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[ ] FINAL REPORT Progress Report

SHORT TITLE OF PROJECT Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers

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Lyle W. Shannon

TYPED NAME & TITLE OF PROJECT DIRECTOR
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Iowa Urban Community Research Center

COMMENCE REPORT HERE *(Add continuation pages as required.)*

Report Attached

61308

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LEAA FORM 4587/1 (REV. 10-75) REPLACES EDITION OF 1-73 WHICH IS OBSOLETE. DOJ

ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIP OF ADULT CRIMINAL CAREERS TO JUVENILE CAREERS

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and
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ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIP OF ADULT CRIMINAL CAREERS TO JUVENILE CAREERS

INTRODUCTION

Earlier reports[1] have contained descriptions of the nature and relationship of urban delinquent careers to adult careers and some preliminary assessment of problems encountered in the analysis of police contact and interview data for two cohorts of persons from Racine, Wisconsin, one born in 1942 and the other in 1949. One question which has been raised concerns the inclusion of traffic contacts in the total analysis. Preliminary investigation suggests that this inclusion makes little difference on some types of analyses but has important effects on others. We shall describe the results of considerable additional investigation of this issue in the first section of this report, commencing with differences in the spatial distribution of traffic vs. non-traffic police contacts and concluding with the decision that traffic offenses do indeed play an important part in delinquent and criminal careers, intertwining inexorably with non-traffic reasons for police contact.

In addition to the analysis in which contacts are dichotomized as traffic vs. non-traffic, we shall present an analysis which compliments our earlier description of the spatial distribution of contacts and careers by natural area of principal juvenile residence. Here we shall deal with place of residence at time of contact as well as place of contact and with how the geography of Racine (or any other city) may serve as a limiting factor on one's range from home, varying with race/ethnicity, sex, and type of offense. In effect, we find that most delinquent and adult offenders have their police contacts either in the areas in which they reside or in contiguous areas.

Although we have touched on the problem of differential referrals by race/ethnicity and sex, we have not yet made a definitive statement on the conclusions which may be reached from our cohort data. We must conclude that while referrals are more frequently made for minority group persons, and in some cases by sex, the pattern is influenced by the frequency of police contacts, reasons for police contact, and the place of contact.

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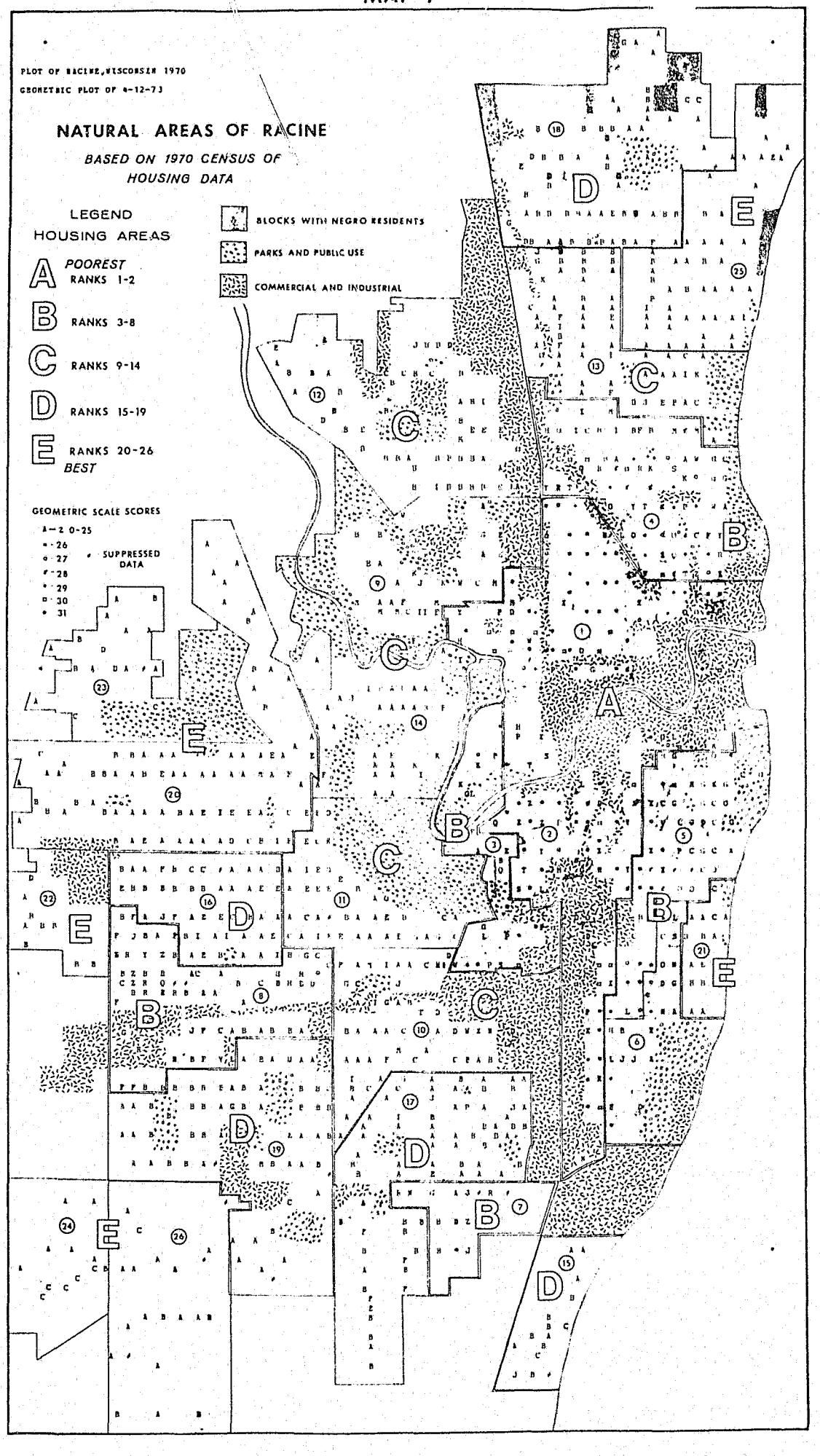
[1] *Predicting Adult Criminal Careers from Juvenile Careers*, May 1976, 78 pp.; August 1976, 3 pp.; November 1976, 203 pp.; August 1977, 96 pp.

MAP 1


PLOT OF RACINE, WISCONSIN 1970
GEOMETRIC PLOT OF 4-12-73
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BASED ON 1970 CENSUS OF HOUSING DATA
LEGEND
HOUSING AREAS
A POOREST RANKS 1-2
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SUPPRESSED DATA

We shall next proceed to a detailed discussion of the reliability of self-report data of various forms and the nature of discrepancies that were found between the interview and official police contact records.

THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS

The Distribution of Persons with Police Contacts for Traffic vs. Non-Traffic Offenses by Natural Area of Principal Juvenile Residence

The first question, simply put, is, do persons with one or more police contact(s) for traffic offenses tend to have grown up and lived in different natural areas than did persons with one or more police contact(s) for non-traffic reasons. The larger natural areas to which we refer in this section are shown on Map 1 as A, B, C, D, and E. Let us now turn to Table 1. Since a person could have contacts for both traffic and non-traffic offenses, the total number of persons in both distributions will be greater than the total in the cohort for the males and, although it could be greater for the females, it is not because a smaller proportion of the females have contacts. What we do see is some tendency for White persons (both males and females, particularly the females) from the 1942 cohort with non-traffic contacts to more frequently have lived in the inner city than in more outlying areas during the juvenile period. This pattern, however, is not present among males and is present to a lesser degree for females from the 1949 cohort. Examination of Chicanos and Blacks by place of juvenile residence for both cohorts for those who had police contacts reveals, by contrast, that the pattern of place of juvenile residence of those with traffic contacts is more skewed toward the inner city than is the pattern for those with contacts non-traffic offenses.

The percentage of persons who have had police contacts for non-traffic offenses is presented in Table 2 by race/ethnicity, area of principal juvenile residence, and age period as well as for total career. Table 3 presents the same data for persons with traffic contacts. A person may be counted in both tables, in one table, or in neither. The first and perhaps most important finding is that about two-thirds of the White males had police contacts for non-traffic offenses and that about

TABLE 1 DISTRIBUTION OF 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE AND PERCENT WITH ONE OR MORE POLICE CONTACTS, AGE 6 TO PRESENT BY TRAFFIC VS. NON-TRAFFIC CONTACTS ACCORDING TO NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner-City) to Higher Quality Housing					Total A-E		Combinations
	A	B	C	D	E	%	Number	of Areas*
White, 1942 Cohort								
Males	13.8	30.2	29.1	18.3	8.6	100.0	268	70
With Non-traffic	13.6	32.8	31.1	16.4	6.2	100.1	177	34
With Traffic	13.9	28.2	31.7	18.8	7.4	100.0	202	49
Females	19.4	26.4	27.9	15.4	10.9	100.0	201	66
With Non-traffic	27.3	25.0	15.9	18.2	13.6	100.0	44	15
With Traffic	23.4	20.8	27.3	18.2	10.4	100.1	77	22
White, 1949 Cohort								
Males	10.4	26.3	25.4	24.4	13.5	100.0	570	107
With Non-traffic	11.7	25.2	27.7	22.9	12.5	100.0	393	61
With Traffic	11.9	28.0	25.4	24.6	10.2	100.1	354	64
Females	8.5	21.9	30.4	25.6	13.6	100.0	425	83
With Non-traffic	11.7	19.0	35.0	22.6	11.7	100.0	137	21
With Traffic	8.3	24.8	27.6	25.5	13.8	100.0	145	28
Chicano, 1949 Cohort								
Males	47.1	29.4	5.9	17.6	--	100.0	17	2
With Non-traffic	46.7	26.7	6.7	20.0	--	100.1	15	2
With Traffic	53.3	26.7	6.7	12.3	--	100.0	15	2
Females	30.0	60.0	10.0	--	--	100.0	10	--
With Non-traffic	28.6	57.1	14.3	--	--	100.0	7	--
With Traffic	40.0	40.0	20.0	--	--	100.0	5	--
Black, 1942 Cohort								
Males	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	13	2
With Non-traffic	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	11	2
With Traffic	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	12	2
Females	25.0	50.0	--	25.0	--	100.0	4	1
With Non-traffic	--	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	2	--
With Traffic	33.3	66.7	--	--	--	100.0	3	1
Black, 1949 Cohort								
Males	88.1	7.1	2.4	2.4	--	100.0	42	2
With Non-traffic	92.1	2.6	2.6	2.6	--	99.9	38	2
With Traffic	94.1	2.9	--	2.9	--	99.9	34	1
Females	80.0	20.0	--	--	--	100.0	35	4
With Non-traffic	86.4	13.6	--	--	--	100.0	22	2
With Traffic	88.2	11.8	--	--	--	100.0	17	2

* Includes outside Racine and Not Ascertained.

TABLE 2. PERCENT WITH POLICE CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC OFFENSES AMONG COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE ACCORDING TO NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner-City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations**			Total		
	A			B			C	D	E	A-B,C,D,E					
	W	C	B	W	C	B	W	W	W	W	C	B	W	C	B
1942 Cohort, Males															
Contacts 6-17	51	0	62	53	0	0	50	35	30	30	0	50	43	0	60
Contacts 18-20	41	0	23	35	0	0	45	29	35	26	0	100	35	0	33
Contacts 21+	30	50	85	36	0	0	24	22	30	19	0	100	27	33	87
Contacts Ever	65	50	85	72	0	0	71	59	48	49	0	100	62	33	87
N =	37	2	13	81	1	0	78	49	23	70	0	2	338	3	15
1942 Cohort, Females															
Contacts 6-17	18	0	0	9	33	50	9	19	9	12	0	0	12	20	25
Contacts 18-20	8	0	0	8	0	0	4	7	18	8	0	0	7	0	0
Contacts 21+	15	0	0	8	0	50	0	6	0	6	0	0	6	0	25
Contacts Ever	31	0	0	21	33	100	13	26	27	23	0	0	22	20	50
N =	39	1	1	53	3	2	56	31	22	66	1	1	267	5	4
1949 Cohort, Males															
Contacts 6-17	59	88	84	52	80	33	65	47	44	31	100	100	50	40	81
Contacts 18-20	34	25	20	36	40	33	36	29	32	34	50	100	34	33	24
Contacts 21+	49	38	73	34	80	33	32	26	19	32	100	50	31	60	69
Contacts Ever	78	88	95	66	80	33	75	65	64	57	100	100	67	87	90
N =	59	8	37	150	5	3	145	139	77	107	2	2	677	15	42
1949 Cohort, Females															
Contacts 6-17	36	33	57	18	17	43	25	17	19	12	0	50	20	22	54
Contacts 18-20	14	0	7	6	17	14	10	10	10	10	0	0	10	11	8
Contacts 21+	22	33	46	11	33	29	5	9	14	8	0	0	10	33	38
Contacts Ever	44	67	68	28	67	43	37	28	28	25	0	50	31	67	62
N =	36	3	28	93	6	7	129	109	58	83	0	4	508	9	39

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

** Outside Racine and Not Ascertained included.

TABLE 3. PERCENT WITH POLICE CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS AMONG COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE ACCORDING TO NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE

	Natural Areas, Lower (Inner-City) to Higher Quality Housing*									Combinations** A,B,C,D,E			Total		
	A			B			C	D	E						
	W	C	B	W	C	B	W	W	W	W	C	B	W	C	B
1942 Cohort, Males															
Contacts 6-17	30	50	62	42	0	0	38	37	17	26	0	100	34	33	67
Contacts 18-20	51	100	92	37	100	0	46	43	39	44	0	100	43	100	93
Contacts 21+	59	100	69	57	100	0	64	51	57	54	0	100	57	100	73
Contacts Ever	76	100	92	70	100	0	82	78	65	70	0	100	74	100	93
N =	37	2	13	81	1	0	78	49	23	70	0	2	338	3	15
1942 Cohort, Females															
Contacts 6-17	15	0	0	9	0	50	11	10	9	6	0	0	10	0	25
Contacts 18-20	18	0	100	11	33	100	7	19	9	8	0	100	11	20	100
Contacts 21+	33	0	0	19	0	50	27	19	36	24	0	0	25	0	25
Contacts Ever	46	0	100	30	33	100	38	45	36	33	0	100	37	20	100
N =	39	1	1	53	3	2	56	31	22	66	1	1	267	5	4
1949 Cohort, Males															
Contacts 6-17	41	50	43	31	60	33	37	32	25	32	100	0	33	60	40
Contacts 18-20	41	75	65	30	60	33	31	30	17	33	50	50	30	67	62
Contacts 21+	44	50	65	36	60	33	34	32	16	31	50	50	32	53	62
Contacts Ever	71	100	86	66	80	33	62	63	47	60	100	50	62	93	81
N =	59	8	37	150	5	3	145	139	77	107	2	2	677	15	42
1949 Cohort, Females															
Contacts 6-17	17	33	18	20	0	0	17	17	16	19	0	25	18	11	15
Contacts 18-20	11	0	56	15	0	14	12	8	10	12	0	25	11	0	31
Contacts 21+	11	33	36	14	33	29	9	17	17	10	0	0	13	33	31
Contacts Ever	33	67	54	39	33	29	31	34	34	34	0	50	34	44	49
N =	36	3	28	93	6	7	129	109	58	83	0	4	508	9	39

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

** Outside Racine and Not Ascertained included.

three-fourths had contacts for traffic offenses at some time between the ages of 6 and 26 or 33, depending on their cohort, with some variation by place of principal juvenile residence. The proportion of those who had traffic contacts increased by age periods for the 1942 cohort with more regularity than for those from the 1949 cohort. The opposite pattern was found for non-traffic contacts, with an overall decline from the earliest to the latest age period for both cohorts.

Not only did a larger percentage of Black males have police contacts than did White males for non-traffic offenses, but the difference between Blacks and Whites was greater than for traffic offenses; there were, of course, some deviations from this general pattern by age period. Although Chicanos are included in these tables, there were too few with contacts for serious comparison. A greater proportion of the Black females had contacts for both traffic and non-traffic offenses than did the White females but both were considerably lower than any of their male counterparts.

Tables 4 and 5 show the race/ethnic proportion of the persons in the inner city vs. other areas, combinations of areas, and the total, who generated police contacts for non-traffic and for traffic offenses. Among the males, Blacks were disproportionately represented for traffic offenses but even more overrepresented for other non-traffic offenses. By contrast, Chicano males were overrepresented but less so for non-traffic than for traffic offenses.

Among the females, Blacks were disproportionately represented in both cohorts for traffic offenses, particularly in the inner city, but for non-traffic offenses (although disproportionately represented overall) were underrepresented in the inner city. Chicano females were underrepresented in both categories of contacts in the 1942 cohort but overrepresented in the 1949 cohort, particularly for non-traffic contacts. We thus conclude that traffic contacts should not be dropped from the analysis that follows. In some cases we shall, however, treat them separately and in other cases include them as part of the total picture.

TABLE 4. RACE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE AND COMPOSITION OF THOSE WITH CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC OFFENSES WITHIN NATURAL AREAS OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

	Area A: Inner-City		Areas B,C,D,E		Combinations* A,B,C,D,E		Total	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
MALES:								
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+								
White	71.2	56.7	99.6	97.3	97.2	96.4	94.9	91.5
Chicano	3.8	7.7	0.4	1.7	0.0	1.8	0.8	2.6
Black	25.0	35.6	0.0	1.0	2.8	1.8	4.2	5.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
N =	52	104	232	525	72	111	356	740
Contacts Ever 6-21+								
White	66.7	52.3	100.0	97.0	93.1	92.2	93.8	88.8
Chicano	2.8	8.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	3.9	0.4	3.3
Black	30.6	39.8	0.0	0.8	6.9	3.9	5.8	7.8
TOTAL	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
N =	36	88	160	372	29	51	225	511
FEMALES:								
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+								
White	95.1	54.5	96.4	96.5	97.1	97.6	96.4	91.7
Chicano	2.4	4.5	1.8	1.7	1.5	0.0	1.8	1.8
Black	2.4	40.9	1.8	1.7	1.5	2.4	1.8	6.5
TOTAL	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	41	66	168	403	68	85	277	554
Contacts Ever 6-21+								
White	100.0	43.2	91.4	93.8	100.0	90.0	95.2	83.6
Chicano	0.0	5.4	2.9	3.8	0.0	0.0	1.6	3.7
Black	0.0	51.4	5.7	2.3	0.0	9.1	3.2	12.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	12	37	35	130	15	22	62	189

* Includes outside Racine and Not Ascertained.

TABLE 5. RACE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE AND COMPOSITION OF THOSE WITH CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC OFFENSES WITHIN NATURAL AREAS OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

	Area A: Inner-City		Areas B,C,D,E		Combinations* A,B,C,D,E		TOTAL	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
MALES:								
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+								
White	71.2	56.7	99.6	97.3	97.2	96.4	94.9	91.5
Chicano	3.8	7.7	0.4	1.7	0.0	1.8	0.8	2.6
Black	25.0	35.6	0.0	1.0	2.8	1.8	4.2	5.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
N =	52	104	232	525	72	111	356	740
Contacts Ever 6-21+								
White	66.7	51.2	99.5	97.3	95.3	94.6	93.7	88.9
Chicano	4.8	9.8	0.5	2.1	0.0	3.6	1.1	3.6
Black	28.6	39.0	0.0	0.6	4.7	1.8	5.2	7.4
TOTAL	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
N =	42	82	183	332	43	56	268	470
FEMALES:								
Total who could have had contacts 6-21+								
White	95.1	54.5	96.4	96.5	97.1	97.6	96.4	91.7
Chicano	2.4	4.5	1.8	1.7	1.5	0.0	1.8	1.8
Black	2.4	40.9	1.8	1.7	1.5	2.4	1.8	6.5
TOTAL	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	41	66	168	403	68	85	277	554
Contacts Ever 6-21+								
White	94.7	41.4	95.5	96.5	94.7	92.0	95.2	87.8
Chicano	0.0	6.9	1.5	2.1	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.5
Black	5.3	51.7	3.0	1.4	5.3	8.0	3.8	9.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
N =	19	29	66	143	19	25	104	197

* Includes outside Racine and Not Ascertained.

The Distribution of Police Contacts by Natural Area of Residence, by Place of Contact, and by Reason for Contact

The five larger natural areas to which we have referred were obtained by combining the 26 fairly homogeneous Natural Areas also shown on Map 1. In an earlier report we presented a series of computer-generated maps showing the relationship of police contacts to the principal areas of juvenile residence for each person from each cohort.[2] While these maps revealed that persons who were socialized in the inner city and similar areas had more frequent and more serious police contacts, they did not represent the relationship of place of contact to place of residence at the time of contact. For that matter, we have not yet looked at the distribution of contacts by place of residence at time of contact or by place of contact, since all previous reports approached the question in terms of area of socialization as the independent variable.

In this section of the report we shall first look at contacts in terms of residence of alleged offenders by cohort at time of contact and in terms of where that contact occurred. We shall then look at each area in terms of where people lived who experienced contacts within the area and where people had contacts who resided in each area. At the same time, we shall attempt to explain some of the variation in terms of the structure and organization of the city.

While reference may be made to Map 1 in this section of the report, Table 6 will also be helpful. Here we group and briefly characterize each of the 26 Natural Areas in order to make reference to them more meaningful in the discussion to follow. Since the size of areas varied and the number of persons from each cohort who resided in each area varied from year to year, the number of contacts taking place by area of residence cannot be considered to be an index of delinquency and crime for those who resided in the area. However, if the number of residential blocks in each area is taken into consideration one notes that the average number of contacts per block decreases in systematic fashion from the inner city to most peripheral areas. The average number of contacts per block by persons from each cohort residing in these areas (although a rather gross measure) also decreases from the inner city outward.

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2 *Predicting Adult Criminal Careers from Juvenile Careers*, August 1977, 96 pp.

TABLE 6. FREQUENCY OF CONTACTS IN AREA AND BY RESIDENTS OF AREA: RATES BY NUMBER OF BLOCKS IN AREA

Natural Area Number	Blocks	Number of Police Contacts in Area 1942	1949	Mean Police Contacts Per Block in Area 1942	1949	Number of Police Contacts by Persons Residing in Area 1942	1949	Mean Police Contacts by Residents Per Block 1942	1949	Type of Area
1	80	465	823			358	1050			Inner City: Central Business District, Industry, Poorest Housing
2	81	811	1259			477	769			
	161	1276	2082	7.93	12.93	835	1819	5.19	11.30	
3	25	163	249			136	222			Interstitial Area: Deteriorating Housing Adjacent to Industry
4	81	261	485			249	433			
5	53	263	518			239	461			
	159	687	1252	4.32	7.87	624	1116	3.92	7.02	
6	25	47	115			79	154			Area of Revitalization Effort
7	14	8	17			21	56			Barrio
8	65	73	247			157	385			Peripheral Commercial and Industrial Area
	104	128	379	1.23	3.64	257	595	2.47	5.72	
9	30	94	128			139	169			Middle-Class Residential Areas
10	52	149	208			167	189			
11	39	200	278			131	136			
12	57	108	313			97	315			
13	62	92	186			96	152			
14	36	103	156			130	220			
15	14	5	10			64	27			
16	46	57	101			79	127			
17	69	78	194			145	294			
	405	886	1574	2.19	3.89	1048	1629	2.59	4.02	
18	68	61	182			152	239			Upper-Middle to High Class Western Peripheral Residential Areas
19	60	148	291			160	303			
20	80	76	118			145	169			
	208	285	591	1.37	2.84	457	711	2.20	3.42	
22	9	17	57			15	34			
23	17	1	22			28	63			
24	16	4	19			15	31			
26	15	8	54			27	35			
	57	30	152	0.53	2.67	85	163	1.49	2.86	
21	14	38	51			22	33			Old Gold Coast
25	51	47	94			49	109			New Gold Coast
	65	85	145	1.31	2.23	71	142	1.09	2.18	
TOTAL		3377	6175			3377	6175			

Based on land use, the socioeconomic status of persons residing in an area, the number of police contacts in an area, and the number of police contacts by persons residing in an area, the town can be divided into three general areas. The highest police contact areas, the Downtown Area or Central Business District and Interstitial Areas (Natural Areas 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), contain bars, shops, meeting places, the waterfront, and parks. Area 3 is included here because, although small, it is similar to and a part of the larger area. The bars are located on Douglas, Main, State, 6th, Racine, and Mead. People in Racine recognize these streets and the taverns on them as troublesome areas. There are approximately 56 bars in Areas 1 and 2 alone. Commercial and industrial establishments also have their highest concentration in Areas 1 and 2. Housing in the area is typed as A or B, ratings which are found at the poor end of the housing scale. Commercial and population density, transience (especially in Area 1 where only 6% of the houses are owner occupied), and the low socioeconomic status of residents may contribute to the high rate of police contacts in this area. (The median years of education of persons living in Areas 1 through 5 [1970 Census] was 9.5. For Racine, the median years completed was 11.9. The workers in Areas 1 through 5 were disproportionately represented [in comparison to the overall occupational distribution in Racine] in the Operatives, Laborers, and Service Workers categories. The median income for persons living in Areas 1 through 5 was $7,628 according to the 1970 census. The median income for Racine was $10,526.)

