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An Examination of Ethnic Disparities in Arizona's Juvenile Justice System

Final Technical Report

**Konrad Haight
G. Roger Jarjoura**

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and Delinquency Prevention.**

An Examination of Ethnic Disparities in Arizona's Juvenile Justice System Final Technical Report

September 2016

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Executive Summary

Research on disproportionate minority contact in the juvenile justice system has generally concluded that Black youth are subject to disparate treatment such that they typically are more likely than White youth to face more formal and more punitive treatment at the various decision points in the juvenile court process. Research on disparate treatment for Latino youth in the juvenile justice system has been relatively rare, and the results of those studies have provided inconsistent evidence on the nature of disparities between Latino and White youth. This study sought to address such gaps in the research with a comprehensive assessment of juvenile justice case processing for a two-year period in the state of Arizona. Using a data set particularly well-suited for this examination, we believe the results of this study contribute meaningfully to the literature on ethnic disparities in the juvenile justice system.

Using data from the state of Arizona that included 75,316 referrals to the juvenile justice system over the two-year period from January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2014, we applied five research questions to data on eight distinct decision points. We controlled for key legal factors such as the referral offense, the number of prior referrals, and whether the youth was involved in dependency court in addition to juvenile court. The level of detail in the data allowed us to investigate whether disparity varied depending on the type of referral offense and the county in which the youth was referred.

Does disparity affecting Latino youth exist statewide in Arizona? If we look at rates of referral to juvenile court, we find that White youth are actually more likely to be referred to juvenile court than Latino youth. This is in contrast to the patterns of referral rates for Black and Native American youth—both groups are more likely than White youth to be referred to juvenile court, with Black youth referred more than twice as often as White youth. Once they are referred to juvenile court, however, there are a number of ways that Latino youth experience their processing in the juvenile justice system disproportionately more punitive than White youth. Latino youth are underrepresented in diversions from formal court processing, and overrepresented in direct filings to adult court, in pre-adjudicatory secure detention, in petitions filed for formal juvenile court processing, and in commitments to correctional facilities at disposition.

Does observed disparity affecting Latino youth remain when we control for other factors that might impact juvenile justice decision making? Based on multivariate analyses that controlled for the influence of age, gender, number of priors, most serious current offense, and dependency status, we find that the disparities identified above remain even after taking into account these other factors. Across the state, if they were referred to juvenile court, Latino youth were less likely than White youth to receive an opportunity to avoid formal court processing and more likely to experience more punitive treatment at the various decision points.

Does disparity affecting Latino youth vary by county? We did find a pattern of results that was generally consistent across the different counties. This pattern is that Latino youth are less likely than White youth to be referred to juvenile court and to be diverted from formal court processing, but more likely to be securely detained prior to adjudication, have a petition filed for formal court processing, and be committed to a correctional facility after disposition. We did find

some counties where this pattern was not detected, and those were the counties in which the Latino youth were the largest racial/ethnic group in the general population.

Does disparity affecting Latino youth vary based on the type of offense for which the youth was referred? By considering each decision point broken down by the type of offense, we find there are complexities to the patterns of disparities for Latino youth in juvenile courts in Arizona. For example, Latino youth are overall less likely to be referred to juvenile court than White youth, except in the case of violent felonies, status offenses, and violations, for which we find Latino youth to be more likely than White youth to be referred to court. Also, Latino youth are overrepresented in secure detention placements, except when the offense was a violation or a violent misdemeanor. In addition, the biggest disparities for Latino youth with regard to the filing of petitions for formal court processing are in the case of property misdemeanors and for drug felonies. Finally, while we find that Latino youth are more likely to be committed to correctional placements after disposition, the disparities are greatest for violent misdemeanors and felonies and for drug felonies.

Does disparity affecting Latino youth differ depending on whether the county of referral is participating in JDAI? We find that at several of the decision points, the disparities between Latino and White youth in the JDAI counties are smaller than what we find in the non-JDAI counties, particularly at the decision points of direct file, diversion, petition, and probation. There are other decision points where the differences between JDAI and non-JDAI counties are rather small, namely secure detention and adjudication. Placement in correctional facilities is one decision point where Latino youth in the JDAI counties fare worse than in non-JDAI counties.

Key findings from this study include:

- Latino youth are not overrepresented in referrals to juvenile court, but they do experience disparate treatment once they are in the system.
- Latino youth are more likely than White youth to experience the most severe and restrictive punishments that the juvenile justice system has to offer. This includes direct filings in adult court, placement in pre-adjudicatory secure detention, and placement in confinement following disposition.
- When it comes to severe and restrictive punishments, Black youth experience greater levels of disparity than Latino youth.
- In most cases, legal factors that we controlled for do not account for the observed disparities.
- Patterns of disparity are consistent across counties for Black youth, but this is not true of Latino youth, where disparity appears to vary with the proportion of the population that are Latino.
- Disparity varies depending on the type of offense and this is consistent across racial and ethnic groups.

The data used for this study are particularly well-suited for examining the extent to which Latino youth experience disparate treatment in the juvenile justice system. As such, the results can help guide future research and help policy makers in their efforts to address ethnic disparities.

Implications for policy and practice include:

- Ongoing assessment of disparity should move beyond a statewide only approach, focusing on areas with the greatest levels of disparity to ensure more efficient use of resources while generating greater reductions in disparity.
- In counties where one race/ethnicity experiences greater disparity than other, it may make sense to work with those communities to determine the root of the problem. Where disparity is experienced across race/ethnicity groups, it may make more sense to look at official policies and procedures that might contribute to disparity across the board.
- Future studies should augment their focus on county-level relative rates of risk with a county-level understanding of the juvenile justice system. Policies and practices at the county level can impact disparity and are vital to not only understanding why disparity exists, but also how to address it.
- Future studies should incorporate a more complete understanding of previous offense histories, risk assessment scores, and include data collected over a longer period of time.
- Whenever possible, it is important to consider ways that responses to particular offenses may introduce disparities in processing of youth through the court progression.

Introduction

Minority overrepresentation in the justice system has been a cause of concern for much of the history of juvenile courts. Despite the length of time that this issue has been a focus of research, overrepresentation persists, and there are still avenues yet to be examined. One area of research that remains relatively unexplored is disparities in juvenile justice processing for Latino youth. The goal of this project is to identify the extent to which Latino youth are overrepresented at various points in the juvenile justice system and whether observed disparities can be explained by variations in characteristics of the individual youth, including legal factors surrounding the offense and past referrals to court. Since juvenile justice processing can vary from one individual jurisdiction to another, and often in reaction to a particular type of offense compared to other offenses, we also examine disparities for Latino youth across jurisdictions and for various offense types. The results presented here have the potential to be utilized nationwide by stakeholders in the juvenile justice system to understand disparity as it relates to Latino youth.

Statement of the Problem

Research on racial differences in juvenile justice system processing has traditionally focused on contrasting experiences of Black and White youth, and has included a focus on involvement in juvenile delinquency,¹ juvenile incarceration,² and substance use.³ Despite findings that the etiology of delinquency does not differ by race,⁴ Black youth have been placed in residential facilities 88 percent more often than White youth in 38 States.⁵ Black youth are also 1.28 times more likely than Whites to be incarcerated even after controlling for offense type.⁶ Although disparate treatment of Blacks has been well documented, only a small number of studies have looked at overrepresentation among other races, and research on disparate treatment of Latino youth is limited.⁷ This is the result of a variety of issues related to the quality of juvenile justice system data on ethnicity of youthful offenders.

Information on youth ethnicity is not collected consistently by justice systems across jurisdictions,⁸ and typically, when these data are collected ethnic minority groups represent too small a sample within the universe of all system-involved youth to produce significant findings from analysis.⁹ That said, recent studies provide a glimpse of the nature of disparities experienced by Latino youth in the United States and highlight the need for further research. For example, in 2009, a study found that Latino youth in Indiana were overrepresented at five of the nine points in the justice system: referral, diversion, petitions filed, placement on formal probation, and secure detention.¹⁰ In 2011, another analysis determined that Latino youth were transferred to residential placement at a rate almost twice that of White youth.¹¹

In the *Reforming Juvenile Justice* report, the National Research Council emphasized the importance of actual and perceived fairness in the juvenile justice process; noting that perceived unfairness can increase the likelihood of continued offending.¹² A process that is perceived as unfair may further erode minority confidence in the system. Research shows that Latinos have less confidence in the justice system than Whites.¹³ Identifying disparity is an important step toward ensuring that the juvenile justice system is fair and beneficial for all.

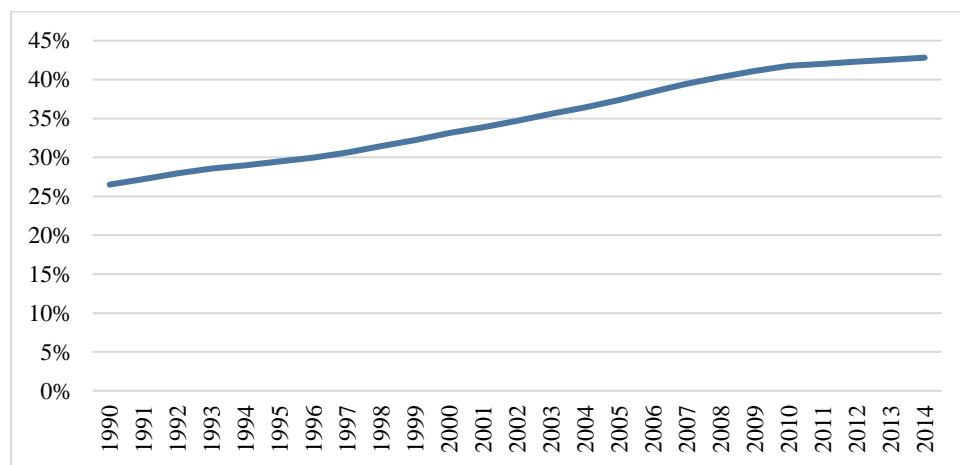
The scarcity of data regarding potential disparities that impact Latino youth in our juvenile justice systems is a concern. Latinos are the fastest growing minority population in the United States¹⁴ and in some parts of the country they already constitute a larger share of the population than Whites.¹⁵ Latino youth between 10 and 17 years old represent about 22.6% of the nation's population of youth in that range. That figure is nearly double what it was in 1990 and has increased every year since 1990.¹⁶

Arizona as a Case Study in Disparity Affecting Latino Youth

We reached out to the Arizona Supreme Court, Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) for approval to use data from juvenile justice agencies in Arizona to examine the trajectory of Latino youth through the juvenile justice continuum, with the goal of understanding where Latino youth experience disparate treatment. Arizona is an ideal location to conduct a study about disparity affecting Latino youth since the population has grown significantly in the past 26 years.

As shown in Figure 1, the proportion of Arizona's youth between the ages of 10 and 17 who are Latino, has increased every year since 1990. The trend reflects Latino population increases at the national level.

Figure 1. Proportion of Arizona Youth Age 10-17 Who Are Latino, by Year¹⁷



As of the time frame that the data for our analyses were collected, Latino youth between 10 and 17 years old in Arizona represent about the same proportion of as White youth in this age group (Table 1).

The rapidly increasing number of Latino youth in the general population highlights the need for more research on potential overrepresentation in the juvenile justice system. Utilizing data from Arizona addresses the shortcomings of some previous investigations of disparity as it impacts Latino youth by ensuring that we have an adequate number of Latino youth in the analysis.

Table 1. Arizona Population of Youth Age 10 to 17 for 2013 and 2014, by Race/Ethnicity¹⁸

	2013		2014	
White	317,610	43.9%	316,538	43.4%
Hispanic	308,151	42.5%	312,179	42.8%
Black	38,885	5.4%	39,916	5.5%
American Indian	37,310	5.2%	37,402	5.1%
Asian	22,261	3.1%	23,060	3.2%

In addition to having a large Latino population, Arizona was an ideal site for this study because juvenile justice officials there have a long history of dedicated effort to monitor and reduce the disparate impact of the juvenile justice system on minority youth. In 2015, the state published the fifth in a line of report cards designed to assess state progress towards reducing disparity. The report shows that although there have been significant declines in the total number of youth referred to the system, minority youth are not doing as well as their White counterparts. The report also contains a timeline, detailing all of Arizona's efforts to address disparity.¹⁹ We will use the Relative Rate Indices (RRI) presented in these reports to provide context for statewide RRIs presented in this report.

In 2004, the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI) was piloted in one of Arizona's fifteen counties—Pima County. In 2011, JDAI expanded to 4 more counties—Gila, Maricopa, Cochise, and Pinal Counties. We will compare the RRIs statewide before and after JDAI was expanded to those additional counties. Unfortunately, we were unable to secure RRI data at the county level prior to implementation for a county by county examination of disparity before and after JDAI implementation. It is not unusual that state reports on disparity would not include county-level results.

In addition to the potential use of these data for stakeholders nationwide, it is our hope that these results can be also used by juvenile justice officials in Arizona to understand the scope and nature of disparity affecting one of the state's largest and fastest growing populations.

Methodology

To better understand the experiences of Latino youth in the juvenile justice system, AIR conducted secondary analysis using data provided by the AOC on youth referred to juvenile court and captured electronically in the state of Arizona. The data include referrals to every county (15) in Arizona over a two-year period from 2013 to 2014.

Research Questions

To guide our investigation we developed 5 research questions to understand the prevalence and scope of disparate treatment among Latino juveniles in county justice systems in Arizona. Using data from the nine decision points in the juvenile justice system, we examine disparities across the continuum of contact from referral to placement. To provide the most useful data to state decision makers, and to determine the scope of the problem, we also examine disparities within and across all fifteen counties throughout the state, and according to offense type. Like many places, a number of Arizona counties have participated in the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI), so a final research question explores whether participation in JDAI results in any statistically meaningful difference between county practices affecting justice involvement of Latino youth. The specific research questions for this study are:

- Research Question 1: Does disparity¹ affecting Latino youth exist statewide in Arizona?
- Research Question 2: Does observed disparity affecting Latino youth remain when we control for other factors that might impact juvenile justice decision making?

