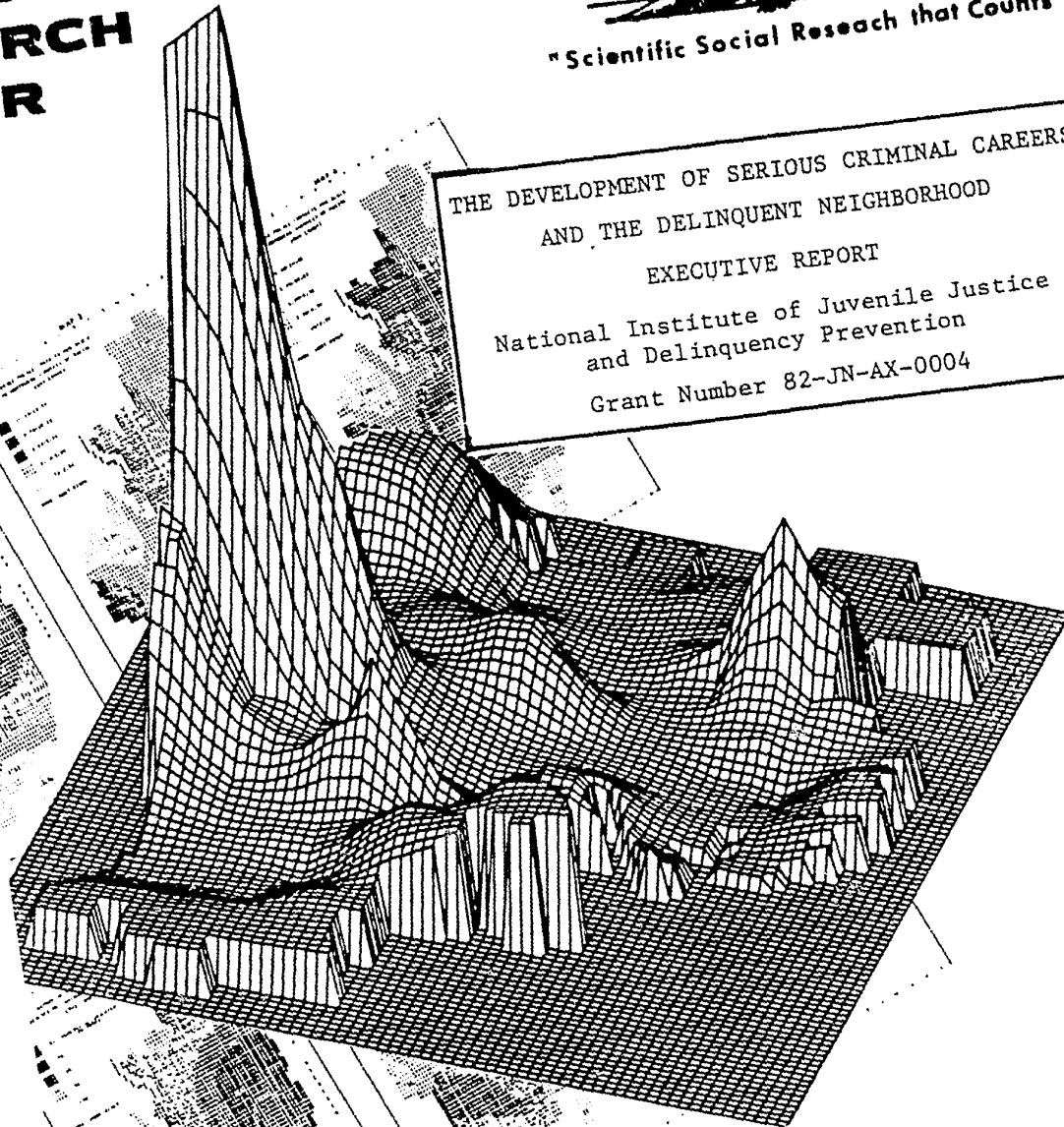


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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIOUS CRIMINAL CAREERS
AND THE DELINQUENT NEIGHBORHOOD
EXECUTIVE REPORT
National Institute of Juvenile Justice
and Delinquency Prevention
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIOUS CRIMINAL CAREERS AND
THE DELINQUENT NEIGHBORHOOD
EXECUTIVE REPORT

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A Report to
National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
United States Department of Justice

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ACQUISITIONS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is the third in a series of reports on longitudinal birth cohort research in Racine, Wisconsin. It is based on research commenced in 1974 with funds from the Fleischman Foundation and continued with funds provided by the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and the National Institute of Justice.

The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency to Adult Crime--The first project demonstrated that the link between juvenile delinquency and adult crime was present only for some more serious juvenile offenders, that most delinquents did not continue into adult crime, and that many who had not been in trouble with the police as juveniles committed serious offenses as adults. Reaction to our report revealed that police officers, juvenile bureau personnel, chiefs of police, juvenile court judges and their social worker staffs (frequently the target of those who mistakenly perceive all delinquent youth as young criminals) were quite cognizant of the problem and appreciated empirical support for the position that most intervention should be reserved for a small minority of youthful offenders.

While there were numerous findings from this project which appeared surprising to some persons in the justice system and to many more outside of it, probably the finding most disconcerting, but not new at all to those who have spent their careers at research, was the conclusion that the more severely juveniles were sanctioned, the worse their misbehavior was in the following period. No matter how satisfying it may be to punish, punishment and whatever else is provided as sanctions are now administered, fails to break the continuity in careers of the most serious offenders. The reader who is not familiar with the provocative findings of this earlier research may obtain the lengthy report, Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers from NIJJDP.

Delinquency, Crime, and the Ecological Structure--The second project, which followed the ecological tradition of American sociology, provided results which were, in some respects, even more provocative than the first. Here it was found that juvenile delinquency and adult crime were related to the changing ecological structure of the city. Delinquency and crime were products of on-going social processes which drastically altered the way of life, not only of those residing in interstitial areas adjacent to the inner city, but of those in many peripheral areas where urban expansion turned residential neighborhoods into arenas for the generation of delinquency and into target areas for adult criminals. Miscreants who were apprehended and received the full "benefit" of the justice system, culminating in institutionalization, had only to return to their home communities as a base for continued depredations against society.

By the 1970s the relationship of the social organization of the community to crime was such that 95% of the variation in offense rates of neighborhoods could be accounted for by their prior rates (1950s and 1960s) and other neighborhood characteristics. It was at this time that we commenced to speak about the "hardening" of the inner city. The data showed in a variety of ways that the consequences of justice system processing were only to return the worst offenders to the areas from which they came with

little or even less likelihood of being integrated into society, that is, involvement in school or the world of work at a level which would make law-abiding behavior a meaningful option. It was also evident that the courts had not sent a message to others in these neighborhoods through those whom they had sanctioned that would have general deterrent effects. This, too, is a phenomenon with which probation and parole officers have long been familiar. Those who wish to examine this profusely illustrated report should request a copy of the executive report for The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City from the National Institute of Justice.

Some Additional Perspectives--From the first report we concluded that specific deterrence does not work and from the second that general deterrence does not work. We are speaking, however, about ordinary offenders. The mob is not in Racine. There is little organized crime and racketeering there. What is good for the mob may not be good for ordinary juvenile offenders and ordinary adult criminals. Our elected representatives are not approached by Racine's businessmen or hoodlums from Racine and offered briefcases full of money in return for favors. Racine's crime is ordinary crime, the kinds of crimes which are committed in your neighborhood. Most of them are the types of delinquency and crime that many people can remember having committed themselves or have known someone who did. There is nothing in either of our earlier reports or in this report which suggests that murderers, rapists, bank robbers, and arsonists should be dealt with kindly by the courts. Nor is there anything which would suggest that Presidents and Governors should pardon as many serious offenders as they do.

The Delinquent Neighborhood and the Development of Crime--The project which this executive report describes commenced with the hypothesis that the high concentration of delinquency and crime and justice system reactions to them and the trends toward increasing seriousness of offenses and severity of sanctions which we found in Racine should produce a pattern of disproportional justice system intervention and sanctioning in neighborhoods which have traditionally had high crime rates. The justice system would have operated in such a manner that step-by-step the relationship between measures of delinquency and crime and judicial intervention would be more and more closely related to the social structure of the city and to differences in neighborhood milieu.

Structure and milieu are operationally defined with a matrix of neighborhoods based on their Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Offense Rates or as classified as Inner City, Transitional, Stable Residential, and Peripheral Middle to High SES. This would, at the individual level, account for the "hardening" of the inner city that we had found at the ecological level.

In analysis after analysis we have found conventional kinds of relationships, that is, high rates of almost any measure of delinquency and crime and societal reactions to them in the inner city neighborhoods. We have not found evidence of an increasing disproportionality of severe sanctions to offenses that was, cohort by cohort, related to a continuum of neighborhoods ranging from the starkest inner city to the highest SES neighborhoods on the periphery of the city. However, there was no question that the pro-

cess of becoming and staying delinquent differed depending on whether one had been socialized in the inner city or in other neighborhoods, was male or female, or was White or Non-White. Step by step some cohort members continued from police contacts to court sanctions and some received sanctions that were disproportionately high to the severity of their offenses. However, the patterned regularity that we had hypothesized did not materialize in the tables or on a multitude of maps which were constructed so that we might better visualize spatial effects and changes.

Fortunately, as we examined scattergrams showing the relationship of offense seriousness to severity of sanctions and disproportional severity of sanctions, we noted that even though sanctioning had clearly become more severe from cohort to cohort, had increased more than had offense seriousness, only part of the change consisted of increasingly severe sanctions for serious offenders. The correlation of offense seriousness and severity of sanctions was still less than one might expect because less serious offenders were being dealt with more leniently in some types of neighborhoods and groups and less leniently in others.

The difficulty of encapsulating disproportional intervention and disproportional severity of sanctions at the neighborhood level according to our arrangements of the neighborhoods was increased because most of the cohort members in each neighborhood were neither serious offenders nor severely sanctioned. Thus, the number of serious offenders in each neighborhood toward whom leniency had earlier been directed, but toward whom it was not shown for those in the 1955 Cohort, was relatively small. They were small enough, moreover, that chance fluctuations from cohort to cohort within neighborhoods concealed the really major change that was taking place in how serious offenders were being dealt with by the justice system, beyond what was happening to that great majority of juveniles (65% to 90% depending on race and neighborhood of residence) who did not have numerous or serious offenses.

It was only when we concentrated on analyses separating inner city Whites and Non-Whites from those in other neighborhoods that it became evident that the opposite of what many people thought was occurring was actually occurring. What became clear was that rather than leniency toward juveniles being the trend, it was declining, particularly between the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, that is, between the early 1960s and the early 1970s. The decrease in leniency for serious offenders was most evident for those who had been socialized in the inner city, White or Non-White, less so for Non-Whites who had been socialized in other neighborhoods. Rather than leniency, increasing severity in dealing with serious offenders was the pattern, most dramatically in the inner city. This decline in leniency, insofar as could be determined with the cohorts included in the research, had taken place earlier for adults, between the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.

Retrospectively, we should not have been as surprised at some of the findings as we were because previous reports and publications based on the Racine data had shown that there were cohort, time period, and age differences in every measure of delinquency and crime. Moreover, these differences in various combinations had generated complex findings.

