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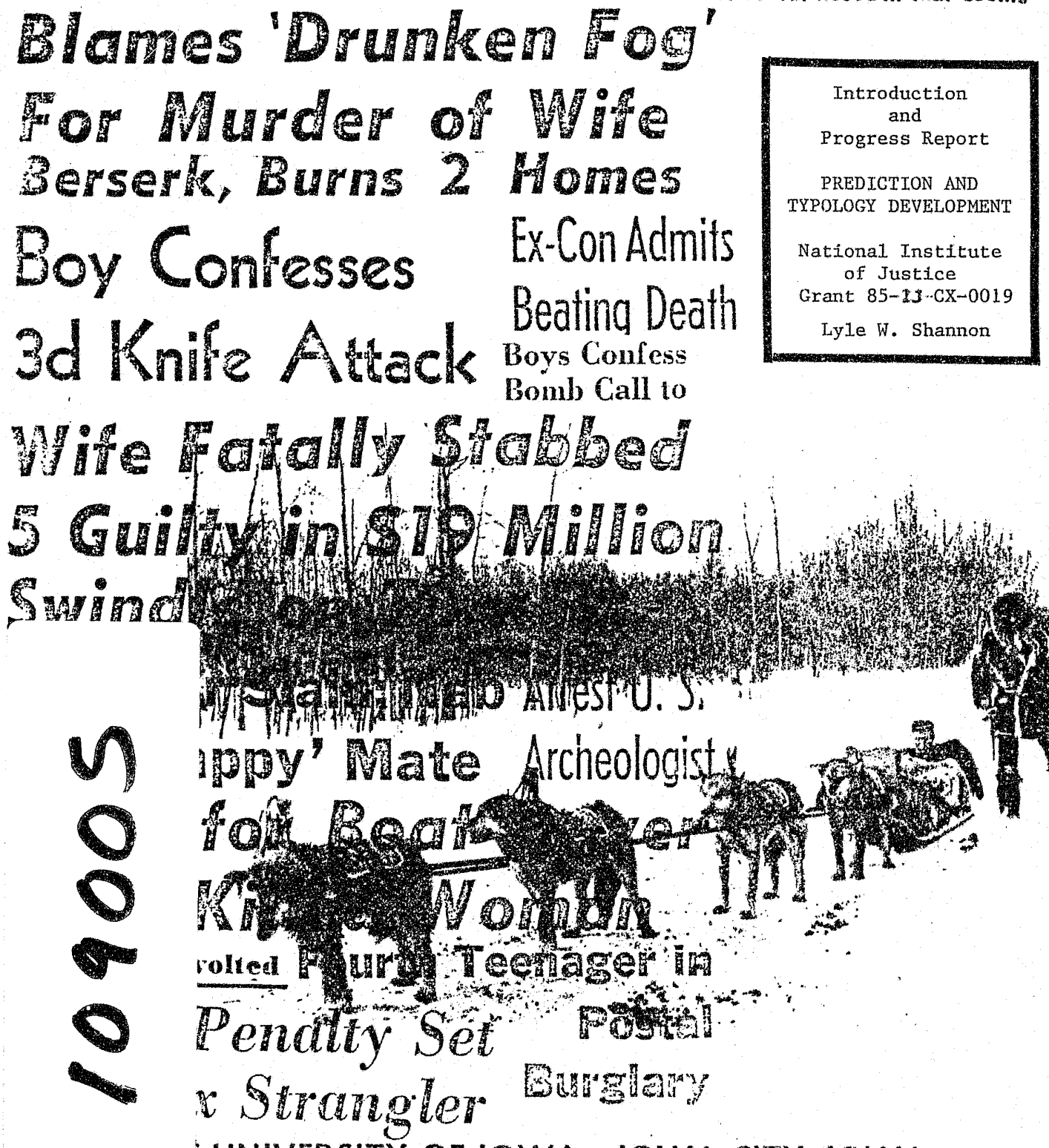

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Introduction
and
Progress Report

PREDICTION AND
TYPOLOGY DEVELOPMENT

National Institute
of Justice
Grant 85-IJ-CX-0019

Lyle W. Shannon

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA · IOWA CITY, IOWA

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

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Introduction and Progress Report

PREDICTION AND TYPOLOGY DEVELOPMENT

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NCJRS

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Prediction and Typology Development

PART I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The aim of this project is to develop a typology or classification system for different types and patterns of delinquency in order to facilitate the understanding and prediction of: 1) continuity in delinquent careers, 2) continuation to adult crime, and 3) the development of serious criminal careers. This report commences with a statement of the problem following the argument of our application and a reconsideration of the literature referred to in the proposal as well as new and/or other materials that have come to our attention. We also review our prior research on delinquency and crime in Madison and Racine, Wisconsin so that the reader may see how these projects are interrelated and have built upon each other.

Our research on juvenile delinquency and adult crime, commencing in the 1950s in Madison, Wisconsin and the 1960s in Racine and continuing to the present, indicated that the problems of measurement, classification, and prediction are so intertwined that they should be given further simultaneous consideration with the several data sets that have now been developed.

Although there has been a major long-term controversy over the use of measures derived from official records vs. measures derived from self-reports, we do not consider this controversy relevant to the problem at hand, for one supplements the other as

an indication of the nature and extent of delinquent and criminal careers.[1]

We have both types of data but have exploited our official data more than the self-report data. Official police records permit the development of a reasonably complete temporal and spatial picture of offenses known to the police or alleged offenses that have resulted in contacts with the police. Court records enable us to determine how society has responded to delinquent and criminal behavior. Interviews and self-reports add an additional dimension that may be used in estimating the incidence and prevalance of delinquency and crime and responses to detection, apprehension, and adjudication. All of the aforementioned, official police and court records, self-reports, and other respondent-generated information, may be used in the construction of delinquent and criminal typologies. Each type of data facilitates the construction of a more complete picture of the juvenile delinquent and the criminal and of delinquency and crime in the community.[2]

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[1] For an excellent monograph dealing with the problem of self-report vs. official records, see Michael J. Hindelang, Travis Hirschi, and Joseph G. Weiss, Measuring Delinquency (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981). Also see: Maynard L. Erickson and LaMar T. Empey, "Court Records, Undetected Delinquency and Decision-Making," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 54 (1963): 456-469; Stanton Wheeler, "Criminal Statistics: A Reformulation of the Problem," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 58(1967): 317-324; Delbert S. Elliott and Suzanne S. Ageton, "Reconciling Race and Class Differences in Self-Reported and Official Estimates of Delinquency," American Sociological Review 45 (1980): 95-110.

[2] For an early study of this problem, see: Sophia M. Robison, Can Delinquency Be Measured? (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). More recently, a variety of more or less

Allied to this is the problem of developing delinquent and criminal typologies. Typologies may be based on clusters of legal categories (offense types) or may be behavioral in the sense that they refer to the individual vs. the group offender or the youthful, experimental vs. the hardened career criminal. There have been numerous, but largely unsuccessful, attempts to develop classification systems for the purpose of more parsimoniously explaining behavior, for the purpose of predicting future action, or for the purpose of planning programs for prevention and control.[3]

Our research in the late 1950s and early 1960s (the Madison and early Racine, non-birth cohort research) on measurement and prediction added little of a positive nature to our knowledge of

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sophisticated scaling techniques (in addition to those cited in other references on the problem of measurement) have been utilized: Thorsten Sellin and Marvin Wolfgang, The Measurement of Delinquency (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), particularly Chapters 5, 8, 18, and 20; R. I. Martin and H. W. KLein, A Comparative Analysis of Four Measures of Delinquency Seriousness (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Youth Studies Center, 1965); Travis Hirschi and Hanan C. Selvin, Delinquency Research: An Appraisal of Analytic Methods, (New York: The Free Press, 1967); Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin, Delinquency in a Birth Cohort (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972); Alfred Blumstein and Jacqueline Cohen, "Estimating Individual Crime Rates from Arrest Records," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 70 (1979): 561-585.

Perhaps the most sophisticated of the non-sociologists who writes about crime, James Q. Wilson, has repeatedly (if not always) directly acknowledged the problem of conclusions based on inadequate data and measurement in his compelling little 1985 revision of Thinking About Crime (New York: Vintage Books, 1985). Beyond that, he and his co-authors provide much to think about in their discussion of many of the major issues in delinquency in crime. This volume is of particular use to those who are planning research which will fill the important gaps in

how to predict continuing careers.[4]

Before turning to a brief presentation of the methodological and substantive work that we have conducted commencing in the mid-1970s and extending to the present, we must emphasize that our first concern should be with the adequacy of any measurement scale in its substitution of a score for the phenomenon in which we are interested. If we are completely satisfied that a measuring device measures what we wish to measure (for example, seriousness of careers based on the behaviors engaged in by juveniles) then the device is a good one whether it predicts anything or not. We next ask if the scale is an efficient predictive device. Does seriousness of delinquent careers (at least as we have measured seriousness) enable us to predict adult crime?

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our knowledge about crime, gaps which Wilson makes so obvious to those who have an applied orientation.

[3] The pre-1970 literature on the prediction problem was critical or disappointing. Selected items follow: Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "The Accuracy, Efficiency and Validity of a Prediction Instrument," American Journal of Sociology, 56 (1951): 552-561; Paul Meehl, Clinical vs. Statistical Prediction: A Theoretical Analysis and a Review of the Evidence (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954); Sheldon Glueck, "Ten Years of Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 51 (1960): 301-307; D. H. Stott, "The Prediction of Delinquency from Non-Delinquent Behavior," British Journal of Delinquency, 10 (1960): 202-210; Eleanor T. Glueck, "Efforts to Identify Delinquents," Federal Probation, 24 (1960): 49-56; Harwin L. Voss, "The Predictive Efficiency of the Glueck Social Prediction Table," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 54 (1963): 421-430; Jackson Toby, "An Evaluation of Early Identification and Intensive Treatment Programs for Predelinquents," Social Problems, 13 (1965): 160-175; Don M. Gottfredson, "Assessment and Prediction Methods in Crime and Delinquency," in James E. Teele, (ed.), Juvenile Delinquency (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock, 1970): 401-424. (This article contains an excellent bibliography on the

PREDICTING FROM LONGITUDINAL DATA SETS: CONCLUSIONS FROM THE RACINE STUDY AND OTHERS

Our research since the early 1970s has involved extensive analysis of three longitudinal birth cohorts, 1942, 1949, 1955 (6,127 persons of whom 4,079 had continuous residence in Racine).[5] Beside the official police contact records, referral records, and court dispositions for three cohorts[6] we have interview data for 889 persons from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.

Twenty-six basic categories of offenses (reasons for police contact) were utilized in developing measures of delinquency and crime. The process of determining who in each cohort had continuous residence also enabled us to establish the place of residence of cohort members so that each may be continually located by type of area in which he/she resided. Place of

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prediction problem.) One of the best selections of reports on and problems in predicting delinquency appeared in 1962 in Norman Johnston, Leonard Savitz, and Marvin Wolfgang, The Sociology of Punishment and Corrections (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1962). Charles F. Welford also made an excellent statement of the problem in Chapter 2 of William E. Amos and Charles F. Welford, Delinquency Prevention: Theory and Practice (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967).

The post-1970 literature has been equally disappointing and/or critical: John Monahan, "The Prediction of Violent Criminal Behavior: A Methodological Critique and Prospectus," in Alfred Blumstein, Jacqueline Cohen, and Daniel Nagin (eds.), Deterrence and Incapacitation: Estimating the Effects of Criminal Sanctions on Crime Rates (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1978): 244-269; Kirsten M. Williams, "Selection Criteria for Career Criminal Programs," The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology, 71 (1980): 89-93; Leslie T. Wilkins, "Problems with Existing Prediction Studies and Future Research Needs," The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology, 71 (1980): 98-101; John Monahan, Predicting Violent Behavior: An Assessment of Clinical Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1981); John Monahan, "Childhood Predictors of Adult Criminal Experience," Chapter 3 in Fernand N. Dutile, Cleon H. Foust, and

socialization and place of adult residence were often different and there was considerable local mobility within periods. The basic problem in attempting to predict any behavior that is deviant, and the more deviant the more difficult, stems from the fact that fewer than half of the group may fall in the category to be predicted, the base rate problem, the problem of skewed marginals. As we progressed from the prediction of police contacts to the prediction of felonies the problem was even further exacerbated.

Table 1, a table which we have presented in numerous papers and reports, is again presented to illustrate this point, a point which appears to have escaped many researchers who thus present misleading

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D. Robert Webster (eds.), Early Childhood Intervention and Juvenile Delinquency (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1982); and William Rhodes, Herbert Tyson, James Weekley, Catherine Conly, and Gustave Powell, Developing Criteria for Identifying Career Criminals (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Legal Policy, Federal Justice Research Program, September 1982.)

4 Lyle W. Shannon, Measuring Delinquency and Predicting Later Criminal Careers (Iowa City: Iowa Urban Community Research Center, 1973): 124 pp. This research was supported by Small Research Grant MH 11367-01 and Grant MH 15627-01 of the Mental Health Small Grant Committee, National Institute of Mental Health, the Graduate College, the College of Liberal Arts, and the Division of Extension and University Services of the University of Iowa, the Research Committee of the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services. Among the reports on this research are: Austin T. Turk, Adolescence and Delinquency in Urban Society, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 1962); Lyle W. Shannon, "Types and Patterns of Delinquency Referral in a Middle-sized City," The British Journal of Criminology, (1962): 24-36; Lyle W. Shannon, "Types and Patterns of Delinquency in a Middle Sized City," The Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1 (1964): 53-66; Austin T. Turk,

TABLE 1. PREDICTING ADULT OFFENDERS FROM JUVENILE CAREERS

Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development[1]

Court Convictions Age 18 through 21

FALSE NEGATIVES

Court Convictions 14-17	No	Yes	Total
No	269 (87.6)	38 (12.4)	307 (78.9)
Yes	32 (39.0)	50 (61.0)	82 (21.1)
Total	301 (77.4)	88 (22.6)	389 (100.0)

FALSE POSITIVES

Pearson's R = .474
Coefficient of Predictability = .205

Philadelphia Birth Cohort Study[2]

Adult Records Age 18 through 25

Juvenile Records	No	Yes	Total
No	556 (88.1)	75 (11.9)	631 (65.0)
Yes	197 (57.9)	143 (42.1)	340 (35.0)
Total	753 (77.5)	218 (22.5)	971 (100.0)

Pearson's R = .345
Coefficient of Predictability = .000

Racine Cohort Study (1949 Cohort)[3]

Police Contacts Age 18 through 25

Police Contact 6-17	No	Yes	Total
No	400 (59.4)	273 (40.6)	673 (51.9)
Yes	166 (26.6)	458 (73.4)	624 (48.1)
Total	566 (43.6)	731 (56.4)	1297 (100.0)

Pearson's R = .331
Coefficient of Predictability = .224

Racine Cohort Study (1949 Cohort)[3]

Felony-level Contacts Age 18 through 25

TRUE NEGATIVES

Felony-level Contact 6-17	No	Yes	Total
No	1164 (96.0)	49 (4.0)	1213 (93.5)
Yes	59 (70.2)	25 (29.8)	84 (6.5)
Total	1223 (94.3)	74 (5.7)	1297 (100.0)

TRUE POSITIVES

Pearson's R = .273
Coefficient of Predictability = .000

[1] Two birth cohorts of London boys born circa 1952 and 1953. D.P. Farrington and D.J. West, The Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development. Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge, 1977.

[2] Nine hundred seventy-one males from 1945 Philadelphia birth cohort. Marvin Wolfgang, "From Boy to Man--From Delinquency to Crime." Paper prepared for National Symposium on the Serious Juvenile Offender, Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, 1977.

[3] One thousand two hundred and ninety-seven males and females from Racine three birth cohort study (1942, 1949, 1955). Lyle W. Shannon, Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1982.

evaluations of the importance of their findings and the problems of application that follow.[7] This table contains the results (simplified) from three birth cohort studies of the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult crime. The first is from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (Farrington, 1977). Only 22.6% of the combined cohorts have court convictions as adults. Utilizing conviction during the juvenile period as a predictor results in only a 20.5% reduction in error over the prediction that no one would have a conviction as an adult.

In the Philadelphia birth cohort study (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972), 22.5% of the 1945 cohort had adult records but there was no increase in predictive efficiency by using juvenile records. Note that even though delinquency and crime are correlated .345, there are actually more false positives than

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"Toward Construction of a Theory of Delinquency," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 55 (1964): 215-229; Robert M. Terry, "Police Criteria in the Screening of Juvenile Offenders," The Wisconsin Sociologist, 5 (1966-1967): 21-32; Robert M. Terry, "The Screening of Juvenile Offenders," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 58 (1967): 163-181; Robert M. Terry, "Discrimination in the Handling of Juvenile Offenders by Social-Control Agencies," The Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, (1967): 218-230; Lyle W. Shannon, "The Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in a Middle-Sized City," Sociological Quarterly, 6 (1967): 365-382.

[5] 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", Norval Morris and Michael Tonry (eds.), Crime and Justice, Vol. 2 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,

true positives.

Two tables are presented from the Racine study, the first including all police contacts and the second only those at the felony level. While errors are reduced by 22.4% over the prediction that everyone in the cohort would have a police contact as an adult (including traffic contacts), the proportion of both false negatives and positives was high. The quite even distribution of persons with and without contacts resulted in high marginal errors of prediction that were reduced by using juvenile records as the predictor. In the second Racine example we have an extreme case of a low base rate, only 5.7% of the cohort having felony-level police contacts as adults. The best prediction is that no one would have a felony-level contact as an adult; utilization of their juvenile records would have produced

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1980): 321-380. 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.

6 These data were collected as part of two earlier projects and 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 (1981): 477 pp. 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," Charles Welford (ed.), Quantitative Studies in Criminology (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978): 121-146 and "Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers," Clark C. Abt (ed.), Problems in American Social Policy Research (Cambridge: Abt Books, 1980): 232-246. Most recently we have completed The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the

more false positives than false negatives.[8] Furthermore, there were actually more (twice as many) persons who had felony-level contacts as adults who had not had them as juveniles than there were persons whose adult felonies were a continuation of their juvenile behavior.

These examples selected from birth cohort studies indicate that records alone (including the nature of offenses) do not generate much improvement in predictive efficiency over that which may be had from utilization of the base rate. Most prediction devices developed from these kinds of data are plagued by the base rate problem because people on the firing line wish to predict serious, violent, or repetitious crime and a relatively small proportion of the adult population becomes involved in serious, violent, or repetitious crime.

Delinquent Neighborhood (1984): 350 pp. Revised and expanded Final Report to the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Department of Justice, Grant Number 82-JN-AX-0004.

[7] For a critique of numerous very recent attempts to predict serious criminal careers see Lyle W. Shannon, "The Prediction Problem as it Applies to Delinquency and Crime Control," presented to the First National Symposium on Crime Control, National Criminal Justice Association, April 21-25, 1983, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Available in multilith. Most recently we have addressed the problem in "Risk Assessment vs. Real Prediction: The Prediction Problem and Public Trust," Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 1 (1985): 159-189.

[8] The trade-off in costs and consequences of the two types of errors is discussed at some length by Leslie Wilkins in "Putting 'Treatment' on Trial," The Hastings Center Report (Hastings-on-the Hudson: Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences, 1975), reprinted in Norman Johnson and Leonard D. Savitz, Justice and Corrections (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978): 670-687. As far as an understanding of the basic prediction problem and its application is concerned, see Marcia R. Chaiken and Jan M. Chaiken, "Offender Types and Public Policy," Crime and

To pursue the Racine example a bit further in illustrating the problem, from 8% to 14% of each cohort was responsible for all of the felonies by members of the cohort. The 5% of each cohort who had two or three felony contacts was responsible for 75% of all felonies. To be even more specific, less than 1% of the 1942 Cohort was responsible for all of the police contacts for armed robbery, 1% of the 1949 Cohort, and 2% of the 1955 Cohort. All of the contacts for assault were by 2.5% of the 1942 Cohort, 3.4% of the 1949 Cohort, and 4.8% of the 1955 Cohort. The more specific one becomes the smaller the number of persons to be predicted and the more difficult the problem. Yet, if we wish to utilize scarce correctional and resocialization resources efficiently, this is a problem that has not received nearly the amount of attention that it deserves.

Still, what we know about continuities and discontinuities, concentration and dispersion, and the effects of referral and sanctions leads us to believe that it should be possible to determine who those persons are who will have serious adult criminal careers prior to the development of these careers.

TYPOLOGIES AND PREDICTION: CONCLUSIONS FROM THE RACINE STUDY AND OTHERS

Sociologists have been concerned about the possibility of developing a typology or scale which takes into consideration the interrelationship of various categories of offenses. Thus, each person's type or scale score would be based on weights related to

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Delinquency 30 (1984): 195-225.

the probability that a given category of contact-generating behavior would be a part of a larger pattern of behavior typical of serious delinquency or predictive of a serious criminal career. Factor analysis, for example, could not only provide a basis for assigning weights to different reasons for police contact, but could at the same time determine if there are groups of people who tend to share the same delinquent and/or criminal behaviors as represented by categories of police contacts.

The issue of offense clustering is related to that of offense specialization dealt with by Wolfgang, et al., through the use of stochastic modeling. They concluded that there is some tendency to repeat the same type of offense but that the probability of repetition, except that for theft offenses, was low.[9] On the other hand, Bursik (using the same categories as did Wolfgang) has analyzed the careers of 750 Chicago youths who had been adjudicated delinquent by the age of 17 and found evidence of some specialization.[10] His sample differs from that of the Philadelphia and Racine cohorts, however, in that the adjudicated Chicago youth were more likely to have a greater proportion of serious contacts in their records than do members of a birth cohort.

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[9] Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio and Thorsten Sellin, Delinquency in a Birth Cohort (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 197): 174-207.

[10] Robert J. Bursik, Jr., "The Dynamics of Specialization in Juvenile Offenses," Social Forces 59 (1980): 851-864.

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

We have also considered the utility of simple empirical typologies which were developed following the lead of Wolfgang, et al. In their study of delinquency in a birth cohort they subdivided their subjects into one-time offenders, non-chronic offenders (2-4 recorded police contacts), and chronic offenders (5 or more recorded police contacts). Although Wolfgang, et al., found that membership in these categories was related to race, academic achievement, intelligence, social class, etc., these were primarily bivariate findings. An extension of this approach would involve a multivariate analysis of group differences. A similar approach can be utilized if individuals are grouped on the basis of seriousness of police contacts, e.g., Felonies vs. Non-Felonies. The question is, are these groups readily distinguishable from each other on a variety of status, behavioral, experiential, and attitudinal variables using a multivariate technique?

Our data were analyzed by means of the discriminant analysis program associated with SPSS.[11] Procedurally, this analysis first

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[11] William R. Klecka, "Discriminant Analysis," in Norman H. Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Jean G. Jenkins, Karin Steinbrenner and Dale H. Bent (eds.), SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1975): 434-467.

attempted to discriminate between groups of individuals on the basis of frequency of contact with the police. In this, the frequency categories described by Wolfgang, et al. (1, 2-4, or 5 or more contacts), served as a preliminary model for differentiation.[12] An attempt was also made to discriminate between groups on the basis of the seriousness of recorded contacts.

The results of our several different approaches indicated that what is characteristic of individuals who have low or high frequency contacts with the law varies depending (1) on the way in which low and high are operationalized and (2) on the period under consideration. Although there is an indication that at least some variables tend to characterize the low or high frequency group regardless of how these groups are defined, there is still a good deal of variability in characteristic variables as the relative definitions of low and high change.

Also Peter A. Lachembruck, Discriminant Analysis (New York: Hafner Press, 1975).

[12] In discriminant analysis, the objective is to develop a linear combination of variables (a discriminant function) which maximizes the distinctiveness of two or more nominal categories. Using standardized discriminant function coefficients (analogous to standardized regression coefficients) it is possible to determine the relative potency of the variables included in the discriminant function to discriminate between groups, e.g., which variables best characterize group X and which group Y or Z. See, for example, Carolyn Becker and Sidney Kronus, "Sex and Drinking Patterns: An Old Relationship Revisited in a New Way," Social Problems, 24 (1977): 482-497.

All of this also leads to the conclusion that what is essentially a legalistic and static kind of analysis does not generate the kind of typology which we are seeking. True, characteristics of people are related to their delinquent and criminal behavior for various age periods, but this is not the same as examining the data as a chain of experiences. It may be that we should attempt to develop a typology which identifies the developing natures of careers which include sociologically meaningful changes in types of offenses as the juvenile interacts with society over a period of years. Instead of utilizing the numerous Part I and Part II offenses with emphasis on Part I offenses, we would classify offenses by their behavioral content.

