51	-----	.18	1.69		1.16	.46	.23	1.85		1.75	.07	.03	1.85
25					16					14				
Own	.24	-----	-----	.24		.65	.02	-----	.67		.50	-----	.03	.53
Contiguous	.30	-----	-----	.30		.40	.02	-----	.42		.50	.18	.09	.77
Other	.83	.03	-----	.86		.52	.03	-----	.55		.38	.09	.04	.51
Total	1.37	.03	-----	1.40		1.57	.07	-----	1.64		1.38	.27	.16	1.81
6					25					22				
Own	.38	-----	-----	.38		.32	-----	-----	.32		.10	-----	-----	.10
Contiguous	.27	.24	-----	.51		.34	-----	-----	.34		.43	-----	.06	.49
Other	.50	-----	-----	.50		.78	.02	.06	.86		.69	.28	.08	1.05
Total	1.15	.24	-----	1.39		1.44	.02	.06	1.52		1.22	.28	.14	1.64
21					22					26				
Own	.18	-----	-----	.18		.10	-----	-----	.10		.07	-----	-----	.07
Contiguous	.15	-----	-----	.15		.31	.03	-----	.34		.16	-----	-----	.16
Other	.74	.06	-----	.80		.37	.08	.03	.48		.58	.30	.09	.97
Total	1.07	.06	-----	1.13		.78	.11	.03	.92		.81	.30	.09	1.20

Area	1942 White	Black	Chicano	Total	Area	1949 White	Black	Chicano	Total	Area	1955 White	Black	Chicano	Total
22					21					25				
Own	.03	-----	-----	.03		.13	-----	-----	.13		.17	-----	-----	.17
Contiguous	.09	-----	-----	.09		.19	.02	-----	.21		.26	.03	-----	.29
Other	.30	.06	.03	.39		.42	.03	.03	.48		.44	.23	.01	.68
Total	.42	.06	.03	.51		.74	.05	.03	.82		.87	.26	.01	1.14
7					26					21				
Own	.06	-----	-----	.06		.05	-----	-----	.05		.21	-----	-----	.21
Contiguous	.03	-----	-----	.03		.05	-----	-----	.05		.14	.06	-----	.20
Other	.12	.03	-----	.15		.53	.18	.06	.77		.19	.10	-----	.29
Total	.21	.03	-----	.24		.63	.18	.06	.87		.54	.16	-----	.70
26					23					7				
Own	-----	-----	-----	-----		.19	-----	-----	.19		.07	.01	.13	.21
Contiguous	.06	-----	-----	.06		.03	-----	-----	.03		.07	-----	.03	.10
Other	.12	.06	-----	.18		.11	.02	-----	.13		.10	.06	.04	.20
Total	.18	.06	-----	.24		.33	.02	-----	.35		.24	.07	.20	.51
15					24					24				
Own	.09	-----	-----	.09		.03	.02	-----	.05		.14	-----	.01	.15
Contiguous	-----	-----	-----	-----		-----	-----	-----	-----		.04	-----	-----	.04
Other	.06	-----	-----	.06		.23	.02	.02	.26		.27	.01	.02	.30
Total	.15	-----	-----	.15		.25	.04	.02	.31		.45	.01	.03	.49
24					7					23				
Own	.06	-----	-----	.06		.05	-----	.05	.10		.21	-----	-----	.21
Contiguous	-----	-----	-----	-----		.05	-----	.02	.07		.06	-----	-----	.06
Other	.06	-----	-----	.06		.08	.02	.02	.12		.18	.03	-----	.21
Total	.12	-----	-----	.12		.18	.02	.09	.29		.45	.03	-----	.48
23					15					15				
Own	-----	-----	-----	-----		.02	-----	-----	.02		-----	-----	-----	-----
Contiguous	-----	-----	-----	-----		-----	-----	-----	-----		-----	-----	-----	-----
Other	.03	-----	-----	.03		.13	-----	.02	.15		.03	-----	-----	.03
Total	.03	-----	-----	.03		.15	-----	.02	.17		.03	-----	-----	.03

police contacts in the city. The importance of these largely inner city and interstitial subareas as places for the generation of contacts by persons who reside there and as recipients of behavior from both contiguous and other subareas which result in police contacts is perhaps even more sharply apparent than before. At the same time, the overall decline in the importance of the inner city as the location of police contacts by Whites and an increase in its importance as the location of police contacts by Blacks and Chicanos reveals why attention has been focused on minority groups by persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems. These persons may lack understanding of the changing population composition of the inner city, the changing nature of activities taking place there, and the socioeconomic status of inner city dwellers, particularly the growing population of youngsters who are neither integrated into the educational or economic institutions nor into the formal organizational structure of the society, except perhaps its judicial system.

While we have discussed the relationship of place of residence at time of police contact to place of contact at some length and the apparent impact of barriers to movement out of one's area of residence for some offenses but not for others, we have made only brief reference in Chapter 5 to the problem of differences in simple distance.

These distances are presented in Table 6 for males and Table 7 for females. Those offenses which took place at the greatest distance from place of residence for White males are at the top of the table, going down to those which took place closest to home. Since there are always problems of large enough N's, there are no data for some types of contacts for some race/ethnic and sex categories. As stated in Chapter 5, with few exceptions the

TABLE 6. DISTANCE IN MILES FROM HOME TO LOCATION OF PLACE OF POLICE CONTACT OR OFFENSE: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MALES

		White		Chicano		Black	
		Dist.	N	Dist.	N	Dist.	N
Violent Property Destruction	1949	1.64	16			.59	6
Forgery	1949	1.53	25			1.12	9
Robbery	1942					1.09	8
	1949	1.47	12			99	10
Traffic: Moving Vehicle	1942	1.38	878	1.52	14	.85	110
	1949	1.37	1025	.97	60	.99	158
Liquor	1942	1.36	99			.80	6
	1949	1.10	149	1.15	18	1.06	10
Suspicion, Investigation	1942	1.19	412			.76	97
	1949	1.03	774			.88	203
Vagrancy	1949	1.02	72	1.43	16	1.55	13
Assault	1942	.92	14			.30	10
	1949	1.01	33	1.16	9	.92	24
Auto Theft	1942	1.12	26			1.38	8
	1949	.99	40			.63	15
Theft	1942	.92	97			.96	29
	1949	.98	217	1.39	16	.99	101
Disorderly Conduct	1942	.85	533	.85	7	.46	82
	1949	.76	864	.99	89	.61	236
Weapons	1942	1.01	7				
	1949	.70	18			.67	10
Traffic: Other	1942	1.11	28			.75	20
	1949	.70	26			.57	12
Truancy	1942	1.19	18				
	1949	.68	9				
Sex Offense	1942	.90	19			.44	5
	1949	.67	24	1.13	6	1.11	31
Burglary	1942	.97	20			.73	8
	1949	.65	59	1.20	11	.75	23
Incorrigible, Runaway	1942	.46	83			.10	5
	1949	.51	260	.59	22	.25	43
Narcotics, Drugs	1949	.37	19			1.62	4

TABLE 7. DISTANCE IN MILES FROM HOME TO LOCATION OF PLACE OF POLICE CONTACT OR OFFENSE: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT FEMALES

		White		Chicana		Black	
		Dist.	N	Dist.	N	Dist.	N
Forgery	1949	1.37	5			1.64	3
Traffic: Moving Vehicle	1942	1.36	192			.83	10
	1949	1.25	273	1.24	31	.55	12
Liquor	1942	1.33	23				
	1949	1.50	23				
Suspicion, Investigation	1942	.80	86			.70	15
	1949	1.09	178	.34	6	.72	53
Vagrancy	1949	1.09	13				
Theft	1942	1.27	11				
	1949	1.14	46			1.55	15
Disorderly Conduct	1942	.36	98	.09	13	.28	20
	1949	.41	201	.43	14	.33	66
Traffic: Other	1942	.81	8				
Sex Offense	1942	.11	7				
	1949	1.21	16				
Incorrigible, Runaway	1942	.28	25				
	1949	.36	87			.25	20
Narcotics, Drugs	1949	.41	11				

White males had police contacts at greater average distances from their homes than did Black males and in most cases Chicano males had their police contacts further from home than did White or Black males.

In the cases where the distance between female contacts and their homes could be compared with that for males, the females had their contacts closer to home than did the males in more categories than not. With exception of theft, contacts by Black males were further from their homes than contacts by White males for both the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.

When the 25 categories of police contact were collapsed into the seven sociologically meaningful offense categories, arranged by area of residence, and subclassified according to areas of contact occurrence (as in previous cases utilizing this multi-level arrangement of data), the frequency of contacts in specific offense categories was so small in the Black and Chicano groups that the main thrust of the analysis has been concentrated on the Anglos. The results are shown in Table 8 for Anglo males, Anglo females, Blacks, and Chicanos for the most frequently appearing categories of contact by subarea of residence.

The concentration of Black and Chicano contacts (Public order, Family, and Investigation) in a few areas of residence is apparent, as is the concentration of contacts in area of residence of inner city and interstitial Whites. What this table shows most clearly, however, is the extent to which certain categories of contacts are concentrated in areas of residence (Public order, Family, and Investigation) while others are widely scattered or are at least more likely to take place outside one's area of residence (person, property, Fraud, and Traffic). It is also apparent that a small area like 3, although adjacent to the inner city and an area of poor

TABLE 8. CONCENTRATION OF CONTACTS BY PERCENT IN SUBAREA OF RESIDENCE FOR SEVEN CATEGORIES OF POLICE CONTACTS, BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX, 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

		Subarea of Residence																																		
		1			2			3		4			5			6		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	16	17		18	19		20	22	23	25	26
		W	B	C	W	B	C	W	B	W	B	C	W	B	C	W	C	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	B	W	C	W	W	W	W	W
1942																																				
Property	M	52	66	-	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-																												
Person	M	-	63		-	63	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-					100																							
Public Order	M	47	63	76	64	78	-	45	-	44	-	-	43	-	-	-	-	-	45	55	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	70			70			100		70			84			100	85			60				87	-	75	-									
Fraud	M	-			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-		-			-			-								-											
Traffic	M	-			50	57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-	-		-			-		-			-			-								-											
Family	M	55	100	-	100	100	-	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	80			80			-		-			100											50	-	58	-				67	-	-	-	-
Investigation	M	39	54	-	50	50	-	57	-	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	57			57			80		46			83											45	-	-	-									
1949																																				
Property	M	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	57	-	56	-	-	-	-	55	27	-	25	38	25	-	-	21	43	-	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-								-																			-							
Person	M	67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	80								-																			-							
Public Order	M	59	54	46	56	60	44	55	42	60	66	100	56	50	55	24	-	53	36	60	53	60	49	54	43	51	41	-	36	-	55	-	-	5	-
	F	66			88			53		80			79			85		60	60	70	69	50	-	80	83				81							
Fraud	M	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-																										85	-							
Traffic	M	52	-	47	34	-	61	11	-	39	-	-	21	-	-	7	-	20	15	21	17	24	20	22	21	14	23	-	17	-	15	29	9	3	7
	F				55			-		-			-			-		-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-			-							
Family	M	60	68	63	90	76	-			69	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	82	-	-	-	70	-	88	-	64	54	-	77	60	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	80			71					-			-			-		57		80	-	50	-	100	-	-			100		100		100			
Investigation	M	44	46	51	55	47	46	25	-	42	-	-	47	-	-	33	66	38	37	45	27	28	38	34	20	32	39	62	31	-	55	-	-	33	-
	F	42			50			50		-			60			-		50		-	-			-	-	-			-		-		-			

housing, has by the nature of its location and social organization (including land use) a pattern quite different from those of Subareas 1 and 2.

While Table 8 has enabled us to determine the pattern of concentration of contacts by persons within their subareas of residence, it does not show the extent to which contacts for the seven categories were distributed throughout the 26 subareas. A series of tables (not included) was constructed to show the number of subareas with various percentages of the contacts by their residents occurring in their areas of residence (by percentage categories 0, 1 to 25, 26 to 50, 51 to 75, and 76 to 100) with the number of subareas containing the residual percentage (contacts by the residents of the subarea in other subareas) also shown to indicate the spread of contacts for each offense category. In other words, it was possible to determine by observation whether contacts that did not take place in subareas of residence were to be found in a few other subareas or were widely spread, and if the pattern for any of the categories differed markedly from that for Traffic offenses (Public order offenses, for example, did differ). Further, it was possible to see if there were sex differences within the Anglo groups or meaningful or interpretable race/ethnic differences.

The analysis was in essence a three-dimensional look at police contacts in Racine; that is, how subarea of contact, subarea of residence, and offense types came together to produce a distinguishable pattern. In summary, taking these three factors into consideration and even considering some race/ethnic variation, one may still rank (roughly) the offense type by extent of concentration in area of residence, from most to least: Public order, Family, Investigation, Offenses against the Person, Property Offenses, Traffic,and Fraud. And regardless of offense category, contacts by Anglo females

were less widely distributed than were those for males. The data also indicate that no generalizations can be made on the relationship between percent of concentration in subarea of residence, the amount of diffusion of the remainder of the contacts, and offense types. A low concentration of contact-generating activity in area of residence does not permit one to predict that the remainder of the offense activity will be spread out over many other subareas and conversely a high degree of concentration in subareas of residence (50-99%) does not imply that only a few other subareas will contain the rest of the contact activity. All in all, while this analysis revealed some variation in the patterned occurrence of police contact related to place of residence, it did little more than reaffirm the notion that males with automobiles will have more broadly distributed police contacts for behavior that can be tied directly or indirectly to the use of the automobile than will males and females with less access to the automobile.

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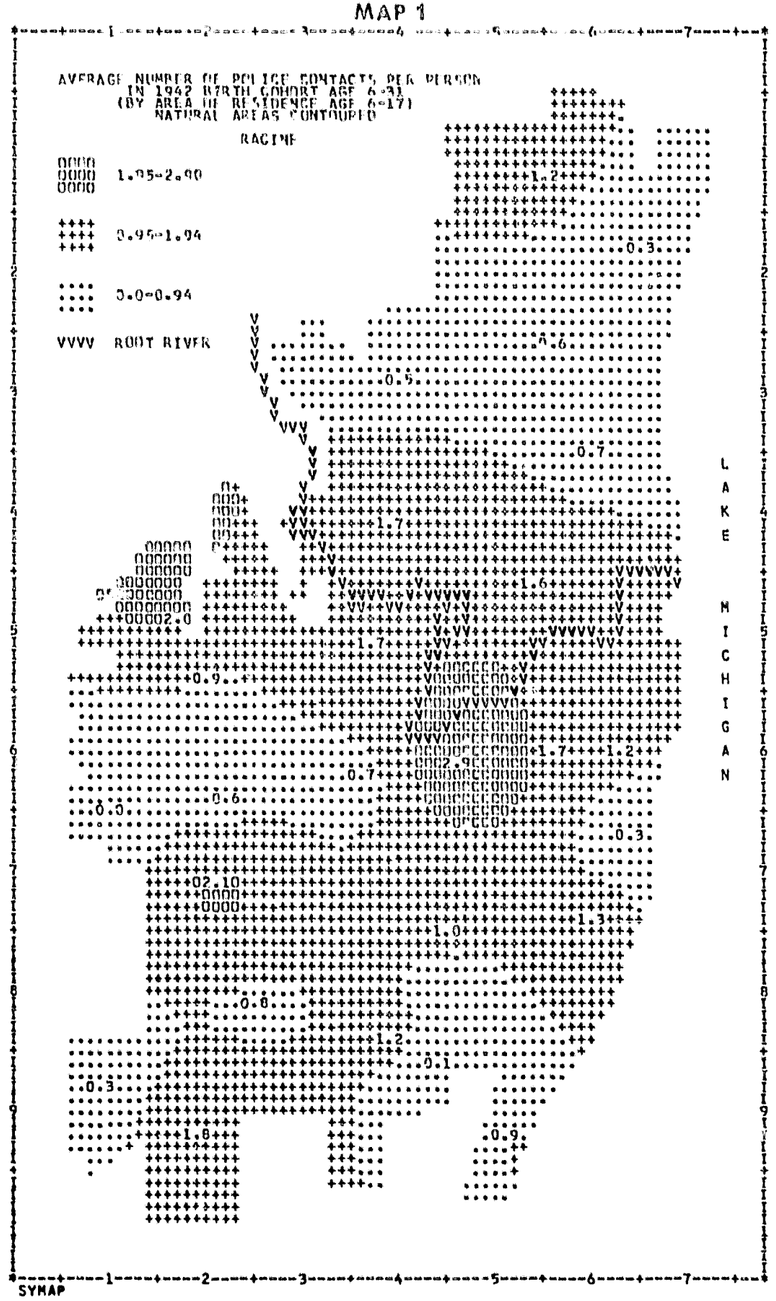
APPENDIX F

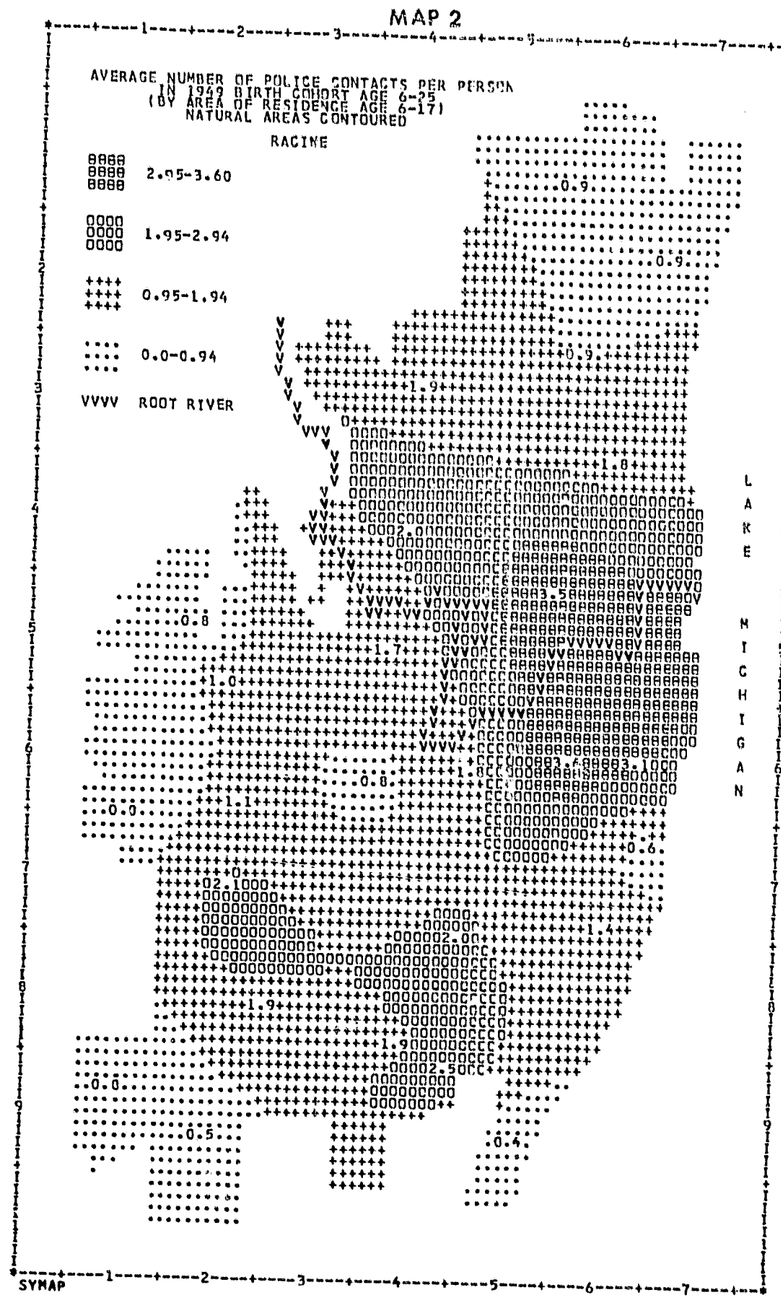
The maps presented in this appendix are for heuristic purposes only, simply to show how the pattern of police contacts would look from cohort to cohort if career rates of police contacts were based on place of residence age 6-17 regardless of total length of residence in Racine. Attrition from the 1942 Cohort results in a lower police contact rate for it over time since the base number of persons for each area is larger at the outset but fewer contacts are generated per person in that total cohort since sizeable numbers had left the city as time passed. While the highest rates are for the inner city and interstitial areas, as shown on Map 1, they are not as high as the rates for the 1949 Cohort, whose members were more likely to still be in the city. Higher rates shown for the inner city and interstitial areas for the 1949 Cohort are also a function of the higher rates of police contact during the period 6-17 which have not had as much time to flatten out through removal from the city of the highly mobile members of that cohort who experience frequent police contacts. Turning to the 1955 Cohort we find even higher rates in the inner city since most of the persons socialized there remain there and the rates for that and adjacent areas are based to a considerable extent on their frequent police contacts during the early years. Thus it is clear, as stated in previous chapters, that comparison of cohorts necessitates controls for continuous residence and years of exposure to the possibility of police contacts.

Maps 4, 5, and 6 are derived from the same data as Maps 1, 2, and 3 but enable one to view average contacts by area from the perspective of 5 miles from the center of Racine at an altitude of 8,000 feet. The highest

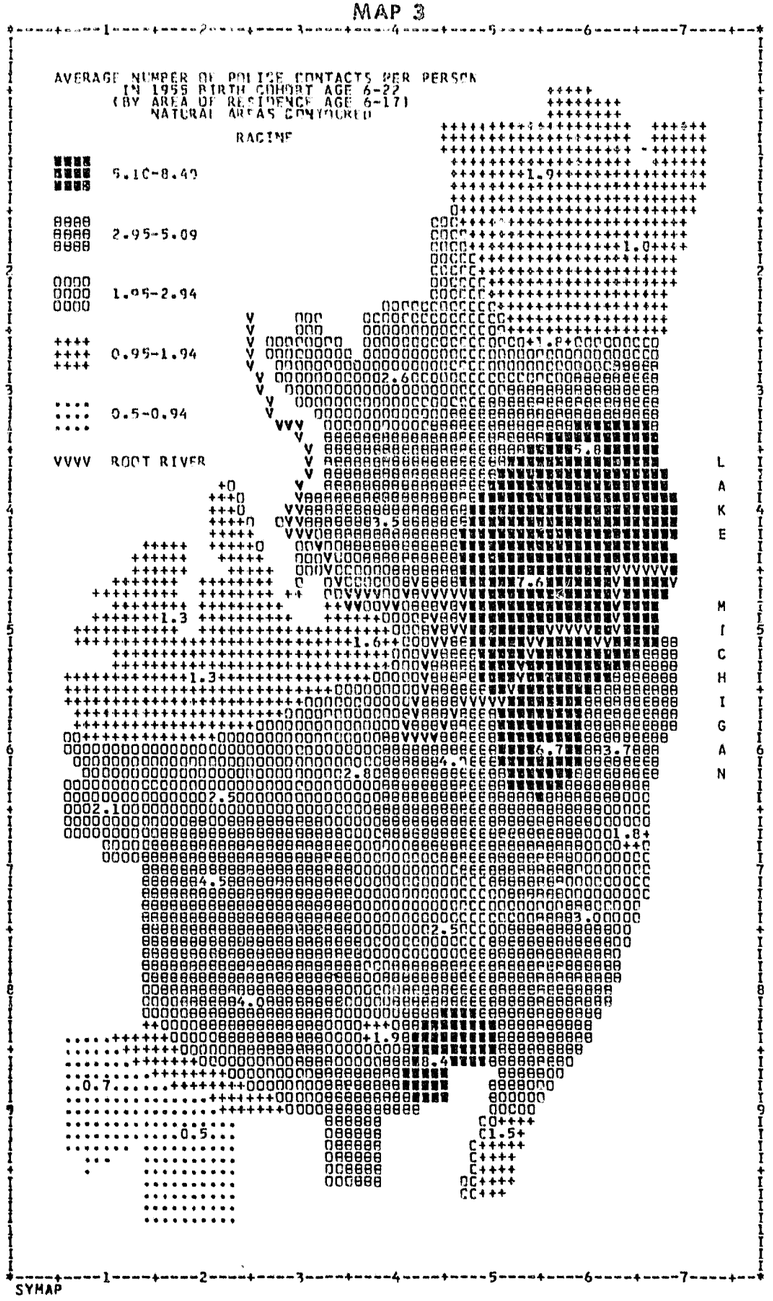
MAP 1


AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON
IN 1942 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6-31
(BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6-17)
NATURAL AREAS CONTOURED
RACINE
1.95-2.90
0.95-1.94
0.0-0.94
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

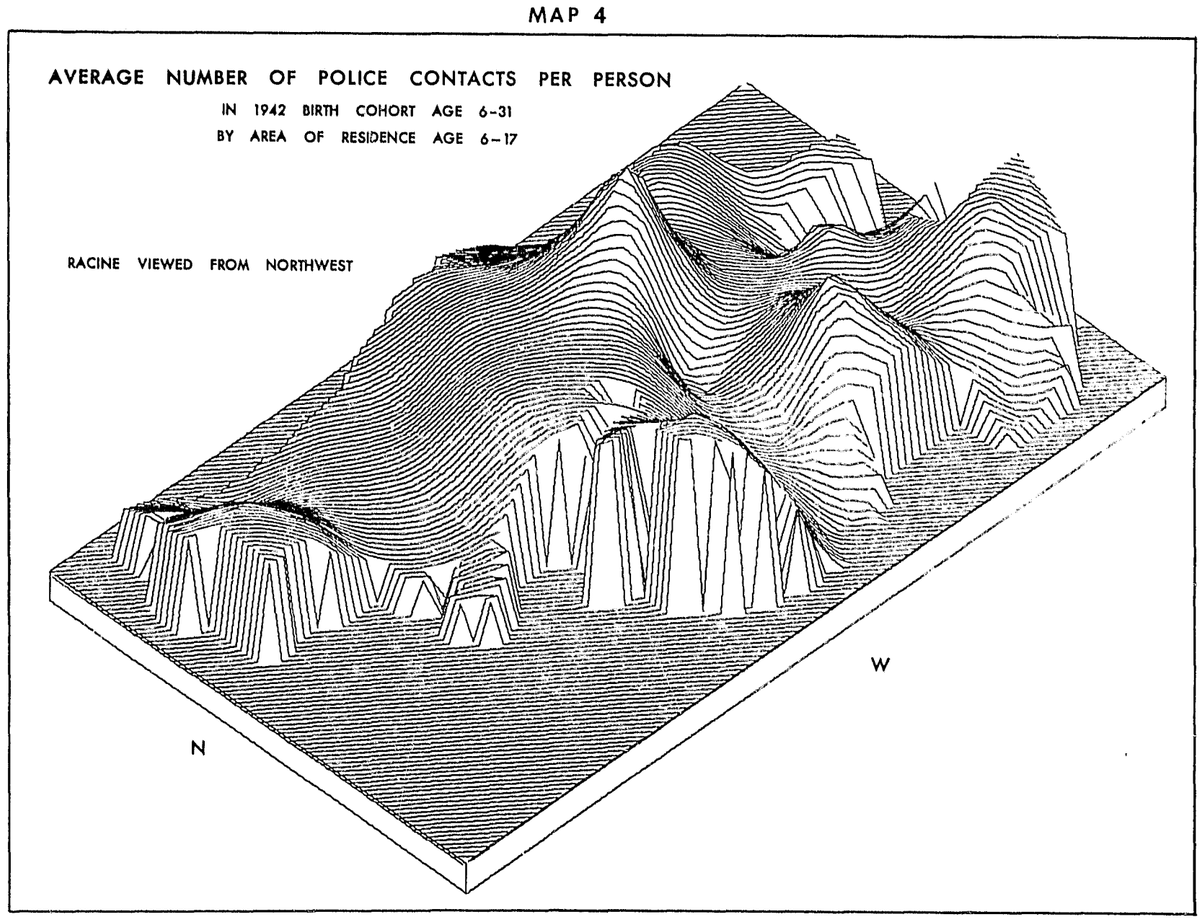
MAP 2


AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON
IN 1949 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6-25
(BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6-17)
NATURAL AREAS CONTOURED
RACINE
2.95-3.60
1.95-2.94
0.95-1.94
0.0-0.94
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 3


AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON
IN 1955 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6-22
(BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6-17)
NATURAL AREAS CONTOURED
RACINE
9.10-8.49
2.95-5.09
1.95-2.94
0.95-1.94
0.5-0.94
VVVV ROOT RIVER
LAKE MICHIGAN
SYMAP

MAP 4


AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON
IN 1942 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6-31
BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6-17
RACINE VIEWED FROM NORTHWEST
N
W

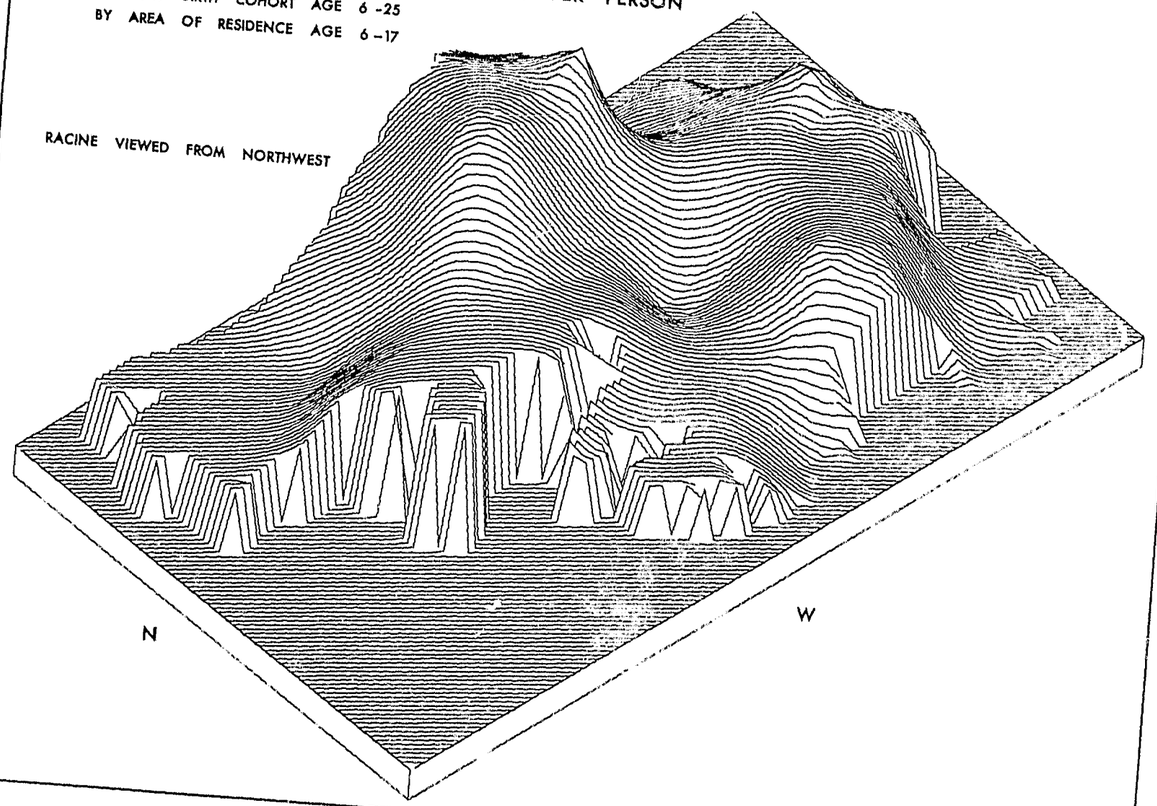
MAP 5

AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON

IN 1949 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6 -25

BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6 -17

RACINE VIEWED FROM NORTHWEST

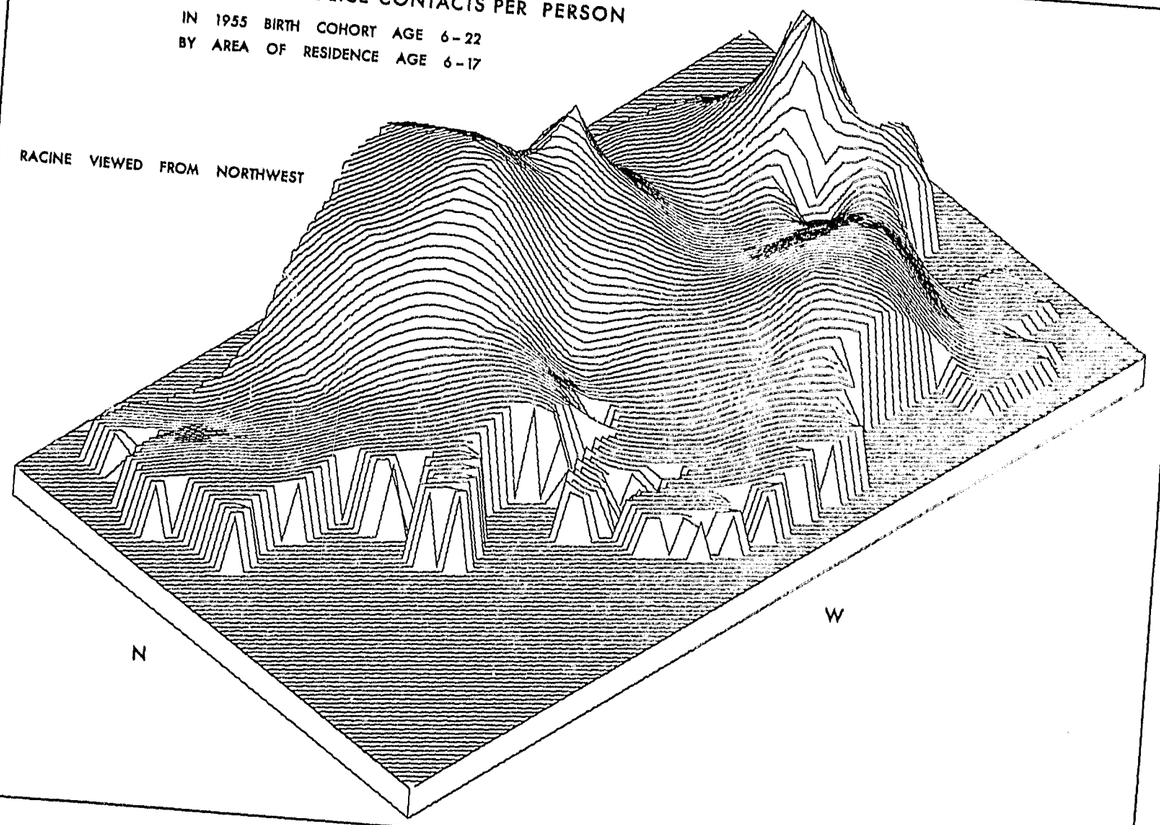


MAP 6

AVERAGE NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON

IN 1955 BIRTH COHORT AGE 6 - 22
BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AGE 6 - 17

RACINE VIEWED FROM NORTHWEST



rate for each cohort has the same height on each map to facilitate comparison of the shape of the contours generated for each cohort.

The tables in this appendix are companions to those of Chapter 6 and present data on Traffic and Non-traffic contacts by the percent of each race/ethnic group in areas of socialization who had that type of contact and by the race/ethnic composition of those from areas of socialization who had that type of contact.

While there are too few minority males in Table 1A for race/ethnic comparisons except for Area A and the Total for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, these two categories allow us to observe that the percent of Black males who have Non-traffic contacts exceeds that of the White males except for the age period 18-20 (perhaps by chance during this three-year period). With one exception (Chicanos at ages 21+), the percentage of each minority group with police contacts exceeds that of the Whites in all areas and age groups where comparison is possible.

There are too few minority females in the 1942 Cohort who had Non-traffic contacts to allow race/ethnic comparisons (Table 1B). The 1949 females (with lower percentages of persons with contacts) follow the same pattern as the 1949 males and in the same age period. A lower percentage of the White females in this cohort had police contacts overall, the several exceptions occurring in Area A. The Black females are four percentage points lower than the White females at the juvenile period and Chicanas are lower than Black and White females at the 18-20 age period.

It should probably be noted that the spatial distribution of police contacts described in Chapter 5 may not appear to be supported by the percentages presented in Tables 1A and 1B. On the contrary, the pattern shown for each cohort is generally present if it is remembered that the

TABLE 1A. PERCENT WITH NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, MALES

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations**			Total		
	A			B			C	D	E	A,B,C,D,E					
	W	B	C	W	B	C	W	W	W	W	B	C	W	B	C
1942 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	51	62	0	53	0	0	50	35	30	30	50	0	43	60	0
Contacts 18-20	41	23	0	35	0	0	45	29	35	26	100	0	35	33	0
Contacts 21+	30	85	50	36	0	0	24	22	30	19	100	0	27	87	33
Contacts Ever	65	85	50	72	0	0	71	59	48	49	100	0	62	87	33
N =	37	13	2	81	0	1	78	49	23	70	2	0	338	15	3
1949 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	59	84	88	52	33	80	65	47	44	31	100	100	50	81	40
Contacts 18-20	34	20	25	36	33	40	36	29	32	34	100	50	34	24	33
Contacts 21+	49	73	38	34	33	80	32	26	19	32	50	100	31	69	60
Contacts Ever	78	95	88	66	33	80	75	65	64	57	100	100	67	90	87
N =	59	37	8	150	3	5	145	139	77	107	2	2	677	42	15
1955 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	55	80	85	64	78	73	47	43	32	33	82	50	44	80	76
Contacts 18-20	39	64	45	39	56	47	25	24	19	27	59	100	27	62	71
Contacts 21+	29	39	25	19	28	20	11	10	7	12	29	33	12	35	24
Contacts Ever	61	89	90	77	78	73	59	51	43	47	88	100	55	87	85
N =	31	70	20	145	18	15	212	204	124	245	17	6	961	105	41

* Columns for minority groups have been eliminated in Areas C, D, and E because there were too few of both sexes.

** Outside Racine and Not Ascertained included; columns with small N's retained so that Total balances.

TABLE 1B. PERCENT WITH NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, FEMALES

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations**					
	A			B			C	D	E	A,B,C,D,E			Total		
	W	B	C	W	B	C	W	W	W	W	B	C	W	B	C
1942 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	18	0	0	9	50	33	9	19	9	12	0	0	12	25	20
Contacts 18-20	8	0	0	8	0	0	4	7	18	8	0	0	7	0	0
Contacts 21+	15	0	0	8	50	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	6	25	0
Contacts Ever	31	0	0	21	100	33	13	26	27	23	0	0	22	50	20
N =	39	1	1	53	2	3	56	31	22	66	1	1	267	4	5
1949 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	36	57	33	18	43	17	25	17	19	12	50	0	20	54	22
Contacts 18-20	14	7	0	6	14	17	10	10	10	10	0	0	10	8	11
Contacts 21+	22	46	33	11	29	33	5	9	14	8	0	0	10	38	33
Contacts Ever	44	68	67	28	43	67	37	28	28	25	50	0	31	62	67
N =	36	28	3	93	7	6	129	109	58	83	4	0	508	39	9
1955 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	51	47	69	32	36	70	28	24	11	13	79	60	22	50	68
Contacts 18-20	23	26	8	19	21	20	9	10	9	9	50	20	11	29	14
Contacts 21+	6	12	23	6	21	20	4	9	2	3	57	40	5	21	25
Contacts Ever	51	59	85	40	50	70	32	32	19	20	86	60	29	62	75
N =	35	58	13	145	14	10	174	201	139	223	14	5	917	86	28

* Columns for minority groups have been eliminated in Areas C, D, and E because there were too few of both sexes.

** Outside Racine and Not Ascertained included; columns with small N's retained so that Total balances.

percent who have had contacts among the Whites in Area A must be considered along with the percent of the Blacks a' Chicanos who have had contacts. If this is done, one finds that there is a decline in the proportion who have had a police contact from Area A to Area E, rather irregular for some age periods, but quite evident for the category Contacts Ever, and more so for males than females. This pattern was enhanced in Chapter 5 because contacts rather than persons with contacts were the basis for the maps presented in that chapter.

This type of analysis may, however, lead to the conclusion that the disproportionate percentages of minority group males and females with contacts indicates that attention should be focused on their behavior in ameliorating the problems of delinquency and crime. Another manner of approaching race/ethnic differences by areas requires that one consider the race/ethnic composition of cohort members who were socialized in the area. Table 2 does this for persons with Non-traffic contacts. Here we compare the race/ethnic proportions of the cohort who were socialized in the area with the race/ethnic proportions of those who ever had police contacts from that area. If the Blacks make up 4% of those who were socialized in an area and 6% of those who ever had contacts from the area, they are disproportionately represented as persons with contacts but still only a small part of the problem-generating group from that area.

With one deviation of no consequence, the White males who had Non-traffic contacts represent a slightly smaller proportion of the race/ethnic composition of those who had contacts than they did of their cohort's race/ethnic composition in the area as a whole. The one exception, in Areas B through E among the 1942 males, is simply a shift from 99.6% to 100.0% because none of the Chicanos socialized in these areas had police contacts.

TABLE 2. RACE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF COHORTS AND THOSE WITH NON-TRAFFIC CONTACTS BY 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	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
MALES:												
Total who could have contacts 6-21+												
White	71.2	56.7	25.6	99.6	97.3	94.5	97.2	96.4	91.4	94.9	91.5	86.3
Black	25.0	35.6	57.9	.0	1.0	2.6	2.8	1.8	6.3	4.2	5.9	9.5
Chicano	3.8	7.7	16.5	.4	1.7	2.9	.0	1.8	2.2	.8	2.6	4.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.9	100.0	100.0
N =	52	104	121	232	525	725	72	111	268	356	740	1114
Contacts Ever 6-21+												
White	66.7	52.3	19.2	100.0	97.0	92.5	93.1	92.2	84.4	93.8	88.8	79.8
Black	30.6	39.8	62.6	.0	.8	3.5	6.9	3.9	11.1	5.8	7.8	14.0
Chicano	2.8	8.0	18.2	.0	2.2	4.0	.0	3.9	4.4	.4	3.3	6.2
	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
N =	36	88	99	160	372	424	29	51	135	225	511	658
FEMALES:												
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+												
White	95.1	53.7	33.0	96.4	96.5	95.9	97.1	95.4	92.1	96.4	91.2	88.6
Black	2.4	41.8	54.7	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.5	4.6	5.8	1.8	7.0	8.3
Chicana	2.4	4.5	12.3	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.5	.0	2.1	1.8	1.8	3.1
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	41	67	106	168	403	687	68	87	242	277	557	1035
Contacts Ever 6-21+												
White	100.0	43.2	28.6	91.4	93.8	92.8	100.0	90.0	74.6	95.2	83.6	77.8
Black	.0	51.4	54.0	5.7	2.3	3.2	.0	9.1	20.3	3.2	12.7	15.5
Chicana	.0	5.4	17.5	2.9	3.8	4.1	.0	.9	5.1	1.6	3.7	6.7
	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	12	37	63	35	130	221	15	22	59	62	189	343

*Includes outside Racine and Not Ascertained.

Although the minority groups show a slightly higher proportion of those males with Non-traffic contacts than their representation from the area, with the Chicano exception just mentioned and the 1949 Blacks in Area B through E where they decline from 1.0% of the cohort to 0.8% of the race/ethnic distribution of those with contacts (and both exceptions may be considered an artifact of their small numbers), neither minority makes up a greatly disproportionate share of those with contacts from these cohorts.

The only statistically significant differences among the males for any cohort (.001 level) are found among the 1955 males (Area B through E and Total). Both may be explained by the marked increase in the percentages of minority males who had contacts over their percentage of those who could have had contacts, but even then the proportional differences are not sufficient to have substantive importance.

Since all of the 1942 White females and none of the minority females in Area A and in the Combination category had Non-traffic contacts, the percentage contribution of the White females was 100.0%. In other areas White females from the 1942 Cohort showed a smaller percentage with Non-traffic contacts than their proportion of the cohort in the area. This was the case for all areas for White females from the 1949 Cohort and while the minority females were overrepresented among those with contacts, the small number of females with contacts made this a minor aspect of the problem for that cohort. Black females from Area A were underrepresented among those with contacts and Whites and Chicanas overrepresented in the 1955 Cohort.

It must be emphasized, however, that the only statistically significant

differences (at the .001 level) for the females were in the 1955 Cohort and those for the Combination and Total categories. But this does show that there has been a shift from the proportional contribution of Whites and an increase in the contribution of Blacks and Chicanas in the distributions of those with Non-traffic contacts, a change consistent with the increase in minority group female delinquency which we have mentioned in an earlier chapter and appendices.

While of less concern in some respects, we shall now turn to a set of tables for Traffic contacts. In every instance among the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts where the number of Black males in an area permits comparison with the White males, the percentage of Blacks with contacts for Traffic offenses is higher than that of the Whites (Table 3A). The differences may not be great, particularly among the 1949 males, but they are there.

By contrast, although the 1955 Cohort Blacks have a higher percentage with Traffic contacts when one compares them with the Whites in the Total columns, they are not always higher than the Chicanos and there is no consistent pattern discernable within areas except Area A. The Chicanos who grew up in Area A have a higher percentage of their group with Traffic contacts than do the Whites or Blacks (both of whom are similar but inconsistently ranked). All in all, however, with the exception of Area A residents in the 1955 Cohort, the proportion with Traffic contacts can be rank-ordered Whites, then Blacks, and then Chicanos, the latter with the highest proportion.

Turning to Table 3B, there are too few Chicanas in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts to make any observations about their Traffic contact experiences and too few Black females in either Cohort except from Area A for 1949 for

TABLE 3A. PERCENT WITH POLICE CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, MALES

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations**					
	A			B			C	D	E	A,B,C,D,E			Total		
	W	B	C	W	B	C	W	W	W	W	B	C	W	B	C
1942 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	30	62	50	42	0	0	38	37	17	26	100	0	34	67	33
Contacts 18-20	51	92	100	37	0	100	46	43	39	44	100	0	43	93	100
Contacts 21+	59	69	100	57	0	100	64	51	57	54	100	0	57	73	100
Contacts Ever	76	92	100	70	0	100	82	78	65	70	100	0	74	93	100
N =	37	13	2	81	0	1	78	49	23	70	2	0	338	15	3
1949 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	41	43	50	31	33	60	37	32	25	32	0	100	33	40	60
Contacts 18-20	41	65	75	30	33	60	31	30	17	33	50	50	30	62	67
Contacts 21+	44	65	50	36	33	60	34	32	16	31	50	50	32	62	53
Contacts Ever	71	86	100	66	33	80	62	63	47	60	50	100	62	81	93
N =	59	37	8	150	3	5	145	139	77	107	2	2	677	42	15
1955 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	29	27	30	28	28	20	23	22	19	21	41	33	23	30	24
Contacts 18-20	29	31	60	36	50	33	28	31	21	25	18	50	28	32	49
Contacts 21+	13	14	20	15	22	20	9	10	7	9	6	33	10	14	22
Contacts Ever	58	50	65	57	61	67	48	47	34	44	53	67	47	52	66
N =	31	70	20	145	18	15	212	204	124	245	17	6	961	105	41

* Columns for minority groups have been eliminated in Areas C, D, and E because there were too few of both sexes.

** Outside Racine and Not Ascertained included; columns with small N's retained so that Total balances.

TABLE 3B. PERCENT WITH POLICE CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, FEMALES

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations**			Total		
	A			B			C	D	E	A,B,C,D,E					
	W	B	C	W	B	C	W	W	W	W	B	C	W	B	C
1942 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	15	0	0	9	50	0	11	10	9	6	0	0	10	25	0
Contacts 18-20	18	100	0	11	100	33	7	19	9	8	100	0	11	100	20
Contacts 21+	33	0	0	19	50	0	27	19	36	24	0	0	25	25	0
Contacts Ever	46	100	0	30	100	33	38	45	36	33	100	0	37	100	20
N =	39	1	1	53	2	3	56	31	22	66	1	1	267	4	5
1949 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	17	18	33	20	0	0	17	17	16	19	25	0	18	15	11
Contacts 18-20	11	56	0	15	14	0	12	8	10	12	25	0	11	31	0
Contacts 21+	11	36	33	14	29	33	9	17	17	10	0	0	13	31	33
Contacts Ever	33	54	67	39	29	33	31	34	34	34	50	0	34	49	44
N =	36	28	3	93	7	6	129	109	58	83	4	0	508	39	9
1955 Cohort															
Contacts 6-17	14	5	15	9	7	0	7	8	11	7	14	20	8	7	11
Contacts 18-20	14	10	15	16	7	0	14	11	14	9	29	40	13	13	14
Contacts 21+	9	7	15	1	14	10	5	3	3	4	0	0	4	7	11
Contacts Ever	31	21	31	25	21	10	23	20	25	18	36	60	22	23	29
N =	35	58	13	145	14	10	174	201	139	223	14	5	917	86	28

* Columns for minority groups have been eliminated in Areas C, D, and E because there were too few of both sexes.

** Outside Racine and Not Ascertained included; columns with small N's retained so that Total balances.

comparison. In this instance the Black females have a higher percentage who have Traffic contacts than do the White females, a pattern also present for the Total except in the juvenile period.

The females in the 1955 Cohort, all groups of which have low percentages with Traffic contacts, are no more consistent in race/ethnic rank-ordering than the 1955 Cohort males. The Black females have a smaller percentage with Traffic contacts than either White females or Chicanas in Area A and, with one exception in the Combination category, they are lower than the White females in Area B, except during the 21+ period. Yet, when one looks at the Total figures, one sees almost no difference between the percentages of Black and White females with Traffic contacts and the Chicanas are only slightly higher as a group than either White or Black females.

The within-areas race/ethnic percentages of persons with contacts follow essentially the same pattern among the males with Traffic contacts across areas and cohorts (Table 4). In general, the proportion of Whites with Traffic contacts is slightly lower than their proportion of the area's population. The Black and Chicano populations are generally higher. What few exceptions occur are either very slightly smaller than or the same as their proportions of the area's population.

Although the Totals for the females reveal the Whites to have a lower and the minorities a higher proportion (except the 1942 Chicanas) of persons with Traffic contacts than their proportion socialized in the area, the within-areas proportions with contacts fail to follow this pattern consistently.

TABLE 4. RACE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF COHORTS AND THOSE WITH CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS BY 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	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
MALES:												
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+												
White	71.2	56.7	25.6	99.6	97.3	94.5	97.2	96.4	91.4	94.9	91.5	86.3
Black	25.0	35.6	57.9	.0	1.0	2.6	2.8	1.8	6.3	4.2	5.9	9.5
Chicano	3.8	7.7	16.5	.4	1.7	2.9	.0	1.8	2.2	.8	2.6	4.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0
N =	52	104	121	232	525	725	72	111	268	356	740	1114
Contacts Ever 6-21+												
White	66.7	51.2	27.3	99.5	97.3	92.8	95.3	94.6	89.2	93.7	88.9	83.9
Black	28.6	39.0	53.0	.0	.6	3.2	4.7	1.8	7.5	5.2	7.4	10.3
Chicano	4.8	9.8	19.7	.5	2.1	4.0	.0	3.6	3.3	1.1	3.6	5.8
	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
N =	42	82	66	183	332	348	43	56	120	268	470	534
FEMALES:												
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+												
White	95.1	53.7	33.0	96.4	96.5	95.9	97.1	95.4	92.1	96.4	91.2	88.6
Black	2.4	41.8	54.7	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.5	4.6	5.8	1.8	7.0	8.3
Chicana	2.4	4.5	12.3	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.5	.0	2.1	1.8	1.8	3.1
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	41	67	106	168	403	687	68	87	242	277	557	1035
Contacts Ever 6-21+												
White	94.7	41.4	40.7	95.5	96.5	97.4	94.7	92.0	83.0	95.2	87.8	87.8
Black	5.3	51.7	44.4	3.0	1.4	1.9	5.3	8.0	10.6	3.8	9.6	8.7
Chicana	.0	6.9	14.8	1.5	2.1	.6	.0	.0	6.4	1.0	2.5	3.5
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
N =	19	29	27	66	143	155	19	25	47	104	197	229

*Includes Outside Racine and Not Ascertained

SUMMARY

A comparison of Tables 1A and 3A (percent with Non-traffic vs. Traffic by race/ethnicity of males) leads one to conclude that the three cohorts are dissimilar.

Where the numbers available in the 1942 Cohort allow comparison between the two tables, it appears that regardless of area (with the exception of the juvenile period) the percent of each race/ethnic group with Traffic contacts is higher than the percent with Non-traffic contacts.

There is a marked tendency among the 1949 Cohort males of each race/ethnic group to have a smaller percentage with Traffic contacts than have Non-traffic contacts. In those deviant instances the percentages are either the same or they differ by only a few points.

Without exception, in those areas where there are enough 1955 Blacks to permit comparison they have a smaller percentage with Traffic than with Non-traffic contacts. Likewise, White males in the 1955 Cohort generally have a lower percentage with Traffic than with Non-traffic contacts and there are fewer exceptions than among the 1949 White males.

If there is any single conclusion to be drawn from a comparison of the two sets of percentages and the three cohorts, it is that regardless of race or ethnicity, the proportion of Traffic vs. Non-traffic contacts has decreased from cohort to cohort, a finding consistent with general trends presented in earlier chapters and appendices.

A comparison of Tables 1B and 3B (percent with Non-traffic vs. Traffic by race/ethnicity of females) leads to a conclusion similar to that drawn for the males that the experiences of the three cohorts are not the same.

The 1942 White females (the only group with enough numbers on each

table to allow comparison) generally have a higher percentage with Traffic than Non-traffic contacts in each age period. The 1949 Black females and Chicanas generally have a higher percentage with Non-traffic than with Traffic contacts but the White females generally have a higher percentage with Traffic contacts, except that the latter who were socialized in Area A have a larger percentage with Non-traffic contacts than with Traffic in every age period.

The Blacks and Chicanas of the 1955 Cohort consistently have a smaller percentage with Traffic than Non-traffic contacts. The White females of the 1955 Cohort have more instances where the percentage with Non-traffic contacts is higher than the percentage with Traffic contacts. Most of the exceptions are in the range of no difference in percent or only one or two percent difference so that in Areas A and B and overall, even though their proportions with Non-traffic contacts are smaller than those for Blacks and Chicanas, the shift in reasons for contact, regardless of area, is consistent with our earlier finding of increasing seriousness of female delinquency and crime. The females, like the males, allow the observation of a trend across the cohorts from a higher percent with Traffic to a higher percent with Non-traffic contacts.

The end product of a comparison of the race/ethnic proportions of Non-traffic and Traffic tables (Tables 2 and 4) for the three cohorts is that, while there is (1) a decrease in the proportion of persons with Traffic contacts from cohort to cohort, there is a disproportional increase in the proportion of the Traffic contacts contributed by Whites regardless of area of socialization as we go from cohort to cohort and (2) a disproportional increase in proportions of Non-traffic contacts contributed by the Blacks, more so for them than the Chicanos.

