

Dispelling the Myth: An Analysis of Youth and Adult Crime Patterns in California over the Past 20 Years

I. Introduction

The past 20 years witnessed an unprecedented obsession with youth violence by politicians, social commentators, and the mainstream media. The obsession was driven by an escalation of serious youth violence between 1984 and 1991 when homicide rates among youths (defined by the state Criminal Justice Statistics Center as 10-17) tripled and overall violent crime rates doubled. These rising crime rates led many pundits to conclude that the current generation of youths possessed a greater propensity for violence than past generations and that crime rates would inevitably escalate as the youth population grew. In 1997, Congressman William McCollum of Florida stated during a floor debate that today's youths are "...the most dangerous criminals on the face of the Earth." Warnings of a "teenage crime storm" by "adolescent super-predators" were soon being echoed around the country. These concerns seemed validated with recent widely publicized school yard shootings.

A recent survey found that most adults believe that youth under the age of 18 account for a disproportionate amount of serious and violent crime in comparison to adults. The pervasive assumption that today's youths are more violent than past generations is leading to the gradual abandonment of a separate juvenile justice system. Instead, public policy efforts are underway to reduce or eliminate special distinctions for youths suspected of criminal behavior. These efforts are manifested in the growing number of states seeking to facilitate adult court transfers for youths who commit various categories of person and property crimes. In the past 6 years, 43 states have instituted legislation facilitating the transfer of youths to adult court.

To examine the theory of growing criminality among today's youths, this study analyzes youth and adult crime rates in California from 1975 - 1998. If today's generation of youths have higher criminal propensities, their crime rates should be higher than youth crime rates of previous decades. In addition, if youth are responsible for a disproportionate percentage of crime, their arrest rates should be higher than adult age groups.

II. Literature review

Criminologists have long assumed that crime rates are directly related to demographics. For example, conservative theorist James Q. Wilson (1975) states, "a critical mass of younger persons... creates an explosive increase in the amount of crime." This assumption was the premise of recent studies by such individuals as Princeton University Professor of Politics John DiIulio, Northeastern University School of Criminal Justice Dean (and U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics consultant) James Alan Fox, and U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno, which warned of a "coming teenage crime storm" resulting from the rising youth population and greater crime tendencies of modern youth.

Despite this popular consensus, these demographic crime theories proved unreliable. DiIulio, for example, projected 300,000 more "adolescent superpredators" (who "will do what comes naturally: murder, rape, rob, assault, burglarize, deal deadly drugs and get high") by the year 2005. He later drastically revised the estimate downward to 30,000 when it was pointed out that most of the population growth would be infants and young children. In a nation of 1.7 million yearly reported violent offenses and 12 million yearly reported property felonies, a growth of 30,000 was not particularly dramatic. Nor was the hypothetical prospect of 30,000 more teenage offenders impressive in a nation that arrested 1 million more adults ages 30-49 in 1995 than in 1975.

Similarly, Fox forecast in 1995 that the number of teenage murderers would more than double by the year 2005. His method was a straight-line extension of the rate of growth in teen murders from its low point in 1985 (1,500) to its peak in 1994 (3,800) multiplied by the age 14-17 population growth projected over the next decade.

Fox predicted 4,400 murderers ages 14-17 in 1996, 5,500 by 1998, and 8,500 by 2005. After 1995 FBI figures showed a decline in murder arrests among 14-17 year-olds, Fox revised his forecast downward. Table 1 compares Fox's maximum and minimum projections with actual FBI figures through 1998. Within two years of its issuance, Fox's minimum projection was already 80% too high.