Rather than attempt to predict who will have any given number of police contacts or a selected level of seriousness or simply whether or not a person will have one or more felony contacts after 18, we should work on the development of a more dynamic classification system. The idea would be to determine the developing characteristics of various delinquent and criminal types through a temporally-oriented analysis which takes into consideration the changing characteristics of people, their changing behavior, and society's reaction to their behavior. It is here, as on most other issues, that we agree with Gibbons when he states that offender roles may be analyzed in longitudinal terms. It is the analysis of these roles (recorded offenses) including society's reaction to the offender and his/her reaction to society's efforts that constitutes the data for empirically

deriving an offender typology.[13]

While we believe that Gibbons has made a contribution by his work on typologies, we also believe that his typology is a further extension of typologies based on offender behavior and recorded official responses to it that might not be sufficient consideration of the offender's interaction with the justice system and the dynamic aspect that is derived from a total career orientation. He is well aware of the deficiencies of most offender typologies that were popular during an early stage of the development of criminology and questions the value of continuing ventures of that nature. These typologies deal with people at one end of the continuum, those whose behavior has been sufficiently extensive to place them in the courts and institutions. Even though many frequent and/or serious offenders fit into these types, they do not fit the criteria for usefulness for persons on the firing line who are faced with the necessity of placing people in types who should or should not receive

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[13] Chapter 10, "Patterns of Crime and Criminal Behavior," of Don C. Gibbons, Society, Crime, and Criminal Behavior (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982) presents an excellent discussion of problems involved in the construction of criminal typologies. Perhaps even more cogent because it included such an excellent review of the literature is Gibbons's article, "Offender Typologies--Two Decades Later," British Journal of Criminology 15 (1975): 140-156. For an even earlier review of the literature which shows how long sociologists have had typologies as a major commitment, see Edwin D. Driver, "A Critique of Typologies in Criminology," The Sociological Quarterly 9 (1968): 356-373. As Driver states, it all began with Lambroso and Ferri and continues to Schrag, Gibbons, and Garrity. Also see Jan M. Chaiken and Marcia R. Chaiken, Varieties of Criminal Behavior (Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1982).

supervision by a limited staff.[14] While the various criminal types will always have certain degree of fascination for those who must deal with them on a day to day basis, knowing an incarcerated offender's type after the fact, perhaps at the end of a long career, is not as important in a practical way as knowing if the instant offender should be dealt with in this way or that to minimize the chance of contributing to the development of a career offender. More simply put, others have been concerned about the end product of a career, while we are concerned about the start. While much of what is being said here is known to those who have been involved in research on delinquency and crime, we wish the reader to understand that we are not attempting to reinvent the wheel.

CONSTRUCTING A TYPOLOGY OF OFFENDERS THAT IS SOCIOLOGICALLY MEANINGFUL AND USEFUL TO PERSONS IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

As Gibbons has pointed out, "...legal offense categories often fail to reflect significant dimensions or aspects of the social behavior that has been the subject of social control agency attention." As a matter of fact, Gibbons mirrors our own conclusions from many years of research when he continues on to state that offenders are not consistent in the types of offenses that they commit. Legal classifications do not identify theoretically consistent types.[15]

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[14] For an excellent presentation on the problem as it applies to serious offenders see Joan Petersilia's Probation and Felony Offenders, Research in Brief, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, March 1985. She deals here with making the prison/probation decision.

[15] Gibbons, Society, Crime and Criminal Behavior (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982): 218.

Our efforts, therefore, should now be concentrated on recognizable career types, meaningful not only to sociologists but to those on the criminal justice firing line as well. Having developed these career types which account for the vast bulk of serious offenses, we should then determine if these career types are more predictable than have been continuities in crime alone. Historically, one of the greatest errors that sociologists and others have made is the attempt to explain delinquency and crime *per se* rather than to explain types of delinquent and criminal careers. Some types are more explainable and predictable than others.[16]

In order to do this we have turned to an offense-disposition-sanction by offense-disposition-sanction data set (a recoded data set which permits retrieval of some kinds of information that cannot be obtained from the age-by-age data set which was utilized in much of our prior work). This data set permits us to examine persons within career categories for homogeneity or heterogeneity in terms of the 26 offense categories (and as they may be reorganized into fewer homogeneous groups based on the behavior involved). A set of 47 tables showing the career type distribution of 4,079 persons with

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[16] Gibbons' most recent word is his best. In "The Assumption of the Efficacy of Middle-Range Explanation: Typologies," forthcoming in a monograph on theoretical approaches in criminology, edited by Robert F. Meier, Sage Publications, Gibbons concludes that too much effort has been devoted to person-centered efforts to understand crime. He is correct in his statement that criminologists have not given sufficient attention to the social-structural conditions that are predictive of crime in the aggregate.

continuous residence in Racine is presented in Appendix A. The reader may wish to turn to Appendix A at this time in order to become familiar with how we have expanded an early computer-generated typology of career types in order to encapsulate the total experience of cohort members. At the same time, we show how the distribution of these experiences differ by sex, race/ethnicity, neighborhood, and combinations thereof.

The reader may remember that some 50 case histories were presented in the appendices of The Use of Official Records in The Development of Prediction Devices and Delinquent-Criminal Typologies, a 329-page report based on our NIJJDP and NIJ funded data sets as examples of what delinquent careers look like. Reading these cases gives one a better understanding of the nature of delinquent and early criminal careers than does simply looking at some quantitative representation of the career, whether it be the number of police contacts, referrals, and/or court administered sanctions, some number representing seriousness and severity, or a Geometric score which represents various combinations of reasons for police contact or combinations of sanctions. We shall say more about these cases in Part II so let us be concerned only with their usefulness at this point.

In our proposal we stated that in developing a typology the first step might be to examine the contact-by-contact delinquency and criminal histories of cohort members contained in The Use of Official Records in the Development of Prediction Devices and

Delinquent-Criminal Typologies in order to determine the complexity of police, referral, and court records. The next step would be to examine the descriptions of case histories that have been produced in order to develop some insight into how careers develop. Then reference would be made to the typologies that have been suggested by others and an attempt made to fit these case histories into other typologies.[17] Since then we have examined other typologies more carefully and have read additional critiques of them to the point that we have become quite jaded. We have less enthusiasm for testing other typologies than we had, although we shall come to that in due time.

We have been much more concerned with manipulating our own data in an effort to consider various possibilities for a typology than in creating a topology examining the case histories.

In essence, what we have learned about career types and their distribution suggests that these case histories may be used to make a preliminary evaluation of the new typologies that we generate or those of others which we shall test as time goes on. Furthermore, as we said before, these case histories may be used to add a dynamic aspect to the career types (at the serious end of the scale) already generated.

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[17] One example of a non-sociologist's typology that should be tested is that proposed by Richard L. Jenkins, "Classification of Behavior Problems of Children," American Journal of Psychiatry 125 (1969): 1032-1039. He has developed his position more fully in "Child Psychiatry Perspectives," American Academy of Child Psychiatry (1980): 320-325.

After we have completed the task of generating what appears to be a viable typology with predictive value with a limited number of cases, we shall determine which aspects of each type may be represented by proxy variables available for all 4,079 continuous residence members of the cohorts, those whom we have already placed in the time period, offense level, and justice system intervention types as shown in Appendix A. In other words, can we extract from the very detailed data which were utilized in the development of the typology some indicators which may be subjected to statistical analysis for the entire 4,079 cohort members. The appropriate methodology for this stage of typology development will be some form of cluster analysis or smallest space analysis, depending on the specific analysis and whether all variables included have a metric form.[18]

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[18] For a description of various multivariate analyses that have applicability to the problem, including cluster analysis and smallest space analysis, see David F. Greenberg, Chapter 7, "Classification and Prediction," Mathematical Criminology (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979). In terms of a source that has the same critical mention of the literature that we have acquired over the years including the lack of comparability of the studies that have been made, see Tim Brennan's Final Report, Multivariate Taxonomical Classification for Criminal Justice Research (Project No. 78-NI-AX-0065), Vols. 1-3, National Institute of Justice, Office of Research Evaluation Methods, Department of Justice, October, 1980. The volume contains an excellent discussion of clustering methods.

[19] Although we have previously found that the hypothesis of unidimensionality of delinquent careers or of distinctive types based on offenses alone is not supported by the data, Wanderer has suggested that Guttman scaling may be a way of operationalizing change in types over time. For a discussion of problems with Guttman scaling and a review of the literature, see: Jules J. Wanderer, "Scaling Delinquent Careers Over Time," Criminology 22 (1984): 83-95.

We are trying a variety of manipulative techniques.[19] Although we would like to develop a predictive typology based on official records, demographic and ecological data alone, we have added to this the extensive interview data, including self-report, for samples from the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts, as we did in the earlier work reported in Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers. Their use restricts the number of cases, just as does any analysis which includes data on parental official records. We have found, for example, that the percent of those who do not have a high school diploma varies from career type to career type, with 3.1% the lowest (those who have never had a police contact) to highs of 27.0% (N-Y-N) and 26.7% (Y-Y-Y). Among those who never had a police contact, only 17% had friends in trouble as juveniles compared with 61.1% among those with police contacts during every age period (Y-Y-Y). Preliminary findings such as these convince us that it will be worthwhile to do a systematic analysis for those on whom we have every type of data. This should enable us to further describe each type of offender and add to each type behavioral, experiential, and attitudinal dimensions which increase our understanding of how these types have evolved.[20]

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[20] Robert C. Hanson and Fu-Chin Shih have developed the dynatype concept and computer techniques for its application. A dynatype is a constructed, extracted type that represents a particular pattern of change over time common to a group of subjects. They describe how to elicit empirical dynatypes from longitudinal, multi-variable, multi-stage data in their unpublished paper, "Dynatype, Rural Migrant Case Histories, and Urbanization Processes."

We have done a number of experimental runs but shall be doing more before we launch into multivariate analysis. The second major task, as we have stated, involves an attempt to determine how early the prediction can be made that a given type of career is developing, particularly for those types which are defined as most threatening to the community. It is important to remember that although we believe that demographic variables are correlated with experiences, we cannot utilize race or ethnicity as a predictor in any device which might have judicial or quasi-judicial application. Although there is considerable concern about the violent offender, this category of behavior is most difficult to predict. As stated earlier, the smaller the number of persons in a type and the less repetitious the behavior, the more difficult it is to find discriminating variables. The strategy is to manipulate the data year-by-year, or period-by-period, depending upon problems in aggregating the predictors, in order to determine the point at which recorded indicators (offenses and societal reactions to them) give a high degree of assurance that a given type of career has developed or will follow. The idea is to add variables in temporal sequence so that it is possible to describe how some types of careers go through predictable developmental stages.[21]

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[21] Temporal sequences of occurrences may be analyzed by a stochastic process as did Wolfgang, et al. Other examples of the use of this technique are presented in David F. Greenberg, Chapter 9, "Markov Chains," Mathematical Criminology (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979).

Rather than to refer the reader back to the grant application, we have included Diagram 1, Parts I, II, and III for those who wish to remind themselves of the basic data and underlying research strategy of the project. We have, of course, collapsed many variables into dichotomies to facilitate presentation of the results in tables.

Some of the basic analyses which we have previously conducted have indicated that many of the independent variables that we and others have thought to be of potential use based on sociological theory and, to some extent, non-cohort research have little effect on the development of careers. The research has, of course, been helpful in determining which variables should be considered in developing the typology.

Part II

INTRODUCTION

Although we are interested in a broad career typology of cohort members, emphasis is on the development of a typology which will permit prediction of continuity in delinquent behavior during the juvenile period, continuation to adult crime, and the development of serious delinquent and criminal careers. This was also in mind when it was some time ago decided that 50 cases should be selected which consisted of cohort members who had frequent and/or serious contacts with the police. Considerable effort was devoted to this endeavor because it would, among other things, provide us with a way of sensitizing people to case histories, taking them beyond the statistical tables that sometimes seem a bit stark and unlirelike.

DIAGRAM 1, PART 1. BASIC DATA DEVELOPED FOR RACINE AND BIRTH COHORTS WITH EARLIER NIJ AND NIJJDP SUPPORT

VARIABLES USED IN TYPING NEIGHBORHOODS: Data from NIJJDP grants 76JN-99-1005, 77JN-99-0019, 79JN-AX-0010, and NIJ Grant 79-NI-AX-0081

A *Characteristics of Neighborhoods and Cohort Members Residing in Neighborhoods as Juveniles and as Adults (Aggregated Neighborhood Data Set)*

1. Ecological Characteristics of Neighborhoods: 1950, 1960, 1970

   Housing Quality
   Housing Density
   Housing Vacancy Rate
   Percent Housing Units Occupied by Blacks
   Land Use Code
   Targets in Areas (taverns, restaurants, etc.
   Population Density
   Percent Population Non-White

2. Delinquency and Crime in Neighborhoods Based on Cohort Records: 1950's, 1960's, 1970's

   Total Police Contact Rate
   Total Non-Traffic Contact Rate
   Moving Vehicle Rate
   Property Offense Rate
   Offense Against Persons Rate
   Public Disorder Rate
   Status Offense Rate
   Average Seriousness of Contacts
   Average Age of Offenders
   Proportion of Contacts with Police as Complainant
   Proportion of Contacts Referred

3. Demographic Characteristics of Cohort Members (May be used as controls)

   Cohorts: 1942, 1949, 1955
   Sex
   Race/ethnicity
   Place of Residence (Neighborhood) as Juvenile

NEIGHBORHOOD TYPING COMPLETED FOR NIJJDP: Grant 82-JN-AX-0004

B *Types of Neighborhoods*

1. Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and High Delinquency, High Crime
2. Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Low Delinquency, High Crime
3. Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and High Delinquency, Low Crime
4. Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics and Low Delinquency, Low Crime
5. Do NotHave Delinquency and Crime Producing Characteristics but High Delinquency, High Crime
6. Do Not, etc., but Low Delinquency, High Crime
7. Do Not, etc., but High Delinquency, Low Crime
8. Do Not, etc., but Low Delinquency, Low Crime

CONTROLS

OFFICIAL RECORD DATA SETS FOR COHORTS: from NIJJDP Grants 1976-1979

C *Official Juvenile Records for 1942, 1949, and 1955 Cohorts (Age-by-Age Data Set)*

1. Each age 6-17
2. Summary prior to age, at age, and after age, all ages
3. Summary ages 6-17
   For 1, 2, and 3:
   Police Contacts
   Seriousness of Reasons for Contacts
   Referrals
   Severity of Sanctions

D *Official Adult Record for 1942, 1949, and 1955 Cohorts (Age-by-Age Data Set)*

1. Each age 18-32 (1942), 25 (1949) 20 (1955)
2. Summary prior to age, at age, and after age, all ages
3. Summary ages 18-32, 25, 20
   For 1, 2, and 3:
   Police Contacts (26 reasons for contact may be aggregated into Felony vs. Non-Felony, Part I vs. Part II, etc.)
   Seriousness of Reasons for Contacts
   Referrals
   Severity of Sanctions

DIAGRAM 1, PART 2. ANALYTIC SCHEME FOR DEVELOPING DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL CAREER TYPES

COMPUTER-DEVELOPED CAREER TYPES:
NIJJDP Grant 82-JN-AX-0004

E

Types of Delinquent or Non-Delinquent Juvenile Careers as Developed from Official Juvenile Records for 1942, 1949, and 1955 Cohorts (Age-by-Age Data Set)

1. Each age 6-17
2. Summary Prior to age, at age, and after age, all ages
3. Summary ages 6-17
   For 1, 2, and 3:
   - Police Contacts
   - Seriousness of Reasons for Contacts
   - Referrals
   - Severity of Sanctions

F

Types of Criminal or Non-Criminal Careers as Developed from Official Adult Records for 1942, 1949, and 1955 Cohorts (Age-by-Age Data Set)

1. Each age 18-32 (1942), 25 (1949), 20 (1955)
2. Summary prior to age, at age, and after age, all ages
3. Summary ages 18-32, 25, 20
   For 1, 2, and 3:
   - Police Contacts (26 reasons for contact may be aggregated into Felony vs. Non-Felony, Part I vs. Part II, etc.)
   - Seriousness of Reasons for Contacts
   - Referrals
   - Severity of Sanctions

Computer-developed career types for juveniles related to adult career types but did not permit prediction without false negatives and false positives; see earlier reports and papers.

QUESTION: Does G predict F better than E predicted F?

CONSTRUCTED JUVENILE TYPOLOGY TO BE BASED ON ALL OFFICIAL DATA

G

1. Juvenile police, court, and agency record
1a. Check computer typology with 1
2. Parental record
3. Family characteristics
4. Neighborhood
5. Demographic data

SECOND TO N VERSIONS OF JUVENILE TYPOLOGY INCLUDING INTERVIEW DATA

H

1. First constructed typology
2. Interview data set added (From I)

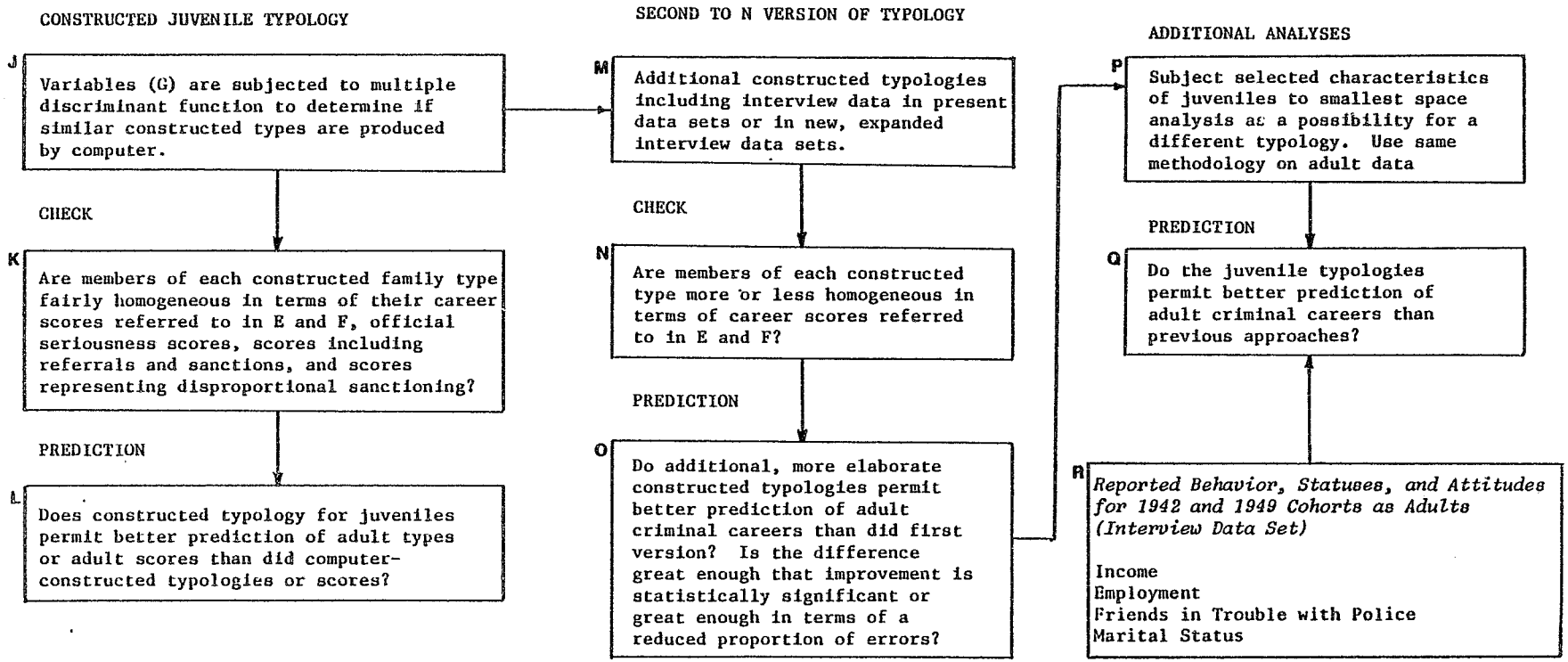
INTERVIEW DATA SET

I

Reported Behavior, Statuses and Attitudes for 1942 and 1949 Cohorts as Juveniles (Interview Data Set)

Years Formal Schooling
Reason Not High School Graduate, if not
Attitude Toward School
Employment During School
Family Status
Friends in Trouble with Police
Attitude Toward Police
Auto Use Scale
Perception of Police Patrol in Neighborhood
Sex of Head of Household
Regularity of HH's Employment
Age at Marriage
Age Left Home
Times Reported Stopped by Police Before 18
Self-Concept

DIAGRAM 1, PART 3. ANALYTIC SCHEME FOR DETERMINING HOMOGENEITY OF TYPES AND PREDICTIVE POWER OF TYPOLOGY



Two groups were selected. The first group consists of all cohort members whose police contact records contained 10 or more felony-level contacts. This group was not only all male, but contained only one person from the 1942 Cohort, two from the 1949 Cohort, and 23 from the 1955 Cohort. Career length was controlled by retaining only those from the 1955 Cohort.

The second group, consisting of 28 persons who had 13 or more police contacts of any type (excluding persons with 10 or more felony-level contacts), was randomly selected from the 1955 Cohort males.

Parental contact data had been collected for members of both groups so that parent/child records could be arranged chronologically, showing the onset of police contacts for the cohort members. Actually, police contacts and court dispositions have been checked for the parents of over 500 of the cohort members.

Unlike our previous approach to data analysis, each interaction with the police was included. Non-offense incidents such as rescue runs, reports of missing children, requests for house surveillance during vacations, reports of barking dogs, etc., which were not appropriate for the earlier analyses, when combined with legitimate offense contacts, provide an idea of the family attitude toward and relationship with the police.

The question that we have so frequently posed is whether or not official and/or self-report data can be turned into scores which permit efficient prediction from juvenile to adult behavior. We turn to this problem again in the next section.

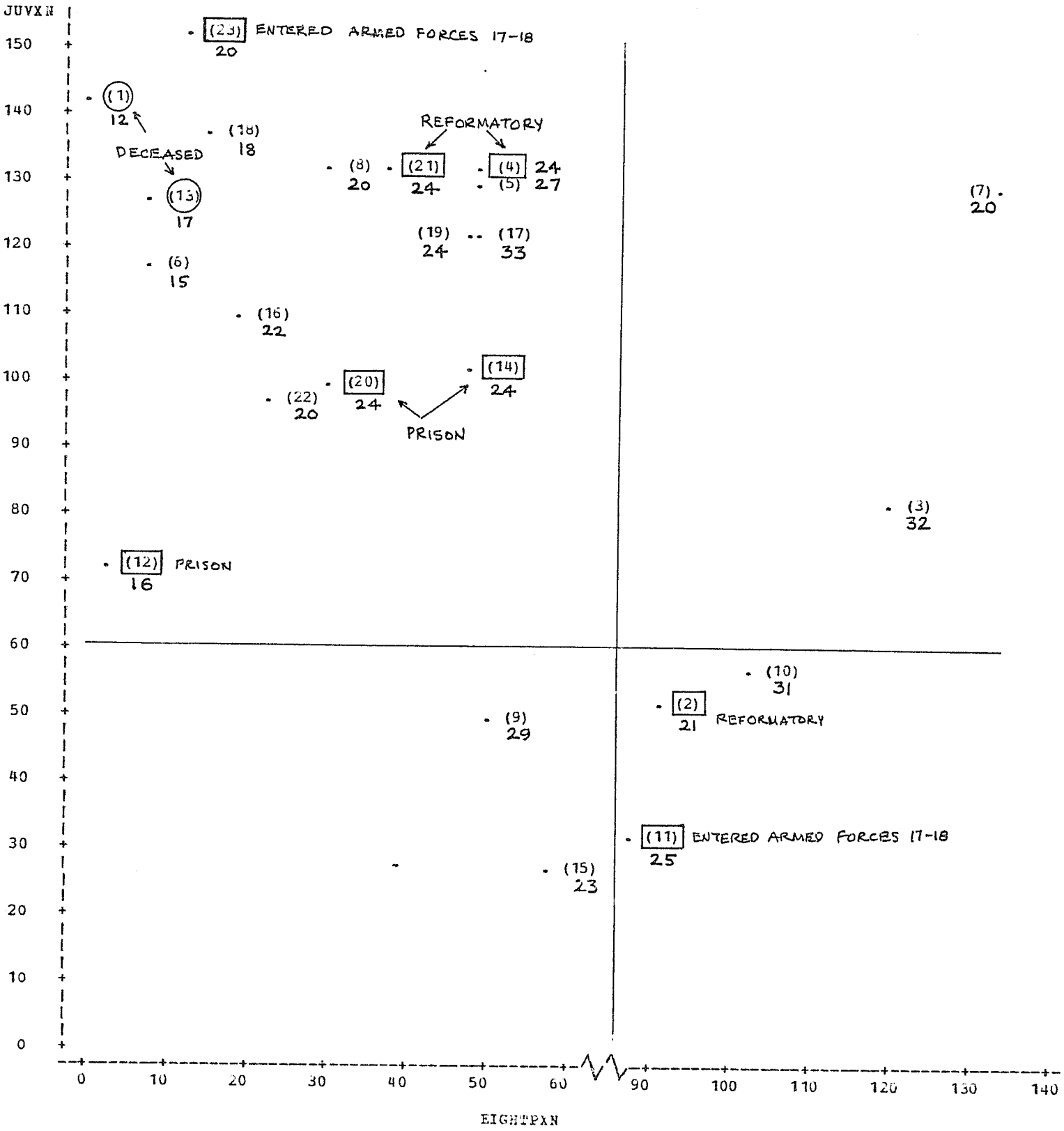
PREDICTING ADULT SERIOUSNESS FROM JUVENILE SERIOUSNESS SCORES

The difficulty that we have encountered in the past in turning official case histories into scores which measure juvenile and adult experiences and permit efficient prediction from one period to the other might be reiterated at this point. First of all, a table of juvenile and adult seriousness scores for frequent felons (10 or more felony-level contacts) and non-felons is presented, as modified from The Use of Official Records, etc.

