IOWA URBAN COMMUNITY RESEARCH CENTER

"Scientific Social Research that Counts"

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIOUS CRIMINAL CAREERS AND THE DELINQUENT NEIGHBORHOOD

REVISED AND EXPANDED FINAL REPORT

National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Grant Number 82-JN-AX-0004

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA · IOWA CITY, IOWA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIOUS CRIMINAL CAREERS AND THE DELINQUENT NEIGHBORHOOD

LYLE W. SHANNON

Iowa Urban Community Research Center
University of Iowa

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

Prepared under Grant Number 82-JN-AX-0004.
Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the United States Department of Justice.

The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood

Lyle W. Shannon

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Understanding how serious delinquent and criminal careers develop and continue is a prerequisite to planning programs for effective delinquency prevention and crime control. The findings from two earlier longitudinal birth cohort studies are summarized as an introduction to more intensive analysis of the processes which generate continuities in delinquent and criminal behavior.[1] These studies revealed that the areas in which juveniles were socialized played an important role in how the justice system responded to their behavior and they in turn either desisted from further delinquency or continued into serious adult misbehavior.

Since the emphasis in the second study was at the ecological rather than the individual level, it was decided that more extensive analysis of the official records and interviews with cohort members should be made in order to ascertain the impact of milieu on the generation of delinquency, continuities in delinquency and crime, and official societal reaction to delinquency and crime. Although block data had been aggregated into larger ecological units (natural areas, census tracts,

---

[1] See Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers, 1980, NIJJDP and The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City, 1981, NIJ.

police grid areas, and neighborhoods), only neighborhoods would be sufficiently homogeneous for a definitive test of milieu effects.

Each of the 65 neighborhoods selected as spatial units for analysis was categorized according to its Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics (DCP), In-Area Offense Rates, By-Residence Offense Rates, Juvenile Delinquency Rates, and Adult Crime Rates. While these measures were not completely independent, neither were they completely congruent. Various techniques of classification produced a series of multi-celled tables into which neighborhoods were placed, cells which contained neighborhoods that had been classified as High DCP and High Offense Rate and those at the opposite extreme, as well as some neighborhoods which were classified as relatively high on one variable but not the other.

Individual careers for the juvenile and adult periods were also characterized in a variety of ways, as was the relationship of earlier to later behavior of cohort members. Responses of representatives of the justice system, as measured by dispositions of police contacts and sanctions administered by the courts, were included as part of the chain of experiences which produced diverse offense and intervention types. Beyond analyses of the relationship of measures of delinquency, crime, career types, and intervention types of individual cohort members to each other within different types of neighborhood milieus, some ecological analyses are also presented, i.e., analyses in which

statistics for individuals are aggregated to the neighborhood level. The latter are discussed in a guarded fashion because the ecological fallacy has been long recognized as productive of findings which do not necessarily apply to all individuals in each spatial unit.

Before summarizing the findings a brief digression must be made in order that the reader be aware of the framework in which we have evaluated the results of this research. It is easy to find statistically significant relationships between independent and dependent variables. They are always present at the ecological level because social phenomena are spatially distributed in urban areas and one social phenomenon is related to another. Literally hundreds and hundreds of studies have shown this commencing in the 1920s. Not only have we found statistically significant relationships of the same order as those found by other sociologists, we have also shown that over 95% of the variation in delinquency and crime rates in neighborhoods during the 1970s can be accounted for by their demographic characteristics and prior delinquency and crime rates (1950s and 1960s). Research of this nature has not only made it evident that community resources should be focused on the inner city and interstitial areas but has also revealed that unsophisticated attempts to control delinquency and crime may result in what we have termed "the hardening of the inner city." This has become one of our major concerns.

But ecological studies are only the beginning. These studies do not describe the processes by which juveniles come to engage in delinquent behavior, sometimes continue into adult crime, or how decisions are made to deal with them officially. But, as we have said, they do suggest that the nature of the neighborhood plays a powerful role in generating delinquency and crime and how the community responds to it.

Also useful, but not as valuable as some researchers have believed, are studies which ascertain the nature of high-risk categories of youth or adults, categories that may have an ecological component but which specify the demographic and social characteristics of groups with high delinquency and crime rates. These studies enable us to "predict" that persons with certain characteristics have a higher probability of engaging in delinquent and criminal behavior than others. Although this research may enable us to predict that persons placed in groups with specified characteristics will have high delinquency and crime rates, that is not enough. Accounting for differential group rates and continuities in delinquency and crime in categories of people constitutes just another step in the almost unending search for answers.

But we must push the enterprise even further, we must attempt to discern how delinquency and crime are generated within types of spatial units whose milieus have been operationally defined as more or less likely to produce delinquency and crime and continuities in delinquency and crime. Or, if we are placing

people in groups based on combinations of their ecological and demographic characteristics, we must determine how delinquent behavior develops and how society reacts to it with differing consequences within these groups. The ultimate test of our understanding of the delinquency process is the ability to account for or to predict individual behavior within operationally defined groups. We know that there is no simple explanation for delinquency and crime per se.

Turning back to the findings from the analyses described in this lengthy report, we concluded that significant milieu effects (Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and neighborhood In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rates) were present in the development of serious delinquent and criminal careers and in the severity of sanctions administered to cohort members (offense and intervention types) but that they account for relatively small amounts of the variance in consistency and continuity in individual official careers. That measures of the seriousness of officially recorded delinquent and criminal careers, self-reported seriousness, and disproportional intervention as represented by offense seriousness/intervention scores were far higher in the inner city and interstitial neighborhoods than in others was not as important as the fact that consistency and continuity in these measures had considerably less relationship to milieu differences. While consistency and continuity were present in the inner city neighborhoods, they were found in some other neighborhoods with quite different characteristics. When

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

When the neighborhoods of socialization of cohort members were aggregated into inner city vs. other types of neighborhoods and partitioned according to race/ethnicity and sex, with interview-obtained variables (29 variables were reduced to 16 in preliminary analyses) such as failure to graduate from high school, juvenile friends in trouble with the police, and access to an automobile while in high school, significant amounts of the variance in official seriousness, self-report seriousness, and offense seriousness/intervention scores were accounted for (multiple regression) at the juvenile level, more for the inner city males, White or Non-White, and other neighborhood males, less for each of their female counterparts. Even more of the variance in adult measures of crime were accounted for when juvenile scores were added as independent variables.

In terms of process, the fact that the standardized estimates that were significant varied from group to group suggested that the chain of experiences through which juveniles acquired a given level of official seriousness, self-report seriousness, and offense seriousness/intervention scores, had only limited group to group similarity. Unstandardized estimates indicated that the size of the effects of the independent

variables on measures of delinquency and crime were quite different across groups.

Where did this leave us? Certainly with the conclusion that the process of becoming delinquent is complex, that it differs by sex, type of neighborhood, and race/ethnicity. This is not new. Since the day that sociologists ceased to concentrate their efforts on the study of the male or White male, since it became apparent that patterns of delinquency and crime had complex variation from group to group, explanations have become more diversified. Attempts to prevent or control delinquency must take this into account. While it may appear to the casual observer that sociologists are in complete disagreement in their explanations of the genesis of delinquency and crime, much of this can be attributed to the fact that different studies apply to different types of juveniles and adults. Only a few have utilized police contact, referral, and court sanctions data for birth cohorts so as to include the entire range of delinquent and criminal behavior for different types of people during their years of risk from age 6 into adulthood. More limited samples have produced sample-related findings.

If resources are scarce then they must not only be directed at high-risk groups in manipulable settings but we must recognize that the same strategy may not be best for different high-risk groups. Some aspects of the social environment may not be readily changed given the organization of society. But we can modify the school system and we may be able to provide jobs for

those for whom lack of jobs has its effect on delinquency rates. For example, we can experimentally work on school retention programs and attempt to develop better links between school and work. But we must not conclude that jobs in themselves reduce delinquency and crime when it is apparent that early work has different effects on different groups. What does a job mean and what does it permit? We must realize that what makes for integration into the larger society differs from group to group within the same milieu, just as the exclusionary process appears to be working differently from group to group, within and between milieus (less explained variance for offense seriousness/intervention scores).

The reader who is most concerned with how the characteristics of juveniles appear to be mediated by neighborhood milieu may wish to commence his/her reading of this report on page 144 with Chapter 12, A Last Look at Intervention and Sanctions.

Since our primary concern is with milieu effects on the experiences of individuals, and with whether or not these effects are substantial, we are now continuing the analysis with the reaction of the justice system to each of thousands of police contacts by the characteristics of individuals, their prior experiences, and the milieu in which the event took place. Rather than considering juvenile and adult careers of males, females, Whites, and Non-Whites, inner city vs. other residents, the experiences of actors with past behavior and consequences are

examined event by event. This will enable us to deal more effectively with the problem of small Ns and facilitate the development of a more precise model of the juvenile and adult judicial process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood

Lyle W. Shannon

Chapter 1. Review of the Racine Studies

INTRODUCTION

This research on the relationship of serious criminal careers to delinquent neighborhoods and juvenile involvement in the justice system stems from the findings of two earlier projects. The first project utilized data from three birth cohorts (1942, 1949, and 1955 totalling 6,127 males and females, of whom 4,079 had continuous residence in Racine) in an assessment of the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult criminal careers. The second project followed from it and consisted of an analysis of the relationship of juvenile delinquency and adult crime to the changing ecological structure of the city.[1]

Work on the second project was facilitated by the fact that offense and place of residence had been coded by blocks so that the data could be aggregated into any type of area or configuration of space desired. This provided a basis for describing the changing relationship of delinquency and crime to the ecological structure of the city on a cohort to cohort basis. These findings were of such importance that further ecological analyses were deemed necessary as the next step in a systematic exploitation of the data. This project also had a strong methodological thrust in that four spatial systems were utilized

(census tracts, police grid areas, natural areas, and neighborhoods) in order to determine whether change in the ecological structure was a more powerful determinant of delinquency and crime rates or change in delinquency and crime rates was a more powerful determinant of ecological structure. (The interrelationship of the four spatial systems is described in Appendix A.) We concluded that the smaller, relatively homogeneous neighborhoods comprised the best spatial system for further research, particularly that which dealt with the development of serious offender careers.

Although our earlier research on the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult crime has taught us much about the serious offender and has led to the conclusion that understanding how these careers develop is a prerequisite to planning programs for effectively dealing with the problem, we did not intensively analyze those members from each cohort whose careers developed in high delinquency and crime neighborhoods. Such an analysis would contrast these serious offenders with serious offenders from other neighborhoods and both groups of serious offenders with non-serious offenders from both types of neighborhoods in Racine.[2] While juveniles and adults may be placed on a continuum in terms of the seriousness of their careers and neighborhoods may be placed on a continuum of types and have been in the various analyses, they were often referred to as though they were dichotomies.

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS FINDINGS

Concentration vs. Dispersion of Police Contacts Among Cohort Members

A brief overview of the findings from earlier analyses of the three Racine birth cohorts described in Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers should set the stage for a description of the analyses that we have just completed as part of our continuing systematic utilization of the Racine data in an effort to obtain a better understanding of the serious offender.

The first point that must be established is that although delinquency and crime are widely dispersed throughout the city (prevalence), there are many offenses in some areas (high incidence) and in these areas there are a disproportionate number of serious offenders. These are not new findings but they have not previously been generated from birth cohorts whose records have been available for lengthy periods of time. Furthermore, the birth cohort data are accompanied by offense and arrest data for the entire city, some data sets covering a period of 30 years (1948 to 1978), as described in The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City. These data produce similar temporal and spatial patterns of prevalence and incidence.

To be more explicit about the earlier findings we shall first summarize those which indicate the extent to which delinquency and crime are dispersed throughout the community.

Of those persons with continuous residence in Racine, 68% of the 1942 Cohort and 69% of the 1949 Cohort had one or more police contacts between the ages of 6 and the cut-off date of May 31, 1974. At that time persons in the 1942 Cohort were 33 years of age and those in the 1949 Cohort were 26. Although persons in the 1955 Cohort were only 21 years of age at the time of their cut-off date, September 1, 1977, 59% already had at least one police contact.

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

Over half of those interviewed (53.2% of the 1942 Cohort and 59.6% of the 1949 Cohort) stated that they had been stopped by the police before the age of 18 for doing something wrong or something the police suspected was wrong, but only 37.5% and 48.0% had ever had their contacts recorded by the police. Of those who reported being stopped by the police, about 45% of each cohort previously had only one incident of this nature and almost 70% had reported being stopped only once or twice before the age of 18. About 60% of those interviewed indicated that their

contact(s) with the police had been around the age of 16 or 17. So, just as our official data have shown, relatively few began to have contacts with the police at an early age and most police contacts took place around the age of 16 or 17.

Another line of questioning dealt with misbehavior before the age of 18 which did not result in being caught by the police. Over 66.4% and 69.6% stated that they had done things before they were 18 for which they could have been caught by the police. When asked what things they did, Liquor violations headed the list followed by Theft and Disorderly conduct. When the persons who were stopped by the police or who had engaged in undetected behavior (by their own accounts) are combined, they add up to well over 90% participation in youthful misbehavior of one type or another for the males and 65% to 70% for the females.

Nevertheless, few continued to get into trouble after age 18 and even fewer were involved in serious trouble after 18. Among those who had been both stopped by the police and had done things for which they could have been caught (the group that would be hypothesized most likely to continue their misbehavior into adulthood), only 10.6% of the 1942 Cohort and 13.9% of the 1949 Cohort had a major misdemeanor or felony police contact after the age of 18. Only 5.3% and 8.1% had a felony police contact after that age. Although most of those who were caught and most of those who were not caught stated that they had reappraised their behavior and ceased to engage in the acts which either got them or could have gotten them into trouble, there still appears to be

a select group of individuals who may be defined as serious offenders.

Concentration vs. Dispersion By Place of Contact and Place of Residence

To better understand patterns of concentration and dispersion, we must examine the places at which people have had police contacts in reference to their places of residence at the time of contact. In the case of Blacks from the 1942 Cohort, for example, 49.4% of the police contacts for those who were residents of Subarea 1 occurred in Subarea 1 and 59.4% of the contacts of those who were residents of Subarea 2 occurred in Subarea 2. For the 1949 Cohort 42.0% of the contacts for Blacks who were residents of Subarea 1 occurred in Subarea 1 and 52.4% of the contacts for those who were residents of Subarea 2 occurred in Subarea 2. And for the 1955 Cohort 51.1% of the contacts by Blacks residing in Subarea 1 and 53.5% of the contacts by Blacks residing in Subarea 2 took place in their subarea of residence.

Aside from the concentration of contacts within their area of residence, the importance of Subareas 1 and 2 was dramatized by the fact that 37.8% of the 1942 Cohort's contacts, 33.7% of the 1949 Cohort's contacts, and 30.1% of the 1955 Cohort's contacts took place in these two areas regardless of where the individuals resided. Indeed, 90% of all of the contacts of Blacks in the 1942 Cohort residing in Subareas 1 and 2 were in these or contiguous subareas, as were 80% for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. Persons from all but one area in the 1942 Cohort, all

but two areas in the 1949 Cohort, and all but three areas in the 1955 Cohort came into and had police contacts in Subarea 1. Persons from all cohorts from all 26 areas came into and had police contacts in Subarea 2.

From 60% to 90% of the contacts of Blacks were generated by those residing in the inner city Subareas 1 and 2 (almost all Blacks in the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts resided in the inner city, as did 75% of the Blacks in the 1955 Cohort), as were from 40% to 60% of the Chicano contacts. However, only 15% of the contacts by Whites were by residents of Subareas 1 and 2 (the proportion of all cohort Whites residing in the inner city declined from 15% in the 1942 Cohort to less than 5% in the 1955 Cohort). While fewer, 54% to 75%, of the police contacts by Blacks and 36% to 56% of those by Chicanos took place in the inner city, only 19% to 32% of the contacts by Whites were in these subareas. From cohort to cohort the area of White delinquent and criminal activity was expanding but the areas of residence for contact-responsible Whites was becoming more concentrated. Although areas of contact are still highly concentrated for Blacks and Chicanos, they are expanding, as are areas of residence for contact-responsible members of their groups.

The Concentration of Serious Careers

Going beyond these patterns of spatial concentration, and important to our current concerns, is the concentration of contacts within each cohort's membership.

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

Concentration of contacts was even greater among the females than among the males in each cohort. For example, 8.7% of the 1942 females accounted for 51.5% of the contacts by females in that cohort, while it took 12.6% of the males to account for 49.2% of their contacts. Similarly, 7.7% of the 1949 females accounted for 51.5% of their contacts but it took 10.4% of the males to account for 50.4% of their contacts. Among the 1955 females 6.7% was responsible for 53.8% of their contacts while 8.4% of the males were responsible for 53.5% of their contacts.

When the concentration of contacts by Felonies vs. Non-Felonies was examined we found that contacts for Felonies were even more highly concentrated among a small percent of the members of each cohort than were all Non-Traffic offenses and Non-Felonies. The fact that a small percentage of each cohort produced most of the contacts for Felonies led us to wonder if these were the people who could be readily classified as chronic offenders. Were they the people who had accumulated 4 or more or 5 or more contacts and among them the most serious offenses? In other words, were the frequent offenders (those whose offenses

produce contacts) also the people who produced the bulk of the contacts for Felonies or Non-Traffic offenses?

Those males in all cohorts who had 4 or more contacts for Non-Traffic offenses (30% or less) accounted for more than 80% of the Non-Traffic contacts. Felonies were even more concentrated among males with 4 or 5 Felony contacts than were Non-Traffic offenses. Similarly, females with 4 or more Non-Traffic contacts accounted for a large proportion of the Non-Traffic contacts among the females but the concentration of Felonies was even greater than for Non-Traffic offenses.

Going one step further it was found that the median seriousness scores of persons with 5 or more contacts was about four times as high as the median seriousness scores for persons with 2 to 4 contacts, 20.8 vs. 5.1 for 1942 White males, 20.4 vs. 5.3 for the 1949 White males, and 24.7 vs. 6.0 for the 1955 White males. Similar differences were found for females. Even greater differences were found for Black males in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. Although a number of contacts tended to produce high median seriousness scores for persons with 5 or more contacts, whether they be White, Black, or Chicano, male or female, it was clear that the median seriousness scores for persons with 5 or more contacts were not generated by contact categories at the lower end of the seriousness scale. This is particularly true for males. Thus we have additional evidence to support the position that persons with 5 or more police contacts should be the subject of careful study. Furthermore, it was found that

Non-Traffic contacts made up a larger proportion of the contacts among those with 5 contacts than of those with fewer contacts, regardless of cohort, race/ethnicity, or sex.

Those with 5 or more contacts were responsible for a larger proportion of the Felony contacts than are those with fewer contacts. We also found that the number of Felonies increased with seriousness scores for each race/ethnic group in each age period, i.e., increases in seriousness of careers are not based on number of contacts alone. Thus, the data told us again and again that persons with 5 or more contacts who have high seriousness scores, and who have probably committed a Felony, constitute a group upon which attention should be focused if we wish to understand the process by which serious adult criminal careers are generated. While roughly 20% of each cohort's members were responsible for 80% of the Non-Traffic police contacts generated by the cohort, an even smaller percent (8% to 14%) was responsible for all their Felonies. Should the decision be made to identify those who were responsible for about 75% of the Felonies (and much of the other crime), the 5% of each cohort who had 2 or 3 Felony contacts would be the target population.

Career Development and Decline

The most prevalent pattern of delinquent behavior is one of declining seriousness and discontinuation after the teen-age period. The few who continue to have police contacts into their late twenties with an increase in seriousness (and finally a decline) are those who become well known to the juvenile and

adult justice systems and thus create the impression of continuity and increasing seriousness in delinquent and criminal careers. The careers of these persons are atypical of all who have had contacts with the juvenile and adult justice systems. But it is this "hard core" group of continuers which suggests that there is a relatively small group on whom attention should be focused if we wish to understand the process by which serious adult criminal careers are generated.

Combining continuity types and controls for place of socialization permitted selection of a relatively small percentage of offenders who were most likely to have criminal careers after the age of 18, persons whose careers included a large number of felonies. In a high risk group composed of that 11.7% of the 1942 Cohort who were socialized in the inner city and its interstitial areas and had continuous careers before 18, 53.3% had high seriousness scores after 18. No other area and no other continuity type had even close to 50% with high seriousness scores after 18. Findings were similar for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts.[3] As promising as this sounds, one must look at the total picture. While 43.8% of the inner city group with continuous contact careers before 18 and high later seriousness scores committed at least one felony after 18, they comprise only 26% of the persons in the 1942 Cohort and 29% and 22% of the persons with felony contacts in the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. The other felony offenders, some of whom never had a police contact before the age of 18, are spread throughout the community.

In every other manner in which the data have been examined there was a high degree of concentration, i.e., there were certain categories of persons who had a high probability of having serious careers that include felonies. There was also a high degree of dispersion in that people were scattered throughout the community who either had no juvenile record or only had intermittent contacts for minor offenses and who ultimately were charged with serious offenses by law enforcement agencies.

It was apparent that some persons do develop ever-expanding, more serious careers. For example, those persons from each cohort, male or female, White, Black, or Chicano, who had contacts during the juvenile and young adult periods had the greatest probability of having contacts as adults. In the 1942 Cohort, for example, 89.4% of the White males with contacts during the age period 6 through 20 had contacts after age 21. While comparable percentages were lower for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, progression was still more likely for this group than any other. At the extreme opposite end of the scale in terms of continuity, one finds that 49% of those from the 1942 Cohort, 71.0% from the 1949, and 91.8% from the 1955 Cohort, with no contacts by the age of 21 who had no contacts after the age of 21. Between these two extremes are over one-half of the males of each cohort and over 40% of the females in six different combinations of age period to age period continuity or lack thereof. Because most do not have extensive records as juveniles

there is no basis for the prediction of later criminal behavior. Knowing that a high percent of those from a high risk group will have serious offenses as adults is not the same as predicting who in a total cohort will commit serious offenses as adults. It is the latter with whom we are most concerned.

Much more could be said about concentration but the point is that there are serious offenders whose behavior is obviously part of a developmental process and there are serious offenders who are not career offenders. Both are a problem in the community but prediction of one type is obviously more possible than the other. While we have concluded that general prediction is not feasible, the possibility remains that a better understanding of the development of criminal careers will enable us to more efficiently predict continuities of this type.

This leads to a recapitulation of what we have learned about the serious offender.

Increasing Seriousness and the Serious Offender

Comparison of the three birth cohorts reveals that serious offenders are on the increase. The percent of all police contacts that were for Part I offenses increased from cohort to cohort for persons age 6-17: 12.7% in the 1942 Cohort, 15.9% in the 1949 Cohort, and 24.6% in the 1955 Cohort. Cross-cohort seriousness has not only increased as indicated by the percent who have ever had a Felony against either Property or Person (9.8% for the 1942 Cohort, 12.1% for the 1949 Cohort, and 18.7% for the 1955 Cohort), but seriousness rates have become higher

across cohorts within age periods for males and females for almost every race/ethnic|sex group, no matter which measure is utilized. Yet serious career offenders are few. Only 2.5% of the 1942 Cohort had a contact and referral in each age period and 31.4% had neither in any age period. Those who acquired at least one contact and one referral had successively higher seriousness scores in the next age period, increasing from a median of 7.4 to 10.7 to 34.0. The 1949 Cohort presented a similar picture with 2.2% having a contact and referral in each age period and 30.9% having neither in any age period. Those who had at least one contact and referral in each age period had successively higher seriousness scores increasing from 9.0 to 13.1 to 27.0.[4]

By contrast, those who had contacts but no referrals in each age period had very stable median seriousness scores, 2.6, 2.6, and 3.5 for the 1942 Cohort and 3.1, 2.1, and 2.9 for the 1949 Cohort. We have previously shown that referral rates are higher for the more serious reasons for police contact. With few exceptions, the groups who were referred at any stage went on to have higher seriousness scores at the next stage than those who were not referred. At each subsequent stage, however, there is the problem of determining the effects of prior misbehavior and referrals on subsequent behavior and it may be that referrals result in more serious delinquent and criminal behavior than in deterrence.

While only 33.5% of the 1949 Cohort was socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas, 64.7% or those who were

institutionalized were from that area. We also note that 7.3% of those from the inner city and interstitial areas were institutionalized in comparison with 3.9% of the total cohort. There is an even larger difference in the race/ethnic composition of those socialized in the inner city and interstitial areas of the city with 77.7% of those socialized in the area being White but only 45.5% of those institutionalized being White. The Blacks made up over twice as large a proportion of those from the inner city who were institutionalized as their proportion of persons socialized there. The Chicano differences were even greater proportionately.[5]

While 26.7% of the 1955 Cohort's members were socialized in the inner city, 56.8% of those who were institutionalized had been socialized there, an even greater difference than found for the 1949 Cohort.

All of the foregoing brings us to a description of various ways to characterize neighborhoods and delineate the inner city. This is a prerequisite to determining more precisely than before the extent to which the juvenile and adult justice systems may function differently in some systematic way within the range of milieus in which cohort members reside.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The two earlier projects have been described in the following lengthy project reports: Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers, 1980, 950 pp. Final Report to the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Department of Justice, Grants Number 76JN-99-0008, 76JN-99-1005, 77JN-99-0019, and 79JN-AX-0010 and The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City, 477 pp., 1981. Final Report to the National Institute of Justice, Department of Justice, Grant Number 79NI-AX-0081. Also see: Chapter 7, "A Longitudinal Study of Delinquency and Crime," pp. 121-146, in Quantitative Studies in Criminology. Charles Welford (ed.). (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978) and "Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers," in Problems in American Social Policy Research. Clark C. Abt (ed.), (Cambridge: Abt Books, 1980), pp. 232-246. This longitudinal research on delinquency and crime in Racine should not be confused with our earlier research on the economic absorption and cultural integration of inmigrant Blacks and Chicanos in Racine, a project on which we have published several volumes and more than 30 papers and reports. Likewise, it should not be confused with our earlier research on delinquency and crime in Madison and Racine, which was conducted in the mid-1950s and in the mid 1960s, and on which we have also published quite extensively.

[2] Racine is, in many respects, an ideal laboratory in which to study how social processes operate in an urban setting. Being a city of approximately 100,000 it is of a more manageable size than are larger cities where problems of official data collection and finding respondents for interviews are much more difficult to overcome. Furthermore, many of our findings parallel those reported by Marvin Wolfgang, Robert Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin in Delinquency in a Birth Cohort (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972). For a discussion of the Racine and Philadelphia research, see Joan Petersilia, "Criminal Career Research, pp. 321-380, in Crime and Justice, Vol. 2, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), Norval Morris and Michael Tonry (eds.). In 1930 almost 20% of the population consisted of foreign-born Whites, while less than 1% was Black (Negro). By 1940 the population of foreign-born Whites dropped to 16.5%, by 1950 to 12%, by 1960 to 8%, and by 1970 to 6%. At the same time, the Black population increased from 1% in 1940 to 2% by 1950, to 5.3% by 1960, and to 10.5% by 1970.

[3] There is a literature on delinquent and criminal subcultures which provides a background for our findings. For example: Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Delinquency as a Generating Review of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues 14(1958): 5-19; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (New York: Free

Press, 1960); David J. Bordua, "Delinquent Subcultures: Sociological Interpretations of Gang Delinquency," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 38(1961): 120-136; LeRoy G. Schultz, "Why the Negro Carries Weapons," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 53(1962): 476-483; James F. Short and Fred L. Strodbeck, Group Process and Gang Delinquency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Solomon Kobrin, Joseph Puntil and Emil Peluso, "Criteria of Status Among Street Groups," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 4(1967): 98-118; Marvin E. Wolfgang and Frances Ferracuti, The Subculture of Violence (London: Tavistock, 1967); Paul Lerman, "Individual Values, Peer Values, and Subcultural Delinquency," American Sociological Review 33(1968): 219-235; and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, "Values and Violence: A Test of the Subculture of Violence Thesis," American Sociological Review 38(1973): 736-749.

[4] We would not throw out the baby with the bath by taking the position that increasing seriousness is a function of official labelling but we and others have found considerable evidence that it is important to consider the process by which persons in the juvenile and adult justice systems label those with whom they have contacts and follow this with "extra attention." The literature has, of course, dealt with this as well as with the labelling process in terms of self-definition. For a critical review of the assumptions behind labelling theory and this literature see: Charles Welford, "Labelling Theory and Criminology," Social Problems 23 (1975): 332-345. Also see: Theodore Ferdinand and Elmer Luchterhand, "Inner City Youth, the Police, the Juvenile Court and Justice," Social Problems 18 (1962): 510-527; Edwin Schur, Labelling Deviant Behavior (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Richard Ward, "The Labelling Theory: A Critical Analysis," Criminology 9 (1971): 268-290; Nanette J. Davis, "Labelling Theory in Deviance Research: A Critique and Reconsideration," Sociological Quarterly 13 (1972): 447-474; and Jay Williams and Martin Gold, "From Delinquent Behaviors to Official Delinquency," Social Problems 29 (1972): 209-227.

[5] The literature has been replete with findings of higher rates of delinquency and crime for minority race/ethnic groups. No one questions the existence of these differences based on official data. The issue is how these differences come about and the extent to which they are differences based on socioeconomic status, dispositional procedure in the juvenile and adult justice systems, or subcultural variation related to background and life experiences. In regard to the latter, Thornberry and Figlio, Chapter 11, "Victimization and Criminal Behavior in a Birth Cohort," in Terence P. Thornberry and Edward Sagarin (eds.), Images of Crime: Offenders and Victims (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), have shown that Black cohort members are more likely than Whites to be victims of robbery, stabbing, shooting, pickpocketing, and larceny. This suggests that the way of life

of victims may make them more susceptible to victimization by action. For a recent article on the Chicano case see Howard S. Erlanger, "Estrangement, Machismo and Gang Violence," Social Science Quarterly 60 (1979): 235-248. Erlanger's point that subcultural differences may readily and unintentionally generate police contacts in the larger society is well taken. This is particularly true if police and school personnel have little or no understanding of the minority subculture. Also see Octavio Ignacio Romano V, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-Americans," El Grito 2 (1968): 13-28. While we take the position that the higher incidence and prevalence of delinquency and crime rates among minorities may be explained by their status and group membership, it must be noted that some competent researchers look at it otherwise. For example, Robert A. Gordon, "Issues in the Ecological Study of Delinquency," American Sociological Review 32 (1967): 927-944, believes that higher rates of delinquency and crime are related to differences in the distribution of I.Q.

Chapter 2. Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood: Methodology and Procedures

INTRODUCTION

Although we do not present a detailed description of the process by which some members of the cohorts developed continuing serious careers, devoting particular attention to the careers of those who reside in high delinquency and crime neighborhoods as juveniles,[1] we have developed scoring systems which represent different types of careers. This has been accomplished by considering chains of official experiences (juvenile police contacts, the seriousness of reasons for police contacts, referrals, and the severity of sanctions, these to be matched with experiences during the adult period).

While the first research project to which we referred had as its major concern the nature of delinquent and criminal careers and the extent to which the former might be predictive of the latter and the second research project concentrated on the relationship of changing patterns of delinquency and crime to the ecological structure of the city, this project combines these concerns and thus requires a greater diversity of measures and analyses of the data at a variety of levels.

Some of the analyses to be presented in the following chapters describe the experiences of all 4,079 continuous residence persons from the three cohorts, while others are ecological and are based on statistics for the 65 neighborhoods, thus the N becomes 65. In some other cases only those 49 neighborhoods with sufficient members from their cohort for an

analysis of their delinquent and criminal careers are included. In this case the analysis may even be made on a neighborhood-by-neighborhood basis so that the number of persons included in the analysis may be only those who resided in the neighborhood during the juvenile period, the findings for comparison with other neighborhoods. Some of these analyses may be based on very small Ns for a particular neighborhood.

As we proceed from chapter to chapter and analysis to analysis, the reader will be informed as to whether statistics are based on cohort members from separate cohorts or all cohorts combined. Furthermore, when the analysis is based on individuals without reference to neighborhoods or groupings of neighborhoods, this will be evident. Likewise, when neighborhoods are grouped and cohort members described as members of a group of neighborhoods this will be made clear.

Since we are concerned about how experiences differ within neighborhoods and groupings of neighborhoods, we shall relate the cohort statistics derived to each of the various demographic, ecological, spatial, and offense rate systems which are described in this chapter. These are, of course, the ecological analyses and ecologically organized tables.

As the analysis progresses we shall see that attempts to develop ecologically distinguishable patterns of behavior and societal reaction by attaching dependent and independent variable measures to the records of cohort members results in more complex and less readily comprehensible patterns than those which relate

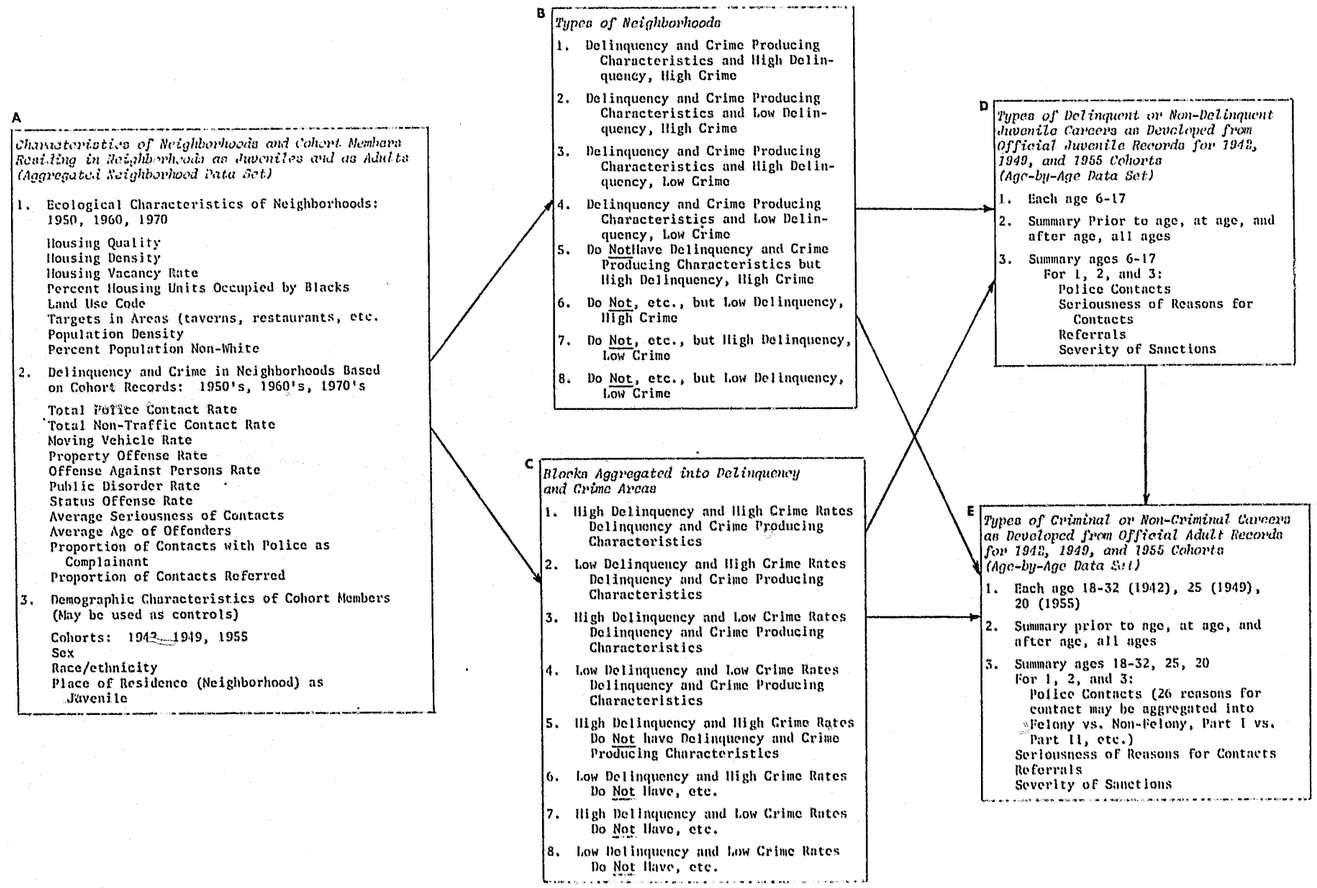
neighborhood delinquency and crime statistics to other neighborhood characteristics, that is, simple ecological analyses. As we move from chapter to chapter it will be made clear whether we are describing individual cohort members or neighborhoods.

CATEGORIZING NEIGHBORHOODS

Demographic Characteristics and Offense Rates

The first step was to place members of each cohort in their neighborhood of socialization. Whatever characterizes the neighborhood milieu is defined as an independent variable in the analyses which follow. These are generally lumped into demographic and offense rate variables. Although individual neighborhood identifications are retained, they are combined into groups based on the background characteristics listed in Diagram 1, Box A (1 and 2). Thus we have neighborhoods that: 1) are considered delinquency and crime producing on a basis of their ecological characteristics and do have high delinquency and crime rates; 2) are not considered delinquency and crime producing on a basis of their ecological characteristics but have high delinquency and crime rates; 3) neighborhoods that are considered, etc., but do not, etc.; 4) neighborhoods that are not considered and do not, etc. Since it was decided to trichotomize neighborhoods into those with low, medium, and high offense rates rather than simply dichotomize, there are more categories than shown in B and C of Diagram 1 in some of the arrangements of neighborhoods which have been developed. Without this

DIAGRAM 1. ANALYTIC SCHEME FOR ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIP OF MILIEU AND OFFICIAL RECORDS TO SERIOUS JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFENDER CAREERS



preliminary reduction from 65 neighborhoods to categories of neighborhoods, some of the detailed quantitative analysis of career histories would have been difficult to manage and describe.

In considering the variables in Box A (1 and 2) of Diagram 1 we have perhaps been unduly concerned about different ways in which they may be viewed and manipulated because we have previously found that final results vary somewhat with the operational definitions (measures of the variables) selected. We have found, for example, that the proportion of the variance in neighborhood offense rates explained by ecological variables or by ecological variables and prior offense rates varied depending on how these rates are calculated. We have also found that the results vary depending on whether the numbers of offenses in neighborhoods or rates are utilized.[2] To some this may seem unimportant but there is an argument for considering the number of offenses in an area as well as the rates because people do recognize and react to offense reports, particularly when they are dramatized in the media with police grid maps as was done in Racine.

As a consequence, we have examined the delinquency and crime and types of offense variables as rates, as numbers, and as they appear as clusters on several versions of computer-created and contoured maps with neighborhood overlays. In addition to measures of delinquency and crime by decades, we have also considered cohort total police contact rates and felony rates

individually and combined. We must be sure that the procedure utilized will result in a meaningful classification of neighborhoods, i.e., if a neighborhood is classified as high delinquency/crime in one way or another or in a multitude of ways, can it be recognized by the people who reside there as well as by those in the justice system as a high delinquency and/or crime neighborhood? This is necessary because it is hypothesized that recognition of a neighborhood as high delinquency, high crime, etc., has its effects as do the actual presence in the neighborhood of a greater proportion of persons who engage in these behaviors and a greater incidence of the behavior. If we have not considered this sufficiently then the analyses conducted will not be a complete test of the hypotheses.

Grouping Neighborhoods

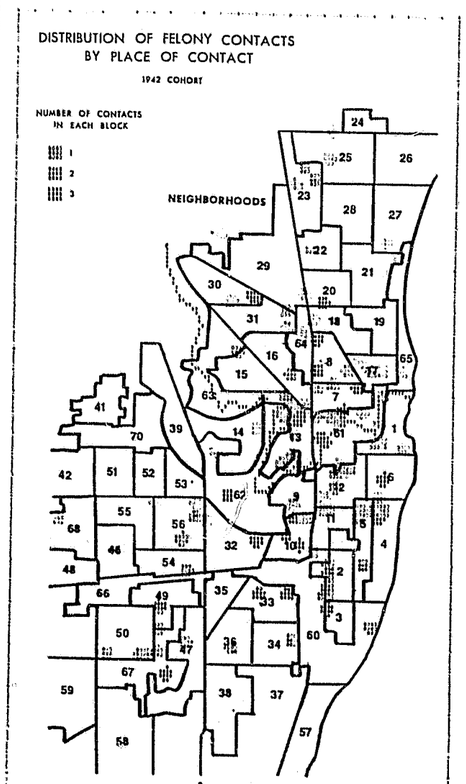
Table 1 shows the relationship of neighborhoods as High, Medium, or Low Delinquency and Crime Producing to their in-neighborhood and by-neighborhood-of-residence delinquency and crime rates. Note that the total number of persons from all cohorts who remained within the same neighborhood during the juvenile period of socialization has been reduced to 3,442. Maps 1-6 for felony-level offenses are included in order to show the extent to which patterns differ depending on whether In-Area or By-Residence data are utilized. As a heuristic device we have contoured the blocks with felonies for areas of each set, In-Area and By-Residence. These are presented with a neighborhood overlay in Map 7. Note that most of the High Delinquency and

TABLE 1. NEIGHBORHOODS BY IN-AREA AND BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND NUMBER OF COHORT MEMBERS IN EACH DURING JUVENILE PERIOD

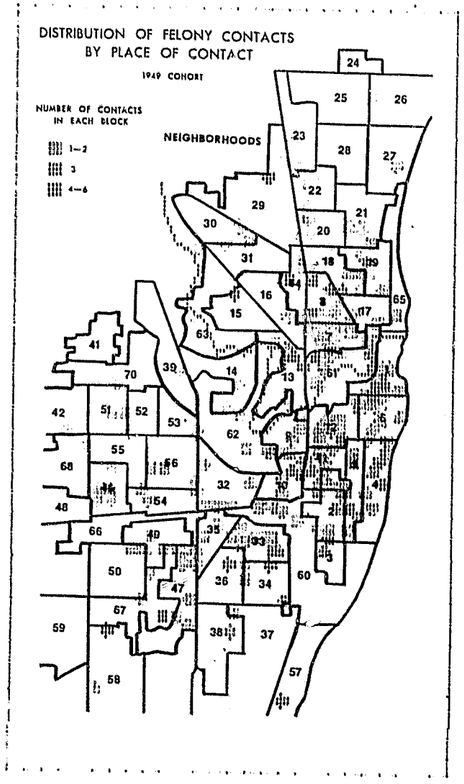
Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics		
In-Area	By-Residence	High	Medium	Low
H	H	1 (5) 2 (118) 7 (83) 8 (87) 9 (78) 10 (56) 11 (48) 12 (69) 13 (91) 17 (63) 18 (55)	6 (29) 49 (75)	
H	M	16 (66)	23 (62) 67 (12)	30 (30)
H	L	60 (7)	4 (47) 62 (12)	
M	H	5 (75) 19 (69)	46 (80) 54 (75)	47 (68)
M	M	61 (11)	20 (56) 29 (78) 33 (71) 35 (63) 56 (80)	25 (70) 34 (57) 50 (66)
M	L		14 (90) 32 (117)	26 (29) 42 (47) 63 (26)
L	H	3 (25)	37 (46)	48 (10)
L	M		15 (64) 55 (56)	24 (19) 28 (83) 31 (99) 36 (103) 38 (73) 41 (27)
L	L	64 (3) 65 (5)	21 (66) 22 (56) 53 (71) 66 (4) 68 (4) 70 (15)	59 (8) 27 (46) 39 (58) 51 (41) 52 (59) 57 (66) 58 (14)

From Table 1A or B in Appendix A of this report.

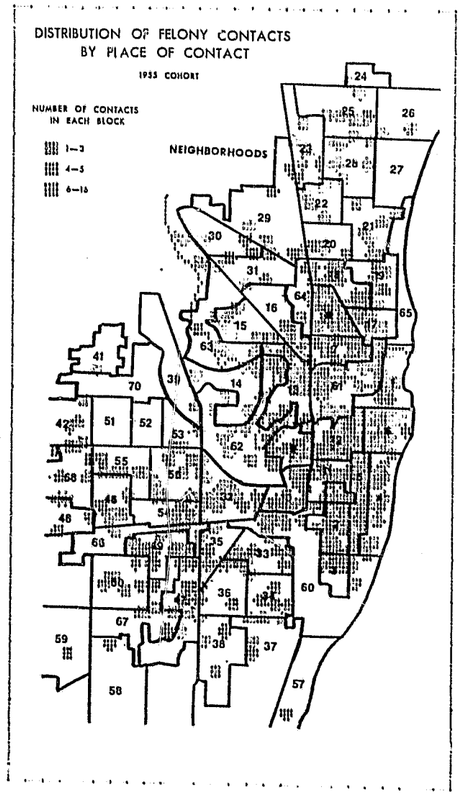
MAP 1



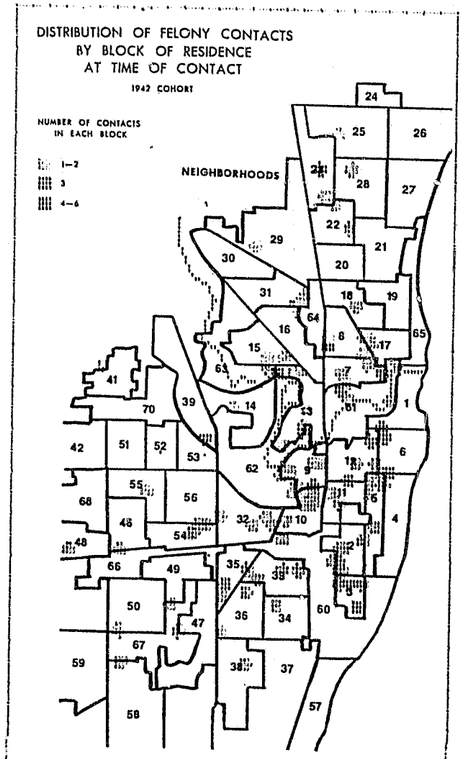
MAP 2



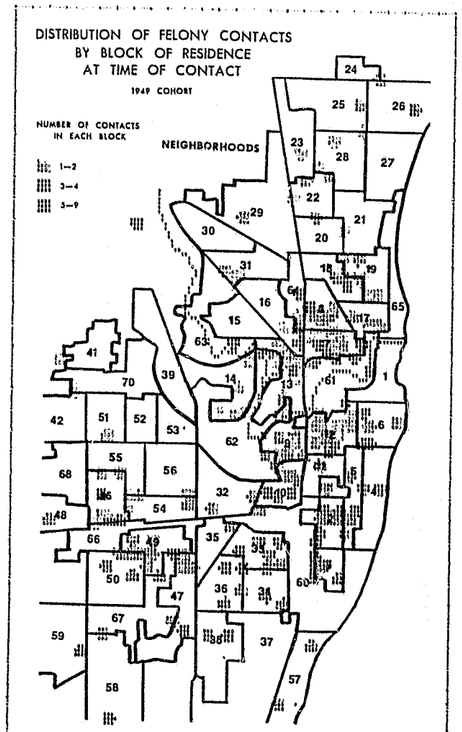
MAP 3



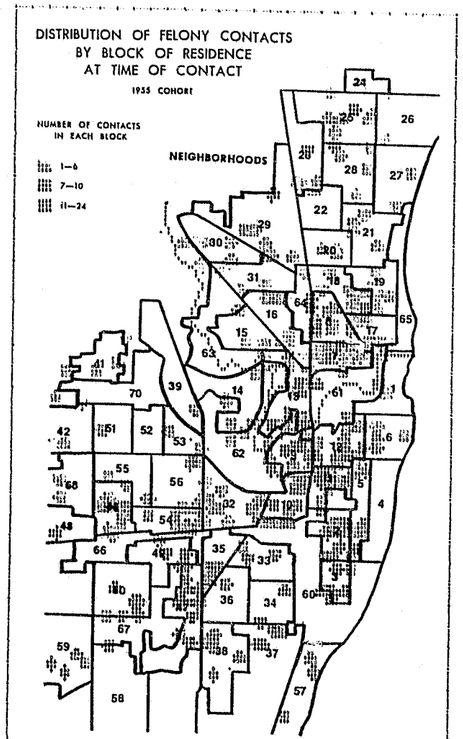
MAP 4



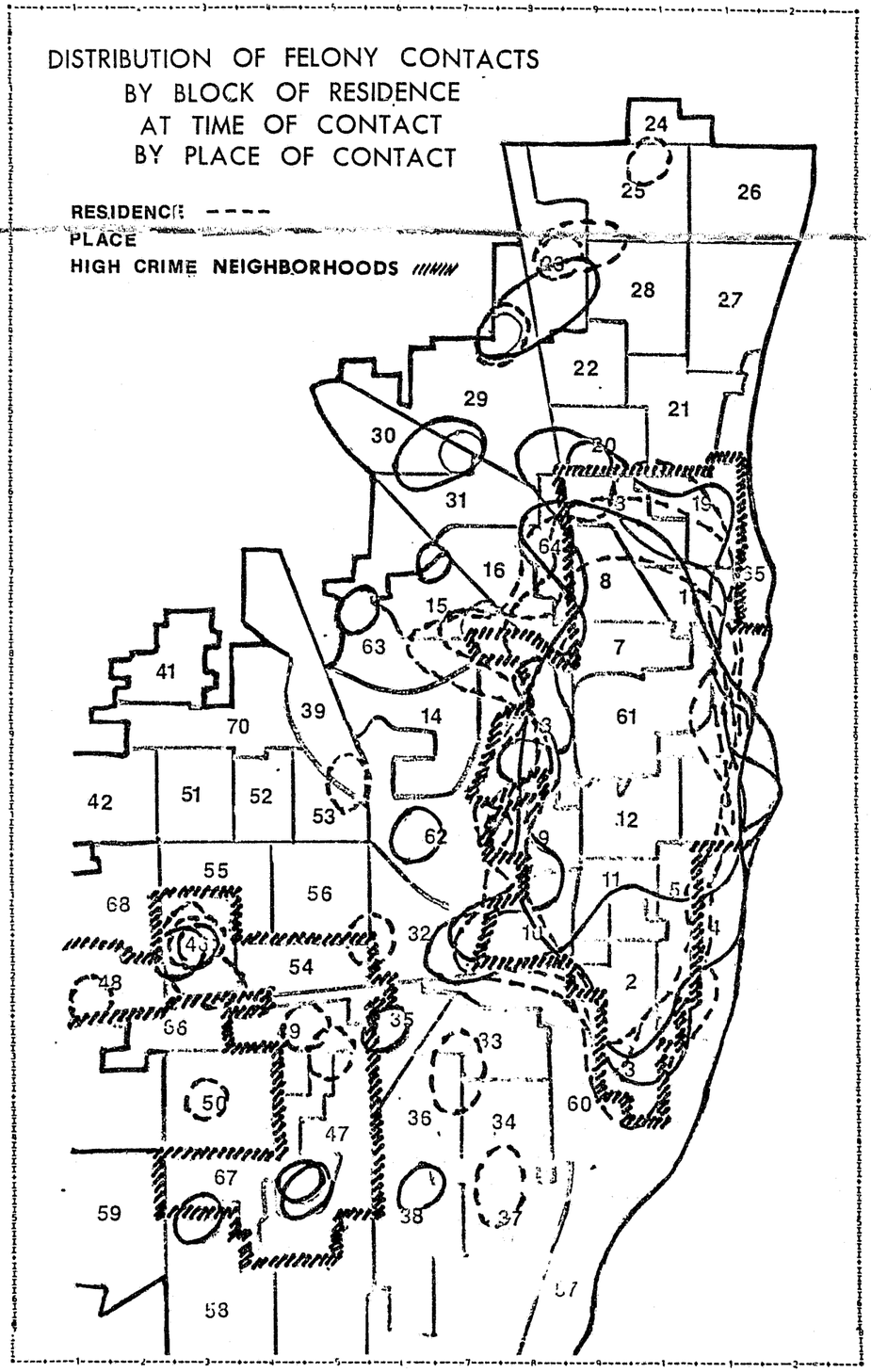
MAP 5



MAP 6



MAP 7



Crime Producing neighborhoods on Table 1 are congruent with the boundaries of high crime neighborhoods shown on this map.

While these maps may give the impression that offenses are scattered over rather large areas of the city, and this is correct as we have frequently stated when discussing the concentration and dispersion of offenses, there is a great deal of concentration of the place of residence of members of each cohort who have had contacts with the police for serious offenses, just as there is a similar concentration by place in which offenses took place. (This is dealt with even more fully with blocks as the unit in Appendix B.)

Going to the final step in categorizing neighborhoods, as shown in Table 2, each becomes not just a High, Medium, or Low Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhood but a High Delinquency, High Crime, and ecologically High Crime Producing neighborhood, etc., according to the scheme in Box B of Diagram 1. To obtain the high delinquency, high crime classification we looked at various rates and numbers for neighborhoods based on ages 6 through 17 vs. 18 and older offenses. (The variables utilized in developing the distribution of neighborhoods by delinquency and crime rates shown in Table 2 are listed in Appendix A.) Reference to the tables and maps which have been constructed led us to conclude that the High Delinquency/Crime and Delinquency/Crime Producing areas as well as other types are sufficiently delineated by the neighborhoods to proceed with the analysis based on these units.

TABLE 2. NEIGHBORHOODS BY JUVENILE/ADULT COMBINATIONS OF HIGH AND LOW OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND NUMBER OF COHORT MEMBERS IN EACH DURING JUVENILE PERIOD

Juvenile/Adult Offense Rates	Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics		
	High	Medium	Low
HJ HA	1(5)	6(29)	41(27)
	2(118)	23(62)	47(68)
	5(75)	33(71)	
	7(83)	46(80)	
	8(87)	49(75)	
	9(78)	67(12)	
	10(56)		
	12(69)		
	13(91)		
	17(63)		
	18(55)		
	19(69)		
HJ LA	61(11)	14(90)	24(19)
		20(56)	30(30)
		56(80)	34(57)
		70(15)	38(73)
LJ HA	11(48)	4(47)	25(70)
	16(66)	29(78)	48(10)
		55(56)	
			50(66)
LJ LA	3(25)	15(64)	26(29)
	60(7)	21(66)	27(46)
	64(3)	22(56)	28(83)
	65(5)	32(117)	31(99)
		35(63)	36(103)
		37(46)	39(58)
		53(71)	42(47)
		54(75)	51(41)
		62(12)	52(59)
		66(4)	57(66)
		68(4)	58(14)
			59(8)
			63(26)

Based on juvenile and adult police contact rates by neighborhood of residence for cohort members at time of contact and juvenile and adult felony rates by place of felony and place of residence.

Neighborhoods as characterized in Tables 1 and 2 provide a framework for neighborhood-by-neighborhood and aggregated neighborhoods comparisons of types of careers as a test of the hypotheses that different types of careers are generated in different neighborhood milieus and that community (justice system) reactions to these careers differ depending on the type of neighborhood. However, there is a judgmental element to the categorization of neighborhoods generated in this fashion and as a consequence considerable effort to construct other typologies was made, thus providing additional options for analysis.

COMPUTER-GENERATED CATEGORIES OF NEIGHBORHOODS AS DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING AND OFFENSE LEVEL TYPES

This section describes the development of six types of neighborhood clusters generated by the SAS FASTCLUS procedure. The SAS FASTCLUS procedure performs a disjoint cluster analysis on the basis of Euclidian distances computed from quantitative variables and may be conducted in such a way as to produce the number of clusters desired. The advantage of this procedure is that it considers combinations of characteristics, a more sophisticated approach than the simple additive technique utilized in our first selection procedure.

Ten demograhic, housing, and other characteristics were selected from those utilized in developing the three groups or neighborhoods in the previous analysis: population change 1960-80, 1970-80; change in population density 1960-80; percent Black 1970; percent female-headed households 1970; target density 1970; number of taverns 1970; housing quality 1970; percent

residential vacancy 1970. The rank-order of neighborhoods clustered by this procedure correlated .787 with the rank-order presented in Table 1.

The unstandardized and standardized scores for the delinquency and crime producing variables (hypothesized) for each neighborhood are presented in clusters in Appendix C, as are the means, standard deviations, etc., of the scores for each variable for each cluster, unstandardized and standardized. Perusal of Table 3 in Appendix C reveals that Cluster 1, that which consists of neighborhoods which would be characterized as least productive of delinquency and crime, had neighborhoods with a growing population, increasing density, low percentage of Blacks, low percentage of female heads of households, high target densities, high residential land use, few taverns, high residential housing scores, and low residential vacancies. Cluster 6 had the opposite characteristics. The changing characteristics of these clusters as one moves from one end of the continuum to the other may also be seen by inspection of Table 4 in Appendix C which is based on standardized scores.

The next step was to recategorize neighborhoods according to their In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rates, using the same FASTCLUS procedure mentioned earlier. The In-Area measures were the same as those utilized previously (Appendix A, Table 2), with one variable eliminated to reduce redundancy. The By-Residence measures were the same as those utilized previously (Appendix A, Table 2). Four clusters of neighborhoods were produced by In-

Area Offense Rates and six clusters with By-Residence Offense Rates. These clusters correlated .815 for By-Residence but only .484 for In-Area clusters with the previous groupings shown in Table 1.

Since we had some difficulty with neighborhoods with either small census or cohort populations (less than 5% of the population), their populations producing highly inflated offense rates, 14 of the 65 neighborhoods were eliminated and the FASTCLUS procedure was run again. We found that with only 51 neighborhoods considered the computer-produced clusters correlated .826 with the Delinquency and Crime Producing groups of those remaining from Table 1. In-Area clusters correlated .866 with those shown in Table 1 and By-Residence clusters correlated .829. The unstandardized and standardized data are presented in Appendix C, Tables 5-20. Of the By-Residence Offense Rate clusters, that which was highest (Cluster 6) was characterized by high average police contacts, high average seriousness, high average referrals, high average juvenile felony level contacts, high average adult felony level contacts, and a high number of felonies, all except the latter based on the appropriate cohort denominator (see Appendix C, Table 7). Cluster 1 was at the opposite extreme on every offense variable. In-Area Offense Rate clusters were based on similar variables.

With 51 neighborhoods remaining, the correlations between clusters of Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods and clusters of Offense Rates were .645 with In-Area groups and .598

with By-Residence groups. The DCP FASTCLUS and In-Area and By-Residence clusters now correlated .629 and .520 respectively. This suggested that these small population neighborhoods, some of whose positions in the clustering scheme have been described as anomalous in our report, had probably served to decrease the relationships between neighborhood milieu and experience chains during the juvenile and adult periods and between the juvenile and adult periods. Remember, we are not describing the relationship of individual cohort members delinquent and criminal behavior to their milieu influences. These are strictly ecological correlations, the characteristics of neighborhoods in terms of Offense Rates to Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics.

From these sets of clusters we have produced Tables 3 and 4 as companion tables to Table 1. They are, of course, considerably more complex because we have six groups by Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and four groups by In-Area Offense Rates and six groups by By-Residence Offense Rates.

In order to develop companion tables to Table 2 (Tables 5 and 6), FASTCLUS was used with the same variables (Appendix A, Table 3) for juvenile and adult offense rates as previously. FASTCLUS produced three juvenile offense rate clusters and four adult offense rate clusters. These neighborhoods produced by FASTCLUS had quite low correlations with the juvenile and adult rate clusters presented in Table 2; juvenile rate neighborhoods

TABLE 3. NEIGHBORHOODS BY IN-AREA OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS AND NUMBER OF COHORT MEMBERS IN EACH DURING JUVENILE PERIOD

In-Area	Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics 6	5	4	3	2	1
4	7 (83) 10 (56) 11 (48) 12 (69)		6 (29) 18 (55)			
3	2 (118) 8 (87) 9 (78)		13 (91) 17 (63)	30 (30)		
2			4 (47) 5 (75) 14 (90) 16 (66) 19 (69) 20 (56) 23 (62) 32 (117) 33 (71) 35 (63) 46 (80) 49 (75) 56 (80)	25 (70) 29 (78) 42 (47)	34 (57) 47 (68) 50 (66)	
1	3 (25)		15 (64) 22 (56) 36 (103) 37 (46) 53 (71) 54 (75) 57 (66)	38 (73)	21 (66) 27 (46) 28 (83) 31 (99) 51 (41) 52 (59) 55 (56)	24 (19) 26 (29) 39 (58) 41 (27)

TABLE 4. NEIGHBORHOODS BY BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES AND BY IN-AREA RESIDENCE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS AND NUMBER OF COHORT MEMBERS IN EACH DURING JUVENILE PERIOD

By Residence	Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics: 6	5	4	3	2	1
6	2 (118) 7 (83) 8 (87) 11 (48) 12 (69)		13 (91)			
5	3 (25) 9 (78)		6 (29)			
4	10 (56)		5 (75) 16 (66) 17 (63) 18 (55) 19 (69) 37 (46) 46 (80) 49 (75)	30 (30)	50 (66)	
3			56 (80)	25 (70) 29 (78)	34 (57)	
2			14 (90) 15 (64) 20 (56) 23 (62) 33 (71) 36 (103) 54 (75)	38 (73)	31 (99) 47 (68) 55 (56)	24 (19) 41 (27)
1			4 (47) 22 (56) 32 (117) 35 (63) 53 (71) 57 (66)	42 (47)	21 (66) 27 (46) 28 (83) 51 (41) 52 (59)	26 (29) 39 (58)

TABLE 5. NEIGHBORHOODS BY JUVENILE OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS AND NUMBER OF COHORT MEMBERS IN EACH DURING JUVENILE PERIOD

Juvenile Rates	Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics: 6	5	4	3	2	1
3	7 (83) 10 (56) 11 (48) 12 (69)		6 (29) 18 (55)	30 (30)		
2	2 (118) 3 (25) 8 (87) 9 (78)		5 (75) 13 (91) 15 (64) 16 (66) 17 (63) 19 (69) 23 (62) 37 (46) 46 (80) 49 (75) 54 (75) 56 (80)	38 (73) 29 (78)	31 (99) 34 (57) 50 (66)	24 (19)
1			4 (47) 14 (90) 20 (56) 22 (56) 32 (117) 33 (71) 35 (63) 36 (103) 53 (71) 57 (66)	25 (70) 42 (47)	21 (66) 27 (46) 28 (83) 47 (68) 51 (41) 52 (59) 55 (56)	26 (29) 39) 58) 41 (27)

TABLE 6. NEIGHBORHOODS BY ADULT OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS AND NUMBER OF COHORT MEMBERS IN EACH DURING JUVENILE PERIOD

Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics

Adult Rates	6	5	4	3	2	1
4	2 (118) 3 (25) 7 (83) 11 (48) 12 (69)		6 (29) 13 (91)			
3	8 (87) 9 (78) 10 (56)		4 (47) 5 (75) 16 (66) 17 (63) 18 (55) 23 (62) 49 (75)	29 (78) 30 (30)	47 (68)	
2			14 (90) 15 (64) 19 (69) 20 (56) 22 (56) 32 (117) 33 (71) 35 (63) 36 (103) 37 (46) 46 (80) 53 (71) 54 (75) 56 (80) 57 (66)	38 (73)	21 (66) 31 (99) 50 (66) 51 (41) 55 (56)	24 (19)
1				25 (70) 42 (47)	27 (46) 28 (83) 34 (57) 52 (59)	26 (29) 39 (58) 41 (27)

were correlated .195 and adult rate neighborhoods .175. The original DCP groupings shown in Table 2 but with the small neighborhoods eliminated were correlated .401 with juvenile rate groupings and .542 with adult rate groupings. The FASTCLUS DCP clusters were correlated with juvenile rate clusters .361 and with adult rate clusters .373.

DEVELOPING A SCORING SYSTEM WHICH REPRESENTS JUVENILE AND ADULT EXPERIENCES IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Geometric Scoring

The next problem to be dealt with, and a thorny one indeed, involved the development of a coding scheme which would permit some sort of numerical representation of the wide variety of delinquent and criminal careers found among members of each cohort and their subsequent experiences with the juvenile and adult justice systems. Although we have always been partial to Geometric scoring systems, it is crucial that they be accompanied by some parallel metric and rank-order system which may be utilized in statistical manipulations. The complexity of some of the most extensive careers may be noted by reference to Appendix D. In these examples the police records of the mother and father are presented chronologically with that of the cohort member. Suffice it to say that although we shall at other times be concerned with the relationship of a cohort member's behavior to that of the family, this is not a part of our current analysis. Representing one person's career with a score is sufficient challenge and, even though this has been one of our long-time concerns, the encapsulation of the cohort member's behavior and justice system responses is a formidable task.

We commenced by agreeing that each person should be placed in the no contact category or in one of three places depending on how many police contacts he or she had preceding and after any given age. The same would be done for seriousness of reason for police contact, referrals, and sanctions. The objective was to place 20% of the members of each cohort in the Low group, 60% in the Medium group, and 20% in the High group. However, as a consequence of discontinuity in many of the distributions, particularly at earlier and later ages, the Low group tended to have more than 20% and the Medium group less than 60%. The High group usually came close to 20%. The cutting points which were developed for each age, for each cohort, and for each variable are presented in Appendix E.