Table 1. Number of murderers age 14-17 predicted by Fox versus reality

Year	Minimum forecast	Maximum forecast	Real number
1996	3,700	4,400	2,900
1998	3,900	5,500	2,100
2005	4,200	8,500	--

Fox also used the demographic method in his 1978 *Forecasting Crime*, which predicted trends for the 1980s and 1990s based on the proportion of nonwhite males ages 14-21 and the consumer price index. Fox predicted violent crime rates would decline from 1981 to a low in 1992, then rise, while property crime rates would level off through 1985, then rise rapidly. Later FBI reports showed that trends for both violent and property crime went the opposite directions than Fox predicted: violent crime rates rose sharply from 1985 to

1992, then declined while property crime rates fell sharply in the early 1980s, then increased until 1991, then fell sharply.

Two major sources made opposite predictions about crime but received little attention. In 1996, California's Task Force to Review Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice Response issued its Final Report. The juvenile felony and misdemeanor rates it reported are presented below, with 1998 figures not then available appended:

"The arrest statistics are not reflective of the concern expressed by some about juvenile crime," the Task Force concluded. "In fact, the data show a marked decline in both the number of total juvenile arrests and arrest rates since the early 1970s."

Table 2. Arrest rate per 100,000 California juveniles ages 10-17 reported by joint legislative/gubernatorial Task Force

Year	Total	Felony	Misdemeanor
1964	3,808	1,730	2,078
1969	5,406	3,324	2,082
1974	9,313	4,173	5,140
1979	8,653	3,319	5,334
1984	6,333	2,237	4,096
1989	7,008	2,897	4,111
1994	6,550	2,621	3,929
1998	6,111	2,021	4,090

Not only were juvenile arrest rates lower in the late 1990s than at any time in the previous 25 years, those juveniles who were arrested were being charged with less serious offenses: 38% were charged with felonies in 1979 and 33% were charged with a felony in 1998. The Task Force expressed concern about the growth in violent crime by youths from 1985 to the early 1990s. Otherwise, its surprising finding that 1990s youth did not represent a uniquely criminal generation (especially for felonies) appeared to have no impact on either crime policies or the media image of youth crime.

A particularly misleading tactic in current depictions of youth crime is to pick only the years that show the result the author wants to show. Fox and DiIulio, as well as popular media portrayals, typically compare the highest year to the lowest year for whatever index of juvenile crime is highlighted. The Task Force minimizes such bias by simply choosing every fifth year backward from 1994. A better way to include all data in a succinct presentation while minimizing the anomalies any one year can cause is to combine several years into blocks. For example, the 1978-98 time period for which consistent violent crime arrest data by age is available divides into seven three-year blocks (Table 3). Note that when an objective presentation is made, youths show either lesser increases (when 1996-98 is compared to periods before 1990) or larger decreases

in violent crime rates than adults in nearly all periods. The only exception is when 1987-89 is used as the base year for age 13-17. Thus, those who claim a unique increase in youth crime would use 1987-89 as the base, while those who want to show youth violent crime rates improving relative to adults could use any of the other six time periods. This indicates that youth violent crime rates have been improving relative to adult violent crime rates over the past two decades.

Table 3. California violent crime arrest rates per 100,000 population by age, three-year averages, 1978-80 (earliest available) through 1996-98 (latest available)

Average violent crime arrest rate					
	10-12	13-17	18-29	30-49	50+
1978-80	87.6	778.8	822.5	287.8	45.1
1981-83	86.8	667.1	782.3	297.7	44.0
1984-86	79.3	549.6	765.1	335.1	49.6
1987-89	91.5	679.6	964.4	495.3	67.5
1990-92	108.4	1014.1	1154.9	546.7	69.9
1993-95	98.6	999.3	1156.6	584.3	72.6
1996-98	97.3	876.4	1117.2	579.2	83.6
<i>Change, 1996-98 versus:</i>					
1978-80	11.1%	12.5%	35.8%	101.2%	85.5%
1981-83	12.1%	31.4%	42.8%	94.5%	89.9%
1984-86	22.7%	59.5%	46.0%	72.8%	68.6%
1987-89	6.3%	29.0%	15.8%	16.9%	23.9%
1990-92	-10.2%	-13.6%	-3.3%	5.9%	19.6%
1993-95	-1.3%	-12.3%			
	-3.4%	-0.9%	15.3%		

Another source that refutes popular assumptions is the November 1997 Juvenile Justice Bulletin by the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention that found between 1980 to 1996:

The largest increase in violent crime arrests in the adult population was for persons in their thirties (up 64%) [compared to an increase of 49% among youths].. For juveniles and young adults, the property crime arrest rate changed little between 1980 and 1996, while the arrest rates for persons in their thirties and forties increased an average of nearly 50%.