When juvenile and adult offense seriousness scores are presented in scattergrams (Scattergram 1) it does not seem that there is much relationship of juvenile seriousness to adult seriousness. That, of course, is why we believe that the current enterprise is so important. What many researchers have been doing in the development of devices for predicting serious adult criminal careers is either unconstitutional if applied or inadequate if a statistician with the slightest competence or sophistication examines it, i.e., it will, as we have stated before, provide too many positive and negative errors or both.

Note that most of the felons had relatively high scores as juveniles, the range of juvenile seriousness scores for the 1955 Cohort males being 0 to 164. Only 27 (2.4% of the 1,114, 1955 Cohort males had juvenile scores of 90 or higher but 69.5% of these 23 felons did so. These 23 comprise most of the 27 1955 Cohort males with the highest juvenile seriousness, i.e., 91 to 164 scores. The top 27 or 2.4% of the 1955 Cohort males had

SCATTERGRAM 1. JUVENILE VS. ADULT SERIOUSNESS SCORES FOR 1955 COHORT MEMBERS WITH 10 OR MORE FELONY-LEVEL POLICE CONTACTS.



KEY TO JUVENILE AND ADULT CONTACT SERIOUSNESS

	JUVXN	EIGHTPXN
CASE 1	143	0
CASE 2	55	91
CASE 3	85	120
CASE 4	132	49
CASE 5	131	49
CASE 6	117	7
CASE 7	130	134
CASE 8	134	30
CASE 9	51	50
CASE 10	57	103
CASE 11	35	88
CASE 12	75	3
CASE 13	125	7
CASE 14	103	47
CASE 15	28	58
CASE 16	109	19
CASE 17	122	49
CASE 18	136	15
CASE 19	123	48
CASE 20	99	30
CASE 21	134	38
CASE 22	98	22
CASE 23	152	13
CASE 24	63	60
CASE 25	45	8
CASE 26	42	26
CASE 27	108	14
CASE 28	29	30
CASE 29	20	44
CASE 30	91	14
CASE 31	58	17
CASE 32	65	0
CASE 33	41	24
CASE 34	16	25
CASE 35	60	41
CASE 36	145	0
CASE 37	31	52
CASE 38	109	65
CASE 40	5	56
CASE 41	35	86
CASE 42	69	3
CASE 43	108	45
CASE 44	30	46
CASE 45	23	8
CASE 46	41	28
CASE 47	35	81
CASE 48	108	49
CASE 49	9	22
CASE 50	23	34
CASE 51	31	47
CASE 52	72	23

adult seriousness scores of 44 or higher, yet of the 23 felons in this scattergram, only 12 (52.1%) had scores of 44 or higher. The adult seriousness score range was 0 to 134. In other words, as juveniles or adults, particularly as juveniles, this group makes up a sizeable proportion of the most serious juvenile and adult offenders.

Further perusal of Scattergram 1 reveals that there are several groupings of felons in terms of the relationship of their juvenile offense seriousness to their adult offense seriousness. The numbers in brackets are case history numbers and those which have been inked in are a very simple summation derived from the career types developed in Appendix A. We shall discuss this a bit later.

Cases 9 and 15 had relatively low juvenile seriousness compared to other felons but were in the top 12 as adults, while cases 2, 10, and 11 were even higher as adults. Case 2 had been sentenced to the Green Bay Reformatory for 10 years at the age of 20 and Case 11 had joined the Navy at age 17. How much more serious would their early adult careers have been if they had not left the community? Cases 3 and 12 had relatively high juvenile seriousness scores which would have placed them in the top 2.9% of that cohort's males, but were not high compared to the other felons. Case 12 was sentenced to the Wisconsin State Prison for five years as a young adult so he had little opportunity to expand his adult career. Case 3 and Case 7 had the highest adult seriousness scores in this group of felons (Case 7 also had a very high juvenile seriousness score).

There are 15, 1955 Cohort males whom we have not mentioned, all with very high juvenile seriousness scores, of whom 10 had adult seriousness scores below 44 and five between 44 and 50. Of these, Case 1 had died at 18, Case 13 had died shortly after 18, Case 23 had joined the Marine Corps, Cases 4, 14, 20, and 21 had been sent to the reformatory or prison as young adults.

We have dealt with these 23 cases at length because these are the types of cases to which reference is so frequently made by persons in the justice system who wish to provide evidence for the position that delinquency and crime are related. Some of these 23 persons had very serious juvenile careers, were still in the community as adults, but had relatively little trouble as adults. One must also remember that almost half of the serious adult offenders were not included in this group of 23 relatively serious juvenile offenders.

One can see, however, how persons on the firing line who deal with serious juvenile offenders day after day can begin to conclude that there is a strong relationship between juvenile delinquency and adult crime. They find it difficult to see the forest for the trees, an artifact of their positions. In a different vane, persons on the firing line may also become convinced that attention should be focussed on several types that appear to contribute to delinquency and crime in a highly disproportionate fashion, habitual drug users, for example.[22]

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22 There is considerable evidence that they are on the right track if the current literature is correct, as suggested by Bernard A. Gropper, "Probing the Link Between Drug Use and Crime," Research inBrief, National Institute of Justice, U.S.

Since we are concerned about serious offenders, this group of felons is a good one to consider when developing a typology.

Now let us turn to Scattergram 2 for frequent offenders who did not have 10 or more offenses which were at the felony level. Here we have a quite different but very illuminating picture. These 28 males from the 1955 Cohort have juvenile seriousness scores ranging from very low (because their contacts were for very minor offenses or for no offense at all) to 145, which was very high. Most were below 110 and 78.6% were lower than the score of 90, which, as we have indicated, was below most of the felons.

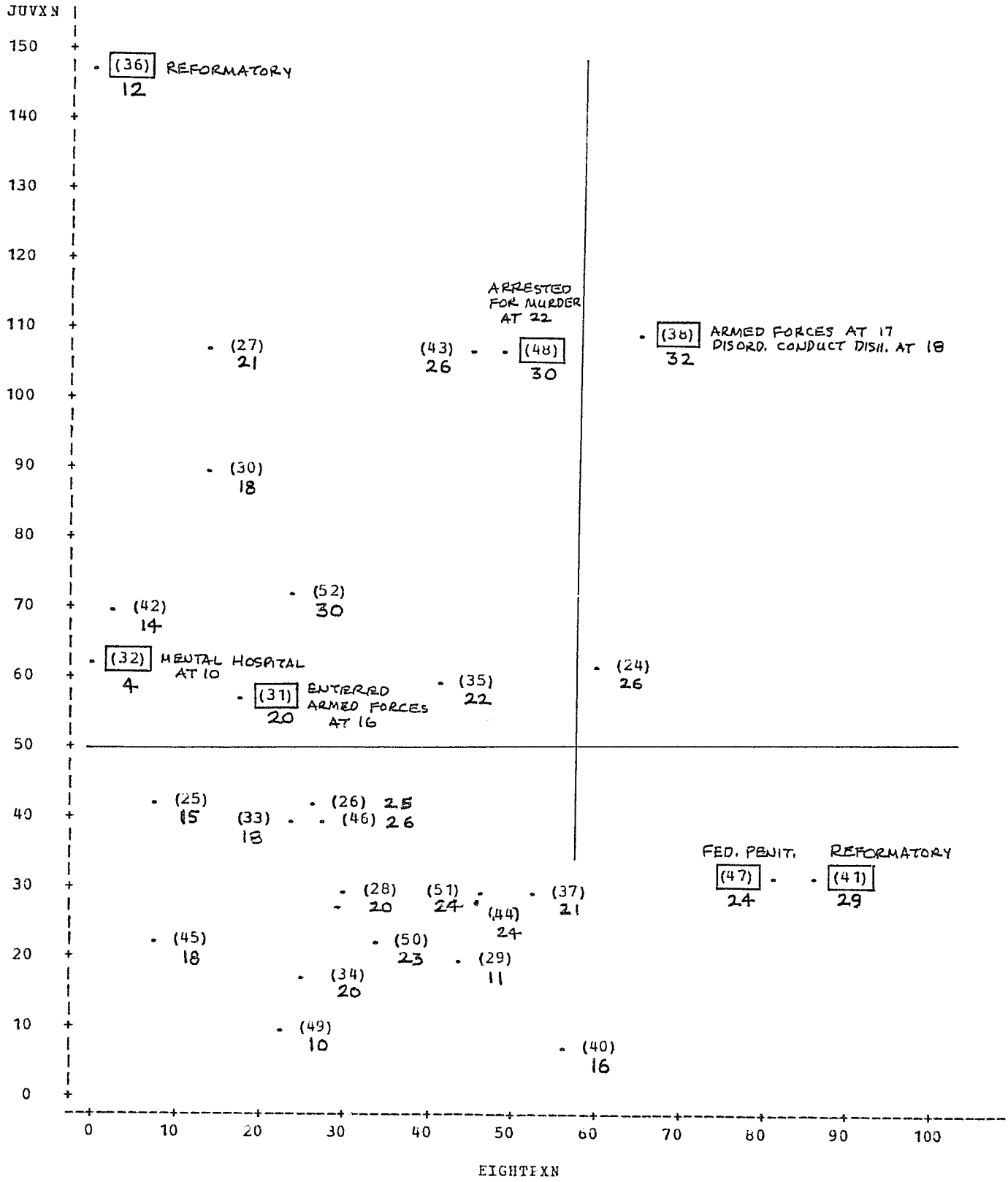
The adult seriousness scores were similar to those of the felons, 11 (34.2%) being 44 or higher, not quite such a large percent as found for the felons (52.1%) but still a sizeable proportion.

There are several groups which hang together. First of all, there is that group of 15, the largest, which had relatively low scores as juveniles, of which only six had seriousness scores of 45 or larger as adults, including Cases 41 and 47 which were serious. Case 41 was sent to the Green Bay Reformatory for 30 years and Case 47 was sent to the Federal Penitentiary for life plus 25 years, both before the age of 21.

A second large group consists of those seven with juvenile seriousness scores above 50 who had adult seriousness scores of 23 or less. Case 36 was sent to the Green Bay Reformatory for 12

Department of Justice, February 1985.

SCATTERGRAM 2. JUVENILE VS. ADULT SERIOUSNESS SCORES FOR 1955 COHORT MEMBERS WITH 13 OR MORE POLICE CONTACTS BUT NOT 10 FELONY-LEVEL CONTACTS.



years at the age of 18, Case 30 entered the Army at 17 but was discharged at 18, Case 31 apparently entered the Army at 16, and Case 32 was institutionalized in the Southern Colony at age 10. Three others were in little difficulty as adults.

Then there is a group of five who had relatively high juvenile seriousness scores and relatively high adult seriousness scores. Case 48 was arrested for murder at the age of 22 and Case 38 entered the service at 17 but received a disorderly conduct discharge at 19.

It is evident, as one reads either the career narratives or the case histories, that there are quite different types and patterns of delinquency and crime. How can these be classified so as to increase our ability to predict continuity, in terms of the social milieu in which delinquent behavior is generated, neighborhood and family, in terms of patterns of behavior, in terms of judicial handling of cases, and finally in terms of how juvenile and young adults respond to their experiences in the justice system.

Of course, the task is not easy. The records are not always complete, but isn't this part of the problem faced by the police officer who must make a decision at the street level, the staff of the juvenile bureau, the juvenile court intake office, the county probation office, the juvenile court, and so on?

How might these cases be fitted into existing textbook typologies? How would you modify existing typologies so that they have a greater predictive value? How will they fit into the typology that we have just developed from 4,079 official records?

FITTING THE FELONS AND FREQUENT OFFENDERS INTO CAREER TYPOLOGIES

Let us turn to Table 2. Here we find the distribution of these cases according to the time period career typology that we have developed.

The first case (F 17) had police contacts, referrals, and court sanctions in each age period, non-traffic contacts, refererals, and court sanctions in each age period, and, while this person had Part I contacts and referrals during each age period, sanctions were received for Part I offenses during only the 6-17 age period. At the felony level the pattern was the same but sanctions were received for felonies during the juvenile and young adult periods.

Cases are ranked from first to last according to the number of "Yes" responses, 33 for the first case, and so on. They could be ranked in any one of a variety of ways. There are several procedures for determining how the 12 different career types in which everyone has been placed may be organized so that they progress from the most serious combination, which would be a "Yes" in each age period for each offense level and each level of justice system intervention to the lowest level, which would be a "No." This is, of course, evident from the numerous tables already presented. We are currently working on this. It will then be possible to see just how these 51 cases fit into the larger pattern of career types.

Before continuing further, however, it should be noted taht the 23 cases of 1955 Cohort members who had at least 10 felonies

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF 51 SERIOUS OFFENDERS BY CAREER TYPES BASED ON OFFENSE SERIOUSNESS AND JUDICIAL INTERVENTION

	CONTACT			NONTRAF			PART I			FELONY			
CASE	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	#Y
F 17	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YNN	YYY	YYY	YYN	33
38	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYY	YYY	YYN	32
F 3	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYY	YYN	YYN	32
F 10	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYY	YYY	YNN	YYY	YYY	YYN	31
52	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYY	YYY	YNN	YYY	YYY	YNN	30
48	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	30
F 9	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YNN	YYN	YYN	YYN	29
41	YYY	YYY	NYY	YYY	YYY	NYY	YYY	YYY	NYY	YYN	YYN	NYN	29
F 5	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	27
24	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	NYN	26
43	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	26
46	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	26
26	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	25
F 11	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYY	YYN	YYN	NYY	NYN	NYN	25
F 14	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	24
F 20	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	24
51	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	24
F 21	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	24
F 4	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	24
44	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	24
47	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	24
F 19	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	24
F 15	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	NYN	23
50	YYY	YYY	NNY	YYY	YYY	NNY	YYY	NYN	NNN	YYY	YNY	NNN	23
35	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YYN	YYN	YNN	22
F 16	YYY	YYY	YNN	YYY	YYY	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNY	YNY	YNN	22
27	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YNN	21
37	YYY	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	NYN	NNN	NNN	21
F 2	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	NYN	NYN	NYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	21

Table 2 continued

	CONTACT			NONTRAF			PART I			FELONY			
CASE	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	C	R	S	#Y
F 22	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YYN	YNN	YNN	20
28	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YNN	YNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	20
31	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYY	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	20
34	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YYY	YNN	YNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	20
F 23	YYN	YYN	YNN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YYN	YYN	YNN	20
F 8	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YYN	YNN	YNN	20
F 7	YYN	YYN	NYN	YYN	YYN	NYN	YYN	YYN	NYN	YYN	YYN	NYN	20
F 18	YYY	YNN	YNN	YYY	YNN	YNN	YNY	YNN	YNN	YNY	YNN	YNN	18
30	YYN	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YYN	YNN	YNN	18
33	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYY	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	NNN	NNN	18
45	YYY	YYN	YYN	YYY	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	18
F 13	YYN	YYN	YNN	YYN	YNN	YNN	NYN	YNN	YNN	YYN	YNN	YNN	17
F 12	YYN	YYN	YNN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	16
40	YYY	NYY	NYY	YYY	NYY	NYY	NYN	NNN	NNN	NYN	NNN	NNN	16
25	YYY	YNN	YNN	YYY	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	NNN	YNN	YNN	NNN	15
F 6	YYY	YNN	YNN	YNY	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	15
42	YYN	YYN	YYN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	NNN	14
F 1	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	12
36	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	YNN	12
27	YYN	YYN	NYN	YYN	YYN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NYN	NYN	NNN	11
49	YYY	NYN	NYN	YYY	NYN	NYN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	10
32	YNN	YNN	NNN	YNN	YNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	NNN	4

in their records were mixed with the frequent offenders who had not had at least 20 felony police contacts in what appeared to be a patternless array. This does not mean that there is no pattern, simply that if there is, it is not readily seen. Just what will come from clustering on smallest space analysis remains to be seen.

Table 3 enables us to compare the 51 cases with all 1114 male members of the 1955 Cohort. Note that they are (as a

TABLE 3. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1955 COHORT MALES AND 51 SELECTED MALE FELONS AND FREQUENT OFFENDERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	ALL	SEL	ALL	SEL	ALL	SEL	ALL	SEL
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	12.3	56.9	8.6	49.0	1.3	13.7	1.3	11.8
Y-Y-N	20.5	37.3	14.4	41.2	5.2	49.0	4.5	45.1
Y-N-Y	3.5	---	2.3	2.0	.6	2.0	.4	3.9
Y-N-N	19.9	5.9	23.1	7.8	15.5	25.5	8.9	23.5
N-Y-Y	3.3	---	1.7	---	.2	---	.4	2.0
N-Y-N	9.4	---	6.9	---	3.8	3.9	5.3	5.9
N-N-Y	2.8	---	2.1	---	.4	---	.8	---
N-N-N	28.3	---	40.9	---	7 .9	5.9	78.4	7.8
Totals	10 .0	10 .1	10 .0	10 .0	99.9	10 .0	10 .0	10 .0
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	5.1	39.2	3.1	27.5	.6	7.8	.8	7.8
Y-Y-N	9.8	45.1	7.2	49.0	4.0	43.1	3.1	37.3
Y-N-Y	1.7	---	.6	---	.1	---	.3	3.9
Y-N-N	15.8	11.8	14.4	19.6	12.4	37.3	8.5	33.3
N-Y-Y	1.7	2.0	1.0	2.0	.2	---	.4	---
N-Y-N	9.7	2.0	5.3	2.0	3.0	3.9	4.4	3.9
N-N-Y	2.3	---	1.3	---	.4	---	.5	---
N-N-N	53.9	---	67.2	---	79.4	7.8	82.0	13.7
Totals	10 .0	10 .1	10 .1	10 .1	10 .1	99.9	10 .0	99.9
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	2.2	23.5	1.4	17.6	.1	---	.1	---
Y-Y-N	6.5	45.1	4.2	45.1	2.4	35.3	2.0	25.5
Y-N-Y	1.3	---	.4	---	---	---	.1	---
Y-N-N	11.3	17.6	7.9	23.5	8.0	43.1	5.3	43.1
N-Y-Y	2.0	3.9	.9	3.9	.1	2.0	.3	---
N-Y-N	10.1	5.9	4.8	3.9	2.2	3.9	3.1	9.8
N-N-Y	2.5	2.0	.9	2.0	.1	---	.3	---
N-N-N	64.3	2.0	79.5	3.9	87.1	15.7	89.0	21.6
Totals	10 .2	10 .0	10 .0	99.9	10 .0	10 .0	10 .2	10 .0

consequence of their specifications) skewed toward the high end of each continuum of career scores more than are all males from that cohort. They probably would have been even more skewed if the 13 Y-Y-N or Y-N-N career types who died at around 18 years of age, were institutionalized at that age or shortly thereafter, or who joined the armed forces and remained in them had had the opportunity to continue their misbehavior. Actually, five of those who entered the armed forces also managed to acquire Non-Traffic police contacts in every age period.

The point, however, is that whichever approach is used in generating types from offense levels and justice system involvement, a computer-generated typology based on all members of one or more birth cohorts will contain many more behavior and experience types than will a typology generated from those who are frequent and/or serious offenders by one definition or another. Our current clustering efforts are demonstrating that this approach will pay huge dividends by dissuading us from concocting yet another typology which will be found to neither parsimoniously separate career types in a manner that will be useful to persons who must make decisions nor be mutually exclusive and all inclusive.

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APPENDIX A

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAREER TYPES BASED ON OFFENSE LEVEL, COHORT, AND JUSTICE SYSTEM INVOLVEMENT

Differences in the Distribution of Career Types Based on Offense Level and Cohort

In each of the research projects that we have carried out during the past 10 years with the assistance of various offices and programs in the Department of Justice we have been concerned about differences in results based on the level at which delinquency and crime were measured. Which level is utilized depends on the problem to be solved or the phenomenon which is to be described. Correctness depends on what one claims to be talking about so that it is really not appropriate to become involved in an argument about measurement level unless the level selected is inappropriate for the task at hand. What is crucial is to recognize that the variables which are significantly related to a measure will differ depending upon the level of activity selected for measurement. Although this had been a concern expressed in reporting on each research project, we expanded upon it in an appendix to our report, A More Precise Evaluation of the Effects of Sanctions, National Institute of Justice Grant Number 84-IJ-CX-0013. That appendix, including Tables 1, 2, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 of this appendix, showed how the number and proportion of persons with continuous careers declined as we moved to higher offense levels and more serious involvement in the justice system. It also made it clear that an expansion of this investigation of career types would be

the appropriate starting point for our typology research. We therefore include this greatly expanded appendix as a way of dealing with some of the questions that may be raised about the typology which is offered at this early stage of renewed interest in typology, not a typology of delinquents and criminals but a typology of people in a cohort or cohorts, some of whom became delinquent and/or criminal and some of whom did not.

Differences in the proportion of persons within career types by cohorts based on differences in offense seriousness levels and whether controls for sex have been made are shown in Table 1.

The first column for each cohort shows the distribution of cohort members according to whether or not they had police contacts for any reason during both the juvenile and adult periods, only during the juvenile period, only during the adult period, or during neither. Each succeeding column for each cohort involves a more serious offense level.

These <u>within-cohort</u> findings may be described as follows:

1. The percent of each cohort with police contacts as both juveniles and adults declines from the least serious offense level to the most serious offense level, i.e., from contacts for any reason to felony-level contacts.
2. At the two most serious offense levels a larger percentage of each cohort has juvenile police contacts but no adult police contacts than has contacts as both juveniles and adults. This is the case for males alone and for females at not only the two most serious offense levels but at the felony or misdemeanor levels as well.

TABLE 1. POLICE CONTACT TYPES BASED ON OFFICIAL RECORDS FOR AGES 6-17 VS. AGES 18 AND OLDER, BY PERCENT

	1942 Cohort				1949 Cohort				1955 Cohort			
	PCONTACT	FELORMISD	FELORMAJMISD	FELONY	PCONTACT	FELORMISD	FELORMAJMISD	FELONY	PCONTACT	FELORMISD	FELORMAJMISD	FELONY
ALL												
Yes-Yes	32.4	20.2	3.2	1.3	35.3	20.7	4.8	1.9	25.4	15.9	6.4	3.5
Yes-No	7.7	9.6	7.6	3.8	12.8	15.0	10.6	4.5	18.7	15.2	11.9	6.3
No-Yes	28.4	17.7	5.7	3.3	21.0	14.2	5.0	3.8	14.9	12.7	4.8	4.7
No-No	31.4	52.4	83.6	91.7	30.8	50.1	79.6	89.7	41.0	56.3	76.9	85.5
MALES												
Yes-Yes	49.7	33.4	5.6	2.2	50.5	34.6	8.0	3.4	36.3	23.9	10.7	6.3
Yes-No	6.7	12.6	12.4	6.5	12.6	19.7	14.5	6.9	19.7	18.0	14.8	8.8
No-Yes	28.1	20.2	7.9	4.5	18.6	14.9	5.9	4.9	15.7	15.2	6.8	6.6
No-No	15.4	33.7	74.2	86.8	18.2	30.8	71.6	84.9	28.3	42.9	67.7	78.3
FEMALES												
Yes-Yes	10.1	3.2	----	----	15.1	7.2	.5	----	13.6	7.2	1.7	.6
Yes-No	9.0	5.8	1.4	.4	13.1	8.8	5.4	1.4	17.6	12.1	8.8	3.7
No-Yes	28.9	14.4	2.9	1.8	24.2	13.3	3.8	2.3	14.1	10.0	2.7	2.5
No-No	52.8	76.5	95.7	97.8	47.6	70.7	90.3	96.2	54.7	70.7	86.8	93.2

Yes-Yes = Police contacts at stated offense level 6-17 and 18 and older.
Yes-No = Police contacts at stated offense level 6-17.
No-Yes = Police contacts at stated offense level 18 and older.
No-No = No police contacts at that offense level.

PCONTACT = Recorded police contacts at any level of seriousness.
FELORMISD = Recorded police contacts at felony or misdemeanor level.
FELORMAJMISD = Recorded police contacts at felony or major misdemeanor level.
FELONY = Recorded police contacs at felony level.