The Geometric scores which were produced are shown in Table 7. A person who fell in the Low category for police contacts and who was Low on the seriousness score but had no referrals or sanctions would have a score of 9, as may be discerned from the footnote on Table 7. A person who was High on police contacts, seriousness, referrals, and severity of sanctions would have a score of 2340. Each Geometric score represented a combination of Zero, Low, Medium, or High for contacts, seriousness, referrals, and sanctions. Some scores did not appear because a person with contacts and seriousness but no referrals would not have sanctions. Any score of 585 or above involved at least one contact, a seriousness score, at least one referral, and at least one sanction. Sanctions weighted heavily in determining

TABLE 7. GEOMETRIC SCORES, METRIC EQUIVALENTS, AND RANK-ORDER EQUIVALENTS

Geometric Scores[1]	Metric Equivalent[2]	Rank Order[3]	Geometric Scores	Metric Equivalent	Rank Order
0	0000	0	658	2221	50
9	1100	1	660	3221	51
17	1200	4	674	2321	53
18	2200	5	676	3321	54
20	3200	6	786	2231	59
34	2300	8	802	2331	62
36	3300	9	804	3331	63
73	1110	10	1105	1212	67
81	1210	13	1106	2212	68
82	2210	14	1108	3212	69
84	3210	15	1122	2312	71
98	2310	17	1124	3312	72
100	3310	18	1170	2222	77
146	2220	23	1172	3222	78
148	3220	24	1186	2322	80
162	2320	26	1188	3322	81
164	3320	27	1316	3332	90
274	2230	32	2129	1213	94
276	3230	33	2130	2213	95
290	2330	35	2148	3313	99
292	3330	36	2194	2223	104
585	1111	37	2196	3223	105
593	1211	40	2210	2323	107
594	2211	41	2212	3323	108
596	3211	42	2324	3233	114
610	2311	44	2340	3333	117
612	3311	45			

[1] Geometric Scores were developed as shown below:

	None	Low	Medium	High
Police Contacts	0	1	2	4
Seriousness	0	8	16	32
Referrals	0	64	128	256
Sanctions	0	512	1024	2048

[2] Metric equivalents were developed with first column, referring to contacts, 0 = none, 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high; second column referring to seriousness scores, third column referring to referrals, and fourth column referring to severity of sanctions.

[3] Ranks were provided for all geometric scores but are shown only for those which occurred.

Geometric scores. The importance of this as an encapsulating device will be shown as the analysis progresses.

Metric Equivalents

The metric equivalent of each Geometric score is shown commencing in the second column of Table 7. The first figure indicates whether contacts were Zero, Low, Medium, or High, the second whether seriousness was Zero, Low, Medium, or High, etc. In this case, weight is given to number of contacts, then seriousness. While the Geometric order of careers and metric of careers are not equivalent, this is not a problem for each serves a different purpose.

Ranking

The rank order for each Geometric score is presented commencing in the third column of Table 7. If we wish to correlate Geometric scores with another variable, we simply use their rank order.

Since the reader may be concerned about the interrelationship of these variables, Table 8 is included for each cohort, through age 17 (juvenile), and after age 18 (adult). One would expect the Geometric scores and rank orders to approach 1.000 but not reach it because Geometric scores are not interval scores as are the ranks. Since Geometric scores are weighted heavily by sanctions and the metric scores are weighted by number of contacts and seriousness, these correlations should be considerably lower, and they are. In between these sets of correlations are those for rank order and metric scores.

TABLE 8. INTERRELATIONSHIP OF GEOMETRIC, METRIC, AND RANK-ORDER MEASURES OF DELINQUENCY AND ADULT JUSTICE SYSTEM INVOLVEMENT

Juvenile Experience

	Geometric Scores			Metric Scores		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Metric	.504	.470	.685			
Rank-Order	.947	.948	.984	.698	.667	.757

Adult Experience

	Geometric Scores			Metric Scores		
	1942	1949	1955	1942	1949	1955
Metric	.577	.641	.763			
Rank-Order	.977	.980	.987	.678	.725	.807

Juvenile vs. Adult Experience

	1942	1949	1955
Geometric	.451	.482	.484
Metric	.507	.545	.531
Rank-Order	.578	.596	.524

What must be remembered, as these scores are referred to from time to time, is that each represents a somewhat different facet of juvenile and adult experiences with the justice system. But, whichever is used, we still find little difference in the relationship of juvenile to adult experience scores, as shown by the bottom panel of Table 8. Whether scores are weighted toward contacts or sanctions, there appears to be relatively little

difference in the correlations between juvenile and adult scores within and across cohorts.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Although our research does not give people a "feel" for the neighborhoods, we are not unaware of the value of this kind of research. Monographs such as Elijah Anderson's A Place on the Corner (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978) present a picture of life in a Chicago neighborhood that may be found in inner city neighborhoods in any urban area. It is this type of work that puts flesh on the bones of our rather hard, statistical descriptions of inner city neighborhoods.

[2] See Chapter 10, Table 8, following p. 103 of The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City. Revised Final Report, July 1982.

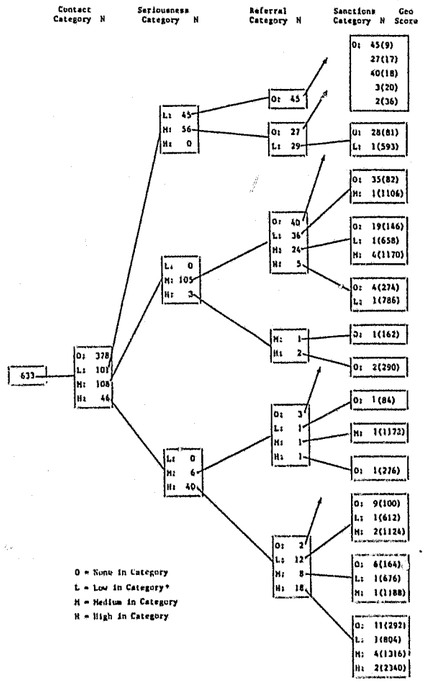
Chapter 3. Developing Delinquent and Criminal Careers and the Distribution of Experience Types by Neighborhoods

REPRESENTING EXPERIENCE TYPES WITH TREE DIAGRAMS

Now that the reader is familiar with the various career scoring systems, we shall examine them as they develop from contacts to those scores which represent chains of experiences in the juvenile and adult justice systems for all members of each cohort. To illustrate the progression of cohort members we include Tree Diagrams 1-3 for juvenile careers and Tree Diagrams 4-6 for adult careers. Most members of each cohort fell into only a dozen experiential chains as represented by the Geometric scores included in the right-hand boxes of each Tree Diagram. The exact set of experiences from all possibilities varied slightly from cohort to cohort but one immediately notes that most of those who were in the High contact category were in the High seriousness category, and that from cohort to cohort a higher proportion of the latter were in the High referral category. And beyond that, from cohort to cohort the proportion with sanctions increases so that for the 1955 Cohort over half from the High referral category are in the High sanctions category.

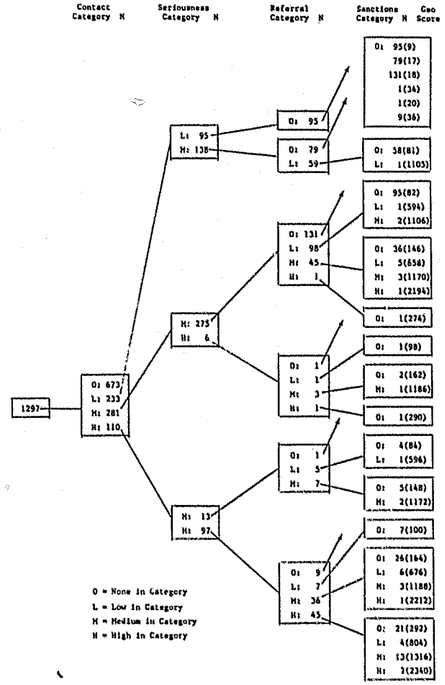
Turning to the adult career Tree Diagrams, we must remember that the decline in the proportion with no adult contacts from 38% for the 1942 Cohort to 58% for the 1955 Cohort is related to years at risk after age 18. Most of those from each cohort in the High number of contacts category were also in the High seriousness group and, of the latter, most had fallen in the

DIAGRAM 1. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1942 COHORT



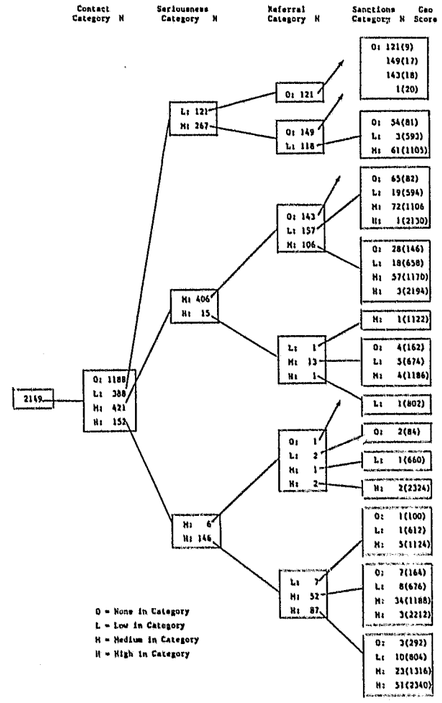
O = None in Category
L = Low in Category
M = Medium in Category
H = High in Category

DIAGRAM 2. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1949 COHORT



O = None in Category
L = Low in Category
M = Medium in Category
H = High in Category

DIAGRAM 3. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1955 COHORT



O = None in Category
L = Low in Category
M = Medium in Category
H = High in Category

DIAGRAM 4. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1942 COHORT

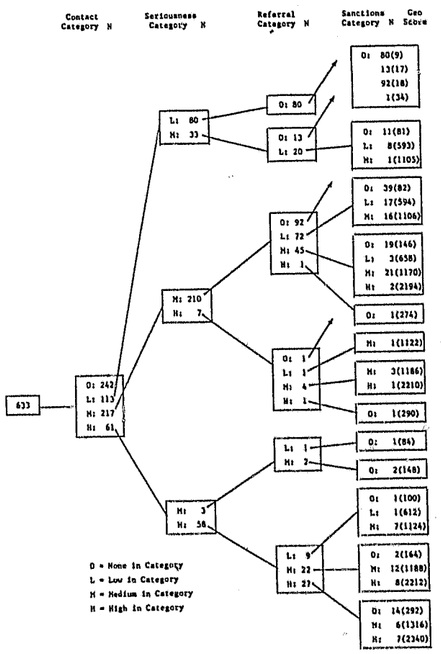


DIAGRAM 5. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1949 COHORT

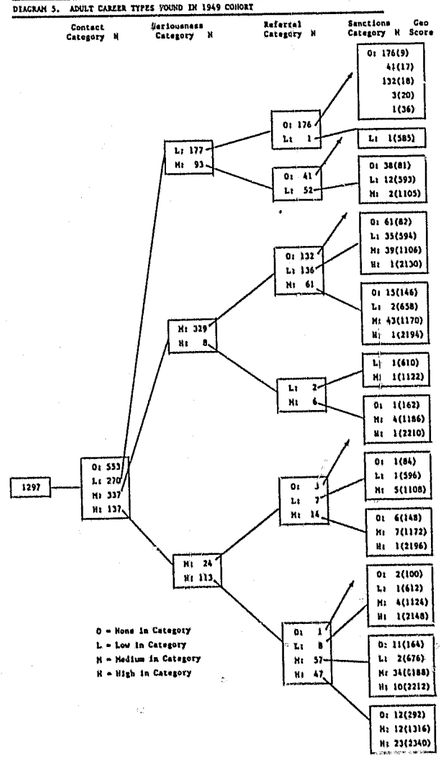
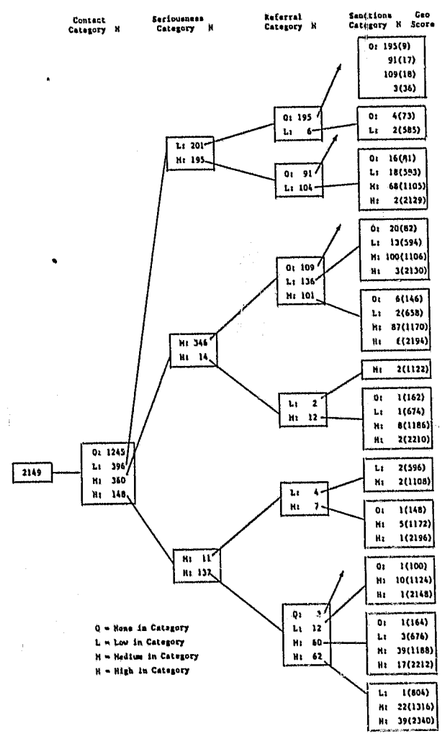


DIAGRAM 6. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1955 COHORT



Medium or High referral group. Of those in the High referral group, a markedly increasing proportion was found in the High sanctions group from cohort to cohort. This trend will become more meaningful as the analysis progresses.

While Tree Diagrams 1-6 show only raw numbers of persons at various stages from contact to sanctions, the next set of Tree Diagrams, 7-12, shows the percent of each cohort with various characteristics at each stage from contact to sanctions.

If cohort members are in the High number of contacts category as juveniles, this indicates, as suggested simply by looking at raw numbers, that they also fall into the High seriousness of careers group. It becomes even clearer when the percentages in these tree diagrams are observed. Those who have a Geometric score of 2340 are few indeed, but that proportion of each cohort who received other high Geometric scores indicating some level of sanctions may be found at the end of numerous experience chains, not only at the end of that chain which represented high number of contacts, high seriousness, and frequent referrals. Thus, as we have stated in earlier research reports, there is a certain amount of inconsistency in the severity of sanctions meted out and the seriousness of behavior that has preceded them. This is not our concern at the moment, however; what we are doing is setting up a model of cohort members' experiences as represented by Geometric scores.

The adult Tree Diagrams also reveal that there are sizeable proportions of each cohort who have Geometric scores representing

DIAGRAM 7. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1942 COHORT BY PERCENT PERSONS IN COHORT

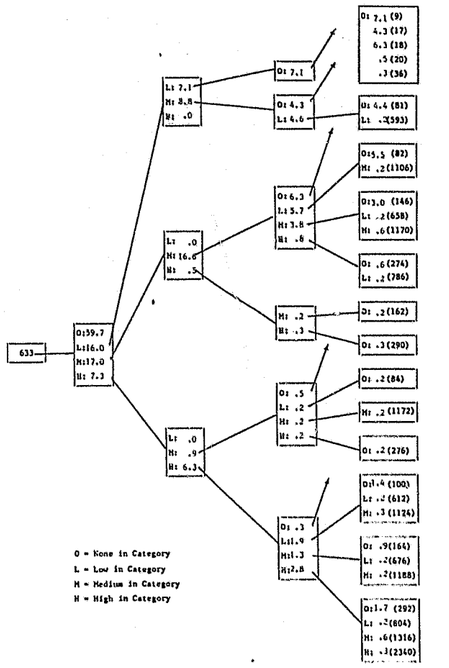


DIAGRAM 8. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1949 COHORT BY PERCENT PERSONS IN COHORT

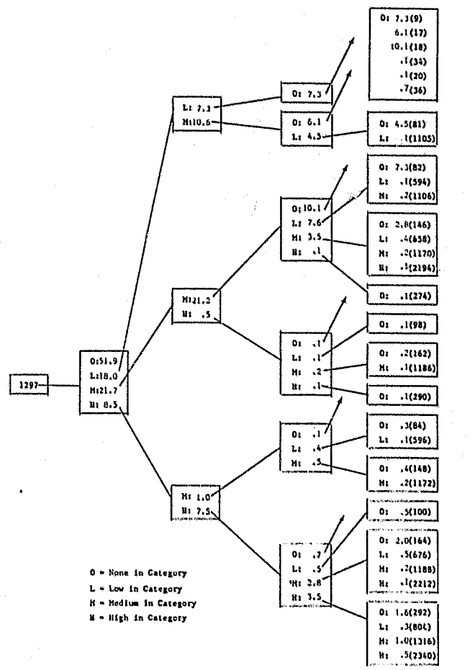


DIAGRAM 9. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1955 COHORT BY PERCENT PERSONS IN COHORT

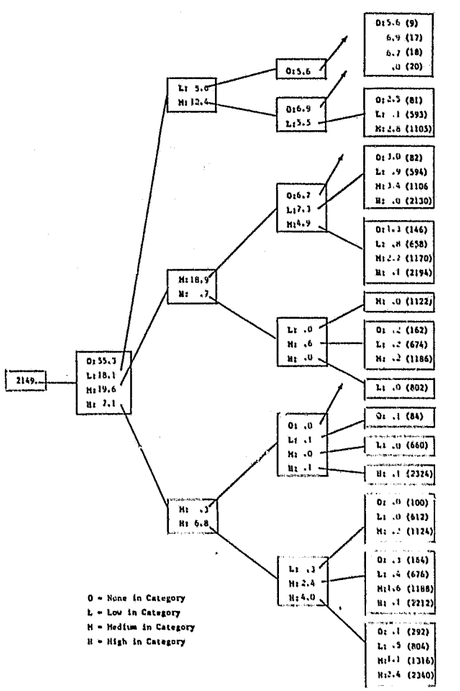


DIAGRAM 10. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1942 COHORT BY PERCENT PERSONS IN COHORT

DIAGRAM 11. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1949 COHORT BY PERCENT PERSONS IN COHORT

DIAGRAM 12. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1955 COHORT BY PERCENT PERSONS IN COHORT

high severity of sanctions who appear at the end of experiential chains where they would not be expected if there was complete consistency between behavior resulting in contacts and referrals and sanctions.

A third set of Tree Diagrams, 13-18, has percentages based on the number of persons in each cohort with contacts for the first three stages and then the number of persons with referrals for the last stage. Thus, each set of percentages provides a different model (cohort distribution) with which those for various types of neighborhoods may be compared.

In this model we control for contact level to better determine how persons with a given level of contacts and seriousness scores are dealt with by the police and how those referred are sanctioned. This model makes it somewhat clearer that inconsistencies in the reactions of persons in the juvenile justice system create Geometric scores that would not be expected, at least in the proportions found. The same is true for patterns generated by the adult system.

RELATING EXPERIENCE TYPES TO NEIGHBORHOOD TYPES

In-Area and By-Residence Rates as Key Variables

Our hypothesis is that at each stage from contact to sanctions persons from neighborhoods with High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and high rates from other delinquency and crime series will have proportions of persons in the various categories different from persons from other types of neighborhoods. And, it would be expected that experience chains

DIAGRAM 13. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1942 COHORT BY PERCENT WITH CONTACTS AND REFERRALS

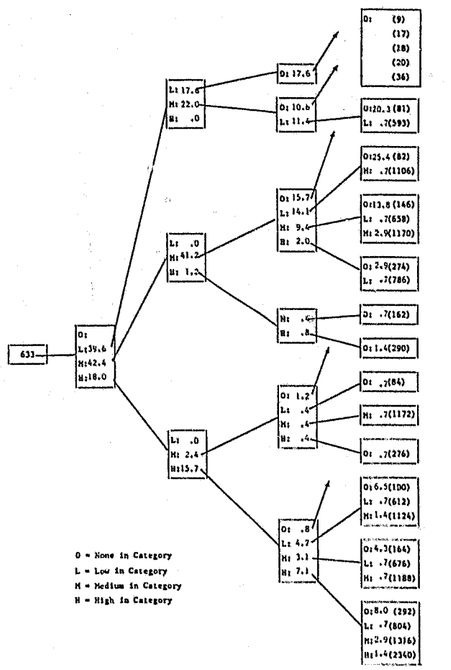


DIAGRAM 14. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1949 COHORT BY PERCENT WITH CONTACTS AND REFERRALS

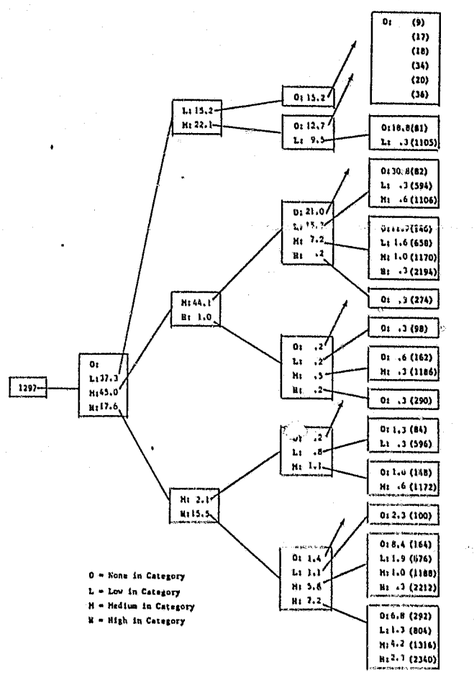


DIAGRAM 15. JUVENILE CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1955 COHORT BY PERCENT WITH CONTACTS AND REFERRALS

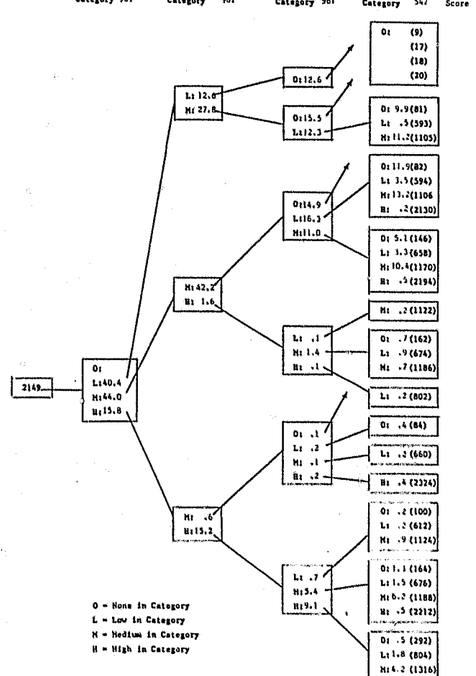


DIAGRAM 16. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1942 COHORT BY PERCENT WITH CONTACTS AND REFERRALS

DIAGRAM 17. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1949 COHORT BY PERCENT WITH CONTACTS AND REFERRALS

DIAGRAM 18. ADULT CAREER TYPES FOUND IN 1955 COHORT BY PERCENT WITH CONTACTS AND REFERRALS

represented by High Geometric scores would be found most frequently in High DCP and High Delinquency and Crime neighborhoods.

Furthermore, the question is not simply one of whether chains of experiences generated in one kind of neighborhood vs. another differ, but is one of whether differences develop during the process of interaction between persons in the neighborhood and the justice system. We must, therefore, determine the extent to which the variation which exists at each stage of the development of delinquent and criminal careers (with the same cutting points as those utilized in developing Geometric scores) is related to neighborhood characteristics. We must be sure that at the first and then each subsequent stage the relationship between measures of justice system involvement increase beyond those at the previous stage if we are to argue that the justice system operates differently for persons from neighborhoods perceived as very delinquent and/or criminal than for persons from neighborhoods perceived as less delinquent and/or criminal.

Tables 5 through 7 in this chapter permit these stage-by-stage or measure-by-measure comparisons. It should again be noted (in reference to Table 1) that neighborhoods may be arranged in groups with either In-Area or By-Residence Rates as a categorizer along with Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics. Each arrangement produces a different model of how the distribution of people in a cohort should change from those neighborhoods with the highest expectancy of high police

contact rates to those with the lowest expectancy and from those with Geometric scores representing High contact rates, High seriousness scores, frequent referrals, and severe sanctions to those with the lowest Geometric scores representing persons with either no or very little contact with the justice system.

For example, if we key on Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics first and within-groups Rates second, the groups of neighborhoods would be arrayed from those with high Geometric scores stage by stage to those with expected low Geometric scores stage by stage as shown in the "A" row of the model which follows. If we keyed on a combination of Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and then Rates used in characterizing neighborhoods, they would be arrayed as in the "B" row. If we keyed on Rates first and within-groups Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics next, they would be arrayed as shown in row "C." If we keyed on a combination of Rates and Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics, they would be arrayed as shown in Row "D." In this case we have grouped neighborhods by Rates for <u>place of contact</u>. A completely different set of distributions is produced when Rates by <u>place of residence</u> are used because the neighborhoods with high place of contact rates are somewhat different from the neighborhoods with high place of residence rates, etc. In the model below Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristic is first and Rate is second in each pair.

A.	HH	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL
B.	HH	HM	MH	MM	HL	LH	ML	LM	LL
C.	HH	MH	LH	HM	MM	LM	HL	ML	LL
D.	HH	MH	HM	MM	LH	HL	LM	ML	LL

Does the proportion of the members of each group of neighborhoods which fall in each of the Geometric scores differ in some systematic fashion as we move from HH to LL? How do these groups of neighborhoods differ from the cohort distribution? If the proportions in each group of neighborhoods differ, is it best related to the types of neighborhoods as they are arrayed in A, B, C, or D? Or is it possible that the highest correlation could be obtained by another arrangement? If so, the hypothesis of neighborhood impact based on our characterization of neighborhoods is in trouble.

But no matter what is found in the analysis of neighborhood variation step-by-step from contacts to sanctions, it will be necessary to determine how people are distributed in a larger set of spaces defined by neighborhood characteristics and Geometric scores representing what happens to the people in either neighborhoods or a group of neighborhoods. The distribution of members of each cohort at the first stage and then again as they are represented by Geometric scores may be found in Appendix F.

The relationship of cohort members' scores at each stage, I, II, III, and IV to the Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics of their neighborhoods and In-Area Rates and By-Residence Rates is shown in Table 5. Although we have discussed the possibility of different findings based on various orders of combinations of neighborhood characteristics, the differences between A, B, C, and D are small. The fairly systematic increases in correlations from cohort to cohort and the generally

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES TO INCREASING INVOLVEMENT IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

	Through Age 17				After Age 17			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Neighborhoods Organized by In-Area Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.096	.095	.056	.038	.114	.116	.156	.072
B	.097	.101	.067	.036	.103	.107	.157	.076
C	.114	.118	.084	.026	.123	.123	.171	.085
D	.106	.113	.089	.037	.108	.111	.163	.081
1949 Cohort								
A	.110	.119	.126	.064	.154	.159	.139	.100
B	.116	.129	.127	.065	.153	.155	.136	.098
C	.115	.130	.134	.073	.153	.154	.135	.106
D	.116	.131	.130	.070	.152	.152	.134	.100
1955 Cohort								
A	.231	.227	.197	.131	.205	.196	.191	.178
B	.218	.213	.184	.118	.192	.184	.172	.162
C	.215	.209	.188	.119	.189	.181	.173	.160
D	.211	.205	.182	.113	.186	.178	.165	.155
Neighborhoods Organized by Residence Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.093	.090	.055	.037	.119	.122	.153	.072
B	.090	.092	.063	.032	.124	.128	.153	.069
C	.103	.102	.079	.021	.133	.137	.156	.082
D	.096	.098	.077	.028	.130	.134	.153	.076
1949 Cohort								
A	.125	.129	.141	.078	.170	.176	.156	.110
B	.131	.134	.150	.084	.172	.178	.160	.113
C	.153	.152	.175	.111	.194	.199	.177	.129
D	.145	.146	.167	.102	.185	.189	.172	.125
1955 Cohort								
A	.247	.243	.214	.151	.223	.213	.207	.193
B	.249	.244	.216	.152	.225	.216	.207	.196
C	.255	.247	.231	.171	.234	.225	.215	.198
D	.255	.249	.225	.161	.230	.222	.210	.198

I Number of Police Contacts
II Seriousness Scores
III Number of Referrals
IV Severity of Sanctions

A HH HM HL MH MM ML LH LM LL
B HH HM MH MM HL LH ML LM LL
C HH MH LH HM MM LM HL ML LL
D HH MH HM MM LH HL LM ML LL

The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High, Medium, or Low offense rates.

higher correlations for orderings based on By-Residence Rates rather than on In-Area Rates are notable. While After 17 correlations are higher than Through 17 correlations for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, they are lower for the 1955 Cohort, but the latter should be expected considering the shorter period of exposure as adults for the 1955 Cohort members.

Perhaps most important of all, however, is the fact that correlations declined from the contact and seriousness stages on through to the sanctions stage in some cases but in others increased up to the referral stage before producing the lowest correlations at the sanctions stage. In other words, although we know that some factors result in differential referral rates and the application of sanctions, none of the orderings of neighborhoods in this analysis revealed increasing relationships between neighbornood characteristics and the distribution of recorded cohort behavior as we moved from number of contacts to severity of sanctions.

Since the correlations shown in Table 5 include all persons from each cohort with a juvenile neighborhood of residence (1942 Cohort = 549 persons, 1949 Cohort = 1113 persons, 1955 Cohort = 1780 persons) without regard to whether they had contacts, seriousness scores, referrals, or sanctions, the results were influenced by the spatial distribution of persons with no contacts or no referrals, each of which determined involvement with the justice system at the next stage. The extent to which the results were influenced by the distribution of persons with

no contacts may be seen by reference to Tables 1, 5, 9, and 13 in Appendix F. The number of persons from each cohort in each grouping of neighborhoods in Tables 5 through 7 may also be found in Appendix F.

Table 5A is identical to Table 5 except that all no contact, no referral, etc., members of each cohort have been removed stage by stage. Thus the correlations in this table are based on the distribution of persons with contacts, seriousness scores, referrals, and sanctions. Not only does the overall pattern of correlations differ from those in Table 5, but, most important, it reveals that there is little relationship between type of neighborhood and severity of sanctions administered to cohort members who were referred.

While most of the correlations in these tables are statistically significant, they are low and indicate that classifying the neighborhoods as we have done in Table 1, however they are arranged, accounts for very little of the difference in the number of contacts, seriousness scores, number of referrals, or severity of sanctions acquired by cohort members who resided there as juveniles. This, of course, does not fly in the face of our strong ecological findings in earlier research in which we found that inner city and interstitial transitional areas were sharply different from others in terms of offense rates, seriousness, referrals, and sanctions. It does suggest that these arrangements of neighborhoods are not as discriminating as were some earlier arrangements and that some of the otherwise

TABLE 5A. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES TO INCREASING INVOLVEMENT IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM*

	Through Age 17				After Age 17			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Neighborhoods Organized by In-Area Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.027	.010	.000	.047	.115	.127	.167	-.003
B	.037	.047	.024	.038	.112	.128	.177	.001
C	.047	.054	.038	.010	.121	.129	.184	.007
D	.046	.068	.041	.025	.115	.128	.183	.004
1949 Cohort								
A	.121	.177	.140	.048	.102	.116	.109	.070
B	.118	.185	.137	.052	.098	.104	.104	.073
C	.112	.186	.146	.066	.106	.110	.104	.079
D	.114	.189	.141	.064	.099	.102	.103	.077
1955 Cohort								
A	.157	.152	.145	.013	.187	.168	.175	.062
B	.151	.141	.136	-.009	.163	.140	.147	.057
C	.160	.154	.148	-.016	.165	.145	.153	.035
D	.153	.144	.141	-.020	.154	.130	.138	.046
Neighborhoods Organized by Residence Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.038	.017	.005	.039	.127	.143	.164	.007
B	.035	.032	.022	.025	.134	.152	.164	.004
C	.077	.075	.052	-.015	.150	.170	.169	.034
D	.052	.058	.048	.006	.144	.164	.164	.021
1949 Cohort								
A	.154	.199	.163	.068	.109	.125	.123	.074
B	.167	.213	.177	.077	.110	.125	.127	.082
C	.204	.245	.208	.128	.119	.132	.138	.088
D	.189	.233	.198	.108	.118	.130	.138	.093
1955 Cohort								
A	.175	.171	.163	.044	.211	.194	.194	.090
B	.182	.179	.169	.043	.207	.191	.191	.105
C	.214	.209	.201	.080	.233	.219	.204	.119
D	.199	.195	.185	.055	.212	.197	.192	.116

* This table is the same as Table 5 except that the No Contact, No Seriousness scores, No Referrals, and No Sanctions categories have been removed so that the relationship at each stage to neighborhood characteristics is based on variation in the degree to which the attribute is present.

important variation in rates was minimized by the process of placing cohort members in high, medium, or low categories as described in Appendix E.

Juvenile and Adult Rates as Key Variables

In Table 6, the scores from number of contacts to severity of sanctions are organized by neighborhood Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Juvenile or Adult Offense Rates. Juvenile Rates (through age 17) are generally more closely related to neighborhood characteristics than are Adult Rates (after age 17) for the 1955 Cohort but the opposite was found for the 1942 and 1949 Cohort juveniles. Since the correlations in Table 6 are even lower than the correlations in Table 5, it would appear that this organization of neighborhoods adds little to our attempt to account for neighborhood variation in police contacts, seriousness scores, referrals, and severity of sanctions scores. Table 6A makes it even more apparent that measuring the variation in cohort members' experiences with the justice system, one stage at a time during the juvenile and then the adult periods, produces results which lend little support to a neighborhood milieu explanation of delinquency and crime. Table 6A suggests that some of the variation in severity of sanctions occurs in a pattern which is even the opposite of that which was expected.

A More Complex Scheme

Table 7 brings us to an even more complex scheme for organizing neighborhoods by Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Juvenile/Adult Offense Rates. The results

TABLE 6. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO INCREASING INVOLVEMENT IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

	Through Age 17				After Age 17			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Neighborhoods Organized by Juvenile Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.095	.093	.053	.036	.107	.109	.155	.076
B	.107	.110	.075	.024	.100	.104	.160	.091
C	.106	.108	.074	.021	.099	.102	.163	.093
1949 Cohort								
A	.121	.124	.139	.073	.162	.163	.149	.109
B	.138	.137	.163	.095	.170	.175	.160	.127
C	.140	.137	.165	.094	.168	.174	.157	.126
1955 Cohort								
A	.223	.218	.193	.135	.199	.187	.184	.177
B	.195	.187	.180	.130	.177	.163	.157	.158
C	.181	.171	.166	.122	.162	.148	.145	.149
Neighborhoods Organized by Adult Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.086	.085	.043	.033	.109	.112	.148	.061
B	.091	.095	.050	.021	.108	.113	.149	.058
C	.087	.089	.048	.014	.108	.113	.149	.055
1949 Cohort								
A	.107	.116	.127	.061	.157	.163	.145	.107
B	.111	.122	.141	.071	.161	.167	.156	.127
C	.103	.116	.135	.064	.158	.166	.150	.121
1955 Cohort								
A	.230	.225	.198	.133	.201	.194	.190	.176
B	.216	.210	.193	.124	.183	.178	.172	.157
C	.211	.203	.190	.123	.177	.173	.168	.152

I Number of Police Contacts
II Seriousness Scores
III Number of Referrals
IV Severity of Sanctions

A HH HL MH ML LH LL
B HH MH HL LM ML LL
C HH MH LH HL ML LL

The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood had High, Medium or Low Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low Offense Rates.

TABLE 6A. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO INCREASING INVOLVEMENT IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM*

	Through Age 17				After Age 17			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Neighborhoods Organized by Juvenile Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.034	.016	-.001	.042	.115	.130	.172	.006
B	.051	.058	.031	-.002	.112	.130	.185	.025
C	.062	.070	.034	-.005	.116	.131	.190	.030
1949 Cohort								
A	.153	.195	.162	.061	.103	.120	.118	.081
B	.188	.225	.196	.100	.107	.123	.129	.109
C	.196	.228	.200	.100	.101	.116	.125	.105
1955 Cohort								
A	.155	.145	.147	.030	.189	.162	.171	.082
B	.155	.141	.155	.037	.163	.124	.139	.088
C	.146	.125	.144	.035	.160	.121	.134	.090
Neighborhoods Organized by Adult Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.011	-.012	-.018	.040	.111	.128	.159	-.012
B	-.003	-.009	-.016	.008	.108	.127	.162	-.015
C	.001	-.009	-.013	-.005	.110	.131	.162	-.018
1949 Cohort								
A	.128	.184	.147	.036	.099	.118	.115	.072
B	.137	.206	.167	.041	.102	.119	.128	.090
C	.130	.204	.163	.030	.094	.113	.119	.081
1955 Cohort								
A	.157	.150	.148	.015	.191	.182	.179	.063
B	.157	.145	.154	-.010	.178	.178	.163	.042
C	.160	.147	.156	-.008	.178	.185	.165	.039

* This table is the same as Table 6 except that the No Contact, No Seriousness scores, No Referrals, and No Sanctions categories have been removed so that the relationship at each stage to neighborhood characteristics is based on variation in the degree to which the attribute is present.

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND COMBINATIONS OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO INCREASING INVOLVEMENT IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

	Through Age 17				After Age 17			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Neighborhoods Organized by Offense Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.096	.095	.054	.033	.109	.112	.158	.075
B	.092	.091	.050	.031	.110	.114	.155	.068
C	.105	.109	.073	.011	.102	.106	.164	.086
D	.097	.101	.063	.008	.107	.118	.159	.070
1949 Cohort								
A	.123	.127	.143	.074	.166	.173	.154	.115
B	.116	.123	.138	.069	.164	.171	.153	.114
C	.138	.139	.171	.095	.174	.180	.165	.137
D	.122	.130	.158	.083	.170	.177	.162	.136
1955 Cohort								
A	.226	.220	.197	.137	.200	.189	.186	.177
B	.230	.224	.200	.136	.201	.192	.188	.177
C	.179	.168	.169	.120	.156	.144	.141	.141
D	.195	.185	.181	.121	.164	.157	.152	.143

I Number of Police Contacts
II Seriousness Scores
III Number of Referrals
IV Severity of Sanctions

A (H)HJ-HA (H)HJ-LA (H)LJ-HA (H)LJ-LA (M)HJ-HA (M)HJ-LA (M)LJ-HA (M)LJ-LA (L)HM-HA (L)HJ-LA (L)LJ-HA (L)LJ-LA
B (H)HJ-HA (H)LJ-HA (H)HJ-LA (H)LJ-LA (M)HJ-HA (M)LJ-HA (M)HJ-LA (M)LJ-LA (L)HJ-HA (L)LJ-HA (L)HJ-LA (L)LJ-LA
C HJ-HA(H) HJ-HA(M) HJ-HA(L) HJ-LA(H) HJ-LA(M) HJ-LA(L) LJ-HA(H) LJ-HA(M) LJ-HA(L) LJ-LA(H) LJ-LA(M) LJ-LA(L)
D HJ-HA(H) HJ-HA(M) HJ-HA(L) LJ-HA(H) LJ-HA(M) LJ-HA(L) HJ-LA(H) HJ-LA(M) HJ-LA(L) LJ-LA(H) LJ-LA(M) LJ-LA(L)

The first letter, A and B, indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency and/or crime rates. In C and D the designations are the opposite.

[1] Based on juvenile and adult police contact rates by neighborhood of residence for cohort members at time of contact and juvenile and adult felony rates by place of felony and place of residence.

differ little from those in Table 6 where neighborhoods are organized according to Juvenile Rates and according to Adult Rates. What we see is simply another instance in which the neighborhoods in which juveniles reside as juveniles has some relationship to their contact, seriousness, referral, and sanctions scores, and that the impact of neighborhood types has increased from cohort to cohort. Table 7A, the last in this series, reveals that, with the exception of contact, seriousness, and referral relationships for 1949 Cohort juveniles, variation in level of experience with the justice system continues to have little relationship to neighborhood characteristics.

Be all that as it may, we have done no more than produce findings which lend support, but very little, to the milieu explanation following the usual stage by stage approach to investigation of the strength of relationships.

The correlations shown in Table 8 were based on the Geometric scores of cohort members with their rank-orders as the basis for manipulation. Thus, instead of being ordered as shown in the Tree Diagrams, ranks are substituted for Geometric scores so that severity of sanctions predominates. Doing this, do we find that neighborhoods have more or less impact on the delinquency and adult crime rates of cohort members? The differences are not large but the answer is more in every cohort, no matter how the neighborhoods are arranged within a system or which system of neighborhoods is utilized. No matter which system is utilized, there are systematic increases in the

TABLE 7A. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND COMBINATIONS OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO INCREASING INVOLVEMENT IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

	Through Age 17				After Age 17			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Neighborhoods Organized by Offense Rates & Crime Producing Characteristics								
1942 Cohort								
A	.030	.014	-.002	.033	.117	.133	.175	.003
B	.019	.001	-.010	.033	.116	.132	.169	-.005
C	.049	.061	-.030	-.027	.117	.135	.192	.020
D	.022	.026	.009	-.027	.115	.136	.180	.000
1949 Cohort								
A	.155	.203	.168	.058	.104	.123	.122	.084
B	.143	.198	.161	,047	.103	.122	.121	.080
C	.195	.243	.211	.092	.101	.118	.130	.111
D	.166	.233	.195	.060	.099	.117	.128	.101
1955 Cohort								
A	.160	.149	.152	.025	.191	.169	.174	.077
B	.161	.151	.153	.018	.193	.179	.178	.068
C	.152	.129	.152	.018	.159	.133	.133	.072
D	.160	.140	.160	-.001	.169	.164	.148	.050

* This table is the same as Table 7 except that the No Contact, No Seriousness scores, No Referrals, and No Sanctions categories have been removed so that the relationship at each stage to neighborhood characteristics is based on variation in the degree to which the attribute is present.

TABLE 8. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES TO INCREASING INVOLVEMENT IN JUSTICE SYSTEM

	Neighborhoods organized by crime-producing characteristics								*Neighborhoods organized by crime-producing characteristics and combinations of specific offense rates*	
	In-Area Rates		Residence Rates		Juvenile Rates		Adult Rates			
	Through 17	After 17	Through 17	After 17	Through 17	After 17	Through 17	After 17	Through 17	After 17
1942 Cohort:										
A	.063	.107	.061	.107	.061	.110	.052	.097	.060	.110
B	.069	.110	.063	.106	.067	.121	.050	.095	.056	.104
C	.074	.122	.066	.118	.064	.124	.044	.093	.058	.119
D	.075	.116	.068	.112					.050	.107
1949 Cohort:										
A	.112	.123	.129	.135	.125	.133	.111	.130	.128	.139
B	.115	.120	.138	.139	.150	.149	.124	.147	.122	.137
C	.122	.125	.168	.157	.151	.147	.116	.141	.155	.158
D	.120	.121	.158	.152					.139	.156
1955 Cohort:										
A	.165	.189	.185	.205	.166	.186	.167	.187	.168	.187
B	.151	.172	.187	.207	.156	.164	.158	.168	.169	.187
C	.152	.170	.205	.212	.145	.153	.155	.163	.145	.146
D	.146	.164	.195	.210					.150	.152

CONTINUED

1 OF 5

correlations as one moves from the 1942 to the 1955 Cohort, attesting to the perpetuation of Delinquency and Crime Producing areas, the hardening of the inner city, as this process has been referred to previously. And in most cases the After 17 correlations are higher than those for ages 6 through 17.

Chapter 4. Linking Levels of Contact with the Juvenile and Adult Justice Systems by Neighborhood Types

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MEASURES WITH COMBINED COHORTS

Continuing our concern with the question of closer linkages between levels of contact with the juvenile and adult justice systems by neighborhood types, Tables 9 and 10 are presented. In each of these and the following tables one may see how the relative number of contacts, offense seriousness, number of referrals, and severity of sanctions are interrelated within neighborhood types for the combined cohorts (we have previously found that there was relatively little difference in the correlations which existed for each cohort) for 3,203 cohort members with an assigned neighborhood of juvenile residence. Similar patterns of correlations were produced for males and females and for each race/ethnic group, the male interrelations again somewhat higher than the females and the Black and Chicano correlations generally slightly higher than the White correlations.

Just how patterns of interrelatonship vary from one group of neighborhoods to the other is not readily discerned by perusal of either table but the average of the six correlations for juveniles in neighborhoods by In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rates is highest for neighborhoods with High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics but with Low Offense Rates. Oddly enough, the next highest average is for juveniles in neighborhoods with Low Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics but with High Offense Rates. Patterned

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 17 BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPES: COMBINED COHORTS

In-Area Offense Rates		*Delinquency & Crime Producing Characteristics*								
		HIGH			MEDIUM			LOW		
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.
	Ser.	.950			.949			.952		
HIGH	Ref.	.761	.719		.798	.743		.739	.709	
	Sanc.	.518	.486	.685	.546	.500	.666	.700	.619	.689
	Ser.	.945			.951			.940		
MEDIUM	Ref.	.736	.703		.721	.675		.762	.700	
	Sanc.	.539	.503	.783	.465	.426	.607	.531	.502	.702
	Ser.	.945			.950			.947		
LOW	Ref.	.841	.778		.723	.696		.685	.647	
	Sanc.	.678	.585	.821	.459	.455	.617	.450	.456	.655

By-Residence Offense Rates		HIGH			MEDIUM			LOW		
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.
	Ser.	.952			.960			.964		
HIGH	Ref.	.769	.731		.783	.751		.805	.751	
	Sanc.	.536	.503	.705	.553	.519	.694	.571	.571	.742
	Ser.	.925			.944			.942		
MEDIUM	Ref.	.676	.575		.744	.692		.710	.663	
	Sanc.	.339	.302	.543	.457	.433	.581	.504	.485	.683
	Ser.	.922			.947			.944		
LOW	Ref.	.730	.697		.646	.614		.677	.643	
	Sanc.	.708	.559	.874	.388	.361	.546	.396	.416	.608

TABLE 10. RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 17 BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPES: COMBINED COHORTS

In-Area Offense Rates		*Delinquency & Crime Producing Characteristics*								
		HIGH			MEDIUM			LOW		
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.
	Ser.	.960			.958			.965		
HIGH	Ref.	.786	.770		.774	.746		.739	.724	
	Sanc.	.670	.658	.768	.656	.639	.799	.526	.530	.669
	Ser.	.961			.956			.954		
MEDIUM	Ref.	.767	.745		.729	.706		.732	.711	
	Sanc.	.709	.693	.855	.590	.598	.794	.618	.626	.812
	Ser.	.976			.962			.957		
LOW	Ref.	.720	.714		.729	.714		.727	.718	
	Sanc.	.552	.577	.802	.621	.625	.788	.647	.638	.834

By-Residence Offense Rates		HIGH			MEDIUM			LOW		
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.
	Ser.	.961			.961			.959		
HIGH	Ref.	.793	.773		.757	.716		.720	.676	
	Sanc.	.685	.668	.780	.653	.638	.840	.552	.552	.758
	Ser.	.963			.953			.954		
MEDIUM	Ref.	.697	.729		.730	.720		.738	.719	
	Sanc.	.523	.595	.723	.571	.597	.756	.637	.636	.820
	Ser.	.949			.960			.959		
LOW	Ref.	.386	.331		.715	.701		.711	.721	
	Sanc.	.475	.423	.839	.601	.576	.772	.656	.649	.866

differences are not sufficiently distinctive, however, to permit more to be said about the juvenile period.

The adult period (Table 10) presents a different pattern, with the lowest average correlations found in those neighborhood types which had the highest correlations for juveniles. And in the adult case, high correlations were found in those neighborhood types with High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and High Offense Rates. These correlations suggest that the relationship of contacts to seriousness, referrals, and sanctions has become better established during the adult period than the juvenile period among those who, as juveniles, resided in neighborhoods that had become recognized as likely to be and are in fact producers of delinquency and crime.

When the same table was produced according to place or residence as adults, the relationships between contacts, seriousness, referrals, and sanctions were either similar or changed in a pattern which reduced the differences between categories of In-Area Offense Rates and Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics. It cannot be said that this set of neighborhood types influences or is systematically related to variation in consistency during the adult period. When neighborhood type was based on By-Residence Offense Rates and Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics, differences in consistency by adult neighborhood types were also changed but remained highest in those neighborhoods with High By-Residence Offense Rates. Since this is an important finding, we shall explore it even further at a later point in this report.

CHANGING INTERRELATIONSHIPS FROM COHORT TO COHORT

Rather than attempting to make either too much or too little of these correlations, we shall turn to Table 11, which presents the interrelationship of each level of contact with the justice system through and after age 17 by cohorts. Although there are strong cohort similarities in the relationship of measures through and after age 17, it is also clear that referrals through age 17 and sanctions through age 17 have become more highly correlated with after age 17 variables from cohort to cohort. In this case the intercorrelations produced for females were somewhat lower than for males, indicating the juvenile/adult continuity was less for contacts, seriousness, referrals, and severity of sanctions.

While race/ethnic differences were modest, it was clear that the four stages from number of police contacts to severity of sanctions were more highly interrelated for the Blacks than for the Whites, with those for the Chicanos generally in between. As in other analyses which we have conducted over the years, it becomes apparent that the justice system operates somewhat differently, stage by stage, for minorities than for the larger White population, culminating in a disproportionately heavily sanctioned minority group population.

INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF MEASURES BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

The pattern of correlations for each cohort is sufficiently similar that combining cohorts is justified for Table 12. In this table we see how each measure of contact with the justice

TABLE 11. RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AND AFTER AGE 17: ALL NEIGHBORHOODS COMBINED

Through 17	After 17			
	Contacts	Seriousness	Referrals	Sanctions
1942 Cohort				
Contacts	.503	.501	.569	.512
Seriousness	.493	.498	.548	.506
Referrals	.448	.453	.551	.545
Sanctions	.223	.217	.271	.338
1949 Cohort				
Contacts	.544	.522	.558	.522
Seriousness	.511	.493	.519	.489
Referrals	.498	.482	.582	.584
Sanctions	.273	.251	.355	.394
1955 Cohort				
Contacts	.528	.519	.549	.486
Seriousness	.498	.494	.517	.461
Referrals	.510	.494	.588	.518
Sanctions	.430	.420	.490	.447

TABLE 12. RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 17 AND AFTER AGE 17 BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE: COMBINED COHORTS

Delinquency & Crime-Producing Characteristics

In-Area Offense Rates		HIGH-After 17				MEDIUM-After 17				LOW-After 17			
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.
HIGH Through 17	Cnt.	.544	.536	.591	.525	.589	.570	.605	530	.335	.312	.382	.255
	Ser.	.499	.495	.552	.493	.543	.531	.552	.490	.358	.388	.355	.248
	Ref.	.507	.505	.614	.546	.556	.546	.651	.568	.371	.350	.590	.259
	Snc.	.329	.320	.392	.446	.283	.286	.365	.394	.292	.245	.486	.337
MEDIUM Through 17	Cnt.	.463	.429	.536	.482	.510	.508	.549	.513	.515	.508	.498	.444
	Ser.	.417	.400	.473	.430	.488	.492	.516	.496	.485	.480	.473	.432
	Ref.	.472	.429	.600	.565	.431	.442	.532	.580	.497	.472	.532	.522
	Snc.	.371	.317	.446	.447	.213	.230	.306	.408	.379	.369	.476	.454
LOW Through 17	Cnt.	.501	.530	.471	.536	.499	.493	.530	.501	.467	.451	.496	.458
	Ser.	.489	.505	.470	.589	.468	.469	.500	.477	.432	.421	.450	.418
	Ref.	.440	.437	.475	.631	.440	.425	.551	.512	.450	.430	.511	.524
	Snc.	.275	.232	.223	.301	.177	.202	.276	.266	.263	.362	.343	.347

By-Residence Offense Rates		HIGH-After 17				MEDIUM-After 17				LOW-After 17			
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.
HIGH Through 17	Cnt.	.562	.549	.605	.535	.610	.610	.633	.578	.532	.507	.549	.482
	Ser.	.519	.512	.561	.505	.572	.582	.579	.531	.530	.500	.551	.514
	Ref.	.521	.510	.623	.556	.520	.532	.591	.600	.426	.404	.494	.574
	Snc.	.345	.329	.403	.455	.342	.359	.442	.463	.269	.263	.485	.580
MEDIUM Through 17	Cnt.	.314	.353	.382	.446	.472	.467	.553	.482	.489	.479	.492	.441
	Ser.	.272	.306	.364	.358	.456	.456	.521	.470	.448	.444	.444	.401
	Ref.	.363	.410	.468	.576	.437	.424	.561	.525	.476	.458	.514	.490
	Snc.	.113	.126	.148	.233	.177	.191	.262	.366	.301	.300	.355	.328
LOW Through 17	Cnt.	-.110	-.198	.186	.134	.458	.451	.433	.443	.424	.409	.461	.447
	Ser.	-.254	-.347	.328	.147	.425	.423	.416	.418	.406	.398	.431	.419
	Ref.	-.072	-.125	.331	.119	.358	.371	.467	.507	.439	.409	.529	.554
	Snc.	-.093	-.140	-.046	-.083	.073	.103	.145	.170	.314	.297	.434	.453

system through and after age 17 is related to every other measure within neighborhood types. Here we are able to see how the juvenile and adult periods are most closely linked in High In-Area or Medium Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods, particularly in High In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rate neighborhoods. However, sanctions through age 17 have relatively low relationships to any of the after age 17 measures. It is also clear that the relationship between contacts, referrals, and ultimate sanctions is lowest in Low In-Area Offense Rate neighborhoods, particularly the relationship between sanctions through 17 and other variables at age 18 or later. And the lowest of all, even inverse, are between variables through age 17 and after age 17 for Low By-Residence Offense Rate and High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhood types. Here we have a rather intriguing inconsistency in which it is apparent that what happens during the juvenile period does not tell us what to expect during the adult period. Of course, it is an anomalous neighborhood type because its characteristics are similar to other High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods but yet rates by their residents are low.

When Table 12 was produced according to adult place of residence the most notable change was an increase in juvenile/adult continuity for Medium In-Area Offense and Low Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods. These neighborhoods now have the greatest juvenile/adult continuity. But whatever the pattern of changes was, the end result was no

greater patterned continuity, even less, in terms of the hypothesis than when cohort members were examined according to juvenile neighborhood of residence. By contrast, the High By-Residence Offense Rates and High or Medium DCP neighborhoods and High DCP and Medium Offense Rates neighborhoods produced the greatest continuity between juvenile and adult careers.

However complex the patterns of relationships shown in these tables, one must conclude that cohort members residing in High In-Area or By-Residence Offense Rate neighborhoods are having different experiences than are those who reside in Low In-Area or By-Residence Offense Rate neighborhoods, particularly if these are also High DCP neighborhoods. We shall later more closely examine the members of each cohort who reside in each of these neighborhood types in order to obtain a better idea of how age period differences in experience chains are produced.

We now turn to Table 13 in which neighborhoods are characterized by their Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and whether their Juvenile Neighborhood Rates were Low or High or their Adult Neighborhood Rates were Low or High. While neighborhoods with Low or Medium Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Low Juvenile or Adult Rates had the lowest average intercorrelations of measures, high intercorrelations were not consistently found in other types of neighborhoods for the combined cohorts through age 17. There was even less consistency for the correlations during the adult age period (Table 14), although the average of a set of

TABLE 13. RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 17 BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPES: COMBINED COHORTS

Juvenile Neighborhood Rates		*Delinquency & Crime Producing Characteristics*								
		HIGH			MEDIUM			LOW		
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.
HIGH	Ser.	.952			.957			.947		
	Ref.	.766	.725		.787	.740		.718	.668	
	Sanc.	.516	.486	.686	.527	.493	.619	.527	.502	.680
LOW	Ser.	.940			.944			.945		
	Ref.	.738	.696		.685	.650		.712	.669	
	Sanc.	.583	.526	.788	.431	.406	.626	.467	.467	.670

Adult Neighborhood Rates		HIGH			MEDIUM			LOW		
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.
HIGH	Ser.	.951			.951			.943		
	Ref.	.763	.723		.766	.732		.770	.716	
	Sanc.	.526	.493	.698	.501	.472	.641	.539	.529	.698
LOW	Ser.	.924			.950			.946		
	Ref.	.732	.680		.713	.665		.696	.653	
	Sanc.	.515	.462	.765	.463	.432	.611	.471	.461	.665

TABLE 14. RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS AFTER AGE 17 BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPES: COMBINED COHORTS

Juvenile Neighborhood Rates		*Delinquency & Crime Producing Characteristics*								
		HIGH			MEDIUM			LOW		
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.
HIGH	Ser.	.961			.958			.967		
	Ref.	.792	.774		.755	.734		.750	.727	
	Sanc.	.683	.670	.780	.646	.634	.795	.640	.643	.788
LOW	Ser.	.963			.958			.953		
	Ref.	.737	.726		.722	.700		.719	.711	
	Sanc.	.624	.614	.762	.580	.586	.791	.631	.627	.838

Adult Neighborhood Rates		HIGH			MEDIUM			LOW		
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.
HIGH	Ser.	.961			.958			.946		
	Ref.	.786	.769		.770	.739		.742	.708	
	Sanc.	.677	.664	.777	.637	.627	.782	.601	.599	.790
LOW	Ser.	.967			.958			.960		
	Ref.	.727	.711		.714	.699		.724	.718	
	Sanc.	.590	.615	.796	.593	.594	.800	.645	.643	.836

intercorrelations was highest for neighborhoods with High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and those with High Juvenile or Adult Neighborhood Rates. When this table was produced on a basis of adult neighborhoods of residence, the pattern of differences by type of neighborhoods was less systematic than before with neither Juvenile nor Adult Rates and Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics having an orderly relationship to variation in consistency in number of contacts, seriousness, referrals, or severity of sanctions.

Table 15 is a companion to Table 12 but the pattern of intercorrelations between measures during the juvenile and adult periods is not as readily discerned. While most of the high correlations between measures for the juvenile and adult periods are for cohort members who resided in High or Medium Delinquency and Crime Producing and High Offense Rate neighborhoods, the correlations between sanctions during the juvenile period and measures during the adult period were generally lower than were other correlations whether cohort members resided in High or Low Rate neighborhoods or in High, Medium, or Low Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods. This statement must be followed, however, by the finding that sanctions during the juvenile period were most highly correlated with sanctions during the adult period in neighborhoods that were characterized as High Delinquency and Crime Producing and with High Juvenile and Adult Rates. In other words, the phenomenon of sanctions followed by sanctions was somewhat more of an inner city and interstitial

TABLE 15. RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS THROUGH AGE 17 AND AFTER AGE 17 BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE: COMBINED COHORTS

Delinquency & Crime Producing Characteristics

Juvenile Neighborhood Type		HIGH-After 17				MEDIUM-After 17				LOW-After 17			
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.
HIGH Through 17	Cnt.	.542	.528	.594	.519	.546	.533	.591	.532	.472	.460	.460	.366
	Ser.	.496	.489	.548	.489	.518	.507	.554	.510	.436	.427	.428	.364
	Ref.	.508	.498	.617	.539	.525	.516	.609	.599	.454	.435	.499	.421
	Snc.	.335	.316	.395	.443	.292	.296	.354	.429	.282	.282	.390	.356
LOW Through 17	Cnt.	.517	.525	.538	.556	.499	.498	.520	.492	.479	.466	.503	.476
	Ser.	.484	.485	.527	.505	.469	.479	.486	.458	.449	.442	.462	.434
	Ref.	.487	.488	.571	.619	.391	.401	.513	.516	.467	.444	.525	.553
	Snc.	.317	.324	.376	.429	.146	.175	.266	.300	.314	.306	.393	.394

Adult Neighborhood Type		HIGH-After 17				MEDIUM-After 17				LOW-After 17			
		Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.	Cnt.	Ser.	Ref.	Snc.
HIGH Through 17	Cnt.	.545	.534	.594	.528	.587	.581	.608	.524	.558	.555	.567	.540
	Ser.	.500	.495	.552	.494	.565	.566	.571	.498	.524	.517	.518	.511
	Ref.	.512	.504	.618	.555	.536	.537	.576	.547	.446	.423	.523	.570
	Snc.	.336	.322	.399	.451	.278	.279	.339	.358	.293	.273	.437	.411
LOW Through 17	Cnt.	.382	.396	.401	.419	.477	.470	.514	.503	.453	.436	.468	.418
	Ser.	.371	.372	.403	.423	.443	.442	.479	.472	.423	.414	.433	.389
	Ref.	.347	.345	.450	.449	.400	.398	.544	.566	.469	.447	.516	.499
	Snc.	.247	.203	.207	.175	.173	.199	.286	.369	.310	.308	.377	.377

area phenomenon than an occurrence in other types of neighborhoods.

Analysis of cohort members on a basis of their adult neighborhoods of residence produced some increases in continuity between the juvenile and adult periods, particularly for those who resided in High DCP areas with Low Juvenile or Adult Offense Rates--otherwise the pattern of continuity was little more consistent with the hypothesis of neighborhood effects than before. In other words, the results of this analysis provided only modest support for the idea that experiences were of a snowballing nature in High Offense Rate and High DCP neighborhoods.

One final summary table (Table 16) is presented in this section in which the rank-order of Geometric scores is utilized. The correlations in this table fail to be supportive of the idea that juvenile and adult experience chains are more highly correlated in neighborhoods with High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and High In-Area or By-Residence or High Juvenile or Adult Rates than in neighborhoods with other combinations of these characteristics. When the same table was produced based on neighborhood of adult residence the only evidence of consistent effects was found for Adult Rates and here there was a systematic decrease in continuity between the juvenile and adult periods from High Adult Neighborhood Rates and High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics to Low Rates and Low DCP. We must conclude that however much single measures

TABLE 16. RELATIONSHIP OF EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES) THROUGH AGE 17 TO AFTER AGE 17 BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPES: COMBINED COHORTS

	Delinquency & Crime Producing Characteristics		
In-Area Offense Rates	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
High	.551	.530	.423
Medium	.531	.535	.549
Low	.433	.427	.468
By-Residence Offense Rates			
High	.557	.583	.626
Medium	.539	.488	.450
Low	.008	.352	.552
Juvenile Neighborhood Rates			
High	.546	.561	.452
Low	.545	.443	.510
Adult Neighborhood Rates			
High	.554	.507	.533
Low	.326	.498	.483

of contact with the juvenile and adult justice systems have produced some modest support for the position that the milieu produces higher or lower rates and interrelationships of these rates, the Geometric scores representing combinations of different experience levels generally fall short of providing stronger support for the idea that quite different experience chains are produced by different identifiable milieus.

TRYING IT WITH COMPUTER-GENERATED CLUSTERS

Since we have earlier characterized neighborhoods by FASTCLUS procedures but still have not utilized these clusters in comparison analyses to those presented, we concluded that the analyses described in Tables 9, 10, 12, 15, and 16 should be redone with neighborhoods grouped according to the FASTCLUS procedure but with these small population neighborhoods omitted. However, when the analyses were redone, we found that the pattern of differences between aggregated neighborhoods as represented by coefficients of correlation were only slightly changed. Although the grouping of neighborhoods produced by FASTCLUS resulted in somewhat more homogeneous clusters of neighborhoods than did the aggregations of neighborhoods produced for the first sets of analyses, the final results were similar. There were no systematic patterns of higher intercorrelations of variables in the clusters with High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and High In-Area or By-Residence Offense Rates for the juvenile or the adult period with progressive increases or decreases to clusters with Low Delinquency and Crime Producing

Characteristics and Low In-Area or By-Residence Offense Rates. Nor were there any systematic patterns of relationship between juvenile and adult experience chains that could be identified as the product of differences in neighborhood milieu.

Although the FASTCLUS program had produced homogeneous groups of neighborhoods, the analysis again failed to produce any pattern of correlations supportive of the proposition that milieu determines the experience chains of juveniles or adults or the relationship of juvenile to adult experiences.

One problem that should be mentioned was the limited variation in mean delinquency or crime (metric) scores or justice experiences scores (Geometric Ranks) between the FASTCLUS DCP clusters. While the cohort means of the extreme clusters were significantly different from the means of clusters at the other end of the continuum, adjacent clusters were usually not significantly different (Duncan's Multiple Range Test). In essence, there were usually one or two clusters with significantly higher rates than the others but differences between clusters beyond this were not significant. The inner city, interstitial, and transitional neighborhoods, as in other configurations, had high rates while most others were lower. Little or, for all practical purposes, none of the variation in rates was accounted for by the DCP clusters of neighborhoods.

The same problem was encountered in the development of In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rate neighborhood clusters. Two of the clusters were significantly higher on mean levels of metric

and Geometric rank scores than the remaining clusters. However, these measures did not necessarily have means that were in complete congruence with the rank-ordering of clusters. In other words, the clusters of neighborhoods produced by FASTCLUS did not (with few exceptions) produce groups of cohort members with parallel delinquency and crime rates or experience scores. The exception was for By-Residence clusters with single elements of the metric score, i.e., contacts, seriousness, referrals, and sanctions, individually had means quite consistent with the ordering of clusters. All of this considered, it was highly unlikely that an orderly pattern of consistency and continuity would have been produced by the FASTCLUS groupings beyond that shown in Tables 9, 10, 12, 15, and 16.

Looking back even further to the neighborhood groupings presented in Tables 1 and 2, the three DCP groups utilized here did produce significantly different mean metric and Geometric scores but again most often between that group containing inner city, interstitial, and transitional neighborhoods and the other groups. Again, little of the variance in metric scores or Geometric ranks was accounted for by DCP groupings. When In-Area and By-Residence groups were considered, however, the mean scores of the By-Residence groups were significantly different from each other in every case, as would have been expected considering the more positive results obtained in the By-Residence analyses which were earlier described.