APPENDIX G

An Examination of Criminal Typologies Based on Frequency and Seriousness of Contact with the Police by Michael R. Olson, with minor abridgement[1]

INTRODUCTION

As an extension of the analyses described in Chapter 7, it seemed appropriate to investigate the characteristics of persons in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts who fell into one or the other of various commonly used delinquent or criminal typologies. In this appendix we attempt to evaluate the potential for the development of empirical typologies which differentiate between individuals on the basis, first, of frequency of contact with the police, and second, the seriousness of these contacts. For example, Wolfgang, *et al.*,[2] in their study of delinquency in a birth cohort, subdivide their subjects into one-time offenders, recidivists (2-4 police contacts) and chronic offenders (5 or more police contacts). Although the authors find that membership in these categories is related to race, academic achievement, intelligence, social class, etc., these were primarily bivariate findings. An extension of this approach would involve a multivariate analysis of group differences. A similar approach can be utilized if individuals are grouped on the basis of seriousness of police contacts, e.g., Felonies vs. Non-Felonies. The question is, are these groups really distinguishable from each other using a multivariate technique?

The data selected from interviews with 889 persons in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, were analyzed by means of the discriminant analysis program associated with SPSS.[3] Procedurally, this analysis will first attempt to discriminate between groups of individuals on the basis of frequency of contact with police. In this, the frequency categories described by Wolfgang, *et at.* (1, 2-4, or 5 or more contacts) will serve as a preliminary model for differentiation. Additionally, however, the group with no contacts with the

police will become a fourth group to be discriminated.[4] The variables and coding scheme shown in the following pages are self-explanatory.

As a further step, an attempt will be made to discriminate between groups on the basis of the seriousness of recorded contacts. First, among those who had police contacts, the goal will be to distinguish between those whose careers include at least one Felony and those whose careers do not. Second, and again among those with recorded contacts, the objective will be to distinguish between those who have at least one Part I offense (homicide, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, larceny, and auto theft) and those without such offenses as part of their careers. Finally, an attempt will be made to distinguish between those whose careers consist of no contacts, contacts for juvenile status offenses, traffic offenses, or contacts for suspicion and investigation and those with contacts for any other offense. These three approaches represent alternate means for classifying individuals according to the seriousness of an official criminal career.

There are three primary goals of the analysis undertaken here. The first is to determine if the frequency and seriousness categories described above are empirically distinct ones. Second, if distinctiveness exists, interest lies in determining which variables contribute most to discriminating between groups, e.g., which variables are most characteristic of those with Felonies in their careers relative to those without Felonies? Finally, the analysis will provide a means of determining how well the set of variables used as discriminators actually discriminates between groups.[5]

The analysis described above will be performed separately for each of the two cohorts as a means of comparative reliability. To the extent that

CODING SCHEME FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

1. Group Ties* — TIES
   1 = Independent
   2 = Multiple Group Oriented
   3 = Single Group Oriented (Other than Family)
   4 = Family Oriented
   *Cohort members were measured on this variable for 4 age periods: 6-13, 14-17, 18-20, 21 and older. Each constitutes a separate variable.

2. Employment Involvement During High School — HSWORK
   1 = No Employment
   2 = Summer Only
   3 = School Year Only
   4 = Both School Year and Summer

3. Attitude Toward School — ATTISCHOL
   0 = Negative
   1 = Slightly Negative
   2 = Slightly Positive
   3 = Positive

4. Extent of Friends' Trouble with the Law: Juvenile Period (Geometric Scale) — JFRIENDS
   1 = Low Friends' Trouble
   :
   31 = High Friends' Trouble

5. Perceived Neighborhood Police Patrol Activity: Juvenile Period — PATROL
   1 = None
   2 = Light
   3 = Moderate
   4 = Heavy

6. Attitude Toward Police: Juvenile Period — ATTIPOL
   1 = Positive
   2 = Indifferent
   3 = Negative

7. Personal Change: Juvenile Period — PERCHANG
   1 = Liked Myself as I Was
   2 = Wanted to be a Different Kind of Person

8. Positive Influences from Significant Others: Juvenile Period — POSIT
   0 = No Positive Influence
   :
   5 = All Positive Influences

9. Negative Influences from Significant Others: Juvenile Period — NEGAT
   0 = No Negative Influence
   :
   5 = All Negative Influences

10. Household Head Economic Involvement: Juvenile Period — HHEMP
   1 = Mostly Unemployed
   2 = Irregularly Employed
   3 = Regularly Employed

11. Household Head Occupational Status: Juvenile Period — HHSTATUS
   1 = Unemployed
   2 = Agricultural Laborer
   3 = Industrial Laborer
   4 = Private Household Worker
   5 = Maintenance, Service
   6 = Operatives
   7 = Craftsman, Foreman
   8 = Clerical, Sales
   9 = Professional, Managerial

12. Family Intactness: Juvenile Period — FAMILY
   1 = Lived With Neither Parent
   2 = Lived With One Parent
   3 = Lived With Both Parents

13. Children in Family of Orientation: Juvenile Period — CHILDREN
   1 = Only Child
   :
   8 = 8 or More Children

14. Educational Attainment — EDUC
   1 = Less than 10 Years
   2 = 10 to 12 Years
   3 = High School Graduate
   4 = College

15. Age at First Full-Time Occupation — AGEOCC1
   1 = 13 years
   :
   16 = 28 Years (1949) } *
   [22 = 34 years (1942)] }
*Code 22/16 indicates that cohort member had never had a full-time occupation up to the time of interview.

16. Status of First Full-Time Occupation* — STATO
   1 = Unemployed
   :
   9 = Professional, Managerial
*Coded same as Household Head Occupational Status

17. Age at Marriage — AGEMARY
   1 = 16 years
   :
   14 = 29 years (1949) } *
   [20 = 35 years (1942)] }
*Code 20/14 indicates cohort members had never married at time of interview.

18. Amount of Time Worked Since Education Completed — WORKED
   1 = Little of the Time
   2 = Most of the Time
   3 = All of the Time

19. Friends' Trouble with the Law: Adult Period (Geometric Scale) — AFRIENDS
   0 = Low Friends' Trouble
   :
   31 = High Friends' Trouble

20. Status of Present Occupation* — PRESOCC
   1 = Unemployed
   :
   9 = Professional, Managerial
*Coded same as Household Head Occupational Status.

21. Present Income — INCOME
   1 = Low Income (<$5000)
   :
   37 = High Income ($37,000 - 37,900)

22. Status of Residential Area: Juvenile Period — RESIDENC
   1 = Low Status
   :
   6 = High Status

23. Self-Report Delinquencies: Juvenile Period — DELINQ
   1 = Didn't Commit Delinquencies
   2 = Committed Delinquencies

24. Years Before Leaving Home* — LVHOME
   0 = 14 years
   :
   14 = 28 years (1949) } *
   [18 = 32 years (1942)] }
*Code 14/18 indicates cohort member was still living with parents or family at time of interview.

25. Automobile Use Scale: Juvenile Period — AUTO
   0 = Low Use
   :
   15 = High Use

the results are comparable from one cohort to the other, there will be support for the contention that group differences are real and are not simply functions of the data at hand. Further, within each cohort, the analysis will be performed for three age periods: (1) a pre-adult period extending from ages 6 through 20, (2) an adult period beginning at age 21 and extending to the data collection cut-off date when 1942 Cohort members were age 32 and 1949 members were age 25, and (3) the combined pre-adult and adult periods. It may be expected that the variables operating as important group discriminators will vary by age period.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONS IN FREQUENCY CATEGORIES

Pre-Adult Period

Table 1 presents the results of the discriminant analysis performed on the two cohorts in an attempt to distinguish between the four frequency of contact categories (0, 1, 2-4, 5+) within the pre-adult period. Only the findings based on the first discriminant function are presented here.[6] An examination of this table indicates that Group 1 (those with no contacts) is maximally distinguished from Group 4 (those with 5 or more contacts). The respective centroid values are 3.97 and -1.313.[7] These values are used in the following way:

Rule 1. The group with the highest centroid value (taking sign into accou is characterized by those variables having positive coefficients (standardized or unstandardized) on a discriminant function; conversely, the group having the lowest centroid value is characterized by those variables having negative coefficients.

Rule 2. For each group, the characteristic variables[8] are interpreted to mean that a high score on that variable (disregarding sign) is characteristic of members of that group.

TABLE 1. DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS RESULTS FOR THE PRE-ADULT PERIOD

	Group	Centroid	Characteristic Values	Standardized Coefficients	Group	Centroid	Characteristic Values	Standardized Coefficient	W^2
1942	1	.397	PERCHANG	.149	4	-1.313	HHSTATUS	-.210	.295
			AGEOCC1	.104			RESIDENC	-.273	
							ATTIPOL	-.282	
							AUTO	-.375	
							JFRIENDS	-.373	
Function 1									
1949	1	.475	PERCHANG	.121	4	-1.353	RESIDENC	-.214	.386
			AGEOCC1	.108			ATTIPOL	-.270	
			ATTISCHL	.110			AUTO	-.229	
							JFRIENDS	-.395	

Group 1 = 0 Contacts
Group 2 = 1 Contact
Group 3 = 2-4 Contacts
Group 4 = 5 or More Contacts

Group 1 in the 1942 Cohort was the high centroid (.397). Thus, positively signed standardized coefficients are most characteristic of it (Rule 1). Since examination of these coefficients indicates that none equals or exceeds the .2 selection criterion, it was decided to lower the selection value to .1. Only two variables meet this criterion: age at first full time job (.104) and personal change (.149). According to Rule 2, high scores on these variables characterize members of this group, i.e., wanting to be a different type person and higher age at first full time job are most characteristic of those with no recorded police contacts. The relatively low magnitude of the coefficients indicates that these variables cannot be viewed as being highly characteristic of this group.

Moving to Group 4 (5 or more contacts) [1942], the centroid value (-1.313) is lowest (taking sign into account). Thus, the negatively signed standardized coefficients are most characteristic of this group. Again, according to Rule 2, high scores on these variables will be characteristic of members of this group.[9] Group 4 members (1) come from homes where the household head had low occupational status, (2) come from low status residential areas, (3) tend to have a more negative attitude toward the police, (4) had greater access to and more frequently used an automobile, and (5) had friends in more serious trouble with the law. The magnitude of the standardized coefficients indicates that these variables are moderately characteristic of those with 5 or more recorded contacts.

The W^2 value (.295) is interpreted to mean that 29.5% of the variation in group membership is accounted for by the first discriminant function, which, as previously indicated, includes all the relevant variables on a discriminant function and not simply those listed in Table 1 as characteristic

ones. Since W^2 is relatively low, it may be assumed that other variables not included in the analysis account for group membership. Substantively, the characteristic variables, especially those characteristic of Group 4, the high contact group, reflect many of the traditional correlates of official crime and delinquency. It is interesting to note, however, that Group 1 members tend to be older at the time of their first full time employment. Although this is contrary to what might be expected from the perspective of control theory,[10] partial explanation is found in the fact that there is a moderate, positive correlation ($r = .39$) between age at first full time job and educational attainment. Instead of working, Group 1 members are going to school, an activity which *is* consistent with control theory.

In the 1949 Cohort, the first discriminant function also differentiates primarily between Groups 1 and 4.[11] There is, in fact, a remarkable similarity in the results across cohorts. Group 1 is characterized by the same two variables as its 1942 counterpart, personal change (.121) and age at first full time job (.108), as well as a third one, attitude toward school (.110). Interestingly, those with no recorded police contacts tend to have had a more unfavorable attitude toward high school. There is no apparent explanation for this unexpected finding except perhaps that Group 1 found the school context to be a negative experience and compensated by greater involvement in other, non-academic pursuits which insulated them from police contacts. The standardized coefficients for the characteristic variables are, again, smaller than .2 indicating that they are not very potent discriminators.

Turning to Group 4 in the 1949 Cohort, the characteristic variables substantially duplicate those of the same group in the 1942 Cohort except that occupational status of household head has been dropped. Low status of

residential area (-.214), negative attitude toward the police (-.270), high access to and use of an automobile (-.229), and having had friends in relatively serious trouble with the law (-.395) are most characteristic of Group 4 members. The standardized coefficients are moderately high but not exceptionally potent. The discriminant function as a whole accounts for approximately 39% (W^2 = .386) of the variance in group membership, approximately 10% more than in the 1942 Cohort.

Adult Period

In cross-cohort perspective, the results of the discriminant analysis for the adult period (see Table 2) are not as clear as they were for the juvenile period. Although Groups 1 and 4 are maximally distinct, there is less correspondence in characteristic variables over groups and cohorts in the adult period than there was in the juvenile period. It is suggested that the cross-cohort dissimilarities are a product of the fact that members of the two cohorts have not been adults for an equal length of time. Those in the 1942 Cohort, born earlier, have been adults for 7 years longer than 1949 Cohort members. These extra years of "experience" as adults could make a radical difference in how they responded to the interview questions. Their memories and interpretations of past events, because of the difference in stage of the life cycle, could have a strong impact on the findings.

In the 1942 Cohort, the characteristic conditions of Group 1 membership are (1) coming from a family with a large number of children (.203) and (2) not having worked regularly since completing one's education (.369). The finding that large families are associated with having no police contacts contradicts previous research findings.[12] That those who have worked least

regularly since completing their educations are among the no contact group is disconcerting since an opposite result might be expected. However, these individuals also tend to marry younger (r = .31) and it may be the existence of the marital relationship which serves to influence the likelihood of police contact rate.

For Group 4 on Function 1, the characteristic variables are education (-.363), age at marriage (-.297), and attitude toward police (-.260). Individuals with 5 or more contacts received less education, married at a later age, and had a more negative attitude toward the police. The first and last of these are traditional correlates of crime. It is interesting to note that the negative attitude toward the police is a carry-over referring to the attitude that these people held during their pre-adult period. Also, the finding that Group 4 members married later tends to support the argument presented in the preceding paragraph that early marriage acts as an insulator against police contacts.

In the 1942 Cohort, the first discriminant function accounts for approximately 26% (W^2 = .264) of the variance in group membership, slightly less than the first function in the pre-adult period. Again, it must be concluded that the most potent discriminators of police contacts have not been included here.

Turning to Function 1 for the 1949 Cohort, Groups 1 and 4 are the most distinctive groups according to the analysis.[13] The characteristic variables for Group 1 bear no resemblance to those in Group 1 in the 1942 Cohort. However, the standardized coefficients are not large, indicating their relative unimportance as discriminators. Some interesting results are found in interpreting the characteristic variables. For example, those

TABLE 2. DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS RESULTS FOR THE ADULT PERIOD

	Group	Centroid	Characteristic Variables	Standardized Coefficients	Group	Centroid	Characteristic Variables	Standardized Coefficients	W^2
1942	1	.317	CHILDREN	.203	4	-1.374	EDUC	-.363	.264
			WORKED	.369			AGEMARRY	-.297	
							ATTIPOL	-.260	
Function 1									
1949	1	.289	HHEMP	.163	4	-1.557	AGEMARRY	-.272	.230
			TIES 1820	.137			ATTIPOL	-.277	
			HSWORK	.107			PRESOCC	-.238	
							AFRIENDS	-.252	

Group 1 = 0 Contacts
Group 2 = 1 Contact
Group 3 = 2-4 Contacts
Group 4 = 5 or More Contacts

with no recorded contacts come from families (in their youth) whose household heads tend to have been less than regularly employed (.163) and who were themselves less likely to have been employed during high school (.107). These findings seem to contravene the traditional assumption that irregular or no employment is conducive to crime. Moreover, those with no contacts also tend to be less tied to a single group, being more eclectic or independent in their social relationships during the age period 18-20 (.137). All three characteristic variables for Group 1 are carry-overs from the pre-adult period, indicating that group membership in the adult period is contingent upon historical rather than contemporary conditions.

Group 4 in the 1949 Cohort is similar to its counterpart in the 1942 Cohort in that older age at marriage (-.272) and a negative attitude toward police (-.277) emerge as characteristic variables. However, two contemporaneous variables, status of present occupation (-.238) and extent of adult friends' trouble with the law (-.252) are also characteristic of members of this group, i.e., low occupational status and high degree of friends' trouble, conditions that are not unexpected. The W^2 value (.230) indicates that the discriminant function accounts for less than one-quarter of the variance in group membership. This is almost 16% lower than the W^2 for this group on Function 1 during the pre-adult period for this cohort (i.e., W^2 = .386).

Combined Juvenile and Adult Periods

This section reports the results of the discriminant analysis for Groups 1 and 4 during the combined juvenile and adult period (see Table 3). By combining age periods, more cohort members are potentially available for inclusion in the highest contact category (5 or more contacts) than by considering each age period alone. Thus, the person with 2 contacts in the

TABLE 3. DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS RESULTS FOR COMBINED JUVENILE AND ADULT PERIODS

	Group	Centroid	Characteristic Variables	Standardized Coefficients	Group	Centroid	Characteristic Variables	Standardized Coefficients	W^2
1942	1	.628	WORKED	.431	4	-.963	STATOCC1	-.258	.347
			CHILDREN	.228			RESIDENC	-.208
							AUTO	-.228
							JFRIENDS	-.234
Function 1									
1949	1	.518	WORKED	.178	4	-1.141	ATTIPOL	-.239	.399
			HSWORK	.119			JFRIENDS	-.317	

Group 1 = 0 Contacts
Group 2 = 1 Contact
Group 3 = 2-4 Contacts
Group 4 = 5 or More Contacts

juvenile period and 3 in the adult period will now be in Group 4 for the combined period whereas they were previously in Group 3 within age periods.

Function 1 in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts distinguishes between Groups 1 and 4.[14] In the 1942 Cohort, Group 1 is characterized by individuals who have worked irregularly since completing their education (.431) and by those who come from families with larger numbers of children (.228). The irregular work, again, is possibly mediated by the lower age at marriage which tends to insulate these people from police contacts. Similarly, coming from a large family seems to act as an insulator against police contact over a lifetime.

Those with 5 or more contacts (Group 4) are characterized by (1) lower status of first full time occupation (-.258), (2) having resided in a low status residential area during youth (-.208), (3) having had access to and made frequent use of an automobile during youth (-.228) and (4) having had friends in relatively serious trouble with the law during youth (-.234). All of these are traditional correlates of crime and delinquency.

Group 1 in the 1949 Cohort, like its 1942 counterpart, is also characterized by less regularity of work after finishing one's education (.178) but substitutes involvement in work during high school (.119) for family size as a second discriminating variable. Specifically, Group 1 persons were less likely to have been deeply involved in employment while in high school. We have stated earlier that employment places one in situations where contacts with the police may readily occur.

Group 4 in the 1949 Cohort is characterized by two variables, attitude toward the police (-.239) and extent of friends' trouble with the police (.317). These individuals tend to have had a negative attitude toward the

police and had friends who were in relatively serious trouble with the law during their youth.

For the 1942 Cohort, the first discriminant function accounts for nearly 35% (W^2 = .347) of the variance in group membership while in the 1949 Cohort, it is about 40% (W^2 = .399) of the variance. Notably, the explained variance for the combined age periods is greater than that for the juvenile or adult periods individually. That is, group distinctiveness is more apparent over a lifetime than it is for age periods within a lifetime.

What Does the Discriminant Function Tell Us?

The most consistent finding throughout the analysis is that those with no police contacts are most distinct from those with 5 or more police contacts, a result that is not totally unexpected. However, the degree of distinctiveness (measured by W^2) is relatively small, approaching 40% in the 1949 Cohort and 35% in the 1942 Cohort for the combined pre-adult and adult period. These values are smaller when each age period is separately considered. Thus, most of the variability in group membership remains unaccounted for by the variables derived from the interview schedule.

One of the encouraging outcomes of the analysis is the degree of cross-cohort similarity in results for the pre-adult period. In both cohorts, members of the zero contact group are characterized by a higher age at the time of first full time employment and the desire to be a different kind of person during this period. Contrary to what might be expected on the basis of social control theory, the absence of economic involvement (i.e., not having a job) is conducive to having fewer contacts with the law. In turn, this suggests being involved in an occupational pursuit facilitates police contacts, perhaps due to the presence of greater opportunities, situations

in which contact-generating errors may be made, or to the influence of peers and colleagues among other things. Further, the desire for personal change rather than stability of identity was more conducive to having no contacts. Those in the high contact frequency category in both cohorts were most likely to come from low status residential areas, to have a negative attitude toward the police, to have made greater use of the automobile, and to have had friends in more serious trouble with the law.

The failure to achieve the same degree of cross-cohort consistency of results during the adult period is, as previously suggested, most likely a consequence of the fact members of the two cohorts have not experienced adulthood for the same length of time.[15] If 1949 Cohort members were reinterviewed seven years later when they had reached the same stage of the life cycle as that reached by 1942 members in 1976, then the study results would perhaps be more comparable. This, of course, is only a matter of conjecture.

One of the problems that derives from a failure to achieve a high level of discrimination between the two most extreme frequency groups is that this implies even greater difficulty in distinguishing between adjacent groups. That is, if the zero contact and 5 or more contact groups are relatively indistinct, then lack of distinctiveness must be exacerbated when contrasting the zero contact and one contact categories. This suggests the need to recombine cohort members into other frequency groupings to try to maximize within group homogeneity and between group distinctiveness.

RECOMBINED FREQUENCY CATEGORIES

In this section, the contact frequency categories have been recombined as dichotomies to facilitate the analysis and to provide a less ambiguous

interpretation than that which often results when multiple categories are used. The analysis will be run in a series, beginning with a comparison of those with no contacts versus those with one or more contacts. Next, those who had zero or one police contact, are combined into a single group and compared to those with 2 or more contacts. Then, those with two or fewer contacts are compared to those with three or more contacts, etc., with a final comparison of those with four or fewer contacts and those with 5 or more contacts. Within the specified range of contacts, this procedure should indicate whether there is an empirically establishable "breaking point" between a low frequency group and a high frequency group. Again, the analysis will be undertaken for the pre-adult and combined age periods and across cohorts.

Pre-Adult Period

Table 4 presents the discriminant analysis results for the pre-adult period, comparing the various low and high frequency categories for each cohort. One of the first things to note here is that in both cohorts, very few of the variables turn out to be characteristic of the low frequency category, however it is defined. That is, it appears that the interview data did not tap the dimensions by which low frequency individuals could be described. Alternately, the variables seem to be more descriptive of high frequency individuals. A second important point is that the data for this period do not indicate a definite breaking point which differentiates between high and low frequency persons. If there were such a point, it might be expected that it would be reflected in a large change in the size of W^2 at a given point. However, there tends to be a gradual rather

TABLE 4. A COMPARISON OF DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS RESULTS FOR ALTERNATIVE DEFINITIONS OF HIGH AND LOW CONTACT FREQUENCY CATEGORIES FOR THE PRE-ADULT PERIOD, BY COHORT

1942				1949			
Low Frequency 0-4		High Frequency 5 or More		Low Frequency 0-4		High Frequency 5 or More	
Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient
TIES1417	.234	AUTO	-.313	(None)	----	ATTIPOL	-.268
		JFRIENDS	-.500			JFRIENDS	-.523
		ATTIPOL	-.339			AGEMARRY	-.215
		TIES6-13	-.315				
		HISTATUS	-.224				
W^2=.253		POSIT	-.207	W^2=.326			
0-3		4 or More		0-3		4 or More	
(None)	---	AUTO	-.280	(None)	---	ATTIPOL	-.306
		JFRIENDS	-.433			JFRIENDS	-.383
		ATTIPOL	-.337			AGEMARRY	-.206
		TIES6-13	-.302			RESIDENC	-.240
W^2=.224		RESIDENC	-.316	W^2=.314		AUTO	-.219
0-2		3 or More		0-2		3 or More	
(None)	---	AUTO	-.294	(None)	---	ATTIPOL	-.302
		JFRIENDS	-.322			JFRIENDS	-.361
		ATTIPOL	-.234			AUTO	-.236
		TIES6-13	-.207			RESIDENC	-.226
		RESIDENC	-.332				
W^2= .220		DELINQ	-.280	W^2=.296			
0-1		2 or More		0-1		2 or More	
PERCHANG	.250	AUTO	-.326	PERCHANG	.259	ATTIPOL	-.263
CHILDREN	.252	JFRIENDS	-.276			JFRIENDS	-.217
		ATTIPOL	-.208			AUTO	-.264
		RESIDENC	-.385			RESIDENC	-.238
		DELINQ	-.281			LVHOME	-.233
W^2= .244		AGEMARRY	-.215	W^2=.299		EDUC	-.261
0		1 or More		0		1 or More	
CHILDREN	.230	AUTO	-.438	PERCHANG	.273	EDUC	-.260
		RESIDENC	-.262			RESIDENC	-.216
		AGEMARRY	-.309			AUTO	-.295
W^2= .213				W^2=.195		TIES6-13	-.205

than abrupt change in the relative amount of discriminatory power. This gradual increase does suggest that there may be greater distinctiveness of high and low frequency groups at classification levels outside the range of the present analysis. For example, it may be that the breaking point occurs between eight or less and nine or more contacts.

A cross-cohort comparison of the low frequency category indicates that characteristic variables (again, those with standardized coefficients of .2 or greater) are evident only at the lowest frequency levels, i.e., zero, or 0 and 1. In the 1942 Cohort, members of the low frequency category come from families with large numbers of children and were more likely to express a desire to have been a different type of person while they were growing up. In the 1949 Cohort, only an expressed desire to be a different kind of person characterizes the low frequency category.

For the high frequency category, there tends to be some consistency of characteristic variables over varying levels of frequency and across cohorts. In the 1942 Cohort, for example, high levels of automobile use, having friends in serious trouble with the law, and having a negative attitude toward the police tend to characterize high frequency category members regardless of how high frequency is defined. At lower levels of the high frequency category, coming from lower status residential areas, admitting to delinquencies for which one was never caught, and higher age at marriage are characteristic of high frequency group members. At higher levels of the high frequency category (3 or more contacts), being more eclectic or independent in one's ties is associated with group membership.

In the 1949 Cohort, high automobile use, having a negative attitude toward the police, having friends in relatively serious trouble with the

law, and coming from lower status residential areas are consistently related to membership in the high frequency category. The first three of these are identical to the characteristic variables in the 1942 Cohort. It should also be observed that while age at marriage and group ties at ages 6 to 13 are characteristic variables as they were in the 1942 Cohort, they have reversed position. The group ties variable is characteristic at lower levels of high frequency while age at marriage is characteristic at higher levels of the high frequency category. Educational attainment also appears as a characteristic variable at lower levels of the high frequency category.

There seems to be a fairly stable core of characteristic variables for the high frequency category consisting of attitude toward the police, extent of juvenile friends' trouble with the law, extent of automobile use, and status of residential area in both cohorts suggesting that these are relatively important discriminators. However, the fact that this core remains fairly constant over variations in the operationalization of the high frequency category implies that high and low frequency categorizations are relative rather than absolute, that any classification system based on frequency of police contact is bound to be arbitrary. Therefore, the approach to classifying individuals in terms of frequency of contact will depend on the needs of the researcher.

Several other variables in the analysis serve as what might be termed "secondary" discriminators, e.g., age at marriage, group ties, self-reported delinquencies, etc. However, their influence is not as consistent as the core variables. Their discriminatory power, for example, appears to be dependent on how high frequency is operationalized. Moreover, the same relationship does not hold across cohorts, e.g., age at marriage is a

discriminator at low levels of high frequency in the 1942 Cohort but high levels in the 1949 Cohort.

The discriminatory power of the various models in Table 4 is moderate, ranging in the 1942 Cohort from a low of 21.3% to a higher of 25.3%. In the 1949 Cohort, the range is from 19.5% to 32.6%. As previously noted, there is a tendency for W^2 to increase at higher levels of the low frequency category, i.e., as the low frequency category increases from 0 to 0-4 contacts. This may indicate a need for further comparison with categorizations beyond the range specified here.

Adult Period

The results of the discriminant analyses for the adult period are presented in Table 5. As in the pre-adult period, very few of the variables are characteristic of the low frequency category. In the 1942 Cohort, the most consistent result is the finding that having worked relatively little since completing one's education is characteristic at all low frequency levels. As previously suggested, it seems that absence of contact with the economic sector is conducive to low levels of involvement with the law, or alternately, that work increases the potential for involvement with the police. Additionally, at higher levels of low frequency, coming from a family with a large number of children and living in a neighborhood heavily patrolled by the police is associated with membership in the low frequency category.

In the 1949 Cohort, there do not appear to be any variables which consistently characterize the low frequency category. Higher age at the time of first full-time occupation occurs twice at the highest levels of

TABLE 5. A COMPARISON OF DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS RESULTS FOR ALTERNATIVE DEFINITIONS OF HIGH AND LOW CONTACT FREQUENCY CATEGORIES FOR THE ADULT PERIOD, BY COHORT

1942				1949			
Low Frequency		High Frequency		Low Frequency		High Frequency	
0-4		5 or More		0-4		5 or More	
Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient
CHILDREN	.236	EDUC	-.450	AGEOCC1	.334	AGEMARRY	-.306
PATROL	.333	LVHOME	-.306			ATTIPOL	-.278
WORKED	.232	AGEMARRY	-.432			PRESOCC	-.290
		RESIDENC	-.203			AFRIENDS	-.267
		ATTIPOL	-.222			RESIDENC	-.215
		PRESOCC	-.222				
W^2=.249		AFRIENDS	-.295	W^2=.193			
0-3		4 or More		0-3		4 or More	
CHILDREN	.252	EDUC	-.371	AGEOCC1	.256	AGEMARRY	-.313
PATROL	.249	AGEMARRY	-.390			ATTIPOL	-.265
WORKED	.240	ATTIPOL	-.239			PRESOCC	-.316
TIES14-17	.226	JFRIENDS	-.243			AFRIENDS	-.280
		PRESOCC	-.279			TIES6-13	-.258
W^2=.254		TIES6-13	-.228	W^2=.220			
0-2		3 or More		0-2		3 or More	
CHILDREN	.246	AGEMARRY	-.214	(None)	---	AGEMARRY	-.252
WORKED	.284	RESIDENC	-.212			ATTIPOL	-.270
PERCHANG	.273	ATTIPOL	-.342			PRESOCC	-.213
		JFRIENDS	-.284			AFRIENDS	-.274
W^2=.243		PRESOCC	-.260	W^2=.240		TIES6-13	-.226
0-1		2 or More		0-1		2 or More	
WORKED	.417	EDUC	-.226	HHEMP	.204	AGEMARRY	-.218
		ATTIPOL	-.312	TIES18-20	.207	ATTIPOL	-.298
		JFRIENDS	-.233			PRESOCC	-.227
W^2=.238		TIES18-20	-.234	W^2=.251		AFRIENDS	-.259
0		1 or More		0		1 or More	
WORKED	.574	STATOCC1	-.275	WORKED	.330	AGEMARRY	-.315
		HHSTATUS	-.222			TIES6-13	-.226
W^2=.181		JFRIENDS	-.212	W^2=.173			

low frequency, again leading to the observation that lack of economic involvement is associated with fewer contacts with the law. Similarly, at lower levels of frequency, having worked relatively little since completing one's education and coming from a family where the household head was less regularly employed are also characteristic variables. It should be noted that there is little cross-cohort comparability in terms of characteristic variables.

There is a greater degree of consistency among characteristic variables over levels of the high frequency category in both cohorts. In the 1942 Cohort, having friends in serious trouble with the law during the pre-adult period and having a negative attitude toward the police are most descriptive of high contact frequency individuals. Higher age at the time of marriage and low status of present occupation as an adult also seem to be characteristic variables at higher levels of the high frequency category. Finally, low educational attainment and coming from a low status residential area also appear as characteristic variables but their influence is less consistent than the other values already mentioned.

An examination of the data for the 1949 Cohort indicates that it differs in several respects from the 1942 Cohort. First, higher age at marriage is consistently characteristic across all levels of the high frequency category. At all but the lowest level of high frequency, a negative attitude toward the police, low status of present occupation, and greater seriousness of adult friends' trouble with the law characterize members of the high frequency category. Somewhat incongruously, the group ties that one had during the 6-13 age period (specifically a tendency toward eclecticism in or independence from, group ties) are somewhat characteristic of three out of five levels of high frequency. Here again, a finding that is consistent with Durkheim's "integration" theme.

Across cohorts, it may be seen that attitude toward police, status of present occupation, and age at marriage are found in common fairly consistently. However, one notable difference is that extent of juvenile friends' trouble with the law is characteristic in the 1942 Cohort but it is adult friends' trouble in the 1949 Cohort. A further difference between the cohorts is that while educational attainment is found to be characteristic and group ties for the 6-13 age period is not in the 1942 Cohort, just the reverse is true in the 1949 Cohort.

Again, it may be observed that the W^2 values are relatively low although significant. In the 1942 Cohort, W^2 ranges from a low of 18.1% when low frequency equals zero or no contact to a high of 25.4% when low frequency is defined as 0-3 contacts. For the 1949 Cohort, the W^2 values are smaller than those for the 1942 Cohort, ranging from a low of 17.3% when low frequency equals zero to a high of 25.1% when low frequency equals 0-1 contacts.

Combined Pre-Adult and Adult Period

In examining the discriminant analysis results for the combined pre-adult and adult periods (Table 6), some similarity with the individual periods is notable within the low frequency category. The findings for the 1942 Cohort indicate, for example, that the extent to which one has worked since completing an education has been "borrowed" from the adult period as a characteristic variable. For the combined period, this variable is characteristic over all levels of low frequency. Similarly, the number of children is borrowed from the pre-adult period and is characteristic at lower levels of low frequency but not at higher levels. For the low frequency category in the 1949 Cohort combined period, the characteristic variables bear

TABLE 6. A COMPARISON OF DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS RESULTS FOR ALTERNATIVE DEFINITIONS OF HIGH AND LOW CONTACT FREQUENCY CATEGORIES FOR THE COMBINED PERIOD, BY COHORT

1942				1949			
Low Frequency		High Frequency		Low Frequency		High Frequency	
0-4		5 or More		0-4		5 or More	
Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient	Variable	Standardized Coefficient
WORKED	.291	EDUC	-.247	(None)	---	ATTIPOL	-.266
		JFRIENDS	-.377			JFRIENDS	-.392
W^2=.296				W^2=.365			
0-3		4 or More		0-3		4 or More	
WORKED	.352	EDUC	-.200	(None)	---	ATTIPOL	-.293
		JFRIENDS	-.310			JFRIENDS	-.258
		STATOCC1	-.267			RESIDENC	-.208
W^2=.294				W^2=.314		LVHOME	-.209
0-2		3 or More		0-2		3 or More	
WORKED	.372	JFRIENDS	-.231	(None)	---	ATTIPOL	-.361
		STATOCC1	-.303			JFRIENDS	-.228
		RESIDENC	-.280				
W^2=.310		ATTIPOL	-.270	W^2=.419			
0-1		2 or More		0-1		2 or More	
WORKED	.486	STATOCC1	-.289	WORKED	.350	ATTIPOL	-.243
CHILDREN	.344	RESIDENC	-.271			STATOCC1	-.286
		ATTIPOL	-.220			EDUC	-.214
W^2=.297				W^2=.305			
0		1 or More		0		1 or More	
CHILDREN	.269	STATOCC1	-.277	WORKED	.344	STATOCC1	-.256
WORKED	.454	AUTO	-.315	HSWORK	.257	RESIDENC	-.215
				ATTISCHL	.310	AUTO	-.287
						TIES6-13	-.206
W^2=.235				W^2=.180			

small resemblance to those found in the individual periods. There is very little that can be said here since, in most instances, no variables appear to characterize the low frequency category in the 1949 Cohort, i.e., they failed to meet even the .1 standard for inclusion.

In the high frequency categories for the combined period, the discriminant analysis results are generally not as consistent or clear-cut as they were for the component periods. In the 1942 Cohort, low status of first full time occupation is most clearly characteristic at most levels of high frequency. Having had juvenile friends in serious trouble with the law is characteristic at higher levels of high frequency, as is lower educational attainment. Low status of residential area and a negative attitude toward the police are characteristic at low to middle levels of high frequency.

In the 1949 Cohort, the high frequency category is most frequently epitomized by a negative attitude toward the police. At higher levels of high frequency, members of this category are more likely to have had juvenile friends in serious trouble with the law. Finally, low status of first full time occupation is characteristic at lower levels of high frequency.

Except for extent of juvenile friends' trouble with the law, there is little cross-cohort similarity of characteristic variables for the combined period. It should be noted that although the characteristic variables for the combined period show less consistency than those for the component periods, the size of W^2 tends to be slightly higher compared to these periods. That is, there is a tendency for greater predictability to occur for the combined than respective component periods. In the 1942 Cohort, W^2

ranges from a low of 23.5% to a high of 31.0%. For the 1949 Cohort, the W^2 range is 18.0% to 41.9%

Conclusions

The results indicate that what is characteristic of individuals who have low or high frequency contacts with the law varies depending (1) on the way in which low-high are operationalized and (2) on the period under consideration. Although there is an indication that at least some variables tend to characterize the low or high frequency group regardless of how these groups are defined, there is still a good deal of variability in characteristic variables as the relative definition of low and high changes. It must be reiterated, then, that classification of individuals on the basis of frequency of contact with the police is an essentially arbitrary enterprise. Whatever category system is established must therefore be related to the needs of the researchers. Moreover, this arbitrariness extends over age periods. A classification system that is used for adults will not necessarily be a useful one for pre-adults. This implies that the characteristics of those in, for example, a high frequency category as a pre-adult will differ from the characteristics of individuals in a high frequency category as an adult. That is, the meaning of high (or low) frequency will vary across age categories.

SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES

In this section the results of three discriminant analyses utilizing varying definitions of offense seriousness are presented for each age period and cohort. The objective here is to determine if there is an empirical basis for classifying individuals on the basis of seriousness of

a police contact career. In the first analysis, an attempt is made to distinguish between individuals who have at least one Felony in their police contact career and those who have a career consisting only of Non-felonies. The second analysis distinguishes between individuals who had at least one FBI Part I offense in their career and those who had other than Part I offense careers. Finally, the third analysis distinguishes between those whose careers consisted of Non-traffic offenses and those whose careers consisted of contacts for (1) Traffic violations, (2) juvenile status offenses, (3) contacts for Suspicion or Investigation, and (4) no contacts.

Felony and Non-Felony Groups: Pre-Adult Period

Table 7 presents a cross-cohort comparison of the characteristic variables for the Felony/Non-felony categories for the three age periods. In the pre-adult period, only one variable appears as characteristic of the 1942 and 1949 Non-felony groups. In the 1942 Cohort, the variable is group ties for the period between ages 14 and 17. Members of the Non-felony group are less likely to have been tied to a single friendship group during these ages. However, in the 1949 Cohort, members of the Non-felony group are more likely to have had a negative attitude toward school.

Similar to the frequency categories discussed previously, most of the varibles turn out to be characteristic of the more serious groups while relatively few are characteristic of the non-serious categories. The Felony groups for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts in the pre-adult period have several variables in common, specifically (1) coming from a lower status residential area, (2) having a negative attitude toward the police, (3) having friends in relatively serious trouble with the law, and (4) being less tied to a single group. Beyond this, the groups tend to differ. The 1942 group is also

TABLE 7. CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES AND STANDARDIZED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS FOR NON-FELONY AND FELONY CATEGORIES, BY COHORT AND AGE PERIOD

PRE-ADULT

Non-felony				Felony			
1942		1949		1942		1949	
TIES14-17	.416	ATTISCHL	.219	*RESIDENC*	-.230	*RESIDENC*	-.347
				ATTIPOL	-.317	*ATTIPOL*	-.235
				JFRIENDS	-.697	*JFRIENDS*	-.250
				TIES6-13	-.237	*TIES6-13*	-.394
				DELINQ	-.204	AUTO	-.268
				AGEOCC1	-.226		
				NEGAT	-.287		
W^2 = .207**		W^2 = .164*					

ADULT

1942		1949		1942		1949	
TIES14-17	.492	*TIES18-20*	.347	*TIES18-20*	-.406	STATOCC1	-.219
		AFRIENDS	.267	*AFRIENDS*	-.262	HHSTATUS	-.281
		FAMILY	.306	*FAMILY*	-.302	RESIDENC	-.397
		CHILDREN	.249	*CHILDREN*	-.295	AUTO	-.220
		AGEOCC1	.354	INCOME	-.239	JFRIENDS	-.297
				ATTIPOL	-.244	WORKED	-.203
				LVHOME	-.311	PRESOCC	-.222
				EDUC	-.204	TIES6-13	-.233
W^2 = .191**		W^2 = .212**					

COMBINED

1942		1949		1942		1949	
TIES14-17	.463	ATTISCHL	.236	*RESIDENC*	-.225	*RESIDENC*	-.336
		AGEOCC1	.219	*ATTIPOL*	-.466	*ATTIPOL*	-.200
				JFRIENDS	-.443	*JFRIENDS*	-.321
				FAMILY	-.224	AUTO	-.243
				ATTISCHL	-.236	TIES6-13	-.362
				TIES18-20	-.335		
W^2 = .208**		W^2 = .197*					

* p<.01
** p>.01

This indicates that the W^2 values were not significant in the 1942 Cohort (**) at the .01 level but were significant in the 1949 Cohort (*) at that level.

characterized by persons who reported delinquencies for which they were never caught, a higher age at the time of first full time employment, and having received more negative influences from significant others during their youth. In contrast, the 1949 Felony group is further characterized by greater automobile use.

The discriminant function in the 1942 Cohort accounts for 21% (W^2 = .207) of the variance in group membership while it is about 16% (W^2 = .164) in the 1949 Cohort. Note that W^2 is not significant for the 1942 group but is significant for the 1949 Cohort.

Felony and Non-Felony Groups: Adult Period

Again, as with the frequency analysis, the adult period shows less cross-cohort consistency than the pre-adult period. And again this may be attributed to the fact that 1949 Cohort members have been adults for a shorter period than their 1942 counterparts.

During the adult period, the 1942 Non-felony group is characterized by being less tied to a single group during ages 14 to 17. In contrast, the 1949 Non-felony group is characterized by fewer single group ties between the ages of 18 and 20. Additionally, members of this group were more likely to have adult friends who had been in serious trouble with the law, to come from a large family, to come from a less intact family, and to have been older at the time of first full-time employment.

The 1942 and 1949 Felony groups do not have even one variable in common. What is interesting to note, however, is that four variables are common to the 1949 Non-felony group and 1942 Felony group, i.e., ties during the 18-20 age period, extent of adult friends' trouble with the law, family intactness, and number of children. That the same variables characterize a

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Felony and Non-felony group while none is comparable across cohorts within the Felony category illustrates the difficulty of establishing reliable discriminators.

The W^2 values for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts are .191 ($p = .650$) and .213 ($p = .054$), respectively. Thus, for the adult period the discriminant function is not significant in the 1942 Cohort and approaches significance in the 1949 Cohort.

Felony and Non-Felony Groups: Combined Period

For the 1942 Non-felony group, the group ties variable for the age period 14 to 17 is characteristic as it was in the component periods. It is thus a consistent discriminator for this particular cohort and seriousness category. In the 1949 Cohort, a negative attitude toward school and an older age at the time of first full time employment are characteristic. There are obviously no cross-cohort similarities in the Non-felony category.

In the combined period Felony categories, both cohorts have three variables in common: (1) coming from a low status residential area as juveniles, (2) having a negative attitude toward the police, and (3) having had friends as a juvenile who were in relatively serious trouble with the law. Additionally, members of the 1942 Cohort with Felonies came from less intact families, had a negative attitude toward school, and were less tied to a single group during the 18 to 20 age period. In the 1949 Cohort, frequent automobile use and being less tied to a single group at ages 6 through 13 further typify the Felony category.

It is interesting to observe that the pattern of group ties bears a fairly consistent relationship to classification in the seriousness categories.

Members of the Felony category were less tied to a single group during either the 6 to 13 or 18 to 20 age periods, depending on the cohort. However, members of the Non-felony category were invariably less tied to a single group during the 14 to 17 age period. This suggests an interaction between membership in a seriousness category and group ties over age periods. That is, the kind of group ties one has and their relationship to membership in either the Felony or Non-felony categories depends on which age category one is in. This is an issue that should perhaps be explored further.

The respective discriminant functions for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts account for 20.8% ($W^2 = .208$) and 19.7% ($W^2 = .197$) of the variance in group membership.

Part I and Non-Part I Groups: Pre-adult Period

There is some cross-cohort similarity of variables for the non-Part I groups (see Table 8). In the 1942 Cohort, group ties at ages 14 to 17 is a characteristic variable while in the 1949 Cohort it is group ties during the 18 to 20 period. In both cases, group members were less tied to a single group during the specified age periods. The absence of employment is also characteristic of members of the non-Part I group. In the 1942 Cohort, it is the relative absence of employment of the head of household during an individual's pre-adult period that is characteristic of being a non-Part I group member. However, for the 1949 Cohort, it is the relative absence of employment of the cohort members themselves during high school that is characteristic.

Part I individuals in both cohorts have three variables in common: (1) leaving home at a younger age, (2) marrying at an older age, and (3) having a negative attitude toward the police. The 1942 Part I group is

TABLE 8. CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES AND STANDARDIZED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS FOR NON-PART 1 AND PART 1 CATEGORIES, BY COHORT AND AGE PERIOD

PRE-ADULT

Non-Part 1				Part 1			
1942		1949		1942		1949	
TIES14-17	.259	TIES18-20	.147	*LVHOME*	-.217	*LVHOME*	-.382
HHEMP	.281	HSWORK	.103	*AGEMARRY*	-.202	*AGEMARRY*	-.346
				ATTIPOL	-.253	*ATTIPOL*	-.566
				CHILDREN	-.296		
				RESIDENC	-.494		
				AUTO	-.221		
				JFRIENDS	-.441		
W = .176**		W = .231*					

ADULT

1942		1949		1942		1949	
TIES14-17	.203	*TIES14-17*	.270	*RESIDENC*	-.297	*RESIDENC*	-.329
		AGEOCC1	.343	*ATTIPOL*	-.269	*ATTIPOL*	-.308
		PATROL	.311	AUTO	-.334	LVHOME	-.241
				EDUC	-.258	WORKED	-.255
				ATTISCHL	-.435	PRESOCC	-.347
				AGEMARRY	-.203	TIES6-13	-.247
				CHILDREN	-.250		
				HHEMP	-.258		
W^2 = .240**		W^2 = .278*					

COMBINED

1942		1949		1942		1949	
PRESOCC	.278	WORKED	.197	*LVHOME*	-.263	*LVHOME*	-.288
		STATOCC1	.118	*STATOCC1*	-.202	ATTIPOL	-.492
				CHILDREN	-.282	TIES6-13	-.222
				POSIT	-.203		
				RESIDENC	-.392		
				AUTO	-.295		
				JFRIENDS	-.422		
W^2 = .235*		W^2 = .272*					

* p<.01
** p>.01

further characterized by coming from families with a large number of children living in a low status residential area, more frequent automobile use, and having friends in relatively serious trouble with the law.

The discriminant function for the 1942 Cohort accounts for 17.6% of the variance in group membership but this is a non-significant value. For the 1949 Cohort, W^2 = 23.1% and is significant.

Part I and Non-Part I Groups: Adult Period

During the adult period, both the 1942 and 1949 non-Part I groups are characterized by ties to a single group during the 14 to 17 year age period. For the 1949 Cohort, higher age at the time of first full time employment and coming from a neighborhood heavily patrolled by the police are additional typifying variables.

Within the Part I category, two variables are common across cohorts, coming from a low status residential area and having a negative attitude toward the police. The remaining variables are unique to each respective cohort.

The amount of variance explained in the 1942 Cohort is 24% but non-significant. For the 1949 Cohort, W^2 is nearly 28% and significant.

Part I and Non-Part I Groups: Combined Period

In the combined period, the 1942 non-Part I category is characterized only by low status of present occupation. The non-Part I group in the 1949 Cohort is characterized by having worked relatively little since completing one's education and having had a low status first occupation. All three variables are economically related. And, again, it is being marginal to the economic sphere that appears to be related to membership in the lesser of the seriousness categories.

Within the Part I category only one variable, leaving home at an early age, is characteristic across cohorts. The remaining variables are unique to each cohort. In the 1949 Cohort, being less tied to a single group during the 6 to 13 age period and having a negative attitude toward the police are characteristic variables. In the 1942 Cohort, low status of first full time occupation, coming from a large family, receiving a larger number of positive influences from significant others, coming from a low status neighborhood, frequent automobile use, and having had friends in relatively serious trouble with the law are characteristic of the Part I category.

The respective discriminant functions for the 1942 and 1949 Cohort account for 23.5% and 27.2% of the variance in group membership.

It is noteworthy that status of first full time occupations is characteristic of the non-Part I category in the 1949 Cohort, but in the 1942 Cohort it characterizes the Part I group.

Criminal and Non-Criminal Groups: Pre-Adult Period

A cross-cohort comparison of the non-criminal groups for the pre-adult period indicates no comparability at all (Table 9). The 1942 Cohort is once again characterized by group ties during the 14 to 17 age period while the 1949 Cohort members are characterized by their more negative attitude toward school, higher age at the time of first full time employment, positive influences from significant others during the pre-adult period, regularity of employment of household head, a desire for personal change. Among the 1942 and 1949 criminal groups, only the variable, attitude toward the police in consistent across cohorts. The W^2 values for both cohorts are significant.

TABLE 9. CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES AND STANDARDIZED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS FOR NON-CRIMINAL AND CRIMINAL CATEGORIES, BY COHORT AND AGE PERIOD.

PRE-ADULT

Non-Criminal				Criminal			
1942		1949		1942		1949	
TIES14-17	.464	ATTISCHL	.108	*ATTIPOL*	-.407	*ATTIPOL*	-.410
		AGEOCC1	.138	LVHOME	-.221	EDUC	-.231
		POSIT	.135	AGEMARRY	-.346	JFRIENDS	-.436
		HHEMP	.131	HHSTATUS	-.245		
		PERCHANG	.106	AUTO	-.496		
				TIES6-13	-.352		
W^2 = .181*		W^2 = .229*					

ADULT

1942		1949		1942		1949	
TIES14-17	.212	HHEMP	.217	*AUTO*	-.224	*AUTO*	-.232
WORKED	.387			ATTIPOL	-.224	CHILDREN	-.313
PATROL	.239			RESIDENC	-.414	JFRIENDS	-.345
				HHSTATUS	-.229	INCOME	-.236
				FAMILY	-.277	PRESOCC	-.261
				ATTISCHL	-.250		
W^2 = .262*		W^2 = .218*					

COMBINED

1942		1949		1942		1949	
WORKED	.468	*WORKED*	.172	*AUTO*	-.284	*AUTO*	-.299
PERCHANG	.247	AGEMARRY	.173	*RESIDENC*	-.442	*RESIDENC*	-.248
		HSWORK	.122			ATTIPOL	-.334
W^2 = .323*		W^2 = .270*					

* $p<.01$

In the 1942 Cohort, 18% of the variance is accounted for and in the 1949 Cohort, the comparable figure is 23%.

Criminal and Non-Criminal Groups: Adult Period

During the adult period, the 1942 non-criminal group is characterized by group ties at age 14 to 17, a carry-over from the pre-adult period. Additionally, coming from a heavily patrolled neighborhood and having worked less than regularly since completing one's education epitomize members of this group. The 1949 non-criminal group is typified only by the less than regular employment of the household head in one's family of orientation. Among the criminal group, the frequent use of an automobile is consistent across cohorts. No other variables appear in common across cohorts.

The respective discriminant functions account for 26% (1942) and 22% (1949) of the variability in group membership, both of which are significant.

Criminal and Non-Criminal Groups: Combined Period

In the combined period, there is somewhat more cross-cohort comparability of characteristic variables than in the component periods. In the non-criminal category, having worked relatively little since completing one's education becomes a simultaneous characteristic variable in both cohorts. The remaining variables, desire for personal change in the 1942 Cohort and age at marriage and amount of time worked during the high school period in the 1949 Cohort, are not consistent over cohorts.

Within the criminal category, high frequency of automobile use and coming from a low status residential area are characteristics that occur across cohorts. For the 1949 Cohort, a negative attitude toward the police is also a typifying characteristic.

The amount of explained variance in the 1942 Cohort is 32% and, for the 1949 Cohort, 27% ($p < .01$). These values are higher than those found in the respective component periods.

What Does This Tell Us About Typologies?

The results of the discriminant analysis for the various operationalizations of career seriousness indicate several points worth mentioning. First, they show the difficulty of achieving cross-cohort comparability of results. The two cohorts differ more often than not within categories of seriousness. Yet there is some degree of similarity between the cohorts which is most apparent within the more serious category of a dichotomous pair. Within the Felony/Non-Felony distinction and over age periods, status of residential area, attitude toward the police, extent of juvenile friends' trouble with the law, and group ties during ages 6 to 13 are the dimensions along which the cohorts are most likely to be similar. However, for the Part I/Non-Part I distinction, the dimensions of cross-cohort agreement are group ties during ages 14 through 17, age at which the individual left home, age at marriage, attitude toward the police, and status of residential area. Finally, for the criminal/non-criminal categories the important dimensions of agreement are amount of time worked since completing one's education, attitude toward the police, extent of automobile use, and status of residential area. These dimensions are summarized in Table 10. Finally, it should be noted that across seriousness types, attitude toward the police and status of residential area appear in common.

A second issue raised by the results is that the characteristic variables

TABLE 10. DIMENSIONS OF CROSS-COHORT SIMILARITY, BY SERIOUSNESS DISTINCTIONS

Felony vs. Non-Felony	Part I vs. Non-Part 1	Criminal vs. Non-Criminal
RESIDENC	RESIDENC	RESIDENC
ATTIPOL	ATTIPOL	ATTIPOL
JFRIENDS		
TIES6-13		
	TIES14-17	
	LVHOME	
	AGEMARRY	
		WORKED
		AUTO

differ according to the definition of seriousness that one uses. That is, the variables characterizing the Felony category are frequently not the same ones that characterize the Part I or criminal categories. The same holds, of course, for the Non-felony, non-Part I, and non-criminal categories. The degree of correspondence between the definitions of seriousness is given in Table 11a which reorganizes the characteristic variables found in Tables 8 through 10 (for brevity, the standardized coefficients are omitted here). Within age categories and cohorts, there is relatively little overall consistency of characteristic variables over differing definitions of non-serious categories (Non-felonies, non-Part I, and non-criminal groups). However, in the 1942 Cohort, for both the pre-adult and adult periods, group ties at age 14 through 17 does stand out as being a consistent characteristic.