3. At the two most serious offense levels a larger percentage of the cohort has no juvenile police contacts but has adult contacts than has contacts as both juveniles and adults. This is the case for males at only the most serious level but for females at all offense levels.

4. Points 2 and 3, taken together, reveal that a relatively small proportion of even the male cohort members has police contacts for misdemeanors or more serious offenses during both the juvenile and adult periods compared to the proportion during the juvenile or adult periods. For the females, the proportion who have juvenile/adult continuity is very small compared to those who have police contacts at any level of seriousness during either period. Most females have no police contacts either period at any level of seriousness.

It is, therefore, quite clear that differences in offense seriousness levels will have significant effects on findings. If a typology is based on only three persons who have serious delinquent and/or criminal behavior, only a small proportion of those who engage in delinquent and criminal behaviors will be included in the typology. To go beyond the typology work of the past we must develop a more all-encompassing typology, one that includes more than the various types of Part I and Part II offenders who have engaged in sufficiently serious delinquency and crime to become a part of the court or institutional records.

Differences in findings from cohort to cohort are also important. These findings follow:

1. The percent with police contacts as both juveniles and adults

increases from cohort to cohort if based on the major misdemeanor or felony level or the felony level alone, whether total cohort or males or females.

2. The percent who had contacts during the juvenile period increases from cohort to cohort for the two most serious offense levels for males and females combined, increases at all levels for females, and moreso for females than males at the most serious offense levels.
3. The percent who had contacts during only the juvenile period increases from cohort to cohort for all seriousness levels, moreso for females than males.
4. The percent who had contacts during the adult period increases from cohort to cohort for the two most serious offense levels.
5. The percent who had contacts during only the adult period increases from cohort to cohort for only the most serious offense level.

It should also be noted that the proportion of each cohort that had continuity (Yes-Yes) is always considerably smaller than the proportion who desisted (Yes-No) between the juvenile and adult periods at the two most serious offense levels and that desistance is proportionately greater for females than for males. This, of course, produces higher coefficients of correlation between juvenile contacts and adult contacts for males than for females, whatever the level of offense seriousness. Even for the males, however, the correlations between measures for the

juvenile and adult periods ranged between .285 and .376, scarcely a relationship which should lead researchers to begin to talk about predicting adult criminal records from juvenile records. This is why measures of the proportional reduction of error that we have utilized in most research reports have shown that it is difficult to increase predictability over that obtained from the modal category of the marginals. Table 1 also suggests that we shall wish to test the predictive efficiency of each typology by seeing if predictions from juvenile type to adult type for the 1942 Cohort stand up when made in the same way for the 1949 and 1955 Cohorts.

Career Type Continuity Differences Based on Offense Level and Justice System Involvement

In Table 2 all cohorts have been combined as a basis for describing continuity not by cohort but by offense type or seriousness and level of intervention with controls for sex and place of residence. With the cohorts combined we are able to present eight contact patterns and these for all contacts, non-traffic contacts, Part I (Index Offenses), and Felony-level offenses, as well as the pattern for referrals and sanctions. The percentages in this table enable us to see in a different way than do those in Table 1 how not only offense type or seriousness effect but patterns show the extent to which cohort members have been involved in the justice system influences the conclusions which may be made about continuity between age periods and the prevalence of career offenders.

TABLE 2. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR COMBINED COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	524	12.8	307	7.5	28	.7	22	.5
Y-Y-N	445	10.9	327	8.0	98	2.4	66	1.6
Y-N-Y	239	5.9	164	4.0	28	.7	18	.4
Y-N-N	616	15.1	716	17.6	436	10.7	210	5.1
N-Y-Y	146	3.6	81	2.0	12	.3	11	.3
N-Y-N	349	8.6	214	5.2	73	1.8	102	2.5
N-N-Y	282	6.9	189	4.6	31	.8	44	1.1
N-N-N	1478	36.2	2081	51.0	3373	82.7	3606	88.4
Totals	4079	100.0	4079	99.9	4079	100.1	4079	99.9
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	111	2.7	77	1.9	15	.4	13	.3
Y-Y-N	189	4.6	136	3.3	61	1.5	46	1.1
Y-N-Y	83	2.0	46	1.1	8	.2	11	.3
Y-N-N	570	14.0	426	10.4	280	6.9	180	4.4
N-Y-Y	37	.9	27	.7	6	.1	9	.2
N-Y-N	196	4.8	134	3.3	65	1.6	83	2.0
N-N-Y	98	2.4	73	1.8	26	.6	32	.8
N-N-N	2795	68.5	3160	77.5	3618	88.7	3705	90.8
Totals	4079	99.9	4079	100.0	4079	100.0	4079	99.9
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	52	1.3	27	.7	1	.0	1	.0
Y-Y-N	95	2.3	63	1.5	32	.8	24	.6
Y-N-Y	34	.8	15	.4	4	.1	3	.1
Y-N-N	221	5.4	162	4.0	140	3.4	106	2.6
N-Y-Y	76	1.9	25	.6	4	.1	4	.1
N-Y-N	218	5.3	120	2.9	48	1.2	47	1.2
N-N-Y	117	2.9	60	1.5	14	.3	11	.3
N-N-N	3266	80.1	3607	88.4	3836	94.0	3883	95.2
Totals	4079	100.0	4079	100.0	4079	99.9	4079	100.1

These eight types may also be consolidated into the four types shown in Table 1 by adding the percentages for the first three types and considering them as YY, considering the fourth type as YN, considering types 5 through 7 as NY, and considering the last type to be NN. From now on, however, we shall use all nine continuity types rather than only four. The following basic findings may be derived from Table 2:

1. The proportion of each of these continuity types declines (except for N-N-N) as one moves from police contacts to any sort of felony-level contacts.
2. The proportion of each of these continuity types declines (except for N-N-N) as one moves from contacts to sanctions.
3. The proportion of those who desist after the juvenile period declines at every level of involvement (with one exception) from contacts for any reason to felony-level contacts.
4. The proportion of those who desist or are not referred or sanctioned after the juvenile period decreases at every level of offense seriousness from contact to felonies. In other words, desistance, non-referral or non-sanction, is the pattern rather than continuity. This is an artifact of the table, however, because the declining proportion with serious contacts results in a declining proportion of persons sanctioned for that level of seriousness.
5. The greater the involvement with the justice system the less the decline in rate of desistance from contact to felony-level offenses.
6. The more serious the offense level the less the decline in

rate of desistance from contact to referral to sanctions.

7. Desistance after the juvenile period is increasingly less for persons with more justice system involvement from contacts alone to felony-level contacts. In other words, increasing involvement with the justice system brings about less desistance the more serious the offense level.

The sum and substance of Table 2 is that offense level and justice system involvement leave only from 5% to 10% of the combined cohorts for inclusion in the development of a typology if we are to base its development on only those who are more serious offenders and known to the courts.

Career Type Continuity Differences for Interviewed Members from 1942 and 1949 Cohorts Based on Offense Level and Justice System Involvement

Table 3 is included at this point because we shall later on embellish some of the basic typologies developed from official records with data obtained from interviews. It is important that a table such as Table 3 be shown for comparison with Table 2. Those who were interviewed (1942 and 1949 Cohorts) produced somewhat fewer of those continuity types involving juvenile to intermediate or adult careers and somewhat more of those in every (N-N-N) category than did the combined cohorts. The number of persons in each category for the total 1942 and 1949 Cohorts will be compared with the number of persons in each category from those interviewed for the 1942 and 1949 Cohorts.

TABLE 3. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR INTERVIEWED COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART 1		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	126	17.3	64	8.8	6	.8	2	.3
Y-Y-N	40	5.5	37	5.1	9	1.2	5	.7
Y-N-Y	64	8.8	40	5.5	7	1.0	6	.8
Y-N-N	87	12.0	111	15.2	73	10.0	22	3.0
N-Y-Y	36	4.9	17	2.3	3	.4	1	.1
N-Y-N	59	8.1	38	5.2	6	.8	6	.8
N-N-Y	92	12.6	56	7.7	8	1.1	9	1.2
N-N-N	224	30.8	365	50.1	616	84.6	677	93.0
Totals	728	100.0	728	99.9	728	99.9	728	99.9
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	20	2.7	18	2.5	4	.5	1	.1
Y-Y-N	18	2.5	11	1.5	4	.5	6	.8
Y-N-Y	19	2.6	8	1.1	2	.3	3	.4
Y-N-N	94	12.9	54	7.4	31	4.3	15	2.1
N-Y-Y	5	.7	5	.7	1	.1	1	.1
N-Y-N	19	2.6	20	2.7	8	1.1	6	.8
N-N-Y	18	2.5	18	2.5	7	1.0	6	.8
N-N-N	535	73.5	594	81.6	671	92.2	690	94.8
Totals	728	100.0	728	100.0	728	100.0	728	99.9
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	14	1.9	6	.8	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	5	.7	5	.7	1	.1	1	.1
Y-N-Y	5	.7	3	.4	2	.3	3	.1
Y-N-N	26	3.6	17	2.3	14	1.9	14	1.9
N-Y-Y	17	2.3	4	.5	---	---	---	---
N-Y-N	20	2.7	15	2.1	5	.7	2	.3
N-N-Y	26	3.6	14	1.9	4	.5	2	.3
N-N-N	615	84.5	664	91.2	702	96.4	709	97.4
Totals	728	100.0	728	99.9	728	99.9	728	100.0

Race/Ethnic Composition of Career Types by Cohort

Table 4 is rather complex but it is very important that the matter of racial variation be investigated at the outset to forestall those who will invariably say that we are overlooking the usefulness of race as a predictor. The question, as we have often stated, is, as a predictor for what? As an explanation of what? It is a correlate of many things, including disproportionate involvement in the justice system, disproportionate considering police contact and referral rates.

Look at Career Type Y-Y-Y on Table 4 and note that although 64.7% of those in the 1955 Cohort with contacts during each age period were White and 63.5% of those referred were White, only 45.8% of those who were sanctioned were White. The drop-off was not so spectacular for all cohorts nor for all other career types. One must keep in mind that the Whites comprised 95.6% of the 1942 Cohort, 91.4% of the 1949 Cohort, and 87.4% of the 1955 Cohort. Although the Blacks constituted only 3.2% of the 1942 Cohort, 6.4% of the 1949 Cohort, and 8.9% of the 1955 Cohort, note how high their proportion was of the Y-Y-Y types, particularly as it was higher at either the referral or sanctions level.

Although we have in each report over a period of 10 years dealt with race and ethnicity in what we believe to be a fairly sophisticated fashion, indicating that race per se is not an explanatory variable for behavior, although certainly an explanatory variable for milieu and experience, we believe that

TABLE 4. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, BY COHORT AND RACE

			White		Black		Chicano		Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Y-Y-Y	C	42	107	90.7	11	9.3	----	-----	118	100.0
		49	189	80.1	36	15.3	11	4.7	236	100.1
		55	110	64.7	47	27.6	13	7.6	170	99.9
	R	42	13	76.5	4	23.5	----	-----	17	100.0
		49	21	67.7	9	29.0	1	3.2	31	99.9
		55	40	63.5	19	30.2	4	6.3	63	100.0
	S	42	11	84.6	2	15.4	----	-----	13	100.0
		49	12	80.0	3	20.0	----	-----	15	100.0
		55	11	45.8	12	50.0	1	4.2	24	100.0
Y-Y-N	C	42	18	94.7	1	5.3	----	-----	19	100.0
		49	101	90.2	7	6.3	4	3.6	112	100.1
		55	247	78.7	44	14.0	23	7.3	314	100.0
	R	42	15	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	15	100.0
		49	35	77.8	9	20.0	1	2.2	45	100.0
		55	85	65.9	30	23.3	14	10.9	129	100.1
	S	42	2	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	2	100.0
		49	10	76.9	3	23.1	----	-----	13	100.0
		55	56	70.0	17	21.3	7	8.8	80	100.1
Y-N-Y	C	42	68	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	68	100.0
		49	99	90.0	7	6.4	4	3.6	110	100.0
		55	47	77.0	7	11.5	7	11.5	61	100.0
	R	42	21	87.5	3	12.5	----	-----	24	100.0
		49	27	75.0	5	13.9	4	11.1	36	100.0
		55	14	60.9	5	21.7	4	17.4	23	100.0
	S	42	6	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	6	100.0
		49	9	75.0	2	16.7	1	8.3	12	100.0
		55	12	75.0	2	12.5	2	12.5	16	100.0
Y-N-N	C	42	48	98.0	----	-----	1	2.0	49	100.0
		49	156	94.0	8	4.8	2	1.2	166	100.0
		55	347	86.5	37	9.2	17	4.2	401	99.9
	R	42	79	98.8	----	-----	1	1.3	80	100.1
		49	177	93.2	6	3.2	7	3.7	190	100.1
		55	249	83.0	33	11.0	18	6.0	300	100.0
	S	42	10	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	10	100.0
		49	27	81.8	4	12.1	2	6.1	33	100.0
		55	142	79.8	20	11.2	16	9.0	178	100.0

N-Y-Y	C	42	34	89.5	3	7.9	1	2.6	38	100.0
		49	48	85.7	7	12.5	1	1.8	56	100.0
		55	46	88.5	4	7.7	2	3.8	52	100.0
	R	42	5	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	5	100.0
		49	6	60.0	2	20.0	2	20.0	10	100.0
		55	17	77.3	5	22.7	----	-----	22	100.0
	S	42	16	76.2	4	19.0	1	4.8	21	100.0
		49	21	70.0	2	6.7	7	23.3	30	100.0
		55	15	60.0	8	32.0	2	8.0	25	100.0
N-Y-N	C	42	27	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	27	100.0
		49	111	97.4	1	.9	2	1.8	114	100.1
		55	195	93.8	9	4.3	4	1.9	208	100.0
	R	42	14	87.5	1	6.3	1	6.3	16	100.1
		49	32	84.2	3	7.9	3	7.9	38	100.0
		55	123	86.6	13	9.2	6	4.2	142	100.0
	S	42	15	93.8	1	6.3	----	-----	16	100.1
		49	48	82.8	8	13.8	2	3.4	58	100.0
		55	125	86.8	15	10.4	4	2.8	144	100.0
N-N-Y	C	42	108	93.9	4	3.5	3	2.6	115	100.0
		49	98	95.1	2	1.9	3	2.9	103	99.9
		55	56	87.5	6	9.4	2	3.1	64	100.1
	R	42	19	86.4	3	13.6	----	-----	22	100.0
		49	27	81.8	5	15.2	1	3.0	33	100.0
		55	30	69.8	10	23.3	3	7.0	43	100.1
	S	42	28	93.3	2	6.7	----	-----	30	100.0
		49	34	77.3	8	18.2	2	4.5	44	100.0
		55	32	74.4	8	18.6	3	7.0	43	100.0
N-N-N	C	42	195	98.0	1	.5	3	1.5	199	100.0
		49	383	95.8	15	3.8	2	.5	400	100.1
		55	830	94.4	38	4.3	11	1.3	879	100.0
	R	42	439	96.7	9	2.0	6	1.3	454	100.0
		49	860	94.1	44	4.8	10	1.1	914	100.0
		55	1320	92.5	77	5.4	30	2.1	1427	100.0
	S	42	517	96.6	11	2.1	7	1.3	535	100.0
		49	1024	93.8	53	4.9	15	1.4	1092	100.1
		55	1485	90.6	110	6.7	44	2.7	1639	100.0
		42	605	95.6	20	3.2	8	1.3	633	100.1
		49	1185	91.4	83	6.4	29	2.2	1297	100.0
		55	1878	87.4	192	8.9	79	3.7	2149	100.0

it is necessary to emphasize that the highly disproportionate appearance of Blacks in several high continuity types involves their behavior and that of the justice system as well.

Perhaps the best way to clarity the phenomenon which lies behind race/ethnic and other differences in offense rates and rates of referral and sanctioning is to simplify the involvement of cohort members by race and place of residence.

Distribution of Whites and Non-Whites Compared With Distribution of Cohort Members Socialized in Inner City and Other Neighborhoods by Career Types

Several small tables are helpful at this point, Tables 5, 6,

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINED COHORT MEMBERS BY WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAD AT LEAST ONE CONTACT AS JUVENILES AND/OR ADULTS AND IF THEY HAD A SANCTION AS JUVENILES AND/OR ADULTS

	Total	White	Non-White	Inner City	Other
JCS/ACS	11.6	9.4	2.2	5.1	7.0
JCS/ACN	12.7	11.8	.9	3.7	8.3
JCN/ACS	12.2	11.0	1.2	3.4	8.5
JCN/ACN	27.3	25.6	1.7	6.4	25.1
JNN/ANN	36.2	34.9	1.3	5.5	27.0
Total	100.0	92.7	7.3	24.1	75.9
N	4079	3784	295	853	2681[1]

[1] Although the White and Non-White columns total 4079, the Inner City and Other columns do not because 13.4% of the cohort members' juvenile residences were either outside the Racine city limits but within the school district or were unknown.

7, and 8. Table 5 reveals that as the inner city was defined it had 3.3 times as large a proportion of the cohort members as there were Non-Whites. Thus, the inner city was not 100% Non-White, although it had certainly become darker from cohort to cohort. For those socialized in the inner city to be as

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINED COHORT MEMBERS WITH AT LEAST ONE CONTACT BY WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAD A SANCTION AS JUVENILES AND/OR ADULTS

	Total	White	Non-White	Inner City	Other
JCS/ACS	18.2	14.8	3.4	7.6	10.3
JCS/ACN	19.9	18.5	1.4	5.5	12.4
JCN/ACS	19.1	17.3	1.8	5.0	12.5
JCN/ACN	42.8	40.2	2.6	9.5	37.2
Total	100.0	90.8	9.2	27.6	72.4
N	2601	2360	241	657	1726

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINED COHORT MEMBERS BY WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAD AT LEAST ONE CONTACT AS JUVENILES AND/OR ADULTS AND IF THEY HAD A SANCTION AS JUVENILES AND/OR ADULTS PERCENTAGED BY RACE AND RESIDENCE

	White	Non-White	Inner City	Other
JCS/ACS	10.2	29.8	21.1	9.2
JCS/ACN	12.7	12.5	15.4	11.0
JCN/ACS	11.9	16.3	14.0	11.2
JCN/ACN	27.6	23.1	26.6	33.0
JNN/ANN	37.6	18.3	23.0	35.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
N	3784	295	853	2681

delinquent and criminal and as involved in the justice system as were Non-Whites would require that there have been 7.3% of the inner city cohort members in JCS/ACS. What we must conclude is that Non-Whites were probably dealt with a bit more severely than Whites.

Table 6 simplifies it a a bit more by eliminating cohort members who did not have police contacts. In this case we find

TABLE 8. DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINED COHORT MEMBERS WITH AT LEAST ONE CONTACT BY WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAD A SANCTION AS JUVENILES AND/OR ADULTS PERCENTAGED BY RACE AND RESIDENCE

	White	Non-White	Inner City	Other
JCS/ACS	16.3	36.5	27.4	14.3
JCS/ACN	20.3	15.4	19.9	17.1
JCN/ACS	19.1	19.9	18.1	17.3
JCN/ACN	44.3	28.2	34.6	51.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	2360	241	657	1726

that there are scarcely 3.0 times as many inner city cohort members as Non-Whites. Again we see that cohort members socialized in the Inner city are not dealt with as severely as are Non-Whites. We do not even mention the fact that both Non-Whites and those who were socialized in the inner city have been sanctioned disproportionately to their counterparts. This is not new and here we do not go into the matter of differential seriousness of their offenses. We must not forget, however, that less than 10% of the cohort members with police contacts were Non-Whites and more than 27% were socialized in the inner city.

In Tables 7 and 8 we present the same data as in Tables 5 and 6 but percentage each of the types within race groups. This simplifies comparison of Non-Whites and those socialized in the inner city, revealing that Non-Whites are more involved than White inner city residents. At the same time, Non-Whites with continuous careers and sanctions do not comprise a large proportion of the total population, only about 2.2%.

Career Type Continuity Offenses Based on Offense Level and Justice System Involvement by Sex and Neighborhood of Socialization

Let us now turn to similar tables with controls for sex, place of residence as inner city vs. other, and so on. This will enable us to see the effects of ecological and demographic variables as well as offense measurement levels and level of justice system involvement.

Sex

Tables 9 and 10 reveal how males and females differ, even more than did Table 1. It is clear that a different typology will be necessary for males and females for there will be too few females to put them into the same scheme without having them sharply skewed to one end.

Place of Socialization

Tables 11 and 12 expand the differences that we already knew existed between cohort members socialized in the inner city vs. other neighborhoods. Comparison of the percentages who are referred and/or sanctioned with the percent with contacts for the Y-Y-Y career type for Part I offenses gives compelling evidence of the disproportionate justice system involvement of those who were socialized in the inner city.

Place of Socialization and Sex

The next four tables, Tables 13 through 16), may be considered together because they bring out the concentration of continuous career types when place of socialization and sex are controlled.

TABLE 9. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR MALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	449	20.3	257	11.6	27	1.2	21	1.0
Y-Y-N	331	15.0	258	11.7	87	3.9	64	2.9
Y-N-Y	175	7.9	125	5.7	27	1.2	16	.7
Y-N-N	339	15.3	445	20.1	332	15.0	173	7.8
N-Y-Y	100	4.5	60	2.7	10	.5	8	.4
N-Y-N	163	7.4	135	6.1	63	2.9	80	3.6
N-N-Y	148	6.7	126	5.7	23	1.0	33	1.5
N-N-N	505	22.9	804	36.4	1641	74.3	1815	82.1
Totals	2210	100.0	2210	100.0	2210	100.0	2210	100.0
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	103	4.7	70	3.2	14	.6	13	.6
Y-Y-N	162	7.3	117	5.3	57	2.6	45	2.0
Y-N-Y	74	3.3	43	1.9	8	.4	10	.5
Y-N-N	397	18.0	288	13.0	219	9.9	153	6.9
N-Y-Y	34	1.5	24	1.1	5	.2	7	.3
N-Y-N	146	6.6	106	4.8	56	2.5	70	3.2
N-N-Y	68	3.1	59	2.7	21	1.0	25	1.1
N-N-N	1226	55.5	1503	68.0	1830	82.8	1887	85.4
Totals	2210	100.0	2210	100.0	2210	100.0	2210	100.0
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	49	2.2	27	1.2	1	.1	1	.1
Y-Y-N	86	3.9	59	2.7	31	1.4	24	1.1
Y-N-Y	31	1.4	13	.6	4	.2	3	.1
Y-N-N	163	7.4	125	5.7	128	5.8	95	4.3
N-Y-Y	72	3.3	21	1.0	3	.1	4	.2
N-Y-N	172	7.8	100	4.5	43	1.9	44	2.0
N-N-Y	94	4.3	55	2.5	11	.5	8	.4
N-N-N	1543	69.8	1810	81.9	1989	90.0	2031	91.9
Totals	2210	100.1	2210	100.1	2210	100.0	2210	100.1

TABLE 10. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR FEMALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	75	4.0	50	2.7	1	.1	1	.1
Y-Y-N	114	6.1	69	3.7	11	.6	2	.1
Y-N-Y	64	3.4	39	2.1	1	.1	2	.1
Y-N-N	277	14.8	271	14.5	104	5.6	37	2.0
N-Y-Y	46	2.5	21	1.1	2	.1	3	.2
N-Y-N	186	10.0	79	4.2	10	.5	22	1.2
N-N-Y	134	7.2	63	3.4	8	.4	11	.6
N-N-N	973	52.1	1277	68.3	1732	92.7	1791	95.8
Totals	1869	100.1	1869	100.0	1869	100.1	1869	100.1
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	8	.4	7	.4	1	.1	---	---
Y-Y-N	27	1.4	19	1.0	4	.2	1	.1
Y-N-Y	9	.5	3	.2	---	---	1	.1
Y-N-N	173	9.3	138	7.4	61	3.3	27	1.4
N-Y-Y	3	.2	3	.2	1	.1	2	.1
N-Y-N	50	2.7	28	1.5	9	.5	13	.7
N-N-Y	30	1.6	14	.7	5	.3	7	.4
N-N-N	1569	83.9	1657	88.7	1788	95.7	1818	97.3
Totals	1869	100.0	1869	100.1	1869	100.2	1869	100.1
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	3	.2	---	---	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	9	.5	4	.2	1	.1	---	---
Y-N-Y	3	.2	2	.1	---	---	---	---
Y-N-N	58	3.1	37	2.0	12	.6	11	.6
N-Y-Y	4	.2	4	.2	1	.1	---	---
N-Y-N	46	2.5	20	1.1	5	.3	3	.2
N-N-Y	23	1.2	5	.3	3	.2	3	.2
N-N-N	1723	92.2	1797	96.1	1847	98.8	1852	99.1
Totals	1869	100.1	1869	100.0	1869	100.1	1869	100.1