¹ Disparity refers to the state of being unequal, and we use it here to mean that minority youth are not being treated equitably with white youth based on the RRIs and logistic regression odds ratios. Overrepresentation indicates that the rate at which minority youth are represented at a given decision point is higher than we would expect compared to the rate at which white youth are present. Underrepresentation indicates that the rate at which minority youth are represented at a given decision point is lower than we would expect compared to the rate at which white youth are present. Over- and underrepresentation are also based on the RRIs and logistic regression odds ratios. We use these three terms interchangeably as they both mean that the RRIs and odds ratios indicate that minority youth are not represented at a rate equal to White youth. We use the terms over- and underrepresentation to indicate the specific direction of the disparity.

- Research Question 3: Does disparity affecting Latino youth vary by county?
- Research Question 4: Does disparity affecting Latino youth vary based on the type of offense for which the youth was referred?
- Research Question 5: Does disparity affecting Latino youth differ depending on whether the county of referral is participating in JDAI?

In addition to these five primary research questions that pertain to every decision point, we also explore whether Latino youth experience longer stays in pre-adjudicatory secure detention and whether filing type (mandatory vs. discretionary) impacts disparate treatment in direct filings. These questions were brought to our attention through conversations with stakeholders in Arizona county-level juvenile justice agencies.

Data and Variables

The data for this examination of disparity in Arizona were provided by the AOC, Juvenile Justice Services Division. The data arrived in separate files which were joined together using between 2 and 3 identification numbers, depending on the type of information.² To protect the privacy of the youth, the identification numbers were randomly generated by the AOC and could not be tied back to individual youth or files. The files included county-level information on every referral that was captured electronically in the state of Arizona from January 2013 to December 2014.

The test variables in these analyses were race, gender, age, number of prior referrals, dependency status, and most serious current offense. We also used variables for county of referral and the county's JDAI status. The outcome variables were the decisions made at various points in the processing of juveniles. We created measures for the decision at each of these points:

² The files and the process by which they were joined is described in detail in Appendix B.

- Direct file to adult court
- Deferments to adult court
- Diversion
- Pre-adjudicatory secure detention
- Petition
- Adjudication
- Formal Probation
- Secure confinement at disposition

We did not create a variable for referral, because by the very nature of the data set all cases included are referrals. For one analysis we created an outcome measure of the length of time spent in detention. Appendix C contains a full description of the measures and the process by which they were created. Once we had created all of the measures we turned our attention to examining the data for any issues that we would need to resolve before proceeding with the analysis. We describe this process of examining data quality in the next section.

Data Quality

There are several different issues that we wanted to pay attention to regarding data quality. The first issue is whether or not all the cases in the data file were actually within the scope of our examination. To make this determination we verified that the case was referred to juvenile court between January 1, 2013 and December 31, 2014. We removed 21(0.03%) cases because they were referred to the court outside of that time range. We also removed a number of cases because they were not referrals for status or delinquent offenses, and as such fall outside of the scope of this examination of disparity in the juvenile justice system. Specifically, we removed:

- 902 (1.13% of the total cases in the original data file) teen traffic court cases
- 274 (0.34%) courtesy supervisions
- 215 (0.27%) warrant arrests
- 4 (0.01%) administrative process cases
- 3 (0.004%) foster care placements

The second data quality issue we were concerned with was whether or not the referrals followed a logical transition from each decision point through the juvenile justice system. We created a measure that indicated the exact sequence of events for the case as it went through the juvenile justice system. We then flagged problematic cases, ones that were indicated to have passed through two or more decision points that did not make sense paired together. For example, petition and diversion are by our definition, mutually exclusive outcomes in the juvenile justice system. We flagged any cases that indicated that the youth was diverted and that a petition was filed as problematic. Another example is when a youth was indicated as having been deferred to adult court and sent via a direct file. A youth would not be transferred by both methods so we flagged such cases as problematic. We also flagged cases where no decision points were indicated for youth once referred to juvenile court. A full list of these data quality issues can be found in Appendix D.

We then worked with the AOC to determine solutions to the contradictory and otherwise problematic cases until we were left only with cases that completed a logical flow through the juvenile justice system in Arizona. At the end of this process we did not have to remove any cases because they did not follow a logical flow through the juvenile justice system. Some cases remained in the condition they were in when we flagged them because we learned that it was not actually

problematic for those cases to follow that flow. For other cases we corrected which decision points were indicated based on new information from the AOC about those types of cases.

The third and final issue regarding data quality that we wanted to pay close attention to was missing data. We elected to exclude cases if they were missing data points critical to the analysis. The two types of data we considered to be critical to our analyses were race/ethnicity and the decisions at each stage of the juvenile court process. We identified 4,386 cases that did not initially have any information on any of the decision points. Of those, we removed 1,773(2.22%) cases. For the other 2,613 we were able to determine which decision points should be filled in by working with AOC. Finally, we removed 1,284(1.61%) cases because they had no information on race/ethnicity. Since the excluded cases appeared to not follow any systematic pattern in terms of the missing information, the listwise deletion of cases from the analysis is appropriate.²⁰ We took this step last so that we could correct as many of the other issues with these cases as possible before removing them from the dataset. This allows us to compare the cases that are missing race data to those that include race data to account for systematic differences between the two.

Altogether, we had to remove 4,476 or 5.61% of cases due to data quality issues. The final dataset was comprised of 75,316 referrals. It contained 29,513 referrals for Latino youth, 8,352 referrals for Black youth, 4,457 referrals for Native American youth, 509 referrals for Asian youth, and 32,485 referrals for White youth.

Analyses

Our analyses consisted primarily of two different techniques. To detect the presence of disparity at each decision point we calculated relative rate indices (RRI). An RRI greater than 1

indicates that minority youth are overrepresented relative to White youth at a particular decision point. An RRI less than 1 indicates that minority youth are underrepresented relative to White youth.

To determine whether observed disparity remained when controlling for other factors that might contribute to disparity, we also used logistic regression. At each decision point the question of whether or not a juvenile progressed through that stage is answered with a simple yes or no, making each decision a dichotomous outcome variable perfectly suited for logistic regression. In addition, the odds ratios produced by logistic regression analyses are analogous to RRIs. An odds ratio greater than 1 indicates overrepresentation relative to White youth, and an odds ratio less than 1 indicates underrepresentation.

To calculate the RRIs we entered the raw data into OJJDP's RRI calculation tool to determine the RRI for each decision point for Latino, Black, Native American, and Asian youth. In our logistic regression analyses we controlled for age, sex, number of prior referrals, most serious current offense, and whether the youth had ever had a petition filed in dependency court. This allowed us to detect disparity that still exists even when we consider these pertinent legal factors. For each decision point, we only included those cases with the potential of proceeding to that decision point. For example, when we conducted an analysis of formal probation, we only included cases that were adjudicated in the analysis. Youth that were not adjudicated would not be up for consideration for placement on formal probation. The same is true of placement in secure confinement at disposition.

We began the analyses by calculating RRIs and conducting logistic regression at each decision point for every referral over the two-year period for the entire state. We then divided the data into groups based on several different factors, calculating RRIs and conducting logistic regression analyses for each of those groups. We divided the data into groups based on:

- County (All counties are represented, but the results will be concealed)
- Type of offense
- JDAI status

In addition to these analyses we conducted two supplementary analyses that corresponded with our two additional research questions that were specific to a particular decision point. We conducted an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to look at the average difference in the length of time in secure detention for each race group compared to White youth.

We also replicated the statewide logistic regression looking at direct files in two separate logistic regressions. One regression used the variable for mandatory direct files and one used the variable for discretionary direct files to determine if there was a difference in disparity between these two types of direct files.

Results

Research Question 1: Does Disparity Affecting Latino Youth Exist Statewide in Arizona?

The results discussed in this section are presented in Table A-1. Table A-1 shows the RRI for each decision point over a two-year period for the entire state combined. For Latino youth, there are a number of statistically significant disparities relative to White youth across the various juvenile court decision points. These results are explored in detail.

When we look at the two-year period for the entire state, we find that Latino youth are not overrepresented in referrals to juvenile court. In fact, White youth are actually slightly more likely to be referred to juvenile court than Latino youth. As shown in Table A-1, the RRI of 0.93 at referral for Latino youth means that White youth are referred 1.07 times more often than Latino youth. The relative rate of Latino representation at referral contrasts with that of Black

and Native American youth. Black youth are referred more than twice as often as White youth. Native American youth are referred 1.16 times as often as White youth.

Latino youth are, however, overrepresented in direct filings to adult court—they are transferred to adult court via a direct filing 3.55 times more often than White youth. In contrast to the pattern for referrals, the relative rate of representation for Latino youth in direct files is comparable to that of Black youth. Black youth are transferred to adult court via direct file 4.39 times more often than White youth. The RRI for Native American youth did not indicate a statistically significant difference from the rate for White youth.

In terms of deferment to adult court, we find that Latino youth are not overrepresented relative to White youth. With an RRI of 0.95, Latino youth were deferred at almost the same rate as White youth. There are disparities in the deferments for Black youth and Native American youth, relative to their White peers. In fact, White youth are deferred 1.43 times more often than Black youth. Native American youth on the other hand, are more likely than White youth to be deferred. They are deferred 1.24 times more often than White youth.

Latino youth are overrepresented in placement in pre-adjudicatory secure detention. Latino youth are placed in detention 1.25 times more often than White youth (see Table A-1). Black and Native American youth are also overrepresented in secure detention, and to an even greater degree than Latino youth. Black youth are placed in detention 1.37 times as often as White youth. Native American youth are detained 1.45 times as often.

Latino youth were underrepresented in diversions from formal court processing. It appears they are less likely to be afforded the opportunity to be diverted from the formal juvenile court process, as compared with White youth. White youth were diverted 1.11 times more often (RRI = 0.90 for Latino youth). Black and Native American youth were underrepresented in

diversions to a greater degree than Hispanic youth. White youth were diverted 1.16 times more often than Black youth and 1.25 times more often than Native American youth.

As we might expect based on the findings regarding diversions, Latino youth are overrepresented in petitions filed for formal juvenile court processing. Referrals involving Latino youth became formal petitions 1.17 times more often than those involving White youth (See Table A-1). Consistent with the findings on the earlier decision points, Black youth and Native American youth experience even greater disparity in formal petitions filed in juvenile court than Latino youth. Black youth had formal petitions filed 1.24 times more often than White youth. Native American youth had formal petitions filed 1.36 times more often than White youth.

Even though there are disparities at several decision points in the juvenile justice process, we find little evidence of disparate treatment for youth at the adjudication stage. Latino youth are not overrepresented in true findings in juvenile court. An RRI of 1.03 indicates that Latino youth are adjudicated delinquent approximately as often as White youth. Black youth are actually a little less likely to be adjudicated delinquent than White youth. Native American youth are similar to Latino youth in that they are adjudicated delinquent approximately as often as White youth. Similarly, there is no apparent disparity in placement on formal probation among the four groups of youth. An RRI of 0.98 indicates that Latino youth were placed on probation at approximately the same rate as White youth (see Table A-1). The same is true of Black youth and Native American youth.

There are, however, disparities in the commitment of youth to correctional facilities at disposition. Latino youth are overrepresented in commitments to secure correctional placements post-disposition. They are committed to ADJC 1.28 times more often than White youth (see Table A-1). Black youth are also securely confined at disposition at a rate 1.41 times higher than White youth. As with most of the other decision points, disparity relative to White youth is

greater at secure confinement for Black youth than it is for Latino youth. Native American youth are not placed in secure confinement more often than White youth.

Based on the RRI results in Table A-1, we can calculate how many Latino youth would be impacted by each decision point if they were treated with parity with another group. In Table 2, we present those results for each other group. For example, if Latino youth were treated as White youth at referral, 31,734 Latino youth would be referred over the two-year period compared to the 29,513 that were actually referred. If Latino youth were referred at the same rate as Native American youth, the number referred to juvenile court would grow from the 29,513 actually referred to 36,812. If referred at the same rate as Black youth, the number of Latino youth referred would more than double in number to 65,690.

Table 2. Projected Latino Decision Point Presence based on Assumed Parity with Other Groups

	Actual	White	Black	Native American
Referral	29,513	31,734	65,690	36,812
Direct File	277	78	343	119
Deferments	528	556	389	689
Diversion	4,009	4,454	3831	3,564
Detention	16,864	13,491	18,483	19,562
Petition	11,844	10,123	12,553	13,767
Adjudicated	9,004	8,742	8,042	8,917
Probation	7,549	7,703	7,626	7,703
Confinement	554	433	610	390

The results in this table provide an opportunity to more fully appreciate the cost of disparities. For example, Latino youth are detained 1.17 times more often than White youth across the two-year period under study here, but that translates into an increase in number of youth detained of 3,373 youth over those two years. At the same time, if Latino youth were detained at the rate Native American youth are detained, this would have meant an additional 2,698 youth in secure detention. Similarly, were Latino youth to be processed like their White peers, over the two years under study we would have seen 199 fewer Latino youth with cases

filed directly in adult court, 1,721 fewer Latino youth with petitions for formal court processing, 262 fewer Latino youth adjudicated delinquent, an additional 154 Latino youth on formal probation, and 121 fewer Latino youth placed in correctional facilities.

In sum, there are a number of ways that Latino youth experience their processing in the juvenile justice system differently from White youth—often those disparities point to more severe treatment of Latino youth. To extend this analysis, we next wanted to examine other factors that might account for some of the disparate patterns that we observe regarding the processing of youth through the juvenile justice system in Arizona.

Research Question 2: Does Observed Disparity Affecting Latino Youth Remain When We Control for Other Factors That Might Impact Juvenile Justice Decision Making?

