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Overview of Juvenile Justice Issues in Dane County, Wisconsin

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This is the longer version of a talk I gave on September 19, 2000.

For the MUM dialogue series, I was asked to summarize information I could find on juvenile justice, both nationally and in Dane County. We begin with the big picture nationally: the size of the prison population is accelerating at the same time crime rates are declining. The rise in the prison population is due to more and more punitive approaches to crime, including longer sentences and lower parole and probation rates. Within this overall trend, there are huge racial disparities in arrests and imprisonment. African Americans are much more likely to be involved in the criminal justice system than European Americans, ranging from five times more likely to be convicted of a felony to nearly ten times more likely to be in state prison. Rates for American Indians and Hispanics are substantially higher than European Americans, but substantially lower than African Americans. American Indians are about 1.5 times as likely to be convicted of a felony as European Americans, and about 2.6 times as likely to be in state prison. Hispanics are about 3.6 times as likely as white Anglos to be in prison. By contrast, Asian Americans have substantially much lower rates of arrest, conviction, or imprisonment than whites. Lumping all "minorities" together and contrasting them with whites thus obscures some of the most glaring patterns of racial disparities.

The national trends in juvenile justice are in the same direction. Juvenile arrests for violent crimes nationally went up between 1988 and 1994, and then declined substantially 1994-1998, although the decline was smaller for girls than for boys. Boys' arrests for property crimes did not show the same late-1980s rise, and have been declining since 1990; girls' arrests for property crimes (which are substantially lower than boys') rose somewhat between 1989 and 1994, but then leveled off and started to decline. Nevertheless, the numbers of youths being processed in the juvenile justice system has been rising steadily throughout this period. The age for being waived into adult court has been lowered, and more youths are being placed in more restrictive settings. However, looking at overall trends across time, it appears that higher proportions of youth were being given more restrictive dispositions in the early 1990s, and the severity of restrictions backed off a bit as the 1990s progressed and the juvenile crime rate declined.

When we look at crime statistics by race, we see BOTH large differences in actual levels of crime by race, AND large differences by race in how people who have done the same thing are treated by the system. If we are going to deal with the realities of our justice and juvenile justice systems, we have to be willing to talk about both the social conditions that affect crime, and the political conditions that affect crime enforcement. We need to be able to talk about both personal responsibility and social responsibility. We must call on individuals to take responsibility for their actions. At the same time, we must call on the prosperous to take responsibility for their actions in ignoring the needs of the poor.

What are people arrested for? (See table 1 at the end) Not all people who have committed crimes have done horrible things. Serious crime is a very small proportion of total arrests. Murder is less than one tenth of one percent of all arrests, and less than two one hundredths of one percent in Madison. Using 1997 data, serious person (violent) crimes are only 5% of adult arrests nationally, 4% of juvenile arrests. In Madison, the percentage of all arrests which are for serious person or violent crimes (rape, aggravated assault, robbery) is even lower: 5% of adult arrests, 3% of juvenile arrests. The largest category of arrests is for “public order” offenses: disorderly conduct, liquor law violations, curfew & loitering violations, and the like, which nationally are 57% of adult arrests and 55% of juvenile arrests, and in Dane County account for 71% of adult arrests and 65% of juvenile arrests. The next largest category is property crimes: serious property crimes (including burglary, theft, and motor vehicle theft) were nationally 11% of adult and 13% of juvenile arrests, while in Dane County they were 7% of adult arrests and 20% of juvenile arrests. Drug offenses were nationally 11% of adult and 10% of juvenile arrests, while in Dane County they were 6% of adult and 4% of juvenile arrests.

It is also worth noting that in Dane County, as in the nation at large, the juvenile system mixes kids who are delinquent with kids in need of protection & services. Kids who are removed from their homes because of their parents' crimes or neglect are in the same facilities and receiving the same general treatment as kids who have committed crimes.

How does Dane County compare to national averages? We may assess this by comparing our per capita arrest rates to national averages. The last year for which these data from the Uniform Crime Reports are readily available to the general public is 1997. Per capita arrest rates divide arrests by population so you can compare areas of different population sizes. We can then compare these ratios to each other by dividing Dane County's rate by the national rate. If the ratio is 1.0, Dane County is the same as the national average; if the ratio is less than 1, Dane County arrests in that area are below average, and if it is greater than one, they are above average. (See table 2) Our overall adult arrest rate in 1997 was a bit above the national average, a ratio of 1.2. However, the adult arrest rate for most crimes was generally below, often way below national averages. The total arrest rate is being pulled up by very high arrest rates for liquor law violations (2.5), disorderly conduct (3.4), other offenses (1.5), and fraud (1.4).