TABLE 11. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR INNER CITY COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	191	22.8	132	15.8	20	2.4	13	1.6
Y-Y-N	118	14.1	106	12.6	49	5.8	35	4.2
Y-N-Y	55	6.6	39	4.7	14	1.7	12	1.4
Y-N-N	137	16.3	175	20.9	147	17.5	67	8.0
N-Y-Y	34	4.1	20	2.4	7	.8	3	.4
N-Y-N	57	6.8	47	5.6	22	2.6	36	4.3
N-N-Y	55	6.6	39	4.7	10	1.2	13	1.6
N-N-N	191	22.8	280	33.4	569	67.9	659	78.6
Totals	838	100.1	838	100.1	838	99.9	838	100.1
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	53	6.3	46	5.5	12	1.4	9	1.1
Y-Y-N	74	8.8	60	7.2	33	3.9	29	3.5
Y-N-Y	31	3.7	17	2.0	5	.6	6	.7
Y-N-N	140	16.7	126	15.0	105	12.5	65	7.8
N-Y-Y	7	.8	6	.7	3	.4	2	.2
N-Y-N	47	5.6	38	4.5	26	3.1	28	3.3
N-N-Y	34	4.1	24	2.9	13	1.6	12	1.4
N-N-N	452	53.9	521	62.2	641	76.5	687	82.0
Totals	838	99.9	838	100.0	838	100.0	838	100.0
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	31	3.7	16	1.9	1	.1	---	---
Y-Y-N	36	4.3	35	4.2	18	2.1	14	1.7
Y-N-Y	12	1.4	6	.7	3	.4	2	.2
Y-N-N	68	8.1	61	7.3	65	7.8	50	6.0
N-Y-Y	32	3.8	12	1.4	3	.4	---	---
N-Y-N	54	6.4	37	4.4	17	2.0	15	1.8
N-N-Y	38	4.5	24	2.9	7	.8	5	.6
N-N-N	567	67.7	647	77.2	724	86.4	752	89.7
Totals	838	99.9	838	100.0	838	100.0	838	100.0

TABLE 12. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR NON-INNER CITY COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	300	11.5	159	6.1	7	.3	7	.3
Y-Y-N	281	10.8	194	7.5	44	1.7	25	1.0
Y-N-Y	161	6.2	118	4.5	13	.5	5	.2
Y-N-N	414	15.9	487	18.7	253	9.7	129	5.0
N-Y-Y	78	3.0	41	1.6	4	.2	6	.2
N-Y-N	233	8.9	132	5.1	34	1.3	50	1.9
N-N-Y	177	6.8	113	4.3	16	.6	26	1.0
N-N-N	960	36.9	1360	52.2	2233	85.8	2356	90.5
Totals	2604	100.0	2604	100.0	2604	100.1	2604	100.1
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	47	1.8	26	1.0	2	.1	3	.1
Y-Y-N	100	3.8	64	2.5	25	1.0	14	.5
Y-N-Y	44	1.7	28	1.1	2	.1	5	.2
Y-N-N	360	13.8	261	10.0	147	5.6	100	3.8
N-Y-Y	24	.9	15	.6	3	.1	4	.2
N-Y-N	116	4.5	73	2.8	28	1.1	41	1.6
N-N-Y	47	1.8	36	1.4	10	.4	17	.7
N-N-N	1866	71.7	2101	80.7	2387	91.7	2420	92.9
Totals	2604	100.0	2604	100.1	2604	100.1	2604	100.0
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	20	.8	10	.4	---	---	1	.0
Y-Y-N	49	1.9	23	.9	12	.5	8	.3
Y-N-Y	17	.7	9	.3	1	.0	1	.0
Y-N-N	132	5.1	91	3.5	66	2.5	49	1.9
N-Y-Y	35	1.3	10	.4	1	.0	3	.1
N-Y-N	132	5.1	63	2.4	24	.9	23	.9
N-N-Y	63	2.4	28	1.1	6	.2	5	.2
N-N-N	2156	82.8	2370	91.0	2494	95.8	2514	96.5
Totals	2604	100.1	2604	100.0	2604	99.9	2604	99.9

TABLE 13. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR INNER CITY MALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	158	33.3	104	21.9	19	4.0	13	2.7
Y-Y-N	82	17.3	80	16.8	45	9.5	34	7.2
Y-N-Y	41	8.6	29	6.1	13	2.7	11	2.3
Y-N-N	70	14.7	101	21.3	101	21.3	57	12.0
N-Y-Y	21	4.4	15	3.2	5	1.1	2	.4
N-Y-N	20	4.2	24	5.1	17	3.6	26	5.5
N-N-Y	31	6.5	25	5.3	5	1.1	9	1.9
N-N-N	52	10.9	97	20.4	270	56.8	323	68.0
Totals	475	99.9	475	100.1	475	100.1	475	100.0
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	48	10.1	42	8.8	11	2.3	9	1.9
Y-Y-N	62	13.1	50	10.5	32	6.7	29	6.1
Y-N-Y	27	5.7	16	3.4	5	1.1	6	1.3
Y-N-N	95	20.0	83	17.5	77	16.2	56	11.8
N-Y-Y	5	1.1	4	.8	2	.4	1	.2
N-Y-N	35	7.4	29	6.1	20	4.2	23	4.8
N-N-Y	19	4.0	17	3.6	9	1.9	9	1.9
N-N-N	184	38.7	234	49.3	319	67.2	342	72.0
Totals	475	100.1	475	100.0	475	100.0	475	100.0
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	29	6.1	16	3.4	1	.2	---	---
Y-Y-N	33	6.9	32	6.7	17	3.6	14	2.9
Y-N-Y	12	2.5	5	1.1	3	.6	2	.4
Y-N-N	46	9.7	47	9.9	58	12.2	47	9.9
N-Y-Y	28	5.9	8	1.7	2	.4	---	---
N-Y-N	40	8.4	29	6.1	16	3.4	15	3.2
N-N-Y	26	5.5	20	4.2	4	.8	2	.4
N-N-N	261	54.9	318	66.9	374	78.7	395	83.2
Totals	475	99.9	475	100.0	475	99.9	475	100.0

TABLE 14. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR INNER CITY FEMALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	33	9.1	28	7.7	1	.3	---	---
Y-Y-N	36	9.9	26	7.2	4	1.1	1	.3
Y-N-Y	14	3.9	10	2.8	1	.3	1	.3
Y-N-N	67	18.5	74	20.4	46	12.7	10	2.8
N-Y-Y	13	3.6	5	1.4	2	.6	1	.3
N-Y-N	37	10.2	23	6.3	5	1.4	10	2.8
N-N-Y	24	6.6	14	3.9	5	1.4	4	1.1
N-N-N	139	38.3	183	50.4	299	82.4	336	92.6
Totals	363	100.1	363	100.1	363	100.2	363	100.2
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	5	1.4	4	1.1	1	.3	---	---
Y-Y-N	12	3.3	10	2.8	1	.3	---	---
Y-N-Y	4	1.1	1	.3	---	---	---	---
Y-N-N	45	12.4	43	11.8	28	7.7	9	2.5
N-Y-Y	2	.6	2	.6	1	.3	1	.3
N-Y-N	12	3.3	9	2.5	6	1.7	5	1.4
N-N-Y	15	4.1	7	1.9	4	1.1	3	.8
N-N-N	268	73.8	287	79.1	322	88.7	345	95.0
Totals	363	100.0	363	100.1	363	100.1	363	100.0
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	2	.6	---	---	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	3	.8	3	.8	1	.3	---	---
Y-N-Y	---	---	1	.3	---	---	---	---
Y-N-N	22	6.1	14	3.9	7	1.9	3	.8
N-Y-Y	4	1.1	4	1.1	1	.3	---	---
N-Y-N	14	3.9	8	2.2	1	.3	---	---
N-N-Y	12	3.3	4	1.1	3	.8	3	.8
N-N-N	306	84.3	329	90.6	350	96.4	357	98.3
Totals	363	100.1	363	100.0	363	100.0	363	99.9

TABLE 15. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR NON-INNER CITY MALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	260	18.6	137	9.8	7	.5	6	.4
Y-Y-N	209	15.0	153	11.0	37	2.7	24	1.7
Y-N-Y	113	8.1	89	6.4	13	.9	4	.3
Y-N-N	237	17.0	310	22.2	201	14.4	105	7.5
N-Y-Y	54	3.9	30	2.2	4	.3	5	.4
N-Y-N	107	7.7	85	6.1	30	2.2	40	2.9
N-N-Y	85	6.1	73	5.2	13	.9	19	1.4
N-N-N	330	23.7	518	37.1	1090	78.1	1192	85.4
Totals	1395	100.1	1395	100.0	1395	100.0	1395	100.0
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	44	3.2	23	1.6	2	.1	3	.2
Y-Y-N	85	6.1	55	3.9	22	1.6	13	.9
Y-N-Y	39	2.8	26	1.9	2	.1	4	.3
Y-N-N	253	18.1	177	12.7	118	8.5	84	6.0
N-Y-Y	24	1.7	15	1.1	3	.2	4	.3
N-Y-N	84	6.0	59	4.2	26	1.9	35	2.5
N-N-Y	36	2.6	31	2.2	9	.6	13	.9
N-N-N	830	59.5	1009	72.3	1213	87.0	1239	88.8
Totals	1395	100.0	1395	99.9	1395	100.0	1395	99.9
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	19	1.4	10	.7	---	---	1	.1
Y-Y-N	43	3.1	22	1.6	12	.9	8	.6
Y-N-Y	14	1.0	8	.6	1	.1	1	.1
Y-N-N	100	7.2	68	4.9	61	4.4	41	2.9
N-Y-Y	35	2.5	10	.7	1	.1	3	.2
N-Y-N	104	7.5	54	3.9	21	1.5	21	1.5
N-N-Y	54	3.9	27	1.9	6	.4	5	.4
N-N-N	1026	73.5	1196	85.7	1293	92.7	1315	94.3
Totals	1395	100.1	1395	100.0	1395	100.1	1395	100.1

TABLE 16. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR NON-INNER CITY FEMALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART 1		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	40	3.3	22	1.8	---	---	1	.1
Y-Y-N	72	6.0	41	3.4	7	.6	1	.1
Y-N-Y	48	4.0	29	2.4	---	---	1	.1
Y-N-N	177	14.6	177	14.6	52	4.3	24	2.0
N-Y-Y	24	2.0	11	.9	---	---	1	.1
N-Y-N	126	10.4	47	3.9	4	.3	10	.8
N-N-Y	92	7.6	40	3.3	3	.2	7	.6
N-N-N	630	52.1	842	69.6	1143	94.5	1164	96.3
Totals	1209	100.0	1209	99.9	1209	99.9	1209	100.1
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	3	.2	3	.2	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	15	1.2	9	.7	3	.2	1	.1
Y-N-Y	5	.4	2	.2	---	---	1	.1
Y-N-N	107	8.9	84	6.9	29	2.4	16	1.3
N-Y-Y	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
N-Y-N	32	2.6	14	1.2	2	.2	6	.5
N-N-Y	11	.9	5	.4	1	.1	4	.3
N-N-N	1036	85.7	1092	90.3	1174	97.1	1181	97.7
Totals	1209	99.9	1209	99.9	1209	100.0	1209	100.0
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	1	.1	---	---	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	6	.5	1	.1	---	---	---	---
Y-N-Y	3	.2	1	.1	---	---	---	---
Y-N-N	32	2.6	23	1.9	5	.4	8	.7
N-Y-Y	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
N-Y-N	28	2.3	9	.7	3	.2	2	.2
N-N-Y	9	.7	1	.1	---	---	---	---
N-N-N	1130	93.5	1174	97.1	1201	99.3	1199	99.2
Totals	1209	99.9	1209	100.0	1209	99.9	1209	100.1

We commence by comparing a few percentages from Table 13, inner city Males, with a few percentages from other Males from Table 15. Note that 21.9% of the inner city males (socialized in the inner city neighborhoods) but only 9.8% of the other males (socialized outside the inner city) had at least one Non-Traffic police contact during each of the three age periods. Comparison of the percentages who were referred during each age period reveals that 8.8% of the inner city males but only 1.6% of the other males were referred.

Of course, there is the matter of offense seriousness: comparisons based on consideration of only Part I offenses provide further evidence that what happens in the inner city differs from what happens in other neighborhoods. Note that 4.0% of those socialized in the inner city had Part I contacts during each age period but only .5% of those from other neighborhoods did so. Although 2.3% of the inner city group had been referred during each age period, only .1% of those from other neighborhoods had been referred in that pattern. This suggests that inner city males not only behave differently, i.e., engage in more serious delinquency and crime, but are dealt with differently from others. Similar findings are made if only felony-level offenses are considered.

This is only one of many ways in which the career types may be used to compare the behavior and/or experiences of male and female, inner city and other neighborhood cohort members.

The most extreme comparison is between inner city males and other neighborhood females where 33.3% of the former and 3.3% of the latter are found in Career Type Y-Y-Y based on recorded police contacts. Thus far we have shown that although cohort members are widely dispersed throughout the nine career types, inner city males, moreso Non-White than others, will have a large proportion of their numbers in the more serious offense types and will be in the sanctioned category in each period than any other group characterized according to its race, place of socialization, and sex. The mechanism by which delinquent patterns of behavior are learned, rationalized, and opportunities provided for are probably present in the groups with which inner city males, moreso Non-White than White, have contact or to which they belong. We are referring to the learning experience as a mechanism and see delinquency and crime as socially acquired and then perpetuated by that mechanism as well as by the justice system mechanism. The latter is not intended to play a role in determining continuities, variable continuities at that, but the tables that we have presented in this appendix add to the findings that we have described in earlier reports.

All of the foregoing must be considered as we go about the task of developing a sophisticated typology that has properties not present in earlier offense-oriented typologies.

Ordering Career Types by Frequency

Combined Cohort

In order to facilitate more careful analysis (perusal) of what we have thus far found, Table 17 is now presented, a counterpart of Table 2. This makes it relatively easy to interpret the changing pattern of cohort members as they are arrayed based on that combination of offense level and justice system intervention that has the lowest percent N-N-N to the highest percent N-N-N.

Sex and Neighborhood

Table 18 is the counterpart for Table 9, Table 19 for Table 10, Table 20 for Table 13, and Table 21 for Table 15. Each of the 12 segments of these tables falls in almost identical order from the first to the 12th row but there are some irregularities within each table and some systematic differences between tables that would be expected based on our earlier research. They are now quite visible with the data arranged as in Tables 17-21. The concentration of not only continuity (Y-Y-Y and Y-Y-N) but delinquency without continuity (Y-N-N) is by far the greatest for inner city males in Table 20. Tables 18 and 19 also permit one to see how male and female careers differ not only in the proportion with delinquent and criminal careers but in how their concentration differs so markedly. Tables 20 and 21 reveal that inner city male juveniles and young adults without continuity are more likely to be found in career types that have experienced the authority of the justice system than are similar males from other

TABLE 17. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR COMBINED COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	12.8	10.9	5.9	15.1	3.6	8.6	6.9	36.2
C vs. NC/NT	7.5	8.0	4.0	17.6	2.0	5.2	4.6	51.0
R vs. NR/Cont.	2.7	4.6	2.0	14.0	.9	4.8	2.4	68.5
R vs. NR/NT	1.9	3.3	1.1	10.4	.7	3.3	1.8	77.5
S vs. NS/Cont.	1.3	2.3	.8	5.4	1.9	5.3	2.9	80.1
C vs. NC/PI	.7	2.4	.7	10.7	.3	1.8	.8	82.7
S vs. NS/NT	.7	1.5	.4	4.0	.6	2.9	1.5	88.4
C vs. NC/Fel.	.5	1.6	.4	5.1	.3	2.5	1.1	88.4
R vs. NR/PI	.4	1.5	.2	6.9	.1	1.6	.6	88.7
R vs. NR/Fel.	.3	1.1	.3	4.4	.2	2.0	.8	90.8
S vs. NS/PI	.0	.8	.1	3.4	.1	1.2	.3	94.0
S vs. NS/Fel.	.0	.6	.1	2.6	.1	1.2	.3	95.2

TABLE 18. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR MALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	20.3	15.0	7.9	15.3	4.5	7.4	6.7	22.9
C vs. NC/NT	11.6	11.7	5.7	20.1	2.7	6.1	5.7	36.4
R vs. NR/Cont.	4.7	7.3	3.3	18.0	1.5	6.6	3.1	55.5
R vs. NR/NT	3.2	5.3	1.9	13.0	1.1	4.8	2.7	68.0
S vs. NS/Cont.	2.2	3.9	1.4	7.4	3.3	7.8	4.3	69.8
C vs. NC/PI	1.2	3.9	1.2	15.0	.5	2.9	1.0	74.3
S vs. NS/NT	1.2	2.7	.6	5.7	1.0	4.5	2.5	81.9
C vs. NC/Fel.	1.0	2.9	.7	7.8	.4	3.6	1.5	82.1
R vs. NR/PI	.6	2.6	.4	9.9	.2	2.5	1.0	82.8
R vs. NR/Fel.	.6	2.0	.5	6.9	.3	3.2	1.1	85.4
S vs. NS/PI	.1	1.4	.2	5.8	.1	1.9	.5	90.0
S vs. NS/Fel.	.1	1.1	.1	4.3	.2	2.0	.4	91.9

TABLE 19. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR FEMALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 16 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	4.0	6.1	3.4	14.8	2.5	10.0	7.2	52.1
C vs. NC/NT	2.7	3.7	2.1	14.5	1.1	4.1	3.4	68.3
R vs. NR/Cont.	.4	1.4	.5	9.3	.2	2.7	1.6	83.9
R vs. NR/NT	.4	1.0	.2	7.4	.2	1.5	.7	88.7
S vs. NS/Cont.	.2	.5	.2	3.1	.2	2.5	1.2	92.2
C vs. NC/PI	.1	.6	.1	5.6	.1	.5	.4	92.7
R vs. NR/PI	.1	.2	---	3.3	.1	.5	.3	95.7
C vs. NC/Fel.	.1	.1	.1	2.0	.2	1.2	.6	95.8
S vs. NS/NT	---	.2	.1	2.0	.2	1.1	.3	96.1
R vs. NR/Fel.	---	.1	.1	1.4	.1	.7	.4	97.3
S vs. NS/PI	---	.1	---	.6	.1	.3	.2	98.8
S vs. NS/Fel.	---	---	---	.6	---	.2	.2	99.1

TABLE 20. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR INNER CITY MALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	33.3	17.3	8.6	14.7	4.4	4.2	6.5	10.9
C vs. NC/NT	21.9	16.8	6.1	21.3	3.2	5.1	5.3	20.4
R vs. NR/Cont.	10.1	13.1	5.7	20.0	1.1	7.4	4.0	38.7
R vs. NR/NT	8.8	10.5	3.4	17.5	.8	6.1	3.6	49.3
S vs. NS/Cont.	6.1	6.9	2.5	9.7	5.9	8.4	5.5	54.9
C vs. NC/PI	4.0	9.5	2.7	21.3	1.1	3.6	1.1	56.8
S vs. NS/NT	3.4	6.7	1.1	9.9	1.7	6.1	4.2	66.9
R vs. NR/PI	2.3	6.7	1.1	16.2	.4	4.2	1.9	67.2
C vs. NC/Fel.	2.7	7.2	2.3	12.0	.4	5.5	1.9	68.0
R vs. NR/Fel.	1.9	6.1	1.3	11.8	.2	4.8	1.9	72.0
S vs. NS/PI	.2	3.6	.6	12.2	.4	3.4	.8	78.7
S vs. NS/Fel.	---	2.9	.4	9.9	---	3.2	.4	83.2

TABLE 21. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR NON-INNER CITY MALE COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	18.6	15.0	8.1	17.0	3.9	7.7	6.1	23.7
C vs. NC/NT	9.8	11.0	6.4	22.2	2.2	6.1	5.2	37.1
R vs. NR/Cont.	3.2	6.1	2.8	18.1	1.7	6.0	2.6	59.5
R vs. NR/NT	1.6	3.9	1.9	12.7	1.1	4.2	2.2	72.3
S vs. NS/Cont.	1.4	3.1	1.0	7.2	2.5	7.5	3.9	73.5
C vs. NC/PI	.5	2.7	.9	14.4	.3	2.2	.9	78.1
C vs. NC/Fel.	.4	1.7	.3	7.5	.4	2.9	1.4	85.4
S vs. NS/NT	.7	1.6	.6	4.9	.7	3.9	1.9	85.7
R vs. NR/PI	.1	1.6	.1	8.5	.2	1.9	.6	87.0
R vs. NR/Fel.	.2	.9	.3	6.0	.3	2.5	.9	88.8
S vs. NS/PI	—	.9	.1	4.4	.1	1.5	.4	92.7
S vs. NS/Fel.	.1	.6	.1	2.9	.2	1.5	.4	94.3

neighborhoods. As we have said, these tables do not suggest that a different typology should be constructed for those who were socialized in the inner city vs. other neighborhoods but place of socialization will be considered as an important factor in the development of certain types of careers.

Career Type Continuity Difference Based on Offense Level and Justice Sysetm Involvement by Cohort

The next set of tables, Tables 22-24, are companions to Table 2 but are for each cohort separately. The increasing concentration of cohort members in the more serious offense categories and more serious justice system involvement categories is somewhat reduced by the decreasing years of exposure as adults as one moves from the 1942 to the 1955 Cohort. This makes it clear that if we develop a typology that we wish to claim has predictive efficiency, then we must test this by predicting from the juvenile period to the same number of years beyond it.

TABLE 22. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1942 COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	Contacts vs. No Contacts							
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Y-Y-Y	118	18.6	54	8.5	4	.6	2	.3
Y-Y-N	19	3.0	22	3.5	8	1.3	3	.5
Y-N-Y	68	10.7	42	6.6	5	.8	3	.5
Y-N-N	49	7.7	72	11.4	46	7.3	24	3.8
N-Y-Y	38	6.0	23	3.6	4	.6	3	.5
N-Y-N	27	4.3	22	3.5	5	.8	5	.8
N-N-Y	115	18.2	78	12.3	13	2.1	11	1.7
N-N-N	199	31.4	320	50.6	548	86.6	582	91.9
Totals	633	99.9	633	100.0	633	100.1	633	100.0
	Referred vs. Not Referred							
Y-Y-Y	17	2.7	16	2.5	2	.3	2	.3
Y-Y-N	15	2.4	5	.8	3	.5	1	.2
Y-N-Y	24	3.8	14	2.2	1	.2	1	.2
Y-N-N	80	12.6	52	8.2	27	4.3	20	3.2
N-Y-Y	5	.8	5	.8	2	.3	3	.5
N-Y-N	16	2.5	16	2.5	5	.8	5	.8
N-N-Y	22	3.5	21	3.3	11	1.7	7	1.1
N-N-N	454	71.7	504	79.6	582	91.9	590	93.8
Totals	633	100.0	633	99.9	633	100.0	633	100.1
	Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned							
Y-Y-Y	13	2.1	3	.5	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	2	.3	3	.5	---	---	---	---
Y-N-Y	6	.9	2	.3	1	.2	1	.2
Y-N-N	10	1.6	13	2.1	13	2.1	12	1.9
N-Y-Y	21	3.3	6	.9	1	.2	1	.2
N-Y-N	16	2.5	13	2.1	6	.9	4	.6
N-N-Y	30	4.7	19	3.0	5	.8	2	.3
N-N-N	535	84.5	574	90.7	607	95.9	613	96.8
Totals	633	99.9	633	100.1	633	100.1	633	100.0

TABLE 23. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1949 COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	236	18.2	132	10.2	8	.6	4	.3
Y-Y-N	112	8.6	91	7.0	21	1.6	11	.8
Y-N-Y	110	8.5	81	6.2	16	1.2	9	.7
Y-N-N	166	12.8	213	16.4	141	10.9	55	4.2
N-Y-Y	56	4.3	30	2.3	5	.4	---	---
N-Y-N	114	8.8	69	5.3	17	1.3	20	1.5
N-N-Y	103	7.9	68	5.2	11	.8	21	1.6
N-N-N	400	30.8	613	47.3	1078	83.1	1177	90.7
Totals	1297	99.9	1297	99.9	1297	99.9	1297	99.8
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	31	2.4	22	1.7	5	.4	2	.2
Y-Y-N	45	3.5	38	2.9	10	.8	9	.7
Y-N-Y	36	2.8	24	1.9	6	.5	6	.5
Y-N-N	190	14.6	105	8.1	61	4.7	43	3.3
N-Y-Y	10	.8	8	.6	1	.1	---	---
N-Y-N	38	2.9	44	3.4	18	1.4	19	1.5
N-N-Y	33	2.5	34	2.6	9	.7	14	1.1
N-N-N	914	70.5	1022	78.8	1187	91.5	1204	92.8
Totals	1297	100.0	1297	100.0	1297	100.1	1297	100.1
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	15	1.2	8	.6	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	13	1.0	9	.7	4	.3	2	.2
Y-N-Y	12	.9	8	.6	3	.2	1	.1
Y-N-N	33	2.5	31	2.4	26	2.0	25	1.9
N-Y-Y	30	2.3	6	.5	1	.1	---	---
N-Y-N	58	4.5	43	3.3	12	.9	6	.5
N-N-Y	44	3.4	27	2.1	5	.4	3	.2
N-N-N	1092	84.2	1165	89.8	1246	96.1	1260	97.1
Totals	1297	100.0	1297	100.0	1297	100.0	1297	100.0

TABLE 24. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1955 COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	170	7.9	121	5.6	16	.7	16	.7
Y-Y-N	314	14.6	214	10.0	69	3.2	52	2.4
Y-N-Y	61	2.8	41	1.9	7	.3	6	.3
Y-N-N	401	18.7	431	20.1	249	11.6	131	6.1
N-Y-Y	52	2.4	28	1.3	3	.1	8	.4
N-Y-N	208	9.7	123	5.7	51	2.4	77	3.6
N-N-Y	64	3.0	43	2.0	7	.3	12	.6
N-N-N	879	40.9	1148	53.4	1747	81.3	1847	85.9
Totals	2149	100.0	2149	100.0	2149	99.9	2149	100.0
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	63	2.9	39	1.8	8	.4	9	.4
Y-Y-N	129	6.0	93	4.3	48	2.2	36	1.7
Y-N-Y	23	1.1	8	.4	1	.1	4	.2
Y-N-N	300	14.0	269	12.5	192	8.9	117	5.4
N-Y-Y	22	1.0	14	.7	3	.1	6	.3
N-Y-N	142	6.6	74	3.4	42	2.0	59	2.7
N-N-Y	43	2.0	18	.8	6	.3	11	.5
N-N-N	1427	66.4	1634	76.0	1849	86.0	1907	88.7
Totals	2149	100.0	2149	99.9	2149	100.0	2149	99.9
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	24	1.1	16	.7	1	.1	1	.1
Y-Y-N	80	3.7	51	2.4	28	1.3	22	1.0
Y-N-Y	16	.7	5	.2	---	---	1	.1
Y-N-N	178	8.3	118	5.5	101	4.7	69	3.2
N-Y-Y	25	1.2	13	.6	2	.1	3	.1
N-Y-N	144	6.7	64	3.0	30	1.4	37	1.7
N-N-Y	43	2.0	14	.7	4	.2	6	.3
N-N-N	1639	76.3	1868	86.9	1983	92.3	2010	93.5
Totals	2149	100.0	2149	100.0	2149	100.1	2149	100.0

Tables 25-27 contain the same data as do Tables 22-24 but are arranged so that cohort comparison is facilitated. Comparison of the career pattern Y-Y-N is an easy way to see how the most severe type of justice system intervention continuity has increased from cohort to cohort. Likewise, justice system intervention increases from cohort to cohort for juveniles as shown by the Y-N-N columns of these tables.