Numerous one-way and two-way analyses of variance were conducted but little evidence of significant clustering scheme variation in metric rates was found. In the end, it became apparent that our DCP and offense rate models were too simple to account for cohort delinquency and crime rates (metric or components of the total score) and experience variation.

We concluded that clustering neighborhoods might have the effect of preventing us from really observing how experiences with the juvenile and adult justice systems differed by milieu and that we had best turn back to a more microscopic examination of what was happening to people in neighborhoods.

Chapter 5. Returning to the Neighborhood

CONSISTENCY AND CONTINUITY IN DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

A Close Look at Two Inner City Neighborhoods

Having decided that neither approach to clustering neighborhoods produced solid evidence of the differences to be found in juvenile or adult careers or experience chains during either period or linking them (based on the characteristics of neighborhood clusters), we now turn back to a series of analyses in which each neighborhood is viewed separately.

The first step consisted of reclustering neighborhoods in a variety of ways in order to determine which definable clusters of neighborhoods best maximized differences in the interrelationship of measures of delinquency and court responses to it, measures of adult crime and court responses to it, and measures of the relationship of juvenile to adult careers, i.e., the chains of experiences that differentiate those cohort members with serious and continuous careers from most of the other members of the cohorts. For example, if we examine what could be called consistency in experiences for cohort members during either the juvenile or adult period we might consider the interrelationship of the four variables in a neighborhood which was considered a high crime rate neighborhood and which we had categorized as a neighborhood with delinquency and crime producing characteristics, and whose cohort members did have high offense rates. What should we find? Neighborhood 11, an inner city neighborhood with over 50% of its population Black, is a good

example. The correlations shown in Table 17 reveal that persons with numerous contacts had high seriousness scores, were frequently referred, and were severely sanctioned; persons who were in the top 20% of their cohort on one variable tended to be

TABLE 17. CONSISTENCY THROUGH AGE 17 - NEIGHBORHOOD 11

	Contacts	Seriousness	Referrals
Seriousness	.770		
Referrals	.726	.847	
Sanctions	.737	.727	.870

in the top 20% on all others. The highest correlation was between referrals and sanctions and next highest between seriousness and sanctions.

It should be noted that these correlations were obtained in two ways, with and without persons with zero contacts included. The more conservative set of correlations is included here, i.e., persons without police contacts had been removed because they would have automatically been in the lowest category for each variable and thus inflated the correlation. What we are attempting to do is determine if persons with police contacts are consistently high on all variables; is there consistency in what happens to people during the juvenile period? We have done much of this type of thing previously but not in such a way that we have used one set of variables to categorize a neighborhood and

another measure of cohort experience to determine if the justice system operates consistently within the neighborhood. With all cohort members included, Neighborhood 11 had the greatest consistency and with only persons with contacts included, it ranked second on consistency. The example of the opposite,

TABLE 18. CONSISTENCY THROUGH AGE 17 - NEIGHBORHOOD 10

	Contacts	Seriousness	Referrals
Seriousness	.717		
Referrals	.604	.568	
Sanctions	.172	.180	.574

Neighborhood 10, is presented in Table 18.

This neighborhood, like Neighborhood 11, was heavily commercial/industrial but contained numerous residences as well. Unlike Neighborhood 11 it had a small proportion of its population Black, only 20%. Neither number of contacts nor seriousness of offenses was highly correlated with severity of sanctions, nor was the sum of these correlations as high as that for other neighborhoods in its group of inner city neighborhoods which had High Offense Rates and High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics. It was apparent that in this neighborhood there was considerably less relationship between misbehavior and the severity of justice system responses than in others of its type.

The Total Picture

But those were only two examples. What would be the case if these variables are used as a basis for clustering? FASTCLUS was used and it was found that only Neighborhood 10 was placed in a cluster of neighborhoods with low consistency for juvenile measures.

The total picture was not consistent, however, i.e., while juvenile consistency was almost always high in inner city and interstitial neighborhoods that had High Offense Rates by their residents and which were also considered to be High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods, consistency between juvenile measures was also high in some neighborhoods that had Medium or Low Rates and which were not considered to be Delinquency and Crime Producing areas.

Similar results were found when the same measures were observed for adult consistency. But then we noted that there were nine neighborhoods with high consistency for the juvenile period but low consistency for the adult period, seven neighborhoods that had low consistency for juveniles but high consistency for adults, and seven in which there was no consistency for either the juvenile or the adult period. This left 28 neighborhoods in which there was considerable consistency during both periods. Those 23 neighborhoods with consistency absent in either or both age periods were, with two exceptions, located outside the inner city and interstitial areas. All but two of the inner city areas presented a fairly consistent

relationship between the level of delinquent and criminal behavior and the level of their involvement in the justice system.

The failure of earlier findings to show variation in consistency during the juvenile and/or adult periods may be explained by the fact that: 1) the grouping or clustering of neighborhoooods was an artifact of a system that had been generated without consideration of the spatial arrangement of neighborhoods, that is, the ecology of the city and 2) the fact that consistency of behavior and justice system experience was more universally characteristic of the inner city and interstitial neighborhoods but only sometimes present in stable, middle class and peripheral areas.

Nevertheless, further examination must be made of the neighborhood data in terms of continuity between juvenile and adult careers, i.e., the chain of experiences spanning both periods and to which reference has so frequently been made.

Before conducting the FASTCLUS analysis to which we have briefly referred, we looked at the relationship between juvenile contacts and adult contacts, juvenile seriousness and adult seriousness, juvenile sanctions and adult sanctions, first of all to determine if there was a progressive increase in the size of the correlations from contacts to sanctions and second to determine if they were greater in neighborhoods which should be productive of continuity between juvenile and adult careers. While there was little progression in the size of correlations

from contacts to sanctions, those neighborhoods with all correlations or three out of four correlations higher than the mean for all cohort members combined were most frequently found in the High Offense category and High Delinquency and Crime Producing groups or clusters. In fact, all but two of the neighborhoods in this group had higher correlations than average on the diagonal from contacts to severity of sanctions.

Although those neighborhoods with Medium or Low Offense Rates by their residents were more likely to have produced a set of diagonal correlations which were lower than the mean, particularly if they were also Medium or Low as a Delinquency and Crime Producing group or cluster, the pattern was no more regular than that produced based on consistency within either the juvenile or adult period. Thus it was again clear that continuity was more prevalent in the inner city and interstitial neighborhoods than in most other neighborhoods but that this was also a prevalent pattern in some stable, middle class and peripheral residential neighborhoods.

Continuing the analysis along the same lines, we next examined the relationship of every variable during the juvenile period to every variable during the adult period (a total of 16 correlations), setting the average correlation with every juvenile and every adult variable as the model. At one extreme a neighborhood could have all pluses and at the other all minuses and some did. Again we found that most of the neighborhoods which have been categorized as having High Offense Rates and High

or Medium as Delinquency and Crime Producing, produced correlations which were consistently above the average. Outside of these groups or clusters were most of the neighborhoods with correlations indicating very little continuity between delinquent and adult behavior, along with some neighborhoods in which continuity was as high as in the highest inner city and interstitial areas.

It should be added that even though correlations were reduced by eliminating persons who had no contacts as either juveniles or adults, the overall pattern of neighborhood consistency during age periods and continuity between age periods remained essentially the same.

Having obtained some rather solid evidence for the original hypothesis that what transpires in neighborhoods during the juvenile period and the adult period and between periods has some relationship to the milieu, even if not as neighborhoods were originally characterized and grouped or computer clustered, would it not be strategic to attempt computer clustering of neighborhoods on a basis of the correlation patterns for each neighborhood? Thus the element of simply determining whether correlations were higher or lower than average and the patterns of pluses or minuses would be replaced by computer examination of the interrelationship of contact, seriousness, referral, and sanctions correlations.

FURTHER EXAMINATION OF CONSISTENCY AND CONTINUITY WITH FASTCLUS

When FASTCLUS was allowed to produce five clusters of neighborhoods based on juvenile consistency (persons without contacts omitted), all but one of the High Offense Rate neighborhoods and High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods fell in the two highest consistency clusters <u>but</u> even higher consistency neighborhoods were in other groups or clusters, as, of course, were the low consistency neighborhoods. Similarly, when neighborhoods were clustered according to their pattern of adult correlations, the concentration of neighborhoods with adult consistency in the High Offense, High Delinquency and Crime Producing areas was again found, as was the appearance of high adult consistency neighborhoods throughout other areas in the community.

The next step was to enter the juvenile and adult correlations in order to produce a FASTCLUS set of neighborhoods in which continuity between juvenile and adult behavior and experiences with the justice system would be found. Clusters of neighborhoods with the greatest continuity differed from each of the previous sets of clusters but again it was apparent that although high juvenile-adult continuity was characteristic of neighborhoods with High Offense Rates and High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics, they were also found outside the inner city and interstitial areas.

A variety of other approaches to clustering neighborhoods were attempted with fewer combinations of variables but all

produced similar results--individual neighborhoods showed considerable variation in their cluster types outside of the group of clusters of High Offense Rates and High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods. The results of these FASTCLUS operations may be seen in Tables 19 and 20 for the first or composite clustering of neighborhoods into groups and Tables 21 through 24 for the clustering of neighborhoods by FASTCLUS.

In these tables, it must be remembered, various aspects of each person's behavior and justice system experiences are correlated and used as a basis for the FASTCLUS routine. Individuals become the basis for classifying neighborhoods. But in the next step, presentated in the table, we have shown how the cohort members who resided in neighborhoods as juveniles differ in their behavior and experiences by the type of neighborhood in which they lived, assuming that their behavior and experiences were in part a product of the milieu and how persons who dealt with them perceived the milieu as important in the decision-making process. In this case the ecological analysis is appropriate.

As a final step in the clustering endeavor, all 23 delinquency and crime Rates and Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics were entered in order to determine how neighborhoods would fare. All but one of the neighborhoods in the top two clusters were found in the High Offense Rate, By-Residence, and In-Area cluster. The deviant neighborhood, Neighborhood 3, was in the High By-Residence but Low In-Area

TABLE 19. JUVENILE AND ADULT CONSISTENCY AND JUVENILE/ADULT CONTINUITY IN NEIGHBORHOODS BY OFFENSE RATES AND THEIR IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS

Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics		
In-Area	By-Residence	High	Medium	Low
H	H	2 J 7 JA 8 JA 9 JAC 10 A 11 JAC 12 JAC 13 JAC 17 JA 18 JAC	6 JAC 49 JAC	
H	M	16	23 J	30 J C
H	L		4	
M	H	5 JA 19 JAC	46 JAC 54 J C	47 JAC
M	M		20 J 29 AC 33 JAC 35 J 56 JA	25 JA 34 JA 50 JAC
M	L		14 A 32	26 A 42 J
L	H	3 JAC	37 JA	
L	M		15 55	24 A 28 JA 31 JA 36 JAC 38 A 41 A
L	L		21 22 J 53 JAC	27 39 JA 51 JAC 52 J 57 JA

J = Juvenile Consistency; A = Adult Consistency; C = High Juvenile-Adult Continuity.

TABLE 20. JUVENILE AND ADULT CONSISTENCY AND JUVENILE/ADULT CONTINUITY IN NEIGHBORHOODS BY COMBINATIONS OF HIGH AND LOW OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Juvenile/Adult Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics: High	Medium	Low
HJ	HA	2 J 5 JA 7 JA 8 JA 9 JAC 10 A 12 JAC 13 JAC 17 JA 18 JAC 19 JAC	6 JAC 23 J 33 JAC 46 JAC 49 JAC	41 A 47 JAC
HJ	LA		14 A 20 J 56 JA	24 A 30 J C 34 JA 38 A
LJ	HA	11 JAC 16	4 29 AC 55	25 JA
LJ	LA	3 JAC	15 21 22 J 32 35 J 37 JA 53 JAC 54 J C	50 JAC 26 A 27 28 JA 31 JAC 36 JAC 39 JA 42 J 51 JAC 52 J 57 JA

J = Juvenile Consistency; A = Adult Consistency; C = High Juvenile-Adult Continuity.

TABLE 21. JUVENILE AND ADULT CONSISTENCY AND JUVENILE/ADULT CONTINUITY IN NEIGHBORHOODS BY IN-AREA OFFENSE RATES AND DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

In-Area	Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics: 6	5	4	3	2	1
4	7 JA 10 A 11 JAC 12 JAC		6 JAC 18 JAC			
3	2 J 8 JA 9 JAC		13 JAC 17 JA	30 J C		
2			4 5 JA 14 A 16 19 JAC 20 J 23 J 32 33 JAC 35 J 46 JAC 49 JAC 56 JA	25 JA 29 AC 42 J	34 JA 47 JAC 50 JAC	
1	3 JAC		15 22 J 36 JAC 37 JA 53 JAC 54 J C 57 JA	38 A	21 27 28 JA 31 JA 51 JAC 52 J 55	24 A 26 A 39 JA 41 A

J = Juvenile Consistency; A = Adult Consistency; C = High Juvenile-Adult Continuity.

TABLE 22. JUVENILE AND ADULT CONSISTENCY AND JUVENILE/ADULT CONTINUITY IN NEIGHBORHOODS BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES AND DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

By Residence	Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics					
	6	5	4	3	2	1
6	2 J 7 JA 8 JA 11 JAC 12 JAC		13 JAC			
5	3 JAC 9 JAC		6 JAC			
4	10 A		5 JA 16 17 JA 18 JAC 19 JAC 37 JA 46 JAC 49 JAC	30 J C	50 JAC	
3			56 JA	25 JA 29 AC	34 JA	
2			14 A 15 20 J 23 J 33 JAC 36 JAC 54 J C	38 A	31 JA 47 JAC 55	24 A 41 A
1			4 22 J 32 35 J 53 JAC 57 JA	42 J	21 27 28 JA 51 JAC 52 J	26 A 39 JA

J = Juvenile Consistency; A = Adult Consistency; C = Juvenile-Adult Continuity.

TABLE 23. JUVENILE AND ADULT CONSISTENCY AND JUVENILE/ADULT CONTINUITY IN NEIGHBORHOODS BY JUVENILE OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Juvenile Rates	Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics					
	6	5	4	3	2	1
3	7 JA 10 A 11 JAC 12 JAC		6 JAC 18 JAC	30 J C		
2	2 J 3 JAC 8 JA 9 JAC		5 JA 13 JAC 15 16 17 JA 19 JAC 23 J 37 JA 46 JAC 49 JAC 54 J C 56 JA	38 A 29 AC	31 JA 34 JA 50 JAC	24 A
1			4 14 A 20 J 22 J 32 33 JAC 35 J 36 JAC 53 JAC 57 JA	25 JA 42 J	21 27 28 JA 47 JAC 51 JAC 52 J 55	26 A 39 JA 41 A

J = Juvenile Consistency; A = Adult Consistency; C = High Juvenile-Adult Continuity.

TABLE 24. JUVENILE AND ADULT CONSISTENCY AND JUVENILE/ADULT CONTINUITY IN NEIGHBORHOODS BY ADULT OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Adult Rates	Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics: 6	5	4	3	2	1
4	2 J 3 JAC 7 JA 11 JAC 12 JAC		6 JAC 13 JAC			
3	8 JA 9 JAC 10 A		4 5 JA 16 17 JA 18 JAC 23 J 49 JAC	29 AC 30 J C	47 JAC	
2			14 A 15 19 JAC 20 J 22 J 32 33 JAC 35 J 36 JAC 37 JA 46 JAC 53 JAC 54 J C 56 JA 57 JA	38 A	21 31 JA 50 JAC 51 JAC 55	24 A
1				25 JA 42 J	27 28 JA 34 JA 52 J	26 A 39 JA 41 A

J = Juvenile Consistency; A = Adult Consistency; C = Juvenile-Adult Continuity.

Offense Rate group. It had also been an anomaly in numerous other analyses. Only one neighborhood not appearing in the top two clusters was in the High Offense Rate, High Delinquency and Crime Producing group, that being Neighborhood 13. Similar consistency in the results of this clustering operation and the clusters of neighborhoods produced by individual clustering of Offense Rates and Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics were found but this would have been expected since both groups had been produced by FASTCLUS.

EXPLAINING SOME ANOMALIES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF CONSISTENCY AND CONTINUITY

Thus far it would appear that neither juvenile nor adult consistency nor juvenile/adult continuity is as closely related to the structural organization of the city as had been expected. Neighborhood milieu does not have the relationship to consistency and continuity patterns that had been hypothesized. We had expected consistency and continuity in inner city and interstitial neighborhoods and in High Offense, High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods but uneven responses to delinquency and crime in other neighborhoods and lack of juvenile/adult continuity. Nonetheless, some neighborhoods are characterized by juvenile and adult consistency and juvenile/adult continuity while others are bereft of any of these.

As this parable of differential evil (on the part of perhaps both delinquents and criminals and representatives of the justice system) unfolds there must be some artifact of the data (perhaps

a missing tablet) that, if taken into consideration, will make everything fall into place. Perhaps we should have determined more about what the members of the cohorts were like who had been socialized in each neighborhood, taking this into consideration as a basis for consistency and continuity expectations. Perhaps cohort members who resided there had seriousness levels which were inconsistent with our expectations. If relatively few juveniles in a neighborhood engage in serious delinquency and relatively few of the adults who were socialized there engage in serious crime we would expect few referrals and very low sanctions, therefore consistency during both periods and continuity between periods. If seriousness scores are high then we expect frequent referrals and severe sanctions and if all are high for juveniles and adults we expect high continuity.

The anomalies are those neighborhoods in which seriousness, referrals, and sanctions are about the same but in which individuals are dealt with inconsistently. Of course, consistency could still be present during the juvenile period no matter what its characteristics if the most serious offenders are dealt with more severely than others. If, however, a neighborhood is in the highest quartile in every respect but there is relatively little consistency we may consider it an anomaly. Let us look at Table 25 and see if any kinds of anomalies remain as we now describe each neighborhood.

Each neighborhood has been placed in a quartile on a basis of its relative seriousness scores, number of referrals, and

TABLE 25. JUVENILE AND ADULT SERIOUSNESS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS AND CONSISTENCY AND CONTINUITY BY OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics		
A	R	High	Medium	Low
H	H	2 123,111*J 7 111,111 JA 8 111,121 JA 9 112,111 JAC 10 211,223 A 11 111,111 JAC 12 111,111 JAC 13 111,111 JAC 17 121,111 JA 18 222,112 JAC	6 111,111 JAC 49 211,211 JAC	
H	M	16 124,232	23 222,433 J	30 211,344 J C
H	L		4 444,444	
M	H	5 332,333 JA 19 222,222 JAC	46 112,111 JAC 54 213,222 J C	47 321,223 JAC
M	M		20 433,434 J 29 244,223 AC 33 333,422 JAC 35 433,434 J 56 332,222 JA	25 444,444 JA 34 321,342 JA 50 231,212 JAC
M	L		14 224,322 A 32 344,344	26 433,443 A 42 333,433 J
L	H	3 322,114 JAC	37 112,111 JA	
L	M		15 133,232 55 344,242	24 232,321 A 28 442,444 JA 31 223,222 JA 36 323,433 JAC 38 244,322 A 41 322,444 A
L	L		21 444,344 22 443,344 J 53 434,333 JAC	27 443,333 39 434,443 JA 51 342,343 JAC 52 444,444 J 57 444,434 JA

* Neighborhood quartile, high to low, on percent with high seriousness scores, high referrals, and high sanctions.

severity of sanctions for both the juvenile and adult periods of the juveniles who were socialized in it. Note that most of the neighborhoods in the group with High Offense Rates and High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics are in the highest quartile on each measure during both the juvenile and adult periods and that all save one have juvenile consistency and all save one have adult consistency but that only half have juvenile/adult continuity. By contrast, neighborhoods in the Medium and Low Offense Rate groups and Medium and Low Delinquency and Crime Producing groups are most often in the lowest or next to lowest quartile on each measure. Fewer of them show consistency during either the juvenile or adult period and fewer show juvenile/adult continuity. It should be noted, of course, that the consistency and continuity categorizations for neighborhoods in this table are based on a summation of four measures, one at a time, for the neighborhood rather than individual characteristics. These relationships may be criticized as being based on the ecological fallacy. While everyone with a juvenile neighborhood of residence has been included, each statistic is a neighborhood statistic.

There is, of course, a chance element in the making of consistency or inconsistency or continuity or discontinuity in neighborhoods in the lowest and next to lowest quartiles for those with relatively small cohort populations. They have relatively fewer persons with delinquent or criminal records so that a few cases dealt with inconsistently could place them in

the inconsistent category and a few cases with continuity from the juvenile to adult period could determine their continuity category.

Chapter 6. The Consequences of Being Bad in a Bad Area

NEIGHBORHOOD PATTERNS OF SANCTIONING

Although we have touched on variations in the severity of sanctions by neighborhood, this subject has not been fully explored. The range of frequency and seriousness of police contacts was divided into three groups, low, medium, and high seriousness. The range of frequency of referrals and severity of sanctions was divided into three groups, low, medium, and high intervention.

Nine categories could be generated (but all nine were not likely) plus an additional group with no contacts, thus no seriousness, no referrals, and no sanctions. Actually, only seven categories were generated beyond the no contact group (54.9% of the cohort members were in this category during the juvenile period and 50.0% during the adult period). The categories remaining were low seriousness, low sanctions; medium seriousness, low sanctions; medium seriousness, medium sanctions; medium seriousness, high sanctions; high seriousness, low sanctions; high seriousness, medium sanctions; and high seriousness, high sanctions.

The proportion of all cohort members in each category was then compared with the proportion of persons in the neighborhood for each category, thus giving each neighborhood a distinctive pattern of pluses and minuses, as shown in Tables 26 and 27 for the juvenile and adult periods. Note that most neighborhoods with High By-Residence Offense Rates have a pattern of pluses at

TABLE 26. JUVENILE OFFENSE/INTERVENTION TYPES BY OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics		
A*	R	High	Medium	Low
		NLMMMHHH**	NLMMMHHH	NLMMMHHH
H	H	OLLMHLMH	OLLMHLMH	OLLMHLMH
		2 --+++++***	6 --++--++	
		7 --++-+-+	49 ---+-+-+	
		8 -++-+-++		
		9 --++-+++		
		10 -++++++-		
		11 --+--+++		
		12 ---++-++		
		13 --++-+++		
		17 --+---+++		
		18 --+---++		
H	M	16 -+++--+-	23 --++----	30 -+-+-++-
H	L		4 +-+-----	
M	H	5 -+++--+-	46 -+++-+++	47 +----+++
		19 -+++---+	54 -+++++++	
M	M		20 +-------+	25 +-+-----
			29 -++-----	34 -+-+--+-
			33 ++---++-	50 --++-++-
			35 +++---+-	
			56 +-+-----	
M	L		14 --++-+--	26 ++-+----
			32 ++++++--	42 ++-+--+-
L	H	3 -+-----++	37 --+--+++	
L	M		15 -+++-+-+	24 +-++-+--
			55 +-+--+--	28 +---++--
				31 -++---+-
				36 +--+-+--
				38 -++--+-+
				41 -+-+++--
L	L		21 ++---++-	27 ++------
			22 ++------	39 ++------
			53 ++------	51 +-+-+---
				52 ++------
				57 ++-++---

* A = In-Area Offense Rates; R = By-Residence Offense Rates

** NO = No police contacts; LL = low seriousness, low sanctions; ML = medium seriousness, low sanctions; MM = medium seriousness, medium sanctions, etc.

*** + = More cohort members in category than average; - = fewer than average.

TABLE 27. ADULT OFFENSE/INTERVENTION TYPES BY OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Offense Rates A*	Offense Rates R	High NLMMHHHH** OLLMHLMH	Medium NLMMMHHH OLLMHLMH	Low NLMMMHHH OLLMHLMH
		2 -+++-+++***	6 -+++-+-+	
		7 --++++++	49 -+-+-+++	
		8 --+--+-+		
		9 --++++++		
		10 -+-+-+-+		
		11 ---+-+++		
		12 --+---++		
		13 -+-+-+++		
		17 -+++++++		
		18 --++-+++		
H	M	16 -++--+-+	23 ++-+----	30 +-+-----
H	L		4 ++------	
M	H	5 -+-+----	46 -+++--++	47 -----+-+
		19 --+--+++	54 -++++++-	
M	M		20 -++--+-+	25 ++---+--
			29 -++-+-++	34 +-+--+--
			33 ++-+-+--	50 --+---+-
			35 ++-++---	
			56 -+++--+-	
M	L		14 -+-+--+-	26 +-------
			32 +-++----	42 +--+-+--
L	H	3 --++--++	37 --++---+	
L	M		15 -++---++	24 -+-+--+-
			55 +-+-++--	28 ++----+-
				31 --+--+-+
				36 ++-+----
				38 ++-+--+-
				41 +----+--
L	L		21 ++++----	27 -+--+---
			22 +-+--+-+	39 ++---+--
			53 +----++-	51 +-+-----
				52 ++-+-+--
				57 +--+----

* A = In-Area Offense Rates; R = By-Residence Offense Rates

** NO = No police contacts; LL = low seriousness, low sanctions; ML = medium seriousness, low sanctions; MM = medium seriousness, medium sanctions, etc.

*** + = More cohort members in category than average; - = fewer than average.

the right hand side and minuses to the left, but that as one moves over the Low DCP neighborhoods and down to Medium and Low By-Residence neighborhoods the pattern changes so that pluses are found on the left hand side (fewer than average number of persons with no contacts, low seriousness, and low interventions) to minuses on the right hand side (fewer than average number of persons with high seriousness and high intervention). The behavior and experiences of cohort members who resided in each neighborhood as juveniles is thus transformed into a pattern of pluses and minuses which represent that neighborhood's deviation from the average for the combined cohorts.

A visual pattern such as this does not tell us the degree to which a neighborhood's cohort members have systematically different experiences with the juvenile justice system but it does reveal that neighborhoods with High Offense Rates by their residents had juvenile experience patterns that were generally different from those with Medium or Low Rates, particularly if these neighborhoods also had High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics. Similar patterned differences were also present during the adult period.

Proceeding further to Table 28, these patterns are transformed into Geometric scores representing patterns of seriousness and intervention (excluding the no contacts cohort members). In this table neighborhoods are arranged according to Juvenile and Adult Offense Rates by By-Residence. These Geometric scores were generated by giving 1 point to a

TABLE 28. JUVENILE/ADULT OFFENSE/INTERVENTION TYPES BY OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Juvenile/Adult* Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics								
		High			Medium			Low		
			JUV	ADT		JUV	ADT		JUV	ADT
HJ	HA	2	123	63**	6	62	23	41	85	1
		5	30	20	23	18	20	47	41	33
		7	51	123	33	13	21			
		8	62	35	46	63	62			
		9	59	123	49	49	61			
		10	95	53						
		12	120	42						
		13	59	61						
		17	43	123						
		18	42	62						
		19	50	43						
HJ	LA				14	19	28	24	19	28
					20	32	39	30	29	2
					56	2	30	34	28	3
								38	39	28
LJ	HA	11	43	57	4	2	4	25	2	5
		16	30	9	29	6	110			
					55	21	66			
LJ	LA	3	44	58	15	55	46	50	27	10
					21	13	22	26	20	0
					22	4	35	27	4	68
					32	23	18	28	65	12
					35	14	84	31	14	35
					37	43	50	36	17	20
					53	4	9	39	4	17
					54	127	95	42	28	17
								51	66	2
								52	4	21
								57	84	16

* Based on juvenile and adult police contact rates by neighborhood of residence for cohort members at time of contact and juvenile and adult felony rates by place of felony and place of residence.

** Geometric scores representing seriousness/sanctions types shown on Tables 26 and 27.

neighborhood with more than the average proportion of cohort members with high seriousness and low intervention, 2 points to a neighborhood with more than the average proportion of cohort members with medium seriousness and low intervention, 4 points to a neighborhood with more than the average proportion of cohort members with low seriousness and low intervention, 8 points to a neighborhood with high seriousness but medium intervention, 16 points to a neighborhood with medium seriousness and medium intervention, 32 points to a neighborhood with high seriousness and high intervention, until 64 points were given to the neighborhood with more than the average proportion of cohort members with medium seriousness and high intervention.

Thus, any neighborhood with a Geometric score of 32 or more at least had a disproportional number of cohort members with higher than average seriousness but unless the score was 64 or higher there were no more than the average number of cohort members with disproportionally severe intervention. Note that only one neighborhood (Neighborhood 5) with High Juvenile and Adult Offense Rates and High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics had a Geometric score below 32 for both the juvenile and adult periods.

At the opposite extreme of the table, neighborhoods with Low Juvenile and Adult Offense Rates and Low DCP Characteristics, we find that most neighborhoods had Geometric scores below 32 for both the juvenile and adult periods. A score of 48 or higher means that a neighborhood has more than the average proportion of

its cohort members with high or medium seriousness and corresponding medium and high intervention.

We find that most neighborhoods with High Juvenile and Adult Offense Rates and High DCP Characteristics have scores of 46 or higher and that relatively fewer neighborhoods in other combinations of Offense and DCP Characteristics have such high intervention scores. But when the score for perusal is raised to 64 or higher, indicative of medium seriousness but high intervention, there is little relationship to neighborhood type.

The reader may see from perusal of Table 28, however, that intervention scores are generally related to neighborhood Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Juvenile/Adult Offense Rates. Neighborhood Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics produced a correlation of .361 for juvenile intervention and .573 for adult intervention. The correlation of juvenile intervention scores with neighborhoods according to their juvenile offense rates was .361, while the correlation of adult intervention scores with neighborhoods according to their adult offense rates was .306. Although neighborhood offense rates explain little of the variance in intervention scores, we shall show how this may be improved upon in the next section.

When these Geometric intervention scores were arranged in a table (Table 28A) according to In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rates and High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics not a single neighborhood in the High In-Area and By-Residence

TABLE 28A. JUVENILE/ADULT OFFENSE/INTERVENTION TYPES BY OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS*

Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics								
		High			Medium			Low		
In-Area	By-Residence		JUV	ADT		JUV	ADT		JUV	ADT
H	H	2	123	63	6	62	23			
		7	51	123	49	49	61			
		8	62	35						
		9	59	123						
		10	95	53						
		11	43	57						
		12	120	42						
		13	59	61						
		17	43	123						
		18	42	62						
H	M	16	30	9	23	18	20	30	29	2
H	L				4	2	4			
M	H	5	30	20	46	63	62	47	41	33
		19	50	43	54	127	95			
M	M				20	32	39	25	2	5
					29	6	110	34	28	3
					33	13	21	50	27	10
					35	14	84			
					56	2	30			
M	L				14	19	28	26	20	0
					32	23	18	42	28	17
L	H	3	44	58	37	43	50			
L	M				15	55	46	24	19	28
					55	21	66	28	65	12
								31	14	35
								36	17	20
								38	39	28
								41	85	1
L	L				21	13	22	27	4	68
					22	4	35	39	4	17
					53	4	9	51	66	2
								52	4	21
								57	84	16

* Geometric scores representing seriousness/sanctions type are the the same as presented in Table 28.

and High DCP Groups failed to have a score of 32 or higher for the juvenile and adult periods. Most also had Geometric intervention scores of 48 or higher. By contrast, most neighborhoods with Medium or Low By-Residence Offense Rates and Medium or Low DCPs had Geometric intervention scores lower than 48.

The reader should note that Geometric intervention scores were generally low for the adult period in neighborhoods characterized as having low In-Area Offense Rates and in all low DCP scores neighborhoods, regardless of how they were classified according to the various series of rates. Again, to present the relationship more precisely, the DCP correlations (Geometric scores were transformed into ranks for computational purposes) were .361 with the juvenile intervention types and .573 with those for adults. While the In-Area Offense Rates of neighborhoods were correlated only .270 with the juvenile intervention types and .230 for the adult intervention types, the By-Residence Offense Rates of neighborhoods produced higher correlations, .611 for juvenile and .576 for adult intervention types. Thus, although only 37.3% and 39.1% of the variance in intervention scores is accounted for, the neighborhood milieu is related to juvenile/adult intervention types.

For those who are ambivalent about the use of statistics as a way of representing those ecological relationships, observation of the distribution of scores of 48 or higher in Table 28A should be sufficient to make the point.

The reader may also wish to turn back to Map 7 where it can be noted that most neighborhoods with intervention scores of 48 or higher for either the juvenile or adult period are found in the high crime neighborhoods outlined on this map, most of which are in the inner city and adjacent interstitial area neighborhoods. Most of the remainder are in peripheral neighborhoods more recently developing into a high delinquency and crime areas.

In sum, Tables 25 through 28A give some evidence that not only is seriousness of the combined cohorts related to the classification of neighborhoods but disproportional intervention also follows this pattern.

DISPROPORTIONAL INTERVENTION DURING THE JUVENILE OR ADULT PERIOD

But let us go a step further with Tables 29 and 30 by simplifying the manner in which disproportional intervention is represented. In this procedure we have controlled for the seriousness of juvenile and adult careers so that the index represents only disproportional intervention. It is based on the proportion of the combined cohort residing in a neighborhood who received sanctions proportional to the seriousness of their careers divided by the proportion of those who received sanctions disproportionately high to the seriousness of their careers as juveniles or adults.

Those neighborhoods with an index of .278 had intervention disproportional to the seriousness of the offenses of their cohort members during the juvenile period and those with .330 had

TABLE 29. INDEX OF SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS TO SERIOUSNESS OF JUVENILE AND ADULT CAREERS BY IN-AREA AND BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS*

Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics								
		High			Medium			Low		
In-Area	By-Residence		JUV	ADT		JUV	ADT		JUV	ADT
H	H	2	.311	.488	6	.583	.500			
		7	.462	.595	49	.944	.000			
		8	.353	.448						
		9	.324	.533						
		10	.350	.500						
		11	.400	.588						
		12	.739	.520						
		13	.457	.548						
		17	.240	.400						
		18	.238	.421						
H	M	16	.214	.240	23	.261	.462	30	.273	.100
H	L				4	.071	.000			
M	H	5	.217	.200	46	.281	.290	47	.333	.474
		19	.348	.280	54	.346	.286			
M	M				20	.500	.222	25	.105	.200
					29	.059	.333	34	.400	.118
					33	.200	.500	50	.154	.148
					35	.105	.357			
					56	.167	.231			
M	L				14	.250	.240	26	.500	.250
					32	.158	.323	42	.143	.400
L	H	3	.250	.500	37	.238	.857			
L	M				15	.269	.174	24	.333	.400
					55	.111	.130	28	.238	.048
								31	.154	.257
								36	.393	.333
								38	.148	.389
								41	.429	.143
L	L				21	.100	.235	27	.100	.250
					22	.167	.188	39	.300	.167
					53	.250	.200	51	.154	.083
								52	.182	.300
								57	.267	.545

* If juvenile index is above .278 and adult index is above .330, then sanctioning is disproportionately severe in neighborhood.

TABLE 30. INDEX OF SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS TO SERIOUSNESS OF JUVENILE AND ADULT CAREERS BY JUVENILE/ADULT COMBINATIONS OF HIGH AND LOW OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS*

Juvenile/Adult Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics								
		High			Medium			Low		
			JUV	ADT		JUV	ADT		JUV	ADT
HJ	HA	2	.311	.488	6	.583	.500	41	.429	.143
		5	.217	.200	23	.261	.462	47	.333	.474
		7	.462	.595	33	.200	.500			
		8	.353	.448	46	.281	.290			
		9	.324	.533	49	.944	.000			
		10	.350	.500						
		12	.739	.520						
		13	.457	.548						
		17	.240	.400						
		18	.238	.421						
		19	.348	.280						
HJ	LA				14	.250	.240	24	.333	.400
					20	.500	.222	30	.273	.100
					56	.167	.231	34	.400	.118
								38	.148	.389
LJ	HA	11	.400	.588	4	.071	.000	25	.105	.200
		16	.214	.240	29	.059	.333			
					55	.111	.130	50	.154	.148
LJ	LA	3	.250	.500	15	.269	.174	26	.500	.250
					21	.100	.235	27	.100	.250
					22	.167	.188	28	.238	.048
					32	.158	.323	31	.154	.257
					35	.105	.357	36	.393	.333
					37	.238	.857	39	.300	.167
					53	.250	.200	42	.143	.400
					54	.346	.286	51	.154	.083
								52	.182	.300
								57	.267	.545

* If juvenile index is above .278 and adult index is above .330, then sanctioning is disproportionately severe in neighborhood.

intervention disproportional to the seriousness of offenses during the adult period.

Although most neighborhoods with High In-Area, By-Residence, and High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics have disproportionately severe sanctioning for both the juvenile and adult periods, the overall pattern of disproportional sanctioning is not as evident as when seriousness of career was an element in the typology. Disproportional sanctioning by neighborhoods differs considerably from the juvenile to the adult period, the correlation being only .131.

Of the other neighborhoods which have disproportionately severe sanctioning of their cohort members, more than half have either Medium or Low In-Area or Medium or Low By-Residence Offense Rates and Medium or Low DCPs. The correlations between neighborhood characteristics and disproportional sanctioning were considerably lower than those produced by the intervention type scores.

In Table 29, DCPs and disproportional sanctioning scores were correlated only .216 and .418 for the juvenile and adult periods. In-Area Offense Rates (groupings of neighborhoods) were correlated only .393 and .246 for the juvenile and adult periods but .462 and .475 for By-Residence Offense Rates. What Table 29 has again shown us is that more inner city and interstitial juveniles and adults have had more serious difficulty with the police and have also been dealt with differently than have that usually smaller proportion of similar cohort members from other

neighborhoods. A disproportional number of serious offenders in the neighborhood seems to compound the troubles of those who get into trouble.

Turning to Table 30, most neighborhoods with High Juvenile and High Adult Offense Rates and High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics had disproportionately severe sanctioning of their cohort members while few neighborhoods with Low Rates and Low DCPs had disproportionately severe sanctioning. Juvenile disproportional sanctioning and adult disproportional sanctioning were correlated .473 and .203 with the arrangement of neighborhoods according to juvenile and adult offense rates in this table.

That seriousness of careers had been controlled in this manner served to generally (four out of six correlations) produce less less relationship between neighborhood milieu than was shown in Tables 28 and 28A. While neither Table 29 nor 30 produced a pattern of disproportionately severe sanctioning that was highly related to neighborhood characteristics, milieu effects were still quite apparent, i.e., cohort members from the inner city and interstitial areas experienced disproportionately severe sanctions during the juvenile and adult periods. For the few other neighborhoods with disproportional sanctioning it was present during one period rather than both.

DISPROPORTIONAL SANCTIONING OF INDIVIDUAL POLICE CONTACTS

In the tables that we have presented thus far in this section the statistic for each neighborhood was based on a

measure for either the juvenile or the adult period for cohort members who resided in that neighborhood during the juvenile period. But in every case the statistic was based on what had happened during the period in question rather than what had happened in response to any single or set of police contact(s) that culminated with a court disposition.

Since we have concluded that careers during either the juvenile or adult period differ on a basis of neighborhood milieu, we might expect some differences in response to police contacts by neighborhood, controlling for seriousness as misdemeanor or felony. We would expect individual incidents to produce less variation, however, because not all are part of a serious career that might give rise to a severe reaction by authorities. When the means were produced with this control for seriousness, as shown in Table 31, milieu differences were somewhat less evident than in other tables in this section.

Although mean severity of sanctions for misdemeanors was higher in almost every High In-Area Offense Rate and High DCP neighborhood, similar mean severity of sanctions were found for other neighborhoods, some of which had Medium or Low Rates and Medium or Low DCPs. The correlation of mean severity of sanctions for misdemeanors with neighborhood characteristics were .407 for DCPs, .229 for In-Area Offense Rates, and .443 for By-Residence Offense Rates. Thus our expectation of somewhat lower milieu influences was correct.

TABLE 31. MEAN SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS FOR MISDEMEANORS AND FELONIES BY IN-AREA AND BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES AND IN-AREA DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS*

Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics								
		High			Medium			Low		
In-Area	By-Residence		MISD	FEL		MISD	FEL		MISD	FEL
H	H	2	14.5	20.9	6	9.2	43.6			
		7	21.9	34.8	49	8.4	40.9			
		8	18.0	26.3						
		9	8.0	22.5						
		10	11.9	28.6						
		11	19.2	37.2						
		12	12.6	26.8						
		13	14.8	15.4						
		17	14.6	27.7						
		18	15.0	32.3						
H	M	16	10.2	19.6	23	15.4	21.6	30	10.2	----
H	L				4	4.9	----			
M	H	5	12.4	36.1	46	16.3	31.1	47	11.3	12.0
		19	13.7	21.3	54	7.4	15.8			
M	M				20	12.2	----	25	16.8	37.4
					29	12.1	18.3	34	16.8	48.0
					33	8.5	----	50	9.2	23.3
					35	12.4	26.0			
					56	8.0	26.8			
M	L				14	8.0	----	26	3.8	----
					32	10.8	20.5	42	6.0	----
L	H	3	13.0	21.1	37	21.5	36.7			
L	M				15	5.7	----	24	9.0	----
					55	11.6	----	28	5.6	7.8
								31	7.6	----
								36	13.2	----
								38	8.4	28.7
								41	9.8	----
L	L				21	11.9	----	27	12.0	----
					22	14.4	----	39	8.3	----
					53	10.0	----	51	----	----
								52	8.0	----
								57	10.5	----

* Mean for misdemeanors = 11.3; Mean for felonies = 26.8.

For felonies, however, the relationships were considerably lower. Most of the neighborhoods with Low In-Area or By-Residence Offense Rates or Low DCPs had too few felonies for a mean severity of sanctions. The DCPs of neighborhoods had no relationship to severity of sanctions (-.001) for felonies. In-Area Offense Rates and By-Residence Offense Rates produced correlations of only .175 and .162 with severity of sanctions for felonies. The data in Table 31 do indicate, however, that individual felonies were still sanctioned more heavily in High By-Residence or High or Medium DCP neighborhoods than in others.

In sum, however, while the consequences of being bad in a bad neighborhood may result in severe sanctioning by the justice system, this may also be the case in other kinds of neighborhoods, although this is somewhat less likely.

Chapter 7. Milieu Effects: Making Sure that Conclusions Are Not Artifacts of the Analytical Framework

ECOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS

Many of the tables which were presented in early sections of this report were based on combinations of neighborhoods which failed to sufficiently delineate similar groups or failed to control for variables which served to muddy the waters. The ultimate success of the research enterprise comes from examining individual neighborhoods, combining them in a variety of ways, and developing better ways of representing the justice system experiences of cohort members. The analysis could not accommodate as many different chains of experiences from number of contacts, level of seriousness for reasons for contact, number of referrals, and severity of sanctions as we had considered at the outset. For those who wished to see the data in its most detailed form, it was there but not readily seen as a product of the neighborhood milieu.

The reader will recall that in Chapter 3 we presented four different ways of ordering neighborhoods by combination of Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and In-Area Offenes Rates, four different ways of ordering combinations of DCPs and By-Residence Offense Rates, three different ways by DCPs and Juvenile or Adult Offense Rates, and four different ways by combinations of DCPs and Juvenile and Adult Offense Rates. FASTCLUS procedures were also utilized in generating neighborhood groupings by DCPs, In-Area, By-Residence, Juvenile, and Adult Offense Rates (Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6).

The order in which neighborhoods would appear in a series of groups ranked according to their Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and In-Area Offense Rates and By-Residence Offense Rates varied depending upon the system utilized, the priority given to DCPs and Offense Rates, or the variables utilized in FASTCLUS. Whichever system, inner city Neighborhoods 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, and 18 were always at one end of the rankings and peripheral Neighborhoods 26, 27, 28, 31, 36, 39, 42, 51, 52, 57, 58, and 59 were usually at the other end of the continuum (Table 32).

Since many other neighborhoods varied in position according to the system utilized, the relationship of neighborhoods to scores representing neighborhood intervention types, neighborhood disproportional severity of sanctions, and neighborhood mean severity of sanctions vary considerably according to ranking systems. The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 33.

It must be remembered that these are ecological correlations. Scores representing the individuals who resided in a neighborhood during the juvenile period rather than individuals are correlated with scores representing other characteristics of neighborhoods. These correlations are based on an N of 65 at the most. Thus, the ecological fallacy is inherent in the correlations included in this table. This type of analysis, however, permits the reader to see that when neighborhood Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Offense Rates

TABLE 32. SYSTEMS OF RANKING NEIGHBORHOODS BY OFFENSE RATES AND DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING CHARACTERISTICS

NGHBD	AINARE A	BINARE A	CINARE A	DINARE A	ABYRES	BBYRES	CBYRES	DBYRES	AJUVOF F	BJUVOF F	CJUVOF F	AADOOF F	BADOOF F	CADOOF F	AGROUP	BGROUP	CGROUP	DGROUP
1	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
2	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
3	7	5	3	4	9	9	9	9	5	4	3	5	4	3	9	9	3	3
4	6	7	8	8	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	4	5	5	6	7	5	8
5	8	8	6	7	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
6	6	7	8	8	6	7	8	8	4	5	5	4	5	5	8	8	11	11
7	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
10	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
11	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	5	4	3	6	6	6	10	11	6	9
12	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
13	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
14	5	6	5	6	4	3	2	2	4	5	5	3	2	2	7	6	8	5
15	4	3	2	2	5	6	5	6	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
16	9	9	9	9	8	8	6	7	5	4	3	6	6	6	10	11	6	9
17	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
18	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
19	8	8	6	7	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12
20	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	4	5	5	3	2	2	7	6	8	5
21	4	3	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
22	4	3	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
23	6	7	8	8	5	6	5	6	4	5	5	4	5	5	8	8	11	11
24	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	2	3	4	1	1	1	3	2	7	4
25	2	2	4	3	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	2	3	4	2	3	4	7
26	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	3	2	2	4	5	5	6	7	5	8
30	3	4	7	5	2	2	4	3	2	3	4	1	1	1	3	2	7	4

TABLE 32 (continued)

N	AINAR EA	BINAR EA	CINAR EA	DINAR EA	ABBYR ES	BBYR ES	CBYR ES	DBYR ES	AJUVO FF	BJUVO FF	CJUVO FF	AADOF F	BADOF F	CADOF F	AGROU P	BGROU P	CGROU P	DGROU P
31	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	5	6	5	6	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
33	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	4	5	5	4	5	5	8	8	11	11
34	2	2	4	3	2	2	4	3	2	3	4	1	1	1	3	2	7	4
35	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
36	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	4	3	2	2	6	7	8	8	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
38	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	2	3	4	1	1	1	3	2	7	4
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	2	3	4	2	3	4	4	4	10	10
42	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46	5	6	5	6	6	7	8	8	4	5	5	4	5	5	8	8	11	11
47	2	2	4	3	3	4	7	5	2	3	4	2	3	4	4	4	10	10
48	1	1	1	1	3	4	7	5	1	1	1	2	3	4	2	3	4	7
49	6	7	8	8	6	7	8	8	4	5	5	4	5	5	8	8	11	11
50	2	2	4	3	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	2	3	4	2	3	4	7
51	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
52	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
53	4	3	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
54	5	6	5	6	6	7	8	8	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
55	4	3	2	2	5	6	5	6	3	2	2	4	5	5	6	7	5	8
56	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	4	5	5	3	2	2	7	6	8	5
57	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
58	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
59	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
60	9	9	9	9	7	5	3	4	5	4	3	5	4	3	9	9	3	3
61	8	8	6	7	8	8	6	7	6	6	6	5	4	3	11	10	9	6
62	6	7	8	8	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
63	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
64	7	5	3	4	7	5	3	4	5	4	3	5	4	3	9	9	3	3
65	7	5	3	4	7	5	3	4	5	4	3	5	4	3	9	9	3	3
66	4	3	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
67	6	7	8	8	5	6	5	6	4	5	5	4	5	5	8	8	11	11
68	4	3	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	2
70	4	3	2	2	4	3	2	2	4	5	5	3	2	2	7	6	8	5

TABLE 33. SUMMARY OF MILIEU EFFECTS: THE RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS TO INTERVENTION TYPES, DISPROPORTIONAL SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS

	INTERVENTION TYPES		DISPROPORTIONAL SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS		MEAN SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS	
	JUV	ADT	JUV	ADT	MIS	FEL
DCP/In-Area Offense Rates	.371	.528	.378[1]	.406	.393	.137[1]
DCP/By-Residence Offense Rates	.592	.621	.432	.498	.470	.119[2]
DCP/Juvenile Offense Rates	.414	.556	.458[3]	.424	.399	.191[3]
DCP/Adult Offense Rates	.377	.546	.270[4]	.401	.431	.065[4]
DCP/Juvenile/Adult Offense Rates	.418	.544	.451[5]	.415	.651	.427[5]
DCP Clusters	.454	.482	.257	.526	.385	.097
In-Area Clusters	.361	.382	.376	.416	.377	.311
By-Residence Clusters	.521	.471	.455	.484	.525	.281
Juvenile Offense Rate Clusters	.454	.468	.387	.397	.362	.430
Adult Offense Rate Rate Clusters	.404	.486	.351	.476	.374	-.004

1 All orderings in this row keyed on DCP first and In-Area rates second except these.
2 All orderings in this row keyed on By-Residence Rates first and DCP second.
3 All orderings in this row keyed on DCP first and Juvenile rates second except these.
4 All orderings in this row keyed on DCP first and Adult rates second except these.
5 All orderings in this row keyed on DCP first, Juvenile rates second, and Adult rates third except these.

are related to neighborhood intervention, disposition, and sanctioning measures there are generally positive and significant relationships. The first five systems for categorizing neighborhoods followed those from Tables 1 and 2 of Chapter 3. The second five systems were based on the neighborhood clusters from FASTCLUS procedures which generated the distributions of neighborhoods shown in Tables 3-6 in Chapter 3. Note that the highest correlations were for Intervention Types and were based on a classification of neighborhoods that took their By-Residence Offense Rates first with their Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics second. Although FASTCLUS-generated groups based on By-Residence Offense Rates had the second highest set of correlations for the juvenile period, High Adult Offense Rate clusters produced about the same relationship to INtervention Types as did DCP clusters.

When these correlations were computed by attaching neighborhood characteristics to each cohort member's intervention type, none of the correlations exceeded .200 for either the juvenile or the adult period. Thus one can see the difference between ecological correlations and those based on individuals. Cohort members residing in each neighborhood have a wide range of intervention experiences, although on the average neighborhoods vary considerably in behavior and experiences of their residents.

Disproportional severity of sanctions for juveniles was correlated most highly with a system based on Juvenile Offense Rates first and DCPs second, while the second highest juvenile

correlation was based on By-Residence clusters. Disproportional severity of sanctions for adults was most highly correlated with DCP clusters and then with By-Residence Offense Rates and DCPs.

The third set of columns in this table shows the correlation of mean severity of sanctions for felonies and misdemeanors with various systems for categorizing neighborhoods. Severity of sanctions for misdemeanors are correlated most highly with a system placing DCPs first, juvenile rates second, and adult rates third. Felonies are most highly correlated with a cluster system based on juvenile offense rates and next with the system producing the highest correlation for Misdemeanors.

In sum, when neighborhoods were categorized by their By-Residence Offense Rates they usually produced the highest correlations with neighborhood juvenile and adult intervention types and neighborhood disproportional severity of sanctions. Beyond these milieu effects for juvenile and adult behavior/experiences with the justice system, individual adjudications and convictions were more severely sanctioned on the average based on the type of milieu from which cohort members came.

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL CORRELATIONS

It is now apparent that we should have dealt more fully with the relationship of individual juvenile behavior and experiences to individual adult behavior and experiences at the time that Tables 27, 28, and 28A were presented, rather than placing so much emphasis on statistics which represented neighborhoods.

But whatever problems are apparent in discussing the complex pattern of relationships between milieu and juvenile/adult behavior and experiences with the justice system, the fact remains that outside of the High DCP and/or High By-Residence Offense Rate neighborhoods, there are few neighborhoods which could be characterized as having disproportionately severe juvenile period sanctions for cohort members socialized there and a high correlation between the juvenile and adult offense seriousness and intervention patterns. We do not yet know either the necessary or sufficient milieu to create high continuity.

Perhaps we have expected too much considering the degree to which juvenile seriousness and intervention types were correlated in the total cohort population. The chances that neighborhoods with such and such milieus would be characterized by very high juvenile/adult correlations and those from other milieus with low correlations did not sufficiently consider the number of persons in each juvenile vs. each adult experience type. This is illustrated by Table 34, in which the distribution of juvenile seriousness and intervention types is shown vs. the distribution of adult types for each juvenile type. One notes that 65.5% of those who had a seriousness/intervention type of 0 as juveniles were also that as adults. As one moves from 0 for juveniles to 7 for juveniles (high seriousness of offenses and high intervention), the proportion of adult 0s decreases. At the other end of the typology continuum the increase in types 6 and 7 (high seriousness and medium or high intervention), is fairly

TABLE 34. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (54.9)	65.5	13.0	18.6	1.6	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.2
1 (6.4)	52.9	19.3	21.1	3.1	0.4	0.9	1.3	0.9
2 (26.1)	33.9	11.5	36.3	7.7	0.2	1.7	4.8	3.9
3 (4.2)	13.7	3.4	45.2	15.1	1.4	4.1	8.9	8.2
4 (0.2)	10.0	----	30.0	10.0	----	20.0	10.0	20.0
5 (1.3)	12.2	4.1	24.5	18.4	----	4.1	24.5	12.2
6 (2.9)	6.5	3.7	25.2	17.8	----	6.5	15.9	24.3
7 (3.9)	7.4	0.7	14.9	12.2	2.0	2.7	14.2	45.9

regular from the top to the bottom row. What one might also note is that for the three groups with medium juvenile offense seriousness, the more severely they were sanctioned the larger the proportion who were in the high serious offense and severity of sanctions category as adults.

The problem, for example, is that for Type 4, there were only 10 people so that we must be reserved in any conclusions about the consequences of sanctions drawn from this row. Going down to the three groups with high offense seriousness we also note that the more severely they were sanctioned as juveniles the more likely they were to be in the same severity and sanctions category or a higher category as adults, although the difference was small. But for Type 5 there were only 53. Depending on how

cohort members are distributed in neighborhoods, the correlation between juvenile and adult experiences might be influenced by a few deviant cases. But rather than produce a table such as Table 34 for each neighborhood, we shall produce one for each DCP and By-Residence Offense Rate group and examine them for differences that one cannot see simply by looking at juvenile/adult correlations.

JUVENILE-ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPES

Tables 35-42 follow. Let us commence with the cohort members who were socialized in the highest DCP/By-Residence Offense Rate group, the primarily inner city and interstitial neighborhoods.

Although we do not show a table comparing the distribution of cohort members according to their offense seriousness and intervention categories for the juvenile period DCP and By-Residence Offense Rate groups, High-high to Low-low, the reader may produce that in his/her mind simply by glancing at the percentages on the left margin of each table, noting that while only 41.9% of those socialized in the High-high group (High DCP and High Offense Rate, Table 35) had a zero score, 64.2% of the Low-low group (Table 42) did so.

But more important in characterizing these groups is the percent in the types that have had High Offense Seriousness and Intervention scores as juveniles, decreasing from 14.5% for types 5, 6, and 7 in the High-high group (Table 35) to only 1.8% in the Low-low group (Table 42). Note that the decrease is not regular

TABLE 35. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION: HIGH DCP AND HIGH OFFENSE RATES

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (41.9)	57.8	13.5	24.0	2.1	0.3	1.0	1.3	----
1 (5.9)	50.0	11.1	26.0	9.3	----	----	1.9	1.9
2 (31.6)	29.3	11.7	33.1	9.3	----	2.8	7.2	6.6
3 (5.6)	9.8	3.9	43.1	11.8	----	3.9	13.7	13.7
4 (0.5)	20.0	----	----	20.0	----	----	20.0	40.0
5 (1.5)	7.1	14.3	14.3	21.4	----	14.3	14.3	14.3
6 (5.0)	6.5	2.2	26.0	17.4	----	6.5	15.2	26.1
7 (8.0)	5.5	----	11.0	8.2	2.7	2.7	13.7	56.2

TABLE 36. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION: HIGH DCP AND MEDIUM OFFENSE RATES

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (36.4)	45.8	20.8	29.2	----	----	4.2	----	----
1 (12.1)	62.5	12.5	25.0	----	----	----	----	----
2 (36.4)	41.7	12.5	29.2	8.3	----	----	4.2	4.2
3 (6.1)	----	----	75.0	25.0	----	----	----	----
4 (----)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
5 (----)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
6 (6.1)	----	----	50.0	----	----	----	----	50.0
7 (3.0)	----	----	100.0	----	----	----	----	----

TABLE 37. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION: MEDIUM DCP AND HIGH OFFENSE RATES

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (43.6)	62.4	15.8	20.3	1.5	----	----	----	----
1 (5.2)	31.3	25.0	31.3	----	----	----	12.5	----
2 (27.2)	31.3	10.8	41.0	6.0	----	2.4	2.4	6.0
3 (6.6)	10.0	5.0	50.0	15.0	10.0	5.0	----	5.0
4 (0.3)	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	----	----
5 (2.0)	----	----	16.7	16.7	----	----	33.3	33.3
6 (6.6)	5.0	15.0	10.0	15.0	----	5.0	20.0	30.0
7 (8.5)	3.8	----	15.4	26.9	----	3.8	19.2	30.8

TABLE 38. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION: MEDIUM DCP AND MEDIUM OFFENSE RATES

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (54.0)	64.7	15.4	18.2	0.7	----	0.3	0.7	----
1 (7.2)	44.7	26.3	26.3	2.6	----	----	----	----
2 (29.6)	34.4	9.6	36.3	8.3	1.3	0.6	6.4	3.2
3 (2.6)	----	7.1	57.1	7.1	----	7.1	14.3	7.1
4 (----)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
5 (0.9)	20.0	----	60.0	----	----	----	20.0	----
6 (2.3)	8.3	----	33.3	33.3	----	----	8.3	16.7
7 (3.4)	16.7	5.6	11.1	16.7	5.6	----	----	44.4

TABLE 39. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION: MEDIUM DCP AND LOW OFFENSE RATES

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (60.0)	70.5	9.3	17.5	1.9	----	----	0.4	0.4
1 (7.8)	48.6	28.6	20.0	----	----	----	----	2.9
2 (24.4)	32.1	13.8	40.4	8.3	----	1.8	2.8	0.9
3 (3.1)	21.4	----	35.7	21.4	----	7.1	7.1	7.1
4 (----)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
5 (2.0)	33.3	----	22.2	11.1	----	----	22.2	11.1
6 (0.9)	----	----	25.0	25.0	----	----	50.0	----
7 (1.8)	25.0	----	12.5	12.5	----	----	25.0	25.0

TABLE 40. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION: LOW DCP AND HIGH OFFENSE RATES

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (61.8)	66.7	9.5	19.0	----	----	2.4	----	2.4
1 (2.9)	50.0	----	50.0	----	----	----	----	----
2 (20.6)	28.6	14.3	28.6	14.3	----	----	7.1	7.1
3 (----)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
4 (----)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
5 (1.5)	----	----	100.0	----	----	----	----	----
6 (4.4)	----	33.3	----	----	----	----	33.3	33.3
7 (8.8)	16.7	----	33.3	----	----	----	----	50.0

TABLE 41. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION: LOW DCP AND MEDIUM OFFENSE RATES

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (54.7)	68.5	13.4	15.5	2.0	----	----	0.3	0.3
1 (6.2)	66.7	15.4	12.8	2.6	----	2.6	----	----
2 (27.3)	39.8	10.5	41.5	3.5	----	0.6	2.9	1.2
3 (4.9)	25.8	----	45.2	16.1	----	3.2	9.7	----
4 (0.3)	----	----	50.0	----	----	50.0	----	----
5 (2.1)	7.7	----	30.7	23.1	----	----	30.8	7.7
6 (2.4)	13.3	----	20.0	20.0	----	13.3	13.3	20.0
7 (2.1)	----	----	23.1	7.7	----	7.7	23.1	38.5

TABLE 42. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND INTERVENTION: LOW DCP AND LOW OFFENSE RATES

JUV S&I	ADULT OFFENSE AND INTERVENTION TYPE							
	NO 0	LL 1	ML 2	MM 3	MH 4	HL 5	HM 6	HH 7
0 (64.2)	73.0	10.8	14.0	1.8	----	----	0.5	----
1 (9.0)	64.5	19.4	9.7	----	3.2	3.2	----	----
2 (21.1)	41.1	13.7	28.8	9.6	----	2.7	1.4	2.7
3 (3.5)	16.7	8.3	33.3	25.0	----	----	----	16.7
4 (0.6)	----	----	100.0	----	----	----	----	----
5 (0.3)	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	----
6 (0.9)	----	----	66.7	----	----	33.3	----	----
7 (0.6)	----	----	----	----	----	----	50.0	50.0

from group to group but irregular because the High By-Residence group always has a sizeable percent in these types. Remember from Table 34 that the combined groups had 8.1% in types 5, 6, and 7.

In Table 35 we see that the percentages above the diagonal are greater than those above the diagonal in Table 34 (214.1 vs. 199.5) and that there are fewer on the diagonal and fewer below the diagonal than on Table 34 as an indication of disproportionately greater progression to seriousness and severe sanctions for cohort members from this DCP/By-Residence Offense Rate group. This is, of course, only a rough indication because the sum of the percentages is influenced by the juvenile distribution and were it to differ markedly from that for the total, such a simple comparison could be misleading.

Examination of percentage differences row by row is more precise. Were we to examine this table row by row we would see that rows 2, 3, and 4, those with medium offense seriousness as juveniles, had moved into the high offense seriousness groups disproportionately to the total group shown in Table 34. It is also apparent that the more severely this group was sanctioned as juveniles, the greater the likelihood that its members would move into the high offense seriousness group as adults, even more than for the total group shown in Table 34, 25.5%, 31.3%, and 60.0% vs. 18.3%, 22.6%, and 50.0%. Those in the high offense seriousness group were also more likely to continue at that level, particularly if more severely sanctioned than were the total group.

Various combinations of DCP and By-Residence Offense Rate groups showed deviations from the total in juvenile vs. adult distributions and interrelationships indicating that the type of milieu hypothesized to generate differences in juvenile behavior and justice system behavior did so, but not with the perfect patterned regularity that was expected. Moving on through this set of tables one does note that even in Table 41 with Low DCP/By-Residence Medium Offense Rates, those with Medium Offense Rates as juveniles are found in the High Offense Rate groups as adults in larger proportions depending on the severity with which they were sanctioned as juveniles. And in Table 42 we find relatively few people in the more serious offense and intervention types as juveniles or as adults, but with essentially the same relationship between juvenile and adult types as shown for other groupings of neighborhoods.

To summarize Tables 34 to 42, the juvenile vs. adult experience differs from one DCP/By-Residence Offense Rate group to another with the effects of milieu most evident in the High DCP/Offense Rate group. But we must go further, what are the people like in each of these DCP/By-Residence Offense Rate groupings of neighborhoods who appear in the various combinations of juvenile and adult offense seriousness and intervention types? How may we better understand the effects of milieu as mediated by the personal characteristics of cohort members? We shall later turn to the interview data to better understand continuities and discontinuities in juvenile/adult behavior and experiences in the justice system.

Chapter 8. The Consequences of Staying in the Same Neighborhood vs. Moving to a Better or Worse Milieu

MOVEMENTS BETWEEN DCP AND OFFENSE RATE AREAS

Although we have dwelt at length with continuity and discontinuity in careers between the juvenile and adult periods, it has been from the perspective of characteristics of the milieu in which the juvenile was socialized. In this section we examine change in the average number of police contacts, average seriousness of reasons for contact, average number of referrals, and average severity of sanctions between the juvenile and adult periods for cohort members who have moved to higher or lower Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods and higher or lower In-Area or By-Residence Offense Rate neighborhoods, or stayed in the same kind of neighborhood, high, medium, or low for whichever measure.

To be sure that the question does not arise, we must commence by stating that average scores, whether for contacts, seriousness, referrals, or sanctions, were almost without fail highest for those who lived in High Delinquency and Crime Producing areas (combined neighborhoods), highest in areas with High In-Area Rates, highest in areas with High By-Residence Rates, lower in the middle category, and lowest in the low category for those who stayed in the same kinds of neighborhoods as juveniles and adults, particularly for the By-Residence Rates grouping of neighborhoods. It would be surprising were this not the case considering all prior findings.

The mean rates for those who moved to either higher or lower DCPs was in most cases between that of persons who stayed in Middle and High DCP neighborhoods but those who moved to higher DCPs had lower rates before they moved than did those who moved to lower DCPs.

The proportional change figures presented in Table 43 show that increases in mean contacts, seriousness, and referrals were greatest for those who moved from lower to higher DCP areas but that the greatest increases in sanctions were for those who moved to lower DCP areas. Those who stayed in High DCP areas had the greatest proportional increases of those who stayed and, although this was not as great as the proportional increases for those who moved to higher DCP areas, the means for these areas were highest during the juvenile period and remained the highest during the adult period. Likewise, those who were socialized in Low DCP areas and stayed there had, with the exception of mean referrals, the lowest means and continued to have the lowest means on measures of contact with the justice system. All of the decreases in mean rates were in groups where decreases would be most expected. In sum, milieu effects were present when juvenile-adult change was considered.