The analyses necessary to address this research question must allow for a multivariate approach so that we can examine the independent influence of several different factors at one time. There are two important stages to the analyses. First, we conduct a series of logistic regressions in which we control for gender and age to examine the disparities by race and ethnicity after removing all influence of gender and age. These results are presented in Table A-2. Next we take into account three factors that likely influence decisions by juvenile justice professionals—whether the youth has ever been referred to juvenile court for dependency issues, the number of prior referrals for delinquent and status offenses, and the seriousness of the current offense. By including these variables in the logistic regression models, we can further isolate the influence of race and ethnicity that cannot be attributed to legal factors that juvenile courts should consider in making decisions. The results presented in Table A-3 are the odds of experiencing the particular outcome (i.e., direct file, diversion, secure detention, and so on) for each racial and ethnic subgroup, relative to White youth, after removing the influence of age,

sex, number of priors, most serious current offense, and dependency status. At the end of this section we present the odds ratios before and after controlling for number of priors, most serious current offense, and dependency status in Figure 2.

The key result that emerges in comparing the results from Table A-2 to Table A-3 is that the disparities identified under research question 1 remain even after taking into account these other factors. There are two general patterns worth noting in examining these results. First, the disparities between Latino youth and White youth are all attenuated somewhat after removing the effect of prior referrals, dependency status, and severity of current offense. In the case of each decision, the disparity between Latino and White youth narrows (i.e., gets closer to 1 which would indicate that there is no disparity between the two groups).

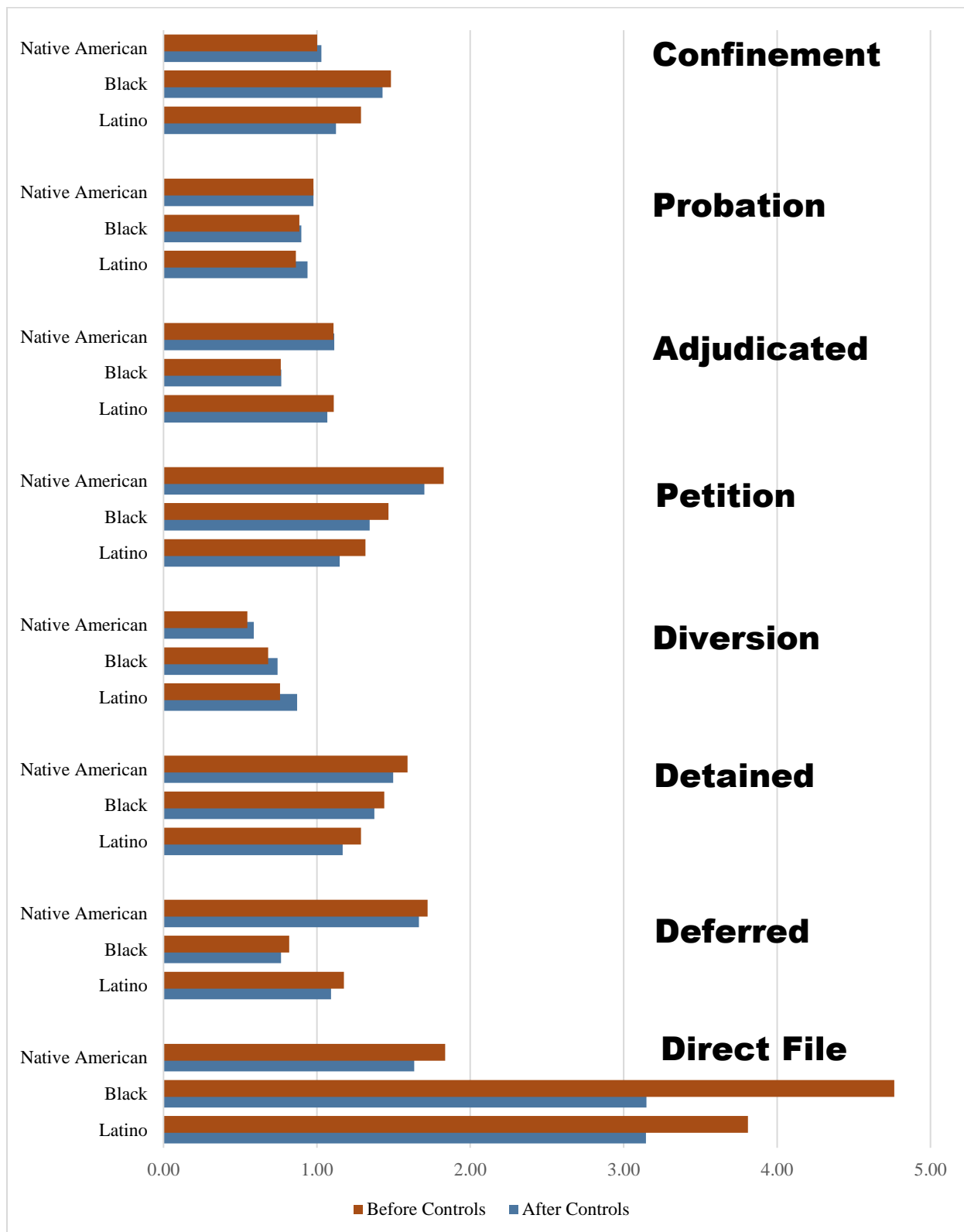
The other general pattern that emerges in the examination of results in Table A-3 is that the odds for each decision do not change substantively from before to after controlling for the legal factors. Across the state, Latino youth are 3.15 times more likely to be transferred to adult court via a direct filing than their White peers. Latino youth are also 1.17 times more likely to be placed in pre-adjudicatory secure detention than Whites.

Latino youth were still less likely to receive an opportunity to avoid formal court processing. White youth were 1.15 times more likely to be diverted. Conversely, Latino youth are 1.15 times more likely than White youth to have a petition filed for formal court processing. Once the petition is filed, though, we find that the likelihood that Latino youth will be adjudicated is 1.07 times higher than White youth. If adjudicated delinquent, Latino youth are less likely to be placed on probation (Whites are 1.06 times as likely to be placed on formal probation) but more likely to be placed in a correctional facility (Latinos are 1.12 times as likely to be committed to a correctional placement).

Another general pattern worth noting is that Black youth and Native American youth are overrepresented to a greater degree than Latino youth at some of the stages of juvenile court processing. This is particularly evident in terms of secure detention and at the petition stage for both Blacks and Native Americans. In addition, Black youth are 1.43 times more likely to go to secure confinement than White youth.

Next we will discuss research question number 3, which explores county level variations in disparity.

Figure 2. Odds Before and After Adding Control Variables



Research Question 3: Does Disparity Affecting Latino Youth Vary by County?

Tables A-4 through A-12 contain the RRIs by decision point for each county. We organized the results so that the RRIs from a single decision point for every county are in the same table, with the results for each subsequent decision point presented in a new table. We will discuss these results in detail in this section.

Across the state we do find county-level variations in disparity for Latino youth. As decisions at each point in the juvenile court process are made locally, comparing the RRIs for each county adds depth to the examination of disparities experienced by youth. Beginning with the results on referral to juvenile court, the results in Table A-4 show that in nearly every county Latino youth are less likely to be referred than White youth. There are only two counties in which the Latino youth are more likely to be referred than White youth, and in both of these counties, Latinos make up the majority of the youth population in the county. In contrast, in nearly every county Black youth are overrepresented (relative to White youth) at referral, with RRIs over 2.00 in six counties. Native American youth are also overrepresented at referral in a majority of the counties across the state.

In general, White youth are more likely to be diverted from formal case processing than the other race and ethnic subgroups. This pattern is found in nearly every county across the state. An interesting pattern emerges when we consider differences based on the proportion of the youth population in each county that is Latino. We hypothesized that there might be different patterns of decisions based on whether the county could be categorized into one of three groups: (1) those counties in which the Latinos comprise the majority of the youth population; (2) those counties where Whites are the majority, but Latinos are the largest minority group; and (3) those counties where Latinos are not the majority or even the largest minority group. The results from

Tables A-4—A-12 are summarized in Table 4. Here we find that among the counties where Latino youth are in the majority, they are overrepresented, relative to White youth, among those diverted from the formal court process.

Table 4. Latino Over- and Underrepresentation by Decision Point and Proportion of the County General Population

Latino Share of Population	Percentage Latino	County Code	Referral	Diversion	Detention	Petition	Confinement
Majority	> 45%	M	+	+	-	-	
		L	-	-		+	-
		D	-	+			
		H	+	-	+	+	+
		F	-	+	-	-	+
		I	+	+		-	
Largest Minority	20% - 45%	B	-	-	+	+	+
		C	-	-	+	+	+
		J	-	-		+	+
		G	-	-	+	+	+
		E	-	-	+	+	-
		A	-	-	+	+	+
Minority (not largest)	< 20%	K	-	-	+	+	+
		O	-	-	+	+	
		N	-	+	+	-	

Note: Majority = these are counties in which Latino youth constitute a larger percentage of the population than any other group; Largest Minority = these are counties in which Latino youth constitute a larger percentage of the population than any other group other than White youth; Minority (not largest) = these are counties in which there is at least one other minority group that constitutes a larger percentage of the population than Latino youth. Under each decision point, “+” indicates that relative to White youth, Latino youth are overrepresented, and “-” indicates that relative to White youth, Latino youth are underrepresented.

From Table A-6, we find that Latino youth are generally overrepresented in secure detention. This is an interesting result since in most of the same counties they are underrepresented at the referral stage. A pattern of the results for detention that emerges is that the largest RRI for Latino youth in secure detention are found in the counties where Latinos are in the largest minority group among the youth in the county. As with referrals, Black youth are overrepresented in nearly every county at the secure detention stage. When the data is aggregated across the state (see Table A-1), Native American youth have the highest RRI with regard to secure detention (1.45 times more likely to be detained than White youth). When we examine the RRI for the individual counties we see that this pattern is the result of disparities in secure detention for Native American youth in only two counties in the state. There are many counties across the state, as shown in Table A-6, where Native American youth are underrepresented in secure detention.

The decision to file a petition for formal court processing is more consistently a source of disparate treatment for Latino, Black and Native American youth. In most of the counties across the state, all three groups of youth are overrepresented relative to Whites, as shown in Table A-7. In contrast, at adjudication (see Table A-8) and formal probation (see Table A-9) we find very little evidence of disparities. The RRI for Latino, Black, and Native American youth are almost all reasonably close to 1.00 with regard to both of these decision points.

From Table A-10, we find that Latino youth stand out in their overrepresentation in secure confinement after disposition. When the data are aggregated across the state (the results reported for “All Counties”), larger disparities are shown for Blacks than for Latinos. Yet, in examining the RRI for the individual counties (see Table A-10), we see that the pattern for Black youth is driven by practices in two of the counties. In contrast, Latino youth are overrepresented at the

confinement stage in several counties across the state—and those counties fall across the spectrum in terms of the proportion of the population in the county that is Latino. The highest RRIs for correctional placements are all found for Latino youth, relative to White youth.

Research Question 4: Does Disparity Affecting Latino Youth Vary Based on the Type of Offense for Which the Youth Was Referred?

To address this question, we recalculate the RRIs found in Table A-1 for each offense category separately. In Tables A-13 through A-21, we consider each decision point broken down by the type of offense. Again, by examining the data in such detail, we learn even more about the patterns of disparities for Latino youth in juvenile courts in Arizona.

In Table A-13 we look closer at the relative rates of referral. Recall that for the entire state, Latino youth are underrepresented at referral, relative to White youth, with an $RRI = 0.93$. The disparities are more pronounced though for a number of offense types. For instance, Latino youth are even less likely to be referred if the offense is a property misdemeanor ($RRI=0.81$), a violent misdemeanor ($RRI=0.87$), or domestic violence ($RRI=0.61$). On the other hand, Latino youth are more likely to be referred to juvenile court for violent felonies ($RRI=1.10$), status offenses ($RRI=1.11$), or violations ($RRI=1.46$). Black and American Indian youth differ from Latino youth in that their representation at referral is not as variable. Black youth are overrepresented for every type of offense, consistent with the statewide trend of overrepresentation at referral. American Indian youth are overrepresented for 5 types of offenses, approximately equally likely to be referred for 2 types of offenses, and underrepresented for only one offense type.

As evident in Table A-14, Latino youth were transferred to adult court via a direct filing 3.6 times more often than White youth when the most serious offense was a property felony, and

2.5 times more often when it was a violent felony. There were no other offense types with enough cases in which there was a decision to transfer to adult court by direct filing. While overall Latino youth are not overrepresented in deferments, there was one offense for which they were. Latino youth were deferred 1.36 times more often than White youth when the offense was a violent misdemeanor (see Table A-15). Violent misdemeanors are, for the most part, simple assaults.

Across the state, Latino youth were underrepresented in diversions, but this is not true for every type of offense. They were diverted at approximately the same rate as White youth when the referral involved a status offense, a violent misdemeanor, or domestic violence. For all other offense types White youth were diverted more often. See Table A-16. The pattern of underrepresentation for Black youth mirrored that of Latino youth, receiving diversions at approximately the same rate as white youth for status offenses, violent misdemeanors and domestic violence incidents. They were also similar in that Black and Latino youth were underrepresented to the greatest degree for violent felonies. The pattern for Native American youth was distinct from that of Black and Latino youth.

Latino youth are overrepresented in secure detention placements, but this is not consistent across the different types of offenses. Latino youth are actually underrepresented in secure detention when the offense was a violation or a violent misdemeanor. For other types of offenses—property misdemeanors (i.e., shoplifting), property felonies (i.e., burglaries, thefts), drug felonies, violent felonies (i.e., aggravated assaults, robberies, sex offenses)—they are overrepresented. Latino youth experienced the greatest disparity when the offense was a drug felony, where they are placed in secure detention 1.56 times more often than White youth (see Table A-17). Disparity in secure detention placement also varies for Black and Native American

youth depending on the type of offense. Both of these groups experience the greatest disparity when referred for a property misdemeanor.

When the data are aggregated across all offense types, Latino youth are 1.17 times more likely to have a petition filed for formal court processing. Yet, in looking at the individual RRI's for the different types of offenses, there are actually many offense types where Latino youth are not different from White youth in their likelihood for having a petition filed. For most offense types, including violations, property felonies, violent misdemeanors, violent felonies, and domestic violence incidents, Latino youth have petitions filed about as often as White youth. Latino youth are, however, 1.33 times more likely than White youth to have a petition filed when the offense is a property misdemeanor and 1.11 times more likely when it is a drug felony (See Table A-18). For status offenses, Latino youth are underrepresented ($R=0.83$) at this decision point. Disparity for Black youth follows the same pattern for each of the individual offense types as Latino youth. Native American youth are the most likely to have a petition filed, and are overrepresented at this decision point for property misdemeanors, violent misdemeanors, domestic violence offenses, and drug felonies.