The second area, that with generally fewer contacts and a lower rate, surrounds the inner city and interstitial areas and serves as a buffer between the high and low areas. It includes Natural Areas 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 17, and is a mixture of commercial, park, and residential areas. The housing is typed as C or D which is medium to high on the housing scale.

The third larger area includes Natural Areas 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26, a ring primarily bordering the intermediate areas, in most cases with fewer police contacts and whose residents have relatively fewer contacts than do those from other areas. This area has comparatively little industrial and commercial activity and is primarily an area of White residences. The housing is ranked as D or E, both of which are found at the highest end of the housing scale.

There are several exceptions to this pattern, however. Areas 7 and 8 consist of housing type B, the second poorest rating. Area 7 has traditionally been Racine's barrio and Area 8 has numerous commercial and light industrial establishments. Area 6, although an area of transition, has been the target of an extensive revitalization effort. Area 21, at one time the Gold Coast, has not succumbed to commercialization or deterioration to the extent of adjacent areas. While, as we have shown in Tables 2 and 3, police contact rates do not show any significant monotonic decline from the inner city outward to higher quality housing (if housing areas A through E are the basis for evaluation) in terms of the proportion of persons from the cohort who reside there and have contacts, it is also clear that the inner city generates more police contacts and outer areas generate fewer contacts.

The data on contact frequency by area of contact and by area of residence for the 1942 and 1949 cohorts (Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos separately) have been arranged by frequency of occurrence according to seven general offense categories[3] and within each of the 26 Natural Areas. The four categories of contacts which emerged most frequently were Traffic, Public Order, Suspicion and Investigation, and Property Offenses. The category producing the fewest contacts was Fraud. (One exception was the ordering for 1949 Chicanos by area of contact, Public Order coming first, then Suspicion and Investigation, Property Offenses, Family and Adjustment Problems, Person Offense, Traffic, and Fraud.)

The Natural Areas with the highest contact frequency (regardless of contact type) were areas 1, 2, 4, and 5, inner city Areas 1 and 2 consistently the highest. Since we are dealing with raw numbers (assuming that everyone in the cohort has an equal chance of police contacts) we would expect some of the outlying areas with few persons from the cohort

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[3] The following categories were developed as a basis for parsimoniously handling 25 different categories of police contacts: 1) Property Offenses - burglary, theft, auto theft, and violent property destruction; 2) Person Offenses - homicide, assault, robbery, sex offenses, weapons, suicide, obscenity, and escapee; 3) Public Order - disorderly conduct, vagrancy, liquor, drugs, and gambling; 4) Fraud - forgery and fraud; 5) Traffic - moving vehicle and other traffic; 6) Family and Adjustment Problems - incorrigible, truancy, and family; 7) Suspicion and Investigation.

to have very few police contacts unless there was something in the area that would draw persons to the area and generate behavior productive of police contacts. Likewise, the sizeable numbers from each cohort who resided in inner city Areas 1 and 2 would be productive of numerous police contacts by the very nature of these areas, areas which also attract persons from other areas, not only those adjacent to them but even the furthest outlying places. We would also expect the frequency of contacts to be higher in areas through which or into which large numbers of people travel in their daily journeys from home to school, to work, to entertainment and return.

When the total number of contacts were considered, there was little difference in the rank ordering of the Natural Areas by number of police contacts whether the count was by area of contact or by area of residence (Table 7). White male contacts ranked by frequency in areas of residence and by place of contact had coefficients of correlation of .83 for the 1942 cohort and .89 for the 1949 cohort, both significant at the .01 level. Black males produced correlations of .74 in 1942 and .71 in 1949, although the number of areas involved were too small for these correlations to be statistically significant.

Returning to the original tables (not included) which show the distribution of contacts for the Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos by area of contact and by area of residence at time of contact for the 1942 and 1949 cohorts, some specific observations about the contact frequency in the Natural Areas for each of the three race/ethnic groups of Racine residents can be made.

Whites from the 1942 Cohort

The Whites are the largest group in absolute numbers of contacts in the sample and provide the safest basis for generalization. Focusing first on the area of contact, 48.2% of the White contacts occurred in the four most highly ranked areas: Areas 1, 2, 4, and 5 (see Tables 8 and 9). Turning to the information on area of residence, 31.5% of the 1942 White contacts resulted from the activities of Whites residing in Areas 1, 4, 5, and 8 and about 50% of the contacts resulted from the activities of White residents of Areas 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 11, and 18. Thus, while almost one-half of the

TABLE 7. RANK ORDERING OF CONTACT TYPES BY FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND PLACE OF CONTACT BY RACE/ETHNICITY

Type of Offense	Whites				Blacks				Chicanos			
	1942		1949		1942		1949		1942		1949	
	Contact	Residence	Contact	Residence	Contact	Residence	Contact	Residence	Contact	Residence	Contact	Residence
Traffic	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	3	2	2	6	3
Public Order	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	3	3	1	1
Suspicion & Investigation	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	2	2
Property	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	4			3	4
Person	6	5	6	6	5	4	5	5			5	6
Family & Adjustment	5	6	5	5	6	6	6	6			4	5
Fraud	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7			7	7

TABLE 8. PERCENT OF CONTACTS APPEARING IN THE FOUR HIGHEST FREQUENCY AREAS

	Area of Contact			Area of Residence		
	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos
1942	48%	85%	83%	32%	92%	87%
1949	43%	77%	50%	36%	89%	74%

TABLE 9. NATURAL AREAS CONTAINING APPROX. 50% OF THE CONTACTS

	Area of Contact			Area of Residence		
	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos
1942	1,2,4,5	2	2,3	1,2,4,5,8,11,18	2	1
1949	1,2,4,5	1,2	1,2,19,4	1,4,5,8,12,17	2	1,2

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE OF CONTACTS OCCURRING IN AREAS 1 & 2

	Area of Contact			Area of Residence		
	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos	Whites	Blacks	Chicanos
1942	31%	76%	50%	13%	82%	46%
1949	25%	59%	39%	15%	81%	52%

White contacts are concentrated in inner city Natural Areas, less than one-third of the White contacts can be attributed to White residents of this same inner city area. To account for the residence of those Whites responsible for about 50% of the White contacts one would have to look at 7 of the 26 Natural Areas of Racine. In summary, the area of White activity is fairly concentrated but the areas of residence for the contact-responsible Whites are diffuse.

Whites from the 1949 Cohort

Again looking first at the area of contact, 43% of the White contacts were in the four highest areas of 1, 2, 4, and 5. By area of residence, 38% of the White contacts resulted from the activities of Whites living in Areas 1, 4, 5, and 8. Fifty percent of the White contacts could be attributed to Whites living in Areas 1, 4, 5, 8, 12, and 17. Once again nearly one-half of the White contacts are in the four central areas of the city but the areas of residence which account for 50% of the White contacts were considerably more widely distributed. The four highest contact areas (1, 2, 4, and 5) were the same for both the 1942 and 1949 White Cohorts. The four highest areas of residence (1, 4, 5, and 8) were also the same for the two cohorts.

Overall, there are several things which should be noted about specific natural areas. For both cohorts, Area 14 is uncharacteristically high in the number of contacts (53) in the Public Order category of offense. Area 14 is located in the middle of town, is an area of average housing, and has no large areas of commerce or industry. The only noteworthy thing about the area is the presence of two cemeteries, Mound and Calvary, and a sizeable amount of park and recreational areas, the latter providing possibilities for disturbance. For Whites from the 1949 cohort, Area 17 is abnormally high in the number of contacts in the Public Order category. This high concentration could be explained by the intersection of 2 major thoroughfares, Durand and Taylor Avenue, and a nearby commercial area. Although Area 17 is characterized by very few bars and next-to-the-best housing, it is bordered by several lower socioeconomic status areas.

In conclusion, White contacts are concentrated in Areas 1, 2, 4, and 5 for both the 1942 and 1949 cohorts but Whites with contacts reside in a

wider variety and more spatially dispersed areas. This indicates considerable contact-related movement by the Whites out of their areas of residence and into other natural areas.

Blacks from the 1942 Cohort

Well over three-quarters (85%) of the contacts of Blacks from the 1942 cohort occurred in Areas 1, 2, 5, and 11. Seventy-six percent of the contacts occurred in Areas 1 and 2 only (see Table 10). Turning to the area of residence, 82% of the contacts could be attributed to the behavior of Blacks residing in Areas 1 and 2 and almost all of the contacts (97%) could be attributed to the Black residents of Areas 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6. Areas 1 and 2 consistently emerge as the areas of highest frequency and concentration for the Blacks whether it is by area of contact or by area of residence.

Blacks from the 1949 Cohort

Seventy-seven percent of the contacts of Blacks from the 1949 cohort occurred in Areas 1, 2, 5, and 18 and 59% of the contacts occurred in Areas 1 and 2. For this cohort, 81% of the contacts were the result of the actions of Blacks living in Areas 1 and 2 and 97% of the contacts were acquired by Black residents of Areas 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 18. As was true for the 1942 cohort, Areas 1 and 2 have the highest frequency for Black contacts by area of contact and by area of residence and, too, have a large proportion of the blocks with Black residents. The obvious conclusion is that Blacks to a much greater extent than Whites have remained in the areas in which they reside while engaging contact-related behavior. The nature of Areas 1 and 2 undoubtedly has something to do with this lack of contact-mobility--56 bars, concentration of commercial and industrial activities, park areas, the waterfront, and the presence of main thoroughfares.

As for the Whites, specific natural areas stand out. For the 1949 Blacks by area of contact, 70 of the 80 contacts in Area 18 were in the Public Order category of offenses. Area 18 is located on the north side of town, has some commercial and industrial activity and a park/public use area which may provide an area for Public Order offenses. Area 5, high in the category of Suspicion and Investigation, has a high percentage of Black residents, low socioeconomic status, bars, access to major roads, parks, and the lake front.

Chicanos from the 1942 Cohort

The only natural areas with Chicano contacts for the 1942 cohort were Areas 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, and 17 but over 50% of the total number of contacts (only 12) were in the two highest areas, Areas 2 and 3. Nearly one-half (46%) of the Chicano contacts were the result of the actions of Chicano residents of Area 1. (In all there were only six natural areas involved, Areas 1, 3, 4, 5, 10, and 17.) As was the case for the Blacks, Chicano activity was concentrated in the highest contact areas (Areas 1, 2, and 3) by both area of contact and area of residence.

Chicanos from the 1949 Cohort

The 1949 cohort was represented by police contacts in most of the natural areas. Over 50% of these contacts occurred in Areas 1, 2, 4, and 19. Fifty-two percent of the Chicano contacts were acquired by Chicanos residing in Areas 1 and 2 and 36% of the contacts were linked to residents of Area 1. Not only were there more Chicanos in the 1949 cohort but the Chicano contacts and areas of residence of contact-responsible Chicanos were much more dispersed. In 1942 about one-half of the Chicano contacts were in Areas 2 and 3 while in 1949 roughly one-half of the contacts were in Areas 1, 2, 4, and 19. In 1942 Area 1 contained Chicano residents responsible for 46% of the contacts, while in 1949, 52% of the contacts were due to Chicano residents of Areas 1 and 2. Overall, there is some indication of Chicano mobility but it is less than that of the Whites and greater than that of the Blacks.

Summary

As was mentioned earlier, the four leading contact types were (1) Traffic, (2) Public Order, (3) Suspicion and investigation, and (4) Property offenses. (See Table 7 for the patterns of ranking for the Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos by cohort.) From the rank-ordering of the 26 Natural Areas by frequency of contact occurrence, it can be seen that Areas 1 and 2 are the prime contact areas for Whites, Blacks, and Chicanos. As far as Area of Residence is concerned, Areas 1 and 2 predominate for Blacks and Chicanos but account for only 13% (1942 cohort) and 15% (1949 cohort) of the White contacts. In other words, if we wish to see delinquent and criminal activity,

Areas 1 and 2 should be the focus of attention. If we wish to study the people who engage in behavior which results in police contacts, about twice as many areas should receive our attention.

The purpose of this section was to find out where the contacts were taking place by area of residence and by area of contact and now the question arises--what explains the degree of concentration or dispersion of each of the three groups within their own area or areas? Some of the concentration may be explained by contact type differences, factors such as physical barriers (major thoroughfares, railroad tracks, the Root River, parks and cemeteries, and commercial and industrial sites), and differential mobility (the availability of cars or other forms of transit). One approach to the analysis is to consider the relationship between natural area of occurrence and area of residence of those responsible for contacts, the nature of adjacent areas, and the possible influence of natural boundaries.

We shall therefore turn to an analysis of which areas contributed contacts to other areas and from which areas came persons who had contacts within each of the areas. While parts of the discussion may seem to emphasize the ecology of Racine *per se,* our position is that Racine and its natural areas may be found in any urban, industrial community. The kinds of relationships described here are generalizable and not specific to the community. References to specific areas in Racine as well as to readily recognizable types of areas are made only to ultimately facilitate communication of our findings to both a specialized audience that has supported our research and to a more general audience of police and court decision-makers.

A Detailed Examination of Place of Residence vs. Place of Police Contact

In this section we shall examine the place at which people have had police contacts in reference to their place of residence <u>at time of contact</u>. In some cases, Blacks from the 1949 cohort, for example, 50% of the police contacts for those residing in Area 1 at the time of their contact had them in that area, 60% of those residing in Area 2 had them in Area 2. As a matter of fact, 58% of all of the contacts for everyone in the 1949 cohort residing in Area 1 were in Area 1. Aside from the concentration of contacts by persons from these areas within their own area, the importance of

Areas 1 and 2, although described in several ways previously, is dramatized by the fact that 37.8% of the 1942 cohort's contacts and 33.7% of the 1949 cohort's contacts took place in these two areas, persons from all but one area in the 1942 cohort and all but two areas in the 1949 cohort coming into Area 1, and persons from all areas in both cohorts coming into Area 2. At the opposite extreme we find that none of the Whites from the 1942 cohort (there were no Blacks or Chicanos) who lived in Area 26 (a suburban area on the edge of the city) at the time of their contact had them in that area or in its contiguous areas; instead, they went to other outlying areas which are places of youthful and adult congregation or to the inner city. Only 5.6% of the contacts of those from the 1949 cohort who lived in Area 26 had their contacts in that area. And less than 1% of the police contacts produced by either cohort occurred in Area 26. What we find is that although there are extremes with some areas (about half) receiving contacts from most areas, there are other areas which receive contacts from very few other areas, the latter because of their peripheral and isolated location. While some areas such as Areas 1 and 2 contribute contacts to most other areas, there are other areas which contribute to very few other areas.

The total number of contacts generated by each cohort according to place of residence at time of contact and place of contact is shown in Tables 11a and 11b. One notes that 24.0% of all police contacts for the 1942 cohort were generated by persons who lived in Area 2 at the time of contact and that 14.2% of all police contacts took place in Area 2. Furthermore, by looking at the table one sees that 7.9% of all police contacts took place in Area 2 with persons who resided in that area. All 26 Natural Areas have been ranked two ways: first, with the top row being that area in which most persons with contacts resided at the time of contact and the bottom row that area in which the fewest persons resided at time of contact; second, with the left hand column being that area in which the most contacts took place and the right hand column that in which the fewest contacts took place. Those areas concentrated in the upper left hand corner tend to be major sources of police contacts and recipients of behavior while those in the lower right hand corner neither contribute many police contacts to other areas nor receive them. The exceptions to this occur, of course, at those points where a natural area's contribution to its

TABLE 11a. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY PERCENT FOR 1942 COHORT BY PLACE OF CONTACT AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Natural Area of Residence at Time of Contact	Natural Area in Which Police Contacts Took Place																									
	2	1	4	5	10	8	19	18	17	20	9	3	11	14	12	13	16	6	15	25	23	26	21	7	22	24	%
2	7.94	2.10	1.13	1.75	.92	.86	.80	.92	.50	.53	.65	.68	.98	.56	.56	.36	.36	.50	.89	.24	.18	.15	.12	.24	.03	.09	24.04
1	2.19	4.65	.83	.80	.24	.36	.12	.38	.21	.36	.74	.56	.24	.27	.44	.36	.03	.38	.12	.24	.09	.06	.06	.03		.03	13.79
5	1.10	.27	.41	2.52	.21	.27	.27	.33	.33	.12	.15	.21	.15	.30	.09		.09	.47	.12	.12	.12	.12		.03		.03	7.83
4	.18	.95	3.05	.27	.09	.24	.09	.44	.09	.06	.38	.18	.18	.12	.27	.62	.15		.09	.15	.03	.03	.06			.03	7.75
11	.36	.21	.21	.36	.47	.53	.30	.12	.24	.47	.03	.33	.89	.38	.15	.06	.33	.03	.12	.03	.06	.09	.06	.03	.06	.03	5.95
3	.62	.21	.09	.09	.38	.21	.18	.03	.36	.30		1.51	.24	.09		.12	.06	.06	.06	.03		.03	.09		.06		4.82
10	.12	.06	.03	.15	1.75	.12	.30	.06	.44	.09	.06	.09	.38	.06	.06	.09	.09	.18	.09					.09	.09	.03	4.43
19	.27	.09	.09	.15	.27	.27	1.48	.06	.36	.41	.03	.06	.12	.03		.03	.15	.06	.06	.09	.03	.15	.03	.03	.03	.06	4.41
12	.18	.44	.30	.03		.09		.15	.15	.03	.53		.09	.09	.80	.21		.03	.03	.03		.03					3.21
14	.06	.21		.06		.12	.09		.03	.33	.24	.06	.03	1.33	.12	.03	.09	.03	.03	.03	.18						3.07
9	.12	.56	.30	.06			.06	.03	.06	.06	1.18			.15	.12			.03		.06							2.79
13	.09	.30	.33	.12	.03	.06	.03	.50	.03	.06	.06	.09	.06	.03	.09	.68		.03	.03	.09	.03						2.74
17	.06	.06	.03	.15	.21	.18	.18	.03	.92	.12			.12	.03			.03	.06	.03				.03	.06		.03	2.33
8	.06			.09	.09	1.07	.15	.03	.06	.09		.09	.06	.09	.03		.12				.06			.03	.06		2.18
20	.03	.03	.06	.06	.09	.09	.03		.03	.95		.09	.06	.18			.15	.06	.03		.06	.03					2.00
18	.06	.12	.03	.12		.03		1.04	.03	.03		.03	.03	.06	.06	.06				.06		.03	.03				1.82
16	.06	.06	.06	.03	.03	.06	.06	.06	.27	.09	.03		.09	.09	.03	.03	.53				.03	.03			.06		1.70
25	.03	.18	.33		.06		.09	.12		.06	.03		.03		.03	.18	.03			.24							1.41
6	.41	.03	.06	.09	.12			.03	.03	.03			.03					.38	.09	.03				.03		.03	1.39
21	.09	.03	.06	.12		.03	.03	.03	.09	.09		.03	.12			.03	.03	.03		.03		.06	.18		.03	.03	1.14
22	.03	.06				.09	.15	.09	.03			.03													.03		.51
7	.03			.03				.03	.03								.03		.03					.06			.24
26	.06			.03			.06										.06										.24
15				.03						.03									.09								.15
24							.03		.03																	.06	.12
23																	.03										.03
%	14.15	10.62	7.40	7.11	4.96	4.68	4.50	4.48	4.32	4.31	4.11	4.04	3.90	3.86	2.88	2.86	2.36	2.33	1.91	1.47	.84	.81	.66	.63	.45	.45	100.00

TABLE 11b. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY PERCENT FOR 1949 COHORT BY PLACE OF CONTACT AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Natural Area of Residence at Time of Contact	Natural Area in Which Police Contacts Took Place																									
	1	2	5	4	8	12	19	17	18	3	14	10	9	20	6	13	11	16	25	23	7	26	22	21	24	15	%
2	2.88	6.82	1.77	.79	.70	.70	.53	.66	.45	1.02	.39	.34	.36	.28	.65	.36	.39	.19	.26	.15	.18	.15	.11	.06	.09	.13	20.40
1	7.81	1.12	.53	.76	.21	.34	.24	.13	.21	.31	.23	.19	.53	.10	.15	.05	.03	.05	.13	.05	.06	.02			.03	.05	13.33
5	.84	.91	3.19	.23	.34	.26	.26	.26	.11	.28	.19	.10	.13	.23	.40	.15	.11	.08	.03	.02	.08	.02	.02	.05	.05	.06	8.40
4	1.33	.28	.28	3.33	.18	.57	.13	.13	.31	.10	.11	.10	.34	.08	.05	.26	.06	.03	.13	.05			.03	.06		.02	7.96
12	.81	.23	.16	.36	.08	1.85	.10	.06	.31	.02	.10	.05	.15	.08	.05	.32	.02	.03	.21	.06					.03		5.08
19	.26	.18	.15	.08	.40	.02	1.81	.55	.03	.08	.05	.19	.06	.03	.06		.13	.18	.03	.03	.06	.13	.06		.05	.06	4.68
11	.32	.52	.16	.10	.50	.06	.19	.21	.03	.11	.37	.19	.03	.31	.05	.02	.68	.29	.05	.08	.05	.05	.02		.06	.02	4.48
3	.65	.55	.10	.08	.23	.13	.21	.16	.03	1.21	.06	.11	.03	.13	.03		.11	.06			.06	.02		.03		.02	4.01
8	.15	.13	.08	.03	2.12	.13	.44	.16		.05	.03	.16	.03	.06	.05		.02	.08	.05	.05	.02	.05	.06	.02	.02	.02	4.01
10	.11	.18	.19	.11	.26	.06	.19	.24	.02	.11	.11	1.21		.10	.10	.06	.11	.05	.02	.02	.06	.02	.02				3.35
17	.05	.26	.06	.03	.10	.03	.23	1.65	.06	.05	.02	.10		.03	.11	.02	.02	.02	.02	.05	.18	.03			.03		3.15
13	.28	.15	.05	.40	.05	.24	.03	.10	.31	.02	.02	.06	.08	.08		.87	.03	.02	.18	.02			.02	.02			3.03
18	.13	.16	.08	.11	.16	.15	.03	.06	1.43	.02	.05	.02	.08	.05	.02	.08		.05	.26			.02		.02	.02		3.00
14	.32	.08	.06	.06	.08	.02	.02	.02	.05	.03	1.44	.05	.05	.11			.02	.05	.02	.03		.02					2.53
9	.29	.08	.03	.10	.10	.18	.03	.05	.10	.05	.08	.03	.83	.02	.02	.03		.02			.02	.02	.02				2.10
20	.10	.10	.10	.03	.03	.08	.08	.02	.03	.02	.13	.02	.02	.74	.02	.02	.13	.10	.02	.11			.03				1.93
6	.10	.44	.18	.08		.03	.03	.03	.05	.08		.02	.02	.02	.62		.05							.08	.05		1.88
16	.03	.08	.02	.03	.19	.05	.13	.05	.02		.03			.08	.02	.03	.11	.66		.05			.03	.02			1.63
25	.11	.03	.06	.21	.05	.06	.10	.02	.23	.02	.03	.02		.03		.11	.03	.03	.32	.02					.02	.02	1.52
22	.06		.02	.03	.23	.06	.02	.03	.06	.02	.02	.02		.08	.02	.02	.08	.03		.03			.10				.93
26	.19	.08	.05	.03	.08	.05	.05	.02			.05	.05			.03		.05		.02		.03	.05	.02	.02		.02	.89
21	.08	.03	.16	.05	.03	.02	.02	.05		.02	.03			.03	.05	.05			.03					.15	.02		.84
23	.03			.02		.02	.03		.03					.03						.19							.55
24		.02		.02	.03			.03				.03		.03			.02	.03		.02			.02	.02	.05		.52
7	.02	.03	.02	.02				.06							.02	.02					.10						.29
15	.05	.02			.08																					.02	.17
%	17.00	12.48	7.50	7.09	6.23	5.11	4.90	4.75	3.87	3.62	3.56	5.06	2.74	2.73	2.52	2.47	2.20	2.05	1.78	1.03	.90	.60	.56	.55	.51	.45	100.00

own contacts occurs; for example, in the 1942 cohort we see that 0.4% of all contacts in Racine occurred in Area 6 and were experienced by persons who resided in Area 6. If every cell in the table had an equal percent of the contacts, i.e., if there was no variation in the number of contacts in each area and each area received an equal number of contacts from all other areas, then the percent in each cell would be .15. Area 16 has 0.5% of all contacts in Racine, generated by persons who resided there, another example of the large percentages which do appear more or less on the diagonal of these tables.

One notes that the extreme ranks are similar for both cohorts but that there are areas which have quite different rankings for each cohort.

While place of residence of persons with police contacts is more skewed toward the inner city for both cohorts than is place of police contacts, place of residence was slightly less skewed toward the inner city in the 1949 cohort but slightly more skewed by place of contact. The net result was that 18.6% of all contacts were generated by residents of Areas 1 and 2 and took place in those areas for the 1949 cohort compared to 16.9% for the 1942 cohort. If Areas 4 and 5 are included, the percent of concentration in the inner city and two interstitial areas increases to 30.1 for the 1942 cohort and 32.9 for the 1949 cohort. These findings, added to other findings on the spatial distribution of delinquency and crime, suggest that the separate analyses of Areas A and B vs. C, D, and E found in both this and earlier reports are analyses of what amounts to patterns of police contacts that, while similar in some respects, have important differences which must be considered when planning programs of intervention.[4] These differences are relevant not only in terms of what is done with, for, or to the person with contacts but what might well go into training courses for police and others in the juvenile and adult justice systems who must make decisions as to the nature (severity) of the formal intervention that is called for.