In-Area Offense Rates had similar but somewhat less consistent effects. While those who stayed in areas with High In-Area Offense Rates had, in almost all cases, the highest juvenile and adult rates and those who stayed in Low In-Area Offense Rate areas had the lowest juvenile and adult rates, and

TABLE 43. PROPORTIONAL INCREASE OR DECREASE IN CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS, REFERRALS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS BASED ON PLACE OF RESIDENCE AS JUVENILE VS. ADULT

Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Contacts	1.26	1.17	1.12	1.07	1.04	1.06	1.07
Seriousness	1.35	1.15	1.07	-.99	-.98	1.06	1.05
Referrals	1.67	1.27	1.18	-.91	-.97	1.03	-.93
Sanctions	*	2.19	1.66	2.10	1.46	2.12	2.27
N	40	262	623	914	754	319	117

In-Area Offense Rate

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Contacts	1.42	-.04	1.09	1.10	1.06	1.03	1.07
Seriousness	1.42	1.07	1.03	1.05	1.02	1.04	1.04
Referrals	1.63	1.08	1.12	1.09	1.07	-.93	-.93
Sanctions	3.32	2.11	1.67	1.91	1.59	2.11	3.16
N	108	225	681	826	742	332	115

By-Residence Offense Rate

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Contacts	1.28	1.18	1.11	1.02	1.11	1.13	-.96
Seriousness	1.22	1.17	1.06	-.95	1.04	1.13	-.95
Referrals	1.67	1.26	1.12	1.00	1.17	0.00	-.94
Sanctions	1.55	4.38	1.62	1.67	2.26	2.12	3.10
N	64	223	836	869	579	317	141

* No sanctions during the juvenile period; therefore, no increase could be calculated.

those who moved to other neighborhoods had mean rates that were generally consistent with their origins, it would appear that increases in mean sanctions were as great for those who moved to better areas as for those who moved to worse areas for their adult careers. There was also little evidence of different milieu effects on change for those who stayed in High vs. Low In-Area Offense Rate neighborhoods.

However, when neighborhoods are considered on a basis of their By-Residence Offense Rates, not only do the juvenile and adult rates of the different groups fall into a pattern that is consistent with hypothesized milieu effects, but the change proportions for those who have moved are more consistent with milieu effects than found in the two top panels of the table. Note that for contacts, seriousness, and referrals the highest increases in mean rates are for cohort members who moved to neighborhoods whose cohort members had high offense rates and that decreases are found for those who moved from neighborhoods whose members had high offense rates to those where cohort members had low offense rates. But again, movers to low rate areas had increases in the severity of their sanctions that were higher than expected. It would appear that those whose behavior is serious enough to be sanctioned as adults do not have the benefits of moving to a more desirable milieu accrue to them disproportionally to those who have stayed or moved in most other ways.

JUVENILE/ADULT CONTINUITY BY MOVEMENT PATTERN

All of this suggests that we should examine the same data in terms of continuity between the juvenile and adult periods for the members of each group by each measure. This we do in Table 44. Note that continuity between the juvenile and adult periods is generally greatest among the stayers for those who remained in the High DCP, In-Area Offense Rate, and By-Residence Offense Rate neighborhoods and least for those who stayed in the opposite type of neighborhoods. But even higher or essentially the same continuity was found for those who moved from a "poorer" to a "better" neighborhood. In other words, there were formative effects during the juvenile period which carried into the adult period which were generally greatest in the "poorest" neighborhoods for those who stayed there and for those who moved from these poor areas to better neighborhoods.

Juvenile formative effects were least for those who had been socialized in the best neighborhoods but had later moved into the poorest neighborhoods, particularly if these were neighborhoods which had High By-Residence Offense Rates; these were the cohort members who had the greatest disproportional increases in contacts, seriousness, referrals, and sanctions shown in Table 43.

One final change of residence table is included, Table 45, in which the relationships of contacts to seriousness, seriousness to referrals, and referrals to sanctions are compared for stayers vs. movers. Here we find that contacts and

TABLE 44. RELATIONSHIP OF JUVENILE TO ADULT CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE AS JUVENILE VS. ADULT

Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Contacts	.486	.502	.546	.524	.466	.518	.558
Seriousness	.424	.494	.499	.486	.423	.475	.567
Referrals	.352	.442	.604	.595	.519	.566	.664
Sanctions	.000	.360	.450	.388	.375	.342	.406

In-Area Offense Rate

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Contacts	.464	.484	.549	.529	.458	.585	.494
Seriousness	.421	.427	.496	.496	.436	.536	.490
Referrals	.412	.483	.611	.551	.514	.632	.636
Sanctions	.402	.224	.417	.443	.311	.526	.333

By-Residence Offense Rate

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Contacts	.283	.502	.562	.475	.444	.617	.511
Seriousness	.307	.469	.514	.441	.398	.600	.464
Referrals	.171	.542	.578	.541	.489	.665	.604
Sanctions	.042	.293	.437	.339	.354	.517	.332

TABLE 45. RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACTS TO SERIOUSNESS, SERIOUSNESS TO REFERRALS, AND REFERRALS TO SANCTIONS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE AS JUVENILE VS. ADULT

Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Cont.-Ser.	.958	.958	.962	.959	.951	.948	.973
Ser.-Ref.	.726	.711	.776	.712	.706	.689	.741
Ref.-Sanc.	.924	.765	.775	.798	.851	.804	.785

In-Area Offense Rate

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Cont.-Ser.	.954	.972	.962	.958	.951	.948	.964
Ser.-Ref.	.692	.755	.775	.714	.694	.710	.685
Ref.-Sanc.	.824	.824	.788	.812	.800	.755	.826

By-Residence Offense Rate

	L to H	M to H/ L to M	STAYED H	STAYED M	STAYED L	H to M/ M to L	H to L
Cont.-Ser.	.942	.957	.963	.953	.959	.954	.956
Ser.-Ref.	.662	.721	.766	.707	.699	.717	.699
Ref.-Sanc.	.767	.829	.787	.775	.839	.805	.849

seriousness are correlated in the .95 or .96 range regardless of neighborhood characteristics or moved vs. stayed status but that the relationship of seriousness to referrals is highest for those who lived as both juveniles and adults in the poorest neighborhoods. While the range of correlations for the latter is not great, the suggestion of neighborhood effects is there. However, no consistent pattern of variation in the relationship of referrals to sanctions was to be found.

Chapter 9. Milieu Differences in the Relationship of Personal Characteristics and Experiences to Official Records, Self-Report, and Seriousness/Intervention Scores

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS

The Interview Variables

In this section of the report we shall examine neighborhood differences in the juvenile experiences of cohort members. These will consist, for example, of differences in educational attainment, attitudes toward school, perceptions of their associates, perceptions of what is going on around them in the neighborhood, self concepts, the kinds of persons whom they believe have influenced them, family background, age at marriage, work opportunities, and, in general, the world view that they have acquired in the neighborhood in which they have been socialized.

The question is, how has the milieu had its effects on individuals (as measured by behavior and responses other than delinquent behavior) so that some have developed more serious delinquent and criminal careers than have others? This may enable us to explain milieu effects more adequately than we have by simply looking at the relationship between neighborhood milieu and offficial careers. How have some juveniles internalized or reacted to various aspects of the milieu experience differently than others and thus translated their experiences and perceptions of the world about them into continuity in their delinquent and criminal careers? Equally important in this analysis will be how the justice system's intervention and dispositions, including the

variable, seriousness of offense/severity of sanctions, has had different effects depending upon the prior record and other characteristics of cohort members.

Before describing the various analyses included in this section, some attention must be devoted to the question of whether or not the 726 persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts with continuous residence who were interviewed were significantly different from the 1204 who were not interviewed. T tests for the significance of differences between means were made for the following measures of delinquency and crime: number of contacts 6-17, 18-20, 21+; seriousness of careers 6-17, 18-20, 21+; metric scores representing a combination of number of contacts, seriousness, number of referrals, and severity of sanctions 6-17 and after 17; interval scores representing Geometric scores based on number of contacts, seriousness of careers, number of referrals, and severity of sanctions 6-17 and after 17. Although those who were not interviewed had mean scores on the various measures that were from 5% to 15% higher than those who were interviewed, none of the differences was statistically significant.

When t tests were conducted for the significance of the difference between means for the various combinations of DCP and By-Residence Offense groups, there were some significant differences between cohort members interviewed and not interviewed but most of these differences were in the Low DCP groups with the non-interviewed cohort members having

significantly higher means, most frequently on number of contacts in the 6-17 and 18-20 age periods. There were no significant differences in the Middle DCP groups (although in 18 of 30 comparisons those who were interviewed had higher means on the variables than did those who were not interviewed) and only one in the High DCP groups (in the 20 comparisons that could be made with these groups there were 14 in which those who had not been interviewed had lower means than those who had been interviewed).

We concluded that although cohort members from High DCP areas who had been interviewed might be a bit more serious offenders, although not significantly so, and that although cohort members from Low DCP areas were less serious offenders, the differences were not great enough to render the processual type of analysis that we have in mind invalid.

The interview variables and measures of delinquency and crime to be utilized in the analysis which follows are shown in Table 46, grouped in what seems to be a meaningful fashion. The means for each group of neighborhoods, By-Residence Offense Rates, Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics, and combinations of By-Residence and DCPs are presented in Tables 47 and 48 for those variables which were selected for continued analysis after examination of the correlation matrix and some preliminary regression analyses. While the reader will recall that the higher the delinquency and crime means, the more serious delinquency and crime is among cohort members residing in a group of neighborhoods, it should be noted that for DSEX, the higher

TABLE 46. INTERVIEW VARIABLES AND MEASURES OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME TO BE UTILIZED IN REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Transition Measures	
AGEDLR	Age Driver License Received
AGEMOVED	Age Left Home
AGEMARRY	Age of Marriage
Home Conditions	
MWORK	Mother's Employment 6-17
INCHH	Sex of Income-Producing Head of Household
HHJOB	Head of Household's Main Occupation
HHEMP	Head of Household Regularly Employed
Employment	
AGEFJOB	Age at First Job
FIRSTJOB	First Job Level
FJOBSEI	First Job SEI
JOBHSR	Employed During High School
Education	
EDUC	Years of Formal Schooling
ATTSCHR	Attitude Toward School
NODIPLMR	Dropout Before High School Graduation
World View	
ATTPOLR	Attitude Toward Police
PATROLR	Perceived Police Patrolling in Neighborhood
DIFFJR	Desire to be Different Type Person as Juvenile
SELF617	Delinquent Self-Evaluation as Juvenile
Associations	
ADJFRTR	Juvenile Friends in Trouble
ADAUTOSC	Auto Use as Juvenile
APOS617	Positive Influences as Juvenile
ANEG617	Negative Influences as Juvenile
MILITR	Military Service
Current Status	
INCOME	Last Year's Family Income
MARITAL	Marital Status
WORKAVA	Like Available Work
AFRDSCAL	Adult Friends in Trouble
Demographics	
DSEX	Sex
DRACE	Race
Juvenile Delinquency (6-17)	
JUVXN	Seriousness of Juvenile Police Contacts
SRN617	Self-Report Seriousness of Juvenile Behavior
RGEOTH17	Juvenile Offense Seriousness/Intervention
METRTH17	Number, Seriousness, Referrals, and Sanctions
INVTH17	Juvenile Rank of Geometric Number, Seriousness Referral and Sanctions Scores
Adult Crime (18+)	
EIGHTPXN	Seriousness of Adult Police Contacts
SRN18+	Self-Report Seriousness of Adult Behavior
RGEOAF17	Adult Offense Seriousness/Intervention
METRAF17	Number, Seriousness, Referrals, and Sanctions
INTVAF17	Adult Rank of Geometric Number, Seriousness, Referral and Sanctions Scores

TABLE 47. MEASURES OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME: MEANS BY NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS

	By-Residence Offense Rate Groups			Delinquency and Crime Producing Groups		
	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High
JUVXN	2.28	3.31	6.75	2.19	4.43	6.36
SRN617	9.00	8.81	9.71	8.74	8.77	10.21
RGEOTH17	.85	1.11	1.62	.82	1.24	1.62
EIGHTPXN	2.20	3.86	9.49	2.51	4.27	10.16
SRN18P	10.24	12.22	10.22	10.77	10.92	11.10
RGEOAF17	1.02	1.35	2.21	1.05	1.50	2.23
DSEX	.43	.49	.56	.42	.50	.58
DRACE	1.00	.96	.71	.99	.94	.68

	Delinquency and Crime Producing Groups and By-Residence Offense Rate Groups					
	L DCP L RES	L DCP M RES	M DCP L RES	M DCP M RES	M DCP H RES	H DCP H RES
JUVXN	1.55	2.62	2.78	4.12	8.06	6.68
SRN617	9.87	8.55	8.48	8.94	9.01	10.29
RGEOTH17	.63	.98	1.00	1.20	1.75	1.65
EIGHTPXN	1.58	3.21	2.63	3.88	8.04	10.40
SRN18P	10.85	11.29	9.85	12.89	9.30	10.80
RGEOAF17	.80	1.21	1.18	1.45	2.21	2.28
DSEX	.37	.46	.47	.49	.56	.58
DRACE	1.00	.98	1.00	.97	.79	.68

the number, the higher the proportion of males and for DRACE the higher the number, the higher the proportion of Whites. Most other means are simply interpretable as the higher, the more of whatever is being measured. For example, as the INCHH mean increases, the higher the proportion of female heads of households, the higher the HHEMP mean, the higher the proportion of heads of households regularly employed. It is obvious that neither the dependent nor independent variables follow patterns of regular ecological progression.

TABLE 48. INDEPENDENT INTERVIEW VARIABLES: MEANS BY NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS

	By-Residence Offense Rate Groups			Delinquency and Crime Producing Groups		
	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High
AGEDLR	17.31	17.59	18.16	17.50	17.40	18.36
AGEMARRY	23.21	22.83	22.95	22.70	22.81	23.43
INCHH	1.06	1.17	1.19	1.05	1.17	1.20
HHEMP	.98	.95	.91	.99	.95	.89
FIRSTJOB	3.13	3.37	3.98	3.19	3.35	4.12
JOBHSR	2.05	2.24	2.12	2.04	2.27	2.08
ATTISCHR	.58	.58	.56	.59	.56	.57
NODIPLMR	.09	.07	.17	.07	.11	.15
ATTPOLR	2.42	2.36	2.29	2.44	2.37	2.23
PATROLR	2.07	2.08	2.40	2.06	2.09	2.47
SELF617	1.70	1.77	1.86	1.66	1.81	1.88
ADJFRTR	.79	.78	1.06	.70	.79	1.19
ADAUTOSC	1.42	1.44	1.35	1.44	1.42	1.34
MILITR	.21	.21	.25	.17	.24	.27
MARITAL	2.12	2.29	2.46	2.24	2.27	2.43
AFRDSCAL	.96	1.49	1.87	1.27	1.03	2.29

Delinquency and Crime Producing Groups and By-Residence Offense Rate Groups

	L DCP L RES	L DCP M RES	M DCP L RES	M DCP M RES	M DCP H RES	H DCP H RES
AGEDLR	17.49	17.56	17.19	17.67	17.33	18.46
AGEMARRY	23.55	22.29	23.01	23.13	21.87	23.34
INCHH	1.02	1.08	1.08	1.28	1.15	1.21
HHEMP	1.00	.99	.97	.93	.96	.90
FIRSTJOB	3.03	3.39	3.22	3.19	3.90	4.12
JOBHSR	1.83	2.20	2.19	2.31	2.37	2.07
ATTISCHR	.63	.55	.54	.57	.56	.55
NODIPLMR	.06	.08	.10	.06	.22	.16
ATTPOLR	2.44	2.41	2.40	2.32	2.42	2.23
PATROLR	2.03	2.08	2.09	2.00	2.25	2.46
SELF617	1.68	1.67	1.72	1.85	1.92	1.87
ADJFRTR	.94	.58	.69	.93	.75	1.19
ADAUTOSC	1.48	1.39	1.39	1.43	1.45	1.31
MILITR	.14	.20	.27	.21	.23	.27
MARITAL	2.02	2.31	2.19	2.17	2.62	2.39
AFRDSCAL	1.32	1.38	.72	1.20	1.29	2.16

It should be noted that in this chapter the various combinations of seriousness and severity of sanctions were ordered differently from some analyses previously described, but in the same order as presented in Tables 34-42, thus placing more emphasis on seriousness of careers than on disproportional severity of sanctions.

Preliminary Regression Analyses

At this point it might be wise to backtrack momentarily in order that the reader be aware of how the number of variables to be included in the final analysis was determined. Several preliminary analyses were conducted in order to show again the significant effects of sex and race on various measures of delinquency and crime and judicial intervention. With sex and race alone, depending on the measure, Adjusted R^2s ranged from .119 to .232, the highest being for the adult seriousness/intervention score, i.e., sex and race accounted for 23% of the variation in these scores.

Being male forced every measure up and being White forced every measure down. The importance of sex was in almost every instance far greater than that of race (very much disproportionately higher at the police contact level) but when intervention was involved the relative weight of sex declined in comparison with that of race. For example, the standardized estimate for sex effects on number of police contacts during the juvenile period was .443 but only .016 for race. However, when offense seriousness/intervention scores were the dependent

variable, the standardized estimate for sex was .375 and .166 for race. The difference became even less during the adult period, .394 and .277.

Neither DCP nor By-Residence Offense rate neighborhoods as indicators of milieu of socialization had standardized estimates above .138 for sex or .173 for race, they alone accounting for no more than 5% of the variance within types of neighborhoods, generally more of the variance in adult measures than in juvenile measures.

All variables were next placed in a series of regression analyses, one set including the ecological variables and another not. At this point the Adjusted R^2s more or less doubled. The standardized estimates indicated that sex remained the most powerful determinant, race declined to about half of its previous importance, and variables such as being a high school drop-out, having friends in trouble with the police, and access to an automobile became not only significant but accounted for more of the variance than did sex or race. However, there was one important exception, race remained significant and accounted for about as much of the variance as sex when offense seriousness/intervention was the dependent variable.

Since the importance of sex and race had now been established, they were eliminated from the next series of regression analyses. In this series we were exploring the possibility of eliminating those independent variables with little impact on the dependent variable measures of delinquency

and crime. With sex and race omitted, the R^2s now ranged from .317 to .426 in comparison to a range from .393 to .447 with sex and race included. The drop from .393 to .317 was for the adult offense seriousness/intervention measure, which we had previously cited as one on which race and sex had important effects. Examination of the standardized estimates for the independent variables revealed that only 16 variables would enable us to account for almost as much of the variance as would the total.

It was also apparent that some of the measures of delinquency and crime were so highly correlated with each other that it would suffice to continue the regression analyses with one measure of official police contacts, one self-report measure, and the offense seriousness/intervention measure, each for the juvenile and the adult periods.

The Zero-Order Correlations

In order that the reader be able to inspect the zero-order correlations between the dependent variables and independent variables, a matrix is presented as Table 49. We have also included sex, race, and the DCP and By-Residence Offense groupings of neighborhoods.

Although this table is presented in four parts, the reader will immediately notice from the first page that the zero-order correlations vary markedly depending upon the measure and whether it be the juvenile or adult period. That the highest correlation between race and each of these measures is for the offense seriousness/intervention measure during the adult period provides

TABLE 49. CORRELATION MATRIX OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICIAL, SELF-REPORT, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION MEASURES AND INTERVIEW VARIABLES

	JUVXN	SRN617	RGEOTH17	EIGHTPXN	SRN18P	RGEOAF17
JUVXN	----					
SRN617	.389*	----				
RGEOTH17	.815*	.447*	----			
EIGHTP18	.594*	.293*	.502*	----		
SRN18P	.359*	.626*	.363*	.349*	----	
RGEOAF17	.527*	.350*	.586*	.703*	.364*	----
DSEX	.299*	.443*	.377*	.201*	.391*	.397*
DRACE	-.191*	.003	-.170*	-.248*	-.027	-.281*
AGEDL	-.058	-.168*	-.090	-.031	-.167*	-.076
AGEMARRY	.063	.094	.058	.116*	.175*	.120*
INCHH	.084	.012	.040	.101*	.033	.107*
HHEMP	-.146*	.022	-.085	-.226*	.036	-.116*
FIRSTJOB	.222*	.265*	.258*	.244*	.261*	.270*
JOBHSR	-.017	.126*	-.013	-.048	.052	-.006
ATTSCHR	-.153*	-.218*	-.156*	-.109*	-.209*	-.131*
NODIPLMA	.350*	.279*	.383*	.341*	.250*	.367*
ATTPOLR	-.326*	-.344*	-.361*	-.246*	-.345*	-.332*
PATROLR	.170*	.152*	.171*	.143*	.117*	.165*
SELF617	.282*	.460*	.357*	.193*	.298*	.276*
ADJFRTR	.443*	.415*	.482*	.260*	.367*	.347*
ADAUTOSC	.247*	.398*	.314*	.105*	.332*	.240*
MILITR	.181*	.303*	.241*	.035	.248*	.166*
MARITAL	.100*	-.010	.094	.143*	.039	.105*
AFRDSCAL	.337*	.259*	.263*	.374*	.376*	.303*
JDCP	.157*	.054	.173*	.209*	.011	.242*
JBYRES	.179*	.030	.175*	.209*	-.009	.256*

* Significant at .01 level or higher.

TABLE 49, Page 2

	DSEX	DRACE	AGEDL	AGEMARRY	INCHH	HHEMP
JUVXN SRN617 RGEOTH17						
EIGHTP18 SRN18P RGEOAF17						
DSEX	----					
DRACE	-.011	----				
AGEDL	-.262*	-.210*	----			
AGEMARRY	.270*	-.072	.037	----		
INCHH	-.020	-.091	.127*	-.039	----	
HHEMP	.005	.160*	-.127*	.010	-.112*	----
FIRSTJOB	.385*	-.180*	-.012	.109*	.011	-.026
JOBHSR	.172*	.188*	-.125	-.136*	-.048	-.052
ATTSCHR	-.217*	-.027	.034	-.065	.064	.014
NODIPLMA	.053	-.111*	.089	-.039	.026	-.068
ATTPOLR	-.271*	.242*	.074	-.050	-.067	.034
PATROLR	.206*	-.058	-.072	-.002	.033	-.021
SELF617	.303*	-.012	-.102*	.018	.040	.045
ADJFRTR	.342*	-.096*	-.057	.112*	.075	-.085
ADAUTOSC	.322*	.092	-.276*	.056	-.058	.093
MILITR	.539*	.021	-.138*	.162*	.001	.003
MARITAL	-.086	-.073	.044	-.394*	-.018	-.045
AFRDSCAL	.190*	-.158*	-.031	.066	.017	-.079
JDCP	.121*	-.363*	.111*	.072	.080	-.173*
JBYRES	.108*	-.360*	.112*	-.022	.071	-.120*

TABLE 49, Page 3

	FIRSTJOB	JOBHSR	ATTSCHR	NODIPLMA	ATTPOLR	PATROLR	SELF617
JUVXN SRN617 RGEOTH17							
EIGHTP18 SRN18P RGEOAF17							
DSEX DRACE							
AGEDL AGEMARRY							
INCHH HHEMP							
FIRSTJOB	----						
JOBHSR	-.022	----					
ATTSCHR	-.195*	-.003	----				
NCDIPLMA	.129*	-.080	-.171*	----			
ATTPOLR	-.235*	.019	.163*	-.224*	----		
PATROLR	.139*	-.001	-.044	.042	-.123*	----	
SELF617	.265*	.036	-.204*	.174*	-.310*	.158*	----
ADJFRTR	.239*	.035	-.154*	.280*	-.334*	.204*	.307
ADAUTOSC	.150*	.140*	-.097	.123*	-.168*	.100*	.220*
MILITR	.264*	.105*	-.202*	.087	-.150*	.140*	.217*
MARITAL	-.016	.085	-.044	.135*	.002	.001	.044
AFRDSCAL	.139*	-.072	-.128*	.233*	-.236*	.117*	.150*
JDCP	.168*	.031	-.021	.102	-.113*	.201*	.088
JBYRES	.160*	.015	-.012	.111*	-.071	.174*	.068

TABLE 49, Page 4

	ADJFRTR	ADAUTOSC	MILITR	MARITAL	AFRDSCAL	JDCP	JBYRES
JUVXN SRN617 RGEOTH17							
EIGHTP18 SRN18P RGEOAF17							
DSEX DRACE							
AGEDL AGEMARRY							
INCHH HHEMP							
FIRSTJOB							
JOBHSR							
ATTSCHR							
NODIPLMA							
ATTPOLR							
PATROLR							
SELF617							
ADJFRTR	----						
ADAUTOSC	.258	----					
MILITR	.265*	.170*	----				
MARITAL	.012	.001	.003	----			
AFRDSCAL	.225*	.163*	.099*	.080	----		
JDCP	.127*	-.040	.091	.051	.074	----	
JBYRES	.077	-.033	.037	.096	.066	.599*	----

an initial confirmation of what we have previously said about disproportional sanctioning of Non-Whites. And, of course, the highest correlation between any independent variable and the dependent variables is that associational measure for juvenile friends in trouble with the police.

DIFFERENCES IN VARIABLE EFFECTS BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

Having examined the effects of the independent variables on the delinquent and criminal careers of all interviewed cohort members, we now are in a position to determine how these variables are related to delinquency and crime within neighborhood groups, i.e., the effects of these variables may differ depending on the milieu in which the juvenile had been socialized. Table 50 summarizes the amount of variance accounted for within each of the groupings of neighborhoods for the juvenile and adult periods.

In neither the By-Residence nor the Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhood groupings is much more than 48% of the variance of either juvenile or adult rates accounted for by the independent interview variables, usually less. Nor is there consistency in whether variation is most accounted for in the Low, Medium, or High DCP or Offense neighborhoods, the juvenile or the adult period, or official vs. self-report seriousness vs. offense seriousness/intervention measures. However, it does appear that more of the variance is generally accounted for in the offense seriousness/intervention measures in those High DCP and High By-Residence Offense Rate neighborhoods than in any

TABLE 50. VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR IN MEASURES OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES BY INTERVIEW VARIABLES ACCORDING TO NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS

	By-Residence Offense Rate Groups			Delinquency and Crime Producing Groups		
	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High
JUVXN						
R^2	.359*	.441*	.351*	.301*	.317*	.407*
Adj. R^2	.298	.402	.311	.243	.275	.362
SRN617						
R^2	.521*	.446*	.370*	.477*	.515*	.369*
Adj. R^2	.475	.408	.332	.433	.485	.321
RGEOTH17						
R^2	.422*	.437*	.451*	.378*	.426*	.457*
Adj. R^2	.368	.398	.418	.326	.391	.415
EIGHTPXN						
R^2	.314*	.483*	.399*	.297*	.354*	.455*
Adj. R^2	.239	.441	.357	.228	.309	.407
SRN18P						
R^2	.494*	.404*	.392*	.411*	.445*	.385*
Adj. R^2	.439	.356	.349	.353	.405	.331
RGEOAF17						
R^2	.293*	.391*	.431*	.273*	.374*	.458*
Adj. R^2	.216	.342	.391	.202	.330	.410

Delinquency and Crime Producing Groups and By-Residence Offense Rate Groups

	L DCP L RES	L DCP M RES	M DCP L RES	M DCP M RES	M DCP H RES	H DCP H RES
JUVXN						
R^2	.305ns	.420*	.521*	.571*	.280ns	.437*
Adj. R^2	.128	.330	.439	.494	.007	.390
SRN617						
R^2	.617*	.439*	.577*	.610*	.566*	.383*
Adj. R^2	.519	.353	.504	.540	.402	.331
RGEOTH17						
R^2	.375	.474*	.575*	.503*	.465	.478*
Adj. R^2	.216	.393	.502	.415	.263	.434
EIGHTPXN						
R^2	.402	.458*	.452*	.514*	.581*	.436*
Adj. R^2	.219	.360	.342	.413	.389	.381
SRN18P						
R^2	.594*	.360*	.562*	.633*	.382ns	.426*
Adj. R^2	.470	.245	.474	.556	.099	.370
RGEOAF17						
R^2	.312ns	.441*	.487*	.475*	.627*	.487*
Adj. R^2	.101	.340	.384	.366	.457	.438

* All R^2s in this table are marked ns if not significant at the .05 level or * if significant at the .01 level or higher.

other group of neighborhoods and any other measure. In short, it appears that the information obtained from interviews will be useful in explaining delinquency in the inner city and interstitial, High Offense Rate neighborhoods as well as in others. And these are the neighborhoods of greatest concern to people on the firing line.

Before becoming too optimistic, however, we should examine the lower panel of this table. We would have expected that the neighborhoods characterized as High DCP and High By-Residence would have the greatest amount of their variance accounted for by the independent variables but this was not the case. Although we might have expected progression, at least for the offense seriousness/intervention variable, from Low DCP/Low Offense to High DCP/High Offense, that was not the case. But, regardless of the amount of the variance explained, the important question is how the independent variables produce different effects in different types of neighborhoods. This should reveal how milieu differences are related to processual differences in the generation of delinquency and crime and community reaction as measured by disproportional intervention.

When a new set of tables was constructed for the By-Residence Offense Rate groups of neighborhoods, one noted that more variables had statistically significant standardized estimates for the High Offense neighborhoods than for the Medium or Low, for both the juvenile and adult periods. The same was found for DCP groups of neighborhoods. The difference between

the number of significant standardized estimates was even greater when neighborhoods with Low Offense and Low DCPs were compared with neighborhoods with High Offense and High DCPs. It should be noted, however, that progression from one extreme of the continuum of neighborhoods to the other was not regular, i.e., there was one grouping of neighborhoods that broke the even progression during the juvenile period and two that did so during the adult period. The important point is that whether we are concerned about accounting for variation in measures of delinquency and crime for either the juvenile or the adult period, more variables are significant and play a part in explaining delinquency and crime in the High Offense and DCP area or combinations of them than in those at the other end of the continuum.

THE IMPACT OF INTERVIEW VARIABLES ON DELINQUENCY, CRIME, AND SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION

Neighborhood Types--Juvenile Period

To facilitate examination of these standardized estimates, Low By-Residence, Low DCP, and these combined are shown together on a table, first for juveniles and then for adults, as are other similar types of neighborhood groupings.

So let us turn to Table 51 in which we are able to evaluate independent variable effects on measures of delinquency. This table has been arranged so that we can examine groups of neighborhoods as selected from the groupings shown in Table 50.

Four variables stood out as recurring in significance across the continuum of neighborhoods during the juvenile period: no

TABLE 51. INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON MEASURES OF JUVENILE OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES OF COHORT MEMBERS RESIDENT IN LOW, MEDIUM, AND HIGH OFFENSE, DCP, AND COMBINATIONS OF OFFENSE AND DCP AREAS

	Res Low 1	DCP Low 1	DCPL ResL 1-1	Res Med 2	DCP Med 2	DCPL ResM 1-2	DCPM ResL 2-1	DCPM ResM 2-2	Res Hi 3	DCP Hi 3	DCPM ResH 2-3	DCPH ResH 3-3
AGEDLR												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SRN617	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
AGEMARRY												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SRN617	-----	.165*	-----	-----	-----	.199	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
INCHH												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SRN617	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.263	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
HHEMP												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.176*	-.206*	-----	-.254*
SRN617	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.133	-.137	-----	-.183*
FIRSTJOB												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SRN617	-----	-----	-----	.124	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.149*	.130	-----	.169*
JOBHSR												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.125
SRN617	-----	.123	-----	-----	-----	.191	.164	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.135	-.155*	-----	-.165*
ATTSCHR												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.187	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SRN617	-.136	-----	-.183	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
MODIPLHR												
JUVXN	.312*	.142	.480*	-----	.299*	-----	-----	-----	.184*	.231*	-----	.213*
SRN617	.193*	-----	.183	-----	.258*	-----	-----	-----	.118	.154	-----	.134
RGEOTH17	.314*	.170*	.456*	-----	.234*	-----	-----	-----	.193*	.190*	-----	.180*
ATTPOLR												
JUVXN	-.173*	-----	-----	-----	-.240	-----	-----	-----	-.149	-.165	-----	-.165
SRN617	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.178*	-.189*	-----	-.208*
RGEOTH17	-.199*	-----	-----	-----	-.241	-----	-----	-----	-.156*	-.180*	-----	-.197*
PATROLR												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	.179	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SRN617	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	-----	-----	.202	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SELF617												
JUVXN	-----	-----	-----	.401*	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SRN617	.244*	.290*	-----	.338*	.298*	-----	-----	-----	.215*	.259*	-----	.236*
RGEOTH17	-----	.202*	-----	.416*	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
ADJFRTR												
JUVXN	.310*	.276*	-----	.321*	.372*	-----	-----	-----	.246*	.240*	-----	.220*
SRN617	.139	.291*	-----	.351*	.246*	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.413*	-----
RGEOTH17	.245*	.257*	-----	.280*	.275	-----	-----	-----	.270*	.289*	-----	.239*
ADAUTOSC												
JUVXN	.368*	.126	.198	-----	.193	-----	-----	-----	.155	-----	-----	.162
SRN617	.208*	.188*	.261*	-----	.217	-----	-----	-----	.184*	.148	-----	.187*
RGEOTH17	.177*	.145*	.262*	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.216*	.188*	.328	.224*
MILITR												
JUVXN	-----	.156	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
SRN617	.128	-----	.244	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RGEOTH17	-----	.167*	-----	-.202	.161	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

* All standardized estimates shown on this table are significant at the .05 level or, if followed by *, at the .01 level or higher.

high school diploma, a delinquent self-concept during the juvenile period, juvenile friends in trouble with the police, and access to an automobile. Not having a high school diploma was consistently more significant than were the other variables for all measures for those groups of neighborhoods with High Offense Rates, DCPs, and combinations thereof. Although having juvenile friends in trouble with the police was significant across the continuum of neighborhoods, it appeared to be of the greatest importance in the middle grouping of neighborhoods.

While not a single variable was significant for all measures of delinquency across the continuum, having access to an automobile was significant for the offense seriousness/intervention measure in 10 out of 12 possibilities and in nine out of 12 possibilities for the delinquency self-concept measure.

Consistent with our previous statement about the rather large number of significant standardized estimates in the High By-Residence, High DCPs, and combinations thereof of neighborhood groupings, one notes that the head of household was more likely to be unemployed, cohort member's first job was at a lower level, and cohort member was less likely to have been employed during high school if he or she had a high score on the offense seriousness/intervention score. None of these was of such importance in accounting for delinquency outside of the High Offense and DCP neighborhood grouping. In fact, and this comes as a surprise to some people, high school employment was

positively related to self-report delinquency in three neighborhood groupings outside of the High By-Residence and DCP groups.

We have said little about the significant standardized estimates for attitude toward the police, a positive attitude being related to lower offense rates, particularly in the High By-Residence and High DCP and combinations thereof groupings of neighborhoods. While this variable is significant, it may be an antecedent of apprehension by the police rather than an antecedent of trouble or it may be that both develop at the same time, one intertwined with the other. Likewise, we were hesitant to say much about self-concept 6-17 because it is difficult to say if this is explanatory of delinquency or a consequence of delinquency.

The reader may wish to inspect this table for other significant relationships but let us now turn to the adult period, Table 52.

Neighborhood Types--Adult Period

The adult pattern of significant standardized estimates is considerably different from that for juveniles. Age of marriage (the younger the less likely to have a high score on adult measures of crime) is significant across the continuum when it was of little importance during the juvenile period. First job level is also more important, the higher the first job level, the lower the adult offense rate. No diploma continues to be of importance. While having friends in trouble with the police as

TABLE 52. INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON MEASURES OF ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES OF COHORT MEMBERS RESIDENT IN LOW, MEDIUM, AND HIGH OFFENSE, DCP, AND COMBINATIONS OF OFFENSE AND DCP AREAS

	Res Low 1	DCP Low 1	DCPL ResL 1-1	Res Med 2	DCP Med 2	DCPL ResM 1-2	DCPM ResL 2-1	DCPM ResM 2-2	Res Hi 3	DCP Hi 3	DCPM ResM 2-3	DCPH ResH 3-3
AGEDLR												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	-.157*	----	-.276*	----	----	-.157*	-.186*	----	-.191*
SRN18P	----	-.128	----	----	----	----	----	----	-.129	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	-.230	----	----	-.152*	.187*	----	-.208*
AGEMARRY												
EIGHTPXN	----	.179	----	.222*	----	.251*	----	.225	.180*	.189*	----	.211*
SRN18P	.300*	.296*	.398*	.146	.145	.268	.179	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	.220*	----	.195	----	.257	.139	.143	----	.165*
INCHH												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	.108	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	.191	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
HHEMP												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	-.196*	-.126	----	----	----	-.196*	-.158*	-.317	-.163
SRN18P	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	.124	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
FIRSTJOB												
EIGHTPXN	----	.182	----	----	----	.262*	----	----	.197*	.178*	----	.184*
SRN18P	----	.133	----	.135	----	----	----	----	.150	.133	----	.166
RGEOAF17	----	.201*	----	.159	----	.326*	----	----	.169*	.148	----	.141
JOBHSR												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-.309	----
SRN18P	.129	----	.267	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
ATTSCHR												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	-.124	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	.233*	----	----	----	----	----	-.286*	----	.130	.167*	----	.190*
MODIPLHH												
EIGHTPXN	.216*	.339*	----	.407*	.427*	.515*	----	.465*	.210*	.167*	.473*	.155
SRN18P	.198*	----	.363*	----	.129	----	----	----	.162*	.138	----	.141
RGEOAF17	----	.224*	----	.313*	.339*	.423*	----	.348*	.236*	.161*	.382*	.147
ATTPOLH												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	-.188*	----	----	-.139	-.162*	----	-.203	----	----	-.157	----	-.143
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-.125	-.178*	----	-.179*
PATROLR												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	----	-.176	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
SELF617												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	.179	----	----	----	.223	----	----	----	----	----	----
ADJFRTR												
EIGHTPXN	.285*	----	----	----	----	-.219	.538*	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	.243*	----	----	.140	.199*	----	.476*	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	.310*	----	----	-.136	----	-.237	.591*	----	.146	.186*	----	.211*
ADAUTOSC												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	.119	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	.169	----	.128	.143	----	----	.204	.170*	----	.352	----
RGEOAF17	----	.156	----	.145	.189*	----	----	----	.125	----	.316	----
MILITR												
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-.185*	-.221*	----	-.229*
SRN18P	----	.165	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	.160*	----	----	----	----	----	.324	----
MARITAL												
EIGHTPXN	.192	.157	----	.209*	----	.239	.234	.203	.151*	.164*	----	.166
SRN18P	.176	----	----	----	.114	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	.130	----	.193	----	----	.174*	.175*	----	.213*
AFRDSCAL												
EIGHTPXN	----	.231*	----	.360*	----	.327*	----	----	.233*	.218*	----	.288*
SRN18P	.127	.170	----	.224*	.146*	.196	.188	.476*	.277*	.259*	----	.332*
RGEOAF17	----	.160	----	.256*	----	.259*	----	----	----	.199*	----	.129

* All standardized estimates shown on this table are significant at the .05 level or, if followed by *, at the .01 level or higher.

juveniles does not carry over to the adult period, having adult friends in trouble with the police was one of the more consistently significant variables for all adult measures. Exactly how all of the significant variables should be interpreted is not an easy decision. For example, marital status may be a consequence of crime (trouble with the police leading to divorce and separation) or marital troubles may lead to certain kinds of offenses--and the records show some of each.

Be all that as it may, Tables 51 and 52 do present differences in the pattern of standardized estimates for the juvenile and adult periods. Table 51 shows that these patterns for juveniles differ according to the types of neighborhoods included in each group. Table 52 reveals that neighborhood differences are even more complex for the adult period than for the juvenile period.

The reader should not conclude that we are presenting the data in Tables 51 and 52 as an explanation of the process by which juveniles and adults learn about how to become delinquent or criminal and make the decision to engage in this behavior. If we take the position that the process by which this occurs differs according to the type of neighborhood in which the juvenile has been socialized, then we expect differences in the amount of variance accounted for by type of neighborhood, but even though this is minimal, as we have repeatedly said for measures of delinquency and crime, differences in the contributory variables may still be found.

Across neighborhood differences in the variables accounting for juvenile and adult seriousness (JUVXN and EIGHTPXN) are present as represented by the standardized estimates shown in these tables. The appearance of economic factors such as regularity of employment of the head of the household in the High By-Residence, High DCP, and combination thereof groups is an example. By contrast, failure to graduate from high school appears across different kinds of neighborhoods but generally had the greatest impact on cohort members who were socialized in neither the "best" nor the "worst" neighborhoods. Similarly, the self-report seriousness measures (SRN617 and SRN18P) were significantly affected by age of marriage (the younger the age of marriage, the lower the self-report score as adults) in various types of neighborhoods outside the High By-Residence, High DCP, and combinations thereof groups but not in these areas. This suggests that marriage has a settling effect that promotes non-delinquent and non-criminal role behavior.

Those who are familiar with the literature in the field find no surprises in the findings presented thus far. We have, however, been most concerned about the effects of these variables on the offense seriousness/intervention measures (RGEOTH17 and RGEOAF17) because these measures get at the disproportionality of sanctions which were greatest in the High By-Residence, High DCP, and combinations thereof neighborhoods.

THE INNER CITY VS. OTHER AREAS AND WHITES VS. NON-WHITES

How the variables with significant effects on these scores explain or account for differences in the scores of cohort members is even more complex. We do know that the number of variables with significant effects is greater and that the pattern of effects differs for the High By-Residence, High DCP, and combinations thereof neighborhoods and that these differences are particularly notable during the juvenile period. All of this suggests that we might be able to describe what goes on in different types of neighborhoods even better if they were simply dichotomized into inner city and other neighborhoods. This was the next step. But since the cohort population of inner city neighborhoods was disproportionately Non-White, it might be well to check on exactly how the Non-White composition of the inner city affected its statistics. Two additional analyses were conducted with cohort members dichotomized as Non-White/White.

It is immediately apparent from Table 53 that more of the variance is accounted for in inner city cohort members' delinquency and crime measures than it is for cohort members from the rest of the community, particularly the offense seriousness/intervention measures (RGEOTH17 and RGEOAF17). Since most of the Non-Whites were socialized in the inner city, we again ask ourselves if the racial composition of the inner city (46% were Non-White) might have played a part in the difference.

Although more of the variance in the inner city delinquency and crime scores was generally accounted for by the interview

TABLE 53. VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR IN MEASURES OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES BY INTERVIEW VARIABLES BY JUVENILE RESIDENCE AND SEX*

	Inner City	Other	Non-White	White
JUVXN				
R^2	.416	.297	.359	.349
ADJ. R^2	.365	.278	.221	.335
SRN617				
R^2	.387	.449	.497	.448
ADJ. R^2	.333	.435	.388	.436
RGEOTH17				
R^2	.457	.392	.485	.394
ADJ. R^2	.409	.376	.374	.380
EIGHTPXN				
R^2	.432	.341	.563	.291
ADJ. R^2	.374	.321	.452	.274
SRN18P				
R^2	.419	.369	.477	.383
ADJ. R^2	.360	.350	.345	.367
RGEOAF17				
R^2	.480	.290	.501	.296
ADJ. R^2	.427	.268	.374	.278

* All R^2s in this table are significant at the .01 level or higher.

variables than for those socialized in other neighborhoods and for the Non-Whites vs. the Whites if the unadjusted R^2 was considered, the pattern of differences changed for Non-Whites vs. Whites when the adjusted R^2 was observed (a function of the smaller Non-White N). The importance of examining those Non-Whites who were interviewed separately from others is further emphasized by the fact that the Non-White R^2s are relatively high, even higher than for all cohort members socialized in the inner city.

The Juvenile Period

The significant standardized estimates for each of these groups of cohort members are presented in a series of tables commencing with Table 54 for the juvenile period. Although we might say that the persons interviewed from the cohorts constitute a population and dispense with statistical significance, these tables have been constructed from the more conservative viewpoint and report only those effects which are significant at the .05 level or higher. While there are some differences between inner city and other neighborhood of socialization effects, they are consistent with the differences found when different types of neighborhoods were presented in Table 51. The somewhat greater effects of these variables on offense seriousness/intervention scores is consistent with the High By-Residence and High DCP or combinations thereof groups shown in Table 51. There are also Non-White vs. White differences which are consistent with differences in the way of life of each group. For example, not having graduated from high school and having access to an automobile while school and having access to an automobile while a juvenile have significant effects for Whites but not for Non-Whites.

At the zero-order level not having graduated from high school and having access to an automobile had positive relationships to all juvenile period scores for both Whites and Non-Whites. Attitude toward the police has more effects for Non-Whites than for Whites but at the zero-order level both were

TABLE 54. INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON MEASURES OF JUVENILE OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES OF COHORT MEMBERS RESIDENT IN INNER CITY VS. OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS AND NON-WHITE VS. WHITE COHORT MEMBERS

	Inner City	Other	Non-White	White
AGEDLR				
JUVXN	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----
AGEMARRY				
JUVXN	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	.071	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----
INCHH				
JUVXN	----	----	----	.076
SRN617	----	----	-.389*	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----
HHEMP				
JUVXN	-.244*	----	----	-.113*
SRN617	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	-.168*	----	----	----
FIRSTJOB				
JUVXN	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	----	.235	----
RGEOTH17	.147	----	----	----
JOBHSR				
JUVXN	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	.082	----	.087*
RGEOTH17	-.139	----	----	----
ATTSCHR				
JUVXN	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----
NODIPLMR				
JUVXN	.182*	.195*	----	.218*
SRN617	----	.132*	----	.143*
RGEOTH17	.127	.257*	----	.230*
ATTPOLR				
JUVXN	-.173	----	----	-.087
SRN617	-.218*	-.077	-.218	-.087*
RGEOTH17	-.184	-.095	-.286*	-.075
PATROLR				
JUVXN	----	----	----	.068
SRN617	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----
SELF617				
JUVXN	----	.140*	----	.163*
SRN617	.210*	.269*	.382*	.274*
RGEOTH17	----	.204*	----	.196*
ADJPMTR				
JUVXN	.216*	.211*	.324*	.230*
SRN617	----	.176*	----	.148*
RGEOTH17	.305*	.177*	.378*	.221*
ADAUTOSC				
JUVXN	.171	.095	----	.142*
SRN617	.173	.223*	----	.222*
RGEOTH17	.206*	.147*	----	.156*
MILITR				
JUVXN	----	.109*	----	----
SRN617	----	.108*	----	.135*
RGEOTH17	----	.094	----	.084

* All standardized estimates shown on this table are significant at the .05 level or, if followed by *, at the .01 level or higher.

related to all juvenile period scores. And at the zero-order level, it must be remembered, the most consistently high correlations were between having friends in trouble with the police and various measures of delinquency.

The reader should be reminded that the effects to which we refer are those obtained with all other variables being held constant in the analysis through statistical techniques. Since people are unable to hold all other things constant in their minds as perfectly as does the computer, they think in terms of zero-order relationships. To assure the reader that we are aware of the existence of these relationships and understand that many people believe that it is valuable to be aware of them as well as the effects discerned by regression analysis, we are commenting on them at the same time that these tables are being described.

The Adult Period

The standardized estimates for the independent variable effects on adult measures are presented in Table 55. Note that who the income producing head of the household is has no significant effects on adult crime scores for persons socialized in the inner city or on Non-Whites but that regularity of employment of the head of the household reduces delinquency seriousness scores in all groups, as does a high-level first job of cohort members. The latter had substantial positive correlations for all measures in all groups at the zero-order level, particularly for Non-Whites. Not graduating from high school has its greatest effects on Whites and those who were

TABLE 55. INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON MEASURES OF ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES OF COHORT MEMBERS RESIDENT IN INNER CITY VS. OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS AND NON-WHITE VS. WHITE COHORT MEMBERS

	Inner City	Other	Non-White	White
AGEDLK				
EIGHTPXN	-.207*	----	-.279*	----
SRN18P	----	-.074	----	-.085
RGEOAF17	-.212*	----	-.326*	----
AGEMARRY				
EIGHTPXN	.236*	.127*	----	.155*
SRN18P	----	.198*	----	.156*
RGEOAF17	.181*	.115*	----	.129*
INCHH				
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	.078
SRN18P	----	----	----	.071
RGEOAF17	----	.091	----	.077
HHEMP				
EIGHTPXN	-.167	-.157*	-.221	-.187*
SRN18P	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----
FIRSTJOB				
EIGHTPXN	.213*	.112*	.226	.088
SRN18P	.165	----	.240	----
RGEOAF17	.185*	.084	----	.077
JOBHSR				
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----
ATTSCHR				
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	.171*	----	----	----
NODIPLMR				
EIGHTPXN	.140	.361*	----	.254*
SRN18P	.137	.063	----	.073
RGEOAF17	----	.285*	----	.249*
ATTPOLR				
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	-.168	-.136*	----	-.146*
RGEOAF17	-.183*	-.085	-.220	----
PATHOLR				
EIGHTPXN	----	----	.194	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----
SELF617				
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	.186*
SRN18P	----	.085	----	.085
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	.134*
ADJPRTK				
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	.150*	----	.096*
RGEOAF17	.239*	----	.213	----
ADAUTOSC				
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	.152*	----	.157*
RGEOAF17	----	.140*	----	.128*
MILITR				
EIGHTPXN	-.252*	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	.072
RGEOAF17	----	----	----	----
MARITAL				
EIGHTPXN	.133	.163*	----	.158*
SRN18P	----	.130*	----	.116*
RGEOAF17	.154	----	----	.099*
AFRDSCAL				
EIGHTPXN	.272*	.234*	----	.206*
SRN18P	.308*	.188*	----	.252*
RGEOAF17	.136	.127*	----	.100*

* All standardized estimates shown on this table are significant at the .05 level or, if followed by *, at the .01 level or higher.

socialized outside the inner city; this variable and attitude toward the police had relatively high zero-order correlations with all measures of adult crime for each group.

While having friends in trouble with the police as a juvenile had substantial positive correlations at the zero-order level (as high as .503 for inner city cohort members), there were few effects in the multiple regression analysis. Having adult friends in trouble with the police was significantly related to higher offense rates for all groups except the Non-Whites, although at the zero-order level the relationship for Non-Whites had been present and essentially the same as having juvenile friends in trouble with the police. In fact, at the zero-order level these variables and failure to graduate from high school had the highest relationships with measures of adult crime for all groups. And while other variables had inconsistent effects from group to group, marital status of cohort members had effects on all except the Non-White group; i.e., any status such as divorced or separated had a significant positive effect on adult offense measures. But, as we have previously stated, it is difficult to say that marital status causes criminal behavior because it may well be that persons who have become involved in crime are divorced by their spouses. The inner city vs. other place of socialization differences were generally consistent with those shown in Table 52.

Although one could, after the fact, write an entire volume on how the results of these multiple regression analyses are

supportive of sociological theory and various hypotheses derived from this or that theory or the process by which delinquent and criminal behavior patterns are acquired, we would prefer to simply say at this point that it is even more obvious than before that the organization of human relations differs so much between the inner city and that of other types of neighborhoods that we must not think of explanations of either delinquency or crime per se but be concerned about how the development of this behavior differs and is dealt with differently depending on the type of neighborhood in which the juvenile is socialized. And since there are not only differences in measures of official and self-report delinquency and crime but also very significant differences in the offense seriousness/intervention measure which incorporates society's reaction to delinquency and crime, we must be even more concerned about how the decision-making process operates differently in some neighborhoods than in others.

Parallel to this, although not a central concern of this project, is the question of race/ethnic differences. Is there an added impact of some variables if the juvenile or adult is a Non-White, inner city resident? For example, why does attitude toward the police have a significant standardized estimate in accounting for variation in offense seriousness/intervention scores for Non-Whites but not for Whites during both the juvenile and adult periods? Why is it greater for Non-Whites than for all inner city residents?

THE IMPACT OF JUVENILE ON ADULT CAREERS

Before turning to further examination of race/ethnic and sex differences, several additional analyses must be discussed just to make sure that we have not lost our perspective on other facets of the problem which are equally important. We next entered measures of juvenile delinquency in the regression analyses as an additional independent variable along with the interview data in order to determine to what extent juvenile measures accounted for adult measures and might also change interview effects on adult measures of crime.

The effects of juvenile delinquency measures were substantial on adult crime measures. In most cases the standardized estimates for measures of juvenile delinquency were greater than for any of the interview variables. The only exceptions were for non-inner city neighborhoods where not having a high school diploma remained higher than official juvenile delinquency scores and, in the case of Non-Whites where early age of driver's license, lack of steady employment of head of household, and lower-level first job had significant effects on adult official seriousness greater than did official juvenile seriousness scores.

The overall impact of juvenile delinquency measures was to reduce the standardized estimates for most variables, for a few to the point that they were no longer statistically significant. For example, 20 of the standardized estimates for the interview variables shown in Table 55 were reduced for persons socialized

in the inner city. In eight cases the estimates were no longer statistically significant. Although 20 of the standardized estimates for persons socialized in other neighborhoods were also reduced, only four were no longer statistically significant and three increased or now became statistically significant.

In sum, prior juvenile record or self-report seriousness had more impact on adult official records or self-report seriousness for those who were socialized in the inner city (unstandardized estimates .879 and .596 for the inner city vs. .316 and .488 for the other neighborhoods), while juvenile offense seriousness/intervention scores had slightly more effect on adult scores for those who had been socialized outside the inner city (.410 vs. .378). In other words, disproportionately severe intervention for juveniles socialized outside the inner city had more impact on their adult careers than it had for those who had been socialized in the inner city--and whether standardized or unstandardized estimates were compared, was greater than the impact of official seriousness scores.

While juvenile self-report seriousness scores produced their greatest effect on adult self-report seriousness scores for Non-Whites (.785 vs. .469), neither of the other juvenile scores had significant effects (unstandardized estimates) on their comparable adult scores. Changes in effects were fewer but there were fewer significant to begin with.

As for the Whites, most interview effects declined and some became non-significant while all juvenile measures became strong

in accounting for variance in adult scores (.814, .469, and .444). In sum, prior juvenile record had less impact on adult measures of crime for Non-Whites than for Whites. While many of the interview variables lost their importance when juvenile careers were introduced in accounting for adult careers for Whites, more of the interview variables remained significant in more ways in accounting for these White adult careers than they did in accounting for Non-White adult careers. The few interview variables which were significant for Non-Whites did continue to have relatively high standard estimates. So what we can say is that accounting for adult crime is more complex among Whites than among Non-Whites.

Overall, there was considerable increase in the proportion of the variance in adult measures accounted for, although the changes were not consistent from one measure to another, for inner city vs. other neighborhoods, or for Non-Whites vs. Whites. Over 50% of the variance in all inner city scores was accounted for, ranging from 49% of the variance for offense seriousness/intervention scores to 56% for the self-report seriousness scores. For other types of neighborhoods from 36% to 45% of the variance was now accounted for. Among the Non-Whites 58% of the variance in adult self-report seriousness scores was now accounted for, an increase of 24% by adding juvenile self-report seriousness scores. Almost 50% of the variance in adult official seriousness was now accounted for with the addition of juvenile official seriousness scores.

Chapter 10. Another Look at Race/Ethnic and Sex Differences

LIFE EXPERIENCES THAT DIFFER BY SEX

Accounting for Race and Sex Variance

Throughout our research we have reported sex and race/ethnic differences but in this report have been less concerned with them because our thrust has been toward delineating neighborhood effects. Since it is apparent that what we find in the inner city is based on two Whites for every Non-White, while other neighborhoods are predominantly White and the serious delinquency and crime of both areas is predominantly male rather than female, we would be remiss in not taking one last look at the cohort interview data on a basis of sex and race/ethnicity.

We now turn to Table 56 for a closer look at these race/ethnic differences, this time controlling for sex. Note that the interview data account for far more of the variance for males than for females, particularly during the adult period. Among the Non-Whites more of the variance is accounted for among females than males during the juvenile period but the opposite for the adult period. Among the Whites more of the variance is accounted for among males during both periods. White vs. Non-White differences in the amount of variance accounted for change from measure to measure for males. Among the females the variance is best accounted for among the Non-Whites during the juvenile period but is inconsistent during the adult period. The point is that controlling for sex and race/ethnicity vastly complexes any attempt to account for differences in measures of delinquency and crime.

TABLE 56. VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR IN MEASURES OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES BY INTERVIEW VARIABLES BY SEX AND RACE

	Males	Non-White	White	Females	Non White	White
JUVXN						
R^2	.340*	.357ns	.388*	.185*	.473ns	.178*
Adj. R^2	.314	.011	.360	.153	.200	.141
SRN617						
R^2	.369*	.681*	.416*	.219*	.718*	.223*
Adj. R^2	.344	.510	.389	.188	.571	.188
RGEOTH17						
R^2	.372*	.443ns	.376*	.241*	.618*	.213*
Adj. R^2	.347	.143	.347	.211	.419	.178
EIGHTPXN						
R^2	.482*	.742*	.409*	.149*	.396ns	.207
Adj. R^2	.458	.570	.377	.110	.001	.166
SRN18P						
R^2	.335*	.715*	.332*	.172*	.568ns	.244*
Adj. R^2	.304	.524	.296	.134	.287	.205
RGEOAF17						
R^2	.365*	.560ns	.310*	.159*	.399ns	.141*
Adj. R^2	.336	.266	.273	.120	.006	.097

* All R^2s in this table are marked ns if not significant at the .05 level or * if significant at the .01 level or higher.

While respectable amounts of the variation in delinquency and crime measures are accounted for, with several exceptions, over half of the variance is still unaccounted for. That so much of the variance in the offense seriousness/intervention score is unaccounted for, particularly among the Non-Whites during the adult period only increases our concern about the experiences of this group. In this respect it is important to remember that Non-White males had a mean adult seriousness score of 18.2 while White males had a score of 15.0 but that the mean offense seriousness/intervention score for Non-Whites was 4.2 while that for Whites was 2.0.

Thus the proportional difference was far greater when disproportional seriousness of intervention was a part of the measure than when it was a matter of official seriousness of offenses alone. Yet male Non-White official seriousness was accounted for by the interview data better than was offense seriousness/intervention. There was less difference between the two R^2s for White males.

The Juvenile Period

Interview variable effects during the juvenile period are presented in Table 57. Note that none of the interview variables have significant effects for Non-White males except when self-report seriousness is the dependent variable--where they are substantial. Although there were few significant effects for the Non-White females, having juvenile friends in trouble with the police had effects on each of the delinquency measures. For White females there were more significant effects than for Non-White females but still fewer than for White males.

We must remember, of course, that at the zero-order level failure to graduate from high school was related to higher scores on all delinquency measures among both White and Non-White males, as was attitude toward the police, having juvenile friends in trouble with the police, and having access to an automobile. Here, as in Tables 54 and 55, we are concerned with only those variables which have a statistically significant relationship, all other things being equal. Among the females relationships between the interview variables and delinquency measures were

TABLE 57. INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON MEASURES OF JUVENILE OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES OF COHORT MEMBERS BY SEX AND RACE

	Males	Non-White	White	Females	Non White	White
AGEDLR						
JUVXN	----	---	----	----	----	----
SRN617	-.108	----	-.120*	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----	----	----
AGEMARRY						
JUVXN	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	----	----	----	.294	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----	----	----
INCHH						
JUVXN	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	-.583*	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----	----	----
HHEMP						
JUVXN	-.127*	----	-.142*	-.229*	----	-.183*
SRN617	----	----	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	-.152*	----	-.134*
FIRSTJOB						
JUVXN	----	----	----	.117	----	.202*
SRN617	----	.303	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----	----	.153*
JOBHSR						
JUVXN	-.102	----	-.099	----	----	.136
SRN617	----	----	----	.108	----	.111
RGEOTH17	-.131*	----	-.096	----	----	.115
ATTSCHR						
JUVXN	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	.438*	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----	----	----
MODIPLHR						
JUVXN	.273*	----	.263*	.133	----	.218*
SRN617	.236*	.366	.237*	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	.293*	---	.285*	.207*	----	.294*
ATTPOLR						
JUVXN	-.123	----	-.118	----	----	----
SRN617	-.149*	----	-.130*	----	-.265	----
RGEOTH17	-.134*	----	-.107	----	-.273	----
PATROLR						
JUVXN	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	.282	----	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----	----	----
SELF617						
JUVXN	----	----	.133*	----	----	----
SRN617	.231*	.488	.252*	.288*	.309	.277*
RGEOTH17	.117	----	.173*	----	----	.122
ADJFRTR						
JUVXN	.217*	----	.198*	.168*	.374	----
SRN617	.123	----	.252*	.122	.576*	----
RGEOTH17	.222*	----	.232*	.237*	.521*	----
ADAUTOSC						
JUVXN	.130*	----	.166*	----	----	----
SRN617	.204*	----	.226*	.225*	----	.238*
RGEOTH17	.161*	----	.161*	----	----	----
MILITR						
JUVXN	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN617	----	-.326	.090	----	----	----
RGEOTH17	----	----	----	----	----	----

* All standardized estimates shown on this table are significant at the .05 level or, if followed by *, at the .01 level or higher.

generally low at the zero-order level with the exception, for example, of high school graduation for White females and, for Non-White females, attitude toward the police, self-concept, and friends in trouble with the police.

The Adult Period

Standardized estimates are presented for the adult period in Table 58. While there are still fewer effects for the Non-Whites than for the Whites, more of the variance is accounted for--and by a different pattern of effects than for the Whites. But for the female Non-Whites there were very few significant effects and again numerous significant effects for the Whites.

Mention should again be made of the zero-order correlations. Having no high school diploma had the highest correlation with all adult crime measures for both White and Non-White males but was of little importance for the females except on the offense seriousness/intervention measure. Although next in importance for the males at the zero-order level had been friends in trouble with the police as adults, this likewise had been of little importance for the females. Again we must conclude that the world of males differs from that of females and that of Non-Whites differs from that of Whites when either juvenile delinquency or adult crime is related to interview data in all their complexity.

When the interview data were examined in reference to the juvenile period, few variables had significant effects across sex, even fewer across race, and only one across sex and race,

TABLE 58. INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON MEASURES OF ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES OF COHORT MEMBERS BY SEX AND RACE

	Males	Non-White	White	Females	Non White	White
AGEDLR						
EIGHTPXN	----	-.360	----	-.138	----	----
SRN18P	-.114	-.330	-.106	-.112	----	----
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	-.123	----	----
AGEMARRY						
EIGHTPXN	.164*	----	.130	.120	----	.135
SRN18P	.144*	----	.144*	.166*	----	.182*
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	.144	----	.148
INCHH						
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	.105	----	.112
AGEOAF17	.091	----	----	----	----	.116
HHEMP						
EIGHTPXN	-.182*	----	-.126*	-.204*	----	-.280*
SRN18P	.122*	.434*	----	----	----	----
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	-.138*	----	-.186*
FIRSTJOB						
EIGHTPXN	.117*	.292	----	.157*	----	.108
SRN18P	----	.379	----	----	----	----
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----
JOBHSR						
EIGHTPXN	-.065	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----	----	----
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----
ATTSCHR						
EIGHTPXN	.089	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	.454*	----	----	----	----
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----
NODIPLMA						
EIGHTPXN	.362*	----	.412*	----	----	----
SRN18P	.180*	.461	.157*	----	----	----
AGEOAF17	.329*	----	.355*	.184*	----	.230*
ATTPOLM						
EIGHTPXN	-.114*	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	-.155*	----	-.150*	----	----	-.151*
AGEOAF17	-.152*	----	-.112	----	----	----
PATROLM						
EIGHTPXN	.106	.268	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	.273	----	-.124	----	-.147*
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----
SELF617						
EIGHTPXN	----	----	.108	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----	.359	----
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----
ADJFRTM						
EIGHTPXN	----	----	----	----	----	----
SRN18P	.109	----	----	.105	.431	----
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	.127	----	----
ADAUTOSC						
EIGHTPXN	----	----	.117	-.123	----	----
SRN18P	.145*	----	.161*	.127	----	.131
AGEOAF17	.149*	----	.176*	----	----	----
MILITR						
EIGHTPXN	-.196*	----	-.143*	----	----	----
SRN18P	----	----	----	----	----	----
AGEOAF17	-.132*	----	----	----	----	----
MARITAL						
EIGHTPXN	.232*	.394*	.201*	.221*	----	.313*
SRN18P	----	----	----	.149*	----	.227*
AGEOAF17	.157*	----	.141*	.187*	----	.155*
AFRDSCAL						
EIGHTPXN	.147*	----	.155*	----	----	----
SRN18P	.226*	----	.245*	.166*	----	.272*
AGEOAF17	----	----	----	----	----	----

* All standardized estimates shown on this table are significant at the .05 level or, if followed by *, at the .01 level or higher.

that being a positive effect of self-concept on the self-report delinquency measure. When the same was done for the adult period there were more significant effects, more consistency across sex, but little consistency across race.

