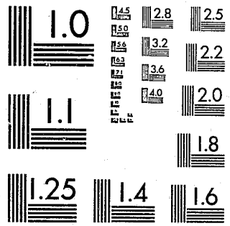

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THE 1945 AND 1958 BIRTH COHORTS: A COMPARISON OF THE PREVALENCE, INCIDENCE, AND SEVERITY OF DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

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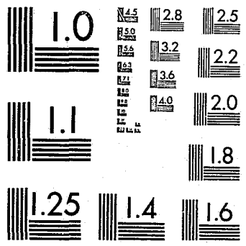
For presentation at the Conference on "Public Danger, Dangerous Offenders and the Criminal Justice System", sponsored by Harvard University and the John F. Kennedy School of Government through a grant from the National Institute of Justice.(February 11-12, 1982).



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INTRODUCTION

A recent report prepared for the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention emphasized that juvenile delinquency appears now to be a more pervasive and serious social problem than in the past (Weis and Sederstrom, 1981). There is growing concern that the quantity and quality of delinquent behavior has changed. From many sources it appears that youths are committing more violent crimes and are doing so with greater frequency. Recent Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) indicate that the amount of violent youth crime is increasing. When measured by the number of arrests per month, the violent crime rate for youths exceeds that of adults (Petersilia et al., 1978). In fact, Strasburg (1978) has shown that the number of violent offenses committed by juveniles tripled between 1960 and 1975. It has also been shown that delinquents are committing violent crimes at comparatively early ages (Hamparian et al., 1978).

The apparent increase of violent crime by juveniles coincides with the public perception. Public awareness and fear of being victimized have led to more concern about the efficacy of treating violent youthful offenders and to a demand for a firmer governmental response. The frequent charge is that the juvenile justice system has been inadequate to the task of preventing and controlling violent crime among juveniles. In 1980 the U.S. Congress amended the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 and mandated that the "juvenile justice system should give additional attention to the problem of juveniles who commit serious crimes, with particular attention to the areas of sentencing, providing necessary resources for informed dispositions, and rehabilitation" (Laurer, 1981: 28).

According to Boland and Wilson (1978) the issues of injustice and ineffectiveness are a result of the two-track system which affords special treatment to juveniles. Public attitudes toward violent and chronic delinquents are shifting from a philosophy of reform to one of retribution.

Zimring has noted that recent attempts to reform sentencing practices in juvenile courts are "efforts to lead sanctioning models away from the jurisprudence of treatment and towards concepts of making the punishment fit the crime" (1981: 884). These developments suggest that sanctions are to be determined by severity of the offense and the juvenile's offense career as a whole. Whatever direction the policy developments take, change within the juvenile justice system should be guided by accurate data on the scope and complexity of the problem of serious and chronic delinquency.

Working on the measurement of delinquency, Sellin and Wolfgang noted how students of juvenile delinquency had often observed that "a true index of delinquency or delinquents must be based on an assessment of conduct during the entire time that juveniles are subject to the law" because "indices based on annual data give no hint of the number of juveniles who become delinquents before they reach adulthood", and we suggested that a study of the delinquency history of birth cohorts could provide a test of "the relative value of preventive action programs....by investigating changes in patterns of delinquent conduct, reduction of recidivism, etc., in successive age cohorts as they progressively come under the influence of such programs" (1964: 66-67).

Cohort studies have methodological advantages in addition to their substantive potential.[1] Hirschi and Selvin (1967), in discussing the problem of causal order—the criterion for judging the claim that one variable causes another—have suggested that a solution to the problem, at least in principle, is the longitudinal or panel study: "In an ideal version of this design, the investigator would select a sample of infants and continually collect

data on them until they become adults" (1967: 53). Similarly, Farrington has remarked that longitudinal surveys are especially useful in studying the course of development, the natural history, and the prevalence of a phenomenon at different ages, how phenomena emerge, and continuities and discontinuities from earlier to later ages (1981: 7).

Despite the apparent advantages of longitudinal studies, the research literature in criminology up to 1972 was mostly characterized by reports of studies that were not longitudinal in nature and clearly not of the birth cohort design. Most studies of recidivism have been retrospective, based on selected groups of offenders—such as juveniles committed to correctional schools, or persons convicted of crimes or committed to penal institutions—whose prior history of delinquency or crime could be analyzed. Prospective studies have been much less common, that is, studies of the conduct of selected groups of offenders during a period of considerable length usually beginning at the adjudication of a person as a delinquent, his conviction of crime, or his commitment to or release from a correctional institution.

Because neither of these two types of research can arrive at more than partial information about recidivism, Sellin and Wolfgang claimed that it would be worthwhile to approach the problem in a different manner: namely, by a study of the history of the delinquency of a birth cohort—a population born in a particular year, whose conflicts with the law could be examined during a segment of the cohort's lifetime, ending with entry into adulthood. "Such an inquiry," we said, "would permit us to note the age of onset and the progression or cessation of delinquency; it would allow us to relate these phenomena to certain personal or social characteristics of the delinquents and to make appropriate comparisons with that part of the cohort that did not have official contact with the law" (1964: 67).

The decision was made to study delinquency and its absence in a cohort consisting of all boys born in 1945 and residing in Philadelphia from a date no later than their tenth birthday until at least their eighteenth. Girls were excluded, partly because of their low delinquency rates and partly because the presence of the boys in the city at the terminal age mentioned could be established from the record of their registration for military service. The fact that no large-scale study of this particular kind had been done previously in the United States gave an additional stimulus to the project. The result of the effort to analyze the first birth cohort in the United States, dealing with delinquency, was published in 1972 as Delinquency in a Birth Cohort (Wolfgang et al.).

Why a New Birth Cohort Study

In a recent report of recommendations by the Vera Institute of Justice (1976), concerned mostly with violent delinquents, references are made to cohort studies:

> "The cohort format makes possible an understanding of the pattern of criminal behavior over a delinquent's entire 'career'. When done on the scale of the Philadelphia study, it also permits analysis of the relationship of delinquent behavior—and changes in delinquent behavior—to many demographic, social and other factors. An optimum research strategy would call for more such cohort studies... . One of the locations studied should be Philadelphia in order to provide a comparison with the earlier...study which could yield useful information about changes in delinquent behavior over time" (emphasis added).

This statement concisely explains the underlying rationale of a new cohort study. Longitudinal cohort studies that collect data on maturation of

the same persons are the best if not only way to provide probabilities and prevalence statistics. Another birth cohort in Philadelphia affords a comparative basis to examine the effects of differential time on a geographically similarly situated set of subjects. Cohort changes or consistencies will be capable of being displayed in a socio-cultural setting that had a political, police and juridical background similar to the earlier cohort. Whether offense probabilities by age, race, sex, crime types, seriousness, etc. are different will be measurable within the same geographic boundaries. Another birth cohort study in another jurisdiction would be useful, to be sure, but differences from the present study would have more difficulty being explained by reasons of generational differences than by geography and demographic factors; whereas differences in a new Philadelphia cohort rest more upon real differences in offensivity. Changes, if any, in drug offenses, amounts and locations of victimization through violence, kinds and length of court and institutional sentences, can be specifically attributable to the specific cohort variations if the new cohort is located in Philadelphia.

Are crimes of violence more or less today inherent in the generational wave of a cohort born 13 years later than the World War II birth cohort of 1945? Or is the rate essentially the same and only swelled by the total volume of children produced in the cohort? Is juvenile crime more serious on the scale of gravity than it was in the earlier cohort? Is the second generation more specialized in offensivity than the parent group? Do offense careers have similar desistance rates? Is racial differentiation in juvenile justice dispositions still evident? These are only a few of the more obvious questions answerable by a birth cohort replication in the same jurisdiction.

Replications of scientific findings are common, lauded and necessary in the physical sciences; they are relatively rare, albeit still necessary, in the social sciences. They are even less common in criminology and criminal justice, which is most unfortunate. In a science closer to its nascency than most, criminology requires replications to determine or to insure reliability and validity. Researchers in this field are often more interested in trying to break new ground than to confirm an earlier travelled terrain. But when a methodology capable of generating a new set of findings important to theory and empirical application is demonstrated, it should be reiterated in order to determine whether it is possible to buttress consistency and to affirm the reality observed. Prevention of crime, social invasion of the biographies of people, deterrence and purposefully promoted change are significant modes of social intervention, especially in a democracy. They can have serious policy effects that require the best available insight based on the best available evidence. Birth cohorts, or longitudinal analyses, provide this opportunity. A replication of evidence in the same setting maximizes the validity and reliability of this kind of analysis for the benefit of science and of social policy.

Delinquency in a Birth Cohort is still the only large-scale birth cohort study in this country, based upon a generalizable population. Delinquency careers of all boys born in 1945 who lived in Philadelphia from their tenth to their eighteenth birthdays were described and parametric estimates of their offense rates and probabilities computed. Base-line cohort rates were developed for: first offense, recidivism and offense switching rates; offense severity escalation, disposition probabilities and subsequent offensive behavior.