Table 11b presents a similar within-cohort and age comparison for the more serious of the seriousness categories (Felony, Part I, and criminal groups). Within the pre-adult period, attitude toward police is consistently characteristic over all three seriousness categories and in both cohorts. Also in this age period, in the 1942 Cohort, status of residential area, extent of juvenile friends' trouble with the law, group ties at ages 6-13, automobile use, age at which the individual left home, and age at marriage are characteristic for two out of three definitions of seriousness. During the adult period (Table 11c), attitude toward police is consistently characteristic across seriousness categories in the 1942 Cohort with number of children, family intactness, educational attainment, status of residential area, automobile use, and attitude toward school being characteristic in two out of three definitions. For the adult period in the

1949 Cohort, status of present occupation is consistently characteristic over all three seriousness definitions. The following variables are characteristic only in two of the three categories: amount of time worked since completion of education, status of residential area, automobile use, and extent of juvenile friends' trouble with the law. Finally, for the combined group (Table 11d) status of residential area for all three categories and automobile use for two categories are consistent in the 1942 Cohort. For the 1949 Cohort, attitude toward police is characteristic in all three cases while status of residential area, automobile use, and group ties at age 6-13 are typical in two out of three cases.

These results suggest that the varying definitions of seriousness used here, although there is considerable overlap in membership in each group, are different from one another, e.g., that members of the Felony group, are still on the average different from members of the Part I group. But at the same time, all share at least one variable in common, attitude toward the police, implying at least a small degree of similarity within an age period and cohort.

A third and final issue raised by the discriminant analysis is that the characteristic variables vary by age period. Within cohorts and seriousness categories, what is a typifying variable at the pre-adult level is not the same as for the adult period (see Tables 12a, b, c). For the Felony/Non-felony categories (Table 12a), group ties during ages 14 to 17 (Non-Felony) and attitude toward the police (Felony) are consistent across age periods in the 1942 Cohort. In the 1949 Felony category, status of residential area, extent of juvenile friends' trouble with the law, group ties for the 6-13 age period, and automobile use occur in common across age periods.

In Table 12b there is relatively little or no cross-age period

TABLE 12a. SIMILARITY OF CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES ACROSS SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES, BY COHORT AND AGE PERIOD

	PRE-ADULT		
	NON-FELONY	NON-PART 1	NON-CRIMINAL
1942	*TIES14-17*	*TIES14-17* HHEMP	*TIES14-17*
1949	*ATTISCHL*	TIES18-20 HSWORK	*ATTISCHL* HHEMP AGEOCC1 POSIT PERCHANG

	ADULT		
	NON-FELONY	NON-PART 1	NON-CRIMINAL
1942	*TIES14-17*	*TIES14-17*	*TIES14-17* PATROL WORKED
1949	TIES18-20 AFRIENDS FAMILY CHILDREN *AGEOCC1*	*AGEOCC1* PATROL	HHEMP

	COMBINED		
	NON-FELONY	NON-PART 1	NON-CRIMINAL
1942	TIES14-17	PRESOCC	PERCHANG WORKED
1949	ATTISCHL AGEOCC1	STATOCC1 *WORKED*	*WORKED* AGEMARRY HSWORK

TABLE 11b. SIMILARITY OF CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES ACROSS SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES FOR PRE-ADULT PERIOD, BY COHORT

	PRE-ADULT		
	FELONY	PART 1	CRIMINAL
1942	*ATTIPOL* *RESIDENC* *JFRIENDS* *TIES6-13* DELINQ AGEOCC1 NEGAT	*ATTIPOL* *RESIDENC* *JFRIENDS*	*ATTIPOL* *TIES6-13*
		AUTO *LVHOME* *AGEMARRY*	*AUTO* *LVHOME* *AGEMARRY* HHSTATUS
1949	*ATTIPOL* *JFRIENDS* RESIDENC TIES6-13 AUTO	*ATTIPOL*	*ATTIPOL* *JFRIENDS*
		AGEMARRY LVHOME	
			EDUC

TABLE 11c. SIMILARITY OF CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES ACROSS SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES FOR ADULT PERIOD, BY COHORT

	ADULT		
	FELONY	PART 1	CRIMINAL
1942	*ATTIPOL* *CHILDREN* *FAMILY* AFRIENDS INCOME TIES18-20 LVHOME *EDUC*	*ATTIPOL* *CHILDREN*	*ATTIPOL* *FAMILY*
		EDUC *RESIDENC* *AUTO* *ATTISCHL* AGEMARRY HHEMP	*RESIDENC* *AUTO* *ATTISCHL* HHSTATUS
1949	*PRESOCC* *WORKED* *RESIDENC* *AUTO* *JFRIENDS* HHSTATUS STATOCC1 *TIES6-13*	*PRESOCC* *WORKED* *RESIDENC*	*PRESOCC* *AUTO* *JFRIENDS*
		TIES6-13 ATTIPOL LVHOME	
			CHILDREN INCOME

TABLE 11d. SIMILARITY OF CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES ACROSS SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES FOR COMBINED PERIOD, BY COHORT

	COMBINED		
	FELONY	PART 1	CRIMINAL
1942	*RESIDENC* ATTIPOL JFRIENDS FAMILY ATTISCHL TIES18-20	*RESIDENC*	*RESIDENC*
		AUTO LVHOME STATOCC1 CHILDREN POSIT	*AUTO*
1949	*ATTIPOL* *RESIDENC* *AUTO* *TIES6-13* JFRIENDS	*ATTIPOL* *TIES6-13* LVHOME	*ATTIPOL* *RESIDENC* *AUTO*

similarity in characteristic variables in the cohorts for the non-Part I category. However, the findings for the 1942 Part I category indicate that automobile use, status of residential area, and number of children are characteristic across all age periods. In the 1949 Cohort, age at which the individual left home and attitude toward the police are characteristic across age periods.

Finally, Table 12c shows relatively little commonality of characteristics across age periods for either the cohorts or seriousness categories.

CONCLUSIONS

The discriminant analysis was intended to determine if there is a basis for developing empirical typologies of crime using frequency of contact with the law and seriousness of contact as the underlying dimensions. The results seem to indicate that creating such typologies is a difficult task. We must conclude that there is relatively little cross-cohort comparability on either the frequency or seriousness dimensions. For example, what is characteristic of a high frequency of contact individual in the 1942 Cohort is not characteristic of a similar person in the 1949 Cohort. This suggests that typologies have the tendency to be temporally constrained, depending on the historical period in which they are created. A typology establishd at one point in time will not necessarily be useful at another point in time.

Another seemingly important result is that the categories established for a typology will always tend to be somewhat arbitrary and must therefore be linked to the needs of the researcher. There does not appear to be an empirical basis for saying that a system which distinguishes frequency of contact on the basis of two categories is more useful than one based on

TABLE 12a. SIMILARITY OF CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES ACROSS AGE PERIODS, BY COHORT AND FELONY - NON-FELONY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES

	NON-FELONY		
	PRE-ADULT	ADULT	COMBINED
1942	*TIES14-17*	*TIES14-17*	*TIES14-17*
1949	*ATTISCHL*	*AGEOCC1* TIES18-20 AFRIENDS FAMILY CHILDREN	*ATTISCHL* *AGEOCC1*

	FELONY		
	PRE-ADULT	ADULT	COMBINED
1942	*ATTIPOL* *RESIDENC* *JFRIENDS* TIES6-13 DELINQ AGEOCC1 NEGAT	*ATTIPOL*	*ATTIPOL* *RESIDENC* *JFRIENDS*
		TIES18-20 *FAMILY* AFRIENDS CHILDREN INCOME LVHOME EDUC	*TIES18-20* *FAMILY*
			ATTISCHL
1949	*RESIDENC* *JFRIENDS* *TIES6-13* *AUTO* *ATTIPOL*	*RESIDENC* *JFRIENDS* *TIES6-13* *AUTO*	*RESIDENC* *JFRIENDS* *TIES6-13* *AUTO* *ATTIPOL*
		STATOCC1 HHSTATUS WORKED PRESOCC	

TABLE 12b. SIMILARITY OF CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES ACROSS AGE PERIODS, BY COHORT AND PART 1 AND NON-PART 1 SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES

	NON-PART 1		
	PRE-ADULT	ADULT	COMBINED
1942	*TIES14-17* HHEMP	*TIES14-17*	
			PRESOCC
1949	TIES18-20 HSWORK		
		TIES14-17 AGEOCC1 PATROL	
			WORKED STATOCC1

	PART 1		
	PRE-ADULT	ADULT	COMBINED
1942	*AUTO* *RESIDENC* *CHILDREN* *ATTIPOL* *AGEMARRY* *LVHOME* *JFRIENDS*	*AUTO* *RESIDENC* *CHILDREN* *ATTIPOL* *AGEMARRY*	*AUTO* *RESIDENC* *CHILDREN*
			LVHOME *JFRIENDS*
		EDUC ATTISCHL HHEMP	
			STATOCC1 POSIT
1949	*LVHOME* *ATTIPOL* AGEMARRY	*LVHOME* *ATTIPOL*	*LVHOME* *ATTIPOL*
		TIES6-13 RESIDENC WORKED PRESOCC	*TIES6-13*

TABLE 12c. SIMILARITY OF CHARACTERISTIC VARIABLES ACROSS AGE PERIODS, BY COHORT AND CRIMINAL - NON-CRIMINAL SERIOUSNESS CATEGORIES

NON-CRIMINAL

	PRE-ADULT	ADULT	COMBINED
1942	*TIES14-17*	*TIES14-17*	
		WORKED	*WORKED*
		PATROL	
			PERCHANG
1949	*HHEMP*	*HHEMP*	
	AGEOCC1		
	POSIT		
	PERCHANG		
	ATTISCHL		
			WORKED
			AGEMARRY
			HSWORK

CRIMINAL

	PRE-ADULT	ADULT	COMBINED
1942	*AUTO*	*AUTO*	*AUTO*
	ATTIPOL	*ATTIPOL*	
	HHSTATUS	*HHSTATUS*	
	LVHOME		
	AGEMARRY		
	TIES6-13		
		RESIDENC	*RESIDENC*
1949	*JFRIENDS*	*JFRIENDS*	
	ATTIPOL		*ATTIPOL*
	EDUC		
		AUTO	*AUTO*
		CHILDREN	
		INCOME	
		PRESOCC	
			RESIDENC

four categories, e.g., high vs. low frequency is not much different from lowest vs. low vs. high vs. highest. Further, in a number of dichotomies each appeared to be distinct from the others, thus supporting the contention that classification is an arbitrary matter. A similar conclusion can be reached when a typology is based on seriousness, rather than frequency. Each of those examined here was essentially different from the others, e.g., a member of a Felony category is not necessarily the same as a Part I category member. Again, whatever system is used must be related to the goals of the research at hand. Any conclusion reached on the basis of a given typological system will, in all likelihood, be somewhat different from those reached when another system is used.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This appendix, with minor changes, is taken from Michael R. Olson's lengthier analysis, "An Examination of Criminal Typologies Based on Frequency and Seriousness of Contact with the Police." Unpublished manuscript, 1977.

[2] Marvin Wolfgang, Robert Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

[3] William R. Klecka, "Discriminant Analysis," in Norman H. Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Jean G. Jenkins, Karin Steinbrenner and Dale H. Bent (eds.), *SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1975): pp. 434-467. Also Peter A. Lachenbruck, *Discriminant Analysis* (New York: Hafner Press, 1975).

When performing discriminant analysis, the number of discriminant functions derived is one less than the number of groups being discriminated (g-1). The first function derived by the procedure is the most powerful in that it "explains" the greatest amount of variance in the dependent variable, i.e., maximally distinguishes between groups. In practice, this appears to mean that discriminant analysis maximizes the difference between the groups having the largest and smallest group centroids (a group centroid is simply the mean discriminant function score for each group). Thus, the first discriminant function distinguishes between the two most distinctive groups. The second discriminant function explains the greatest residual variance after the first has been derived; that is, it distinguishes between the two groups that are secondarily most distinctive. Each derived discriminant function is orthogonal to the others.

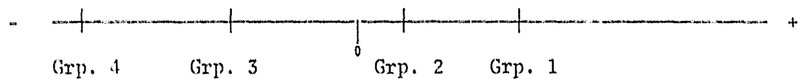
Although g-1 is the maximum number of discriminant functions derivable, it is not necessarily the case that all functions contribute significantly to group discrimination. For example, in a four-group problem, three discriminant functions (4-1) are potentially derivable. However, a significance test may indicate that deriving a third function adds virtually nothing to the discriminatory power of the model as a whole. On statistical grounds, it would be safe to ignore the function in the presentation of results. See Carolyn Becker and Sidney Kronus, "Sex and Drinking Patterns: An Old Relationship Revisited in a New Way," *Social Problems* 24 (1977): 489; also, Robert Bibb and Dennis W. Roncek, "Investigating Group Differences: An Explication of the Sociological Potential of Discriminant Analysis," *Sociological Methods and Research* 14 (1976): 349-379. This, in turn, suggests that not all groups are distinct from one another and should perhaps be reorganized to more accurately reflect actual empirical differences.

[4] In discriminant analysis, the objective is to develop a linear combination of variables (a discriminant function) which maximizes the distinctiveness of two or more nominal categories. Using standardized discriminant function coefficients (analogous to standardized regression coefficients), it is possible to determine the relative potency of the variables included in the discriminant function to discriminate between groups, e.g., which variables best characterize group X and which group Y or Z. See, for example, Carolyn Becker and Sidney Kronus, "Sex and Drinking Patterns: An Old Relationship Revisited in a New Way," *Social Problems* 24 (1977): 482-497.

[5] The statistic, W^2 (omega-squared), an analogue to R^2 in multiple regression, will provide this information. See Maurice M. Tatsuoka, *Discriminant Analysis: The Study of Group Differences* (Champaign, Illinois: Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, 1970): pp. 48-51.

[6] The text of the report will be concerned only with a presentation of results based on the first discriminant function. One argument for proceeding in this way is that although the findings indicate a second significant function in the 1949 Cohort (but not a third one), this is not true in the 1942 Cohort--all functions beyond the first one are nonsignificant. Hence, there is no basis for cross-cohort comparison. Further, it is argued that the statistical significance of a second discriminant function in the 1949 Cohort is primarily a consequence of the relatively large number of cases available compared to the 1942 Cohort. Even a relatively small increase in explained variance becomes significant under these circumstances.

[7] It should be reiterated that on any discriminant function, a centroid value is calculated for each group. On Function 1 for the 1942 Cohort, these values are 3.97 (Group 1), .019 (Group 2), -.393 (Group 3), and -1.313 (Group 4). On a continuum, the groups may be plotted roughly as follows:



The interpretive procedure is to contrast the two groups having the most discrepant centroids and ignore the others. Thus, Function 1 maximally discriminates between Groups 1 and 4 here. This rule is modified if two centroids, relative to a third one, lie close together on the continuum, e.g., if the centroid for Group 2 above was on the order of .350 and all others retained their present magnitude. In this situation, Groups 1 and 2 would be maximally distinct from Group 4 but nearly identical to each other. In turn, this suggests that Groups 1 and 2 are recombinable into a single group that can be compared to Group 4. Other interpretive rules are found in the text.

[8] In order to simplify the data presentation, characteristic variables will be defined as those having standardized discriminant function coefficients of at least .2. These are the variables which contribute the most to the explanatory power of the function. If none of the variables associated with a group meets the .2 criterion, then a value of .1 is substituted. In general, the higher the coefficient, the more important ("characteristic") a variable is relative to the others in the equation. The presentation of unstandardized coefficients would have little meaning here since the "dependent variable" (group membership) is categoric.

[9] Several of the independent variables have been "reverse coded" so that a high score or code actually indicates a low "real" score. The correct interpretation is given in the text and can be checked against the coding scheme presented at the outset.

[10] See Travis Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

[11] The centroids for each group are as follows: .475 (Group 1), .296 (Grou 2), -.258 (Group 3), and -1.353 (Group 4). Their patterning on the continuum is similar to that for the 1942 Cohort.

[12] For example, see Travis Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969): pp. 239-40. Being a member of a large family may be an indication of integration into society, therefore, consistent with Durkheim's position if extrapolated from suicide.

[13] The centroids for Function 1 for the 1942 Cohort in the adult period are: .317 (Group 1), .169 (Group 2), -.333 (Group 3), and -1.374 (Group 4). For the 1949 Cohort, they are (in the same order): .289, .082, -.767, and -1.557.

[14] The centroids for the four groups in the 1942 Cohort are as follows: .628 (Group 1), .248 (Group 2), -.186 (Group 3), and -.963 (Group 4). For the 1949 Cohort, they are: .518 (Group 1), .445 (Group 2), -.064 (Group 3), and -1.141 (Group 4).

[15] Here again, changes in community conditions may be crucial in explaining the differences that are found. There has been a quantitative increase in minority groups sufficiently large to be an increase in proportion. Changes in police administration have been described in Chapter 3. The sheer amount of time devoted to juvenile cases in the court has increased from one-half day per week in 1966 to two or three days per week by the mid 1970's. The juvenile court judge's position was full-time by 1980.

APPENDIX H

This appendix includes four sets of continuation and discontinuation tables and a set of diagrams. Abbreviated versions of the tables were included in Chapter 8 but they are presented in their entirety here for the reader who is interested in comparing continuity and discontinuity of contacts for all offenses with Traffic vs. Non-traffic and Felony vs. Non-felony offenses. Tables 1 through 6 show the probability of persons in the cohort having a first contact and continuing to have contacts.

The first figure in each column is the probability that an initial contact of that category will occur, i.e., of the total cohort of persons who were continuous residents of Racine, the proportion who had at least one contact with the police. For example, the total column indicates that across cohorts for males, the probability of having an initial police contact is very large, with more than 80% of all the eligible males in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts and 70% in the 1955 Cohort having at least one recorded contact for some type of offense. For females, the probability of initial contact is lower than that for males, i.e., .480 in the 1942, .524 in the 1949, and .455 in the 1955 Cohort.

The initial probabilities of Traffic vs. Non-traffic contacts are roughly equivalent among males and among females. For the 1942 males the probability of an initial Traffic contact is .744 and for Non-traffic it is slightly less, .699. Comparable figures for the 1949 males are .649 and .676 and for the 1955 males .478 and .591. That the 1942 Cohort has the highest initial probability of a Traffic contact and the 1955 Cohort the lowest and that the initial probabilities for Non-traffic contacts show less variation may be explained by the relative ease with which Non-traffic contacts are acquired

TABLE 1. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1942 COHORT MALES

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.846*	.744	.699	.132	.846	301	265	249	47	301
2	.874	.743	.695	.404	.874	263	197	173	19	263
3	.802	.685	.775	.474	.802	211	135	134	9	211
4	.844	.711	.784	.444	.839	178	96	105	4	177
5	.848	.688	.829	.500	.842	151	66	87	2	149
6	.861	.864	.908	1.000	.859	130	57	79	2	128
7	.854	.772	.861	1.000	.836	111	44	68	2	107
8	.874	.705	.882	1.000	.879	97	31	60	2	94
9	.907	.742	.917	.500	.894	88	23	55	1	84
10	.920	.783	.818	1.000	.929	81	18	45	1	78
11	.802	.667	.867	.000	.795	65	12	39	0	62
12	.892	.833	.846		.887	58	10	33		55
13	.897	.800	.818		.891	52	8	27		49
14	.962	.875	.889		.980	50	7	24		48
15	.900	.857	.792		.896	45	6	19		43
16	.956	.667	.947		.977	43	4	18		42
17	.907	.250	.778		.857	39	1	14		36
18	.897	1.000	1.000		.889	35	1	14		32
19	.914	.000	.929		.906	32	0	13		29
20	.875		1.000		.897	28		13		26
21 or +	.929		.769		.885	26		10		23

* The number of males with a first contact (301) was divided by the number of males in the cohort (356) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.846); the number of persons with a second contact (263) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (301) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.874), and so on. In each column after the column for Total, the first contact referred to is the first contact of that category, the second contact of that category, and so on.

TABLE 2. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1949 COHORT MALES

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.818*	.649	.676	.151	.814	605	480	500	112	602
2	.817	.621	.722	.482	.814	494	298	361	54	490
3	.802	.601	.773	.556	.800	396	179	279	30	392
4	.833	.575	.806	.733	.827	330	103	225	22	324
5	.794	.650	.813	.636	.806	262	67	183	14	261
6	.889	.687	.831	.643	.874	233	46	152	9	228
7	.845	.565	.842	.556	.820	197	26	128	5	187
8	.878	.692	.883	.400	.882	173	18	113	2	165
9	.838	.611	.885	1.000	.848	145	11	100	2	140
10	.869	.636	.920	1.000	.879	126	7	92	2	123
11	.921	.571	.935	.500	.894	116	4	86	1	110
12	.888	1.000	.930	.000	.864	103	4	80	0	95
13	.922	.750	.900		.916	95	3	72		87
14	.905	1.000	.903		.908	86	3	65		79
15	.895	.667	.938		.899	77	2	61		71
16	.909	1.000	.951		.873	70	2	58		62
17	.971	.500	.966		1.000	68	1	56		62
18	.926	1.000	.875		.919	63	1	49		57
19	.968	1.000	.939		.930	61	1	46		53
20	.902	1.000	.891		.830	55	1	41		44
21 or +	.873	1.000	.951		.932	48	1	39		41

* The number of males with a first contact (605) was divided by the number of males in the cohort (740) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.818); the number of persons with a second contact (494) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (605) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.817), and so on. In each column after the column for Total, the first contact referred to is the first contact of that category, the second contact of that category, and so on.

TABLE 3. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1955 COHORT MALES

Contact Number	Probability of Contacts and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.717	.478	.591	.219	.599	799	532	658	244	667
2	.727	.404	.679	.533	.661	581	215	447	130	441
3	.749	.377	.761	.654	.710	435	81	340	85	313
4	.807	.383	.803	.624	.780	351	31	273	53	244
5	.846	.484	.857	.679	.820	297	15	234	36	200
6	.828	.333	.893	.722	.835	246	5	209	26	167
7	.890	.200	.895	.577	.862	219	1	187	15	144
8	.877	1.000	.872	.467	.910	192	1	163	7	131
9	.885	.000	.871	.714	.824	170	0	142	5	108
10	.906		.915	.400	.898	154		130	2	97
11	.903		.900	.500	.887	139		117	1	86
12	.914		.915	.000	.884	127		107	0	76
13	.866		.935		.842	110		100		64
14	.918		.960		.891	101		96		57
15	.970		.979		.737	98		94		42
16	.959		.947		.762	94		89		32
17	.947		.876		.594	89		78		19
18	.966		.859		.632	86		67		12
19	.930		.910		.333	80		61		4
20	.913		.836		.500	73		51		2
21 or +	.945		.745		.000	69		38		0

* The number of males with a first contact (799) was divided by the number of males in the cohort (1114) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.717); the number of persons with a second contact (581) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (799) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.727), and so on. In each column after the column for Total, the first contact referred to is the first contact of that category, the second contact of that category, and so on.

TABLE 4. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1942 COHORT FEMALES

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.480*	.350	.235	.022	.473	133	97	65	6	131
2	.504	.392	.462	.167	.504	67	38	30	1	66
3	.478	.342	.633	.000	.485	32	13	19	0	32
4	.750	.385	.684		.719	24	5	13		23
5	.625	.800	.615		.609	15	4	8		14
6	.667	.750	.875		.571	10	3	7		8
7	.700	.333	.857		.875	7	1	6		7
8	.857	1.000	.833		.857	6	1	5		6
9	1.000	.000	.400		1.000	6	0	2		6
10	.833		1.000		.833	5		2		5
11	.800		.500		.600	4		1		3
12	.500		1.000		.667	2		1		2
13	1.000		1.000		1.000	2		1		2
14	1.000		1.000		1.000	2		1		2
15	1.000		1.000		1.000	2		1		2
16	1.000		1.000		1.000	2		1		2
17	.500		1.000		.500	1		1		1
18	1.000		1.000		1.000	1		1		1
19	1.000		1.000		1.000	1		1		1
20	1.000		1.000		1.000	1		1		1
21 or +	1.000		1.000		1.000	1		1		1

* The number of females with a first contact (133) was divided by the number of females in the cohort (277) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.480); the number of persons with a second contact (67) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (133) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.504), and so on. In each column after the column for Total, the first contact referred to is the first contact of that category, the second contact of that category, and so on.

TABLE 5. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1949 COHORT FEMALES

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.524*	.343	.332	.038	.517	292	191	185	21	288
2	.521	.257	.524	.190	.514	152	49	97	4	148
3	.618	.449	.639	.250	.608	94	22	62	1	90
4	.670	.409	.742	.000	.689	63	9	46	0	62
5	.683	.222	.652		.677	43	2	30		42
6	.698	.000	.700		.690	30	0	21		29
7	.800		.714		.724	24		15		21
8	.625		.867		.667	15		13		14
9	.867		.846		.929	13		11		13
10	1.000		.818		1.000	13		9		13
11	.923		1.000		.923	12		9		12
12	.917		.778		.833	11		7		10
13	.818		.857		.700	9		6		7
14	.667		.833		.857	6		5		6
15	1.000		1.000		1.000	6		5		6
16	1.000		.800		.833	6		4		5
17	.667		1.000		.800	4		4		4
18	1.000		1.000		1.000	4		4		4
19	1.000		1.000		1.000	4		4		4
20	1.000		1.000		1.000	4		4		4
21 or +	.750		.750		.750	3		3		3

* The number of females with a first contact (292) was divided by the number of females in the cohort (557) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.524); the number of persons with a second contact (152) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (292) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.521), and so on. In each column after the column for Total, the first contact referred to is the first contact of that category, the second contact of that category, and so on.

TABLE 6. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT BY TOTAL CONTACTS AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1955 COHORT FEMALES

Contact Number	Probability of Contacts and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.455	.221	.331	.060	.320	471	229	343	62	331
2	.507	.201	.525	.258	.459	239	46	180	16	152
3	.594	.174	.617	.625	.572	142	8	111	10	87
4	.662	.500	.739	.300	.678	94	4	82	3	59
5	.745	.750	.707	.000	.847	70	3	58	0	50
6	.743	.000	.776		.800	52	0	45		40
7	.865	.822	.875			45	37	35		
8	.911	.946	.714			41	35	25		
9	.902	.886	.800			37	31	20		
10	.865	.839	.800			32	26	16		
11	.750	.769	.813			24	20	13		
12	.708	.800	1.000			17	16	13		
13	.882	.875	.923			15	14	12		
14	1.000	1.000	.833			15	14	10		
15	.933	1.000	.900			14	14	9		
16	.714	.714	1.000			10	10	9		
17	1.000	1.000	.667			10	10	6		
18	.900	.900	.500			9	9	3		
19	1.000	1.000	.333			9	9	1		
20	1.000	.889	.000			9	8	0		
21 or +	1.000	.875				9	7			

* The number of females with a first contact (471) was divided by the number of females in the cohort (1035) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.455); the number of persons with a second contact (239) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (471) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.507), and so on. In each column after the column for Total, the first contact referred to is the first contact of that category, the second contact of that category, and so on.

at an early age in comparison with Traffic contacts. For both Traffic and Non-traffic contacts, once there has been an initial contact the probability of continuing is high, particularly so for Non-traffic contacts. This probability is high for the 1942 Cohort for Traffic, less high for cohorts with less time at risk but, as we shall see, likely to be the same as that for the 1942 Cohort as the years go by. The very high continuation probabilities shown for the 1949 Cohort after the 12th contact may be attributed to the fact that a few members of this cohort have already developed a pattern of frequent Traffic violations. None has yet done this in the 1955 Cohort.

Among females, initial probabilities are much lower than those for males for both categories of contacts. For the 1942 females, the initial probability of a Traffic contact is .350 and .235 for a Non-traffic contact, for the 1949 females .343 and .332, and for the 1955 females .221 and .331. While female probabilities show the same general pattern of variation from cohort to cohort as did the males, the increased rate of contact for Non-traffic offenses for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts is apparent. Furthermore, while only a few females in the 1942 Cohort had continuity, the continuity of the 1949 and particularly the 1955 Cohort is based on a larger number of continuers in the early stages of their careers.

When Felony vs. Non-felony contacts are compared, it is clear that for both males and females the initial probabilities for Felony contacts are considerably lower than for Non-felony contacts. For the 1942 Cohort the initial probability of a felony for males is .132, for a Non-felony .846. For the 1949 Cohort the figures are very similar, .151 and .814, and for the 1955 Cohort .219 and .599, respectively. For females the probabilities for either Felony or Non-felony contacts are lower than those for males. For

the 1942 females the probability of an initial felony is .022 while for a Non-felony it is .473. Comparable figures for the 1949 and 1955 females are .038 and .517 and .219 and .599, respectively. Although males and females exhibit considerable similarity in continuation patterns after the first few Non-felony contacts, females having fewer continuers at the outset but developing a small cadre who have contact after contact, proportionately fewer females have Felony contacts, until the 1955 Cohort, there being very few who have successive Felony contacts.

In summary, after there has been a first contact of any type the probability is high that another will follow. Moreover, the probabilities for successive contacts tend to increase with the addition of each successive contact. Illustratively, among the 1942 males in the total column the probability is .874 that a first contact will be followed by a second contact, .920 that a ninth contact will be followed by a 10th, and .956 that a 15th contact will be followed by a 16th. Among the 1942 females the corresponding probability for first-to-second contact is .504, ninth-to-tenth, .833, and 15th-to-16th contact, 1.00. A similar pattern holds for the 1949 and 1955 males and females.

Increasing probabilities with successive contacts characterize the Traffic/Non-traffic careers for both males and females. However, there appears to be a generally higher probability that a Non-traffic contact will be followed by another Non-traffic than that a Traffic contact will be followed by another of the same type. Among the 1942 males, for example, the probability that a fourth Traffic contact will be followed by a fifth one is .688, while the corresponding figure for the Non-traffic sequence is .829. It should be noted that the Non-traffic careers of both sexes and cohorts tend to be longer than Traffic careers, especially of females.

The successive probabilities of continuing Non-felony careers are greater than those for Felony careers and these probabilities tend to be greater for males than females. For the 1942 males, the probability that a first Felony will be followed by a second is .404 while the probability that a first Non-felony will be followed by a second is .874. Among the 1942 females, the corresponding probabilities are .167 for a Felony and .504 for a Non-felony.

The discontinuation probabilities shown in Tables 7 through 12 describe the cumulative probabilities of discontinuing police contacts after each present contact. They, in some respects, make cohort, male/female, and category of contact differences even clearer. For example, 12.6% (.126) of the males in the 1942 Cohort dropped out of the contact sequence after their first contact, and 18.3% of the 1949 Cohort and 27.3% of the 1955 Cohort did so. The longer period of exposure of the 1942 Cohort accounts for the large difference between it and the 1955 Cohort. The increasing probability of having dropped out after the first Traffic contact accounts for this difference for we see that discontinuation probabilities are similar for Non-traffic contacts. Similarly, each cohort has a successively smaller number of Traffic contacts based on their decreasing years of exposure to the possibility of obtaining traffic tickets from the police. Another example, one indicating male/female differences, is that only 12.6% of the males in the 1942 Cohort dropped out of the contact sequence after their first contact but 49.6% of the females did so. Note, however, that almost half of the females discontinued contacts after their first contact in each cohort. Also note their high discontinuation rate after their first Traffic contact. Moreover, in every cohort 90% of the females have discontinued both Traffic and Non-Traffic contacts with less than half as many contacts as have the male.

TABLE 7. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1942 COHORT MALES

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.126*	.257	.305	.596	.126	38	68	76	28	38
2	.299	.490	.462	.808	.299	90	130	115	38	90
3	.409	.638	.578	.915	.412	123	169	144	43	124
4	.498	.751	.651	.957	.505	150	199	162	45	152
5	.568	.785	.683	.957	.575	171	208	170	45	173
6	.631	.834	.726	.957	.644	190	221	181	45	194
7	.678	.883	.759	.957	.687	204	234	189	45	207
8	.708	.913	.779	.979	.721	213	242	194	46	217
9	.731	.932	.819	.979	.741	220	247	204	46	223
10	.784	.955	.843	1.000	.794	236	253	210	47	239
11	.807	.962	.867		.817	243	255	216		246
12	.827	.970	.891		.837	249	257	222		252
13	.834	.973	.904		.840	251	258	225		253
14	.850	.977	.923		.857	256	259	230		258
15	.857	.984	.928		.860	258	261	231		259
16	.870	.996	.944		.880	262	264	235		265
17	.884	.996	.944		.894	266	264	235		269
18	.894	1.000	.948		.903	269	265	236		272
19	.907		.948		.914	273		236		275
20	.914		.960		.924	275		239		278

* The number of males who discontinued after a first contact (38) was divided by the number of males with a first contact (301) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.126); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (52 + 38 = 90) and divided by 301 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.299), and so on. After the Total column, discontinuation refers to discontinuation of that category of contact.

TABLE 8. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1949 COHORT MALES

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.183*	.379	.278	.518	.186	111	182	139	58	112
2	.345	.627	.442	.732	.349	209	301	221	82	210
3	.454	.785	.550	.803	.462	275	377	275	90	278
4	.567	.860	.634	.875	.566	343	413	317	98	341
5	.615	.904	.696	.920	.621	372	434	348	103	374
6	.674	.945	.744	.955	.689	408	454	372	107	415
7	.714	.962	.774	.982	.726	432	462	387	110	437
8	.760	.977	.800	.982	.767	460	469	400	110	462
9	.792	.985	.816	.982	.796	479	473	408	110	479
10	.808	.992	.828	.991	.817	489	476	414	111	492
11	.830	.992	.840	1.000	.842	502	476	420	112	507
12	.843	.994	.855		.855	510	477	428		515
13	.858	.994	.870		.869	519	477	435		523
14	.873	.996	.878		.882	528	478	439		531
15	.884	.996	.884		.897	535	478	442		540
16	.888	.998	.888		.897	537	479	444		540
17	.896	1.000	.902		.905	542		451		545
18	.899		.908		.912	544		454		549
19	.909		.918		.927	550		459		558
20	.921		.922		.932	557		461		561

* The number of males who discontinued after a first contact (111) was divided by the number of males with a first contact (605) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.183); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (111 + 98 = 209) and divided by 605 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.345), and so on. After the Total column, discontinuation refers to discontinuation of that category of contact.

TABLE 9. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT AND BY CATEGORY OF CONTACT: 1955 COHORT MALES

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.273	.596	.321	.467	.339	218	317	211	114	226
2	.456	.848	.483	.652	.531	364	451	318	159	354
3	.561	.912	.585	.783	.634	448	501	385	191	423
4	.628	.972	.644	.852	.700	502	517	424	208	467
5	.692	.991	.682	.893	.750	553	527	449	218	500
6	.726	.998	.716	.939	.784	580	531	471	229	523
7	.760	.998	.752	.971	.804	607	531	495	237	536
8	.787	.998	.784	.980	.838	629	531	516	239	559
9	.807	1.000	.802	.992	.855	645	532	528	242	570
10	.826		.822	.996	.871	660		541	243	581
11	.841		.837	1.000	.886	672		551	244	591
12	.862		.848		.904	689		558		603
13	.874		.854		.915	698		562		610
14	.877		.857		.937	701		564		625
15	.882		.865		.952	705		569		635
16	.889		.881		.972	710		580		648
17	.892		.898		.982	713		591		655
18	.900		.907		.994	719		597		663
19	.909		.922		.997	726		607		665
20	.914		.942		1.000	730		620		667

* The number of males who discontinued after a first contact (218) was divided by the number of males with a first contact (799) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.273); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (218 + 146 = 364) and divided by 799 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.456), and so on. After the Total column, discontinuation refers to discontinuation of that category of contact.

TABLE 10. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1942 COHORT FEMALES

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.496*	.608	.538	.833	.496	66	59	35	5	65
2	.759	.866	.708	1.000	.756	101	84	46	6	99
3	.820	.948	.800		.824	109	92	52		108
4	.887	.958	.877		.893	118	93	57		117
5	.925	.969	.892		.939	123	94	58		123
6	.947	.989	.908		.947	126	96	59		124
7	.955	.989	.923		.954	127	96	60		125
8	.955	1.000	.969		.954	127	97	63		125
9	.962		.969		.962	128		63		126
10	.970		.985		.977	129		64		128
11	.985		1.000		.985	131				129
12	.985				.985	131				129
13	.985				.985	131				129
14	.985				.985	131				129
15	.985				.985	131				129
16	.992				.992	132				130
17	1.000				1.000	132				
18						132				
19						132				
20						132				

* The number of females who discontinued after a first contact (66) was divided by the number of females with a first contact (133) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.496); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (66 + 35 = 101) and divided by 133 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.759), and so on. After the Total column, discontinuation refers to discontinuation of that category of contact.

TABLE 11. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT AND BY CONTACT CATEGORY: 1949 COHORT FEMALES

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.479*	.743	.475	.810	.486	140	142	88	17	140
2	.678	.885	.664	.952	.688	198	169	123	20	198
3	.784	.953	.751	1.000	.785	229	182	139	21	226
4	.853	.989	.838		.854	249	189	155		246
5	.897	1.000	.886		.899	262	191	164		259
6	.918		.919		.927	268		170		267
7	.948		.930		.951	277		172		274
8	.955		.940		.955	279		174		275
9	.955		.951		.955	279		176		275
10	.958		.951		.958	280		176		276
11	.962		.962		.965	281		178		278
12	.969		.968		.976	283		179		281
13	.979		.973		.979	286		180		282
14	.979		.973		.979	286		180		282
15	.979		.978		.983	286		181		283
16	.986		.978		.986	288		181		284
17	.986		.978		.986	288		181		284
18	.986		.978		.986	288		181		284
19	.986		.978		.986	288		181		284
20	.989		.984		.989	289		182		285

* The number of females who discontinued after a first contact (140) was divided by the number of females with a first contact (292) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.479); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (140 + 58 = 198) and divided by 292 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.678), and so on. After the Total column, discontinuation refers to discontinuation of that category of contact.

TABLE 12. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT AND BY CATEGORY OF CONTACT: 1955 COHORT FEMALES

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.493	.799	.475	.742	.541	232	183	163	46	179
2	.699	.965	.676	.839	.737	329	221	232	52	244
3	.800	.983	.761	.952	.822	377	225	261	59	272
4	.851	.987	.831	1.000	.849	401	226	285	62	281
5	.890	1.000	.869		.879	419	229	298		291
6	.904		.892		.894	426		306		296
7	.913		.898		.924	430		308		306
8	.921		.910		.940	434		312		311
9	.932		.924		.952	439		317		315
10	.949		.942		.961	447		323		318
11	.964		.953		.964	454		327		319
12	.968		.959		.970	456		329		321
13	.968		.959		.973	456		329		322
14	.970		.959		.982	457		329		325
15	.979		.971		.991	461		333		328
16	.979		.971		.997	461		333		330
17	.981		.974		1.000	462		334		331
18	.981		.974			462		334		
19	.981		.977			462		335		
20	.981		.980			462		336		

* The number of females who discontinued after a first contact (232) was divided by the number of females with a first contact (471) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.493); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (232 + 97 = 329) and divided by 471 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.699) and so on. After the Total column, discontinuation refers to discontinuation of that category of contact.

The rate at which discontinuation for different categories of offenses occurs is also clearly shown by comparing Traffic and Non-traffic offenses. Among both males and females Traffic contacts cease more rapidly than Non-traffic contacts, although it should probably be noted that for even the 1942 Cohort the possibility of additional Traffic contacts after the date on which data collection ceased remains a greater probability than does that for additional Non-traffic contacts.

Perhaps even more clear is the difference between Felonies and Non-felonies. Males from each cohort discontinue the Felony sequence with half or less than half of the contacts that it takes to discontinue the Non-felony sequence. But here the difference between males and females becomes even more apparent. Not only does the Non-felony sequence cease more rapidly for females than males, but the Felony sequence ceases even more rapidly for females. For example, 91.5% of the 1942 Cohort males had ended their Felony careers after the third contact but it took until the 18th contact to terminate 91.4% of their Non-felony contacts. All females had terminated their Felonies by their second contact and had reached the termination level of males for Non-felonies at the 18th contact level by only their 5th contacts.

Any number of comparisons between cohorts, males and females, and offense categories may be made but the fact remains that males and females ceased to have Traffic, Non-traffic, Non-felony contacts more rapidly than Felony contacts.

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APPENDIX I

Tables 1 and 2 in this appendix reveal the not unexpected finding, considering race/ethnic and sex differentials previously described, that wherever there were sufficient cases for comparison Black males and females from all cohorts had at least twice as high a percentage of their numbers in the cohort with contacts in every age period than did Whites. Chicano males in the 1942 Cohort were similar to the Blacks and, although less similar in the 1955 Cohort, were closer to the Blacks overall than to the Whites. Chicanos, where comparison was possible, had continuity patterns more like those of the Blacks than the Whites. When only those who were socialized in Areas A and B were compared, differences between White males and both Black and Chicano males declined, and, although those Whites in the inner city had more continuity than did Whites in other areas, they still had less than did either minority group.

As stated in Chapter 9, the same data that were utilized in categorizing cohorts and segments of cohorts by age-period continuity may be presented in such a way as to reveal how police contacts during the juvenile period set the stage for continuity in periods which follow. What we immediately see upon inspection of Diagrams 1 through 6 is that those persons from each cohort, male or female, White, Black, or Chicano, who have had contacts during the juvenile and the young adult periods have the greatest probability of having contacts after age 21 and that those who had no contacts during either of these periods are less likely to have contacts after the age of 21. At the same time, it is also obvious that there are sizeable numbers of males who do have contacts as adults who have not previously had contacts,

TABLE 1. CONTINUITY OF CAREERS BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS BY RACE/ ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, MALES

Age Period/Continuity Contact Types			Total			A-B*			C-D-E**
JUV	18-20	21+	White	Black	Chicano	White	Black	Chicano	White
Yes	Yes	Yes	29.9	66.7	----	38.9	66.7	----	27.1
Yes	Yes	No	3.6	6.7	----	4.0	6.7	----	4.5
Yes	No	Yes	15.7	----	----	14.3	----	----	16.8
Yes	No	No	7.1	----	----	7.1	----	----	7.7
No	Yes	Yes	7.1	13.3	33.3	4.0	13.3	33.3	8.4
No	Yes	No	3.6	----	----	3.2	----	----	4.5
No	No	Yes	16.9	13.3	66.6	11.1	13.3	66.6	18.1
No	No	No	16.3	-----	-----	17.5	-----	----	12.9
			100.2	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1942	N =	338	15	3	126	15	3	155
Yes	Yes	Yes	24.1	61.7	57.9	28.2	61.9	53.3	23.2
Yes	Yes	No	12.5	4.5	15.8	13.1	4.8	20.0	12.8
Yes	No	Yes	11.5	6.8	10.5	13.1	7.1	13.3	11.5
Yes	No	No	13.0	9.1	5.3	8.9	9.5	----	16.9
No	Yes	Yes	4.7	9.1	----	5.2	9.5	----	4.1
No	Yes	No	6.6	2.3	----	6.6	----	----	5.2
No	No	Yes	8.0	----	10.5	8.9	----	13.3	6.3
No	No	No	19.5	6.8	----	16.0	7.1	----	19.9
			99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9
	1949	N =	677	44	19	213	42	15	366
Yes	Yes	Yes	9.7	33.0	19.1	19.2	33.7	21.1	8.1
Yes	Yes	No	18.0	33.0	42.6	22.0	31.7	42.1	17.9
Yes	No	Yes	3.3	3.8	6.4	3.4	3.8	7.9	2.9
Yes	No	No	20.7	15.1	14.9	26.0	15.4	13.2	22.1
No	Yes	Yes	3.6	.9	2.1	4.0	1.0	----	2.9
No	Yes	No	10.5	.9	6.4	9.0	1.0	5.3	10.1
No	No	Yes	2.8	2.8	2.1	3.4	2.9	2.6	2.0
No	No	No	31.3	10.4	6.4	13.0	10.6	7.9	34.0
			99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0
	1955	N =	961	106	47	177	104	38	553

* Persons whose principal place of residence as a juvenile was not in Area A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D, or E or a combination thereof were excluded.

** Too few Blacks and Chicanos for inclusion in Areas C, D, and E.

TABLE 2. CONTINUITY OF CAREERS BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS BY RACE/ ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, FEMALES

Age Period/Continuity Contact Types			Total			A-B*			C-D-E**
JUV	18-20	21+	White	Black	Chicana	White	Black	Chicana	White
Yes	Yes	Yes	2.2	----	----	5.3	33.3	----	----
Yes	Yes	No	2.2	----	----	2.1	----	----	2.7
Yes	No	Yes	5.6	----	----	4.2	----	----	7.1
Yes	No	No	9.0	20.0	----	8.5	----	20.0	8.0
No	Yes	Yes	3.7	----	----	4.3	33.0	----	3.5
No	Yes	No	5.6	----	----	8.5	----	----	4.4
No	No	Yes	19.1	20.0	25.0	17.0	33.3	20.0	20.4
No	No	No	52.4	60.0	75.0	50.0	----	60.0	54.0
			99.8	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1
	1942	N =	267	5	4	94	3	5	113
Yes	Yes	Yes	5.1	23.1	----	6.1	23.7	----	5.6
Yes	Yes	No	3.1	12.8	10.0	6.1	13.2	11.1	2.6
Yes	No	Yes	4.1	10.3	20.0	3.8	10.5	11.1	5.0
Yes	No	No	13.4	10.3	10.0	9.8	10.5	11.1	14.6
No	Yes	Yes	3.1	7.7	10.0	2.3	7.9	11.1	2.6
No	Yes	No	13.0	----	20.0	15.2	----	22.2	11.9
No	No	Yes	8.7	5.1	10.0	9.1	5.3	11.1	8.6
No	No	No	49.4	30.8	20.0	47.7	28.9	22.2	49.0
			99.9	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9
	1949	N =	508	39	10	132	38	9	302
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.9	14.0	12.5	3.3	14.0	15.4	2.1
Yes	Yes	No	8.1	10.5	9.4	14.8	10.5	7.7	6.4
Yes	No	Yes	1.6	3.5	12.5	.6	3.5	15.4	2.4
Yes	No	No	16.1	24.4	31.3	21.4	24.4	34.6	16.9
No	Yes	Yes	1.2	3.5	3.1	1.1	3.5	3.8	.9
No	Yes	No	10.3	9.3	3.1	12.6	9.3	----	10.2
No	No	Yes	3.2	3.5	3.1	2.7	3.5	3.8	3.2
No	No	No	57.7	31.4	25.0	43.4	31.4	19.2	57.8
			100.1	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9	99.9
	1955	N =	917	86	32	182	86	26	531

* Persons whose principal place of residence as a juvenile was not in Area A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D, or E or a combination thereof were excluded.