Before concluding we reran all of the adult period multiple regressions with the appropriate juvenile measures inserted as independent variables. Here again the result was to reduce the impact of the interview variables but to markedly increase the proportion of the accounted-for adult variance. For example, the R^2 for official adult seriousness (SRN18P) for White males was now .625 and the Adjusted R^2 was .603. For White females it was .573 and .550. In both cases official juvenile seriousness had become the independent variable with greater effect on adult seriousness than any other variable. On the other hand, juvenile offense seriousness/intervention scores had less impact on the variance in similar adult scores, particularly for White females. By contrast the juvenile score increased R^2 from .399 to .592 for Non-White females with the juvenile offense seriousness/intervention score having the highest unstandardized estimate (.890) to be found for any sex/race group in this analysis. This means that disproportional intervention for Non-White females during the juvenile period has a higher impact on the measure of disproportional intervention as adults than for any other group. Disproportional intervention during the juvenile period had its smallest effects on the adult scores of Non-White males and White females. We believe that it is

important to note that the two sharpest contrasts in this table and in the analysis that has been conducted with the juvenile period measure as an independent variable are between White and Non-White females.

THE COMPLEXITY OF EXPLANATION

The reader may ask what this is leading up to and our response must be that we are concerned about leaving the impression that delinquency is unexplainable and/or that what happens to juveniles and adults in the justice system has no relationship to their characteristics other than the seriousness of their offenses. Quite the contrary, it is apparent that in addition to sex, race, and milieu of neighborhood of socialization, there are other variables which have important and significant effects. But--these other variables do not have consistent effects across sex, race/ethnicity, and neighborhood milieu.

Table 59 summarizes the significant effects which have been presented in Tables 54 and 55 and the discussion of added or reduced effects in Tables 57 and 58 when juvenile measures were introduced into the adult period analyses as independent variables. The first two sets of columns facilitate comparison of effects on inner city cohort members with others, the second two sets, Non-Whites and Whites. The next three sets of columns are for Males and the last three for Females. In each set of columns J or E indicates official seriousness, S indicates self-report seriousness, and R indicates effects on the official

TABLE 59. SIGNIFICANT INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON MEASURES OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICIAL SERIOUSNESS, SELF-REPORT SERIOUSNESS, AND OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS/INTERVENTION SCORES OF COHORT MEMBERS BY NEIGHBORHOOD OF SOCIALIZATION, SEX, AND RACE*

JUVENILE	IC J/SR	O J/SR	NW J/SR	W J/SR	M J/SR	NWM J/SR	WM J/SR	F J/SR	NWF J/SR	WF J/SR
AGEDLR					−		−			
AGEMARRY		+							+	
INCHH			−	+		−				
HHEMP	− −			−	−		−	− −		− −
FIRSTJOB	+		+			+		+		+ +
JOBHSR	−	+		+	− −		− −	+		+++
ATTSCHR						+				
NODIPLMR	+ +	+++		+++	+++	+	+++	+ +		+ +
ATTPOLR	−−−	−−	−−	−−−	−−−		−−−		−−	
PATROLR				+		+				
SELF617	+	+++	+	+++	++	+	+++	+	+	++
ADJFRTR	+ +	+++	+ +	+++	+++		+++	+++	+++	
ADAUTOSC	+++	+++		+++	+++		+++	+		+
MILITR		+++		+++		−	+			

ADULT	IC J/SR	O J/SR	NW J/SR	W J/SR	M J/SR	NWM J/SR	WM J/SR	F J/SR	NWF J/SR	WF J/SR
AGEDLR	− −		− −	−		−−		−−		−−
AGEMARRY	+ +	+++		+++	++		++	++		+++
INCHH		+		+	+					+
HHEMP		− − −		−	−+	+		−		− −
FIRSTJOB	+ +	+ +		+	+			+		
JOBHSR										
ATTSCHR	+				+			−		
NODIPLMR		+ +	+	+ +	+ +		+ +	+		+
ATTPOLR	−	−		−	−−		−			−
PATROLR		+			+	+		−		−
SELF617				+				−	−	
ADJFRTR	+	++−		−			−			
ADAUTOSC	−	+		−+	+		+	− −	− −	−
MILITR	− −	−		−	− −		− −			
MARITAL		++		+++	+ + +		++	+++		+++
AFRDSCAL	+	+++		+++	++		++	+	+	−+
JUV/EIG/RGE	+++	+++	+	+++	+++	+	+++	+++	+ +	+++

* Summary of Tables 54, 55, 57, and 58 with appropriate changes in Tables 57 and 58 as juvenile delinquency measures were included as independent variables in adult crime analysis.

seriousness/intervention measure. The extent to which these effects are "real" effects or simply correlates of delinquency and crime is debatable, as we have previously said.

But even if a strictly causative stance cannot be taken, the absence of consistent effects suggests that some variables which have been accepted as explanatory of differences in delinquency and crime rates should not be accepted as having general validity. One example, which has been mentioned on numerous occasions, is high school employment, a variable which does not seem to have consistent association with low delinquency and which, in fact, has the opposite effect in just as many groupings.

Instead of simple explanations of how persons come to engage in delinquent and sometimes criminal behavior, we have complex explanations. If man has culture and there are also subcultural groups attached to space and socioeconomic status, should anyone be surprised? If, as is so often said, men are not ants, then why should we expect to explain their behavior in simple terms? And why should prediction be simple when man is complex?

Chapter 11. What It All Boils Down To Thus Far

A CLOSER LOOK AT WHAT MAJOR GROUPS ARE LIKE

Because we were not satisfied with the multitude of analyses that we have conducted and still hoped to show in a more or less simplified way how sex, race/ethnicity, and type of neighborhood combine to produce different relationships of variables to delinquent and criminal careers and societal reaction to them, cohort members were next divided into eight different groups (Inner City Non-White Males, Inner City White Males, etc.) for further analysis. There were too few Other Non-Whites to report the regression analysis with them so we present only six groups.

In order to give the reader some idea of how the various measures of juvenile delinquency and adult crime and interview variables more or less systematically differ from Inner City Non-White Males to Other White Females, selected means and their across-group rankings are shown in Table 60. The means of the variables are ranked from 1 to 6, the independent variables according to their hypothesized effect on the measures of delinquent and criminal careers. While these rankings are not completely consistent, the rankings are sufficiently linear as to produce the kinds of ecological correlations that have always given sociologists sufficient evidence to maintain their stance that beyond sex and race/ethnicity the ecological organization of the city is the single best starting point for understanding variation in delinquency and crime rates as well as variation in societal reaction to delinquency and crime.

TABLE 60. MEAN SCORES AND GROUP RANKINGS FOR SELECTED MEASURES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND ADULT CRIME AND SELECTED INTERVIEW VARIABLES

	Inner City Non-White Males		Inner City White Males		Other White Males		Inner City Non-White Females		Inner City White Females		Other White Females	
	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
JUVXN	14.29	1	9.20	2	5.01	3	3.73	4	1.02	5	.78	6
SRN617	15.52	1	14.92	2	13.06	3	3.14	6	4.57	4	4.55	5
RGEOTH17	2.81	1	2.23	2	1.56	3	1.33	4	.42	5.5	.42	5.5
EIGHTPXN	22.26	1	9.61	2	4.99	4	7.60	3	4.71	5	1.53	6
SRN18P	20.75	1	13.38	3	15.48	2	5.02	5	3.39	6	6.70	4
RGEOA17	4.39	1	2.45	2	1.88	3	1.87	4	.73	5	.64	6
FIRSTJOB	5.30	1	4.51	2	4.24	3	4.07	4	2.57	6	2.62	5
NODIPLMR	.24	1	.19	3	.09	4.5	.20	2	.07	6	.09	4.5
ATTPOLR	1.65	1	2.28	4	2.23	3	2.07	2	2.69	6	2.61	5
SELF617	2.05	2	2.22	1	1.95	3	1.46	5	1.39	6	1.47	4
ADJFRTR	1.97	1	1.55	2	1.25	3	.83	4	.29	5.5	.29	5.5
ADAUTOSC	1.60	3	1.61	2	1.73	1	.64	6	1.00	5	1.17	4
MARITAL	2.27	4	2.45	3	2.14	5	3.17	1	2.02	6	2.50	2
AFRDSCAL	5.56	1	1.97	2	1.94	3	.76	4	.16	6	.35	5
N	30		69		250		30		44		282	

But what we are attempting to do is to account for variation in the measures of delinquency and crime within each group of cohort members, utilizing the interview data for the juvenile period and the adult period and then again the interview data and juvenile record in accounting for variation during the adult period. This should enable us to see even better than before if neighborhood type, dichotomized to provide sufficient numbers of interviewed cohort members, produces a pattern of interrelationships between independent variables which differs more than does the pattern produced by race/ethnic groupings.

Quite aside from the problem of relatively small Ns for the Non-Whites, there is another problem generated by the relatively small variance in measures of delinquency and crime and measures of some of the independent variables, extreme variation being found for the delinquency and crime measures for inner city males in particular and relatively little variation on some of the measures for females. So, to some extent, just looking at the standard deviations for independent variables suggests that we should not expect significant effects on either variation in delinquency or crime from them. However, for those variables which do have sizeable standard deviations, such as official seriousness and juvenile or adult friends in trouble with the police, we should have significant effects.

ACCOUNTING FOR THE VARIANCE

Before discussing the effects of various interview variables we shall turn to Table 61 which shows the proportion of the

TABLE 61. VARIANCE IN MEASURES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY ACCOUNTED FOR BY INTERVIEW VARIABLES AND ADULT CRIME ACCOUNTED FOR BY INTERVIEW VARIABLES AND JUVENILE MEASURES

	Inner City Non-White Males	Inner City White Males	Other White Males	Inner City Non-White Females	Inner City White Females	Other White Females
JUVXN						
R^2	.455ns	.593*	.398*	.571ns	.359ns	.225*
Adj. R^2	.000	.487	.363	.222	.081	.184
SRN617						
R^2	.916*	.410*	.451*	.825*	.429ns	.218*
Adj. R^2	.843	.257	.419	.683	.181	.177
RGEOTH17						
R^2	.510ns	.512*	.378*	.779*	.464ns	.247*
Adj. R^2	.081	.386	.341	.599	.232	.207
EIGHTPXN						
R^2	.762	.609	.426	.570	.471ns	.189
Adj. R^2	.490	.488	.387	.110	.187	.140
JUVXN SE**	.506*	.760*	.426*	.691	-.091ns	.028ns
R^2	.869*	.795*	.534*	.731ns	.475ns	.189*
Adj. R^2	.697	.727	.501	.399	.164	.137
SRN18P						
R^2	.895	.468	.383	.717	.498ns	.242
Adj. R^2	.774	.304	.341	.414	.229	.196
SRN617 SE**	.645ns	.520*	.361*	.496ns	-.098ns	.389*
R^2	.887*	.627*	.454*	.754ns	.502ns	.354*
Adj. R^2	.740	.502	.414	.451	.207	.312
RGEOAF17						
R^2	.598	.550	.318	.589	.446ns	.128
Adj. R^2	.138	.412	.272	.149	.149	.076
RGEOTH17 SE**	.350ns	.377*	.392*	.897	-.031ns	.119ns
R^2	.646ns	.610*	.413*	.744ns	.444ns	.138*
Adj. R^2	.183	.480	.370	.430	.119	.083

** These are the standardized estimates for juvenile measures included as independent variables in the regression analyses. All standardized estimates and R^2s in this table are marked ns if not significant at the the .05 level or by * if significant at the .01 level or higher.

variance accounted for in each group for each measure of delinquency and crime and the proportion of the variance in crime accounted for by the interview variables and then by the juvenile measures and the interview measures combined.

Both the R^2 and Adjusted R^2 are presented with the Adjusted R^2s considerably lower than R^2 in some cases. If we consider only the R^2s it is apparent that less of the variance in juvenile measures is accounted for in the case of Other White Females than other groups and secondly Other White Males. Between-groups differences are rather small in terms of which groups have most of their variance accounted for but overall the Inner City Non-White Females rank first or second on each variable.

Turning to the lower section of the table where the R^2s for the adult period are presented, we find Other White Females are in the same relative position as during the juvenile period but that overall more of the variance for Inner City Non-White Males is accounted for than for other groups, although differences are not great between groups and that if the Adjusted R^2 was considered several of the ranks would change. Also note that when the juvenile measure is included in the regression analysis for adult period measures the proportion of the variance accounted for is increased in all cases except one, the standardized estimates of the juvenile measures more often than not significant and having larger effects than did the interview variables included in the analyses.

At this point we are not too concerned about differences in the amount of variance accounted for in JUVXN vs. SRN617 or JUVXN vs. EIGHTPXN, etc., or differences between groups but most of all in whether differences between Inner City vs. Other groups are greater than race/ethnic differences. This is certainly the case for JUVXN and EIGHTPXN. For the males, however, this pattern is definitely not present for SRN617 and SRN18P, the self-report measures of delinquency and crime. The self-report data had now produced results consistent with official data so this was not a surprise.

Perhaps more important, however, are the findings for RGEOTH17 and RGEOAF17, the seriousness/intervention measure in which seriousness of career predominates but includes a measure of intervention. The amount of variance accounted for in the inner city male groups, Non-White or White, is the same and more than that for Other White Males. Among the females the progression is down for Inner City Non-White Females to Other White Females. Similar findings are made for adult males but in the female case even more variance is accounted for by the Inner City Whites than Non-Whites.

By saying that a specified amount of the variance is accounted for we do not mean that the across-group variance is explained. Inner City Non-White Males and then Inner City White Males have on the average received disproportionately severe intervention, as have Inner City Non-White Females during the juvenile and adult periods. This has been greater for the Inner

City Non-Whites during the adult period more than the juvenile period. We are simply saying that within a given group more of the variance for persons socialized in the inner city is explained by the interview data than for others.

Going a step further with the juvenile seriousness measure added (although we must remember that the relatively small N for the Inner City Non-Whites produces an R^2 that is not significant for the Inner City Non-Whites) the difference in variance accounted for between Inner City and Other Whites is considerable whether males or females are being considered.

What is of further concern, considering the basic hypothesis that neighborhood of socialization influences not only behavior but community reaction to behavior, is the fact that the interview data account for proportionately more of the variance in seriousness scores than offense seriousness/intervention scores of inner city male cohort members' scores and that even when juvenile seriousness and juvenile intervention have been added this difference continues to exist. But whether the males be White or Non-White, any comparison involving official records differentiates them from the Other White Males. And whatever comparisons are made for females, the Inner City Whites and Non-Whites markedly differ from Other White Females.

ACROSS-GROUP DIFFERENCES IN EFFECTS

Discussion of variance accounted for serves as a prelude to differences in effects from group to group. The reader will recall that there was little in the way of consistent effects of

the interview variables across Inner City vs. Other, White vs. Non-White groups, sex, or sex, race/ethnic groups in Tables 54 and 55 or Tables 57 and 58. The reader will also recall that the number of significant effects varied from group to group. Without presenting effects in the same detail as before, it should be noted that even when effects based on a standardized estimate of .150 (strictly speaking, we should refrain from making across-group comparisons other than whether a variable has significant effects or not when using standardized estimates, but we do this only loosely as a heuristic device) or above were considered there were still differences in the number of effects that would be found from group to group. For example, nine variables for the adult period for Inner City White Males, 10 for Inner City Non-White Males, but only four for Other White Males. And beyond the number of effects, the pattern of variables producing effects and the direction of effects differed between Whites and Non-Whites even when both were socialized in the Inner City.

In order to present a general idea of the across-group variable effects, Tables 62 and 63 have been constructed from the standardized estimates, one column indicating on which groups there were significant effects, another column indicating where effects were above .150 but not significant at the .05 level, and a third indicating the total number of groups showing effects.

Let us now examine the results of our analyses in some detail. The reader must remember that we are describing effects

TABLE 62. INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY MEASURES BY COMBINATIONS OF PLACE OF SOCIALIZATION, SEX, AND RACE/ETHNICITY*

	VAR.	SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS	EFFECTS BUT NOT SIGNIFICANT	NUMBER GROUP EFFECTS
AGEDL	JUVXN	NONE	IC-NWF	1
	SRN617	O-WM	IC-M IC-NWF	4
	RGEOTH17	NONE	IC-WM, IC-NWF	2
AGEMANNY	JUVXN	NONE	NONE	0
	SRN617	NONE	IC-NWF	1
	RGEOTH17	NONE	NONE	0
INCOM	JUVXN	WM	NONE	2
	SRN617	IC-NWM	NONE	1
	RGEOTH17	NONE	IC-NWM	1
HHEMP	JUVXN	IC-M	IC-NM	3
	SRN617	NONE	IC-NWF	1
	RGEOTH17	NONE	IC-NM	2
FIRSTJOB	JUVXN	O-WF	IC-M, IC-NWF	4
	SRN617	IC-NWM, O-WF	NONE	2
	RGEOTH17	O-WF	IC-M	3
JOBMSR	JUVXN	IC-WM, O-WF	IC-NWM, IC-WF	4
	SRN617	O-WF	IC-WM	2
	RGEOTH17	NONE	IC	4
ATTSCHR	JUVXN	IC-WM	IC-F	3
	SRN617	IC-NWM	IC-NWF	2
	RGEOTH17	IC-WM	IC-NWM, IC-WF	3
MODIPLOM	JUVXN	O-M	IC-M, IC-WF	5
	SRN617	M	NONE	3
	RGEOTH17	O-M	IC-M, WF	5
ATTPOLR	JUVXN	NONE	IC	4
	SRN617	WM, IC-NWF	NONE	3
	RGEOTH17	IC-F	IC-M	4
PATROLM	JUVXN	NONE	IC-NWF	1
	SRN617	NONE	IC-WM, IC-NWF	2
	RGEOTH17	NONE	NONE	0
SELF617	JUVXN	O-WM	IC-NWM, IC-WF	3
	SRN617	WF, IC-NWM, O-WM	NONE	4
	RGEOTH17	O-W, IC-WF	IC-NWM	4
ADJPRTR	JUVXN	O-M	IC-NWF	3
	SRN617	IC-NM, O-WM, IC-WF	NONE	4
	RGEOTH17	O-WM, IC-WF	IC-WM, IC-NWF	4
ADAUTOSC	JUVXN	WM	IC-F	4
	SRN617	O-M, IC-NWF	IC-M	5
	RGEOTH17	WM, IC-F, O-WF	NONE	5
MILITR	JUVXN	NONE	IC-WM	1
	SRN617	IC-NWM	IC-WM	2
	RGEOTH17	NONE	IC-NWM	1

* IC = Inner City; O = Other Neighborhoods; M = Male; F = Female; W = White, NW = Non-White

TABLE 63. INTERVIEW VARIABLE EFFECTS ON ADULT CRIME MEASURES BY COMBINATIONS OF PLACE OF SOCIALIZATION, SEX, AND RACE/ETHNICITY*

	VAR.	SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS	EFFECTS BUT NOT SIGNIFICANT	NUMBER GROUP EFFECTS
AGEDL	EIGHTPXN	NONE	IC-NW	2
	SRN18P	IC-NWA, O-WM	IC-NWF	3
	AGEOAF17	NONE	IC-NM, IC-WF	3
AGEMARRY	EIGHTPXN	NONE	IC	4
	SRN18P	O-W	IC-WF	3
	AGEOAF17	O-WF	IC	5
INCHH	EIGHTPXN	NONE	IC-NW	2
	SRN18P	IC-NWA	NONE	1
	AGEOAF17	O-WF		1
MHEMP	EIGHTPXN	NONE	IC-F, IC-WA	3
	SRN18P	IC-NWA	IC-WA, IC-NWF	3
	AGEOAF17	IC-WF	IC-NWF	2
FIRSTJOB	EIGHTPXN	NONE	IC-NWA, IC-WF	2
	SRN18P	NONE	IC-NWA, IC-WF	2
	AGEOAF17	NONE	IC-WF	1
JOBHSA	EIGHTPXN	NONE	IC-NWF, IC-WA	2
	SRN16P	IC-WA	IC-NWF	2
	AGEOAF17	NONE	IC-NW	2
ATTISCHR	EIGHTPXN	IC-WA	IC-NWF	2
	SRN18P	IC-NWA	IC-W	3
	AGEOAF17	IC-WA	IC-NW, IC-WF	4
MODIPLHR	EIGHTPXN	WA, O-WF	IC-NWF	4
	SRN18P	IC-A, O-WA	IC-WF	4
	AGEOAF17	WA, O-WF	IC-NW	5
ATTPOLA	EIGHTPXN	IC-NWA, O-WA	O-WF, IC-NWF	4
	SRN16P	WA, O-WF	IC-NWF	4
	AGEOAF17	O-WA	IC-NW	3
PATROLA	EIGHTPXN	NONE	IC-NW	2
	SRN16P	O-WF	IC-WA, IC-NWF	3
	AGEOAF17	NONE	IC-NWF	1
SELFO17	EIGHTPXN	IC-WA	IC-NW	3
	SRN18P	IC-WF	IC-NWA	2
	AGEOAF17	IC-NWF	IC-A, IC-WF	4
ADJFAIL	EIGHTPXN	O-WA, IC-WF	IC-NW	4
	SRN16P	O-WA	IC-NWF	2
	AGEOAF17	IC-W	IC-NW	4
ADAUTOSC	EIGHTPXN	O-WA	IC-WA	2
	SRN18P	IC-F, O-WA	IC-WA	4
	AGEOAF17	O-WA	IC-F	3
MILITA	EIGHTPXN	IC-WA	NONE	1
	SRN16P	IC-NWA	IC-WA	2
	AGEOAF17	IC-WA	IC-NWA	2
MARITAL	EIGHTPXN	WA, O-WF	IC-NWA, IC-WF	5
	SRN16P	O-W, IC-NWA	IC-F	5
	AGEOAF17	IC-WA, O-WF	NONE	2
AFMDSCAL	EIGHTPXN	WA	IC-NWF	3
	SRN18P	WA, O-WF	IC-NWA, IC-WF	5
	AGEOAF17	NONE	IC-WA, IC-NWF	2
JUVIA	EIGHTPXN	IC-NW, WA	O-WF	5
	SRN16P	WA, O-WF	IC-NW	5
	AGEOAF17	WA, IC-NWF	IC-NWA, O-WF	5

* IC = Inner City; O = Other Neighborhoods; M = Male; F = Female; W = White, NW = Non-White

within six groups, four of which are inner city, so that we would expect at least two-thirds of the effects to be found in inner city groups (77% were effects for inner city groups during the juvenile and adult periods), all other things being equal. We would also expect, since there are four White groups and only two Non-White groups, for two-thirds of the effects to be for White groups (only 60% were for Whites during the juvenile period and 56% were for Whites during the adult period). Half of the groups are male and half female (54% and 53% were effects for males). Thus, as we discuss the effects, significant and otherwise, we must recognize that there were more inner city effects than expected, fewer effects for Whites than expected, and a bit above the number expected for males.

The Role of the Automobile

Since we have frequently referred to the role of the automobile in juvenile delinquency, we would expect early age of driver's license and access to the automobile as a juvenile to have significant effects on official and self-report scores. Its (early driver's license) only significant effect was limited to juvenile period self-report seriousness scores, although there are other scattered, non-significant (standardized estimates .150 or +) effects for persons socialized in the inner city, effects which carry over into the adult period but are not always consistent from group to group. Access to an automobile during the juvenile period has many more significant effects, most of them for Whites. In all groups the effect, if present, was to

increase official delinquency, particularly among inner city Whites. Few effects carried over into the adult period. In summary, easy access to the auto (all other things equal as a juvenile), increases official delinquency among White males and both White males and females socialized in the inner city. Most of this is lost as cohort members become adults.

Home Background

There are two variables that represent the type of home from which respondents came, sex of income-producing head of household and regularity of employment of the head of the household. As in earlier research, we find few and inconsistent effects for sex of income-producing head of household and steady employment for the head of the household. These effects were most important during the juvenile period for White males socialized in the inner city, the female-headed household and the head of household without steady employment increasing official juvenile seriousness scores. Neither carried over into adulthood for White males.

Early Employment

First job level and whether respondent had worked during high school are two variables with quite different types of effects. First job level had significant and consistent effects in several groups (Table 62) during the juvenile period, particularly White females who were socialized outside the inner city neighborhoods. While there was continuing significance into adulthood for many of the dichotomous groupings (Table 59) there were no significant effects during the adult period when controls

were introduced for neighborhood, sex, and race, although some non-significant effects did remain for inner city groups.

Although low-level first job increased delinquency and crime rates among some groups of both sexes, particularly those who were socialized in the inner city, the effects of employment during high school on delinquency measures were not consistent in direction or across groups. Among inner city White males high school jobs tended to reduce delinquency, but in other cases high school jobs either had no effect, very little effect, or seemed to promote delinquency. We must continue to take the position that employment during high school has such inconsistent effects on delinquency that, all things considered, its positive effects are most likely to be found for those who lack integration into the larger society in terms of other institutionalized activities.

The School and Delinquency

This leads us to a discussion of the school and delinquency. There were few effects until place of socialization was entered as a control for sex and race/ethnic groups. We have always been concerned that a positive attitude toward school was significantly related to higher official delinquency scores for the Inner City White males, self-report scores for the Non-Whites, but the opposite, although not significant, for inner city White females. How many males find the school an arena for hell-raising and respond to questions about school in a different context than that raised by the interviewer? Whatever, during

both periods there were numerous but inconsistent effects for those socialized in the inner city, males and females.

When we shift to academic accomplishment, completing school and receiving a diploma, failure to complete high school is consistently related to delinquency and crime. To say that it is an explanation is another thing because delinquency does lead to expulsion. Probably the most interesting finding is that the significant effects on official delinquency measures during the juvenile period are for Whites who were socialized outside the inner city with some carry-over into the adult period, significant during the adult period for all White males and for White females from non-inner city neighborhoods. All other things being equal, failure to complete high school is not as consistently related to delinquency and crime for those who were socialized in the inner city as for those from other neighborhoods. And we know that opportunities for utilizing education are unevenly distributed by place of socialization and socioeconomic status.

Attitudes

Attitude toward the police and perception of police patrolling in neighborhoods during the juvenile period can be looked at in terms of both cause and effect. Although a negative attitude toward the police is almost universally associated with higher delinquency scores and with adult crime, perceptions of heavy police patrolling had little relationship to variation in juvenile delinquency and were inconsistent in their relationship to adult crime.

This leads us to another measure based on perception, self-concept as delinquent during the juvenile period. A delinquent self-concept during the juvenile period, although usually associated with high delinquency scores, had the opposite relationship in several inner city sex and race/ethnic groups. While there were some effects for Whites and males socialized outside the inner city neighborhoods during the juvenile period, by the adult period these relationships were limited to persons who had been socialized in the inner city.

Associates

Both measures of association produced the expected findings. The first, a measure of juvenile friends in trouble produced positive effects during the juvenile period for White males socialized outside the inner city and inner city females. Fewer groups had continuing effects from the juvenile period to the adult period and there was less consistency in the direction of effects. However, having adult friends in trouble now showed consistency in its relationship to adult crime as it did for the juvenile measures. That White males showed significant effects on this variable was interesting because there were practically no effects for Non-White males who, as a group, had the highest scores on the adult friends in trouble scale. Apparently having friends in trouble does not have the same meaning in terms of their own behavior for Black males as for White males.

Stability

Three interview variables remain, each of which is thought to represent some measure of stability in the life of respondents, age of marriage, military experience, and present marital status. Although early marriage was associated with low delinquency among inner city Non-White females, age of marriage had fewer relationships than did any other interview variable during the juvenile period because, as one realizes, relatively few juveniles are married before the peak years of delinquency. On the other hand, this variable had numerous, but few significant, effects on the adult crime measures among Whites, females, and those socialized in the inner city. Military service was related to high delinquency rates but low adult crime among inner city males. Current marital status produced more effects for Whites than for Non-Whites with low scores on official measures of adult crime related to more stable marriage patterns. All in all, these measures of stability had effects in the direction expected but moreso for Whites than for Non-Whites.

The Impact of Juvenile Careers on Adult Careers

Having considered the interview variables and their somewhat spotty and evanescent effects as controls for place of socialization, sex, and race/ethnicity were introduced, we turn back to the effect of juvenile measures on adult measures. They showed the most consistent and all-pervasive effects on adult measures of crime, their effects missing only for inner city White females.

In this discussion we have mentioned three measures of juvenile delinquency and three measures of adult crime. We are most concerned, however, with variation in the offense seriousness/intervention measure, which systematically declines from inner city Non-White males to both White female groups. We know that disproportional intervention exists for those who were socialized in the inner city (with a variety of measures) and that disproportional intervention during the juvenile period played a part in accounting for disproportional intervention during the adult period for all males, White or Non-White, and for inner city Non-White females, but what else showed up in the analysis, concentrating on disproportional intervention during the adult period? Nothing with consistency. In other words, disproportional intervention exists but the variables which account for at least a part of it are dissimilar from group to group. We conclude that variables not included in this analysis may shed light on how the courts have operated, that there must be some sort of cumulative process which we have not yet managed to measure rather than that disproportional intervention occurs simply by chance.

Chapter 12. A Last Look at Intervention and Sanctions

RECAPITULATION

Grouping the Neighborhoods

Our attempt to recapitulate before presenting several additional analyses of intervention and sanctioning differences may be simplified by the addition of several summary tables. We, therefore, present Table 64, a table which draws from earlier chapters and the appendices. To further simplify the presentation we have included only those neighborhoods containing 30 cohort members (two other neighborhoods with only 27 and 29 cohort members were included because most of their members were from the 1955 Cohort). This leaves 49 out of 65 neighborhoods but makes the tables easier to examine.

Neighborhoods are grouped into four types in this table commencing with those which we had previously classified as inner city, followed by the transition group, the stable residential, and, finally, the peripheral middle to high socioeconomic status group. The first 10 columns of the table are used to characterize the neighborhoods as High, Medium, or Low or High or Low according to the various Offense Rate and Delinquency and Crime Producing composite or clustering procedures that were described in Chapter 2. Another column indicating the percent of the neighborhood's population that was Black in 1970 follows.

One notes that while the inner city neighborhoods were High on most measures, some of the transitional neighborhoods had a mixture of Highs, Mediums, and Lows with differences related to

TABLE 64. OFFENSE, DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS: OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS, REFERRAL, AND SANCTION QUARTILES OF COMBINED COHORTS

	Offense Rates										Quartiles						
												JUV			ADULT		
	INAREA		BYRES		JUVENILE		ADULT		DCP								
NGHBD	COMPS 1	COMPS 2	COMPS 3	COMPS 4	COMPS 5	COMPS 6	COMPS 7	COMPS 8	COMPS 9	COMPS 10	%BLACK	OFFENSE	RESERVE	SANCTION	OFFENSE	RESERVE	SANCTION
Inner City Neighborhoods																	
2	H	H	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	H	70	1	2	3	1	1	1
7	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	45	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	H	H	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	H	37	1	1	1	1	2	1
9	H	H	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	H	80	1	1	2	1	1	1
11	H	H	H	H	L	H	H	H	H	H	50	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	46	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	H	H	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	M	35	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	H	H	H	21	2	1	1	2	2	3
17	H	H	H	M	H	M	H	H	H	M	10	1	2	1	1	1	1
5	M	M	H	M	H	M	H	H	H	M	16	3	3	2	3	3	3
6	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	M	M	8	1	1	1	1	1	1
Transitional Neighborhoods																	
18	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	H	H	M	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
16	H	M	M	M	L	M	H	H	H	M	17	1	2	4	2	3	2
19	M	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	0	2	2	2	2	2	2
49	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	H	M	M	6	2	1	1	2	1	1
46	M	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	M	M	3	1	1	2	1	1	1
54	M	L	H	L	L	M	L	M	M	M	1	2	1	3	2	2	2
50	M	M	M	M	L	M	H	M	L	L	1	2	3	1	2	1	2
4	M	M	L	L	L	L	H	H	M	M	2	4	4	4	4	4	4
33	M	M	M	L	H	L	H	M	M	M	4	3	3	3	4	2	2
37	L	L	H	M	L	M	L	M	M	M	10	1	1	2	1	1	1

TABLE 64, Page 2

	Offense Rates						Quartiles [11]					
	NAREA	BYRES	JUVENILE	ADULT	DCP	% BLACK	JUV ROBF	JUV RESA	JUV RNEC	ADULT ROBF	ADULT RESA	ADULT RNEC
NGHBD	CCOLMUPS 1 2	CCOLMUPS 3 4	CCOLMUPS 5 6	CCOLMUPS 7 8	CCOLMUPS 9 10		RDT	RDT	RDT	RDT	RDT	RDT
Stable Residential Neighborhoods												
14	M M	L L	H L	L M	M M	0	2 2 4			3 2 2		
15	L L	M L	L M	L M	M M	0	1 3 3			2 3 2		
20	M M	M L	H L	L M	M M	0	4 3 3			4 3 4		
21	L L	L L	L L	L M	M L	0	4 4 3			3 4 4		
22	L L	L L	L L	L M	M M	0	4 4 4			3 4 4		
23	H M	M L	H M	H H	M M	2	2 2 2			4 3 3		
29	M M	M M	L M	H H	M L	0	2 4 4			2 2 3		
30	H H	M M	H H	L H	L L	0	2 1 1			3 4 4		
31	L L	M L	L M	L M	L L	0	2 2 3			2 2 2		
32	M M	L L	L L	L M	M M	1	3 4 4			3 4 4		
34	M M	M M	H M	L L	L L	0	3 2 1			3 4 2		
35	M M	M L	L L	L M	M M	0	4 3 3			4 3 4		
36	L L	M L	L L	L M	L M	0	3 2 3			4 3 3		
53	L L	L L	L L	L M	M M	0	4 3 4			3 3 3		
56	M M	M M	H M	L M	M M	0	3 3 2			2 2 2		
Peripheral Middle to High SES Neighborhoods												
25	M M	M M	L L	H L	L L	0	4 4 4			4 4 4		
26	M L	L L	L L	L L	L L	0	4 3 3			4 4 3		
27	L L	L L	L L	L L	L L	0	4 4 3			3 3 3		
28	L L	M L	L L	L L	L L	0	4 4 2			4 4 4		
39	L L	L L	L L	L L	L L	0	4 3 4			4 4 3		
41	L L	M L	H L	H L	L L	0	3 2 2			4 4 4		
42	M M	L L	L L	L L	L L	0	3 3 3			4 3 3		
51	L L	L L	L L	L M	L L	0	3 4 2			3 4 3		
52	L L	L L	L L	L L	L L	0	4 4 4			4 4 4		
55	L L	M L	L L	H M	M L	1	3 4 4			2 4 2		
47	M M	H L	H L	H H	L L	0	3 2 1			2 2 3		
38	L L	M L	H M	L M	L L	0	2 4 4			3 2 2		
57	L L	L L	L L	L M	L M	0	4 4 4			4 3 4		

Footnotes, Table 64

[1] Table 1, The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood, and Tables 1A, 1B, and 2, Appendix A in above (from The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City, Chapter 7, Table 2).

[2] Table 17A, The Development, clusters 4 and 3 = High, 2 = Medium, and 1 = Low, Appendix F, Tables 9 and 10.

[3] Table 1, The Development, Appendix A; The Relationship, Chapter 7, Table 7.

[4] Table 17B, The Development, cluster 6 and 5 = High, 4 and 3 = medium, and 2 and 1 = Low, Appendix F, Tables 5 and 6.

[5] Table 2, The Development, Appendix A, Table 3.

[6] Table 18A, The Development,

[7] Table 2, The Development, Appendix A, Table 3.

[8] Table 18B, The Development, clusters 4 and 3 = High, 2 = Medium, and 1 = Low.

[9] Table 1, The Development, Appendix A.

[10] Table 17A, The Development, Appendix F, Tables 1 and 2, cluster 6 = High, cluster 4 = Medium, clusters 3, 2, and 1 = Low.

[11] Table 25, The Development, Chapter 5.

whether measures represented In-Area or By-Residence rates or Juvenile or Adult rates, or were composite or FASTCLUS. This may well be expected because some of these neighborhoods are adjacent to the inner city and others are peripheral transition types.

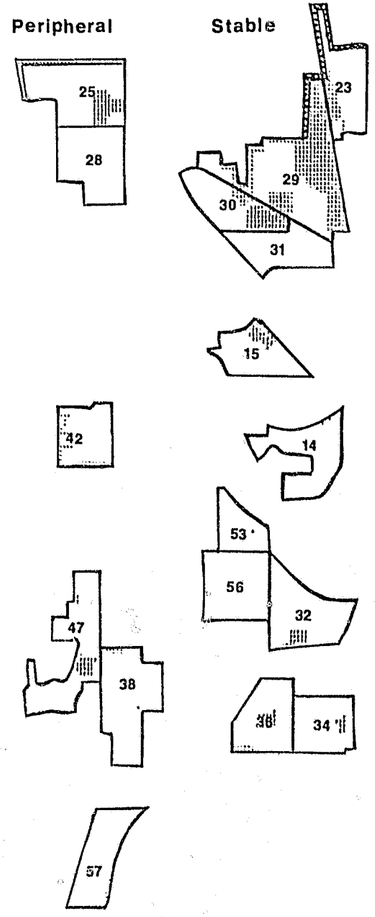
To make it easier for the reader to visualize this, Map 8, is introduced at this point. The inner city neighborhoods are at the left of that for the entire city, the transitional neighborhoods next.

The stable residential neighborhoods show a mixture of Medium and Low in the table, although several, 23, 29, and 30, have offense rates which suggest that they may be commencing a transition. The peripheral middle to high SES neighborhoods were not completely homogeneous on the measures but predominately low. They and the stable residential neighborhoods may be found on the map as one moves further to the left.

The last set of columns shows the quartile in which cohort members were most frequently found for each neighborhood on measures of offense seriousness, referrals, and sanctions for the juvenile and adult periods (from Table 25 in Chapter 5), a way of representing the delinquent and criminal behavior and justice system experiences of cohort members by neighborhood of residence. Here again we note that cohort members from the inner city neighborhoods are, with few exceptions, in the top quartile and that some variation is found in the transitional neighborhoods. As one moves to the stable residential and peripheral neighborhoods, more and more of the scores on these measures were in the fourth quartile.

MAP 8

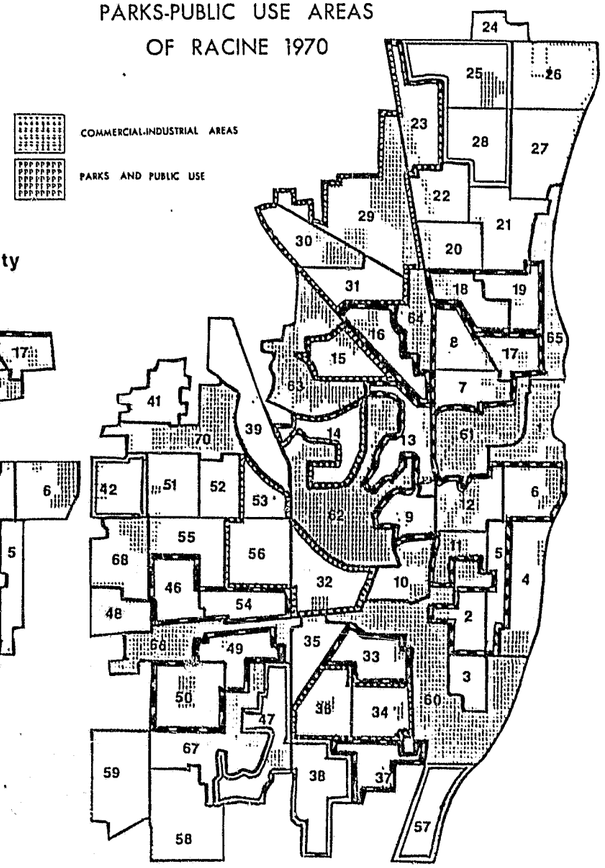
NEIGHBORHOODS



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

COMMERCIAL-INDUSTRIAL AREAS

PARKS AND PUBLIC USE



Although any summation of the measures represented in Table 64 enable one to perceive that this grouping of neighborhoods was a good starting point, that it had considerable heuristic value, there is little doubt but that the inner city neighborhoods are more homogeneous, more distinctly separated, than are the other neighborhoods separated into homogeneous groupings.

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

For a quite different example of anomalies to be found in this table we have Neighborhood 50, a peripheral neighborhood with Low DCP but which was almost surrounded by the peripheral transition area and with offense rates similar to them. It had been classified as late in the transition period on a basis of its offense rates in the earlier study. Neighborhood 30 is yet

another interesting deviant case for, although it is peripheral and had little potential for crime, its In-Area and delinquency rates are high. In this neighborhood there are recreational facilities that provide an arena for youthful trouble, thus it differs from other neighborhoods in its group.

Among the peripheral neighborhoods, another that seems different is 47, but in this case we have no hypothesis for its High adult offense rates, although its rates had placed it in the early transition group in the earlier study.

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

Consistency, Continuity, Seriousness, and Sanctions

A somewhat greater element of complexity is introduced in summary Table 65. The first two columns are taken from Table 19 in Chapter 5 and indicate whether there was a high degree of consistency between measures and juvenile/adult continuity in neighborhoods. While there was consistency in measures throughout neighborhoods, continuity between the juvenile and adult periods was more often than otherwise a characteristic of neighborhoods in which various rates were in the upper

TABLE 65. CONSISTENCY, CONTINUITY, OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS, SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS, AND DISPROPORTIONAL INTERVENTION AND SANCTIONING

N	GHBD	CONSISTENCY JUV	CONSISTENCY ADULT	CONTINUITY[1]	DISPROSANCTJ[2]	DISPROSANCTA	MSERIOUSNESSJ	MSERIOUSNESSA	MSERSANCTJ	MSERSANCTA	DISPROINTERJ[3]	DISPROINTERA	SEVERSANCTSF[4]	SEVERSANCTSM
								Inner City Neighborhoods						
2	J				123	63	H	H			.311	.488	20.5	14.5
7	J	A			51	123	H	H	H	H	.462	.595	34.8	21.9
8	J	A			63	35	H	H	H	H	.353	.488	26.3	18.0
9	J	A	C		59	123	H	H	H	H	.324	.533	22.5	8.0
11	J	A	C		43	57	H	H	H	H	.400	.588	37.2	19.2
12	J	A	C		120	42	H	H	H	H	.739	.520	26.8	12.6
13	J	A	C		59	61	H	H	H	H	.457	.548	15.4	14.8
10		A			95	53	H	H		H	.350	.500	28.6	11.9
17	J	A			43	123	H	H	H	H	.240	.400	27.4	14.6
5	J	A			30	20					.217	.200	36.1	12.4
6	J	A	C		62	23			H	H	.583	.500	43.6	9.2
								Transitional Neighborhoods						
18	J	A	C		42	62	H	H	H	H	.238	.421	32.3	15.0
16					30	9		H			.214	.240	19.6	10.2
19	J	A	C		50	43	H	H	H	H	.348	.280	21.3	13.7
49	J	A	C		49	61	H	H	H	H	.944	.000	40.9	8.4
46	J	A	C		63	62	H	H		H	.281	.290	31.1	16.3
54	J		C		127	95	H	H		H	.346	.286	15.8	7.4
50	J	A	C		27	10	H				.154	.148	23.3	9.2
4					2	4					.071	.000	----	4.9
33	J	A	C		13	21					.200	.500	----	8.5
37	J	A			43	50	H	H	H	H	.238	.857	36.7	21.5

Table 65, Page 2

N	GHBD	CONSISTENCY JUV	CONSISTENCY ADULT	CONTINUITY[1]	DISPROSANCTJ[2]	DISPROSANCTA	MSERIOUSNESSJ	MSERIOUSNESSA	MSERSANCTJ	MSERSANCTA	DISPROINTERJ[3]	DISPROINTERA	SEVERSANCTSF[4]	SEVERSANCTSM
								Stable Residential Neighborhoods						
14		A			19	28					.250	.240	----	8.0
15					55	46			H	H	.269	.174	----	5.7
20	J				32	39					.500	.222	----	12.2
21					13	22					.100	.235	----	11.9
22	J				4	35					.167	.188	----	14.4
23	J				18	20					.261	.462	21.6	15.4
29		A	C		6	110					.059	.333	18.3	12.1
30	J		C		29	2					.273	.100	----	10.2
31	J	A			14	35					.154	.257	----	7.6
32					23	18					.158	.323	20.5	10.8
34	J	A			28	3					.400	.118	48.0	18.8
35	J				14	84					.105	.357	26.0	12.4
36	J	A	C		17	20					.393	.333	----	13.2
53	J	A	C		4	9					.250	.200	----	10.0
56	J	A			2	30					.167	.231	26.8	8.0
								Peripheral Middle to High SES Neighborhoods						
25	J	A			2	5					.105	.200	37.4	16.8
26		A			20	0					.500	.250	----	3.8
27					4	68					.100	.250	----	12.0
28	J	A			65	12					.238	.048	7.8	5.6
39	J	A			4	17					.300	.167	----	8.3
41		A			85	1					.429	.143	----	9.8
42	J				28	17					.143	.400	----	6.0
51	J	A	C		66	2					.154	.083	----	----
52	J				4	21					.182	.300	----	8.0
55					21	66					.111	.130	----	11.6
47	J	A	C		41	33					.333	.474	12.0	11.3
38		A			39	26					.148	.389	28.7	8.4
57	J	A			84	16					.267	.545	----	10.5

Footnotes, Table 65

1 Table 19, The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood, Chapter 5.

2 Table 28, The Development, Chapter 6.

3 Table 29, The Development, Chapter 6.

4 Table 31, The Development, Chapter 6.

quartile--but yet this was not found in some of the inner city areas where it would be expected. In other words, even if a neighborhood's cohort members tended to be in the upper quartile on various rates, some went on to adult careers and some did not, as well as the opposite. But in the neighborhoods whose cohort members were in the third and fourth quartiles, as shown on Table 64, continuity between juvenile and adult offense seriousness, referrals, and sanctions was less likely to be found. This has been discussed at great length in earlier reports in more general terms but not at the neighborhood level.

The next two columns of the table are from Table 28, Chapter 6, and represent disproportional sanctioning by a Geometric score relating severity of sanctions to offense seriousness for the juvenile and adult periods. Disproportional sanctioning was found in the inner city and interstitial neighborhoods more than in other neighborhood groupings, but again we find a few anomalous neighborhoods.

The next two sets of columns are for mean offense seriousness and mean sanctions for cohort members for the juvenile and adult periods for each neighborhood. This is simply another look at the cohort rates but this time a composite representation of rates for each cohort for each period. Since there was some fluctuation in rates from cohort to cohort, a neighborhood was considered High if its mean for the cohort was in the top 25% for at least the 1955 Cohort if also in the top 25% or close to it in the 1949 Cohort or vice versa.

The next two columns for mean severity of sanctions have been dealt with in essentially the same way as was seriousness. As in the case of prior measures of offense seriousness and severity of sanctions, the inner city areas were higher on the average than others, with many transitional neighborhoods scoring as high or almost as high.

The last four columns are taken from Tables 29 and 31 of Chapter 6. Note that this measure of disproportionate intervention is relatively high for almost every inner city neighborhood but that some other neighborhoods also have relatively high scores. The same may be said for the severity of sanctions measure for felonies and misdemeanors; the inner city neighborhoods are generally high but there are high neighborhoods in every other group as well.

By now the reader can see again why we had tentatively concluded that these measures of offense seriousness and official intervention did not reveal a clear pattern of disproportional intervention or severity of sanctions that was related to the neighborhood's record of offense seriousness, delinquency and crime producing characteristics, grouping by neighborhood type, or its location in the city,

Either disproportional intervention has no clear pattern of occurrence, we have attempted to relate it to the wrong variables, or we have failed to measure it in such a manner as to discern those patterns which do exist.

SIMPLIFICATION

Seriousness, Sanctions, and Disproportional Severity of Sanctions

We now turn to Table 66, a simple table of rates, in which the offense seriousness rates for each neighborhood are based on the number of members in the cohort who reside there and the severity of sanctions rates and disproportional sanctions rates are based on the number who were referred as a consequence of their allegedly delinquent or criminal behavior.

The seriousness rates for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts were, as in previous tables, highest in most of the inner city neighborhoods with a few high neighborhoods in the emerging peripheral areas. Severity of sanctions for cohort members referred, as in previous tables, was more characteristic of inner city and transitional neighborhoods than others. Disproportional severity of sanctions (the lower the figure, which is a ratio, the more serious were offenses in relation to sanctions) did not follow the neighborhood groupings. Note also that the neighborhoods with too few persons referred are represented by dashes so that for all practical purposes these should be considered as neighborhoods in which cohort members have behaved in such a way as to receive neither referrals nor sanctions. Question: how much of this table is a function of cohort members' behavior and how much is a function of the behavior of justice system personnel?

This table is the first step in a final simplified presentation. It should be noted that the 1942 Cohort has been

TABLE 66. AVERAGE SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS FOR COHORT MEMBERS REFERRED, AND PROPORTIONAL SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS TO SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENSES FOR COHORT MEMBERS BY NEIGHBORHOOD OF SOCIALIZATION[1]

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

Table 66, Page 2

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

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

[2] The lower the figures the more serious were offenses in relation to sanctions.

eliminated because its numbers were too small in most neighbohoods for the type of analyses on seriousness which follow, let alone severity of sanctions.

Before discussing the distribution of high rates by types of neighborhoods, it should be noted that cohort differences have always posed a problem when the analysis was based on neighborhoods. For example, the 1949 and 1955 rates for juvenile offense seriousness were correlated .395 and for adult seriousness .396. Severity of sanctions was correlated .273 and .393. But disproportional severity of sanctions dropped to .095 and .068.

On the other hand, juvenile and adult seriousness were correlated .823 and .893 for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts. Juvenile and adult severity of sanctions were correlated .521 and .694 if neighborhoods with too few cohort members referred were given a value of zero. Since one could not justify a disproportional score of zero, only those neighborhoods with sufficient persons referred to produce ratios were utilized in relating juvenile to adult disproportionality, producing correlations of .625 and .143. Thus, juvenile/adult continuity in neighborhood cohort members' scores differs between cohorts.

Going further with the correlations of neighborhood rates, juvenile seriousness and juvenile sanctions were correlated .675 and .672 for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts, respectively, if those with too few cohort members referred for a sanctions score were given a score of zero, .585 and .659 if only those neighborhoods

with sufficient members referred were included. For the adults, the correlation was .682 for both cohorts, .446 and .640 if only those with sufficient members referred were included.

What seems even more evident than before is that although early police contacts are followed by serious careers and this in turn by greater official intervention as measured by referrals and this in turn results in sanctions, disproportional severity of sanctions is neither related to seriousness of careers nor to the neighborhood groupings by which the data are arranged in Table 66.

In essence, those who reside in an inner city neighborhood and have serious delinquent careers will probably also be severely sanctioned for their offenses during the juvenile period and, even though they move, are likely to be severely sanctioned during their adult lives as well if they engage in behavior which results in police contact and referral for serious offenses.

The ecological correlations for seriousness and disproportionality of sanctions were .666, .181, .445, and .337 for 1949 juveniles, etc. In other words, neighborhoods with high seriousness tended to have disproportionately low sanctions to offense seriousness even though these sanctions would be relatively serious.

However, whether the severity of sanctions is disproportional to seriousness of offenses varies with little relationship to neighborhood groupings.

Since we had found differences in offense seriousness, severity of sanctions, and disproportional severity of sanctions by sex, race, and inner city vs. other neighborhoods, most recently in Chapter 11, the next step was to examine these differences in the inner city neighborhoods and the other two neighborhoods with sizeable minority group populations, Neighborhood 16 (transitional) and Neighborhood 37 (transitional and the Barrio).

In each of these neighborhoods there was at least one race/sex group that could be characterized as having high juvenile offense seriousness rates and only Neighborhoods 5 and 6 failed in this respect.

When the cohort members of each neighborhood are partitioned by race and sex the numbers in each group become quite small, some neighborhoods, even those with sizeable minorities in the population having fewer than five non-white males or females who were referred as a consequence of police contacts. Thus, any statistic on severity of sanctions or disproportional severity of sanctions would not be a reliable estimate of what was happening to race and sex groups in the neighborhood. This left the 1955 Cohort as the only one with sufficient persons to make any kind of statement about differences by race and sex within specific neighborhoods.

What we found was that at least one race/sex group within each of the neighborhoods except 5 and 6 had received severe sanctions during the juvenile or adult period and in most

neighborhoods there was a race/sex group in which severe sanctions had been administered during both periods. This is consistent, of course, with everything that we have found in the research thus far because the average severity of sanctions for a group is to a considerable extent an extension of the average seriousness of offenses for the group and the higher probability of intervention, i.e., referral at the time of police contact.

However, and this may seem to be the bottom line to many people (it isn't, although it is the way that most people would look at it), offense seriousness, referral, and severe sanctions do not necessarily lead to disproportionately severe sanctions for either combination of race and sex. For example, in Neighborhood 8 White and Non-White males had serious offenses, severe sanctions, and disproportionately severe sanctions.

In the inner city neighborhoods there were nine White and nine Non-White neighborhood groups with High Offense Seriousness as juveniles. Of these, five of the White groups and six of the Non-White groups had High Severity of Sanctions, and of these, three of the White groups and two of the Non-White groups received disproportionately severe sanctions. Since the numbers were quite small, less than five had been referred in some cases, we must only take this as suggestive. And we must remember that we are dealing with averages for neighborhood groups.

It is evident, however, and even more than previously emphasized, that there are six inner city neighborhoods and the barrio, all of which have for one reason or another contributed

disproportionately to juvenile delinquency and adult crime and which also contain race/sex groups whose misbehavior has not only resulted in severe sanctions, but sanctioning which is disproportional to the severity of their offenses. Nevertheless, the same disproportionality may be found in some neighborhoods which are predominately or entirely White.

It is very likely that the larger number of persons involved in these inner city neighborhoods focuses attention on them as the targets of the justice system, whether they be White or Non-White, male or female. To the extent that a problem exists in these and some transitional areas as shown in simplified form in Table 67, it is a matter of concern commencing at the time of police contact when the decision to refer or counsel and release is made.

It must be remembered that we are at this stage analyzing the data by age periods and adding an ecological element by reporting neighborhood means for each measure. The first two columns of each group are for the 1949 Cohort, juvenile and then adult, and the next two columns for the 1955 cohort, etc.

Furthermore, reference to Table 67 reveals that those neighborhoods which are high on seriousness of offenses and severity of sanctions are found in the High DCP and High In-Area and By Residence neighborhoods, particularly the High By Residence neighborhoods more than in other types of neighborhoods. Disproportional sanctioning follows no discernable pattern.

TABLE 67. HIGH OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS, SANCTIONS, AND DISPROPORTIONAL SANCTIONS FOR 1949 AND 1955 COHORTS, JUVENILE AND ADULT PERIODS

Offense Rates		Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics		
A	R	High	Medium	Low
		Seri Sanc DisS	Seri Sanc DisS	Seri Sanc DisS
H	H	2 H HH H 7 HHHH H H 8 HHHH HHH H 9 H HH H 10 H - - - - 11 H H -HHH - H 12 HHHH H 13 HHHH HH H 17 H H H-H - 18 H H -H-H - -H	6 - -H - -- - -- 49 HHHH HHHH HHH	
H	M	16 H - - - -	23 -H-H - -H	30 - - - - - -
H	L		4 - -- - --	
M	H	5 - HH- 19 HHHH HH H HH	46 HHH H H 54 HHHH H H	47 H H -H-H -H-
M	M		20 H ---- ---- 29 H 33 - - 35 H -H-- 56 H H	25 - -- - -- 34 H- HH- 50 H H H
M	L		14 H H 32 H	26 ---- ---- 42 - -- - --
L	H		37 HHH H-H H -H	
L	M		15 - -H 55 H H - HH-	28 - - -H - 31 H H H H 36 H H H-HH 38 H H H HHH 41 - - - -- - --
L	L		21 --- ---H 22 HH --H- -- - 53 - -- - --	27 ---- ---- 51 ---- ---- 52 ---- ---- 57 - - -H-

Based on rates shown in Table 66. Dashes, "-", indicate too few cohort members referred for statistic.

What is there about neighborhoods such as 36 and 38, both of which are stable residential areas with Low DCPs and Low In-Area and Medium By Residence offense rates whih resuls in such high disproportionality of sanctions?

What Goes on Inside of Each Neighborhood?

Table 68 is added as a final effort to show how an analysis of individuals within the neighborhood rather than a comparison of statistics for the neighborhood generates somewhat different but not totally different findings about the relationship of offense seriousness to severity of sanctions and disproportional sanctioning. Always remember that offenses and sanctions are lumped for the juvenile and for the adult period because of the cumulative manner in which the courts so frequently deal with offenders, particularly juvenile offenders. The same measures are utilized here as in Table 66 but in this case rather than work with the means of neighborhoods we are working with Pearsonian coefficients that represent the relationship of each cohort member's score on offense seriousness to that same member's score on severity of sanctions, etc.

This is a simplified but more precise approach to determining the justice system experiences of those who reside in each neighborhood. Although we have presented similar correlational analyses in other chapters, they have been for major groupings of neighborhoods rather than for specific years or for combined cohorts.

TABLE 68. RELATIONSHIP OF OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS AND DISPROPORTIONAL SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS BY NEIGHBORHOOD OF SOCIALIZATION AND ADULT RESIDENCE BY COHORT

		Neighborhood of Socialization		Adult Ngh.	Neighborhood of Socialization		Adult Ngh.
		Juv.Off. Ser X Juv.Sev. Sanc.	Adult Ser X Adult Sanc.	Adult Ser X Adult Sanc.	Juv.Off. Ser X Juv.Disp. Sanc.	Adult Ser X Adult Disps.	Adult Ser X Adult Disps.
		Inner City Neighborhoods					
2	1949	.476	.509	701+	-.620	-.340	-.375
	1955	.677	.732+	.908+	-.194+	-.191+	.021+
7	1949	.606+	.610+	.739+	-.138+	-.166+	.085+
	1955	.794+	.717	.833+	.267+	-.357	.231+
8	1955	.766+	.625+	.650	-.106+	-.726	-.416
9	1955	.872+	.667+	.782+	.079+	-.310+	-.121+
11	1955	.773+	.813+	.767+	-.501	.049+	-.611
12	1955	.716	.821+	.832+	-.133+	-.028+	-.588
13	1949	.348	.337	.752+	-.763	-.874	-.245+
	1955	.850+	.831+	.731+	-.093+	-.099+	.277+
17	1955	.930+	.741	.281	.077+	.006+	-.512
5	1955	.728	.628	.501	-.293	-.333+	-.738
6	1955	.567	.504	-.083	-.436	----	----
		Transitional Neighborhoods					
18	1955	.777+	.867+	.828+	-.196+	-.689	-.988
16	1955	.365	.908+	.887+	-.657	.016+	-.296
19	1949	.954+	.827+	.885+	.375+	-.040+	-.012+
	1955	.906+	.696	.885+	-.366	-.428	-.416
49	1949	.864+	.467	.629+	.408+	-.368	.698+
	1955	.950+	.794+	.889+	-.076+	-.929	-.032+
46	1949	.559+	.865+	.924+	-.561	-.125+	-.057+
	1955	.872+	.707	.767+	-.203+	.287+	-.383
54	1955	.857+	.591+	.547	-.012+	.012+	.020+

	50	1955	.906+	.737+	.832+	-.042+	-.285+	-.651
	33	1955	.631+	.431	.840+	-.173+	-.982	-.970
	37	1955	.560	.853+	.973+	-.674	-.912	----
				Stable Residential Neighborhoods				
	14	1949	.351	.843+	.920+	-.904	-.020+	.250+
	15	1955	.223	.667	.837+	-.816	-.690	-.357
	23	1955	.804+	.834+	.727	.008+	-.237+	-.874
	29	1949	.000	.800+	.878+	-1.000	.183+	-.078+
		1955	.066	.447	.496	-1.000	-.818	-.830
	30	1955	.785+	.391	.750+	-.326	-.082+	-.187
	31	1949	.414	.782+	.508	-.633	-.448	----
		1955	.936+	.793+	.845+	.148+	-.159+	-.053+
	32	1955	.496	.702	.663	-.448+	-.064+	-.122+
	34	1955	.936+	.554	.831+	-.785	.253+	.260+
	36	1949	.978+	.424	.594	.357+	-.367	.220+
	53	1955	.861+	.744	.707	-.067	----	----
	56	1955	.152	.887+	.786+	-.969	-.331	-.243
				Peripheral Middle to High SES Neighborhoods				
	25	1949	.000	.258	.142	----	----	----
		1955	.937+	.900+	.755+	-.017+	----	-.871
	28	1955	.914+	.226	.147	-.125+	----	----
	42	1955	.249	.613	.683	-.990	----	----
	47	1955	.550	.655	.792+	-.366	-.591	-.352
	38	1955	.862+	.923+	.909+	.523+	-.061+	-.120+
	57	1955	.430	.866+	.785+	-.510	.394+	.269+
				All Persons with Neighborhood of Residence				
		1949	.548	.565	.584	-.565	-.196	-.305
		1955	.735	.717	.730	-.269	-.344	-.187

While most of the analyses presented in this report have been based on the behavior of cohort members for place of socialization, whether the measures dealt with the juvenile or adult period, a set of correlations has been done by adult neighborhood of residence as well. These, of course, are only the cohort members who resided in that neighborhood as adults and consist of some who lived there as juveniles and some who lived elsewhere. Even though change in people's behavior takes place with a change in milieu (this question was addressed in Chapter 8), our basic position had been that the juvenile milieu pretty much determines what most people will be like throughout their lifetime. Perhaps it is not just milieu effects on juvenile behavior but, as we have said, milieu effects on the perception of persons in the justice system, even though we have had limited success in encapsulating these effects.

The first three columns of correlations in Table 68 are quite high, as would be expected, a multitude of early tables having shown offense seriousness to be related to severity of sanctions no matter which units or measures were utilized.

At the same time, we must also remember that about 80% of even the adults (18+) had zero or very low seriousness scores and no sanctions, thus producing a much higher correlation between seriousness and sanctions than would have been obtained if they had been eliminated. When one deals only with those who were referred and/or sanctioned, the relationship between sanctions and seriousness declines, thus some of our earlier statements

about severity of sanctions having little relationship to offense seriousness were not really incorrect. We are now pursuing this question in a more exhausting fashion, which involves analysis of sanctions administered for each of 26 offense categories.

Since there were too few 1942 Cohort members in most neighborhoods for the type of analysis shown in Table 68, they were omitted from this table. The correlations for each of the cohorts for all persons with juvenile and adult neighborhoods are presented at the bottom of the table. If the correlation in Table 68 is higher than the total correlation a plus (+) has been placed behind it to facilitate perusal and indicates the failure of these data to provide a highly patterned relationship of correlations and neighborhood groupings.

Turning now to a discussion of these offense seriousness/severity of sanctions correlations in Table 68 and the inner city neighborhoods, we find that at least for the 1955 Cohort there were fairly consistent relationships between offense seriousness and severity of sanctions, the only exception being Neighborhoods 6 and 17 for those who resided there as adults. There is also relatively little difference in the juvenile and adult correlations. It should also be remembered that these were the neighborhoods with High In-Area and By-Residence Offense Rates, High Juvenile and Adult Offense Rates, High Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristcs, and a high percentage of Black residents as of 1970, almost without exception.

The picture is similar for transitional neighborhoods without exception, although there are several neighborhoods in which the juvenile relationship differs markedly from the adult. This group, however, was not as homogeneous in terms of offense rates or DCP but most did have High or Medium rates and only one had been characterized as Low DCP. Variation in the correlations had little relationship to the Offense Rate or DCP characteristics of these neighborhoods.

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

We next turn to the columns showing the relationshp of offense seriousness to disproportional sanctioning. These columns have few high correlations and the great bulk of them are negative. Any correlation higher than -.269 for the juvenile period for the 1955 Cohort, for example, would have less inverse relationship between offense seriousness and disproportional sanctioning than that for the total cohort.

While offense seriousness and severity of sanctions are usually correlated, inspection of the scattergrams for each cohort reveals that a wide range of juvenile seriousness has resulted in a small range of disproportional sanctioning but that the lower half of the seriousness distribution has a wide range of disproportional sanctions. There are relatively few persons with serious juvenile careers who received disproportionately low sanctions, but there are some.

A clue to this was found in Tables 26 and 27 of Chapter 6 where, for example, there were during the juvenile period a disproportionate number of cohort members from Neighborhoods 38 or 49 (all cohorts combined) who had high seriousness scores but low sanctions. What is apparent is that disproportionality in sanctions may be present in neighborhoods where offense seriousness is not highly correlated with severity of sanctions but it may also be present where they are highly correlated but be an extension of the high sanctions already meted out to serious offenders or disproportionately low or high sanctions for some less serious offenders. The scattergrams for adults showed much the same pattern.