Relevance for Community Delinquency and Crime Programs--What does this mean for persons in the justice system? Perhaps without realizing it the public has already seen many times over, perhaps not demonstrated as clearly as in our research, that increasing severity of sanctions, even for those who "deserve" it, may punish society as well as the offender. If the consequences of severe sanctions have been disastrous in the past, how can we expect even more widespread application to have better results, particularly for juveniles who reside in the inner city?

To the extent that severe sanctions further remove offenders from the community, the opposite of the integration which makes for reduction in ordinary unlawful behavior, the more we defeat our purpose. If we are concerned about juveniles, the evidence of this report suggests that emphasis should be on programs which will integrate them into the community through the school and meaningful work experiences, whichever is most appropriate. The school situation may be modified. The job situation, even though that is more difficult, may be improved by integrating the juvenile and the adult worlds, by bringing together the school and the world of work at that period in juveniles' lives when it is most important, the late teens.

Major findings of this research are listed commencing on page 31. However, to really be sure that you wish to accept any of these, you must read the report.

The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood

INTRODUCTION

Understanding how serious delinquent and criminal careers develop and continue in various types of neighborhoods in the urban milieu is a prerequisite to the planning of programs for effective delinquency prevention and crime control. The findings from two reports on earlier stages of our longitudinal birth cohort research provide an introduction to our current and more intensive analysis of the processes which generate continuities in delinquent and criminal behavior.¹ Both reports have revealed that the areas in which juveniles were socialized influenced the development of their delinquent behavior. Furthermore, the nature of the area played a role in how the justice system responded to their behavior and they in turn, for one reason or another, either desisted from further delinquency or continued into serious adult misbehavior.

REVIEW OF EARLIER RACINE, WISCONSIN STUDIES

The first research project, which tested the hypothesis of career continuity between delinquency and adult crime, involved the collection (1974-1976) and analysis (1975-1980) of official police contact and referral data for three birth cohorts (1942, 1949, and 1955 totalling 6,127 males and females, of whom 4,079 had continuous residence in Racine).² Interviews were also conducted in 1976 with 889 persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts (a 25% sample of the Whites and all Chicanos and Blacks who

¹ The two earlier stages of this research have been described in the following lengthy project reports: Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers, 1980, 950 pp. Final Report to the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Department of Justice, Grants Number 76JN-99-0008, 76JN-99-1005, 77JN-99-0019, and 79JN-AX-0010 and The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City, 477 pp., 1981. Final Report to the National Institute of Justice, Department of Justice, Grant Number 79NI-AX-0081.

² Racine is, in many respects, an ideal laboratory in which to study how social processes operate in an urban setting. Being a city of approximately 100,000 it is of a more manageable size than are larger cities where problems of official data collection and finding respondents for interviews are much more difficult to overcome. Furthermore, many of the Racine findings parallel those reported by Marvin Wolfgang, Robert Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin in Delinquency in a Birth Cohort (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972). For a discussion of the Racine and Philadelphia research, see Joan Petersilia, "Criminal Career Research, pp. 321-380, in Crime and Justice, Vol. 2 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), Norval Morris and Michael Tonry (eds.). 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

could be found and interviewed).

The second project (1979-1982) followed from the first and consisted of an analysis of the relationship of juvenile delinquency and adult crime to the changing ecological structure of the city. This research was facilitated by the fact that during data collection for the first project place of offense and place of residence had been coded by blocks so that cohort members and all of the information collected on them could be aggregated into any type of area or spatial unit desired. Other data were also collected from the Racine Police Department Records Division during the course of the second project in 1979 and 1980 on offenses known to the police and arrests for the entire city so that rather complete information was available for delinquency and crime over a span of 30 years. These data provided a basis for describing the changing relationship of delinquency and crime to the ecological structure of the city on either a cohort-by-cohort or time period basis.

Our research in Racine, as does that of other research in metropolitan areas of widely differing sizes and demographic and organizational complexity, provides consistent evidence that although juvenile delinquency and adult crime are widely dispersed (prevalent throughout the community), both are highly concentrated in some groups (have a high incidence), traditionally among those who reside in the inner city and its interstitial areas. To be even more specific, over half of all police contacts with juveniles for robbery, burglary, theft, auto theft, assault, murder, weapons, and gambling were attributed to the less than 25% of the cohort members who resided in the inner city. And for these same offenses, 10% or fewer could be attributed to that 22% who resided in peripheral areas as juveniles.

These studies have also shown that while serious offenders (persons with numerous offenses including felony-level offenses or perhaps only one very serious felony) may be found in quite diverse kinds of neighborhoods ranging from those characterized by the most abject poverty to those in which people are born to the manor, serious offenders are more highly concentrated by place of socialization and place of adult residence in the inner city and interstitial or transitional areas than in other areas. That both longitudinal cohort studies and cross-sectional research have found this lends credence to the classical position of sociologists and ecologists that descriptions of delinquency and crime must commence with consideration of their relationship to the spatial organization of the city.

A major finding from our longitudinal analysis of birth cohorts, one which has important implications for justice system personnel, is the difficulty of predicting who in a cohort will have an adult criminal career, more specifically who will have a serious criminal career as an adult. Although juveniles who have early police contacts, frequent police contacts, and contacts for more serious offenses are more likely to become adult

Black population increased from 1% in 1940 to 2% by 1950, to 5.3% by 1960, and to 10.5% by 1970.

offenders than are others, they are joined in adulthood by persons who have had quite different juvenile histories of involvement or no involvement whatsoever. Predicting a high probability of continuity for juveniles in a high risk group and a low probability of continuity for juveniles in a low risk group (the latter constitute a very large proportion of the total) is not the same as predicting who will be an adult criminal from the juvenile record.

The second important finding from the birth cohort research, that sanctions as applied have been ineffective in either general or specific deterrence, is consistent with conclusions that have been reached by a other researchers on the effects of intervention and differential severity of sanctions. It was also apparent that the characteristics of institutionalized offenders were in part an artifact of justice system procedures rather than simply a consequence of group differences in the incidence of delinquency and crime.

One specific, and very important, finding from the ecological level analyses was that about 95% (depending on the model) of the variance in total offense rates of neighborhoods in the 1970s could be accounted for by variables indicative of the social organization or structure of neighborhoods and their prior (1950s and 1960s) offense rates. The preponderance of evidence indicated that delinquency and crime areas expand or develop following changes in the social organization of the community rather than being the determinants of change in ecological structure.

Since most of the analyses in the second project were at the ecological rather than the individual level, it was decided that more extensive analysis of the official records and interviews with cohort members should be made in order to ascertain the impact of milieu on the generation of delinquency, continuities in delinquency and crime, and official societal reaction to delinquency and crime. Although the cohort and other data had been aggregated into larger ecological units (natural areas, census tracts, police grid areas, as well as neighborhoods), only neighborhoods would be sufficiently homogeneous for a definitive test of milieu effects.

METHODS AND ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

The basic hypothesis which guided the plan of analyses set forth in the next few paragraphs was that, step by step from police contact to court sanctions and continuity into adult crime, there would be a greater relationship of each measure to neighborhood milieu as represented by Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Offense Rates.

Each of the 65 neighborhoods selected as a spatial unit for analysis was categorized according to its Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics (DCP), In-Area Offense Rates, By-Residence Offense Rates, Juvenile Delinquency Rates, and Adult Crime Rates.³ The results of a composite

³ The average population of neighborhoods was 1,424 in 1950, 1,524 in 1960, 1,555 in 1970, but dropped to 1,343 in 1980 with the addition of peripheral neighborhoods and the decline of the inner city population.

technique combining numerous characteristics and/or rates for each neighborhood were compared with the results obtained by the SAS FASTCLUS procedure utilizing the same variables. Although a variety of offense rate and delinquency and crime producing characteristics permitted the generation of a number of ranking systems for the neighborhoods, there was considerable consistency from system to system, some neighborhoods always ranking high and some always ranking low on 18 different sets of ranks.

A series of multi-celled tables were produced from these ranking systems, the cells of which contained neighborhoods that had been classified as High DCP and High Offense Rate and those at the opposite extreme, as well as some neighborhoods which were classified as relatively high on one composite measure or FASTCLUS grouping but not the other. Although some analyses were conducted by forcing these cells into a continuum because we were interested in the combined effects of demographic and organizational variables and offense rates, other analyses were made by placing neighborhoods on a single dimension.

Individual careers for the juvenile and adult periods were also measured and characterized in a variety of ways, as was the relationship of earlier to later behavior of cohort members.⁴ Responses of representatives of the justice system, as measured by dispositions of police contacts and sanctions administered by the courts, were included as part of the chain of experiences which produced diverse offense and intervention types. The Geometric scale was constructed to emphasize severity of sanctions as the end result of delinquent and criminal behavior. Other measures represent each stage of the delinquent and criminal experience separately. Thus it

The larger report to NIJJDP contains several lengthy statistical appendices describing how block data from the 1960, 1970, and 1980 Censuses were utilized in developing DCPs and Offense Rate measures for neighborhoods. This built on the ecological research reported in The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City, op. cit. These appendices also show how different types of offense rates were combined in order to produce neighborhood In-Area Offense Rates, By-Residence Offense Rates, and so on. As far as measures of the seriousness of individual careers is concerned, these were first developed for and reported in Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers, op. cit. Let it suffice to say that there were originally 26 categories of police contacts but that these were reduced to Felonies against persons, Felonies against property, Major misdemeanors, Minor Misdemeanors, Status Offenses, and Contacts for Suspicion, Investigation, or Information in the development of a simple additive seriousness scale. This is admittedly a legistic approach to seriousness but it does lie behind the severity of sanctions that may be meted out by the courts. There were originally eight categories of police referral but these were dichotomized because most fell into Counseled and Released or Referred to the County Probation Department. The severity of sanctions scale that was ultimately used was ordinal and ranged from dismissed to confinement in prison.

⁴ In the analyses which follow we have included only those 4,079 persons

is possible to see differences in neighborhoods based on police contacts, offense seriousness, referrals, and severity of sanctions.

Beyond analyses of the relationship of measures of delinquency, crime, career types, and intervention types of individual cohort members to each other within different types of neighborhood milieus, some ecological analyses were also conducted, i.e., analyses in which statistics for individuals were aggregated to the neighborhood level. The latter are discussed in guarded fashion because the ecological fallacy has been long recognized as productive of findings which do not necessarily apply to all individuals in each spatial unit.

Before summarizing the findings a brief digression must be made to explain the framework in which the results of this research were evaluated. It is easy to find statistically significant relationships between independent and dependent variables. They are always present at the ecological level because social phenomena are spatially distributed in urban areas and one social phenomenon is related to another. Literally hundreds of studies have shown this commencing in the 1920s. We have found statistically significant relationships of the same order as those found by other sociologists. Research of this nature has not only made it evident that community resources should be focused on the inner city and interstitial areas but has also revealed that unsophisticated attempts to control delinquency and crime (excessive intervention and severe sanctions) may result in what we have termed "the hardening of the inner city." This has become one of our major concerns.