** Too few Blacks and Chicanas for inclusion in Areas C, D, and E.

DIAGRAM 1. CAREER PROGRESSION OF MALES IN 1942 COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY

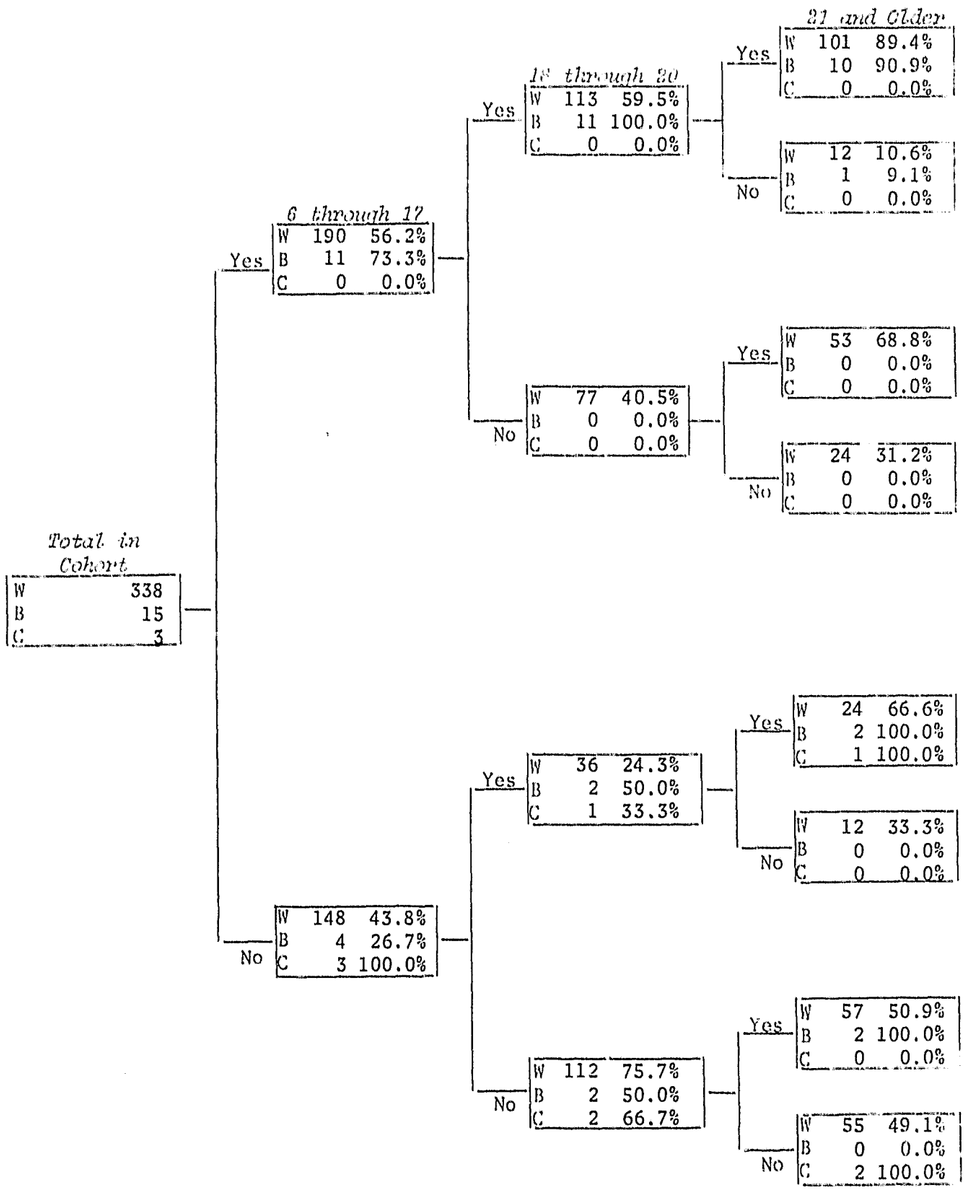


DIAGRAM 2. CAREER PROGRESSION OF MALES IN 1949 COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY

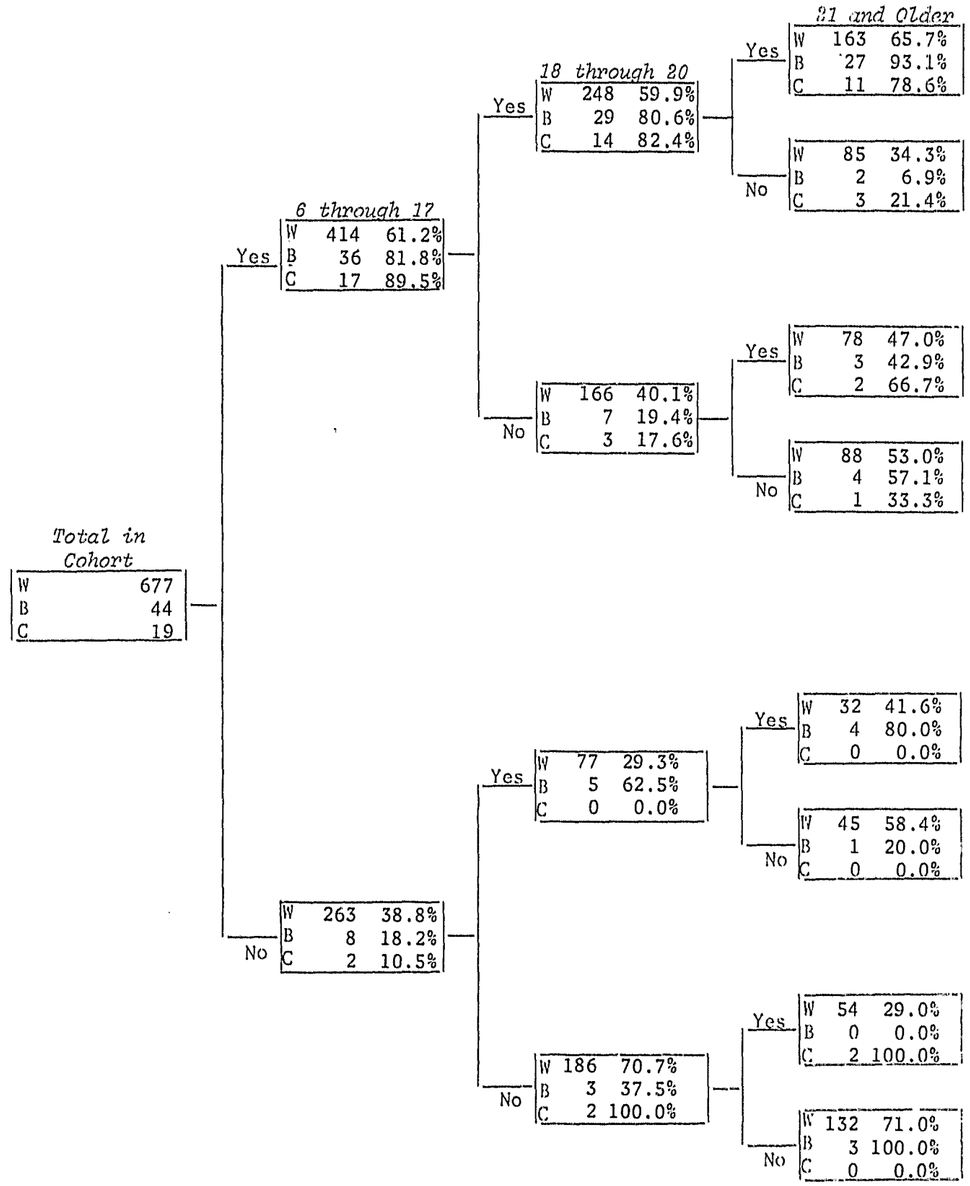


DIAGRAM 3. CAREER PROGRESSION OF MALES IN 1955 COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY

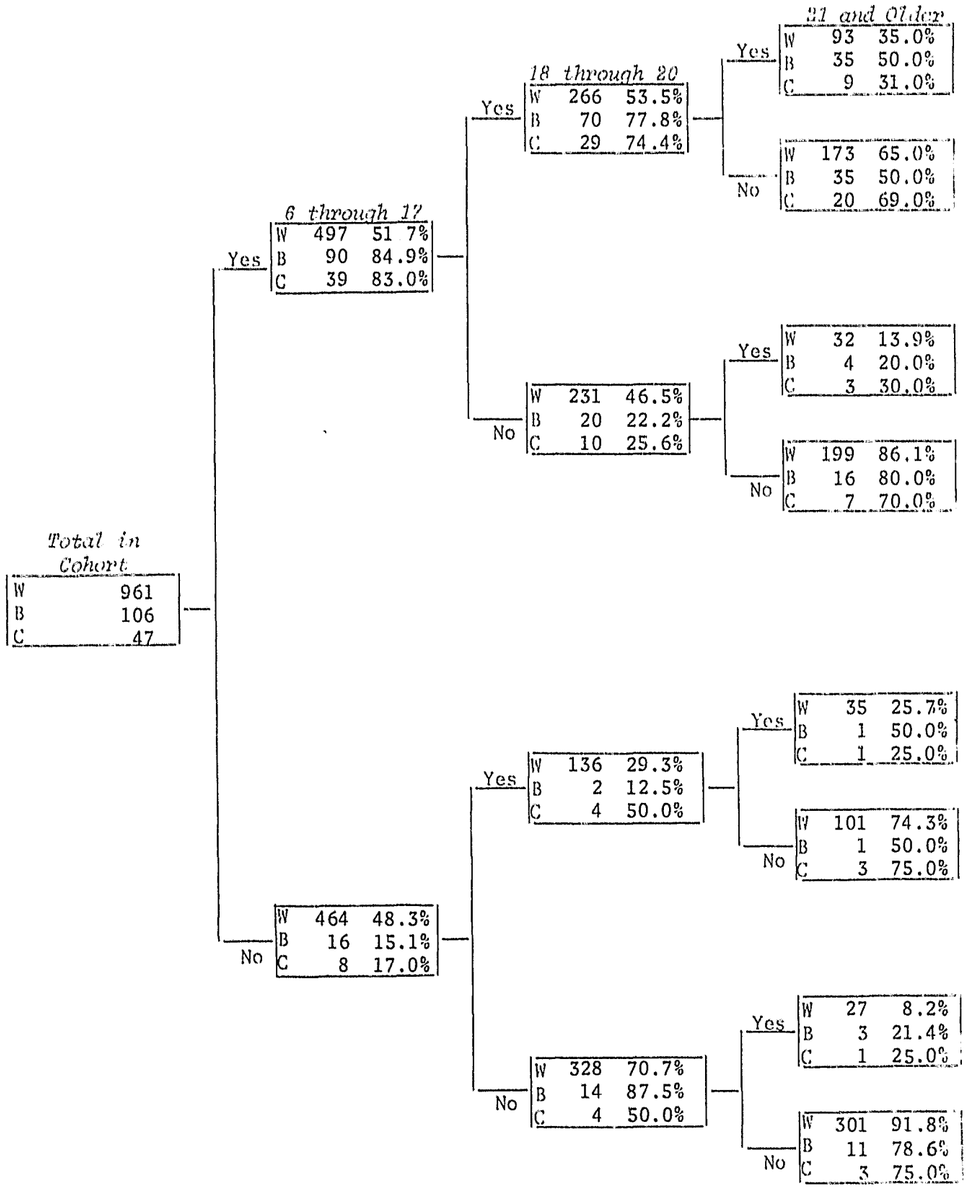


DIAGRAM 4. CAREER PROGRESSION OF FEMALES IN 1942 COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY

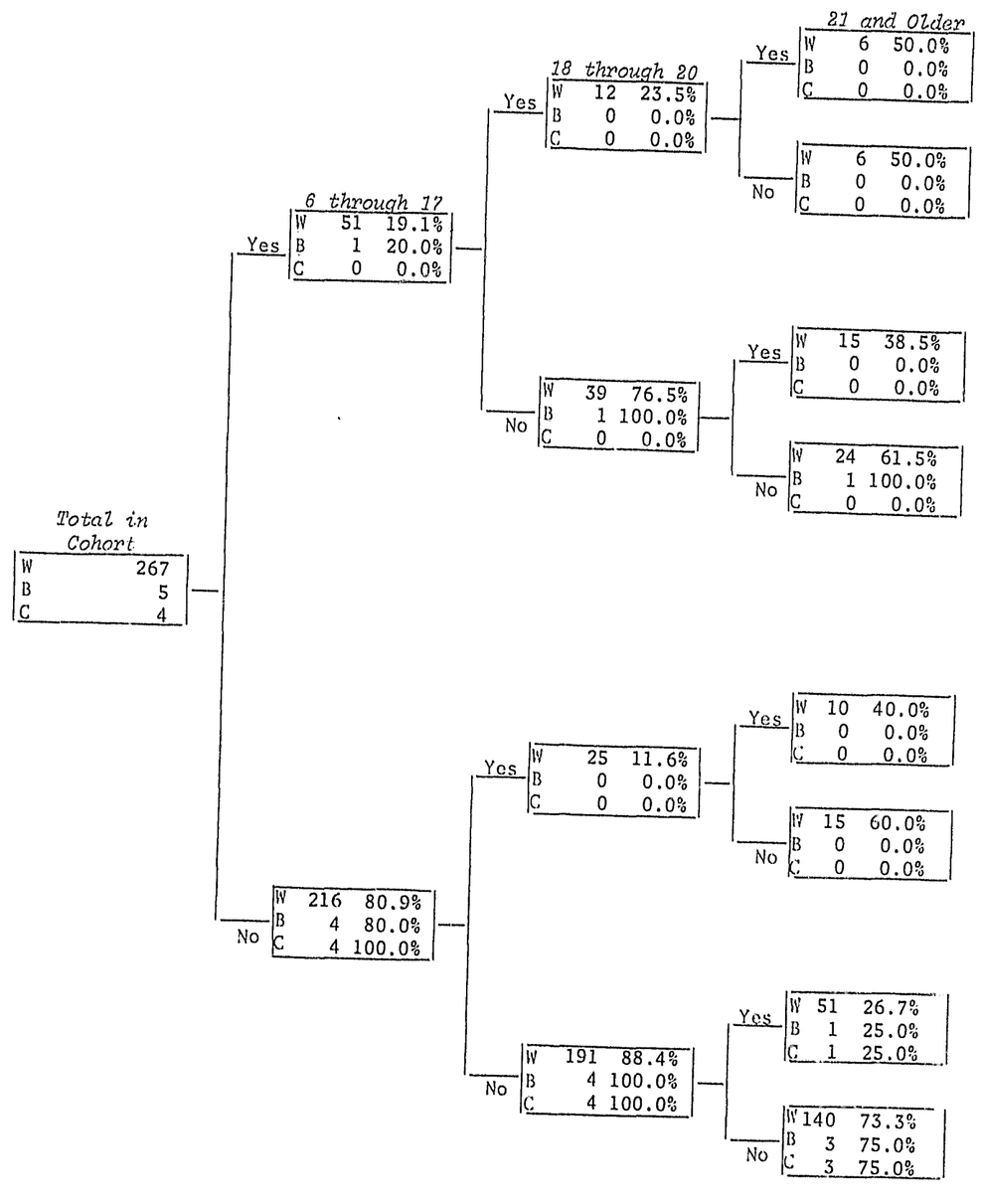


DIAGRAM 5. CAREER PROGRESSION OF FEMALES IN 1949 COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY

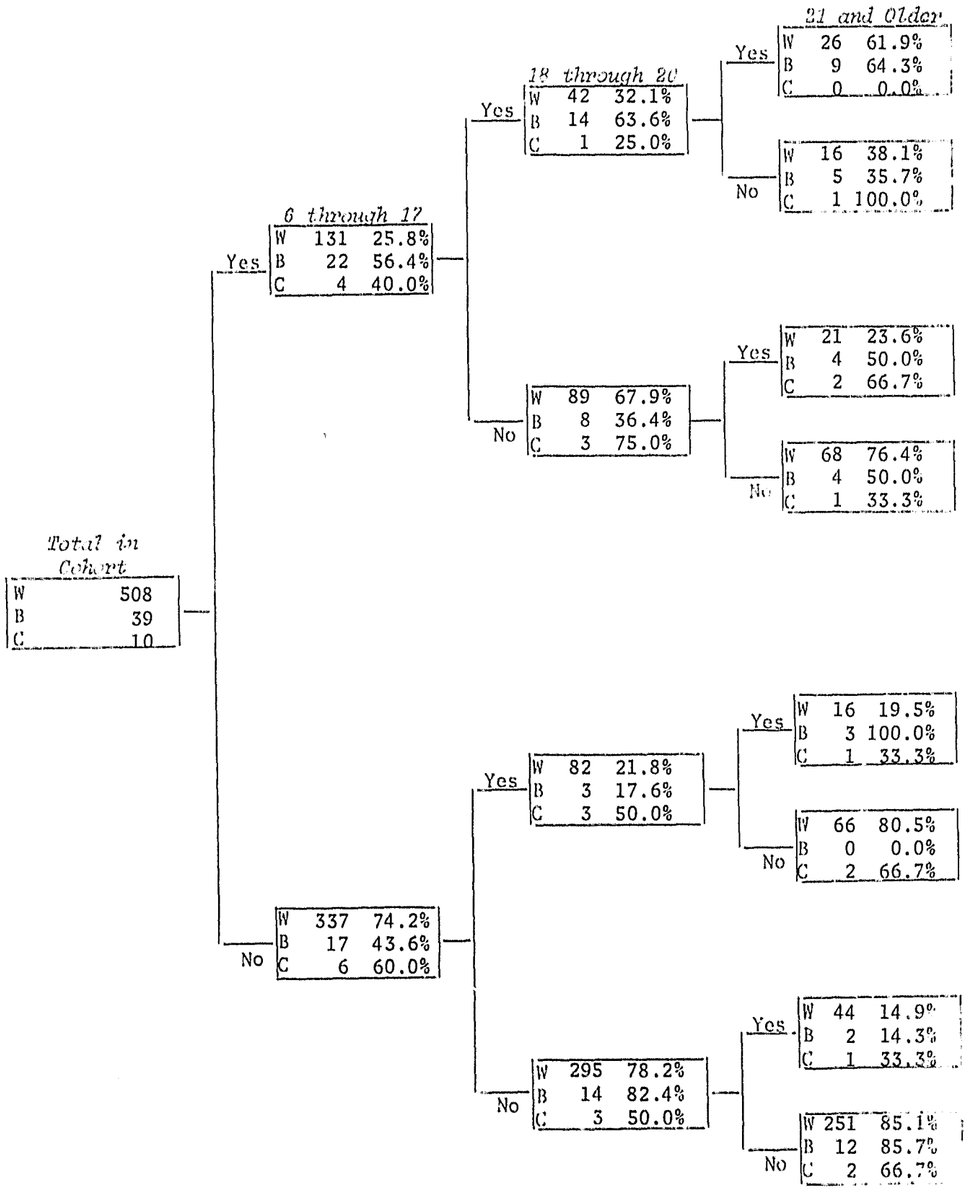
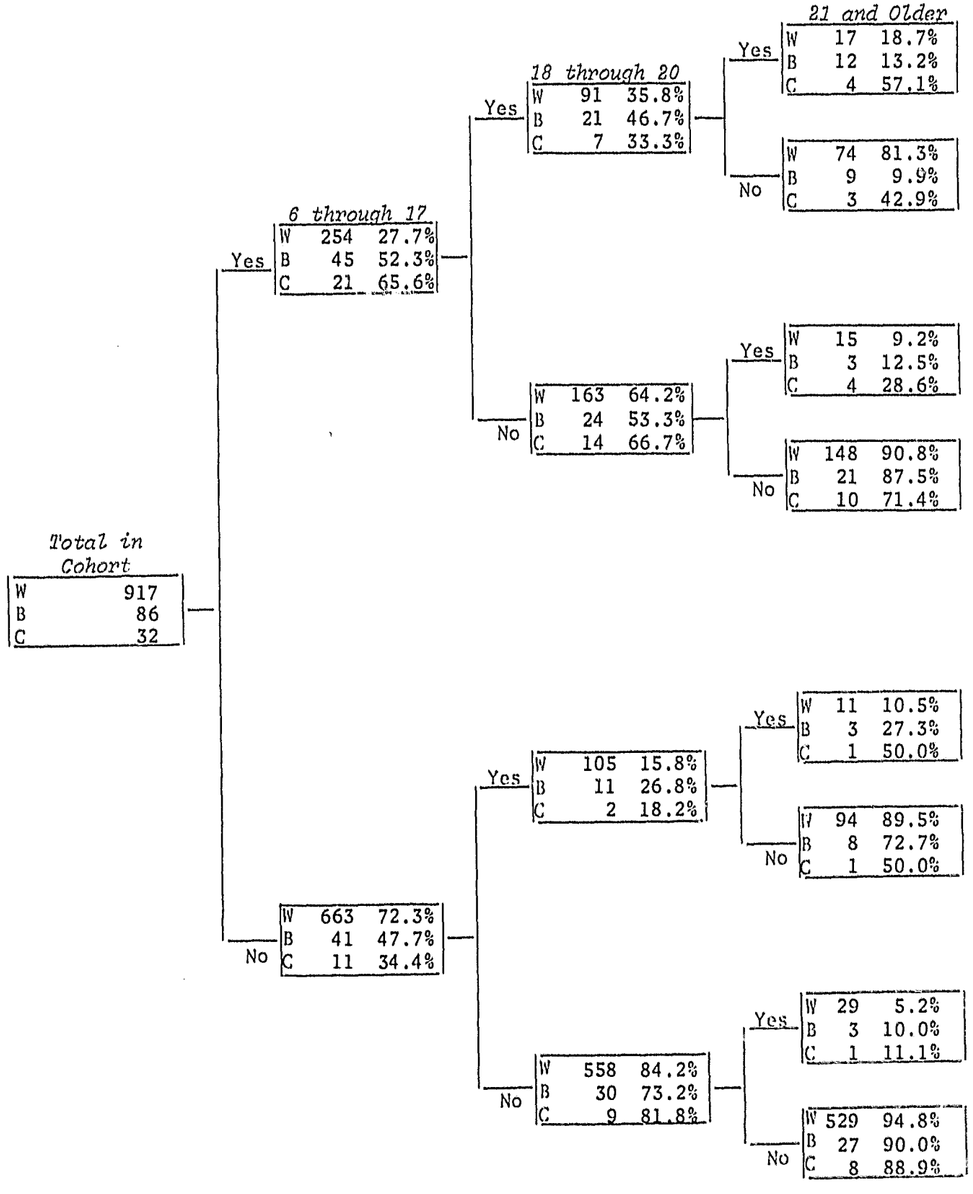


DIAGRAM 6. CAREER PROGRESSION OF FEMALES IN 1955 COHORT, BY RACE/ETHNICITY



a finding which, as we shall see, consistently introduces considerable error when attempting to predict later adult careers from juvenile and young adult police records.

Tables 3 and 4 facilitate comparison of the proportion of persons with age period continuity for Traffic vs. Non-traffic offenses by race/ethnicity and area of socialization. The proportion with continuity from age period to age period remains lower for White males and females than for both Blacks and Chicanos for both Traffic and Non-traffic offenses wherever comparison is possible. Their dissimilarity is least for the males in the 1955 Cohort in Areas A and B, but even here the differences are significant. As in the case of males, a greater proportion of the White females from the inner city exhibited age period continuity and, although more similar to that of the minority groups, particularly in the 1955 Cohort, continuity was still less than that for either Blacks or Chicanas.

Tables 5 and 6 indicate that the correlation for number of police contacts between the age periods 6-17 vs. 18 and older and 6-20 vs. 21 and older by race/ethnicity and sex were lower for Traffic contacts than for Non-traffic contacts in every comparison for the males and in almost every comparison for the females. The only exceptions were for Black females in the 1949 Cohort (the difference was small) and Chicanas in the 1955 Cohort. Non-traffic contacts were more closely related, age period to age period, for both male and female Whites socialized in the inner city than their counterparts from outlying areas. While this was generally the case for Traffic contacts as well, there were some exceptions.

When the age period to age period continuity of all Whites was compared with those for Blacks and Chicanos, the Black males had greater continuity than did the White males. For the 1955 Cohort, the one cohort for which com-

TABLE 3. CONTINUITY OF CAREERS BASED ON CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC VS. TRAFFIC CONTACT OFFENSES BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, MALES

Time Period/Continuity Contact Types			TOTAL						A-B						C-D-E*	
			White		Black		Chicano		White		Black		Chicano		White	
Juv	18-20	21+	NT	T**	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T
Yes	Yes	Yes	10.1	16.9	20.0	60.0	----	33.3	11.1	18.3	20.0	60.0	----	33.3	11.0	16.1
Yes	Yes	No	11.8	3.0	----	6.7	----	----	12.7	3.2	----	6.7	----	----	12.9	3.2
Yes	No	Yes	8.0	9.5	40.0	----	----	----	15.1	13.5	40.0	----	----	----	4.5	8.4
Yes	No	No	13.3	4.7	----	----	----	----	13.5	3.2	----	----	----	----	13.5	7.1
No	Yes	Yes	2.4	14.2	13.3	13.3	----	66.7	3.2	11.9	13.3	13.3	----	66.7	1.9	14.8
No	Yes	No	10.7	9.2	----	13.3	----	----	8.7	9.5	----	13.3	----	----	12.3	9.0
No	No	Yes	6.2	16.9	13.3	----	33.3	----	5.6	11.9	13.3	----	33.3	----	7.1	18.7
No	No	No	37.6	25.7	13.3	6.7	66.7	----	30.2	28.6	13.3	6.7	66.7	----	36.8	22.6
			100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
	1942	N =	338		15		3		126		15		3		155	
Yes	Yes	Yes	11.8	6.9	15.9	22.7	31.6	21.1	12.7	8.9	16.7	21.4	20.0	26.7	11.7	5.3
Yes	Yes	No	10.8	5.3	4.5	4.5	10.5	5.3	13.6	5.6	4.8	4.8	13.3	6.7	10.4	5.5
Yes	No	Yes	10.6	6.9	43.2	11.4	31.6	10.5	16.0	7.5	42.9	11.9	40.0	13.3	9.0	7.4
Yes	No	No	17.0	13.4	15.9	4.5	15.8	10.5	11.7	12.7	16.7	2.4	13.3	13.3	22.7	13.9
No	Yes	Yes	2.8	7.1	2.3	22.7	----	21.1	3.3	8.0	2.3	23.8	----	13.3	1.4	6.0
No	Yes	No	8.1	10.8	----	11.4	----	15.8	6.1	10.8	----	11.9	----	20.0	9.3	10.7
No	No	Yes	5.9	11.2	9.1	4.5	----	5.3	6.6	14.6	7.1	4.8	----	----	4.6	10.1
No	No	No	32.9	38.3	9.1	18.2	10.5	10.5	30.0	31.9	9.5	19.0	13.3	6.7	30.9	41.0
			99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1
	1949	N =	677		44		19		213		42		15		366	
Yes	Yes	Yes	9.6	8.8	33.0	23.6	17.0	17.0	19.2	16.9	33.7	24.0	18.4	18.4	8.0	7.8
Yes	Yes	No	17.0	14.8	33.0	17.9	42.6	36.2	20.9	19.2	31.7	17.3	42.1	34.2	16.8	14.1
Yes	No	Yes	3.1	2.5	3.8	2.8	6.4	6.4	3.4	2.3	3.8	2.9	7.9	7.9	2.7	2.0
Yes	No	No	15.7	8.7	14.2	3.8	14.9	----	21.5	7.9	14.4	3.8	13.2	----	16.6	9.6
No	Yes	Yes	2.6	2.8	.9	.9	2.1	----	2.3	3.4	1.0	1.0	----	----	2.0	2.0
No	Yes	No	5.4	7.1	.9	----	4.3	4.3	5.1	5.6	1.0	----	2.6	5.3	5.4	7.2
No	No	Yes	1.2	1.8	.9	1.9	----	2.1	1.7	1.7	1.0	1.9	----	2.6	.7	1.4
No	No	No	45.4	53.5	13.2	49.1	12.8	34.0	26.0	42.9	13.5	49.0	15.8	31.6	47.7	55.9
			100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
	1955	N =	961		106		47		177		104		38		553	

* Persons whose principal place of residence as a juvenile was not in Areas A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D, or E or a combination thereof, were excluded.

** NT = Non-traffic offenses, T = Traffic only.

TABLE 4. CONTINUITY OF CAREERS BASED ON CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC VS. TRAFFIC CONTACT OFFENSES BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, FEMALES

Time Period/Continuity Contact Types			TOTAL						A-B						C-D-E*	
			White		Black		Chicana		White		Black		Chicana		White	
Juv	18-20	21+	NT	T**	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T
Yes	Yes	Yes	----	1.9	----	20.0	----	----	----	4.3	----	33.3	----	----	----	.9
Yes	Yes	No	.7	----	----	----	----	----	1.1	----	----	----	----	----	.9	----
Yes	No	Yes	2.2	1.5	----	----	----	----	5.3	1.1	----	----	----	----	.9	1.8
Yes	No	No	9.4	6.4	20.0	----	20.0	----	7.4	6.4	33.3	----	20.0	----	9.7	7.1
No	Yes	Yes	.7	4.1	----	----	----	----	1.1	4.3	----	----	----	----	----	4.4
No	Yes	No	6.0	5.2	----	60.0	----	20.0	5.3	6.4	----	66.7	----	20.0	6.2	5.3
No	No	Yes	3.0	18.0	20.0	----	----	----	5.3	14.9	33.3	----	----	----	.9	18.6
No	No	No	77.9	62.9	60.0	20.0	80.0	80.0	74.5	62.8	33.3	----	80.0	80.0	81.4	61.9
			99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.2	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1942	N =	267		5		5		94		3		5		113	
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.2	1.0	2.6	10.3	----	----	3.0	1.5	2.6	10.5	----	----	.7	1.0
Yes	Yes	No	2.8	1.2	2.6	2.6	----	----	3.0	.8	2.6	2.6	----	----	2.3	.7
Yes	No	Yes	3.1	2.6	28.2	----	----	----	3.8	1.5	28.9	----	----	----	3.3	3.0
Yes	No	No	13.0	13.0	20.5	2.6	30.0	10.0	13.6	15.9	21.1	2.6	22.2	11.1	14.6	11.9
No	Yes	Yes	.2	2.0	2.6	5.1	----	10.0	----	3.8	2.6	5.3	----	----	.3	1.7
No	Yes	No	5.5	7.3	----	12.8	10.0	----	2.3	7.6	----	13.2	11.1	----	6.6	7.3
No	No	Yes	5.3	7.1	5.1	15.4	30.0	30.0	6.8	6.1	4.3	15.8	33.3	33.3	4.0	8.3
No	No	No	68.9	65.9	38.5	51.3	30.0	50.0	67.4	62.9	36.8	50.0	33.3	55.5	68.2	66.2
			100.0	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1
			508		39		10		132		38		9		302	
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.9	.8	14.0	5.8	12.5	9.4	3.3	.6	14.0	5.8	15.4	11.5	2.1	1.1
Yes	Yes	No	7.5	5.2	10.5	5.8	9.4	----	14.8	8.2	10.5	5.8	7.7	----	5.8	4.7
Yes	No	Yes	1.4	1.2	3.5	1.2	12.5	6.3	.5	.6	3.5	1.2	15.4	7.7	2.1	1.7
Yes	No	No	12.3	4.9	23.3	2.3	28.1	6.3	17.6	5.5	23.3	2.3	34.6	3.8	12.6	5.3
No	Yes	Yes	1.1	.7	2.3	2.3	3.1	3.1	1.1	.6	2.3	2.3	3.8	3.8	.9	.4
No	Yes	No	3.5	7.3	5.8	4.7	3.1	----	4.4	8.8	5.8	4.7	----	----	3.4	7.5
No	No	Yes	1.4	1.9	2.3	1.2	3.1	----	.5	2.2	2.3	1.2	3.8	----	1.7	1.7
No	No	No	70.9	78.1	38.4	76.7	28.1	75.0	57.7	73.6	38.4	76.7	19.2	73.1	71.4	77.6
			100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0
	1955	N =	917		86		32		182		86		26		531	

Persons whose principal place of residence as a juvenile was not in Areas A or B or a combination thereof, or C, or E or a combination thereof, were excluded.

** NT = Non-traffic offenses, T = Traffic only.

TABLE 5. CORRELATION OF NUMBER OF NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS BETWEEN AGE PERIODS BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND NATURAL AREA OF JUVENILE RESIDENCE*

	WHITE						BLACK				CHICANO	
	Male			Female			Male		Female		Male	Female
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1955	1955
Entire City												
6-17 x 18+	.388	.489	.478	.299	.319	.457	.686	.520	.405	.437	.521	.429
6-20 x 21+	.368	.448	.314	.368	.389	.302	.536	.349	.428	.360	.372	.192
N	338	677	961	267	508	917	44	106	39	86	47	32
Inner City A-B												
6-17 x 18+	.515	.558	.523	.414	.579	.604	.670	.516	.396	.437	.665	.396
6-20 x 21+	.559	.526	.390	.435	.509	.335	.512	.344	.421	.360	.413	.176
N	126	213	177	94	132	182	42	104	38	86	38	26
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17 x 18+	.286	.444	.437	.140	.216	.366	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-20 x 21+	.216	.394	.259	.265	.337	.285	--	--	--	--	--	--
N	212	464	784	173	376	735	--	--	--	--	--	--

* Pearson's R computed with number of police contacts collapsed to 1,2,3,4, and 5 or +.

TABLE 6. CORRELATION OF NUMBER OF TRAFFIC CONTACTS BETWEEN AGE PERIODS BY RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND NATURAL AREA OF JUVENILE RESIDENCE*

	WHITE						BLACK				CHICANO	
	Male			Female			Male		Female		Male	Female
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1955	1955
Entire City												
6-17 x 18+	.257	.223	.093	.091	.078	.057	.355	.317	.014	.176	.302	.406
6-20 x 21+	.351	.232	.129	.106	.208	-.018	.478	.161	.465	.018	-.074	.406
N	338	677	961	267	508	917	44	106	39	86	47	32
Inner City A-B												
6-17 x 18+	.273	.173	.046	.208	.223	-.006	.350	.309	.010	.176	.227	.530
6-20 x 21+	.410	.231	.128	.228	.227	-.027	.481	.167	.461	.018	-.045	.408
N	126	213	177	94	132	182	42	104	38	86	38	26
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17 x 18+	.246	.248	.102	-.006	.015	.073	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-20 x 21+	.311	.229	.125	-.008	.199	-.014	--	--	--	--	--	--
N	212	464	784	173	376	735						

* Pearson's R computed with number of police contacts collapsed to 1,2,3,4, and 5 or +.

parison was possible, Chicano males showed greater continuity than did the Blacks.

While Black females had more age period continuity than did White females in most comparisons, Chicanas had the least continuity. When Black and White comparisons were restricted to those who resided in the inner city, with one exception for the males and one for the females, the Whites had more age period to age period continuity than did the Blacks. Chicanos had the highest continuity and Chicanas the lowest among those from the 1955 Cohort who were socialized in the inner city.

The possibility of constructing continuity types as a basis for increasing predictive efficiency has been explored at some length. When continuity in careers was characterized by police contacts for the period prior to 15, 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.

The complexity of the problem becomes very apparent by looking at Tables 7 and 8. To produce these tables the age-by-age data for each cohort for the ages 15 through 21 were collapsed to eight basic categories in order to show how both males and females commence to have contacts, continue to have contacts, and cease to have police contacts, moving from one status to the other over the years. Although changing percentages in each career type are shown only for the ages 15 through 21 in these tables, they are based on the data from age 6 to 33 (1942 Cohort), 6 to 26 (1949 Cohort), and 6 to 22 (1955 Cohort).

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

		Age						
		15	16	17	18	19	20	21
A. 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
B. 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
C. 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
D. 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
E. 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
F. 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
G. 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
H. 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 8. CHANGE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF CAREER TYPES BY COHORT AND AGE BY PERCENT, FEMALES

		Age						
		15	16	17	18	19	20	21
A. 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
B. 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
C. 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
D. 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
E. 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
F. 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
G. 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
H. 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

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, 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 50% for each cohort and the 1955 Cohort runs about only 2% higher than the 1942 Cohort.

The second category, B, consists of those who have had prior contacts but none at that 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 the 1942 Cohort has the lowest percent and the 1955 Cohort the highest because of years of exposure. The female pattern differs for the same reason as it did for the no contact category.

Those who had contacts prior to and at age but none after 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 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 late start a year earlier.

The last two 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 to 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. It is in this last category that the differences between males and females

are the greatest, with some 50% to 60% of the males in these two continuity categories in contrast to only 10% to 15% of the females.

APPENDIX J

The data contained in Chapter 10 were presented without controls for sex. We now control for sex in the same series of prediction tables. The reader is again reminded that the basic problem involved in attempting to predict anything that is deviant, i.e., the fact that far fewer than half of the group may fall in the category predicted, is exacerbated in the female case.

To illustrate the problem let us refer to the most difficult case for males from the 1949 Cohort in Table 5, predicting who will have a police contact for a Felony at age 18 or after from who has had a Felony contact before that age. This is an example in which, although the marginals are highly skewed, there is a definite relationship between the police contact status prior to 18 and after 18 (Pearson's R = .3033 and Somers' D = .2747), but the distribution is such that prior behavior does not permit improved prediction over that from the marginals, (Lambda) being zero.

In order to determine the effectiveness of police contact status at Time 1 in predicting police contact status at Time 2, we used the formula $\frac{E^2 - E^1}{E^2}$. E^2 equals the number of errors that would be made by utilizing the modal category at Time 2 as the category into which it would be predicted everyone will fall (the modal category is 679 and the non-modal category of the predictand, $E^2 = 61$). E^1 equals the number of errors from knowledge of the predictor. A prediction that those with no contacts in Time 1 will have none in Time 2 and that those who have contacts in Time 1 will do so in Time 2 gives us 87. As we have seen, this strategy does not increase predictive efficiency for the example cited: $\frac{61 - 87}{61} = \frac{-26}{61} = -.4262$. We have shown this as .0000 in the table, indicating that there is no increase in predictive efficiency.

The second strategy is to assume that the modal category at Time 1 is the best predictor of where everyone will be found at Time 2 on the assumption that the group will become more homogeneous as time goes by and will shift in the direction of the modal category. This seems to make sense if one remembers the high rate of discontinuation described in Chapter 8 and if less than half of the group has had police contacts. Whether this prediction is better than that made by the first strategy is determined by comparing the number of errors made by predicting that everyone will be in the same modal category in Time 2 as in Time 1 with the number of errors made by knowledge of the predictor. In the example that we have just cited only 61 errors are made from the marginal prediction that no one will have a contact for a Felony after reaching the age of 18.

The 1955 females are an even more extreme example. The Coefficient of Predictability reveals that the predictor fails to reduce error over that obtained by simply predicting that everyone will have the same characteristic as those in the modal category of the marginals at Time 2, i.e., none of the females will have police contacts after the age of 18. This strategy produces only 32 errors out of 1035 persons in comparison with 64 errors based on the predictor. The fact is that the second strategy works best in most cases for the females because their distributions are so skewed toward no police contacts.

Since we have already mentioned the male/female differences in Chapter 10, Tables 1 through 6 are presented without further comment.

TABLE 1. PREDICTING POLICE CONTACTS AND FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS AGE 18 AND LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS AND FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT MALES

1942
Police Contact Age 18 or +

Police Contact Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	55 (35.5)	100 (64.5)	155 (43.5)
Yes	24 (11.9)	177 (88.1)	201 (56.5)
Total	79 (22.2)	277 (77.8)	356 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2809
Somers' D .2354
Lambda .0000

1949
Police Contact Age 18 or +

Police Contact Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	135 (49.5)	138 (50.5)	273 (36.9)
Yes	93 (19.9)	374 (80.1)	467 (63.1)
Total	228 (30.8)	512 (69.2)	740 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3087
Somers' D .2954
Lambda .0000

1955
Police Contact Age 18 or +

Police Contact Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	315 (64.3)	175 (35.7)	490 (44.0)
Yes	220 (35.3)	404 (64.7)	624 (56.0)
Total	535 (48.0)	579 (52.0)	1114 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2884
Somers' D .2903
Lambda .2617

1942
Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Felonies or Misdemeanors Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	120 (62.5)	72 (37.5)	192 (53.9)
Yes	45 (27.4)	119 (72.6)	164 (46.1)
Total	165 (46.3)	191 (53.7)	356 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3505
Somers' D .3506
Lambda .2909

1949
Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Felonies or Misdemeanors Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	256 (69.9)	110 (30.1)	366 (49.5)
Yes	146 (39.0)	228 (61.0)	374 (50.5)
Total	402 (54.3)	338 (45.7)	740 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3102
Somers' D .3091
Lambda .2426

1955
Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Felonies or Misdemeanors Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	478 (73.9)	169 (26.1)	647 (58.1)
Yes	201 (43.0)	266 (57.0)	467 (41.9)
Total	679 (61.0)	435 (39.0)	1114 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3119
Somers' D .3084
Lambda .1494

TABLE 2. PREDICTING POLICE CONTACTS AND FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS AGE 18 AND LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS AND FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT FEMALES

1942
Police Contact Age 18 or +

Police Contact Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	144 (64.3)	80 (35.7)	224 (80.9)
Yes	25 (47.2)	28 (52.8)	53 (19.1)
Total	169 (61.0)	108 (39.0)	277 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1380
Somers' D .1712
Lambda .0278

1949
Police Contact Age 18 or +

Police Contact Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	265 (66.3)	135 (33.8)	400 (71.8)
Yes	73 (46.5)	84 (53.5)	157 (28.2)
Total	338 (60.7)	219 (39.3)	557 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1819
Somers' D .1975
Lambda .0502

1955
Police Contact Age 18 or +

Police Contact Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	566 (79.5)	146 (20.5)	712 (68.8)
Yes	182 (56.3)	141 (43.7)	323 (31.2)
Total	748 (72.3)	287 (27.7)	1035 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2396
Somers' D .2315
Lambda .0000

1942
Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Felonies or Misdemeanors Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	212 (84.1)	40 (15.9)	252 (91.0)
Yes	16 (64.0)	9 (36.0)	25 (9.0)
Total	228 (82.3)	49 (17.7)	277 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1511
Somers' D .2013
Lambda .0000

1949
Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Felonies or Misdemeanors Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	394 (84.2)	74 (15.8)	468 (84.0)
Yes	49 (55.1)	40 (44.9)	89 (16.0)
Total	443 (79.5)	114 (20.5)	557 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2646
Somers' D .2913
Lambda .0000

1955
Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Felonies or Misdemeanors Before Age 18	No	Yes	Total
No	732 (87.7)	103 (12.3)	835 (80.7)
Yes	125 (62.5)	75 (37.5)	200 (19.3)
Total	857 (82.8)	178 (17.2)	1035 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2633
Somers' D .2517
Lambda .0000

TABLE 3. PREDICTING WHO WILL COMMIT A FELONY OR MAJOR MISDEMEANOR AT AGE 18 OR LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS, PRIOR NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS, AND PRIOR FELONIES: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 MALES

		1942 Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +			1949 Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +			1955 Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	150 (96.8)	5 (3.2)	155 (43.5)	263 (96.3)	10 (3.7)	273 (36.9)	461 (94.5)	27 (5.5)	488 (43.8)
	Yes	158 (78.6)	43 (21.4)	201 (56.5)	374 (80.1)	93 (19.9)	467 (63.1)	458 (73.2)	168 (26.8)	626 (56.2)
	Total	308 (86.5)	48 (13.5)	356 (100.0)	637 (86.1)	103 (13.9)	740 (100.0)	919 (82.5)	195 (17.5)	1114 (100.0)
		Pearson's R .2637			Pearson's R .2265			Pearson's R .2782		
		Somers' D .1817			Somers' D .1625			Somers' D .2130		
		Lambda .0000			Lambda .0000			Lambda .0000		
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	188 (93.5)	13 (6.5)	201 (56.5)	334 (96.0)	14 (4.0)	348 (47.0)	541 (94.1)	34 (5.9)	575 (51.6)
	Yes	120 (77.4)	35 (22.6)	155 (43.5)	303 (77.3)	89 (22.7)	392 (53.0)	378 (70.1)	161 (29.9)	539 (48.4)
	Total	308 (86.5)	48 (13.5)	356 (100.0)	637 (86.1)	103 (13.9)	740 (100.0)	919 (82.5)	195 (17.5)	1114 (100.0)
		Pearson's R .2339			Pearson's R .2694			Pearson's R .3151		
		Somers' D .1611			Somers' D .1868			Somers' D .2396		
		Lambda .0000			Lambda .0000			Lambda .0000		
Felony or Major Misdemeanor Before Age 18	No	264 (90.4)	28 (9.6)	292 (82.0)	530 (92.3)	44 (7.7)	574 (77.6)	754 (90.8)	76 (9.2)	830 (74.5)
	Yes	44 (68.8)	20 (31.3)	64 (18.0)	107 (64.5)	59 (35.5)	166 (22.4)	165 (58.1)	119 (41.9)	284 (25.5)
	Total	308 (86.5)	48 (13.5)	356 (100.0)	637 (86.1)	103 (13.9)	740 (100.0)	919 (82.5)	195 (17.5)	1114 (100.0)
		Pearson's R .2453			Pearson's R .3359			Pearson's R .3756		
		Somers' D .2166			Somers' D .2788			Somers' D .3275		
		Lambda .0000			Lambda .0000			Lambda .0000		

TABLE 4. PREDICTING WHO WILL COMMIT A FELONY OR MAJOR MISDEMEANOR AT AGE 18 OR LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS, PRIOR NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS, AND PRIOR FELONIES: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 FEMALES

1942

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	219 (97.8)	5 (2.2)	224 (80.9)
	Yes	50 (94.3)	3 (5.7)	53 (19.1)
	Total	269 (97.1)	8 (2.9)	277 (100.0)
Pearson's R		.0805		
Somers' D		.0343		
Lambda		.0000		

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	236 (97.5)	6 (2.5)	242 (87.4)
	Yes	33 (94.3)	2 (5.7)	35 (12.6)
	Total	269 (97.1)	8 (2.9)	277 (100.0)
Pearson's R		.0642		
Somers' D		.0324		
Lambda		.0000		

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Felony or Major Misdemeanor Before Age 18	No	265 (97.1)	8 (2.9)	273 (98.6)
	Yes	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (1.4)
	Total	269 (97.1)	8 (2.9)	277 (100.0)
Pearson's R		-.0209		
Somers' D		-.0293		
Lambda		.0000		

1949

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	387 (96.8)	13 (3.3)	400 (71.8)
	Yes	146 (93.0)	11 (7.0)	157 (28.2)
	Total	533 (95.7)	24 (4.3)	557 (100.0)
Pearson's R		.0832		
Somers' D		.0376		
Lambda		.0000		

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	418 (97.0)	13 (3.0)	431 (77.4)
	Yes	115 (91.3)	11 (8.7)	126 (22.6)
	Total	533 (95.7)	24 (4.3)	557 (100.0)
Pearson's R		.1177		
Somers' D		.0571		
Lambda		.0000		

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Felony or Major Misdemeanor Before Age 18	No	503 (96.0)	21 (4.0)	524 (94.1)
	Yes	30 (90.9)	3 (9.1)	33 (5.9)
	Total	533 (95.7)	24 (4.3)	557 (100.0)
Pearson's R		.0591		
Somers' D		.0508		
Lambda		.0000		

1955

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	704 (98.5)	11 (1.5)	715 (69.1)
	Yes	285 (89.1)	35 (10.9)	320 (30.9)
	Total	989 (95.6)	46 (4.4)	1035 (100.0)
Pearson's R		.2108		
Somers' D		.0940		
Lambda		.0000		

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	753 (98.2)	14 (1.8)	767 (74.1)
	Yes	236 (88.1)	32 (11.9)	268 (25.9)
	Total	989 (95.6)	46 (4.4)	1035 (100.0)
Pearson's R		.2150		
Somers' D		.1012		
Lambda		.0000		

		Felony or Major Misdemeanor Age 18 or +		
		No	Yes	Total
Felony or Major Misdemeanor Before Age 18	No	898 (97.0)	28 (3.0)	926 (89.5)
	Yes	91 (83.5)	18 (16.5)	109 (10.5)
	Total	989 (95.6)	46 (4.4)	1035 (100.0)
Pearson's R		.2009		
Somers' D		.1349		
Lambda		.0000		

TABLE 5. PREDICTING WHO WILL COMMIT A FELONY AT AGE 18 OR LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS, PRIOR NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS, AND PRIOR FELONIES: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 MALES

Police Contact Before Age 18

	1942 Felony Age 18 or +			1949 Felony Age 18 or +			1955 Felony Age 18 or +		
	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total
No	153 (98.7)	2 (1.3)	155 (43.5)	269 (98.5)	4 (1.5)	273 (36.9)	469 (96.1)	19 (3.9)	488 (43.8)
Yes	179 (89.1)	22 (10.9)	201 (56.5)	410 (87.8)	57 (12.2)	467 (63.1)	501 (80.0)	125 (20.0)	626 (56.2)
Total	332 (93.3)	24 (6.7)	356 (100.0)	679 (91.8)	61 (8.2)	740 (100.0)	970 (87.1)	144 (12.9)	1114 (100.0)
Pearson's R	.1909			.1884			.2377		
Somers' D	.0966			.1074			.1608		
Lambda	.0000			.0000			.0000		

Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18

	1942 Felony Age 18 or +			1949 Felony Age 18 or +			1955 Felony Age 18 or +		
	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total
No	198 (98.5)	3 (1.5)	201 (56.5)	343 (98.6)	5 (1.4)	348 (47.0)	551 (95.8)	24 (4.2)	575 (51.6)
Yes	134 (86.5)	21 (13.5)	155 (43.5)	336 (85.7)	56 (14.3)	392 (53.0)	419 (77.7)	120 (22.3)	539 (48.4)
Total	332 (93.3)	24 (6.7)	356 (100.0)	679 (91.8)	61 (8.2)	740 (100.0)	970 (87.1)	144 (12.9)	1114 (100.0)
Pearson's R	.2384			.2332			.2695		
Somers' D	.1206			.1285			.1809		
Lambda	.0000			.0000			.0000		

Felony Before Age 18

	1942 Felony Age 18 or +			1949 Felony Age 18 or +			1955 Felony Age 18 or +		
	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total
No	309 (95.1)	16 (4.9)	325 (91.3)	628 (94.6)	36 (5.4)	664 (89.7)	872 (92.2)	74 (7.8)	946 (84.9)
Yes	23 (74.2)	8 (25.8)	31 (8.7)	51 (67.1)	25 (32.9)	76 (10.3)	98 (58.3)	70 (41.7)	168 (15.1)
Total	332 (93.3)	24 (6.7)	356 (100.0)	679 (91.8)	61 (8.2)	740 (100.0)	970 (87.1)	144 (12.9)	1114 (100.0)
Pearson's R	.2348			.3033			.3610		
Somers' D	.2088			.2747			.3384		
Lambda	.0000			.0000			.0000		

CONTINUED

11 OF 13

TABLE 6. PREDICTING WHO WILL COMMIT A FELONY AT AGE 18 OR LATER FROM PRIOR POLICE CONTACTS, PRIOR NON-TRAFFIC POLICE CONTACTS, AND PRIOR FELONIES: 1942, 1949, AND 1955 FEMALES

1942

		Felony Age 18 or + No	Felony Age 18 or + Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	221 (98.7)	3 (1.3)	224 (80.9)
	Yes	51 (96.2)	2 (3.8)	53 (19.1)
	Total	272 (98.2)	5 (1.8)	277 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	.0719	
		Somers' D	.0243	
		Lambda	.0000	
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	238 (98.3)	4 (1.7)	242 (87.4)
	Yes	34 (97.1)	1 (2.9)	35 (12.6)
	Total	272 (98.2)	5 (1.8)	277 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	.0301	
		Somers' D	.0120	
		Lambda	.0000	
Felony Before Age 18	No	271 (98.2)	5 (1.8)	276 (99.6)
	Yes	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.4)
	Total	272 (98.2)	5 (1.8)	277 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	-.0082	
		Somers' D	-.0181	
		Lambda	.0000	

1949

		Felony Age 18 or + No	Felony Age 18 or + Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	392 (98.0)	8 (2.0)	400 (71.8)
	Yes	152 (96.8)	5 (3.2)	157 (28.2)
	Total	544 (97.7)	13 (2.3)	557 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	.0353	
		Somers' D	.0119	
		Lambda	.0000	
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	423 (98.1)	8 (1.9)	431 (77.4)
	Yes	121 (96.0)	5 (4.0)	126 (22.6)
	Total	544 (97.7)	13 (2.3)	557 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	.0585	
		Somers' D	.0211	
		Lambda	.0000	
Felony Before Age 18	No	536 (97.6)	13 (2.4)	549 (98.6)
	Yes	8 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (1.4)
	Total	544 (97.7)	13 (2.3)	557 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	-.0187	
		Somers' D	-.0237	
		Lambda	.0000	

1955

		Felony Age 18 or + No	Felony Age 18 or + Yes	Total
Police Contact Before Age 18	No	708 (99.0)	7 (1.0)	715 (69.1)
	Yes	295 (92.2)	25 (7.8)	320 (30.9)
	Total	1003 (96.9)	32 (3.1)	1035 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	.1825	
		Somers' D	.0683	
		Lambda	.0000	
Non-traffic Police Contact Before Age 18	No	757 (98.7)	10 (1.3)	767 (74.1)
	Yes	246 (91.8)	22 (8.2)	268 (25.9)
	Total	1003 (96.9)	32 (3.1)	1035 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	.1748	
		Somers' D	.0691	
		Lambda	.0000	
Felony Before Age 18	No	965 (97.4)	26 (2.6)	991 (95.7)
	Yes	38 (86.4)	6 (13.6)	44 (4.3)
	Total	1003 (96.9)	32 (3.1)	1035 (100.0)
		Pearson's R	.1284	
		Somers' D	.1101	
		Lambda	.0000	

APPENDIX K

More detailed data on referral rates are presented in this appendix commencing with Table 1 and 2 with each cohort arranged within age periods by race/ethnicity and sex and the percentage referred by seriousness category. Here we see that in spite of the overall generally higher referral rate for Black and Chicano males this is not consistent even in the younger age periods, offense category by offense category. It is even more interesting to note that even for the Minor Misdemeanor category, where room for discretion readily exists, the referral rate for minorities is not always higher for them than for the Whites in each of the younger age periods. One also notes that referral rates are generally higher for the 6 through 17 period than for other periods, particularly for the 1955 Cohort, and always higher than for the 21 or older period. While these age period differences are also found for females, the Black females and Chicanas not have such consistently higher referral rates than do the White females.

Table 3 is taken from the data in Tables 1 and 2 but presented in more simplified form, showing only the percentage of each group referred for Felonies and Misdemeanors, categories of behavior which involve violation of the law and exclude Juvenile Conditions or contacts for Suspicion, investigation, or information. The almost consistently higher referral rates for minority males during the juvenile period is even more apparent.

Diagrams 1 and 2 have been discussed in the text and are presented here so that the reader may see the consistency with which average seriousness of careers has increased by age period for those who have been referred.

TABLE 1. POLICE CONTACTS REFERRED BY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY FOR MALES BY COHORT, RACE/ETHNICITY, AND AGE PERIOD

	1942				1949						1955					
	White		Black		White		Black		Chicano		White		Black		Chicano	
Ages 6-17	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
FELPER	100.0	2	50.0	1	33.3	3	100.0	5	50.0	2	55.8	24	66.7	28	72.7	8
FELPRO	72.2	26	100.0	3	70.6	77	73.7	14	71.4	5	81.9	199	81.0	111	77.1	27
MISMA	30.8	20	.0	0	29.1	52	14.5	8	36.8	7	53.1	164	56.1	129	67.8	40
MISMI	40.5	137	42.9	6	38.0	285	36.6	34	44.6	25	22.9	149	30.9	60	48.1	25
JUVCON	18.5	12	.0	0	16.5	38	6.3	2	33.3	7	29.4	186	35.7	74	55.4	41
CONTACTS	1.5	3	.0	0	2.3	11	3.4	2	.0	0	.2	1	2.5	4	.0	0
TOTAL	28.4	200	33.3	10	26.4	466	24.7	65	30.1	46	30.7	723	41.8	406	51.5	141
Ages 18-20																
FELPER	50.0	1	100.0	1	55.6	5	60.0	3	----	--	76.8	63	74.5	41	85.7	6
FELPRO	85.7	6	100.0	3	86.7	13	71.4	10	50.0	1	61.3	49	59.6	34	100.0	4
MISMA	41.2	7	.0	0	52.9	27	53.8	7	100.0	3	5.9	5	6.6	4	25.0	3
MISMI	25.7	47	35.3	6	24.1	83	36.9	24	37.5	15	1.7	8	.6	1	.0	0
JUVCON	.0	0	.0	0	----	---	66.7	2	----	--	.0	0	100.0	2	----	--
CONTACTS	.0	0	.0	0	.7	3	1.4	1	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0
TOTAL	15.5	61	23.8	10	15.0	131	27.5	47	27.9	19	12.0	125	20.2	82	11.6	13
Ages 6-20																
FELPER	75.0	3	66.7	2	44.4	8	80.0	8	50.0	2	69.6	87	71.1	69	77.8	14
FELPRO	74.4	32	100.0	6	72.6	90	72.7	24	66.7	6	76.8	248	74.7	145	79.5	31
MISMA	32.9	27	.0	0	34.3	79	22.1	15	45.5	10	42.9	169	45.7	133	60.6	43
MISMI	35.3	184	38.7	12	33.6	368	36.7	58	41.7	40	14.0	157	17.2	61	22.1	25
JUVCON	17.1	12	.0	0	16.5	38	11.4	4	33.3	7	29.4	186	36.4	76	55.4	41
CONTACTS	.8	3	.0	0	1.5	14	2.3	3	.0	0	.1	1	1.7	4	.0	0
TOTAL	23.8	261	27.8	20	22.7	597	25.8	112	29.4	65	25.0	848	35.4	488	39.9	154
Ages 21+																
FELPER	30.8	4	100.0	7	65.2	15	50.0	2	50.0	1	82.4	14	73.3	11	66.7	2
FELPRO	75.0	6	80.0	4	69.2	9	53.8	7	----	--	50.0	3	100.0	2	.0	0
MISMA	48.0	12	42.1	8	61.4	27	48.0	12	25.0	1	6.3	1	.0	0	16.7	1
MISMI	16.8	72	11.3	12	17.0	78	21.2	24	25.0	13	1.3	2	.0	0	.0	0
CONTACTS	.2	1	.0	0	.2	1	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0
TOTAL	9.8	95	15.0	31	13.2	130	19.2	45	18.3	15	7.0	20	9.8	13	7.7	3

* Number of contacts referred.

TABLE 2. POLICE CONTACTS REFERRED BY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY FOR FEMALES BY COHORT, RACE/ETHNICITY, AND AGE PERIOD

	1942				1949						1955					
	White		Black		White		Black		Chicana		White		Black		Chicana	
Ages 6-17	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
FELPER	----	--	----	--	50.0	3	.0	0	----	--	42.9	12	.0	0	.0	0
FELPRO	100.0	1	----	--	100.0	1	----	--	----	--	66.7	12	66.7	2	50.0	2
MISMA	20.0	1	----	--	22.2	4	40.0	4	50.0	1	61.0	47	48.5	16	85.7	12
MISMI	38.7	12	----	--	34.3	24	10.0	2	.0	0	25.8	39	17.1	6	26.7	4
JUVCON	25.0	3	----	--	30.4	14	52.4	11	----	--	53.1	110	43.4	23	34.6	9
CONTACTS	.0	0	.0	0	.9	1	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0
TOTAL	18.3	17	.0	0	18.7	47	25.8	17	16.7	1	35.4	220	30.9	47	39.1	27
Ages 18-20																
FELPER	33.3	1	----	--	.0	0	----	--	----	--	36.4	4	42.9	3	----	--
FELPRO	----	--	----	--	100.0	1	100.0	2	----	--	54.5	6	40.0	2	----	--
MISMA	----	--	----	--	100.0	2	.0	0	----	--	6.3	1	13.3	2	----	--
MISMI	10.5	2	.0	0	14.6	13	29.2	7	50.0	1	1.8	3	.0	0	----	--
JUVCON	----	--	----	--	----	--	----	--	100.0	1	50.0	1	----	--	----	--
CONTACTS	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	----	--
TOTAL	5.5	3	.0	0	7.5	16	17.6	9	40.0	2	4.2	15	8.9	7	----	--
Ages 6-20																
FELPER	33.3	1	----	--	37.5	3	.0	0	.0	0	41.0	16	37.5	3	.0	0
FELPRO	100.0	1	----	--	100.0	2	100.0	2	.0	0	62.1	18	50.0	4	50.0	2
MISMA	20.0	1	----	--	30.0	6	33.3	4	50.0	1	51.6	48	37.5	18	70.6	12
MISMI	28.0	14	----	--	23.3	37	20.5	9	20.0	1	13.2	42	8.2	6	19.0	4
JUVCON	25.0	3	----	--	30.4	14	52.4	11	100.0	1	35.9	111	43.4	23	34.6	9
CONTACTS	.0	0	----	--	.4	1	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0
TOTAL	13.5	20	----	--	13.5	63	22.2	26	27.3	3	24.1	235	23.4	54	32.1	27
Ages 21+																
FELPER	33.3	1	----	--	9.1	1	----	--	----	--	100.0	4	57.1	4	100.0	1
FELPRO	----	--	----	--	.0	0	----	--	----	--	50.0	2	----	--	----	--
MISMA	33.3	1	----	--	20.0	1	33.3	2	----	--	.0	0	14.3	1	----	--
MISMI	7.5	5	----	--	4.6	5	8.6	3	----	--	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0
CONTACTS	.0	0	----	--	1.2	1	.0	0	----	--	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0
TOTAL	4.2	7	----	--	3.8	8	7.7	5	----	--	6.3	6	10.9	5	10.0	1

* N = Number of contacts referred.

TABLE 3. PERCENT OF FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS REFERRED BY COHORT, RACE/ETHNICITY, SEX, AND AGE PERIOD*

	1942			1949			1955		
Ages 6-17	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
White	42.0	37.8	41.6	39.8	33.7	39.3	43.0	40.1	42.5
Black	47.6	.0	47.6	35.5	19.4	33.0	54.4	33.3	52.1
Chicano	----	100.0	100.0	45.3	20.0	44.0	63.7	52.9	61.8
Total	42.2	39.5	42.0	39.6	29.8	38.7	48.0	40.0	46.8
Number Referred	195	15	210	517	39	556	964	152	1116
Ages 18-20									
White	29.2	13.6	27.7	30.5	17.0	28.1	17.4	6.8	15.1
Black	38.5	.0	37.0	45.4	32.1	42.4	24.0	10.8	21.8
Chicano	33.3	----	33.3	42.2	50.0	42.6	15.5	.0	15.5
Total	30.3	13.0	28.7	34.0	21.0	31.7	19.2	7.7	17.0
Number Referred	72	3	75	191	26	217	218	21	239
Ages 21+									
White	19.8	9.6	18.4	24.0	5.6	20.5	10.2	9.4	10.0
Black	22.6	.0	21.7	29.0	12.2	25.5	12.9	13.2	12.9
Chicano	.0	.0	.0	25.9	.0	25.0	11.1	11.1	11.1
Total	20.2	8.8	18.9	25.2	7.1	21.8	11.1	10.8	11.0
Number Referred	125	7	132	189	12	201	36	12	48
Total									
White	30.2	18.2	29.0	33.6	17.5	31.4	31.5	23.9	35.2
Black	27.7	.0	26.7	35.4	20.0	32.4	40.6	20.6	37.7
Chicano	10.0	50.0	16.7	38.6	22.2	37.9	43.3	36.5	42.2
Total	29.7	17.7	28.6	34.3	18.2	32.3	35.1	24.0	33.1
Number Referred	392	25	417	897	77	974	1218	185	1403

* Small numbers referred left in table so that totals balance.