A Summary of Inner City vs. Other Neighborhood Differences in Justice System Involvement

In an attempt to simplify the manner in which inner city males are dealt with by the police and courts in comparison with males from other neighborhoods, a series of ratios is presented in Table 28. Note that the inner city males quite obviously had disproportional referrals and sanctions to cohort members from other neighborhoods, particularly those who had career continuity.

Career Type Distribution of Police Contacts by Offense Level and Justice System Involvement

By Cohort

In Table 29 we depart from using cohort members as the unit of analysis to the use of police contacts. The question is whether or not the contacts fall in career categories disproportionately to the appearance of cohort members in these categories. Thus, Table 29 must be compared with Table 2. This is what we find, perhaps even more than expected for persons unfamiliar with the data of other cohort studies. While 12.8% of the combined cohorts were found in the Y-Y-Y career category

TABLE 25. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1942 COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	18.6	3.0	10.7	7.7	6.0	4.3	18.2	31.4
C vs. NC/NT	8.5	3.5	6.6	11.4	3.6	3.5	12.3	50.6
R vs. NR/Cont.	2.7	2.4	3.8	12.6	.8	2.5	3.5	71.7
R vs. NR/NT	2.5	.8	2.2	8.2	.8	2.5	3.3	79.6
S vs. NS/Cont.	2.1	.3	.9	1.6	3.3	2.5	4.7	84.5
C vs. NC/PI	.6	1.3	.8	7.3	.6	.8	2.1	86.6
S vs. NS/NT	.5	.5	.3	2.1	.9	2.1	3.0	90.7
C vs. NC/Fel.	.3	.5	.5	3.8	.5	.8	1.7	91.9
R vs. NR/PI	.3	.5	.2	4.3	.3	.8	1.7	91.9
R vs. NR/Fel.	.3	.2	.2	3.2	.5	.8	1.1	93.8
S vs. NS/PI	---	---	.2	2.1	.2	.9	.8	95.9
S vs. NS/Fel.	---	---	.2	1.9	.2	.6	.3	96.8

TABLE 26. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1949 COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	18.2	8.6	8.5	12.8	4.3	8.8	7.9	30.8
C vs. NC/NT	10.2	7.0	6.2	16.4	2.3	5.3	5.2	47.3
R vs. NR/Cont.	2.4	3.5	2.8	14.6	.8	2.9	2.5	70.5
R vs. NR/NT	1.7	2.9	1.9	8.1	.6	3.4	2.6	78.8
C vs. NC/PI	.6	1.6	1.2	10.9	.4	1.3	.8	83.1
S vs. NS/Cont.	1.2	1.0	.9	2.5	2.3	4.5	3.4	84.2
S vs. NS/NT	.6	.7	.6	2.4	.5	3.3	2.1	89.8
C vs. NC/Fel.	.3	.8	.7	4.2	---	1.5	1.6	90.7
R vs. NR/PI	.4	.8	.5	4.7	.1	1.4	.7	91.5
R vs. NR/Fel.	.2	.7	.5	3.3	---	1.5	1.1	92.8
S vs. NS/PI	---	.3	.2	2.0	.1	.9	.4	96.1
S vs. NS/Fel.	---	.2	.1	1.9	---	.5	.2	97.1

TABLE 27. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1955 COHORT MEMBERS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	7.9	14.6	2.8	18.7	2.4	9.7	3.0	40.9
C vs. NC/NT	5.6	10.0	1.9	20.1	1.3	5.7	2.0	53.4
R vs. NR/Cont.	2.9	6.0	1.1	14.0	1.0	6.6	2.0	66.4
R vs. NR/NT	1.8	4.3	.4	12.5	.7	3.4	.8	76.0
S vs. NS/Cont.	1.1	3.7	.7	8.3	1.2	6.7	2.0	76.3
C vs. NC/PI	.7	3.2	.3	11.6	.1	2.4	.3	81.3
C vs. NC/Fel.	.7	2.4	.3	6.1	.4	3.6	.6	85.9
R vs. NR/PI	.4	2.2	.1	8.9	.1	2.0	.3	86.0
S vs. NS/NT	.7	2.4	.2	5.5	.6	3.0	.7	86.9
R vs. NR/Fel.	.4	1.7	.2	5.4	.3	2.7	.5	88.7
S vs. NS/PI	.1	1.3	---	4.7	.1	1.4	.2	92.3
S vs. NS/Fel.	.1	1.0	.1	3.2	.1	1.7	.3	93.5

TABLE 28. RATIO OF PERCENT OF INNER CITY TO NON-INNER CITY MALES WHO HAD CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS AT FOUR LEVELS OF SERIOUSNESS; COMBINED COHORTS DIVIDED INTO FOUR CAREER TYPES BASED ON JUVENILE AND YOUNG ADULT BEHAVIOR AND JUSTICE SYSTEM REACTIONS

	YY[1]	YN	NY	NN
Contacts:				
Contacts vs. No Contacts	1.51	.93	.74	.58
Referrals vs. No Referrals	2.49	1.45	1.10	.69
Sanctions vs. No Sanctions	2.36	1.49	1.79	.78
Non-Traffic:				
Contacts vs. No Contacts	1.86	.96	.00	.61
Referrals vs. No Referrals	3.51	1.43	1.30	.71
Sanctions vs. No Sanctions	4.39	2.00	1.70	.81
Part I:				
Contacts vs. No Contacts	4.22	1.57	1.88	.73
Referrals vs. No Referrals	5.29	2.01	2.19	.79
Sanctions vs. No Sanctions	4.22	2.84	2.38	.85
Felonies:				
Contacts vs. No Contacts	4.71	1.83	1.79	.81
Referrals vs. No Referrals	7.27	2.08	1.79	.82
Sanctions vs. No Sanctions	4.14	3.43	1.88	.88

[1] YY = At least one contact at stated level of seriousness during both age periods and one justice system reaction at stated level of severity; YN = At least one contact at stated level of seriousness at first age period but not at second age period, etc.

TABLE 29. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO THE CAREER TYPE OF THEIR PERPETRATOR

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	7949	52.1	6117	40.1	930	6.1	814	5.3
Y-Y-N	2976	19.5	3031	19.9	2500	16.4	1993	13.1
Y-N-Y	1258	8.3	1275	8.4	803	5.3	515	3.4
Y-N-N	1473	9.7	2370	15.5	3999	26.2	2660	17.4
N-Y-Y	641	4.2	547	3.6	241	1.6	229	1.5
N-Y-N	488	3.2	468	3.1	654	4.3	896	5.9
N-N-Y	460	3.0	565	3.7	326	2.1	725	4.8
N-N-N	---	---	872	5.7	5792	38.0	7413	48.6
Totals	15245	100.0	15245	100.0	15245	100.0	15245	100.0
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	3216	21.1	2537	16.6	545	3.6	442	2.9
Y-Y-N	2828	18.6	2652	17.4	1881	12.3	1585	10.4
Y-N-Y	1231	8.1	906	5.9	278	1.8	413	2.7
Y-N-N	3222	21.1	3072	20.2	3601	23.6	2808	18.4
N-Y-Y	448	2.9	436	2.9	137	.9	189	1.2
N-Y-N	804	5.3	723	4.7	657	4.3	905	5.9
N-N-Y	485	3.2	536	3.5	433	2.8	557	3.7
N-N-N	3011	19.8	4383	28.8	7713	50.6	8346	54.7
Totals	15245	100.1	15245	100.0	15245	99.9	15245	99.9
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	1869	12.3	1151	7.6	24	.2	18	.1
Y-Y-N	1843	12.1	1733	11.4	1179	7.7	938	6.2
Y-N-Y	632	4.1	429	2.8	179	1.2	112	.7
Y-N-N	1920	12.6	2225	14.6	2880	18.9	2491	16.3
N-Y-Y	1410	9.2	611	4.0	138	.9	103	.7
N-Y-N	1396	9.2	1149	7.5	622	4.1	728	4.8
N-N-Y	941	6.2	795	5.2	372	2.4	267	1.8
N-N-N	5234	34.3	7152	46.9	9851	64.6	10588	69.5
Totals	15245	100.0	15245	100.0	15245	100.0	15245	100.1

based on police contacts, 52.1% of the police contacts were here, more than four times the proportion of cohort members. If we move across the table to Non-Traffic contacts, we find that 7.5% of the cohort members with Non-Traffic contacts account for 40.1% of all contacts. Segment by segment of the table, one may see that those persons who are in a serious continuity career type are responsible for a disproportionate share of all police contacts.

By Cohort and Race/Ethnicity

Table 30 is a counterpart to Table 4. Table 4 is based on cohort members while Table 30 is based on the police contacts, referrals, and sanctions acquired by these cohort members. The first thing that one notes is that career (Y-Y-Y) Blacks had accumulated a disproportional share of police contacts, referrals, and sanctions for each cohort when compared to their members in each cohort. Furthermore, the number of contacts for Blacks with Y-Y-Y careers was disproportional to the disproportional number of Blacks with Y-Y-Y careers, as was the number of referrals and sanctions disproportionate to the number of Black cohort members with referrals and sanctions for the 1942 and 1955 Cohorts. While the percentages in Table 30 indicate that Blacks in various career types account for a disproportionate number of police contacts, referrals, and sanctions, we must again remind the reader that this is not evidence that race is a causal variable. We have not discussed the Chicano contribution because their numbers in the cohorts are very small.

TABLE 30. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS BY CAREER TYPE, COHORT, AND RACE

			White		Black		Chicano		Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Y-Y-Y	C	42	1428	85.4	244	14.6	----	-----	1672	100.0
		49	2520	72.2	727	20.8	243	7.0	3490	100.0
		55	1548	55.5	1063	38.1	176	6.3	2787	99.9
	R	42	387	73.2	142	26.8	----	-----	529	100.0
		49	800	71.1	304	27.0	21	1.9	1125	100.0
		55	777	49.7	705	45.1	80	5.1	1562	99.9
	S	42	325	77.9	92	22.1	----	-----	417	100.0
		49	522	79.3	136	20.7	----	-----	658	100.0
		55	270	34.0	476	60.0	48	6.0	794	100.0
Y-Y-N	C	42	64	95.5	3	4.5	----	-----	67	100.0
		49	466	86.0	31	5.7	45	8.3	542	100.0
		55	1605	67.8	531	22.4	231	9.8	2367	100.0
	R	42	203	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	203	100.0
		49	495	70.2	195	27.7	15	2.1	705	100.0
		55	1114	58.0	589	30.7	217	11.3	1920	100.0
	S	42	27	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	27	100.0
		49	163	68.8	74	31.2	----	-----	237	100.0
		55	1010	64.0	418	26.5	151	9.6	1579	100.1
Y-N-Y	C	42	357	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	357	100.0
		49	555	92.3	31	5.2	15	2.5	601	100.0
		55	212	70.7	39	13.0	49	16.3	300	100.0
	R	42	312	84.6	57	15.4	----	-----	369	100.0
		49	382	62.6	95	15.6	133	21.8	610	100.0
		55	148	58.7	48	19.0	56	22.2	252	99.9
	S	42	81	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	81	100.0
		49	214	63.3	83	24.6	41	12.1	338	100.0
		55	156	73.2	21	9.9	36	16.9	213	100.0
Y-N-N	C	42	107	99.1	----	-----	1	.9	108	100.0
		49	262	90.7	24	8.3	3	1.0	289	100.0
		55	906	84.2	121	11.2	49	4.6	1076	100.0
	R	42	458	99.8	----	-----	1	[illegible]	459	100.0
		49	1090	92.7	34	[illegible]	52	4.4	1176	100.0
		55	1290	81.3	151	[illegible]	146	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	S	42	97	[illegible]	----	-----	----	-----	[illegible]	[illegible]
		49	290	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		55	1068	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

N-Y-Y	C	42	193	81.8	36	15.3	7	3.0	236	100.1
		49	196	83.4	37	15.7	2	.9	235	100.0
		55	151	88.8	14	8.3	5	2.9	170	100.0
	R	42	138	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	138	100.0
		49	81	48.2	45	26.8	42	25.0	168	100.0
		55	86	60.6	56	39.4	----	-----	142	100.0
	S	42	331	75.9	98	22.5	7	1.6	436	100.0
		49	471	67.9	61	8.8	162	23.3	694	100.0
		55	115	41.1	143	51.1	22	7.9	280	100.1
N-Y-N	C	42	42	100.0	----	-----	----	-----	42	100.0
		49	160	97.6	1	.6	3	1.8	164	100.0
		55	265	94.0	10	3.5	7	2.5	282	100.0
	R	42	59	78.7	9	12.0	7	9.3	75	100.0
		49	159	74.3	27	12.6	28	13.1	214	100.0
		55	438	85.0	63	12.2	14	2.7	515	99.9
	S	42	108	92.3	9	7.7	----	-----	117	100.0
		49	390	71.6	138	25.3	17	3.1	545	100.0
		55	553	75.3	168	22.9	13	1.8	734	100.0
N-N-Y	C	42	206	92.8	8	3.6	8	3.6	222	100.0
		49	148	92.5	2	1.3	10	6.3	160	100.1
		55	67	85.9	9	11.5	2	2.6	78	100.0
	R	42	109	66.9	54	33.1	----	-----	163	100.0
		49	156	80.0	36	18.5	3	1.5	195	100.0
		55	69	54.3	47	37.0	11	8.7	127	100.0
	S	42	264	88.9	33	11.1	----	-----	297	100.0
		49	345	70.0	118	23.9	30	6.1	493	100.0
		55	101	66.9	36	23.8	14	9.3	151	100.0
N-N-N	C	42	195	98.0	1	.5	3	1.5	199	100.0
		49	383	95.8	15	3.8	2	.5	400	100.1
		55	830	94.4	38	4.3	11	1.3	879	100.0
	R	42	926	95.8	30	3.1	11	1.1	967	100.0
		49	1527	90.5	132	7.8	29	1.7	1688	100.0
		55	1662	90.6	126	6.9	46	2.5	1834	100.0
	S	42	1359	95.0	60	4.2	12	.8	1431	100.0
		49	2339	90.0	212	8.2	49	1.9	[illegible]	100.1
		55	2288	89.3	231	11.[illegible]	46	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

By Cohort

Tables 31, 32, and 33 are comparable to Tables 22, 23, and 24 in the same fashion but reveal that the disproportional concentration of contacts in the hands of a few continuous career people increases from cohort to cohort. It is particularly interesting to note that persons with a continuous career typology based on continuous sanctions account for increasingly high proportions of all contacts from cohort to cohort. The further that we proceed with the strategy laid out for this appendix, the more it is that judicial intervention separates out a type of offender who accounts for much of the crime. It is also apparent that societal concerns have focused increasing attention on serious juvenile offenders so that any typology constructed from cohort data would be forced to take this into consideration.

Ordering Contacts by Career Types in Which They Appeared

Tables 34-37 are the ordered counterparts of Tables 29 and 31-33, again making it somewhat simpler to see the cohort change that we have mentioned. There is not a textbook that fails to dwell on the disproportional contribution of juveniles to the total number of offenses committed in the United States. Note how this appears whatever the basis for continuity career types. This is, of course, a continuation of what we saw in early as Tables 2, 22, 23, and 24.

TABLE 31. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO THE CAREER TYPE OF 1942 COHORT PERPETRATOR

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	1672	61.8	1093	40.4	179	6.6	93	3.4
Y-Y-N	67	2.5	207	7.7	173	6.4	99	3.7
Y-N-Y	357	13.2	353	13.1	125	4.6	50	1.8
Y-N-N	108	4.0	254	9.4	493	18.2	347	12.8
N-Y-Y	236	8.7	222	8.2	97	3.6	107	4.0
N-Y-N	42	1.6	53	2.0	25	.9	69	2.6
N-N-Y	222	8.2	310	11.5	193	7.1	214	7.9
N-N-N	---	---	212	7.8	1419	52.5	1725	63.8
Totals	2704	100.0	2704	100.1	2704	99.9	2704	100.0
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	529	19.6	497	18.4	103	3.8	93	3.4
Y-Y-N	203	7.5	84	3.1	59	2.2	38	1.4
Y-N-Y	369	13.6	216	8.0	8	.3	20	.7
Y-N-N	459	17.0	384	14.2	357	13.2	285	10.5
N-Y-Y	138	5.1	168	6.2	84	3.1	107	4.0
N-Y-N	75	2.8	80	3.0	70	2.6	98	3.6
N-N-Y	163	6.0	197	7.3	224	8.3	177	6.5
N-N-N	768	28.4	1078	39.9	1799	66.5	1886	69.7
Totals	2704	100.0	2704	100.1	2704	100.0	2704	99.8
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	417	15.4	169	6.3	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	27	1.0	80	3.0	---	---	---	---
Y-N-Y	81	3.0	30	1.1	65	2.4	65	2.4
Y-N-N	97	3.6	225	8.3	268	9.9	230	8.5
N-Y-Y	436	16.1	184	6.8	57	2.1	57	2.1
N-Y-N	117	4.3	148	5.5	101	3.7	86	3.2
N-N-Y	297	11.0	264	9.8	142	5.3	98	3.6
N-N-N	1232	45.6	1604	59.3	2071	76.6	2168	80.2
Totals	2704	100.0	2704	100.1	2704	100.0	2704	100.0

TABLE 32. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO THE CAREER TYPE OF 1949 COHORT PERPETRATOR

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	3490	63.7	2654	48.4	273	5.0	165	3.0
Y-Y-N	542	9.9	687	12.5	452	8.2	335	6.1
Y-N-Y	601	11.0	643	11.7	565	10.3	319	5.8
Y-N-N	289	5.3	622	11.3	1394	25.4	876	16.0
N-Y-Y	235	4.3	200	3.6	117	2.1	---	---
N-Y-N	164	3.0	179	3.3	243	4.4	324	5.9
N-N-Y	160	2.9	175	3.2	108	2.0	414	7.6
N-N-N	---	---	321	5.9	2329	42.5	3048	55.6
Totals	5481	100.1	5481	99.9	5481	99.9	5481	100.0
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	1125	20.5	880	16.1	160	2.9	53	1.0
Y-Y-N	705	12.9	734	13.4	273	5.0	334	6.1
Y-N-Y	610	11.1	547	10.0	259	4.7	288	5.3
Y-N-N	1176	21.5	797	14.5	1007	18.4	788	14.4
N-Y-Y	168	3.1	153	2.8	31	.6	---	---
N-Y-N	214	3.9	295	5.4	238	4.3	333	6.1
N-N-Y	195	3.6	255	4.7	167	3.0	257	4.7
N-N-N	1288	23.5	1820	33.2	3346	61.0	3428	62.5
Totals	5481	100.1	5481	100.1	5481	99.9	5481	100.1
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	658	12.0	393	7.2	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	237	4.3	255	4.7	142	2.6	89	1.6
Y-N-Y	338	6.2	298	5.4	114	2.1	30	.5
Y-N-N	316	5.8	416	7.6	674	12.3	783	14.3
N-Y-Y	694	12.7	231	4.2	31	.6	---	---
N-Y-N	545	9.9	500	9.1	161	2.9	110	2.0
N-N-Y	493	9.0	444	8.1	182	3.3	97	1.8
N-N-N	2200	40.1	2944	53.7	4177	76.2	4372	79.8
Totals	5481	100.0	5481	100.0	5481	100.0	5481	100.0

TABLE 33. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO THE CAREER TYPE OF 1955 COHORT PERPETRATOR

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	2787	39.5	2370	33.6	478	6.8	556	7.9
Y-Y-N	2367	33.5	2137	30.3	1875	26.6	1559	22.1
Y-N-Y	300	4.2	279	4.0	113	1.6	146	2.1
Y-N-N	1076	15.2	1494	21.2	2112	29.9	1437	20.4
N-Y-Y	170	2.4	125	1.8	27	.4	122	1.7
N-Y-N	282	4.0	236	3.3	386	5.5	503	7.1
N-N-Y	78	1.1	80	1.1	25	.4	97	1.4
N-N-N	---	---	339	4.8	2044	29.0	2640	37.4
Totals	7060	99.9	7060	100.1	7060	100.2	7060	100.1
Referred vs. Not Referred								
Y-Y-Y	1562	22.1	1160	16.4	282	4.0	296	4.2
Y-Y-N	1920	27.2	1834	26.0	1549	21.9	1213	17.2
Y-N-Y	252	3.6	143	2.0	11	.2	105	1.5
Y-N-N	1587	22.5	1891	26.8	2237	31.7	1735	24.6
N-Y-Y	142	2.0	115	1.6	22	.3	82	1.2
N-Y-N	515	7.3	348	4.9	349	4.9	474	6.7
N-N-Y	127	1.8	84	1.2	42	.6	123	1.7
N-N-N	955	13.5	1485	21.0	2568	36.4	3032	42.9
Totals	7060	100.0	7060	99.9	7060	100.0	7060	100.0
Sanctioned vs. Not Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	794	11.2	589	8.3	24	.3	18	.3
Y-Y-N	1579	22.4	1398	19.8	1037	14.7	849	12.0
Y-N-Y	213	3.0	101	1.4	---	---	17	.2
Y-N-N	1507	21.3	1584	22.4	1938	27.5	1478	20.9
N-Y-Y	280	4.0	196	2.8	50	.7	46	.7
N-Y-N	734	10.4	501	7.1	360	5.1	532	7.5
N-N-Y	151	2.1	87	1.2	48	.7	72	1.0
N-N-N	1802	25.5	2604	36.9	3603	51.0	4046	57.3
Totals	7060	99.9	7060	99.9	7060	100.0	7060	99.9

TABLE 34. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR COMBINED COHORT CONTACTS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	52.1	19.5	8.3	9.7	4.2	3.2	3.0	---
C vs. NC/NT	40.1	19.9	8.4	15.5	3.6	3.1	3.7	5.7
R vs. NR/Cont.	21.1	18.5	8.1	21.1	2.9	5.3	3.2	19.8
R vs. NR/NT	16.6	17.4	5.9	20.2	2.9	4.7	3.5	28.8
S vs. NS/Cont.	12.3	12.1	4.1	12.6	9.2	9.2	6.2	34.3
C vs. NC/PI	6.1	16.4	5.3	26.2	1.6	4.3	2.1	38.0
S vs. NS/NT	7.6	11.4	2.8	14.6	4.0	7.5	5.2	46.9
C vs. NC/Fel.	5.3	13.1	3.4	17.4	1.5	5.9	4.8	48.6
R vs. NR/PI	3.6	12.3	1.8	23.6	.9	4.3	2.8	50.6
R vs. NR/Fel.	2.9	10.4	2.7	18.4	1.2	5.9	3.7	54.7
S vs. NS/PI	.2	7.7	1.2	18.9	.9	4.1	2.4	64.6
S vs. NS/Fel.	.1	6.2	.7	16.3	.7	4.8	1.8	69.5