III. Method

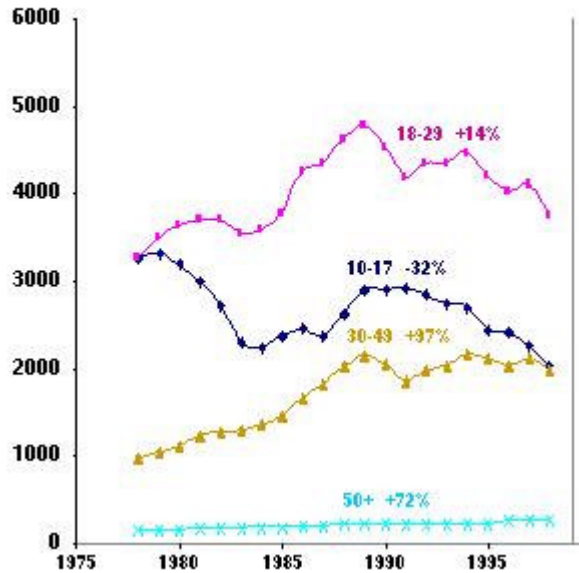
Data sources for this analysis was obtained from the California Department of Justice's Crime and Delinquency in California (1975-98) and its supplement, California Criminal Justice Profiles (1978-98), which present arrest statistics by age, race, ethnicity, sex, and offense, statewide and by county. Complete and consistent statistical collections for these categories are available from 1978 forward; reasonably complete statistics for most categories are available to 1975; and more limited statistics by "youth" (under 18) and "adult" categories without race detail extend back to 1967. Estimates apportioning the reported total of youth homicide arrests by race and ethnicity prior to 1975 can be made using a formula derived from homicide deaths by race from 1967 to 1974 and relative rates of homicide arrest by age from 1975-79. These formulas produce consistent estimates for 1967-74 and approximate true numbers. Population estimates by the California Department of Finance's Demographic Research Unit are used to calculate year to year crime rates for each offense and group.

Arrest rates per 100,000 population by age are used as the crime trend measures. Other measures include clearance data, which is collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). FBI "clearance" data indicates that adults commit more crimes per offender, indicating they evade arrest longer than juveniles, perhaps due to greater experience in avoiding detection. For example, juveniles comprised 16.7% of violent crime arrests in 1998 but only 12.1% of violent crimes cleared by an arrest. For this reason, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention argues that arrests overstate juvenile crime. Arrest rates may overstate crime by Nonwhite youth in particular, since Nonwhites are subjected to greater police scrutiny and more often arrested in groups. Further, changes in laws and policing procedures affect arrest rates over time. This report does not compare felony rates prior to 1977 with those after because of California's 1976 law changing possession of small amounts of marijuana from a felony to a misdemeanor. Similarly, new laws mandating arrests for domestic violence contributed to higher adult arrest rates from 1986 to the present, and another law changing simple burglary from a misdemeanor to a felony probably boosted juvenile felony totals. Since the definitions of major offenses, such as homicide, violent felonies, and most property felonies, has remained consistent, arrest rates may reflect real trends.

IV. Results

Criminal arrest trends are shown for three categories: all felonies, violent felonies, and homicide. Four age groups are analyzed: 10-17 (the CJSC's definition of "youth"), 18-29 (young adult), 30-49 (Baby Boomer), and 50-69 (older adult). Offenses by children under age 10 and adults over age 69 are included in their proximate age categories. The tables used to produce the figures are shown in the Appendix tables.