DIAGRAM 1. CAREER PROGRESSIONS OF 1942 COHORT WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE, AGE 6 TO PRESENT ACCORDING TO CONTACT AND REFERRAL STATUS AT EACH AGE PERIOD

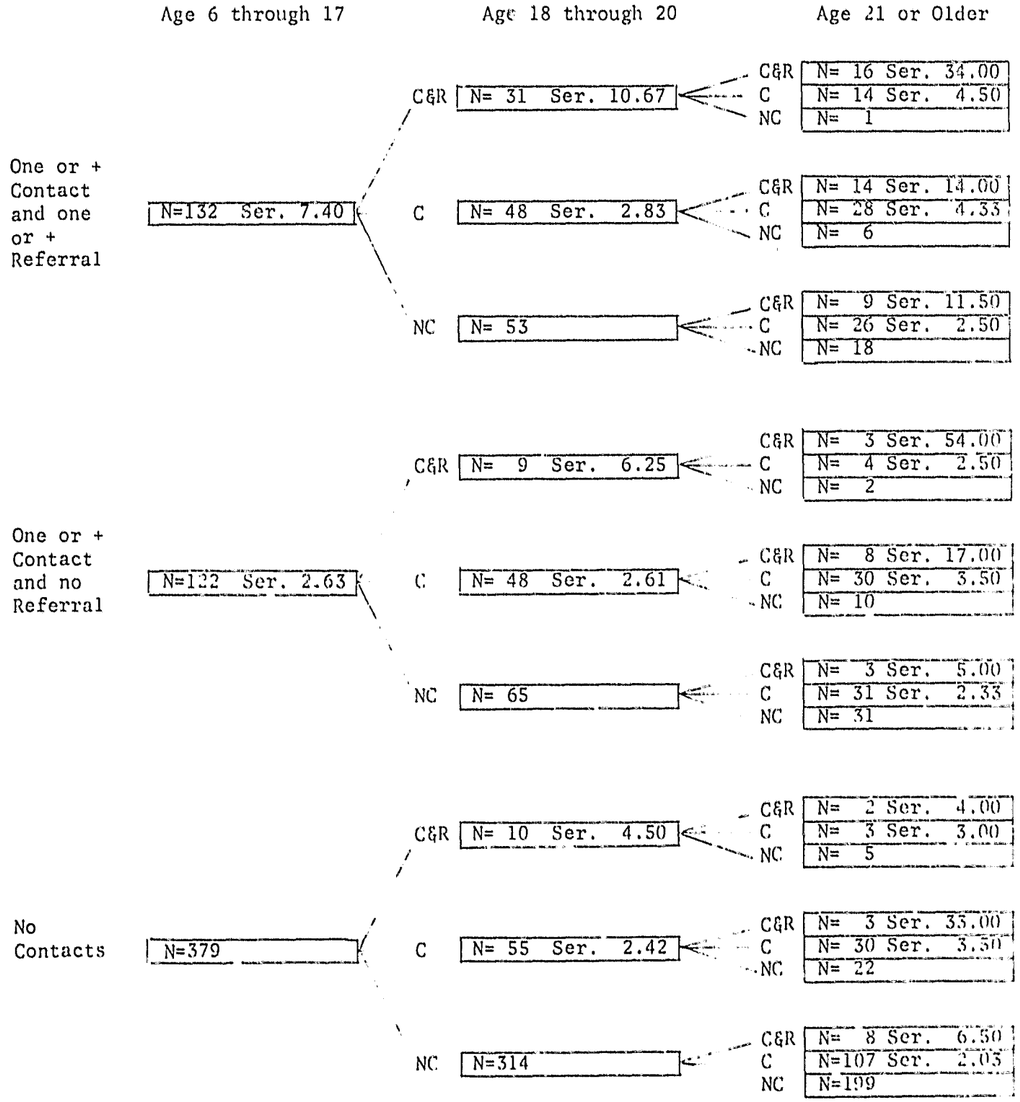
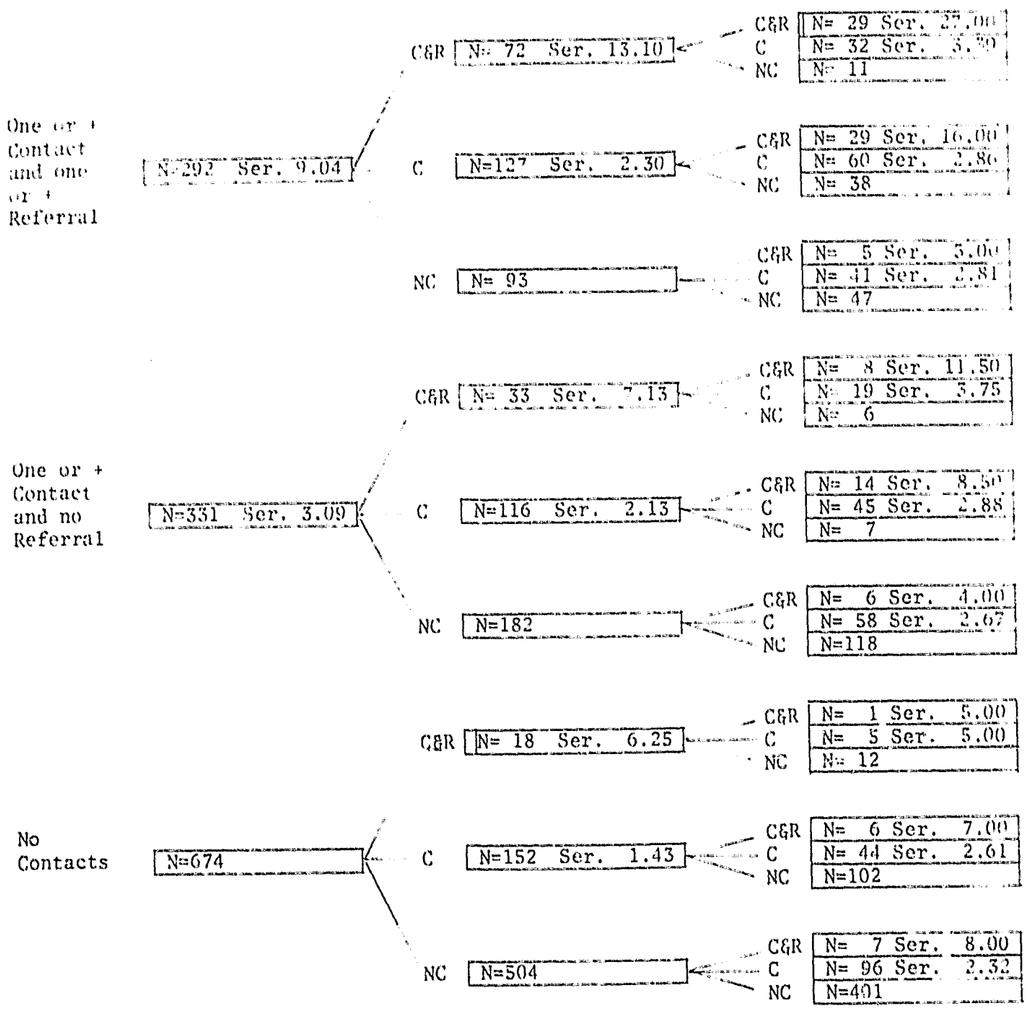


DIAGRAM 2. CAREER PROGRESSIONS OF 1949 COHORT WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE, AGE 6 TO PRESENT ACCORDING TO CONTACT AND REFERRAL STATUS AT EACH AGE PERIOD



APPENDIX L

Tables 1, 2, and 3 enable us to compare differences in ability to predict from past and present behavior to future behavior for contacts and seriousness scores with predictions of future appearances in court from past and present appearances and future seriousness from past and present appearances in court. In the first column of each table Somers' D, Pearson's R, and Lambda are presented, the first two as measures of association and the latter as an indication of improvement over prediction from marginals, using past and present contacts and past and present seriousness as predictor variables.

Although the cutting points utilized in these tables enable us to improve predictive efficiency from 9% to almost 33%, one must note that in the 1942 Cohort where people have had long exposure after the age of 17, there are more people who had 5 or more contacts after 17 who had fewer than that through 17 than the opposite. For example, there are 88 persons with 5 or more contacts who had fewer than that through 17 but there are only 45 with 5 or more contacts who had more than 5 contacts through 17. The same is found for future seriousness. Errors of omission are larger for even the 1955 Cohort.

Shifting into the second column of tables we find even less improvement in predictive efficiency. But here it increases as one moves from the 1942 to the 1955 Cohort where seriousness is utilized as a predictor of future court dispositions, just as it does when past and present contacts are used as predictors of future court dispositions. The problem of missing persons with future court dispositions when predicting from past and present contacts is even greater than when predicting from past and present seriousness.

TABLE 1. PREDICTING NUMBER OF FUTURE CONTACTS, FUTURE SERIOUSNESS SCORES, AND NUMBER OF FUTURE COURT DISPOSITIONS: 1942 COHORT

Through 17 and After 17

Past & Present Contacts	Future Contacts 0-4	Future Contacts 5 or +	
0-4	485 (84.6)	88 (15.4)	573
5+	15 (25.0)	45 (75.0)	60
	500	113	633

Somers' D .4991
Pearson's R .5460 *
Lambda .1867
Lambda (2x2) .2256

Through 17 and After 17

Past & Present Contacts	Future Dispositions 0	Future Dispositions 1 or +	
0-4	495 (86.4)	78 (13.6)	573
5+	23 (38.3)	37 (61.6)	60
	518	115	633

Somers' D .3477
Pearson's R .5321
Lambda .0000
Lambda (2x2) .1217

Through 18 and After 18

Past & Present Dispositions	Future Dispositions 0	Future Dispositions 1 or +	
0	514 (91.6)	47 (8.4)	561
1+	14 (19.4)	58 (80.1)	72
	528	105	633

Somers' D .7411
Pearson's R .6494
Lambda .1619
Lambda (2x2) .4190

Past & Present Seriousness	Future Seriousness 0-5	Future Seriousness 6 or +	
0-5	415 (81.4)	95 (18.6)	510
6+	31 (25.2)	92 (74.8)	123
	446	187	633

Somers' D .4918
Pearson's R .5409
Lambda .2590
Lambda (2x2) .3262

Past & Present Seriousness	Future Dispositions 0	Future Dispositions 1 or +	
0-5	467 (91.6)	43 (8.4)	510
6+	51 (41.5)	72 (58.5)	123
	518	115	633

Somers' D .3575
Pearson's R .5399
Lambda .0000
Lambda (2x2) .1826

Past & Present Dispositions	Future Seriousness 0-5	Future Seriousness 6 or +	
0	445 (79.3)	116 (20.7)	561
1+	15 (20.8)	57 (79.2)	72
	460	173	633

Somers' D .6126
Pearson's R .3569
Lambda .1353
Lambda (2x2) .2428

*Somers' D (asymmetrical) Pearson's R, and Lambda (asymmetrical) have been calculated on data collapsed for contacts 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +; seriousness 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +; dispositions 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +. Lambda 2x2 collapsed as shown.

TABLE 2. PREDICTING NUMBER OF FUTURE CONTACTS, FUTURE SERIOUSNESS SCORES, AND NUMBER OF FUTURE COURT DISPOSITIONS: 1949 COHORT

Through 17 and After 17

Future Contacts

Past & Present Contacts	0-4	5 or +	
0-4	1038 (89.9)	116 (10.1)	1154
5+	54 (37.8)	89 (62.2)	143
	1092	205	1297

Somers' D .4674
Pearson's R .5899
Lambda .1425
Lambda (2x2) .1707

Future Seriousness

Past & Present Seriousness	0-5	6 or +	
0-5	871 (86.1)	141 (13.9)	1012
6+	94 (33.0)	191 (67.0)	285
	965	332	1297

Somers' D .4548
Pearson's R .5488
Lambda .2366
Lambda (2x2) .2922

Through 17 and After 17

Future Dispositions

Past & Present Contacts	0	1 or +	
0-4	994 (86.1)	160 (13.9)	1154
5+	47 (32.9)	96 (67.1)	143
	1041	256	1297

Somers' D .3414
Pearson's R .5286
Lambda .0000
Lambda (2x2) .1914

Future Dispositions

Past & Present Seriousness	0	1 or +	
0-5	926 (91.5)	86 (8.5)	1012
6+	115 (40.4)	170 (59.6)	285
	1041	256	1297

Somers' D .3442
Pearson's R .5016
Lambda .0000
Lambda (2x2) .2148

Through 18 and After 18

Future Dispositions

Past & Present Dispositions	0	1 or +	
0	1037 (89.8)	118 (10.2)	1155
1+	27 (19.0)	115 (81.0)	142
	1064	233	1297

Somers' D .7056
Pearson's R .5395
Lambda .0730
Lambda (2x2) .3777

Future Seriousness

Past & Present Dispositions	0-5	6 or +	
0	967 (83.7)	188 (16.3)	1155
1+	42 (29.6)	100 (70.4)	142
	1009	288	1297

Somers' D .6420
Pearson's R .3550
Lambda .1342
Lambda (2x2) .2014

*Somers' D (asymmetrical) Pearson's R, and Lambda (asymmetrical) have been calculated on data collapsed for contacts 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +; seriousness 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +; dispositions 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +. Lambda 2x2 collapsed as shown.

TABLE 3. PREDICTING NUMBER OF FUTURE CONTACTS, FUTURE SERIOUSNESS SCORES, AND NUMBER OF FUTURE COURT DISPOSITIONS: 1955 COHORT

Through 17 and After 17

Past & Present Contacts × Future Contacts

	0-3	4 or +	
0-4	1780 (93.5)	124 (6.5)	1904
5+	111 (45.3)	134 (54.7)	245
	1891	258	2149

Somers' D .4164
Pearson's R .5681
Lambda .0853
Lambda (2x2) .0891

Through 17 and After 17

Past & Present Contacts × Future Dispositions

	0	1 or +	
0-4	1599 (84.0)	305 (16.0)	1904
5+	64 (26.1)	181 (73.9)	245
	1663	486	2149

Somers' D .3460
Pearson's R .5364
Lambda .0082
Lambda (2x2) .2407

Through 18 and After 18

Past & Present Dispositions × Future Dispositions

	0	1 or +	
0	1497 (91.6)	138 (8.4)	1635
1+	244 (47.5)	270 (52.5)	514
	1741	408	2149

Somers' D .4957
Pearson's R .5150
Lambda .0432
Lambda (2x2) .0637

Past & Present Seriousness × Future Seriousness

	0-3	4 or +	
0-5	1450 (85.1)	234 (13.9)	1684
6+	193 (41.5)	272 (58.5)	465
	1643	506	2149

Somers' D .4045
Pearson's R .5098
Lambda .1606
Lambda (2x2) .1561

Past & Present Seriousness × Future Dispositions

	0	1 or +	
0-5	1484 (88.1)	200 (11.9)	1684
6+	179 (38.5)	286 (61.5)	465
	1663	486	2149

Somers' D .3407
Pearson's R .4753
Lambda .0000
Lambda (2x2) .2202

Past & Present Dispositions × Future Seriousness

	0-3	4 or +	
0	1472 (90.0)	163 (10.0)	1635
1+	278 (54.1)	236 (45.9)	514
	1750	399	2149

Somers' D .4433
Pearson's R .4466
Lambda .0961
Lambda (2x2) .0000

*Somers' D (asymmetrical) Pearson's R, and Lambda (asymmetrical) have been calculated on data collapsed for contacts 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +; seriousness 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +; dispositions 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +. Lambda 2x2 collapsed as shown.

In the last column we attempt to predict future dispositions from past and present dispositions; the correlations are higher than their previous counterparts for each cohort. Lambdas are higher as well, indicating that having had a previous court disposition enhances prediction to the future better than any other attempts at prediction included in this series. But even here the number of persons who had no previous court dispositions but had one after the age of 18 is sufficiently large that we are concerned about errors of omission. It is interesting to note, however, that 80% of those who had at least one court disposition had future court dispositions for both 1942 ahd 1949 Cohorts.

Moving down to the tables in which past and present dispositions are used in predicting future seriousness, we have very similar findings for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts but with an even greater problem in errors of omission.

As in all previous discussions of the prediction problem, it must be emphasized that a relationship between past and present and future behavior is present and that those who have had 5 or more contacts, high seriousness scores, and court appearances are more likely to continue to have 5 or more police contacts, high seriousness scores, and future court appearances than those who have not. Those with past difficulties with the juvenile justice system are more likely to have difficulty with the police as adults and to appear in court as adults, but the distribution of cases in 2 by 2 tables makes it very clear that correlations such as we have obtained do not permit prediction without considerable error.

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APPENDIX M

Inequities in sanctions administered by the courts have been a topic of concern in the socio-legal literature for generations and, although these alleged inequities are not central to this research, the question of their bearing on continuity is of great importance. We have dealt with this problem in Chapter 13, concluding that severity of sanctions does not appear to be related to discontinuation but rather is a force for continuation or at best has no effect on continuity. In this appendix we shall, however, address the question of consistency as it relates to prior offenses and prior sanctions, concentrating on sanctions administered after the age of 18.

The data are arranged in Tables 1 and 2 to show the distribution of severity of sanctions within number of contacts or seriousness score categories after 18 by number of contacts or seriousness scores and severity of sanctions categories through 18. While it is fairly obvious that persons who were not sanctioned and who had few contacts or low seriousness scores through 18 and few contacts or low seriousness scores after 18 had not been sanctioned or received low sanctions afterward, the proportion with severe sanctions does not systematically increase as one moves to those with more serious prior records and/or sanctions within number of contacts and seriousness categories after 18. While it is apparent that more severe judgements are meted out to those with 5 or more contacts or higher seriousness scores after the age of 18, the overall relationship of records through 18 and records after 18 is consistent with what might be expected in a judicial system in which prior juvenile records are not to be considered in the administration of sanctions meted out to persons as adults.

The correlation of police records and severity of sanctions through

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 TO POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 18*

Through Age 18		Number of Contacts After Age 18											
		Males						Females					
		1 - 4 Sanctions			5 or + Sanctions			1 - 4 Sanctions			5 or + Sanctions		
Number of Contacts	Severity of Sanctions	0	Low	High	0	Low	High	0	Low	High	0	Low	High
1942 Cohort													
None	None	98.5	1.5	.0	71.4	14.3	14.3	97.1	2.9	.0	66.7	.0	33.3
1-4	None	76.0	22.7	1.3	71.4	17.9	10.7	95.7	4.3	.0	75.0	25.0	.0
5 or +	None	63.6	18.2	18.2	71.4	9.5	19.0	----	----	----	----	----	----
1-4	Low	28.6	71.4	.0	.0	38.5	61.5	----	----	----	----	----	----
5 or +	Low	33.3	66.7	.0	5.9	23.5	70.6	----	----	----	.0	100.0	.0
1-4	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
5 or +	High	----	----	----	9.1	36.4	54.5	100.0	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0
Total:		78.6	19.0	2.4	43.9	21.5	34.6	96.8	3.2	.0	50.0	30.0	10.0
1949 Cohort													
None	None	96.8	1.1	2.1	50.0	50.0	.0	97.8	.0	2.2	42.9	28.6	28.6
1-4	None	78.4	19.6	2.0	50.0	21.1	28.9	82.6	15.9	1.4	50.0	40.0	10.0
5 or +	None	67.6	24.3	8.1	41.5	26.8	31.7	100.0	.0	.0	33.3	66.7	.0
1-4	Low	30.4	69.6	.0	.0	55.6	44.4	100.0	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0
5 or +	Low	38.5	50.0	11.5	.0	30.0	70.0	----	----	----	----	----	----
1-4	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	.0	100.0	.0
5 or +	High	27.3	36.4	36.4	4.5	4.5	90.0	.0	100.0	.0	100.0	.0	.0
Total:		74.1	21.6	4.3	29.0	24.6	46.4	91.1	7.1	1.8	43.5	43.5	13.0
1955 Cohort													
None	None	66.6	15.5	18.4	50.0	.0	50.0	82.0	12.4	5.6	----	----	----
1-4	None	65.3	20.3	14.4	.0	7.7	92.3	79.1	17.9	3.0	----	----	----
5 or +	None	33.3	41.7	25.0	11.1	33.3	55.5	57.1	42.9	.0	----	----	----
1-4	Low	30.4	51.9	17.7	18.2	27.3	54.5	45.0	35.0	20.0	----	----	----
5 or +	Low	25.0	50.0	25.0	.0	18.2	81.8	69.2	30.8	.0	----	----	----
1-4	High	37.5	50.0	12.5	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
5 or +	High	32.6	41.9	25.6	1.8	10.5	87.7	33.3	33.3	33.3	----	----	----
Total:		49.9	31.6	18.5	4.3	14.7	81.0	74.4	19.2	6.4	----	----	----

Fewer than 5 persons in Contact and Severity of Sanctions Category Through Age 18.

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF SERIOUSNESS SCORES AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 TO SERIOUSNESS SCORES AND SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 18*

Through Age 18		Seriousness Scores After Age 18											
		Males						Females					
Seriousness Score	Severity of Sanctions	1 - 5 Sanctions			6 or + Sanctions			1 - 5 Sanctions			6 or + Sanctions		
1942 Cohort		0	Low	High	0	Low	High	0	Low	High	0	Low	High
None	None	100.0	.0	.0	78.3	13.0	8.7	98.4	1.6	.0	81.8	9.1	9.1
1-5	None	86.8	13.2	.0	66.7	22.2	11.1	100.0	.0	.0	87.5	12.5	.0
6 or +	None	86.4	13.6	.0	60.4	25.0	14.6	50.0	50.0	.0	----	----	----
1-5	Low	----	----	----	.0	50.0	50.0	----	----	----	----	----	----
6 or +	Low	----	----	----	5.7	42.9	51.4	----	----	----	.0	100.0	.0
1-5	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
6 or +	High	----	----	----	6.7	40.0	53.3	100.0	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0
Total:		90.2	9.0	.8	44.7	28.9	26.3	97.6	2.4	.0	76.2	19.0	4.8
1949 Cohort													
None	None	100.0	.0	.0	66.7	22.2	11.1	96.3	3.7	.0	78.9	10.5	10.5
1-5	None	92.6	6.2	1.2	48.8	26.8	24.4	100.0	.0	.0	57.1	38.1	4.8
6 or +	None	79.7	20.3	.0	44.3	34.1	21.6	72.7	27.3	.0	40.0	30.0	30.0
1-5	Low	----	----	----	.0	80.0	20.0	100.0	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0
6 or +	Low	58.3	41.7	.0	6.1	53.1	40.8	----	----	----	.0	.0	100.0
1-5	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
6 or +	High	50.0	33.3	16.7	6.3	15.6	78.1	.0	100.0	.0	33.3	33.3	33.3
Total:		87.7	11.5	.8	32.6	34.3	33.0	94.5	5.1	.0	58.2	27.3	14.5
1955 Cohort													
None	None	81.8	10.4	7.8	21.4	28.6	50.0	88.0	9.3	2.7	52.9	23.5	23.5
1-5	None	79.4	14.7	5.9	13.0	47.8	39.1	92.3	7.7	.0	45.5	36.4	18.2
6 or +	None	76.9	19.2	3.8	14.3	20.0	65.7	72.2	27.8	.0	45.5	45.5	9.1
1-5	Low	46.7	46.7	6.7	18.8	37.5	43.8	40.0	60.0	.0	14.3	.0	85.7
6 or +	Low	27.7	61.7	10.6	17.1	34.3	48.6	63.2	36.8	.0	50.0	25.0	25.0
1-5	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
6 or +	High	63.6	27.3	9.1	4.5	25.0	70.5	----	----	----	33.3	25.0	41.7
Total:		67.1	25.5	7.5	12.7	30.0	57.3	82.3	16.5	1.3	42.4	27.3	30.3

* Fewer than 5 persons in Seriousness and Severity of Sanctions Categories Through Age 18

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 TO SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 18 WITH CONTROLS FOR POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES *

Number of Contacts After Age 18

	Males				Females			
	1 - 4		5 or +		1 - 4		5 or +	
	Tau	Gamma	Tau	Gamma	Tau	Gamma	Tau	Gamma
1942 Cohort	.325	.823	.514	.610	----	----	----	----
1949 Cohort	.332	.692	.476	.611	----	----	----	----
1955 Cohort	.235	.312	.116	.314	.159	.353	.122	.150

Seriousness Scores After Age 18

	1 - 5		6 or +		1 5		6 or +	
1942 Cohort	.175	.784	.504	.630	----	----	----	----
1949 Cohort	.210	.776	.421	.538	.071	.515	.319	.503
1955 Cohort	.248	.414	.150	.224	.142	.419	.171	.208

* Statistics not presented for categories in which almost all cases were in no sanctions category or in which there were too few persons for meaningful statistics.

age 18 to severity of sanctions within each after-18 number and seriousness of contacts category is shown for each cohort in Table 3. These correlations more clearly indicate the degree to which prior record and severity of sanctions are related to severity of sanctions administered after age 18 within each after-age-18 number of contacts and seriousness category. Although these correlations are somewhat inflated by the underlying relationship of contacts and seriousness through age 18 to adult contacts and seriousness, they do reveal that juvenile records must have some impact on adult court experiences.

The closest relationship between prior records and sanctions given after 18 is found for males with 5 or more contacts and seriousness scores of 6 or greater in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts but for those with fewer contacts and lower seriousness scores in the 1955 Cohort. Gammas are considerably higher than Taus among those with fewer contacts and lower seriousness scores in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts because the distribution within these categories is so skewed toward no sanctions for persons who had no sanctions before the age of 19.

Tables 4 through 7 present the data percentaged to show the through age 18 composition of and seriousness of contact categories within severity of sanctions and number of contacts and seriousness categories after age 18. They reveal in another way that contacts and sanctions through 18 had some, but only limited, relationship to the sanctions meted out after the age of 18 to persons in the various number and seriousness of contact categories. In Table 4, for example, we note that 31.9% of the 1942 Cohort's members with 5 or more contacts after 18 who had not been sanctioned had 5 or more contacts through 18 and had never been sanctioned. On the other hand, of those who had 5 or more contacts after 18 who had been severely sanctioned, the percent

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 AND POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 18 FOR MALES IN ALL COHORTS

Through Age 18		Number of Contacts After Age 18								
Number of Contacts	Severity of Sanctions	None	1-4	5 or +	1-4	5 or +	1-4	5 or +	Total N	Total %
			(No Sanctions)		(Low Sanctions)		(High Sanctions)			
1942 Cohort										
None	None	67.9	48.5	21.3	3.1	8.7	----	5.4	134	37.6
1-4	None	23.5	43.2	42.6	53.1	21.7	25.0	8.1	122	34.3
5 or +	None	2.5	5.3	31.9	6.3	8.7	50.0	10.8	34	9.6
1-4	Low	3.7	1.5	----	15.6	21.7	----	21.6	23	6.5
5 or +	Low	2.5	1.5	2.1	12.5	17.4	----	32.4	25	7.0
1-4	High	----	----	----	3.1	4.4	----	5.4	4	1.1
5 or +	High	----	----	2.1	6.3	17.4	25.0	16.2	14	3.9
	Percent:	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9		100.0
	Number :	81	132	47	32	23	4	37	356	
1949 Cohort										
None	None	52.9	35.4	7.5	1.3	8.8	13.3	----	235	31.8
1-4	None	43.5	46.7	47.5	40.0	23.5	20.0	17.2	302	40.8
5 or +	None	1.2	9.7	42.5	12.0	32.4	20.0	20.3	81	11.0
1-4	Low	.8	2.7	----	21.3	14.7	----	6.3	34	4.6
5 or +	Low	1.2	3.9	----	17.3	17.7	20.0	21.9	49	6.6
1-4	High	----	.4	----	2.7	----	----	3.1	5	.7
5 or +	High	.4	1.2	2.5	5.3	2.9	26.7	31.3	34	4.6
	Percent:	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1		100.1
	Number :	255	257	40	75	34	15	64	740	
1955 Cohort										
None	None	52.6	34.2	20.0	12.7	----	25.7	1.1	420	37.7
1-4	None	28.2	38.7	----	19.1	5.9	23.0	12.8	300	27.0
5 or +	None	2.2	2.0	20.0	4.0	17.7	4.1	5.3	34	3.1
1-4	Low	7.9	12.1	40.0	32.5	17.7	18.9	6.4	137	12.3
5 or +	Low	2.0	4.5	----	14.3	23.5	12.2	19.2	70	6.3
1-4	High	1.5	1.5	----	3.2	----	1.4	2.1	19	1.7
5 or +	High	5.7	7.0	20.0	14.3	35.3	14.9	53.2	134	12.0
	Percent:	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.2	100.1		100.1
	Number :	599	199	5	126	17	74	94	1114	

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 AND POLICE CONTACTS AND SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 18 FOR FEMALES IN ALL COHORTS

Through Age 18		Number of Contacts After Age 18								
Number of Contacts	Severity of Sanctions	None	1-4	5 or +	1-4	5 or +	1-4	5 or +	Total N	Total %
			(No Sanctions)		(Low Sanctions)		(High Sanctions)			
1942 Cohort										
None	None	82.8	73.6	40.0	66.7	----	----	100.0	216	78.0
1-4	None	16.7	24.2	60.0	33.3	33.3	----	----	56	20.2
5 or +	None	.6	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	.4
1-4	Low	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	----
5 or +	Low	----	----	----	----	33.3	----	----	1	.4
1-4	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	----
5 or +	High	----	2.2	----	----	33.3	----	----	3	1.1
	Percent:	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	----	100.0		100.1
	Number :	174	91	5	3	3	0	1	277	
1949 Cohort										
None	None	72.8	59.5	30.0	----	20.0	66.7	----	363	65.2
1-4	None	25.8	37.3	50.0	91.7	40.0	33.3	----	172	30.9
5 or +	None	.8	2.6	10.0	----	20.0	----	60.0	13	2.3
1-4	Low	.6	.7	----	----	10.0	----	----	4	.7
5 or +	Low	----	----	----	----	----	----	20.0	1	.2
1-4	High	----	----	----	----	10.0	----	----	1	.2
5 or +	High	----	----	10.0	8.3	----	----	20.0	3	.5
	Percent:	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
	Number :	364	153	10	12	10	3	5	557	
1955 Cohort										
None	None	69.8	48.3	28.6	28.2	----	38.5	11.1	658	63.6
1-4	None	23.1	35.1	14.3	30.8	20.0	15.4	11.1	257	24.8
5 or +	None	.4	2.7	14.3	7.7	20.0	----	----	12	1.2
1-4	Low	4.9	6.0	----	18.0	----	30.8	44.4	64	6.2
5 or +	Low	.6	6.0	14.3	10.3	20.0	----	----	20	1.9
1-4	High	.5	.7	----	----	----	----	----	5	.5
5 or +	High	.7	1.3	28.6	5.1	40.0	15.4	33.3	19	1.8
	Percent:	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.9		100.0
	Number :	811	151	7	39	5	13	9	1035	

TABLE 6. RELATIONSHIP OF SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES AND SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 18 FOR MALES IN ALL COHORTS

Through Age 18		Seriousness Score After Age 18								
Seriousness of Contacts	Severity of Sanctions	None	1-5 (No Sanctions)	6 or + (No Sanctions)	1-5 (Low Sanctions)	6 or + (Low Sanctions)	1-5 (High Sanctions)	6 or + (High Sanctions)	Total N	Total %
1942 Cohort										
None	None	68.3	50.0	26.5	----	6.8	----	5.0	134	37.6
1-5	None	19.5	30.0	26.5	45.5	13.6	----	7.5	81	22.8
6 or +	None	6.1	17.3	42.7	27.3	27.3	----	17.5	75	21.1
1-5	Low	2.4	----	----	----	4.6	----	5.0	6	1.7
6 or +	Low	3.7	2.7	2.9	9.1	34.1	----	45.0	42	11.8
1-5	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	----
6 or +	High	----	----	1.5	18.2	13.6	100.0	20.0	18	5.1
	Percent:	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.1
	Number :	82	110	68	11	44	1	40	356	
1949 Cohort										
None	None	52.9	37.1	15.8	----	5.0	----	2.6	235	31.8
1-5	None	35.3	33.9	26.3	17.2	13.8	50.0	13.0	212	28.7
6 or +	None	9.4	21.3	51.3	41.4	37.5	----	24.7	171	23.1
1-5	Low	----	----	----	----	5.0	----	1.3	5	.7
6 or +	Low	2.0	6.3	4.0	34.5	32.5	----	26.0	78	10.5
1-5	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	----
6 or +	High	.4	1.4	2.6	6.9	6.3	50.0	32.5	39	5.3
	Percent:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1		100.1
	Number :	255	221	76	29	80	2	77	740	
1955 Cohort										
None	None	52.6	36.8	18.2	12.3	10.3	31.6	9.4	420	37.7
1-5	None	22.7	31.6	9.1	15.4	14.1	21.1	6.0	227	20.4
6 or +	None	7.7	11.7	15.2	7.7	9.0	5.3	15.4	107	9.6
1-5	Low	3.0	4.1	9.1	10.8	7.7	5.3	4.7	49	4.4
6 or +	Low	6.8	7.6	36.4	44.6	30.8	26.3	22.8	158	14.2
1-5	High	.3	----	----	----	----	----	----	2	.2
6 or +	High	6.8	8.2	12.1	9.2	28.2	10.5	41.6	151	13.5
	Percent:	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.9		100.0
	Number :	599	171	33	65	78	19	149	1114	

with severe sanctions and 5 or more contacts through that age increased from 16.2% in the 1942 Cohort to 31.3% in the 1949 Cohort and 53.2% in the 1955 Cohort. This suggests that each cohort's severely sanctioned, frequent offenders were progressively those with more than 5 contacts and severe sanctions through 18. In other words, recidivistic adult offenders who were severely sanctioned were more and more likely to have had lengthy juvenile records and severe juvenile sanctions. This suggests that judicial sentencing, while not increasing consistently overall, has been applied more heavily to the previously sanctioned, persistent offenders as time has gone by. We cannot say how this has come about, but it is evident that severely sanctioned persons with 5 or more contacts after the age of 18 are either earning their attention from the courts by their behavior or have been increasingly well-labelled.

At the same time, it should be noted that those with low sanctions in each cohort had a variety of backgrounds and, although low sanctions were meted out to persons with both 5 or more and less than 5 police contacts as adults, those with fewer contacts and low sanctions did have less prior involvement than did those with 5 or more contacts and low sanctions. What we see is the result of the complexity of variables taken into consideration, step by step, as people are processed in the juvenile and adult justice systems with final results which have some relationship to prior records but not as completely so as might be the case if everyone in the judicial system was aware at every step of what had transpired before. Table 7, on the other hand, indicates that while persons with low sanctions have more often than not had seriousness scores of 6 or more, the backgrounds of those with low sanctions are roughly similar regardless of their seriousness scores

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 18 AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES AND SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 18 FOR FEMALES IN ALL COHORTS

Through Age 18		Seriousness Score After Age 18								
Seriousness of Contacts	Severity of Sanctions	None	1-5 (No Sanctions)	6 or + (No Sanctions)	1-5 (Low Sanctions)	6 or + (Low Sanctions)	1-5 (High Sanctions)	6 or + (High Sanctions)	Total N	Total %
1942 Cohort										
None	None	82.8	75.0	56.3	50.0	25.0	----	100.0	216	78.0
1-5	None	16.7	21.3	43.8	----	25.0	----	----	54	19.5
6 or +	None	.6	1.3	----	50.0	----	----	----	3	1.1
1-5	Low	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	----
6 or +	Low	----	----	----	----	25.0	----	----	1	.4
1-5	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	----
6 or +	High	----	2.5	----	----	25.0	----	----	3	1.1
	Percent:	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	----	100.0		100.1
	Number :	174	80	16	2	4	0	1	277	
1949 Cohort										
None	None	72.8	60.3	46.9	42.9	13.3	----	25.0	366	65.7
1-5	None	23.6	32.8	37.5	----	53.3	----	12.5	150	26.9
6 or +	None	3.0	6.1	12.5	42.9	20.0	----	37.5	32	5.8
1-5	Low	.6	.8	----	----	6.7	----	----	4	.7
6 or +	Low	----	----	----	----	----	----	12.5	1	.2
1-5	High	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	----
6 or +	High	----	----	3.1	14.3	6.7	----	12.5	4	.7
	Percent:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	----	100.0		100.0
	Number :	364	131	32	7	15	0	8	557	
1955 Cohort										
None	None	69.8	50.8	32.1	26.9	22.2	100.0	20.0	658	63.6
1-5	None	20.2	27.7	17.9	11.5	22.2	----	10.0	214	20.7
6 or +	None	3.2	10.0	17.9	19.2	27.8	----	5.0	55	5.3
1-5	Low	2.5	1.5	3.6	11.5	----	----	30.0	32	3.1
6 or +	Low	3.1	9.2	14.3	26.9	11.1	----	10.0	52	5.0
1-5	High	.1	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	.1
6 or +	High	1.1	.8	14.3	3.9	16.7	----	25.0	23	2.2
	Percent:	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
	Number :	811	130	28	26	18	2	20	1035	

TABLE 8. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 15 TO POLICE CONTACTS AFTER 15: MALES

	Number of Contacts Through 15	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 15 to Number of Contacts After 15					Seriousness Score Through 15	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 15 to Seriousness Score After 15				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda*	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	1 - 4	----**	----	----	----	101	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	65
	5 or +	.201	.236	.549	.111	21	6 or +	.229	.127	.714	.057	57
1949 Cohort	1 - 4	----	----	----	----	253	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	173
	5 or +	.121	.073	.185	.105	64	6 or +	.217	.091	.476	.059	144
1955 Cohort	1 - 4	.054	.029	.238	.027	331	1 - 5	.029	.030	.419	.016	244
	5 or +	.064	.141	.165	.183	132	6 or +	.211	.250	.346	.117	219

	Severity of Sanctions Through 15	Relationship of Number of Contacts Through Age 15 to Number of Contacts After 15					Severity of Sanctions Through 15	Relationship of Seriousness Score Through Age 15 to Seriousness Score After 15				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	None	.297	.206	.273	.095	115	None	.367	.244	.269	.215	115
	Low	----	----	----	----	0	Low	----	----	----	----	0
	High	----	----	----	----	7	High	----	----	----	----	7
1949 Cohort	None	.533	.302	.400	.109	304	None	.508	.291	.320	.116	304
	Low	----	----	----	----	2	Low	----	----	----	----	2
	High	.458	.270	.292	.280	11	High	.268	.055	.055	1.000	11
1955 Cohort	None	.338	.225	.350	.085	348	None	.328	.244	.281	.079	348
	Low	.537	.441	.471	.385	59	Low	.572	.448	.455	.632	59
	High	.229	.211	.222	.521	56	High	.284	.277	.280	.830	56

* Lambda Asymmetrical with Number of Contacts and Seriousness Scores dependent.

** Insufficient persons in category or insufficient persons with variability in independent variable for correlation.

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF POLICE CONTACTS AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 15 TO POLICE CONTACTS AFTER 15: FEMALES

	Number of Contacts Through 15	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 15 to Number of Contacts After 15					Seriousness Score Through 15	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 15 to Seriousness Score After 15				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda*	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	1 - 4	----**	----	----	----	14	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	12
	5 or +	----	----	----	----	2	6 or +	----	----	----	----	4
1949 Cohort	1 - 4	----	----	----	----	92	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	79
	5 or +	----	----	----	----	5	6 or +	----	----	----	----	18
1955 Cohort	1 - 4	.024	-.006	-.039	.048	175	1 - 5	.019	.002	.024	.027	137
	5 or +	.027	.079	.095	.471	20	6 or +	.135	-.013	-.021	.167	58

	Severity of Sanctions Through 15	Relationship of Number of Contacts Through Age 15 to Number of Contacts After 15					Severity of Sanctions Through 15	Relationship of Seriousness Score Through Age 15 to Seriousness Score After 15				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	None	.915	.569	.889	.182	15	None	.877	.315	.373	.461	15
	Low	----	----	----	----	0	Low	----	----	----	----	0
	High	----	----	----	----	1	High	----	----	----	----	1
1949 Cohort	None	.118	.190	.421	.060	95	None	.201	.179	.240	.104	95
	Low	----	----	----	----	0	Low	----	----	----	----	0
	High	----	----	----	----	2	High	----	----	----	----	2
1955 Cohort	None	.586	.300	.582	.068	166	None	.603	.296	.382	.116	166
	Low	.795	.203	.302	.250	15	Low	.668	.114	.143	.500	15
	High	.439	.431	.463	.727	14	High	.412	.456	.471	.909	14

* Lambda Asymmetrical with Number of Contacts and Seriousness Scores dependent.

** Insufficient persons in category or insufficient persons with variability in independent variable for correlation.

TABLE 10. RELATIONSHIP OF SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 17 TO POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES AFTER 17: FEMALES

	Number or Contacts Through 17	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 17 to Number of Contacts After 17					Seriousness Score Through 17	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 17 to Seriousness Score After 17				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda*	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	1 - 4	----**	----	----	----	48	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	46
	5 or +	----	----	----	----	5	6 or +	----	----	----	----	7
1949 Cohort	1 - 4	----	----	----	----	144	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	124
	5 or +	.129	.266	.450	.400	13	6 or +	.215	.170	.517	.200	33
1955 Cohort	1 - 4	.034	.016	.071	.018	281	1 - 5	.141	.033	.199	.013	217
	5 or +	.174	.131	.159	.417	45	6 or +	.232	.040	.061	.122	109

	Severity of Sanctions Through 17	Relationship of Number of Contacts Through Age 17 to Number of Contacts After 17					Severity of Sanctions Through 17	Relationship of Seriousness Score Through Age 17 to Seriousness Score After 17				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	None	.275	.115	.303	.000	50	None	.203	.016	.027	.080	50
	Low	----	----	----	----	0	Low	----	----	----	----	0
	High	----	----	----	----	3	High	----	----	----	----	3
1949 Cohort	None	.493	.132	.279	.050	152	None	.468	.162	.246	.125	152
	Low	----	----	----	----	1	Low	----	----	----	----	1
	High	----	----	----	----	4	High	----	----	----	----	4
1955 Cohort	None	.375	.207	.493	.069	241	None	.270	.213	.356	.098	241
	Low	.511	.176	.268	.229	63	Low	.519	.161	.222	.286	63
	High	.463	.495	.553	.667	22	High	.457	.537	.582	.933	22

* Lambda Asymmetrical with Number of Contacts and Seriousness Scores dependent.

** Insufficient persons in category or insufficient persons with variability in independent variable for correlation.

TABLE 11. RELATIONSHIP OF SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 20 TO POLICE CONTACTS AND SERIOUSNESS SCORES AFTER 20: FEMALES

	Number of Contacts Through 20	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 20 to Number of Contacts After 20					Seriousness Score Through 20	Relationship of Severity of Sanctions Through Age 20 to Seriousness Score After 20				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda*	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	1 - 4	----**	----	----	----	72	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	68
	5 or +	----	----	----	----	7	6 or +	-.213	-.066	-.097	.250	11
1949 Cohort	1 - 4	.137	.018	.248	.015	223	1 - 5	----	----	----	----	185
	5 or +	.220	.256	.359	.471	22	6 or +	.260	.210	.425	.171	60
1955 Cohort	1 - 4	.103	.043	.302	.020	367	1 - 5	.024	.000	.005	.000	272
	5 or +	.203	.141	.231	.385	70	6 or +	.241	.117	.258	.140	165

	Severity of Sanctions Through 20	Relationship of Number of Contacts Through Age 20 to Number of Contacts After 20					Severity of Sanctions Through 20	Relationship of Seriousness Score Through Age 20 to Seriousness Score After 20				
		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N		Pearson's R	Tau	Gamma	Lambda	N
1942 Cohort	None	.333	.020	.058	.032	75	None	.358	.080	.151	.097	75
	Low	----	----	----	----	2	Low	----	----	----	----	2
	High	----	----	----	----	2	High	----	----	----	----	2
1949 Cohort	None	.302	.153	.402	.029	222	None	.228	.161	.353	.101	222
	Low	.973	.683	.800	.556	15	Low	.964	.560	.636	.889	15
	High	----	----	----	----	8	High	----	----	----	----	8
1955 Cohort	None	.280	.069	.375	.027	303	None	.339	.091	.397	.081	303
	Low	.146	.145	.322	.167	100	Low	.107	.126	.283	.250	100
	High	.319	.272	.372	.563	34	High	.357	.306	.417	.688	34

* Lambda Asymmetrical with Number of Contacts and Seriousness Scores dependent.

** Insufficient persons in category or insufficient persons with variability in independent variable for correlation.

after the age of 18. Highly sanctioned persons have in most cases had high seriousness scores but a variety of backgrounds.

Turning again to Table 6, we find that while 42.7% of the 1942 Cohort and 51.3% of the 1949 Cohort with seriousness scores of 6 or more after age 18 who had never been sanctioned had seriousness scores of 6 or more through age 18 and had not been sanctioned, only 15.2% of the 1955 Cohort were in this category. Again we find an increase in the proportion of persons with high seriousness scores and severe sanctions after the age of 18 who had high seriousness scores and severe sanctions before that age.

Tables 4 and 6 indicate, it would seem, that persons who are severely sanctioned have engaged in behavior which merits these sanctions but that many persons engage in similar behavior but escape severe sanctions.

Tables 5 and 7 reveal that relatively few females have been severely sanctioned after the age of 18 even in proportion to the number with 5 or more contacts, but if their prior encounters with the justice system are considered their treatment is not unduly lenient. Table 7 reveals that when seriousness of the adult records is considered, and increasingly so for the 1955 Cohort, the sanctions meted out to females are more consistent with those meted out to males.

One must conclude that if the courts are to have a rehabilitative function (or to dispense sanctions in relationship to the total behavior problem presented by those who come before the courts) this might be facilitated by providing the court with more complete information about the prior records (including juvenile records) of defendants.

Tables 8 through 11 have been described in Chapter 13.

APPENDIX N

The means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations in Tables 1, 2, and 3 of this appendix enable the reader to compare males and females on the variables included in the analysis described in Chapter 14. The contrast between males and females as represented by the means of seriousness, referrals, and sanctions simply reaffirms the differences mentioned in several earlier chapters. With the exception of seriousness after age 17 (which brings into play variation in years of exposure) the means for all measures increased across cohorts for both males and females, increases for the latter being disproportionately greater. The extreme variability in each of the measures is shown, of course, by the standard deviation, that for the females being proportionately greater than for the males. With the exception of the 1942 Cohort, the interrelationship of variables was almost always greater for males than females.

TABLE 1 . MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR THE 1942 COHORT MALES AND FEMALES.*

		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Standard Deviation
Seriousness Through Age 17	1	--	.805	.338	.439	.530	5.371	8.944
Referrals Through Age 17	2	.685	---	.414	.397	.467	.629	1.122
Sanctions Through Age 17	3	.636	.560	---	.219	.287	.582	3.010
Seriousness After Age 17	4	.480	.240	.365	---	---	13.169	24.469
Seriousness Ages 18-21	5	.496	.225	.417	---	---	4.983	8.935
Mean		.690	.072	.173	1.820	.664	---	---
Standard Deviation		2.415	.298	1.659	5.035	2.851	---	---

* Correlations above the diagonal are for males (N=356); below the diagonal for females (N=227).

TABLE 2. MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR THE 1949 COHORT MALES AND FEMALES.*

		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Standard Deviation
Seriousness Through Age 17	1	---	.897	.572	.590	.523	7.755	15.382
Referrals Through Age 17	2	.717	---	.631	.559	.504	.839	1.881
Sanctions Through Age 17	3	.389	.466	---	.371	.337	.741	4.192
Seriousness After Age 17	4	.447	.326	.291	---	---	9.597	19.526
Seriousness Ages 18-21	5	.413	.286	.256	---	---	5.799	12.434
Mean		1.273	.119	.153	2.377	1.399		
Standard Deviation		3.588	.453	1.815	9.501	6.902		

* Correlations above the diagonal are for males (N=740); below the diagonal for females (N=557).

TABLE 3. MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR THE 1955 COHORT MALES AND FEMALES*

		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Standard Deviation
Seriousness Through Age 17	1	---	.952	.758	.528	.517	10.317	24.625
Referrals Through Age 17	2	.906	---	.759	.519	.508	1.312	3.572
Sanctions Through Age 17	3	.699	.759	---	.414	.402	2.633	6.569
Seriousness After Age 17	4	.517	.394	.327	---	---	6.713	14.102
Seriousness Ages 18-21	5	.522	.399	.327	---	---	6.487	13.697
Means		2.165	.329	.531	1.705	1.669		
Standard Deviation		6.555	1.304	2.671	5.656	5.572		

* Correlations above the diagonal are for males (N=1114); below the diagonal for females (N=1035).

APPENDIX O

Reference has been made to the tables in this appendix at appropriate points in Chapter 16. It should be noted that the relationship between past or present to future number or seriousness of contacts, referrals, dispositions, and sanctions sometimes vary more erratically for the females than the males. This is, of course, particularly noticeable in this appendix because the females are included in each table along with males who were socialized outside the inner city and interstitial areas. For example, Somers' D is high for the 1942 Cohort because there are relatively few persons with contacts, but there are persons who have continuity. At the same time at the early ages most persons have not had the experience which is the subject of whatever variable is being considered but a sizeable portion of them will do so as time goes on. Thus, the shape of the distribution changes so that Somers' D has a value closer to that of Pearson's R.

Very few tables show any proportional reduction in error, as represented by Lambda, because so few females have the criterion, the variable to be predicted, that the best prediction is the modal category of any distribution. Lambda increases only as more persons in the cohort have both past and future contacts with a continuing correlation between them so that the predictor reduces errors in predicting the distribution of the criterion beyond that obtainable from the modal category. In the female case this may never occur for some variables, varying by cohort.

One caveat that has been stated and restated should again be made, that persons with numerous contacts, high seriousness scores, numerous referrals, court dispositions, and severe sanctions at an early age are more likely to

continue to have them in the future but a sizeable proportion of that much larger group of persons who are not a part of the official record in any way at an early age will become a part of the record as the years go by. The longer that they escape becoming a part of the record, the less likely are they to do so, but it is those who are not early starters who eventually do become part of the record who make it so difficult to improve predictability over the marginals.

Table 1. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF PAST CONTACTS TO NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS IN THE FUTURE FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREAS

Number of Past Contacts by Number of Contacts in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Female	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.39	.34	.46	.65	.38	.38	.03	.02	.04
16	.33	.36	.49	.35	.29	.35	.02	.02	.04
17	.27	.36	.48	.21	.26	.30	.01	.02	.02
18	.27	.38	.43	.21	.26	.23	.01	.03	.00
19	.27	.42	.38	.20	.24	.19	.01	.02	.00
20	.30	.46	.32	.19	.23	.13	.00	.02	.00
21	.29	.42	---	.21	.20	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Area									
Age 15	.34	.41	.49	.41	.37	.45	.00	.16	.12
16	.38	.50	.51	.39	.41	.41	.06	.20	.10
17	.37	.58	.47	.33	.45	.36	.10	.17	.05
18	.41	.56	.47	.34	.43	.32	.15	.15	.00
19	.39	.54	.44	.32	.40	.28	.17	.10	.00
20	.39	.50	.34	.32	.37	.19	.11	.04	.00
21	.38	.47	---	.29	.34	---	.09	.00	---

Seriousness of Past Contacts by Seriousness of Contacts in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Female	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.36	.33	.39	.64	.36	.37	.07	.04	.08
16	.28	.34	.42	.34	.28	.34	.02	.05	.07
17	.22	.33	.41	.20	.25	.29	.02	.04	.01
18	.20	.35	.37	.19	.25	.23	.01	.02	.00
19	.26	.37	.35	.20	.23	.19	.03	.01	.00
20	.28	.39	.30	.18	.22	.13	.02	.00	.00
21	.28	.36	---	.20	.19	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Area									
Age 15	.36	.35	.39	.37	.32	.39	.00	.09	.19
16	.38	.44	.44	.37	.37	.38	.00	.22	.20
17	.38	.53	.43	.35	.44	.36	.07	.28	.12
18	.40	.52	.43	.36	.42	.33	.14	.25	.01
19	.40	.50	.42	.36	.40	.29	.15	.20	.00
20	.40	.45	.35	.36	.36	.21	.22	.09	.00
21	.38	.43	---	.34	.34	---	.16	.00	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of police contacts and seriousness scores collapsed 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or + respectively.

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF PAST REFERRALS TO FUTURE REFERRALS AND PAST DISPOSITIONS TO FUTURE DISPOSITIONS FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTIAL AREAS

Number of Past Referrals by Number of Referrals in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.32	.08	.42	.34	.15	.35	.00	.01	.01
16	.20	.37	.41	.15	.28	.27	.00	.04	.00
17	.13	.41	.36	.04	.26	.14	.00	.06	.00
18	.07	.41	.32	-.02	.22	.10	.00	.05	.00
19	.07	.26	.29	-.02	.11	.08	.00	.00	.00
20	.18	.25	.26	-.01	.08	.05	.00	.00	.00
21	.27	.25	---	.03	.06	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.19	.39	.48	.30	.59	.50	.04	.04	.06
16	.20	.44	.50	.24	.46	.35	.04	.03	.06
17	.26	.44	.44	.21	.37	.26	.06	.03	.02
18	.42	.43	.41	.26	.33	.24	.03	.01	.00
19	.40	.40	.40	.21	.31	.19	.04	.02	.00
20	.41	.34	.28	.21	.25	.13	.07	.00	.00
21	.38	.34	---	.21	.20	---	.05	.00	---

Number of Past Dispositions by Number of Dispositions in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	-.01	.04	.24	-.03	.42	.41	.00	.03	.01
16	.33	.36	.31	.32	.76	.40	.00	.03	.01
17	.33	.38	.31	.32	.76	.32	.00	.06	.01
18	.54	.39	.26	.49	.56	.22	.14	.06	.00
19	.57	.32	.29	.49	.41	.18	.29	.04	.00
20	.57	.46	.28	.49	.48	.13	.29	.04	.00
21	.34	.40	---	.48	.42	---	.29	.10	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.18	.11	.38	.75	.74	.60	.02	.02	.05
16	.19	.26	.43	.73	.82	.49	.02	.06	.05
17	.33	.26	.45	.66	.76	.43	.05	.06	.04
18	.62	.44	.52	.73	.67	.42	.12	.09	.02
19	.55	.50	.47	.50	.59	.33	.06	.05	.00
20	.53	.58	.38	.46	.59	.24	.03	.05	.00
21	.62	.55	---	.40	.53	---	.04	.03	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of referrals and disposition collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +.