The major objective of the 1958 birth cohort study is a full replication of the 1945 Philadelphia birth cohort study. The data collection procedures, research design and methodology of the 1945 cohort study will be applied in the present research. In general, we wish to establish the same set of parametric estimates as were developed earlier to determine the "cohort effects" on delinquent behavior of growing up in the 1960s and early 1970s compared to those activities expressed by a cohort growing up mostly in the 1950s.

The Cohort I and II data sets contain more than ample cases for fruitful comparative analyses. The Cohort I data contain: 9945 subjects (7043 whites and 2902 nonwhites); 3475 delinquents (2017 whites and 1458 nonwhites); and a total of 10,214 offenses (4458 by whites and 5756 by nonwhites). In comparison, the Cohort II study is much larger, reflects a much more even racial distribution and includes females. The 1958 data include: 28,338 subjects (6587 white males and 7224 nonwhite males; 6943 white females and 7584 nonwhite females); 6545 delinquents (1523 white males and 2984 nonwhite males; 644 white females and 1394 nonwhite females); and a total of 20,089 offenses (4306 by white males and 11,713 by nonwhite males; 1196 by white females and 2874 by nonwhite females).

Although our analysis of the 1958 birth cohort data is yet to be completed, we report below some preliminary findings relative to a few crucial dimensions of delinquent behavior.

FINDINGS

Prevalence

One of the most fundamental questions in any study of delinquency concerns the number or proportion of subjects that have had official contact with the police. Thus research must identify how prevalent the problem of delinquency is by classifying the subjects at risk at least in terms of the delinquent vs. nondelinquent dichotomy. In the 1945 birth cohort study (Cohort I) we found that 34.9 percent of the boys were recorded as being delinquent (had at least one official police contact) before reaching age eighteen (see Table 1a). Moreover, 16.2 percent of the cohort were one-time offenders while 18.7 percent were delinquent recidivists. Of the latter group 12.4 percent were nonchronic recidivists (from 2 to 4 offenses) and 6.3 percent were chronic recidivists (5 or more offenses).

The most striking findings with regard to the prevalence of delinquents involved race differences. In Cohort I, 50.2 percent of the nonwhite boys were delinquent compared to 28.6 percent of the whites. Nonwhites were not only more likely to be delinquent but were also more likely to be recidivists (32.9% vs. 12.9%) and more chronically delinquent (14.4% vs. 3.0%) than white subjects.

Table 1a shows that Cohort I delinquency involved almost 35 percent of the cohort subjects and repeat delinquency occurred among 19 percent of the cohort. Delinquency was much more prevalent among nonwhites by a factor of about 1.7 to one, recidivists were found among nonwhites by a factor of 2.6 to one, and chronic delinquency in the ratio of 4.8 to one compared to whites.

The prevalence data, reported in Table 1b, for males in the 1958 birth cohort, show a similar prevalence of delinquency to that observed in Cohort I. Overall, 32.6 percent of Cohort II males were delinquent compared to 34.9 percent in the earlier cohort. In terms of delinquency categories, Cohort II shows slightly fewer one-time offenders (13.7% vs. 16.2%), but an almost identical proportion of recidivists (18.9% vs. 18.7%). However, recidivists in Cohort II are slightly more likely to be chronic offenders (7.5% vs. 6.3%) than was the case for Cohort I.

Table 1b replicates the Cohort I finding of the impact of race. Nonwhite males have a higher prevalence of delinquents than whites overall (41.3% vs. 23.1%) and in terms of the various offender categories. The differences are most striking for the recidivist category: 26.1 percent of nonwhites compared to 11.1 percent of whites. The discrepancy is maintained when the prevalence of delinquents is divided into nonchronic (2 to 4 offenses) and chronic (5 or more offenses). But the impact of race on delinquency in Cohort II is clearly less striking than it was for Cohort I. That is, nonwhite subjects are more likely to be delinquent and more likely to be classified at higher frequencies of offenses but the gap between the races has narrowed. Generally, the proportionate difference between the races was about 21.6 percent for the 1945 cohort but is approximately 18 percent for the 1958 cohort.

Although interesting, the data reported in Tables 1a and b portray the various prevalence measures as a function of the number of cohort subjects in each subgroup as the denominator. Because these figures do not allow a breakdown of delinquents into the various levels of prevalence, it is more instructive to examine the types of delinquency status with delinquent subjects as the base of the percentages. These results are displayed in Tables 2a and b.

Cohort I offenders (Table 2a) are more likely to be one-time offenders than recidivists of either the nonchronic or chronic variety. Further, the chances are about two to one that a recidivist will be nonchronic compared to chronic. Cohort II males (Table 2b) also show a declining prevalence as the frequency of delinquency increases but these data also reflect some noteworthy differences. Compared to Cohort I, one-time Cohort II offenders have declined (46.4% vs. 41.9%) while the percentage of chronic delinquents has increased (18.0% vs. 22.9%). The proportion of nonchronic recidivists is almost identical for both cohorts (approximately 35%).

For both cohorts there is a pronounced race effect in the distribution of types of delinquency status. For Cohort I males, white delinquents are much more likely to be one-time offenders (55% vs. 34.5%) and much less likely to be classified as chronic offenders (10.4% vs. 28.6%) than nonwhite boys. When the recidivist category is viewed separately, over three quarters of the white recidivists are nonchronic compared to 56.2 percent of the nonwhites, and nonwhite chronics exceed white chronics by a factor

of twenty percent. For Cohort II males the race comparisons are similar, namely, a greater propensity of white delinquents commit only one offense and nonwhite delinquents are disproportionately responsible for five or more offenses. However, race disparity observed in Cohort I chronic recidivists has narrowed in Cohort II. That is, when recidivist delinquents are classified into nonchronic and chronic types, 43.8 percent of nonwhite recidivists were chronic compared 23.1 percent of white recidivists in Cohort I; in Cohort II nonwhites remained about the same (42%) while the share of white recidivism attributable to chronics increased to 32.7 percent.

Incidence and Seriousness

Tables 3a, b display the frequency and offense rate (i.e., number of offenses divided by number of subjects x 1000) for select crime code categories for each birth cohort. The data indicate that the Cohort II offense rate of 1159.9 is higher than that of Cohort I (1027.00) for all offenses and the rate of Cohort II (599.3) is much higher than that of Cohort I (355.6) for the group of selected serious offenses. Differences between the two birth cohorts are more pronounced for specific offenses. For example, the Cohort II offense rate is three times higher for homicide, 1.7 times higher for rape, five times higher for robbery, and 1.8 times higher for aggravated assault. The only exception occurs for the "other assualts" category for which the two cohorts have almost identical rates. Taken together, the violent offense rate for Cohort II (149.4) is three times higher than the rate for Cohort I (47.4).

Incidence data (Tables 3a, b) also indicate a pronounced race differential for each birth cohort. For both the overall and select offenses, nonwhites have much higher rates than whites. For example, in terms of the select offenses, the respective rates are 815.3 vs. 161.1 in Cohort I and 888.2 vs. 282.5 in Cohort II for nonwhites compared to whites. The race differentials are most pronounced with respect to the serious assaultive offenses. For the 1945 birth cohort, nonwhites have rates five times higher for homicide, 13 times higher for rape, 20 times higher for robbery and 11 times higher for aggravated assault. The race effect for the 1958 birth cohort

diminishes, yet the differences are still apparent (11 times for homicide, 10 times for rape, 11 times for robbery and 4 times for aggravated assault) between nonwhites and whites. In Cohort I the general violent offense rate for nonwhites (139.9) is about fifteen times higher than that for whites (9.2). However, in Cohort II nonwhites have a violent offense rate (253.3) that is but seven times that of whites (35.3). In short, nonwhites in Cohort II have become twice as violent as they were in Cohort I, but whites have become four times more violent.

Tables 4a and 4b report offenses for Cohort I and II in terms of both the UCR classification scheme and an index developed by Sellin and Wolfgang (1964). The latter scheme ignores legal labels and classifies offenses according to the presence of injury, theft, damage or the combination of these effects. An event that does not involve any of these components is scored as a nonindex event (regardless of crime code or UCR rules of classification).

UCR index offenses for Cohort I represent about 27 percent of all offenses. These index offenses may be partitioned into 10 percent violent, 7 percent robberies, 24 percent burglaries and 60 percent thefts. By comparison, the Sellin-Wolfgang system finds that almost 37 percent of the delinquencies can be classified as index owing to the presence of at least one of the scoring components. Further, the Sellin-Wolfgang system also finds a much higher proportion of violent (i.e., injury) offenses than does the UCR scheme (23% vs. 10%). For males in Cohort II, the data given in Table 4b clearly indicate that the delinquencies of this group are more serious. Compared to the 1945 cohort, UCR index offenses constitute a larger share of all offenses (39.5% vs. 27%).

Cohort II index offenses contain proportionately fewer theft offenses (38.3 vs. 60%) and about twice as many more violent and robbery offenses (33% vs. 17%). With respect to the Sellin-Wolfgang classifications, over 45 percent of Cohort II events are classified as involving injury, theft, damage or combinations of these, compared to 37 percent in Cohort I. Thus, regardless of which offense grouping one picks for comparison, the data show the more recent cohort to be more delinquent and more seriously violent than the earlier group.