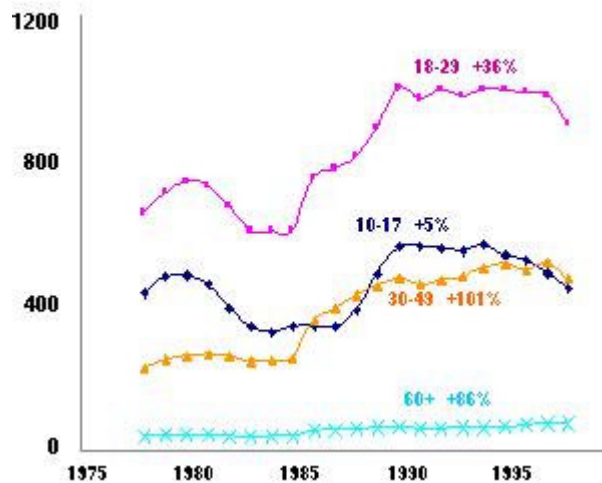
Figure 1. California felony arrest rates per 100,000 population by age, 1978-98



Felony arrest. Figure 1 and Appendix Table 1 show felony trends by age category from 1978 through 1998. The trends shown in Figure 1 are stark. From 1978 to 1998, teenagers show a major decline, young adults a minor increase, and adults 30 and older major increases in felony arrests. The result is that while a teenager was three times more likely to be arrested for a felony than an adult of aged 30-49 in the late 1970s, today the two have equal arrest odds. This dramatic change shows up for every type of felony crime: violent, property, drug, and other major offenses.

The greater adult felony increase applies to all races and both sexes (see Appendix Tables 5, 6). Whites show the most peculiar pattern -- the biggest felony decline among youths, the biggest felony increase among parent-age adults, of any group (a pattern that holds for Whites of both sexes). Teenage girls show a decline while adult women show a major increase. Further, while White youth show a sharp, steady decrease in felony arrest, Black, Latino, and Asian youths show cycles. Different population groups display sharply different rates of felony arrest, as the left axis scales show.

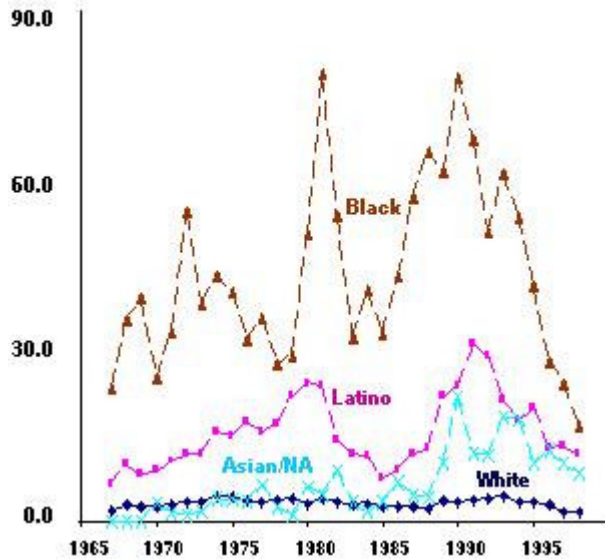
Figure 2. California violent crime rates per 100,000 population by age, 1978-98



Violent felony arrest. Violent crime rates have increased among all California age groups (Figure 2 and Appendix Table 2). Youths show the smallest increase, young adults a moderate increase, and adults 30 and older major increases.