In the 1955 Cohort where a very low negative correlation was produced for adults by adult place of residence the nature of these distributions showed the problem at its extreme. There are essentially three groups, one in which there is a steady decrease in proportionality of sanctions as one goes from those with the least serious to the most serious adult careers with sanctioning

becoming proportionately less severe. Then there is a second group whose most serious members attain almost half of the career seriousness at the most of the first group but whose sanctions become even proportionately less severe as the limit of this group's seriousness is reached. Then there is a third group who have the range of their seriousness much lower but whose disproportionately lower sanctions reach the far extreme of disproportionately low sanctions. This produced a negative correlation of only -.187 for the 1955 Cohort. There are really three slopes in this scattergram, each showing disproportionality decreasing with career seriousness. A neighborhood would have a positive correlation only if it had some of each of these groups.

It is not surprising that offense seriousness is not highly correlated with disproportional sanctioning in many neighborhoods.[1] In fact, what we do find as evidenced from a few scattered positive correlations is that there are only a few neighborhoods in which persons with serious offenses are sanctioned with extreme severity and those with less serious offenses seem to receive relatively lower sanctions.

In the inner city it appears that six out of 10 neighborhoods show less evidence of an inverse relationship between severity of offenses and disproportional sanctions at either the juvenile or adult period for both and for one or both cohorts than that for the total cohort. Neighborhoods 7 and 13 each have at least one positive correlation which would indicate that there is some disproportionately severe sanctions in them.

The transitional neighborhoods were also a mixed bag but here again most neighborhoods had some evidence of sanctions disproportionately severe to their offenses at one period or another.

The stable residential neighborhoods add little to our understanding of what is happening, except that here we have fewer cohort and age periods with a relationship between offense seriousness and disproportional sanctions. The peripheral middle to high SES neighborhoods are much the same as the stable neighborhoods, but with somewhat less indication of disproportionate sanctioning during any age period.

What has all of this told us? For sure we can say that even though offense seriousness is related to severity of sanctions, this is more consistent in some neighborhoods than in others. Following this, when we turn to disproportional sanctioning, there are fewer and fewer neighborhoods with a relationship between offense seriousness and disproportional sanctioning as we leave the inner city and transitional areas. As we have stated before, it is not clearly seen what is going on if we concentrate on one step at a time, much better if we look at the data as a chain of events. But even then it is difficult to encapsulate the data in such a way as to show that year by year and event by event those who reside in neighborhoods which have high offense rates and are conceptualized as being delinquency and crime producing are perceived as residing in a milieu whose residents should receive different consideration by the justice sytem than

those who reside in other areas. By and large, table by table, we have shown that inner city and transitional areas differ in offense seriousness as recorded by the police and what transpires step by step thereafter, but it is more difficult to capture disproportionality of reaction because what happens is cumulative rather than discriminative in a strictly linear fashion at any point in time.

FOOTNOTE

[1] A high disproportional sanctioning score (ratio) meant that a person had received sanctions that were low compared to offense seriousness; we therefore reversed the signs obtained in the runs in order to facilitate interpretation of that data in this table.

Chapter 13. Summary and Conclusions

REVIEW OF EARLIER RACINE STUDIES

Birth cohort research in Racine, Wisconsin, as in other metropolitan areas of widely differing sizes and organizational and demographic complexity, has provided consistent evidence that although juvenile delinquency and adult crime are widely dispersed (prevalent throughout the community) both are highly concentrated in some groups (have a high incidence), traditionally those neighborhoods in the inner city and its interstitial areas. These studies have also shown that while serious offenders (persons with numerous offenses including felony-level offenses) may be found in quite different kinds of neighborhoods ranging from those characterized by the most abject poverty to those in which people are born to the manor (or to the manner), serious offenders are concentrated by place of socialization and place of adult residence for the most part in the inner city and interstitial areas.

More recently, however, High Delinquency and Crime Areas have developed in lower SES areas on the periphery of the city. That cohort researchers have found this lends credence to the classical position of sociologists and ecologists that description of delinquency and crime must commence with its relationship to the spatial organization of the city. So, in a sense, the first section of Chapter 1 was more or less a recapitulation of what we already know with emphasis on the Racine cohorts.

The second point upon which emphasis was placed is the difficulty of predicting who in a cohort will have an adult criminal career, more specifically who will have a serious criminal career as an adult. Although juveniles who have early contacts, frequent contacts, and contacts for more serious offenses with the police are more likely to become adult offenders, they are joined in adulthood by others who have had quite different juvenile histories of involvement or no involvement whatsoever. Predicting a high probability of continuity from a high risk group and a low probability of continuity from a low risk group (the latter constitute a very large proportion of the total) is not the same as predicting who will be an adult criminal from the juvenile record.

The third important point in the introductory chapter was again a repetition of findings that have been made by a variety of researchers, the effect of intervention and the ultimate results of differential intervention. Here the warning is repeated that the characteristics of institutionalized offenders are in part an artifact of justice system procedures rather than explanatory of group differences in the incidence of delinquency and crime.

METHODS AND INITIAL ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

Categorizing Neighborhoods and Measuring Justice System Experiences

Our rationale for selecting neighborhoods as the unit of analysis was presented in Chapter 2, a chapter on methodology and procedures. References were made to prior research in which

other less homogeneous spatial units had been utilized and to the possibility, actually the necessity, of combining neighborhoods by types in order to provide sufficient persons for certain types of analyses. The basis for combining neighborhoods, first by developing composite additive scores and second with FASTCLUS procedures was also described. Tables 1 and 2 presented neighborhoods according to their Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and their Offense Rates based on several composite additive scoring systems, while Tables 3-6 revealed the final results of numerous computer-clustering attempts with FASTCLUS. The problem of collapsing complex delinquent and criminal careers to scores which represent not only what the cohort member did but what happened in the courts as a consequence was also described. The interrelationship of these measures was presented in concluding the chapter.

Experience Chains and the Neighborhood Milieu

In Chapter 3 we described what turned out to be a methodological exercise rather than a chapter with important substantive findings. The distribution of delinquency and crime experience types was presented in Tree Diagrams for each cohort, showing the step-by-step progression of cohort members and the ultimate proportion of various types to be found for each cohort. The cumulative nature of careers, as shown in Tree Diagrams, revealed that intervention does lead to continuity rather than to discontinuity but that increasing involvement has less relationship to neighborhood type (as we had categorized neighborhoods) than expected.

When neighborhoods were grouped according to the various procedures that had been developed, little was found to substantiate the milieu explanation of increasing seriousness of careers as a consequence of intervention. About all that could be said is that cohort-by-cohort change provided some additional evidence for what we have termed "the hardening of the inner city."

Consistency in Measures and Continuity in Careers

In Chapters 4 and 5 we turned to an analysis of consistency in measures and continuity in careers. Could neighborhoods be clustered according to consistency of contact, seriousness, referral, and sanctions scores? While juvenile consistency was almost always high in inner city and interstitial neighborhoods that had high offense rates by their residents and were also High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods, there were other types of neighborhoods outside the inner city but with similar consistency involving high scores on all measures. The same was true for the adult period but there were neighborhoods with consistency during one period but not during the other. Neighborhoods with consistency during both periods included, however, most of the inner city neighborhoods.

The juvenile and adult periods were more closely linked in High Delinquency and Crime Producing neighborhoods, neighborhoods which also had High In-Area Offense Rates or By-Residence Rates. The phenomenon of sanctions during the juvenile period followed by sanctions during the adult period was more characteristic of

inner city neighborhoods than of other types of neighborhoods. However, the hypothesis that differences in neighborhood milieus as we had defined them produce variation not only in delinquent and criminal behavior but in societal reactions as well (career experiences) received only modest support.

The elaborate steps through which we had gone in order to represent the consistency of relationships between variables during the juvenile and adult periods and continuity between periods (Tables 17 through 26) culminated in Table 25. It, while summarizing our failure to generate a neat pattern of differences related to the organization of the community, did suggest that High Offense Rate and DCP neighborhoods are more likely to have cohort members with high seriousness, referral, and sanctions scores, more consistency in the relationship of seriousness, referrals, and sanctions for cohort members during both age periods, and more continuity in careers between age periods than are found in other types of neighborhoods.

Although it might appear that what we did was a departure from rigorous research methodology in which hypotheses are tested and accepted or rejected, this is not the way that it works out in the real world of research. The existence of statistically significant relationships which permit rejection of the null hypothesis is not enough. Our aim was to determine if reorganization of the data in a variety of ways would produce an interrelationship of variables accounting for a sufficient amount of the variance to permit accurate prediction of the dependent

variables (juvenile and adult behavior and justice system experience) from the independent variables (neighborhood milieu).

A CLOSER LOOK AT INTERVENTION AND SANCTIONING

The Concentration of Disproportional Societal Reaction

This brought us to Chapter 6, The Consequences of Being Bad in a Bad Area, an ominous sounding title for a chapter, but perhaps the best way to put it. The reader must always remember that the main thrust of this project is to determine if there are systematic differences in career progression that can be related to neighborhood milieus. It would be no contribution to existing knowledge to simply report single-faceted differences that are related to neighborhood milieus. Here we came closer to belling the cat than previously, for we found that intervention types as represented by Geometric scores differentiated the High Offense Rate and DCP neighborhoods from others more consistently than had other representations of career types. There was a high concentration of high seriousness, high intervention types in the inner city and interstitial neighborhoods (Tables 28 and 28A) but to a lesser extent as represented by a disproportional intervention score (Tables 29 and 30).

Milieu Effects Reexamined

At this point we made a digression, the object of Chapter 7 being to remind the reader that, although a variety of ranking systems had been used for the neighborhoods there was some consistency from system to system, some neighborhoods ranking high and some ranking low on 18 different sets of ranks. A

sample of correlations of scores and neighborhood rankings was presented in Table 33 but emphasizing that these are ecological correlations which are markedly reduced when neighborhood characteristics are attached to individual experience scores, Offense seriousness/intervention type, for example. While some persons might say that we have bent over backwards, not only in this report but in others, to avoid the conclusion that strong relationships exist between the independent and dependent variables in the study, we believe that it is important not to present exaggerated claims of findings which do not provide a basis for accurately predicting the career experiences of cohort members.

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

We next aggregated cohort members according to the type of neighborhood (milieu) in which they had been socialized, relating juvenile seriousness and intervention scores to adult seriousness and intervention scores, a relationship which was quite evident for cohort members who resided in High Offense Rate and High DCP

areas. There was less relationship for persons who had been socialized in other types of areas. These tables, we believe, give us a better picture of relationshps between juvenile and adult careers as they differ by milieu than does the correlation itself.

THE EFFECTS OF CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

When the effects of change of residence were examined (Chapter 8), although there were some inconsistencies, it could be concluded that being socialized in a High Offense Rate and High DCP area had more formative effects on careers even if subsequent movement was to a "better" neighborhood than did the formative effects of good neighborhoods have on those who had downward movement to neighborhoods with less desirable milieus.

WHAT THE INTERVIEWS TOLD US ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD DIFFERENCES

Accounting for the Variance in Offense Rate and Intervention Scores

Having said that we ought to know more about the persons who were socialized in different types of milieus, we turned to the interview data, Chapter 9. Twenty-nine interview variables representing respondents' home conditions, educational experiences, work experiences, etc. were manipulated by multiple regression techniques in order to ascertain their relationship to measures of seriousness of delinquency and crime, official and self-report, and the extent to which intervention had taken place in proportion to seriousness of offenses.

While the means of independent interview variables and the statistics representing juvenile and adult careers varied by type

of neighborhood, some to a greater degree and more consistently according to expectations than others, variation in the independent interview variables was considerably less than that for the dependent measures of delinquency and crime. But this was not the point; what we were concerned about was the extent to which the independent variables could account for variation in the dependent measures of delinquency and crime within types of neighborhoods.

The number of independent variables to be included in the analyses of different groupings of neighborhoods was reduced by preliminary regression analyses of the combined 1942 and 1949 Cohorts. It was decided that only 16 variables would account for most of the variance that could be accounted for in measures of delinquency and crime, but this was less than 50% [Adjusted R^2] with little systematic difference from one grouping of neighborhoods to another. Here again, it is a matter of what one considers to be an achievement. These findings (Table 50) did not indicate that we have the makings of a model of the delinquency process for any type of milieu.

Although four variables stood out as showing recurring significance across groupings of neighborhoods during the juvenile period, no high school diploma, a delinquent self-concept during the juvenile period, juvenile friends in trouble with the police, and having access to the automobile, one could argue, with the exception of access to the automobile, whether they were antecedents and explanatory of delinquency or

coincidental and perhaps at least partially consequences of delinquency.

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

Accounting for Variance in Rates by Inner City vs. Other Residence and White vs. Nonwhite

At this juncture it was concluded that we might better discern what was happening in different types of neighborhoods if they were simply divided into inner city vs. other neighborhoods and that, since the inner city was Non-White disproportionally to other areas, further analysis of Whites vs. Non-Whites would be equally appropriate. Regression analysis revealed that there were numerous inner city vs. other differences and White vs. Non-White differences during both the juvenile and adult periods.

While it would have been tempting, after the fact, to discuss how these diverse effects supported or rejected various sociological explanations of delinquency, the fact that effects changed from group to group would make this a difficult and perhaps meaningless exercise. In fact, to explain delinquency per se is a rather fruitless quest anyway because the genesis of delinquency does vary from group to group. The same problem was

found for the adult period but more of the variance could be accounted for here by adding juvenile delinquency measures as independent variables, they, in most cases, having higher standardized estimates than the interview variables.

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS WITH CONTROLS FOR RACE AND SEX

Accounting for Variance in Rates by Race, Sex, and Residence

To be sure that no stone had been left unturned, the same analytic strategy was applied to Males, Non-White Males, White Males, Females, etc. (Chapter 10). There were differences from group to group in which variables were significant but generally less than half of the variance was accounted for during either the juvenile or adult period. However, when juvenile delinquency scores were added over 60% of the variance in adult White Male offense seriousness scores was accounted for. The significant effects to which we have been referring in different subcategories of the cohorts were summarized in Table 59.

Since the inconsistent and sometimes quite contradictory effects suggested that explaining or accounting for delinquency was a more complex enterprise than many might think, it was decided to go even a step further in Chapter 11 in delineating the kinds of groups subjected to analysis. Controlling for place of socialization as inner city vs. other, sex, and race was the final step. More of the variance was thus accounted for than in prior analyses, particularly for the high rate groups, Inner City Non-White and White Males, Other White Males, and Inner City Non-White Females, in fact all groups except Other White Females.

CONTINUED

3 OF 5

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

Although effects were inconsistent from group to group with no suggestion of how to deal with the problem of delinquency prevention or crime amelioration that would cut across all groups, our attention should probably be focused on those groups in which delinquency rates were highest and there was the greatest likelihood of continuity into adult crime, the high risk groups. We are, therefore, most concerned with those who reside in high rate areas as well as those who belong to high rate groups.

RECAPITULATION AND SIMPLIFICATION

A number of summary tables were presented in Chapter 12 in order to recapitulate and simply the multitude of tables which have described the characteristics of neighborhoods, the behavior of juveniles and adults who were socialized in them, and the reaction of people in the justice system.

Following this, new tables and analyses were presented in an effort to encapsulate patterns of neighborhood differences in the

relationship of offense seriousness to severity of sanctions and disproportional sanctioning. While sanctioning was related to seriousness of offenses, as shown in other more complex types of analyses presented in earlier chapters, there were some neighborhoods in which the relationship was quite low but they were not concentrated in the inner city. Likewise, while disproportional sanctioning was related to offense seriousness in some neighborhoods, it was also apparent that the opposite was quite frequent in others while no relationship was evident in even others. Again, while there was a greater relationship of disproportional sanctioning to offense seriousness in the inner city than in other areas, the difference was not sufficient for us to say that the simplified analyses presented in this chapter were a great advance over what had been described in earlier chapters.

CAN THESE FINDINGS BE APPLIED TO DELINQUENCY PREVENTION?

Unfortunately, most variables related to delinquency and crime in the inner city and interstitial areas are those over which we have no direct control as persons concerned about delinquency prevention. It is still, however, in terms of concentration of official seriousness, self-report seriousness, and offense seriousness/intervention, a matter of focusing attention on Inner City Non-White and White Males and Other White Males if the groups with the highest rates are to be the target of any program. And that involves deciding whether the variables which must be manipulated are variables which we have a chance of manipulating.

We must take the position that the development of opportunities for integration into the larger society should be a major concern in programs designed for inner city neighborhoods but that (to the extent that delinquency is a problem in other neighborhoods of the city) programs should, as they have in the past, be oriented toward keeping juveniles in the school system, oriented toward those whose failure to complete high school might be an impediment in that segment of society where high school graduation is the norm. However difficult it may be to integrate persons of all ages and backgrounds into urban, industrial society, we can determine what the school system will be like. We can reprogram and modify it even when we find modification of the larger social structure more difficult. Some social institutions are more difficult to penetrate but we do have a basis for making the school a major federal concern.

But the question still remains, aside from the fact that the variance is greater for Inner City Males and Other Males, why is it that variable effects are more pronounced for these groups in terms of offense seriousness but that disproportional intervention is less explicable? This suggests that the interview and other variables which account for delinquency to some degree do not account for disproportional intervention and that perhaps high on the agenda should be further examination of how the justice system operates. Our current research program is addressing this question more fully than have our previous efforts.

It may well be that one of our major problems is determining how to integrate young people, and even older people, into a society that has progressively declined in its ability to integrate but at the same time has developed a justice system which progressively extends its power to early-on label people in such a way that their integration becomes more difficult.

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

POLICE

Arrested

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

APPENDIX A

THE IMPORTANCE OF ISOLATING AREAS CONTAINING THE SERIOUS OFFENDER

Further insight into the nature of the problem pursued in this analysis and the decision that neighborhoods constitute the most appropriate spatial system for our purposes may be obtained by consideration of Tables 1A and 1B.

In order to be sure that a neighborhood's classification is not based on just the behavior of persons from the three cohorts who reside there, reference is also made to Chapter 2, Table 1 of The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City (Revised Final Report July 1982) (Table 1A in this appendix). High offense rate and/or arrest rate census tracts are circled, as are high offense rate grid areas. Medium offense and arrest rate areas are also indicated on Table 1A. Thus, each tract and grid is characterized by annual offense and/or arrest data for all persons in Racine for a period of years. We have also characterized census tracts, police grid areas, and natural areas with the cohort data, as shown on Table 1B. Suffice it to say that if the tables and maps which have not been included in earlier reports and those which we have constructed during the current year were included in this appendix, we would have an appendix of monograph size.

Having considered the classification of census tracts, police grid areas, and natural areas, we would expect most of the neighborhoods within some of the larger areas to be consistent

TABLE 1A. from The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City, Chapter 2.

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF CENSUS TRACTS TO POLICE GRID AREAS, NATURAL AREAS, AND NEIGHBORHOODS

Official Data for Entire City of Racine Relationship of Tracts to Grids		Cohort Data Relationship of Natural Areas to Tracts	Cohort Data Relationship of Neighborhoods to Tracts and Natural Areas
TRACTS[1]	GRIDS[2]	NATURAL AREAS[3]	NEIGHBORHOODS[7]
Inner City			
(1)[4]	(12)(T2,3,4)[6]	--	(1)
(3)G12,16)[5]	--	(2)	(2) (3) (11) (12) (60)
(4)G8,9,12,13)	(8)(T13)	(1)	(7) (8) (13) (17) 61
(5)G9,17)	13(T4,6,12)	(3)	(9) (10)
Inner City and Interstitial to Middle SES			
2(G12)	16(T3)	(5) 21, 6	(4) (5) (6)
13(G5,8,9)	4(T14)	13, 4	(18) (19) 20, 21, 22, 65
6(G13,14)	17(T3,5,7)	14, 11	32, (62)
7(G17)	21(T8)	10, 17, 7	33, 34, 35, 36, 38
Middle to Upper SES and Outlying Areas			
12(G2,10,13)	5(T13,14), (6) 9(T4,5,13)	12, 9	15, 16, 29, (30) 31, 63, 64
10(G14)	18(T9), 19	22, 16, (18)	(46) 48, (54) 55 56, 66, 68
9(G18)	(22), 23	19, 26, 24	(47) (49) 50, 58, 59, 67
8(G21)	20	15, 7	(37), 57
Upper SES and Outlying Areas			
11	10(T12), 14(T6,10,13), 15	20, 23	39, 41, 42, 51, 52, 53, 70
14(G4,5)	1(T15), 2(T12)	18, 25	14, (23) 25, 26, 27, 28
15			24.

See attached sheet for footnotes

[1] Graphs 1-5, Chapter 3; Graphs 6-9, Chapter 3; Table 1, Chapter 4, The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City (Revised Final Report, NIJ Grant 79-NI-AX-0081, July 1982).

[2] Graphs 10-13, Chapter 3; Table 1, Chapter 4, Ibid.

[3] Tables 1 and 5, Chapter 7, Ibid.

[4] City of Racine Official Records

- ◯ = High in tract and in grid Part I Offense Rates.
- ◯ = High arrest rates for residents, Part I and II.
- □ = Medium in tract and in grid, Part I Offense Rates.
- □ = Medium arrest rates for residents, Part I and II.

Cohort Data

- ◯ = High in Nat. Area or Neighborhood
- ◯ = High by Nat. Area or Neigh. Res.
- □ = Medium in Nat. Area or Neighborhood
- □ = Medium by Nat. Area or Neigh. Res.

[5] Grid Numbers in parentheses indicate that tract overlapped these grids or that tract overlapped additional grids besides the grid shown in the next column.

[6] Tract numbers in parentheses indicate that grid overlapped these tracts in addition to the tract in the first column.

[7] In neighborhood seriousness based on composite of five different measures of delinquency and crime including Table 2, Chapter 7, Ibid; neighborhood seriousness by residents based on composite of six different measures of delinquency and crime including Table 6, Chapter 4, Ibid.

TABLE 1B. from The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City, Chapter 2.

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF CENSUS TRACTS TO POLICE GRID AREAS, NATURAL AREAS, AND NEIGHBORHOODS

Cohort Data for All Spatial Systems[1]			
Relationship of Tracts to Grids		Relationship of Natural Areas to Tracts	Relationship of Neighborhoods to Tracts and Natural Areas
TRACTS	GRIDS	NATURAL AREAS	NEIGHBORHOODS
Inner City			
◯(1)[2]	◯12(T2,3,4)[4]	--	◯1
◯3(G12,16)[3]	--	◯2	◯2, 3, ◯11, ◯12, 60
◯4(G8,9,12,13)	◯8(T13)	◯1	◯7, ◯8, ◯13, ◯17, 61
◯5(G9,17)	◯13(T4,6,12)	◯3	◯9, ◯10
Inner City and Interstitial to Middle SES			
□2(G12)	◯16(T3)	◯5, □21, □6	◯4, ◯5, ◯6
□13(G5,8,9)	4(T14)	□13, □4	◯18, ◯19, 20, 21, 22, 65
□6(G13,14)	□17(T3,5,7)	□14, ◯1	32, ◯62
□7(G17)	21(T8)	□10, □17, □7	□33, □34, □35, □36, □38
Middle to Upper SES and Outlying Areas			
□12(G2,10,13)	□5(T13,14), □6 □9(T4,5,13)	□12, □9	15, ◯16, 29, ◯30, 31, 63, 64
□10(G14)	□18(T9), □19	22, 16, ◯8	◯46, ◯48, ◯54, 55, 56, 66, 68
□9(G18)	□22, 23	□19, 26, 24	◯47, ◯49, 50, 58, 59, □67
□8(G21)	□20	15, 7	◯37, 57
Upper SES and Outlying Areas			
11	10(T12), 14(T6,10,13), 15	20, 23	39, □41, □42, 51, 52, 53, 70
14(G4,5)	1(T15), 2(T12)	18, 25	□14, ◯23, □25, □26, 27, □28 □24
15			

[1] Seriousness from Tables 1-6, Chapter 7.

[2] ◯ = High in area; ◯ = High by residents of area; □ = Medium in area; □ = Medium by residents of area

[3] Grid numbers in parentheses indicate that tract overlapped these grids or that tract overlapped additional grids besides the grid shown in the next column.

[4] Tract numbers in parentheses indicate that grid overlapped these tracts in addition to the tract in the first column.

with that area's classification but in other cases because of the heterogeneity of these areas there would be less similarity in neighborhoods contained within them. This is the case as also shown in Tables 1A and 1B. Note that while some neighborhoods (and larger areas) may be characterized as having high offense rates by their residents and high in-area offense rates as well, others are high on one but not on the other.

Further perusal of Tables 1A and 1B enables one to see how the high offense rate areas are concentrated in the inner city and interstitial areas but how some are in peripheral, better residential areas. This is, of course, the basis for the idea that some eight types of neighborhoods are possible if neighborhoods are dichotomized according to the scheme set forth in Box B of Diagram 1 in the narrative of this report.

The four groups of neighborhoods from inner city to peripheral areas shown in Table 1 in the narrative were developed by considering the characteristics of areas shown in Box A of Diagram 1 as well as other data. Table 10 from Chapter 2 of The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Crime to the Changing Ecological Structure of the City (Revised Final Report July 1982) summarizes ecological data (Tables 1-8) which were used in classifying areas as delinquency and crime producing in various degrees and it is this classification of neighborhoods that we now utilize in Tables 1 and 2 of of the narrative of this report. Tables 2, 3, and 4 of this appendix specify the delinquency and crime variables which were utilized in

TABLE 2. DATA USED IN DETERMINING CLASSIFICATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS ACCORDING TO IN-AREA AND BY-RESIDENCE COMBINATIONS OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME MEASURES

In-Neighborhood

1. Number of police contacts in neighborhood per 100 Racine population in neighborhood at mid-census year. (B)
2. Number of police contacts in neighborhood per cohort member residing in neighborhood during 10-year periods. (C)
3. 1 and 2 were combined to produce an average since both were measures of the same variable but with different denominators. (BC)
4. Juvenile felonies committed in neighborhood per cohort juvenile residing in neighborhood during 10-year periods. (F)
5. Adult felonies committed in neighborhood per cohort adult residing in neighborhood during 10-year periods. (M)
6. Number of felony contacts in neighborhoods by cohort and all cohorts combined without regard to decades. (K)

By-Residence of Neighborhood

7. Felonies committed by juveniles residing in neighborhood per juvenile during 10-year periods. (G)
8. Felonies committed by adults residing in neighborhood per adult during 10-year periods. (N)
9. Number of felony contacts by residents of neighborhood by cohort and all cohorts combined without regard to decades. (L)
10. Number of police contacts per cohort member residing in neighborhood during 10-year periods. (H)
11. Mean seriousness of contacts per cohort member residing in neighborhood during 10-year periods. (J)
12. Number of referrals per cohort member residing in neighborhood during 10-year periods. (R)

TABLE 3. DATA USED IN DETERMINING CLASSIFICATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS ACCORDING TO VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF JUVENILE AND ADULT POLICE CONTACT DATA AND FELONY RATES

Juvenile

1. Average proportion of cohort who had a police contact for any reason, age-by-age, for juvenile period (6-17).
2. Juvenile felonies committed in neighborhood per cohort juvenile residing in neighborhood during 10-year periods. (F)
3. Felonies committed by juveniles residing in neighborhood per juvenile during 10-year periods. (G)

Adult

1. Average proportion of cohort who had a police contact for any reason, age-by-age, for adult period (18+).
2. Adult felonies committed in neighborhood per cohort adult residing in neighborhood during 10-year periods. (M)
3. Felonies committed by adults residing in neighborhood per adult during 10-year periods. (N)

TABLE 4. SCORING SYSTEM FOR DATA USED IN DETERMINING CLASSIFICATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS

1. (B) SCORED 1,2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970
   1 = No contacts 4 = High
2. (C) SCORED 1,2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970
   1 = No contacts 4 = High
3. (BC) COMBINED 4 = High, 3 = Med., 2 = Low
4. (F) SCORED 1,2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970 ALL DECADES COMBINED
   1 = No felonies 4 = High
5. (M) SCORED 1,2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970 ALL DECADES COMBINED
   1 = No felonies 4 = High
6. (K) SCORED H, M, L based on cutting points for combined cohorts
7. (G) SCORED 1,2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970 ALL DECADES COMBINED
   1 = No felonies 4 = High
8. (N) SCORED 1,2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970 ALL DECADES COMBINED
   1 = No felonies 4 = High
9. (L) SCORED H, M, L based on cutting points for combined cohorts
10. (H) SCORED 2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970 ALL DECADES COMBINED
    2 = Low contacts 4 = High
11. (J) SCORED 2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970 ALL DECADES COMBINED
    2 = Low seriousness 4 = High seriousness
12. (R) SCORED 2,3,4 for 1950, 1960, 1970 ALL DECADES COMBINED
    2 = Low referrals 4 = High referrals

establishing the classification of neighborhoods as high, medium, or low in offense rates or high or low in delinquency and crime rates.

APPENDIX B

CONCENTRATION OF OFFENSES BY BLOCKS

The concentration of seriousness may be made clearer by considering the data in Table 1. In Column A we see the number of blocks in which persons from a cohort resided who had police contacts and the number of blocks in which police contacts occurred for each cohort and for property offenses, offenses against the person, felonies, traffic offenses, and last, non-traffic offenses. Remember that there were approximately 900 blocks in Racine during the 1950's, 1,000 during the 1960's, and 1,200 during the 1970's. But also note that the number of blocks in which contacts occurred increased disproportionately, as shown in Column F. Column E is included to show how the increase would be even greater if we had assumed that the total area existed in 1950 and that the increased number of blocks with contacts was a function of city growth and the dispersion of offenders and offenses. Since we are most interested in dispersion of behavior and not in city growth, Column F seems to be most appropriate. But note the differences in dispersion depending not just on cohorts but the difference depending on severity of offense. At one extreme we find that offenses against the person were committed by persons who resided in between 5.9% and 12.6% of the blocks and that these offenses took place in between 5.2% and 16.2% of the blocks. These few blocks, while not the same for each cohort, can be found in a relatively limited area of Racine, i.e., the few high offense neighborhoods. At the other extreme,

Table 1. VARIATION IN CONCENTRATION OF POLICE CONTACTS BY CONTACT TYPE, PLACE OF CONTACT, AND RESIDENCE OF ALLEGED OFFENDER

		A. Number of Blocks with Police Contacts	B. Number of Blocks in Highest Category	Contacts in Block	C. Total Police Contacts	D. Number of Contacts in Highest Category	E. Percent of 1200 Blocks With Contacts	F. Percent of 1942: 900 1949: 1000 1955: 1200 Blocks with Contacts	G. Percent of Blocks with Contacts in Top Category (B ÷ A)	H. Percent of Contacts in Top Category (D ÷ C)	I. Percent of 1200 Blocks in Top Category	J. Percent of 1942: 900 1949: 1000 1955: 1200 Blocks in Top Category
Property Offenses												
Place of Residence												
Cohort:	1942	161	13	4or+	264	64	13.4	17.9	8.1	24.2	1.1	1.4
	1949	287	17	7or+	655	158	23.9	28.7	5.9	24.1	1.4	1.7
	1955	375	24	13or+	1417	428	31.2	31.2	6.4	30.2	2.0	2.0
Place of Contact												
Cohort:	1942	153	10	4or+	242	48	12.7	17.0	6.5	19.8	.8	1.1
	1949	295	19	6or+	647	226	24.6	29.5	6.4	34.9	1.6	1.9
	1955	498	31	7or+	1430	527	41.5	41.5	6.2	36.8	2.6	2.6
Offenses Against Person												
Place of Residence												
Cohort:	1942	53	6	2or+	59	13	4.4	5.9	11.3	22.0	.5	.7
	1949	89	4	4or+	133	24	7.4	8.9	4.5	18.0	.3	.4
	1955	151	8	6or+	296	59	12.6	12.6	5.3	19.9	.7	.7
Place of Contact												
Cohort:	1942	47	2	2or+	48	4	3.9	5.2	4.2	8.3	.2	.2
	1949	103	3	3or+	119	9	8.6	10.3	2.9	7.5	.2	.3
	1955	194	7	4or+	301	45	16.2	16.2	3.6	14.9	.6	.6
Felonies												
Place of Residence												
Cohort:	1942	103	4	4or+	153	18	8.6	11.4	3.9	11.8	.3	.4
	1949	196	12	5or+	365	76	16.3	19.6	6.1	20.8	1.0	1.2
	1955	308	16	11or+	975	235	25.7	25.7	5.2	24.1	1.3	1.3
Place of Contact												
Cohort:	1942	105	5	3or+	127	15	8.7	11.7	4.8	11.8	.4	.5
	1949	225	9	4or+	342	40	18.7	22.5	4.0	11.7	.7	.9
	1955	469	23	6or+	976	196	39.1	39.1	4.9	20.1	1.9	1.9
Traffic Contacts												
Place of Residence												
Cohort:	1942	550	34	7or+	1500	348	45.8	61.1	6.2	23.2	2.8	3.8
	1949	627	48	7or+	1770	449	52.2	62.7	7.6	25.4	4.0	4.8
	1955	543	48	5or+	1167	313	45.2	45.2	8.8	26.8	4.0	4.0
Place of Contact												
Cohort:	1942	590	46	6or+	1420	415	49.2	65.5	7.8	29.2	3.8	5.1
	1949	714	48	7or+	1861	486	59.5	71.4	6.7	26.1	4.0	4.8
	1955	638	44	5or+	1303	298	53.2	53.2	6.9	22.9	3.7	3.7
Non-Traffic Contacts												
Place of Residence												
Cohort:	1942	561	29	13or+	2310	533	46.7	62.3	5.2	23.1	2.4	3.2
	1949	745	41	24or+	4935	1465	62.1	74.5	5.5	29.7	3.4	4.1
	1955	795	41	33or+	6198	1809	66.2	66.2	5.1	29.2	3.4	3.4
Place of Contact												
Cohort:	1942	676	41	9or+	2157	564	56.3	75.1	6.1	26.1	3.4	4.5
	1949	904	49	17or+	4726	1384	75.3	90.4	5.4	29.3	4.1	4.9
	1955	984	54	19or+	6238	1808	82.0	82.0	5.5	29.0	4.5	4.5

non-traffic offenses resulted in police contacts for persons residing in from 62.3% to 74.5% of the blocks and in from 75.1% to 82.0% of the blocks.

Moving back to Column B, which tells how many blocks had four or more (or whatever) number of contacts (a percent of the blocks which in all cases except one was less than 10% as shown in Column G), note that of the 900, 1,000, and then 1,200 blocks fewer than 10 blocks had persons who generated enough offenses against the person and that fewer than 10 blocks had enough offenses against the person committed in them to be in the "highest" category but that between 29 and 54 blocks were in the "highest" category for non-traffic offenses and these "highest" categories contained more offenses than did any other offense group. Delinquency and crime, in general, are more widely dispersed than offenses against the person or felonies.

In Column C we find the total number of police contacts for each cohort such as property, offenses against the person, etc., again noting rather large increases from cohort to cohort, increases which prior reports showed to be disproportionate to the size of each succeeding cohort. Likewise, the number of police contacts in the highest category, even though the operational definition of high increased from cohort to cohort, increased with one exception, and that for traffic contacts for persons in the 1955 Cohort, a group who had had relatively little time for exposure to police contacts for this offense.

But what is perhaps the most telling set of figures is found commencing in Column H, for here we find that very high percentages of all contacts are found in that small group of blocks shown in Column B and for which the percent they constitute of blocks with contacts is shown in Column G. Going even further, we turn to Columns I and J, particularly J because it shows how, for example, 24.1% of all felonies resulting in police contact for the 1955 Cohort have been committed by persons residing in only 1.3% of the blocks of Racine, or 20.1% of the felony contacts have taken place in 1.9% of Racine's blocks. Or, to take another example, 36.8% of the property offenses by members of the 1955 Cohort took place in only 2.6% of Racine's blocks.

APPENDIX C

UNSTANDARDIZED AND STANDARDIZED STATISTICS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CLUSTERS

Tables 1 and 2 of this appendix show the unstandardized and standardized means for the blocks in each neighborhood for each of the hypothesized delinquency and crime producing variables before elimination of the 14 low population neighborhoods. Cluster Number 1 includes those neighborhoods whose combinations of characteristics would be considered least delinquency and crime producing, while at the other extreme Cluster Number 6 contains those which would be most delinquency and crime producing.

The reader should note, for example, that there is only one tavern in any of the neighborhoods in Clusters 1, 2, and 3, while there are 98 taverns in Cluster Number 6.

Tables 3 and 4 show the unstandardized and standardized means, standard deviations, etc., for each measure for each cluster.

Tables 5 and 6 show the unstandardized and standardized means for each neighborhood for each of the In-Area measures of delinquency and crime, Tables 7 and 8 for each of the By-Residence measures of delinquency and crime. Tables 9 through 12 contain the unstandardized and standardized means, standard deviations, etc., for each measure for each cluster.

The unstandardized and standardized juvenile offense rates for each neighborhood in each cluster are presented in Tables 13 and 14, while Tables 15 and 16 contain the unstandardized and

standardized means, standard deviations, etc., for each measure for each cluster. Tables 17 and 18 present the unstandardized and standardized adult offense rates for each neighborhood in each cluster, while Tables 19 and 20 contain the unstandardized and standardized statistics for each measure for each cluster.

TABLE 1. UNSTANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING VARIABLES FOR EACH NEIGHBORHOOD BY CLUSTER

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
24	1068	-593	119.500	0.37500	3.50000	0.250	0.2434	0	1.2587	0.0082
26	653	-230	-41.500	0.06250	4.26667	0.063	0.2811	0	2.9842	0.0034
39	558	-169	27.301	0.11111	5.66667	0.176	0.3125	0	0.9328	0.0052
41	1392	240	115.821	0.00000	2.27273	0.000	0.2811	0	1.2010	0.0097
48	.	1258	.	2.75000	3.37500	0.000	0.2811	0	0.8639	0.0102
58	.	600	.	0.38462	1.50000	0.000	0.3215	0	2.5763	0.0134
59	.	922	.	0.30000	3.50000	0.000	0.2811	0	1.4203	0.0359
68	.	-32	.	0.50000	3.00000	0.500	0.2057	0	0.6163	0.0000
70	288	-438	125.500	0.00000	5.50000	0.500	0.5636	0	1.0777	0.0337

CLUSTER NUMBER=2

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
21	-398	-503	-15.308	0.00000	5.84615	0.231	0.2811	1	0.3868	0.0098
27	-279	-164	-7.877	0.05263	4.78947	0.000	0.2811	0	1.8809	0.0063
28	-440	-372	-14.667	0.63333	4.90000	0.033	0.3000	0	0.5206	0.0119
31	-321	-366	-11.206	0.00000	4.52381	0.000	0.2524	0	0.3591	0.0100
34	-359	-262	-17.270	0.00000	4.63636	0.083	0.3282	0	0.2068	0.0035
47	144	-372	-15.629	0.07143	5.32000	0.143	0.2704	0	0.6716	0.0075
50	347	-339	4.556	1.59259	3.53846	0.111	0.2364	0	0.3037	0.0080
51	-309	-173	-15.450	0.00000	6.55000	0.250	0.2811	0	0.9296	0.0138
52	-206	-63	-12.118	0.52941	5.17647	0.118	0.2811	0	0.8717	0.0054
55	-85	-211	-3.864	1.04545	6.38095	0.273	0.2674	0	0.1667	0.0191
63	278	-83	29.119	0.40000	6.20000	0.000	0.6846	0	1.4182	0.0249

CLUSTER NUMBER=3

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
25	481	-501	14.9917	0.391304	6.34783	0.130	0.2680	0	0.9058	0.0077
29	849	-783	53.4722	0.652174	6.26087	0.208	-0.4983	0	0.0099	0.0177
30	344	-491	31.2727	0.818182	4.27273	0.182	-0.0857	0	0.5691	0.0000
38	682	-196	3.1238	0.476190	4.40000	0.190	0.2811	0	0.3917	0.0097
42	866	-581	9.6875	0.187500	3.87500	0.500	0.2811	0	0.9259	0.0106

CLUSTER NUMBER=4

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
4	-398	-416	-16.583	2.2917	8.6818	0.083	0.2811	2	0.3093	0.0281
5	-643	-323	-25.720	15.7600	11.9583	0.520	0.2691	3	-0.6845	0.0454
6	-669	-392	-34.857	8.0000	6.7895	0.045	0.2895	0	-1.1237	0.0565
13	-52	-83	11.841	34.5500	13.5000	0.435	0.1417	3	-1.0317	0.0791
14	-244	-400	-10.843	0.2667	9.2000	0.067	0.2811	0	0.0294	0.0076
15	-399	-334	-17.769	0.3333	6.2222	0.111	0.2811	0	-0.0861	0.0214
16	-261	-223	-15.397	17.2105	13.4211	0.435	0.0171	4	-0.8030	0.0721
17	-368	-128	-14.154	10.0000	11.5200	0.538	-0.1759	8	-0.9011	0.0621
18	-426	-338	-18.879	1.8621	7.5385	0.667	0.0762	7	-0.6647	0.0452
19	-647	-273	-19.756	0.5000	8.2273	0.375	0.3047	5	-0.5102	0.0298
20	-459	-264	-19.125	0.0870	6.2273	0.292	0.0045	1	-0.1807	0.0479

TABLE 1. UNSTANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING VARIABLES FOR EACH NEIGHBORHOOD BY CLUSTER

CLUSTER NUMBER=4

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
22	-487	-290	-18.037	0.00000	8.1852	0.148	0.2476	1	0.1246	0.0105
23	72	-408	3.130	1.73913	9.3913	0.652	0.0926	3	0.1306	0.0113
32	-587	-568	-21.647	1.41935	8.4839	0.167	0.2475	1	-0.2463	0.0184
33	-374	-297	-22.583	4.36364	8.2727	0.208	-0.0551	3	-0.1435	0.0291
35	-304	-310	-9.355	0.43478	5.9565	0.167	-0.1855	0	-0.0513	0.0209
36	-551	-313	-23.957	0.63636	4.8182	0.000	0.2811	0	0.1252	0.0187
37	.	82	.	9.75000	5.7273	0.539	0.2811	3	-0.6709	0.0443
46	215	-177	5.448	2.96667	3.2759	0.031	0.2717	0	-0.2702	0.0304
49	-197	-275	-7.577	6.07692	6.5000	0.577	0.2231	3	-0.1492	0.0179
53	-299	-154	-14.950	0.05263	7.4737	0.300	0.2509	0	-0.0404	0.0531
54	-180	-430	-4.296	1.04000	8.6400	0.074	0.3230	0	-0.1801	0.0081
56	-428	-203	-13.375	0.00000	7.0645	0.125	0.2717	0	-0.0498	0.0138
57	.	-133	.	0.53333	5.1429	0.000	0.3188	0	-0.0706	0.0453
62	-544	51	-29.571	9.50000	9.0000	0.083	0.8460	0	-0.1757	0.0367
65	-91	23	32.200	5.50000	13.5000	0.667	-0.5867	1	-0.0693	0.0000
67	1159	520	235.300	1.66667	4.6667	2.200	-0.4733	1	0.6630	0.0100

CLUSTER NUMBER=5

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
60	-411	-93	-17.843	14.6667	10.25	0.444	-2.2945	2	-0.7590	0.1035
61	-256	-14	-11.005	51.5000	8.00	0.158	-3.0454	1	-0.8387	0.0000
64	-56	6	-1.614	7.5000	13.00	0.143	-2.3048	1	-0.4664	0.0625
66	-18	-23	6.943	0.0000	0.00	0.000	-2.7659	0	-0.0402	0.0000

CLUSTER NUMBER=6

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
1	-276	-31	-15.689	7.4375	4.6923	1.192	-0.1398	17	-1.9764	0.0857
2	-669	-274	-27.875	68.9130	16.7391	0.833	0.0359	12	-0.9057	0.1160
3	.	6	.	47.0000	15.7500	2.250	0.2811	12	-0.8325	0.1204
7	-1586	-579	-56.125	44.3043	17.9545	0.875	-0.4040	11	-1.5391	0.1407
8	-233	-485	-10.130	36.7826	15.4762	0.826	-0.2583	13	-1.1841	0.0635
9	-464	-273	-15.549	79.4783	18.9091	0.440	-0.1926	4	-0.9087	0.0820
10	-527	-299	-27.079	21.2500	12.2500	1.522	-0.5830	17	-1.1807	0.0665
11	-557	-134	-26.368	49.7500	22.7500	0.563	-1.8189	5	-0.9531	0.1158
12	-1048	-518	-27.685	45.5600	16.8400	0.286	-0.4610	4	-1.2492	0.0996

TABLE 2. STANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING VARIABLES FOR EACH NEIGHBORHOOD BY CLUSTER

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
24	2.20988	-1.1954	2.53642	-0.50959	-0.9379	-0.22897	0.388619	-0.55407	1.28539	-0.73859
26	1.44622	-0.1054	-0.92021	-0.52691	-0.7710	-0.64257	0.438306	-0.55407	3.13555	-0.87637
39	1.27141	0.0778	0.55692	-0.52421	-0.4663	-0.39264	0.479689	-0.55407	0.93595	-0.82470
41	2.80609	1.3059	2.45744	-0.53037	-1.2050	-0.78191	0.438306	-0.55407	1.22352	-0.69553
48	.	4.3627	.	-0.37796	-0.9651	-0.78191	0.438306	-0.55407	0.86207	-0.68118
58	.	2.3869	.	-0.50905	-1.3732	-0.78191	0.491551	-0.55407	2.69819	-0.58933
59	.	3.3538	.	-0.51374	-0.9379	-0.78191	0.438306	-0.55407	1.45867	0.05653
68	.	0.4892	.	-0.50266	-1.0467	0.32397	0.338933	-0.55407	0.59658	-0.97397
70	0.77457	-0.7299	2.66523	-0.53037	-0.5026	0.32397	0.810625	-0.55407	1.09132	-0.00662

CLUSTER NUMBER=2

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
21	-0.48776	-0.92513	-0.35787	-0.53037	-0.42724	-0.27099	0.438306	-0.31236	0.35050	-0.69266
27	-0.26879	0.09281	-0.19834	-0.52745	-0.65723	-0.78191	0.438306	-0.55407	1.95254	-0.79313
28	-0.56505	-0.53177	-0.34410	-0.49527	-0.63317	-0.70892	0.463215	-0.55407	0.49397	-0.63238
31	-0.34607	-0.51375	-0.26980	-0.53037	-0.71505	-0.78191	0.400481	-0.55407	0.32080	-0.68692
34	-0.41600	-0.20146	-0.40000	-0.53037	-0.69055	-0.59833	0.500381	-0.55407	0.15749	-0.87350
47	0.50959	-0.53177	-0.36476	-0.52641	-0.54176	-0.46563	0.424204	-0.55407	0.65588	-0.75868
50	0.88314	-0.43268	0.06859	-0.44210	-0.92951	-0.53640	0.379394	-0.55407	0.26140	-0.74433
51	-0.32399	0.06578	-0.36092	-0.53037	-0.27405	-0.22897	0.438306	-0.55407	0.93252	-0.57785
52	-0.13446	0.39609	-0.28938	-0.50103	-0.57300	-0.52092	0.438306	-0.55407	0.87043	-0.81896
55	0.08820	-0.04832	-0.11217	-0.47243	-0.31085	-0.17810	0.420250	-0.55407	0.11450	-0.42571
63	0.75617	0.33603	0.59596	-0.50820	-0.35023	-0.78191	0.970096	-0.55407	1.45642	-0.25922

CLUSTER NUMBER=3

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
25	1.12972	-0.9191	0.29265	-0.50868	-0.31806	-0.49438	0.42104	-0.55407	0.906996	-0.75294
29	1.80689	-1.7659	1.11882	-0.49422	-0.33698	-0.32186	-0.58890	-0.55407	-0.053631	-0.46590
30	0.87762	-0.8891	0.64220	-0.48502	-0.76970	-0.37937	-0.04512	-0.55407	0.545970	-0.97397
38	1.49959	-0.0033	0.03785	-0.50398	-0.74200	-0.36167	0.43831	-0.55407	0.355754	-0.69553
42	1.83817	-1.1593	0.17877	-0.51998	-0.85626	0.32397	0.43831	-0.55407	0.928548	-0.66970

CLUSTER NUMBER=4

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
4	-0.48776	-0.6639	-0.38526	-0.40336	0.18993	-0.59833	0.43831	-0.07065	0.2674	-0.16737
5	-0.93860	-0.3846	-0.58142	0.34310	0.90306	0.36821	0.42249	0.17106	-0.7982	0.32922
6	-0.98644	-0.5918	-0.77759	-0.08699	-0.22193	-0.68238	0.44938	-0.55407	-1.2691	0.64784
13	0.14892	0.3360	0.22501	1.38450	1.23860	0.18021	0.25458	0.17106	-1.1705	1.29656
14	-0.20438	-0.6158	-0.26200	-0.51559	0.30272	-0.63372	0.43831	-0.55407	-0.0327	-0.75581
15	-0.48960	-0.4177	-0.41071	-0.51190	-0.34539	-0.53640	0.43831	-0.55407	-0.1566	-0.35969
16	-0.23566	-0.0844	-0.35979	0.42349	1.22142	0.18021	0.09037	0.41277	-0.9253	1.09563
17	-0.43256	0.2009	-0.33309	0.02386	0.80766	0.40802	-0.16399	1.37961	-1.0304	0.80859
18	-0.53929	-0.4297	-0.43453	-0.42717	-0.05892	0.69333	0.16826	1.13790	-0.7770	0.32348
19	-0.94596	-0.2345	-0.45338	-0.50266	0.09100	0.04750	0.46941	0.65448	-0.6113	-0.11857
20	-0.60001	-0.2075	-0.43982	-0.52555	-0.34429	-0.13607	0.07376	-0.31236	-0.2580	0.40098

TABLE 2. STANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING VARIABLES FOR EACH NEIGHBORHOOD BY CLUSTER

CLUSTER NUMBER=4

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
22	-0.65154	-0.2855	-0.41647	-0.53037	0.08184	-0.45457	0.39415	-0.31236	0.06936	-0.67257
23	0.37710	-0.6399	0.03799	-0.43398	0.34435	0.66016	0.18987	0.17106	0.07579	-0.64961
32	-0.83555	-1.1203	-0.49397	-0.45171	0.10685	-0.41254	0.39402	-0.31236	-0.32834	-0.44580
33	-0.44360	-0.3066	-0.51407	-0.28852	0.10090	-0.32186	-0.00479	0.17106	-0.21811	-0.13867
35	-0.31479	-0.3456	-0.23006	-0.50627	-0.40322	-0.41254	-0.17665	-0.55407	-0.11925	-0.37404
36	-0.76931	-0.3546	-0.54356	-0.49510	-0.65098	-0.78191	0.43831	-0.55407	0.07000	-0.43719
37	.	0.8315	.	0.01000	-0.45312	0.41023	0.43831	0.17106	-0.78362	0.29764
46	0.64024	0.0538	0.08774	-0.36595	-0.98666	-0.71334	0.42592	-0.55407	-0.35397	-0.10135
49	-0.11790	-0.2405	-0.19189	-0.19357	-0.28494	0.49428	0.36186	0.17106	-0.22423	-0.46016
53	-0.30559	0.1228	-0.35019	-0.52745	-0.07301	-0.11838	0.39850	-0.55407	-0.10756	0.55025
54	-0.08661	-0.7059	-0.12146	-0.47273	0.18083	-0.61824	0.49353	-0.55407	-0.25736	-0.74146
56	-0.54297	-0.0243	-0.31637	-0.53037	-0.16207	-0.50544	0.42592	-0.55407	-0.11764	-0.57785
57	.	0.1859	.	-0.50081	-0.58032	-0.78191	0.48799	-0.55407	-0.13995	0.32635
62	-0.75642	0.7384	-0.66411	-0.00385	0.25919	-0.59833	1.18281	-0.55407	-0.25264	0.07949
65	0.07716	0.6543	0.66211	-0.22554	1.23860	0.69333	-0.70541	-0.31236	-0.13855	-0.97397
67	2.37733	2.1467	5.02261	-0.43800	-0.68396	4.08395	-0.55595	-0.31236	0.64665	-0.68692

CLUSTER NUMBER=5

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
60	-0.51169	0.306005	-0.41229	0.28250	0.5312	0.20011	-2.9562	-0.07065	-0.87808	1.99696
61	-0.22646	0.543224	-0.26549	2.32392	0.0415	-0.43245	-3.9458	-0.31236	-0.96354	-0.97397
64	0.14156	0.603279	-0.06387	-0.11470	1.1298	-0.46563	-2.9698	-0.31236	-0.56434	0.82007
66	0.21149	0.516199	0.11985	-0.53037	-1.6996	-0.78191	-3.5775	-0.55407	-0.10735	-0.97397

CLUSTER NUMBER=6

NGHBD	POP6080	POP7080	DEN6080	PERBL70	FMHD70	TARGET70	LNDUSE70	TAV70	HOUSE70	RESVAC70
1	-0.2633	0.4922	-0.3660	-0.11816	-0.67838	1.85450	-0.1164	3.55500	-2.1834	1.48601
2	-0.9864	-0.2375	-0.6277	3.28900	1.94359	1.06048	0.1151	2.34645	-1.0354	2.35576
3	.	0.6033	.	2.07451	1.72831	4.19454	0.4383	2.34645	-0.9569	2.48206
7	-2.6739	-1.1533	-1.2342	1.92511	2.20813	1.15338	-0.4646	2.10474	-1.7145	3.06477
8	-0.1841	-0.8711	-0.2467	1.50823	1.66872	1.04500	-0.2726	2.58816	-1.3339	0.84877
9	-0.6092	-0.2345	-0.3631	3.87456	2.41588	0.19127	-0.1860	0.41277	-1.0386	1.37981
10	-0.7251	-0.3126	-0.6106	0.64737	0.96654	2.58438	-0.7005	3.55500	-1.3302	0.93489
11	-0.7803	0.1829	-0.5953	2.22693	3.25185	0.46331	-2.3294	0.65448	-1.0862	2.35002
12	-1.6839	-0.9702	-0.6236	1.99470	1.96555	-0.14934	-0.5397	0.41277	-1.4037	1.88501

TABLE 3. CLUSTER MEANS FOR UNSTANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING VARIABLES

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	5	791.80000000	437.11234254	288.00000000	1392.00000000	195.48258234
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	9	173.11111111	633.09940855	-593.00000000	1258.00000000	211.03313618
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	5	69.32441643	73.96503470	-41.50000000	125.50000000	33.07816911
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	9	0.49813628	0.86415046	0.00000000	2.75000000	0.28805015
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	9	3.62011745	1.36584160	1.49999986	5.66666553	0.45528053
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	9	0.16544444	0.20949291	0.00000000	0.50000000	0.06983097
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	9	0.30789997	0.10189863	0.20569998	0.56359994	0.03396621
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	9	0.00000000	0.00000000	0.00000000	0.00000000	0.00000000
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	9	1.43679967	0.80350036	0.61629999	2.98419952	0.26783345
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	9	0.01330000	0.01282585	0.00000000	0.03590000	0.00427528
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	11	-148.00000000	280.07034831	-440.00000000	347.00000000	84.44438729
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	11	-264.36363636	138.10595406	-503.00000000	-63.00000000	41.64051190
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	11	-7.24657808	13.67864468	-17.26992754	29.11904762	4.12426655
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	11	0.39316840	0.52708549	0.00000000	1.59259259	0.15892225
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	11	5.26015229	0.91673182	3.53846073	6.54999942	0.27640504
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	11	0.11290906	0.10238597	0.00000000	0.27299994	0.03087053
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	11	0.31489088	0.12488065	0.23639995	0.68460000	0.03765293
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	11	0.09090909	0.30151134	0.00000000	1.00000000	0.09090909
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	11	0.70142716	0.54078790	0.16669995	1.88089943	0.16305369
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	11	0.01092727	0.00633089	0.00350000	0.02490000	0.00190884
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	5	644.40000000	228.75816925	344.00000000	866.00000000	102.30376337
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	5	-510.40000000	211.30972528	-783.00000000	-196.00000000	94.50058201
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	5	22.50959549	20.20030964	3.12380952	53.47222222	9.03385311
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	5	0.50507011	0.24202579	0.18750000	0.81818182	0.10823722
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	5	5.03128366	1.17856728	3.87499932	6.34782555	0.52707131
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	5	0.24199998	0.14711221	0.13000000	0.50000000	0.06579058
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	5	0.04923999	0.34401410	-0.49829996	0.28109998	0.15384778
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	5	0.00000000	0.00000000	0.00000000	0.00000000	0.00000000
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	5	0.56047998	0.38225548	0.00990000	0.92589998	0.17094985
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	5	0.00914000	0.00635083	0.00000000	0.01770000	0.00284018
	CLUSTER NUMBER=4						
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	25	-286.48000000	374.37326739	-669.00000000	1159.00000000	74.87465348
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	27	-224.29629630	213.57088804	-568.00000000	520.00000000	41.10173657
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	25	-2.82050073	51.57380133	-34.85714286	235.30000000	10.31476027
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	27	5.05706325	7.62349556	0.00000000	34.55000000	1.46714241
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	27	8.12535250	2.74287465	3.27586141	13.49999747	0.52786647
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	27	0.35207404	0.43240469	0.00000000	2.19999981	0.08321632
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	27	0.15276665	0.27665811	-0.58669996	0.84599996	0.05324288
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	27	1.81481481	2.21944271	0.00000000	8.00000000	0.42713195
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	27	-0.24892215	0.42119216	-1.12369919	0.66299999	0.08105847
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	27	0.03198888	0.02099319	0.00000000	0.07909995	0.00404014

TABLE 3. CLUSTER MEANS FOR UNSTANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING VARIABLES
CLUSTER NUMBER=5

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	4	-185.25000000	183.16363358	-411.00000000	-18.00000000	91.58181679
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	4	-31.00000000	43.07358046	-93.00000000	6.00000000	21.53679023
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	4	-5.87970146	10.83188231	-17.84259259	6.94285714	5.41594115
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	4	18.41666667	22.85400524	0.00000000	51.50000000	11.42700262
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	4	7.81249814	5.59529075	0.00000000	12.99999714	2.79764538
TARGET70	TARCET DENSITY IN 1970	4	0.18624997	0.18600424	0.00000000	0.44399995	0.09300212
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	4	-2.60264945	0.36803518	-3.04539967	-2.29449940	0.18401759
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	4	1.00000000	0.81649658	0.00000000	2.00000000	0.40824829
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	4	-0.52607498	0.36130506	-0.83870000	-0.04020000	0.18065253
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	4	0.04149999	0.05075921	0.00000000	0.10349995	0.02537961
----------	----------	CLUSTER NUMBER=6	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	8	-670.00000000	447.82011695	-1586.00000000	-233.00000000	158.32832072
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	9	-287.44444444	210.09825744	-579.00000000	6.00000000	70.03275248
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	8	-25.81261263	14.05233451	-56.12500000	-10.13043478	4.96825051
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	9	44.49730676	21.87521221	7.43750000	79.47826087	7.29173740
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	9	15.70680451	5.00733240	4.69230734	22.74999663	1.66911080
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	9	0.97633318	0.60775830	0.28599995	2.25000000	0.20258610
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	9	-0.39339988	0.59527436	-1.81889915	0.28109998	0.19842479
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	9	10.55555556	5.12618550	4.00000000	17.00000000	1.70872850
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	9	-1.19216638	0.36874152	-1.97639942	-0.83249998	0.12291384
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	9	0.09891108	0.02634096	0.06349999	0.14069998	0.00878032

TABLE 4. CLUSTER MEANS FOR STANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING VARIABLES

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	5	1.70163517	0.80434819	0.77457231	2.80608759	0.35971545
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	9	1.10507458	1.90104977	-1.19537829	4.36274271	0.63368326
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	5	1.45916043	1.58800888	-0.92020921	2.66523471	0.71017916
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	9	-0.50276178	0.04789385	-0.53037001	-0.37795664	0.01596462
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	9	-0.91173672	0.29727323	-1.37317692	-0.46630881	0.09909108
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	9	-0.41598352	0.46334671	-0.78190587	0.32397097	0.15444890
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	9	0.47362662	0.13429674	0.33893270	0.81062501	0.04476558
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	9	-0.55407350	0.00000000	-0.55407350	-0.55407350	0.00000000
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	9	1.47635915	0.86155130	0.59658038	3.13555487	0.28718377
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	9	-0.59219767	0.36816085	-0.97396870	0.05652609	0.12272028
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	11	-0.02772902	0.51536883	-0.56505009	0.88314061	0.15538955
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	11	-0.20855999	0.41469995	-0.92512929	0.39608801	0.12503674
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	11	-0.18479769	0.29367673	-0.39999624	0.59596226	0.08854686
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	11	-0.50857942	0.02921268	-0.53037001	-0.44210369	0.00880795
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	11	-0.55478577	0.19952521	-0.92950918	-0.27405261	0.06015911
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	11	-0.53217884	0.22645256	-0.78190587	-0.17809724	0.06827801
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	11	0.48284026	0.16458578	0.37939355	0.97009638	0.04962448
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	11	-0.53209987	0.07287828	-0.55407350	-0.31236359	0.02197363
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	11	0.68785778	0.57985851	0.11449783	1.95254404	0.17483392
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	11	-0.66030584	0.18172564	-0.87350263	-0.25922443	0.05479234
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	5	1.43039844	0.42094721	0.87762018	1.83817360	0.18825331
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	5	-0.94734977	0.63451379	-1.76590395	-0.00327995	0.28376319
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	5	0.45405915	0.43369507	0.03785167	1.11881820	0.19395433
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	5	-0.50237749	0.01341381	-0.51997819	-0.48502389	0.00599884
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	5	-0.60459866	0.25651328	-0.85626209	-0.31805543	0.11471623
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	5	-0.24666152	0.32537597	-0.49437791	0.32397097	0.14551256
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	5	0.13272711	0.45339152	-0.58890020	0.43830571	0.20276285
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	5	-0.55407350	0.00000000	-0.55407350	-0.55407350	0.00000000
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	5	0.53672751	0.40987250	-0.05363053	0.92854821	0.18330055
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	5	-0.71160877	0.18229787	-0.97396870	-0.46589747	0.08152608
	CLUSTER NUMBER=4						
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	25	-0.28255169	0.68889947	-0.98644230	2.37733481	0.13777989
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	27	-0.08824712	0.64130353	-1.12030912	2.14670095	0.12341892
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	25	-0.08977103	1.10727528	-0.77758890	5.02261041	0.22145506
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	27	-0.25009218	0.42251732	-0.53037001	1.38449613	0.08131350
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	27	0.06882046	0.59698227	-0.98666350	1.23860332	0.11488929
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	27	-0.00320481	0.95637267	-0.78190587	4.08395182	0.18405401
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	27	0.26916950	0.36462006	-0.70540651	1.18281258	0.07017116
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	27	-0.11541476	0.53646131	-0.55407350	1.37960583	0.10324203
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	27	-0.33115194	0.45162226	-1.26912949	0.64665434	0.08691474
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	27	-0.05574078	0.60260087	-0.97396870	1.29656324	0.11597059

TABLE 4. CLUSTER MEANS FOR STANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PRODUCING VARIABLES
CLUSTER NUMBER=5

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	4	-0.09627426	0.33704685	-0.51168601	0.21148927	0.16852342
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	4	0.49217655	0.12933991	0.30600502	0.60327891	0.06466995
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	4	-0.15545123	0.23255752	-0.41229120	0.11984557	0.11627876
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	4	0.49033770	1.26663852	-0.53037001	2.32391671	0.63331926
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	4	0.00072821	1.21780606	-1.69964948	1.12977905	0.60890303
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	4	-0.36996681	0.41139555	-0.78190587	0.20011264	0.20569778
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	4	-3.36231621	0.48504997	-3.94583646	-2.95619152	0.24252499
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	4	-0.31236359	0.19735532	-0.55407350	-0.07065367	0.09867766
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	4	-0.62832839	0.38740847	-0.96353980	-0.10735013	0.19370423
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	4	0.21727153	1.45702259	-0.97396870	1.99695518	0.72851129
----------	----------	CLUSTER NUMBER=6	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
POP6080	POP TREND 1960-80	8	-0.98828244	0.82405200	-2.67385127	-0.18414097	0.29134638
POP7080	POP TREND 1970-80	9	-0.27786627	0.63087603	-1.15333956	0.60327891	0.21029201
DEN6080	POP DENSITY TREND 60-80	8	-0.58340533	0.30169974	-1.23420392	-0.24671330	0.10666697
PERBL70	AVERAGE % BLACK IN 1970	9	1.93580614	1.21239083	-0.11816113	3.87455706	0.40413028
FMHD70	AVERAGE % FEMALE HEADS IN 1970	9	1.71891133	1.08983787	-0.67837631	3.25185080	0.36327929
TARGET70	TARGET DENSITY IN 1970	9	1.37750264	1.34421165	-0.14934442	4.19453992	0.44807055
LNDUSE70	AVERAGE LAND USE SCORE IN 1970	9	-0.45064772	0.78453861	-2.32937676	0.43830571	0.26151287
TAV70	NUMBER OF TAVERNS IN 1970	9	1.99730896	1.23904987	0.41276617	3.55499509	0.41301662
HOUSE70	AVERAGE HOUSING SCORE IN 1970	9	-1.34254327	0.39538219	-2.18343523	-0.95689185	0.13179406
RESVAC70	AVERAGE % RES VACANCY IN 1970	9	1.86523357	0.75610659	0.84877257	3.06476699	0.25203553