As we have seen already, Latino youth are treated in remarkably similar ways as White youth at both the adjudication and probation decision points. When considering the RRI's for these two decision points by offense types, the results do not vary except in the case of status offenses where Latino youth are less likely than Whites to be adjudicated delinquent ($RRI=0.90$) and also much less likely to be placed on formal probation ($RRI=0.51$). These results appear in Tables A-19 and A-20.

When Latino youth are compared with White youth as a group in terms of placement in correctional facilities, we find that Latino youth are 1.28 times as likely as Whites to be

incarcerated. Yet the RRI does vary depending on the type of offense. Latino youth are confined less often than White youth for violations (RRI=0.79) and at approximately the same rate as White youth for property misdemeanors (RRI=1.03). For all of the other offense categories, though, the RRI is even greater than 1.28. Latino youth are confined more often than White youth for property felonies (1.40 times), drug felonies (2.59 times), violent misdemeanors (2.24 times), and violent felonies (2.06 times) (see Table A-21). The two offenses for which Latino youth are most overrepresented at secure confinement—drug felonies and violent misdemeanors—are also the two for which Black youth are most overrepresented.

Next we'll discuss research question number 5, which explores variations in disparity between JDAI and non-JDAI counties.

Research Question 5: Does Disparity Affecting Latino Youth Differ Depending on Whether the County of Referral Is Participating in JDAI?

The final question that we address in this study is whether there is evidence that the implementation of JDAI has resulted in a reduction in disparities for Latino youth. There are two ways that we structure our inquiry to answer this question. One way is to consider whether there are any apparent reductions in the disparities since the implementation of JDAI, compared with the evidence on disparities prior to the roll out of JDAI in the counties where it is now in place. In Table A-30, we examine statewide RRIs for each decision point from 2002 to 2014. From these results, we find no clear indication of a sustained change in disparity before and after JDAI was implemented in several counties. It is, however, not possible for us to consider historic patterns of disparities in individual counties prior to the JDAI roll out.

The second approach we take to address this research question is to compare the results on disparities for the JDAI counties to the non-JDAI counties. As a key goal of the JDAI

approach is to reduce disparities, and given that JDAI has been in operation for several years now, we might expect to see greater disparities for the non-JDAI counties. The results to examine these patterns are presented in Tables A-31 and A-32. In Table A-31 we present the RRI for each decision point for JDAI counties as a group and for non-JDAI counties as a group. In Table A-32 we present the odds ratios in the same manner.

Keeping in mind that we cannot show how different the JDAI and non-JDAI counties were in terms of disparities during the pre-JDAI era, we cannot speak to whether the differences between the two groups in terms of disparities is an improvement over time or a reflection of pre-existing differences between those two groups of counties. The analyses presented here cannot take into account all the pre-existing differences between the JDAI and non-JDAI counties, so the results presented here are, at best, suggestive. Given these caveats, we are looking at whether the results of our analyses indicate that disparities between Latino and White youth are greater for the non-JDAI counties than for the JDAI counties. In fact, at many of the decision points, we do find smaller disparities for the group of JDAI counties. In Table A-31, for instance, we find there are no disparities in the referral rate of Latino youth compared to White youth in the JDAI counties (RRI=1.00). On the other hand, Latino youth are less likely to be referred than White youth (RRI=0.74).

To examine the differences in disparities at each of the subsequent decision points, consider the results in Table A-32, as they have been adjusted for a number of factors that may reflect pre-existing differences between JDAI and non-JDAI counties. We do find that at several of the decision points, the disparities between Latino and White youth in the JDAI counties are smaller than what we find in the non-JDAI counties. This is true at the following decision points: direct file, diversion, petition, and probation. There are two other decision points where the

differences between JDAI and non-JDAI counties are rather small, so would not be seen as evidence that JDAI is contributing to outcomes that we do not find in the non-JDAI counties. These decision points are secure detention—where the RRI is virtually identical (1.34 vs. 1.33) although still among the highest RRI for Latino youth across all decision points—and adjudication. The RRI for placement in correctional facilities point to the one decision point where Latino youth in the JDAI counties fare worse than in non-JDAI counties. In JDAI counties, Latino youth are 1.42 times more likely than Whites to be incarcerated. In non-JDAI counties, however, White youth are 1.56 times more likely than Latinos to be incarcerated. Such an opposite trend is likely due at least in part to pre-existing differences between counties participating in JDAI and those not taking part.

As previously mentioned, we also explored whether Latino youth experience longer stays in pre-adjudicatory secure detention and whether filing type (mandatory vs. discretionary) impacts disparate treatment in direct filings. Latino youth do not experience longer stays in pre-adjudicatory detention. In fact, when we take into account the additional legal factors, we observe that Latino youth actually spend about one day less in detention on average than White youth (see Table A-34). Surprisingly, Black youth spend even less time in secure detention on average than Latino youth. Native American youth on the other hand, spend over ten more days in secure detention than White youth on average. Latino youth are overrepresented in both types of direct filings, but to a greater degree in those that are mandatory. Latino youth are 2.63 times more likely to have a discretionary direct filing than White youth, even when we control for pertinent legal factors (see Table A-35). Latino youth were 3.41 times more likely to have a mandatory direct filing, after controlling for these same factors. Black youth and Native American youth are also overrepresented at a greater rate for mandatory than for discretionary direct filings.

Discussion

Research on disparities in the juvenile justice system continues to evolve, being expanded by new methodologies. We believe that the data provided by AOC made it possible to conduct an analysis incorporating the best of the current approaches to examining disparity. In this study, we controlled for a number of factors related to the progression of youth through the juvenile justice system, especially those thought to contribute to disparities for racial and ethnic subgroups. Our use of a large state data set was another strength of this study because of the consistency with which variables are captured across all of the jurisdictions. The use of Arizona's data was particularly advantageous in that it allowed us to expand upon the body of knowledge about disparity as it affects Latino youth due to the large volume of cases involving Latino youth.

In this study, we conducted an in-depth analysis of disparity in the juvenile justice processing of Latino youth. A key finding of our analyses is that Latino youth are not overrepresented in referrals, the first stage of entry into the juvenile justice system, but they do experience disparate treatment once they are in the system. This stands in contrast with the experience of Black youth, and to a lesser degree Native American youth, who are overrepresented in referrals to the juvenile justice system and also at later stages of the court process.

A second key finding is that Latino youth are more likely to experience the most severe and restrictive punishments the juvenile justice system has to offer. They are overrepresented in direct filings in adult court, placement in pre-adjudicatory secure detention, and placement in secure confinement following disposition. At the same time, Latino youth are underrepresented in diversions, meaning they are afforded the opportunity to avoid formal involvement in the juvenile justice system less often than White youth.

A third key finding is that at each of these decision points, Black youth experience greater levels of disparity than Latino youth. In Arizona for the years included in this study, the population was 43% Latino and 5% Black. So despite the impression that the disparities affecting Latino youth are less extreme than those affecting Black youth, the disparities regarding the processing of Latinos youth affect many more youth in Arizona than disparities experienced by Black youth.

A fourth key finding is that in most cases, legal factors that we were able to include in the analyses do not account for the observed disparities. There are, of course, many other factors that may impact disparity for which we did not have control variables in the model. We can conclude, though that disparity cannot be explained by saying that minority youth commit more serious offenses or have more extensive histories of delinquency that must be taken into account as the youth pass through the system, resulting in more severe outcomes.

Another key finding relates to the variation in disparities from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Where we observe disparities for Black youth, relative to Whites, we find the patterns of disparities to be rather consistent across the various counties. We did not, however, find the same level of consistency from county to county in the disparities between Latino and White youth. The use of data from Arizona provides a unique opportunity in a single study to examine patterns of disparity for Latino youth where they are in the majority among the youth population in the county, and where they are in the minority, both as the largest minority group of the county and as a smaller minority group in the county. As described above, some of the patterns of disparity for Latino youth appear more clearly when we examine the counties where Latinos are in the majority—where they are more likely than Whites to be referred to juvenile court and to be diverted from court processing—and also in those counties where they are in the minority—

where we find Latinos to be more likely than Whites to be securely detained, have a petition filed, and to be placed in correctional facilities.

We also find that disparity often varies depending on the type of offense. In fact, there is more consistency by offense type than there is by race or ethnicity. That is, when we break down the results by offense type, we find that there are offense categories where each of the nonwhite groups experience disparities at any given decision point. For instance, at the secure detention stage, Latinos, Blacks, and Native Americans are all more likely to be detained for property misdemeanors and felonies, violent felonies, and drug felonies. Similar patterns emerge when examining the results for confinement to correctional placements.

Finally, the results of this study point to patterns of less disparity in those counties implementing JDAI. As is true from other studies of the impact of JDAI efforts, there is still evidence of disparities for Latino youth in some stages of juvenile court processing where JDAI is in place, and at the state level there are no obvious changes over time to RRI. Breaking down the results so that we can compare JDAI to non-JDAI jurisdictions does provide some promising indicators that disparities are smaller at many of the decision points.

Study Limitations

A proper assessment of our efforts in this study would not be complete without an examination of the limitations that may impact our results and, ultimately, the conclusions we draw from them. As with much of the research on disparities in juvenile justice processing, this study is largely a descriptive study. We are identifying patterns across a large number of cases, but do not have the ability in this study to address the questions of how and why. The data we used in this study provide a strong examination of disparities across all of the decision points in the juvenile court

process, but we did not, for instance, have any data on processing policies in individual counties that may have impacted the way youth pass through the system in those counties.

Disparate treatment of juvenile offenders by race and ethnicity typically has more to do with local phenomena (i.e., behavior of juvenile justice personnel, community context, socioeconomic factors, and so on) than with statewide policies and practices. The data we use here is advantageous in that it allows for consistency in the measurement of juvenile justice processing across all the jurisdictions in the state, but local factors that may be important for understanding disparate findings are not going to be captured in these data. Using the analysis of JDAI counties as an example, there are possibly many differences between the JDAI and non-JDAI counties that we did not control for in the analysis, which could account for the observed differences between JDAI and non-JDAI counties when it comes to disparity.

The nature of what we study here is best suited for a retrospective design. That is, to allow enough time to pass so we can track all the decision points from referral to final disposition, it is most useful to examine data from previous years. This means that the methods that we can use are potentially constrained by the nature of the data found in the existing databases. For instance, a more methodologically rigorous approach to examining differences in disparity before and after implementation of JDAI would be to use an interrupted time-series design with disparities measured at multiple distinct time segments (such as months) over a longer period of time. This would involve a more intentionally prospective design prior to the collection of data over time, and is rarely possible using existing databases for a relative small window of time (i.e., two years in the present study). Also, the use of an existing database also means that data problems associated with data entry are not going to be preventable, and if extensive, can have serious implications for the quality of the analysis. As large data go, the data

we received from AOC was quite clean and complete. Yet, there were missing data or problematic data that resulted in a small loss of cases from the analyses. As this is an assessment of racial and ethnic disparity, missing data on race and ethnicity should be of particular concern. The 1.61% of cases that we had to remove, however, is relatively small.

There are also limitations inherent in the methodology related to the analyses. There were several measures in the analysis that could have been improved by the more nuanced measurement. For instance, the analysis could have been strengthened by greater detail regarding previous referrals to the juvenile justice system. We only include a measure of the number of times that the youth had previously been referred, but did not have any detail as to the severity of those offenses. There were also variables that we could not include in the analysis that may be important for understanding the nature of observed disparities. For example, it would have been beneficial to include measures of risk for reoffending. Risk scores would give us greater insight into the decision making at various decision points where risk is considered, such as placement in secure detention and at disposition, when considering whether probation or placement in secure confinement is more appropriate. The risk assessment scores we could access were not available for enough of the cases to make a meaningful contribution to the analyses.

While this study does much to move forward the examination of disparities in processing for Latino youth, there are limitations in our ability to understand the interaction between race and ethnicity. Each race/ethnicity was only singularly identified, so there may have been Latinos that do not identify as White racially, which could confuse the results for Latino youth. Overall this is likely to be a small issue. Statewide, non-white Latinos only make up about 9.5% of the Latino population from 10-17 years old. Only 3.0% are black Latinos, 5.0% are Native American Latinos, and 1.4% are Asian Latinos.

Implications for Future Research and Practice

The goal of this study was to identify and describe the nature of disparities in juvenile court processing for Latino youth. Using a data set particularly well-suited for this examination, we believe the results of this study contribute meaningfully to the literature on ethnic disparities in the juvenile justice system. This report presents findings that can be used to inform the discussion of DMC as it impacts Latino youth. As we seek to broaden our understanding of this important topic, these results can help guide future research into new avenues of investigation and help policy makers make well-informed decisions in their effort to address ethnic disparities on a national level.

To that end, there are implications for policy and practice that emerge from the results of this study. Resources used to address disparate treatment of minorities may be used more efficiently if they are focused on areas with the greatest levels of disparity. Looking at county level statistics on disparity is a necessary step to accomplish this objective and ongoing assessment of disparity should move beyond a statewide only approach. On the other hand, counties with the lowest levels of disparity may be considered models for how to minimize disparity.

There are also suggestions for future research on this topic that can be made based on the results of this study. As described above, there are ways our methodology could have been improved and these translate into suggested improvements for future studies. When controlling for history of delinquency, the severity of those previous offenses should be considered. Also, including risk assessment scores can provide a control variable that gets at the decision making and the reasons behind it at a county level. Use of risk assessment scores is particularly relevant if they are administered in connection to the current offense tied to the referral. Future studies hoping to examine the impact of JDAI on disparity should use data collected over a longer period of time to incorporate a time series design described previously.