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

Place of Police Contact as Area of Residence or Contiguous Areas vs. More Distant Areas

To simplify the first stage of a more comprehensive discussion of where persons have contacts in relation to their area of residence we shall compare areas for the two cohorts in terms of whether contacts occurred in area of residence and contiguous areas vs. other more distant areas.

Males and females are combined in Table 12 showing the percent of those, who although residing in a given area at the time of their contact, had that contact in either their area of residence or in a contiguous area. The data for both cohorts in Table 12 may be summarized for the Whites by saying that persons who resided in the inner city Areas 1, 2, and 3 had most (over 75%) of their contacts in their area of residence or in contiguous areas, as did those who resided in Area 10. It should be noted at this point that the basic pattern described for males and females combined was present for both cohorts of males and females throughout all 26 areas, although females who resided in most areas did have a larger proportion of their contacts in their immediate area of residence or in contiguous areas than did the males.

The Whites of both cohorts in another group of areas (Areas 4, 5, 6, 13, and 14) had between 60% and 70% of their contacts in either these or contiguous areas. Areas 4, 5, and 6 are adjacent to the inner city and those who reside there who have contacts outside their area of residence do so in either the inner city or the area between them and some other part of the inner city. A map with lines from place of residence to place of contact outside one's area of residence shows almost all lines pointing towards the inner city. For those residing in Areas 13 and 14 one sees a similar pattern with contacts either in the area, in an easily accessible adjacent area, or the inner city. Area 9 followed a similar pattern in 1942 and 1949 with most of its outside contacts in the inner city. Area 7 contained relatively few Whites and ranked differently in 1942 than in 1949 but was an area in which the residents either had most of their contacts in the area, an adjacent area, or the nearby extension of the inner city.

The next group of persons, those residing in Areas 8, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 (22 and 25 for the 1949 cohort) at time of contact, had

TABLE 12. PERCENT OF COHORT RESIDING IN AREA AT TIME OF POLICE CONTACT WHOSE CONTACTS HAVE BEEN IN AREA OF RESIDENCE OR CONTIGUOUS AREA, 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY

	White				Chicano*				Black*			
	1942		1949		1942		1949		1942		1949	
Rank	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%
1	2	83.6	2	79.1	1	77.8	4	77.0	2	89.9	3	100.0
2	10	83.1	1	78.1			1	75.0	1	89.1	4	84.7
3	1	79.6	10	77.8			5	75.0	3	88.3	2	82.9
4	3	78.6	3	75.6			2	66.6	5	71.5	1	79.1
5	9	70.7	5	71.0			19	65.8	6	56.3	18	78.6
6	5	62.8	6	70.7			3	41.7			5	69.2
7	14	62.3	13	67.6			8	33.3			8	66.7
8	13	61.5	4	66.5			7	23.5			6	55.1
9	4	60.9	14	64.8			17	18.2			7	18.2
10	6	60.3	7	63.7								
11	19	48.0	8	60.3								
12	8	47.3	12	59.6								
13	12	45.9	9	57.6								
14	11	44.6	16	56.6								
15	16	44.6	18	55.7								
16	20	42.8	17	54.7								
17	17	40.5	19	54.7								
18	18	40.1	11	53.7								
19	22	33.4	20	51.9								
20	21	27.3	21	50.0								
21	25	26.5	25	42.6								
22	7	25.0	22	41.1								
23	26	18.5	26	31.3								
24	24	13.3	23	30.1								
25	15	4.8	24	6.9								
26	23	3.6	15	3.7								

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

between 40% and 60% of their contacts in their area of residence or in contiguous areas. Most of their other contacts were in the inner city or the interstitial areas adjacent to it. Perusal of a map with lines leading from place of residence to area of contact clearly shows the lines pointing to adjacent areas or the inner city. In general (and based on the numerically largest contact areas which account for about 50% of the contacts), there are fewer lines to adjacent areas in those cases where natural barriers such as the Root River or large parks and cemeteries or major industrial plants intervene between an area and that which bounds it than in those cases where no natural or man-made boundaries exist between the two. There are more arrows pointing to adjacent areas where continuous streets bind two adjacent areas or where main thoroughfares are channelling traffic to and from the inner city.

The residents of the remainder of the natural areas in Racine have about 40% or fewer of their contacts in their areas of residence or in contiguous areas, most of their contacts occurring in the inner city or interstitial areas adjacent to it. A word should be said about several of the extreme cases. For example, Area 15, with over 95% of its residents' contacts outside the area, is located between the main North-South highway from Racine to Kenosha on Lake Michigan is also bounded on the North by the J.I. Case Manufacturing Co. and does not directly touch on any other area. Most of the police contacts of its residents are therefore in the inner city which extends South to the J.I. Case Company, only a few blocks from Area 15. Areas 23, 24, and 26 are on the extreme periphery of the city and are at a distance from any areas which attract either juveniles or adults for leisure time activities.

It should also be remembered that most of Racine's taverns, clubs, and cocktail lounges are located in inner city Areas 1 and 2 and in interstitial Areas 3, 4, 5, and 6.

For the 1942 cohort about 90% of the Black residents of Areas 1, 2, and 3 had their contacts in those or adjacent areas. Those who resided in Area 5 had most of their police contacts there or in Areas 1 and 2, while those from Area 6 had their contacts in Areas 1 and 2. For the 1949 cohort the picture was similar for Areas 1, 2, and 3. Those who resided in Areas 4, 5, and 6 had most of their contacts there or in Areas 1 and 2.

Those from Areas 7, 8, and 18 were more widely dispersed. Chicanos from the 1942 cohort who lived in Area 1 had most of their contacts there or in contiguous areas. Chicanos from the 1949 cohort who lived in Area 1 had most of their contacts in Area 1 or in the two adjacent areas. Those who lived in Area 2 had most of their contacts in their area of residence or in adjacent areas. Those who lived in other areas had their contacts in these areas, the inner city, or as in case of Area 19, were distributed throughout the city as well.

Sources of Police Contacts Within Areas

In terms of overall trouble, each natural area received approximately the same proportion in 1949 as it did in 1942. Percentage shifts ranged from a gain of 1.9 in Area 12 (3.2 to 5.1) to a loss of 4.4% by Area 2 (from 24.0% to 20.4%).

As the first step in determining the areas of origin of persons experiencing police contacts in each of the natural areas, contributing areas for each area were trichotomized as number of persons experiencing contacts:

1) in home area;
2) from contiguous areas;
3) from other than home area or contiguous areas (all others).

Chi Square was calculated in order to determine if there were significant between cohort differences in the source of contacts in each area. There were significant differences in only four areas: Areas 1 and 2, areas of greatest incidence of contact, and Areas 12 and 17, areas of fairly low incidence of contact. The 1949 cohort contacts in Area 1 differed from the 1942 contacts in that a greater proportion of contacts by persons in the 1949 cohort were generated by persons who lived there than was the case for the 1942 cohort. The difference between the 1942 and 1949 contacts in Area 2 was based on an increase in the proportion of contacts by persons from contiguous areas first of all and then by persons who resided in the area itself. The contacts in Area 12 for the 1949 cohort differed from the 1942 cohort in that the contacts were disproportionately generated by persons from the area and by persons in non-contiguous areas. In the case of Area 17, the pattern was completely different in that most of the change could be accounted for by persons from non-contiguous areas.

We have only touched on the fact that there are differences by area in terms of where those who have contacts in the area originate, in addition to those who live in the area. In most cases (22 out of 26 for the 1942 cohort and 20 out of 26 for the 1949 cohort) the same 10 other areas (including those in the area) contributed 75% or more of the contacts to an area. Some areas received 98% of their contacts from the top 10 areas contributing to them, indicating that the persons generating contacts in these areas were not nearly so dispersed throughout the city as was the case for the inner city areas. And as we have indicated, some areas received persons from the cohort who resided in every or almost every area of the community both years, notably Areas 1 and 2. There were also sufficient cohort differences to make it difficult to say anything except that these were neither inner city areas nor in most cases located on the extreme periphery of the city. Natural Areas for both cohorts are ranked in Table 13 according to the proportion of the area's contacts which were generated by persons who lived outside the area (although the percentage is given for those from the area, from contiguous areas, and from other areas). What we must always remember is that the number of persons residing in each natural area varied greatly as did the average number of contacts that people in each area produced so that this in itself could influence the likelihood that areas contiguous to another area would play a large part in its police contacts. Areas with relatively few persons from each cohort residing in them could also shift their ranking between cohorts on a chance basis.

What this table does make apparent, however, is that even though there are relatively few contacts in some of the peripheral areas, persons from outside the area, contiguous and otherwise, do have contacts in them. Areas in the top six ranks in Table 13 are, with one exception, located on the periphery of the city. Those peripheral areas in the lower ranks could be there on a chance basis either year because of the relatively few contacts in these areas. In other words, Table 12 reveals that a great proportion of the contacts occur in a person's area of residence or contiguous areas while Table 13 reveals that some areas receive large proportions of their contacts from remote as well as contiguous areas.

We are, among other things, examining this pattern of areal concentration and inter-area movement in order to determine from as many approaches

TABLE 13. PERCENT OF CONTACTS IN AREA CONTRIBUTED BY PERSONS FROM COHORT RESIDING IN AREA, CONTIGUOUS AREAS, AND OTHER AREAS, RANKED BY PERCENT OF CONTACTS CONTRIBUTED BY PERSONS FROM OUTSIDE AREA 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

	1942				1949			
Rank	Area	% Own	% Contiguous	% Other	Area	% Own	% Contiguous	% Other
1	23	0.0	0.0	100.0	26	5.6	5.6	89.4
2	26	0.0	25.0	75.0	15	10.0	-	90.0
3	22	5.9	17.6	76.5	22	10.5	36.9	52.9
4	11	15.0	42.5	42.5	11	15.1	39.6	45.4
5	21	15.8	13.1	70.8	24	15.8	-	84.3
6	25	17.0	21.3	61.7	21	17.6	25.5	57.0
7	7	25.0	12.5	62.5	25	21.3	22.3	56.5
8	13	25.0	37.1	38.3	13	29.0	37.6	33.1
9	12	25.0	37.1	37.9	3	30.1	37.0	32.8
10	6	27.7	36.2	36.0	6	33.0	37.4	29.4
11	3	31.3	31.9	36.7	2	33.4	32.7	33.9
12	16	31.6	17.6	51.2	7	35.3	23.5	41.3
13	5	32.3	20.2	47.4	10	36.1	32.8	31.4
14	2	33.0	24.8	42.1	12	36.4	22.4	41.3
15	19	33.8	23.7	43.0	5	38.0	16.2	46.0
16	1	33.8	33.3	32.8	19	38.5	27.1	34.4
17	4	39.5	23.7	36.6	20	39.0	26.3	34.4
18	10	39.6	32.9	27.3	9	39.8	26.6	33.8
19	17	39.7	19.3	41.2	16	40.6	25.8	33.9
20	20	42.1	18.4	39.2	4	41.2	27.4	30.9
21	9	42.6	29.8	27.6	18	48.4	16.4	34.6
22	14	43.7	28.2	28.2	17	52.6	16.0	31.1
23	8	49.3	21.8	28.7	8	53.0	18.9	27.6
24	24	50.0	-	50.0	23	54.5	9.1	36.3
25	18	57.4	9.9	32.6	14	57.1	21.1	21.6
26	15	60.0	0.0	40.0	1	58.6	22.1	19.5

as possible the areas in the city which merit special attention because of the disproportional contribution that persons from the cohort make who reside in these areas and the disproportional contribution that persons from some areas make to other areas.

One might say that it is a question of where activity takes place that runs the police ragged and where the people reside who engage in these behaviors productive of so much attention from the police.

Table 14 enables us to get a handle on the data in terms of where police contacts are generated and whether or not they are generated by persons residing in the area, persons from contiguous areas, or from other areas, in a different way than have previous statistics or tables. Here we can see the disproportionate concentration of contacts in the inner city and the variable race/ethnic contribution to these contacts as well. Were we to assume that every area had an equal likelihood of having police contacts occur in it then 3.84% of the contacts would be found in each area. Since they differ in size, population, and social organization, all of these variables will influence the distribution of contacts.

Areas 1, 2, 4, and 5, all sizeable inner city and interstitial areas, have more contacts than would be expected from both cohorts, more generated within the area than the average, more from contiguous areas, and more from other areas than the average.[5] This is consistently the case for Whites and is almost consistently the case for Blacks and for Chicanos in the 1949 cohort. Areas 3, 10, 11, and 19 are almost as consistently higher than average for the 1942 cohort, Areas 8, 11, 12, and 19 for the 1949 cohort, although in neither case for Blacks and Chicanos to the extent as the top-ranking four White areas. In two cases where there were differences between the 1942 and 1949 cohort, Areas 3 and 10, these areas had higher than average number of contacts overall. The importance of these

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[5] The mean numbers of contacts for all areas for both cohorts by race/ethnicity and source are shown below.

	1942				1949			
	White	Chicano	Black	Total	White	Chicano	Black	Total
Own	0.973	0.027	0.273	1.273	1.098	0.081	0.317	1.496
Contiguous	0.792	0.010	0.166	0.967	0.681	0.062	0.227	0.970
Other	0.820	0.010	0.056	0.885	0.612	0.058	0.128	0.756
Total	2.585	0.047	0.495	3.126	2.391	0.202	0.672	3.222

TABLE 14. PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTACTS TAKING PLACE IN EACH NATURAL AREA ACCORDING TO SOURCE AND RACE/ETHNICITY OF PERSONS

	1942					1949			
Area	White	Chicano	Black	Total	Area	White	Chicano	Black	Total
2					2				
Own	2.50	0.06	5.40	7.96		2.70	0.40	3.80	6.90
Contiguous	3.40	0.10	1.00	4.50		3.00	0.40	2.30	5.70
Other	3.70	-	0.03	3.73		2.30	0.10	0.08	2.48
Total	9.60	0.16	6.43	16.19		8.00	0.90	6.18	15.08
1					1				
Own	2.90	0.40	1.30	4.60		3.70	1.00	3.00	7.70
Contiguous	2.60	0.03	1.70	4.33		1.50	0.20	1.10	2.80
Other	1.70	0.03	0.06	1.79		1.10	0.08	0.20	0.28
Total	7.20	0.46	3.06	10.72		6.30	1.28	4.30	10.78
4					5				
Own	3.00	0.03	-	3.03		2.70	0.10	0.40	3.20
Contiguous	1.70	0.03	0.10	1.83		0.70	0.02	0.60	1.32
Other	1.50	-	0.09	1.59		1.90	0.20	0.50	2.60
Total	6.20	0.06	0.19	6.45		5.30	0.32	1.50	7.12
5					4				
Own	2.40	-	0.10	2.50		2.90	0.10	0.20	3.20
Contiguous	0.90	-	0.70	1.60		1.40	0.30	0.50	2.20
Other	2.00	-	0.20	2.20		1.20	0.08	0.20	1.48
Total	5.30	-	1.00	6.30		5.50	0.48	0.90	6.88
11					12				
Own	0.90	0.03	-	0.93		1.80	0.02	-	1.82
Contiguous	2.20	-	-	2.20		1.10	0.03	0.03	1.16
Other	1.30	-	0.20	1.50		1.00	0.20	0.40	1.60
Total	4.40	0.03	0.20	4.63		3.90	0.25	0.43	4.58
3					19				
Own	1.30	0.06	0.20	1.56		1.60	0.20	-	1.80
Contiguous	0.90	0.06	2.50	1.46		1.20	-	0.03	1.23
Other	1.20	0.03	0.03	1.26		0.90	0.10	0.30	1.30
Total	3.40	0.15	0.73	4.28		3.70	0.30	0.33	4.33
10					11				
Own	1.70	-	-	1.70		0.70	-	-	0.70
Contiguous	1.40	-	0.03	1.43		1.70	0.05	0.05	1.80
Other	1.00	-	0.03	1.03		0.70	0.10	0.60	1.40
Total	4.10	-	0.06	4.16		3.10	0.15	0.65	3.90
19					8				
Own	1.50	-	-	1.50		2.00	0.03	0.06	2.09
Contiguous	1.00	-	-	1.00		0.70	0.06	-	0.76
Other	0.90	0.03	0.20	1.13		0.60	0.06	0.05	0.71
Total	3.40	0.03	0.20	3.63		3.30	0.15	0.11	3.56
14					3				
Own	1.30	-	-	1.30		0.90	0.05	0.30	1.25
Contiguous	0.90	-	-	0.90		0.60	0.20	0.60	1.40
Other	0.70	-	0.03	0.73		0.70	0.10	0.03	0.83
Total	2.90	-	0.03	2.93		2.20	0.35	0.93	3.48

12				
Own	0.80	-	0.03	0.83
Contiguous	1.20	-	-	1.20
Other	0.60	-	0.10	0.70
Total	2,60	-	0.13	2.73
9				
Own	1.10	-	0.03	1.13
Contiguous	0.70	0.03	0.06	0.79
Other	0.60	-	0.06	0.66
Total	2.40	0.03	0.15	2.58
13				
Own	0.70	-	-	0.70
Contiguous	1.00	-	-	1.00
Other	0.40	0.06	0.09	0.55
Total	2.10	0.06	0.09	2.25
8				
Own	1.00	-	0.03	1.03
Contiguous	0.50	-	-	0.50
Other	0.60	-	0.03	0.63
Total	2.10	-	0.06	2.16
20				
Own	0.90	-	-	0.90
Contiguous	0.40	-	0.03	0.43
Other	0.80	-	0.03	0.83
Total	2.10	-	0.06	2.16
18				
Own	1.00	-	-	1.00
Contiguous	0.20	-	-	0.20
Other	0.40	-	0.03	0.43
Total	1.60	-	0.03	1.63
6				
Own	0.40	-	-	0.40
Contiguous	0.30	-	0.20	0.50
Other	0.70	-	-	0.70
Total	1.40	-	0.20	1.60
16				
Own	0.40	0.10	-	0.50
Contiguous	0.30	-	-	0.30
Other	0.70	0.06	-	0.76
Total	1.40	0.16	-	1.56
25				
Own	0.20	-	-	0.20
Contiguous	0.30	-	-	0.30
Other	0.80	-	0.03	0.83
Total	1.30	-	0.03	1.33
21				
Own	0.20	-	-	0.20
Contiguous	0.10	-	-	0.10
Other	0.50	-	0.06	0.56
Total	0.80	-	0.06	0.86

10				
	1.20	0.02	-	1.22
	1.00	0.06	0.06	1.12
	0.90	0.06	0.05	1.01
	3.10	0.14	0.11	3.35
17				
	1.60	0.02	0.02	1.64
	0.30	0.10	0.03	0.43
	0.60	0.06	0.20	0.86
	2.50	0.18	0.25	2.93
18				
	1.10	0.02	0.30	1.42
	0.50	-	-	0.50
	0.70	0.05	0.03	0.78
	2.30	0.07	0.33	2.70
14				
	1.40	-	-	1.40
	0.60	0.05	0.10	0.75
	0.30	-	0.08	0.38
	2.30	0.05	0.18	2.53
9				
	0.80	-	0.02	0.82
	0.40	0.05	0.10	0.55
	0.30	0.02	0.06	0.38
	1.50	0.07	0.18	1.75
20				
	0.70	-	-	0.70
	0.50	-	-	0.50
	0.30	0.03	0.10	0.43
	1.50	0.03	0.10	1.63
16				
	0.60	-	0.02	0.62
	0.40	-	0.02	0.42
	0.50	-	0.03	0.53
	1.50	-	0.07	1.57
6				
	0.40	0.10	0.08	0.58
	0.20	0.05	0.30	0.55
	0.30	0.02	0.06	0.38
	0.90	0.17	0.44	1.51
25				
	0.30	-	-	0.30
	0.30	-	-	0.30
	0.60	0.05	0.02	0.67
	1.20	0.05	0.02	1.27
21				
	0.10	-	0.02	0.12
	0.20	-	0.02	0.22
	0.40	0.03	0.02	0.45
	0.70	0.03	0.06	0.79

26					22				
Own	-	-	-	-		0.10	-	-	0.10
Contiguous	0.06	-	-	0.06		0.20	-	0.03	0.23
Other	0.06	-	0.06	0.12		0.10	0.02	0.06	0.18
Total	0.12	-	0.06	0.18		0.40	0.02	0.09	0.51
22					26				
Own	0.03	-	-	0.03		0.05	-	-	0.05
Contiguous	0.09	-	-	0.09		0.05	-	-	0.05
Other	0.30	0.03	0.03	0.36		0.10	0.02	0.03	0.15
Total	0.42	0.03	0.03	0.48		0.20	0.02	0.03	0.25
7					7				
Own	0.06	-	-	0.06		0.05	0.05	-	0.10
Contiguous	0.03	-	-	0.03		0.05	0.02	-	0.07
Other	0.03	-	0.03	0.06		-	0.02	0.02	0.04
Total	0.12	-	0.03	0.15		0.10	0.09	0.02	0.21
15					24				
Own	0.09	-	-	0.09		0.03	-	0.02	0.05
Contiguous	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-		0.02	0.02	-	0.04
Total	0.09	-	-	0.09		0.05	0.02	0.02	0.09
24					23				
Own	0.03	-	-	0.03		0.20	-	-	0.20
Contiguous	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
Other	0.03	-	-	0.03		-	-	-	-
Total	0.06	-	-	0.06		0.20	-	-	0.20
23					15				
Own	-	-	-	-		0.02	-	-	0.02
Contiguous	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
Total	-	-	-	-		0.02	-	-	0.02

areas as places for the generation of contacts by persons who reside there and as recipients of behavior from both contiguous and other areas which result in police contacts is perhaps even more sharply apparent than before.

Distance From Place of Residence to Place of Police Contact by Reason for Police Contact

While we have discussed the relationship of place of residence at time of police contact to place of contact at some length and the apparent impact of barriers to movement out of one's area of residence for some offenses but not for others, we have not approached the problem of differences in simple distance.

When the coordinates for each place of residence (we have assigned coordinates to each block in the city) were run against the coordinates for the place of police contact, distances were generated in terms of miles. Table 15 presents these distances for males and Table 16 for females. Those offenses which took place at the greatest distance from place of residence for White males are at the top of the table, going down to those which took place closest to home. Since there are always problems of large enough N's, there are no data for some types of contacts for some race/ethnic and sex categories. With few exceptions the White males had police contacts at a greater average distance from their homes than did Black males and in most cases Chicano males had their police contacts further from home than did White or Black males. The Chicano pattern is not surprising considering the number who resided in outlying areas compared to those who were in areas where there is a high incidence of delinquency and crime.

In the cases where female contact distances from home could be compared with male contact distances, the females had their contacts closer to home than did the males in more categories than not. In no case were Black male contacts further from their homes than White male contacts for both the 1942 and 1949 cohorts. The possibility of increasing distance from home to place of contact and distance from contact to contact commencing with first contact and following through to Nth contact has been raised as possibly influencing previously reported findings for the residents of some areas vs. other areas. The assumption would be that if one area

TABLE 15. DISTANCE IN MILES FROM HOME TO LOCATION OF PLACE OF POLICE CONTACT OR OFFENSE: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MALES

		White		Chicano		Black	
		Dist.	N	Dist.	N	Dist.	N
Violent Property Destruction	1949	1.64	16			.59	6
Forgery	1949	1.53	25			1.12	9
Robbery	1942					1.09	8
	1949	1.47	12			99	10
Traffic: Moving Vehicle	1942	1.38	878	1.52	14	.85	110
	1949	1.37	1025	.97	60	.99	158
Liquor	1942	1.36	99			.80	6
	1949	1.10	149	1.15	18	1.06	10
Suspicion, Investigation	1942	1.19	412			.76	97
	1949	1.03	774			.88	203
Vagrancy	1949	1.02	72	1.43	16	1.55	13
Assault	1942	.92	14			.30	10
	1949	1.01	33	1.16	9	.92	24
Auto Theft	1942	1.12	26			1.38	8
	1949	.99	40			.63	15
Theft	1942	.92	97			.96	29
	1949	.98	217	1.39	16	.99	101
Disorderly Conduct	1942	.85	533	.85	7	.46	82
	1949	.76	864	.99	89	.61	236
Weapons	1942	1.01	7				
	1949	.70	18			.67	10
Traffic: Other	1942	1.11	28			.75	20
	1949	.70	26			.57	12
Truancy	1942	1.19	18				
	1949	.68	9				
Sex Offense	1942	.90	19			.44	5
	1949	.67	24	1.13	6	1.11	31
Burglary	1942	.97	20			.73	8
	1949	.65	59	1.20	11	.75	23
Incorrigible, Runaway	1942	.46	83			.10	5
	1949	.51	260	.59	22	.25	43
Narcotics, Drugs	1949	.37	19			1.62	4

TABLE 16. DISTANCE IN MILES FROM HOME TO LOCATION OF PLACE OF POLICE CONTACT OR OFFENSE: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT FEMALES

		White		Chicano		Black	
		Dist.	N	Dist.	N	Dist.	N
Forgery	1949	1.37	5			1.64	3
Traffic: Moving Vehicle	1942	1.36	192			.83	10
	1949	1.25	273	1.24	31	.55	12
Liquor	1942	1.33	23				
	1949	1.50	23				
Suspicion, Investigation	1942	.80	86			.70	15
	1949	1.09	178	.34	6	.72	53
Vagrancy	1949	1.09	13				
Theft	1942	1.27	11				
	1949	1.14	46			1.55	15
Disorderly Conduct	1942	.36	98	.09	13	.28	20
	1949	.41	201	.43	14	.33	66
Traffic: Other	1942	.81	8				
Sex Offense	1942	.11	7				
	1949	1.21	16				
Incorrigible, Runaway	1942	.28	23				
	1949	.36	87			.25	20
Narcotics, Drugs	1949	.41	11				

contained more repeaters than another these residents of the area, as the distance from home to crime and crime to crime increased with time, would have a disproportionate number of their contacts outside their area of residence compared to the residents of areas which had very few contacts. While there was some indication of increasing distance for robbery, burglary, theft, and auto theft (taken as a group), the wave was erratic with contact to contact variation being greater than any gradual increase in distances from the first to Nth contact.[6]

Place of Residence vs. Place of Police Contact by Reason for Contact

When the 25 categories of police contact were collapsed into the seven sociologically meaningful offense categories described earlier in this report and arranged by area of residence, subclassified according to areas of contact occurrence (as in previous cases utilizing this multi-level arrangement of data), the frequency of contacts in specific offense categories was so small in the Black and Chicano groups that the main thrust of the analysis has been concentrated on the Anglos. The results are shown in Table 17 for Anglo males, Anglo females, Blacks, and Chicanos for the most frequently appearing categories of contact by area of residence.