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF PAST CONTACTS TO NUMBER OF FUTURE REFERRALS FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREAS

Number of Past Contacts by Number of Referrals in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.58	.26	.50	.42	.13	.28	.06	.00	.00
16	.39	.33	.47	.12	.11	.24	.00	.00	.00
17	.28	.37	.39	.05	.12	.15	.00	.00	.00
18	.21	.38	.33	.02	.14	.10	.00	.00	.00
19	.21	.31	.30	.01	.10	.08	.00	.00	.00
20	.21	.31	.24	.02	.09	.05	.00	.00	.00
21	.20	.26	---	.03	.06	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.26	.51	.55	.27	.37	.34	.02	.06	.05
16	.30	.51	.50	.24	.35	.28	.03	.04	.00
17	.28	.48	.42	.18	.29	.23	.03	.00	.00
18	.31	.45	.40	.18	.27	.20	.00	.00	.00
19	.27	.40	.37	.13	.23	.16	.00	.00	.00
20	.28	.34	.28	.14	.18	.10	.00	.00	.00
21	.25	.29	---	.13	.15	---	.00	.00	---

Seriousness of Past Contacts by Number of Referrals in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.48	.26	.42	.42	.12	.27	.06	.00	.00
16	.33	.31	.40	.12	.10	.23	.00	.00	.00
17	.24	.33	.32	.05	.11	.14	.00	.00	.00
18	.17	.33	.27	.02	.14	.09	.00	.00	.00
19	.17	.26	.25	.01	.09	.07	.00	.00	.00
20	.17	.26	.21	.03	.08	.05	.00	.00	.00
21	.16	.21	---	.03	.06	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.32	.45	.47	.28	.35	.33	.05	.00	.01
16	.29	.45	.43	.25	.33	.27	.07	.00	.00
17	.21	.40	.36	.17	.28	.23	.03	.00	.00
18	.27	.38	.34	.18	.26	.19	.00	.00	.00
19	.27	.34	.29	.16	.22	.15	.00	.00	.00
20	.24	.29	.25	.15	.18	.10	.00	.00	.00
21	.22	.25	---	.14	.14	---	.00	.00	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of contacts and referrals collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF PAST REFERRALS TO NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF FUTURE CONTACTS FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREAS

Number of Past Referrals by Number of Contacts in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.27	.18	.37	.53	.43	.47	.01	.01	.04
16	.17	.31	.39	.24	.40	.39	.01	.03	.04
17	.19	.36	.41	.22	.36	.36	.02	.03	.02
18	.20	.39	.38	.19	.37	.29	.02	.04	.01
19	.18	.42	.34	.22	.35	.22	.03	.05	.00
20	.19	.44	.33	.11	.31	.15	.01	.05	.00
21	.24	.45	---	.15	.27	---	.01	.03	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.23	.24	.40	.42	.52	.61	.00	.04	.09
16	.32	.37	.46	.41	.54	.51	.00	.16	.08
17	.34	.52	.42	.36	.61	.42	.02	.18	.07
18	.42	.49	.42	.42	.52	.37	.11	.10	.02
19	.44	.50	.43	.43	.48	.32	.14	.06	.00
20	.44	.49	.36	.39	.45	.25	.13	.05	.00
21	.44	.51	---	.36	.42	---	.13	.05	---

Number of Past Referrals by Seriousness of Contacts in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.23	.17	.30	.52	.42	.46	.02	.01	.05
16	.15	.27	.33	.23	.38	.40	.01	.03	.06
17	.15	.30	.36	.19	.36	.37	.01	.03	.04
18	.15	.33	.33	.18	.37	.29	.02	.04	.02
19	.17	.34	.32	.23	.35	.22	.03	.05	.01
20	.17	.37	.29	.12	.30	.15	.01	.08	.00
21	.23	.37	---	.17	.26	---	.02	.05	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.24	.22	.32	.43	.49	.53	.00	.00	.12
16	.32	.33	.38	.42	.53	.48	.00	.15	.15
17	.36	.51	.38	.41	.63	.43	.00	.31	.10
18	.43	.51	.39	.46	.55	.38	.08	.26	.06
19	.46	.53	.41	.48	.51	.32	.14	.19	.02
20	.46	.53	.38	.44	.48	.26	.16	.14	.00
21	.45	.54	---	.40	.44	---	.13	.10	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with number of contacts and referrals collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF PAST CONTACTS TO NUMBER OF DISPOSITIONS IN THE FUTURE FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREAS

Number of Past Contacts by Number of Dispositions in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.57	.23	.42	.30	.13	.26	.13	.00	.00
16	.42	.31	.42	.11	.12	.24	.00	.00	.02
17	.42	.38	.40	.07	.16	.20	.00	.00	.00
18	.36	.41	.32	.06	.14	.13	.00	.00	.00
19	.32	.37	.28	.07	.11	.09	.00	.00	.00
20	.29	.34	.26	.06	.10	.07	.00	.00	.00
21	.17	.31	---	.05	.08	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.27	.39	.46	.27	.27	.36	.00	.01	.08
16	.34	.46	.46	.33	.32	.33	.00	.00	.05
17	.39	.53	.45	.34	.36	.32	.00	.00	.00
18	.44	.54	.45	.32	.35	.30	.00	.00	.00
19	.37	.51	.43	.23	.32	.25	.00	.00	.00
20	.36	.48	.33	.22	.30	.16	.00	.00	.00
21	.36	.43	---	.19	.26	---	.00	.00	---

Seriousness of Past Contacts by Number of Dispositions in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.54	.24	.36	.30	.13	.26	.13	.00	.00
16	.41	.30	.36	.11	.12	.24	.00	.00	.00
17	.34	.38	.34	.07	.16	.19	.00	.00	.00
18	.29	.37	.28	.06	.14	.12	.00	.00	.00
19	.26	.32	.25	.07	.11	.09	.00	.00	.00
20	.24	.31	.22	.06	.10	.06	.00	.00	.00
21	.16	.26	---	.05	.08	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.31	.36	.41	.27	.26	.35	.03	.00	.05
16	.41	.44	.41	.35	.31	.32	.03	.00	.00
17	.47	.48	.40	.38	.36	.32	.02	.00	.00
18	.46	.45	.41	.35	.33	.30	.00	.00	.00
19	.38	.43	.37	.26	.31	.26	.00	.00	.00
20	.37	.40	.30	.25	.28	.16	.00	.00	.00
21	.34	.35	---	.21	.24	---	.00	.00	---

*Lambda Somers' D Asymmetric with number of police contacts and dispositions collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or + and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF PAST SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS REFERRED AND SEVERITY OF PAST SANCTIONS TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS IN THE FUTURE FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREAS

Seriousness of Past Contacts Referred by Severity of Sanctions in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.54	.06	.37	.56	.23	.40	.13	.00	.00
16	.32	.41	.32	.22	.31	.31	.00	.00	.00
17	.29	.43	.31	.16	.33	.25	.14	.00	.00
18	.34	.43	.24	.21	.30	.16	.14	.00	.00
19	.41	.43	.23	.25	.23	.12	.14	.00	.00
20	.42	.47	.20	.23	.22	.08	.14	.00	.00
21	.41	.42	---	.21	.18	---	.14	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.25	.40	.37	.59	.64	.51	.11	.09	.04
16	.30	.48	.36	.62	.56	.43	.13	.06	.03
17	.29	.55	.34	.55	.62	.36	.14	.12	.03
18	.35	.50	.37	.49	.51	.34	.07	.04	.00
19	.35	.44	.35	.38	.43	.26	.03	.01	.00
20	.31	.42	.30	.33	.38	.18	.03	.00	.00
21	.31	.42	---	.29	.33	---	.00	.00	---

Severity of Past Sanctions by Severity of Sanctions in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	-.00	.06	.31	-.03	.45	.39	.00	.03	.02
16	.21	.47	.30	.31	.77	.35	.00	.13	.04
17	.21	.26	.27	.31	.77	.27	.00	.13	.03
18	.29	.27	.28	.48	.52	.22	.14	.13	.05
19	.15	.24	.27	.48	.35	.19	.29	.13	.07
20	.15	.33	.30	.48	.41	.13	.29	.14	.03
21	.33	.30	---	.48	.37	---	.29	.24	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.04	.06	.21	.62	.75	.53	.04	.03	.05
16	.16	.32	.25	.74	.82	.42	.04	.05	.07
17	.17	.23	.25	.60	.73	.37	.07	.10	.05
18	.49	.38	.32	.73	.60	.35	.20	.11	.01
19	.76	.41	.29	.48	.55	.26	.26	.09	.01
20	.67	.29	.32	.46	.49	.18	.22	.12	.00
21	.66	.33	---	.40	.43	---	.29	.11	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with adjacent sanctions collapsed and seriousness scores collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF PAST SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS REFERRED AND SEVERITY OF PAST SANCTIONS TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS IN THE FUTURE FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREAS

Seriousness of Past Contacts Referred by Severity of Sanctions in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.54	.06	.37	.56	.23	.40	.13	.00	.00
16	.32	.41	.32	.22	.31	.31	.00	.00	.00
17	.29	.43	.31	.16	.33	.25	.14	.00	.00
18	.34	.43	.24	.21	.30	.16	.14	.00	.00
19	.41	.43	.23	.25	.23	.12	.14	.00	.00
20	.42	.47	.20	.23	.22	.08	.14	.00	.00
21	.41	.42	---	.21	.18	---	.14	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.25	.40	.37	.59	.64	.51	.11	.09	.04
16	.30	.48	.36	.62	.56	.43	.13	.06	.03
17	.29	.55	.34	.55	.62	.36	.14	.12	.03
18	.35	.50	.37	.49	.51	.34	.07	.04	.00
19	.35	.44	.35	.38	.43	.26	.03	.01	.00
20	.31	.42	.30	.33	.38	.18	.03	.00	.00
21	.31	.42	---	.29	.33	---	.00	.00	---

Severity of Past Sanctions by Severity of Sanctions in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	-.00	.06	.31	-.03	.45	.39	.00	.03	.02
16	.21	.47	.30	.31	.77	.35	.00	.13	.04
17	.21	.26	.27	.31	.77	.27	.00	.13	.03
18	.29	.27	.28	.48	.52	.22	.14	.13	.05
19	.15	.24	.27	.48	.35	.19	.29	.13	.07
20	.15	.33	.30	.48	.41	.13	.29	.14	.03
21	.33	.30	---	.48	.37	---	.29	.24	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.04	.06	.21	.62	.75	.53	.04	.03	.05
16	.16	.32	.25	.74	.82	.42	.04	.05	.07
17	.17	.23	.25	.60	.73	.37	.07	.10	.05
18	.49	.38	.32	.73	.60	.35	.20	.11	.01
19	.76	.41	.29	.48	.55	.26	.26	.09	.01
20	.67	.29	.32	.46	.49	.18	.22	.12	.00
21	.66	.33	---	.40	.43	---	.29	.11	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with adjacent sanctions collapsed and seriousness scores collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

TABLE 8. RELATIONSHIP OF SEVERITY OF PAST SANCTIONS TO NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF FUTURE CONTACTS FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREAS

Severity of Past Sanctions by Number of Contacts in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.14	.11	.21	.89	.79	.39	.01	.01	.03
16	.20	.21	.26	.84	.89	.43	.01	.02	.03
17	.19	.23	.30	.82	.91	.37	.02	.02	.02
18	.22	.25	.34	.80	.60	.33	.02	.03	.02
19	.11	.28	.28	.73	.63	.27	.04	.05	.03
20	.08	.32	.30	.54	.51	.22	.02	.04	.05
21	.18	.31	---	.34	.48	---	.02	.05	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.02	.10	.28	.15	.70	.64	.01	.00	.07
16	.04	.15	.36	.26	.64	.47	.01	.02	.08
17	.03	.18	.29	.21	.64	.40	.01	.05	.06
18	.26	.26	.33	.52	.54	.37	.07	.09	.05
19	.24	.31	.30	.45	.52	.31	.13	.09	.02
20	.28	.28	.25	.47	.46	.25	.14	.07	.01
21	.29	.27	---	.38	.41	---	.12	.07	---

Severity of Past Sanctions by Seriousness of Contacts in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.14	.10	.15	.90	.77	.37	.01	.01	.03
16	.18	.17	.19	.81	.84	.42	.02	.02	.05
17	.16	.18	.24	.76	.86	.37	.01	.02	.03
18	.15	.19	.28	.72	.56	.33	.02	.03	.03
19	.07	.22	.27	.69	.62	.27	.04	.05	.05
20	.05	.26	.28	.51	.50	.22	.02	.05	.06
21	.13	.28	---	.33	.49	---	.02	.05	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.10	.08	.21	.51	.62	.54	.00	.00	.09
16	.06	.12	.29	.28	.58	.45	.01	.00	.12
17	.10	.19	.29	.26	.68	.42	.00	.06	.11
18	.26	.29	.31	.52	.59	.39	.01	.17	.10
19	.26	.37	.30	.48	.57	.31	.06	.19	.02
20	.31	.34	.26	.51	.51	.25	.16	.16	.00
21	.32	.32	---	.43	.45	---	.13	.09	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with adjacent sanctions collapsed, number of contacts collapsed to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +, and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF PAST CONTACTS TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS IN THE FUTURE FOR FEMALES AND FOR MALES OUTSIDE THE INNER CITY AND INTERSTITIAL AREAS

Number of Past Contacts by Severity of Sanctions in Future

	Pearson's R*			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.50	.18	.40	.30	.11	.24	.13	.00	.00
16	.30	.33	.39	.10	.11	.21	.00	.00	.00
17	.30	.35	.35	.07	.14	.17	.00	.00	.00
18	.29	.37	.29	.06	.13	.11	.00	.00	.00
19	.29	.38	.28	.07	.10	.07	.00	.00	.00
20	.26	.38	.24	.06	.10	.05	.00	.00	.00
21	.25	.35	---	.05	.07	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.35	.39	.42	.27	.29	.31	.02	.02	.01
16	.37	.41	.38	.32	.32	.29	.00	.01	.00
17	.37	.45	.36	.31	.36	.28	.00	.04	.00
18	.34	.44	.35	.28	.32	.25	.00	.00	.00
19	.27	.40	.36	.20	.29	.21	.00	.00	.00
20	.25	.37	.29	.18	.26	.13	.00	.00	.00
21	.27	.38	---	.16	.23	---	.00	.00	---

Seriousness of Past Contacts by Severity of Sanctions in Future

	Pearson's R			Somers' D			Lambda		
Females	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Age 15	.55	.19	.34	.30	.10	.23	.13	.00	.00
16	.32	.29	.31	.11	.10	.20	.00	.00	.00
17	.28	.33	.29	.07	.14	.16	.00	.00	.00
18	.26	.33	.25	.06	.13	.11	.00	.00	.00
19	.28	.34	.23	.07	.10	.07	.00	.00	.00
20	.26	.34	.20	.06	.09	.05	.00	.00	.00
21	.24	.29	---	.05	.07	---	.00	.00	---
Males Outside the Inner City and Interstitial Areas									
Age 15	.36	.35	.38	.28	.28	.30	.04	.00	.00
16	.36	.37	.35	.34	.31	.28	.02	.00	.00
17	.35	.42	.32	.35	.37	.28	.00	.00	.00
18	.31	.36	.33	.31	.31	.25	.00	.00	.00
19	.25	.33	.31	.22	.28	.20	.00	.00	.00
20	.23	.30	.24	.21	.25	.14	.00	.00	.00
21	.24	.31	---	.19	.21	---	.00	.00	---

*Lambda and Somers' D Asymmetric with adjacent sanctions collapsed, number of contacts to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or +, and seriousness scores to 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 or +.

APPENDIX P

Although we have indicated general satisfaction with the representativeness of the "sample" of those interviewed from each Cohort, it should be noted that we were disappointed with the refusal rate among those contacted, a rate of 18.4% for the 1942 Cohort and 13.3% for the 1949 Cohort, particularly with the 22.5% refusal rate for White males in the 1942 Cohort, over twice that of the 1949 Cohort White males. On the other hand, the low refusal rate for Chicanos in the 1949 Cohort (5.6% for the males and 4.8% for the females) was similar to that which we had experienced in earlier Racine studies.

Our strategy in attempting to interview all of the Blacks and Chicanos was dictated by the necessity of having a sizeable group of interviewed minority group respondents. If their out-mobility was higher, it would be necessary to attempt to reach all of them to have a sufficient number to compare their responses to those of the Whites. In the end this produced only 30 Blacks and Chicanos from the 1942 Cohort, less than 10% minorities but adequte in terms of the race/ethnic composition of the 1942 Cohort. The 97 Blacks and Chicanos constituted 17.4% of the 1949 Cohort, considerably more than the approximately 10% that we needed, but still barely enough to speak of race/ethnic differences which go beyond simple sex breakdowns. Since we are primarily interested in the interrelationship of variables among those interviewed and the relationship of their responses to their official police records, this race/ethnic imbalance should have little effect on the results of the analysis based on interview data.

TABLE 1. INTERVIEW STATUS OF 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

	1942 Cohort							1949 Cohort						
	White		Black		Chicano		Total	White		Black		Chicano		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F	
Originally Selected for Interviews or as Substitutes														
Interviewed	145	158	10	10	2	8	333	230	229	32	28	17	20	556
Out of Area	97	109	8	4	2	4	224	106	191	17	15	9	5	343
Never Located	61	82	4	3	2	3	155	91	156	10	3	5	2	267
Never Home	17	16	4	1	0	0	38	26	21	4	5	0	0	56
Handicapped, Retarded	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	2	2	0	0	8
Deceased	7	1	2	0	1	0	11	7	2	1	0	1	0	11
Refused	42	26	3	2	2	0	75	26	46	6	5	1	1	85
Invalid Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
Not Selected for Interview														
Available	151	127	0	0	0	0	278	333	170	0	0	0	0	503
Out of Area	66	63	0	0	0	0	129	84	57	0	0	0	0	141
Never Located	48	54	0	0	0	0	102	62	58	0	0	0	0	120
Deceased	4	2	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total in Cohort:	639	638	31	20	9	15	1352	974	931	74	59	33	28	2099

APPENDIX Q

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA · IOWA CITY, IOWA

IOWA URBAN COMMUNITY RESEARCH CENTER

RACINE COMMUNITY STUDY
1976

_____
Name of Interviewer

FILL IN THESE BLANKS AS INTERVIEW *BEGINS AND ENDS:*

Date .....

Time interview begins: .....

Time interview ends: .....

Length of interview: .....

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

CHECKED BY: .....

CODERS' INITIALS: .....

CHECK CODER'S INITIALS: .....

KEYPUNCHERS' INITIALS: .....

Preceding page blank

INTERVIEWER: At the beginning of each section or set of questions there may be a short paragraph with special instructions for you in italics. DO NOT read these paragraphs to the person you are interviewing.

(BACKGROUND)

TO RESPONDENT: Sometimes peoples' lives go on from day to day without much change. But at other times things happen that bring about changes in their lives. Among the many events which can cause changes in peoples' lives are marriage, school, jobs, and the various kinds of trouble they get into and how they react to each event. If you ask people which events changed their lives most they just cannot answer off the top of their heads. Yet, that is what we would like to know about in the interviews that we are conducting as part of the Racine Community Study.

What we would like to do is talk about various events in your life and ask questions that start at the beginning and give you a chance to think about these things in an orderly way. If you were writing it out as the story of your life you might say that it is divided into several periods, like grade school, high school, the first few years after high school, and so on.

I know and the people from the University of Iowa know that not all the questions will be exactly right for you. They have tried to come up with questions that can be asked of ALL people, but this is just about impossible. Please answer as well as you can.

1. What town (or towns) did you live in between the ages of 6 and 18? *INTERVIEWER: If respondent mentions more than one town, ask how old he/she was when the family made the move.* CARD 1

_____ | 8 | 9 |

_____ | | |

2. What is your birth date?

_____

3. How far did you go in school?

Date _____

Date _____

Date _____

- Less than 9th grade . . . 1
- 9th grade . . . 2
- 10th grade . . . 3
- 11th grade . . . 4
- 12th grade . . . 5
- Graduated high school . . . 6
- Some trade/technical school . . . 7
- Completed trade/technical school . . . 8
- Some nursing training . . . 9
- Completed nursing training . . .10
- Some junior college . . .11
- Completed junior college . . .12
- Some college . . .13
- Graduated college . . .14
- More than 4 years college . . .15
- Not ascertained . . .99

10-11

12 13 14 15 16 17

IF ANY HIGH SCHOOL, ASK:

4. Where did you go to high school:

School _____

City _____

IF MORE THAN ONE HIGH SCHOOL, ASK:

School _____

City _____

Why did you transfer to this school? _____

_____

School _____

City _____

Why did you transfer to this school? _____

_____

18 19

IF SOME HIGH SCHOOL BUT NO DIPLOMA, ASK:

5. How did you happen to leave school before you graduated?

_____

_____

20

ASK OF ALL WITH ANY HIGH SCHOOL:

6. Overall, how did you feel about high school?

- Liked school a lot . . . 1
- Liked school fairly well . . . 2
- Liked quite a few things but didn't like others . . . 3
- Didn't care one way or another . . . 4
- Didn't like quite a few things but did like others . . . 5
- Disliked school . . . 6
- Disliked school very much . . . 7
- Not ascertained . . . 9
- Inapplicable . . . 0

21

What did you like about school? Tell me 2 or 3 things.

_____

_____

22 23

What did you dislike about school? Tell me 2 or 3 things.

_____

_____

24 25

7. Did you have a job while you were in high school, during the school year, during the summers, or both?

- Summers . . . 1
- School year . . . 2
- Both . . . 3
- No job . . . 4
- Not ascertained . . . 9
- Inapplicable . . . 0

26

IF YES:

What kinds of work did you do?

_____

_____

27 28

-4-

How many hours a week did you usually work---

during the school year? _____hrs/wk

during the summers? _____hrs/wk

29 30 | 31 32

Were any of your jobs necessities or did you work because you wanted to?

Necessity . . . 1
Wanted to . . . 2
Peer influence . . . 3
Good experience, not necessity . . . 4
Parental pressure . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

33

Were any of your jobs part of your high school training?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

34

8. How many children, counting yourself, were there in your family?

_____

35 36

9. Who did you live with until you were 18 -- your father, your mother, or both, or was it someone else?

Father . . . 1
Mother . . . 2
Both . . . 3
Neither . . . 4
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

37

IF ONLY ONE PARENT:

Did (he/she) remarry?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

38

-5-

IF YES:

How old were you when (he/she) remarried?

_____

39 40

IF NOT PARENTS:

Who did you live with?

_____

41

How old were you when you went to live with them?

_____

42 43

10. During the years you were growing up, who was the income producing head of your household?

_____

44 45

11. Was (he/she) regularly employed throughout the years you were growing up?

Yes, all the time . . . 1
Employed during ages 6 through 13 . . . 2
Employed during ages 14 through 17 . . . 3
Never regularly employed . . . 4
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

46

IF PERIODS WHEN NOT REGULARLY EMPLOYED, ASK:

How did your family get by when (he/she) wasn't working?

_____

47 48

12. What was the main way by which (he/she) earned a living?

_____

49

SKIP, IF MOTHER WAS HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD:

13. Did your (mother/stepmother) have a job outside the home while you were growing up?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

50

IF YES, SHE WORKED, ASK:

Did she work full time, part time, or not at all when you were 6 through 13?

Full time . . . 1
Part time . . . 2
Some full, some part time . . . 3 51
Not at all . . . 4
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Did she work full time, part time, or not at all when you were 14 through 17?

Full time . . . 1
Part time . . . 2
Some full, some part time . . . 3 52
Not at all . . . 4
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

When she was working, was any adult home when you got home from school?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 53
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

TO RESPONDENT: I'm going to name several groups of people, one at a time. If the group or someone in that group was particularly important in influencing you in one direction or another in terms of your decisions, attitudes, and/or behavior, we would like to know what happened and about how old you were.

Card 2

14. Brothers and sisters _____ 8 9
_____ 10 11
_____
15. Parents _____ 12 13
_____ 14 15
_____

16. The Entire Family _____ 16 17
_____ 18 19
_____
17. Students at School _____ 20 21
_____ 22 23
_____
18. Teachers at School _____ 24 25
_____ 26 27
_____
19. Police _____ 28 29
_____ 30 31
_____
20. Judges, Probation Officers, etc. _____ 32 33
_____ 34 35
_____
21. Landlords _____ 36 37
_____ 38 39
_____
22. Employers or Supervisors at Work _____ 40 41
_____ 42 43
_____
23. Is there any person or group we left off this list whose influence you think we should know about?
_____
_____

IF ADDITIONAL GROUP MENTIONED, ASK:

Is there any other person or group we should know about?

_____ [ ][ ]

_____ [ ][ ]

_____ [ ][ ]

TO RESPONDENT: At one time or another you have been asked what kind of person you think you are. You may even have taken tests that are supposed to describe you as one type of person or another. (*INTERVIEWER: Hand respondent Card 1.*) Here is a card that shows five very general descriptions of different kinds of people. Which one are you most like? If you think a combination of these would describe you best, that's fine. There are four time periods that we would like to have you think about. Let's start with what kind of person you think you are now. *Card 3*

24. Adult: _____ 8 9 [ ][ ]

25. Do you think that you have always been this way or have you changed? Were you the same way 18 through 20, 14 through 17, and 6 through 13? When did you change?

18 through 20: _____ 10 11 [ ][ ]

14 through 17: _____ 12 13 [ ][ ]

6 through 13: _____ 14 15 [ ][ ]

26. Did you want to be a different type of person when you were in junior high and high school?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 16
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF YES:

Which of the categories on Card 1 best describes the kind of person you wanted to be?

_____ 17 18 [ ][ ]

What kept you from being that kind of person?

_____ 19 20 [ ][ ]

_____ [ ][ ]

27. How old were you when you got your driver's license?

_____ 21 22 [ ][ ]

28. Did you ever drive a car before you had a driver's license without your parents knowledge and consent?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 23
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

29. How much access did you have to a car while you were in high school?

Unlimited . . . 1
Frequent . . . 2
Occasional . . . 3
Never . . . 4 24
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

30. Did you and your friends spend much time driving around in a car just for something to do?

Yes . . . 1
Some, but not a lot . . . 2
No . . . 3 25
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

31. When you were in junior high and high school, was your neighborhood heavily, moderately, or lightly patrolled by the police, or not patrolled at all?

Heavily . . . 1
Moderately . . . 2
Lightly . . . 3 26
Not at all . . . 4
Not ascertained . . . 9

32. What kind of an attitude did you and your 2 or 3 closest friends have toward the police when you were in junior high and high school?

Positive . . . 1
Negative . . . 2 27
Indifferent . . . 3
Not ascertained . . . 9

33. Did any of your 2 or 3 closest friends get into trouble with the police during the junior high and high school years?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 28
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF YES:

Were they stopped and questioned by the police?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 29
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Were they arrested?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 30
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Did they get sent to juvenile court?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 31
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Were they put on probation?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 32
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Were they referred to county welfare agencies, to state welfare agencies, or to foster homes?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 33
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Were they sent to a state institution for juvenile boys or girls?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 34
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

INTERVIEWER: The next series of questions is crucial to the study. In these questions it will be necessary to have established a good rapport with the respondent. These questions deal with his or her delinquent career.

TO RESPONDENT: Everyone does something wrong or something which is considered wrong by society sometime in his or her life. I know that it is difficult to remember things that happened years ago, but I would like to ask you to think back to when you were in school.

34. How many times before you were 18 did the police stop you for doing something wrong or something that they suspected was wrong? If you can't remember the exact number of times, please give me an estimate. *Card 4* 8 9

INTERVIEWER: If respondent can't remember any such occasions, go to question 61, page 16.

TO RESPONDENT: Tell me about the ones you remember the best. I'm going to ask you a few questions about each and not all questions will apply to each situation. Please do your best to help me out.

35. How old were you at the time? 10 11

36. According to the police, what were you doing that attracted their attention? 12 13

37. What were you really doing? 14 15

38. Why were you doing this? 16

39. Whose idea was it, yours or somebody else's?

Respondent's idea . . . 1
Somebody else's idea . . . 2
Collective or group idea . . . 3 17
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

-12-

40. How many people were involved, including yourself? 18 19

IF MORE THAN ONE PERSON INVOLVED, ASK:

Were they the people that you usually ran around with?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0 20

How old were the others? 21 22

41. What did the police do to you?

Counsel and release with warning . . . 1
Counsel and release, notified parents . . . 2
Arrested, taken to station, released . . . 3
Arrested, taken to station, referred . . . 4 23
Traffic violation, fine . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF ARRESTED AND REFERRED, ASK:

What happened to you as a result of the police action? 24

IF MORE THAN ONE PERSON INVOLVED, ASK:

Did they do this with all of you? What did the police do to the others involved? 25

42. How did you react to the police and what they did?

Courtesy, deference . . . 1
Hostility, rebellion . . . 2
Casual or no reaction . . . 3
Obedience, compliance . . . 4 26
Fear, anxiety . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

-13-

43. What happened to you besides what we've already talked about? 27 28

44. What did your parents think about the behavior that got you into trouble with the police? 29 30

45. What did your friends think about the behavior that got you into trouble with the police? 31 32

46. What effect did this experience have on your behavior?

None, or very little . . . 1
Rebellion toward authority . . . 2
Deterrent effect on behavior . . . 3 33
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

47. Why do you think you reacted that way? What people or parts of the experience made you react that way? 34 35

SECOND INCIDENT

48. How old were you at the time? [36 37]

49. According to the police, what were you doing that attracted their attention? [38 39]

50. What were you really doing? [40 41]

51. Why were you doing this? [42]

52. Whose idea was it, yours or somebody else's?

Respondent's idea . . . 1
Somebody else's idea . . . 2
Collective or group idea . . . 3 [43]
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

53. How many people were involved, including yourself? [44 45]

IF MORE THAN ONE PERSON INVOLVED, ASK:

Were they the people that you usually ran around with?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 [46]
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

How old were the others? [47 48]

54. What did the police do to you?

Counsel and release with warning . . . 1
Counsel and release, notified parents . . . 2
Arrested, taken to station, released . . . 3
Arrested, taken to station, referred . . . 4 [49]
Traffic violation, fine . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF ARRESTED AND REFERRED, ASK:

What happened to you as a result of the police action? [50]

IF MORE THAN ONE PERSON INVOLVED, ASK:

Did they do this with all of you? What did the police do to the others involved? [51]

55. How did you react to the police and what they did?

Courtesy, deference . . . 1
Hostility, rebellion . . . 2
Casual or no reaction . . . 3
Obedience, compliance . . . 4 [52]
Fear, anxiety . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

56. What happened to you besides what we've already talked about? [53 54]

57. What did your parents think about the behavior that got you into trouble with the police? [55 56]

-16-

58. What did your friends think about the behavior that got you into trouble with the police?

_____ 57 58
_____

59. What effect did this experience have on your behavior?

None, or very little . . . 1
Rebellion toward authority . . . 2
Deterrent effect on behavior . . . 3 59
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

60. Why do you think you reacted that way? What people or parts of the experience made you react that way?

_____ 60 61
_____

INTERVIEWER: Remember that you have extra pages on which to record additional incidents.

61. Can you think of any things you used to do (before you were 18) for which you could have been caught by the police but which they never found out about?
INTERVIEWER: If NO, go to ▼ at the top of p. 20.

Card 5

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 8
Not ascertained . . . 9

IF YES:

What things did you do?

_____ 9 10 11
_____

62. How often did you (first mention)?

At least once a week . . . 1
Several times a month . . . 2
Once every 2 or 3 months . . . 3
A few times a year . . . 4 12
Only once or twice ever . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

-17-

63. How old were you when you started doing (first mention)?

_____ 13 14

64. Why did you do it?

Peer influences . . . 1
Economic reasons . . . 2
Unstructured time (including "just for fun") . . . 3
Curiosity and/or experience . . . 4 15
Testing the law . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

65. Did you do it alone or with other people?

Alone . . . 1
With others (group) . . . 2
Sometimes alone, sometimes with others . . . 3 16
With one other person . . . 4
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

66. Did anyone ever catch you?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 17
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF YES:

Who caught you?

_____ 18

What did they do?

_____ 19

67. Do you still (first mention)?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 20
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF NO:

What caused you to stop?

_____ 21 22

_____

How old were you when you stopped? 23 24

_____

SECOND MENTION

68. How often did you (second mention)?

At least once a week . . . 1
Several times a month . . . 2
Once every 2 or 3 months . . . 3
A few times a year . . . 4 25
Once once or twice ever . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

69. How old were you when you started doing (second mention)? 26 27

_____

70. Why did you do it?

Peer influences . . . 1
Economic reasons . . . 2
Unstructured time (including "just for fun") . . . 3
Curiosity and/or experience . . . 4
Testing the law . . . 5 28
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

71. Did you do it alone or with other people?

Alone . . . 1
With others (group) . . . 2
Sometimes alone, sometimes with others . . . 3
With one other person . . . 4 29
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

72. Did anyone ever catch you?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2
Not ascertained . . . 9 30
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF YES:

Who caught you?

_____ 31

What did they do?

_____ 32

73. Do you still (second mention)?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2
Not ascertained . . . 9 33
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF NO:

What caused you to stop?

_____ 34 35

_____

How old were you when you stopped?

_____ 36 37

INTERVIEWER: Remember that you have extra pages for additional incidents.

-20-

▼ TO RESPONDENT: Here is a list of things that people sometimes do that they shouldn't. The people from the University of Iowa would like to know which ones you can recall doing sometime in your life and about how many times you did them. As you can see, they have categories for when you were 13 or younger, 14 through 17, 18 through 20, and 21 and older. All they want you to do is mark in each age category the number from the list at the bottom or the page which best describes how often you did it. Of course, if you've never done these things, then simply leave the spaces blank. You do the marking and then fold the page and I will put it in my briefcase.

INTERVIEWER: If respondent seems very reluctant to do the marking, remember that you have envelopes addressed to the University of Iowa. Ask the respondent if he/she would prefer to mark the sheet and mail it directly to Iowa City.

74. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONED NO INCIDENTS, ASK:

How does it happen that you never did anything that could have attracted the attention of the police?

Parental control . . . 1
Social pressure . . . 2
Good self-concept . . . 3 38
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF RESPONDENT HAS MENTIONED INCIDENTS, ASK:

Now that you have looked back and thought about some of the things that you did that attracted, or could have attracted, the attention of the police, overall why do you think you did them?

Peer influences . . . 1
Economic reasons . . . 2
Leisure time activities . . . 3
Curiosity and/or experience . . . 4 39
Testing the law . . . 5
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

-21-

IF RESPONDENT HAS MENTIONED INCIDENTS, ASK:

75. We would like you to think of a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 is non-delinquent and 7 is highly delinquent or criminal. Choose the number which seems to best describe how you thought of yourself and how others (parents, teachers, friends, police) thought of you during each of the following age periods in your life.

Before 14:	_____	Self	40 [ ]
	_____	Parents	41 [ ]
	_____	Teachers	42 [ ]
	_____	Friends	43 [ ]
	_____	Police	44 [ ]
14-17	_____	Self	45 [ ]
	_____	Parents	46 [ ]
	_____	Teachers	47 [ ]
	_____	Friends	48 [ ]
	_____	Police	49 [ ]
18-20	_____	Self	50 [ ]
	_____	Parents	51 [ ]
	_____	Teachers	52 [ ]
	_____	Friends	53 [ ]
	_____	Police	54 [ ]

-22-

21 or +: _____ Self [55]

_____ Friends [56]

_____ Police [57]

76. How old were you when you first moved away from home and were on your own? *Card 6*

_____ [8][9]

TO RESPONDENT: Now let's talk about you as an adult.

77. What is your current marital status? Please look at this card and tell me the number of the item that describes your marital status. *INTERVIEWER: If respondent says the description isn't on the card, ask him/her to describe his/her situation.*

_____ [10][11]

IF EVER MARRIED:

How old were you when you got married?

_____ [12][13]

78. (Do you/Does your husband) have a job now?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 [14]
Not ascertained . . . 9

IF YES:

What is (your/his) present job?

Company name _____

Job title _____ [15]

What does a (job title) do? _____

_____

_____

-23-

IF NO, DOES NOT HAVE A JOB:

(Are you/Is he):

On strike . . . 1
Laid off . . . 2
Disabled . . . 3
Unemployed . . . 4 [16]
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

79. (Are you/Is your wife) employed?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 [17]
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF YES:

What is (your/her) present job?

Company name _____

Job title _____ [18]

What does a (job title) do? _____

_____

_____

80. How old were you when you got your first full time job?

_____ [19][20]

81. What was it?

_____ [21][22]

82. Have you ever been in military service?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2
Not ascertained . . . 9

IF YES:

At what age did you go into the service?

_____ [24][25]

Were you drafted or did you enlist?

Drafted . . . 1
Enlisted . . . 2 26
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

How long were you in the service?

_____ 27 28

83. How much of the time have you worked since you finished your education?

All or most of the time . . . 1
Some of the time . . . 2
Very little . . . 3
Never worked . . . 4 29
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

84. Are the kinds of work you find available to you the kinds you would really like to do?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 30
Not ascertained . . . 9

IF NO:

What kind of work would you really like to do?

_____ 31 32
_____

Why do you think (this kind/these kinds) of work (isn't/aren't) available to you?

_____ 33 34
_____

85. Approximately what was (your/your family's) income last year?

_____ 35 36 37 38 39

86. How about your closest friends since you have been an adult? Have any of them been in trouble with the police?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 40
Not ascertained . . . 9

IF YES:

Were they arrested?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 41
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Were they fined for something more serious than a traffic offense?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 42
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Were they put on probation?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 43
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Have they spent time in jail?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 44
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

Have they spent time in prison?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 45
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

CONTINUED

12 OF 13

87. Did either of your parents (to the best of your knowledge) ever do anything that could have gotten them into trouble with the police?

Yes . . . 1
No . . . 2 46
Not ascertained . . . 9
Inapplicable . . . 0

IF YES:

What kinds of things did they do?

47 48

88. Is there anything about yourself that we should know but haven't given you a chance to tell? We know that each person has important experiences that may change the direction of his or her life and we know that our questions may not have covered some of them. We would like to know if anything else was particularly important in your life that we may not have talked about.

49 50 51

TO RESPONDENT: That was the last question. Thanks for your time and patience. Do you have anything that you would like to add to any of your answers? Are there any questions that you would like to ask about the study? If I don't know the answers I can always find out and let you know later.

ID Number

INSTRUCTIONS: If you have done any of these things, please select the number from the list at the bottom of the page which best describes how often you did it. Then write that number in the space under the age heading for when you did it. You don't need to write down anything if you didn't do something at a particular age.

	Age 6-13	Age 14-17	Age 18-20	Age 21+	*CARD 7*
Did you do things like running away from home, causing trouble in school, or other things that made people think you were a problem child?	____	____	____	____	8-11
Have you ever been stopped by the police for speeding or other traffic offenses?	____	____	____	____	12-15
Did you ever drink beer, wine, or liquor before you reached the legal age?	____	____	____	____	16-19
Have you ever taken something from a store or business without paying?	____	____	____	____	20-23
Have you ever done anything like stealing a bicycle or hubcaps off cars?	____	____	____	____	24-27
Have you ever thrown things at cars, lit firecrackers, done something that "disturbed the peace," or done other things that could be considered disorderly conduct?	____	____	____	____	28-31
Have you ever intentionally destroyed, damaged, or marked up any property that would cost more than $20 to repair or replace?	____	____	____	____	32-35
Have you ever taken a car or motor vehicle without the owner's consent?	____	____	____	____	36-39
Have you ever beaten up, fought, or physically attacked another person?	____	____	____	____	40-43

Choose from these to describe how often:
1. Once or twice (very rarely)
2. Occasionally
3. Frequently
4. All the time

Please Turn the Page →

	Age 6-13	Age 14-17	Age 18-20	Age 21+	
Have you ever driven a car or motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or other drugs?	____	____	____	____	44-47
Have you ever used any kind of weapon to take something from another person?	____	____	____	____	48-51
Did the police ever stop and question you about something you were doing?	____	____	____	____	52-55
Have you ever entered a home, apartment, or building when you should not have been there?	____	____	____	____	56-59
Have you ever used any pills or drugs such as speed, downers, mushrooms, peyote, or LSD?	____	____	____	____	60-63
Have you ever carried a concealed weapon such as a gun, knife, chain, or any other object that might have been used against another person?	____	____	____	____	64-67
Have you ever used marijuana?	____	____	____	____	68-71
Have you ever been the victim of any kind of crime? If you have been a victim, what happened to you?	____	____	____	____	72-75

_____

_____

_____

_____

Choose from these to describe how often:
1. Once or twice (very rarely)
2. Occasionally
3. Frequently
4. All the time

CALL BACK RECORD

INTERVIEWER: Please fill in the abbreviation of what happened on each visit until you complete the interview.

Record **carefully** any information not covered by an abbreviation (such as a new address) or show appointment time for interview if you have to make one. Be sure to show appropriate visit number with each comment.

X = Completed interview.
NH = No one at home.
REF = Respondent refused to be interviewed.
COM = See Comments.
RNH = Respondent not at home. Usually at home .....
B = Respondent busy. Set up an appointment for .....
PART = Interview partially completed. Come back to finish .....

Call	1	2	3	4
Date				
Time				
Result				

Comments:.....

.....

.....

Call	1	2	3	4
Date				
Time				
Result				

Comments:.....

.....

.....

Call	1	2	3	4
Date				
Time				
Result				

Comments:.....

.....

.....

TO PERSON WHO ANSWERS THE DOOR:

Hello, my name is *(Name of Interviewer)* and I am helping the Urban Research Center at the The University of Iowa. They have interviewed people in Racine off and on for many years. The last time was in 1971. I am not selling anything or investigating anybody. I am just helping interview people for this research study. I am supposed to interview *(Name of Respondent)*. Are you .....? May I speak to *(him/her)*?

TO RESPONDENT:

This study is directed toward finding out what kinds of things most influence peoples' lives. Your own experiences, how you feel about them, and the ways you think these experiences have helped you make decisions are very important. While no two people ever have the same experiences all through their lives, similar kinds of things do happen to many people. This study is looking at the ways different people react to similar experiences.

Nothing that you tell me or that I write down will ever be seen by anyone except the people from The University of Iowa. The interviews are taken back to Iowa each week. They especially want you to know that they respect your privacy and that you will never be identified in anything that they publish. I won't ever tell anyone what you say. The interview will take about an hour. Do you have time to be interviewed now?

APPENDIX R

Table 1 indicates that there was not only considerable race/ethnic and sex variation in number of times that respondents reported being stopped by the police before the age of 18 but that inner city and interstitial Whites reported more contacts than did those who were socialized in outlying areas.

Tables 2 and 3 present a three-way comparison of the distribution of: (1) all contacts in the police records division for persons interviewed who mentioned having police contacts, (2) respondents' statements about what police said that they were doing at the time of contacts they mentioned, and (3) what respondents said that they were really doing.

One of the most interesting findings is that the distribution of respondents' acknowledgement of contacts for some of the more serious offenses is fairly proportionate to the distribution of these offenses in the police records of the group and the distribution of what they report the police to have accused them of. While the police records of respondents are not matched with their responses in these tables and there are in effect three different distributions, some similarities (although overall the total distributions are significantly different) are important. For example, in the 1942 Cohort, the proportion of the contacts in official records for theft was essentially the same as the proportion for what respondents said that they were really doing while the proportion in terms of what the police said they were doing was slightly less. What the police said and what respondents said produced the same percentages in auto theft. As an example in the opposite direction from theft, White males produced fewer admissions of burglary as what they

TABLE 1 . AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES THAT RESPONDENT REPORTED BEING STOPPED BY THE POLICE BEFORE THE AGE OF 18

1942 Cohort	Males	White	Black	Chicano	Females	White	Black	Chicana	Total	White	Black	Chicano
Inner City and Interstitial Areas	5.18	5.85	2.60	.50*	..49	.56	.00	.38	2.87	3.34	1.53	.40
Outlying Areas	2.83	2.83	----	----	.74	.75	.00*	----	1.64	1.65	.00*	----
Other	1.31	1.31	----	----	.41	.42	.00*	----	.84	.85	.00*	----
TOTAL	3.55	3.66	2.60	.50*	.58	.62	.00	.38	1.97	2.06	1.40	.40
1949 Cohort												
Inner City and Interstitial Areas	3.57	4.08	2.00	4.67	.45	.60	.26	.32	2.05	2.50	1.16	2.00
Outlying Areas	2.38	2.37	2.50*	2.40	.99	.98	----	3.00*	1.67	1.65	2.50*	2.50
Other	2.95	2.95	----	----	1.10	1.13	.00*	----	1.99	2.01	.00*	----
TOTAL	2.89	2.94	2.03	4.00	.49	.92	.25	.45	1.86	1.92	1.19	2.08

*Less than five persons.

TABLE 2. POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY PERCENT COMPARED WITH WHAT RESPONDENT SAID POLICE SAID HE/SHE WAS DOING AND WHAT RESPONDENT SAID HE/SHE WAS REALLY DOING, 1942 COHORT INTERVIEWED IN 1976

	MALES									FEMALES					
	White			Black			Total			White			Total		
	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really
Robbery	0.00	0.56	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.51	0.51	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Burglary	0.97	2.23	0.56	0.00	0.00	5.88	0.90	2.03	1.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Theft (Except Auto)	8.06	5.03	7.87	12.00	11.76	17.65	8.36	5.58	8.67	2.50	2.82	0.00	3.92	5.26	0.00
Auto Theft	2.26	1.68	1.69	4.00	0.00	0.00	2.39	1.52	1.53	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.92	0.00	0.00
Disorderly Conduct	26.45	18.99	15.17	12.00	11.76	5.88	25.37	18.27	14.29	7.50	9.86	9.86	13.73	10.53	10.53
Vagrancy	2.26	8.94	5.62	0.00	5.88	0.00	2.09	8.63	5.10	2.50	4.23	1.41	1.96	5.26	1.32
Liquor	4.84	6.15	10.11	4.00	5.88	0.00	4.78	6.60	9.69	12.50	4.23	7.04	9.80	3.95	6.58
Incorrigible; Runaway	8.06	6.15	6.18	4.00	5.88	5.88	7.76	6.09	6.12	7.50	4.23	5.63	9.80	3.95	6.58
Truancy	1.93	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.79	0.00	0.00	2.50	2.82	5.63	1.96	2.63	5.26
Assault	0.32	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sex Offenses	0.65	1.12	1.12	0.00	0.00	5.88	0.60	1.02	1.53	2.50	1.41	15.49	1.96	1.32	14.47
Traffic Offenses	26.45	35.75	29.21	36.00	35.29	35.29	27.16	35.53	29.59	32.50	42.25	30.99	25.49	40.79	30.26
All Other Traffic Violation	0.65	1.68	0.56	0.00	5.88	0.00	0.60	2.03	0.51	0.00	18.31	2.82	0.00	17.11	2.63
Weapons	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Gambling	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Violent Property Destruction	0.32	1.12	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	1.02	0.51	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Contact	14.52	10.06	19.10	24.00	17.65	23.53	15.22	10.66	19.39	30.00	9.86	21.12	25.49	9.21	22.36
Attempted Suicide	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.96	0.00	0.00
Not Ascertained	1.61	0.56	1.69	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.49	0.51	1.53	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
TOTAL	100.00	100.02	100.00	100.00	99.98	99.99	100.01	100.00	99.99	100.00	100.02	99.99	99.99	100.01	99.99

Chi Square Tests of Significance of Difference in Distributions.

Records X Doing	.01	ns	.01	.05	.001	
Records X Really	.05	ns	.01	ns	ns	
Doing X Really	.05	ns	.05	.01	.05	

TABLE 3a. POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY PERCENT COMPARED WITH WHAT RESPONDENT SAID POLICE SAID HE WAS DOING AND WHAT RESPONDENT SAID HE WAS REALLY DOING, 1949 COHORT INTERVIEWED IN 1976

	White			Black			Chicano			Total		
	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really
Robbery	0.36	0.00	0.00	2.35	0.00	2.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.74	0.00	0.26
Burglary	1.96	2.17	0.62	4.12	12.50	10.00	2.35	3.85	3.85	2.45	3.34	1.80
Theft (Except Auto)	10.71	7.74	5.26	14.12	17.50	22.50	4.71	0.00	0.00	10.80	8.23	6.68
Auto Theft	1.79	2.17	3.10	1.18	0.00	2.50	1.18	0.00	0.00	1.60	1.80	2.83
Disorderly Conduct	24.29	17.03	12.69	27.65	17.50	17.50	25.88	15.38	7.69	25.15	16.97	12.85
Vagrancy	1.97	7.43	5.88	0.59	5.00	2.50	8.24	7.69	11.54	2.33	7.20	5.91
Liquor	5.00	6.81	10.53	1.76	2.50	2.50	9.41	7.69	15.38	4.79	6.43	10.03
Incorrigible; Runaway	10.89	10.22	8.05	11.76	7.50	5.00	11.76	26.92	23.08	11.17	11.05	8.74
Truancy	0.36	0.93	0.62	1.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.49	0.77	0.51
Assault	0.36	0.31	0.31	1.18	2.50	0.00	2.35	0.00	0.00	0.74	0.51	0.26
Sex Offenses	0.18	0.31	1.24	2.94	2.50	0.00	0.00	3.85	0.00	0.74	0.77	1.03
Narcotics & Drugs	0.00	0.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.26	0.00
Forgery	0.18	0.62	0.31	2.35	2.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.61	0.77	0.26
Traffic Offenses	20.71	34.98	27.55	5.88	15.00	12.50	7.06	30.77	19.23	16.20	32.65	25.45
All Other Traffic Violations	0.71	1.86	0.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.85	0.00	0.49	1.80	0.51
Weapons	1.07	0.62	0.62	0.59	2.50	0.00	1.18	0.00	0.00	0.98	0.77	0.51
Fraud	0.36	0.62	0.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.51	0.51
Gambling	0.18	0.00	0.00	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00
Violent Property Destruction	0.36	0.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.26	0.00
Contact	18.04	5.57	21.36	21.18	7.50	15.00	25.88	0.00	19.23	19.51	5.40	20.56
Not Applicable	0.54	0.00	0.62	0.59	5.00	7.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.49	0.51	1.29
TOTAL	100.02	100.01	100.00	100.01	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.03	100.00	99.99

Chi Square Tests of Significance of Difference in Distributions.

Records X Doing	.001	.01	ns	.001
Records X Really	.001	ns	ns	.001
Doing X Really	.001	ns	ns	.001

TABLE 3b. POLICE CONTACT TYPE BY PERCENT COMPARED WITH WHAT RESPONDENT SAID POLICE SAID SHE WAS DOING AND WHAT RESPONDENT SAID SHE WAS REALLY DOING, 1949 COHORT INTERVIEWED IN 1976

	White			Black			Total		
	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really	Records	Doing	Really
Theft (Except Auto)	6.19	5.88	3.42	11.36	0.00	0.00	8.98	6.58	3.70
Auto Theft	0.00	0.74	0.68	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.66	0.62
Disorderly Conduct	8.85	14.71	12.33	22.73	42.86	28.57	13.77	15.79	12.96
Vagrancy	0.88	7.35	3.42	2.27	0.00	0.00	1.20	6.58	3.09
Liquor	7.97	5.88	8.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.39	5.92	8.64
Incorrigible; Runaway	15.04	12.50	11.64	38.64	14.29	28.57	20.36	13.82	14.20
Sex Offenses	2.65	2.21	19.18	2.27	0.00	0.00	2.40	1.97	17.28
Forgery	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.27	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.00
Traffic Offenses	24.78	22.06	17.81	2.27	28.57	28.57	18.56	22.37	17.90
All other Traffic Violations	0.00	22.79	4.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.39	3.70
Weapons	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.27	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.00
Fraud	0.88	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.00
Contact	30.97	5.88	18.49	13.64	14.29	14.29	25.75	5.92	17.90
Attempted Suicide	1.77	0.00	0.00	2.27	0.00	0.00	1.80	0.00	0.00
TOTAL	99.98	100.00	99.98	99.99	100.01	100.00	100.01	100.00	99.99

Chi Square Tests of Significance of Difference in Distributions.			
Records X Doing	.01	ns	.001
Records X Really	.05	ns	.001
Doing X Really	.05	ns	.001

were really doing than their own recollection of accusations of burglary by the police. Black males saw themselves as involved in burglary but none stated that the police had accused them of burglary. In the 1949 Cohort there are similar parallels for both males and females.

This, however, does not really tell us what we wished to know, i.e., did respondents perceive specific contacts the way that the police perceived them? We have shown in the text of Chapter 19 that they did see themselves very much as the police saw them.

When an attempt was made to match the descriptions of the official police contacts through the age of 17 with respondents' descriptions of contacts that they mentioned prior to age 18, it was found that the proportion of police contacts described in such a manner as to be coded into the seriousness categories was about the same as the proportion of official police contacts that were found and considered serious for males from both cohorts but that the proportion of serious contacts described by females and coded as serious was less than half of their proportion of serious official contacts. The ratio of serious to non-serious contacts with descriptions that matched and did not match was roughly similar for the males. Simply put, males described their serious and non-serious police contacts in the same way that they were seen by the police but females did not describe as large a proportion of their contacts as serious as did the police (see Tables 4a and 4b).

Tables 5 through 8, showing the interrelationship of official measures of the nature of police contact and self-report measures, have been described in Chapter 19. The reader will note, of course, that while age period to age period correlations are usually higher for the males than the females,

TABLE 4a . SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS DESCRIBED THAT WERE MATCHED WITH CONTACTS IN POLICE RECORDS COMPARED WITH SERIOUSNESS OF DESCRIBED AND RECORDED POLICE CONTACTS NOT MATCHED: 1942 COHORT

	White				Black				Chicano				Total							
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male				Female			
	C[2]	P[3]	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	%	P	%	C	%	P	%
Contacts Matched																				
Sure																				
Serious[1]	2	(2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.0	(2)	3.8	-	-	-	-
Non-Serious	58	(44)	13	(12)	7	(6)	2	(1)	-	-	-	-	65	97.0	(50)	96.2	15	100.0	(13)	100.0
Probable																				
Serious	4	(3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	14.3	(3)	12.0	-	-	-	-
Non-Serious	22	(20)	4	(4)	2	(2)	-	-	-	-	1	(1)	24	85.7	(22)	88.0	5	100.0	(5)	100.0
Contacts Not Matched																				
Described																				
Serious	5	(4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	(1)	5	4.9	(4)	5.3	1	1.8	(1)	2.2
Non-Serious	88	(66)	54	(44)	8	(5)	-	-	1	(1)	1	(1)	97	95.1	(72)	94.7	55	98.2	(45)	97.8
Official																				
Serious	10	(7)	-	-	1	(1)	-	-	-	-	3	(1)	11	4.7	(8)	11.8	3	9.7	(1)	4.8
Non-Serious	210	(56)	23	(17)	15	(4)	1	(1)	-	-	4	(2)	225	95.3	(60)	88.2	28	90.3	(20)	95.2
People																				
All Police Record Contacts Match All Contacts Described	9		8		-		1		-		-		9				9			
All Police Contacts Described Match Police Records	41		10		4		1		-		1		45				12			
Had at Least One Match of Records and Contacts Described[4]	57		15		6		1		-		1		63				17			

[1] Serious contacts consist of felonies against property (Burglary, theft, auto theft, forgery, fraud, & violent property destruction) and felonies against person (robbery, assault, sex offenses, drugs, homicide, traffic, escapee,& suicide).