TABLE 5. UNSTANDARDIZED BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES BY CLUSTER

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
4	0.81667	1.86333	0.200000	0.00000	3.7736	2
21	0.78333	1.68333	0.153333	3.03030	4.4118	5
22	0.96333	2.42000	0.193333	1.78571	3.8462	3
26	0.75000	2.01000	0.255000	6.89655	3.3333	3
27	0.63667	1.29333	0.153333	0.00000	5.8824	2
28	0.93000	2.19667	0.203333	8.43373	3.0303	9
32	1.11667	2.78000	0.273333	5.12821	8.6207	16
35	1.17333	2.78667	0.303333	4.76190	13.8889	13
39	1.03000	2.55500	0.275000	6.89655	1.5625	5
42	0.80333	1.96667	0.200000	4.25532	7.0175	6
51	0.61000	1.35333	0.116667	2.43902	3.0303	2
52	0.68333	1.56667	0.180000	0.00000	0.0000	0
53	1.21667	2.93667	0.253333	8.45070	2.5974	8
57	0.90000	2.40333	0.260000	1.51515	6.5217	4

CLUSTER NUMBER=2

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
14	1.23667	3.04000	0.276667	7.7778	4.6729	12
15	1.62000	3.91333	0.440000	7.8125	2.0000	6
20	1.68333	4.49667	0.476667	12.5000	1.4085	8
23	1.50000	3.66000	0.376667	20.9677	6.9444	18
24	1.46000	3.42500	0.350000	21.0526	11.9048	9
31	1.38333	3.46333	0.360000	6.0606	7.4074	12
33	1.19667	3.07667	0.346667	2.8169	9.8039	7
36	1.22333	2.95333	0.336667	6.7961	3.2258	10
38	1.50333	3.33667	0.410000	19.1781	1.2821	15
41	1.34500	3.43500	0.245000	7.4074	8.0000	4
47	1.58333	3.93667	0.526667	13.2353	18.0328	20
54	1.65667	4.14667	0.410000	12.0000	11.6667	16
55	1.14667	3.10333	0.273333	10.7143	10.3448	12

CLUSTER NUMBER=3

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
25	0.77667	2.16000	0.283333	30.0000	11.9403	29
29	1.27000	3.06667	0.283333	12.8205	16.2791	24
34	1.05000	2.85000	0.316667	28.0702	7.8947	19
56	1.14667	2.89000	0.296667	26.2500	1.0638	22

CLUSTER NUMBER=4

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
5	1.49667	3.98333	0.496667	26.6667	16.4179	31
10	2.07667	5.38000	0.506667	42.8571	13.7931	32
16	2.14667	5.65000	0.686667	22.7273	27.1429	34
17	2.10000	5.62000	0.613333	20.6349	19.6078	23
18	1.75333	4.74333	0.586667	56.3636	10.7143	37
19	1.93333	5.32333	0.613333	26.0870	12.1622	27
30	1.91000	4.64000	0.535000	23.3333	0.0000	7
37	2.27333	6.35000	0.793333	30.4348	8.6957	16
46	2.83333	6.74667	0.783333	31.2500	14.2857	34
49	2.43667	6.71667	0.923333	16.0000	26.2295	28
50	1.56000	4.13000	0.470000	24.2424	5.6338	20

CLUSTER NUMBER=5

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
3	1.88000	5.71667	0.77	68.0000	73.6842	31
6	3.17000	8.70667	1.07	62.0690	34.2105	31
9	3.04667	9.25000	1.01	33.3333	45.0980	49

CLUSTER NUMBER=6

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
2	3.57000	10.0700	1.17667	37.2881	49.3827	84
7	4.98667	20.7733	1.38000	46.9880	65.7143	62
8	3.16333	9.5233	1.22000	48.2759	47.8873	76
11	3.69333	11.6400	1.50333	66.6667	92.0000	55
12	3.82333	11.1100	2.00333	55.0725	63.6364	73
13	4.39000	12.9433	1.86000	54.9451	49.2537	83

TABLE 6. STANDARDIZED BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES BY CLUSTER

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
4	-0.9211	-0.81891	-0.80419	-1.1216	-0.63477	-0.9517
21	-0.9539	-0.86878	-0.91153	-0.9629	-0.60459	-0.8133
22	-0.7769	-0.66470	-0.81952	-1.0281	-0.63134	-0.9055
26	-0.9866	-0.77828	-0.67767	-0.7604	-0.65559	-0.9055
27	-1.0980	-0.97683	-0.91153	-1.1216	-0.53503	-0.9517
28	-0.8097	-0.72657	-0.79652	-0.6799	-0.66992	-0.6287
32	-0.6262	-0.56496	-0.63550	-0.8530	-0.40552	-0.3058
35	-0.5705	-0.56312	-0.56649	-0.8722	-0.15636	-0.4442
39	-0.7114	-0.62730	-0.63167	-0.7604	-0.73934	-0.8133
42	-0.9342	-0.79029	-0.80419	-0.8987	-0.48134	-0.7671
51	-1.1242	-0.96020	-0.99587	-0.9939	-0.66992	-0.9517
52	-1.0522	-0.90110	-0.85019	-1.1216	-0.81324	-1.0440
53	-0.5279	-0.52156	-0.68151	-0.6790	-0.69040	-0.6749
57	-0.8392	-0.66932	-0.66617	-1.0422	-0.50479	-0.8594

CLUSTER NUMBER=2

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
14	-0.50823	-0.49294	-0.62783	-0.71428	-0.59224	-0.49031
15	-0.13142	-0.25099	-0.25213	-0.71246	-0.71865	-0.76713
20	-0.06916	-0.08939	-0.16778	-0.46699	-0.74663	-0.67486
23	-0.24938	-0.32117	-0.39781	-0.02355	-0.48480	-0.21349
24	-0.28870	-0.38628	-0.45915	-0.01910	-0.25020	-0.62872
31	-0.36406	-0.37566	-0.43615	-0.80420	-0.46291	-0.49031
33	-0.54755	-0.48278	-0.46682	-0.97407	-0.34956	-0.72100
36	-0.52134	-0.51694	-0.48982	-0.76569	-0.66068	-0.58259
38	-0.24610	-0.41075	-0.32113	-0.11727	-0.75261	-0.35190
41	-0.40174	-0.38351	-0.70068	-0.73367	-0.43488	-0.85940
47	-0.16746	-0.24453	-0.05277	-0.42848	0.03963	-0.12122
54	-0.09538	-0.18635	-0.32113	-0.49317	-0.26146	-0.30577
55	-0.59670	-0.47539	-0.63550	-0.56050	-0.32398	-0.49031

CLUSTER NUMBER=3

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
25	-0.96041	-0.73673	-0.61250	0.44945	-0.24852	0.29401
29	-0.47547	-0.48555	-0.61250	-0.45020	-0.04331	0.06332
34	-0.69172	-0.54557	-0.53582	0.34839	-0.43986	-0.16736
56	-0.59670	-0.53449	-0.58183	0.25307	-0.76293	-0.02895

CLUSTER NUMBER=4

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
5	-0.25265	-0.23160	-0.12178	0.27489	-0.03675	0.38628
10	0.31748	0.15533	-0.09878	1.12275	-0.16089	0.43242
16	0.38629	0.23013	0.31527	0.06859	0.47050	0.52469
17	0.34042	0.22182	0.14658	-0.04098	0.11412	0.01719
18	-0.00035	-0.02105	0.08524	1.83006	-0.30650	0.66310
19	0.17659	0.13963	0.14658	0.24453	-0.23803	0.20173
30	0.15365	-0.04968	-0.03360	0.10033	-0.81324	-0.72100
37	0.51080	0.42406	0.56063	0.47222	-0.40198	-0.30577
46	1.06128	0.53395	0.53763	0.51491	-0.13759	0.52469
49	0.67136	0.52564	0.85966	-0.28370	0.42730	0.24787
50	-0.19040	-0.19097	-0.18312	0.14794	-0.54679	-0.12122

CLUSTER NUMBER=5

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
3	0.12416	0.24860	0.50696	2.43943	2.67171	0.38628
6	1.39222	1.07694	1.19703	2.12883	0.80477	0.38628
9	1.27098	1.22746	1.05902	0.62401	1.31970	1.21674

CLUSTER NUMBER=6

NGHBD	CHTCONAV	CHTSERAV	CHTREFAV	JFELH	AFELH	TFELTOTH
2	1.78541	1.45463	1.44239	0.83111	1.52235	2.83151
7	3.17799	4.41985	1.91011	1.33907	2.29476	1.81651
8	1.38566	1.30319	1.54207	1.40652	1.45162	2.46242
11	1.90665	1.88958	2.19381	2.36961	3.53796	1.49355
12	2.03444	1.74275	3.34394	1.76244	2.19648	2.32401
13	2.59147	2.25065	3.01424	1.75577	1.51625	2.78538

TABLE 7. CLUSTER MEANS FOR UNSTANDARDIZED BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	14	0.88666667	0.19494466	0.61000000	1.21666667	0.05210115
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	14	2.12964286	0.53927071	1.29333333	2.93666667	0.14412616
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	14	0.21571429	0.05508623	0.11666667	0.30333333	0.01472242
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	14	3.82808321	3.04082537	0.00000000	8.45070423	0.81269476
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	14	4.82261142	3.45468992	0.00000000	13.88888889	0.92330472
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	14	5.57142857	4.53557368	0.00000000	16.00000000	1.21218305
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	13	1.42602564	0.18492183	1.14666667	1.68333333	0.05128809
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	13	3.53743590	0.47128352	2.95333333	4.49666667	0.13071053
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	13	0.37141026	0.08158683	0.24500000	0.52666667	0.02262811
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	13	11.40918036	5.88732293	2.81690141	21.05263158	1.63284959
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	13	7.43800170	4.94892314	1.28205128	18.03278689	1.37258432
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	13	11.46153846	4.78914371	4.00000000	20.00000000	1.32826948
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	4	1.06083333	0.20975073	0.77666667	1.27000000	0.10487537
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	4	2.74166667	0.39904052	2.16000000	3.06666667	0.19952026
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	4	0.29500000	0.01575272	0.28333333	0.31666667	0.00787636
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	4	24.28517206	7.79496567	12.82051282	30.00000000	3.89748283
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	4	9.29448373	6.46755321	1.06382979	16.27906977	3.23377661
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	4	23.50000000	4.20317340	19.00000000	29.00000000	2.10158670
	CLUSTER NUMBER=4						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	11	2.04727273	0.38639018	1.49666667	2.83333333	0.11650102
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	11	5.38939394	0.95886486	3.98333333	6.74666667	0.28910863
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	11	0.63712121	0.14454544	0.47000000	0.92333333	0.04358209
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	11	29.14519418	11.37838202	16.00000000	56.36363636	3.43071126
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	11	14.06207632	8.17297215	0.00000000	27.14285714	2.46424382
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	11	26.27272727	9.05638901	7.00000000	37.00000000	2.73060403
	CLUSTER NUMBER=5						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	3	2.69888889	0.71185465	1.88000000	3.17000000	0.41098947
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	3	7.89111111	1.90261905	5.71666667	9.25000000	1.09847762
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	3	0.95000000	0.15874508	0.77000000	1.07000000	0.09165151
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	3	54.46743295	18.54135695	33.33333333	68.00000000	10.70485743
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	3	50.99759202	20.38740981	34.21052632	73.68421053	11.77067654
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	3	37.00000000	10.39230485	31.00000000	49.00000000	6.00000000
	CLUSTER NUMBER=6						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	6	3.93777778	0.65000741	3.16333333	4.98666667	0.26536441
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	6	12.67666667	4.14474285	9.52333333	20.77333333	1.69208418
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	6	1.52388889	0.33966923	1.17666667	2.00333333	0.13866938
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	6	51.53935581	9.87299468	37.28813559	66.66666667	4.03063320
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	6	61.31240345	16.93793207	47.88732394	92.00000000	6.91488181
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	6	72.16666667	11.58303357	55.00000000	84.00000000	4.72875365

TABLE 8. CLUSTER MEANS FOR STANDARDIZED BY-RESIDENCE OFFENSE RATES

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	14	-0.85227921	0.19162891	-1.12424016	-0.52789206	0.05121498
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	14	-0.74513741	0.14939775	-0.97682580	-0.52156224	0.03992823
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	14	-0.76804021	0.12671237	-0.99587495	-0.56649409	0.03386530
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	14	-0.92111605	0.15924148	-1.12158453	-0.67903934	0.04255907
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	14	-0.58515536	0.16339213	-0.81324436	-0.15635901	0.04366838
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	14	-0.78690441	0.20925529	-1.04395037	-0.30576709	0.05592583
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	13	-0.32209400	0.18177656	-0.59670146	-0.06916276	0.05041575
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	13	-0.35512714	0.13056281	-0.51694496	-0.08938506	0.03621161
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	13	-0.40989983	0.18767048	-0.70067561	-0.05277055	0.05205043
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	13	-0.52411032	0.30830643	-0.97406947	-0.01910354	0.08550882
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	13	-0.46145853	0.23406301	-0.75260879	0.03962973	0.06491740
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	13	-0.51515562	0.22095411	-0.85940455	-0.12122127	0.06128164
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	4	-0.68107488	0.20618316	-0.96040826	-0.47546586	0.10309158
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	4	-0.57558439	0.11054885	-0.73672737	-0.48554747	0.05527442
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	4	-0.58566287	0.03623526	-0.61249918	-0.53582402	0.01811763
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	4	0.15017764	0.40820557	-0.45020188	0.44945088	0.20410278
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	4	-0.37365483	0.30588775	-0.76292974	-0.04331362	0.15294387
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	4	0.04025632	0.19391952	-0.16735773	0.29400682	0.09695976
	CLUSTER NUMBER=4						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	11	0.28858652	0.37981821	-0.25265448	1.06127731	0.11451950
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	11	0.15793311	0.26564071	-0.23159721	0.53394741	0.08009369
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	11	0.20130303	0.33249132	-0.18311831	0.85966380	0.10024990
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	11	0.40468654	0.59586137	-0.28369898	1.83005775	0.17965896
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	11	-0.14816798	0.38654681	-0.81324436	0.47049730	0.11654825
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	11	0.16818012	0.41782968	-0.72099518	0.66309846	0.12598039
	CLUSTER NUMBER=5						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	3	0.92911958	0.69974697	0.12415888	1.39221774	0.40399910
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	3	0.85100046	0.52709521	0.24859965	1.22746249	0.30431856
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	3	0.92100392	0.36515410	0.50695808	1.19703448	0.21082182
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	3	1.73075766	0.97097094	0.62401037	2.43942906	0.56059033
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	3	1.59872476	0.96423774	0.80476798	2.67170530	0.55670292
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	3	0.66309846	0.47946410	0.38627973	1.21673591	0.27681873
	CLUSTER NUMBER=6						
CHTCONAV	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER COHORT MEMBER	6	2.14693667	0.63895167	1.38566446	3.17798539	0.26085093
CHTSERAV	AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS PER COHORT MEMBER	6	2.17677475	1.14824568	1.30318584	4.41984818	0.46876934
CHTREFAV	AVERAGE REFERRALS PER COHORT MEMBER	6	2.24109450	0.78132572	1.44239497	3.34393881	0.31897489
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	6	1.57742056	0.51702747	0.83111485	2.36960526	0.21107558
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	6	2.08657146	0.80109212	1.45162232	3.53796421	0.32704449
TFELTOTH	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--BYRES	6	2.28556378	0.53440010	1.49355464	2.83731183	0.21816793

TABLE 9. UNSTANDARDIZED IN-AREA OFFENSE RATES BY CLUSTER

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=1 ----------

NGHBD	RAVGMID	RAVGCHT	JFELC	AFELC	TFELTOTC
3	3.05000	0.330000	0.0000	0.0000	0
15	3.08667	0.776667	7.8125	6.0000	8
21	2.25333	0.703333	7.5758	10.2941	12
22	1.46333	0.543333	10.7143	1.9231	7
24	2.95000	0.620000	5.2632	2.3810	2
26	2.80000	0.745000	10.3448	10.0000	6
27	0.93667	0.310000	6.5217	0.0000	3
28	1.88000	0.513333	14.4578	3.0303	14
31	2.21000	0.486667	7.0707	1.2346	8
36	2.34000	0.596667	5.8252	3.2258	9
37	5.64000	0.960000	2.1739	0.0000	1
38	2.27333	0.633333	10.9589	0.0000	8
39	1.76000	0.405000	3.4483	1.5625	3
41	1.32000	0.580000	3.7037	0.0000	0
51	1.06000	0.310000	4.8780	6.0606	4
52	1.65333	0.426667	0.0000	1.9608	1
53	2.85000	0.756667	5.6338	2.5974	6
54	3.07000	0.933333	8.0000	6.6667	10
55	3.72000	0.820000	5.3571	1.7241	4
57	0.95000	0.110000	1.5152	0.0000	0

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=2 ----------

NGHBD	RAVGMID	RAVGCHT	JFELC	AFELC	TFELTOTC
4	4.02667	1.70000	25.5319	22.6415	24
5	4.52333	1.77333	17.3333	28.3582	32
14	2.81333	0.72333	12.2222	2.8037	14
16	5.49333	1.75667	19.6970	27.1429	32
19	5.30333	1.47000	33.3333	2.7027	25
20	3.53333	1.10333	25.0000	4.2254	17
23	5.59000	1.46333	32.2581	16.6667	32
25	4.09000	1.12500	17.1429	7.4627	17
29	5.29000	1.45333	20.5128	24.4186	37
32	3.37000	0.98000	8.5470	9.4828	21
33	3.67333	1.11333	14.0845	7.8431	14
34	2.80333	0.66667	17.5439	5.2632	12
35	2.72000	0.88667	19.0476	5.5556	16
42	4.22000	1.04000	23.4043	12.2807	18
46	6.09000	1.31000	16.2500	7.9365	18
47	3.82667	0.91333	25.0000	13.1148	25
49	5.04333	1.32000	17.3333	22.9508	27
50	6.47500	1.53000	9.0909	7.0423	11
56	2.77333	0.77333	13.7500	6.3830	17

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=3 ----------

NGHBD	RAVGMID	RAVGCHT	JFELC	AFELC	TFELTOTC
2	6.24000	1.87333	22.8814	19.7531	43
8	6.22000	2.15333	28.7356	23.9437	42
9	6.50000	2.04333	28.2051	35.2941	40
13	6.24000	2.65000	26.3736	19.4030	37
17	9.22000	2.66667	26.9841	17.6471	26
30	6.82667	2.91333	33.3333	31.4286	21

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=4 ----------

NGHBD	RAVGMID	RAVGCHT	JFELC	AFELC	TFELTOTC
6	7.5067	4.44000	68.9655	26.3158	30
7	8.1367	3.71000	50.6024	48.5714	59
10	10.1100	3.52667	41.0714	39.6552	46
11	9.9500	2.98667	39.5833	52.0000	32
12	8.6167	3.64667	47.8261	38.1818	54
18	8.4200	3.00333	52.7273	32.1429	47

TABLE 10. STANDARDIZED IN-AREA OFFENSE RATES BY CLUSTER

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=1 ----------

NGHBD	RAVGMID	RAVGCHT	JFELC	AFELC	TFELTOTC
3	-0.5425	-1.0162	-1.2438	-0.97327	-1.2659
15	-0.5274	-0.5831	-0.7252	-0.53353	-0.7452
21	-0.8697	-0.6542	-0.7409	-0.21882	-0.4849
22	-1.1942	-0.8093	-0.5326	-0.83233	-0.8103
24	-0.9836	-0.7496	-0.8944	-0.79877	-1.1357
26	-0.6452	-0.6138	-0.5571	-0.24038	-0.8754
27	-1.4105	-1.0356	-0.8109	-0.97327	-1.0707
28	-1.0230	-0.8384	-0.2841	-0.75118	-0.3548
31	-0.8875	-0.8643	-0.7744	-0.88279	-0.7452
36	-0.8341	-0.7576	-0.8571	-0.73685	-0.6802
37	0.5213	-0.4053	-1.0995	-0.97327	-1.2008
38	-0.8615	-0.7221	-0.5164	-0.97327	-0.7452
39	-1.0723	-0.9435	-1.0149	-0.85875	-1.0707
41	-1.2530	-0.7738	-0.9979	-0.97327	-1.2659
51	-1.3598	-1.0356	-0.9200	-0.52909	-1.0056
52	-1.1161	-0.9225	-1.2438	-0.82956	-1.2008
53	-0.6246	-0.6025	-0.8698	-0.78290	-0.8754
54	-0.5343	-0.4312	-0.7128	-0.48467	-0.6151
55	-0.2673	-0.5411	-0.8882	-0.84691	-1.0056
57	-1.4050	-1.2296	-1.1432	-0.97327	-1.2659

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=2 ----------

NGHBD	RAVGMID	RAVGCHT	JFELC	AFELC	TFELTOTC
4	-0.14135	0.31231	0.45099	0.68611	0.29606
5	0.06264	0.38343	-0.09323	1.10508	0.81671
14	-0.63970	-0.63480	-0.43250	-0.76778	-0.35476
16	0.46104	0.36726	0.06367	1.01600	0.81671
19	0.38301	0.08927	0.96884	-0.77519	0.36114
20	-0.34397	-0.26630	0.41568	-0.66359	-0.15951
23	0.50075	0.08281	0.89746	0.24822	0.81671
25	-0.11534	-0.24529	-0.10587	-0.42633	-0.15951
29	0.37753	0.07311	0.11782	0.81635	1.14212
32	-0.41106	-0.38590	-0.67645	-0.27828	0.10081
33	-0.28647	-0.25660	-0.30888	-0.39845	-0.35476
34	-0.64380	-0.68975	-0.07925	-0.58753	-0.48492
35	-0.67803	-0.47641	0.02057	-0.56610	-0.22460
42	-0.06194	-0.32771	0.30975	-0.07325	-0.09443
46	0.70611	-0.06589	-0.16514	-0.39161	-0.09443
47	-0.22350	-0.45055	0.41568	-0.01210	0.36114
49	0.27622	-0.05619	-0.09323	0.70877	0.49130
50	0.86424	0.14746	-0.64035	-0.45715	-0.55000
56	-0.65613	-0.58631	-0.33108	-0.50546	-0.15951

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=3 ----------

NGHBD	RAVGMID	RAVGCHT	JFELC	AFELC	TFELTOTC
2	0.76772	0.48040	0.275045	0.47442	1.53261
8	0.75950	0.75193	0.663646	0.78154	1.46753
9	0.87451	0.64526	0.628431	1.61340	1.33737
13	0.76772	1.23356	0.506858	0.44876	1.14212
17	1.99168	1.24972	0.547383	0.32007	0.42622
30	1.00868	1.48893	0.968836	1.33010	0.10081

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=4 ----------

NGHBD	RAVGMID	RAVGCHT	JFELC	AFELC	TFELTOTC
6	1.28797	2.96939	3.33406	0.95539	0.68655
7	1.54673	2.26148	2.11514	2.58648	2.57392
10	2.35722	2.08370	1.48248	1.93302	1.72786
11	2.29150	1.56004	1.38370	2.83776	0.81671
12	1.74387	2.20007	1.93085	1.82504	2.24851
18	1.66310	1.57620	2.25618	1.38245	1.79294

TABLE 11. CLUSTER MEANS FOR UNSTANDARDIZED IN-AREA OFFENSE RATES

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
	CLUSTER NUMBER=1						
RAVGMID	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 POPULATION	20	2.36333333	1.11494578	0.93666667	5.64000000	0.24930946
RAVGCHT	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 COHORT MEMBERS	20	0.57800000	0.22262167	0.11000000	0.96000000	0.04977972
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	20	6.06274959	3.76446262	0.00000000	14.45783133	0.84175943
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	20	2.93304610	3.22469235	0.00000000	10.29411765	0.72106313
TFELTOTC	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--IN AREA	20	5.30000000	4.15616220	0.00000000	14.00000000	0.92934612
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
RAVGMID	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 POPULATION	19	4.29780702	1.18048772	2.72000000	6.47500000	0.27082246
RAVGCHT	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 COHORT MEMBERS	19	1.21587719	0.34929752	0.66666667	1.77333333	0.08013435
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	19	19.32015830	6.83096937	8.54700855	33.33333333	1.56713185
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	19	12.33026061	8.62981045	2.70270270	28.35820896	1.97981430
TFELTOTC	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--IN AREA	19	21.52631579	7.67657636	11.00000000	37.00000000	1.76112740
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
RAVGMID	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 POPULATION	6	6.87444444	1.17281365	6.22000000	9.22000000	0.47879917
RAVGCHT	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 COHORT MEMBERS	6	2.38333333	0.41494310	1.87333333	2.91333333	0.16939981
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	6	27.75220050	3.42160358	22.88135593	33.33333333	1.39686381
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	6	24.57824689	7.21479600	17.64705882	35.29411765	2.94542813
TFELTOTC	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--IN AREA	6	34.83333333	9.15241316	21.00000000	43.00000000	3.73645703
	CLUSTER NUMBER=4						
RAVGMID	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 POPULATION	6	8.79000000	1.03235007	7.50666667	10.11000000	0.42145515
RAVGCHT	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 COHORT MEMBERS	6	3.55222222	0.53735429	2.98666667	4.44000000	0.21937397
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	6	50.12934141	10.58625158	39.58333333	68.96551724	4.32181911
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	6	39.47784430	9.67729829	26.31578947	52.00000000	3.95074048
TFELTOTC	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--IN AREA	6	44.66666667	11.62181856	30.00000000	59.00000000	4.74458756

TABLE 12. CLUSTER MEANS FOR STANDARDIZED IN-AREA OFFENSE RATES
CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
RAVGMID	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 POPULATION	20	-0.82452191	0.45793510	-1.41048829	0.52128404	0.10239740
RAVGCHT	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 COHORT MEMBERS	20	-0.77573241	0.21588443	-1.22956923	-0.40529294	0.04827323
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	20	-0.84135485	0.24988079	-1.24379333	-0.28409878	0.05587504
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	20	-0.75830556	0.23633402	-0.97326516	-0.21882102	0.05284589
TFELTOTC	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--IN AREA	20	-0.92096980	0.27049008	-1.26590279	-0.35475905	0.06048342
---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=2 ----------							
RAVGMID	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 POPULATION	19	-0.02998696	0.48485475	-0.67803032	0.86423866	0.11123331
RAVGCHT	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 COHORT MEMBERS	19	-0.15715941	0.33872666	-0.68974908	0.38342633	0.07770923
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	19	0.03865700	0.45343205	-0.67645254	0.96883577	0.10402445
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	19	-0.06959442	0.63246896	-0.77518716	1.10507563	0.14509833
TFELTOTC	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--IN AREA	19	0.13506635	0.49960461	-0.55000413	1.14211995	0.11461716
---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=3 ----------							
RAVGMID	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 POPULATION	6	1.02830012	0.48170283	0.75950402	1.99167631	0.19665436
RAVGCHT	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 COHORT MEMBERS	6	0.97496579	0.40238560	0.48040001	1.48892630	0.16427323
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	6	0.59836646	0.22712219	0.27504529	0.96883577	0.09272225
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	6	0.82804652	0.52876417	0.32006765	1.61340046	0.21586707
TFELTOTC	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--IN AREA	6	1.00110961	0.59565457	0.10081282	1.53261013	0.24317496
---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=4 ----------							
RAVGMID	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 POPULATION	6	1.81506495	0.42401105	1.28796902	2.35722075	0.17310179
RAVGCHT	AVERAGE CONTACTS PER 100 COHORT MEMBERS	6	2.10848037	0.52109223	1.56004033	2.96939116	0.21273501
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	6	2.08373586	0.70270345	1.38370373	3.33405999	0.28687748
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	6	1.92002101	0.70923815	0.95538903	2.83775552	0.28954526
TFELTOTC	TOTAL FELONIES--ALL COHORTS--IN AREA	6	1.64107962	0.75636766	0.68654808	2.57391726	0.30878580

TABLE 13. UNSTANDARDIZED JUVENILE OFFENSE RATES BY CLUSTER

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=1 ----------

NGHBD	JFELC	JFELH	JPROP
4	25.5319	0.0000	0.340426
14	12.2222	7.7778	0.477778
20	25.0000	12.5000	0.321429
21	7.5758	3.0303	0.318182
22	10.7143	1.7857	0.339286
25	17.1429	30.0000	0.357143
26	10.3448	6.8966	0.344828
27	6.5217	0.0000	0.347826
28	14.4578	8.4337	0.337349
32	8.5470	5.1282	0.444444
33	14.0845	2.8169	0.422535
35	19.0476	4.7619	0.428571
36	5.8252	6.7961	0.427184
39	3.4483	6.8966	0.344828
41	3.7037	7.4074	0.481481
42	23.4043	4.2553	0.425532
47	25.0000	13.2353	0.382353
51	4.8780	2.4390	0.390244
52	0.0000	0.0000	0.271186
53	5.6338	8.4507	0.366197
55	5.3571	10.7143	0.392857
57	1.5152	1.5152	0.333333

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=2 ----------

NGHBD	JFELC	JFELH	JPROP
2	22.8814	37.2881	0.559322
3	0.0000	68.0000	0.480000
5	17.3333	26.6667	0.453333
8	28.7356	48.2759	0.643678
9	28.2051	33.3333	0.602564
13	26.3736	54.9451	0.615385
15	7.8125	7.8125	0.609375
16	19.6970	22.7273	0.636364
17	26.9841	20.6349	0.539683
19	33.3333	26.0870	0.507246
23	32.2581	20.9677	0.500000
24	5.2632	21.0526	0.421053
29	20.5128	12.8205	0.551282
31	7.0707	6.0606	0.535354
34	17.5439	28.0702	0.456140
37	2.1739	30.4348	0.586957
38	10.9589	19.1781	0.493151
46	16.2500	31.2500	0.600000
49	17.3333	16.0000	0.493333
50	9.0909	24.2424	0.484848
54	8.0000	12.0000	0.546667
56	13.7500	26.2500	0.400000

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=3 ----------

NGHBD	JFELC	JFELH	JPROP
6	68.9655	62.0690	0.655172
7	50.6024	46.9880	0.722892
10	41.0714	42.8571	0.553571
11	39.5833	66.6667	0.625000
12	47.8261	55.0725	0.637681
18	52.7273	56.3636	0.527273
30	33.3333	23.3333	0.600000

TABLE 14. STANDARDIZED JUVENILE OFFENSE RATES BY CLUSTER

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=1 ----------

NGHBD	JFELC	JFELH	JPROP
4	0.4510	-1.1216	-1.2316
14	-0.4325	-0.7143	0.0061
20	0.4157	-0.4670	-1.4028
21	-0.7409	-0.9629	-1.4321
22	-0.5326	-1.0281	-1.2419
25	-0.1059	0.4495	-1.0510
26	-0.5571	-0.7604	-1.1920
27	-0.8109	-1.1216	-1.1649
28	-0.2841	-0.6799	-1.2593
32	-0.6765	-0.8530	-0.2943
33	-0.3089	-0.9741	-0.4917
35	0.0206	-0.8722	-0.4373
36	-0.8571	-0.7657	-0.4498
39	-1.0149	-0.7604	-1.1920
41	-0.9979	-0.7337	0.0394
42	0.3098	-0.8987	-0.4647
47	0.4157	-0.4285	-0.8538
51	-0.9200	-0.9939	-0.7827
52	-1.2438	-1.1216	-1.8555
53	-0.8698	-0.6790	-0.9994
55	-0.8882	-0.5605	-0.7592
57	-1.1432	-1.0422	-1.2955

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=2 ----------

NGHBD	JFELC	JFELH	JPROP
2	0.2750	0.83111	0.74087
3	-1.2438	2.43943	0.02609
5	-0.0932	0.27489	-0.21420
8	0.6636	1.40652	1.50101
9	0.6284	0.62401	1.13053
13	0.5069	1.75577	1.24606
15	-0.7252	-0.71246	1.19190
16	0.0637	0.06859	1.43510
17	0.5474	-0.04098	0.56390
19	0.9688	0.24453	0.27161
23	0.8975	-0.02355	0.20632
24	-0.8944	-0.01910	-0.50509
29	0.1178	-0.45020	0.66842
31	-0.7744	-0.80420	0.52489
34	-0.0793	0.34839	-0.18891
37	-1.0995	0.47222	0.98989
38	-0.5164	-0.11727	0.14460
46	-0.1651	0.51491	1.10742
49	-0.0932	-0.28370	0.14624
50	-0.6403	0.14794	0.06978
54	-0.7128	-0.49317	0.62683
56	-0.3311	0.25307	-0.69479

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=3 ----------

NGHBD	JFELC	JFELH	JPROP
6	3.33406	2.12883	1.60459
7	2.11514	1.33907	2.21481
10	1.48248	1.12275	0.68905
11	1.38370	2.36961	1.33270
12	1.93085	1.76244	1.44697
18	2.25618	1.83006	0.45207
30	0.96884	0.10033	1.10742

TABLE 15. CLUSTER MEANS FOR UNSTANDARDIZED JUVENILE OFFENSE RATES

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	22	11.36164517	8.05947446	0.00000000	25.53191489	1.71828573
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	22	6.58367945	6.50085468	0.00000000	30.00000000	1.38598687
JPROP	PROPORTION OF JUVENILES HAVING CONTACTS	22	0.37704513	0.05481535	0.27118644	0.48148148	0.01168667
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	22	16.88916706	9.82127546	0.00000000	33.33333333	2.09390296
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	22	27.00443906	14.87415495	6.06060606	68.00000000	3.17118049
JPROP	PROPORTION OF JUVENILES HAVING CONTACTS	22	0.53253337	0.06954595	0.40000000	0.64367816	0.01482725
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	7	47.72991169	11.56250160	33.33333333	68.96551724	4.37021482
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	7	50.47859433	14.48714401	23.33333333	66.66666667	5.47562575
JPROP	PROPORTION OF JUVENILES HAVING CONTACTS	7	0.61736990	0.06522279	0.52727273	0.72289157	0.02465190

TABLE 16. CLUSTER MEANS FOR STANDARDIZED JUVENILE OFFENSE RATES

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	22	-0.48962013	0.53497883	-1.24379333	0.45098641	0.11405787
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	22	-0.77681141	0.34043576	-1.12158453	0.44945088	0.07258115
JPROP	PROPORTION OF JUVENILES HAVING CONTACTS	22	-0.90164086	0.49394564	-1.85554219	0.03944369	0.10530956
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	22	-0.12270946	0.65192520	-1.24379333	0.96883577	0.13899092
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	22	0.29257980	0.77892747	-0.80420364	2.43942906	0.16606789
JPROP	PROPORTION OF JUVENILES HAVING CONTACTS	22	0.49947642	0.62668427	-0.69479263	1.50101129	0.13360954
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
JFELC	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS-IN AREA	7	1.92446442	0.76750583	0.96883577	3.33405999	0.29008994
JFELH	AVERAGE JUVENILE FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	7	1.52187077	0.75866054	0.10033190	2.36960526	0.28674673
JPROP	PROPORTION OF JUVENILES HAVING CONTACTS	7	1.26394539	0.58772795	0.45207237	2.21480979	0.22214028

TABLE 17. UNSTANDARDIZED ADULT OFFENSE RATES BY CLUSTER

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=1 ----------

NGHBD	AFELC	AFELH	APROP
25	7.4627	11.9403	0.223881
26	10.0000	3.3333	0.133333
27	0.0000	5.8824	0.205882
28	3.0303	3.0303	0.196970
34	5.2612	7.0547	0.160211
39	1.5625	1.5625	0.125000
41	0.0000	8.0000	0.120000
42	12.2807	7.0175	0.175439
52	1.9608	0.0000	0.176471

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=2 ----------

NGHBD	AFELC	AFELH	APROP
14	2.8037	4.6729	0.271028
15	6.0000	2.0000	0.400000
19	2.7027	12.1622	0.364865
20	4.2254	1.4085	0.323944
21	10.2941	4.4118	0.367647
22	1.9231	3.8462	0.326923
24	2.3810	11.9048	0.285714
31	1.2346	7.4074	0.345679
32	9.4828	8.6207	0.301724
33	7.8431	9.8039	0.313725
35	5.5556	13.8889	0.388889
36	3.2258	3.2258	0.268817
37	0.0000	8.6957	0.391304
38	0.0000	1.2821	0.256410
46	7.9365	14.2857	0.333333
50	7.0423	5.6338	0.338028
51	6.0606	3.0303	0.303030
53	2.5974	2.5974	0.259740
54	6.6667	11.6667	0.316667
55	1.7241	10.3448	0.310345
56	6.3830	1.0638	0.297872
57	0.0000	6.5217	0.304348

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=3 ----------

NGHBD	AFELC	AFELH	APROP
4	22.6415	3.7736	0.245283
5	28.3582	16.4179	0.388060
8	23.9437	47.8873	0.380282
9	35.2941	45.0980	0.392157
10	39.6552	13.7931	0.293103
16	27.1429	27.1429	0.414286
17	17.6471	19.6078	0.431373
18	32.1429	10.7143	0.303571
23	16.6667	6.9444	0.305556
29	24.4186	16.2791	0.360465
30	31.4286	0.0000	0.142857
47	13.1148	18.0328	0.311475
49	22.9508	26.2295	0.327869

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=4 ----------

NGHBD	AFELC	AFELH	APROP
2	19.7531	49.3827	0.518519
3	0.0000	73.6842	0.473684
6	26.3158	34.2105	0.500000
7	48.5714	65.7143	0.485714
11	52.0000	92.0000	0.520000
12	38.1818	63.6364	0.454545
13	19.4030	49.2537	0.537313

TABLE 18. STANDARDIZED ADULT OFFENSE RATES BY CLUSTER

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=1 ----------

NGHBD	AFELC	AFELH	APROP
25	-0.42633	-0.24852	-0.9308
26	-0.24038	-0.65559	-1.7941
27	-0.97327	-0.53503	-1.1024
28	-0.75118	-0.66992	-1.1874
34	-0.58753	-0.43986	-1.3090
39	-0.85875	-0.73934	-1.8739
41	-0.97327	-0.43488	-1.9212
42	-0.07323	-0.48134	-1.3927
52	-0.82956	-0.81324	-1.3828

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=2 ----------

NGHBD	AFELC	AFELH	APROP
14	-0.76778	-0.59224	-0.48134
15	-0.53353	-0.71865	0.74823
19	-0.77519	-0.23803	0.41327
20	-0.66359	-0.74663	0.02314
21	-0.21882	-0.60459	0.43979
22	-0.83233	-0.63134	0.05155
24	-0.79877	-0.25020	-0.34132
31	-0.88279	-0.46291	0.23036
32	-0.27828	-0.40552	-0.18869
33	-0.39845	-0.34956	-0.07427
35	-0.56610	-0.15636	0.64231
36	-0.73685	-0.66068	-0.50241
37	-0.97327	-0.40198	0.66533
38	-0.97327	-0.75261	-0.62070
46	-0.39161	-0.13759	0.11266
50	-0.45715	-0.54679	0.15742
51	-0.52909	-0.66992	-0.17624
53	-0.78290	-0.69040	-0.58895
54	-0.48467	-0.26146	-0.04623
55	-0.84691	-0.32398	-0.10650
56	-0.50546	-0.76293	-0.22541
57	-0.97327	-0.50479	-0.16368

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=3 ----------

NGHBD	AFELC	AFELH	APROP
4	0.68611	-0.63477	-0.7268
5	1.10508	-0.03675	0.6344
8	0.78154	1.45162	0.5602
9	1.61340	1.31970	0.6735
10	1.93302	-0.16089	-0.2709
16	1.01600	0.47050	0.8844
17	0.32007	0.11412	1.0473
18	1.38245	-0.30650	-0.1711
23	0.24822	-0.48480	-0.1522
29	0.81635	-0.04331	0.3713
30	1.33010	-0.81324	-1.7033
47	-0.012100	0.03963	-0.0957
49	0.708774	0.42730	0.0605

---------- CLUSTER NUMBER=4 ----------

NGHBD	AFELC	AFELH	APROP
2	0.47442	1.52235	1.87815
3	-0.97327	2.67171	1.45071
6	0.95539	0.80477	1.70160
7	2.58648	2.29476	1.56540
11	2.83776	3.53796	1.89227
12	1.82504	2.19648	1.26825
13	0.44876	1.51625	2.05733

TABLE 19. CLUSTER MEANS FOR UNSTANDARDIZED ADULT OFFENSE RATES

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	9	4.61779262	4.44073329	0.00000000	12.28070175	1.48024443
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	9	5.40678539	3.74801445	0.00000000	11.94029851	1.24933813
APROP	PROPORTION OF ADULTS HAVING CONTACTS	9	0.17124285	0.03716005	0.12000000	0.22388060	0.01238668
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	22	4.36737815	3.11048530	0.00000000	10.29411765	0.66315769
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	22	6.74885881	4.33200516	1.06382979	14.28571429	0.92358660
APROP	PROPORTION OF ADULTS HAVING CONTACTS	22	0.32136518	0.04201270	0.25641026	0.40000000	0.00895714
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	13	25.80037385	7.61914392	13.11475410	39.65517241	2.11317031
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	13	19.37851979	14.38058597	0.00000000	47.88732394	3.98845693
APROP	PROPORTION OF ADULTS HAVING CONTACTS	13	0.33048742	0.07814124	0.14285714	0.43137255	0.02167248
	CLUSTER NUMBER=4						
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	7	29.17501539	18.35731136	0.00000000	52.00000000	6.93841151
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	7	61.12597623	18.89252508	34.21052632	92.00000000	7.14070329
APROP	PROPORTION OF ADULTS HAVING CONTACTS	7	0.49853941	0.02910616	0.45454545	0.53731343	0.01100110

TABLE 20. CLUSTER MEANS FOR STANDARDIZED ADULT OFFENSE RATES

CLUSTER NUMBER=1

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	9	-0.63483241	0.32545628	-0.97326516	-0.07322654	0.10848543
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	9	-0.55752642	0.17726513	-0.81324436	-0.24851905	0.05908838
APROP	PROPORTION OF ADULTS HAVING CONTACTS	9	-1.43265144	0.35427013	-1.92118180	-0.93082273	0.11809004
	CLUSTER NUMBER=2						
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	22	-0.65318500	0.22796392	-0.97326516	-0.21882102	0.04860207
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	22	-0.49405206	0.20488541	-0.76292974	-0.13759086	0.04368172
APROP	PROPORTION OF ADULTS HAVING CONTACTS	22	-0.00144084	0.40053351	-0.62069702	0.74823432	0.08539403
	CLUSTER NUMBER=3						
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	13	0.91761481	0.55839837	-0.01209979	1.93301719	0.15487184
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	13	0.10327717	0.68014053	-0.81324436	1.45162232	0.18863704
APROP	PROPORTION OF ADULTS HAVING CONTACTS	13	0.08552720	0.74496957	-1.70327028	1.04732857	0.20661738
	CLUSTER NUMBER=4						
AFELC	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--IN AREA	7	1.16493844	1.34538641	-0.97326516	2.83775552	0.50850826
AFELH	AVERAGE ADULT FELONY CONTACTS--BYRES	7	2.07775424	0.89353606	0.80476798	3.53796421	0.33772488
APROP	PROPORTION OF ADULTS HAVING CONTACTS	7	1.68763255	0.27748737	1.26825045	2.05732965	0.10488037

APPENDIX D

WHY THE SERIOUS OFFENDER IS A PROBLEM

The two cases which follow are included to demonstrate the difficulty one encounters when attempting to code and quantify the experiences of serious offenders. Parent and cohort member interaction with the police is presented sequentially with sanctions information appended if it was available. These cases have been selected and organized in their present form as a working device for another analysis; many abbreviations have been used. For example, the individual whose experience occurred on a specific date is shown by a "C" if cohort member, an "M" if cohort member's mother, an "F" if father, an "SF" if stepfather, etc. A "C" followed by an "*" indicates that this incident is a cohort member's felony-level contact. Other symbols which appear in the field between the person identifier and the description of the incident indicate incidents (more than one) which were resolved under a single court decision and sanction. The cohort member's age at contact appears in the first two columns. Each contact has received a date code which appears under the cohort member's contact date to permit calculation of the number of days between incidents.

Some of the abbreviations which may cause trouble in reading these cases are interpreted as follows: Rel., which may be read as counseled and released or other non-referral action by the police; TWK stands for trouble with kids; DL and LP stand for driver's licence and license plates; TOT stands for turned over

to; ATL is the abbreviation for attempt to locate; OVAR stands for operating vehicle after revocation; OAWI is short for operating auto while intoxicated.

2494/5

James Loghan Zumpfhon, III

7/29/56	F	His car repossessed
3/28/57	F	Parking Viol. Pd $7.22
8/27/57	F	Accident--Rel.
8/29/57	F	Accident--Rel.
7/14/57	F	His car abandoned--he moved it
11/13/57	F	Parking warrant. Pd. $9.22
11/14/57	F	Parking viol. Pd. $9.22
11/29/57	M	Equip. warrant--dism.
11/29/57	F	D/L & L/P
1/10/61	F	Questioned; suspect worthless check; rel
4/7/61	M	2 parking warrants
5/14/61	F	Repts prowler
5/17/61	M	2 parking warrants
7/18/61	M	Parking warrant
8/14/61	F	Motorcycle abandoned, he retrieved it.
8/16/61	F	Worthless check--complainant advised to see DA & attorney to press charges
9/7/61	F	Cashed worthless check at A&P Arrested - fraud - dismissed
9/14/61	F	Parking warrant
11/28/61	F	Family trouble - rel.
11/28/61	M	Family trouble - rel.
11/29/61	F	Giving cab driver trouble--rel.
12/16/61	F	Family trouble - rel.
12/16/61	M	Family trouble - rel.
1/18/62	M	Parking warrant
2/9/62	M	Parking warrant
3/21/62	M	Owner of abandoned car - rel.
4/30/62	M	Warrant for meter viols.
5/28/62	M	Parking warrant
6/1/62	M	Parking warrant
6/8/62	F	Trouble over motorcycle - rel.
8/3/62	F	Trouble between him & owner of Frontier club - rel.
12/31/62	F	Burglary (02/F) - 2 yrs probation SDPW
4/23/63	F	His truck repossessed
7/19/63	F	Family trouble - rel.
7/19/63	M	Family trouble - rel.
8/7/63	F	Flew coop with $50 of -----;down payment on house painting job; advised by PD to get job done or return the $50 before ----- pressed charges
9/12/62	M	Parking warrant

	9/28/63	F	Cleaning fish in the street - rel.
	11/5/63	F	Trouble with neighbors - rel.
	11/27/63	F	TWK
	12/27/63	F	Missing on Lake Michigan
	1/6/64	F	Suspected of bad check; it was good
	2/5/64	F	OAWI - PD $100, D/L 1 year
	2/12/64	F	His car repossessed
	9/25/64	F	Probation viol. TOT SDPW
	10/12/64	M	Family trouble - rel.
	11/12/64	F	Report; his wife was screaming, he was causing trouble, he left for the night
	11/25/64	F	Probation viol. TOT SDPW
	12/11/64	F	Probation viol. TOT SDPW
	1/11/65	M	Tank leaked
09	6/5/65 6366	C	Truancy - rel.; he was in complainant's dog pen.
09	6/25/65 6386	C	DC (05/m) rel; breaking bottles in front of complainant's house; refused to pick them up; parents notified.
10	7/20/65 6411	C	Incor., runaway - rel.
	8/10/65	M	Investig. Her children receive no supervision & cause damage to neighborhood. While investigating everything seemed orderly; she denied
	8/11/65	M	TWK
10	8/11/65 6433	C	DC (05/m) rel.; reprimanded for throwing debris into neighbor's yard; mother informed
	8/26/65	M	Reports prowler.
10	9/1/65 6454	C	Questioned as suspect in starting fire. Denied. (NOT in contact record)
	9/4/65	M	Neighbor trouble - rel.
	10/8/65	M	TWK - her kid offender - rel.
10	10/8/65 6491	C	Incor., runaway - rel.; spitting on complainant & his wife. Mother talked to.
	5/1/66	F	Reports refused service at club
	7/22/66	M	Vacationer
	9/10/66	F	Giving cabbie trouble - rel.
	1/3/69	F	Reports burglary
	5/15/67	F	Family trouble - rel.
	5/15/67	M	Family trouble - rel.
	5/16/67	F	Family trouble with wife - rel.
11	7/9/67 7130	C	Took $25 from -----'s home
	7/10/67	F	Causing trouble in tavern--sent on his way
	7/25/67	F	Had too much to drink; arr.; forf. $25
11	10/14/67 7227	C	Reports theft of bike.
11	11/7/67 7251	C	Report of abandoned child (victim).

	10/28/67	M	ATL on her car
	10/28/67	F	Reports assault
	12/9/67	F	Civil trouble - rel.
	2/7/68	F	Son James missing; arrested for abduction; dism. by DA
12	2/7/68 7343	C	Missing. Reported to be with father in Burlington; RCSP picked him up, notified mother; she arrived & her son TOT her. Criminal warrant served on father.
	2/8/68	M	Son missing
12	2/8/68 7344	C	DC suspect; but gave info about who the offenders were
	3/14/68	M	Son missing
	3/29/68	M	Son missing
12	3/29/68 7394	C	Missing boys - suggested mother contact Probation Department concerning his behavior. Apprehended, charge runaway Runaway, app. in laundromat, taken home to mother.
12	3/30/68 7395	C *	Burglary (02/F); he & 3 other juveniles attempted to burglarize a grocery store. Gained entrance through an open bathroom window but were scared away by an adult male in the premises.
	4/16/68	F	Arrested - drunk - PD $25
12	5/2/68 7431	C	Suspect - stolen bike (03/M); stated he found bike, denied stealing it.
	5/9/68	F	Req. pickup for Rac Co Home
	5/13/68	F	Reports theft
	5/14/68	F	Arr. DC - causing trouble in hotel Forf. $25
	5/25/68	F	Traffic stop; arr. OAWI,OVAR; OAWI dism; OVAR - 20 days or $50 + cc.
	6/29/68	F	He requested check at (gave address).
	7/3/68	F	Reports theft
	7/4/68	F	Reports theft of boat
	7/12/68	F	Passenger in accident
	7/21/68	F	Arr. drunk; Pd $25
	7/26/68	F	Father of offender in vandalism report
	7/28/68	M	Reports trouble with -?-, says using profane language & drunk
	7/28/68	F	Family trouble - rel.
13	8/15/68 7353	C	Took down barricade, which was reset, He and brother playing near a barricade took it down from its natural position. Reprimanded & counselled.
13	8/29/68 7547	C	Set cat on fire with 2 others. Arrested for cruelty to animals. Used matches and lighter fluid. No disp.
13	10/11/68 7590	C	Missing. App. Req. issued by --- RCPD. Returned home and has apt. to see ---.
13	10/28/68 7607	C	App. req. - viol. of prob. Runaway. Apprehended, placed in detention.
13	11/10/68	C	TWK, incorr. Rel. With 2 others took a

	7620		bushel of pears off complainant's porch, returning same to the porch, reprimanded and counselled.
13	11/21/68	C	Suspect in theft; reported to be
	7631		offender, rel.
	1/26/68	F	Daughter missing
	1/11/69	M	Son missing
13	1/13/69	C	Missing boy; runaway, missing for two
	7684		nights which he said he spent at home of ---.
	1/14/69	F	Family trouble - rel.
	1/14/69	M	Family trouble - rel.
	1/21/69	M	Son missing; cancelled by sister, returned home.
	1/22/69	M	Victim - theft
	1/22/69	F	Offender - theft
13	1/23/69	C	Missing, spent night in basement with
	7694		friend. Ref'd RCPD.
13	2/5/69	C	Information from Jr. Hi. He and others
	7707		"hoarsing" around in classroom and after they left, a student's radio was missing. Requests no police action.
	2/27/69	M	TWK
	2/20/69	F	Arr. drunk forf. $25
	2/24/69	M	Daughter missing
	3/14/69	M	Reports unwanted party
13	3/15/69	C *	Uttering (13/F); attempted to cash check
	7745		for $9.50 belonging to ---. No finding, 6 months supervision, RCPD.
	3/18/69	M	Daughter missing
13	3/19/69	C	TWK - reported being in a house. Boys
	7749		skipping school & fooling around. Taken to school & parents were notified
	3/26/69	F	Victim - burglary
13	4/4/69	C	Unregistered vehicle - part offender -
	7765		Juv Bur will be contacting them later - They stole a junk car and drove around with it.
	5/5/69	M	Neighbor trouble - rel.
	5/6/69	F	Arrested theft
13	5/6/69	C *	Theft of boat
	7797		
	5/31/69	F	Arr DC 60 days, $100
13	6/1/69	C	Reports stolen bike.
	7823		
13	6/24/69	C *	Burglary (02/F) Comp TOT Co Prob dept;
	7846		he & friend apprehended taking a bottle milk from a service station.
	7/16/69	F	Suspect in theft
13	7/19/69	C	TWK, offender; rel.; climbing on roof of
	7871		bank chasing pigeons. Reprimanded and counselled by officers.
	7/23/69	F	Reports son has auto that's not his; he and 2 friends drove a car with owner's

			permission, none having a DL. Reprimand and counselled. Supp. In Subject's File
13	7/31/69	C *	Auto theft (04/F); took and drove a 1961
	7883		Buick convertible. He drove to Oak Creek where he was apprehended.
14	8/11/69	C *	Stolen vehicle (04/F); drove a 1962
	7894		Chevrolet station wagon. He drove about the city and lost control near the intersection of 3 Mile Road and Main St.
14	8/14/69	C *	Auto theft (04/F); took and drove a 1966
	7897		Pontiac GTO which was parked in the ---- Tavern. While trying to ditch the car he struck a utility pole and damaged the vehicle.
14	8/16/69	C	TWK-DC, taken to detention; threw stones
	7899		at smaller children in neighborhood. When officer approached, threatened to throw stones at him but did not.
14	8/29/69	C	Psychological evaluation
	7912		
	9/7/69	M	TWK
14	9/12/69	C	App Req by PD - escaped while in custody
	7926		Located and Confined to Detention Home.
14	9/17/69	C	Att. Theft (03/M) - rel.
	7931		
14	9/18/69	C *	Burglary suspect (02/F) - rel.
	7932		
	9/27/69	M	Son picked up for curfew viol.
	9/27/69	M	Mother of offender - stolen car report
14	9/27/69	C *	Stolen car (04/F); took and drove a 1960
	7941		Chevrolet Belair. Drove around the city for about 7 hours and abandoned it. He claims some damage was done when he backed out of grandmother's driveway.
14	9/27/69	C	Curfew viol. - placed in detention
	7941		
14	9/28/69	C *	Burglary (02/F) - reported by mother's
	7942		boyfriend Burglarized residence. Stole about $13 and a silver gas cigarette lighter.
14	9/29/69	C	App Req & curfew
	7943		
14	10/1/69	C	Contact - rel
	7945		
14	10/2/69	C	Contact - rel.
	7946		
14	10/2/69	C	Took 1967 Ford. Drove the car about the
	7946		city and abandoned it. He did a slight amount of damage to car when he turned corner. (NOT a part of contact record)
14	10/3/69	C	Theft (03/M) - cleared through admission
	7947		of involvement during questioning of several thefts
	10/9/69	M	Dog bite - rel

14	10/22/69 7966	C	Admitted entering car, ransacking same, taking nothing.
	10/29/69	M	Dog bite (owner) - rel
14	10/29/69 7973	C *	Burglary (02/F) - admitted this through interrogation under another complaint Date of offense 10/16/69
14	10/30/69 7974	C	Alleged: on 3/30/69 burglary, on 8/14/69 and 10/22/69 OVWOC. Presented court worker's 2-page report of additional present problems. DISPOSITION: OTLC as Juvenile "C" to SDH&SS. Found Delinquent, supervision of Division of Corrections.
14	11/9/69 7984	C	Theft (03/M) cleared by his admission
14	11/9/69 7984	C	Theft (03/M) cleared by admission; not a duplicate entry
	11/17/69	F	D/L
14	11/19/69 7994	C	Transfer from Probation and Parole to WSB at Wales (received at Wales 11/7/69.
	12/2/69	F	D/L
	2/22/70	M	Reports unwanted party
15	6/2/70 8189	C	Approved for release to Field Services.
15	9/5/70 8284	C	Intoxicated - taken home
15	9/8/70 8287	C	App Req; parole vio. Placed in detention cancel app req
	12/8/70	M	Reports animal case
15	2/19/71 8451	C	App. on 2/18/71 for use of mj & lsd (does not appear on contact record). DISP: Detention continued, refer to Division of Corrections.
15	2/23/71 8451	C	Transfer from Prob. & Parole to Wales. placements between 8/23/71 and 3/8/72.
	5/31/71	M	Reports theft
	8/4/71	M	App req daughter
	3/8/72	C	Transfer from Prob. & Parole to Wales. Notes: Has persisted in a pattern of uncooperativeness, uncontrollability and had to be removed from 3 separate foster
	3/13/72	F	Reports theft
	6/2/72	C	Received for supervision
	8/4/73		Discharged from supervision
	8/14/72	M	Son missing
	11/3/72	M	Daughter attempted suicide

COMMENTS: Father's occupation not known. Description of family life contained in psychiatrist's report attached.
NGHBD: As juvenile it was NGH 18
Of 2494/5's 42 official contacts as juv, 11 were felony-level. Of his 5 contacts since turning adult, 3 were disorderly conduct, one was a traffic accident, and one was auto theft. He was released on the latter because he was placed in charge of the

home for the evening to watch the dog. A civil matter.

2009/5
Clifford Crumbledy

	9/20/58	F		Car driven by wife in accident
	6/26/60	F		His parked car hit
	11/18/60	F		RR--wife
	9/19/61	F		Requests investigation
	3/8/62	F		Accident; rel
	1/31/63	F		Accident; rel
	6/7/68	F		Reports son missing
	12/6/68	F		Father of offender who stole car
	1/21/69	F		Reports drunk
	2/26/69	F		ATL son
13	2/28/69 7730	C	+	Theft of $30 from home of friend, 3/M
	3/2/69	F		Son found
13	3/2/69 7732	C	+	Shot self in leg - Russian Roulette; parents informed matter would be continued by Juvenile Bureau
14	8/22/69 7905	C	+	Criminal Destruction Property, 22/M, at ----- School
			+	Continued for 6 months, put on supervision RCPD for this time. To make restitution
14	9/7/69 7921	C		Traffic, 15/M, ???
14	12/22/69 8027	C		Incor.,Runaway ???
14	1/9/70 8045	C		He and brothers broke windows with sling shot at ----- School; parents paid $545.10 restitution.
14	1/27/70 8063	C		Theft, 3/M, 2 watches from --- School. Transferred to another high school.
	4/29/70	F		Questioned - son shooting narcotics
15	4/29/70 8155	C *		Info, drug user (12/F) Exceptional Clearance
15	3/16/70 8112	C		Suspended from math class at ----- school, ran away from home twice in past week (1 night each). "We were able to work out the problem with the family."
15	5/25/70 8181	C		His case closed
15	6/1/70 8188	C		Assault, 10/M, rel
15	7/15/70 8232	C		Violent property dest, 22/M, Removed lock from lavoratory door at --- School; 6 months probation
15	7/27/70 8244	C		Theft, 3/M, rel
15	8/30/70 8278	C		Incorr.,Runaway; detained for running away from home (he turned himself in) because of argument at home. "We worked out problem at home." Ref.to RCPD for further report & investigation.
15	9/28/70	C		Susp. from school for skipping classes

	8307			HOW DID HE GET THERE? DIFFERENT SCHOOL!
15	10/16/70 8325	C		Detained for truant from school, missing from home one night; Continued detention Refer to RCPD
15	11/25/70 8365	C		Witness to assault
15	1/1/71 8402	C		DC; ---------- Skating Rink; rel
15	1/15/71 8416	C *	<	Theft of checks uttering (3,13/F). Stole 5 checks from checkbook of --- while at ----- Church. Allegedly forged and cashed one on 1/18/71 ($27.36) at Piggly Wiggly on Douglas
15	1/19/71 8420	C *	<	Principle in uttering report, 13/F. He and "friend" stole check from apt. of ---. Same day he tried to "utter" the check at --- Bank. Left when they became suspicious.
15	1/21/71 8422	C *	<	App. req. for viol of supervision, theft, and forgery - placed in detention home.
15	1/22/71 8423	C	<	Hearing - detention continued Refer to RCPD for report & investigation
15	1/25/71 8426	C *	<	Forgery, 13/F
			<	2/10/71 Found guilty; found deling; 2 yrs prob - RCPD & make restitution for $27.35.
15	3/3/71 8463	C		DC - --- School
15	3/21/71 8481	C		Reports stolen vehicle
15	4/3/71 8494	C	!	OVWOC, auto theft, 4/F
15	4/3/71 8494	C	!	Missing
			!	4/5/71 Detention hearing - detention cont. Refer to RCPD for rept & investigation. Arrangements to be made for him to go to Norris or some other place. [Norris evaluation concludes they should NOT accept him]
			!	6/14/71 Petition to modify. Alleged that he is dependent & without the necessary care and support he needs. Found dependent.
			!	7/8/71 Order for transfer of custody: to Racine County Dept of Social Service until 9/3/71. Placement at Rawhide but he doesn't seem to have been sent there.
16	9/8/71 8652	C		Investigation of shoplifting. He didn't, a friend did, rel.
16	10/15/71 8689	C	¢	Violent Property Dest. at --- School 22/M
16	11/24/71 8729	C *	¢	Theft of car and tape decks 3,4/F

16	11/30/71 8735	C	*	¢ Burglary, 2/F
16	12/9/71 8744	C	*	¢ OVWOC, 4/F
16	12/13/71 8748	C		Contact; witness vandalism, gave info.
16	12/15/71 8750	C		App req - probation viol. placed in detention. 12/17/71 Hearing - release from detention. Not to associate with 2 friends, also 6 PM curfew.
16	12/18/71 8753	C	*	Burglary, 2/F
				¢ 1/5/72 Admits to charges. Found delinquent & custody transferred to RCDSS for 2 years with placemement at Rawhide. 2/8/73 Order terminating legal custody.
	4/22/72	F		Reports vandalism
	5/29/72	F		Owner of dog in dog bite case.

COMMENTS: Father a plasterer. No mention of biological mother, just stepmother. See photocopy for description of family.
Juvenile neighborhood = 25 (Northeast)
Had 27 contacts as juvenile, 9 of which were felony-level and had 10 contacts 18 and older, of which 3 were felony-level.
Probably sent up!!!

APPENDIX E

DEVELOPMENT OF CUTTING POINTS FOR NUMBER OF CONTACTS, SERIOUSNESS SCORES, NUMBER OF REFERRALS, AND SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS

Whether cutting points should be identical across cohorts or related to cohort distributions is always a problem. Although we opted for cutting points which would be relative to the distribution of contacts for each cohort at each age, they turned out to be very similar across cohorts through the ages which were crucial to the major thrust of the analysis, 17 and 18. While there was less similarity across cohorts for the other measures through ages and for all measures after ages because of discontinuity in distributions, these cutting points do enable us to see if cohort members with chains of experiences of relative similarity are produced in the same kinds of neighborhoods over a period of 30 years. Furthermore, by keeping the cutting points relative, those who have extensive experience with the justice system after any given age, in our case after reaching 18, may be compared across cohorts even though they had their experiences at historically different periods and were exposed for shorter or longer periods of time. Beyond this, when experiences with the juvenile justice system through a given age, 18 for example, are compared with experiences in the adult justice system, we are looking at relatively serious juvenile careers to see if they produced relatively serious adult careers, and so on. This makes it possible to determine if relative seriousness of juveniles in one cohort produced relative seriousness at the adult ages in that cohort compared to other cohorts.

Were the analysis a static type which did not cover such a lengthy period of years during which police contact recording policy may have had (did have) some changes or in which referral policy changed, or in which different juvenile court judges had different policies (with increasing severity of sanctions being the rule), this would not be such an important problem. What we have done should minimize the chances that relationsihps will vary as artifacts of the data. We are concerned about process and relationships rather than change in official records.