However, our juvenile arrest rates in Dane County are substantially above national averages, about 2.7 times the national rate. Juvenile arrest rates for murder and rape are substantially below the national average, while local arrests for aggravated assault and simple assault are above national average (ratios of 1.5 and 1.3, respectively), as well as sex crimes other than forcible rape (generally sex with a child), for which the ratio is 3.3. Juvenile arrest rates for serious property crimes are over double (2.2) the national average, although the juvenile robbery rate is the same as the national average. There are also very high arrest rate ratios for liquor law violations (4.2), disorderly conduct (3.8), vagrancy (3.5), other offences (4.5), and “suspicion” (15). So it looks both like there is a serious juvenile crime problem in Madison that is especially evident in property crime and, to a lesser extent, assault, and that there is a very heavy level of public order policing, presumably in response to it.

Data from Dane County juvenile justice records shows roughly the same pattern. A small number of kids are being processed for very serious crimes, especially robbery and rape. A lot of kids are being processed for disorderly conduct, simple assault (getting into a fight), and theft, especially retail theft. Kids who are held for assessment in the Juvenile Reception Center are accused of more serious crimes, 8% involve weapons, 9% drug charges (only 21% of these intent to deliver, the rest simple possession), 3% sexual assault, 5% reckless endangerment. There were 12 cases, 1.6%, of burglary. Again, even among those being held, most are charged with assault, disorderly conduct, and theft.

Comparing official data to self-reports of criminal activities. In assessing these figures, it may be helpful to get some comparisons for self-reported delinquency. The Dane County Youth Assessment is a random survey of youths in middle and high school. (See table 4) Because Dane County is 85 white non-Hispanic, so is the Dane County Youth assessment. Of Dane County kids, 35% say they have shoplifted [theft], 27% have vandalized public property, 50% have drunk liquor and 25% have binged (had 5+ drinks of alcohol at one time), 24% have used marijuana, 2% cocaine, 9% other drugs; 3% say they have been in a serious fight (assault), 11% have been in a fight involving weapons (aggravated assault). The proportions who say they have committed such crimes is much smaller than the proportion arrested for these crimes or processed in the Dane County juvenile justice system. Using the 1997 juvenile arrest data, 4% of kids in Dane County were arrested for theft, 1.4% for assault, 2.2% for liquor law violations, just under 1% for drug law violations, under 1% for vandalism. So the probability of being arrested for these common juvenile crimes appears rather small. The kids actually in the juvenile justice system represent an even smaller percentage of those who have committed the crimes.

We do not want to minimize the extreme seriousness of the offenses of some young people, aggravated assault, sexual assault, robbery, burglary, persistent theft. But it is important to remember that most young people are not being arrested for these very serious offenses, but for less serious offenses that are similar to the kinds of things lots of young people do and are not arrested for, or are arrested but not prosecuted or sanctioned for. We need to find a balance, not look lightly on or tolerate wrongdoing, but neither demonize or overreact to juvenile crime, but instead look for ways to help children who are going wrong to get back on the right path.

Are there gender and racial disparities in Dane County juvenile justice? There are not a lot of data, but the answer appears to be yes. Using figures from the 1999 report on the juvenile justice system in Dane County, In the juvenile reception center, 70% of those held are male and 30% are female. Youths in the center are 42% African American, 49% white, 6% Hispanic, 2.5 % Asian, .6% American Indian (that is 6 tenths of a percent). These data imply estimated racial disparities compared to white: Asian 1.1, Hispanic 1.8, American Indian 2.1, African American 13.4. Among juveniles assessed, Whites are 64%, African Americans 32%, Asians 3%, Hispanics 1%, Native American none. Asian, Hispanic, Native American percentages assessed are below their proportions in the population. The Black/White estimated disparity among juveniles assessed is 7.6. The home detention program was 34% African American and 55% European American, while the Youth Restitution program was 63% white, 27% all minorities. The courts do not keep any records of cases petitioned or charged by race and offense, and arrest

statistics are not available at the county level for specific offense categories by race, so that it is impossible to determine whether there are disparities in charging net of arrest

We have been given some information on local ordinance arrests of juveniles in Dane County which we are still in the process of analyzing, but I can report that preliminary results indicate that there are very substantial racial disparities in Dane County in the extent to which youths are arrested for minor crimes such as curfew violations or disorderly conduct. A team of undergraduate research scholars is working on the data, and we hope to have a more complete report on this analysis available within a month or two.