The concentration of Black and Chicano contacts (public order, family, and suspicion and investigation) in a few areas of residence is apparent as is the concentration of contacts in area of residence of inner city and interstitial Whites. What this table shows most clearly, however, is the extent to which certain categories of contacts are concentrated in areas of residence (public order, family, and suspicion and investigation) while others are widely scattered or at least more likely to take place outside one's area of residence (person, property, fraud, and traffic). It is also apparent that a small area like 3, although adjacent to the inner city and an area of poor housing, has by the nature of its location and social organization, including land use, a pattern quite different from that of Areas 1 and 2.

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

TABLE 17. CONCENTRATION OF CONTACTS BY PERCENT IN AREA OF RESIDENCE FOR SEVEN CATEGORIES OF POLICE CONTACTS, BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX, 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS

		Natural Area of Residence																																				
		1			2			3		4			5			6		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	16	17	18		19		20	22	23	25	26
		W	B	C	W	B	C	W	B	W	B	C	W	B	C	W	C	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	B	W	C	W	W	W	W	W
1942																																						
Property	M	52	66	-	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-		-			-			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Person	M	-	63	-	-	63	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-		-			100			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public Order	M	47	63	76	64	78	-	45	-	44	-	-	43	-	-	-	-	-	45	53	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	70			70			100		70			84			100		85	-	60	-	-	-	87	-	75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fraud	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-		-			-			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Traffic	M	-	-	-	50	57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-		-			-			-		-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Family	M	55	100	-	100	100	-	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	50	-	58	-	-	-	-	67	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	80			80			-		-			100			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Investigation	M	39	54	-	50	50	-	37	-	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	57			57			80		46			83			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1949																																						
Property	M	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	57	-	36	-	-	-	-	35	27	-	23	38	23	-	-	21	43	-	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-		-			-			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Person	M	67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	80			-			-		-			-			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public Order	M	59	54	46	56	60	44	35	42	60	66	100	56	50	55	24	-	33	36	60	33	60	49	54	43	51	41	-	36	-	53	-	-	5	-	-	-
	F	66			88			55		80			79			85		60	60	70	69	50	-	80	83	-	-	-	81	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fraud	M	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	-			-			-		-			-			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Traffic	M	32	-	47	34	-	61	11	-	39	-	-	21	-	-	7	-	20	15	21	17	24	20	22	21	14	23	-	17	-	15	29	9	3	7	-	-	-
	F	-			55			-		-			-			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Family	M	60	68	63	90	76	-	-	-	69	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	82	-	-	-	70	-	88	-	64	54	-	77	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	80			71			-		-			-			-		57	-	80	-	50	-	100	-	-	-		100		100	-	100	100	-	-	-	-
Investigation	M	44	43	51	53	47	46	25	-	42	-	-	47	-	-	33	66	38	37	45	27	28	38	34	20	32	39	62	31	-	35	-	-	33	-	-	-
	F	42			50			50		-			60			-		50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

While Table 17 has enabled us to determine the pattern of concentration of contacts by persons within their areas of residence it does not show the extent to which contacts for the seven categories were distributed throughout the 26 areas. A series of tables (not shown) was constructed to show the number of natural areas with various percentages of the contacts by their residents occurring in their areas of residence (by percentage categories 0, 1 to 25, 26 to 50, 51 to 75, and 76 to 100) with the number of areas containing the residual percentage (contacts by the residents of the area in other areas) also shown to indicate the spread of contacts for each offense category. In other words, it was possible to determine by observation whether contacts that did not take place in areas of residence were to be found in a few other areas or were widely spread, and if the pattern for one of the categories differed markedly from that for traffic offenses (public order offenses, for example, did differ). Further, it was possible to see if there were sex differences within the Anglo groups, or meaningful or interpretable race/ethnic differences.

The analysis was in essence a three dimensional look at police contacts in Racine; that is, how area of contact, area of residence, and offense types came together to produce a distinguishable pattern. In summary, taking these three factors into consideration and even considering some race/ethnic variation one may still rank (roughly) the offense type by extent of concentration in area of residence, from most to least: Public order, Family, Suspicion and investigation, Person, Property, Traffic, and Fraud. And regardless of offense category, Anglo female contacts were less widely distributed than were those for males. The data also indicate that no generalizations can be made on the relationship between percent of concentration in area of residence, the amount of diffusion of the remainder of the contacts, and offense types. A low concentration of contact generating activity in area of residence does not permit one to predict that the rest of the offense activity will be spread out over many other natural areas and conversely a high degree of concentration in areas of residence (50-99%) does not imply that only a few other natural areas will contain the rest of the contact activity. All in all, while this analysis revealed some variation in the patterned occurrence of police contact related to place of residence, it did little more than

to reaffirm the notion that males with automobiles will have more broadly distributed police contacts for behaviors that can be tied directly or indirectly to the use of the automobile than will males (and females) with less access to the automobile.

THE CONCENTRATION OF POLICE CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC VS. OTHER NON-TRAFFIC CATEGORIES AND FELONIES VS. NON-FELONIES

Concentration by Race/Ethnicity

Most studies of juvenile delinquency and adult crime have found that a relatively small percent of the population is responsible for a relatively large percent of the delinquency and crime. We have found essentially the same thing, notwithstanding the fact that a fairly large proportion of the males of each race/ethnic group have had police contacts during each age period of their careers and that an even larger percent have had at least one police contact at some time between the ages of 6 and 26 or 33.

The concentration of all categories of contacts has been described in an earlier report, and of those from the 1942 cohort with continuous residence in Racine, 5.0% were responsible for 41.1% of the contacts. Of the White males, 5.4% accounted for 33.7% of the contacts; of the White females, 5.4% were responsible for 46.8% of the contacts. Turning to Table 18, we find that the picture changes when reference is made to traffic or non-traffic contacts: 5.6% of the White males accounted for 24.2% of the traffic contacts; 5.9% accounted for 37.8% of the non-traffic contacts. While contacts for the females remain more concentrated than for males, the difference between traffic and non-traffic concentration becomes even greater.

Turning back to the 1949 cohort for all contacts we find that concentration was somewhat greater, 5.1% of the cohort accounting for 44.5% of the contacts. Of the White males, 5.3% were responsible for 38.2% of the male contacts while 4.8% of the White females were responsible for 43.6% of their female contacts. Concentration of contacts among minorities, either male or female was not as great. When differences based on traffic vs. non-traffic contacts are considered, the concentration of White male contacts for other non-traffic offenses showed even greater concentration

TABLE 18. PERCENT OF COHORT ACCOUNTING FOR PERCENT OF POLICE CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC VS. NON-TRAFFIC BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX FOR PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	Traffic Contacts		Non-Traffic Contacts	
	Percent of Cohort	Percent of Contacts	Percent of Cohort	Percent of Contacts
1942				
White				
Males	5.6	24.2	5.9	37.8
	15.1	49.0	14.8	62.6
Females	4.8	33.1	4.5	57.0
	13.8	63.1	10.1	79.5
1949				
White				
Males	5.5	26.8	5.8	45.4
	12.5	46.2	14.0	66.4
Females	8.3	46.8	6.1	58.6
	33.3	100.0	14.9	82.3
Black				
Males	6.8	29.3	6.8	25.5
	15.9	51.2	15.9	47.5
Females	--	--	5.1	31.0
	--	--	12.8	53.5
Chicano				
Males	--	--	5.3	16.5
	15.8	38.2	15.8	43.4

than for the 1942 cohort and the females remained about the same. This difference in concentration by reason for contact is not present for Black males and there are too few Black females or Chicanos to really make the same kind of comparison.

Table 19 shows the concentration of contacts by felonies or non-felonies. Here we find that for both cohorts contacts for felonies are highly concentrated among a small percent of the White males and females while non-felonies are less concentrated. And again, while there is some concentration among the Blacks and Chicanos, particularly for felonies, it is not as great as that for Whites.

We conclude that about 5% of the persons in each cohort produce over half of the more serious reasons (if defined as felonies and non-traffic offenses) for police contact. This leads us to the next question, are these persons also the relatively small number of people who can be readily classified as chronic offenders, are they the people who accumulate 5 or more contacts? In other words, are the frequent offenders (those whose offenses produce contacts) also the people who have contacts for felonies or non-traffic offenses?

The answer to this question may be found in Tables 20 through 27. Those with continuous residence in Racine are categorized by the number of police contacts that they have had for traffic vs. non-traffic contacts, felony vs. non-felony contacts, and according to the total number of contacts which they have had, none, 1, 2-4 (recidivists), and 5 or more (chronics). We have utilized the same terminology as that of Wolfgang, *et al.*, in their recent work, in order to facilitate comparison of our findings with theirs, realizing at the same time that those with 2 to 4 contacts are not recidivists in the usual sense of the word but are only persons with multiple contacts. For White males in both cohorts (Tables 20 and 21) the 21% and 22% who had 5 contacts or more for non-traffic offenses account for 75% to 77% of all non-traffic offenses and the 4% or 5% who had 2 or more felonies account for 65% to 72% of the felony contacts. Thus, felonies are more concentrated than any other category of police contacts, as shown in the previous set of tables. At the same time, if one takes those persons with 5 or more contacts (the chronics), a large proportion

TABLE 19. PERCENT OF COHORT ACCOUNTING FOR PERCENT OF POLICE CONTACTS FOR FELONIES VS. NON-FELONIES BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX FOR PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	Felonies		Non-Felonies	
	Percent of Cohort	Percent of Contacts	Percent of Cohort	Percent of Contacts
1942				
White				
Males	2.1	41.2	5.6	29.1
	11.5	100.0	15.7	53.9
Females	0.4	28.6	5.2	40.7
	2.2	100.0	23.6	79.8
1949				
White				
Males	5.3	72.5	5.5	35.1
	12.6	100.0	15.7	58.9
Females	0.6	30.4	5.3	41.3
	3.7	100.0	14.2	64.9
Black				
Males	6.8	36.7	6.8	23.7
	15.9	65.0	15.9	46.1
Females	--	--	5.1	29.1
	--	--	15.4	56.4
Chicano				
Males	5.3	33.3	5.3	16.7
	21.1	80.0	15.8	39.9

TABLE 20. TRAFFIC VS. NON-TRAFFIC CATEGORIES, FELONY VS. NON-FELONY CONTACT CATEGORIES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE MALE OFFENDERS FROM 1942 COHORT AND CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	No Contacts	1 Contact	Recidivists (2-4)	Chronics (5 or +)	Total
TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	26.0	19.5	36.7	17.8	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	7.5	38.4	54.1	100.0
Number of Persons	88	66	124	60	338
Number of Contacts	--	66	340	479	885
NON-TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	31.7	21.9	24.3	22.2	100.1
% of Total Contacts	--	6.2	18.8	75.0	100.0
Number of Persons	107	74	82	75	338
Number of Contacts	--	74	225	897	1196
FELONY					
% of Total Persons	88.5	7.1	4.1	0.3	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	35.3	52.9	11.8	100.0
Number of Persons	299	24	14	1	338
Number of Contacts	--	24	36	8	68
NON-FELONY*					
% of Total Persons	16.3	11.2	32.5	39.9	99.9
% of Total Contacts	--	1.9	15.3	82.8	100.0
Number of Persons	55	38	110	135	338
Number of Contacts	--	38	307	1657	2002
TOTAL					
% of Total Persons	16.3	11.2	32.0	40.5	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	1.8	14.5	83.7	100.0
Number of Persons	55	38	108	137	338
Number of Contacts	--	38	302	1741	2081

* Eleven contacts that were Not Ascertained excluded from this category.

TABLE 21. TRAFFIC VS. NON - TRAFFIC CATEGORIES, FELONY VS. NON-FELONY CONTACT CATEGORIES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE MALE OFFENDERS FROM 1949 COHORT AND CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	No Contacts	1 Contact	Recidivists (2-4)	Chronics (5 or +)	Total
TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	36.0	25.6	30.1	8.3	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	15.9	48.6	35.6	100.1
Number of Persons	244	173	204	56	677
Number of Contacts	--	173	530	388	1091
NON-TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	35.0	19.6	23.9	21.4	99.9
% of Total Contacts	--	5.2	17.7	77.1	100.0
Number of Persons	237	133	162	145	677
Number of Contacts	--	133	448	1956	2537
FELONY					
% of Total Persons	87.4	7.2	4.0	1.3	99.9
% of Total Contacts	--	27.5	39.3	33.1	99.9
Number of Persons	592	49	27	9	677
Number of Contacts	--	49	70	59	178
NON-FELONY*					
% of Total Persons	19.9	16.2	31.9	31.9	99.9
% of Total Contacts	--	3.2	17.8	79.0	100.0
Number of Persons	135	110	216	216	677
Number of Contacts	--	110	613	2719	3442
TOTAL					
% of Total Persons	19.5	16.1	32.3	32.1	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	3.0	17.2	79.8	100.0
Number of Persons	132	109	219	217	677
Number of Contacts	--	109	624	2895	3628

* Eight contacts that were Not Ascertained excluded from this category.

of the non-traffic and even total contacts for all types of offenses (around 80% of the latter) are included. Tables 22 and 23 show that felonies are even more concentrated for Black males, and that those with 5 or more felony contacts are responsible for almost half of the felony contacts for that group. One difference between the concentration of White and Black contacts is again revealed by the fact that those with 5 contacts or over for non-traffic and non-felony situations account for 90% or more of all contacts. In the case of felonies those with 2 or more contacts account for 90% or more of the contacts. In the traffic category this is also true but a far larger proportion of the Blacks have 5 or more contacts for traffic offenses than for felonies.

The concentration of contacts for Chicano males (Table 24) from the 1949 cohort is more like that for Black males than for White males, although with less concentration of contacts among those with 5 or more contacts.

The pattern of concentration for females differed considerably from that for their male counterparts. For non-traffic contacts the concentration among those White females (Table 25 and 26) with 5 or more contacts was greater, felonies were widely spread with none having 5 or more, and about 5% responsible for over 40% of all contacts in both cohorts. While there was more concentration among the Black females in the 1949 cohort (Table 27) than for Black males for felony contacts, there was less concentration of contacts with a few persons than for White females.

We conclude that an analysis of those with 5 contacts or more (chronics) vs. each of the other categories will enable us to learn the characteristics of those who contribute a really disproportionate share of police contacts in Racine. Further, it is apparent that an analysis of the characteristics of those with 2 or more felonies would also be useful.

SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACTS BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

Seriousness by Race/Ethnicity and Sex

Although we have taken the position that differences in police contact rates distort the relative contribution of various race/ethnic groups to crime and delinquency in Racine, we have not completed our examination of the data in terms of variation within each of the seriousness categories described in earlier reports. When the porportion of each seriousness

TABLE 22. TRAFFIC VS. NON-TRAFFIC CATEGORIES, FELONY VS. NON-FELONY CONTACT CATEGORIES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BLACK MALE OFFENDERS FROM 1942 COHORT AND CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	No Contacts	1 Contact	Recidivists (2-4)	Chronics (5 or +)	Total
TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	20.0	6.7	33.3	40.0	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	1.1	17.8	81.1	100.0
Number of Persons	3	1	5	6	15
Number of Contacts	--	1	16	73	90
NON-TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	--	6.7	13.3	80.0	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	0.5	2.6	96.8	99.9
Number of Persons	--	1	2	12	15
Number of Contacts	--	1	5	183	189
FELONY					
% of Total Persons	46.7	26.7	20.0	6.7	100.1
% of Total Contacts	--	19.0	33.3	47.6	99.9
Number of Persons	7	4	3	1	15
Number of Contacts	--	4	7	10	21
NON-FELONY					
% of Total Persons	--	--	20.0	80.0	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	--	2.3	97.7	100.0
Number of Persons	--	--	3	12	15
Number of Contacts	--	--	6	252	258
TOTAL					
% of Total Persons	--	--	20.0	80.0	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	--	2.5	97.5	100.0
Number of Persons	--	--	3	12	15
Number of Contacts	--	--	7	272	279

TABLE 23. TRAFFIC VS. NON - TRAFFIC CATEGORIES, FELONY VS. NON-FELONY CONTACT CATEGORIES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BLACK MALE OFFENDERS FROM 1949 COHORT AND CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	No Contacts	1 Contact	Recidivists (2-4)	Chronics (5 or +)	Total
TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	29.5	18.2	34.1	18.2	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	6.5	38.2	55.3	100.0
Number of Persons	13	8	15	8	44
Number of Contacts	--	8	47	68	123
NON-TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	6.8	11.4	25.0	56.8	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	0.9	5.7	93.4	100.0
Number of Persons	3	5	11	25	44
Number of Contacts	--	5	31	512	548
FELONY					
% of Total Persons	54.5	13.6	22.7	9.1	99.9
% of Total Contacts	--	10.0	45.0	45.0	100.0
Number of Persons	24	6	10	4	44
Number of Contacts	--	6	27	27	60
NON-FELONY*					
% of Total Persons	6.8	4.5	20.5	68.2	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	0.3	4.6	95.1	100.0
Number of Persons	3	2	9	30	44
Number of Contacts	--	2	28	577	607
TOTAL					
% of Total Persons	6.8	4.5	20.5	68.2	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	0.3	4.5	95.2	100.0
Number of Persons	3	2	9	30	44
Number of Contacts	--	2	30	639	671

* Four contacts that were Not Ascertained excluded from this category.

TABLE 24. TRAFFIC VS. NON-TRAFFIC CATEGORIES, FELONY VS. NON-FELONY CONTACT CATEGORIES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CHICANO MALE OFFENDERS FROM 1949 COHORT AND CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	No Contacts	1 Contact	Recidivists (2-4)	Chronics (5 or +)	Total
TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	15.8	5.3	63.2	15.8	100.1
% of Total Contacts	--	1.8	60.0	38.2	100.0
Number of Persons	3	1	12	3	19
Number of Contacts	--	1	33	21	55
NON-TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	--	5.3	26.3	68.4	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	0.4	6.0	93.6	100.0
Number of Persons	--	1	5	13	19
Number of Contacts	--	1	15	233	249
FELONY					
% of Total Persons	63.2	15.8	15.8	5.3	100.1
% of Total Contacts	--	20.0	46.7	33.3	100.0
Number of Persons	12	3	3	1	19
Number of Contacts	--	3	7	5	15
NON-FELONY*					
% of Total Persons	--	--	21.1	78.9	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	--	3.8	96.2	100.0
Number of Persons	--	--	4	15	19
Number of Contacts	--	--	11	277	288
TOTAL					
% of Total Persons	--	--	21.1	78.9	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	--	3.9	96.1	100.0
Number of Persons	--	--	4	15	19
Number of Contacts	--	--	12	292	304

* One contact that was Not Ascertained excluded from this category.

TABLE 25. TRAFFIC VS. NON-TRAFFIC CATEGORIES, FELONY VS. NON-FELONY CONTACT CATEGORIES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE FEMALE OFFENDERS FROM 1942 COHORT AND CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	No Contacts	1 Contact	Recidivists (2-4)	Chronics (5 or +)	Total
TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	64.0	22.1	12.4	1.5	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	36.9	47.5	15.6	100.0
Number of Persons	171	59	33	4	267
Number of Contacts	--	59	76	25	160
NON-TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	77.9	12.0	7.1	3.0	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	20.5	32.7	46.8	100.0
Number of Persons	208	32	19	8	267
Number of Contacts	--	32	51	73	156
FELONY					
% of Total Persons	97.8	1.9	0.4	--	100.1
% of Total Contacts	--	71.4	28.6	--	100.0
Number of Persons	261	5	1	--	267
Number of Contacts	--	5	2	--	7
NON-FELONY*					
% of Total Persons	53.2	23.2	18.4	5.2	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	20.2	39.1	40.7	100.0
Number of Persons	142	62	49	14	267
Number of Contacts	--	62	120	125	307
TOTAL					
% of Total Persons	52.4	23.6	18.4	5.6	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	19.9	37.7	42.4	100.0
Number of Persons	140	63	49	15	267
Number of Contacts	--	63	119	134	316

* Two contacts that were Not Ascertained excluded from this category.

TABLE 26. TRAFFIC VS. NON- TRAFFIC CATEGORIES, FELONY VS. NON-FELONY CONTACT CATEGORIES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE FEMALE OFFENDERS FROM 1949 COHORT AND CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	No Contacts	1 Contact	Recidivists (2-4)	Chronics (5 or +)	Total
TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	66.7	25.0	7.9	0.4	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	53.1	42.7	4.2	100.0
Number of Persons	339	127	40	2	508
Number of Contacts	--	127	102	10	239
NON-TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	69.7	15.4	11.4	3.5	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	17.7	35.5	46.8	100.0
Number of Persons	354	78	58	18	508
Number of Contacts	--	78	156	206	440
FELONY					
% of Total Persons	96.3	3.1	0.6	--	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	69.6	30.4	--	100.0
Number of Persons	489	16	3	--	508
Number of Contacts	--	16	7	--	23
NON-FELONY*					
% of Total Persons	50.2	26.2	18.3	5.3	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	20.4	38.3	41.3	100.0
Number of Persons	255	133	93	27	508
Number of Contacts	--	133	250	270	653
TOTAL					
% of Total Persons	49.4	26.2	18.9	5.5	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	19.6	38.1	42.3	100.0
Number of Persons	251	133	96	28	508
Number of Contacts	--	133	259	287	679

* Three contacts that were Not Ascertained excluded from this category.

TABLE 27. TRAFFIC VS. NON- TRAFFIC CATEGORIES, FELONY VS. NON-FELONY CONTACT CATEGORIES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BLACK FEMALE OFFENDERS FROM 1949 COHORT AND CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	No Contacts	1 Contact	Recidivists (2-4)	Chronics (5 or +)	Total
TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	59.0	25.6	15.4	--	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	37.0	63.0	--	100.0
Number of Persons	23	10	6	--	39
Number of Contacts	--	10	17	--	27
NON-TRAFFIC					
% of Total Persons	35.9	15.4	17.9	30.8	100.0
% of Total Contacts	--	3.9	12.9	83.2	100.0
Number of Persons	14	6	7	12	39
Number of Contacts	--	6	20	129	155
FELONY					
% of Total Persons	94.9	2.6	2.6	--	100.1
% of Total Contacts	--	33.3	66.7	--	100.0
Number of Persons	37	1	1	--	39
Number of Contacts	--	1	2	--	3
NON-FELONY					
% of Total Persons	30.8	10.3	23.1	35.9	100.1
% of Total Contacts	--	2.2	12.3	85.5	100.0
Number of Persons	12	4	9	14	39
Number of Contacts	--	4	22	153	179
TOTAL					
% of Total Persons	30.8	10.3	23.1	35.9	100.1
% of Total Contacts	--	2.2	12.1	85.7	100.0
Number of Persons	12	4	9	14	39
Number of Contacts	--	4	22	156	182

category is presented by race/ethnicity, as in Tables 28 and 29, we see that the Anglo males in each cohort contribute less than their proportion in the cohort to those with police contacts for every category in the 1949 cohort and every category except juvenile condition in the 1942 cohort. In both the 1942 and 1949 cohorts Black males contribute disproportionately more in every category, particularly the three most serious categories. Chicanos contribute none or practically none in any category in the 1942 cohort but disproportionately more in the 1949 cohort, but with little variation by seriousness.

The picture for females in the 1942 cohort differs from the males with very little contribution by the Chicanos but a disproportionately larger contribution by the Blacks, particularly for the minor misdemeanor category, but not for the more serious types of police contacts. For those females from the 1949 cohorts, Chicanos contribute in proportion to their numbers in the cohort but Black females contribute disproportionately more than even the Black males, considering their numbers in the cohort, and for two of the three most serious categories.

Overall, Blacks in the 1942 cohort contribute three times as many contacts as their proportion in the cohort, particularly in the more serious categories. Those in the 1949 cohort contribute almost three times as many overall, and even more in the most serious categories.