For Cohort I nonwhites have a higher proportion of index offenses (31% vs. 21%) and three times the proportion of violent/robbery index events (22% vs. 7%) than whites. The 1958 cohort shows a similar race effect. Index events constitute a greater share of offenses for nonwhites (42% vs. 30%) compared to whites. The discrepancy for violent and robbery offenses is less than it was for Cohort I. Cohort II nonwhite index events are about twice as likely to involve violence compared to three times obtained in the 1945 data.

Because grouping offenses into categories only partially reflects the actual seriousness of the events, we have scored the events by weighting the components according to the system developed by Sellin and Wolfgang. By summing the weights across all components we produce a quaintitative measure of offense severity (Tables 5a and b).

One of the most striking observations about these data concerns cohort differences in the distribution of seriousness scores. Cohort I is more highly skewed to the lower end of the continuum compared to Cohort II. For example, 87 percent of Cohort I offenses fall into seriousness score categories below 300 and reflect the fact that delinquents committed primarily nonindex events. However, for Cohort II, only about 50 percent of the offenses fall

below the 300 level. At the other end of the seriousness range, less than one percent of Cohort I offenses fall at or beyond the 1000 level compared to 23 percent for Cohort II.

For Cohort I, offenses by whites are less serious than offenses by nonwhites as reflected in the fact that the proportion of whites in each of the 11 categories under score 100 is larger (with two slight exceptions) than that of nonwhites. On the other hand, the proportion of nonwhites in each of the 13 score categories of 100 and above exceed that of whites (save for one white delinquent with a score of 4400).

The seriousness of Cohort II offenses exhibits a much more even distribution by race. About 48 percent of the nonwhite events, compared to 56 percent of the white events, fall below 300 while 25 percent of the former, compared to 19 percent of the latter, fall at or beyond 1000. Clearly, race differences in offense seriousness, although evident, are much less substantial than they were in Cohort I.

Offensivity of Delinquent Subgroups

Although useful in many respects, prevalence and incidence data do not permit a precise comparison of delinquent behavior across categories of delinquency status. That is, comparing only proportions of delinquents ignores the important factor of the quantity of delinquent behavior. Similarly, relying solely on the incidence and seriousness of offenses obscures the issue of how many delinquents are responsible for violations in different groups. To remedy this problem we report in this section offense data as a function of various types of delinquency status.

Table 6a shows that in Cohort I, of 10,214 delinquent events, 8601 (84.2%) were committed by 1862 recidivists (53.6% of all the delinquents). Those who committed five or more offenses (627 or 18%), whom we have called chronic recidivists, were responsible for 5305 of all delinquent events (51.9%). Chronic offenders constitute about one-third of the recidivist subset but committed over 60 percent of offenses attributable to the subset. The problem of chronic, repeat delinquency is restricted to a small group of offenders.

For males in Cohort II this pattern appears with even more disparity between delinquent types. Recidivists are responsible for 88 percent of all offenses (Table 6b) but constitute only 58 percent of delinquents. Chronic offenders, however, have an even greater share of offenses in Cohort II. Compared to the 1945 cohort, chronic offenders born in 1958 committed 61 percent of all offenses and almost 70 percent of offenses by the recidivist subset (versus 52% and 60% in Cohort I).

We have displayed offender and offense data by race in Tables 7a and b. In Cohort I, the chronic offender effect is contingent on race: although

recidivists account for the majority of offenses for both races (75% for whites and 91% for nonwhites), white chronics account for only 34 percent of all offenses and 45 percent of offenses of the recidivist subset, compared to 65 percent and 72 percent for nonwhite chronics. Thus, the chronic offender effect in Cohort I is mostly a function of nonwhites.

Recidivists in Cohort II show a similar share of delinquent behavior among recidivists as in Cohort I for whites (81%) and nonwhites (90%). But in Cohort II the chronic offender effect is maintained for both races, although still more dramatic for nonwhites. Among whites, chronic offenders account for about 50 percent of all offenses and 62 percent of recidivist offenses; among nonwhites, chronic delinquents are responsible for a more appreciable share of overall delinquency (65%) and most recidivist delinquency (71%). Once again, therefore, the current cohort does not exhibit the same degree of racial difference that characterized the earlier study.

The relationship between types of delinquency status and delinquent behavior, especially the role of chronic offenders, is most evident when offenses are grouped by type of event (Tables 8a and b). For Cohort I, the chronic offender involvement in serious delinquency is very high. For example, chronics committed 63 percent of index offenses and even higher shares of serious index offenses (71% of murders, 73% of rapes, 82% of robberies and 70% of the aggravated assaults). As noted before, however, Cohort I white chronics are far less delinquent than their nonwhite counterparts, even among serious crime categories.

For Cohort II, chronic offenders are again responsible for the majority of serious crime (68% of index offenses, 61% of murders, 76% of rapes, 73% of

robberies, 65% of aggravated assaults and 66% of the Sellin-Wolfgang injury offenses). More important, the data also indicate that this finding holds for both whites and nonwhites, unlike Cohort I, in which the chronic offender effect was restricted primarily to nonwhites.

Despite being charged with more serious offenses, chronic offenders in Cohort I committed events whose seriousness scores closely resemble those of nonchronic recidivists. For example, 86 percent of offenses by chronics, compared to 88 percent of offenses by nonchronic recidivists, fall below the seriousness score mark of 300. Similarly, about 0.9 percent of the former's offenses, compared to one percent of the latter's, fall at or beyond the 1000 point. For Cohort II males, however, the chronic offender is not only more likely to be charged with serious offenses; but his events are more serious: only 46 percent of the chronics' offenses fall below 300 compared to 57 percent for nonchronic recidivists', while at or beyond the 1000 point level, 27 percent of the chronics' offenses, compared to 19 percent for nonchronics, occur.

When seriousness scores are examined by offender group and race, the previous relationships are maintained without exception. For Cohort I there are virtually no differences in the seriousness score distributions between chronic and nonchronic recidivists for both races. However, the 1958 chronic offenders are responsible for offenses which are less likely to fall at the lower end of the seriousness scale and are more likely to be classified at the highest points of the severity continuum. Unlike the 1945 males, chronic delinquency for Cohort II males is likely to be both very frequent and serious.

Recidivism

In this section we review a few of the issues surrounding the question of repeat delinquency. Specifically, we discuss the probability of recidivism generally, of select offenses, and the escalation of offense seriousness by rank order of offense. However, before discussing these data it is useful to review the parameters of the recidivism issue.

We have already noted that one-time offenders constituted the highest percentage of delinquents. For Cohort I, 46.4 percent of delinquents committed just one offense. The percentage of one-time offenders was lower among Cohort II males (41.9%). On the other hand, chronic recidivists account for just 6 percent of the entire birth cohort and 18 percent of Cohort I offenders, but 7.5 percent of Cohort II and 23 percent of male offenders in Cohort II. However, for the two groups of males, chronic offenders were responsible for the majority of delinquent acts. Chronics committed about 53 percent of Cohort I offenses but 61 percent of Cohort II offenses. This is a dramatic increase in the concentration of offensivity among the few.

We have noted that chronic recidivism is more common among nonwhites than whites. In the 1945 birth cohort, 28.6 percent of nonwhite delinquents were chronic compared to 10.4 percent of white delinquents. In Cohort II, the race discrepancy exists but is only about 11 percentage points compared to the difference of 18 in Cohort I. Regardless of these race differences, chronic recidivists represent a minority of delinquents who account for a disproportionate share of delinquent acts.

Approximately one-third of Cohort I subjects had a police contact for any offense; of these about 53 percent went on to at least a second offense and slightly fewer than two-thirds of these went on to at least a third (Table 10a). Beyond the third offense the likelihood of committing any further offense increases from about .71 to .82. These data clearly indicate that nonwhites are more likely than whites to be delinquent (50% vs. 28%) but, more important, nonwhites consistently have a higher probability of recidivating. Thus, for example, 65 percent of nonwhite delinquents go on to a second and almost 75 percent of these commit a third offense. The respective white percentages are at least 10 percent lower for these two offense numbers.

The likelihood that a Cohort I delinquent will engage in a UCR property offense is approximately equal to that of delinquency generally (.35). However, the probability of committing this type of offense more than once is much lower than recidivistic delinquency generally (.38 vs. .53). Although the probability of committing this type of offense three or more times, up to ten or more times, increases steadily, the values are considerably lower than those of overall recidivism. Nonwhites exhibit a greater probability of committing a UCR index offense involving property compared to whites (.45 vs. .27) and generally a greater likelihood at various levels of recidivism. Concerning violent index offenses, a Cohort I delinquent has a relatively small chance of engaging in this type of offense (.10). The probability of repeating this type of serious offense was low compared to recidivism generally and UCR property recidivism as well. The initial race difference of .20 for nonwhites compared to .02 for whites becomes almost negligible at the higher frequency levels.