TABLE 1. CUTTING POINTS APPLIED TO NUMBER OF CONTACTS PRECEDING EACH AGE TO APPROXIMATE 20% LOW, 60% MEDIUM, 20% HIGH

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort			1955 Cohort		
AGE	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
7	1	---	2	1	---	7	1	---	2+
8	1	---	2	1	---	2+	1	---	2+
9	1	---	2	1	---	2+	1	---	2+
10	1	---	2	1	---	2+	1	2	3+
11	1	2	3	1	2	3+	1	2	3+
12	1	2	3	1	2	3+	1	2	3+
13	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2-3	4+
14	1	2-3	4+	1	2-3	4+	1	2-4	5+
15	1	2-4	5+	1	2-3	4+	1	2-5	6+
16	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-6	7+
17	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+
18	1	2-6	7+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-7	8+
19	1	2-8	9+	1	2-6	7+	1	2-7	8+
20	1	2-8	9+	1	2-7	8+	1	2-8	9+
21	1	2-8	9+	1	2-7	8+	1	2-9	10+
22	1	2-9	10+	1	2-8	9+	1	2-9	10+
23	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+	1	2-9	10+
24	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+			
25	1	2-10	11+	1	2-10	11+			
26	1	2-11	12+	1	2-10	11+			
27	1	2-11	12+	1	2-10	11+			
28	1	2-11	12+						
29	1	2-11	12+						
30	1	2-12	13+						
31	1	2-12	13+						
32	1	2-12	13+						
33	1	2-12	13+						

TABLE 2. CUTTING POINTS APPLIED TO TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS PRECEDING EACH AGE TO APPROXIMATE 20% LOW, 60% MEDIUM, 20% HIGH

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort			1955 Cohort		
AGE	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
7	---	---	3	1	3-4	5+	1	2-4	6+
8	1	4-5	6	1	2-4	5+	1	2-3	4+
9	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+
10	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-4	5+
11	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+	1	2-6	7+
12	1	2-6	7+	1	2-6	7+	1	2-7	8+
13	1-2	3-8	9+	1	2-7	8+	1	2-10	11+
14	1-2	3-7	8+	1	2-7	8+	1	2-11	12+
15	1-2	3-8	9+	1	2-8	9+	1	2-15	16+
16	1-2	3-13	14+	1	2-12	13+	1	2-17	18+
17	1	2-11	12+	1	2-13	14+	1	2-18	19+
18	1	2-15	16+	1	2-15	16+	1	2-19	20+
19	1	2-17	18+	1	2-17	18+	1	2-19	20+
20	1	2-19	21+	1	2-18	19+	1	2-23	24+
21	1	2-21	22+	1	2-20	21+	1	2-26	27+
22	1	2-23	24+	1	2-21	22+	1	2-27	28+
23	1	2-24	25+	1	2-22	23+	1	2-27	28+
24	1	2-25	26+	1	2-24	25+			
25	1	2-24	25+	1	2-25	26+			
26	1	2-25	26+	1	2-25	26+			
27	1	2-26	27+	1	2-25	26+			
28	1	2-28	29+						
29	1	2-28	29+						
30	1	2-29	30+						
31	1	2-29	30+						
32	1	2-29	30+						
33	1	2-29	30+						

TABLE 3. CUTTING POINTS APPLIED TO NUMBER OF REFERRALS PRECEDING EACH AGE TO APPROXIMATE 20% LOW, 60% MEDIUM, 20% HIGH

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort			1955 Cohort		
AGE	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
8	---	---	1	---	---	1	---	---	1
9	---	---	1	---	---	1	---	---	1
10	---	---	1	---	---	1	1	1	4
11	---	---	1	---	---	1	1	1	6
12	1	---	2	---	---	1	1	2-3	4+
13	1	---	1	1	---	2+	1	2-3	4+
14	1	---	2	1	---	2+	1	2-5	6+
15	1	---	2+	1	2	3+	1	2-5	6+
16	1	---	2+	1	2	3+	1	2-5	6+
17	1	2	3+	1	2-3	4+	1	2-5	6+
18	1	2	3+	1	2-3	4+	1	2-5	6+
19	1	2-3	4+	1	2-3	4+	1	2-5	6+
20	1	2-3	4+	1	2-3	4+	1	2-5	6+
21	1	2-3	4+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-5	6+
22	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-6	7+
23	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-6	7+
24	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+			
25	1	2-4	5+	1	2-5	6+			
26	1	2-4	5+	1	2-5	6+			
27	1	2-4	5+	1	2-5	6+			
28	1	2-5	6+						
29	1	2-5	6+						
30	1	2-5	6+						
31	1	2-5	6+						
32	1	2-5	6+						
33	1	2-5	6+						

TABLE 4. CUTTING POINTS APPLIED TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS PRECEDING EACH AGE TO APPROXIMATE 20% LOW, 60% MEDIUM, 20% HIGH

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort			1955 Cohort		
AGE	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
9	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
10	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	---	---
11	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	---	---
12	---	---	---	---	---	2	16	---	17
13	---	---	---	---	---	2	1	2-16	17+
14	---	---	---	2	---	13	1	2-17	18+
15	---	---	12	13	14-18	19	1	2-14	15+
16	12	---	15	2	12-29	30+	1	2-16	17+
17	12	15-16	17+	1	2-28	29+	1	2-17	18+
18	12	14-16	17+	2	2-23	24+	1	2-19	20+
19	4	5-16	17+	1-3	4-19	20+	1-2	3-17	18+
20	4	5-15	16+	1-3	4-20	21+	1-3	4-17	18+
21	4	5-16	17+	1-3	4-21	22+	1-3	4-19	20+
22	4	5-17	18+	1-4	5-21	22+	1-4	5-20	21+
23	4	5-17	18+	1-4	5-21	22+	1-4	5-21	22+
24	4	5-17	18+	1-4	5-21	22+			
25	4	5-17	18+	1-4	5-22	23+			
26	4	5-18	19+	1-4	5-22	23+			
27	4	5-18	19+	1-4	5-22	23+			
28	4	5-18	19+						
29	4	5-18	19+						
30	4	5-19	20+						
31	4	5-19	20+						
32	3-4	5-19	20+						
33	3-4	5-19	20+						

TABLE 5. CUTTING POINTS APPLIED TO NUMBER OF CONTACTS AFTER EACH AGE TO APPROXIMATE 20% LOW, 60% MEDIUM, 20% HIGH

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort			1955 Cohort		
AGE	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
6	1	2-12	13+	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+
7	1	2-12	13+	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+
8	1	2-12	13+	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+
9	1	2-12	13+	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+
10	1	2-12	13+	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+
11	1	2-12	13+	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+
12	1	2-12	13+	1	2-9	10+	1	2-9	10+
13	1	2-12	13+	1	2-9	10+	1	2-8	9+
14	1	2-11	12+	1	2-9	10+	1	2-8	9+
15	1	2-10	11+	1	2-9	10+	1	2-7	8+
16	1	2-10	11+	1	2-7	8+	1	2-6	7+
17	1	2-9	10+	1	2-6	7+	1	2-5	6+
18	1	2-8	9+	1	2-6	7+	1	2-4	5+
19	1	2-7	8+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-4	5+
20	1	2-7	8+	1	2-5	6+	1	2	3+
21	1	2-6	7+	1	2-4	5+	1	2	3+
22	1	2-5	6+	1	2-3	4+	---	---	1
23	1	2-5	6+	1	2	3+			
24	1	2-4	5+	1	---	2+			
25	1	2-4	5+	---	---	---			
26	1	2-4	5+	---	---	---			
27	1	2-3	4+						
28	1	2	3+						
29	1	2	3+						
30	1	2	3+						
31	---	---	1						
32	---	---	---						

TABLE 6. CUTTING POINTS APPLIED TO TYPE-SERIOUSNESS OF CONTACTS AFTER EACH AGE TO APPROXIMATE 20% LOW, 60% MEDIUM, 20% HIGH

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort			1955 Cohort		
AGE	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
6	1	2-29	30+	1	2-25	26+	1	2-27	28+
7	1	2-29	30+	1	2-25	26+	1	2-27	28+
8	1	2-29	30+	1	2-25	26+	1	2-27	28+
9	1	2-29	30+	1	2-25	26+	1	2-27	28+
10	1	2-29	30+	1	2-24	25+	1	2-27	28+
11	1	2-29	30+	1	2-24	25+	1	2-27	28+
12	1	2-29	30+	1	2-24	25+	1	2-26	27+
13	1	2-29	30+	1	2-23	24+	1	2-25	26+
14	1	2-27	28+	1	2-23	24+	1	2-23	24+
15	1	2-24	25+	1	2-21	22+	1	2-22	23+
16	1	2-22	23+	1	2-19	20+	1	2-18	19+
17	1	2-21	22+	1	2-17	18+	1	2-16	17+
18	1	2-19	20+	1	2-15	16+	1	2-15	16+
19	1	2-18	19+	1	2-13	14+	1	2-12	13+
20	1	2-17	18+	1	2-12	13+	1	2-8	9+
21	1	2-14	15+	1	2-11	12+	1	2-6	7+
22	1	2-14	15+	1	2-9	10+	---	---	1
23	1	2-11	12+	1	2-6	7+			
24	1	2-11	12+	1	3	5+			
25	1	2-10	11+	---	---	---			
26	1	2-11	12+	---	---	---			
27	1	2-8	9+	---	---	---			
28	1	2-7	8+						
29	1	2-6	7+						
30	1	2-5	6+						
31	1	---	3						
32	---	---	---						

TABLE 7. CUTTING POINTS APPLIED TO NUMBER OF REFERRALS AFTER EACH AGE TO APPROXIMATE 20% LOW, 60% MEDIUM, 20% HIGH

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort			1955 Cohort		
AGE	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
6	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+
7	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+
8	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+
9	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+
10	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+
11	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+
12	1	2-5	6+	1	2-5	6+	1	2-6	7+
13	1	2-5	6+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-6	7+
14	1	2-5	6+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-5	6+
15	1	2-5	6+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+
16	1	2-5	6+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+
17	1	2-5	6+	1	2-4	5+	1	2-4	5+
18	1	2-4	5+	1	2-3	4+	1	2-3	4+
19	1	2-4	5+	1	2-3	4+	1	2	3+
20	1	2-4	5+	1	2-3	4+	1	2	3+
21	1	2-4	5+	1	2	3+	1	---	2
22	1	2-3	4+	1	2	3+			
23	1	2-3	4+	1	---	2+			
24	1	2-3	4+	1	---	2			
25	1	2-3	4+	---	---	---			
26	1	2-3	4+	---	---	---			
27	1	2	3+	---	---	---			
28	1	2	3+						
29	1	2	3+						
30	1	---	4						
31	---	---	1						
32	---	---	---						

TABLE 8. CUTTING POINTS APPLIED TO SEVERITY OF SANCTIONS AFTER EACH AGE TO APPROXIMATE 20% LOW, 60% MEDIUM, 20% HIGH

	1942 Cohort			1949 Cohort			1955 Cohort		
AGE	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
6	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	23+	1-4	5-21	22+
7	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	23+	1-4	5-21	22+
8	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	32+	1-4	5-21	22+
9	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	23+	1-4	5-21	22+
10	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	23+	1-4	5-21	22+
11	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	23+	1-4	5-21	22+
12	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	23+	1-4	5-21	22+
13	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	23+	1-4	5-21	22+
14	1-4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-22	23+	1-4	5-20	21+
15	1-4	5-18	19+	1-4	5-21	22+	1-4	5-19	20+
16	1-4	5-18	19+	4	5-20	21+	1-4	5-19	20+
17	1-4	5-18	19+	4	5-20	21+	1-4	5-19	20+
18	1-4	5-10	11+	4	5-19	20+	1-4	5-19	20+
19	1-4	5-10	11+	4	5-17	18+	1-4	5-18	19+
20	1-4	5-10	11+	4	5-15	16+	1-5	6	7+
21	1-4	5-8	9+	4	5-7	8+	1-4	5-11	12+
22	1-4	5-9	10+	4	5-7	8+	___	---	13
23	1-4	5-9	10+	1-4	5-7	8+			
24	1-4	5-8	9+	3	4-5	6+			
25	1-4	5-7	8+	4	---	5			
26	1-4	5-7	8+	---	---	5			
27	1-4	5-7	8+	---	---	---			
28	1-4	5-7	8+						
29	3	4-7	8+						
30	4	5-7	8+						
31	4	5	6+						
32	---	---	6+						

APPENDIX F

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS AND GEOMETRIC SCORES REPRESENTING EXPERIENCE WITH THE JUVENILE AND ADULT JUSTICE SYSTEMS

In this appendix one may see the actual distribution of cohort members by type of neighborhood and number of police contacts and by type of neighborhood and Geometric scores. Table 1, for example, has neighborhoods arranged in groups from those with high delinquency and crime producing characteristics and high in-neighborhood offense rates, high delinquency and crime producing characteristics and medium in-neighborhood offense rates, etc., to low on both characteristics. Some types of neighborhoods have more persons from each cohort than do others within the extreme type or where characteristics and rates are consistent, HH, MM, or LL for example, having sizeable proportions of each cohort's members. We would expect relatively few neighborhoods (as can be recalled from Table 1 in the text) to be high on offense rates and low on the delinquency and crime producing characteristics.

The correlations presented in Table 5 of the Chapter 3 were based on ungrouped orderings of the neighborhoods (through age 17, Column I, A ordering), which, had they been grouped, would have looked like Table 1 in this appendix. One need only look at the HH, MM, and LL groups to see why the correlation was so low for 1942 (.096). In the same way, one can see why the 1955 Cohort produced a higher correlation (.231). Tables 2, 3, and 4 are based on the same arrangement of neighborhoods as in Table 1

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND IN-NEIGHBORHOOD OFFENSE RATES TO NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS THROUGH AGE 17 BY COHORTS

	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL
1942 Cohort									
No Contacts	47.1	54.5	20.0	56.1	61.3	67.9	--	64.3	58.8
Low (1)	17.2	27.3	20.0	17.1	14.3	14.8	--	17.9	12.9
Medium (2-7)	24.2	18.2	60.0	17.1	15.1	11.1	100.0	14.3	21.2
High (8 or +)	11.5	--	--	9.8	9.2	6.2	--	3.6	7.1
N	157	32	5	41	119	81	1	28	85
1949 Cohort									
No Contacts	42.5	45.3	63.2	45.2	48.2	54.8	20.0	55.9	52.2
Low (1)	17.0	17.0	21.1	17.7	20.5	19.1	40.0	18.6	17.6
Medium (2-5)	25.1	26.4	10.5	25.8	22.5	19.1	40.0	22.0	23.3
High (6 or +)	15.4	11.3	5.3	11.3	8.8	7.0	--	3.4	6.9
N	247	53	19	62	249	115	5	118	245
1955 Cohort									
No Contacts	34.4	45.7	30.8	53.7	53.5	52.7	45.8	58.5	63.8
Low (1)	19.7	21.4	15.4	16.4	19.9	20.9	25.0	18.0	18.4
Medium (2-7)	31.0	27.1	38.5	22.4	19.6	19.2	12.5	16.6	14.9
High (8 or +)	14.9	5.7	15.4	7.5	7.0	7.1	16.7	6.9	2.9
N	422	70	13	134	342	182	24	217	376

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND IN-NEIGHBORHOOD OFFENSE RATES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1942 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	47.1	54.5	20.0	56.1	61.3	67.9	--	64.3	58.8	56.8
9	8.3	13.6	--	7.3	2.5	12.3	--	7.1	3.5	6.9
17	5.7	9.1	20.0	4.9	4.2	1.2	--	7.1	4.7	4.8
18	10.2	4.5	--	4.9	6.7	3.7	--	7.1	7.1	7.1
20	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	.4
36	--	--	--	--	1.7	--	--	--	--	.4
81	3.2	4.5	--	4.9	7.6	1.2	--	3.6	4.7	4.3
82	7.0	13.6	40.0	--	4.2	7.4	--	3.6	5.9	6.1
1106	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
146	4.5	--	--	7.3	1.7	--	100.0	3.6	4.7	3.3
658	--	--	--	2.4	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1170	--	--	20.0	--	.8	--	--	--	1.2	.6
274	.6	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	2.4	.7
786	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
162	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
290	--	--	--	2.4	.8	--	--	--	--	.4
84	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1172	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	.2
276	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
100	1.3	--	--	2.4	.8	1.2	--	3.6	3.5	1.7
612	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.2
1124	1.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4
164	2.5	--	--	--	1.7	--	--	--	--	1.1
676	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	--	--	--	.2
1188	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
292	2.5	--	--	7.3	1.7	2.5	--	--	--	2.0
804	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	.2
1316	.6	--	--	--	1.7	1.2	--	--	--	.7
2340	.6	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.4
N	157	32	5	41	119	81	1	28	85	549

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND IN-NEIGHBORHOOD OFFENSE RATES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1949 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	42.5	45.3	63.2	45.2	48.2	54.8	20.0	55.9	52.2	49.1
9	5.7	5.7	10.5	3.2	8.4	12.2	20.0	8.5	8.6	7.9
17	6.9	1.9	5.3	9.7	8.0	3.5	20.0	5.1	7.8	6.7
18	11.3	11.3	5.3	12.9	12.1	7.8	20.0	10.2	11.8	11.1
34	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
20	--	--	--	--	--	.9	--	--	--	.1
36	.8	1.9	--	--	1.2	.9	--	--	.8	.8
81	4.5	9.4	5.3	4.8	4.0	3.5	--	5.1	1.2	3.9
82	9.3	15.1	--	6.5	6.8	7.8	--	8.5	6.1	7.7
594	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
1106	--	--	--	1.6	--	--	--	--	.4	.2
146	2.0	--	--	4.8	3.2	2.6	20.0	2.5	3.7	2.9
658	.4	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	.4	.3
1170	.4	--	5.3	--	--	--	--	.8	--	.3
2194	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
274	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
162	.4	--	--	--	--	.9	--	--	--	.2
1186	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
84	.4	--	--	--	--	.9	--	--	.8	.4
596	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
1172	--	--	--	--	--	.9	--	.8	--	.2
148	.4	1.9	--	--	.4	.9	--	--	--	.4
100	.8	--	--	--	1.2	.9	--	--	.4	.6
164	4.9	1.9	5.3	3.2	1.6	.9	--	--	1.2	2.2
676	.4	--	--	--	1.2	--	--	--	--	.4
1188	.4	3.8	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	.4
292	3.6	--	--	1.6	1.2	.9	--	2.5	.8	1.7
804	.8	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.4
1316	1.6	--	--	3.2	1.2	--	--	--	1.2	1.1
2340	1.2	1.9	--	3.2	--	--	--	--	.4	.6
N	247	53	19	62	249	115	5	118	245	1113

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND IN-NEIGHBORHOOD OFFENSE RATES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1955 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	34.4	45.7	30.8	53.7	53.5	52.7	45.8	58.5	63.8	51.1
9	5.5	7.1	--	1.5	7.6	6.0	12.5	5.1	6.6	6.0
17	8.5	8.6	15.4	8.2	8.2	8.8	4.2	8.3	5.9	7.9
18	11.8	8.6	7.7	6.0	7.0	8.8	8.3	4.6	6.1	7.9
20	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
81	3.6	2.9	--	4.5	2.0	2.8	8.3	1.4	1.9	2.6
593	.2	--	--	--	.3	--	--	--	.3	.2
1105	1.9	2.9	--	2.2	1.8	3.3	--	3.2	3.7	2.6
82	4.3	--	--	4.5	5.0	1.7	--	3.2	2.1	3.3
594	2.1	--	--	1.5	.3	.5	--	.5	.8	1.0
1106	3.6	5.7	7.7	1.5	4.1	4.9	--	2.8	2.1	3.3
2130	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	.1
146	2.6	1.4	--	1.5	1.2	1.7	--	.9	.5	1.4
658	1.4	1.4	--	3.0	.6	.5	--	.5	.3	.9
1170	3.6	8.6	7.7	3.7	1.5	--	4.2	2.8	2.7	2.8
2194	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.2
1122	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
162	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.2
674	.5	1.4	7.7	--	--	.5	--	--	--	.3
1186	.2	--	--	.7	--	--	--	.5	--	.2
802	--	--	7.7	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
84	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	.3	.1
660	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
2324	--	--	--	--	.3	--	--	.5	--	.1
100	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	.1
612	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1124	--	--	--	--	.6	.5	4.2	--	.3	.3
164	.7	--	--	.7	.6	--	--	.5	--	.4
676	.7	--	--	--	.6	1.1	4.2	--	--	.4
1188	2.4	--	--	3.0	2.0	--	8.3	2.3	.5	1.7
2212	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.1
292	.5	--	--	--	.3	--	--	--	--	.2
804	.9	--	--	--	1.2	1.1	--	--	--	.6
1316	2.1	1.4	7.7	2.2	.3	1.7	--	1.4	.5	1.3
2340	6.9	4.3	7.7	1.5	1.2	2.2	--	1.4	1.1	2.8
N	422	70	13	134	342	182	24	217	376	1780

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

but substitute juvenile Geometric scores for number of contacts as the dependent variable. The Geometric scores are arranged in the same order as in the Tree Diagrams that were presented in Chapter 3. Correlations of the metric scores are shown in Table 5, Column IV, and in Table 8 where cohort members from each neighborhood were ranked by their Geometric scores. Perusal of these tables enables one to see how the distribution of Geometric scores for different groupings of neighborhoods varied. The distribution of all juveniles of each cohort is shown in the left-hand column.

All of this reveals why it will be difficult to detect patterned differences related to neighborhood groupings, much less if differences in the relationship of juvenile Geometric scores to adult Geometric scores differ on a basis of neighborhood groupings. It is obvious that neighborhood groupings must be collapsed as well as experience types as represented by Geometric scores.

Tables 5 through 8 substitute rates by place of residence for in-neighborhood offense rates. Although one can again see that cohort police contact rates are related to neighborhood types, it would be difficult to defend this arrangement of neighborhoods as shedding much light on the process by which delinquent careers are produced--there is not much support for learning delinquency through residential propinquity in Table 5. Nor do Tables 6 through 8 present a much more regularized picture than did Tables 2 through 4.

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS TO NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS THROUGH AGE 17 BY COHORTS

	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL
1942 Cohort									
No Contacts	50.6	43.8	50.0	58.5	61.7	66.0	59.2	57.1	77.8
Low (1)	16.5	31.3	--	9.4	20.2	12.8	18.4	12.5	--
Medium (2-7)	23.9	12.5	50.0	20.8	10.6	13.8	20.4	21.4	11.1
High (8 or +)	9.1	12.5	--	11.3	7.4	7.4	2.0	8.9	11.1
N	176	16	2	53	94	94	49	56	9
1949 Cohort									
No Contacts	44.9	33.3	50.0	35.6	53.1	53.1	58.7	48.3	59.3
Low (1)	16.7	20.8	25.0	14.9	19.8	22.2	18.8	19.2	7.4
Medium (2-5)	23.7	37.5	25.0	29.9	20.3	19.8	20.3	25.1	22.2
High (6 or +)	14.6	8.3	--	19.5	6.8	4.9	2.2	7.4	11.1
N	287	24	8	87	177	162	138	203	27
1955 Cohort									
No Contacts	36.2	32.4	33.3	43.0	52.8	61.7	66.8	58.2	61.9
Low (1)	19.2	27.0	22.2	18.2	21.4	18.0	19.1	18.4	16.7
Medium (2-7)	30.5	32.4	33.3	23.0	20.3	17.1	13.1	18.1	2.4
High (8 or +)	14.2	8.1	11.1	15.8	5.5	3.2	1.0	5.3	19.0
N	459	37	9	165	271	222	199	376	42

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 6. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1942 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	50.6	43.8	50.0	58.5	61.7	66.0	59.2	57.1	77.8	57.6
9	6.8	25.0	--	1.9	8.5	7.4	4.1	5.4	--	6.7
17	6.3	6.3	--	1.9	4.3	3.2	6.1	3.4	--	4.7
18	9.1	6.3	--	5.7	5.3	5.3	10.2	3.6	11.1	6.9
20	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.8	--	.4
36	--	--	--	--	--	2.1	--	--	--	.4
81	3.4	--	--	5.7	7.4	2.1	8.2	1.8	--	4.2
82	8.5	6.3	--	1.9	5.3	5.3	2.0	8.9	--	6.0
1106	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
146	4.0	--	--	5.7	--	2.1	4.1	7.1	--	3.3
658	--	--	--	1.9	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1170	--	--	50.0	--	--	1.1	2.0	--	--	.5
274	.6	--	--	1.9	--	--	2.0	1.8	--	.7
786	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
162	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
290	--	--	--	3.8	--	--	--	--	--	.4
84	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1172	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.8	--	.2
276	--	6.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
100	1.1	--	--	3.8	1.1	--	--	5.4	11.1	1.6
612	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	.2
1124	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4
164	1.7	6.3	--	1.9	1.1	--	--	--	--	1.1
676	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	.2
1188	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
292	2.3	--	--	3.8	2.1	3.2	--	--	--	2.0
804	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.0	--	--	.2
1316	.6	--	--	--	2.1	--	--	--	--	.5
2340	.6	--	--	1.9	1.1	--	--	--	--	.5
N	176	16	2	53	94	94	49	56	9	549

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood has High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1949 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	44.9	33.3	50.0	35.6	53.1	53.1	58.7	48.3	59.3	49.1
9	5.6	12.5	--	9.2	6.2	11.1	12.3	6.9	3.7	7.9
17	5.9	4.2	12.5	3.4	9.0	6.8	5.8	8.4	3.7	6.7
18	10.5	12.5	25.0	13.8	9.6	11.1	10.1	11.8	14.8	11.1
34	.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
20	--	--	--	--	--	.6	--	--	--	.1
36	.7	4.2	--	2.3	--	1.2	--	.5	3.7	.8
81	5.2	4.2	12.5	2.3	4.5	4.3	.7	3.9	--	3.9
82	9.4	16.7	--	8.0	8.5	4.9	4.3	8.4	7.4	7.7
594	--	--	--	--	--	--	.7	--	--	.1
1106	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	.7	--	--	.2
146	1.4	4.2	--	6.9	1.7	3.1	2.9	4.4	--	2.9
658	.3	--	--	--	--	.6	.7	--	--	.3
1170	.7	--	--	--	--	--	.7	--	--	.3
2194	.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
274	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
162	.3	--	--	--	.6	--	--	--	--	.2
1186	.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
84	.3	--	--	1.1	--	--	.7	.5	--	.4
596	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
1172	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	.5	--	.2
148	.3	4.2	--	--	.6	.6	--	--	--	.4
100	.7	--	--	1.1	1.1	.6	--	.5	--	.6
164	4.5	4.2	--	4.6	1.1	.6	.7	1.0	--	2.2
676	1.0	--	--	1.1	.6	.6	--	--	--	.5
1188	.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.0	--	.3
292	3.1	--	--	1.1	1.7	.6	.7	1.0	7.4	1.7
804	.7	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	.4
1316	1.4	--	--	4.6	.6	--	--	1.5	--	1.1
2340	1.4	--	--	2.3	--	--	--	.5	--	.6
N	287	24	8	87	177	162	138	203	27	1113

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 8. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1955 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	36.2	32.4	33.3	43.0	52.8	61.7	66.8	58.2	61.9	51.1
9	5.7	5.4	--	4.2	7.0	5.9	8.0	5.9	2.4	6.0
17	8.1	16.2	11.1	9.1	8.9	7.2	6.0	6.9	7.1	7.9
18	10.7	18.9	11.1	7.9	7.0	7.2	3.0	7.7	--	7.9
20	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
81	3.1	5.4	11.1	3.0	2.2	3.2	1.5	2.4	--	2.6
593	.2	--	--	.6	--	--	--	.3	--	.2
1105	2.2	--	--	1.2	3.3	1.8	3.5	2.9	7.1	2.6
82	3.9	--	--	6.1	4.1	2.3	4.0	1.9	--	3.3
594	1.7	2.7	--	.6	.4	.9	.5	.8	--	1.0
1106	4.1	2.7	--	1.8	4.8	4.1	1.5	2.7	2.4	3.3
2130	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
146	2.6	--	--	1.8	1.1	1.4	--	1.1	--	1.4
658	1.1	5.4	--	2.4	.7	.5	.5	.3	--	.9
1170	4.4	2.7	11.1	1.8	1.8	.9	2.0	3.5	--	2.8
2194	.4	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	.2
1122	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	--	.1
162	.4	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	.2
674	.9	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	.3
1186	.2	--	--	.6	--	--	.5	--	--	.2
802	--	--	11.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
84	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
660	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	--	.1
2324	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	2.4	.1
100	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	.1
612	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1124	--	--	--	--	.7	.5	--	.5	--	.3
164	.4	2.7	--	1.2	.4	--	--	--	2.4	.4
676	.4	2.7	--	1.8	.4	--	--	.3	--	.4
1188	2.2	--	--	4.2	1.5	--	--	1.9	4.8	1.7
2212	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	--	.1
292	.4	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.2
804	.9	--	--	1.8	1.1	--	--	--	--	.6
1316	2.0	2.7	11.1	3.0	.4	.5	1.0	--	7.1	1.3
2340	7.2	--	--	3.6	.7	.9	--	1.6	2.4	2.8
N	459	37	9	165	271	222	199	376	42	1780

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

Tables 9 through 12 contain neighborhood group distribution data for the adult period and parallel Tables 1 through 4 for the juvenile period. Differences between extreme types of neighborhoods are apparent for each cohort, as shown in Table 9. Tables 10 through 12 show that the diversity of Geometric patterns is little less complex than that found for the juvenile period. Tables 13 through 16 parallel Tables 5 through 8 and, again, while one can observe that the extreme neighborhood groups are markedly different in the distribution of their cohort members, the change in distributions from one extreme to the other is so irregular that the correlation remains relatively low.

Commencing with Table 17, neighborhoods are organized according to whether they are high offense-producing, medium, or low. What is most noticeable here is the variation in distributions within each offense-producing group, variation that is not consistent based on whether the group has high juvenile and high adult offense rates, or otherwise, even though there is complete consistency if one considers only extreme groups with sizeable numbers for each cohort. Tables 18 through 20 reveal the complexity of the analytic problem even more clearly. The adult period is represented by Tables 21 through 24, adding little to what we have already seen in the other tables in this appendix.

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND IN-NEIGHBORHOOD OFFENSE RATES TO NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 17 BY COHORTS

	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL
1942 Cohort									
No Contacts	27.4	46.9	20.0	41.5	41.2	40.7	--	32.1	40.0
Low (1)	20.4	18.8	--	14.6	17.6	14.8	--	17.9	22.4
Medium (2-9)	33.8	34.4	80.0	34.1	32.8	42.0	100.0	46.4	31.8
High (10 or +)	18.5	--	--	9.8	8.4	2.5	--	3.6	5.9
N	157	32	5	41	119	81	1	28	85
1949 Cohort									
No Contacts	29.1	43.4	42.1	40.3	39.4	45.2	40.0	50.0	47.3
Low (1)	22.7	24.5	15.8	19.4	22.9	17.4	--	17.8	22.0
Medium (2-6)	28.3	24.5	42.1	25.8	28.1	29.6	60.0	28.0	22.0
High (7 or +)	19.8	7.5	--	14.5	9.6	7.8	--	4.2	8.6
N	247	53	19	62	249	115	5	118	245
1955 Cohort									
No Contacts	42.7	52.9	35.3	54.5	57.0	61.0	62.5	62.7	65.4
Low (1)	17.8	22.9	23.5	26.1	20.5	17.6	16.7	17.1	18.1
Medium (2-5)	23.2	15.7	29.4	16.4	18.1	15.4	20.8	12.9	14.1
High (6 or +)	16.4	8.6	11.8	3.0	4.4	6.0	--	7.4	2.4
N	422	70	17	134	342	182	24	217	376

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 10. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND IN-NEIGHBORHOOD OFFENSE RATES TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1942 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	27.4	46.9	20.0	41.5	41.2	40.7	--	32.1	40.0	36.6
9	14.0	15.6	--	12.2	10.1	9.9	--	14.3	17.6	12.9
17	3.2	--	--	--	1.7	2.5	--	3.6	2.4	2.2
18	13.4	15.6	40.0	9.8	14.3	21.0	--	28.6	12.9	15.5
81	1.3	--	--	--	4.2	1.2	--	--	2.4	1.8
593	1.9	3.1	--	2.4	1.7	--	--	--	--	1.3
1105	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	--	--	--	.2
82	6.4	6.3	20.0	9.8	4.2	6.2	--	7.1	5.9	6.2
594	.6	3.1	20.0	4.9	2.5	7.4	100.0	--	1.2	2.9
1106	1.9	3.1	--	2.4	1.7	2.5	--	3.6	4.7	2.6
146	4.5	3.1	--	2.4	2.5	1.2	--	3.6	2.4	2.9
658	1.3	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.5
1170	4.5	--	--	4.9	3.4	--	--	3.6	3.5	3.1
2194	.6	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.4
274	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	--	--	--	.2
1122	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.2
1186	--	3.1	--	--	1.7	--	--	--	--	.5
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	.2
290	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
84	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.2
148	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.2
100	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.2
612	--	--	--	2.4	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1124	2.5	--	--	2.4	--	--	--	--	2.4	1.3
164	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1188	3.8	--	--	--	3.4	--	--	--	1.2	2.0
2212	1.9	--	--	2.4	--	2.5	--	--	--	1.1
292	4.5	--	--	2.4	.8	1.2	--	3.6	--	2.0
1316	3.2	--	--	--	.8	1.2	--	--	--	1.3
2340	1.9	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	2.4	1.1
N	157	32	5	41	119	81	1	28	85	549

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 11. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND IN-NEIGHBORHOOD OFFENSE RATES TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1949 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	29.1	43.4	42.1	40.3	39.4	45.2	40.0	50.0	47.3	38.2
9	12.6	17.0	10.5	16.1	16.5	11.3	--	11.0	15.1	14.0
17	4.5	1.9	5.3	1.6	3.2	2.6	--	2.5	2.4	3.1
18	11.7	5.7	15.8	6.5	12.0	12.2	20.0	10.2	7.3	10.2
20	.8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
36	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
585	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
81	3.6	3.8	--	1.6	2.8	2.6	--	1.7	3.7	3.0
593	2.0	--	--	--	.4	.9	--	1.7	.4	.9
1105	--	1.9	--	--	--	--	--	.8	--	.2
82	4.0	1.9	5.3	8.1	4.4	5.2	40.0	5.9	4.9	7.9
594	2.0	7.5	--	4.8	2.4	5.2	--	1.7	2.4	2.9
1106	4.5	1.9	--	1.6	2.0	3.5	--	6.8	2.4	3.2
2130	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
146	1.2	1.9	15.8	--	1.2	.9	--	.8	.4	1.2
658	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	.2
1170	4.0	5.7	--	4.8	5.2	1.7	--	1.7	2.4	3.5
2194	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
610	--	--	--	--	--	.9	--	--	--	.1
1122	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
162	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1186	--	--	5.3	--	.4	--	--	.8	.4	.4
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
596	--	--	--	--	--	.9	--	--	--	.1
1108	.8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.3
148	.4	--	--	--	1.6	--	--	.8	--	.5
1172	.4	--	--	1.6	.4	--	--	.8	.8	.5
100	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.2
612	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1124	.4	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	.8	.4
2148	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
164	1.6	--	--	1.6	1.6	--	--	--	.4	.9
676	.4	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.2
1188	3.2	3.8	--	3.2	2.0	2.6	--	1.7	2.9	2.6
2212	2.0	--	--	3.2	--	--	--	.8	.8	.9
292	2.8	--	--	1.6	.4	1.7	--	--	.4	1.1
1316	1.6	--	--	--	.4	.9	--	--	1.2	.8
2340	4.0	3.8	--	3.2	2.0	1.7	--	--	.4	2.0
N	247	53	19	62	249	115	5	118	245	1113

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 12. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND IN-NEIGHBORHOOD OFFENSE RATES TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1955 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	42.7	52.9	35.3	54.5	57.0	61.0	62.5	62.7	65.4	56.0
9	7.6	11.4	23.5	12.7	12.0	6.0	8.3	7.4	9.3	9.3
17	3.8	8.6	--	6.0	4.7	5.0	4.2	4.6	3.7	4.5
18	6.2	2.9	11.8	5.2	6.7	3.8	4.2	2.8	6.1	5.4
36	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.4	--	.2
73	.7	--	--	.7	--	--	--	--	--	.2
585	--	--	--	.7	--	.5	--	--	--	.1
81	.7	--	--	1.5	.9	.5	--	.9	.8	.8
593	.9	--	--	.7	.9	1.1	4.2	.9	.8	.9
1105	3.8	2.9	--	3.7	1.8	4.4	--	3.2	3.5	3.2
2129	.2	--	--	--	.3	.5	--	--	--	.2
82	2.1	1.4	5.9	--	.6	1.1	4.2	.9	.3	1.1
594	.7	--	--	--	.3	4.4	--	.9	.3	.8
1106	6.2	8.6	--	5.2	4.7	--	8.3	3.2	3.2	4.3
2130	--	--	--	.7	.3	--	--	.5	--	.2
146	.7	--	5.9	--	.3	--	--	--	.3	.3
658	--	--	--	--	.3	--	4.2	--	--	.1
1170	5.9	2.9	5.9	4.5	3.5	5.0	--	4.1	3.5	4.3
2194	.5	--	--	--	.9	--	--	--	.3	.3
1122	.2	--	--	--	.3	--	--	--	--	.1
162	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
674	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	.1
1186	.5	--	--	.7	.3	--	--	--	.3	.3
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
596	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
1108	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.1
1172	.5	--	--	--	.3	--	--	.5	.3	.3
2196	--	--	--	.7	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1124	1.7	1.4	--	--	--	.5	--	--	.3	.6
2148	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
164	--	--	--	--	.3	--	--	--	--	.1
676	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.2
1188	4.0	2.9	--	.7	1.2	1.7	--	1.8	.3	1.8
2212	1.4	2.9	--	--	1.2	.5	--	.5	--	.8
804	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
1316	1.9	1.4	5.9	.7	.9	1.1	--	.9	.5	1.1
2340	5.7	--	5.9	.7	.6	2.2	--	.9	.8	2.1
N	422	70	17	134	342	182	24	217	376	1784

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 13. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS TO NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 17 BY COHORTS

	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL
1942 Cohort									
No Contacts	31.3	25.0	--	47.2	33.0	45.7	33.3	28.6	49.0
Low (1)	18.2	31.3	50.0	5.7	21.3	17.0	22.2	25.0	16.3
Medium (2-9)	34.7	37.5	50.0	35.8	38.3	31.9	33.3	41.1	32.7
High (10 or +)	15.9	6.3	--	11.3	7.4	5.3	11.1	5.4	2.0
N	176	16	2	53	94	94	9	56	49
1949 Cohort									
No Contacts	31.7	41.7	25.0	19.5	46.9	46.3	37.0	44.3	55.8
Low (1)	23.3	12.5	25.0	25.3	20.3	19.1	33.3	18.2	21.0
Medium (2-9)	27.5	33.3	50.0	32.2	25.4	29.0	25.9	28.6	18.1
High (10 or +)	17.4	12.5	--	23.0	7.3	5.6	3.7	8.9	5.1
N	287	24	8	87	177	162	27	203	138
1955 Cohort									
No Contacts	44.0	51.4	15.4	46.1	56.8	67.1	59.5	62.8	68.3
Low (1)	17.9	21.6	38.5	22.4	23.2	16.7	7.1	19.4	16.6
Medium (2-9)	21.8	21.6	46.2	22.4	16.2	14.0	21.4	13.8	13.1
High (10 or +)	16.3	5.4	--	9.1	3.7	2.3	11.9	4.0	2.0
N	459	37	13	165	271	222	42	376	199

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 14. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1942 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	31.3	25.0	--	47.2	33.0	45.7	33.3	28.6	49.0	36.6
9	12.5	25.0	50.0	1.9	13.8	11.7	22.2	17.9	14.3	12.9
17	2.8	--	--	1.9	3.2	--	--	5.4	--	2.2
18	13.1	25.0	50.0	15.1	19.1	12.8	22.2	19.6	12.2	15.5
81	1.1	--	--	--	2.1	4.3	--	1.8	2.0	1.8
593	1.7	6.3	--	1.9	1.1	1.1	--	--	--	1.3
1105	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	.2
82	6.8	6.3	--	3.8	5.3	7.4	--	7.1	6.1	6.2
594	1.7	--	--	1.9	6.4	4.3	--	1.8	2.0	2.9
1106	1.7	6.3	--	1.9	1.1	3.2	--	5.4	4.1	2.6
146	4.5	--	--	1.9	2.1	2.1	11.1	3.6	--	2.9
658	1.1	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	.5
1170	4.0	--	--	7.5	1.1	1.1	--	3.6	4.1	3.1
2194	.6	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	.4
274	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	.2
1122	--	--	--	1.9	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1186	.6	--	--	1.9	1.1	--	--	--	--	.5
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.0	.2
290	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
84	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	.2
148	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	.2
100	--	--	--	1.9	--	--	--	--	--	.2
612	--	--	--	1.9	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1124	2.3	--	--	1.9	--	--	--	3.6	--	1.3
164	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1188	3.4	--	--	1.9	1.1	2.1	--	--	2.0	2.0
2212	1.7	--	--	1.9	--	2.1	--	--	--	1.1
292	3.4	6.3	--	--	3.2	--	11.1	--	--	2.0
1316	2.8	--	--	1.9	1.1	--	--	--	--	1.3
2340	1.7	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	1.8	2.0	1.1
N	176	16	2	53	94	94	9	56	49	549

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 15. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1949 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	31.7	41.7	25.0	19.5	46.9	46.3	37.0	44.3	55.8	40.9
9	13.2	8.3	25.0	18.4	14.7	13.6	18.5	13.3	13.0	14.0
17	4.5	--	--	4.6	2.3	2.5	11.1	1.5	2.2	3.1
18	10.1	16.7	25.0	12.6	9.6	12.3	14.8	8.9	6.5	10.2
20	.4	4.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
36	--	--	--	1.2	--	--	--	--	--	.1
585	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.7	.1
81	3.8	--	--	1.2	2.8	3.1	3.7	2.0	4.3	3.0
593	1.7	--	--	1.2	.6	--	--	1.0	.7	.9
1105	--	4.2	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.2
82	3.1	12.5	--	5.7	5.1	4.9	7.4	6.4	4.3	4.9
594	3.1	--	--	3.4	2.8	4.3	--	3.9	--	2.9
1106	3.8	--	12.5	3.4	2.3	1.9	3.7	4.4	2.9	3.2
2130	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.7	.1
146	2.1	--	12.5	--	.6	1.9	--	1.0	--	1.2
658	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.0	--	.2
1170	4.2	4.2	--	6.9	4.5	2.5	--	2.0	2.9	3.5
2194	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
610	--	--	--	--	--	.6	--	--	--	.1
1122	--	--	--	--	--	.6	--	--	--	.1
162	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1186	.4	--	--	--	.6	--	--	.5	.7	.4
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.1
596	--	--	--	--	--	.6	--	--	--	.1
1108	.7	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.3
148	.4	--	--	3.4	.6	--	3.7	--	--	.5
1172	.4	--	--	1.2	--	.6	--	1.0	.7	.5
100	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.2
612	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1124	.4	--	--	--	.6	--	--	--	1.4	.4
2148	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
164	1.4	--	--	2.3	1.1	.6	--	.5	--	.9
676	.4	--	--	--	--	.6	--	--	--	.2
1188	3.1	--	--	4.6	1.7	1.9	--	3.4	1.4	2.5
2212	1.7	4.2	--	2.3	--	--	--	.5	1.4	1.0
292	2.4	--	--	2.3	.6	.6	--	.5	--	1.1
1316	1.4	--	--	1.2	.6	--	--	1.5	--	.8
2340	3.8	4.2	--	4.6	2.3	.6	--	.5	--	2.0
N	287	24	8	87	177	162	27	203	138	1113

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

TABLE 16. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENSE RATES OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1955 COHORT

Geometric Score	HH*	HM	HL	MH	MM	ML	LH	LM	LL	Total
0	44.0	51.4	15.4	46.1	56.8	67.1	59.5	62.8	68.3	56.0
9	7.8	13.5	23.1	11.5	11.8	8.1	2.4	8.8	9.5	9.3
17	4.4	2.7	7.7	6.7	4.1	5.0	4.8	4.8	2.5	4.5
18	5.9	--	23.1	9.1	4.4	4.5	7.1	4.8	4.5	5.4
36	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.4	.3	.5	.2
73	.4	--	7.7	.6	--	--	--	--	--	.2
585	--	--	--	.6	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
81	.7	--	--	.6	.7	1.4	--	1.1	.5	.8
593	.9	--	--	1.2	1.1	.5	--	.8	1.5	.9
1105	3.5	5.4	--	1.2	4.8	1.8	--	4.0	2.5	3.2
2129	.2	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
82	2.0	5.4	--	1.2	.4	--	--	.8	.5	1.0
594	.7	--	--	--	.7	.5	2.4	.5	--	.5
1106	5.9	10.8	7.7	4.8	4.8	4.5	2.4	4.0	2.5	4.7
2130	--	--	--	.6	.4	--	--	--	.5	.2
146	.4	2.7	7.7	--	--	.5	--	.3	--	.3
658	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	.3	--	.1
1170	5.7	2.7	7.7	5.5	3.7	3.6	4.8	3.2	4.0	4.3
2194	.4	--	--	1.2	.4	--	--	--	.5	.3
1122	.2	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
162	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
674	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
1186	.4	--	--	--	.4	.5	--	--	.5	.3
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.4	--	--	.1
596	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	--	.1
1108	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	.1
1172	.4	--	--	--	--	.5	--	.5	--	.3
2196	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
1124	1.7	--	--	.6	--	--	--	.3	--	.6
2148	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
164	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
676	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	--	.2
1188	3.9	2.7	--	1.8	1.1	.9	2.4	1.1	--	1.8
2212	1.5	2.7	--	1.2	1.1	--	--	.3	--	.8
804	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.4	--	--	.1
1316	2.2	--	--	1.8	.4	.9	2.4	.3	1.0	1.1
2340	5.5	--	--	3.6	.4	--	4.8	.8	--	2.1
N	459	37	13	165	271	222	42	376	199	1784

* The first letter of each pair indicates whether the neighborhood has High, Medium, or Low crime producing characteristics and the second letter whether the neighborhood had High or Low delinquency or crime rates.

CONTINUED

4 OF 5

TABLE 17. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE VS. ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS THROUGH AGE 17 BY COHORTS

	High Offense Producing				Medium Offense Producing				Low Offense Producing			
	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA
1942 Cohort												
No Contacts	51.2	--	47.8	33.3	49.0	68.4	67.7	65.0	66.7	40.0	62.5	60.9
Low (1)	15.9	100.0	26.1	16.7	20.4	13.2	19.4	12.2	--	20.0	25.0	13.8
Medium (2-7)	23.2	--	21.7	50.0	18.4	7.9	9.7	15.4	22.2	30.0	12.5	19.5
High (8 or +)	9.8	--	4.3	--	12.2	10.5	3.2	7.3	11.1	10.0	--	5.7
N	164	1	23	6	49	38	31	123	9	10	8	87
1949 Cohort												
No Contacts	43.6	16.7	42.4	58.9	41.8	51.0	50.0	52.5	60.0	45.3	60.0	52.5
Low (1)	16.6	16.7	21.2	23.5	15.4	17.0	7.9	24.0	12.0	15.1	20.0	19.2
Medium (2-5)	23.9	33.3	33.3	11.8	28.6	22.0	26.8	19.7	20.0	30.2	18.0	22.9
High (6 or +)	15.9	33.3	3.0	5.9	14.3	10.0	5.4	3.8	8.0	9.4	2.0	5.4
N	259	6	33	17	91	100	56	183	25	53	50	240
1955 Cohort												
No Contacts	36.7	50.0	35.4	35.3	51.9	62.4	52.1	51.5	57.4	54.3	58.0	65.1
Low (1)	19.5	50.0	22.9	17.6	18.0	14.6	22.3	21.3	18.0	19.8	17.0	17.9
Medium (2-7)	31.1	--	35.4	35.3	19.0	19.4	23.4	19.9	11.5	19.8	17.0	14.8
High (8 or +)	12.7	--	6.3	11.8	11.1	3.9	2.1	7.4	13.1	6.0	8.0	2.3
N	425	4	48	17	189	103	94	272	61	116	88	352

TABLE 18. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE VS. ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1942 COHORT

Geometric Score	High Offense Producing				Medium Offense Producing				Low Offense Producing				Total
	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	
0	51.2	--	47.8	33.3	49.0	68.4	67.7	65.0	66.7	40.0	62.5	60.9	57.6
9	7.3	--	17.4	--	6.1	2.6	6.5	8.1	--	10.0	12.5	3.4	6.7
17	6.1	100.0	--	16.7	4.1	--	6.5	3.3	--	10.0	--	5.7	4.7
81	2.4	--	8.7	--	10.2	10.5	6.5	.8	--	--	12.5	4.6	4.2
18	9.1	--	8.7	--	8.2	--	6.5	5.7	11.1	10.0	--	6.9	6.9
82	7.3	--	8.7	33.3	--	5.3	3.2	6.5	--	--	12.5	5.7	6.0
1106	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
146	4.3	--	--	--	6.1	--	--	1.6	--	20.0	--	4.6	3.3
658	--	--	--	--	2.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1170	--	--	--	16.7	--	2.6	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	.5
274	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	11.1	--	--	1.2	.7
786	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
162	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
290	--	--	--	--	2.0	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.4
20	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	10.0	--	--	.4
84	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1172	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	.2
276	--	--	4.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
36	--	--	--	--	--	2.6	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.4
100	1.2	--	--	--	4.1	--	--	.8	11.1	--	--	3.4	1.6
612	--	--	--	--	--	2.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1124	1.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4
164	1.8	--	4.3	--	2.0	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	1.1
676	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.2
1188	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
292	2.4	--	--	--	6.1	5.3	--	1.6	--	--	--	--	2.0
804	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	.2
1316	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.4	--	--	--	--	.7
2340	.6	--	--	--	--	--	3.2	--	--	--	--	--	.4
N	164	1	23	6	49	38	31	123	9	10	8	37	549

TABLE 19. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE VS. ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1949 COHORT

Geometric Score	High Offense Producing				Medium Offense Producing				Low Offense Producing				Total
	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	
0	43.6	16.7	42.4	58.9	41.8	51.0	50.0	52.5	60.0	45.3	60.0	52.5	49.1
9	5.4	16.7	6.1	11.8	5.5	7.0	1.8	13.1	8.0	5.7	6.0	10.0	7.9
17	5.8	--	9.1	11.8	6.6	10.0	7.1	5.5	4.0	7.5	6.0	17.5	6.8
81	5.4	--	6.1	--	3.3	--	8.9	5.5	--	1.9	8.0	1.7	3.9
18	10.4	--	18.2	5.9	9.9	11.0	12.5	11.5	12.0	17.0	6.0	11.3	11.1
82	10.0	33.3	9.1	--	11.0	6.0	8.9	4.9	8.0	5.7	12.0	5.8	7.7
594	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
1106	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.2
146	1.5	--	3.0	--	6.6	3.0	3.6	1.6	--	7.5	--	3.8	2.9
658	.4	--	--	--	--	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.3
1170	--	--	3.0	5.9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.3
2194	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
274	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
34	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
162	.4	--	--	--	--	--	1.8	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1186	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
20	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	--	.1
84	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	.8	.4
596	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.9	--	--	.1
148	.4	16.7	--	--	--	1.0	1.8	--	--	--	--	--	.4
1172	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	1.9	--	--	.2
36	.8	16.7	--	--	1.1	1.0	--	1.1	--	--	2.0	.4	.8
100	.8	--	--	--	1.1	1.0	3.6	--	--	1.9	--	--	.6
164	4.6	--	3.0	5.9	3.3	1.0	--	1.6	--	--	--	1.3	2.2
676	1.2	--	--	--	1.1	1.0	--	.5	--	--	--	--	.5
1188	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	.3
292	3.5	--	--	--	1.1	3.0	--	.5	8.0	1.9	--	.8	1.7
804	.8	--	--	--	--	2.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4
1316	1.5	--	--	--	4.4	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	1.3	1.2
2340	1.5	--	--	--	2.2	--	--	--	--	1.9	--	--	.6
N	259	6	33	17	91	100	56	183	25	53	50	240	1113

TABLE 20. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE VS. ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1955 COHORT

Geometric	High Offense Producing				Medium Offense Producing				Low Offense Producing				
Score	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	Total
0	36.7	50.0	35.4	35.3	51.9	62.1	52.1	51.5	57.4	54.3	58.0	65.1	51.4
9	5.6	--	4.2	--	5.3	3.9	9.6	5.9	4.9	8.6	2.3	6.8	5.9
17	8.0	25.0	14.6	11.8	7.4	6.8	4.3	11.0	6.6	6.9	9.1	6.0	7.9
81	3.3	25.0	4.2	5.9	3.2	1.9	5.3	1.8	--	3.4	3.4	1.4	2.7
593	.2	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.2
1105	2.4	--	--	--	1.6	1.9	3.2	2.6	6.6	.9	2.3	3.4	2.5
18	11.1	--	20.8	11.8	4.2	5.8	10.6	8.8	4.9	9.5	4.5	4.8	8.0
82	4.2	--	2.1	--	3.7	2.9	10.6	2.2	--	1.7	3.4	2.3	3.3
594	1.9	--	2.1	--	1.1	1.0	--	.4	--	.9	1.1	1.7	1.2
1106	3.5	--	2.1	5.9	3.2	7.8	--	4.0	3.3	3.4	2.3	1.7	3.2
2130	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
146	2.8	--	--	--	1.6	--	--	2.2	1.6	--	2.3	.3	1.4
658	1.2	--	4.2	--	2.6	--	--	.7	--	--	1.1	.3	.9
1170	4.7	--	4.2	5.9	2.1	1.9	2.1	.7	1.6	4.3	1.1	2.8	2.8
2194	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.2
1122	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	.1
162	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.2
674	.5	--	--	5.9	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.2
1186	.2	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.2
802	--	--	--	5.9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
84	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.6	--	1.1	--	.1
660	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.9	--	--	.1
2324	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	1.6	--	--	--	.1
100	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
612	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1124	--	--	--	--	.5	--	1.1	.4	--	.9	--	.3	.3
164	.5	--	2.1	--	.5	--	1.1	.4	1.6	--	--	--	.4
676	.5	--	2.1	--	.5	--	--	1.1	--	.9	--	--	.5
1188	2.1	--	--	--	4.2	1.9	--	.4	3.3	1.7	3.4	.6	1.6
2212	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.9	--	--	.1
292	.5	--	--	--	--	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
804	.9	--	--	--	2.1	--	--	.7	--	--	--	--	.6
1316	1.4	--	2.1	5.9	1.6	1.0	--	1.1	4.9	--	--	.6	1.1
2340	6.4	--	--	5.9	1.6	--	--	2.6	--	.9	3.4	.9	2.5
N	425	4	48	17	189	103	94	272	61	116	88	352	1769

TABLE 21. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE VS. ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO NUMBER OF POLICE CONTACTS AFTER AGE 17 BY COHORTS

	High Offense Producing				Medium Offense Producing				Low Offense Producing			
	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA
1942 Cohort												
No Contacts	31.1	--	30.4	16.7	44.9	36.8	36.4	43.1	33.3	30.0	25.0	40.2
Low (1)	18.9	100.0	21.7	16.7	10.2	39.5	27.3	16.3	11.1	10.0	37.5	21.8
Medium (2-9)	32.9	--	34.8	66.7	32.7	15.8	30.3	34.1	33.3	60.0	37.5	34.5
High (10 or +)	17.1	--	13.0	--	12.2	7.9	6.1	6.5	22.2	--	--	3.4
N	164	1	23	6	49	38	33	123	9	10	8	87
1949 Cohort												
No Contacts	30.5	50.0	36.4	52.9	30.8	41.0	49.3	44.3	40.0	37.7	42.0	52.5
Low (1)	24.3	33.3	12.1	5.9	22.0	20.0	18.8	22.4	28.0	18.9	28.0	18.3
Medium (2-6)	26.6	--	39.4	41.2	30.8	29.0	23.2	26.8	24.0	35.8	24.0	22.1
High (7 or +)	18.5	16.7	12.1	--	16.5	10.0	8.7	6.6	8.0	7.5	6.0	7.1
N	259	6	33	17	91	100	69	183	25	53	50	240
1955 Cohort												
No Contacts	44.6	100.0	39.7	35.3	54.5	56.3	52.4	57.6	65.6	62.9	61.4	65.3
Low (1)	17.8	--	22.4	23.5	22.8	25.2	25.2	18.8	8.2	15.5	22.7	18.8
Medium (2-5)	22.3	--	20.7	29.4	18.5	15.5	17.5	18.1	16.4	18.1	10.2	13.1
High (6 or +)	15.3	--	17.2	11.8	4.2	2.9	4.9	5.4	9.8	3.4	5.7	2.8
N	426	4	58	17	189	103	103	276	61	116	88	352

TABLE 22. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE VS. ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1942 COHORT

Geometric Score	High Offense Producing				Medium Offense Producing				Low Offense Producing				Total
	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	
0	31.1	--	30.4	16.7	44.9	36.8	36.4	43.1	33.3	30.0	25.0	40.2	36.8
9	13.4	100.0	13.0	16.7	6.1	18.4	21.2	8.1	11.1	10.0	25.0	17.2	13.2
17	3.0	--	--	--	--	--	6.1	8.1	--	--	12.5	2.3	3.6
81	.6	--	4.3	--	--	10.5	--	--	--	--	--	2.3	1.5
593	1.8	--	4.3	--	4.1	7.9	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.6
18	12.2	--	26.1	33.3	10.2	2.6	12.1	14.6	22.2	30.0	25.0	13.8	13.6
82	6.7	--	4.3	16.7	4.1	2.6	9.1	5.7	--	--	12.5	6.9	6.0
594	1.2	--	--	16.7	4.1	2.6	3.0	6.5	--	10.0	--	1.1	3.1
1106	1.8	--	4.3	--	2.0	5.3	--	1.6	--	--	--	5.7	2.5
146	4.9	--	--	--	4.1	--	--	2.4	11.1	10.0	--	1.1	2.9
658	1.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.5
1170	4.3	--	--	--	6.1	2.6	3.0	.8	--	10.0	--	3.4	3.1
2194	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.4
1122	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.2
290	.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1186	.6	--	--	--	2.0	2.6	3.0	--	--	--	--	--	.7
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.3	.4
84	--	--	--	--	--	2.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
148	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	--	.2
100	--	--	--	--	2.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
612	--	--	--	--	2.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1124	2.4	--	--	--	2.0	--	--	--	11.1	--	--	--	1.1
164	--	--	4.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1188	3.7	--	--	--	--	5.3	3.0	1.6	--	--	--	1.1	2.2
2212	1.8	--	--	--	2.0	--	--	1.6	--	--	--	--	1.1
292	3.7	--	4.3	--	4.1	--	--	.8	11.1	--	--	--	2.0
1316	2.4	--	4.3	--	--	--	3.0	.8	--	--	--	--	1.3
2340	1.8	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	--	--	--	2.3	1.1
N	164	1	23	6	49	38	33	123	9	10	8	87	551

TABLE 23. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE VS. ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1949 COHORT

Geometric Score	High Offense Producing				Medium Offense Producing				Low Offense Producing				Total
	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	
0	30.5	50.0	36.4	52.9	30.8	41.0	49.3	44.3	40.0	37.7	42.0	52.5	41.2
9	13.5	16.7	12.1	--	18.7	13.0	11.6	16.4	16.0	18.9	14.0	12.1	14.0
17	4.6	--	--	5.9	1.1	2.0	4.3	3.8	12.0	--	2.0	2.1	3.1
585	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
81	4.2	--	--	--	1.1	5.0	2.9	2.2	--	--	6.0	3.3	3.0
593	1.9	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	4.0	.4	.8
1105	--	16.7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.0	--	.2
18	10.4	--	15.2	11.8	8.8	16.0	8.7	12.0	12.0	5.7	10.0	8.3	10.4
82	3.1	--	9.1	5.9	4.4	1.0	4.3	6.0	8.0	7.5	6.0	5.0	4.6
594	3.5	--	--	--	5.5	2.0	2.9	3.3	--	5.7	--	2.1	2.8
1106	3.5	--	6.1	5.9	4.4	1.0	1.4	1.1	4.0	9.4	4.0	2.5	3.0
2130	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
146	1.2	--	3.0	11.8	--	3.0	1.4	1.1	--	1.9	2.0	--	1.2
658	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.9	--	.4	.2
1170	4.2	--	6.1	--	6.6	5.0	4.3	2.7	--	1.9	2.0	2.5	3.6
2194	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
610	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	--	.1
1122	--	--	--	--	--	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
162	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1186	--	--	--	5.9	1.1	--	--	--	--	1.9	--	.4	.4
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.1
20	.4	--	3.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
596	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	--	.1
1108	.8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	.3
148	.4	--	--	--	1.1	--	1.4	1.1	4.0	--	--	--	.5
1172	--	--	3.0	--	1.1	1.0	--	--	--	1.9	--	.8	.5
36	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	--	.1
100	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4.0	--	--	--	.2
612	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
1124	.4	--	--	--	--	1.0	1.4	--	--	--	--	.8	.4
2148	.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
164	1.5	--	--	--	2.2	2.0	1.4	.5	--	--	--	.4	1.0
676	.4	--	--	--	--	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	.2
1188	3.5	--	--	--	4.4	2.0	1.4	1.6	--	3.8	4.0	2.1	2.5
2212	1.5	--	6.1	--	2.2	--	--	--	--	--	2.0	.8	1.0
292	2.7	--	--	--	2.2	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	.4	1.1
1316	1.5	--	--	--	--	--	1.4	.5	--	1.9	--	.8	.8
2340	4.2	16.7	--	--	3.3	3.0	1.4	.5	--	--	--	.4	1.9
N	259	6	33	17	91	100	69	183	25	53	50	240	1126

TABLE 24. RELATIONSHIP OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND JUVENILE VS. ADULT OFFENSE RATES TO ADULT JUSTICE EXPERIENCE TYPE (GEOMETRIC SCORES): 1955 COHORT

Geometric Score	High Offense Producing				Medium Offense Producing				Low Offense Producing				Total
	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	HJ-HA	HJ-LA	LJ-HA	LJ-LA	
0	44.6	100.0	39.7	35.3	54.5	56.3	52.4	57.6	65.6	62.3	61.4	65.3	55.4
9	7.5	--	12.1	11.8	12.2	16.5	13.6	9.1	1.6	8.6	8.0	9.9	9.6
17	4.2	--	6.9	5.9	5.8	4.9	7.0	4.0	4.9	1.7	8.0	3.7	4.6
73	.5	--	--	5.9	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4
585	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
81	.7	--	--	--	.5	--	1.9	1.1	1.6	.9	1.1	.6	.8
593	.9	--	--	--	2.1	--	--	.7	--	.9	1.1	1.1	.9
1105	3.8	--	3.4	--	1.1	3.9	2.9	3.3	--	3.4	4.5	13.4	3.1
2129	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
18	6.1	--	1.7	11.8	5.3	4.9	7.0	6.2	4.9	4.3	2.3	5.7	5.5
82	1.9	--	3.4	5.9	.5	--	--	.4	--	1.7	1.1	.3	.9
594	.7	--	--	--	--	1.9	1.0	.4	1.6	--	1.1	.3	.6
1106	6.3	--	6.9	5.9	5.8	6.8	4.9	3.6	3.3	8.6	1.1	2.3	4.8
2130	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.2
146	.5	--	1.7	--	--	--	--	.7	--	--	--	.3	.3
658	--	--	--	--	--	1.0	1.0	--	--	.9	--	--	.2
1170	5.6	--	5.2	5.9	5.3	1.0	1.9	5.4	4.9	2.6	4.5	3.4	4.4
2194	.5	--	--	--	--	--	1.0	.7	--	--	--	.3	.3
1122	.2	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
162	--	--	1.7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
674	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	--	.1
1186	.5	--	--	--	--	--	1.0	.4	--	--	--	.3	.3
2210	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.6	--	--	--	.1
596	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	.1
1108	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.3	.1
1172	.5	--	--	--	--	1.0	--	--	--	.9	--	.3	.3
2196	--	--	--	--	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
36	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.6	.9	--	.3	.2
1124	1.4	--	3.4	--	--	--	--	.4	--	--	--	.3	.6
2148	.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.1
164	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	.1
676	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	.2
1188	3.8	--	5.2	--	1.1	--	1.9	1.4	1.6	--	3.4	.3	1.8
2212	1.6	--	1.7	--	.5	1.0	1.9	.7	--	.9	--	--	.8
804	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.6	--	--	--	.1
1316	1.9	--	1.7	5.9	1.6	--	--	1.1	1.6	--	--	.9	1.1
2340	4.9	--	5.2	5.9	.5	1.0	--	1.8	3.3	.9	--	.6	2.1
N	426	4	58	17	189	103	103	276	61	116	88	352	1793

END