Ecological studies are only the beginning. They do not describe the processes by which juveniles come to engage in delinquent behavior and sometimes continue into adult crime, or how decisions are made to deal with

with continuous residence in Racine. Although considerable attention has been devoted in earlier reports to comparisons of the 2,093 persons who did not have continuous residence with those who did using demographic and police contact records for time periods for which data were available to show that they were not significantly different, an additional comment should be made at this point. Those who did not have continuous residence had usually entered the community some years after the age of six or had left it at a later period. There were a few who had died or had been institutionalized but only nine had early death as their sole reason for non-continuous residence. There were 10 other cases in which cohort members have had non-continuous residence even had they not had an early death. In six other cases date of death was unknown and may have occurred after they left the community. In only one case had a person with non-continuous residence been institutionalized and in this case early death was the determining factor for non-continuous residence. When the careers of those who had an early death were examined it was apparent that only four had embarked upon what might have been a serious criminal career. Again, it is not believed that the provocative findings in earlier reports on the Racine research or that which we shall report here were an artifact of removing persons with non-continuous residence from the analyses.

them officially. But, as has been said, they do suggest that the nature of the neighborhood plays a powerful role in generating delinquency and crime and influencing community reactions to delinquency and crime. Ecological studies focus attention on what may be the heart of the problem.

Also useful, but not as valuable as some researchers have believed, are studies which delineate high-risk categories of youth or adults, categories that may have an ecological component but which specify the demographic and social characteristics of groups with high delinquency and crime rates. These studies enable researchers to assess the risk that persons have of becoming delinquents or criminals or to state that persons with certain characteristics or from some kinds of neighborhoods have a higher probability of engaging in delinquent and criminal behavior than others.

This is not enough. Researchers must develop a better understanding of how delinquency and crime are generated within types of spatial units whose milieus have been operationally defined as more or less likely to produce delinquency and crime and continuities in delinquency and crime. Or, if people are placed in groups based on combinations of their ecological and demographic characteristics, research needs to determine how delinquent behavior develops and how society reacts to it with differing consequences for people within these groups. The ultimate test of an understanding of the delinquency process is the ability to account for or to predict individual behavior within operationally defined groups. There is no simple explanation for delinquency and crime per se.

A HARD LOOK AT THE FINDINGS

Experience Chains and the Neighborhood Milieu--The distribution of 117 delinquency and crime experience types (represented by Geometric Scores) was presented in Tree Diagrams which showed the step-by-step distribution of cohort members and the ultimate proportion of various types to be found in each cohort. There was a wide variety of juvenile and adult experience types from each cohort in each category or cluster of neighborhoods.

The cumulative nature of careers revealed that intervention was related to continuity rather than to discontinuity (ranked Geometric scores for juveniles and adults correlated .578 for the 1942 Cohort, .596 for the 1949 Cohort, and .524 for the 1955 Cohort) but that increasing involvement with the justice system had less relationship to neighborhood type (as neighborhoods had been categorized) than expected. When behavior and justice system involvement of cohort members, as measured by either the Geometric or metric scale, was related (for time periods or on a step-by-step from contact to sanction basis) to neighborhood of residence characteristics, the evidence to substantiate the milieu explanation for the development of continuity, career types, or the hypothesis of a progressive relationship of careers to neighborhood characteristics was not strong unless the focus of attention was on inner city vs. other types of neighborhoods.

To be more specific, five different Geometric scores (out of the 117 possibilities) which culminated in High sanctions during the juvenile period made up 3.3% of all scores for the 1955 Cohort but 8.0% of the scores for those who resided in High DCP and High By-Residence Offense Rate neighbor-

hoods. While cohort members with this chain of experiences were found in other neighborhoods, it was apparent that they were concentrated in the Inner City. A similar concentration was found for adults.

If one considers the juvenile and/or adult careers culminating in High sanctions, a total of 10 types, persons with these career types were found in 49 different neighborhoods but 45% of them were concentrated in eight Inner City neighborhoods. For both the juvenile and the adult experience types this concentration increased from cohort to cohort. Thus it could be said that cohort-by-cohort change provided additional evidence for "the hardening of the inner city." This was in some respects the most complex attempt to represent careers. At the same time, the Tree Diagrams and tables showing the relationship of Geometric types to neighborhood classification systems gave further indication of the increasingly wide-spread dispersion of career types, Geometric types representative of continuity and discontinuity and some types of disproportionately severely or less severely sanctioned types showed wider dispersion throughout the community from cohort to cohort. The difficulty in parsimoniously describing these patterns of dispersion and at the same time dealing with the concentration of serious careers suggested a simpler approach to the analyses.

Consistency in Measures and Continuity in Careers--Could neighborhoods be clustered according to consistency of contact, seriousness, referral, sanctions scores, and continuity in careers and could these in turn be related to milieu differences? Juvenile consistency was relatively high in inner city and interstitial neighborhoods that had high offense rates by their residents and were also High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods, but there were other types of neighborhoods outside the inner city with similar consistency involving high scores on all measures. The same was true for the adult period. There were also neighborhoods with consistency during one period but not during the other. Neighborhoods with consistency during both periods included, however, most of the inner city neighborhoods.

The juvenile and adult periods were more closely linked in High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods, neighborhoods which also had High In-Area Offense Rates or By-Residence Rates. The phenomenon of sanctions during the juvenile period followed by sanctions during the adult period was more characteristic of inner city neighborhoods than of other types of neighborhoods. However, the hypothesis that differences in neighborhood milieus as they had been defined produced variation not only in delinquent and criminal behavior but in even more pronounced societal reactions (police and court experiences) received only modest support.

The elaborate steps taken to represent the consistency of relationships between variables during the juvenile and adult periods and continuity between periods culminated in a series of tables summarizing the absence of a neat pattern of differences related to the social organization of the community. They did suggest, however, that High Offense Rate and DCP neighborhoods were more likely to have cohort members with high seriousness, referral, and sanctions scores, more consistency in the relationship of seriousness, referrals, and sanctions for cohort members during both age periods, and more continuity in careers between age periods than was found

in other types of neighborhoods. There was little evidence of systematic change in relationships from one end of the continuum of neighborhoods to the other.

Although it might appear that experimenting with a variety of measures and procedures was a departure from rigorous research methodology in which hypotheses are tested and accepted or rejected, this is the way that it works out in the real world of research. The aim was to determine if reorganization of the data in different ways would produce an interrelationship of variables accounting for a sufficient amount of the variance to permit accurate prediction of the dependent variables (juvenile and adult behavior and justice system experience) from the independent variables (neighborhood milieu). It would have been much easier to set up several tests of the basic hypothesis, reject them, and simply say that the hypothesis had been rejected.

The Concentration of Disproportional Societal Reaction--The main thrust of this project, it must be remembered, was to determine if there are systematic differences in career progression (including disproportional severity of sanctions in relationship to seriousness of offenses) that can be related to neighborhood milieus. When intervention types were represented by a simplified set of Geometric scores they differentiated the High Offense Rate and DCP neighborhoods from others more consistently than had other representations of career types. There was a significant concentration of high seriousness and high intervention types in the inner city and interstitial neighborhoods but less concentration as represented by a disproportional intervention score.⁵ Nevertheless, neighborhood milieu had accounted for almost 40% of the variance in intervention scores. As was stated, the consequences of being bad were bad in the inner city and interstitial areas but in some other neighborhoods as well.

Milieu Effects Reconsidered--While some persons might say that we have bent over backward to avoid the conclusion that strong relationships exist between the independent and dependent variables, it is important not to present exaggerated claims of findings which do not provide a basis for accurately accounting for the career experiences of cohort members.

⁵ We would be remiss not to point out that the complainant for contacts varies from the inner city to peripheral areas and from contact type to contact type in such a fashion as to suggest that police activity in the inner city has an effect on the basic contact data utilized in our research. While private citizens are most often the complainants for some offenses, it was apparent that police played a greater role in the inner city than in other types of neighborhoods. For example, robbery, burglary, theft, liquor offenses, drugs, and fraud have the police as complainant more often in the inner city than in other types of neighborhoods. Police are less often the complainants on vagrancy and sex offenses in the inner city. In several other cases the inner city and peripheral areas show agreement on complainant but not the transitional or stable residential areas. Generally, however, private citizens are the complainant and police are only reacting to their calls.

It was decided that a more microscopic examination of neighborhoods would be a better analytic strategy even if some had to be omitted because there were few cohort members who had been socialized in them. Upon proceeding to an analysis of individual experiences within each neighborhood it was found that High Offense Rate and DCP neighborhoods did produce relatively high correlations between the juvenile and adult experiences but that many other neighborhoods did so likewise.

When cohort members were aggregated according to the type of neighborhood (milieu) in which they had been socialized, relating juvenile seriousness and intervention scores to adult seriousness and intervention scores, a relationship was again quite evident for those who resided in High Offense Rate and High DCP neighborhoods. There was less relationship for persons who had been socialized in other types of neighborhoods. We also found that being socialized in a High Offense Rate and High DCP neighborhood had more formative effects on total careers even if subsequent movement was to a "better" neighborhood than did the formative effects of good neighborhoods have on those who had downward movement to neighborhoods with less desirable milieus.

Summary--Although we have concluded that significant milieu effects (Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and neighborhood In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rates) were 1) present in the development of serious delinquent and criminal careers and 2) were related to the severity of sanctions administered to cohort members (offense and intervention types), the milieu accounts for relatively small amounts of the variance in consistency. By consistency we mean that high police contact = high seriousness of offenses = high referrals = severe sanctioning, etc. By continuity we mean that high juvenile rates = high adult rates, etc., in individual official careers.

That measures of the seriousness of officially recorded delinquent and criminal careers, self-reported seriousness, and disproportional intervention as represented by offense seriousness/intervention scores were higher in the inner city and interstitial neighborhoods than in others was not surprising. While consistency and continuity were present in the inner city neighborhoods, they were found in some other neighborhoods with quite different characteristics. We did not, however, expect consistency and continuity in offense, referral, and sanctions measures to have considerably less relationship to milieu differences than did the various measures themselves.

When the unit of career measurement was changed from the individual to one representative of the average experience of all cohort members who were socialized within the neighborhood (analysis at the ecological level), considerably more of the variance (up to 60%) was explained.

RECAPITULATION FOR A BETTER PICTURE OF MILIEU AND PROCESS

Grouping the Neighborhoods--To further clarify the presentation in this executive report, particularly for persons who would like to see samples of the data (something more than a narrative), a series of analyses and tables are included. They are based on only those neighborhoods containing at least 30 cohort members (two other neighborhoods with only 27 and 29 cohort members were included because most of their members were from the 1955 Cohort), thus 49 out of 65 neighborhoods remain.

Neighborhoods are grouped into four types in Table 1 commencing with those previously classified as inner city, followed by the transition group, the stable residential, and, finally, the peripheral middle to high socioeconomic status group. The first 10 columns of the table are used to characterize the neighborhoods as High, Medium, or Low or High or Low according to the various Offense Rate and Delinquency and Crime Producing composite or clustering procedures that were utilized. The next column indicates the percent of the neighborhood's population that was Black in 1970.

While the inner city neighborhoods were High on most measures, some of the transitional neighborhoods had a mixture of Highs, Mediums, and Lows with differences related to whether measures represented In-Area or By-Residence, or Juvenile or Adult rates, or were composite or FASTCLUS. This mixture may well be expected because some of these neighborhoods are adjacent to the inner city and others are peripheral transition types.

To make it easier to visualize this, the reader may wish to refer to Map 1. The stable residential neighborhoods show a mixture of Medium and Low in the table, although several (Neighborhoods 23, 29, and 30) have offense rates which suggest that they may be in the first stages of transition. The peripheral middle to high SES neighborhoods were not completely homogeneous on the measures but were predominately low. They and the stable residential neighborhoods may be found on the map as one moves further to the left.