Table 10b shows a probability distribution of overall delinquency for Cohort II males that is very similar to that observed for Cohort I. The chance that a Cohort II male will commit a delinquent act is close to that for Cohort I (.32 vs. .34), while the likelihood of two or more offenses is slightly higher in Cohort II (.58 vs. .53). From three or more offenses the probabilities between the two cohorts are approximately equal. It is also noteworthy that race differences observed for Cohort I are again narrowed in the later cohort. The initial probabilities show a greater chance of delinquency for nonwhites than for whites (.41 vs. .23) but the gap between the races, as we have repeatedly mentioned, diminishes as the frequency of delinquency increases.

Despite the overall similarity between the two cohorts, the probability of committing the select types of serious offenses differs substantially. Cohort II males exhibit a lower probability of engaging in a UCR property offense than Cohort I (.23 vs. .34) but show approximately the same tendency to continue this type of offense after the first. The tendency for nonwhites to engage in this type of offense compared to whites is virtually eliminated in Cohort II.

The two cohorts differ even more with respect to violent index offenses. Cohort II males exhibit a much greater likelihood of entering this offense dimension (.25 vs. .10) and much higher probabilities of recidivating at various levels (from .34 to .85 vs. .20 to .5). The increase in violence exhibited in Cohort II is mostly attributable to nonwhites. Almost one-third of nonwhite delinquents engage in at least one violent index offense compared to about 12 percent of white delinquents. Nonwhite offenders exhibit a much higher probability of continuing a violent career compared to whites.

The mean seriousness score for all offenses and the five Sellin-Wolfgang offense types are given in Table 11a for the first to the fifteenth offense in Cohort I. The scores do not indicate that offense severity is positively related to the number of offenses a delinquent commits. For offenses of any type, the mean seriousness scores show a small upward trend as the offense rank number increases. The increment in offense severity by offense number for nonindex and theft offenses is almost nonexistent, although seriousness scores for damage and combination offenses appear to be negatively related to the rank number. On the other hand, mean seriousness scores for <u>injury</u> offenses exhibit a strong upward trend for the first ten offenses. After the tenth offense, the data are somewhat mixed, but the end points show once again a strong upward trend.

By comparison, the data reported in Table 11b for Cohort II males generally exhibit an upward trend in offense severity as rank number of offenses increases. For all offenses and for nonindex offenses, scores for the higher offense rank numbers are about twice as high as those of the lower rank numbers. The range of seriousness scores is somewhat less for theft, damage and combination offenses but the upward trend is nonetheless clear. For injury offenses, the data are inconsistent across the various ranks, showing great swings upward and downward in the average seriousness of offenses.

SUMMARY

Prevalence - Our data indicate that males in the two cohorts have about the same proportion of delinquents (35% in Cohort I; 33% in Cohort II). However, the proportion of one-time offenders has declined from about 46 percent in Cohort I to 42 percent in Cohort II while the proportion of chronic recidivists in the cohorts has increased from 6 to 7.5 percent or, among all delinquents, has increased from 18 percent to about 23 percent. Concerning race differences, the data indicate that nonwhites are more likely to become delinquent and their delinquency is more likely to be recidivistic. Both cohorts show the same.

Incidence - The number and type of offenses committed show that males in Cohort II have a higher offense rate generally, especially for serious offenses like homicide, rape, robbery and aggravated assault, compared to Cohort I. As with prevalence data, the incidence of delinquency shows a more frequent involvement for nonwhites regardless of cohort. The seriousness of the offense follows the incidence of delinquency for the two cohorts but not for the race differences observed above. That is, Cohort II offenses have a higher offense severity with a distribution much more heavily concentrated at the higher level of seriousness than in Cohort I. However, unlike Cohort I, for which nonwhites exhibited much higher severity scores, the data for Cohort II show a more even distribution of offense seriousness racially.

Delinquent Groups - The distribution of offenses by types of delinquency status shows both cohort and race effects. In Cohort I, chronic offenders constituted 18 percent of delinquents but were responsible for

about 53 percent of delinquent offenses. In Cohort II, chronic offenders increased to about 22 percent of the delinquent subset but are now responsible for 61 percent of all offenses. However, the chronic offender effect in Cohort I is mostly a function of the nonwhite chronics while in Cohort II the chronic offender is associated with excessive delinquency for both races. When the seriousness of offenses is examined, little difference is found for the Cohort I data between nonchronic and chronic recidivists. But for Cohort II males, the chronic offender is not only more likely to be charged with a greater number of serious offenses; his offenses are indeed more serious.

Recidivism - Data on the probability of repeat delinquency indicate similar distributions overall but distinct differences when the type of offense is considered. Overall, males in each cohort enter delinquency in about the same proportion and show similar probabilities of recidivism: about .50 for a second offense increasing to .80 for a tenth offense. Cohort II delinquents exhibit a lower probability of engaging in a UCR property offense than offenders in Cohort I (.23 vs. .34) but show the same tendency to continue this type of offense. However, Cohort II offenders not only show a much higher probability of committing a violent offense (.25 vs. .10) but also have much higher chances of recidivating at various stages out to a tenth violent offense.

Recidivism data by race also exhibit a cohort effect. In Cohort I, nonwhites are more likely than whites to be delinquent (.50 vs. .28) and, more important, nonwhite delinquents are much more likely than whites to be recidivists. Similarly, much higher proportions of nonwhites commit

violent and property offenses; thus the problem of recidivism is greater for them compared to whites. Race disparity is really only evident for violent offenses in Cohort II. For all offenses, the probabilities of recidivism are very close for both races and the gap diminishes as the frequency level increases. Concerning UCR property offenses, there are virtually no differences between whites and nonwhites in the likelihood of continuing committing this type of offense. For violent offenses, however, the race effect is quite evident: almost one-third of nonwhite delinquents have been charged with a violent crime compared to just 12 percent of white delinquents. Further, the chances of repeating a violent offense are much higher for nonwhites.

Seriousness scores by rank order of offense also reflect a cohort effect. In Cohort I, offense severity is not related to the number of offenses a delinquent commits. From the first to the fifteenth offense there is only a slight upward trend. In Cohort II, the opposite is true: for the higher offense numbers, seriousness scores are about twice as high as those of the lower rank offense numbers. Thus, recidivism in the later cohort is associated with a higher average offense severity than was the case in the first cohort.

For all offenses, seriousness scores are about twice as high among high offense frequency as they are among low offense frequency. The mean seriousness score for the first offense (430.62) is less than half the mean score for the fifteenth offense (879.45).

A CONCLUSION

Cohort II—13 years later than Cohort I—does not have more persons with a delinquency record than Cohort I. But Cohort II, growing up in the late 60's and early 70's, committed more crimes and much more serious crimes. Both cohorts start their criminal careers as juveniles.

One policy consideration is that criminal career programs should always have access to juvenile delinquency records, at least for those delinquents who exhibit serious and violent criminality. Without juvenile records, adults at age 18 are denuded of their violent, injurious criminal history and become virginal offenders in adult court. We know that 88 percent of adult offenders had a delinquency record.

A pervasive question is whether Cohort II, a very violent criminal population of a small number of nasty, brutal offenders, is a demographic aberration. Will Cohort III, born, for example, in 1970, be as violent over their juvenile careers? We do not know. We suspect several things. The rate of violent crime by "dangerous" offenders will decrease, nationally, because of the reduction of the 15-24 age group in the population. We also suspect that, because fertility rates of nonwhites will continue to be higher than white rates, violent crime among nonwhites will not be abated until the end of this century.

If we exclude urban and racial riots, which many social observers anticipate, ordinary crimes of violence should, in the aggregate, decline. But a smaller adolescent/young adult population may still have an increase in violent crime.

Cohort II may be an aberrant display of violence. Cohort III may be less violent. We need to know. If Cohort II had had a social response that was more retributive, perhaps the effect would be reflected in lower rates of violence among Cohort III subjects. The social policy of today can affect the behavior of juveniles of tomorrow. We need not direct our policy to what the offense rate might be ten years from now. We should have a policy for the present cohorts of delinquency.

Recall that current juveniles are violent, the most violent population. They are here and now. Society should react to the present corpus of violence whatever may be the diminished or increased exhibition of criminal violance in the next generation.

Cohort II is an escalation of violent criminality, a fearful phenomenon for the general population, a surplus of cases for prosecutors and judges. Cohort II is not unusual in the small cadre of serious, chronic, violent offenders. They are simply more violent. Our social reaction to such criminality should be related to our knowledge that offenders who are young begin their violent harm early in life and should be socially controlled equally early in life.

We can adjust our societal reaction to each cohort. We should react strongly to that small cadre of violent people and react softly to non-serious offenders. Cohort III could be less violent if we had had a more stern reaction to Cohort II. Or Cohort III may, sui generis, be less violent.