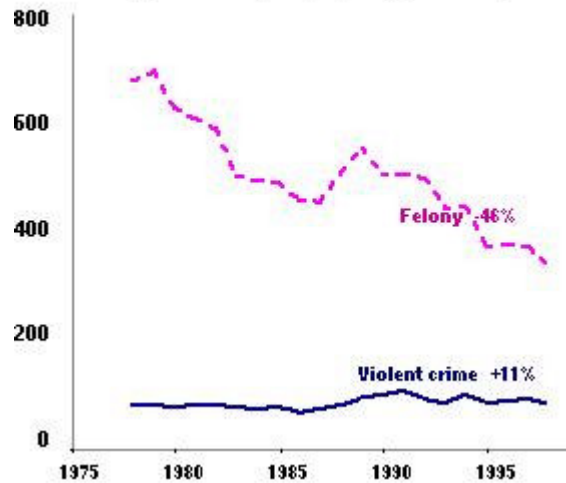
Unlike other felonies, the violent crime increase among adults is at least partially explainable by increased domestic violence arrests. Sixty percent of domestic violence arrests are of adults 30 and older. From 1988 to 1998 (the period covered by the CJSC's latest report), arrests of persons ages 30 and older for domestic violence increased by 17,000, a period in which all felony violence arrests in this age group rose by 14,000. Since some domestic violence arrests would be misdemeanors, and since the "real" level of domestic violence at any given time cannot be ascertained, it is not clear how much the increase in violent felony arrests among adults is due to better policing and how much represents a real increase in violence. Since property felony and other felony arrest rates also rose for adults, there is clearly increased criminality in older age groups.

Figure 3. California teen murder arrest rate/100,000 age 10-17 by race, 1967-98



For both sexes and all racial groups except Asians, violent arrests among adults age 30-49 have risen so rapidly that parents now have odds similar to those of their teenagers (see Appendix Tables 7, 8). Again, Whites show the strangest pattern -- youth violence rates remain stable while adult violence rates rise faster than any other group. Violent crime arrests among Black youth are actually somewhat lower than in the 1970s.

Figure 4. Child (<13) violent crime and felony rate/100,000 pop. age 10-12, 1978-98



Homicide arrest. California youth homicide arrest rates show huge cycles which wind up with about the same rates in the late 1990s as in the 1970s. Meanwhile, homicide arrests among adults 25 and older dropped by 50% over the last 20 to 25 years (see Appendix Tables 3, 9, 10).

However, as Figure 3 shows, racial/ethnic differences in rates and trends are so large that it is meaningless to talk of "youth homicide" as if it represented a coherent phenomenon. Among White teenagers, murder rates and trends resemble those of adults. The White teenage homicide rate is about 50% lower today than in the mid-1970s. However, murder rates among Black, Latino, and Asian youth show large cycles and sharp increases in the 1980s and early 1990s. Finally, girls of the 1990s display lower murder arrest rates than in the 1970s.

Are tomorrow's kids more criminal? Figure 4 and Appendix Table 4 show the trends in felony and violent crime arrest for children under age 13, tomorrow's adolescents and young adults. Arrests are divided by the population age 10-12 for each year from the first available to the latest.

Over the last two decades, violent crime among children 12 and younger rose slightly, though less than for any older age group (see Table 3). Felony rates declined at a faster rate than for any older age group. While not definitively predictive, this pattern indicates that California's post-1975 development -- the younger the age group, the more optimistic its crime trends have been -- also applies to the next generation.

Children's homicide rates are too low to present on a year-to-year basis. Dividing the period into three-year blocks, the murder arrest rate for children 12 and younger was 0.23 per 100,000 (age 10-12) in 1996-98, the lowest three-year period in at least 20 years and 35% below the rate of the first three years, 1978-80 (0.35). Children show the same cyclical pattern as older groups, with rises in arrests in the late 1980s and early 1990s followed by a decline, though at much lower levels.

In sum, crime by children today is less frequent and less serious than 20 years ago. Of the 68,200 children arrested for an offense in 1978-80, 34.9% were for felonies. Of the 56,700 children arrested in 1996-98 in a much larger child population, 30.6% were for felonies.