In addition to these observations, we also find that disparity often varies depending on the county of the referral. This is important to understand as greater strides may be made in addressing disparity by focusing resources at the local level in specific jurisdictions. In counties where one race/ethnicity experiences greater disparity than others, it may make sense to work with those communities to determine the root of the problem. In counties where disparity is experienced across race/ethnicity, it may make more sense to look at official policies and procedures that might contribute to disparity across the board. Future studies should augment their focus on county-level relative rates of risk with a county-level understanding of the juvenile justice system. Policies and practices at the county level can impact disparity and are vital to not only understanding why disparity exists, but also how to address it.

We also believe that whenever possible, it is important to consider ways that responses to particular offenses may introduce disparities in processing of youth through the court progression. There may be something about the way particular types of offenses are handled at the various stages that is driving disparity. These offenses might be of particular interest for crafting interventions to mitigate overrepresentation.

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Appendix A. Tables

* indicates statistical significance ($p < .05$)

** indicates insufficient cases to perform analysis

*** indicates that the group is less than 1% of the general population

-- indicates unstable odds ratios due to small base rates

Table A-1. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
Referral	0.93*	2.07*	1.16*	0.22*
Direct File	3.55*	4.39*	1.53	**
Deferments	0.95	0.70*	1.24*	1.67
Diversion	0.90*	0.86*	0.80*	1.04
Detention	1.25*	1.37*	1.45*	0.65*
Petition	1.17*	1.24*	1.36*	0.88
Adjudicated	1.03*	0.92*	1.02	0.90
Probation	0.98	0.99	1.00	0.94
Confinement	1.28*	1.41*	0.90	**

Table A-2. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide Logistic Regression Results (Control for age and sex)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
Direct Filed	3.81*	4.76*	1.84*	0.70
Deferments	1.18*	0.82	1.72*	1.50
Detained	1.29*	1.44*	1.59*	0.63*
Diversion	0.76*	0.68*	0.55*	1.17
Petition	1.32*	1.47*	1.83*	0.86
Adjudicated	1.11*	0.76*	1.11	0.69*
Probation	0.86*	0.89	0.98	0.73
Confinement	1.29*	1.48*	1.00	0.55

Table A-3. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide Logistic Regression Results (Control for age, sex, dependent status, number of priors, and most serious offense)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
Direct Filed	3.15*	3.15*	1.63	0.75
Deferments	1.09	0.77*	1.66*	1.49
Detained	1.17*	1.37*	1.50*	0.64*
Diversion	0.87*	0.74*	0.59*	1.10
Petition	1.15*	1.34*	1.70*	0.91
Adjudicated	1.07*	0.77*	1.11	0.71
Probation	0.94	0.90	0.98	0.65
Confinement	1.12	1.43	1.03	

Table A-4. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Referral by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	0.93*	2.07*	1.16*	0.22*
County A	0.58*	1.24*	1.04	0.16*
County B	0.89*	2.55*	1.98*	0.23*
County C	0.93*	2.90*	1.18*	0.44*
County D	0.33*	**	**	***
County E	0.75*	1.17	1.48*	0.23*
County F	0.71*	1.03	2.37*	0.15*
County G	0.66*	***	0.23*	***
County H	1.18*	2.43*	1.58*	0.24*
County I	1.01	2.78*	**	***
County J	0.52*	1.29	0.62*	***
County K	0.95	2.49*	1.47*	0.38*
County L	0.80*	2.29*	2.56*	0.52*
County M	1.47*	***	***	***
County N	0.45*	**	0.04*	***
County O	0.58*	0.73	0.38*	***

Table A-5. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Diversion by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	0.90*	0.86*	0.80*	1.04
County A	0.74*	0.87	0.73*	**
County B	0.82*	0.78*	0.79*	0.96
County C	0.88*	0.84*	0.89	**
County D	1.32	**	**	***
County E	0.90*	0.96	1.00	**
County F	1.02	0.79*	1.48*	**
County G	0.85	***	0.95	***
County H	0.97*	0.91*	0.90*	0.85
County I	1.37*	**	**	***
County J	0.85	**	0.30*	***
County K	0.91	0.81	0.88*	**
County L	0.87*	0.90	0.52*	1.51
County M	1.11*	***	***	***
County N	1.06	**	1.72*	***
County O	0.89	1.17	0.96	***

Table A-6. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Detention by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	1.25*	1.37*	1.45*	0.65*
County A	1.49*	1.59*	1.09	**
County B	1.78*	2.36*	1.51*	0.73
County C	1.26*	1.17	0.90	**
County D	**	**	**	***
County E	1.04	1.40	0.99	**
County F	0.93	1.80*	**	**
County G	1.38*	***	0.66	***
County H	1.39*	1.25	1.80*	2.03
County I	**	**	**	***
County J	**	**	**	***
County K	1.10	1.31	0.69*	**
County L	1.00	1.12	1.20	0.55
County M	0.83*	***	***	***
County N	1.46	**	**	***
County O	0.89	0.82	0.90	***

Table A-7. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Petition by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	1.17*	1.24*	1.36*	0.88
County A	1.46*	1.16	1.54*	**
County B	1.36*	1.46*	1.46*	1.08
County C	1.15*	1.22*	1.19	**
County D	**	**	**	***
County E	1.17*	1.10	1.02	**
County F	0.96	1.33*	**	**
County G	1.16	***	1.04*	***
County H	1.09*	1.26*	1.30*	1.12
County I	0.58*	**	**	***
County J	1.08	**	1.37*	***
County K	1.13	1.32	1.18*	**
County L	1.12*	1.10	1.44*	0.55
County M	0.90*	***	***	***
County N	0.85	**	0.48*	**
County O	1.08	0.93	1.03	***

Table A-8. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Adjudication by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	1.03*	0.92*	1.02	0.90
County A	1.06	0.91	1.00	**
County B	1.06*	0.96	1.03	1.05
County C	1.00	0.96	0.98	**
County D	**	**	**	***
County E	0.98	1.18	0.96	**
County F	1.04	1.03	**	**
County G	0.98	***	1.18	***
County H	1.02	0.99	1.01	**
County I	**	**	**	***
County J	1.03	**	0.98	***
County K	0.99	1.04	1.06	**
County L	1.02	1.02	1.07	**
County M	**	***	***	***
County N	**	**	**	* **
County O	0.98	**	1.00	***

Table A-9. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Probation by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	0.98	0.99	1.00	0.94
County A	0.97	**	1.01	**
County B	0.99	0.98	1.00	1.01
County C	1.00	0.96	0.93	**
County D	**	**	**	***
County E	1.00	0.81	1.02	**
County F	0.97	1.15	**	**
County G	1.02	*	0.97	***
County H	1.04	0.99	1.00	**
County I	**	**	**	***
County J	1.01	**	1.02	***
County K	0.99	**	0.99	**
County L	0.99	0.99	0.99	**
County M	**	***	***	***
County N	**	**	**	* **
County O	1.01	**	1.07	***

Table A-10. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Confinement by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	1.28*	1.41*	0.90	**
County A	1.43	**	**	**
County B	1.52*	1.68*	1.02	**
County C	1.29	1.20	**	**
County D	**	**	**	***
County E	0.90	**	**	**
County F	1.90*	**	**	**
County G	2.24*	*	**	***
County H	2.48*	1.73*	**	**
County I	**	**	**	***
County J	1.64	**	**	***
County K	2.28*	**	1.29	**
County L	0.59*	**	1.27	**
County M	**	***	***	***
County N	**	**	**	* **
County O	**	**	**	***

Table A-11. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Adult Court Deferments by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	0.95	0.70*	1.24*	1.67
County A	0.75	1.48	**	**
County B	**	**	**	**
County C	0.90	1.10	0.66	**
County D	**	**	**	***
County E	0.51	**	**	**
County F	0.72	**	**	**
County G	1.10	*	**	***
County H	0.91	0.80	0.73	3.01*
County I	**	**	**	***
County J	**	**	**	***
County K	0.99	**	0.94	**
County L	0.68*	**	**	**
County M	**	***	***	***
County N	**	**	**	***
County O	**	**	**	***

Table A-12. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI for Direct Files by County

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Counties	3.55*	4.39*	1.53	**
County A	**	**	**	**
County B	4.22*	4.06*	2.26*	**
County C	2.93*	**	**	**
County D	**	**	**	***
County E	**	**	**	**
County F	**	**	**	**
County G	**	*	**	***
County H	**	**	**	**
County I	**	**	**	***
County J	**	**	**	***
County K	**	**	**	**
County L	**	**	**	**
County M	**	***	***	***
County N	**	**	**	***
County O	**	**	**	***

Table A-13. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI for Referral by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	0.93*	2.07*	1.16*	0.22*
Violations	1.46*	2.60*	1.91*	0.12*
Status Offenses	1.11*	1.75*	0.96	0.17*
Property Misdemeanors	0.81*	2.50*	1.21*	0.32*
Property Felonies	1.01	2.78*	1.13	0.24*
Drug Felonies	0.96*	1.33*	1.32*	0.25*
Violent Misdemeanors	0.87*	2.90*	0.99	0.23*
Violent Felonies	1.10*	4.34*	1.36*	0.16*
Domestic Violence	0.61*	2.18*	0.64*	0.19*

Table A-14. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI for Direct Files by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	3.55*	4.39*	1.53	**
Property Felonies	3.61*	3.62*	**	**
Drug Felonies				**
Violent Felonies	2.50*	2.17*	1.33	**
Domestic Violence	**	**	**	**

Table A-15. 2013 Combined Statewide RRI for Deferments to Adult Court by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	0.95	0.70*	1.24*	1.67
Violations	**	**	**	**
Property Misdemeanors	0.78*	0.79	0.89	**
Property Felonies	0.97	0.79	**	**
Drug Felonies	0.87	0.64*	0.91	**
Violent Misdemeanors	1.36*	0.94	**	**
Violent Felonies	0.89	0.48*	1.62	**
Domestic Violence	0.93	0.62	**	**

Table A-16. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI for Diversions by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	0.90*	0.86*	0.80*	1.04
Violations	0.86*	0.83	0.91	**
Status Offenses	1.01	1.04	1.01	0.97
Property Misdemeanors	0.89*	0.87*	0.79*	1.04
Property Felonies	0.91*	0.91	1.10	**
Drug Felonies	0.92*	0.94	0.79*	1.19
Violent Misdemeanors	1.00	0.99	0.94	0.91
Violent Felonies	0.82*	0.78*	0.81	**
Domestic Violence	1.03	1.01	0.91	1.19

Table A-17. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI for Secure Detention by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.25*	1.37*	1.45*	0.65*
Violations	0.95	0.44*	1.02	**
Property Misdemeanors	1.27*	1.53*	2.02*	**
Property Felonies	1.40*	1.48*	1.21	**
Drug Felonies	1.56*	1.08	1.50*	**
Violent Misdemeanors	0.78*	1.02	0.98	0.68
Violent Felonies	1.34*	1.49*	1.14	**
Domestic Violence	1.16*	1.18*	1.23	0.90

Table A-18. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI for Petition by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.17*	1.24*	1.36*	0.88
Violations	1.01	1.01	1.00	**
Status Offenses	0.83*	0.42*	0.93	**
Property Misdemeanors	1.33*	1.41*	1.61*	0.90
Property Felonies	1.01	1.02	0.96	**
Drug Felonies	1.11*	1.12	1.33*	0.70
Violent Misdemeanors	0.99	1.02	1.12	1.21
Violent Felonies	0.97	1.03	1.05	**
Domestic Violence	0.99	1.00	1.16	0.72

Table A-19. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI for Adjudication by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.03*	0.92*	1.02	0.90
Violations	0.99	0.93	0.97	**
Status Offenses	0.90	**	1.23	**
Property Misdemeanors	1.00	0.79*	0.95	**
Property Felonies	1.01	1.02	0.96	**
Drug Felonies	1.01	0.95	1.04	**
Violent Misdemeanors	1.05	0.93	1.10	**
Violent Felonies	1.06	0.97	1.01	**
Domestic Violence	1.00	0.93	0.98	**

Table A-20. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI for Probation by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	0.98	0.99	1.00	0.94
Violations	1.04	1.00	1.05	**
Status Offenses	0.51*	**	**	**
Property Misdemeanors	0.97	1.01	1.02	**
Property Felonies	0.99	0.97	0.99	**
Drug Felonies	0.94*	0.94	1.02	**
Violent Misdemeanors	0.97	0.99	1.00	**
Violent Felonies	0.95	0.96	0.90	**
Domestic Violence	0.98	1.03	1.02	**

Table A-21. 2013 and 2014 Combined Statewide RRI for Secure Confinement by Offense Type

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.28*	1.41*	0.90	**
Violations	0.79*	1.06	0.83	**
Status Offenses	**	**	**	**
Property Misdemeanors	1.03	0.86	**	**
Property Felonies	1.40*	1.78*	**	**
Drug Felonies	2.59*	2.09*	**	**
Violent Misdemeanors	2.24*	1.95*	**	**
Violent Felonies	2.06*	1.57	2.59*	**
Domestic Violence	1.57	**	**	**

Table A-22. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results for Direct Files by Offense Type (Control for age, sex, dependency status, number of priors)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	3.15*	3.15*	1.63	0.75
Property Felonies	3.63*	3.13*	2.94	--
Drug Felonies	18.25*	3.30	--	--
Violent Felonies	2.58*	2.06*	1.51	1.56
Domestic Violence	0.63	0.30	--	--

Table A-23. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results for Deferments to Adult Court by Offense Type (Control for age, sex, dependency status, number of priors)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.09	0.77*	1.66*	1.49
Violations	1.00	1.57	--	3.43
Property Misdemeanors	0.59*	0.76	1.47	1.49
Property Felonies	1.17	1.06	0.76	--
Drug Felonies	0.70*	0.60	1.55	0.98
Violent Misdemeanors	1.21	1.07	0.54	--
Violent Felonies	0.55	0.45	1.43	--
Domestic Violence	0.75	0.69	0.81	--

**Table A-24. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results for Diversion by Offense Type
(Control for age, sex, dependency status, number of priors)**