Concentration of Seriousness Scores

Table 30 dramatizes the seriousness of careers for those with multiple contacts. Although simple numbers alone make for a high mean or median seriousness score for persons with 5 or more contacts, whether it be Whites, Blacks, or Chicanos, male or female, it is clear that persons with 5 contacts or more do not usually have them for seriousness categories that are at the lower end of the scale, moreso for the males, of course, than the females. Thus we have one further piece of evidence to support the position that persons in either cohort with 5 contacts or more should be the subject of additional study.

Table 31 adds to this conclusion by showing that the contacts by persons with 5 contacts or more are responsible for a larger proportion of the contacts for non-traffic offenses than those with fewer contacts,

TABLE 28. RACE/ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY AMONG 1942 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

	White	Chicano	Black	Total	N
Males					
Felony Against Person	63.0	0.0	37.0	100.0	27
Felony Against Property	82.3	0.0	17.7	100.0	62
Major Misdemeanor	80.5	0.0	19.5	100.0	133
Minor Misdemeanor	86.6	0.9	12.5	100.0	1097
Juvenile Condition	95.9	0.0	4.1	100.0	73
Suspicion or Investigation	90.3	0.3	9.4	100.0	957
Total	87.7	0.6	11.8	100.1	2349
Percent of Cohort	94.9	0.8	4.2	99.9	
Females					
Felony Against Person	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	6
Felony Against Property	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	1
Major Misdemeanor	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	8
Minor Misdemeanor	92.9	1.6	5.6	100.1	126
Juvenile Condition	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	13
Suspicion or Investigation	97.1	0.0	2.9	100.0	170
Total	95.7	0.6	3.7	100.0	324
Percent of Cohort	96.4	1.8	1.8	100.0	
Total					
Felony Against Person	69.7	0.0	30.3	100.0	33
Felony Against Property	82.5	0.0	17.5	100.0	63
Major Misdemeanor	81.6	0.0	18.4	100.0	141
Minor Misdemeanor	87.2	1.0	11.8	100.0	1223
Juvenile Condition	96.5	0.0	3.5	100.0	86
Suspicion or Investigation	91.3	0.3	8.4	100.0	1127
Total	88.6	0.6	10.8	100.0	2673
Percent of Cohort	95.6	1.3	3.1	100.0	

TABLE 29. RACE/ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY AMONG 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

	White	Chicano	Black	Total	N
Males					
Felony Against Person	67.2	9.8	23.0	100.0	61
Felony Against Property	69.9	6.6	23.5	100.0	196
Major Misdemeanor	69.4	7.1	23.5	100.0	395
Minor Misdemeanor	78.0	8.4	13.6	100.0	1990
Juvenile Condition	79.9	7.6	12.5	100.0	289
Suspicion or Investigation	81.6	6.2	12.1	99.9	1639
Total	78.2	7.4	14.4	100.0	4570
Percent of Cohort	91.5	2.6	5.9	100.0	
Females					
Felony Against Person	94.7	0.0	5.3	100.0	19
Felony Against Property	66.7	0.0	33.3	100.0	6
Major Misdemeanor	56.5	4.3	39.1	99.9	46
Minor Misdemeanor	75.6	2.0	22.4	100.0	353
Juvenile Condition	68.6	1.4	30.0	100.0	70
Suspicion or Investigation	82.5	1.9	15.6	100.0	378
Total	77.4	1.9	20.6	99.9	872
Percent of Cohort	91.2	1.8	7.0	100.0	
Total					
Felony Against Person	73.8	7.5	18.8	100.1	80
Felony Against Property	69.8	6.4	23.8	100.0	202
Major Misdemeanor	68.0	6.8	25.2	100.0	441
Minor Misdemeanor	77.6	7.4	14.9	99.9	2343
Juvenile Condition	77.7	6.4	15.9	100.0	359
Suspicion or Investigation	81.8	5.4	12.8	100.0	2017
Total	78.1	6.5	15.4	100.0	5442
Percent of Cohort	91.4	2.2	6.4	100.0	

TABLE 30. MEAN AND MEDIAN SERIOUSNESS SCORES BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX, 1942 AND 1949 COHORTS BY NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS: PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	1 Contact		Recidivists (2-4)		Chronics (5 or +)	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
1942						
White						
Males	1.58	1.20	5.20	5.08	29.39	20.80
Females	1.71	1.23	4.10	3.85	19.56	15.00
Black						
Males	--	--	6.67	6.00	58.92	45.50
Females	3.00	3.00	7.67	9.00	--	--
Chicano						
Males	--	--	6.00	6.00	14.00	14.00
Females	3.00	3.00	--	--	--	--
1949						
White						
Males	2.06	1.60	5.57	5.30	32.65	20.36
Females	1.81	1.28	5.33	4.88	24.64	16.50
Black						
Males	2.00	2.00	7.33	7.00	56.90	53.00
Females	2.00	2.00	4.67	4.25	27.00	19.00
Chicano						
Males	--	--	7.50	6.50	48.93	41.00
Females	2.67	2.75	4.25	4.17	13.00	13.00

TABLE 31. PERCENT OF CONTACTS NON-TRAFFIC VS. TRAFFIC AND FELONY VS. NON-FELONY BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX, 1942 AND 1949 BY NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS PER PERSON WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE*

	1 Contact		Recidivists (2-4)		Chronic (5 or +)	
	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Traffic	Felony
1942						
White						
Males	52.6	0.0	39.4	0.7	60.7	3.8
Females	30.2	3.2	37.0	0.0	69.4	3.8
Black						
Males	--	--	85.7	14.3	67.3	7.4
Females	--	--	81.8	--	--	--
Chicano						
Males	--	--	--	--	58.3	--
Females	--	--	--	--	--	--
1949						
White						
Males	47.7	1.8	49.5	1.6	75.2	5.7
Females	36.1	3.0	60.6	3.5	81.9	3.5
Black						
Males	--	--	63.3	6.7	82.5	9.1
Females	50.0	0.0	77.3	0.0	87.2	1.9
Chicano						
Males	--	--	75.0	8.3	82.2	4.8
Females	--	--	62.5	--	--	--

* The percent of contacts for Traffic and Non-Felonies would be 100.0% minus the percent given above for Non-Traffic and Felonies.

regardless of cohort, race/ethnicity, or sex. Furthermore, it reveals that with several exceptions, those with 5 contacts or more are responsible for a larger proportion of the felony contacts than are those with fewer contacts. Although the tables are not included in this report, we also find that the number of felonies increases with seriouness scores for each race/ethnic group during each age period. Thus, the data tell us again and again that those with high seriousness scores, those who have committed a felony, and those with 5 or more contacts, regardless of their race/ethnicity or sex, constitute a group upon which attention should be focused as early as possible.

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN CAREERS

Continuation Probabilities

Tables 32 to 35 present the probabilities of having a first and subsequent police contacts by type of offense for the first 20 contacts. That is, given that a Kth contact has occurred, what is the likelihood that another will follow it? In general the probability is determined by

$$p = \frac{N_{k+1}}{N_k}$$

where N_k is the number of individuals who had a Kth contact and N_{k+1} is the number who had a subsequent contact. In effect, this formula represents the proportions of individuals who continue on to a K+1th contact after K.

Each table is divided into three sets of columns. The Total column contains probabilities of continuation for all offense types, i.e., given that an offense of any type has occurred, what is the probability that another offense of any type will subsequently follow? The traffic and non-traffic columns are separate units. The traffic column represents the probability that one traffic contact will be followed by another traffic contact. The non-traffic column contains the probability that a contact for a non-traffic offense will be followed by another non-traffic contact. The felony and non-felony columns are also separate units. The felony column represents the probability that a contact for a felony will be followed by another felony contact. Similarly, the non-felony column represents the probability that one non-felony will be followed by another.

TABLE 32. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT: TOTAL CONTACTS, TRAFFIC AND NON-TRAFFIC FELONIES AND NON-FELONIES FOR 1942 COHORT MALES WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.846*	.744	.699	.132	.846	301	265	249	47	301
2	.874	.743	.695	.404	.874	263	197	173	19	263
3	.802	.685	.775	.474	.802	211	135	134	9	211
4	.844	.711	.784	.444	.839	178	96	105	4	177
5	.848	.688	.829	.500	.842	151	66	87	2	149
6	.861	.864	.908	1.000	.859	130	57	79	2	128
7	.854	.772	.861	1.000	.836	111	44	68	2	107
8	.874	.705	.882	1.000	.879	97	31	60	2	94
9	.907	.742	.917	.500	.894	88	23	55	1	84
10	.920	.783	.818	1.000	.929	81	18	45	1	78
11	.802	.667	.867	.000	.795	65	12	39	0	62
12	.892	.833	.846		.887	58	10	33		55
13	.897	.800	.818		.891	52	8	27		49
14	.962	.875	.889		.980	50	7	24		48
15	.900	.857	.792		.896	45	6	19		43
16	.956	.667	.947		.977	43	4	18		42
17	.907	.250	.778		.857	39	1	14		36
18	.897	1.000	1.000		.889	35	1	14		32
19	.914	.000	.929		.906	32	0	13		29
20	.875		1.000		.897	28		13		26
21 or +	.929		.769		.885	26		10		23

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

TABLE 33. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT: TOTAL CONTACTS, TRAFFIC AND NON-TRAFFIC FELONIES AND NON-FELONIES FOR 1949 COHORT MALES WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.818*	.649	.676	.151	.814	605	480	500	112	602
2	.817	.621	.722	.482	.814	494	298	361	54	490
3	.802	.601	.773	.556	.800	396	179	279	30	392
4	.833	.575	.806	.733	.827	330	103	225	22	324
5	.794	.650	.813	.636	.806	262	67	183	14	261
6	.889	.687	.831	.643	.874	233	46	152	9	228
7	.845	.565	.842	.556	.820	197	26	128	5	187
8	.878	.692	.883	.400	.882	173	18	113	2	165
9	.838	.611	.885	1.000	.848	145	11	100	2	140
10	.869	.636	.920	1.000	.879	126	7	92	2	123
11	.921	.571	.935	.500	.894	116	4	86	1	110
12	.888	1.000	.930	.000	.864	103	4	80	0	95
13	.922	.750	.900		.916	95	3	72		87
14	.905	1.000	.903		.908	86	3	65		79
15	.895	.667	.938		.899	77	2	61		71
16	.909	1.000	.951		.873	70	2	58		62
17	.971	.500	.966		1.000	68	1	56		62
18	.926	1.000	.875		.919	63	1	49		57
19	.968	1.000	.939		.930	61	1	46		53
20	.902	1.000	.891		.830	55	1	41		44
21 or +	.873	1.000	.951		.932	48	1	39		41

* The number of males with a first contact (605) was divided by the number of males in the cohort (740) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.818); the number of persons with a second contact (494) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (605) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.817), and so on.

TABLE 34. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT: TOTAL CONTACTS, TRAFFIC AND NON-TRAFFIC FELONIES AND NON-FELONIES FOR 1942 COHORT FEMALES WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.480*	.350	.235	.022	.473	133	97	65	6	131
2	.504	.392	.462	.167	.504	67	38	30	1	66
3	.478	.342	.633	.000	.485	32	13	19	0	32
4	.750	.385	.684		.719	24	5	13		23
5	.625	.800	.615		.609	15	4	8		14
6	.667	.750	.875		.571	10	3	7		8
7	.700	.333	.857		.875	7	1	6		7
8	.857	1.000	.833		.857	6	1	5		6
9	1.000	.000	.400		1.000	6	0	2		6
10	.833		1.000		.833	5		2		5
11	.800		.500		.600	4		1		3
12	.500		1.000		.667	2		1		2
13	1.000		1.000		1.000	2		1		2
14	1.000		1.000		1.000	2		1		2
15	1.000		1.000		1.000	2		1		2
16	1.000		1.000		1.000	2		1		2
17	.500		1.000		.500	1		1		1
18	1.000		1.000		1.000	1		1		1
19	1.000		1.000		1.000	1		1		1
20	1.000		1.000		1.000	1		1		1
21 or +	1.000		1.000		1.000	1		1		1

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

TABLE 35. PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING CONTACT: TOTAL CONTACTS, TRAFFIC AND NON-TRAFFIC, FELONIES AND NON-FELONIES FOR 1949 COHORT FEMALES WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE

Contact Number	Probability of Contact and Continuing Contacts					Number with a Contact and Continuing Contacts				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.524*	.343	.332	.038	.517	292	191	185	21	288
2	.521	.257	.524	.190	.514	152	49	97	4	148
3	.618	.449	.639	.250	.608	94	22	62	1	90
4	.670	.409	.742	.000	.689	63	9	46	0	62
5	.683	.222	.652		.677	43	2	30		42
6	.698	.000	.700		.690	30	0	21		29
7	.800		.714		.724	24		15		21
8	.625		.867		.667	15		13		14
9	.867		.846		.929	13		11		13
10	1.000		.818		1.000	13		9		13
11	.923		1.000		.923	12		9		12
12	.917		.778		.833	11		7		10
13	.818		.857		.700	9		6		7
14	.667		.833		.857	6		5		6
15	1.000		1.000		1.000	6		5		6
16	1.000		.800		.833	6		4		5
17	.667		1.000		.800	4		4		4
18	1.000		1.000		1.000	4		4		4
19	1.000		1.000		1.000	4		4		4
20	1.000		1.000		1.000	4		4		4
21 or +	.750		.750		.750	3		3		3

* The number of females with a first contact (292) was divided by the number of females in the cohort (557) to obtain the probability that a first contact would occur (.524); the number of persons with a second contact (152) was divided by the number of persons with a first contact (292) to obtain the probability that those with a first contact would have a second contact (.521), and so on.

The first figure in each column is the probability that an initial contact of that type will occur, i.e., of the total cohort of persons who were continuous residents of Racine, the proportion who had at least one contact with the police. For example, the total column indicates that across cohorts for males, the probability of having an initial police contact is very large, with more than 80% of all the eligible males in either cohort having at least one recorded contact for some type of offense. For females, the probability of initial contact is lower than that for males, i.e., .480 in the 1942 and .524 in the 1949 cohort.

The initial probabilities of traffic vs. non-traffic contacts are roughly equivalent among males and among females. For the 1942 males, the probability of an initial traffic contact is .744 and for non-traffic it is slightly less, .699. Comparable figures for the 1949 males are .649 and .676. Among females, initial probabilities are much lower than those for males for both types of contacts. For the 1942 females, the initial probability of a traffic contact is .350 and .235 for a non-traffic contact. The corresponding figures for the 1949 females are .343 and .332.

When felony vs. non-felony contacts are compared, it is clear that for both males and females the initial probabilities for felony contacts are considerably lower than those for non-felony contacts. For the 1942 males, the initial probability of a felony is .132 but for a non-felony it is .846. For the 1949 males, the figures are very similar, .151 and .814, respectively. For females, the probabilities for either felony or non-felony contacts are lower than those for males. For the 1942 females, the probability of an initial felony is .022 while for a non-felony it is .473. Comparable figures for the 1949 females are .038 and .517.

After the first contact has occurred, the probability is high that another will follow. Moreover, the probabilities for successive contacts tends to increase with the addition of each successive contact. Illustratively, among the 1942 males in the total column, the probability is .874 that a first contact will be followed by a second contact, .920 that a ninth contact will be followed by a 10th, and .956 that a 15th contact will be followed by a 16th. Among the 1942 females, the corresponding probability for first-to-second contact is .504, ninth-to-tenth, .833, and 15th-to-16th contact, 1.00. A similar pattern holds for the 1949 males and females.

Increasing probabilities with successive contacts characterize the traffic/non-traffic careers for both males and females. However, there appears to be a generally higher probability that a non-traffic contact will be followed by another non-traffic than that a traffic contact will be followed by another of the same type. Among the 1942 males, for example, the probability that a fourth traffic contact will be followed by a fifth one is .688, while the corresponding figure for the non-traffic sequence is .829. It should be noted that the non-traffic careers of both sexes and cohorts tend to be longer than traffic careers, especially of females.

The successive probabilities of continuing a non-felony career are greater than those for a felony career and these probabilities tend to be greater for males than females. For the 1942 females, the probability that a first felony will be followed by a second is .404 while the probability that a first non-felony will be followed by a second is .874. Among the 1942 females, the corresponding probabilities are .167 for a felony and .504 for a non-felony. Felony careers are notably shorter than non-felony careers, especially among females.

The findings in Tables 32-35 may be summarized as follows:

1. The probability of beginning and continuing contact careers of any type is greater for males than females.
2. Traffic and felony contact careers are shorter than non-traffic and non-felony careers regardless of sex; however, male contact careers of any type tend to be longer than those of females.
3. Similar patterns are occurring among males across cohorts and among females across cohorts. This implies that a similar systematic process is operating to produce these similarities, e.g., differential selection and/or similarities in behavior and criminal association.

It is instructive to compare the continuation probabilities of the 1942 and 1949 cohorts with similar, published data from Wolfgang, *et al.*, (1972) as well as more recent but unpublished data from the same study (Collins, 1977) (Table 36). Because the Wolfgang cohort is comprised of males only, it will be compared to males from the 1942 and 1949 cohorts. Further, the comparison is limited to non-traffic contacts.

The continuation probabilities of the 1942 and 1949 males tend to be higher than the published probabilities in the Wolfgang cohort over

TABLE 36. COMPARISON OF THE PROBABILITY OF FIRST AND CONTINUING NON-TRAFFIC CONTACTS FOR MALES FROM 1942 AND 1949 RACINE COHORTS AND THE WOLFGANG, *et al.* (PHILADELPHIA) MALE COHORT

Contact Number	Philadelphia		Racine	
	Early*	Recent**	1942	1949
1	.394	.473	.699	.676
2	.538	.662	.695	.722
3	.651	.717	.775	.773
4	.716	.798	.784	.806
5	.722	.828	.829	.813
6	.742	.847	.908	.831
7	.791	.836	.861	.842
8	.766	.892	.882	.883
9	.798	.879	.917	.885
10	.827	.900	.818	.920
11	.790	.889	.867	.935
12	.803	.781	.846	.930
13	.729	.900	.818	.900
14	.884	.955	.889	.903
15	.697	.814	.792	.938

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

** James J. Collins, Jr., *Offender Careers and Restraint: Probabilities and Policy Implications* (Unpublished Progress Report LEAA Project 76NI-99-0089). Philadelphia: Center for Studies in Criminology and Criminal Law, 1977, p. 19.

the first 15 police contacts. Most of the differences can be accounted for by the fact that the Wolfgang cohort members were followed only for the period between ages 10 and 18 while the 1942 and 1949 cohorts were followed between the ages of 6 and 25. Consequently, the Racine cohorts had a longer period of risk (approximately 11 years more) in which to either begin or extend a police contact career. Hence, the shorter period of study for the Philadelphia cohort has an impact on continuation probabilities simply because not enough time was allowed for a Kth or K+1th contact to occur. What looks like attrition in the Wolfgang study is actually a period of dormancy between the Kth and K+1th police contact. The correctness of this argument is supported by the unpublished data from the Philadelphia study in which the upper age limit was raised from age 18 to age 30. The revised continuation probabilities now correspond more closely to those of the Racine cohorts. The consistencies in Table 36 between cohorts and across studies strongly suggests that a similar systematic process is at work to produce relatively uniform rates of continuation (or, conversely, attrition).

Discontinuation Probabilities

While Tables 32 to 35 indicate that continuation to a subsequent police contact is highly probable after any given contact, Tables 37 to 40 present a somewhat different picture of the police contact sequence. These tables describe the cumulative probabilities of discontinuing contacts after the Kth one for males and females by cohort and type of offense. The cumulative probabilities represent the accumulated proportions of first contactees who have terminated at a given contact in the sequence. For example, in the total column for 1942 males (Table 35), 12.6% (.126) of the first contactees terminated after that contact. After the second contact, a total of 29.9% (.299) of all contactees have terminated, and after the 20th contact, 91.4% (.914) of the contactees have terminated.

A comparison of Tables 36 and 37 indicates that for total contacts, females are likely to discontinue having contacts after fewer contacts than males. After the second contact, 75.9% of the 1942 and 67.8% of the 1949 females have already terminated. Alternately, only 29.9% of the 1942 and 34.5% of the 1949 males have terminated after the second contact. It is

TABLE 37. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT: TOTAL CONTACTS, TRAFFIC AND NON-TRAFFIC, FELONIES AND NON-FELONIES FOR 1942 COHORT MALES WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.126*	.257	.305	.596	.126	38	68	76	28	38
2	.299	.490	.462	.808	.299	90	130	115	38	90
3	.409	.638	.578	.915	.412	123	169	144	43	124
4	.498	.751	.651	.957	.505	150	199	162	45	152
5	.568	.785	.683	.957	.575	171	208	170	45	173
6	.631	.834	.726	.957	.644	190	221	181	45	194
7	.678	.883	.759	.957	.687	204	234	189	45	207
8	.708	.913	.779	.979	.721	213	242	194	46	217
9	.731	.932	.819	.979	.741	220	247	204	46	223
10	.784	.955	.843	1.000	.794	236	253	210	47	239
11	.807	.962	.867		.817	243	255	216		246
12	.827	.970	.891		.837	249	257	222		252
13	.834	.973	.904		.840	251	258	225		253
14	.850	.977	.923		.857	256	259	230		258
15	.857	.984	.928		.860	258	261	231		259
16	.870	.996	.944		.880	262	264	235		265
17	.884	.996	.944		.894	266	264	235		269
18	.894	1.000	.948		.903	269	265	236		272
19	.907		.948		.914	273		236		275
20	.914		.960		.924	275		239		278

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

TABLE 38. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT: TOTAL CONTACTS, TRAFFIC AND NON-TRAFFIC, FELONIES AND NON-FELONIES FOR 1949 COHORT MALES WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.183*	.379	.278	.518	.186	111	182	139	58	112
2	.345	.627	.442	.732	.349	209	301	221	82	210
3	.454	.785	.550	.803	.462	275	377	275	90	278
4	.567	.860	.634	.875	.566	343	413	317	98	341
5	.615	.904	.696	.920	.621	372	434	348	103	374
6	.674	.945	.744	.955	.689	408	454	372	107	415
7	.714	.962	.774	.982	.726	432	462	387	110	437
8	.760	.977	.800	.982	.767	460	469	400	110	462
9	.792	.985	.816	.982	.796	479	473	408	110	479
10	.808	.992	.828	.991	.817	489	476	414	111	492
11	.830	.992	.840	1.000	.842	502	476	420	112	507
12	.843	.994	.855		.855	510	477	428		515
13	.858	.994	.870		.869	519	477	435		523
14	.873	.996	.878		.882	528	478	439		531
15	.884	.996	.884		.897	535	478	442		540
16	.888	.998	.888		.897	537	479	444		540
17	.896		.902		.905	542		451		545
18	.899		.908		.912	544		454		549
19	.909		.918		.927	550		459		558
20	.921		.922		.932	557		461		561

* The number of males who discontinued after a first contact (111) was divided by the number of males with a first contact (605) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.183); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (111 + 98 = 209) and divided by 605 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.345) and so on.

TABLE 39. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT: TOTAL CONTACTS, TRAFFIC AND NON-TRAFFIC, FELONIES AND NON-FELONIES FOR 1942 COHORT FEMALES WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.496*	.608	.538	.833	.496	66	59	35	5	65
2	.759	.866	.708	1.000	.756	101	84	46	1	99
3	.820	.948	.800		.824	109	92	52		108
4	.887	.958	.877		.893	118	93	57		117
5	.925	.969	.892		.939	123	94	58		123
6	.947	.989	.908		.947	126	96	59		124
7	.955	.989	.923		.954	127	96	60		125
8	.955	1.000	.969		.954	127	97	63		125
9	.962		.969		.962	128		63		126
10	.970		.985		.977	129		64		128
11	.985				.985	131				129
12	.985				.985	131				129
13	.985				.985	131				129
14	.985				.985	131				129
15	.985				.985	131				129
16	.992				.992	132				130
17						132				
18						132				
19						132				
20						132				

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

TABLE 40. CUMULATIVE PROBABILITY OF DISCONTINUING CONTACTS AFTER ANY CONTACT: TOTAL CONTACTS, TRAFFIC AND NON-TRAFFIC, FELONIES AND NON-FELONIES FOR 1949 COHORT FEMALES WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE

Contact Number	Cumulative Probability of Discontinuing Contacts After Contact Number					Cumulative Number of Discontinuers After First Contact				
	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony	Total	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Felony	Non-Felony
1	.479*	.743	.475	.810	.486	140	142	88	17	140
2	.678	.885	.664	.952	.688	198	169	123	20	198
3	.784	.953	.751	1.000	.785	229	182	139	21	226
4	.853	.989	.838		.854	249	189	155		246
5	.897	1.000	.886		.899	262	191	164		259
6	.918		.919		.927	268		170		267
7	.948		.930		.951	277		172		274
8	.955		.940		.955	279		174		275
9	.955		.951		.955	279		176		275
10	.958		.951		.958	280		176		276
11	.962		.962		.965	281		178		278
12	.969		.968		.976	283		179		281
13	.979		.973		.979	286		180		282
14	.979		.973		.979	286		180		282
15	.979		.978		.983	286		181		283
16	.986		.978		.986	288		181		284
17	.986		.978		.986	288		181		284
18	.986		.978		.986	288		181		284
19	.986		.978		.986	288		181		284
20	.989		.984		.989	289		182		285

* The number of females who discontinued after a first contact (140) was divided by the number of females with a first contact (292) to obtain the probability of discontinuing after a first contact (.479); the number of persons who discontinued after a second contact was cumulated with previous discontinuers (140 + 58 = 198) and divided by 292 to obtain the cumulative probability of discontinuing (.678) and so on.

not until after the 6th contact for the 1942 males and the 7th contact for the 1949 males that two-thirds of the contactees have terminated.