Each birth cohort, however large, is but a life history, a single case study in the demography of time. Although these biographies march through time together biologically—at least generally so—they do not all cross the threshold from legally conforming to legally violating behaviors. And those who do have different paces: some start earlier than others and never stop; most turn back over the threshold and are not seen officially again. Now, the application of social control, of social intervention to reduce future crime, can make use of that knowledge by recognizing differential life paths and paces, by taking into account delinquent/criminal transition probabilities. A juvenile and criminal justice policy that focuses on the few at the most propitious time has the greatest likelihood of effecting change. Social intervention applied to those few need not be merely restrictive and depriving of liberty; it can also be healthful for and helpful to those who are under control.

No scheme for the control of criminal violence can have immediate and universal effect. If at all successful, it will have systemic effects rippling through a successive chain of cohorts. Thus, when and how 15-year-old violent offenders are handled in one decade can have an effect on how 15-year-olds behave in a later decade. By observing several birth cohorts we can hope to measure the socially vertical effects over time.

We are still sufficiently close to the juvenile years of Cohort II to design policy based on what we have learned in analyzing delinquent and violent careers. Preparing now for a program aimed at reducing

future violence (of one, two or three decades) is proper. A Cohort III might be less violent without a concerted policy of social control now, but inaction could be a dangerous and costly social experiment. Planning social interaction now may or may not produce a less dangerous Cohort III. If Cohort III were to be less violent we might not know whether it was due to a past policy or to a kind of generational spontaneous remission. But developing policy now, based on what we have observed, is at worst most likely to be benign and at best to be benevolent.

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TABLE 1a

Number and Percentage (of Total Cohort) of Delinquents by Frequency Category and Race

	Nonwhites		Whites		All	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Cohort	2,902	.....	7,043	.....	9,945	.....
Delinquents	1,456	50.2	2,019	28.6	3,475	34.9
One-time offenders	503	17.3	1,110	15.7	1,613	16.2
Recidivists	953	32.9	909	12.9	1,862	18.7
Chronic	417	14.4	210	3.0	627	6.3
Non-chronic	536	18.5	699	9.9	1,235	12.4

(Source: Wolfgang, Figlio, Sellin, 1972:p.89)

TABLE 1b

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE (OF COHORT GROUP) OF DELINQUENTS BY FREQUENCY CATEGORY AND RACE

(COHORT II MALES)

	White		Nonwhite		All	
Category	N	%	N	%	N	%
Subjects	6587	-	7224	-	13811	-
Nondelinquent	5064	76.9	4240	58.7	9304	67.4
Delinquent	1523	23.1	2984	41.3	4507	32.6
Delinquents	1523	-	2984	-	4507	-
One-time	791	12.0	1099	15.2	1890	13.7
Recidivist	732	11.1	1885	26.1	2617	18.9
Recidivists	732	-	1885	-	2617	-
Non-chronic	493	7.5	1094	15.1	1587	11.4
Chronic	239	3.6	791	10.9	1030	7.5

TABLE 2a

Number and Percentage (of Specific Delinquent Subgroup) of Offenders by Frequency Category and Race

	Nonwhites		Whites	
	N	%	*N*	%
Cohort	2,902	.....	7,043	.....
Delinquent	1,456	50.2	2,019	28.6
One-time offenders	503	34.5	1,110	55.0
Recidivists	953	65.4	909	45.1
Chronic	417	43.8	210	23.1
Non-chronic	536	56.2	699	76.9

(Source: Wolfgang, Figlio, Sellin, 1972:p.90)

TABLE 2b

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE (OF SPECIFIC DELINQUENT GROUP) OF DELINQUENTS BY FREQUENCY CATEGORY AND RACE

(COHORT II MALES)

	White		Nonwhite		All	
Category	N	%	N	%	N	%
Delinquents	1523	-	2984	-	4507	-
One-time	791	51.9	1099	36.8	1890	41.9
Non-chronic recidivist	493	32.4	1094	36.7	1587	35.2
Chronic recidivist	239	15.7	791	26.5	1030	22.9
Recidivists	732	-	1885	-	2617	-
Non-chronic recidivist	493	67.3	1094	58.0	1587	10.6
Chronic recidivist	239	32.7	791	42.0	1030	39.4

TABLE 3a

NUMBER AND RATE OF SELECT
OFFENSES BY RACE

(COHORT I)

	Non-white		White		Total	
Offense	N	Rate/ 1000	N	Rate/ 1000	N	Rate/ 1000
Homicide	14	4.8	0	0	14	1.4
Rape	38	13.1	6	.9	44	4.4
Robbery	173	59.6	20	2.8	193	19.4
Agg. Assault	181	62.4	39	5.5	220	22.1
Burglary	394	135.8	248	35.2	642	64.6
Larceny	802	276.4	387	54.9	1189	119.6
Auto Theft	187	64.4	239	33.9	426	42.8
Other Assaults	365	125.8	172	24.4	537	54.0
Arson	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weapons	212	73.1	58	8.2	270	27.1
Narcotics	0	0	1	.1	1	.1
Total	2366	815.3	1170	166.1	3536	355.6
Total of all offenses	5756	1983.5	4458	633.0	10214	1027.0

TABLE 3b

NUMBER AND RATE OF SELECT
OFFENSES BY RACE

(COHORT II MALES)

	White		Nonwhite		All	
Offense	N	Rate/ 1000	N	Rate/ 1000	N	Rate/ 1000
Homicide	4	.6	52	7.2	56	4.1
Rape	9	1.4	96	13.3	105	7.6
Robbery	103	15.6	1223	169.3	1326	96.0
Agg. Assault	117	17.8	459	63.5	576	41.7
Burglary	454	68.9	1342	185.8	1796	130.0
Larceny	406	61.1	1353	187.3	1759	127.4
Auto Theft	193	29.3	472	65.3	665	48.2
Other Assaults	217	32.9	521	72.1	738	53.4
Arson	18	2.7	26	3.6	44	3.2
Weapons	77	11.7	398	55.1	475	34.4
Narcotics	263	39.9	474	65.6	737	53.4
Total of above	1861	282.5	6416	888.2	8277	599.3
Total of all offenses	4306	653.7	11713	1621.4	16019	1159.9

TABLE 4a

NUMBER OF OFFENDERS AND FREQUENCY AND MEAN NUMBER OF OFFENSES FOR SELECT OFFENSE GROUPS BY RACE

(COHORT I)

	White			Nonwhite			All		
Category	Offenders	Offenses	Mean	Offender	Offenses	Mean	Offender	Offenses	Mean
All offenses	2019	4458	2.20	1456	5756	3.95	3475	10214	2.93
UCR Index offenses	580	941	1.62	777	1787	2.29	1357	2728	2.01
UCR non-Index offenses	1850	3517	1.90	1309	3969	3.03	3159	7486	2.36
Murder, Rape, Agg. Assault	42	46	1.09	189	232	1.22	231	278	1.20
Robbery	18	20	1.11	137	173	1.26	155	193	1.24
Burglary	173	247	1.42	273	395	1.44	446	642	1.43
Larceny, Auto Theft	444	628	1.41	547	987	1.80	991	1615	1.62
Sellin-Wolfgang injury	230	262	1.13	434	616	1.41	664	878	1.32
Sellin-Wolfgang theft	459	668	1.45	550	981	1.78	1009	1649	1.63
Sellin-Wolfgang damage	223	244	1.09	214	241	1.12	437	485	1.10
Sellin-Wolfgang combination	180	229	1.27	350	572	1.63	530	801	1.51
Sellin-Wolfgang non-index	1697	3055	1.80	1222	3346	2.74	2919	6401	2.19

TABLE 4b

NUMBER OF OFFENDERS AND FREQUENCY AND MEAN NUMBER OF OFFENSES FOR SELECT OFFENSE GROUPS BY RACE

(COHORT II MALES)

	White			Nonwhite			All		
Category	Offenders	Offenses	Mean	Offenders	Offenses	Mean	Offenders	Offenses	Mean
All offenses	1523	4306	2.82	2984	11713	3.92	4507	16019	3.55
UCR index offenses	615	1304	2.12	1854	5023	2.70	2469	6327	2.56
UCR non-index offenses	1324	3002	2.26	2502	6690	2.67	3826	9692	2.53
Murder, Rape, Agg. Assault	117	130	1.11	459	607	1.32	576	737	1.27
Robbery	86	103	1.19	737	1223	1.65	823	1326	1.61
Burglary, Arson	275	472	1.71	806	1368	1.69	1081	1840	1.70
Larceny, Auto Theft	381	599	1.57	1044	1825	1.74	1425	2424	1.70
Sellin-Wolfgang injury	221	268	1.21	674	970	1.43	895	1238	1.38
Sellin-Wolfgang theft	337	520	1.54	1192	2191	1.83	1529	2711	1.77
Sellin-Wolfgang damage	345	477	1.38	759	1078	1.42	1104	1555	1.40
Sellin-Wolfgang combination	254	389	1.53	806	1385	1.71	1060	1774	1.67
Sellin-Wolfgang non-index	1225	2652	2.16	2379	6089	2.55	3604	8741	2.42