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	0.87*	0.74*	0.59*	1.10
Violations	0.59*	1.01	0.85	--
Status Offenses	0.83	1.39	1.18	1.59
Property Misdemeanors	0.64*	0.57*	0.45*	0.79
Property Felonies	0.87	0.93	1.09	0.84
Drug Felonies	0.71*	0.79*	0.62*	1.35
Violent Misdemeanors	1.04	0.89	0.88	0.73
Violent Felonies	0.82*	0.75*	0.79	1.49
Domestic Violence	1.23*	1.06	0.86	1.81

**Table A-25. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results for Detention by Offense Type
(Control for age, sex, dependency status, number of priors)**

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.17*	1.37*	1.50*	0.64*
Violations	0.78*	0.49*	0.89	--
Property Misdemeanors	1.37*	1.63*	2.23*	1.06
Property Felonies	1.70*	1.71*	1.30	0.28
Drug Felonies	2.09*	1.26	1.47*	0.45
Violent Misdemeanors	0.94	1.06	0.99	0.66
Violent Felonies	1.75*	2.16*	1.21	2.77
Domestic Violence	1.11	1.25*	1.28	0.84

**Table A-26. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results for Petition by Offense Type
(Control for age, sex, dependency status, number of priors)**

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.15*	1.34*	1.70*	0.91
Violations	1.69*	0.99	1.18	--
Status Offenses	1.20	0.72	0.85	0.63
Property Misdemeanors	1.56*	1.76*	2.22*	1.26
Property Felonies	1.14	1.08	0.92	1.19
Drug Felonies	1.42*	1.27*	1.60*	0.74
Violent Misdemeanors	1.21*	1.33*	1.26	0.67
Violent Felonies	1.21*	1.33*	1.26	0.67
Domestic Violence	0.81*	0.95	1.16	0.55

Table A-27. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results for Adjudication by Offense Type (Control for age, sex, dependency status, number of priors)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.07*	0.77*	1.11	0.71
Violations	0.93	0.80*	0.78	0.40
Status Offenses	0.97	0.42*	2.49	0.84
Property Misdemeanors	1.04	0.63*	0.92	2.35
Property Felonies	1.06	1.07	1.10	0.25*
Drug Felonies	1.17	0.91	1.17	5.99
Violent Misdemeanors	1.17	0.78	1.41	0.87
Violent Felonies	1.35*	0.78	1.12	1.19
Domestic Violence	0.95	0.81	0.92	0.65

Table A-28. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results for Probation by Offense Type (Control for age, sex, dependency status, number of priors)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	0.94	0.90	0.98	0.65
Violations	1.31	0.97	1.06	--
Status Offenses	0.22*	0.35	0.88	--
Property Misdemeanors	0.81	0.97	1.02	0.20*
Property Felonies	0.85	0.61*	0.82	--
Drug Felonies	0.51*	0.52*	1.22	0.29
Violent Misdemeanors	1.31	0.98	1.06	1.08
Violent Felonies	0.63*	0.84	0.37*	--
Domestic Violence	0.89	1.18	1.29	--

Table A-29. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results for Secure Confinement by Offense Type (Control for age, sex, dependency status, number of priors)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
All Offenses	1.12	1.43*	1.03	0.64
Violations	0.70*	1.10	0.84	--
Status Offenses	1.03	--	6.41	--
Property Misdemeanors	1.35	1.08	0.26	5.82*
Property Felonies	1.83*	2.24*	0.15	--
Drug Felonies	3.08*	3.38*	0.34	--
Violent Misdemeanors	2.03*	2.13	--	--
Violent Felonies	2.17*	1.36	3.61*	--
Domestic Violence	1.12	0.95	1.96	--

Table A-30. Statewide RRI by Year, Select Decision Points³

	Referral				Detention			
	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
2002	1.1	1.9	0.8	--				
2004	1.1	1.8	0.9	--				
2006	1.1	1.9	0.9	--				
2008	1.1	1.8	0.9	--				
2010	0.95	1.78	1.0	0.30				
2011	0.91	1.75	1.07	0.28				
2012	0.88	1.77	1.1	0.25				
2013	0.95	1.98	1.19	0.25				
2014	0.90	2.16	1.13	0.19				
	Petition				Probation			
	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
2002	1.2	1.3	1.1	--	1.0	1.0	1.0	--
2004	1.2	1.2	1.1	--	1.0	1.0	1.0	--
2006	1.17	1.25	1.19	--	0.97	0.97	0.98	--
2008	1.15	1.27	1.27	--	0.96	0.97	1.00	--
2010	1.21	1.29	1.37	0.86	--	--	--	--
2011	1.25	1.22	1.37	0.75	--	--	--	--
2012	1.24	1.21	1.40	0.76	--	--	--	--
2013	1.19	1.22	1.33	0.89	0.97	0.99	0.99	0.92
2014	1.16	1.26	1.39	0.88	0.99	0.99	1.01	0.97
	Confinement (ADJC)				Direct Filed			
	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
2002	1.6	1.6	1.0	--	2.2	1.7	1.2	--
2004	1.31	1.49	0.9	--	1.9	3.3	0.68	--
2006	1.36	2.0	0.86	--	2.31	3.83	1.74	--
2008	1.41	1.54	0.73	--	3.29	4.58	1.56	--
2010	1.41	1.84	1.1	0.79	4.00	4.55	1.07	3.49
2011	1.33	1.77	0.76	0.35	3.62	4.07	2.21	--
2012	1.28	2.01	0.81	0.37	3.61	4.64	2.15	2.95
2013	1.35	1.52	0.88	**	3.55	3.88	1.00	**
2014	1.21	1.32	0.92	**	3.52	5.09	2.28	**

³ 2002 through 2012 RRI's were pulled from the DMC Report Cards, 2013 and 2014 are from this study

Table A-31. 2013 and 2014 Combined RRI, Comparing JDAI and Non-JDAI Counties

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
Referral				
JDAI	1.00	2.39*	1.75*	0.23*
Not JDAI	0.74*	1.43*	0.48*	***
Direct File				
JDAI	3.29*	3.74*	2.01*	**
Not JDAI	4.34*	**	**	***
Deferments				
JDAI	1.15*	0.85	0.94	1.86*
Not JDAI	0.72*	**	**	***
Diversion				
JDAI	0.90*	0.82*	0.85*	0.97
Not JDAI	0.82*	0.85*	0.80*	***
Detention				
JDAI	1.42*	2.04*	1.28*	0.85
Not JDAI	1.32*	1.48*	1.10*	***
Petition				
JDAI	1.20*	1.38*	1.32*	1.02
Not JDAI	1.22*	1.18*	1.22*	***
Adjudication				
JDAI	1.04*	0.95*	1.02	0.97
Not JDAI	1.03	1.02	0.98	***
Probation				
JDAI	0.99	1.01	0.99	1.00
Not JDAI	0.97	0.98	1.00	***
Confinement				
JDAI	1.51*	1.53*	0.94	**
Not JDAI	0.87	1.00	0.84	***

Table A-32. 2013 and 2014 Combined Logistic Regression Results, Comparing JDAI and Non-JDAI Counties (Control for age, sex, dependent status, number of priors, and most serious current offense)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian
Direct File				
JDAI	2.82*	2.72*	1.96*	0.73
Not JDAI	4.95*	6.15*	1.31	--
Deferments				
JDAI	1.38*	0.97	1.23	1.75
Not JDAI	0.80	0.97	1.48*	1.60
Diversion				
JDAI	0.85*	0.63*	0.63*	0.91
Not JDAI	0.71*	0.74*	0.69*	1.76
Detention				
JDAI	1.34*	2.10*	1.31*	0.84
Not JDAI	1.33*	1.69*	1.06	0.79
Petition				
JDAI	1.18*	1.59*	1.60*	1.10
Not JDAI	1.41*	1.35*	1.45*	0.57
Adjudication				
JDAI	1.13*	0.88*	1.15	0.90
Not JDAI	1.08	1.12	0.87	0.36*
Probation				
JDAI	1.00	0.99	0.83	0.95
Not JDAI	0.83*	0.82	0.99	0.11*
Confinement				
JDAI	1.42*	1.66*	1.19	0.77
Not JDAI	0.64*	0.94	0.76	--

Table A-33. Rate of Representation in Secure Detention, Comparing JDAI Counties and Non-JDAI Counties (number of placements per 100 referred youth)

	Latino	Black	Native American	Asian	White
JDAI	9.5	13.7	8.6	5.7	6.7
Non-JDAI	29.5	33.0	24.6	15.3	22.3

Table A-34. Results, OLS Regression on Time in Detention

	Model 1	Model 2
Latino	-0.40	-1.27*
Black	-2.93*	-3.34*
Native American	10.80*	10.52*
Asian	-8.68	-7.36
Age	-0.03	-0.60*
Sex	1.98*	1.26
MSO	--	0.24*
Dependent	--	4.10*
Priors	--	0.94*

Table A-35. Logistic Regression Results for Mandatory and Discretionary Direct Files

	Discretionary	Mandatory
Black	2.05*	3.71*
Latino	2.63*	3.41*
Asian	1.46	--
Native American	0.91	2.24*
Sex	10.36*	3.06*
Age	2.72*	2.03*
MSO	1.81*	4.57*
Dependent	0.76	1.18
Priors	0.99	1.09*

Appendix B. Dataset Creation

The data arrived from AOC in the form of 8 different spreadsheets, each with individual case-level information on a different aspect of the juvenile justice system in Arizona. The file names and the information they contained are as follows:

1. **Master File Referrals:** This file contained basic information on every referral to juvenile court in the state of Arizona for the 2-year period under investigation. This file contained information on the youth's date of birth, gender, race, the date of the complaint, the most severe offense tied to the complaint, the most severe offense level, the disposition date, and the ultimate complaint disposition.
2. **Complaint Counts:** This file contained the individual counts tied to each complaint (as opposed to only the most severe offense contained in the Master File Referrals file).
3. **Direct File:** This file contained information on every direct file for the 2-year period including the date the case was transferred to adult court and whether it was a mandatory or discretionary direct file.
4. **Detention Tied to Complaint:** This file contained information on detention stays tied to each complaint including the start and end date.
5. **Petitions:** This file contained information on every complaint that resulted in a petition. The information provided in this file included the offense, offense type, offense level, and the court result.
6. **Time on Probation:** This file contained youth-level information on time spent on probation. It included the type of probation the youth was placed on and the start and end date.

7. Dependency Involved: This file identified the date that the youth had a petition filed in dependency court.
8. AZYAS Risk Scores: This file contained information on the date the youth was given the Arizona Youth Assessment System risk assessment instrument and the resulting risk score.

Each file contained information about the referral that we needed to connect. Our analysis required us to join all of the files into a single dataset. With the exception of Time on Probation, Dependency Involved, and the AZYAS Risk Scores, each spreadsheet contained a number that uniquely identified the youth(FnBr), the complaint number(CnBr), and the county that the information was tied to(Countycode). Time on Probation, Dependency Involved, and AZYAS Risk Scores only uniquely identified the youth and the county. The information in these files only needed to be connected to the youth and not a particular complaint for that youth. We used these numbers to merge the files together and make sure that information from each file was connected to the correct youth and when necessary, the correct referral for that youth.

We started building the master analysis file with the Master File Referrals spreadsheet. It contained based information on every referral so it was the ideal starting point. We then merged that file with the Direct File, Detention Tied to Complain, and Petitions spreadsheets using FnBr, CnBr, and Countycode to uniquely identify each record and tie the records in those files to only the specific complaint in Master File Referrals that they pertained to. The information in the Dependency Involved, Time on Probation, and AZYAS Risk Scores spreadsheets could only be connected to the individual youth using FnBr and Countycode, but before we could do that we needed to decide what to do with duplicate records in those files. The youth could have had multiple dependency petitions files, multiple stays on probation, and multiple administrations of

the AZYAS risk assessment instrument which resulted in more than one record in each of those files with the same FnBr and Countycode. We were only interested in whether or not the youth had any dependency court involvement prior to the time period under examination so we deleted all but the earliest dependency petition when FnBr and Countycode were duplicated. This made it so that each record was uniquely identified by those two variables and we could now merge it with the master data file.

The duplicates in the AZYAS Risk Scores file were not as simple to address. We wanted to keep multiple records connected to the same youth because risk is a dynamic factor that changes over time. We first reduced the number of duplicates by electing to only use the instruments administered at disposition. We did this to establish uniformity in the risk scores. We didn't want to use risk scores that resulted from risk assessments that were not consistently the same instrument. The risk assessment instruments that are administered at different points in the process are not the same as those administered as disposition. We wanted to be able to connect the risk score to the complaint such that the administration date of the assessment and the complaint date were as close together as possible. We restructured the file so that all disposition instrument AZYAS scores that were tied to the same youth were contained within the file on the same record instead of in multiple records. We were then able to merge the file with the master data file using FnBr and Countycode.

We addressed the duplicates in the Time on Probation file in a similar fashion. We restructured the file so that each probation stay for the same youth was on a single record in the database instead of multiple records and were then able to merge it with the master database file using FnBr and Countycode.

Appendix C. Variables

In Table A-36 we present the variables used in the analysis. The variable name as it can be found in the final analysis dataset is in the first column on the left. The description of the variable is in the second column from the left. The process of creating the analysis variables, including descriptions of the variables from which the analysis variables were created is presented in the third column.