When traffic and non-traffic contacts are compared, it is found that for both males and females, a larger proportion of individuals terminate earlier in the former than in the latter. Among males, for example, 63.8% of the 1942 and 78.5% of the 1949 cohort members terminated their traffic careers after the third contact but only 57.8% and 55.0%, respectively, had terminated their non-traffic careers after the same number of traffic contacts. Females are more likely to terminate both traffic and non-traffic careers earlier than males. But among females (as with males), traffic careers are terminated after fewer contacts than non-traffic careers. For the 1942 females, 94.8% had terminated their traffic careers by the third contact but only 80.0% had terminated their non-traffic careers at the same point. Similarly, among the 1949 females, 95.3% terminated their traffic careers after the third contact but only 75.1% had terminated their non-traffic careers at the same point. Note also that traffic and non-traffic careers for females are much shorter than those for males in both cohorts.

As with traffic and non-traffic sequences, felony careers tend to be terminated much more quickly than non-felony careers for both sexes in both cohorts. While 91.5% of the 1942 males had terminated their felony careers after the third contact, only 41.2% had terminated their non-felony careers after the same number of contacts. The corresponding figures for the 1949 males are 80.3% and 46.2%. Among the females, felony careers were completed by the second contact in the 1942 cohort and by the third contact in the 1949 cohort. After the third contact, 82.4% of the 1942 and 78.5% of the 1949 females had terminated their non-felony careers.

It appears that the high probability of continuation after any given contact is a consequence of the rapid development of a "hard core" group of continuers. Most people cease to have difficulty with the police after very few contacts. Only a relatively small group of individuals continue on to have long criminal records.

Continuity by Age Periods for Traffic vs. Non-Traffic Contacts

Tables 41 and 42 indicate that the linear correlation for number of police contacts (Tau) between age periods by race/ethnicity and sex are relatively low, with the exceptions of those for non-traffic contacts for Black males in the 1949 cohort and for traffic contacts for Black males in the 1942 cohort. While perusal of these tables reveals some high correlations for the 1949 Chicanos for non-traffic contacts, their numbers are too small for significance. While other non-traffic correlations for the Whites were generally relatively low, those for the inner city and interstitial areas were generally higher than those for outlying areas, both for traffic and non-traffic contacts. Blacks, male or female, have more continuity in their careers than Whites, male or female, for traffic and non-traffic offenses, particularly those who resided in the inner city and its interstitial areas. Traffic contacts seemed to have more continuity from age period to age period for the 1942 cohort for both race/ethnic groups and less for the 1949 cohort than did non-traffic contacts. Traffic contacts for the combined period 6-20 and 21 or older were more highly correlated than were those for other age periods or combinations of age periods while the periods 6-17 and 18 or older showed the highest correlations most often for non-traffic contacts, both findings more consistent for males than females.

While these Tau coefficients of correlation reveal little linear relationship between the number of police contacts that a person has in one age period or combination of age periods and another age period, there is yet another way to organize the data with potentially more interesting results. Here we simply take the percent of each race/ethnic and sex group who have a police contact for traffic vs. non-traffic offenses. Looking at Table 43, for example, we see that 10.1% of the White males in the 1942 cohort had a contact for non-traffic offenses in each age period while 16.9% had a traffic contact in each age period. If we consider those periods which encompass the 6 through 17 age period and one later period the percentages add up to 29.9% for non-traffic and 29.4% for traffic offenses. Going across the table it appears that the figure is higher for Whites in the inner city and interstitial areas, 38.9% for

TABLE 41. TAU COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION RELATING NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC REASONS BY AGE PERIODS AMONG COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE FOR ENTIRE CITY AND FOR DICHOTOMIZED NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE

	White				Chicano				Black			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
Entire City												
6-17x18-20	.193	.161	-.006	.062	--	.374	--	-.120	-.053	.196	--	.024
6-20x21+	.212	.233	.055	.053	--	.196	--	-.482	.256	.522	-.250	.345
6-17x21+	.197	.214	.042	.059	--	.228	--	-.391	.144	.518	-.250	.325
6-17x18+	.266	.266	.039	.088	--	.272	--	-.482	.067	.528	-.250	.333
18-20x21+	.106	.111	.011	.013	--	.000	--	-.120	.333	.169	--	.084
Inner City A-B												
6-17x18-20	.149	.174	-.002	.129	--	.173	--	-.189	-.053	.200	--	.019
6-20x21+	.278	.287	.125	.109	--	.193	--	-.444	.256	.529	-.500	.343
6-17x21+	.265	.285	.105	.113	--	.244	--	-.296	.144	.525	-.500	.323
6-17x18+	.313	.365	.107	.154	--	.259	--	-.395	.067	.531	-.500	.330
18-20x21+	.076	.050	.011	.060	--	-.080	--	-.148	.333	.186	--	.083
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17x18-20	.231	.140	.002	.026	--	.938	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-20x21+	.158	.220	.029	.053	--	.188	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-17x21+	.153	.201	.031	.057	--	.188	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-17x18+	.241	.220	.033	.069	--	.750	--	--	--	--	--	--
18-20x21+	.114	.124	-.037	.005	--	.200	--	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE 42. TAU COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION RELATING NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC CONTACTS ONLY BY AGE PERIODS AMONG COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE FOR ENTIRE CITY AND FOR DICHOTOMIZED NATURAL AREA OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE

	White				Chicano				Black			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949	1942	1949
Entire City												
6-17x18-20	.164	.074	.027	.005	.500	.083	--	-.111	.356	.082	-.160	.266
6-20x21+	.324	.170	.074	.062	.000	.111	--	.200	.700	.453	.000	.210
6-17x21+	.239	.095	.031	.040	-.500	.105	--	-.160	.498	.244	1.000	.191
6-17x18+	.257	.114	.023	.032	.000	.152	--	-.160	.486	.186	.000	.249
18-20x21+	.250	.130	.231	.040	.500	.152	--	.360	.650	.368	-.160	.214
Inner City A-B												
6-17x18-20	.193	.110	.084	-.013	.500	.067	--	--	.356	.093	-1.000	.270
6-20x21+	.396	.177	.283	.093	.000	-.011	--	-.250	.700	.439	-1.000	.211
6-17x21+	.331	.098	.084	.017	-.500	.063	--	-.250	.498	.254	1.000	.193
6-17x18+	.348	.138	.077	-.006	.000	.122	--	-.250	.486	.197	-1.000	.251
18-20x21+	.272	.145	.145	.096	.500	.056	--	--	.650	.352	-1.000	.214
Outer City C-D-E												
6-17x18-20	.126	.052	-.002	.001	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-20x21+	.277	.152	.060	.062	--	.800	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-17x21+	.184	.099	.006	.142	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6-17x18+	.186	.105	-.001	.035	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
18-20x21+	.229	.099	.067	.032	--	.800	--	--	--	--	--	--

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

TABLE 43. CONTINUITY OF MALE CAREERS BASED ON CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC VS. TRAFFIC CONTACT OFFENSES ONLY BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE FOR ENTIRE CITY AND FOR DICHOTOMIZED NATURAL AREAS OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT*

Time Period/ Continuity Contact Types			TOTAL						A-B						C-D-E	
			White		Black		Chicano		White		Black		Chicano		White	
Juv	18-20	21+	NT	T**	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T
Yes	Yes	Yes	10.1	16.9	20.0	60.0	--	33.3	11.1	18.3	20.0	60.0	--	33.3	11.0	16.1
Yes	Yes	No	11.8	3.0	--	6.7	--	--	12.7	3.2	--	6.7	--	--	12.9	3.2
Yes	No	Yes	8.0	9.5	40.0	--	--	--	15.1	13.5	40.0	--	--	--	4.5	8.4
Yes	No	No	13.3	4.7	--	--	--	--	13.5	3.2	--	--	--	--	13.5	7.1
No	Yes	Yes	2.4	14.2	13.3	13.3	--	66.7	3.2	11.9	13.3	13.3	--	66.7	1.9	14.8
No	Yes	No	10.7	9.2	--	13.3	--	--	8.7	9.5	--	13.3	--	--	12.3	9.0
No	No	Yes	6.2	16.9	13.3	--	33.3	--	5.6	11.9	13.3	--	33.3	--	7.1	18.7
No	No	No	37.6	25.7	13.3	6.7	66.7	--	30.2	28.6	13.3	6.7	66.7	--	36.8	22.6
			100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
1942 N =			338		15		3		126		15		3		155	
Yes	Yes	Yes	11.8	6.9	15.9	22.7	31.6	21.1	12.7	8.9	16.7	21.4	20.0	26.7	11.7	5.5
Yes	Yes	No	10.8	5.3	4.5	4.5	10.5	5.3	13.6	5.6	4.8	4.8	13.3	6.7	10.4	5.5
Yes	No	Yes	10.6	6.9	43.2	11.4	31.6	10.5	16.0	7.5	42.9	11.9	40.0	13.3	9.0	7.4
Yes	No	No	17.0	13.4	15.9	4.5	15.8	10.5	11.7	12.7	16.7	2.4	13.3	13.3	22.7	13.9
No	Yes	Yes	2.8	7.1	2.3	22.7	--	21.1	3.3	8.0	2.3	23.8	--	13.3	1.4	6.0
No	Yes	No	8.1	10.8	--	11.4	--	15.8	6.1	10.8	--	11.9	--	20.0	9.3	10.7
No	No	Yes	5.9	11.2	9.1	4.5	--	5.3	6.6	14.6	7.1	4.8	--	--	4.6	10.1
No	No	No	32.9	38.3	9.1	18.2	10.5	10.5	30.0	31.9	9.5	19.0	13.3	6.7	30.9	41.0
			99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1
1949 N =			677		44		19		213		42		15		366	

* Persons whose principal places of residence as a juvenile were not in Areas A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D or E or a combination thereof were also excluded.

** NT = Non-traffic offenses, T = Traffic only.

non-traffic and 35.0% for traffic, and higher for Blacks, 60% or more regardless of area. For the 1949 cohort continuity is greater for non-traffic for the Whites and the Blacks, and about 50% higher for non-traffic than for traffic offenses. Chicano continuity is even greater than Black continuity. There was less Black vs. White continuity difference in the inner city and interstitial areas than overall, White continuity being greater in the inner city than overall.

Table 44 reveals that there was very little continuity in female careers but considerably more for Blacks than for Whites or Chicanos. On the other hand, Black females had more continuity for non-traffic offenses than did other female race/ethnic groups, particularly those from the 1949 cohort.

Since we are examining continuity in careers in an effort to determine differences based on traffic vs. non-traffic offenses, as well as for other purposes, two additional tables (Table 45 and 46) were constructed in which total careers based on traffic and non-traffic contacts were utilized in determining a person's category for the ages 6-17 and this was related to whether or not contacts were acquired for non-traffic offenses during either of the two following periods.

This strategy results in considerably greater continuity in careers for both cohorts (for males more consistently than for females), than that obtained with either traffic offenses or non-traffic offenses alone, although not as much continuity as was found when all types of contacts as a juvenile were included in both the juvenile and adult periods. What it does suggest is that if we wish to predict who will have non-traffic contacts as an adult we should take traffic and non-traffic contacts as juveniles into consideration. This does seem reasonable because the data reveal that traffic offenses are frequently tied in with other categories of offenses, particularly for juveniles.

One other related finding should also be mentioned; persons with a non-traffic offense as their first offense are more likely to have additional offenses and more serious additional offenses than are those whose first contact with the police is based on a traffic violation.

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[7] See Roger K. Sandness, "Traffic vs. Non-traffic as the First Place Contact," unpublished paper, December 1977.

TABLE 44. CONTINUITY OF FEMALE CAREERS BASED ON CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC VS. TRAFFIC CONTACTS ONLY BY COMBINATIONS OF AGE PERIODS: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE FOR ENTIRE CITY AND FOR DICHOTOMIZED NATURAL AREAS OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT*

Time Period/ Continuity Contact Types			TOTAL						A-B						C-D-E	
			White		Black		Chicano		White		Black		Chicana		White	
Juv	18-20	20+	NT	T**	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T	NT	T
Yes	Yes	Yes	--	1.9	--	20.0	--	--	--	4.3	--	33.3	--	--	--	0.9
Yes	Yes	No	0.7	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	0.9	--
Yes	No	Yes	2.2	1.5	--	--	--	--	5.3	1.1	--	--	--	--	0.9	1.8
Yes	No	No	9.4	6.4	20.0	--	20.0	--	7.4	6.4	33.3	--	20.0	--	9.7	7.1
No	Yes	Yes	0.7	4.1	--	--	--	--	1.1	4.3	--	--	--	--	--	4.4
No	Yes	No	6.0	5.2	--	60.0	--	20.0	5.3	6.4	--	66.7	--	20.0	6.2	5.3
No	No	Yes	3.0	18.0	20.0	--	--	--	5.3	14.9	33.3	--	--	--	0.9	18.6
No	No	No	77.9	62.9	60.0	20.0	80.0	80.0	74.5	62.8	33.3	--	80.0	80.0	81.4	61.9
			99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.2	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1942 N =			267		5		5		94		3		5		113	
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.2	1.0	2.6	10.3	--	--	3.0	1.5	2.6	10.5	--	--	0.7	1.0
Yes	Yes	No	2.8	1.2	2.6	2.6	--	--	3.0	0.8	2.6	2.6	--	--	2.3	0.7
Yes	No	Yes	3.1	2.6	28.2	--	--	--	3.8	1.5	28.9	--	--	--	3.3	3.0
Yes	No	No	13.0	13.0	20.5	2.6	30.0	10.0	13.6	15.9	21.1	2.6	22.2	11.1	14.6	11.9
No	Yes	Yes	0.2	2.0	2.6	5.1	--	10.0	--	3.8	2.6	5.3	--	--	0.3	1.7
No	Yes	No	5.5	7.3	--	12.8	10.0	--	2.3	7.6	--	13.2	11.1	--	6.6	7.3
No	No	Yes	5.3	7.1	5.1	15.4	30.0	30.0	6.8	6.1	5.3	15.8	33.3	33.3	4.0	8.3
No	No	No	68.9	65.9	38.5	51.3	30.0	50.0	67.4	62.9	36.8	50.0	33.3	55.5	68.2	66.2
			100.0	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1
1949 N =			508		39		10		132		38		9		302	

* Persons whose principal places of residence as a juvenile were not in Areas A or B or a combination thereof, or C, D or E or a combination thereof were also excluded.

** NT = Non-traffic offenses; T = Traffic only.

TABLE 45. CONTINUITY OF MALE CAREERS BASED ON ALL CONTACTS DURING JUVENILE PERIOD AND CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC OFFENSES DURING THE FOLLOWING PERIODS: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE FOR ENTIRE CITY AND FOR DICHOTOMIZED NATURAL AREAS OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

Time Period/ Continuity Contact Types			TOTAL			A-B			C-D-E
JUV	18-20	21+	White	Black	Chicano	White	Black	Chicano	White
Yes	Yes	Yes	10.9	33.3	--	12.7	33.3	--	11.0
Yes	Yes	No	15.7	--	--	15.9	--	--	17.4
Yes	No	Yes	10.7	53.3	33.3	16.7	53.3	33.3	9.0
Yes	No	No	17.8	--	--	15.1	--	--	19.4
No	Yes	Yes	1.5	--	--	1.6	--	--	1.9
No	Yes	No	6.8	--	--	5.6	--	--	7.7
No	No	Yes	3.6	--	--	4.0	--	--	2.6
No	No	No	33.1	13.3	66.7	28.6	13.3	66.7	31.0
			100.1	99.9	100.0	100.2	99.9	100.0	100.0
1942 N =			338	15	3	126	15	3	155
Yes	Yes	Yes	12.4	18.2	31.6	13.1	19.0	20.0	12.0
Yes	Yes	No	13.6	4.5	10.5	15.5	4.8	13.3	13.9
Yes	No	Yes	13.3	45.5	31.6	19.7	45.2	40.0	10.7
Yes	No	No	22.5	18.2	15.8	16.9	19.0	13.3	27.3
No	Yes	Yes	2.2	--	--	2.8	--	--	1.1
No	Yes	No	5.3	--	--	4.2	--	--	5.7
No	No	Yes	3.2	6.8	--	2.8	4.8	--	3.0
No	No	No	27.5	6.8	10.5	24.9	7.1	13.3	26.2
			100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9
1949 N =			677	44	19	213	42	15	366

TABLE 46. CONTINUITY OF FEMALE CAREERS BASED ON ALL CONTACTS DURING JUVENILE PERIOD AND CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC OFFENSES DURING THE FOLLOWING PERIODS: 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE FOR ENTIRE CITY AND FOR DICHOTOMIZED NATURAL AREAS OF PRINCIPAL JUVENILE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

Time Period/ Continuity Contact Types			TOTAL			A-B			C-D-E
JUV	18-20	21+	White	Black	Chicano	White	Black	Chicana	White
Yes	Yes	Yes	0.4	--	--	1.1	--	--	--
Yes	Yes	No	1.1	--	--	1.1	--	--	1.8
Yes	No	Yes	2.6	--	--	5.3	--	--	0.9
Yes	No	No	15.7	20.0	20.0	14.9	33.3	20.0	16.8
No	Yes	Yes	0.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
No	Yes	No	5.6	--	--	5.3	--	--	5.3
No	No	Yes	2.6	20.0	--	5.3	33.3	--	0.9
No	No	No	71.5	60.0	80.0	67.0	33.3	80.0	74.3
			99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
1942 N =			267	5	5	94	3	5	113
Yes	Yes	Yes	1.2	2.6	--	3.0	2.6	--	0.7
Yes	Yes	No	3.5	2.6	--	3.8	2.6	--	3.3
Yes	No	Yes	5.3	28.2	--	6.8	28.9	--	4.0
Yes	No	No	23.8	23.1	30.0	24.2	23.7	22.2	25.2
No	Yes	Yes	0.2	2.6	--	--	2.6	--	0.3
No	Yes	No	4.7	--	10.0	1.5	--	11.1	5.6
No	No	Yes	3.1	5.1	30.0	3.8	5.3	33.3	3.3
No	No	No	58.1	35.9	30.0	56.8	34.2	33.3	57.6
			99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0
1949 N =			508	39	10	132	38	9	302

The Relationship of Traffic to Non-Traffic Contacts and Their Relationship to Contacts for Suspicion, Investigation, or Information

Another question which has been posed and to which we have heretofore not responded concerns the relationship between number of police contacts for traffic, non-traffic, and suspicion, investigation, and information contacts. When all police contacts were divided into these categories for each person and correlated, we found, as shown in Table 47, relatively little linear correlation although it should be noted that the highest correlations for both cohorts are for non-traffic and contacts for suspicion, investigation, or information for complete careers.

Perusal of the tables from which these correlations were generated revealed that there were much stronger non-linear relationships generating fairly high Gammas for many groups. Here the highest relationships varied with age periods and which of the variables were being correlated, although the most consistently high correlations were again for non-traffic and contacts for suspicion, investigation, and information, suggesting that persons who have police contacts for non-traffic reasons are also likely to have been stopped for questioning with somewhat the same frequency during each period of their careers.

When we looked at the values for Sommer's Assymetrical D we found that with one exception the variable which had the greatest strength as the independent variable for the 1942 cohort also had the greatest strength as the independent variable for the 1949 cohort. Once they were beyond the age period 6 through 17, traffic had the greatest strength as the independent variable for every age period when the number of traffic and non-traffic contacts were correlated. The same was true when the number of traffic contacts was correlated with the number of contacts for suspicion, investigation, or information at every age period and for total careers. On the other hand, when the number of non-traffic contacts was correlated with the number of contacts for suspicion, investigation, or information, the highest relationships were obtained with non-traffic contacts as the independent variable.

The extent to which these categories of contacts are intertwined and the fact that traffic contacts so consistently produce the highest assymetric relationship convinces us that all categories of contact should

TABLE 47. RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS FOR TRAFFIC VS. NON-TRAFFIC VS. CONTACT FOR SUSPICION, INVESTIGATION, OR INFORMATION BY AGE PERIODS AMONG COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

		Age Periods			
		6-17	18-20	21 or +	All Periods
Non-Traffic vs. Traffic					
1942	Tau	.121	.163	.212	.244
	Gamma	.306	.593	.332	.353
1949	Tau	.084	.098	.099	.131
	Gamma	.208	.360	.358	.197
Non-Traffic vs. Suspicion, Investigation					
1942	Tau	.226	.095	.187	.310
	Gamma	.722	.621	.587	.546
1949	Tau	.233	.153	.148	.319
	Gamma	.579	.641	.625	.533
Suspicion, Investigation vs. Traffic					
1942	Tau	.059	.243	.182	.200
	Gamma	.256	.530	.437	.332
1949	Tau	.067	.080	.102	.141
	Gamma	.225	.303	.394	.240

be included in our multivariate analyses (but not with necessarily the same weight) in explaining how some juveniles continue to have more and more serious contacts after the age of 21 than do others.

INCREASING SERIOUSNESS WITH AGE AND NUMBER OF CONTACTS

In an earlier progress report we referred to the hypothesis of an increasing seriousness of offenses with age of juvenile or adult as well as increasing seriousness with frequency of contact. We pointed out that while a number of published case histories have served as a basis for the historical development of a model of delinquency of ever-increasing seriousness of careers, there have been few longitudinal studies with data adequate for a test of the model, the one test in which we have the most confidence being that conducted by Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin.[8] They found little or no increase in severity of offenses from the first through the ninth offense. We reported that the proportion of males in the cohort who had contacts for the more serious offense types peaked at the age of 15 but declined to age 21 and remained stable thereafter. When curves were drawn representing seriousness of contacts by contact order from the first to the Kth contact for each race/ethnic|sex group, there was little evidence of progression for those with continuous residence in Racine. We did a similar analysis by age based on the proportion of the contacts at each age that had been coded as Index vs. Non-Index (Part I vs. Part II), following the F.B.I. Uniform Crime Report Categories. Here again, seriousness peaked at age 15 in both cohorts.

Since our data included contacts for suspicion, investigation, and information as well as traffic contacts (both of these categories making up a large proportion of the total) we decided that another test should be made in which the data would be more comparable to those utilized by Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin. For this purpose we eliminated all contacts for suspicion, etc., and all traffic contacts, thus generating a curve which would not be influenced by the distribution of these categories according to age and contact order.

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[8] Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972, pp. 248-249, and 312.

Diagrams 1 and 2 present the data by age of persons at time of contact. They show only a very gradual rise for the males and a rather erratic curve for the females. When the year-by-year data were converted to five-year moving averages (Diagrams 3 and 4) the slight rise in seriousness for males, particularly the Blacks was more clearly seen. A very similar rise in seriousness, moreso at the early years, for White females could be more readily identified.

Diagrams 5 and 6 enable us to examine the data by contact order. Here again we see a rather flat curve for males and females but one which is erratic as contacts progress for the males because there are few with more than 35 contacts. The female curve is erratic throughout because a Kth contact may have been for suspicion, etc., or for a traffic violation. When these curves are smoothed (Diagrams 5 and 6) the gradual rise with Kth contacts is less apparent than with age.

UNSNARLING DIFFERENTIAL REFERRAL RATES

Referral Rates by Race/Ethnicity, Sex, and Area of Residence

As we have stated in earlier discussions, referral, probation, and juvenile court statistics give the impression that juvenile delinquency is increasing. Even if the proportion of juveniles of a given age who engage in behavior that generates a contact with the police remains relatively stable, the proportion of that group referred may increase at either a continuous or a discontinuous rate. The referral rate is dependent upon the actions of persons in the police and juvenile justice systems whose policies are more or less a function of their reactions to the people to whom they regard themselves as being responsible.