V. Conclusion and Discussion

An analysis of official crime statistics show that today's teenagers are not more criminally prone than past generations. Youth felony arrest rates declined by 40% in the last 20 years while felony arrest rates for over age 30 adults increased. In addition, California's general population aged by three years from 1978 to 1998, but its violent and felony arrestee population aged by six years. In 1978, the average violent crime arrestee was 21.5 while in 1998 the average violent crime arrestee was 27.7. Juveniles comprised 30% of California's felony arrestees in 1978 but comprised less than 15% in 1998.

Homicide and other violent crime arrests increased sharply among juveniles from a low in 1984 to a 1991 peak. However, the popular claim that this increase in juvenile homicide and violent crime, signaled a more violent teenage generation is not supported. The murder and violent crime trends of that period represented a periodic cycle that was not sustained. Of particular significance, these cyclical variations were not driven by demographics since the 1980s and 1990s homicide and violent crime increases occurred

as California's teenage population was declining. Further, the declining violent crimes rates during the middle and late 1990s occurred while the teenage population was rising by more than half a million.

The popular claim that the rising teenage population means more crime and violence is a myth. The overwhelming evidence contained in this study dispels pervasive beliefs about the scope and degree of youth crime. The current crime trends among youths indicates declining crime rates into the next century. At minimum, the striking revelations of this analysis indicates a need for policy makers and the media to reexamine popular assumptions about youth crime and suggests a need to reconsider current trends in youth crime policies.

VI. References

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Sources for Table 1: Fox, James Alan. Trends in Juvenile Violence, 1996, 1997 update. Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, November 1997, Figure 15. FBI, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, 1996-98. Washington: US Dept. of Justice, Table 38.

Source for Table 2: Trask, Grover C. et al. California Task Force to Review Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System Response, Final Report, September 1996, Table 2, Page 20. 1998 added by authors using same criteria as the Task Force.

Sources for Table 3: California Criminal Justice Statistics Center, California Criminal Justice Profiles, Statewide, 1978-98, Tables 18 and 19. Demographic Research Unit, Population Estimates. Sacramento: California Department of Finance (www.dof.ca.gov).

Sources for Figures 1 through 4: California Criminal Justice Statistics Center, California Criminal Justice Profiles, Statewide, 1978-98, Tables 18 and 19. Crime & Delinquency in California, 1975-98, Table 33. Sacramento: California Department of Justice. Demographic Research Unit, Population Estimates. Sacramento: California Department of Finance (www.dof.ca.gov). Page 8

Appendix.

California arrest rates by age, race, sex - rates per 100,000 population, by year

Table 1 California felony rates by age (Figure 1)

	10-17	18-29	30-49	50+
1975				
	3248	3253	958	146
	3313	3479	1030	148
1980	3191	3627	1104	151
	2992	3706	1217	162
	2715	3680	1266	167
	2288	3542	1283	166
	2227	3580	1353	173
1985	2366	3761	1441	179
	2444	4241	1657	192
	2362	4342	1818	196
	2609	4623	2031	214
	2886	4763	2139	219
1990	2900	4508	2043	222
	2911	4183	1831	199
	2839	4340	1969	205
	2739	4336	2023	210
	2689	4436	2157	222
1995	2438	4200	2107	219
	2398	4024	2029	242
	2252	4094	2112	261
	2021	3730	1961	260

Table 2 California violent felony rates by age (Figure 2)

	10-17	18-29	30-49	50+
1975				
	507	765	266	44
	559	834	293	46
1980	564	868	304	46
	532	853	308	46
	459	788	301	45
	396	706	284	41
	382	707	290	44
1985	399	708	296	44
	402	880	419	61
	396	906	457	63
	452	948	498	68
	566	1039	531	71
1990	655	1168	557	74
	657	1135	532	67
	654	1161	552	68
	643	1142	562	70
	661	1167	589	72
1995	627	1161	602	75
	616	1156	581	82
	571	1144	604	85
	522	1052	553	84

Table 3 California youth homicide arrest rates (Figure 3)