Table C-1. Variables Used in the Analysis

Variable Name	Variable Description	Variable Source
RACE_White	Dichotomous variable indicating that youth is White	All race/ethnicity variables were created from a single text variable in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet. The values “Hispanic,” “Black,” “Native American,” and “Anglo” were recoded into individual variables with 1 indicating that the youth was of that race and 0 indicating that they were not.
RACE_Asian	Dichotomous variable indicating that youth is Asian	
RACE_Black	Dichotomous variable indicating that youth is Black	
RACE_Hispanic	Dichotomous variable indicating that youth is Latino	
RACE_NativeAmerican	Dichotomous variable indicating that youth is Native American	
Sex	Dichotomous variable, male is the index and female is the reference category	This variable was a part of the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet and was recoded from “M” and “F” to 1 for male and 0 for female
AGE	Youth age in years at time of complaint	The date of birth was located in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet and was subtracted from the complaint date which was also in that file.
Dependency	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth had a petition filed in dependency court prior to the complaint date	After merging “Master File Referrals” with “Dependency Involved” this variable was created to indicate that the youth had a record in the “Dependency Involved” file.
ActiveDependency	Dichotomous variable indicating that the dependency case was still open at the time of the complaint	Converted from “Dependency” if the closing date for the dependency case was after the complaint date

Variable Name	Variable Description	Variable Source
InactiveDependency	Dichotomous variable indicating that the dependency case was closed at the time of the complaint	Converted from “Dependency” if the closing date for the dependency case was before the complaint date
Prior_Complaints	Continuous variable indicating the number of previous complaints the youth was referred to the court for at the time of the current complaint	Created by subtracting (1) from the number of the current complaint, which came in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet
MSO_code	Continuous variable indicating the severity of the most serious current offense	Converted from a text variable containing the specific name of the offense and another that indicated the class (felony/misdemeanor/status/other). Both variables were in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet. Numerical values were assigned as follows: -1: violation of conditions of supervision 0: status offense 1: Public Order Misdemeanor 2: Property Misdemeanor 3: Drug Misdemeanor 4: Person Misdemeanor 5: Weapon-related Misdemeanor 6: Public Order Felony 7: Property Felony 8: Drug Felony 9: Person Felony 10: Weapon-related Felony
Detention1Final	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth was placed in pre-adjudicatory secure detention	Created if the youth had a record in the “Detention Tied to Complaint” spreadsheet that matched to both the youth and the specific complaint in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet. The youth would often have multiple stays in detention connected to a single complaint. This variable only indicates if there was at least one.
DirectFile	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth’s current complaint was filed directly in adult court	Created if the youth had a record in the “Direct File” spreadsheet that matched to both the youth and the specific complaint in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet

Variable Name	Variable Description	Variable Source
Deferred	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth was transferred to adult court based on their age at the time of the complaint	Created if the variable “ComplaintDisposition” from the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet indicated that the youth was transferred to adult court but did not have a record in the “Direct File” spreadsheet and was not indicated as having been waived as a result of their petition in the variable “CourtResultName” from the “Petitions” spreadsheet
CD_Diversion	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth was diverted from formal involvement in juvenile court	Created if the variable “ComplaintDisposition” from the “Master File Referrals” indicated some alternative to formal involvement in juvenile court and the youth did not have a record in the “Petitions” spreadsheet
PetitionFiled	Dichotomous variable indicating that a formal petition was filed for the youth’s current complaint	Created if the youth had a record in the “Petitions” spreadsheet that matched to the youth and the specific complaint in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet
Waived	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth was transferred to adult court following a petition to the court	Created if the variable “CourtResultName” in the “Petitions” spreadsheet indicated that the youth was transferred to adult court for the specific complaint in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet
Adjudicated	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth was adjudicated of the current complaint	Created if the variable “CourtResultName” from the “Petitions” file indicated that the youth was adjudicated for the specific complaint in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet
CD_Probation	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth was placed on formal probation following adjudication	Created if the variable “ComplaintDisposition” in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet indicated that the youth was placed on probation
CD_confined	Dichotomous variable indicating that the youth was placed in a secure ADJC facility following adjudication	Created if the variable “ComplaintDisposition” in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet indicated that the youth was placed in secure confinement
CountyCode	Categorical numerical variable indicating which county the complaint was filed in	Came as a part of the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet
JDAI Status	Dichotomous variable indicating that the county was participating in JDAI as of the January 1, 2013	Converted from the variable “CountyCode” if county participation in JDAI was confirmed by the AOC
Total_TIDD2	The total amount of time that the youth spent in detention for all detention stays tied to the complaint	We calculated the time spent in detention by subtracting each detention start date from each detention end date. We then added all those values together if the detention stay was connected to the specific complaint in the “Master File Referrals” spreadsheet.

Appendix D. Decision Point Flow Logic Issues

In Table D-1 we present the various ways in which the decisions combined that at first inspection appeared to be problematic. We resolved these issues through a series of conversations with AOC that clarified our understanding of the juvenile justice system in Arizona and the variables from which the decision point variables were created.

Table D-1. Problematic or Contradictory Decision Combinations

Combination of Decisions Made	Cases
Confined	38
Probation	875
Waiver	1356
Petition-Confined	9
Petition-Probation	91
Petition-Adjudicated	925
Petition-Waiver-Probation	1
Petition-Waiver-Adjudicated	3
Diversion-Petition	1035
Diversion-Petition-Adjudicated	1502
Diversion-Petition-Waiver	2
DirectFile-Confined	3
DirectFile-Probation	27
DirectFile-Waiver	3
DirectFile-Petition	82
DirectFile-Petition-Adjudicated	3
DirectFile-Petition-Adjudicated-Confined	3
DirectFile-Petition-Adjudicated-Probation	3
DirectFile-Petition-Waiver	1
DirectFile-Diversion	6

Appendix E. Results by Decision Point

Referral

Referral is the point of entry into the juvenile justice system. It is the first step for each of the youth in the dataset. A referral is any written report or document received by the probation department or prosecuting attorney indicating that a child committed a delinquent act. For the purpose of the analysis, referrals also included status offenses and violations of court supervision.

Are Latino youth overrepresented in referrals to juvenile court? When we look at the two-year period for the entire state, we find that Latino youth are not overrepresented in referrals to juvenile court. In fact, White youth are actually slightly more likely to be referred to juvenile court than Latino youth. As shown in Table A-1, the RRI of 0.93 at referral for Latino youth means that White youth are referred 1.07 times more often. The relative rate of Latino representation at referral contrasts with that of Black and Native American youth. Black youth are referred more than twice as often as white youth. Native American youth are referred 1.16 times as often as White youth.

Though Latino youth are not overrepresented at referral, there are certain conditions under which we do find disparities at referral. For example, we do find for some types of offenses, that Latino youth are more likely to be referred to juvenile court, relative to their White peers. Specifically, Latino youth are overrepresented in referrals based on violations, status offenses, and violent felonies (see Table A-13). The largest degree to which they are overrepresented is in the case of violations, where Latino youth are referred 1.46 times more often than White youth. Black youth, on the other hand, are overrepresented for every type of offense.

We also find that Latino representation at referral relative to White youth varies depending on the referring county. While Latino youth are underrepresented at referral in most counties, Table A-4 shows that they are overrepresented in 2 counties. In County H they are referred 1.18

times more often than White youth and in County M they are referred 1.47 times more often. Not surprisingly, Black youth are overrepresented at referral in more counties than Latino youth. Black youth are referred as much as 4.34 times as often as White youth, in the case of violent felonies. Black youth are overrepresented in 7 of the 11 counties for which an RRI could be calculated, and are referred as high as 2.90 times more often. Native American youth are also overrepresented in 7 counties, and are referred as high as 2.56 times as often in one county.

Latino representation at referral also differs between counties that are participating in JDAI and those that are not. In non-JDAI counties Latino youth are underrepresented—White youth are referred 1.35 times more often, as shown in Table A-31. In JDAI counties, Latino youth and White youth are referred at exactly the same rate (RRI at referral is 1.00—see Table A-31).

Direct Files in Adult Court

In a relatively small number of cases the prosecutor is able to decide that they want to file the case directly in adult court. There are even some instances where it is mandatory based on the type of offense. These so-called direct files, are referrals filed directly in a court that would have jurisdiction of the case if the act had been committed by an adult.

Are Latino youth overrepresented in direct filings to adult court? When we look at the two-year period for the entire state, we observe that Latino youth are overrepresented in direct filings to adult court. Table A-1 shows that Latino youth are transferred to adult court via a direct filing 3.55 times more often than White youth. Unlike referral, the relative rate of representation for Latino youth in direct files is comparable to that of Black youth. Black youth are transferred to adult court via direct file 4.39 times more often than White youth. The RRI for Native American youth was not statistically significant.

Latino youth are still overrepresented in direct filings when we take into account dependent status, number of prior referrals, and most serious current offense. After taking these other factors into account, we find Latino youth are still 3.15 times more likely to be transferred to adult court via a direct filing than their White peers (see Table A-3). When legal factors are included in the model we find that Black youth are overrepresented in transfers to adult court via direct file at the exact same rate as Latino youth. Black youth are also 3.15 times more likely than White youth to be transferred via direct file.

We also find that disparity in direct filings varies depending on the type of offense. Direct filings appear to be most likely in the case of felony offenses. The results of our analyses point specifically to rates of direct filings for property felonies, violent felonies, and drug felonies. Latino youth were overrepresented in direct filings for all three types of felonies. As evident in Table A-14, Latino youth were transferred to adult court via a direct filing 3.61 times more often than White youth when the most serious offense was a property felony, and 2.5 times more often when it was a violent felony. In addition, as depicted in the results shown in Table A-22, Latino youth were 18.25 times more likely than White youth to have a direct filing if the most serious offense was a drug felony. There is no type of offense for which Black youth are as overrepresented in direct filings as Latino youth are for drug felonies.

RRIs could only be calculated for two counties where there were sufficient numbers of direct filings for our analyses. As shown in Table A-12, Latino youth were transferred to adult court via a direct filing 4.22 times more often than White youth in County B and 2.93 times more often in County C. In only one of those counties could we calculate RRIs for Black and Native American youth. Black youth are similar to Hispanic youth in that county; they are transferred to adult court

via direct file 4.06 times more often than White youth in County C. Native American youth in County C are transferred to adult court via direct file 2.26 times more often than White youth.

Latino youth were transferred to adult court via a direct filing at a somewhat greater rate relative to White youth in non-JDAI counties. In Table A-31 we observe that in non-JDAI counties, the rate of transfer for Latino youth was 4.34 times higher than the rate of transfer of White youth. In JDAI counties it was only 3.29 times higher. In Table AA-32 we observe the same pattern between non-JDAI and JDAI counties in disparity in direct files for Black youth. There is greater disparity in non-JDAI counties, where Black youth are 6.15 times more likely than white youth to be transferred to adult court than White youth, compared to 2.72 times more likely in JDAI counties. Native American youth however, experience greater disparity in JDAI counties, where they are 1.96 times more likely to be transferred than White youth.

Cases Deferred to Adult Court

In some instances the prosecutor has the option to file charges in adult court based on the child's age. These referrals that are processed, due to the child's age, in a court that would have jurisdiction of the case if the act had been committed by an adult will be referred to as deferments.

Are Latino youth overrepresented in deferments to adult court? Looking at the two-year period for the entire state, we see that Latino youth are not overrepresented among youth deferred to adult court. Table A-1 shows an RRI of 0.95, which indicates that Latino youth were deferred at almost the same rate as White youth. Black youth are also not overrepresented in deferments. In fact, White youth are deferred 1.43 times more often than Black youth. Native American youth on the other hand, are more likely than White youth to be deferred. They are deferred 1.24 times more often than White youth.

When we account for age and sex, we observe that Latino youth are more likely to be deferred than White youth. Table AA2 shows that Latino youth are 1.18 times more likely to be deferred. When dependent status, number of prior referrals, and most serious current offense are taken into account, however, that number is reduced to 1.09 and is no longer statistically significant. Black youth are less likely than White youth to be deferred regardless of what controls are added to the model. When we control for age and sex, White youth are 1.22 times more likely than Black youth to be deferred, but that figure is not statistically significant. When we then add most serious offense, number of priors, and dependency status, we find that White youth are 1.30 times more likely to be transferred than Black youth and that difference is statistically significant. Native American youth are more likely to be deferred than White youth regardless of what control variables we add to the model.

While overall Latino youth are not overrepresented in deferments, there was one offense for which they were. Latino youth were deferred 1.36 times more often than White youth when the offense was a violent misdemeanor (see Table A-15). There are no offense types for which Black youth are more likely to be deferred. We did not find any county-specific differences in deferments to adult court between Latino and White youth (see Table A-11).

While Latino representation in deferments does not vary from one county to another, when we group the counties based on whether or not they participate in JDAI we do see variations. In JDAI counties Latino youth are overrepresented in deferments—1.15 times more often than White youth (see Table A-31). In non-JDAI counties Latino youth were deferred less often than White youth. The RRI of 0.72 indicates that White youth were transferred 1.39 times more often than Latino youth. Black youth are no more likely to be deferred than White youth in

either JDAI or non-JDAI counties. Native American youth however, experience greater disparity in non-JDAI counties, where they are 1.48 times more likely to be deferred.

Secure Detention

Youth are sometimes placed in secure detention facilities for a variety of reasons after being referred to juvenile court. This decision can occur at any time following referral and prior to adjudication. Youth may be placed in secure detention following disposition, but such instances are not included in our definition of this decision point.

Are Latino youth overrepresented in placement in pre-adjudicatory secure detention? Looking again at the two-year period for the entire state, we see that Latino youth are overrepresented in placement in pre-adjudicatory secure detention. Latino youth are placed in detention 1.25 times more often than White youth (see Table A-1). Black and Native American youth are also overrepresented in secure detention, and to an even greater degree than Latino youth. Black youth are placed in detention 1.37 times as often as White youth. Native American youth are placed 1.45 times as often.

When we take into account factors other than race, Latino youth are still 1.17 times more likely to be placed in pre-adjudicatory secure detention. Black youth are still 1.37 times more likely to be detained. Native American youth are still 1.50 times more likely to be detained.

Statewide, Latino youth are overrepresented in secure detention placements, but this is not consistent across the different types of offenses. Latino youth are underrepresented in secure detention when the offense was a status offense, a violation, or a violent misdemeanor. For other types of offenses they are overrepresented. Latino youth experienced the greatest disparity when the offense was a drug felony, where they are placed in secure detention 1.56 times more often

than White youth (see Table A-17). Disparity in secure detention placement also varies for Black and Native American youth depending on the type of offense. Both of these groups experience the greatest disparity when referred for a property misdemeanor. Black youth are placed in secure detention 1.53 times as often when the most serious offense was a property misdemeanor. For Native American youth, that figure is 2.02.