[2] C = Number of contacts.

[3] P = Number of persons to whom contacts apply; persons may be in more than one category.

[4] Sure or probable matches.

TABLE 4b. SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS DESCRIBED THAT WERE MATCHED WITH CONTACTS IN POLICE RECORDS COMPARED WITH SERIOUSNESS OF DESCRIBED AND RECORDED POLICE CONTACTS NOT MATCHED: 1949 COHORT

	White				Black				Chicano				Total							
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male				Female			
	C[2]	P[3]	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	%	P	%	C	%	P	%
Contacts Matched																				
Sure																				
Serious	8	(7)	-	-	1	(1)	-	-	1	(1)	-	-	10	6.1	(9)	8.0	-	-	-	-
Non-Serious	125	(88)	27	(21)	18	(10)	3	(3)	11	(6)	5	(3)	154	93.9	(104)	92.0	35	100.0	(27)	100.0
Probable																				
Serious	1	(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.8	(1)	2.1	-	-	-	-
Non-Serious	39	(36)	16	(16)	8	(7)	-	-	7	(4)	-	-	54	98.2	(47)	97.9	16	100.0	(16)	100.0
Contacts Not Matched																				
Described																				
Serious	8	(8)	1	(1)	4	(3)	-	-	1	(1)	-	-	13	7.7	(12)	9.7	1	0.9	(1)	1.1
Non-Serious	144	(104)	102	(82)	6	(4)	4	(3)	6	(4)	4	(4)	156	92.3	(112)	90.3	110	99.1	(89)	98.9
Official																				
Serious	19	(14)	2	(2)	14	(6)	-	-	3	(3)	-	-	36	6.1	(21)	14.0	2	2.1	(2)	3.9
Non-Serious	358	(101)	68	(37)	129	(18)	20	(8)	66	(10)	5	(4)	553	93.9	(129)	86.0	93	97.9	(49)	96.1
People																				
All Police Record Contacts Match All Contacts Described	13		9		1		-		2		2		16				11			
All Police Contacts Described Match Police Contacts	73		21		14		2		9		2		96				25			
Had at Least One Match of Records and Contacts Described[4]	109		35		15		3		9		3		133				41			

[1] Serious contacts consist of felonies against property (Burglary, theft, auto theft, forgery, fraud, & violent property destruction) and felonies against person (robbery, assault, sex offenses, drugs, homicide, traffic, escapee, & suicide).

[2] C = Number of contacts.

[3] P = Number of persons to whom contacts apply; persons may be in more than one category.

[4] Sure or probable matches.

TABLE 5. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS DEVELOPED FROM POLICE CONTACT AND SELF-REPORT DATA: MALES INTERVIEWED FROM 1942 COHORT

	A613	A1417	JUVENILE	EIGHTEEN	ADULT	CONTACTS	GEOJUV	GEO18	GEOADULT	GEOTOTAL	JUVXN	EIGHTXN	ADULTXN	TOTALXN	GEO613	GEO1417	GEO1820	GEO21	TS613XN	TS1417XN	TS1820XN	TS21XN
	(Number of Contacts)						(Geometric Score)				(Type-Seriousness)				(Geometric: Self-Report)				(Type-Seriousness: Self-Report)			
A613	1.00																					
A1417	.48	1.00																				
JUVENILE	.65	.98	1.00																			
EIGHTEEN	.13	.53	.49	1.00																		
ADULT	.02	.32	.28	.52	1.00																	
CONTACTS	.31	.72	.70	.77	.86	1.00																
GEOJUV	.48	.78	.79	.43	.35	.64	1.00															
GEO18	.18	.40	.39	.56	.49	.60	.30	1.00														
GEOADULT	.07	.31	.28	.40	.72	.66	.34	.46	1.00													
GEOTOTAL	.29	.58	.57	.53	.63	.75	.72	.67	.78	1.00												
JUVXN	.65	.95	.98	.47	.30	.70	.83	.38	.31	.59	1.00											
EIGHTXN	.19	.56	.53	.95	.53	.78	.47	.69	.44	.61	.51	1.00										
ADULTXN	.03	.32	.28	.51	.98	.84	.36	.48	.79	.67	.31	.53	1.00									
TOTALXN	.33	.71	.70	.73	.84	.98	.67	.61	.71	.79	.72	.77	.86	1.00								
GEO613	.20	.25	.26	-.09	-.05	.05	.10	-.02	-.10	-.03	.21	-.07	-.08	.02	1.00							
GEO1417	.05	.31	.28	.11	.11	.21	.24	.03	.13	.18	.25	.16	.09	.19	.36	1.00						
GEO1820	-.05	.08	.06	.14	.16	.16	.08	.17	.12	.13	.06	.17	.12	.14	.11	.36	1.00					
GEO21	-.10	.04	.01	.17	.25	.21	.13	.04	.20	.19	.01	.15	.22	.17	.12	.24	.59	1.00				
TS613XN	.14	.23	.23	-.08	-.02	.06	.11	-.04	-.05	.01	.18	-.06	-.05	.03	.72	.35	.32	.34	1.00			
TS1417XN	-.00	.27	.23	.05	.03	.12	.15	-.01	.01	.06	.18	.06	.00	.09	.41	.77	.47	.32	.63	1.00		
TS1820XN	-.09	.04	.01	.06	.09	.08	.04	.02	.01	.01	.02	.07	.05	.05	.25	.34	.78	.60	.59	.62	1.00	
TS21XN	-.11	.04	.01	.12	.23	.18	.11	.02	.23	.19	.01	.12	.21	.16	.71	.28	.51	.82	.57	.47	.74	1.00

TABLE 6. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS DEVELOPED FROM POLICE CONTACT AND SELF-REPORT DATA: FEMALES INTERVIEWED FROM 1942 COHORT

	A613	A1417	JUVENILE	EIGHTEEN	ADULT	CONTACTS	GEOJUV	GEO18	GEOADULT	GEOTOTAL	JUVXN	EIGHTXN	ADULTXN	TOTALXN	GEO613	GEO1417	GEO1820	GEO21	TS613XN	TS1417XN	TS1820XN	TS21XN
	(Number of Contacts)						(Geometric Score)				(Type-Seriousness)				(Geometric: Self-Report)				(Type-Seriousness: Self-Report)			
A613	1.00																					
A1417	.23	1.00																				
JUVENILE	.42	.98	1.00																			
EIGHTEEN	.59	.42	.51	1.00																		
ADULT	.07	.21	.21	.20	1.00																	
CONTACTS	.34	.56	.60	.58	.88	1.00																
GEOJUV	.83	.53	.66	.64	.20	.53	1.00															
GEO18	.08	.06	.07	.32	.12	.20	.08	1.00														
GEOADULT	-.01	.09	.08	.04	.58	.48	.11	.34	1.00													
GEOTOTAL	.50	.33	.41	.48	.43	.58	.65	.56	.72	1.00												
JUVXN	.61	.84	.91	.59	.24	.62	.87	.09	.13	.56	1.00											
EIGHTXN	.63	.37	.48	.93	.22	.56	.67	.55	.14	.63	.59	1.00										
ADULTXN	.01	.22	.21	.15	.97	.84	.19	.12	.65	.46	.25	.18	1.00									
TOTALXN	.33	.50	.54	.51	.88	.96	.56	.25	.57	.66	.62	.54	.89	1.00								
GEO613	.06	-.03	-.01	.01	-.08	-.06	.06	.03	.03	.06	.01	.04	-.09	-.06	1.00							
GEO1417	.17	.36	.37	.21	.03	.19	.27	.00	-.01	.13	.34	.18	.04	.17	.26	1.00						
GEO1820	.11	.05	.07	.07	.05	.08	.13	.06	.02	.10	.14	.11	.05	.11	.34	.41	1.00					
GEO21	.01	-.07	-.06	-.03	-.01	-.04	-.10	.24	.01	.03	-.09	.06	-.04	-.04	.16	.24	.38	1.00				
TS613XN	.05	-.04	-.03	-.02	-.08	-.07	.05	.01	.02	.04	.01	.01	-.08	-.06	.92	.31	.45	.26	1.00			
TS1417XN	.07	.41	.40	.18	.06	.22	.19	.04	.06	.13	.32	.15	.09	.19	.29	.88	.50	.34	.37	1.00		
TS1820XN	.10	.02	.04	.05	.01	.03	.11	.06	.01	.08	.09	.09	.01	.06	.32	.40	.90	.43	.44	.52	1.00	
TS21XN	-.01	-.07	-.07	-.03	-.01	-.03	-.09	.29	.04	.07	-.09	.06	-.01	-.02	.24	.28	.48	.91	.34	.39	.51	1.00

TABLE 7. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS DEVELOPED FROM POLICE CONTACTS AND SELF-REPORT DATA: MALES INTERVIEWED FROM 1949 COHORT

	A613	A1417	JUVENILE	EIGHTEEN	ADULT	CONTACTS	GEOJUV	GEO18	GEOADULT	GEOTOTAL	JUVXN	EIGHTXN	ADULTXN	TOTALXN	GEO613	GEO1417	GEO1820	GEO21	TS613XN	TS1417XN	TS1820XN	TS21XN
	(Number of Contacts)						(Geometric Score)				(Type-Seriousness)				(Geometric: Self-Report)				(Type-Seriousness: Self-Report)			
A613	1.00																					
A1417	.46	1.00																				
JUVENILE	.68	.96	1.00																			
EIGHTEEN	.49	.54	.59	1.00																		
ADULT	.36	.51	.53	.72	1.00																	
CONTACTS	.62	.82	.87	.86	.85	1.00																
GEOJUV	.48	.65	.68	.34	.37	.58	1.00															
GEO18	.27	.41	.42	.82	.62	.68	.32	1.00														
GEOADULT	.25	.48	.47	.57	.78	.70	.47	.47	1.00													
GEOTOTAL	.45	.65	.67	.66	.65	.77	.80	.67	.76	1.00												
JUVXN	.68	.95	.99	.58	.51	.85	.73	.42	.46	.69	1.00											
EIGHTXN	.48	.52	.57	.98	.73	.85	.33	.88	.58	.67	.56	1.00										
ADULTXN	.33	.49	.50	.70	.98	.83	.39	.63	.83	.68	.49	.73	1.00									
TOTALXN	.60	.81	.85	.84	.86	.99	.61	.71	.73	.81	.84	.85	.85	1.00								
GEO613	.19	.19	.21	.02	.09	.14	.16	.01	.06	.11	.22	.02	.08	.15	1.00							
GEO1417	.22	.31	.33	.24	.16	.29	.23	.24	.17	.28	.33	.26	.15	.30	.32	1.00						
GEO1820	.21	.23	.26	.32	.25	.31	.16	.29	.21	.29	.26	.32	.23	.31	.24	.52	1.00					
GEO21	.20	.21	.24	.29	.26	.30	.09	.28	.22	.25	.23	.31	.27	.31	.18	.31	.47	1.00				
TS613XN	.13	.12	.14	.05	.06	.11	.10	.04	.07	.10	.14	.05	.07	.11	.76	.29	.26	.24	1.00			
TS1417XN	.22	.30	.31	.21	.16	.27	.21	.22	.19	.27	.33	.23	.15	.28	.36	.81	.53	.36	.43	1.00		
TS1820XN	.22	.24	.26	.34	.21	.30	.17	.30	.22	.31	.27	.33	.19	.30	.22	.49	.81	.48	.36	.64	1.00	
TS21XN	.22	.25	.27	.32	.30	.34	.13	.31	.23	.30	.27	.33	.29	.34	.19	.35	.53	.79	.38	.48	.71	1.00

TABLE 8. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREERS DEVELOPED FROM POLICE CONTACT AND SELF-REPORT DATA: FEMALES INTERVIEWED FROM 1949 COHORT

	A613	A1417	JUVENILE	EIGHTEEN	ADULT	CONTACTS	GEOJUV	GEO18	GEOADULT	GEOTOTAL	JUVXN	EIGHTXN	ADULTXN	TOTALXN	GEO613	GEO1417	GEO1820	GEO21	TS613XN	TS1417XN	TS1820XN	TS21XN
	(Number of Contacts)						(Geometric Score)				(Type-Seriousness)				(Geometric: Self-Report)				(Type-Seriousness: Self-Report)			
A613	1.00																					
A1417	.44	1.00																				
JUVENILE	.68	.96	1.00																			
EIGHTEEN	.28	.47	.47	1.00																		
ADULT	.31	.52	.52	.87	1.00																	
CONTACTS	.44	.69	.71	.93	.95	1.00																
GEOJUV	.56	.70	.75	.14	.15	.33	1.00															
GEO18	.08	.18	.17	.41	.21	.31	.15	1.00														
GEOADULT	.19	.37	.36	.52	.70	.63	.15	.12	1.00													
GEOTOTAL	.43	.64	.66	.44	.45	.57	.73	.52	.64	1.00												
JUVXN	.70	.91	.96	.48	.51	.69	.81	.20	.36	.71	1.00											
EIGHTXN	.27	.49	.49	.99	.87	.93	.13	.41	.52	.44	.49	1.00										
ADULTXN	.30	.51	.51	.85	.99	.93	.15	.20	.77	.48	.51	.86	1.00									
TOTALXN	.43	.67	.69	.92	.95	.99	.33	.31	.66	.59	.69	.94	.95	1.00								
GEO613	-.00	.04	.03	.04	-.03	.02	.03	.13	.02	.08	.03	.04	-.01	.02	1.00							
GEO1417	.12	.22	.22	.04	.07	.15	.16	.17	.07	.21	.20	.09	.05	.15	.27	1.00						
GEO1820	-.00	.11	.09	-.03	-.05	.01	.22	-.05	.02	.15	.12	-.03	-.06	.01	.10	.23	1.00					
GEO21	.07	.04	.06	-.03	-.01	.01	.02	.01	.04	.05	.05	-.04	-.01	.00	.13	.21	.36	1.00				
TS613XN	.00	.02	.02	.01	-.04	-.00	.02	.08	-.00	.04	.02	.02	-.03	.00	.85	.22	.09	.08	1.00			
TS1417XN	.11	.29	.28	.04	.06	.17	.21	.15	.12	.27	.27	.08	.06	.18	.26	.90	.27	.28	.21	1.00		
TS1820XN	.01	.10	.09	.02	-.01	.04	.17	-.03	.06	.14	.10	-.01	-.02	.03	.15	.28	.89	.38	.12	.32	1.00	
TS21XN	.09	.05	.07	.02	.00	.04	.05	.03	.06	.09	.06	.01	.00	.03	.16	.28	.38	.88	.10	.30	.43	1.00

there are instances where the opposite is the case and other instances where two different measures for the same period are more highly correlated for females than for males.

Tables 9 through 12 present the Pearsonian coefficients of correlation between the self-concept variables and the self-report measure of seriousness, seriousness scores for police contacts, number of referrals, and severity of sanctions.

The general symmetry of the pattern of correlations found for the 6-17 age period declines when self-report and other measures of delinquency for the 6-17 period are related to self-concept measures for the 18-20 and 21 and older age periods. They are markedly lower, of course, for we would not expect the 6-17 period's behavior (official or self-report) to be as highly correlated with self-concept at a later period. But while self-report and official measures of crime during the 18-20 period had their highest correlations with self-concept measures for that period for the 1949 Cohort and lower correlations with the earlier and later self-concept measures, the 1942 Cohort did not produce such clear-cut differences with the 18-20 age period measures, trading ranks from variable to variable. Similar inconsistencies were found when self-report and official measures of crime for the period 21 and over were compared with each of the self-concept measures for each age period.

Considering the retrospective nature of the self-concept and self-report data and the fact that respondents had been discussing their police contacts, referrals, court experiences, and how people responded to them during the interview, it is not surprising that these relatively modest correlations did

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-CONCEPT AND HOW RESPONDENTS BELIEVED OTHERS PERCEIVED THEM BY SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, NUMBER OF REFERRALS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS: 1942 COHORT MALES*

Measures of Delinquency and Crime:	Ages 6-17				Ages 18-20			Ages 21 or +	
	Self	Parents	Teachers	Friends	Self	Parents	Friends	Self	Friends
Ages 6-17:									
Self-report Seriousness	.382*	.406*	.360*	.416*	.121	.142	.136	.168*	.195*
Official Seriousness	.403*	.381*	.280*	.269*	.130	.118	.054	.023	-.006
Number of Referrals	.317*	.301*	.222*	.211*	.167*	.081	.049	.060	.094
Ages 18-20:									
Self-report Seriousness	.180*	.240*	.127	.232*	.298*	.191*	.312*	.070	.138
Official Seriousness	.380*	.320*	.248*	.244*	.302*	.258*	.272*	-.016	-.004
Number of Referrals	.309*	.300*	.221*	.214*	.302*	.269*	.317*	.029	.012
Severity of Sanctions	.263*	.129	.106	.138	.240*	.129	.213*	-.081	-.037
Ages 21 or +:									
Self-report Seriousness	.079	.152	.051	.142	.119	.052	.091	.392*	.132
Official Seriousness	.251*	.222*	.153	.190*	.137	.197*	.101	.211*	.104
Number of Referrals	.107	.137	.074	.073	.059	.112	.048	.298*	.117
Severity of Sanctions	.262*	.152	.106	.118	.147	.159*	.067	.020	-.009

* Pearsonian coefficients of correlation significant at .05 level or greater.

TABLE 10. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-CONCEPT AND HOW RESPONDENTS BELIEVED OTHERS PERCEIVED THEM BY SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, NUMBER OF REFERRALS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS: 1949 COHORT MALES*

Measures of Delinquency and Crime:	Ages 6-17				Ages 18-20			Ages 21 or +	
	Self	Parents	Teachers	Friends	Self	Parents	Friends	Self	Friends
Ages 6-17:									
Self-report Seriousness	.364*	.307*	.384*	.327*	.108	.140*	.072	.161*	.081
Official Seriousness	.191*	.218*	.274*	.190*	.158*	.190*	.114	.086	.046
Number of Referrals	.173*	.184*	.243*	.115	.147*	.163*	.102	.075	.033
Severity of Sanctions	.120*	.103	.111	.011	.085	.074	.019	.028	-.067
Ages 18-20:									
Self-report Seriousness	.218*	.177*	.217*	.254*	.273*	.253*	.214*	.197*	.106
Official Seriousness	.122*	.136*	.255*	.106	.336*	.407*	.183*	.221*	.122*
Number of Referrals	.130*	.156*	.239*	.145*	.331*	.438*	.197*	.215*	.162*
Severity of Sanctions	.091	.131*	.191*	.067	.257*	.335*	.162*	.102	.150*
Ages 21 or +:									
Self-report Seriousness	.113	.123*	.237*	.147*	.240*	.240*	.212*	.315*	.225*
Official Seriousness	.031	.056	.136*	.017	.231*	.294*	.093	.194*	.116
Number of Referrals	.012	.041	.100	.004	.224*	.319*	.100	.207*	.127*
Severity of Sanctions	.085	.141*	.129*	.031	.087	.135*	.003	.098	.019

* Pearsonian coefficients of correlation significant at .05 level or greater.

TABLE 11. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-CONCEPT AND HOW RESPONDENTS BELIEVED OTHERS PERCEIVED THEM BY SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, NUMBER OF REFERRALS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS: 1942 COHORT FEMALES*

Measures of Delinquency and Crime:	Ages 6-17				Ages 18-20			Ages 21 or +	
	Self	Parents	Teachers	Friends	Self	Parents	Friends	Self	Friends
Ages 6-17:									
Self-report Seriousness	.216*	.193*	.146	.221*	.079	.129	.059	.067	.100
Official Seriousness	.141	.077	.113	.343*	.015	.064	-.081	.208*	.098
Ages 18-20:									
Self-report Seriousness	.016	.072	-.004	-.006	.079	.016	-.025	.043	.030
Official Seriousness	.018	-.022	.133	.222*	.004	-.011	.009	.104	.091
Ages 21 or +:									
Self-report Seriousness	-.012	-.018	.055	.015	.073	.051	.053	.005	.021
Official Seriousness	.213*	.149	.205*	.177*	-.095	-.055	-.038	.399*	.252*

* Pearsonian coefficients of correlation significant at .05 level or greater.

TABLE 12. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-CONCEPT AND HOW RESPONDENTS BELIEVED OTHERS PERCEIVED THEM BY SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, NUMBER OF REFERRALS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS: 1949 COHORT FEMALES*

Measures of Delinquency and Crime:	Ages 6-17				Ages 18-20			Ages 21 or +	
	Self	Parents	Teachers	Friends	Self	Parents	Friends	Self	Friends
Ages 6-17:									
Self-report Seriousness	.366*	.382*	.243*	.248*	.153*	.178*	.071	.092	.037
Official Seriousness	.180*	.174*	.184*	.085	.119	.080	.117	.108	.114
Number of Referrals	.083	.106	.116	.049	.046	.002	.058	.064	.085
Ages 18-20:									
Self-report Seriousness	.197*	.138*	.084	.160*	.354*	.355*	.240*	.144*	.144*
Official Seriousness	.006	.066	.132*	.077	.033	.077	.071	-.006	.020
Ages 21 or +:									
Self-report Seriousness	.119	.005	-.026	.136*	-.008	.076	-.027	.297*	.199*
Official Seriousness	-.009	.072	.137*	.041	-.053	.028	.068	.014	-.016

* Pearsonian coefficients of correlation significant at .05 level or greater.

not present a more consistent pattern. At the same time it is also interesting to note that the analysis was made even more complex when we compared self-concept measures for a given period with the measures of delinquency and crime for each other age period. Here we found the patterned decline that would be expected, i.e., the further from the self-concept period, the lower the correlations. While the pattern was not perfect in every case for both cohorts, there was an overall symmetry much more in accordance with expectations than was produced when self-report and official measures of seriousness were viewed as independent variables.

The relatively low correlations for females make it even less likely that the patterns of correlations between self-reports and official measures and various self-concept measures will decline in a more or less regular fashion from that found for self-concept and self-report to that found for friends' concept and severity of sanctions. What we find is that there are too few statistically significant correlations to pursue the comparison for females.

Table 13 presents the mean self-concept measures for the age period 6-17 with controls for official seriousness and place of socialization, revealing very little variation by area of socialization but considerable variation by official seriousness. Table 14 reveals that respondents' self-concept as delinquent is correlated with self-report seriousness with controls for official seriousness and place of socialization but that there is no pattern which leads to further understanding of how self-concept varies beyond the variation which could be attributed to one's perception of one's own behavior, with the possibility of some self-labelling as a reaction to official definitions of oneself.

TABLE 13. AVERAGE SELF-CONCEPT AND PERCEPTION OF HOW OTHERS PERCEIVED THEM AS JUVENILES BY SERIOUSNESS OF JUVENILE CAREER AND PLACE OF SOCIALIZATION

	Self-Concept	Parents' Concept	Teachers' Concept	Friends' Concept
1942 Cohort				
No Contacts				
Inner City	1.55(56)	1.43(56)	1.45(56)	1.70(55)
Outer Areas	1.45(75)	1.38(75)	1.31(75)	1.43(75)
Seriousness 1-6				
Inner City	1.48(33)	1.29(33)	1.76(33)	1.56(33)
Outer Areas	1.89(32)	1.67(32)	1.61(32)	2.08(32)
Seriousness 7 or +				
Inner City	2.57(27)	2.36(26)	2.40(26)	2.72(27)
Outer Areas	2.69(13)	2.29(12)	2.83(12)	2.83(12)
1949 Cohort				
No Contacts				
Inner City	1.56(86)	1.58(85)	1.61(85)	1.56(86)
Outer Areas	1.56(131)	1.53(131)	1.52(131)	1.64(131)
Seriousness 1-6				
Inner City	1.88(47)	1.71(47)	1.89(47)	1.90(46)
Outer Areas	1.90(82)	1.82(83)	1.75(83)	1.98(84)
Seriousness 7 or +				
Inner City	2.33(47)	2.19(47)	2.51(48)	2.31(48)
Outer Areas	2.23(44)	2.45(44)	2.79(44)	2.48(44)
1942 Cohort				
Total Inner City	1.77(116)	1.60(115)	1.75(115)	1.90(115)
Total Outer Areas	1.70(120)	1.55(119)	1.55(119)	1.75(119)
1949 Cohort				
Total Inner City	1.84(180)	1.78(179)	1.92(180)	1.85(180)
Total Outer Areas	1.78(257)	1.78(258)	1.81(258)	1.89(259)

TABLE 14. RELATIONSHIP OF DELINQUENT SELF-CONCEPT TO AREA OF SOCIALIZATION, OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, AND SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS

	Delinquent Self-Concept Age 6-17	
	1942	1949
Area of Socialization*	-.0373	-.0315
Official Seriousness	.4397	.2384
Self-report Seriousness		
No Contacts		
Inner City	.4074	.3290
Outer Areas	.4049	.3135
Seriousness 1-6		
Inner City	.0956	.3705
Outer Areas	.4903	.3848
Seriousness 7 or +		
Inner City	.3094	.3300
Outer Areas	.4552	.3662

*Interpreted as delinquent self-concept associated with inner city area of socialization

APPENDIX S

Although mention was made of these tables in Chapter 20 they are included here for the reader who may wish to examine sex differences more carefully. The relatively few females from the 1942 Cohort who committed serious offenses at the age of 18 or later makes few comparisons possible. Yet, it is very clear that even among that group of females who were stopped by the police before 18 and who did things for which they were not caught before 18, there was practically no relationship between pre-18 and 18 and after police contact records regardless of the level of seriousness selected. Also, over half of the males in this group had contacts before and after age 18 while only about 20% of the females did so. Similarly, well over one half of the 1949 Cohort males from this category had contacts before and after age 18 but again only about 20% of the females did so.

It is interesting, in the same way, to note that there were very few males from either the 1942 or 1949 Cohorts who had neither been stopped nor admitted behavior for which they could have been caught prior to 18 and that practically none of these had officially recorded contacts before and after that age but that there were more females in this than any of the other categories for both the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts with about 10% of them having official records before and after 18, as did the males. Thus, while there were few males in this category and many females (less than 10% vs. around 30%) about the same proportion of each group had careers which commenced during the juvenile period and continued into adulthood.

Other comparisons may be made but each only accentuates the fact that females simply do not fall into the categories which are most likely to be predictive of continuity between juvenile and adult careers.

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : 1942 COHORT MALES

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)	6 (85.7)
Yes	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	1 (14.3)
Total	3 (42.9)	4 (57.1)	7 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3536 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .5000

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	6 (85.7)
Yes	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	1 (14.3)
Total	5 (71.4)	2 (28.6)	7 (100.0)

Pearson's R .6455 Lambda .5000
Somers' D .8333

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	5 (29.4)	12 (70.6)	17 (58.6)
Yes	2 (16.7)	10 (83.3)	12 (41.4)
Total	7 (24.1)	22 (75.9)	29 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1467 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1275

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	13 (76.5)	4 (23.5)	17 (58.6)
Yes	5 (41.7)	7 (58.3)	12 (41.4)
Total	18 (62.1)	11 (37.9)	29 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3533 Lambda .1818
Somers' D .3480

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	2 (20.0)	8 (80.0)	10 (47.6)
Yes	4 (36.4)	7 (63.6)	11 (52.4)
Total	6 (28.6)	15 (71.4)	21 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.1809 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.1636

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	6 (60.0)	4 (40.0)	10 (47.6)
Yes	7 (63.6)	4 (36.4)	11 (52.4)
Total	13 (61.9)	8 (38.1)	21 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0374 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0364

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	12 (35.3)	22 (64.7)	34 (36.2)
Yes	11 (18.3)	49 (81.7)	60 (63.8)
Total	23 (24.5)	71 (75.5)	94 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1896 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1696

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	22 (64.7)	12 (35.3)	34 (36.2)
Yes	26 (43.3)	34 (56.7)	60 (63.8)
Total	48 (51.1)	46 (48.9)	94 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2054 Lambda .1739
Somers' D .2137

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : 1942 COHORT MALES

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Felonies Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	6 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (85.7)
Yes	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	1 (14.3)
Total	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)	7 (100.0)

Pearson's R 1.0000 Lambda 1.0000
Somers' D 1.0000

Felonies or Major Misdemeanors Age 18 or

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	6 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (85.7)
Yes	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	1 (14.3)
Total	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)	7 (100.0)

Pearson's R 1.0000 Lambda 1.0000
Somers' D 1.0000

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	17 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	17 (58.6)
Yes	12 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	12 (41.4)
Total	29 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	29 (100.0)

Pearson's R --- Lambda ---
Somers' D ---

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	16 (94.1)	1 (5.9)	17 (58.6)
Yes	11 (91.7)	1 (8.3)	12 (41.4)
Total	27 (93.1)	2 (6.9)	29 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0476 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0245

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	10 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	10 (47.6)
Yes	9 (81.8)	2 (18.2)	11 (52.4)
Total	19 (90.5)	2 (9.5)	21 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3093 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1818

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	10 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	10 (47.6)
Yes	8 (72.7)	3 (27.3)	11 (52.4)
Total	18 (85.7)	3 (14.3)	21 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3893 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .2727

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	33 (97.1)	1 (2.9)	34 (36.2)
Yes	56 (93.3)	4 (6.7)	60 (63.8)
Total	89 (94.7)	5 (5.3)	94 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0798 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0373

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	32 (94.1)	2 (5.9)	34 (36.2)
Yes	51 (85.0)	9 (15.0)	60 (63.8)
Total	83 (88.3)	11 (11.7)	94 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1363 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0912

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 TO POLICE CONTACT AGES 18+ : 1949 COHORT MALES

Before Age 18

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	4 (33.3)	8 (66.7)	12 (70.6)
Yes	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (29.4)
Total	7 (41.2)	10 (58.8)	17 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.2469 Lambda .1429
Somers' D -.2667

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	11 (45.8)	13 (54.2)	24 (53.3)
Yes	1 (4.8)	20 (95.2)	21 (46.7)
Total	12 (26.7)	33 (73.3)	45 (100.0)

Pearson's R .4634 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .4107

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	8 (61.5)	5 (38.5)	13 (38.2)
Yes	8 (38.1)	13 (61.9)	21 (61.8)
Total	16 (47.1)	18 (52.9)	34 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2283 Lambda .1875
Somers' D .2344

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	20 (39.2)	31 (60.8)	51 (28.2)
Yes	22 (16.9)	108 (83.1)	130 (71.8)
Total	42 (23.2)	139 (76.8)	181 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2376 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .2229

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	9 (75.0)	3 (25.0)	12 (70.6)
Yes	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (29.4)
Total	13 (76.5)	4 (23.5)	17 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0537 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0500

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	16 (66.7)	8 (33.3)	24 (53.3)
Yes	8 (38.1)	13 (61.9)	21 (46.7)
Total	24 (53.3)	21 (46.7)	45 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2857 Lambda .2381
Somers' D .2857

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	13 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	13 (38.2)
Yes	12 (57.1)	9 (42.9)	21 (61.8)
Total	25 (73.5)	9 (26.5)	34 (100.0)

Pearson's R .4721 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .4286

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	35 (68.6)	16 (31.4)	51 (28.2)
Yes	48 (36.9)	82 (63.1)	130 (71.8)
Total	83 (45.9)	98 (54.1)	181 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2862 Lambda .2289
Somers' D .3170

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : 1949 COHORT MALES

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Felonies Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	11 (91.7)	1 (8.3)	12 (70.6)
Yes	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (29.4)
Total	16 (94.1)	1 (5.9)	17 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.1614 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0833

Felonies or Major Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	11 (91.7)	1 (8.3)	12 (70.6)
Yes	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (29.4)
Total	16 (94.1)	1 (5.9)	17 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.1614 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0833

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	23 (95.8)	1 (4.2)	24 (53.3)
Yes	20 (95.2)	1 (4.8)	21 (46.7)
Total	43 (95.6)	2 (4.4)	45 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0144 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0060

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	23 (95.8)	1 (4.2)	24 (53.3)
Yes	19 (90.5)	2 (9.5)	21 (46.7)
Total	42 (93.3)	3 (6.7)	45 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1071 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0536

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	13 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	13 (38.2)
Yes	18 (85.7)	3 (14.3)	21 (61.8)
Total	31 (91.2)	3 (8.8)	34 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2448 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1429

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	13 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	13 (38.2)
Yes	18 (85.7)	3 (14.3)	21 (61.8)
Total	31 (91.2)	3 (8.8)	34 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2448 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1429

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	48 (94.1)	3 (5.9)	51 (28.2)
Yes	116 (89.2)	14 (10.8)	130 (71.8)
Total	164 (90.6)	17 (9.4)	181 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0754 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0489

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	47 (92.2)	4 (7.8)	51 (28.2)
Yes	103 (79.2)	27 (20.8)	130 (71.8)
Total	150 (82.9)	31 (17.1)	181 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1544 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1293

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : 1942 COHORT FEMALES

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	32 (58.2)	23 (41.9)	55 (85.7)
Yes	0 (0.0)	7 (100.0)	7 (11.3)
Total	32 (51.6)	30 (48.4)	62 (100.0)

Pearson's R .3684 Lambda .2333
Somers' D .5818

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	45 (81.8)	10 (18.2)	55 (88.7)
Yes	3 (42.9)	4 (57.1)	7 (11.3)
Total	48 (77.4)	14 (22.6)	62 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2949 Lambda .0714
Somers' D .3896

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	30 (61.2)	19 (38.8)	49 (89.1)
Yes	4 (66.7)	2 (33.3)	6 (10.9)
Total	34 (61.8)	21 (38.2)	55 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0349 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0544

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	40 (81.6)	9 (18.4)	49 (89.1)
Yes	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	6 (10.9)
Total	45 (81.8)	10 (18.2)	55 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0137 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0170

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	10 (55.6)	8 (44.4)	18 (85.7)
Yes	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	3 (14.3)
Total	11 (52.4)	10 (47.6)	21 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1557 Lambda .1000
Somers' D .2222

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	15 (83.3)	3 (16.7)	18 (85.7)
Yes	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	3 (14.3)
Total	17 (81.0)	4 (19.0)	21 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1485 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1667

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	12 (57.1)	9 (42.9)	21 (55.3)
Yes	9 (52.9)	8 (47.1)	17 (44.7)
Total	21 (55.3)	17 (44.7)	38 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0420 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0420

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	17 (81.0)	4 (19.0)	21 (55.3)
Yes	12 (70.6)	5 (29.4)	17 (44.7)
Total	29 (76.3)	9 (23.7)	38 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1212 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1036

TABLE 6. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : 1942 COHORT FEMALES

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Felonies Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	55 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	55 (88.7)
Yes	7 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (11.3)
Total	62 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	62 (100.0)

Pearson's R --- Lambda ---
Somers' D ---

Felonies or Major Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	54 (98.2)	1 (1.8)	55 (88.7)
Yes	7 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (11.3)
Total	61 (98.4)	1 (1.6)	62 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0457 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0182

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	47 (95.9)	2 (4.1)	49 (89.1)
Yes	6 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (10.9)
Total	53 (96.4)	2 (3.6)	55 (100.0)

Pearson's -.0680 Lambda .0000
Somers' -.0408

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	47 (95.9)	2 (4.1)	49 (89.1)
Yes	6 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (10.9)
Total	53 (96.4)	2 (3.6)	55 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0680 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0408

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	18 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	18 (85.7)
Yes	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	3 (14.3)
Total	20 (95.2)	1 (4.8)	21 (100.0)

Pearson's R .5478 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .3333

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	18 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	18 (85.7)
Yes	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	3 (14.3)
Total	20 (95.2)	1 (4.8)	21 (100.0)

Pearson's R .5477 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .3333

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	20 (95.2)	1 (4.8)	21 (55.3)
Yes	16 (94.1)	1 (5.9)	17 (44.7)
Total	36 (94.7)	2 (5.3)	38 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0249 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0112

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	19 (90.5)	2 (9.5)	21 (55.3)
Yes	16 (94.1)	1 (5.9)	17 (44.7)
Total	35 (92.1)	3 (7.9)	38 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0671 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0364

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : 1949 COHORT FEMALES

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	45 (67.2)	22 (32.8)	67 (83.8)
Yes	5 (38.5)	8 (61.5)	13 (16.3)
Total	50 (62.5)	30 (37.5)	80 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2187 Lambda .1000
Somers' D .2870

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	58 (86.6)	9 (13.4)	67 (83.8)
Yes	9 (69.2)	4 (30.8)	13 (16.3)
Total	67 (83.8)	13 (16.3)	80 (100.1)

Pearson's R .1734 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1734

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	40 (64.5)	22 (35.5)	62 (75.6)
Yes	12 (60.0)	8 (40.0)	20 (24.4)
Total	52 (63.4)	30 (36.6)	82 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0403 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0452

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	54 (87.1)	8 (12.9)	62 (75.6)
Yes	13 (65.0)	7 (35.0)	20 (24.4)
Total	67 (81.7)	15 (18.3)	82 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2455 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .2210

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	19 (73.1)	7 (26.9)	26 (70.3)
Yes	9 (81.8)	2 (18.2)	11 (29.7)
Total	28 (75.7)	9 (24.3)	37 (100.0)

Pearson's R -.0931 Lambda .0000
Somers' D -.0874

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	23 (88.5)	3 (11.5)	26 (70.3)
Yes	9 (81.8)	2 (18.2)	11 (29.7)
Total	32 (86.5)	5 (13.5)	37 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0888 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0664

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	30 (69.8)	13 (30.2)	43 (55.1)
Yes	18 (51.4)	17 (48.6)	35 (44.9)
Total	48 (61.5)	30 (38.5)	78 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1875 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1834

Felonies or Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	36 (83.7)	7 (16.3)	43 (55.1)
Yes	22 (62.9)	13 (37.1)	35 (44.9)
Total	58 (74.4)	20 (25.6)	78 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2377 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .2086

TABLE 8. RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-REPORTED POLICE CONTACT AND BEHAVIORAL STATUS PRIOR TO AGE 18 AND OFFICIAL POLICE CONTACT STATUS PRIOR TO 18 TO POLICE CONTACT STATUS AGES 18+ : 1949 COHORT FEMALES

Before Age 18

Not Stopped by Police Before 18 and Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Felonies Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	67 (100.0)	0 ---	67 (83.8)
Yes	13 (100.0)	0 ---	13 (16.3)
Total	80 (100.0)	0 ---	80 (100.0)

Pearson's R --- Lambda ---
Somers' D ---

Felonies or Major Misdemeanors Age 18 or +

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	65 (97.0)	2 (3.0)	67 (83.8)
Yes	12 (92.3)	1 (7.7)	13 (16.3)
Total	77 (96.3)	3 (3.8)	80 (100.1)

Pearson's R .0914 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0471

Not Stopped by Police but Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	62 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	62 (75.6)
Yes	19 (95.0)	1 (5.0)	20 (24.4)
Total	81 (98.8)	1 (1.2)	82 (100.0)

Pearson's R .1956 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0500

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	62 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	62 (75.6)
Yes	18 (90.0)	2 (10.0)	20 (24.4)
Total	80 (97.6)	2 (2.4)	82 (100.0)

Pearson's R .2784 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .1000

Stopped by Police Before 18 but Didn't Do Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	26 (100.0)	0 ---	26 (70.3)
Yes	11 (100.0)	0 ---	11 (29.7)
Total	37 (100.0)	0 ---	37 (100.0)

Pearson's R --- Lambda ---
Somers' D ---

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	26 (100.0)	0 ---	26 (70.3)
Yes	11 (100.0)	0 ---	11 (29.7)
Total	37 (100.0)	0 ---	37 (100.0)

Pearson's R --- Lambda ---
Somers' D ---

Stopped by Police Before 18 and Did Things for Which Not Caught

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	41 (95.3)	2 (4.7)	43 (55.1)
Yes	33 (94.3)	2 (5.7)	35 (44.9)
Total	74 (94.9)	4 (5.1)	78 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0240 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0106

Police Contacts Prior to 18	No	Yes	Total
No	41 (95.3)	2 (4.7)	43 (55.1)
Yes	32 (91.4)	3 (8.6)	35 (44.9)
Total	73 (93.6)	5 (6.4)	78 (100.0)

Pearson's R .0796 Lambda .0000
Somers' D .0392

APPENDIX T

Tables 1, 3, 5, and 7 of this appendix enable the reader to compare the means and standard deviations of males and females for both cohorts for each of the variables used in the regression analysis.

Tables 2, 4, 6, and 8 present the coefficients of correlation between each variable and every other variable. Rather than include the entire matrix on one large page and reduce it we have cut it into three segments on two pages. Since there are a number of appropriate references to these correlations in Chapter 22 let it suffice to say that the sizeable correlation between race/ethnicity and natural area of socialization, particularly for persons in the 1949 Cohort, as well as the correlation between race/ethnicity and head of household's regularity of employment, head of household's job level, head of household's sex, and other variables which were related to official seriousness scores provided the basis for results which might be interpreted by some persons as giving a racial cast to the findings. Although we have more than once warned against this, it is appropriate to do so again. What we have is simply an intertwining of the characteristics that have traditionally been the characteristics of low socioeconomic status families residing in the inner city and similar interstitial areas, a disproportionate share of whom are Black and Chicano.

TABLE 1. 1942 COHORT MALES

2-STAGE MODEL REGRESSION-INTERVENING VARIABLES
MALES ONLY
FILE INTV42 (CREATION DATE = 06/24/80) 1942 INTERVIEW DATA RECODED FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS 07/25/80

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEV	CASES
DNATAREA	0.4459	0.4987	157
DRACE	0.9236	0.2665	157
HHEMP	0.9231	0.2673	156
HHJBSEI	50.9253	19.5984	154
HHSEX	0.8363	0.2456	157
MWORK	1.7308	0.6451	156
SIBS	2.8115	2.1142	157
JOBTSK	2.5000	1.6068	148
ATTSCHK	0.5000	0.5017	146
NODIPLMR	0.1569	0.3668	151
ADAUTOSK	1.5960	0.9484	151
DAGEDUC	0.7962	0.4041	157
DIPSCH	0.2416	0.4296	153
ANEGO17	0.2357	0.4954	157
APOS217	1.7006	0.9836	157
ADJPRTK	1.1146	1.6171	157
PATROLK	0.0287	0.7466	155
ATTPOLK	0.3742	0.7039	155
TSOL7	5.3572	0.7668	157
SRNG17	13.6120	11.8755	151
SELF017	1.9561	1.0319	155
EDUC	13.5159	1.7925	157
DAGEFJOB	0.4244	6.4165	156
FJOBSEI	23.1258	16.8052	155
AGEMARRY	20.1154	4.0065	156
TSLBP	11.6090	21.8823	156
SRN16P	12.6106	11.0759	151

TABLE 2. cont.

	ADAUTOSC	DAGEJLK	DIFFJR	ANLG017	APOS017	ADJFRTR	PATROLR	ATTPOLR	TS617	SRN617
DNATAREA	151.	157.	155.	157.	157.	157.	155.	155.	157.	151.
DRAGE	151.	157.	155.	157.	157.	157.	155.	155.	157.	151.
HHEMP	150.	156.	154.	156.	156.	156.	154.	154.	156.	150.
HHJBSE1	148.	154.	150.	154.	154.	154.	152.	152.	154.	149.
HHSEA	151.	157.	155.	157.	157.	157.	155.	155.	157.	151.
MWORK	150.	156.	152.	156.	156.	156.	154.	154.	156.	150.
SIBS	151.	157.	155.	157.	157.	157.	155.	155.	157.	151.
JOBHSK	148.	148.	146.	148.	148.	148.	147.	147.	148.	148.
ATTSCHR	148.	148.	146.	148.	148.	148.	147.	147.	148.	148.
NOOTPERK	148.	151.	149.	151.	151.	151.	150.	150.	151.	146.
ADAUTOSC	151.	151.	149.	151.	151.	151.	150.	150.	151.	145.
DAGEJLK	0.19309	157.	155.	157.	157.	157.	155.	155.	157.	151.
DIFFJR	-0.03511	-0.07738	155.	153.	153.	153.	152.	152.	153.	147.
ANLG017	0.08726	0.01734	0.18524	157.	157.	157.	155.	155.	157.	151.
APOS017	0.04009	-0.10610	-0.06735	0.04047	157.	157.	155.	155.	157.	151.
ADJFRTR	0.02666	0.07522	0.05562	0.21415	0.04590	157.	155.	155.	157.	151.
PATROLR	0.14345	0.13454	0.06484	0.05780	-0.03551	0.07193	155.	155.	157.	151.
ATTPOLR	-0.15558	0.03977	-0.06333	-0.05472	0.03066	-0.29830	-0.07329	155.	157.	151.
TS617	0.22450	0.12665	0.08256	0.11348	-0.07266	0.39923	0.15565	-0.22592	157.	151.
SRN617	0.37454	0.04961	0.07671	0.18928	0.04399	0.46360	0.09840	-0.25937	0.23715	151.
SELF017	0.20499	0.08154	0.02365	0.13798	-0.15028	0.34262	0.27959	-0.26957	0.40294	0.43469
EDUC	-0.00663	0.14610	-0.02213	-0.06728	0.12816	-0.22842	-0.12962	-0.02535	-0.04240	-0.18193
DAGEFJOB	0.07759	0.15905	-0.01617	0.10189	0.04351	0.24494	-0.07159	-0.04019	0.06516	0.20550
FJOBSE1	0.10296	0.04012	-0.02918	-0.15356	0.00979	0.01166	-0.01132	0.01051	-0.05427	-0.03576
AGEMARRY	-0.16998	-0.20025	0.06247	-0.03539	0.14487	-0.01659	-0.19651	0.06807	-0.12602	-0.02953
TS16P	0.12068	-0.03024	0.01165	0.05193	-0.07184	0.24944	0.05112	-0.15257	0.46396	0.04055
SRN16P	0.24559	-0.11277	-0.00024	0.16499	0.01651	0.16286	-0.00398	-0.10768	0.04572	0.52401

	SELF017	EDUC	DAGEFJOB	FJOBSE1	AGEMARRY	TS16P	SRN16P
EDUC	-0.20477	157.	156.	155.	156.	156.	151.
DAGEFJOB	0.09952	-0.10321	156.	155.	156.	155.	150.
FJOBSE1	-0.10970	0.21436	-0.02965	155.	155.	154.	149.
AGEMARRY	-0.04715	0.05199	-0.04027	0.01762	156.	155.	150.
TS16P	0.31707	-0.24059	0.15069	-0.08335	0.09554	156.	150.
SRN16P	0.20023	-0.18877	0.14609	-0.00684	0.16524	0.22121	151.

TABLE 2. 1942 COHORT MALES

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

2-STAGE MODEL REGRESSION-INTERVENING VARIABLES
MALES ONLY

LOWER TRIANGLE: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
UPPER TRIANGLE: N OF CASES FOR CORRELATION

	DNATAKEN	DRACE	RHEMP	RHJOBSEI	RHSEX	MWORK	SIBS	JOBHSR	ATTSCHR	NODIPLMR
DNATAKEN	157.	157.	156.	154.	157.	156.	157.	148.	148.	151.
DRACE	-0.32071	157.	156.	154.	157.	156.	157.	148.	148.	151.
RHEMP	-0.17084	0.27778	156.	153.	156.	155.	156.	147.	147.	150.
RHJOBSEI	-0.03185	0.16313	0.06637	154.	154.	153.	154.	146.	146.	149.
RHSEX	-0.17677	0.51764	0.51731	0.07577	157.	156.	157.	148.	148.	151.
MWORK	0.00884	0.00114	0.03250	-0.12085	-0.14579	156.	156.	148.	148.	150.
SIBS	0.12751	-0.16954	-0.20049	-0.02073	-0.02155	-0.03565	157.	148.	148.	151.
JOBHSR	-0.02035	0.24390	-0.03062	0.09236	0.09862	-0.05178	0.01797	148.	148.	150.
ATTSCHR	-0.01361	-0.12660	-0.00165	0.06206	0.02827	-0.18385	-0.02950	0.02694	146.	144.
NODIPLMR	0.20736	0.10944	-0.03462	-0.14387	-0.12006	-0.04146	0.04049	0.02121	-0.13201	151.
ADAPTSC	-0.04405	0.10778	0.12756	0.04515	-0.05759	0.03863	0.01342	0.21010	-0.02185	0.15373
DAGEJOB	-0.05511	0.22151	0.09739	0.18088	-0.00247	-0.02567	0.01176	-0.03439	0.03450	0.03487
DIFFJOB	0.10105	-0.00557	-0.11319	-0.18260	0.02583	0.04083	0.11915	-0.07660	-0.13720	-0.01928
ANEG017	0.11656	0.08875	-0.00748	-0.09176	-0.05596	0.12777	0.07575	0.06171	-0.21862	0.22114
APOS017	-0.06051	0.03442	0.13579	0.09876	0.02677	0.09226	0.00536	0.01029	0.14449	-0.02156
ADJFRIK	0.15084	0.00959	-0.12722	-0.16187	-0.14326	0.03538	0.10124	0.01087	-0.11782	0.33175
PATRULK	0.26580	-0.13389	0.09116	-0.11532	-0.10336	0.13199	0.07703	-0.33642	-0.01137	0.12782
ATTPOLK	-0.04655	0.08569	0.04574	0.04386	0.17749	-0.05048	-0.01115	0.05413	0.20487	-0.17888
TS017	0.25945	0.00435	0.09614	-0.06524	-0.02440	-0.02303	0.06015	-0.12543	0.01425	0.25073
SRN017	0.07791	0.11111	0.01014	-0.10987	-0.03424	-0.01341	-0.05754	0.07528	-0.11113	0.49845
SELF017	0.11356	-0.01101	0.16422	-0.19115	-0.07494	0.06765	0.01604	-0.15025	-0.20833	0.28199
EDUC	-0.16844	0.10990	-0.06633	0.27662	0.00232	0.06288	-0.11592	0.06555	0.17169	-0.34146
DAGEFJOB	0.10160	0.03992	-0.07450	-0.05527	0.01520	-0.02914	0.08856	0.13942	-0.14189	0.36108
FJOBSEI	-0.13219	0.12611	0.01701	0.03678	0.00432	0.04743	-0.09015	-0.03407	-0.04400	-0.07727
AGEMARRY	0.02784	-0.13938	0.02427	-0.09949	-0.01622	0.02492	0.16454	-0.03687	0.01668	-0.06504
TS16P	0.30626	-0.32566	-0.07129	-0.14189	-0.12765	-0.12445	0.17049	-0.07586	0.15010	0.25767
SRN16P	0.08692	-0.15012	0.12259	-0.13267	-0.03130	0.01344	0.02162	0.05137	0.02673	0.25673

TABLE 3. 1949 COHORT MALES

2-STAGE REGRESSION-INTERVENING VARIABLES 07/25/80
MALES ONLY
FILE INTV49 (CREATION DATE = 07/17/80) 1949 INTERVIEW DATA RECODED FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEV	CASES
DNATAREA	0.3791	0.4860	277
DRACE	0.8244	0.3812	279
HHEMP	0.9570	0.2032	279
HHJOBSEI	31.5055	19.5799	274
HHSEX	0.9356	0.2466	278
MWORK	1.8545	0.8800	275
SIBS	3.3333	2.4772	279
JOBTSK	2.2518	1.1541	274
ATTSCHK	0.4706	0.5001	274
NODIPLMK	0.1277	0.3344	274
ADAUTOSC	1.6949	0.8497	272
DAGEJLK	0.7849	0.4116	279
DIFFJK	0.5930	0.4756	277
ANLG017	0.5062	0.5674	279
APOS017	1.7097	1.1276	279
ADJFRTK	1.5125	1.8444	279
PATRULK	2.5953	0.6473	276
ATTPRJLK	2.0466	0.7629	279
TS617	7.6774	14.2923	279
SRN017	13.6444	12.8966	270
SELF017	2.0473	1.0497	275
EDUC	13.1195	1.8986	277
DAGEPJOB	0.2302	0.4217	278
DAGEPJOB	0.2302	0.4217	278
PJOBSEI	25.5614	19.7924	277
AGEMARRY	20.3381	2.2796	276
TS18P	10.6953	12.9086	279
SRN18P	10.9384	14.2879	269

TABLE 4. 1949 COHORT MALES

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

2-STAGE MODEL REGRESSION-INTERVENING VARIABLES
MALES ONLY

LOWER TRIANGLE: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
UPPER TRIANGLE: N OF CASES FOR CORRELATION

	DNATAREA	DRACE	RHEMP	RHJBSEI	RHSEX	MWORK	SIBS	JOBHSR	ATTSCHR	NODIPLMR
DNATAREA	277.	277.	277.	272.	276.	275.	277.	272.	272.	272.
DRACE	-0.[illegible]	279.	279.	274.	276.	275.	279.	274.	274.	274.
RHEMP	-0.14[illegible]	0.1[illegible]73	279.	274.	276.	275.	279.	274.	274.	274.
RHJBSEI	-0.2[illegible]	0.2[illegible]17	0.07342	274.	275.	270.	274.	270.	270.	270.
RHSEX	-0.17[illegible]	0.2[illegible]54	0.[illegible]6266	-0.00628	276.	275.	278.	273.	273.	273.
MWORK	0.02[illegible]	0.0[illegible]	0.[illegible]022	-0.19701	-0.11127	275.	275.	270.	270.	270.
SIBS	0.15[illegible]	-0.[illegible]3	-0.05710	-0.18976	0.04659	-0.11203	279.	274.	274.	274.
JOBHSR	-0.14[illegible]	0.2[illegible]55	0.02[illegible]57	-0.03718	0.11063	0.07[illegible]4	-0.05235	274.	274.	270.
ATTSCHR	-0.09[illegible]13	-0.[illegible]1[illegible]97	0.04391	0.06537	-0.02[illegible]27	-0.07204	-0.00674	0.05404	274.	270.
NODIPLMR	0.16[illegible]18	-0.[illegible]1401	-0.14953	-0.13726	-0.15247	0.01145	0.20417	-0.22567	-0.22045	274.
ADAUTOSC	0.01806	0.03[illegible]60	0.03616	-0.03553	0.00669	-0.00007	-0.09658	0.06820	-0.06784	0.13131
DAGEDLR	-0.21147	0.2[illegible]280	0.15003	0.14391	0.23103	-0.03467	-0.23990	0.11079	-0.04778	-0.20793
DIFFJR	-0.01914	0.02[illegible]56	0.00[illegible]2	0.10034	-0.00471	-0.02122	0.06942	-0.12049	-0.13848	-0.02765
ANLGOLF	-0.01[illegible]	0.01[illegible]6	-0.00[illegible]9	-0.03200	0.05986	0.09[illegible]0	0.03412	0.06136	-0.10306	0.09866
APOSOLF	-0.03[illegible]0	0.0[illegible]66	0.02[illegible]0	0.14295	0.04257	-0.00285	-0.01945	0.03[illegible]2	0.13285	-0.22141
ADJFRTR	0.14952	-0.13756	-0.16166	-0.07940	-0.07[illegible]2	-0.01435	0.11127	0.01[illegible]1	-0.10865	0.32599
PATROLR	0.34731	-0.20180	-0.14349	-0.12979	-0.19851	0.00285	0.01474	0.00783	-0.06229	0.06680
ATTPOLR	-0.14792	0.[illegible]0382	0.05785	0.04267	0.01647	-0.01951	-0.11190	0.08352	0.20154	-0.25919
TS617	0.17755	-0.[illegible]1116	-0.[illegible]2693	-0.14190	-0.[illegible]2486	0.04007	0.15128	-0.09192	-0.15762	0.45568
SRN617	0.11610	-0.11738	-0.04790	-0.07949	0.00059	0.11741	0.08[illegible]8	0.03594	-0.15553	0.35764
SELF617	0.06[illegible]1	0.0[illegible]5	0.02[illegible]2	-0.06[illegible]1	0.04648	0.13928	0.09805	0.04080	-0.08775	0.15445
EDUC	-0.25128	0.[illegible]1327	0.14[illegible]30	0.31544	0.09254	0.00535	-0.18011	0.11572	0.18825	-0.41393
DAGEFJOB	0.2[illegible]023	-0.15712	-0.[illegible]7407	-0.07198	-0.07656	0.09963	0.12990	-0.07257	-0.17611	0.40503
DAGEFJOB	0.2[illegible]023	-0.15712	-0.09407	-0.07198	-0.07656	0.09963	0.12990	-0.07257	-0.17611	0.40503
FJOBSEI	-0.19[illegible]	0.16[illegible]2	-0.[illegible]377	0.19566	0.03616	-0.12063	-0.09700	0.07347	0.19728	-0.21906
AGEMARRY	-0.04[illegible]	-0.01968	-0.06997	-0.00930	-0.16[illegible]9	-0.00595	-0.11292	-0.13805	-0.07063	0.07[illegible]6
TS18P	0.27847	-0.[illegible]2[illegible]9	-0.17047	-0.18068	-0.24740	0.02923	0.19353	-0.12403	-0.10428	0.52642
SRN18P	0.09718	-0.09154	-0.02503	-0.03[illegible]3	0.04283	0.03739	-0.02596	-0.04781	-0.19737	0.34924

TABLE 4. cont.