The last set of columns in Table 1 shows the quartile in which cohort members were most frequently found for each neighborhood on measures of offense seriousness, referrals, and sanctions for the juvenile and adult periods, a way of representing their delinquent and criminal behavior and justice system experiences by neighborhood of residence. Here again cohort members from the inner city neighborhoods are, with few exceptions, in the top quartile. The inner city neighborhoods are more homogeneous and more distinctly separated from other neighborhoods than are the other neighborhoods separated into homogeneous groupings. Less homogeneity is found in the transitional neighborhoods. As one moves to the stable residential and peripheral neighborhoods, even though they become more heterogeneous, more and more of the scores on these measures were in the fourth quartile.

Turning back briefly to the Geometric types representing juvenile and adult behavior and experiences with the justice system, and considering those 10 different types culminating in High sanctions, 52.3% of all cohort members with one of these types of careers as juveniles were found in inner city neighborhoods, although only 24.4% of the combined cohorts resided there as

MAP 1

NEIGHBORHOODS

COMMERCIAL-INDUSTRIAL AND
PARKS-PUBLIC USE AREAS
OF RACINE 1970

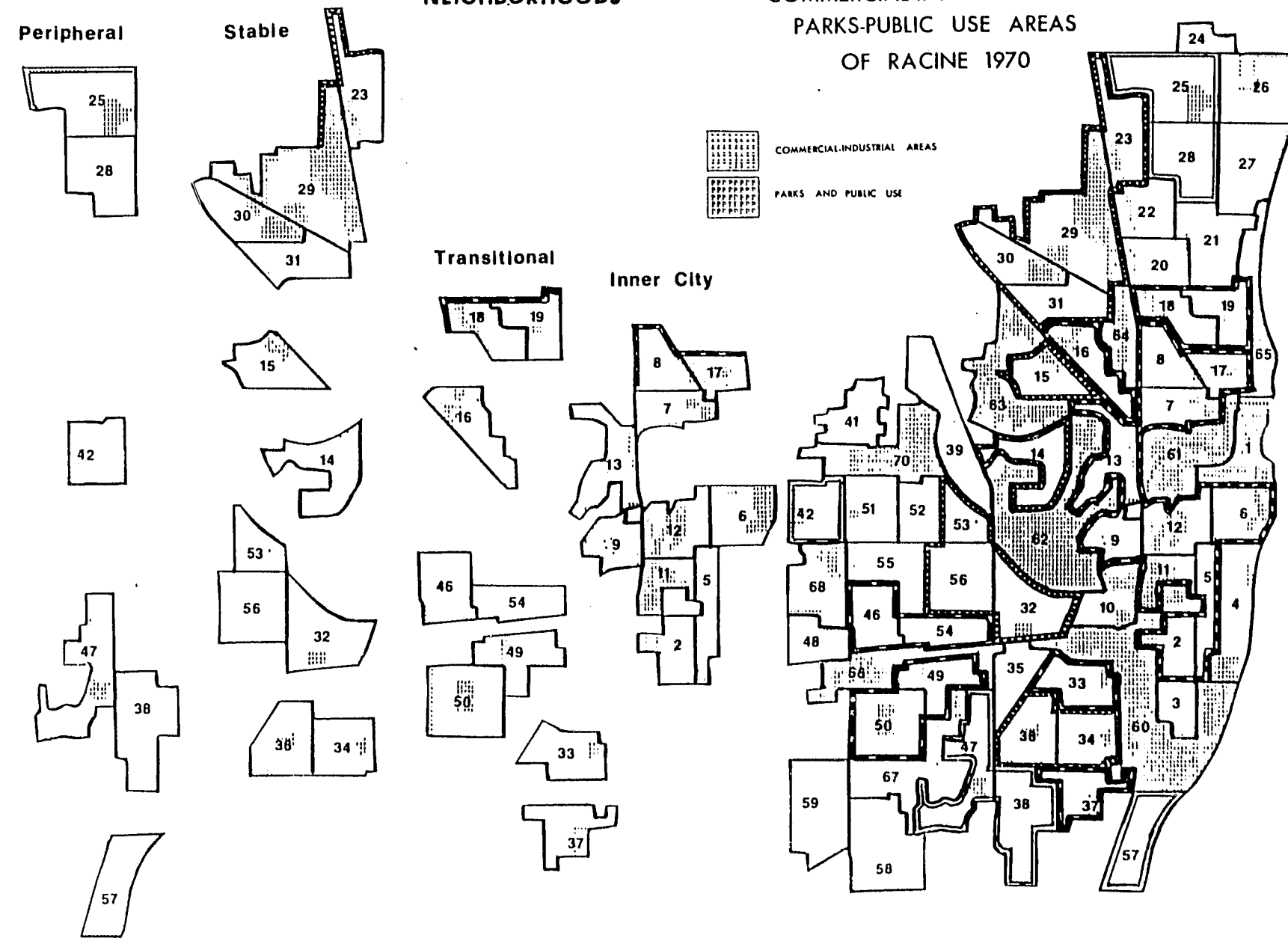


TABLE 1. OFFENSE, DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS: OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS, REFERRAL, AND SANCTION QUARTILES OF COMBINED COHORTS

Offense Rates						Quartiles ¹¹		
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY						JUVENILE		
INVESTIGATION						ADULT		
RESEARCH						RESEARCH		
PERCENT						PERCENT		
N C C C C C						N C C C C C		
G O L O L O L O L						G O L O L O L O L		
H M U M U M U M U						H M U M U M U M U		
B P S P S P S P S						B P S P S P S P S		
D 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10						D 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		

Footnotes, Table 1

- ¹ Table 1, The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood, and Tables 1A, 1B, and 2, Appendix A in above (from The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City, Chapter 7, Table 2).
- ² Table 3 and Appendix C, Tables 9 and 10, The Development, clusters 4 and 3 = High, 2 = Medium, and 1 = Low.
- ³ Table 1 and Appendix A, The Development, Chapter 7, Table 7, The Relationship.
- ⁴ Table 4 and Appendix C, Tables 5 and 6, The Development, clusters 6 and 5 = High, 4 and 3 = medium, and 2 and 1 = Low.
- ⁵ Table 2 and Appendix A, Table 3, The Development.
- ⁶ Table 5 and Appendix A, Table 13, The Development.
- ⁷ Table 2 and Appendix A, Table 3, The Development.
- ⁸ Table 6 and Appendix A, Table 17, The Development, clusters 4 and 3 = High, 2 = Medium, and 1 = Low.
- ⁹ Table 1 and Appendix A, The Development.
- ¹⁰ Table 3 and Appendix C, Tables 1 and 2, The Development, cluster 6 = High, cluster 4 = Medium, clusters 3, 2, and 1 = Low.
- ¹¹ Table 25, The Development.

juveniles. The corresponding adult figures were 46.8% vs. 20.2% who resided in the inner city as adults. The decline from the inner city to the peripheral neighborhoods for juveniles with these types of careers was 52.3%, 23.0%, 15.3%, and 9.2%. For adults it was equally striking, 46.8%, 24.3%, 18.0%, and 10.8%. But 22.1% of the juveniles resided in peripheral neighborhoods and 22.6% resided there as adults. As we have stated, relationships supportive of the position that the neighborhood milieu is a powerful determinant of juvenile and adult experiences are found in every analysis but only a part of the variance may be accounted for in this way.

A word could be said about several of the neighborhoods which appear to be misplaced. Neighborhood 5 is directly behind the Old Gold Coast, Neighborhood 4, but its transition to the inner city was believed to be almost complete. At the same time, it may well be that Neighborhood 5 was not following the normal pattern of transition because the university campus was located in this area, later to become Gateway Technical. In other words, Neighborhood 5 might have better been placed in transition (in an earlier study it had been classified as early transition based on cohort offense rates and the fact that the percentage of the population Black had been increasing) and Neighborhood 4 left in the stable residential group. Neighborhood 18, although grouped with transitionals, might better have been considered part of the inner city.

These comments are by no means simply hindsight. When the pattern expected is not found there are usually variables which, if they had been considered, might have resulted in more homogeneity and order than that which was observed. Be all that as it may, there is still an element of regularity between neighborhood groupings, DCPs, composite and cluster classifications, and the offense seriousness, referral, and sanctions rates presented in this table.

Consistency, Continuity, Seriousness, and Sanctions--A somewhat greater element of complexity is introduced in summary Table 2. The first two columns indicate whether there was a high degree of consistency between measures and juvenile/adult continuity in neighborhoods. While there was consistency in measures throughout neighborhoods, continuity between the juvenile and adult periods was more often than not a characteristic of neighborhoods in which various rates were in the upper quartile--but this was not found in some of the inner city areas where it would be expected. In other words, even if a neighborhood's cohort members tended to be in the upper quartile on various rates, some went on to adult careers and some did not, just as some who did not have serious juvenile records became involved in crime as adults. In the neighborhoods whose cohort members were in the third and fourth quartiles on rates, as shown on Table 1, continuity between juvenile and adult offense seriousness, referrals, and sanctions was less likely to be found.

The next two columns of the table represent disproportional sanctioning by a Geometric score relating severity of sanctions to offense seriousness for the juvenile and adult periods. Disproportional sanctioning was found in the inner city and interstitial neighborhoods more than in other neighborhood groupings, but again there are a few anomalous neighborhoods.

TABLE 2. CONSISTENCY, CONTINUITY, OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS,
SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS, AND DISPROPORTIONAL
INTERVENTION AND SANCTIONING

		D		M		D		S	
		I	D	S		I	D	E	S
	CC	S	I	EE		S	I	V	E
	OO	P	S	RR		P	S	E	V
	CNN	R	P	II		R	P	R	E
	OST	O	R	OO		O	R	S	R
	NII	S	O	UU		I	O	A	S
	SSN	A	S	SS		N	I	N	A
N	IAU	N	A	NN		T	N	C	N
G	SDI	C	N	EE		E	T	T	C
H	JUT	T	C	SS		R	E	S	T
B	ULY	J	T	SS		J	R	F	S
D	VT ¹	A	J	JA		A	A	M	

Inner City Neighborhoods									
2	J	123	63	H H		.311	.488	20.5	14.5
7	J A	51	123	H H	H H	.462	.595	34.8	21.9
8	J A	63	35	H H	H H	.353	.488	26.3	18.0
9	J A C	59	123	H H	H H	.324	.533	22.5	8.0
11	J A C	43	57	H H	H H	.400	.588	37.2	19.2
12	J A C	120	42	H H	H H	.739	.520	26.8	12.6
13	J A C	59	61	H H	H H	.457	.548	15.4	14.8
10	A	95	53	H H	H	.350	.500	28.6	11.9
17	J A	43	123	H H	H H	.240	.400	27.4	14.6
5	J A	30	20			.217	.200	36.1	12.4
6	J A C	62	23		H H	.583	.500	43.6	9.2
Transitional Neighborhoods									
18	J A C	42	62	H H	H H	.238	.421	32.3	15.0
16		30	9	H		.214	.240	19.6	10.2
19	J A C	50	43	H H	H H	.348	.280	21.3	13.7
49	J A C	49	61	H H	H H	.944	.000	40.9	8.4
46	J A C	63	62	H H	H	.281	.290	31.1	16.3
54	J C	127	95	H H	H	.346	.286	15.8	7.4
50	J A C	27	10	H		.154	.148	23.3	9.2
4		2	4			.071	.000	----	4.9
33	J A C	13	21			.200	.500	----	8.5
37	J A	43	50	H H	H H	.238	.857	36.7	21.5