At the county level there is variation in Latino representation in detention. Latino youth are underrepresented in County F, County O, and County M. In County J, County D, and County I there were not enough Latino cases to calculate RRI. In County L White youth and Latino youth are represented in secure detention at exactly the same rate. In County E and County K the RRI is greater than 1, but the difference between Latinos and Whites was not statistically significant. In the remaining counties, Latino youth are overrepresented. They are overrepresented to the greatest degree in County B, where they were placed in detention 1.78 times more often than White youth (see Table A-6). There was also variation in levels of disparity across the different counties for Black and Native American youth. The pattern of disparity for Native American youth is particularly interesting. Black youth are overrepresented in most counties, reflecting their statewide overrepresentation, but Native American youth, despite being the most overrepresented statewide, are only overrepresented in less than half of the counties.

As shown in Table A-33, all youth, including Latino youth, are placed in detention at lower rates in JDAI counties than non-JDAI counties. Yet, the relative rate of detention for Latino youth, relative to White youth, is somewhat higher in JDAI counties. From Table A-31, we note that in JDAI counties, Latino youth are held in secure detention 1.42 times more often than White youth. In non-JDAI counties, the Latino youth are securely detained 1.32 times more

often than their White peers. Black and Native American youth are also experience greater overrepresentation in detention in JDAI counties than in non-JDAI counties.

Diversion

For over half of the cases referred to juvenile court, juveniles are given the opportunity to avoid formal involvement in juvenile court. In some instances these juveniles participate in diversion programs. In others, formal charges are not filed without requiring participation in a diversion program. By our definition, both of these cases are considered diversions. Simply put, a diversion is the handling of a referral without the filing of a delinquency petition.

Are Latino youth underrepresented in diversion from juvenile court? Over the two-year period for the entire state, Latino youth were unrepresented in diversions from formal court processing. White youth were diverted 1.11 times more often (RRI = 0.90, See Table A-1). Black and Native American youth were underrepresented in diversions to a greater degree than Hispanic youth. White youth were diverted 1.16 times more often than Black youth and 1.25 times more often than Native American youth.

After taking into account additional factors like age, number of prior referrals, and the most serious current offense, Latino youth were still less likely to receive an opportunity to avoid formal court processing. White youth were 1.15 times more likely to be diverted (See Table A-3). After taking these factors into account, Black and Native American youth were still even less likely than Latino youth to be diverted. White youth were 1.35 times more likely to be diverted than Black youth and 1.69 times more likely to be diverted than Native American youth.

Latino youth were not underrepresented in diversions for every type of offense. They were diverted at approximately the same rate as White youth when the referral involved a status

offense, a violent misdemeanor, or domestic violence. For all other offense types White youth were diverted more often. See Table A-16. The pattern of underrepresentation for Black youth mirrored that of Latino youth, receiving diversions at approximately the same rate as white youth for status offenses, violent misdemeanors and domestic violence incidents. They were also similar in that Black and Latino youth were underrepresented to the greatest degree for violent felonies. The pattern for Native American youth did not reflect the patterns for Black and Latino youth. Native American youth were underrepresented to the greatest degree for property misdemeanors and drug felonies.

The relative rate at which Latino youth were given the opportunity to avoid formal court processing did vary by county. In County D, County I, and County M, Latino youth were given that opportunity more often than White youth. Latino representation at diversion was lowest in County B, where White youth were 1.22 times more likely than Latino youth to receive a diversion (See Table A-5). Disparity at diversion for Black youth did not vary as much by county as it did for Latino youth. Black youth were underrepresented at diversion in all but one county. Native American youth were more similar to Latino youth, in that there 3 counties where they were diverted at least as often as white youth, evening being diverted as high as 1.72 times more often than White youth in County N. The patterns for Latino and Native American youth were also similar in that in 11 of the 12 of the counties for which an RRI for Native American youth could be calculated, their representation went in the same direction as Latino youth (i.e. where Latino youth were underrepresented, Native American youth were also and vice versa).

Disparity at diversion was a little less pronounced in JDAI counties. In JDAI counties White youth received a diversion 1.11 times more often than Latino youth, but in non-JDAI counties White youth received a diversion 1.22 times more often than Latino youth (See Table

A-31). For Black youth, the pattern was reversed. Black youth were more likely to be diverted in non-JDAI counties. Disparity at diversion for Native American youth was more pronounced in non-JDAI counties, the same as Latino youth.

Petition Filed

About 40% of the cases in our dataset resulted in the filing of a written petition alleging that the child is delinquent by the prosecuting attorney. This occurs after it has been determined that the youth will not be transferred to adult court based on age or via a direct file and that the youth will not be allowed to participate in a diversion program.

Are Latino youth overrepresented in petitions filed for formal juvenile court processing? Latino youth are overrepresented in petitions filed for formal juvenile court processing. Looking at the two-year period for the entire state, referrals involving Latino youth became formal petitions 1.17 times more often than those involving White youth (See Table A-1). Black youth and Native American youth experience even greater disparity in formal petitions than Latino youth. Black youth had formal petitions filed 1.24 times more often than White youth. Native American youth had formal petitions filed 1.36 times more often than White youth.

When we take into account other factors like age, dependency status, number of prior referrals, and most serious current offense, Latino youth are still 1.15 times more likely than White youth to have a petition filed for their referral (See Table A-3). Also, Black youth and Native American youth are still overrepresented to a greater degree than Latino youth. Black youth were 1.34 times more likely than White youth to have petition filed. Native American youth were 1.70 times more likely than White youth to have a petition filed.

Disparity at petition for Latino youth varies for certain offenses, but it is mostly consistent. For most offense types, including violations, property felonies, violent misdemeanors, violent felonies, and domestic violence incidents, Latino youth have petitions filed about as often as White youth. Property misdemeanors and drug felonies are the only types of offenses for which petitions are filed more often for Latino youth than for White youth. Latino youth are 1.33 times more likely than White youth to have a petition filed when the offense is a property misdemeanor and 1.11 times more likely when it is a drug felony (See Table A-18). For status offenses, Latino youth are underrepresented at in petitions filed relative to White youth. Disparity for Black youth follows the same pattern as Latino youth, with overrepresentation, underrepresentation, and approximate equal representation occurring for all of the same offenses as Latino youth. The patterns are also similar in that the two groups experience the greatest degree of overrepresentation for property misdemeanors and the greatest degree of underrepresentation for status offenses. Native American youth also experience the greatest degree of over- and underrepresentation for these types of offenses.

Similar to previous decision points, disparity in petitions filed varies considerably depending on the county. At one end of the spectrum, in County I petitions are filed for White youth 1.72 times more often than Latino youth. At the other end, in County A, petitions are filed 1.46 times more often for Latino youth than for White youth. Similarly, in County B, petitions are filed 1.36 times more often for Latino youth than for White youth (see Table A-7). Disparity in petitions did not vary as much for Black youth, who were only underrepresented in 1 of the 9 counties for which an RRI could be calculated. Native American youth were also only underrepresented in petitions filed in one county, out of a possible 11 for which an RRI could be calculated.

Disparity in the filing of petitions for Latinos does not vary between JDAI and non-JDAI counties. In JDAI counties, petitions are filed 1.20 times more often for Latino youth than for

White youth and in non-JDAI counties, petitions are filed 1.22 times more often for Latino youth than for White youth (see Table A-31). Unlike Latino youth, Black youth were more likely to have a petition filed in JDAI counties than non-JDAI counties, with Black youth have petitions file 1.38 times more often in JDAI counties and 1.18 times more often in non-JDAI counties. Native American youth were also a little more likely to have a petition filed in JDAI counties, where they had petitions filed 1.32 times more often than White youth. In non-JDAI counties Native American youth had petitions filed 1.22 times more often than White youth.

Adjudication/Found Delinquent

After a petition has been filed it is possible that the court will issue an order finding the child is delinquent after an adjudicatory hearing. This means that the court has found the allegations laid out in the petition to be true. The youth would not be considered to have been found delinquent if the court finds that the allegations were not true or if the charges were dismissed by the prosecutor.

Are Latino youth overrepresented in true findings in juvenile court? Latino youth are not overrepresented in true findings in juvenile court. An RRI of 1.03 indicates that Latino youth are adjudicated delinquent approximately as often as White youth. Black youth are actually a little less likely to be adjudicated delinquent than White youth. Native American youth are similar to Latino youth in that they are adjudicated delinquent approximately as often as White youth.

When other factors are taken into account in the analysis, the likelihood that Latino youth will be adjudicated is only 1.07 times higher than White youth (see Table A-3). Latino representation in delinquent adjudications is consistently close to being equal with White youth. Compared to Black youth however, White youth are 1.30 times more likely to be adjudicated delinquent when we control for these factors. There is not a statistically significant difference in

the likelihood of being adjudicated delinquent for Native American youth when we control for these factors. When looking at RRIs, Latino representation at adjudication does not vary depending on the type of offense (see Table A-19). However, when number of priors and most serious offense are taken into account in the analysis, we observe that Latino youth are 1.35 times more likely than White youth to be adjudicated delinquent for violent felonies (see Table A-27). Again looking at RRIs, Black youth are adjudicated approximately as often as White youth for all offense types other than property misdemeanors, where White youth are adjudicated 1.27 times more often. Native American youth are adjudicated approximately as often as White youth for all offense types. When we look at the logistic regression results again (Table A-27) we see that Black youth are less likely to be adjudicated for violations, status offenses, and property misdemeanors when we account for other legal factors.

Latino representation in adjudications does not really vary by county either. RRIs for every county are close to 1, indicating that Latino youth and White youth are adjudicated at approximately the same rate relative to one another in every county across the state (see Table A-8). The same is true of Black youth and Native American youth. The rate at which Latino youth are adjudicated relative to White youth does not differ between JDAI counties and non-JDAI counties (see Table A-31), nor does it for Native American youth. Black youth, however, are a little less likely to be adjudicated than White youth in JDAI counties.

Formal Probation

Once a youth has been adjudicated the court decides on an appropriate disposition. Placement on formal probation is one option that the judge may choose. Are Latino youth underrepresented in placement on formal probation? For the two-year period across the entire state, Latino youth were not underrepresented in placement on formal probation. An RRI of 0.98

indicates that Latino youth were placed on probation at approximately the same rate as White youth (see Table A-1). The same is true of Black youth and Native American youth.

When we take into account other factors like age, dependency status, number of prior referrals, and most serious current offense, we do not observe that the likelihood that Latino youth will be placed on formal probation is statistically different from White youth (see Table A-3). Again, the same is true of Black youth and Native American youth.

For most offenses the rate at which Latino youth are placed on formal probation remains approximately equal to the rate at which White youth are placed on formal probation. The one exception to this is when the referral involves a status offense. For status offenses, Latino youth are about half as likely to be placed on formal probation—that means that White youth are about twice as likely to be placed on probation for status offenses as Latino youth (see Table A-20). Black youth and Native American youth are placed on formal probation at approximately the same rate as White youth regardless of the type of offense.

Disparity at probation placement for Latino youth does not vary by county. In every county, Latino youth are placed on formal probation at a rate that is approximately equal to the rate at which White youth are placed (see Table A-9). Yet again, the same is true of Black youth and Native American youth. Disparity also does not vary between JDAI and non-JDAI counties for any of the race groups (see Table A-31).

Secure Confinement in ADJC

Another dispositional outcome that the judge may choose following adjudication is to place the youth in secure confinement. This decision point includes youth who are placed or held in a secure facility operated by ADJC.

Are Latino youth overrepresented in commitments to secure correctional placements post-disposition? For the two-year period across the entire state, Latino youth are overrepresented in commitments to secure correctional placements post-disposition. They are committed to ADJC 1.28 times more often than White youth (see Table A-1). Black youth are also securely confined at disposition at a higher rate than White youth. As with most of the other decision points, disparity relative to White youth is greater at secure confinement for Black youth than it is for Latino youth. Black youth are securely confined 1.41 times as often as White youth. Native American youth are not placed in secure confinement more often than White youth.

When we take into account other factors like age, dependency status, number of prior referrals, and most serious current offense, we observe that the likelihood of commitment to ADJC for Latino youth is 1.12 times higher than White youth, but this result is not statistically significant (see Table A-3). This finding is important in that it reveals that the disparity observed in the RRI in Table A-1 is at least in part a function of legal factors like the number of prior referrals and most serious current offense. This contrasts with what we observe with Black youth, who are still 1.43 times more likely to be confined after controlling for those legal factors. Native American youth are still no more likely than White youth to be securely confined.

Disparity impacting Latino youth at secure confinement does vary depending on the type of offense. Latino youth are confined less often than White youth for violations and at approximately the same rate as White youth for property misdemeanors. Latino youth are confined more often than White youth for property felonies (1.40 times), drug felonies (2.59 times), violent misdemeanors (2.24 times), and violent felonies (2.06 times) (see Table A-21). The two offenses for which Latino youth are most overrepresented at secure confinement, drug felonies and violent misdemeanors are also the two for which Black youth are most

overrepresented. There were only enough violent felony and violation cases to calculate the RRI for Native American youth. There were not enough cases of the other types of offenses. Native American youth were confined for violations less often than White youth and for violent felonies more often than White youth.

Latino youth are not consistently more likely to be committed to ADJC than White youth in every county; disparity does vary. In County L, White youth are actually confined 1.7 times more often than Latino youth. At the other end of the spectrum, Latino youth are confined 2.48 times more often than White youth in County H. The rest of the counties fall somewhere between these two extremes (see Table A-10). There were only three counties with enough cases to calculate RRI for Black youth and they were more likely to be confined than White youth in all three, though the RRI for County C was not statistically significant. There were also only three counties with enough cases to calculate RRI for Native American youth, but none of the RRI were statistically significant.

Disparity varies considerably between JDAI and non-JDAI counties. In JDAI Counties, Latino youth are confined 1.51 times more often than White youth. In Non-JDAI counties the RRI is less than 1 (indicating that White youth are more likely to be committed to ADJC), but that difference is not statistically significant (see Table A-31). Black youth are follow the same pattern. In JDAI counties Black youth are confined 1.53 times more often than White youth, and they are confined at an equal rate with White youth in non-JDAI counties. Native American youth are less likely to be confined than White youth in both JDAI counties and non-JDAI counties.

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