At the time of referral, action may be initiated which eventuates in highly disproportionate numbers of institutionalized minority group members, thus giving the impression that there is some currency to race/ethnic explanations of delinquency and crime. Indeed, as of June 1976, 32.8% of the population of juvenile institutions and 41.4% of the adult institutions of Wisconsin were Nonwhite in a state that has less than 10% of the population Nonwhite. The question, of course, is whether race/ethnicity has anything at all to do with the composition of the institutional population or is it socioeconomic status. And to what extent

DIAGRAM 1: AVERAGE TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACT BY AGE FOR SELECTED RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS

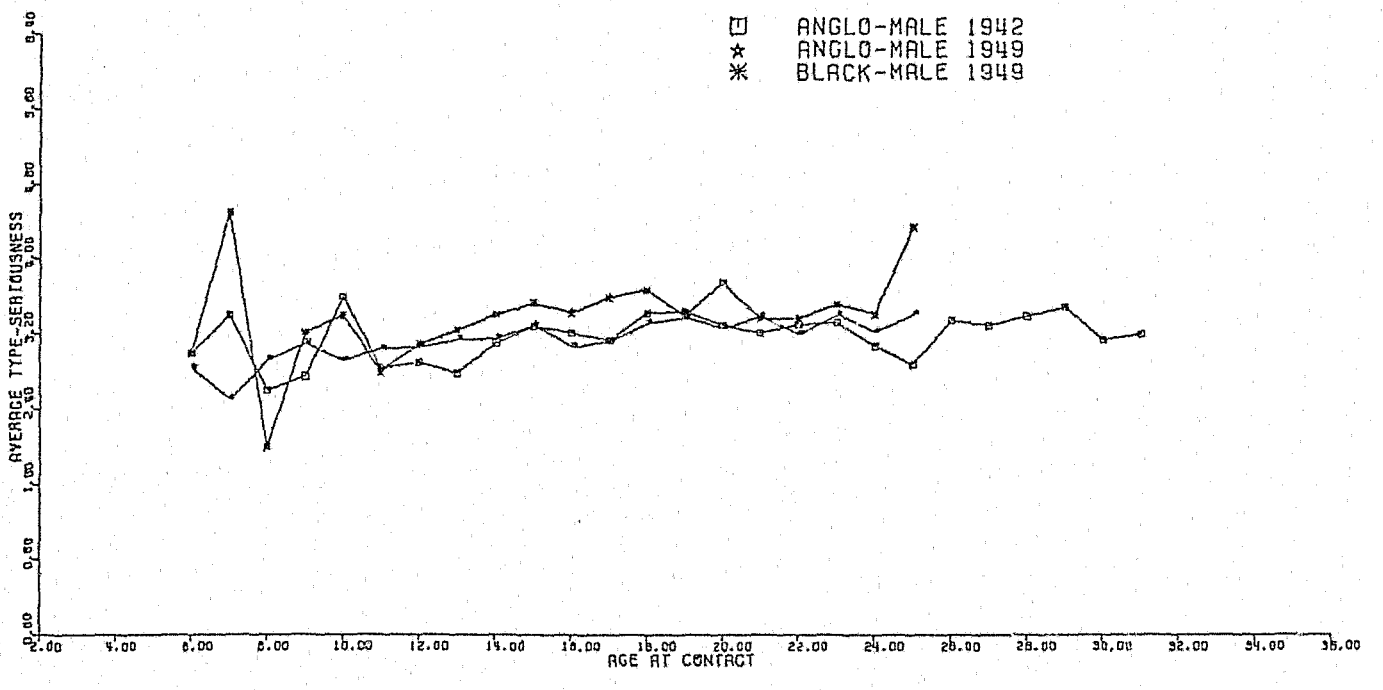


DIAGRAM 2: AVERAGE TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACT
BY AGE FOR SELECTED RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS

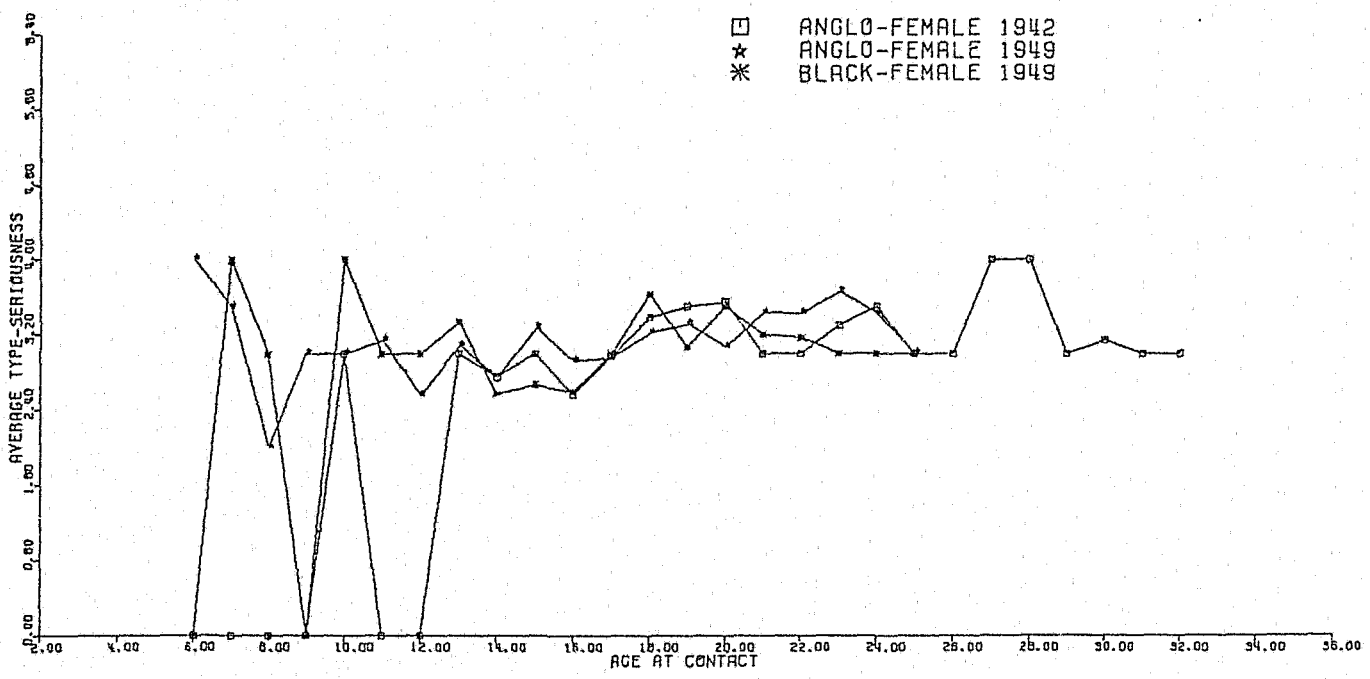


DIAGRAM 3: AVERAGE TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACT BY AGE FOR SELECTED RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS : FIVE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES

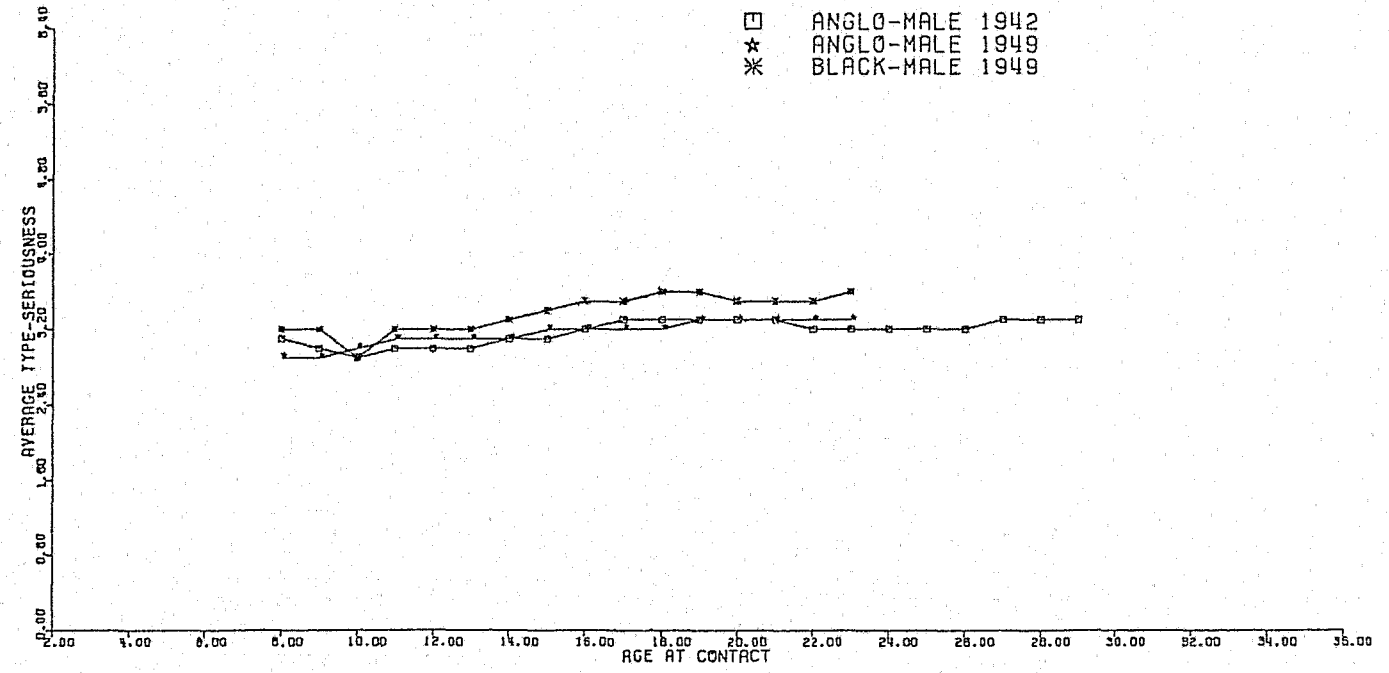


DIAGRAM 4: AVERAGE TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACT BY AGE FOR SELECTED RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS : FIVE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES

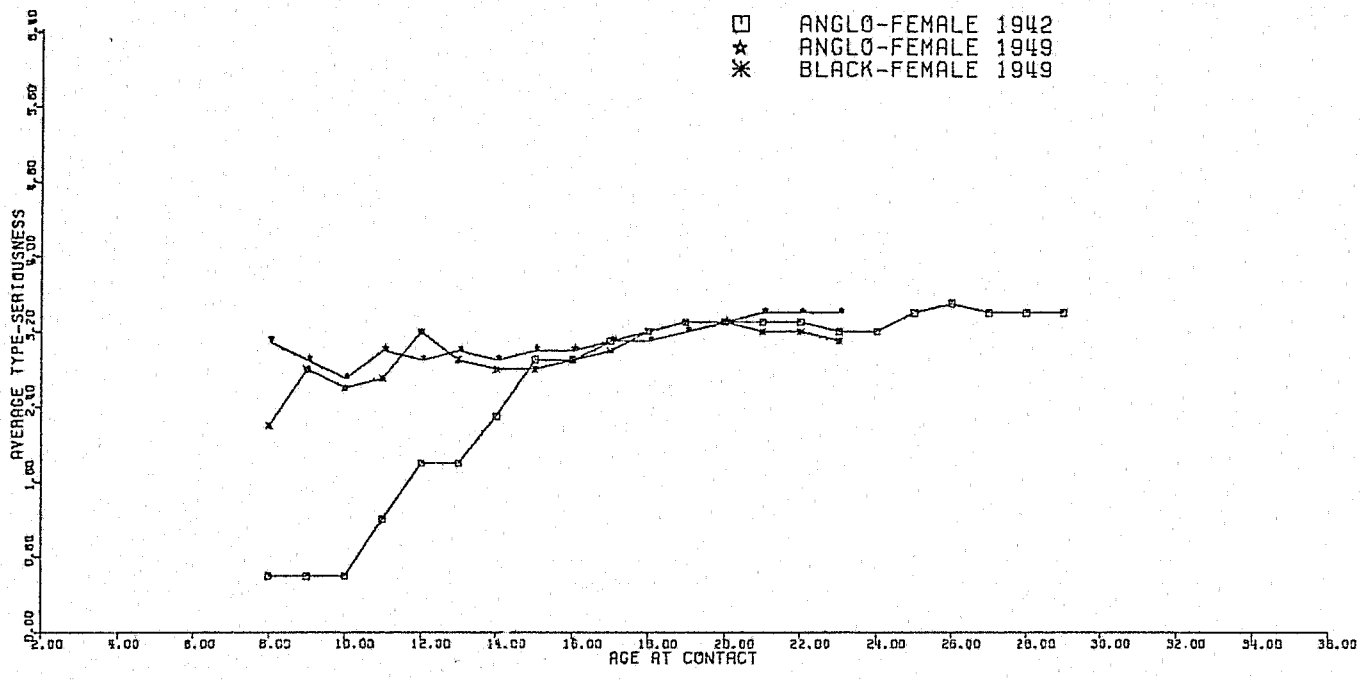


DIAGRAM 5: AVERAGE TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACT BY CONTACT NUMBER FOR SELECTED RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS : FIVE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES

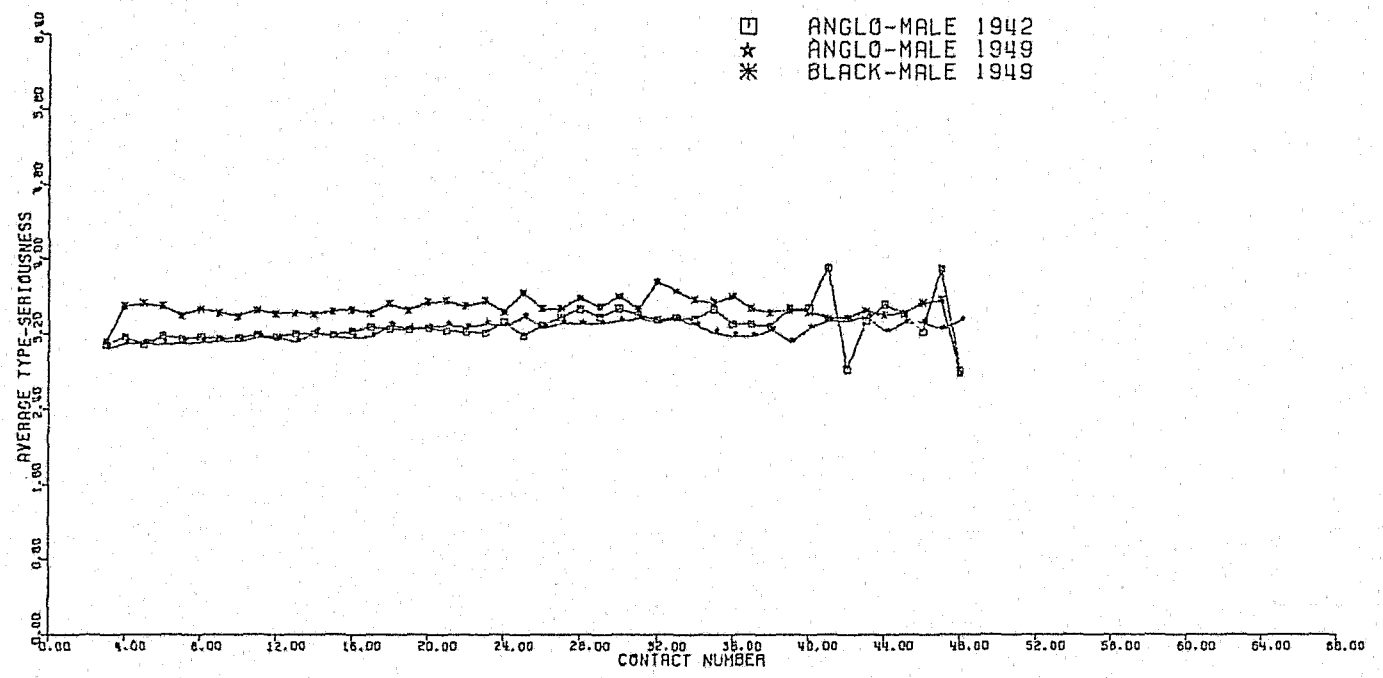
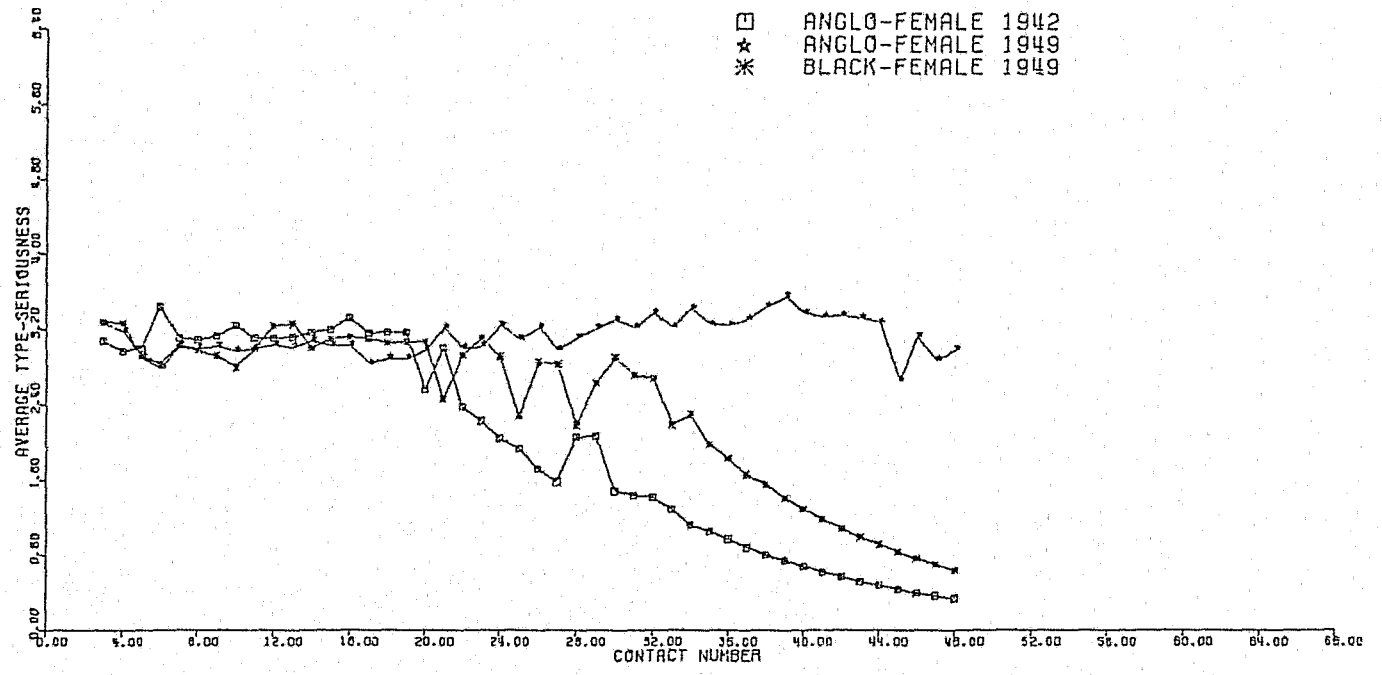


DIAGRAM 6: AVERAGE TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF POLICE CONTACT BY CONTACT NUMBER FOR SELECTED RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS : FIVE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES



is the composition of institutions determined by race/ethnic images upon which police and persons at every step in the juvenile and adult justice systems base their decisions to take formal rather than informal action? Isn't it possible that each step adds an increment of Nonwhites (although perhaps not statistically significant) to those who will be considered at the next stage of the process?

In a previous report we have shown that referral rates were disproportionately high for Blacks in both cohorts. At that time we did not look at referral rates by place of residence at time of police contact, although we did find that referral rates tended to decline from the inner city outward on a basis of place of most frequent residence during the ages 6 through 17.

For the present discussion we prepared Table 48, showing the percent of contacts referred by race/ethnicity and sex by area of residence at time of referral for persons with continuous residence in Racine. Here we found some decline, moving from the poorest to the best residential areas, for males in both the 1942 and 1949 cohorts, but not for the females. In neither the case of the Blacks nor Chicanos, however was there any consistent decline in percent of contacts referred from inner city to areas further out. The only conclusion to be drawn from Table 48 is that area of contact has relatively little to do with percent of contacts referred.

Referral Rates by Seriousness of Reason for Contact, Race/Ethnicity, and Sex

We next turn to Table 49, in which the percent of those referred is shown by reason for contact, race/ethnicity, and sex. Here we find that while the percent of Black and Chicano males referred was higher than that for the Whites, this was not the case in every category in either cohort, even in the more serious categories. While the same data are presented for females, the smaller number of minority group females referred makes detailed comparison difficult. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the percentage referred does not systematically decline from most serious to least serious reasons for police contact for a single race/ethnic|sex group.

Table 50 shows the same data percentaged across, thus giving us the proportion of those referred for a given reason by race/ethnicity. While

TABLE 48. PERCENT OF CONTACTS REFERRED BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX AND NATURAL AREA OF RESIDENCE AT TIME OF REFERRAL FOR PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

Areas	1942								1949													
	Male						Female		Male								Female					
	White	N*	Black	N	Total	N	Total	N	White	N	Chicano	N	Black	N	Total	N	White	N	Black	N	Total	N
A	31.6	73	34.8	79	33.7	156	15.4	8	27.9	137	38.4	58	33.2	181	31.6	376	9.5	11	24.3	33	18.0	46
B	32.0	188	55.3	26	33.6	215	15.7	14	29.5	313	26.4	23	29.5	23	29.3	359	19.1	31	21.1	8	19.3	40
C	31.2	167	0.0	0	31.0	168	8.1	6	27.1	221	42.9	6	0.0	0	27.3	227	14.8	24	40.0	2	15.0	26
D	31.4	122	--	--	31.5	123	23.3	14	28.9	193	46.5	20	20.0	7	28.8	214	16.1	20	0.0	0	16.7	21
E	28.4	52	--	--	28.4	52	14.7	5	26.0	78	12.5	1	0.0	0	25.4	79	24.2	16	--	--	24.2	16

* N = Number referred; total refers to total for all race/ethnic groups.

TABLE 49. PERCENT OF POLICE CONTACTS REFERRED BY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY AMONG 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE, BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

	Male			Female		
	White	Chicano	Black	White	Chicana	Black
1942						
Felony Against Person	66.7	--	90.0	50.0	--	--
Felony Against Property	83.3	--	100.0	100.0	--	--
Major Misdemeanor	40.4	--	41.7	25.0	--	--
Minor Misdemeanor	56.2	70.0	56.0	40.0	50.0	0.0
Juvenile Condition	20.0	--	0.0	30.8	--	--
Suspicion or Investigation	0.9	0.0	2.2	0.0	--	0.0
TOTAL	31.6	53.8	39.3	17.3	50.0	0.0
1949						
Felony Against Person	64.1	83.3	76.9	36.8	--	0.0
Felony Against Property	78.5	75.0	74.4	50.0	--	100.0
Major Misdemeanor	41.3	44.0	33.7	29.2	50.0	35.3
Minor Misdemeanor	50.2	54.9	50.0	30.5	33.3	29.9
Juvenile Condition	20.2	33.3	14.3	31.3	100.0	55.0
Suspicion or Investigation	0.7	1.1	0.5	1.0	0.0	1.7
TOTAL	30.2	37.2	32.9	17.0	25.0	24.6

TABLE 50. RACE/ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS REFERRED BY SERIOUSNESS CATEGORY AMONG 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

	Male				Female			
	White	Chicano	Black	N*	White	Chicana	Black	N*
1942								
Felony Against Person	52.6	--	47.4	19	100.0	--	--	2
Felony Against Property	80.0	--	20.0	50	100.0	--	--	1
Major Misdemeanor	80.8	--	19.2	52	100.0	--	--	2
Minor Misdemeanor	86.3	1.2	12.5	600	97.7	2.3	0.0	43
Juvenile Condition	100.0	--	0.0	13	100.0	--	--	4
Suspicion or Investigation	80.0	0.0	20.0	10	0.0	--	0.0	0
TOTAL REFERRED	84.8	0.9	14.2	744	98.1	1.9	0.0	52
TOTAL CONTACTS	87.6	0.6	11.8	2280	95.5	0.6	3.9	309
1949								
Felony Against Person	62.5	12.5	25.0	40	100.0	--	0.0	7
Felony Against Property	72.9	4.3	22.9	140	50.0	--	50.0	4
Major Misdemeanor	73.0	7.2	19.7	152	50.0	7.1	42.9	14
Minor Misdemeanor	78.1	8.1	13.7	961	75.7	1.9	22.3	103
Juvenile Condition	78.9	12.3	8.8	57	55.6	3.7	40.7	27
Suspicion or Investigation	81.8	9.1	9.1	11	75.0	0.0	25.0	4
TOTAL REFERRED	76.6	7.9	15.4	1361	70.4	2.5	27.0	159
TOTAL CONTACTS	78.8	6.6	14.6	4387	77.5	1.9	20.6	848

N = Number of Contacts Referred.

Black males make up less than 15% of the contacts and only about 15% of those referred, they do contribute disproportionately to the percent referred for the most serious categories. The disproportionate contribution of Black females to the number referred does not follow such a clear pattern, although those in the 1949 cohort made up a disproportionate share of the referrals. One interesting male/female difference was the disproportionate contribution of Black females compared to Black males particularly the juvenile condition category.

Since our classification by seriousness is only one way to approach the problem, we have presented the data in another way in Tables 51 and 52. Here we again find higher percentages of the Black and Chicano males referred from both cohorts with the difference greater for traffic offenses than any other category. For the females in the 1949 cohort the Blacks are referred more frequently, the percentage being twice as great as that for White females in every category except the F.B.I. Part II types. Table 52 shows that the disproportional contribution of Black males to those referred (omitting suspicion or investigation because of the small numbers referred for this category) is greatest for the F.B.I. Part I offense categories, a function not only of differential referral rates but also of the proportion of these contacts generated by Blacks. For the females, Blacks contributed disproportionately to those referred for all except traffic offenses, but the real impact of their disproportional contribution is in the F.B.I. Part II category.

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

The Accumulation of Referrals by Persons with Multiple Contacts

One additional variable is added to the analysis in Tables 53 and 54, whether or not the persons who were referred had 1 contact, 2 to 4 contacts or 5 or more contacts. In each case the reason for referral has been dichotomized into traffic vs. non-traffic and non-felony vs. felony contacts.