Table 2, Page 2

		D		M		D		S	
		I	D	S		I	D	E	S
	CC	S	I	EE		S	I	V	E
	OO	P	S	RR		P	S	E	V
	CNN	R	P	II		R	P	R	E
	OST	O	R	OO		O	R	S	R
	NII	S	O	UU		I	O	A	S
	SSN	A	S	SS		N	I	N	A
N	IAU	N	A	NN		T	N	C	N
G	SDI	C	N	EE		E	T	T	C
H	JUT	T	C	SS		R	E	S	T
B	ULY	J	T	SS		J	R	F	S
D	VT ¹	A	J	JA		A	A	M	

Stable Residential Neighborhoods									
14	A	19	28			.250	.240	----	8.0
15		55	46		H H	.269	.174	----	5.7
20	J	32	39			.500	.222	----	12.2
21		13	22			.100	.235	----	11.9
22	J	4	35			.167	.188	----	14.4
23	J	18	20			.261	.462	21.6	15.4
29	A C	6	110			.059	.333	18.3	12.1
30	J C	29	2			.273	.100	----	10.2
31	J A	14	35			.154	.257	----	7.6
32		23	18			.158	.323	20.5	10.8
34	J A	28	3			.400	.118	48.0	18.8
35	J	14	84			.105	.357	26.0	12.4
36	J A C	17	20			.393	.333	----	13.2
53	J A C	4	9			.250	.200	----	10.0
56	J A	2	30			.167	.231	26.8	8.0

Peripheral Middle to High SES Neighborhoods									
25	J A	2	5			.105	.200	37.4	16.8
26	A	20	0			.500	.250	----	3.8
27		4	68			.100	.250	----	12.0
28	J A	65	12			.238	.048	7.8	5.6
39	J A	4	17			.300	.167	----	8.3
41	A	85	1			.429	.143	----	9.8
42	J	28	17			.143	.400	----	6.0
51	J A C	66	2			.154	.083	----	----
52	J	4	21			.182	.300	----	8.0
55		21	66			.111	.130	----	11.6
47	J A C	41	33			.333	.474	12.0	11.3
38	A	39	28			.148	.389	28.7	8.4
57	J A	84	16			.267	.545	----	10.5

Footnotes, Table 2

- ¹ Table 19, The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood.
- ² Table 28, The Development.
- ³ Table 29, The Development.
- ⁴ Table 31, The Development.

The next two sets of columns are for mean offense seriousness and mean severity of sanctions for cohort members for the juvenile and adult periods for each neighborhood. This is a composite representation of rates for each cohort for each period. Since there was some fluctuation in rates from cohort to cohort, a neighborhood was considered High if its mean for the cohort was in the top 25% for at least the 1955 Cohort and in the top 25% or close to it in the 1949 Cohort or vice versa. As in the case of prior measures of offense seriousness and severity of sanctions, the inner city areas were higher on the average than others, with many transitional neighborhoods scoring as high or almost as high.

The figures in the last four columns, measures of disproportional intervention, are relatively high for almost every inner city neighborhood and for some other neighborhoods as well. The same may be said for the severity of sanctions measure for felonies and misdemeanors; the inner city neighborhoods are generally high on severity of sanctions but there are also high neighborhoods in every other group.

By now it should be even more apparent why it was concluded that these measures of offense seriousness, intervention, and sanctions did not reveal clear patterns of relationship to the neighborhood records of offense seriousness, delinquency and crime producing characteristics, grouping by neighborhood type, or neighborhood location in the city.

FURTHER SIMPLIFICATION

Seriousness, Sanctions, and Disproportional Severity of Sanctions--In Table 3 offense seriousness rates for each neighborhood are based on the number of members in the cohort who reside there and the severity of sanctions rates and disproportional sanctions rates are based on the number who were referred as a consequence of their allegedly delinquent or criminal behavior. The 1942 Cohort has been eliminated because there were too few members residing in most neighborhoods for the type of analyses which follow.

The offense seriousness rates for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts were highest in most of the inner city neighborhoods with a few high neighborhoods in the emerging peripheral areas. Severe sanctions for cohort members referred was more characteristic of inner city and transitional neighborhoods than others. Disproportional severity of sanctions (the higher the figure, which is a ratio, the less serious were sanctions in relation to offenses in comparison with other neighborhoods) did not appear to be systematically related to neighborhood groupings but we shall see that it was in a very meaningful way. Neighborhoods with too few persons referred are represented by dashes and some of these were neighborhoods in which cohort members have behaved in such a way as to receive neither referrals nor sanctions.

Question: how much of this table is a function of cohort members' behavior and how much is a function of the behavior of justice system personnel? For example, sanctions were more severe for the same offenses during the period at risk for 1955 Cohort members than for 1949 Cohort members, particularly for Part I offenses but even for traffic offenses, thus their disproportional severity of sanctions ratios were lower.

TABLE 3. AVERAGE OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS, SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS FOR COHORT REFERRED, AND PROPORTIONAL SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS TO SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENSES FOR COHORT MEMBERS BY NEIGHBORHOOD OF SOCIALIZATION¹

	JUV OFF SERIOUS		ADULT OFF SERIOUS		JUV SEV SANCT		ADULT SEV SANCT		PROP. ² SEV SANCJ		PROP. SEV SANCA	
	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955
<u>Inner City Neighborhoods</u>												
2	<u>12.6</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>6.9</u>	<u>8.4</u>	<u>17.8</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>13.4</u>	<u>2.7</u>
7	<u>19.1</u>	<u>13.9</u>	<u>16.5</u>	<u>9.1</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>8.1</u>	<u>10.4</u>	<u>13.3</u>	<u>19.3</u>	<u>7.3</u>	<u>7.1</u>	<u>1.8</u>
8	<u>6.7</u>	<u>16.2</u>	<u>9.9</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>24.4</u>	<u>17.6</u>	<u>12.9</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>1.2</u>
9	<u>10.3</u>	<u>7.2</u>	<u>15.8</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>5.9</u>	<u>13.0</u>	<u>9.0</u>	<u>19.1</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>10.6</u>	<u>2.8</u>
11	<u>2.6</u>	<u>31.8</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>16.5</u>	----	<u>16.2</u>	<u>13.4</u>	<u>16.2</u>	----	<u>4.4</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>4.0</u>
12	<u>9.7</u>	<u>15.9</u>	<u>14.9</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>11.6</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>23.5</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>8.0</u>	<u>2.7</u>
13	<u>11.9</u>	<u>17.5</u>	<u>9.2</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>6.4</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>7.3</u>	<u>15.1</u>	<u>20.3</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>12.2</u>	<u>2.5</u>
10	<u>3.3</u>	<u>6.0</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>7.9</u>	----	<u>4.0</u>	----	<u>12.9</u>	----	<u>13.8</u>	----	<u>2.5</u>
17	<u>4.0</u>	<u>10.0</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>7.5</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>12.8</u>	----	<u>17.0</u>	<u>9.7</u>	<u>4.2</u>	----	<u>3.0</u>
5	<u>3.2</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>6.4</u>	----	<u>6.4</u>	<u>7.4</u>	<u>2.8</u>	----	<u>1.4</u>
6	----	<u>6.6</u>	----	<u>4.2</u>	----	<u>3.4</u>	----	----	----	<u>6.1</u>	----	----
<u>Transitional Neighborhoods</u>												
18	<u>9.7</u>	<u>14.8</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>8.0</u>	----	<u>14.1</u>	----	<u>17.6</u>	----	<u>7.2</u>	----	<u>1.3</u>
16	<u>3.7</u>	<u>6.9</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>4.8</u>	----	<u>4.3</u>	----	<u>9.4</u>	----	<u>10.0</u>	----	<u>2.9</u>
19	<u>6.5</u>	<u>8.9</u>	<u>7.3</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>14.9</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>2.4</u>	<u>4.0</u>	<u>1.4</u>
49	<u>10.1</u>	<u>11.8</u>	<u>11.2</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>14.1</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>13.2</u>	<u>15.8</u>	<u>10.1</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>.9</u>
46	<u>11.5</u>	<u>8.3</u>	<u>11.9</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>6.1</u>	<u>11.8</u>	<u>10.6</u>	<u>12.6</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>7.3</u>	<u>1.5</u>
54	<u>6.4</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>19.6</u>	<u>19.5</u>	<u>8.1</u>	<u>12.1</u>	<u>1.4</u>
50	<u>2.0</u>	<u>7.8</u>	<u>4.5</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>5.8</u>	<u>7.4</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>2.8</u>
4	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>.3</u>	<u>1.2</u>	----	<u>1.8</u>	----	----	----	<u>4.5</u>	----	----
33	<u>3.2</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>6.6</u>	----	<u>8.9</u>	<u>8.1</u>	<u>6.8</u>	----	<u>1.6</u>
37	<u>5.1</u>	<u>16.5</u>	<u>10.8</u>	<u>11.8</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>9.3</u>	----	<u>20.2</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>12.1</u>	----	<u>1.4</u>
<u>Stable Residential Neighborhoods</u>												
14	<u>5.0</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>6.4</u>	<u>7.2</u>	<u>13.7</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>.9</u>
15	<u>5.1</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>3.7</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>7.6</u>	----	<u>9.9</u>	<u>19.8</u>	<u>4.7</u>	----	<u>1.0</u>
20	<u>7.7</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>2.6</u>	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
21	<u>1.5</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>1.7</u>	----	----	----	<u>7.4</u>	----	----	----	<u>1.0</u>
22	<u>1.4</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>5.9</u>	<u>.7</u>	----	----	<u>4.0</u>	----	----	----	<u>8.6</u>	----
23	<u>1.5</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>1.6</u>	----	<u>9.3</u>	----	<u>15.0</u>	----	<u>4.3</u>	----	<u>.7</u>
29	<u>3.2</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>9.4</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>9.6</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>6.6</u>
30	----	<u>6.0</u>	----	<u>1.7</u>	----	<u>7.4</u>	----	<u>5.0</u>	----	<u>4.5</u>	----	<u>1.4</u>
31	<u>5.4</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>8.4</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>9.6</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>7.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>
32	<u>2.5</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>3.1</u>
34	<u>4.3</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>4.0</u>	<u>9.7</u>	----	<u>10.4</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>1.9</u>	----	<u>2.3</u>
35	<u>2.0</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>.7</u>	<u>1.6</u>	----	<u>10.8</u>	----	----	----	<u>3.0</u>	----	----
36	<u>6.8</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>.9</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>7.8</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>.6</u>
53	<u>1.5</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>3.0</u>	----	<u>7.3</u>	----	----	----	<u>5.6</u>	----	----
56	<u>2.9</u>	<u>7.4</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>9.4</u>	<u>9.0</u>	<u>18.3</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>.8</u>