TABLE 5a

Race of Delinquents by Offense Seriousness Score

Offense Seriousness Score	Nonwhites		Whites		Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
1 –	1,608	27.94	1,480	33.20	3,088	30.23
2 – 18	46	.80	26	.58	72	.70
19 –	605	10.51	565	12.67	1,170	11.45
20 – 29	192	3.34	257	5.76	449	4.40
30 – 39	245	4.26	225	5.06	470	4.60
40 – 49	137	2.38	198	4.44	335	3.28
50 – 59	13	.23	18	.40	31	.30
60 – 69	124	2.15	105	2.36	229	2.24
70 – 79	76	1.32	80	1.79	156	1.53
80 – 89	45	.78	22	.45	67	.66
90 – 99	3	.05	9	.20	12	.12
100 – 199	1,046	18.17	470	10.54	1,516	14.84
200 – 299	771	13.39	566	12.69	1,337	13.09
300 – 399	384	6.67	221	4.96	605	5.92
400 – 499	234	4.07	133	2.98	367	3.59
500 – 599	34	.59	25	.56	59	.58
600 – 699	47	.82	14	.31	61	.60
700 – 799	52	.90	15	.34	67	.66
800 – 899	22	.38	3	.07	25	.24
900 – 999	7	.12	1	.02	8	.08
1000 – 1999	46	.80	20	.45	66	.65
2000 – 2999	18	.31	2	.04	20	.20
3000 – 3999	1	.02	2	.04	3	.03
4000 +	0	0	1	.02	1	.01
Total	5,756	100.00	4,458	100.00	10,214	100.00
Mean score	130.80		92.88		114.15	
Weighted rate per 1,000 cohort subjects	2594.4		587.9		1172.4	
Weighted rate per 1,000 delinquents	5163.8		2052.8		3355.2	

(Source: Wolfgang, Figlio, Sellin, 1972:p.76)

TABLE 5b

OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS SCORE BY RACE

(COHORT II MALES)

Offense Seriousness Score	Nonwhite		White		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
less than 20	212	1.83	118	2.76	330	2.08
20-29	1748	15.05	335	7.83	2083	13.11
30-39	4	.03	1	.02	5	.03
40-49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50-59	3	.03	-	-	3	.02
60-69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70-79	4	.03	1	.02	5	.03
80-89	736	6.34	332	7.76	1068	6.72
90-99	2	.02	-	-	2	.01
100-199	2115	18.21	1331	31.11	3446	21.69
200-299	811	6.98	295	6.90	1106	6.96
300-399	607	5.23	273	6.38	880	5.54
400-499	426	3.67	152	3.55	578	3.64
500-599	223	1.92	95	2.22	318	2.00
600-699	430	3.70	114	2.66	544	3.42
700-799	292	2.51	103	2.41	395	2.49
800-899	440	3.79	114	2.66	554	3.49
900-999	664	5.72	192	4.49	856	5.39
1000-1999	2522	21.72	757	17.70	3279	20.63
2000-2999	212	1.83	48	1.12	260	1.64
3000-3999	73	.63	10	.23	83	.52
4000+	89	.77	7	.16	96	.60
Total	11613	100.00	4278	100.00	15891	100.00

TABLE 6a

Offenders and Offenses by Delinquent Subgroups

	Offenders		Offenses	
	N	%	*N*	%
Delinquents:	3,475	100.0	10.214	100.0
One-time offenders	1,613	46.4	1,613	15.8
Chronic recidivists	627	18.0	5,305	51.9
Non-chronic recidivists	1,235	35.6	3,296	32.3
Recidivists:	1,862	100.0	8,601	100.0
Chronic	627	33.7	5,305	61.7
Non-chronic	1,235	66.3	3,296	38.3

(Source: Wolfgang, Figlio, Sellin, 1972:p.89)

TABLE 6b

OFFENDERS AND OFFENSES BY
DELINQUENT SUBGROUPS

(COHORT II MALES)

	Offenders		Offenses	
Category	N	%	N	%
Delinquents:	4507	100.00	16019	100.00
one-time	1890	41.9	1890	11.8
non-chronic recidivists	1587	35.2	4358	27.2
chronic recidivists	1030	22.9	9771	61.0
Recidivists:	2617	100.00	14129	100.00
nonchronic	1587	60.6	4358	30.8
chronic	1030	39.4	9771	69.2

TABLE 7a

OFFENDER AND OFFENSES BY DELINQUENT SUBGROUPS BY RACE

(COHORT I MALES)

	WHITE				NONWHITE			
	Offenders		Offenses		Offenders		Offenses	
Category	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Delinquents:	2019	100.00	4458	100.00	1456	100.00	5756	100.00
one-time	1110	54.9	1110	24.9	503	34.5	503	8.7
non-chronic recidivist	699	34.6	1817	40.7	536	36.8	1479	25.7
chronic recidivist	210	10.4	1531	34.3	417	28.6	3774	65.6
Recidivists:	909	100.00	3348	100.00	953	100.00	5253	100.00
non-chronic recidivist	699	76.9	1817	54.3	536	56.2	1479	28.1
chronic recidivist	210	23.1	1531	45.7	417	43.8	3774	71.8

TABLE 7b

OFFENDERS AND OFFENSES BY DELINQUENT SUBGROUPS BY RACE

(COHORT II MALES)

	WHITE				NONWHITE			
	Offenders		Offenses		Offenders		Offenses	
Category	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Delinquents:	1523	100.00	4306	100.00	2984	100.00	11713	100.00
one-time	791	51.9	791	18.4	1099	36.8	1099	9.4
non-chronic recidivist	493	32.4	1322	30.7	1094	36.7	3036	25.9
chronic recidivist	239	15.7	2193	50.9	791	26.5	7578	64.7
Recidivists:	732	100.00	3515	100.00	1885	100.00	10614	100.00
non-chronic recidivist	493	67.4	1322	37.6	1094	58.00	3036	28.6
chronic recidivist	239	32.6	2193	62.4	791	42.00	7578	71.4

TABLE 8a

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SELECT OFFENSES FOR DELINQUENT GROUPS BY RACE

(COHORT I)

	WHITE				NONWHITE				ALL			
Offense	One-Time	Non-Chronic Recidivist	Chronic Recidivist	Total	One-Time	Non-Chronic Recidivist	Chronic Recidivist	Total	One-Time	Non-Chronic Recidivist	Chronic Recidivist	Total
All	1110 24.90	1817 40.76	1531 34.34	4458	503 8.74	1479 25.69	3774 65.57	5756	1613 15.79	3296 32.27	5305 51.94	10214
Index	145 15.41	346 36.77	450 47.82	941	119 6.66	392 21.94	1276 71.40	1787	264 9.68	738 27.05	1726 63.27	2728
Non-Index	965 27.44	1471 41.82	1081 30.74	3517	384 9.67	1087 27.39	2498 62.94	3969	1349 18.02	2558 34.17	3579 47.81	7486
Murder	0 0.00	0 0.00	0 0.00	0	1 7.14	3 21.43	10 71.43	14	1 7.14	3 21.43	10 71.43	14
Rape	1 16.67	2 33.33	3 50.00	6	3 7.89	6 15.79	29 76.31	38	4 9.09	8 18.18	32 72.73	44
Robbery	4 2.76	6 4.14	135 93.10	145	6 3.47	42 24.28	125 72.25	173	10 3.14	48 15.09	260 81.76	318
Aggravated Assault	6 15.00	15 37.50	19 47.50	40	12 6.67	35 19.44	133 73.89	180	18 8.18	50 22.73	152 69.09	220
Injury	68 23.45	130 44.83	92 31.72	290	56 7.32	190 24.84	519 67.84	765	124 11.75	320 30.33	611 57.91	1055

TABLE 8b

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SELECT OFFENSES FOR DELINQUENT GROUPS BY RACE

(COHORT II MALES)

	White				Nonwhite				All			
Offense	One-Time	Non-Chronic Recidivist	Chronic Recidivist	Total	One-Time	Non-Chronic Recidivist	Chronic Recidivist	Total	One-Time	Non-Chronic Recidivist	Chronic Recidivist	Total
All	791	1322	2193	4306	1099	3036	7578	11713	1890	4358	9771	16019
	18.37	30.70	50.93		9.38	25.92	64.70		11.80	27.21	61.00	
Index	173	330	801	1304	374	115	3534	5023	547	1445	4335	6327
	13.27	25.31	61.43		7.45	22.20	70.36		8.65	22.84	68.52	
Non-Index	618	992	1392	3002	725	1921	4044	6690	1343	2913	5436	9692
	20.59	33.04	46.37		10.84	28.71	60.45		13.86	30.06	56.09	
Murder	0	2	2	4	7	13	32	52	7	15	34	56
	0.00	50.00	50.00		13.46	25.00	61.54		12.50	26.79	60.71	
Rape	1	3	5	9	5	16	75	96	6	19	80	105
	11.11	33.33	55.56		5.21	16.67	78.13		5.71	18.10	76.19	
Robbery	8	30	65	103	74	241	908	1223	82	271	973	1326
	7.77	29.13	63.11		6.05	19.71	74.24		6.18	20.44	73.38	
Agg. Assault	18	39	60	117	34	111	314	459	52	150	374	576
	15.38	33.33	51.28		7.41	24.18	68.41		9.03	26.04	64.93	
Injury	51	121	171	343	114	362	1107	1583	165	483	1278	1926
	14.87	35.28	49.85		7.20	22.87	69.93		8.57	25.08	66.36	