	White	Hispanic	Black	Asian/other
1965				
	2.3	7.3	26.1	0.0
	3.5	11.4	39.6	0.0
	2.8	9.3	43.8	0.0
1970	2.9	9.9	28.2	3.6
	3.5	11.9	37.1	1.6
	3.8	13.0	60.8	1.5
	3.8	13.1	42.6	2.0
	5.2	17.8	48.3	4.5
1975	4.8	16.7	45.2	4.3
	4.1	19.5	35.7	4.1
	3.9	17.7	40.1	7.4
	4.3	19.1	31.1	2.8
	4.5	24.8	32.5	1.1
1980	3.6	27.2	56.6	6.9
	4.6	26.5	87.6	5.2
	3.9	16.1	60.0	10.0
	3.4	13.0	36.0	4.0
	3.6	12.8	45.3	1.9
1985	2.8	8.6	36.6	3.9
	2.9	10.2	48.0	7.7
	3.0	13.4	63.3	5.4
	2.7	14.2	72.6	4.9
	4.2	24.4	68.5	11.6
1990	3.9	26.8	87.0	24.2
	4.3	34.7	74.7	13.4
	4.7	32.5	56.9	13.2
	5.0	23.8	68.1	20.4
	3.9	19.9	59.7	20.2
1995	4.0	22.3	46.0	11.5
	3.5	14.5	31.2	14.1
	2.0	14.7	27.3	11.4
	2.0	13.0	19.0	9.5

Table 4 California children (<13), violent crime and felony arrest rates (Figure 4)

	Violent	Felony
1975		
	88	763
	90	781
1980	85	704
	89	681
	87	662
	84	563
	80	552
1985	85	551
	72	514
	81	509
	89	570
	103	621
1990	108	567
	117	569
	101	559
	93	496
	110	497
1995	93	414
	99	422
	101	416
	92	376

Table 5 California felony rates by race, youth (10-17)

	White	Nonwhite	Male	Female
1975				
	2712	4154	5716	697
	2742	4096	5700	733
	2729	4223	5801	730
1980	2567	4130	5582	710
	2425	3756	5204	663
	2231	3306	4688	613
	1978	2634	3921	529
	1974	2490	3800	521
1985	2064	2680	4036	546
	2008	2846	4153	581
	1813	2849	4040	540
	1810	3297	4474	596
	1828	3786	4969	654
1990	1771	3852	4977	690
	1802	3847	4985	721
	1709	3789	4832	743
	1656	3645	4642	739
	1626	3576	4547	739
1995	1491	3223	4116	677
	1456	3170	4036	679
	1399	2939	3749	681
	1319	2577	3346	631

Table 6 California felony arrest rates, parent-age (30-69)

	White	Nonwhite	Male	Female
1975				
	391	1378	1110	183
	394	1344	1112	182
	421	1418	1198	190
1980	469	1418	1288	200
	511	1568	1419	231
	542	1596	1482	254
	553	1602	1510	265
	594	1666	1599	290
1985	642	1750	1707	321
	735	2000	1979	360
	817	2158	2172	403
	901	2438	2433	463
	948	2561	2558	505
1990	917	2437	2458	490
	856	2140	2231	445
	915	2252	2362	491
	1010	2178	2410	521
	1146	2195	2538	591
1995	1146	2062	2434	599
	1082	2055	2360	602
	1170	2041	2416	680
	1071	1893	2234	610

Table 7 California violent felony rates by race, youth (10-17)

	White	Nonwhite	Male	Female
1975				
	287	1050	968	122
	275	939	894	123
	257	944	891	120
	254	901	876	112
	276	981	969	118
1980	249	1046	999	122
	237	912	913	116
	222	737	793	92
	205	597	674	88
	218	542	652	78
1985	238	551	684	79
	226	554	686	81
	202	559	682	76
	212	653	781	90
	234	841	978	115
1990	262	988	1139	141
	289	968	1139	149
	292	959	1128	156
	290	938	1111	152
	299	968	1128	170
1995	298	901	1073	160
	307	874	1048	168
	299	799	962	169
	278	722	874	160