Table 3, Page 2

	JUV OFF SERIOUS		ADULT OFF SERIOUS		JUV SEV SANCT		ADULT SEV SANCT		PROP. ² SEV SANCJ		PROP. SEV SANCA	
	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955	1949	1955
<u>Peripheral Middle to High SES Neighborhoods</u>												
25	<u>1.5</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>1.5</u>	----	<u>6.2</u>	----	----	----	<u>5.2</u>	----	----
26	<u>3.0</u>	<u>.3</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>.6</u>	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
27	<u>1.9</u>	<u>.6</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>1.5</u>	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
28	<u>3.4</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>3.7</u>	<u>1.0</u>	----	<u>5.7</u>	<u>3.1</u>	----	----	<u>2.1</u>	<u>5.4</u>	----
39	<u>2.6</u>	<u>.9</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>.8</u>	----	----	<u>10.5</u>	----	----	----	<u>2.5</u>	----
41	----	<u>3.4</u>	----	<u>1.1</u>	----	<u>6.2</u>	----	----	----	<u>7.3</u>	----	----
42	<u>.8</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>2.8</u>	----	<u>2.3</u>	----	----	----	<u>7.2</u>	----	----
51	<u>2.7</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>2.7</u>	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
52	<u>2.0</u>	<u>.7</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>1.0</u>	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
55	<u>5.2</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>.9</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>6.0</u>	----	<u>11.0</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>3.2</u>	----
47	<u>3.1</u>	<u>8.2</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>7.3</u>	----	<u>10.8</u>	----	<u>17.9</u>	----	<u>4.2</u>	----	<u>1.9</u>
38	<u>7.5</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>5.8</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>8.9</u>	<u>12.8</u>	<u>14.7</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>.6</u>
57	<u>2.5</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>.8</u>	<u>1.6</u>	----	<u>2.9</u>	----	<u>5.2</u>	----	<u>3.1</u>	----	<u>1.9</u>

	JUVENILE		ADULT	
	1949	1955	1949	1955
Seriousness	.395		.396	
Severity of Sanctions	.273		.393	
Disp. Sev. Sanctions	.094		.068	
	1949		1955	
Juv. Ser. X Adult Ser.	.823		.893	
Juv. Sanc. X Adult Sanc.	.267		.629	
Juv. Disp. Sanc. X Ad. Disp. Sanc.	.625		.143	
	1949	1955	1949	1955
Seriousness X Sev. of Sanc.	.585	.659	.446	.640
Ser. X Disp. Sev. of Sanc.	.666	.181	.445	.337
Sev. of Sanc. X Disp. Sev. Sanc.	.123	-.259	-.354	-.077

¹ Neighborhood means are based on scores for cohort members residing in neighborhood during juvenile period regardless of where they may be residing during adult period. Figures underlined are those for the top one-third of the means of each distribution. Dashes indicate fewer than five persons referred.

² The higher the figures the less serious were sanctions in relation to offenses.

Before discussing the distribution of high rates by types of neighborhoods, it should be noted that cohort differences have always posed a problem when the analysis was based on neighborhoods. For example, the 1949 and 1955 neighborhood rates for juvenile offense seriousness were correlated .395 and for adult seriousness .396 (see page 2 of Table 3). Neighborhood rates for severity of sanctions were correlated .273 and .393 but disproportional severity of sanctions dropped to .095 and .068. We shall later see why. The 1955 Cohort rates for juvenile disproportional severity of sanctions changed because severity of sanctions had increased more than had career seriousness. Relative leniency had dropped in the inner city and some other neighborhoods. Leniency takes two forms, dismissal and less severe sanctions.

On the other hand, in spite of cohort differences there are basic consistencies within cohorts. Juvenile and adult seriousness were correlated .823 for the 1949 Cohort and .893 for the 1955 Cohort. Juvenile and adult severity of sanctions were correlated .267 and .629 but .521 for the 1949 Cohort and .694 for the 1955 Cohort if neighborhoods with too few cohort members referred were included and given a value of zero. Much of the 1955 Cohort's increase may be explained by the fact that juvenile severity of sanctions had markedly increased in the inner city for the 1955 Cohort. Following from this, juvenile and adult sanctioning disproportionality were correlated .625 for the 1949 Cohort but only .143 for the 1955 Cohort. Thus, juvenile/adult disproportional sanctioning continuity differs between cohorts but in the opposite direction from severity of sanctions because of a shift in the neighborhood pattern of disproportional sanctioning, i.e., disproportional to that given to others with the same offense seriousness.

Going further with the correlations of neighborhood rates, juvenile seriousness and juvenile sanctions were correlated .585 and .659 for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, respectively; for adults the correlations were .446 and .640.

The ecological correlations for seriousness and disproportional sanctioning were .666 and .181 for juveniles and .445 and .337 for adults (a positive sign means that there was relatively more leniency for serious offenders. Even though persons in the 1955 Cohort were being dealt with more severely, juveniles in some neighborhoods with high offense seriousness still tended to have disproportionately low sanctions to their offense seriousness. This becomes more apparent in the next row where with one exception correlations between severity of sanctions and disproportional severity of sanctions have negative signs. The correlation for 1955 Cohort juveniles is -.254, meaning that neighborhoods with severe sanctions have relatively less of the disproportionality that can be attributed to leniency than did the 1949 Cohort juveniles. Disproportional sanctioning does not follow such a simple pattern in relationship to either offense seriousness or neighborhood milieu as had been expected.

When the cohort members in each neighborhood are partitioned by race and sex the Non-White numbers in each group become quite small for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. Thus, any statistic on severity of sanctions or disproportional severity of sanctions would not be a reliable estimate of what was happening to race and sex groups in the neighborhood. The 1955 Cohort is

the only one with sufficient persons to make any kind of statement about differences by race and sex within specific neighborhoods.

In the inner city neighborhoods there were nine White and nine Non-White neighborhood groups where the juveniles had High Offense Seriousness. Of these, five of the White groups and six of the Non-White groups had High Severity of Sanctions and, of these 11 groups, three of the White groups and two of the Non-White groups received disproportionately severe sanctions.

It is evident, perhaps even more than previously emphasized, that there are six inner city neighborhoods and the barrio, all of which have for one reason or another contributed disproportionately to juvenile delinquency and adult crime. They contain race/sex groups whose misbehavior has not only resulted in severe sanctions, but sanctioning which is disproportional to the severity of their offenses. Nevertheless, the same disproportionality may be found in several neighborhoods which are predominately or entirely White.

It is very likely that the traditionally large number of persons involved in delinquency and crime in inner city neighborhoods focuses attention on them so that they become the targets of the justice system, whether they be White or Non-White, male or female. To the extent that a problem exists in these neighborhoods it is a matter of concern commencing at the time of police contact when the decision to refer is made.

It must be remembered that in Table 3 the data were being analyzed by age periods with an ecological element added by reporting neighborhood means for each measure. Further simplification of the basic pattern of relationships is possible. In Table 4, where H represents high seriousness of careers, severe sanctions, and high disproportional sanctioning, the first two columns of each group are for the 1949 Cohort, juvenile and then adult, and the next two columns for the 1955 Cohort, etc. Those neighborhoods which are high on seriousness of offenses and severity of sanctions are found in the High DCP and High In-Area and By Residence neighborhoods, moreso in the High By Residence neighborhoods than in other types of neighborhoods. Disproportional sanctioning follows no discernable pattern when neighborhoods are organized by three dimensions.

What Goes on Inside of Each Neighborhood?--The next step was to conduct an analysis of individuals within the neighborhood utilizing the same measures used in Table 3 but in this case the relationship of each cohort member's score on offense seriousness to that same member's score on severity of sanctions, etc., was represented by Pearsonian coefficients.

While most of the analyses referred to in this executive report have been based on the behavior of cohort members by place of socialization, whether the measures dealt with the juvenile or adult period or by place of socialization for juveniles and place of residence as adults, the adult measures were analyzed by place of socialization and place of residence at this point. Even though change in some people's behavior takes place with a change in milieu, our basic position had been that the juvenile milieu pretty much determines what most people will be like throughout their

TABLE 4. HIGH OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS, SANCTIONS, AND DISPROPORTIONAL SANCTIONS FOR 1949 AND 1955 COHORTS, JUVENILE AND ADULT PERIODS

Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics									
A	R	High			Medium			Low			
		Seri Sanc DisS			Seri Sanc DisS			Seri Sanc DisS			
H	H	2	H	HH	H	6	-	-	H	-	-
		7	HHHH	H	H	49	HHHH	HHHH	HHH		
		8	HHHH	HHH	H						
		9	H	HH	H						
		10		H	-	-	-				
		11	H	H	-HHH	-	H				
		12	HHHH		H						
		13	HHHH	HH	H						
		17	H	H	H-H	-					
		18	H	H	-H-H	-	-H				
H	M	16	H	-	-	-	23	-H-H	-	-H	30
H	L						4	-	-	-	
M	H	5		-	HH-		46	HHH	H	H	47
		19	HHHH	HH	H	HH	54	HHHH		H	
M	M						20	H	-	-	25
							29			H	34
							33		-	-	50
							35		H	-H-	
							56	H		H	
M	L						14			H	26
							32			H	42
L	H						37	HHH	H-H	H	-H
L	M						15		-	-	-H
							55	H	H	-	HH-
											31
											36
											38
											41
L	L						21		-	-	-H
							22	HH	-H-	-	
							53		-	-	
											27
											51
											52
											57

Based on rates shown in Table 3. Dashes, "-", indicate too few cohort members referred for statistic.

lives. The findings have borne this out. Perhaps it is not just milieu effects on juvenile behavior but, as we have said, milieu effects on the perceptions of persons in the justice system.

Most of the within-neighborhood correlations between offense seriousness and severity of sanctions were sizeable (almost half were above .700). The correlations were negative in only three neighborhoods. There was also relatively little difference between the juvenile and adult correlations in most neighborhoods.

The inner city neighborhoods produced positive relationships between offense seriousness and severity of sanctions with only two exceptions, and the two exceptions were those neighborhoods with 10% or less Black population. These inner city neighborhoods have High In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rates, High Juvenile and Adult Offense Rates, High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics, and, in all except three cases, 35% or more Black residents as of 1970. We have usually taken the position that these are not samples and have not been too concerned about statistical significance but it should be noted that even with the small Ns of neighborhoods most of these relationships were significant at least at the .05 level.

The picture was similar for transitional neighborhoods, although there are several neighborhoods in which the juvenile relationship differed markedly from the adult, most noticeably Neighborhood 16, which also had the highest percent Black, 17%, and Neighborhood 37, which had the next highest percent Black, 10%. This group of neighborhoods, however, was not as homogeneous in terms of offense rates or DCP but most did have High or Medium rates and only one had been characterized as Low DCP. Variation in the correlations had little relationship to the Offense Rate or DCP characteristics of these neighborhoods.

There was considerably less juvenile/adult consistency when the stable residential and peripheral middle to high SES neighborhoods were considered but even then over half of the neighborhoods showed sizeable relationships between offense seriousness and severity of sanctions. We have no explanation for the scattered lower correlations, most for the juvenile period. Although the offense rate and DCP characterizations of these neighborhoods are lower than those of the inner city and transitional neighborhoods, variation in the characterization of neighborhoods within these groups is unrelated to variation in the correlations.

We again examined the relationship of offense seriousness to disproportional sanctioning. Inspection of scattergrams for each cohort revealed that a wide range of juvenile seriousness resulted in a relatively small range of disproportional sanctioning but that within this range the lower half of the seriousness distribution had a wide range of disproportional sanctions. There were also relatively few persons with serious juvenile careers who received disproportionately low sanctions in most neighborhoods. However, the basic problem was that neighborhood Ns were relatively small to provide much definitive information about offense seriousness and disproportional sanctioning. It was decided that the best strategy would be to present a summary analysis in which inner city neighborhoods would be contrasted with all other neighborhoods.