TABLE 9a

OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS SCORE BY OFFENDER GROUP AND RACE

COHORT I

Seriousness Score	WHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	NONWHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	ALL Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total
1-19	616	857	598	2071	243	645	1371	2259	859	1502	1969	4330
	29.74	41.38	28.87		10.76	28.55	60.69		19.84	34.69	45.47	
	55.50	47.17	39.06	46.46	48.31	43.61	36.33	39.25	53.25	45.57	37.12	42.39
20-29	66	126	65	257	14	46	132	192	80	172	197	449
	25.68	49.03	25.29		7.29	23.96	68.75		17.82	38.31	43.88	
	5.95	6.93	4.25	5.76	2.78	3.11	3.50	3.34	4.96	5.22	3.71	4.40
30-39	41	74	110	225	15	47	183	245	56	121	293	470
	18.22	32.89	48.89		6.12	19.18	74.69		11.91	25.74	62.34	
	3.69	4.07	7.18	5.05	2.98	3.18	4.85	4.26	3.47	3.67	5.52	
40-49	56	86	56	198	13	44	80	137	69	130	136	
	28.28	43.43	28.28		9.49	32.12	58.39		20.60	38.81	40.60	
	5.05	4.73	3.66	4.44	2.58	2.97	2.12	2.38	4.28	3.94	2.56	3.28
50-59	2	6	10	18	0	1	12	13	2	7	22	31
	11.11	33.33	55.56		0.00	7.69	92.31		6.45	22.58	70.97	
	0.18	0.33	0.65	0.40	0.00	0.07	0.32	0.23	0.12	0.21	0.41	0.30
60-69	20	43	42	105	8	28	88	124	28	71	130	229
	19.05	40.95	40.00		6.45	22.58	70.97		12.23	31.00	56.77	
	1.80	2.37	2.74	2.36	1.59	1.89	2.33	2.15	1.74	2.15	2.45	2.24
70-79	29	29	22	80	4	21	51	76	33	50	73	156
	36.25	36.25	27.50		5.26	27.63	67.11		21.15	32.05	46.79	
	2.61	1.60	1.44	1.79	0.80	1.42	1.35	1.32	2.05	1.52	1.38	1.53

TABLE 9a (cont.)

COHORT I

Seriousness Score	WHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	NONWHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	ALL Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total
80-89	1	8	13	22	0	6	39	45	1	14	52	67
	4.55	36.36	59.09		0.00	13.33	86.67		1.49	20.90	77.61	
	0.09	0.44	0.85	0.49	0.00	0.41	1.03	0.78	0.06	0.42	0.98	0.66
90-99	1	3	5	9	0	2	1	3	1	5	6	12
	11.11	33.33	55.56		0.00	66.67	33.33		8.33	41.67	50.00	
	0.09	0.17	0.33	0.20	0.00	0.14	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.15	0.11	0.12
100-199	95	202	173	470	91	238	717	1046	186	440	890	1516
	20.21	42.98	36.81		8.70	22.75	68.55		12.27	29.02	58.71	
	8.56	11.12	11.30	10.54	18.09	16.09	19.00	18.17	11.53	13.35	16.78	14.84
200-299	106	201	259	566	59	180	532	771	165	381	791	1337
	18.73	35.51	45.76		7.65	23.35	69.00		12.34	28.50	59.16	
	9.55	11.06	16.92	12.70	11.73	12.17	14.10	13.39	10.23	11.56	14.91	13.09
300-399	33	82	106	221	25	97	262	384	58	179	368	605
	14.93	37.10	47.96		6.51	25.26	68.23		9.59	29.59	60.83	
	2.97	4.51	6.92	4.96	4.97	6.56	6.94	6.67	3.60	5.43	6.94	5.92
400-499	28	57	48	133	17	68	149	234	45	125	197	367
	21.05	42.86	36.09		7.26	29.06	63.68		12.26	34.06	53.68	
	2.52	3.14	3.14	2.98	3.38	4.60	3.95	4.07	2.79	3.79	3.71	3.59
500-599	5	12	8	25	2	7	25	34	7	19	33	59
	20.00	48.00	32.00		5.88	20.59	73.53		11.86	32.20	55.93	
	0.45	0.66	0.52	0.56	0.40	0.47	0.66	0.59	0.43	0.58	0.62	0.58
600-699	1	11	2	14	2	13	32	47	3	24	34	61
	7.14	78.57	14.29		4.26	27.66	68.09		4.92	39.34	55.74	
	0.09	0.61	0.13	0.31	0.40	0.88	0.85	0.82	0.19	0.73	0.64	0.60

TABLE 9a (cont.)

COHORT I

Seriousness Score	WHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	NONWHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	ALL Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total
700-799	6	7	2	15	6	12	34	52	12	19	36	67
	40.00	46.67	13.33		11.54	23.08	65.38		17.91	28.36	53.73	
	0.54	0.39	0.13	0.34	1.19	0.81	0.90	0.90	0.74	0.58	0.68	0.66
800-899	0	1	2	3	0	3	19	22	0	4	21	25
	0.00	33.33	66.67		0.00	13.64	86.36		0.00	16.00	84.00	
	0.00	0.06	0.13	0.07	0.00	0.20	0.50	0.38	0.00	0.12	0.40	0.24
900-999	0	0	1	1	1	0	6	7	1	0	7	8
	0.00	0.00	100.00		14.29	0.00	85.71		12.50	0.00	87.50	
	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.20	0.00	0.16	0.12	0.06	0.00	0.13	0.08	
1000-1999	4	8	8	20	2	17	27	46	6	25	35	66
	20.00	40.00	40.00		4.35	36.96	58.70		9.09	37.88	53.03	
	0.36	0.44	0.52	0.45	0.40	1.15	0.72	0.80	0.37	0.76	0.66	0.65
2000-2999	0	2	0	2	1	4	13	18	1	6	13	20
	0.00	100.00	0.00		5.56	22.22	72.22		5.00	30.00	65.00	
	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.04	0.20	0.27	0.34	0.31	0.06	0.18	0.25	0.20
3000-3999	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	3
	0.00	50.00	50.00		0.00	0.00	100.00		0.00	33.33	66.67	
	0.00	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.03	0.04	0.03
4000+	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0.00	100.00	0.00		-	-	-	-	0.00	100.00	0.00	
	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.02	-	-	-	-	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.01
Total	1110	1817	1531	4458	503	1479	3774	5756	1613	3296	5305	10214
	24.90	40.76	34.34	100.00	8.74	25.69	65.57	100.00	15.79	32.27	51.94	100.00

Percents given are row and column respectively.

OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS SCORE BY OFFENDER GROUP AND RACE

COHORT II MALES

Seriousness Score	WHITE Offender Group 1	WHITE Offender Group 2-4	WHITE Offender Group 5+	WHITE Total	NONWHITE Offender Group 1	NONWHITE Offender Group 2-4	NONWHITE Offender Group 5+	NONWHITE Total	ALL Offender Group 1	ALL Offender Group 2-4	ALL Offender Group 5+	ALL Total
1-19	26	43	49	118	29	64	119	212	55	107	168	330
	22.03	36.44	41.53		13.68	30.19	56.13		16.67	32.42	50.91	
	3.29	3.27	2.25	2.76	2.65	2.12	1.59	1.83	2.92	2.47	1.74	2.08
20-29	64	94	177	335	215	526	1007	1748	279	620	1184	2083
	19.10	28.06	52.84		12.30	30.09	57.61		13.39	29.76	56.84	
	8.10	7.15	8.15	7.83	19.62	17.42	13.43	15.05	14.79	14.30	12.24	13.11
30-39	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	4	0	1	4	5
	0.00	0.00	100.00		0.00	25.00	75.00		0.00	20.00	80.00	
	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.02	0.00	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.03
50-59	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3
	-	-	-		0.00	33.33	66.67		0.00	33.33	66.67	
	-	-	-	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.02
70-79	1	0	0	1	0	0	4	4	1	0	4	5
	100.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	100.00		20.00	0.00	80.00	
	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.00	0.04	0.04
80-89	67	96	169	332	67	221	448	736	134	317	617	1068
	20.18	28.92	50.90		9.10	30.03	60.87		12.55	29.68	57.77	
	8.48	7.30	7.78	7.76	6.11	7.32	5.98	6.34	7.10	7.31	6.38	6.72
90-99	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	2
	-	-	-		0.00	50.00	50.00		0.00	50.00	50.00	
	-	-	-	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01

TABLE 9b (cont.)