What are the patterns of racial disparities in juvenile justice nationally?

There are large racial disparities in arrests by type of crime. (See table 5) Only for liquor law violations do whites get arrested more than blacks. Black/white arrest disparities are generally around 2 for more crimes, but are higher for the most serious crimes: 5.2 for murder, around 3 for assaults, around 3.6 for rape. For drug, person, and property crimes, most of the racial disparity occurs in the arrest process; once they have been arrested, black and white kids are about equally likely to be in the juvenile justice system rather than being handled outside of it. (See table 6a). However, for public order, disparities in being "in the system" are much greater than arrest disparities; that is, black kids arrested for public order offenses (such as disorderly conduct or vagrancy) are much more likely to be referred to the criminal justice system than handled informally. (See table 6b)

Looking only at those who were arrested, blacks are much more likely to be waived to adult court or put in residential placement than whites, rather than put on probation or released or serve alternate sanctions (e.g. community service). There is also a much higher rate of keeping black kids in custody during processing, and this difference is especially high for kids who are ultimately released. That is, while black kids who are ultimately placed in a detention facility are only a little more likely to be held during processing than white kids who are ultimately placed, for kids who are ultimately let go, either found innocent or released to probation, black kids are much more likely than white kids to have been held during processing.

We do not have any comparable data for Dane County. However, the numbers we do have would not be inconsistent with Dane County following the national patterns.

What are the underlying problems in Dane County? The short answer is that there appears to be a segment of the black population that is much worse off than most of the rest of the population. Some clues:

Child protective services. African Americans are 6% of the population ages 0-17, 28% of "initial assessment," 35% of "substantiated report," 37% of "DHS services," and 45% of foster care. There are increasing disparities of about 8 to 1 for substantiated reports to 14 to 1 for foster care. Of families receiving public assistance in 1996, 60% were black, 5% white, 23% Hispanic.

Teen (ages 15-19) birth rates, by race, 1990-1994, 1997. Black teen birth rates 1990-1997 are nearly 10 times those of whites, although both races have declined slightly over time; Hispanic teen birth rates were 4.8 times those of whites in 1997 and have been increasing.

The estimated MMSD high school graduation rates: 46% for black, 65% Hispanic, 79%

SE Asian, 87% white, 95% Asian (not SE). Dane County's figures are just about the same as national averages for whites and Hispanics; I don't have data for Asians, but I think Dane County may be a little high. Nationally, black high school graduation rates are now just about the same as white: 87%, so Madison is very different from national average for African Americans.

Some clues from the Dane County Youth Assessment. Because Dane County youth are 85% white non-Hispanic, the sample of all minority groups in the DCYA is too small for statistical stability, but there are some suggestive patterns worthy of further community investigation.

Education of parents. The national proportion of the white population over 25 who are college graduates is about 25%. Percent in the DCYA who say they have at least one parent who is a college graduate: Other Asian 83%, "other" 77%, Hmong 67%, white 66%, mixed 54%, black 49%, Hispanic 47%, American Indian 41%. Compared with national figures, the proportion of black, Hispanic, and American Indian youth with college educated parents is quite high in Madison, but is substantially lower than for other groups. Although many people without college degrees earn good incomes and have stable lives, we can get a handle on some of the race/class patterns in Madison by comparing people whose parents are and are not college graduates.

For most forms of delinquency (alcohol, drugs, theft, vandalism), there are relatively small effects of race or parents' education on the behavior. (See table 4). Shoplifting is quite similar across the groups, vandalism is more common among whites and among minorities with college educated parents. For those whose parents have college educations, liquor consumption and drug consumption is generally higher among whites. These patterns are similar to what are found nationally: self-reports of theft are roughly comparable across racial groups, whites consume more liquor and vandalize more than minorities, and total illegal drug use rates are roughly comparable between blacks and whites, with Hispanics having much lower drug use rates.

But in Madison, African American kids whose parents are not college graduates reported very high rates of binge drinking and marijuana and cocaine use compared to other kids. The alcohol pattern is especially surprising, as nationally African Americans drink alcohol at much lower rates than whites, and seems to point to special problems in Madison.