The Inner City vs. Other Neighborhoods--In order to make the difference between inner city and other neighborhoods even more clear we now turn to six quite simple tables (Table 5) showing the dichotomized distribution of offense seriousness and severity of sanctions for persons referred at the time of police contact and how they have changed. The great majority of every group appears in the category of below the mean seriousness of careers (and also have received less severe sanctions) because, as we have so frequently said, a small percent of each group accounts for a large percent of the offenses of each group and even a larger percent of the serious offenses (thus the mean is far above the mid-point). There is perhaps no easier way of showing this than in these simple tables. In every group the proportion of inner city serious offenders (above the mean) who received severe sanctions (above the mean) was greater for the 1955 Cohort than for the 1949 Cohort. Had the 1942 Cohort been shown in those groups for which there were sufficient persons, it would have had the lowest proportion of serious offenders who were severely sanctioned.

Increases in the proportion of serious offenders severely sanctioned were greater for Non-Whites than Whites, as were increases for Whites in the inner city greater than for Whites from other neighborhoods. The most pronounced change in severity of sanctions for juveniles above the mean in seriousness was for Non-Whites from inner city neighborhoods. This simplifies what has been dealt with in much more complex ways in chapter after chapter of the report.

In the two White groups, inner city and other neighborhoods, the proportion of less serious offenders who were severely sanctioned increased more than did the proportion of similar Non-White inner city persons. Non-Whites now had about the same proportion of less serious offenders severely sanctioned as did the inner city Whites. It should be noted that Pearson's R for the undichotomized data was highest for the inner city Non-Whites (.731). For the 1955 Cohort both inner city groups had a larger proportion of their less serious offenses sanctioned than did those Whites who resided outside the inner city.

The patterned relationships which have just been described for juveniles showed less cohort change for adults (1942 vs. 1949 Cohort comparisons were more appropriate because of the limited exposure of the 1955 Cohort as adults) but here again serious Non-White offenders from the inner city (1949 Cohort) had the largest proportion of their relatively serious offenders with severe sanctions. It was also apparent that relatively more serious Non-White offenders from other neighborhoods as well as the inner city received relatively severe sanctions as compared with White groups for the 1949 Cohort but that this had been markedly reduced for the 1955 Cohort.

The relationship of offense seriousness to the disproportionality of sanctions index also received further consideration, the results showing that leniency for those above the mean in seriousness had declined more sharply for inner city Non-Whites than Whites, although both had declined significantly. At the same time, the proportion of less serious offenders who were dealt with leniently remained about the same for both inner city groups and increased for Whites in other neighborhoods. For the adult groups the decline in leniency for serious offenders was most apparent for

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE AND RACE FOR PERSONS REFERRED: 1949 AND 1955 COHORTS

INNER CITY NEIGHBORHOODS

1949				1955				
Non-White								
Severity of Sanctions				Severity of Sanctions				
Mean- Mean+				Mean- Mean+				
Offense Seriousness	M+	19.4	5.6	25.0	M+	1.9	17.9	19.8
	M-	66.7	8.3	75.0	M-	70.8	9.4	80.2
86.1 13.9 100.0%				72.7 27.3 100.0%				
Pearson's R = .187 ns				Pearson's R = .731				

White								
Severity of Sanctions				Severity of Sanctions				
Mean- Mean+				Mean- Mean+				
Offense Seriousness	M+	11.1	11.1	22.2	M+	5.7	17.1	22.8
	M-	75.9	1.9	77.8	M-	68.6	8.6	77.2
87.0 13.0 100.0%				74.3 25.7 100.0%				
Pearson's R = .630				Pearson's R = .674				

OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS

White								
Severity of Sanctions				Severity of Sanctions				
Mean- Mean+				Mean- Mean+				
Offense Seriousness	M+	3.6	4.1	7.7	M+	2.6	6.8	9.4
	M-	88.8	3.6	92.4	M-	82.6	7.9	90.5
92.4 7.7 100.1%				85.2 14.7 99.9%				
Pearson's R = .551				Pearson's R = .564				

	1949	1955
Mean Cohort Juvenile Seriousness	17.5	22.6
Non-White Inner City	24.7	31.6
White Inner City	24.8	25.5
White Other Neighborhoods	13.3	17.1
Mean Cohort Severity of Sanctions	2.2	6.7
Non-White Inner City	3.5	8.0
White Inner City	2.2	8.1
White Other Neighborhoods	1.6	5.8

inner city Non-Whites but this was accompanied by an increase in leniency for less serious offenders. What was also clear is that changes in court severity in relationship to the seriousness of offenses were more apparent in their career effects on juveniles than adults.

Although this discussion may seem to imply that we have concluded that race and inner city residence are powerful determinants of severity of sanctions, we have not meant to do so. We are concerned about the variance that is unaccounted for. In every analysis that we have conducted during the course of this research it has been concluded that seriousness of offense is the most powerful determinant of severity of sanctions for juveniles or adults. The first-order correlations between severity of juvenile offenses and juvenile sanctions commenced at .269 for the 1942 Cohort, was .518 for the 1949 Cohort, and .645 for the 1955 Cohort for persons included in the neighborhood analysis. When race and inner city vs. other neighborhoods were included in a multiple regression the standard estimates for offense seriousness progressed from .239 for the 1942 Cohort to .531 for the 1949 Cohort and to .652 for the 1955 Cohort, the highest for any variable. Race and juvenile neighborhood were significant in the 1949 Cohort but only juvenile neighborhood was significant for the 1955 Cohort, which is consistent with the changes in severity of sanctions and disproportional sanctioning that we have just described. Progressing from the 1942 Cohort to the 1949 Cohort these three variables accounted for increasing amounts of the variance in severity of sanctions, .046, .279, and reaching an R^2 of .415 for the 1955 Cohort, that is, 41% of the variance accounted for.

Our hypothesis was that neighborhood milieu would have an increasingly greater effect on measures from contact rate to severity of sanctions so we might expect severity of sanctions to have its closest relationship to neighborhood milieu for the adult period. Here we found that adult severity of sanctions had even lower first-order correlations with milieu (adult neighborhood) than during the juvenile period except in 1955 when they were the same. The standard estimates for neighborhood were not significant for any cohort, although race was for the 1949 Cohort and the standard estimates for adult seriousness, although higher for adults than juveniles for the 1942 Cohort, .370, progressed only to .403 and .582. Less of the variance in adult severity of sanctions was accounted for by the three variables, offense seriousness, race, and neighborhood, .164, .246, and .358. Beyond all of this, other analyses have shown that the number of prior offenses was always the next most important variable to seriousness in determining the severity of sanctions which a cohort member received.

Simply put, the multiple regressions revealed that the importance of race and neighborhood in accounting for severity of sanctions, even when the analysis was conducted in such a way as to maximize the chance of neighborhood impact, was declining. The sanctioning process became more severe for relatively serious Non-White and inner city offenders and leniency, as illustrated in various segments of Table 5, declined.

Summary--What has all of this told us? For sure we can say that offense seriousness is related to severity of sanctions, more in the inner city than in other neighborhoods, most consistently during the juvenile period

for the 1955 Cohort. Following this, when we turn to disproportional sanctioning, there is less consistency between offense seriousness and disproportional sanctioning as we leave the inner city and turn to other areas. As stated before, what is unclear if we concentrate on one step at a time, is much clearer if the data are examined as a sequence or chain of events. Even then it is difficult to encapsulate the data in such a way as to show that year by year and event by event those who reside in neighborhoods which have high offense rates, and are conceptualized as being delinquency and crime producing, are perceived as residing in a milieu whose residents should receive different consideration by the justice system than those who reside in other areas. That this happens is suggested, however, by the lower correlations between offense measures and intervention and sanctioning measures found in some neighborhoods outside the inner city and transitional areas. We have shown that inner city and transitional areas differ in offense seriousness as recorded by the police and by what transpires step by step thereafter, but it is more difficult to capture disproportionality of reaction because what happens is cumulative rather than discriminative in a strictly linear fashion at any point in time. The age period analyses are probably the best way to capture the effects that were hypothesized to be present.

WHAT THE INTERVIEWS TOLD US ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD DIFFERENCES

Accounting for the Variance in Offense Rate and Intervention Scores--In order to learn more about the persons who were socialized in different types of milieus we conducted numerous analyses of the interview data. Twenty-nine interview variables representing respondents' home conditions, educational experiences, work experiences, etc., were manipulated by multiple regression techniques in order to ascertain their relationship to measures of seriousness of delinquency and crime, official and self-report, and the extent to which intervention was in proportion to seriousness of offenses.⁶

The number of independent variables to be included in the analyses of different groupings of neighborhoods was reduced by preliminary regression analyses of the combined 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. It was decided that only 16 variables would account for most of the variance that could be accounted for in measures of delinquency and crime, but this was less than 50%, Adjusted R^2 , with little systematic difference from one grouping of

⁶ The interview schedule contained 58 questions (26 pages) and a self-report form, the self-reports to be filled out and presented to the interviewer or mailed to the IUCRC in Iowa City in a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Most respondents presented the self-report form directly to the interviewer.

While the statistics for independent interview variables and the statistics representing juvenile and adult careers varied by type of neighborhood, come to a greater degree and more consistently according to expectations than others, variation in the independent interview variables was considerably less than that for the dependent measures of delinquency and crime.

neighborhoods to another. Here, again, it is a matter of what one considers to be an achievement. Although four variables stood out as showing recurring significance across groupings of neighborhoods during the juvenile period (no high school diploma, a delinquent self-concept during the juvenile period, juvenile friends in trouble with the police, and having access to the automobile), one could argue, with the exception of access to the automobile, that they were antecedents and explanatory of delinquency or coincidental and perhaps at least partially consequences of delinquency.

During the adult period several other variables accounted for significant amounts of the variance in rates across neighborhood type groupings: age of marriage, first job level, no high school diploma, and having adult friends in trouble with the police. While early age of marriage, higher first job level, and a high school diploma could be accepted as playing a part in low adult crime scores, having adult friends in trouble with the police could be congruent with one's own behavior.

Accounting for Variance in Rates by Inner City vs. Other Residence and White vs. Nonwhite--At this juncture it was again concluded that what was happening in different types of neighborhoods would be better discerned if they were simply divided into inner city vs. other neighborhoods, i.e., no further attention devoted to specific neighborhoods, and that, since the inner city was Non-White disproportionately to other areas, further analysis of Whites vs. Non-Whites would be equally appropriate. Regression analysis revealed that there were numerous inner city vs. other differences and White vs. Non-White differences during both the juvenile and adult periods.

While it would have been tempting, after the fact, to discuss how these diverse effects supported or rejected various sociological explanations of delinquency, changes in effects from group to group would make this a difficult and perhaps meaningless exercise. To explain delinquency per se is a rather fruitless quest anyway because the genesis of delinquency does vary from group to group. The same problem was found for the adult period but more of the variance could be accounted for here by adding juvenile delinquency measures as independent variables, they, in most cases, having higher standardized estimates than the interview variables.

Accounting for Variance in Rates by Race, Sex, and Residence--To be sure that no stone had been left unturned, the same analytic strategy was applied to Males, Non-White Males, White Males, Females, etc. There were differences from group to group in which variables were significant but generally less than half of the variance was accounted for during either the juvenile or adult period. However, when juvenile delinquency scores were added over 60% of the variance in adult White Male offense seriousness scores was accounted for.