COHORT II MALES

Seriousness Score	WHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	NONWHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	ALL Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total
100-199	324	487	520	1331	228	659	1228	2115	552	1146	1748	3446
	24.34	36.59	39.07		10.78	31.16	58.06		16.02	33.26	50.73	
	41.01	37.03	23.93	31.11	20.80	21.82	16.38	18.21	29.27	26.44	18.08	21.69
200-299	58	70	167	295	87	209	515	811	145	279	682	1106
	19.66	23.73	56.61		10.73	25.77	63.50		13.11	25.23	61.66	6.96
	7.34	5.32	7.69	6.90	7.94	6.92	6.87	6.98	7.69	6.44	7.05	6.96
300-399	51	103	119	273	71	176	360	607	122	279	479	880
	18.68	37.37	43.59		11.70	29.00	59.31		13.86	31.70	54.43	
	6.46	7.83	5.48	6.38	6.48	5.83	4.80	5.23	6.47	6.44	4.95	5.54
400-499	25	40	87	152	42	116	268	426	67	156	355	578
	16.45	26.32	57.24		9.86	27.23	62.91		11.59	26.99	61.42	
	3.16	3.04	4.00	3.55	3.83	3.84	3.57	3.67	3.55	3.60	3.67	3.64
500-599	13	26	56	95	13	60	150	223	26	86	206	318
	13.68	27.37	58.95		5.83	26.91	67.26		8.18	27.04	64.78	
	1.65	1.98	2.58	2.22	1.19	1.99	2.00	1.92	1.38	1.98	2.13	2.00
600-699	12	25	77	114	26	58	346	430	38	83	423	544
	10.53	21.93	67.54		6.05	13.49	80.47		6.99	15.26	77.76	
	1.52	1.90	3.54	2.66	2.37	1.92	4.62	3.70	2.01	1.91	4.37	3.42
700-799	11	23	69	103	32	55	205	292	43	78	274	395
	10.68	22.33	66.99		10.96	18.84	70.21		10.89	19.75	69.37	
	1.39	1.75	3.18	2.41	2.92	1.82	2.73	2.51	2.28	1.80	2.83	2.49
800-899	22	38	54	114	35	106	299	440	57	144	353	554
	19.30	33.33	47.37		7.95	24.09	67.95		10.29	25.99	63.72	
	2.78	2.89	2.49	2.66	3.19	3.51	3.99	3.79	3.02	3.32	3.65	3.49

TABLE 9b (cont.)

COHORT II MALES

Seriousness Score	WHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	NONWHITE Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total	ALL Offender Group 1	2-4	5+	Total
900-999	20	56	116	192	50	144	470	664	70	200	586	856
	10.42	29.17	60.42		7.53	21.69	70.78		8.18	23.36	68.46	
	2.53	4.26	5.34	4.49	4.56	4.77	6.27	5.72	3.71	4.61	6.06	5.39
1000-1999	85	186	486	757	174	552	1796	2522	259	738	2282	3279
	11.23	24.57	64.20		6.90	21.89	71.21		7.90	22.51	69.59	
	10.76	14.14	22.37	17.70	15.88	18.28	23.96	21.72	13.73	17.02	23.60	20.63
2000-2999	8	22	18	48	15	33	164	212	23	55	182	260
	16.67	45.83	37.50		7.08	15.57	77.36		8.85	21.15	70.00	
	1.01	1.67	0.83	1.12	1.37	1.09	2.19	1.83	1.22	1.27	1.88	1.64
3000-3999	1	4	5	10	7	10	56	73	8	14	61	83
	10.00	40.00	50.00		9.59	13.70	76.71		9.64	16.87	73.49	
	0.13	0.30	0.23	0.23	0.64	0.33	0.75	0.63	0.42	0.32	0.63	0.52
4000+	2	2	3	7	5	28	56	89	7	30	59	96
	28.57	28.57	42.86		5.62	31.46	62.92		7.29	31.25	61.46	
	0.25	0.15	0.14	0.16	0.46	0.93	0.75	0.77	0.37	0.69	0.61	0.60
Total	790	1315	2173	4278	1096	3020	7497	11613	1886	4335	9670	15891
	18.47	30.74	50.79	100.00	9.44	26.01	64.56	100.00	11.87	27.28	60.85	100.00

Percents given are row and column respectively.

TABLE 10a

PROBABILITY OF COMMITTING ONE OR MORE SELECT OFFENSES BY RACE

COHORT I

NUMBER	ANY OFFENSE*			UCR VIOLENT**			UCR PROPERTY**		
	Nonwhite	White	All	Nonwhite	White	All	Nonwhite	White	All
1+	.5017	.2866	.3494	.2074	.0292	.1038	.4526	.2724	.3479
2+	.6545	.4502	.5358	.2384	.0508	.2077	.4628	.3018	.3895
3+	.7408	.5566	.6509	.2916	.6666	.3066	.5377	.4216	.4968
4+	.7577	.6581	.7161	.2380	.5000	.2608	.6219	.5000	.5854
5+	.7794	.6306	.7223	.4000	.5000	.5000	.5000	.6000	.5255
6+	.7841	.6571	.7416	.5000		.3333	.7058	.5238	.6527
7+	.8134	.7391	.7913	.5000		.3333	.7222	.4545	.6595
8+	.8157	.6372	.7663	.5000		.3333	.6153	.8000	.6451
9+	.8156	.7384	.8014				.4375	.7500	.5000
10+	.8531	.7291	.8266				.8571	.6666	.8000

*Initial probability based on subjects as denominator.

**Initial probability based on delinquents as denominator.

TABLE 10b

PROBABILITY OF COMMITTING ONE OR MORE SELECT OFFENSES BY RACE

COHORT II MALES

NUMBER	ANY OFFENSE*			UCR VIOLENT**			UCR PROPERTY**		
	Nonwhite	White	All	Nonwhite	White	All	Nonwhite	White	All
1+	.4130	.2312	.3263	.3284	.1208	.2582	.2701	.1805	.2398
2+	.6317	.4806	.5806	.3765	.1739	.3445	.3238	.3127	.3209
3+	.7442	.6516	.7183	.5121	.2500	.4912	.4559	.5232	.4726
4+	.7320	.7064	.7253	.4867	.5000	.4873	.5210	.5333	.5243
5+	.7702	.7091	.7551	.6304	.2500	.6145	.5483	.5000	.5348
6+	.7926	.7824	.7902	.6206	.2500	.6271	.7352	.7500	.7391
7+	.7767	.7700	.7751	.5555	.2500	.5675	.7200	.5555	.6764
8+	.8131	.7708	.8034	.5000	.2500	.5238	.6666	.5555	.7391
9+	.8560	.8108	.8461	.6000	.2500	.6363	.9166	.8000	.8823
10+	.8230	.8000	.8181	.6000	-	.8571	.6666	.7500	.8000

*Initial probability based on subjects as denominator.

**Initial probability based on delinquents as denominator.

TABLE 11a

Mean Seriousness Score, First to Fifteenth Offense by Offense Type

Offense Number	All Offenses	Nonindex	Injury	Theft	Damage	Combination
1	94.3311	23.71	330.95	183.04	157.39	291.18
2	108.3156	26.44	346.07	185.37	164.96	324.68
3	111.8579	30.39	371.48	192.85	160.86	295.01
4	126.3774	33.57	438.67	189.02	164.97	316.25
5	131.1587	35.60	417.11	187.88	157.91	345.88
6	113.1047	27.28	414.61	192.21	250.00	296.54
7	146.8272	32.76	453.53	175.46	170.78	360.43
8	147.4677	37.86	560.47	176.02	200.00	294.74
9	141.7353	37.21	478.72	217.46	193.00	252.92
10	150.2412	30.91	494.72	176.25	200.00	307.14
11	120.4559	33.43	300.00	194.97	74.00	289.68
12	150.1371	44.44	392.25	200.46	184.25	498.14
13	139.9750	47.10	329.57	222.00	166.67	290.55
14	180.5775	59.73	606.70	205.00	116.00	289.64
15	166.0907	45.26	900.00	173.50	0.0	532.71

TABLE 11b

MEAN SERIOUSNESS SCORE, FIRST TO FIFTEENTH OFFENSE BY OFFENSE TYPE

COHORT II MALES

Offense Number	All Offenses	Nonindex	Injury	Theft	Damage	Combination
1	430.62	151.89	1154.04	876.67	458.59	1243.00
2	489.86	157.57	1284.37	933.91	497.11	1355.37
3	556.45	166.81	1504.51	978.14	533.13	1334.13
4	611.10	214.61	1285.65	979.05	537.75	1358.52
5	616.79	199.52	1473.44	985.63	528.95	1336.28
6	675.57	251.41	1430.25	982.80	551.53	1397.39
7	699.16	239.26	1550.53	1051.43	529.03	1369.72
8	726.79	238.29	1431.26	1002.16	580.78	1347.46
9	818.24	292.21	1782.50	1092.61	579.15	1394.40
10	760.31	285.72	1300.74	1110.81	650.69	1395.58
11	747.62	307.02	1238.36	1045.21	673.77	1607.93
12	759.16	273.64	1221.30	1143.15	659.25	1518.07
13	859.30	358.60	1728.82	1090.87	672.00	1217.59
14	744.85	309.44	1393.81	1088.52	766.00	1313.76
15	879.45	400.36	1522.86	1144.87	749.89	1489.43

END