	ADAUTESC	DAGEDLR	DIFFJR	ANEG017	APOS017	ADJPRTR	PATROLR	ATTPOLR	TS617	SRN617
DNATAREA	270.	277.	275.	277.	277.	277.	276.	277.	277.	268.
DRACE	272.	279.	277.	279.	279.	279.	278.	279.	279.	270.
HHEMP	272.	279.	277.	279.	279.	279.	278.	279.	279.	270.
HHJOBEI	266.	274.	272.	274.	274.	274.	273.	274.	274.	265.
HHSEX	271.	278.	276.	278.	278.	278.	277.	278.	278.	269.
MWORK	268.	275.	273.	275.	275.	275.	274.	275.	275.	266.
SIBS	272.	279.	277.	279.	279.	279.	278.	279.	279.	270.
JOBHSN	271.	278.	275.	278.	278.	278.	277.	278.	278.	268.
ATTSCHN	271.	278.	275.	278.	278.	278.	277.	278.	278.	268.
NOOTHCHR	268.	276.	274.	276.	276.	276.	275.	276.	276.	268.
ADAUTESC	272.	272.	271.	272.	272.	272.	271.	272.	272.	263.
DAGEDLR	0.[illegible]3	279.	277.	279.	279.	279.	278.	279.	279.	270.
DIFFJR	-0.0[illegible]2	0.01667	277.	277.	277.	277.	276.	277.	277.	268.
ANEG017	0.03977	0.00702	-0.[illegible]264	279.	279.	279.	278.	279.	279.	270.
APOS017	-0.03112	0.02775	0.00063	-0.06765	279.	279.	278.	279.	279.	270.
ADJPRTR	0.[illegible]58	-0.[illegible]560	-0.[illegible]2[illegible]	0.07679	-0.12537	279.	278.	279.	279.	270.
PATROLR	0.[illegible]3	0.06744	-0.00509	-0.04[illegible]4	-0.01143	0.51463	278.	278.	278.	269.
ATTPOLR	-0.1[illegible]7[illegible]	0.03121	-0.00[illegible]	-0.18031	0.17[illegible]0	-0.34294	-0.20778	279.	279.	270.
TS617	0.[illegible]9[illegible]2	-0.03990	-0.00089	0.07203	-0.09578	0.40994	0.15343	-0.32206	279.	270.
SRN617	0.35443	0.10027	-0.04156	0.18447	-0.15324	0.33579	0.12796	-0.37980	0.31774	270.
SELF617	0.20473	-0.03560	-0.00[illegible]0	0.15675	-0.06905	0.25400	0.08070	-0.27993	0.19089	0.40050
EDUC	-0.15102	0.[illegible]869	0.04221	-0.10235	0.17755	-0.22435	-0.15710	0.14866	-0.29527	-0.14789
DAGEFJOB	0.1[illegible]8	-0.12851	-0.00[illegible]2	0.04824	-0.08[illegible]6	0.14775	0.10171	-0.16869	0.26430	0.27933
DAGEFJOB	0.1[illegible]6	-0.12851	-0.00[illegible]2	0.04824	-0.08[illegible]6	0.14775	0.10171	-0.16869	0.26430	0.27933
FJOBSE1	-0.17[illegible]	0.09[illegible]8	-0.0[illegible]30	-0.10372	0.13808	-0.12664	-0.10071	0.22893	-0.13230	-0.20934
AGEMARRY	-0.09[illegible]4	-0.05271	0.00[illegible]0	-0.20553	-0.01545	-0.08212	-0.00505	-0.00867	0.04800	-0.09219
TS18P	0.17100	-0.16949	0.00861	0.09111	-0.14700	0.28754	0.23056	-0.32070	0.60178	0.28980
SRN18P	0.28551	0.09879	-0.00[illegible]6	0.15417	-0.18356	0.54170	0.16799	-0.35498	0.35879	0.56390

	SELF617	EDUC	DAGEFJOB	DAGEFJOB	FJOBSE1	AGEMARRY	TS18P	SRN18P
EDUC	-0.[illegible]1763	277.	276.	276.	275.	276.	277.	267.
DAGEFJOB	0.[illegible]155	-0.[illegible]1776	276.	276.	277.	278.	278.	268.
DAGEFJOB	0.[illegible]155	-0.[illegible]1776	1.00000	278.	277.	278.	278.	268.
FJOBSE1	-0.[illegible]2152	0.[illegible]252	-0.[illegible]1976	-0.[illegible]1976	277.	277.	277.	267.
AGEMARRY	-0.18[illegible]4	0.00557	-0.04604	-0.04604	0.07261	278.	278.	268.
TS18P	0.07713	-0.[illegible]9449	0.[illegible]8358	0.28358	-0.17807	0.14153	279.	269.
SRN18P	0.[illegible]6[illegible]	-0.[illegible]1[illegible]5	0.[illegible]3[illegible]	0.15382	-0.20[illegible]4	0.07469	0.43400	269.

TABLE 5. 1942 COHORT FEMALES

2-STAGE MODEL REGRESSION-INTERVENING VARIABLES
FEMALES ONLY
FILE INTV42 (CREATION DATE = 06/24/80) 1942 INTERVIEW DATA RECODED FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS 07/25/80

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEV	CASES
DNATAREA	0.3663	0.4832	172
DRACE	0.6917	0.3059	176
HHLMP	0.9034	0.2962	176
HHJBSE1	32.8721	19.8214	172
HHSEX	0.9368	0.2441	174
MWORK	1.6844	0.8272	173
SIBS	2.9545	2.2496	176
JOBHSR	2.6171	1.3064	175
ATTSCHR	0.7371	0.4414	175
NODIPLMR	0.1257	0.3325	175
ADAUTOSC	1.1775	0.8752	169
DAGEJOB	0.4943	0.5014	176
DIFFJR	0.4229	0.4959	175
ANEG017	0.2955	0.6077	176
APOS017	1.6063	1.0795	176
ADJFKTR	0.2500	0.8452	176
PATROLR	1.9489	0.8019	176
ATTPOLR	2.7143	0.5196	175
TS617	0.8304	2.1556	176
SRN017	4.6057	4.9586	175
SELF017	1.4007	0.6967	136
EDUC	13.0170	1.7353	176
DAGEFJOB	0.3727	0.4466	176
FJOBSE1	39.5829	17.0951	170
AGEMARRY	21.5071	4.3780	175
TS18P	2.2841	0.6516	176
SRN18P	4.4799	4.9748	174

TABLE 6. 1942 COHORT FEMALES

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

2-STAGE MODEL REGRESSION-INTERVENING VARIABLES
FEMALES ONLY

LOWER TRIANGLE: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
UPPER TRIANGLE: N OF CASES FOR CORRELATION

	ONATARLA	JRACE	HHLMP	HHJBSEI	HHSEX	MWORK	SIBS	JOBMSR	ATTSCHR	NODIPLMR
ONATARLA	176.	176.	176.	168.	171.	170.	172.	171.	171.	171.
DRACE	-0.35479	176.	176.	172.	174.	173.	176.	175.	175.	175.
HHLMP	-0.19257	0.14355	176.	172.	174.	173.	176.	175.	175.	175.
HHJBSEI	-0.18000	0.12502	0.21491	172.	170.	169.	172.	171.	171.	171.
HHSEX	0.00260	0.15514	0.47150	-0.00254	174.	172.	174.	173.	173.	173.
MWORK	0.08729	0.00964	-0.02275	-0.02087	-0.03502	173.	173.	172.	172.	172.
SIBS	0.21163	-0.35793	-0.19520	-0.22611	-0.02697	-0.21640	176.	175.	175.	175.
JOBMSR	0.01985	0.24152	0.21915	0.06152	0.09985	0.03090	0.06469	175.	175.	174.
ATTSCHR	-0.16177	0.11696	0.11656	0.06049	0.00403	0.04420	-0.16379	-0.00211	175.	174.
NODIPLMR	0.25068	-0.26879	-0.22402	-0.23151	-0.05396	-0.06139	0.31534	-0.06965	-0.32820	175.
AJADJOSC	-0.14305	0.09956	0.14567	0.17072	0.16568	0.15192	-0.09956	0.15984	0.06119	0.00514
DAGEDLR	-0.16967	0.29021	0.16946	0.26220	0.16531	-0.01463	-0.24340	0.25690	0.12641	-0.20036
DIFFJR	0.11146	-0.01466	-0.18792	-0.01736	-0.10966	0.10219	-0.02156	0.00133	-0.14331	0.00246
ANEGOLF	-0.06614	0.10267	-0.06270	0.02976	-0.06645	0.17247	0.06421	0.13134	-0.18429	0.04152
APOSOLF	-0.02693	0.12095	0.00599	0.07355	0.00214	0.05630	-0.01679	0.06202	0.13391	-0.08506
ADJFATR	0.17493	-0.12755	-0.01712	-0.04647	0.07754	0.14141	0.06913	-0.02468	-0.05276	0.19515
PATRULR	0.21506	-0.02156	-0.10523	0.11751	-0.10330	0.15060	0.00509	-0.04839	-0.03830	0.05221
ATTPOLR	-0.10957	0.15040	-0.07011	0.09659	-0.09815	0.00415	-0.02273	0.05685	0.04717	-0.24178
ISOLF	0.09928	-0.12291	-0.07325	-0.03415	-0.04892	0.06012	0.02132	-0.02107	-0.12191	0.29537
SRNOLF	-0.05766	0.07554	0.06721	0.08797	0.05853	0.09857	-0.04281	0.10296	-0.05460	0.06487
SELFOLF	-0.08267	-0.05026	-0.10044	-0.05062	0.04053	-0.14144	0.14458	-0.05062	-0.15542	0.24270
EDUC	-0.15956	0.20923	0.19219	0.37650	0.04940	-0.00841	-0.23694	-0.00013	0.14804	-0.36525
DAGEFJOB	0.07541	0.06038	-0.10206	-0.07219	-0.00153	0.14063	0.01010	0.06110	0.03967	0.07594
FJOBSEI	-0.19994	0.29604	0.10541	0.27666	0.06305	0.01257	-0.35083	0.12753	0.20506	-0.41606
AGEMARRY	-0.01443	-0.06767	0.15711	0.05951	0.11355	-0.09794	-0.09490	-0.33127	-0.10353	-0.05236
TS18P	0.19824	-0.32511	-0.08106	-0.09919	-0.14792	-0.02645	0.03208	-0.15630	-0.10771	0.30523
SRN18P	-0.17617	0.08962	-0.06399	0.06167	-0.18218	-0.08071	-0.10842	0.01652	-0.01889	-0.14924

TABLE 6. cont.

	ADAUTOSC	DAGEDLR	DIFFJR	ANLG017	APOS017	ADJFRTR	PATROLR	ATTPOLR	TS617	SRN617
DNATARLA	165.	172.	171.	172.	172.	172.	172.	171.	172.	171.
DRACE	169.	176.	175.	176.	176.	176.	176.	175.	176.	175.
HHEMP	169.	176.	175.	176.	176.	176.	176.	175.	176.	175.
HHJOBSEI	165.	172.	171.	172.	172.	172.	172.	171.	172.	171.
HHSEX	167.	174.	173.	174.	174.	174.	174.	173.	174.	173.
MWORK	166.	173.	172.	173.	173.	173.	173.	172.	173.	172.
SIBS	169.	176.	175.	176.	176.	176.	176.	175.	176.	175.
JOBHSR	169.	175.	174.	175.	175.	175.	175.	175.	175.	174.
ATTSCHR	169.	175.	174.	175.	175.	175.	175.	175.	175.	174.
NODIPLHR	166.	175.	174.	175.	175.	175.	175.	175.	175.	174.
ADAUTOSC	169.	169.	168.	169.	169.	169.	169.	169.	169.	168.
DAGEDLR	0.34676	176.	175.	176.	176.	176.	176.	175.	176.	175.
DIFFJR	-0.16866	-0.05474	175.	175.	175.	175.	175.	174.	175.	174.
ANLG017	0.16521	-0.01521	0.07640	176.	176.	176.	176.	175.	176.	175.
APOS017	0.02449	-0.01997	0.01723	0.07304	176.	176.	176.	175.	176.	175.
ADJFRTR	0.05997	0.00337	0.05864	-0.06675	-0.05460	176.	176.	175.	176.	175.
PATROLR	0.04697	0.05466	0.05469	-0.06262	0.00971	0.11171	176.	175.	176.	175.
ATTPOLR	-0.12265	-0.11506	0.08756	0.10289	0.10956	-0.08506	-0.07768	175.	176.	175.
TS617	0.14790	-0.10240	-0.05857	0.13049	-0.07145	0.05961	0.08507	-0.11135	176.	175.
SRN617	0.36976	-0.04202	0.05360	0.31757	0.01511	0.05009	0.01827	-0.03223	0.26815	175.
SELF017	-0.02203	-0.17426	0.15130	0.07752	-0.02266	-0.00147	-0.03399	-0.04639	0.14051	0.24709
EDUC	0.11068	0.16102	0.01545	0.01687	0.22017	-0.07695	-0.07329	0.07640	-0.18476	-0.03133
DAGEFJOB	-0.09157	0.63240	-0.05363	-0.08690	-0.12067	-0.01514	0.03916	0.16216	0.05615	-0.03735
FJOBSEI	0.06655	0.11758	-0.09764	-0.04584	0.15037	-0.20201	-0.07221	0.09423	-0.27140	-0.10345
AGEMARRY	0.02041	-0.11976	0.07425	-0.13178	0.10334	0.14077	0.05635	0.06026	-0.11319	-0.05578
TS18P	0.04416	-0.10921	-0.01456	-0.02997	-0.05696	0.00940	-0.06487	-0.17977	0.38160	0.07196
SRN18P	0.13369	0.06033	0.08073	0.17307	-0.06929	-0.11497	-0.10600	0.01604	0.04905	0.41778

	SELF017	EDUC	DAGEFJOB	FJOBSEI	AGEMARRY	TS18P	SRN18P
EDUC	-0.19551	176.	176.	176.	175.	176.	174.
DAGEFJOB	-0.11973	-0.21905	176.	176.	175.	176.	174.
FJOBSEI	-0.34594	0.06604	-0.02494	176.	169.	170.	166.
AGEMARRY	-0.07556	0.25692	-0.09721	0.07685	175.	175.	173.
TS18P	0.20267	-0.12079	-0.00666	-0.19869	-0.06004	176.	174.
SRN18P	0.02161	0.11638	0.01431	-0.07774	-0.04049	0.06412	174.

TABLE 7. 1949 COHORT FEMALES

2-STAGE REGRESSION-INTERVENING VARIABLES 07/25/80
FEMALES ONLY
FILE INTV49 (CREATION DATE = 07/17/80) 1949 INTERVIEW DATA RECODED FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEV	CASES
UNATARLA	0.3538	0.4790	277
URACE	0.8267	0.3792	277
HHEMP	0.9529	0.2122	276
HHJBSCL	53.6913	21.1566	277
HHSEX	0.9422	0.2337	277
MWORK	1.9491	0.8823	275
SIBS	3.9621	2.4545	277
JOBHSR	1.6555	1.3231	273
ATTSCHR	0.6213	0.4860	272
NOOFPLMR	0.1087	0.3118	276
ADAUTOSC	1.6000	0.8269	265
JAGEJLR	0.5704	0.4959	277
DIFFJR	0.4729	0.5006	273
ANEGOLF	0.3321	0.4854	277
APOSOLF	1.6895	1.1478	277
ADJFRTR	0.3718	1.0298	277
PATRJLR	1.9927	0.7655	274
ATTPOLR	2.4569	0.6184	275
TSOLF	1.3285	3.5911	277
SRNOLF	4.5360	5.0891	275
SELFOLF	1.4809	0.6166	256
EDUC	13.4477	1.9059	277
DAGEFJOB	0.1986	0.3965	276
FJOBSEI	37.8653	14.5566	262
AGEMARRY	21.6667	3.5646	276
TSTOP	2.7670	12.6666	277
SRNTOP	0.9577	7.7149	272

TABLE 8. 1949 COHORT FEMALES

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

2-STAGE REGRESSION-INTERVENING VARIABLES
FEMALES ONLY

LOWER TRIANGLE: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
UPPER TRIANGLE: N OF CASES FOR CORRELATION

	ONATARTA	ORACL	HHEMP	HHJOBSE1	HHSEX	MWORK	S1GS	JOBHSR	ATTSCHR	NODIPLMR
ONATARTA	[illegible]	277.	276.	277.	277.	275.	277.	273.	272.	276.
ORACL	-0.57886	277.	276.	277.	277.	275.	277.	273.	272.	276.
HHEMP	-0.19415	0.17227	276.	276.	276.	274.	276.	272.	271.	275.
HHJOBSE1	-0.17795	0.20542	0.04230	277.	277.	275.	277.	273.	272.	276.
HHSEX	-0.20517	0.21572	0.38395	0.08643	277.	275.	277.	273.	272.	276.
MWORK	0.04501	-0.01570	0.12447	-0.13931	-0.12020	275.	275.	271.	270.	274.
S1GS	0.29706	-0.44645	-0.11967	-0.17302	-0.06066	-0.14524	277.	273.	272.	276.
JOBHSR	-0.04127	0.12265	-0.04992	-0.00141	-0.03949	0.02833	0.03434	273.	272.	272.
ATTSCHR	-0.00041	-0.10281	0.05316	0.05799	-0.00189	-0.03350	0.08973	0.05866	272.	271.
NODIPLMR	0.13569	-0.15147	-0.03198	-0.04442	-0.01299	0.01890	0.12469	-0.06449	-0.10896	276.
ADAUTOSC	-0.07750	0.13541	0.11145	0.14601	0.07691	0.06844	-0.18224	-0.00394	-0.06100	0.06550
DAGEJOLR	-0.21159	0.31559	0.11724	0.20655	0.12699	-0.01634	-0.22895	0.10196	0.09900	-0.14256
DIFFJOB	0.02516	-0.04977	0.07479	0.04811	-0.01373	-0.00317	-0.10222	-0.02588	-0.15339	-0.01798
ANEGOTI	-0.01599	0.04924	0.00203	-0.01756	0.10525	0.01093	0.08002	0.00734	-0.01831	0.16495
APOSOTI	0.02276	0.10999	0.04958	0.05576	0.06219	-0.00505	0.03465	0.09176	0.11552	-0.18183
ADJPRIN	-0.02527	-0.06992	-0.00247	-0.07449	0.02935	0.02884	0.10223	-0.08640	-0.05621	0.15608
PATROLR	0.16678	0.13581	0.04260	-0.04329	0.03336	0.04539	-0.03559	0.04317	-0.00997	-0.12093
ATTPOLR	-0.08955	0.37176	0.08117	0.16415	0.08190	0.03289	-0.13752	0.11916	-0.02002	-0.21642
TSOTI	0.14695	-0.20105	-0.09375	-0.07576	-0.18011	-0.04162	0.15509	0.07112	-0.05450	0.18302
SRNOTI	0.00919	0.02653	0.05776	0.07615	-0.01250	0.14148	0.02333	0.06957	-0.10680	0.09952
SELFOTI	-0.04501	-0.02275	-0.00613	-0.05016	-0.06994	-0.00859	0.04295	0.03741	-0.11638	0.12927
EDUC	-0.66702	0.18686	0.10669	0.19266	0.05832	-0.06042	-0.17369	0.06880	0.22954	-0.47646
DAGEFJOB	-0.05141	0.06414	-0.11049	0.07363	-0.07962	-0.00069	-0.02621	0.15694	-0.04176	0.05002
FJOBSEI	-0.00399	0.25997	0.09523	0.19704	0.10137	-0.14182	-0.23158	0.05087	0.14453	-0.25777
AGEMARRY	0.09416	-0.07601	0.06902	-0.02459	0.06296	-0.09753	-0.01025	-0.21280	0.14478	-0.28630
TS1OP	0.15944	-0.12923	-0.24560	-0.11536	-0.21111	-0.00934	0.04661	-0.00000	-0.08389	0.08313
SRN1OP	-0.09870	0.05032	0.09262	0.02966	0.10429	-0.03875	-0.10393	0.00178	-0.07817	0.06914

TABLE 8. cont.

	ADAUTOSC	DAGLOLR	DIFFJR	ANEG017	APOS017	ADJFRTR	PATROLR	ATTPOLR	ISO17	SRN017
UNATAKLA	265.	277.	273.	277.	277.	277.	274.	275.	277.	273.
DRACL	265.	277.	273.	277.	277.	277.	274.	275.	277.	273.
HHEMP	266.	276.	276.	276.	276.	276.	273.	274.	276.	272.
HHJBSCL	265.	277.	273.	277.	277.	277.	274.	275.	277.	273.
HHSLA	265.	277.	275.	277.	277.	277.	274.	275.	277.	273.
MWORK	261.	275.	271.	275.	275.	275.	272.	274.	275.	271.
SIBS	265.	277.	273.	277.	277.	277.	274.	275.	277.	273.
JOBHSK	262.	273.	271.	273.	273.	273.	271.	272.	273.	269.
ATTSCHL	261.	272.	270.	272.	272.	272.	270.	271.	272.	268.
NOJLPERK	262.	276.	274.	276.	276.	276.	273.	274.	276.	272.
ADAUTOSC	265.	263.	261.	263.	263.	263.	261.	262.	263.	259.
DAGLOLR	0.42231	277.	273.	273.	273.	273.	271.	272.	273.	269.
DIFFJR	0.05215	-0.05567	273.	273.	273.	273.	271.	272.	273.	269.
ANEG017	0.01424	0.00562	0.06560	277.	277.	277.	274.	275.	277.	273.
APOS017	-0.02461	0.12677	-0.11627	-0.02725	277.	277.	274.	275.	277.	273.
ADJFRTR	0.13579	-0.04680	0.08671	0.22585	-0.08974	277.	274.	275.	277.	273.
PATROLR	-0.02955	0.11709	-0.14058	-0.04747	0.09009	-0.06127	274.	273.	274.	270.
ATTPOLR	-0.06615	0.12904	-0.04004	-0.04206	0.18990	-0.16367	0.13258	275.	275.	271.
ISO17	0.01421	-0.06691	-0.05196	0.07264	-0.09195	0.24104	-0.08755	-0.16499	277.	273.
SRN017	0.20992	0.08616	0.10177	0.22231	-0.04193	0.25459	-0.03450	-0.13005	0.25890	273.
SLEP017	0.10521	-0.00748	0.11317	0.08145	-0.05981	0.20186	0.04516	-0.25776	0.17971	0.36578
EDUC	0.00289	0.11616	-0.08215	-0.09089	0.25171	-0.08890	0.05079	0.10934	-0.11850	-0.10858
DAGLEJOB	0.08696	0.07569	0.01234	0.10159	-0.03814	0.09692	-0.02276	-0.02359	0.12522	0.17762
PJOBSCL	0.01967	0.14477	-0.08152	-0.16714	0.15619	-0.16995	0.05933	0.14968	-0.17626	-0.15147
AGEMARRY	0.00939	-0.04667	0.04997	-0.07868	-0.00927	0.10453	-0.05596	-0.03701	-0.04115	-0.04322
TS16P	-0.11925	-0.02078	-0.05959	0.01333	-0.01616	0.06473	-0.03823	-0.04831	0.03614	0.09190
SRN16P	0.25711	0.11207	0.01670	0.16750	0.01062	0.21512	-0.10393	-0.21724	0.10550	0.38910

	SLEP017	EDUC	DAGLEJOB	PJOBSCL	AGEMARRY	TS16P	SRN16P
EDUC	-0.11716	277.	276.	262.	276.	277.	272.
DAGLEJOB	0.10737	-0.14674	276.	262.	276.	276.	272.
PJOBSCL	-0.19[illegible]	0.14966	-0.09375	262.	262.	262.	258.
AGEMARRY	-0.09429	0.13681	-0.15977	0.07333	276.	276.	272.
TS16P	-0.00791	-0.11166	-0.02462	-0.16257	-0.00670	277.	272.
SRN16P	0.14894	0.09949	0.09172	-0.01094	0.14124	0.01526	272.

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IMPORTANCE OF GOALS & SUCCESS AT REACHING THEM
SCHOOL

	How important is it to you? Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at All	How are you doing at this? Very Well	O.K.	Not Well at All
1. to have other students think of you as a good student?	5	3	1	5	3	1
2. to do well even in hard subjects?	5	3	1	5	3	1
3. to do your own school work without help from somebody?	5	3	1	5	3	1
4. to have teachers think of you as a good student?	5	3	1	5	3	1
5. to have a high grade point average?	5	3	1	5	3	1

SOCIAL ISOLATION - SCHOOL

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Teachers don't call on me in class, even when I raise my hand.	5	4	3	2	1
2. I'm not asked to take part in school activities as often as I'd like to be.	5	4	3	2	1
3. I don't feel as if I really belong at school.	5	4	3	2	1
4. I often feel like nobody at school cares about me.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Even though there are lots of kids around, I often feel lonely.	5	4	3	2	1
6. Teachers don't ask me to work on special classroom projects.	5	4	3	2	1

IV. Peer Measures

COMMITMENT TO PEERS

The next few questions concern how you feel about friends. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is very important for me to have close friends.	5	4	3	2	1
2. In general, I feel very committed to my friends.	5	4	3	2	1
3. My friends depend on me.	5	4	3	2	1
4. My friends mean a lot to me.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Nothing could be more important to me than having close personal ties with my friends.	5	4	3	2	1

SOCIAL ISOLATION - PEERS

Here are some questions about your feelings and beliefs. I'd like you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I don't fit in very well with my friends.	5	4	3	2	1
2. My friends don't take much interest in my problems.	5	4	3	2	1
3. I am close to my friends.	5	4	3	2	1
4. My friends are willing to listen if I have a problem.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Sometimes I am lonely when I am with my friends.	5	4	3	2	1

DELINQUENCY OF PEERS

Think of the people you consider to be your close friends. During the last six months how many of them have:

	All of Them	Most of Them	Some of Them	Very Few of Them	None of Them
1. cheated on school tests?	5	4	3	2	1
2. purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to them?	5	4	3	2	1
3. used marijuana?	5	4	3	2	1
4. stolen something worth less than $5?	5	4	3	2	1
5. hit or threatened to hit someone?	5	4	3	2	1
6. used alcohol (beer, wine, or liquor)?	5	4	3	2	1
7. Broken into a vehicle or building to steal something?	5	4	3	2	1
8. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD?	5	4	3	2	1
9. stolen something worth more than $50?	5	4	3	2	1
10. suggested you do something that was against the law?	5	4	3	2	1

NEGATIVE INFLUENCE OF PEERS

I will read you a number of statements and I'd like you to tell me how often the kids in your friendship group (the kids you hang around with) would feel that way.

	Always	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Seldom	Never
1. The kids in my group would think less of me if I were to get in trouble with the law.	5	4	3	2	1
2. Getting into trouble in my group is a way of gaining respect.	5	4	3	2	1
3. The members of my group feel that laws are good and should be obeyed.	5	4	3	2	1
4. The kids in my group get into trouble at home, in school, and in the community.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Kids that get into trouble a lot feel very uncomfortable in my group.	5	4	3	2	1
6. When I choose a group of friends, I choose kids who are not afraid to have a little fun even if it means breaking the law.	5	4	3	2	1
7. Kids who get into trouble with the law are "put down" in my group.	5	4	3	2	1
8. If you haven't gotten into some kind of trouble the kids in my group think you are "chicken" or something.	5	4	3	2	1

CONFORMITY OF PEERS

Think of the people you consider to be your close friends. During the last six months how many of them have:

	All of Them	Most of Them	Some of Them	Very Few of Them	None of Them
1. helped someone who was badly hurt?	5	4	3	2	1
2. donated money to charity?	5	4	3	2	1
3. tried to comfort someone who was really sad?	5	4	3	2	1
4. phoned for help when someone needed it?	5	4	3	2	1
5. found something valuable and returned it?	5	4	3	2	1
6. tried to cheer people up who were upset?	5	4	3	2	1
7. offered to help you with your jobs around the house?	5	4	3	2	1
8. visited someone who was sick?	5	4	3	2	1

IMPORTANCE OF PEER GOALS & SUCCESS AT REACHING PEER GOALS

	How important is it to you?			How are you doing at this?		
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at All	Very Well	O.K.	Not Well at All
1. to have lots of dates?	5	3	1	5	3	1
2. to do well even in hard subjects?	5	3	1	5	3	1
3. to have a special boyfriend/ girlfriend?	5	3	1	5	3	1
4. to have friends ask to spend time and do things with you?	5	3	1	5	3	1

DISAPPROVAL OF DEVIANCE - PEERS

I'm going to read a list of behaviors to you and then ask you how wrong others would think it was if you were to behave in these ways. I'll repeat the list twice to learn how wrong your close friends would think it was if you did each thing.

	Very Wrong	Pretty Wrong	A Little Wrong	Not Really Wrong	Not Wrong At All
1. cheated on school tests?	5	4	3	2	1
2. stole something worth less than $5?	5	4	3	2	1
3. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD?	5	4	3	2	1
4. used marijuana?	5	4	3	2	1
5. stole something worth more than $50?	5	4	3	2	1
6. hit or threatened to hit someone?	5	4	3	2	1
7. used alcohol (beer, wine, or liquor)?	5	4	3	2	1
8. purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you?	5	4	3	2	1
9. broke into a vehicle or building to steal something?	5	4	3	2	1

V. Self Reported Delinquency Measures

SERIOUS DELINQUENCY

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
How many times in the last six months have you:					
Felony Assault					
1. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her	1	2	3	4	5
2. had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will	1	2	3	4	5
3. been involved in gang fights	1	2	3	4	5
Robbery					
4. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other students	1	2	3	4	5
5. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
6. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or other things from other people (not students or teachers)	1	2	3	4	5
Felony Theft					
7. stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle	1	2	3	4	5
8. stolen (or tried to steal) something worth more than $50	1	2	3	4	5
9. broken into a building or vehicle (or tried to break in) to steal something or just to look around	1	2	3	4	5

MINOR DELINQUENCY

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
How many times in the last six months have you:					
Minor Assault					
1. hit (or threatened to hit) a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
2. hit (or threatened to hit) one of your parents	1	2	3	4	5
3. hit (or threatened to hit) other students	1	2	3	4	5
Minor Theft					
4. knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)	1	2	3	4	5
5. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth $5 or less	1	2	3	4	5
6. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food	1	2	3	4	5
7. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth between $5 and $50	1	2	3	4	5
Damaging Property					
8. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members	1	2	3	4	5
9. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school	1	2	3	4	5
10. purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you (not counting family or school property)?	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
Public Disorder					
11. thrown objects (other than snowballs), such as rocks or bottles, at cars or people	1	2	3	4	5
12. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife	1	2	3	4	5
13. been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct)	1	2	3	4	5
14. been drunk in a public place	1	2	3	4	5
15. begged for money or things from strangers	1	2	3	4	5
16. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things	1	2	3	4	5

ALCOHOL & DRUG USE

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
Hard Drugs					
1. used hallucinogens	1	2	3	4	5
2. used amphetamines	1	2	3	4	5
3. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD	1	2	3	4	5
4. used barbiturates	1	2	3	4	5
5. used heroin	1	2	3	4	5
6. used cocaine	1	2	3	4	5
Marijuana					
7. used marijuana	1	2	3	4	5
8. sold marijuana or hashish	1	2	3	4	5
Alcohol					
9. used alcoholic beverages	1	2	3	4	5
10. bought or provided liquor for a minor	1	2	3	4	5

DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

How many times in the last six months have you:	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
1. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her	1	2	3	4	5
2. had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will	1	2	3	4	5
3. been involved in gang fights	1	2	3	4	5
4. hit (or threatened to hit) a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
5. hit (or threatened to hit) one of your parents	1	2	3	4	5
6. hit (or threatened to hit) other students	1	2	3	4	5
7. stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle	1	2	3	4	5
8. stolen (or tried to steal) something worth more than $50	1	2	3	4	5
9. broken into a building or vehicle (or tried to break in) to steal something or just to look around	1	2	3	4	5
10. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other students	1	2	3	4	5
11. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
12. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or other things from other people (not students or teachers)	1	2	3	4	5
13. knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)	1	2	3	4	5
14. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth $5 or less	1	2	3	4	5
15. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
16. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth between $5 and $50	1	2	3	4	5
17. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members	1	2	3	4	5
18. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school	1	2	3	4	5
19. purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you (not counting family or school property)	1	2	3	4	5
20. thrown objects (other than snowballs), such as rocks or bottles, at cars or people	1	2	3	4	5
21. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife	1	2	3	4	5
22. been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct)	1	2	3	4	5
23. been drunk in a public place	1	2	3	4	5
24. begged for money or things from strangers	1	2	3	4	5
25. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things	1	2	3	4	5

DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

How many times in the last six months have you:	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
1. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her	1	2	3	4	5
2. had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will	1	2	3	4	5
3. been involved in gang fights	1	2	3	4	5
4. hit (or threatened to hit) a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
5. hit (or threatened to hit) one of your parents	1	2	3	4	5
6. hit (or threatened to hit) other students	1	2	3	4	5
7. stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle	1	2	3	4	5
8. stolen (or tried to steal) something worth more than $50	1	2	3	4	5
9. broken into a building or vehicle (or tried to break in) to steal something or just to look around	1	2	3	4	5
10. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other students	1	2	3	4	5
11. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
12. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or other things from other people (not students or teachers)	1	2	3	4	5
13. knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)	1	2	3	4	5
14. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth $5 or less	1	2	3	4	5
15. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
16. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth between $5 and $50	1	2	3	4	5
17. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members	1	2	3	4	5
18. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school	1	2	3	4	5
19. purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you (not counting family or school property)?	1	2	3	4	5
20. thrown objects (other than snowballs), such as rocks or bottles, at cars or people	1	2	3	4	5
21. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife	1	2	3	4	5
22. been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct)	1	2	3	4	5
23. been drunk in a public place	1	2	3	4	5
24. begged for money or things from strangers	1	2	3	4	5
25. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things	1	2	3	4	5
26. used hallucinogens	1	2	3	4	5
27. used amphetamines	1	2	3	4	5
28. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD	1	2	3	4	5
29. used barbiturates	1	2	3	4	5
30. used heroin	1	2	3	4	5
31. used cocaine	1	2	3	4	5
32. used marijuana	1	2	3	4	5
33. sold marijuana or hashish	1	2	3	4	5
34. used alcoholic beverages	1	2	3	4	5
35. bought or provided liquor for a minor	1	2	3	4	5

VI. ADDITIONAL IMPACT

NORMLESSNESS

Here are some questions about your feelings and beliefs. I'd like you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is sometimes necessary to lie to teachers to stay out of trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
2. At school it is sometimes necessary to play dirty in order to win.	5	4	3	2	1
3. You can make it in school without having to cheat on exams/tests.	5	4	3	2	1
4. It is important to do your own work at school even if it means some kids won't like you.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Making a good impression is more important than telling the truth to teachers.	5	4	3	2	1
6. It is important to be honest with your parents, even if they become upset or you get punished.	5	4	3	2	1
7. Making a good impression is more important than telling the truth to parents.	5	4	3	2	1
8. Sometimes it's necessary to lie to your parents in order to keep their trust.	5	4	3	2	1
9. It may be necessary to break some of your parents' rules in order to keep some of your friends.	5	4	3	2	1
10. It is not worth breaking rules or laws just to keep your friends.	5	4	3	2	1
11. Making a good impression is more important than telling the truth to friends.	5	4	3	2	1
12. It's okay to lie if it keeps your friends out of trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
13. In order to gain the respect of your friends, it's sometimes necessary to beat up on other kids.	5	4	3	2	1
14. You have to be willing to break some rules if you want to be popular with your friends.	5	4	3	2	1

NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEVIANCE -- RESPONDENT

For this next set of questions, please tell me how wrong you think each of the following things is for you or someone your age.

How wrong is it for someone your age to . . .	Very Wrong	Pretty Wrong	A Little Wrong	Not Really Wrong	Not Wrong At All
1. cheat on school tests?	5	4	3	2	1
2. purposely damage or destroy property that does not belong to him or her?	5	4	3	2	1
3. use marijuana?	5	4	3	2	1
4. steal something worth less than $5?	5	4	3	2	1
5. hit or threaten to hit someone without any reason?	5	4	3	2	1
6. use alcohol?	5	4	3	2	1
7. break into a vehicle or building to steal something?	5	4	3	2	1
8. sell hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine and LSD?	5	4	3	2	1
9. steal something worth more than $50?	5	4	3	2	1

BLIGHTED NEIGHBORHOOD

. . . tell me whether you think each is a problem in your neighborhood, whether it's a Big Problem, Somewhat of a Problem, or Not a Problem at all.

	Big Problem	Somewhat of a Problem	Not a Problem
1. Buildings and personal belongings broken and torn up	3	2	1
2. Winos and junkies	3	2	1
3. Abandoned houses	3	2	1
4. Burglaries and thefts	3	2	1
5. Run down and poorly kept buildings and yards	3	2	1
6. Assaults and muggings	3	2	1

FIGHTING RISK

1. How often in the last six months have you thought you might have to fight because other kids were bothering (threatening) you in your neighborhood?

   (1) Never
   (2) Once or twice
   (3) Once or twice a month
   (4) Once a week
   (5) More than once a week

2. How often in the last six months have you thought you might have to fight because other students were bothering (threatening) you at school?

   (1) Never
   (2) Once or twice
   (3) Once or twice a month
   (4) Once a week
   (5) More than once a week

RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT

1. How important is religion in your life? (READ RESPONSES)

   (5) Very important
   (4) Pretty important
   (3) Somewhat important
   (2) Not too important
   (1) Not important at all

2. How often do you attend church, synagogue, or other religious services? (READ RESPONSES)

   (5) Several times a week
   (4) About once a week
   (3) Once or twice a month
   (2) Several times a year
   (1) Never

SOCIAL ISOLATION - COMMUNITY GROUPS

Think about the group (such as service club, religious youth group, recreation group, hobby club, or athletic team) in which you are most active. Tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements about that group.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I don't fit in very well with other people in that group.	5	4	3	2	1
2. I am close to people in that group.	5	4	3	2	1
3. Sometimes I feel lonely when I am with that group.	5	4	3	2	1
4. Other people in that group don't take much interest in me.	5	4	3	2	1
5. It often seems like no one in that group cares about me.	5	4	3	2	1

PARENTAL HARMONY & CONFLICT

Next are some questions about your parents. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I feel that my parents like each other a lot.	5	4	3	2	1
2. My parents like living together	5	4	3	2	1
3. My parents get along very well with each other.	5	4	3	2	1
4. When my parents don't agree, they manage to work out their differences in a pleasant manner.	5	4	3	2	1
5. It seems like my parents are always fighting.	5	4	3	2	1
6. My parents don't care what happens to each other.	5	4	3	2	1

The next questions about your parents (parent figures) are about how often certain things happen at your house.

	Almost Every Day	About Once a Week	About Once a Month	Once or Twice a Year	Never
7. How often do your parents have disagreements over money matters?	5	4	3	2	1
8. How often do your parents have arguments about who does what work at your house?	5	4	3	2	1
9. How often do your parents get really angry with each other?	5	4	3	2	1
10. How often do your parents have really serious fights?	5	4	3	2	1
11. When your parents fight, how often does it get physical?	5	4	3	2	1

APPENDIX C

SERVICE DATA COLLECTION FORMAT - LONG

1. Birthdate_____ BRI ID #_____
   PROJECT ID #_____
2. Sex_____(1) Male_____(2) Female DATE OF ARREST_____
   OFFENSE_____
3. Ethnicity:
   _____(1) White _____(3) Hispanic _____(5) Asian _____(7) Other
   _____(2) Black _____(4) American Indian _____(6) Puerto Rican
4. Date agency received referral_____(mo/yr)
5. Referral Source:
   _____(1) Police
   _____(2) Court Intake
   _____(3) Prosecutor
   _____(4) Supervising Prob. Officer
   _____(5) Judge or Referee
   _____(6) Schools
   _____(7) Other service agency or provider
   _____(8) Self or family
6. Was client enrolled? _____(1) no _____(2) yes
7. Did client receive services beyond intake? _____(1) no _____(2) yes
8. Justice status at time of referral:
   _____(1)diverted without further jeopardy
   _____(2)case held open prior to hearing
   _____(3)case continued after hearing
   _____(4)diverted while client on formal probation
9. Were goals for service or a service plan recorded? _____(1) no _____(2) yes
10. Rating of client adjustment at intake: Use these categories, writing appropriate number in each blank:
    (a) Home _____
    (b) School _____
    (c) Work _____
    (d) Peers _____
    (5) Very Good (2) Poor
    (4) Good (1) Very Poor
    (3) Fair
11. Date terminated_____(mo/yr)
12. Reason terminated:
    _____(1) Service completed
    _____(2) Declined to participate (includes never contacted)
    _____(3) Failure to cooperate (includes unable to locate)
    (4) Moved or died
    (5) Rearrest
    (6) Inappropriate Referral
13. Was client returned to justice system for further processing?___(1) no___(2) yes
14. Most important service as rated by service provider (use numbers in parentheses on back page to code) _____
15. Was treatment plan completed? _____(1) no _____(2) yes
16. Does client need more services? _____(1) no _____(2) yes
17. Probability of further trouble with justice system:_____
    (5) 80-100% (2) 20-39%
    (4) 60-79% (1) Less than 20%
    (3) 40-59%

18. Probability of further delinquent activity:_____(use categories from #17)

19. Rating of client adjustment at time of termination: (use categories from #10)
(a) Home_____ (b) School_____ (c) Work_____ (d) Peers_____

20. Using the entries noted in the record of services, count the number of contacts for each month and enter that number in the appropriate box below to indicate the exact number of service contacts each month.

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV	DEC
1977			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1978	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
1979	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)

21. Date of first services_____(mo/yr)

22. Date of last services_____(mo/yr)

23. Total number of months services were provided (count entries in question 20)____

24. Longest gap between services_____(mos)

Using the entires notes in the record of services, indicate the number of hours and contacts for each service received. If an activity is regularly scheduled, calculate total hours and number of contacts and enter at appropriate service line. Count only actual contacts between clients and service providers, except telephone contacts with the family. If "Beneficiality to Youth" has been indicated, place that in the rating column using these categories: (1) Very beneficial (2) Somewhat beneficial (3) Not very beneficial (4) Not beneficial at all.

	TOTAL SERVICE HOURS	TOTAL NUMBER CONTACTS	RATING OF SERVICES
Diagnostic Services (1)			
Individual Counseling (2)			
Family Counseling (3)			
Group Counseling (4)			
Employment/Career Counseling (5)			
Job Placement (6) (Count only time actually placed in job)			
Job Training (20)			
Tutoring (7)			
Education Placement (8) (Count only if placed)			
Residential Placement (9)	days	N/A	
Athletics/Games (10)			
Arts/Crafts (11)			
Cultural Enrichment (12)			
Big Brothers/Sisters, etc. (13)			
Youth Advocacy (14) (15)			
Camping/Wilderness (16)			
Medical Services			
Drop-in Activity (18)			
Volunteer Placement (19)			
Emergency Assistance (21) (food, clothing money, etc.)			
Telephone contacts-client (22)			
Telephone contacts-family (23)			
Other (24)_____			

25. Was there a referral to any other agency for services? _____(1) No _____(2) Yes

26. Is there any indication that the referral resulted in any services?____(1) No___(2) Yes

27. If yes to #26, were services recorded in the chart above? _____(1) No _____(2) Yes

APPENDIX D

SERVICE DATA COLLECTION FORMAT - SHORT

1. Birthdate_____ BRI ID #_____
   PROJECT ID #_____
2. Sex_____(1) Male_____(2) Female DATE OF ARREST_____
   OFFENSE_____
3. Ethnicity:
   _____(1) White _____(3) Hispanic _____(5) Asian _____(7) Other
   _____(2) Black _____(4) American Indian _____(6) Puerto Rican
4. Date agency received referral_____(mo/yr)
5. Referral Source:
   _____(1) Police
   _____(2) Court Intake
   _____(3) Prosecutor
   _____(4) Supervising Prob. Officer
   _____(5) Judge or Referee
   _____(6) Schools
   _____(7) Other service agency or provider
   _____(8) Self or family
6. Was client enrolled? _____(1) no _____(2) yes
7. Did client receive services beyond intake? _____(1) no _____(2) yes
8. Date terminated_____(mo/yr)
9. Reason terminated:
   _____(1) Service completed
   _____(2) Declined to participate (includes never contacted)
   _____(3) Failure to cooperate (includes unable to locate)
   (4) Moved or died
   (5) Rearrest
   (6) Inappropriate Referral
10. Date of first services_____(mo/yr)
11. Date of last services_____(mo/yr)

APPENDIX E

EVALUATION OF THE DERIVED TYPOLOGY

Appendix E

EVALUATION OF THE DERIVED TYPOLOGY

The importance of evaluating a numerically constructed typology has often been noted (Huizinga, 1978a; Everitt, 1974; Ling, 1971; and Hartigan, 1975). In this appendix, a brief evaluation of the distinctness and homogeneity of the clusters described in the main body of this report and the identifiability of the cluster solution is offered.

In Table E-1, the cluster centroids, intercentroid distances, and the cosine of the angle between cluster centroids are given. A central density parameter measuring the proportion of points in each cluster that are gathered near its centroid and the deviation scores are provided in Table E-2. Table E-3 lists the variable, cluster, and variable by cluster homogeneities as defined by Tryon and Bailey (1970).

As Tables E-1 and E-2 indicate, the clusters are not well separated and do not meet the criteria for a ideal clustering; i.e., objects in any one cluster are more similar than objects in different clusters. (Of course, such a clustering is almost never found in practice.) The central density parameters indicate that the points are not tightly grouped around the cluster centroids. The homogeneity values contained in Table E-3 also indicate that none of the clusters are homogeneous and that no one variable is particularly good in segregating or defining the clusters.

Thus, the clusters do not represent clearly isolated types. Rather, they represent a partition of the multivariate data set into regions that are not

particularly separated. A plot of the six clusters in the space spanned by the first two discriminant functions (not shown) shows the lack of cluster separation.

In evaluating a clustering produced by the K-means algorithm, it is particularly important to examine the identifiability or uniqueness of the clustering. Conceivably, there may be many solutions or different clusterings all attaining essentially the same minimum sum of squares. For this purpose, a different initial starting partition was employed to see if the same cluster solution would be obtained. While this does not "prove" the uniqueness of the solution, it often provides a good check on its identifiability.

Table E-4 contains the centroids, inter-centroid distances, inter-centroid cosines, and deviation scores of the second or new clustering. Table E-5 provides a crosstabulation of the two clusterings. Examination of these tables indicates that although the two clusterings group cases quite differently, they attain similar average squared deviations. Thus, it must be concluded that the clustering solution is not identifiable.

The relationship of the reported (original) clustering and the dense points of the density seeking method used to initiate the original K-means algorithm is presented in Table E-6. Only the dense points, located by the density algorithm, are used so that the cluster sizes are smaller than in the original clustering. Although not perfect, there is a reasonable degree of correspondence between the two clusterings. That the initial K-means and the mode algorithm produced similar clusterings provides the justification for our selection of the original clustering in the analysis. Although the selection was somewhat arbitrary, given the lack of identifiability for the original solution, the similarity of the two solutions provides some cross-validation of methods.

Table E-1
Centroids, Distances, Cosines of the Original Clustering

CLUSTER CENTROIDS

Clusters	Variables 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	-1.413	.989	1.523	1.167	1.169	.915	1.103	1.493	-1.381
2	-.509	.544	.348	.352	.813	.359	.252	.248	-.464
3	-.465	.129	.269	.385	-.551	-.979	.094	.241	-.121
4	.237	.081	-.350	-.358	-.236	-.115	-.775	-.080	.823
5	.743	-.204	-.051	.115	-.065	.722	.552	-.732	.025
6	.807	-1.241	-1.100	-.983	-.792	-.503	-.720	-.799	.364

INTER-CLUSTER CENTROID DISTANCES

1	0.000	2.572	3.813	4.825	4.296	6.236
2	2.572	0.000	1.994	2.430	2.129	3.853
3	3.813	1.994	0.000	2.006	2.460	3.083
4	4.825	2.430	2.006	0.000	2.050	2.053
5	4.296	2.129	2.460	2.050	0.000	2.674
6	6.236	3.853	3.083	2.053	2.674	0.000

COSINE OF THE ANGLE BETWEEN CLUSTER CENTROIDS

1	1.000	.910	.146	-.760	-.213	-.941
2	.910	1.000	-.067	-.643	-.161	-.897
3	.146	-.067	1.000	-.162	-.605	-.171
4	-.760	-.643	-.162	1.000	-.154	.604
5	-.213	-.161	-.605	-.154	1.000	.190
6	-.941	-.897	-.171	.604	.190	1.000

Table E-2
Central Density Measures and Deviation Scores of Original Clustering

MAXIMUM RADIUS AND CENTRAL DENSITY PROPORTION FOR ONE-HALF THE MAXIMUM RADIUS	1	2	3	4	5	6
Maximum Radius	2.9209	2.9963	2.9560	2.9821	2.9304	2.9754
Central Density	.0465	.2316	.1622	.1236	.1148	.0769

CLUSTER	SQUARED DEVIATION SCORE	NUMBER OF ELEMENTS
1	198.918	43
2	369.247	95
3	279.598	74
4	380.185	89
5	279.158	61
6	321.395	65

Average Squared Deviation = 4.28

Table E-3
Cluster and Variable Homogeneities of Original Clustering

VARIABLE X CLUSTER HOMOGENEITIES

Variable	Cluster 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	.270	.687	.628	.548	.438	.567
2	.671	.565	.358	.604	.357	.329
3	.250	.723	.661	.658	.521	.384
4	.790	.607	.625	.538	.366	.380
5	.584	.400	.548	.397	.479	.513
6	.373	.510	.622	.456	.680	.360
7	.530	.464	.581	.475	.533	.477
8	.504	.403	.535	.558	.494	.567
9	.290	.714	.613	.445	.480	.401

VARIABLE HOMOGENEITIES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
.552	.482	.571	.545	.472	.506	.505	.506	.517

CLUSTER HOMOGENEITIES

1	2	3	4	5	6
.474	.564	.574	.520	.483	.442

Table E-4
Centroids, Distances, and Cosines of Second Clustering

CLUSTER CENTROIDS

Clusters	Variables 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	.049	-.849	-.167	-.891	-.524	-.453	-.094	-.154	-.235
2	.604	-.129	.040	.088	.584	.702	-.113	-.696	.144
3	-.906	.725	1.078	.982	-1.111	.747	.957	.977	-1.005
4	-.631	.617	.262	.400	.044	-.188	.239	.375	-.349
5	.171	.259	-.272	.021	-.615	-.529	-.552	-.014	.867
6	1.056	-1.056	-1.339	-.845	-.754	-.444	-.976	-.858	.832

INTER-CLUSTER CENTROID DISTANCES

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0.000	2.206	3.932	2.291	1.905	2.237
2	2.206	0.000	3.230	2.196	2.133	2.861
3	3.932	3.230	0.000	2.101	3.925	5.619
4	2.291	2.196	2.101	0.000	1.990	3.853
5	1.905	2.133	3.925	1.990	0.000	2.312
6	2.237	2.861	5.619	3.853	2.312	0.000

COSINE OF THE ANGLE BETWEEN CLUSTER CENTROIDS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1.000	-.255	-.620	-.511	.091	.611
2	-.255	1.000	-.072	-.558	-.265	.194
3	-.620	-.072	1.000	.764	-.696	-.970
4	-.511	-.558	.764	1.000	-.233	-.854
5	.091	-.265	-.696	-.233	1.000	.574
6	.611	.194	-.970	-.854	.574	1.000

CLUSTER SQUARED DEVIATION SCORE

1	225.518
2	334.849
3	305.301
4	383.834
5	283.466
6	269.748

Average Squared Deviation = 4.26

Table E-5
Crosstabulation of Original and Second Clusterings

Original Clustering	Second Clustering 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0	0	37	0	0	0
2	1	16	24	53	0	0
3	18	0	0	39	16	0
4	11	14	0	5	50	7
5	9	41	1	3	4	0
6	18	1	0	0	0	45

Table E-6
Crosstabulation of K means and Mode Clusters

Mode Clusters	K means Clusters 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	33	9	0	1	0	0
2	0	12	0	0	0	0
3	0	3	1	4	0	0
4	0	2	3	24	4	0
5	0	0	0	0	4	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	9

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