Since the inconsistent and sometimes quite contradictory effects suggested that explaining or accounting for delinquency was a more complex enterprise than many might think, it was decided to go even a step further in delineating the kinds of groups subjected to analysis. Controlling for place of socialization as inner city vs. other, sex, and race was the final step. More of the variance was thus accounted for than in prior analyses, particularly for the high rate groups, Inner City Non-White and White Males,

Other White Males, and Inner City Non-White Females, in fact all groups except Other White Females.

Having fairly homogeneous groups brought us to the point that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the variance in adult crime rates among Inner City Non-White and White Males was being accounted for by type of associates, life experiences, attitudes, living arrangements, and prior police record. More of the variance in adult seriousness scores was accounted for among Inner City Males and least among White Females, but this was not the case for offense/seriousness intervention scores where little success was had in accounting for variation among Inner City Non-White Males, even with the juvenile offense/seriousness intervention scores added.

Since effects were inconsistent from group to group it would be difficult to suggest how to deal with the problem of delinquency prevention or crime amelioration that would cut across all groups. Attention should probably be focused on those groups in which delinquency rates are highest and there is the greatest likelihood of continuity into adult crime, i.e., the high risk groups.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. This longitudinal research is based on official police contact and referral data for three birth cohorts (1942, 1949, and 1955 totalling 6,127 males and females, of whom 4,069 had continuous residence in Racine). Interviews were also conducted with 889 persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.
2. The basic hypothesis which guided the analysis was that at each step from police contact to court sanctions and continuity into adult crime there would be an increasing relationship of these variables to the social structure or organization of the community and differences in neighborhood milieu.
3. Neighborhood milieu was operationally defined by arranging 65 homogeneous neighborhoods in a variety of matrices (multi-celled tables) based on their Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics (DCP) and various offense rates, such as In-Area, By Residence, Juvenile, or Adult.
4. Demographic, housing, and land use block data for the periods 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 were also utilized in categorizing neighborhoods as 1) Inner City, 2) Transitional, 3) Stable Residential, and 4) Peripheral Middle to High Socioeconomic Status. This could be considered milieu, broadly defined.
5. While none of the matrices produced completely congruent arrangements of the neighborhoods (nor were they expected to do so), the inner city neighborhoods were consistently found in the cell whose neighborhoods were characterized as being High DCP and High Offense Rate Neighborhoods.

6. Cohort delinquency and crime rates and official responses to them, whether police contact, offense seriousness, referral, or severity of sanctions, were consistently associated with these neighborhood arrangements with the highest rates found in the High DCP, High Offense Rates, and Inner City Neighborhoods.
7. Although neighborhood milieu had substantial effects on the development of juvenile and adult careers, Geometric scores representing these careers were not distributed in a pattern closely related to arrangements of neighborhoods produced by DCPs and Offense Rates, that is, the operational definition for the social structure or organization of the community.
8. Neighborhood milieu effects are best seen if the distribution of Geometric types representing severely sanctioned persons is considered for the inner city neighborhoods as compared with other neighborhoods (52% of all cohort members with these careers resided in the Inner City, but only 24% of the combined cohort members resided there).
9. Concentration of serious careers in inner city neighborhoods, as represented by juvenile and/or adult careers culminating in severe sanctions, increased from cohort to cohort.
10. Neighborhood milieu does not account for much of the variance in consistency between measures of delinquency and official responses (referrals and sanctions) or continuity in careers between the juvenile and adult periods, although both consistency and continuity were more characteristic of inner city than other neighborhoods.
11. Although neighborhood milieu has substantial effects on intervention and sanctions types, the pattern is again far from one of congruence with the arrangements of neighborhoods that should have been found for strong support of our basic hypothesis. The High DCP and Offense Rate or Inner City neighborhoods were more likely to exhibit disproportional intervention or sanctions than other types of neighborhoods.
12. Inequalities in the sanctioning process which had previously existed have decreased because the relatively serious offenders have been more severely sanctioned than in the past, particularly juveniles from inner city neighborhoods, White and Non-White and Non-Whites from other neighborhoods.
13. These inequities have also declined because leniency has increased for less serious offenders in some neighborhoods in which serious offenders have been dealt with more harshly, particularly for young adults. The move toward leniency for less serious offenders, in terms of use of scarce resources, may be thought of as the better alternative.
14. The former may be a wise trend because the less serious offenders make up such a large proportion of all offenders.
15. Since there is no evidence that increasing severity of sanctions has

- specific or general deterrent value, increasing severity of sanctions for most serious offenses may still have results which are more disastrous than had some serious offenders continued to receive leniency.
16. Interview variables and individual level characteristics accounted for substantial proportions (50%) of seriousness and seriousness/intervention scores, especially for inner city males.
17. Four factors had recurring significance in accounting for delinquency: no high school diploma, a delinquent self-concept during the juvenile period, juvenile friends in trouble with the police, and having access to the automobile. Even though there is a problem of which is antecedent, these are important variables to consider when developing programs for youth.
18. When juvenile careers were added as an independent variable, much more of the adult seriousness was accounted for than by interview variables alone (60% of the adult White males' offense seriousness).
19. The end result was that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the variance in adult crime rates among inner city males was accounted for by type of associates, life experiences, attitudes, living arrangements, and prior police record.
20. The problem with many of the interview variables is that it is difficult to be sure which is the antecedent. But even then the pattern of relationships is important because they tell us about the consequences of delinquency and crime, which are equally important to persons on the firing line as are the antecedents.

Where did this leave us? Certainly with the conclusion that the process of becoming delinquent is complex, that it differs by sex, type of neighborhood, and race/ethnicity and that efforts to ameliorate the problems of delinquency and crime have been ineffective. This is not new, nor is it just opinion. It is based on a painstaking analysis and reanalysis of longitudinal data on thousands of persons born at three different time periods. Unfortunately, there are millions of people, some with great power and influence who believe with great honesty, that this or that oversimplified explanation of delinquency and crime should be the basis for dealing with the problem. Furthermore, and perhaps even more dangerous, is their belief that this or that "professional" approach fits their explanation. They conclude that only their program, perhaps one of increasing severity of sanctions or perhaps one which involves treating delinquents and criminals as "sick" people, is the solution.

Since the day that sociologists ceased to concentrate their efforts on the study of the male or White male, since it became apparent that patterns of delinquency and crime had complex variation from group to group, explanations have become more diversified. Attempts to prevent or control delinquency and crime must take the diversity of juvenile and adult populations into account.

While it may appear to the casual observer that sociologists are in complete disagreement in their explanations of the genesis of delinquency and crime and their evaluations of the consequences of efforts to deal with them have varied, much of this can be attributed to the fact that different studies apply to different types of juveniles and adults. If these studies were integrated, particularly the really excellent efforts that have been supported by the Federal government in recent years, we would have the start toward a more comprehensive explanation of delinquency and crime and a better understanding of what works with juveniles and/or adults and what does not work. We are now approaching the take-off point. Unfortunately, only a few researchers have utilized police contact, referral, and court sanctions data in longitudinal analyses of birth cohorts. They have not included the entire range of delinquent and criminal behavior for different types of people during their years at risk from age 6 into adulthood in their research. These more limited samples have produced sample-related findings. But sample-related findings may be integrated into a vast theoretical and then empirical checkerboard which will account for the great bulk of juvenile delinquency and adult crime.

CAN THESE FINDINGS BE APPLIED TO DELINQUENCY PREVENTION?

Unfortunately, most variables related to delinquency and crime in the inner city and interstitial areas are those over which we have little or no direct control as persons concerned about delinquency prevention or reduction. It is still, however, in terms of the concentration of official seriousness, self-report seriousness, and offense seriousness/intervention, a matter of focusing attention on Inner City Non-White and White Males and Other White Males if the groups with the highest rates are to be the target of any program, i.e., any program aimed at ordinary street crime. That involves deciding whether there is even a remote chance of manipulating the crucial causal or structural variables.

We must take the position that the development of opportunities for integration into the larger society should be a major concern in programs designed for inner city neighborhoods but that (to the extent that delinquency is a problem in other neighborhoods of the city) programs should, as they have in the past, be oriented toward keeping juveniles in the school system, oriented toward those whose failure to complete high school might be an impediment in that segment of society where high school graduation is the norm. Studies which have shown that there is no one-to-one relationship of education to income have been flawed by failure to consider the relevant related variables or to control for race/ethnicity, sex, and socioeconomic status.

However difficult it may be to integrate persons of all ages and backgrounds into urban, industrial society, we can determine what the school system will be like. We can reprogram and modify the school system even when we find modification of the larger social structure more difficult. Some social institutions are more difficult to penetrate but we do have a basis for making the school a major Federal concern. What more important function could the Department of Education have than to concern itself with modification of the school system so that it plays the role which is expected of it not only by persons in positions of power but by those who must rely upon it as their only chance of success?

The simple fact that cohort police contact rates for juveniles ages 13 through 17 have been higher during the summer months than during the school year by almost 25% suggests that the school, while a source of some delinquency, also plays an integrating role.⁷ Whatever the school adds to the generation of delinquency as an arena for misbehavior, its integrating force appears to exceed its negative effects.

If resources are scarce then they must not only be directed at high-risk groups in manipulable settings but we must recognize that the same strategy may not be best for different high-risk groups. In modifying the school system by developing better links between school and work we may at the same time be able to provide jobs for those for whom lack of jobs has an effect on delinquency rates. But we must not conclude that jobs in themselves will eliminate delinquency and crime when it is apparent that early work has different effects on different groups. What does a job mean and what does it permit? We must realize that what makes for integration into the larger society differs from group to group within the same milieu, just as the exclusionary process appears to be working differently from group to group, within and between milieus (less explained variance for offense seriousness/intervention scores).

But the question still remains, aside from the fact that the variance of the independent variables is greater for Inner City Males and Other Males, why are variable effects more pronounced for these groups in terms of offense seriousness but disproportional intervention is less explicable? This suggests that the interview and other variables which account for delinquency to some degree do not account for disproportional intervention, although recent studies suggest that disproportional intervention may seem to have been a reasonable rationale to those who made the decisions. Perhaps high on the agenda should be further examination (longitudinal) of how the justice system operates. Our current research program is addressing this question more fully than have our previous efforts.

It may well be that one of our basic problems is to determine how to integrate young people, and even older people, into a society that has progressively declined in its ability to integrate but at the same time has developed a justice system which progressively extends its power to early-on label and sanction people in such a way that their integration becomes more difficult. For example, does the following approach facilitate societal integration?

⁷ Not only do youth 13-17 have a higher police contact rate during both the school year and the summer months than younger or older youth regardless of the type of neighborhood in which they live (with few exceptions), but their summer month (non-school year) rate is higher than that during the school year. Although the 6-12 year olds (who have very low rates during the school year compared with other youth under 21) show proportional increases during the summer months that are larger than those of either the 13-17 or 18-20 groups, both of the latter have sufficiently high summertime delinquency and youthful crime increases to be of concern, particularly the inner city youth who already have higher police contact rates.

The Journal Times, Monday, Sept. 19, 1983, 5A

POLICE

Arrested

A 10-year-old boy by Racine police on a strong-armed robbery charge. According to police, the boy bent a girl's fingers back and took 70 cents from her Tuesday in the 100 block of 17th Street.

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