Table 8 California violent felony arrest rates, parent-age

(30-69)				
	White	Nonwhite	Male	Female
1975	105	441	330	44
	101	434	326	43
	97	421	322	40
	101	408	325	40
	109	442	357	43
1980	118	429	370	44
	119	434	379	46
	116	423	377	44
	110	389	356	41
	114	398	370	44
1985	119	400	381	45
	172	551	543	61
	191	592	597	66
	213	636	653	75
	227	674	698	80
1990	233	712	732	86
	231	655	696	84
	242	668	715	94
	258	655	723	103
	287	653	749	116
1995	302	650	758	127
	283	641	727	133
	307	645	748	147
	280	586	684	141

Table 9 California homicide arrest rates by race, youth

(10-17)				
	White	Nonwhite	Male	Female
1975	4.8	22.2	20.2	13
	4.1	21.2	18.1	2.2
	3.9	21.7	18.4	2.3
	5.2	20.7	20.6	1.4
	4.5	23.0	20.7	2.5
1980	3.6	31.0	27.0	1.7
	4.6	36.1	32.5	2.8
	3.9	23.7	22.9	2.1
	3.4	15.6	16.1	1.8
	3.6	16.4	17.6	1.5
1985	2.8	12.2	13.2	1.5
	2.9	15.6	17.3	0.9
	3.0	19.4	20.5	2.1
	2.7	21.1	22.7	1.7
	4.2	28.4	31.4	2.1
1990	3.9	35.2	38.1	2.5
	4.3	36.3	40.8	1.3
	4.7	32.1	35.5	2.8
	5.0	29.6	33.9	2.1
	3.9	25.8	29.4	1.6
1995	4.0	23.4	26.5	2.1
	3.4	17.0	20.2	1.1
	2.0	15.7	17.7	1.1
	2.0	13.0	14.8	1.2

Table 10 California homicide arrest rates,

	parent-age (30-69)			
	White	Nonwhite	Male	Female
1975	5.5	19.6	14.7	3.1
	4.9	19.5	14.6	2.5
	4.0	19.1	13.5	2.3
	4.4	18.3	13.8	2.3
	5.0	21.1	16.0	2.7
1980	4.4	20.4	15.7	2.3
	5.6	26.9	20.6	3.2
	5.6	25.2	20.3	2.8
	5.7	22.5	18.9	3.1
	6.0	22.6	19.7	3.1
1985	5.5	17.1	16.2	2.6
	5.5	15.2	15.2	2.4
	4.9	14.5	14.4	2.2
	5.7	13.7	14.7	2.4
	5.1	12.5	13.5	2.2
1990	4.6	12.3	12.7	2.1
	4.2	11.1	11.8	1.8
	3.7	9.7	10.2	1.9
	3.7	9.2	9.8	1.8
	3.5	8.1	9.4	1.3
1995	3.0	7.3	8.1	1.3
	2.9	7.1	7.8	1.4
	2.3	5.7	6.2	1.3
	2.6	4.8	5.8	1.4

Sources for Appendix Tables: Criminal Justice Statistics Center, California Criminal Justice Profile Statewide, 1977-98, Tables 18, 19, 22. Crime & Delinquency in California, 1975-98, Table 33. Sacramento: California Department of Justice.

This research is funded in part by a grant from [The California Wellness Foundation](#) (TCWF). Created in 1992 as a private and independent foundation, TCWF's mission is to improve the health of the people of California through proactive support of health promotion and disease prevention programs. The study was also supported by grants from Haigh Scatena and Greenville Foundations.

Suggested citation format for this report: Macallair, Daniel and Males, Michael. (2000) Dispelling the Myth: An Analysis of Youth and Adult Crime Patterns in California over the Past 20 Years.