School suspension rates are also telling. Among blacks in grades 10-12 whose parents are not college grads, 56% said they had been suspended! Even for black kids whose parents are college graduates, the suspension rate was 18%, much lower but still above the 3-8% for other groups (where the rates are always lower among those whose parents are college graduates). The patterns are similar for skipping classes: whites & "others" averaged 24-31%, Asians 15-17%, but the Black percentage who said they skipped classes was 78% for those whose parents are not college graduates, and still 55% for those whose parents are college graduates. These are small samples which are not statistically stable, but these are huge differences which suggest systematic patterns of black kids' alienation from school which appears to affect the children from relatively privileged backgrounds as well as those from less privileged backgrounds.

Another factor the schools measure is "churning," changing schools three or more times

because they moved. Churning is associated with poor grades and disaffection from school. Among whites, the proportion who "churn" is 10-11%, with no big difference by whether parents are college graduates. But among Black kids whose parents are not college graduates 60% reported churning. Other minorities had "churned": "others" whose parents are college grads 15%, not college grads 34%; Asians & blacks whose parents are college grads about 33%, Asian whose parents did not graduate from college 43%.

Being in or feeling pressured to be in a gang is higher for kids whose parents are not college graduates and also shows a large race effect, with 44% of black and 23% of Asian kids whose parents are not college grads reporting gang pressure, while only 8% of white kids whose parents are not college grads felt this pressure. Other minorities reported intermediate levels of gang pressure. Self reports of fighting show similar patterns. They are pretty high for all groups, but generally lower for whites & Asians (20-30%). Fighting is highest for blacks, 50% for those whose parents are college grads, and 72% for blacks whose parents are not college grads. For fights with weapons, whites average 8-12% and blacks 27-50%, again with higher percentages for those whose parents are not college graduates. Reporting having been a crime victim is also fairly high for all groups and shows less patterning by whether the parents are college graduates, but shows blacks reporting more crime victimization than other groups.

Conclusions

This summary has mostly pointed to patterns that concerned people in the community have recognized for some time. Most youths arrested have committed relatively minor offenses, and relatively few youths are finding their way into placement or confinement within the juvenile justice system. A small number of youths are committing more serious offenses. Dane County has a higher juvenile arrest rate than nationally, but this disparity is accounted for by theft and public order offenses. There are substantial national racial disparities in adult and juvenile justice which appear to be manifested in Dane County as well. Youths in the juvenile justice system are disproportionately African American, and these disparities exceed national averages. Dane County has a relatively affluent and highly educated white population. The minority populations are also more highly educated than national averages, but especially among African Americans (and probably also among Hmong and Hispanics, although the numbers in the DCYA were too small to analyze), there is also evidence of a subgroup of especially poor families who have substantial needs and whose kids are struggling in the schools and getting into trouble with the police. Some youths are committing quite serious offenses. But there does appear to be focused policing on black youth in particular which is leading to very high rates of arrest and involvement with the justice system for relatively small and common offenses. Community members should continue to investigate both the social systems that make it very difficult to survive in this community on a low wage, and the evidence of differential treatment for similar behavior.

TABLES

1. What are people arrested for? 1997, National & Dane County, Adult & Juvenile. Percents of Arrests. Source: Uniform Crime Reports Easy Access files.

	Adult National 1997	Dane Co. adult 1997	Under 18, national 1997	Dane Co. persons 10-17 1997
Drug Offenses	11%	6%	10%	4%
Public Order	57%	71%	55%	65%
Property, non-index	6%	7%	7%	4%
Property, Index (Serious)	11%	7%	13%	20%
Person, simple assaults	9%	4%	9%	4%
Person, aggravated assault	4%	3%	4%	2%
Robbery	0.7%	0.4%	1%	0.5%
Forcible Rape	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.01%
Murder	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.02%
Other "person"				

2. How do Dane County Per Capita Arrest Rates Compare to National Arrest Rates? Figures in the table are the RATIO of Dane County arrests per 100,000 to national arrests per 100,000. Ratios are highlighted when Dane County's arrest rate is more than 50% greater or smaller than the national rate.