TABLE 35. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1942 COHORT CONTACTS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	61.8	2.5	13.2	4.0	8.7	1.6	8.2	---
C vs. NC/NT	40.4	7.7	13.1	9.4	8.2	2.0	11.5	7.8
R vs. NR/Cont.	19.6	7.5	13.6	17.0	5.1	2.8	6.0	28.4
R vs. NR/NT	18.4	3.1	8.0	14.2	6.2	3.0	7.3	39.9
S vs. NS/Cont.	15.4	1.0	3.0	3.6	16.1	4.3	11.0	45.6
C vs. NC/PI	6.6	6.4	4.6	18.2	3.6	.9	7.1	52.5
S vs. NS/NT	6.3	3.0	1.1	8.3	6.8	5.5	9.8	59.3
C vs. NC/Fel.	3.4	3.7	1.8	12.8	4.0	2.6	7.9	63.8
R vs. NR/PI	3.8	2.2	.3	13.2	3.1	2.6	8.3	66.5
R vs. NR/Fel.	3.4	1.4	.7	10.5	4.0	3.6	6.5	69.7
S vs. NS/PI	---	---	2.4	9.9	2.1	3.7	5.3	76.6
S vs. NS/Fel.	---	---	2.4	8.5	2.1	3.2	3.6	80.2

TABLE 36. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1949 COHORT CONTACTS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	63.7	9.9	11.0	5.3	4.3	3.0	2.9	---
C vs. NC/NT	48.4	12.5	11.7	11.3	3.6	3.3	3.2	5.9
R vs. NR/Cont.	20.5	12.9	11.1	21.5	3.1	3.9	3.6	23.5
R vs. NR/NT	16.1	13.4	10.0	14.5	2.8	5.4	4.7	33.2
S vs. NS/Cont.	12.0	4.3	6.2	5.8	12.7	9.9	9.0	40.1
C vs. NC/PI	5.0	8.2	10.3	25.4	2.1	4.4	2.0	42.5
S vs. NS/NT	7.2	4.7	5.4	7.6	4.2	9.1	8.1	53.7
C vs. NC/Fel.	3.0	6.1	5.8	16.0	---	5.9	7.6	55.6
R vs. NR/PI	2.9	5.0	4.7	18.4	.6	4.3	3.0	61.0
R vs. NR/Fel.	1.0	6.1	5.3	14.4	---	6.1	4.7	62.5
S vs. NS/PI	---	2.6	2.1	12.3	.6	2.9	3.3	76.2
S vs. NS/Fel.	---	1.6	.5	14.3	---	2.0	1.8	79.8

TABLE 37. CAREER TYPE CONTINUITY FOR 1955 COHORT CONTACTS ACROSS JUVENILE, 18 TO 20, AND 21 AND OLDER AGE PERIODS, FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST PERCENT NO, NO, NO (NNN)

	YYY	YYN	YNY	YNN	NYY	NYN	NNY	NNN
C vs. NC/Cont.	39.5	33.5	4.2	15.2	2.4	4.0	1.1	---
C vs. NC/NT	33.6	30.3	4.0	21.2	1.8	3.3	1.1	4.8
R vs. NR/Cont.	22.1	27.2	3.6	22.5	2.0	7.3	1.8	13.5
R vs. NR/NT	16.4	26.0	2.0	26.8	1.6	4.9	1.2	21.0
S vs. NS/Cont.	11.2	22.4	3.0	21.3	4.0	10.4	2.1	25.5
C vs. NC/PI	6.8	26.6	1.6	29.9	.4	5.5	.4	29.0
R vs. NR/PI	4.0	21.9	.2	31.7	.3	4.9	.6	36.4
S vs. NS/NT	8.3	19.8	1.4	22.4	2.8	7.1	1.2	36.9
C vs. NC/Fel.	7.9	22.1	2.1	20.4	1.7	7.1	1.4	37.4
R vs. NR/Fel.	4.2	17.2	1.5	24.6	1.2	6.7	1.7	42.9
S vs. NS/PI	.3	14.7	---	27.5	.7	5.1	.7	51.0
S vs. NS/Fel.	.3	12.0	.2	20.9	.7	7.5	1.0	57.3

The Interrelationship of Career Types and Contacts by Career Types

Thus far we have shown the career type of each of 4,079 cohort members on 12 different continuums from Y-Y-Y to N-N-N. The distributions always tend to be skewed toward Y-Y-Y and other

times toward N-N-N. Obviously some of the distributions will be highly correlated and others will not. The data set that we are using has each person's career type according to each system so that it was possible to produce a matrix of intercorrelations, as shown in Table 38.

If we select .700 as the cutting point, only a few sets of high correlations are found. Position on the total contacts continuum correlations .800+ with position on the Non-Traffic contacts continuum, as do referrals and sanctions on the same basis. We have frequently made the point that analyses including Traffic contacts produce the same results as those excluding them, at times doing the analyses both ways, however, to make sure that the critics have been satisfied.

Part I contacts and Part I referrals were correlated .700+, as were Part I sanctions and Non-Traffic sanctions. Part I referrals and Felony referrals were correlated .700+ and Part I sanctions and Felony sanctions were correlated from .700+ to .900+.

Taking these correlations into consideration, we may wish to manipulate each cohort member's career type for the 12 different combinations of offense seriousness and justice system intervention to produce experience types. This is relatively easy because, as we have said, each person's career type is attached to his/her record for each of the 12 systems.

In Table 39 the unit for analysis was changed so that instead of correlating career types for cohort members on the 12

TABLE 38. INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CAREER TYPES FOR 12 COMBINATIONS OF CONTACT SERIOUSNESS AND JUSTICE SYSTEM INTERVENTION: COMBINED COHORTS AND 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORTS

	C-C	C-R	C-S	N-C	N-R	N-S	P-C	P-R	P-S	F-C	F-R	F-S
C-C, ALL	1.000	.672	.492	.868	.570	.401	.510	.401	.296	.396	.356	.268
C-C, 42	1.000	.672	.449	.836	.551	.363	.457	.336	.263	.353	.318	.235
C-C, 49	1.000	.642	.436	.861	.522	.350	.482	.336	.230	.341	.310	.210
C-C, 55	1.000	.703	.564	.884	.618	.460	.553	.475	.359	.458	.410	.324
C-R, ALL	.672	1.000	.731	.649	.857	.603	.596	.618	.458	.551	.547	.418
C-R, 42	.672	1.000	.647	.669	.829	.525	.559	.518	.385	.534	.490	.376
C-R, 49	.642	1.000	.650	.619	.828	.554	.523	.535	.373	.506	.498	.349
C-R, 55	.703	1.000	.792	.667	.879	.645	.644	.680	.514	.578	.585	.460
C-S, ALL	.492	.731	1.000	.478	.644	.822	.542	.586	.647	.563	.569	.584
C-S, 42	.449	.647	1.000	.501	.624	.819	.558	.569	.647	.541	.569	.604
C-S, 49	.436	.650	1.000	.462	.669	.867	.508	.563	.631	.560	.564	.596
C-S, 55	.565	.792	1.000	.503	.641	.806	.555	.591	.651	.561	.566	.575
N-C, ALL	.868	.649	.478	1.000	.665	.478	.595	.473	.356	.470	.426	.324
N-C, 42	.836	.669	.501	1.000	.673	.470	.562	.424	.343	.451	.403	.311
N-C, 49	.861	.619	.462	1.000	.606	.412	.557	.392	.277	.402	.365	.248
N-C, 55	.884	.667	.503	1.000	.705	.529	.630	.541	.413	.524	.476	.378
N-R, ALL	.570	.857	.644	.665	1.000	.698	.673	.725	.535	.635	.638	.488
N-R, 42	.551	.829	.624	.673	1.000	.616	.614	.629	.459	.638	.594	.443
N-R, 49	.521	.828	.669	.606	1.000	.655	.593	.656	.449	.603	.600	.416
N-R, 55	.618	.879	.641	.705	1.000	.736	.726	.776	.588	.651	.666	.529
N-S, ALL	.401	.603	.822	.478	.698	1.000	.592	.664	.797	.644	.662	.717
N-S, 42	.363	.525	.819	.470	.616	1.000	.500	.550	.788	.580	.620	.732
N-S, 49	.351	.553	.867	.412	.655	1.000	.507	.608	.739	.590	.598	.689
N-S, 55	.460	.645	.806	.529	.736	1.000	.646	.696	.816	.668	.686	.723
P-C, ALL	.510	.596	.542	.595	.673	.592	1.000	.808	.601	.671	.629	.504
P-C, 42	.457	.559	.558	.562	.614	.500	1.000	.755	.556	.668	.617	.504
P-C, 49	.482	.523	.508	.557	.593	.507	1.000	.705	.497	.639	.577	.412
P-C, 55	.553	.644	.555	.630	.726	.646	1.000	.868	.657	.688	.657	.546
P-R, ALL	.401	.618	.586	.473	.725	.664	.808	1.000	.731	.696	.742	.596
P-R, 42	.336	.518	.569	.424	.629	.550	.755	1.000	.676	.702	.775	.645
P-R, 49	.336	.535	.563	.392	.656	.608	.705	1.000	.689	.711	.774	.570
P-R, 55	.475	.680	.591	.541	.776	.696	.868	1.000	.750	.686	.722	.595
P-S, ALL	.296	.458	.647	.356	.535	.797	.601	.731	1.000	.645	.691	.792
IP-S, 42	.263	.385	.647	.343	.459	.788	.556	.676	1.000	.642	.756	.931
P-S, 49	.230	.373	.631	.277	.449	.739	.497	.689	1.000	.575	.633	.812
P-S, 55	.359	.513	.651	.413	.588	.816	.657	.750	1.000	.665	.700	.771
F-C, ALL	.396	.551	.563	.470	.635	.644	.671	.696	.645	1.000	.902	.691
F-C, 42	.353	.534	.541	.451	.638	.580	.668	.702	.642	1.000	.891	.649
F-C, 49	.341	.506	.560	.402	.603	.590	.639	.711	.575	1.000	.890	.601
F-S, 55	.458	.578	.561	.524	.651	.668	.688	.686	.665	1.000	.906	.723
F-R, ALL	.356	.547	.570	.426	.638	.662	.629	.742	.691	.902	1.000	.758
F-R, 42	.318	.490	.569	.403	.594	.620	.617	.775	.756	.891	1.000	.763
F-R, 49	.310	.498	.564	.365	.600	.598	.577	.774	.633	.890	1.000	.675
F-R, 55	.410	.585	.566	.476	.666	.686	.657	.722	.700	.906	1.000	.782
F-S, ALL	.268	.418	.584	.324	.488	.717	.504	.596	.792	.691	.758	1.000
F-S, 42	.235	.376	.604	.311	.443	.732	.504	.645	.931	.649	.763	1.000
F-S, 49	.210	.349	.596	.248	.416	.689	.412	.570	.812	.601	.675	1.000
F-S, 55	.324	.460	.575	.378	.529	.723	.546	.595	.771	.723	.782	1.000

KEY: C = Contacts, N = Non-Traffic Contacts, P = Part I Contacts, F = Felony-level Contacts, R = Referred, S = Sanctioned

TABLE 39. INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CAREER TYPES FOR 12 COMBINATIONS OF CONTACT SERIOUSNESS AND JUSTICE SYSTEM INTERVENTION: CONTACTS ACQUIRED BY COMBINED COHORT MEMBERS AND 1942, 1949, AND 1955 COHORT MEMBERS

	C-C	C-R	C-S	N-C	N-R	N-S	P-C	P-R	P-S	F-C	F-R	F-S
C-C, ALL	1.000	.600	.445	.802	.526	.386	.439	.341	.262	.346	.390	.236
C-C, 42	1.000	.618	.439	.773	.511	.373	.428	.318	.275	.330	.313	.247
C-C, 49	1.000	.602	.445	.797	.517	.370	.427	.317	.240	.347	.319	.240
C-C, 55	1.000	.627	.514	.834	.586	.476	.506	.450	.353	.424	.364	.295
C-R, ALL	.600	1.000	.726	.627	.886	.646	.595	.624	.490	.597	.574	.462
C-R, 42	.618	1.000	.653	.640	.843	.562	.531	.515	.397	.573	.514	.421
C-R, 49	.602	1.000	.690	.611	.874	.601	.509	.537	.394	.546	.526	.410
C-R, 55	.627	1.000	.773	.638	.909	.696	.665	.716	.565	.628	.612	.493
C-S, ALL	.445	.726	1.000	.500	.715	.892	.597	.656	.706	.640	.631	.650
C-S, 42	.439	.653	1.000	.528	.634	.850	.541	.574	.673	.520	.568	.616
C-S, 49	.445	.690	1.000	.494	.736	.897	.534	.601	.652	.625	.622	.668
C-S, 55	.514	.773	1.000	.510	.708	.893	.619	.671	.728	.642	.614	.627
N-C, ALL	.802	.627	.500	1.000	.658	.497	.556	.446	.355	.457	.416	.326
N-C, 42	.773	.640	.528	1.000	.680	.532	.559	.427	.397	.471	.430	.362
N-C, 49	.797	.611	.494	1.000	.618	.444	.516	.390	.295	.414	.379	.279
N-C, 55	.834	.638	.510	1.000	.693	.553	.599	.529	.419	.515	.459	.373
N-R, ALL	.526	.886	.715	.658	1.000	.724	.662	.708	.551	.677	.650	.521
N-R, 42	.511	.843	.634	.680	1.000	.661	.583	.611	.475	.677	.606	.487
N-R, 49	.517	.874	.736	.618	1.000	.681	.571	.632	.455	.633	.606	.464
N-R, 55	.586	.909	.708	.693	1.000	.766	.739	.785	.618	.693	.679	.551
N-S, ALL	.386	.646	.892	.497	.724	1.000	.635	.717	.802	.699	.703	.739
N-S, 42	.373	.562	.850	.532	.661	1.000	.485	.563	.777	.543	.601	.702
N-S, 49	.370	.601	.897	.444	.681	1.000	.554	.658	.739	.657	.664	.758
N-S, 55	.476	.696	.893	.553	.766	1.000	.694	.745	.819	.718	.708	.713
P-C, ALL	.439	.595	.597	.556	.662	.635	1.000	.831	.662	.745	.708	.574
P-C, 42	.428	.531	.541	.559	.583	.485	1.000	.742	.644	.740	.697	.595
P-C, 49	.427	.509	.534	.516	.571	.554	1.000	.756	.565	.690	.668	.502
P-C, 55	.506	.665	.619	.599	.739	.694	1.000	.896	.701	.756	.709	.580
P-R, ALL	.341	.624	.656	.446	.708	.716	.831	1.000	.787	.795	.824	.670
P-R, 42	.318	.515	.574	.427	.611	.563	.742	1.000	.744	.783	.869	.756
P-R, 49	.317	.537	.601	.389	.632	.658	.756	1.000	.737	.798	.847	.643
P-R, 55	.450	.716	.671	.529	.785	.745	.896	1.000	.789	.759	.772	.627
P-S, ALL	.262	.490	.706	.355	.551	.802	.662	.787	1.000	.708	.742	.806
P-S, 42	.275	.397	.673	.397	.475	.777	.644	.745	1.000	.655	.795	.920
P-S, 49	.240	.394	.652	.295	.455	.739	.565	.737	1.000	.626	.678	.807
P-S, 55	.353	.565	.728	.419	.618	.819	.701	.789	1.000	.716	.730	.764
F-C, ALL	.346	.597	.640	.457	.677	.699	.745	.795	.708	1.000	.917	.724
F-C, 42	.330	.573	.520	.471	.677	.543	.740	.783	.655	1.000	.890	.696
F-C, 49	.347	.546	.625	.414	.633	.657	.690	.798	.626	1.000	.923	.648
F-C, 55	.424	.628	.642	.515	.693	.718	.756	.759	.716	1.000	.908	.734
F-R, ALL	.310	.574	.631	.416	.650	.703	.708	.824	.742	.917	1.000	.794
F-R, 42	.313	.514	.568	.430	.606	.601	.697	.869	.795	.890	1.000	.834
F-R, 49	.319	.526	.622	.379	.606	.664	.668	.847	.678	.923	1.000	.718
F-R, 55	.364	.612	.614	.459	.679	.708	.701	.772	.730	.908	1.000	.801
F-S, ALL	.237	.462	.650	.326	.521	.739	.574	.670	.806	.724	.794	1.000
F-S, 42	.247	.421	.616	.362	.487	.702	.595	.756	.920	.696	.834	1.000
F-S, 49	.240	.410	.668	.280	.464	.758	.502	.643	.807	.648	.718	1.000
F-S, 55	.294	.493	.627	.373	.551	.713	.580	.627	.764	.734	.801	1.000

KEY: C = Contacts, N = Non-Traffic Contacts, P = Part I Contacts, F = Felony-level Contacts, R = Referred, S = Sanctioned

different systems we correlated the career types for persons who had the contact for each of the 12 different systems. There were a few more sets of correlations above .700 with the highest now being Felony contact career types and Felony referred career types. The relatively high intercorrelations of Felony and Part I career types and correlations of the different involvement levels within each is consistent with prior interrelationships of these two basic criteria for offense seriousness which may, of course, not be as valid indicators today as they were in a less complex society.

Looking back as we have made these computer runs it seemed that we had missed one set that would even better focus attention on the fact that while continuity in careers is a fact of delinquency and crime for those in the justice system who have daily contact with juveniles and adults, there are other equally important types. Desistance (the desisters, particularly those who drop out of delinquency sometime during the juvenile period) are those whom they do not see each day but who for them are a fortunate type.

Career Type Distribution of Police Contacts by Offense Level and Justice System Involvement: Contacts with Involvement Only that Level of Justice System

In Tables 40-43, first for the combined cohorts and then for each, we look at the police contacts by offense levels, but not exactly as we had done in Tables 34-37. The four sets of career types based on referrals place each referral according to the career type of the person who was referred, the perpetrator of

TABLE 40. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO THE CAREER TYPE OF THEIR PERPETRATOR FOR THOSE WITH STATED LEVEL OF JUSTICE SYSTEM ACTION

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	7949	52.1	6117	40.1	930	6.1	814	5.3
Y-Y-N	2976	19.5	3031	19.9	2500	16.4	1993	13.1
Y-N-Y	1258	8.3	1275	8.4	803	5.3	515	3.4
Y-N-N	1473	9.7	2370	15.5	3999	26.2	2660	17.4
N-Y-Y	641	4.2	547	3.6	241	1.6	229	1.5
N-Y-N	488	3.2	468	3.1	654	4.3	896	5.9
N-N-Y	460	3.0	565	3.7	326	2.1	725	4.8
N-N-N	---	---	872	5.7	5792	38.0	7413	48.6
Totals	15245	100.0	15245	100.0	15245	100.0	15245	100.0
Referred								
Y-Y-Y	1163	26.5	910	20.7	213	4.8	212	4.8
Y-Y-N	1219	27.7	1115	25.4	847	19.3	707	16.1
Y-N-Y	379	8.6	272	6.2	96	2.2	163	3.7
Y-N-N	1095	24.9	1146	26.1	1413	32.2	1073	24.4
N-Y-Y	135	3.1	123	2.8	38	.9	59	1.3
N-Y-N	279	6.3	243	5.5	234	5.3	332	7.6
N-N-Y	125	2.8	133	3.0	100	2.3	140	3.2
N-N-N	---	---	453	10.3	1454	33.1	1709	38.9
Totals	4395	99.9	4395	100.0	4395	100.1	4395	100.0
Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	421	20.5	259	12.6	8	.4	8	.4
Y-Y-N	409	19.9	380	18.5	251	12.2	197	9.6
Y-N-Y	114	5.5	59	2.9	34	1.7	22	1.1
Y-N-N	354	17.2	397	19.3	554	26.9	494	24.0
N-Y-Y	298	14.5	138	6.7	32	1.6	28	1.4
N-Y-N	296	14.4	253	12.3	141	6.9	162	7.9
N-N-Y	165	8.0	136	6.6	63	3.1	60	2.9
N-N-N	---	---	435	21.1	974	47.4	1086	52.8
Totals	2057	100.0	2057	100.0	2057	100.2	2057	100.1

TABLE 41. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO THE CAREER TYPE OF 1942 COHORT PERPETRATOR FOR THOSE WITH STATED LEVEL OF JUSTICE SYSTEM ACTION

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	1672	61.8	1093	40.4	179	6.6	93	3.4
Y-Y-N	67	2.5	207	7.7	173	6.4	99	3.7
Y-N-Y	357	13.2	353	13.1	125	4.6	50	1.8
Y-N-N	108	4.0	254	9.4	493	18.2	347	12.8
N-Y-Y	236	8.7	222	8.2	97	3.6	107	4.0
N-Y-N	42	1.6	53	2.0	25	.9	69	2.6
N-N-Y	222	8.2	310	11.5	193	7.1	214	7.9
N-N-N	---	---	212	7.8	1419	52.5	1725	63.8
Totals	2704	100.0	2704	100.1	2704	99.9	2704	100.0
Referred								
Y-Y-Y	134	29.3	127	27.7	26	5.6	29	6.3
Y-Y-N	48	10.5	23	5.0	18	3.9	7	1.5
Y-N-Y	82	17.9	49	10.7	4	.9	5	1.1
Y-N-N	122	26.6	102	22.3	92	20.1	73	15.9
N-Y-Y	26	5.7	31	6.8	18	3.9	24	5.2
N-Y-N	17	3.7	21	4.6	18	3.9	23	5.0
N-N-Y	29	6.3	38	8.3	50	10.9	37	8.1
N-N-N	---	---	67	14.6	232	50.7	260	56.8
Totals	458	100.0	458	100.0	458	99.9	458	99.9
Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	101	32.4	39	12.5	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	5	1.6	28	9.0	---	---	---	---
Y-N-Y	21	6.7	6	1.9	14	4.5	14	4.5
Y-N-N	12	3.8	44	14.1	67	21.5	60	19.2
N-Y-Y	105	33.7	54	17.3	17	5.4	17	5.4
N-Y-N	18	5.8	32	10.3	20	6.4	23	7.4
N-N-Y	50	16.0	49	15.7	32	10.3	25	8.0
N-N-N	---	---	60	19.2	162	51.9	173	55.4
Totals	312	100.0	312	100.0	312	100.0	312	99.9

TABLE 42. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO THE CAREER TYPE OF 1949 COHORT PERPETRATOR FOR THOSE WITH STATED LEVEL OF JUSTICE SYSTEM ACTION

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	3490	63.7	2654	48.4	273	5.0	165	3.0
Y-Y-N	542	9.9	687	12.5	452	8.2	335	6.1
Y-N-Y	601	11.0	643	11.7	565	10.3	319	5.8
Y-N-N	289	5.3	622	11.3	1394	25.4	876	16.0
N-Y-Y	235	4.3	200	3.6	117	2.1	---	---
N-Y-N	164	3.0	179	3.3	243	4.4	324	5.9
N-N-Y	160	2.9	175	3.2	108	2.0	414	7.6
N-N-N	---	---	321	5.9	2329	42.5	3048	55.6
Totals	5481	100.1	5481	99.9	5481	99.9	5481	100.0
Referred								
Y-Y-Y	294	26.3	237	21.2	47	4.2	18	1.6
Y-Y-N	195	17.4	190	17.0	81	7.2	89	8.0
Y-N-Y	184	16.4	161	14.4	87	7.8	101	9.0
Y-N-N	311	27.8	215	19.2	275	24.6	213	19.0
N-Y-Y	39	3.5	39	3.5	8	.7	---	---
N-Y-N	51	4.6	72	6.4	59	5.3	94	8.4
N-N-Y	45	4.0	63	5.6	34	3.0	60	5.4
N-N-N	---	---	142	12.7	528	47.2	544	48.6
Totals	1119	100.0	1119	100.0	1119	100.0	1119	100.0
Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	123	23.8	75	14.5	---	---	---	---
Y-Y-N	41	7.9	42	8.1	25	4.8	10	1.9
Y-N-Y	47	9.1	36	7.0	20	3.9	2	.4
Y-N-N	42	8.1	60	11.6	96	18.6	122	23.6
N-Y-Y	117	22.6	36	7.0	7	1.4	---	---
N-Y-N	79	15.3	93	18.0	39	7.5	26	5.0
N-N-Y	68	13.2	68	13.2	21	4.1	18	3.5
N-N-N	---	---	107	20.7	309	59.8	339	65.6
Totals	517	100.0	517	100.1	517	100.1	517	100.0

TABLE 43. DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE CONTACTS, REFERRALS, AND SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO THE CAREER TYPE OF 1955 COHORT PERPETRATOR FOR THOSE WITH STATED LEVEL OF JUSTICE SYSTEM ACTION

	CONTACTS		NON-TRAFFIC		PART I		FELONY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contacts vs. No Contacts								
Y-Y-Y	2787	39.5	2370	33.6	478	6.8	556	7.9
Y-Y-N	2367	33.5	2137	30.3	1875	26.6	1559	22.1
Y-N-Y	300	4.2	279	4.0	113	1.6	146	2.1
Y-N-N	1076	15.2	1494	21.2	2112	29.9	1437	20.4
N-Y-Y	170	2.4	125	1.8	27	.4	122	1.7
N-Y-N	282	4.0	236	3.3	386	5.5	503	7.1
N-N-Y	78	1.1	80	1.1	25	.4	97	1.4
N-N-N	---	---	339	4.8	2044	29.0	2640	37.4
Totals	7060	99.9	7060	100.1	7060	100.2	7060	100.1
Referred								
Y-Y-Y	735	26.1	546	19.4	140	5.0	165	5.9
Y-Y-N	976	34.6	902	32.0	748	26.5	611	21.7
Y-N-Y	113	4.0	62	2.2	5	.2	57	2.0
Y-N-N	662	23.5	829	29.4	1046	37.1	787	27.9
N-Y-Y	70	2.5	53	1.9	12	.4	35	1.2
N-Y-N	211	7.5	150	5.3	157	5.6	215	7.6
N-N-Y	51	1.8	32	1.1	16	.6	43	1.5
N-N-N	---	---	244	8.7	694	24.6	905	32.1
Totals	2818	100.0	2818	100.0	2818	100.0	2818	99.9
Sanctioned								
Y-Y-Y	187	16.0	145	11.8	8	.7	8	.7
Y-Y-N	363	29.6	310	25.2	226	18.4	187	15.2
Y-N-Y	46	3.7	17	1.4	---	---	6	.5
Y-N-N	300	24.4	293	23.9	391	31.8	312	25.4
N-Y-Y	76	6.2	48	3.9	8	.6	11	.9
N-Y-N	199	16.2	128	10.4	82	6.7	113	9.2
N-N-Y	47	3.8	19	1.5	10	.8	17	1.4
N-N-N	---	---	268	21.8	503	41.0	574	46.7
Totals	1228	99.9	1228	99.9	1228	100.0	1228	100.0

the contact. Note that the juvenile discontinuers account for a greater proportion of the referrals than any other group, followed by those who were never referred after the intermediate age period. A similar set of distributions was found for those contacts resulting in a sanction.