TABLE 51. PERCENT OF POLICE CONTACTS REFERRED BY CONTACT TYPE AMONG 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE, BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

	Male			Female		
	White	Chicano	Black	White	Chicana	Black
1942						
Suspicion or Investigation	1.3	--	0.0	0.0	--	0.0
Traffic	44.3	83.3	65.9	58.3	--	0.0
F.B.I. Part I	51.1	--	63.6	37.5	--	--
F.B.I. Part II	28.0	33.3	28.4	20.5	50.0	0.0
TOTAL	31.7	50.0	39.0	9.5	50.0	0.0
1949						
Suspicion or Investigation	0.3	1.4	0.7	1.4	0.0	2.1
Traffic	47.3	64.2	55.4	27.1	16.7	57.7
F.B.I. Part I	51.2	54.5	44.2	11.8	50.0	28.6
F.B.I. Part II	28.9	40.7	35.8	16.9	33.3	26.1
TOTAL	30.5	37.2	33.1	17.1	25.0	24.4

TABLE 52. RACE/ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS REFERRED BY CONTACT TYPE AMONG 1942 AND 1949 COHORT MEMBERS WITH CONTINUOUS RACINE RESIDENCE, BY PERCENT

	Male				Female			
	White	Chicano	Black	N*	White	Chicana	Black	N*
1942								
Suspicion or Investigation	100.0	0.0	0.0	5	0.0	--	0.0	0
Traffic	85.5	1.1	13.4	449	100.0	--	0.0	7
F.B.I. Part I	76.4	--	23.6	89	100.0	--	--	3
F.B.I. Part II	86.9	1.0	12.1	206	94.7	5.3	0.0	19
TOTAL REFERRED	84.9	0.9	14.2	749	96.6	3.4	0.0	29
TOTAL CONTACTS	87.5	0.6	11.9	2293	95.5	0.6	3.9	309
1949								
Suspicion or Investigation	50.0	25.0	25.0	4	66.7	0.0	33.3	3
Traffic	83.4	5.6	11.0	608	80.0	1.3	18.8	80
F.B.I. Part I	71.0	7.3	21.6	245	28.6	14.3	57.1	7
F.B.I. Part II	72.2	10.3	17.4	533	64.3	2.9	32.9	70
TOTAL REFERRED	76.8	7.8	15.4	1390	70.6	2.5	26.9	160
TOTAL CONTACTS	78.9	6.5	14.6	4435	77.4	1.9	20.7	851

* N = Number of Contacts for Which Police Disposition Known.

TABLE 53. PERCENT OF PERSONS WITH GIVEN NUMBER OF CONTACTS FOR NON-TRAFFIC VS. TRAFFIC CONTACTS WHO HAVE HAD A REFERRAL BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX FOR PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	1 Contact		Recidivists (2-4)		Chronic (5 or +)	
	Non-Traffic	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Traffic	Non-Traffic	Traffic
1942						
White						
Males	10.5	5.3	17.6	39.8	59.1	79.6
Females	7.9	14.3	10.2	16.3	33.3	46.7
Black						
Males	--	--	--	--	83.3	75.0
Females	--	--	--	--	--	--
Chicano						
Males	--	--	--	--	--	--
Females	--	--	--	--	--	--
1949						
White						
Males	5.5	17.4	18.7	37.4	65.0	72.8
Females	2.3	15.8	19.8	18.8	46.4	64.3
Black						
Males	--	--	22.2	33.3	83.3	73.3
Females	--	--	--	11.1	57.1	42.9
Chicano						
Males	--	--	75.0	25.0	86.7	66.7
Females	--	--	50.0	--	--	--

TABLE 54. PERCENT OF PERSONS WITH GIVEN NUMBER OF CONTACTS FOR NON-FELONY VS. FELONY CONTACTS WHO HAVE HAD A REFERRAL BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX FOR PERSONS WITH CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN RACINE

	1 Contact		Recidivists (2-4)		Chronic (5 or +)	
	Non-Felony	Felony	Non-Felony	Felony	Non-Felony	Felony
1942						
White						
Males	15.8	--	50.0	1.9	89.8	21.9
Females	19.0	3.2	26.5	--	66.7	6.7
Black						
Males	--	--	--	--	91.7	58.3
Females	--	--	--	--	--	--
Chicano						
Males	--	--	--	--	--	--
Females	--	--	--	--	--	--
1949						
White						
Males	22.9	--	47.9	2.3	88.5	27.2
Females	17.3	0.8	34.4	3.1	78.6	17.9
Black						
Males	--	--	33.3	11.1	96.7	60.0
Females	--	--	11.1	--	78.6	7.1
Chicano						
Males	--	--	75.0	25.0	93.3	33.3
Females	--	--	50.0	--	--	--

In Table 53 we note that for both cohorts, the proportion of persons with a referral increases for the non-traffic category and the traffic category with the frequency of contacts for any reason. In other words, a larger proportion of the chronic offenders have had at least one of their contacts referred for both traffic or non-traffic offenses than those who have fewer contacts. While a larger percent of the chronic offenders have had a traffic referral (both White males and females) than a non-traffic referral, the opposite was found for Blacks and Chicanos. What we see here, as in previous tables in which frequency is utilized as a control variable, is a massing of contributions to the official records (referrals) by a relatively small number of chronic offenders, regardless of what they have done.

Table 54, while not presenting exactly the same pattern, does reveal that whether referrals are for non-felonies or for felonies, that proportion of persons with a referral increases in each race/ethnic|sex group with frequency of contact categories. The thing to particularly note in this table is the high proportion of Black males with 2 to 4 contacts who have had at least one referral, and further the high proportion with at least one felony referral. This table suggests, as we have so frequently stated before, that step by step the Black male is more frequently dealt with officially, particularly if he becomes a recognizable, well-known offender.

THE INTERVIEWS

Seriousness of Careers for Persons Interviewed vs. Not Interviewed

During the summer of 1976 we were able to interview 333 persons from the 1942 cohort and 556 from the 1949 cohort. Our August 1977 progress report described some of the major findings from these interviews and concluded that interview data could be utilized in maximizing the correctness of predictions of which juveniles would have police contacts as adults.

We did not, at that time, present any data to indicate whether or not those who were interviewed did or did not have police contact records similar to those who were not interviewed. Tables 55 and 56 are based on the data from the 1942 cohort for Whites, males and females, and the Black

TABLE 55. SELECTED INDICATORS OF SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS AMONG 1942 COHORT MEMBERS INTERVIEWED IN 1976 COMPARED WITH NON-INTERVIEWED COHORT MEMBERS

	White		Black	Total	
	M	F	M	M	F
Juvenile 6-17					
Mean Seriousness:					
Persons Interviewed					
With Contacts	9.34	2.59	4.00	9.64	3.39
In Cohort	5.28	.47	.80	5.28	.64
Not Interviewed					
With Contacts	9.23	4.32	9.00	9.22	4.28
In Cohort	5.18	.83	7.20	5.24	.84
Intermediate 18-20					
Mean Seriousness:					
Persons Interviewed					
With Contacts	5.23	2.36	2.00	5.73	2.83
In Cohort	2.23	.37	.60	2.59	.48
Not Interviewed					
With Contacts	5.93	3.47	7.22	6.04	3.44
In Cohort	2.66	.40	6.50	2.82	.42
Adult 21+					
Mean Seriousness:					
Persons Interviewed					
With Contacts	6.67	3.94	15.57	9.73	5.34
In Cohort	4.05	1.30	10.90	6.13	1.88
Not Interviewed					
With Contacts	9.37	4.03	35.33	10.75	4.11
In Cohort	6.87	1.02	31.80	7.98	1.05
Total					
Mean Seriousness:					
Persons Interviewed					
With Contacts	13.64	4.19	15.38	16.29	5.74
In Cohort	11.57	2.15	12.30	14.01	3.00
Not Interviewed					
With Contacts	17.59	5.48	45.50	18.99	5.52
In Cohort	14.71	2.25	45.50	16.04	2.31

TABLE 56. SELECTED INDICATORS OF SERIOUSNESS OF CAREERS AMONG 1949 COHORT MEMBERS INTERVIEWED IN 1976 COMPARED WITH NON-INTERVIEWED COHORT MEMBERS

	White		Chicano		Black		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Juvenile 6-17								
Mean Seriousness:								
Persons Interviewed								
With Contacts	9.93	3.75	16.00	3.86	21.23	9.42	11.77	4.62
In Cohort	6.17	.98	12.24	1.35	14.59	4.04	7.51	1.32
Not Interviewed								
With Contacts	11.38	4.22	27.38	3.00	17.61	4.90	12.14	4.28
In Cohort	6.87	1.08	24.33	1.00	15.85	3.27	7.53	1.18
Intermediate 18-20								
Mean Seriousness:								
Persons Interviewed								
With Contacts	5.35	4.15	5.33	4.00	13.42	7.42	6.77	4.71
In Cohort	2.40	.96	2.82	.80	10.06	3.18	3.30	1.17
Not Interviewed								
With Contacts	5.72	2.79	16.25	2.00	14.53	5.67	6.56	2.99
In Cohort	2.76	.68	14.44	1.33	10.90	2.27	3.29	.76
Adult 21+								
Mean Seriousness:								
Persons Interviewed								
With Contacts	5.19	5.84	8.00	5.50	24.54	11.33	8.21	6.98
In Cohort	2.91	.97	6.12	1.65	18.41	4.86	4.89	1.41
Not Interviewed								
With Contacts	7.32	4.04	24.00	2.00	16.63	2.29	8.36	3.84
In Cohort	3.31	.98	16.00	1.33	13.30	1.07	3.93	.98
Total								
Mean Seriousness:								
Persons Interviewed								
With Contacts	13.83	5.90	24.00	6.33	45.93	18.78	18.56	7.56
In Cohort	11.48	2.91	21.18	3.80	43.06	12.07	15.70	3.90
Not Interviewed								
With Contacts	16.35	5.39	54.78	3.67	42.16	9.00	18.40	5.59
In Cohort	12.94	2.73	54.78	3.67	40.05	6.60	14.75	2.92

males, and from the 1949 cohort for males and females of all groups (these groups had sufficiently large numbers of persons with a range of contacts to make comparison reasonable). Perusal of the mean seriousness scores for persons interviewed and not interviewed, those with contacts and those for the entire cohort, shows little difference in mean seriousness scores between those interviewed and not interviewed for the Whites in either cohort, age period by age period, although the differences did build up for total careers for the White males from both cohorts so that for the total those who were not interviewed did have somewhat more serious scores than did those who were. Differences between those interviewed and not interviewed were quite marked among the Chicano males, suggesting that even with the relatively small numbers involved we cannot consider the Chicano interviews to be representative of Chicanos in the cohort (this is not a real problem as far as the overall objectives of the study are concerned, however, since they make up a small proportion of those who were interviewed). Similarly, Black males from the 1942 cohort who were not interviewed had higher seriousness scores than did Blacks who were. For the 1949 cohort most Black differences were in the opposite direction, with those who were interviewed having higher mean seriousness scores than those who were not. When the totals for the 1942 and 1949 cohorts are examined, it is safe to conclude that there is little difference in seriousness scores between those interviewed and those who were not interviewed.

Police Records vs. Mention of Police Contacts

Assuming that those who were interviewed were fairly representative of the total cohorts in terms of their police contact records, the next question to be considered is the extent to which respondents fully answered questions about their police contacts. While we presented a series of tables in the August 1977 progress report dealing with how respondents perceived what they were doing at the time that police contacted them and what they said the police accused them of doing, none of these tables enabled us to compare police records *per se* with what respondents reported. Tackling the latter problem consumed considerable time but the results may now be reported.

We commenced by comparing the number of police contacts that respondents stated they had had before they were 18 with the number of contacts that were found in the police records for each respondent before the age of 18. The results are shown in Table 57. More than half of each race/ethnic|sex group responded correctly and most of those who erred stated that they had contacts when they did not have a record of contacts at the police station. Less than 10% of the Whites had a record but denied having contacts for the period in question. Black females and Chicano males in the 1949 cohort were the only groups with more than 20% who had recorded contacts but admitted none. We therefore concluded that there was no real overall problem in terms of reluctance of respondents to admit having police contacts. Table 58 approaches the problem in a slightly different fashion, comparing the number of contacts which respondents described in the interview with the number which they said they had had. Most people described the number that they said that they had or fewer, as would be expected, with males more likely to describe fewer than the females.

All of this was, of course, simply preliminary to our goal of matching contacts described with the same contacts found in police records. While this was time-consuming, a series of computer print-outs facilitated the matching process. Tables 59 and 60 present the number of contacts matched and unmatched by seriousness, and reveal that while it was possible to match or probably match 115 police records of contacts by respondents and respondents' descriptions of their police contacts, there were more than that number (158) described in the interviews that could not be matched in official police records for the 1942 cohort. While there were 267 contacts in the police records that were not described by respondents, this was expected because the typical interviewee, when asked about police contacts ("Tell me about the ones you remember best."), could only remember a few well enough to describe them and there were some respondents who had dozens of official police contacts. For the 1949 cohort 270 contacts were matched or probably matched with police records of these contacts while there were 280 described but not matched with police records. Again, while there were 684 contacts in the police records that were not described in the interviews, this was not unexpected. The

TABLE 57. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESPONDENT'S ADMISSION OF POLICE CONTACTS AND POLICE RECORD OF CONTACTS BY PERCENT

	White		Chicano		Black	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1942 Cohort						
No Police Record and No Admitted Contacts	15.2	58.2	50.0	50.0	--	80.0
Police Record but Admits No Contacts	8.3	7.0	--	12.5	10.0	10.0
Admits Contacts but No Police Record	28.3	23.4	--	25.0	30.0	--
Police Record and Admits Contacts	48.3	11.4	50.0	12.5	60.0	10.0
	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	145	158	2	8	10	10
1949 Cohort						
No Police Record and No Admitted Contacts	13.5	45.4	--	60.0	15.6	46.4
Police Record but Admitted No Contacts	7.4	9.6	23.5	10.0	18.8	32.1
Admits Contacts but No Police Record	24.3	28.4	23.5	5.0	15.6	10.7
Police Record and Admits Contacts	54.8	16.6	52.9	25.0	50.0	10.7
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9
N =	230	229	17	20	32	28

TABLE 58. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF TIMES THAT RESPONDENTS SAID THEY WERE STOPPED BY POLICE BEFORE AGE 18 AND NUMBER OF CONTACTS THAT THEY DESCRIBED IN INTERVIEW

Contacts Described	White		Chicano		Black	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1942 Cohort						
Fewer	40.5	14.5	--	--	22.2	--
Same	54.1	83.6	100.0	100.0	66.7	100.0
More	.9	1.8	--	--	11.1	--
Not Ascertained	4.5	--	--	--	--	--
	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	111	55	1	3	9	1
1949 Cohort						
Fewer	34.1	16.5	46.2	--	33.3	--
Same	64.3	80.6	53.8	100.0	66.7	100.0
More	1.1	2.9	--	--	--	--
Not Ascertained	.5	--	--	--	--	--
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	182	103	13	6	21	6

TABLE 59. SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS DESCRIBED THAT WERE MATCHED WITH CONTACTS IN POLICE RECORDS COMPARED WITH SERIOUSNESS OF DESCRIBED AND RECORDED POLICE CONTACTS NOT MATCHED: 1942 COHORT

	White				Chicano				Black				Total							
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male				Female			
	C[2]	P[3]	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	%	P	%	C	%	P	%
Contacts Matched																				
Sure																				
Serious[1]	2	(2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.0	(2)	3.8	-	-	-	-
Non-Serious	58	(44)	13	(12)	-	-	-	-	7	(6)	2	(1)	65	97.0	(50)	96.2	15	100.0	(13)	100.0
Probable																				
Serious	4	(3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	14.3	(3)	12.0	-	-	-	-
Non-Serious	22	(20)	4	(4)	-	-	1	(1)	2	(2)	-	-	24	85.7	(22)	88.0	5	100.0	(5)	100.0
Contacts Not Matched																				
Described																				
Serious	5	(4)	-	-	-	-	1	(1)	-	-	-	-	5	4.9	(4)	5.3	1	1.8	(1)	2.2
Non-Serious	88	(66)	54	(44)	1	(1)	1	(1)	8	(5)	-	-	97	95.1	(72)	94.7	55	98.2	(45)	97.8
Official																				
Serious	10	(7)	-	-	-	-	3	(1)	1	(1)	-	-	11	4.7	(8)	11.8	3	9.7	(1)	4.8
Non-Serious	210	(56)	23	(17)	-	-	4	(2)	15	(4)	1	(1)	225	95.3	(60)	88.2	28	90.3	(20)	95.2
People																				
All Police Record Contacts Match All Contacts Described	9		8		-		-		-		1		9				9			
All Police Contacts Described Match Police Records	41		10		-		1		4		1		45				12			
Had at Least One Match of Records and Contacts Described[4]	57		15		-		1		6		1		63				17			

[1] Serious contacts consist of felonies against property (Burglary, theft, auto theft, forgery, fraud, & violent property destruction) and felonies against person (robbery, assault, sex offenses, drugs, homicide, traffic, escapee & suicide).

[2] C = Number of contacts.

[3] P = Number of persons to whom contacts apply; persons may be in more than one category.

[4] Sure or probable matches.

TABLE 60. SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS DESCRIBED THAT WERE MATCHED WITH CONTACTS IN POLICE RECORDS COMPARED WITH SERIOUSNESS OF DESCRIBED AND RECORDED POLICE CONTACTS NOT MATCHED: 1949 COHORT

	White				Chicano				Black				Total							
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male				Female			
	C[2]	P[3]	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	%	P	%	C	%	P	%
Contacts Matched																				
Sure																				
Serious	8	(7)	-	-	1	(1)	-	-	1	(1)	-	-	10	6.1	(9)	8.0	-	-	-	-
Non-Serious	125	(88)	27	(21)	11	(6)	5	(3)	18	(10)	3	(3)	154	93.9	(104)	92.0	35	100.0	(27)	100.0
Probable																				
Serious	1	(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.8	(1)	2.1	-	-	-	-
Non-Serious	39	(36)	16	(16)	7	(4)	-	-	8	(7)	-	-	54	98.2	(47)	97.9	16	100.0	(16)	100.0
Contacts Not Matched																				
Described																				
Serious	8	(8)	1	(1)	1	(1)	-	-	4	(3)	-	-	13	7.7	(12)	9.7	1	0.9	(1)	1.1
Non-Serious	144	(104)	102	(82)	6	(4)	4	(4)	6	(4)	4	(3)	156	92.3	(112)	90.3	110	99.1	(89)	98.9
Official																				
Serious	19	(14)	2	(2)	3	(1)	-	-	14	(6)	-	-	36	6.1	(21)	14.0	2	2.1	(2)	3.9
Non-Serious	358	(101)	68	(37)	66	(10)	5	(4)	129	(18)	20	(8)	553	93.9	(129)	86.0	93	97.9	(49)	96.1
People																				
All Police Record Contacts Match All Contacts Described	13		9		2		2		1		-		16				11			
All Police Contacts Described Match Police Contacts	73		21		9		2		14		2		96				25			
Had at Least One Match of Records and Contacts Described[4]	109		35		9		3		15		3		133				41			

[1] Serious contacts consist of felonies against property (Burglary, theft, auto theft, forgery, fraud, & violent property destruction) and felonies against person (robbery, assault, sex offenses, drugs, homicide, traffic, escapee & suicide).

[2] C = Number of contacts.

[3] P = Number of persons to whom contacts apply; persons may be in more than one category.

[4] Sure or probable matches.

discrepancies in terms of contacts described but not found in police records could be accounted for, most likely, by respondents' faulty memories of the ages at which they had a police contact or the reasons for the contacts, both differing so markedly from police records that a match was not possible or even probable.

Turning from contacts to people, the inadequate, and in fact difficult, recall problem becomes even clearer. Here we find that while good matches were made on the careers of 33% of the 1942 and 39% of the 1949 cohort members who were interviewed, some matches of interview and police record data could be made for 68% of those from the 1942 cohort and 85% of those from the 1949 cohort. This suggests that an analysis of how people responded to their contacts with the police based on the answers to questions about these contacts may well be made for these subgroups, consisting of 155 and 322 persons from the 1942 and 1949 cohorts.

Self-concept and Perception of Others as Delinquent or Criminal

One section of the interview was devoted to self-concept as delinquent or criminal, age period by age period. Respondents were requested to choose a number from 1 to 7, one being non-delinquent and 7 being highly delinquent or criminal, which they thought best described themselves at each period. They were also requested to select a number which represented how they thought their parents, their teachers, their friends, and the police thought of them during each of the age periods. In our August 1977 report we described how self and police scores were correlated with each of the measures of delinquency and crime for each age period for males and females from both cohorts, indicating that both self-concepts and notions of what the police thought about respondents correlated quite highly with some measures during some age periods. We did not, however, mention the race/ethnic differences in responses to this series of questions at that time. Table 61 shows that the average self-concept was non-delinquent for all groups at all age periods but with Chicano males generally rating themselves as more delinquent than Whites, and generally believing that others had a more delinquent image of them than did the Whites. While this was true for Blacks from the 1942 cohort, Black males from the 1949 cohort generally rated themselves the same or less delinquent than the Whites until the age 21 or older period. There was

TABLE 61. PERCEPTION OF SELF AND PERCEPTION OF HOW OTHERS LOOK AT YOU AS DELINQUENT OR CRIMINAL: MEAN SCORES BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX

Age Period	MALES					FEMALES					
	1942*		1949			1942			1949		
	White	Black	White	Chicano	Black	White	Chicana	Black	White	Chicana	Black
Before 14											
Self	1.7	2.3	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3
Parents	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.0	1.4	1.3	1.8	1.4
Teachers	1.7	2.5	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.5
Friends	1.9	2.7	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.2	1.5	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.4
Police	1.4	1.6	1.4	2.6	2.0	1.1	--*	1.0	1.0	--	1.2
14-17											
Self	2.2	1.9	2.4	2.8	1.9	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.1	1.5
Parents	1.9	1.8	2.2	2.4	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.7	2.0	1.5
Teachers	2.1	2.5	2.4	2.7	1.9	1.3	1.6	1.3	1.5	2.0	1.5
Friends	2.3	2.7	2.4	2.8	1.9	1.5	2.7	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.5
Police	1.8	2.1	2.0	3.5	2.4	1.1	--	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.4
18-20											
Self	1.7	1.6	2.1	2.1	2.1	1.3	2.2	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.4
Parents	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.8	2.5	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.5	1.4	1.3
Teachers	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.1	--	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.2
Friends	1.7	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.0	1.2	1.7	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.5
Police	1.5	2.6	1.9	2.5	2.5	1.1	--	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.1
21 & Older											
Self	1.3	2.0	1.5	1.9	1.8	1.2	2.0	1.8	1.3	1.5	1.3
Friends	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.9	2.1	1.2	2.0	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.3
Police	1.2	2.8	1.4	2.3	2.8	1.0	--	1.4	1.1	1.3	1.1

* Too few cases of Chicano males in 1942 or (--) too few cases checking specific item.

less race/ethnic difference for the females and females almost always saw themselves and thought that others saw them as less delinquent or criminal than did the males.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

We have completed a series of multiple regression analyses utilizing representative variables from the interview schedule in an effort to evaluate the utility of combining them with police contact data for earlier periods in order to predict police contact records at later periods, 18 through 20, and 21 or older. In each case we have utilized only those variables which represented conditions or behavior antecedent to the police contact record period to be predicted. Predictions were made for each cohort and independently for males and females of each cohort. Since there is some difference of opinion as to which of several regression routines is best for this prediction problem, we have used both the SPSS and the SAS programs. Differences in both the proportion of variance in seriousness of career scores and the weight of variables were obtained.

The lengthy discussion of the relationship of felonies vs. non-felonies and traffic vs. non-traffic offenses to the number of contacts that a person has had led us to the conclusion that we should utilize the multiple discriminant function technique in order to determine its effectiveness in predicting whether a person will have no contacts, 1 contact, 2 to 4 contacts, or 5 or more contacts at each stage of his or her career, particularly as an adult. Preliminary analyses indicate that this approach will enable us to markedly improve predictive efficiency. We shall, of course, utilize the multiple discriminate function in improving our efficiency in predicting categories of seriousness scores for each age period if it continues to be as efficient an approach as it now appears.

At the same time that the multiple factor analyses are being conducted in Iowa City, work is proceeding apace in Racine. Checks on the court records of the 1942 and 1949 cohorts are being completed. The careers of parents whose children have had 13 or more contacts are being coded. The police contact records of persons in the 1955 cohort are being coded. Their court records are being coded, as are their parents' records. These

materials are in turn being sent to Iowa City week by week where additional in-house coding and checks are being completed prior to key-punching. The single most complex coding job, it might be added, involves coding court sanctions for actions brought to court with a step-by-step summary of sanctions which will enable us to determine their step-by-step and cumulative effectiveness for anyone in each of the cohorts who has ever been referred.

At this point, our day-to-day perusal of the data in the process of coding makes the effectiveness of police, courts, and institutions very questionable while completing school, getting a job, marriage, and achieving status in the community seem to result in most persons ceasing to have contact with the police.

END