Examination of the tables for each cohort revealed that cohort by cohort the proportion of the desisting juvenile career types at the Part I and Felony offense levels had increased. What we see is an increase in what are considered more serious offenses, referrals for them, and sanctions for them among juveniles but a large proportion of these juveniles desisting after reaching 18, or being overlooked after age 18 because the juvenile justice system is no longer supervising them. More could be said about the distribution of contacts, referrals, and sanctions in these tables, but suffice it to say that while continuity in careers is obviously a problem, it is mitigated by the number of persons whose contacts, along with their referrals and sanctions, were limited to the juvenile period.

Since certain questions are expected from persons with a serious interest in this type of research, a set of tables was generated which shows the types of contacts which were included in the contacts, referrals, and sanctions for each of the nine career contact types that we have been describing at each of the offense seriousness levels. They are presented in four tables, one for each level from contact to Felony level contact.

Distribution of Contact Types Within Career Types by Offense Level of Career Type

In Table 44 we see that the proportion of contacts which were for Traffic offenses is very high for those who had contacts at only one or both of the adult periods and that Traffic contacts also contributed the greatest proportion of their reasons for referral and the contacts for which they were sanctioned. Theft, on the other hand, constituted a larger proportion of the contacts, referrals, and sanctions for those with juvenile or juvenile and young adult careers.

Even when we inspect Table 45, in which everyone's career type is based on their Non-Traffic offenses, they play a large part in most adult careers. Disorderly conduct offenses now come to play a major part in all except juvenile careers. Table 46, generated from Part I contacts, shows that career types of this nature include proportionately more Theft and Burglary. When Felony contacts were the criterion for career types in Table 47, there were differences in the offense composition of various career types from those found for Part I offenses but no pattern is readily detected.

Although these tables were constructed because questions about the offense content of career types will be asked, it now appears that these data could be used in developing the more detailed system of career types. If they are not useful in distinguishing or identifying types, their application in the analysis will have answered that question.

TABLE 44. DISTRIBUTION OF CONTACT TYPES BY CONTACT, REFERRAL, AND SANCTIONS CAREER TYPES AS ACCUMULATED BY COHORT MEMBERS FOR ALL CONTACTS.

CAREER TYPE[1]		ROB	BURG	THEFT	AUTOTH	DISCON	LIQ	JUVSTAT	ASLT	SEX	DRUGS	FORG	HOM	TRAF	WEAP	FRAUD	GAMB	VPD	CONT	NONE	#REC	#PEOP
N-N-N	C																			100	1478[3]	1479
	R	0.1	0.3	2.4	0.1	13.9	0.9	5.1	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1		29.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	14.2	33.0	4474[4]	2795
	S	0.1	0.6	3.8	0.4	16.9	2.0	7.0	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.1		28.5	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.3	15.3	22.1	6677[5]	3265
N-N-Y	C	0.2		0.7		16.9	1.5	0.2	0.4	0.7	1.5	0.2		58.8		0.7			18.2		456	282
	R	0.8	1.0	4.6	0.2	24.7	3.1	3.1	2.3	0.6	2.9	0.8		36.8	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.4	16.8		481	96
	S	0.2	0.8	5.2	0.5	23.8	4.8	5.5	1.4	0.8	1.7	0.3		33.2	1.2	0.6	0.2	0.4	19.3		931	117
N-Y-N	C		0.2	0.8	0.2	13.2	1.6	0.4		0.8	2.7	0.4		61.6		1.0		0.8	16.1		485	349
	R	0.8	2.0	5.8	1.0	22.9	2.6	5.5	1.0	1.8	3.3	0.5		34.0	0.4	0.6		0.8	17.1		795	195
	S	0.9	1.9	8.1	1.5	24.2	2.8	7.4	1.3	1.5	2.7	0.5		29.3	0.5	0.4		0.3	17.5		1387	219
N-Y-Y	C		0.6	2.0		25.1	1.3		0.3	1.1	0.3	0.6		49.6	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	18.1		637	146
	R	0.2	2.0	7.7	0.5	29.5	2.7	3.4	1.8	2.0	3.4	0.5		23.0	0.7	0.2		0.7	21.7		443	38
	S	0.9	1.5	5.7	0.5	28.2	3.3	5.5	2.5	1.2	1.8	0.3		27.3	0.6	0.7	0.1	1.1	18.7		1397	76
Y-N-N	C	0.2	3.5	10.2	0.9	16.5	3.6	23.5	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0		18.6	0.5	0.1		0.5	17.7		1467	615
	R	0.3	2.9	8.3	1.8	19.2	3.9	16.1	1.4	0.9	1.0	0.9		25.5	0.3	0.2		0.4	17.0		3203	570
	S	0.5	6.9	11.2	3.0	16.9	2.5	20.0	2.5	0.7	1.6	1.8	0.1	15.9	0.6	0.7		0.6	14.4		1904	222
Y-N-Y	C	0.2	1.3	6.5	1.3	23.5	3.5	10.0	1.6	0.8	1.0	0.5		31.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.3	17.7		1254	239
	R	0.4	2.3	6.9	1.9	25.2	3.1	9.1	2.1	1.2	1.6	0.6	0.1	23.8	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.7	19.4		1217	83
	S	0.6	4.6	7.7	2.9	23.4	2.9	11.5	2.2	1.3	1.4	0.6		16.3	1.4	0.3		0.5	22.3		627	34
Y-Y-N	C	1.2	5.7	10.4	2.7	18.4	2.9	13.8	1.9	1.2	2.8	0.3	0.0	21.1	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.6	15.8		2950	445
	R	1.6	5.7	10.2	3.0	20.2	3.2	13.8	2.1	0.9	2.3	0.8	0.1	17.6	1.2	0.6	0.1	0.7	16.0		2799	190
	S	2.2	6.5	10.9	3.6	22.3	2.5	16.3	2.4	0.8	2.6	1.2	0.2	12.4	1.0	0.4	0.3	1.2	13.3		1820	94
Y-Y-Y	C	0.8	2.8	7.0	1.5	26.0	2.9	9.4	2.0	1.2	1.4	0.7	0.1	22.8	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.8	19.0		7870	524
	R	1.1	4.4	8.3	1.6	27.7	2.9	10.9	2.8	1.7	1.9	0.7	0.1	15.8	0.9	0.7	0.2	1.2	17.2		3185	110
	S	1.1	4.7	8.3	1.4	26.0	3.1	9.8	2.4	1.9	1.4	0.3	0.1	17.8	0.9	0.4	0.1	1.0	19.4		1854	52
TOTAL[2]		108	463	1110	228	3425	430	1627	252	169	244	89	6	3961	102	71	16	97	2721	1478	16,597	4079
PERCENT		0.7	2.8	6.7	1.4	20.6	2.6	9.8	1.5	1.0	1.5	0.5	0.0	23.9	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.6	16.4			

1 ~~N-N-N = No police contacts~~ Age Period Designation 6-17, 18-20, or 21 years of age or older; Y = Yes, N = No

2 Total number of offense types for each contact type.

contacts offense

3 1478 cohort members did not have a police contact

4 2795 cohort members did not have a referral although they had 4474 contacts

5 3265 cohort members did not have a sanction although they had 6677 contacts

TABLE 45. DISTRIBUTION OF CONTACT TYPES BY CONTACT, REFERRAL, AND SANCTIONS CAREER TYPES AS ACCUMULATED BY COHORT MEMBERS FOR ALL NON-TRAFFIC CONTACTS.

CAREER TYPE[1]		ROB	BURG	THEFT	AUTOTH	DISCON	LIQ	JUVSTAT	ASLT	SEX	DRUGS	FORG	HOM	TRAF	WEAP	FRAUD	GAMB	VPD	CONT	NONE	#REC	#PEOP
N-N-N	C					0.2								36.9						62.9	2350	1479
	R	0.1	0.3	2.4	0.1	14.7	0.9	4.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1		35.9	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	14.4	25.3	5840	2795
	S	0.1	0.6	4.1	0.5	17.5	2.0	6.8	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.2		32.0	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	15.6	17.2	8584	3265
N-N-Y	C	0.3		1.1		25.7	1.6	0.2	0.7	3.5	1.8	0.3		43.1		0.7		0.3	24.0		559	282
	R	0.3	0.9	4.7	0.2	26.8	3.8	3.4	2.8	1.3	3.0	0.8		29.6	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.9	18.5		530	9[illegible]
	S	0.5	0.9	5.9	0.9	28.3	4.2	5.0	2.4	1.0	2.4	0.4		24.7	1.0	0.8	0.3	0.8	20.5		782	117
N-Y-N	C		0.2	1.9	0.2	21.5	2.6	0.6		1.7	3.9	0.4		41.6	0.2	1.3		1.1	22.6		464	349
	R	0.8	2.2	6.7	1.3	25.3	3.2	4.1	1.4	2.1	4.2	0.6		27.2	0.6	0.7		1.0	18.6		714	195
	S	1.1	2.5	3.8	1.3	25.1	18.2	7.2	2.2	1.3	3.0	0.4		22.9	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.6	18.2		1140	219
N-Y-Y	C		0.7	2.4		32.7	1.8		0.9	1.5	0.9	1.3		32.2	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.2	23.7		541	146
	R	0.2	2.1	8.1	0.5	28.8	3.0	2.1	1.6	2.1	4.6	0.5		21.6	0.7	0.2		0.7	23.2		431	38
	S	1.3	1.6	6.6	0.3	33.1	3.5	4.6	2.1	1.4	2.5			20.4	0.7	1.2		2.0	18.6		607	76
Y-N-N	C	0.3	2.8	9.4	1.1	16.8	3.7	19.7	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.6		25.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.5	16.0		2356	615
	R	0.4	4.1	9.8	2.4	19.4	4.3	19.4	1.9	1.0	1.2	0.8		17.6	0.5	0.2		0.5	16.3		3049	570
	S	0.5	7.1	10.9	3.4	17.8	2.7	21.0	2.3	0.6	1.5	1.5	0.1	13.1	0.7	0.5		0.6	15.3		2204	222
Y-N-Y	C	0.2	1.7	7.0	1.7	25.8	4.0	9.7	1.6	0.7	1.1	0.6		24.4	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	20.3		1269	239
	R	0.4	2.2	6.9	2.0	27.6	3.8	10.1	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.1	0.1	18.6	0.9	0.8	0.1	0.6	19.6		894	83
	S	0.9	5.4	7.8	2.1	26.9	3.5	11.1	2.4	2.1	1.7	0.9		8.3	1.7	0.5		0.5	24.3		424	34
Y-Y-N	C	1.2	5.7	10.3	2.9	20.1	3.1	13.6	1.8	1.0	2.6	0.4	0.0	19.1	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.5	16.3		3007	445
	R	1.7	5.7	11.2	3.2	21.1	3.1	14.2	2.1	1.0	2.3	0.9	0.1	14.2	1.2	0.6	0.1	0.8	16.3		2628	190
	S	2.3	6.9	11.7	3.7	21.7	2.6	15.0	2.6	1.0	2.3	1.1	0.2	11.5	0.9	0.4	0.3	1.3	14.5		1718	94
Y-Y-Y	C	1.0	3.3	7.6	1.5	27.7	2.8	10.3	2.3	1.4	1.6	0.7	0.1	16.7	0.9	0.6	0.1	0.9	21.3		6051	524
	R	1.2	4.8	8.1	1.4	28.8	2.9	10.6	3.0	1.9	1.8	0.6	0.1	13.7	1.0	0.8	0.2	1.3	17.8		2511	110
	S	1.4	5.6	8.7	1.4	29.5	3.5	10.7	2.5	2.5	1.9	0.4	0.1	10.1	1.1	0.5	0.1	1.2	18.7		1138	52
TOTAL[2]		108	463	1110	228	3425	430	1627	252	169	244	89	6	3961	102	71	16	97	2721	1478	16,597	4079

[1] N-N-N = No non-traffic police contacts 6-17, 18-20, or 21 years of age or older.
[2] Total number of offense types for each contact type.

TABLE 46. DISTRIBUTION OF CONTACT TYPES BY CONTACT, REFERRAL, AND SANCTIONS CAREER TYPES AS ACCUMULATED BY COHORT MEMBERS FOR ALL PART I CONTACTS.

CAREER TYPE[1]		ROB	BURG	THEFT	AUTOTH	DISCON	LIQ	JUVSTAT	ASLT	SEX	DRUGS	FORG	HOM	TRAF	WEAP	FRAUD	GAMB	VPD	CONT	NONE	#REC	#PEOP
N-N-N	C					18.0	2.9	6.7		0.8	1.2	0.2		33.4	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.3	15.3	20.4	7230	1479
	R	0.1	0.3	2.5	0.1	19.5	2.9	7.1	0.4	0.9	1.2	0.2		31.7	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.4	15.8	16.2	9139	2795
	S	0.1	0.7	4.2	0.5	20.1	2.8	8.0	0.9	0.9	1.3	0.3	0.0	29.6	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.4	16.1	13.1	11,254	3265
N-N-Y	C	1.2	0.3	5.6	0.6	29.9	4.1	1.9	4.1	1.2	0.6	0.3		27.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.6	21.5		321	282
	R	1.2	1.2	6.5	0.7	28.5	2.8	4.7	4.4	0.7	1.2	0.7	0.2	24.8	0.7	0.9	0.2	0.7	19.9		428	98
	S	1.4	0.8	6.9	1.1	27.3	3.0	6.1	5.2		1.4	1.1		20.4	0.6	1.4	0.3	1.9	21.2		363	117
N-Y-N	C	2.5	4.5	7.6	1.2	23.7	2.3	7.1	2.5	1.5	3.4	0.5		22.0	1.2	0.5		1.2	18.3		649	349
	R	2.6	5.0	10.5	2.6	22.0	1.9	7.8	2.3	0.8	3.9	0.5	0.2	19.1	0.8		0.2	0.9	19.1		645	195
	S	3.1	4.4	13.8	2.1	20.7	3.1	9.1	1.9	4.5	3.1	0.3		16.7			0.2	1.3	15.9		618	219
N-Y-Y	C		2.1	10.5	0.8	23.0	1.3	3.8	4.6	2.1	0.4		0.4	27.2	1.3		0.4		22.2		239	146
	R	0.7	2.9	13.1	1.5	28.5	1.5	1.5	0.7	2.9	2.2			18.2	0.7		0.2		24.8		137	38
	S	4.3	3.6	13.8	0.7	31.0	0.7	2.2	1.4	2.2	2.2			8.7	1.4			0.7	26.8		138	76
Y-N-N	C	0.4	4.4	12.7	2.2	20.8	2.9	14.7	1.8	0.8	1.4	0.8		18.0	0.7	0.5	0.1	0.5	17.3		3968	615
	R	0.6	5.9	11.6	2.9	21.1	2.5	15.8	2.3	0.7	1.3	1.1		15.0	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.5	17.1		3570	570
	S	0.9	8.7	11.3	3.3	21.2	2.1	16.0	2.6	0.8	1.5	1.5	0.1	11.2	0.9	0.6	0.1	0.5	16.8		2859	222
Y-N-Y	C	1.0	3.9	9.2	1.4	27.8	1.6	8.6	3.5	0.6	1.1	1.6		17.6	0.9	0.8	0.1	0.9	19.4		795	239
	R	0.4	4.4	11.4	1.5	24.2	1.5	6.2	4.8	0.7	2.2	1.5		15.4	1.5	1.1	0.4	1.5	21.6		273	83
	S	3.5	5.8	11.0	4.1	19.8	1.2	4.1	2.3	3.5	1.2			15.1	1.7			0.6	26.2		172	34
Y-Y-N	C	1.3	6.5	13.4	3.7	22.2	2.1	14.1	3.4	1.7	2.1	0.6	0.1	11.1	1.1	0.6	0.2	1.0	14.8		2479	445
	R	2.0	6.8	14.2	3.9	21.5	2.1	15.0	3.5	2.1	2.0	0.7	0.2	9.5	1.1	0.6	0.2	1.2	13.6		1870	190
	S	2.6	7.1	13.4	4.3	21.6	1.9	15.7	3.5	1.0	2.0	0.4	0.3	8.1	1.4	0.4	0.3	1.6	14.4		1169	94
Y-Y-Y	C	3.5	6.6	11.7	2.8	24.5	1.1	9.0	2.8	1.2	1.7	0.9	0.2	12.9	1.2	0.3	0.2	1.3	18.2		916	524
	R	3.0	9.2	11.0	2.2	22.6	0.9	9.0	3.6	1.7	1.7	1.1	0.2	10.3	1.1	0.4	0.2	1.7	20.2		535	110
	S		12.5	29.2	4.2	12.5	4.2	8.3			4.2			8.3				4.2	12.5		24	52
TOTAL[2]		108	463	1110	228	3425	430	1627	252	169	244	89	6	3961	102	71	16	97	2721	1478	16,597	4079

[1] N-N-N = No Part I police contacts 6-17, 18-20, or 21 years of age or older.
[2] Total number of offense types for each contact type.

TABLE 47. DISTRIBUTION OF CONTACT TYPES BY CONTACT, REFERRAL, AND SANCTIONS CAREER TYPES AS ACCUMULATED BY COHORT MEMBERS FOR ALL FELONY CONTACTS.

CAREER TYPE[1]		ROB	BURG	THEFT	AUTOTH	DISCON	LIQ	JUVSTAT	ASLT	SEX	DRUGS	FORG	HOM	TRAF	WEAP	FRAUD	GAMB	VPD	CONT	NONE	#REC	#PEOP
N-N-N	C		0.1	4.2		18.6	2.8	7.5	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.0		31.9	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	15.7	16.7	8843	1479
	R	0.1	0.3	4.3	0.1	19.5	2.9	7.6	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.1		31.0	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.3	15.8	15.1	9763	2795
	S	0.2	0.9	5.2	0.5	20.1	2.8	8.5	1.1	0.8	1.0	0.3	0.0	28.5	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.4	16.1	12.3	11,298	3265
N-N-Y	C	0.8	0.8	3.1	0.1	29.6	3.1	5.2	3.1	1.3	3.7	1.3	0.1	24.9	0.3	0.7	0.1	0.7	21.1		712	282
	R	1.1	1.5	4.9	0.5	26.2	2.6	6.2	4.0	1.1	5.6	0.9	0.2	22.0	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.7	20.9		549	98
	S	2.3	0.4	5.7	1.1	29.7	4.2	5.3	4.6		3.4	0.8		19.4	0.4	0.8		2.3	19.8		263	117
N-Y-N	C	0.9	2.9	9.1	1.9	22.9	2.4	7.7	2.0	3.2	5.7	1.1		19.9	1.1	0.2		1.0	18.6		888	349
	R	2.2	3.7	8.7	1.7	22.0	1.9	8.5	1.6	3.2	5.6	1.1	0.1	18.9	0.9	0.2		1.1	18.6		896	195
	S	3.7	4.4	11.2	1.7	21.2	1.9	9.3	1.8	4.8	5.4	0.8	0.1	15.9	0.6		0.1	1.4	15.6		723	219
N-Y-Y	C	4.4	0.9	8.4	1.8	27.4	0.9	4.0	2.2	1.8	5.8	2.7	0.4	19.9	0.4		0.4	1.3	17.3		226	146
	R	1.6	1.1	6.3	1.6	25.9	1.1	4.8	1.6	2.1	6.9	1.1		22.2	0.5		0.6	1.6	21.2		189	38
	S	1.0	1.9	10.7	2.9	20.4	1.0	5.8	1.0	5.8	8.7			13.6	1.0	1.0		1.9	23.3		103	76
Y-N-N	C	0.6	6.2	8.9	3.7	22.6	2.8	16.0	2.1	0.9	1.5	0.9		15.2	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.8	16.9		2637	615
	R	0.8	7.0	10.0	3.7	22.0	2.4	16.7	2.6	0.9	1.3	1.0		13.1	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.6	16.8		2787	570
	S	1.0	9.1	10.8	3.9	21.4	1.9	15.0	2.4	0.8	1.3	1.3		11.4	0.9	0.4		0.4	18.0		2472	222
Y-N-Y	C	1.6	7.4	11.9	2.9	21.3	2.3	11.2	2.5	1.2	3.7	2.0		10.8	1.0	0.6		0.8	18.8		511	239
	R	0.7	7.4	12.5	2.2	20.9	2.5	12.0	2.5	0.5	4.2	2.2		9.1	2.0	1.0		0.5	19.9		407	83
	S	2.8	2.8	11.3	5.7	21.7	2.8	9.4		1.9	3.8	0.9		17.0					19.8		106	34
Y-Y-N	C	2.3	8.1	11.9	3.7	20.7	1.7	13.6	3.3	1.1	2.7	0.8	0.1	10.5	1.4	0.8	0.2	1.2	15.9		1979	445
	R	2.7	7.8	12.0	4.1	22.3	1.8	12.4	3.6	1.1	2.7	0.8	0.2	9.4	1.5	0.6	0.3	1.3	15.3		1571	190
	S	3.0	9.8	10.3	4.5	22.2	1.9	14.7	3.3	0.6	3.0	1.5	0.3	6.4	1.8	0.8	0.1	1.6	13.8		929	94
Y-Y-Y	C	1.6	7.0	11.1	2.5	23.8	1.6	13.4	3.0	2.0	3.5	1.5	0.3	9.7	1.2	1.0	0.5	1.1	15.1		801	524
	R	1.4	9.9	12.2	3.7	18.4	1.6	12.2	2.5	3.2	2.8	2.1	0.2	11.5	0.5	1.4	0.2	1.6	14.7		435	110
	S		5.6	5.6	5.6	16.7	5.6	27.8			11.1					5.6			16.7		18	52
TOTAL[2]		108	463	1110	228	3425	430	1627	252	169	244	89	6	3961	102	71	16	97	2721	1478	16,597	4079

1 N-N-N = No felony-level police contacts 6-17, 18-20, or 21 years of age or older.
2 Total number of offense types for each contact type.

Summary

In summarizing our preliminary efforts in the development of a typology (career type) we must conclude that a major data reduction problem faces us if we wish to develop a fairly simple initial model based on age periods, continuity, offense level, and justice system involvement. Since each person has 12 different career type scores ranging from Y-Y-Y to N-N-N, it will be necessary to utilize some technique such as smallest-space analysis to group them into experience categories. The correlations in Table 38 suggest that this is necessary and that it will produce a reasonable number of groups of people, whether applied to each cohort or to the group as a whole.