	Adults 18 and over		Ages 10-17
	1997		1997
Total	1.2		2.7
Crime Index Total	0.8		2.0
Violent crime	0.8		1.3
Murder/nonneg. manslaughter	0.6		0.6
Forcible rape	0.8		0.2
Robbery	0.7		1.0
Aggravated assault	0.8		1.5
Other assaults	0.7		1.3
Sex offenses	1.2		3.3
Property crime	0.8		2.2
Burglary	0.5		1.2
Larceny-theft	0.9		2.4
Motor vehicle theft	0.7		2.1
Arson	0.8		1.4
Forgery and counterfeiting	1.2		1.8
Fraud	1.4		2.0
Embezzlement	0.1		0.0
Stolen property	0.2		0.7
Vandalism	1.2		2.0
Weapons	0.6		2.1
Prostitution/comm vice	0.1		0.0
Drug abuse violations	0.6		1.3
Gambling	0.1		0.0
Offenses against family	0.9		0.2
Driving under the influence	1.1		1.3
Liquor laws	2.5		4.2
Drunkenness	0.0		0.0
Disorderly conduct	3.4		3.8
Vagrancy	0.0		3.5
All other offenses	1.5		4.5
Suspicion	0.0		15.0
Curfew and loitering			2.1
Runaways			4.4

3. What are kids in Dane County being processed for?

There are many kinds of processing. Total arrest rates (above) give you one picture.

A. Taken to Juvenile Reception Center rather than released to themselves or parents upon citation. 1) 80% alleged to have committed a crime, 25% need protection or services

2) Crime categories for criminal offenses:

Crime groups for criminal offenses:

Crime Type	male	female	Proportions	
			male	female
person (violent)	151	67	0.29	0.30
public order	157	87	0.31	0.39
property	99	44	0.19	0.20
Involved weapons	51	15	0.10	0.07
drug	56	12	0.11	0.05
Total	514	225		
		0.30		

Source: JRC report 1999 p. 5

Of the crimes in this table,

Person crimes: 60% are assault; reckless endangerment 18%, sexual assault 11%; 5 robbery cases and 4 false imprisonment; 12 intimidation, threats.

Public order offenses: 54% disorderly conduct; also obstructing officer, party to a crime, resisting arrest.

Property: operating vehicle without owner's consent, retail theft, theft, damage to property; 12 cases of burglary (all male)

Weapons: 12 cases of armed robbery (18%) the rest are possession of a weapon or disorderly conduct while armed)

Drug: only 21% intent to deliver, the rest are simple possession

B. Shelter home. 75% delinquent. 25% in need of services.

C. Youth Restitution Program. Youth who have been court-ordered or who enter into deferred prosecution agreements. They received 549 dispositions ordered by Dane County Juvenile Court. 68% male, 32% female. The report says they were 63% white, 27% minority; however these numbers don't add up so there must be a typographical error somewhere in the report or my interpretation of it. Offenses for referral: theft (21%), battery (16%), disorderly conduct (15%). City of Madison accounted for 57% of the referrals.

3. D. Offenses for which youths were referred to juvenile court or to the DA for prosecution.

Referrals to juvenile court:

2535 in 1999, up slightly, about 1%, less than population growth; net of population, referrals are down.

Common reason for referrals

disorderly conduct 499 23%
retail theft 18%

battery 16%
drugs 8%
damage property 7%
operating vehicle without consent 5%
burglary 4%
obstructing an officer 3%
sexual abuse of a child 2.5%
Armed robbery 1.5%
Sexual assault .7%

Referred to DA.

Total of 3829 referrals, 2259 prosecuted (59%), 1128 deferred to HSS 29%, 12% declined to prosecute.

Common Offenses

Disorderly conduct 906 24%
retail theft 458 12%
theft 310 8%
battery 318 8%

damage property 275 7%
op vehicle w/o consent 142 4%
burglary 131 3%
obstructing/resisting 196 5%

4. Proportions of respondents to the Dane County Youth Assessment 2000 in grades 10-12 who reported at least some involvement in various forms of delinquency or problems, by racial group and whether at least one parent is a college graduate. (See notes)

Racial Group	parent college grad	number	shoplift	liquor	binge	marijuana	cocaine	other drug
White	No	329	0.47	0.70	0.44	0.38	0.03	0.14
White	Yes	679	0.42	0.66	0.37	0.38	0.03	0.13
Black	No	18	0.44	0.56	0.50	0.72	0.06	0.06
Black	Yes	22	0.45	0.55	0.32	0.36	0.00	0.09
Asian	No	13	0.23	0.46	0.08	0.23	0.00	0.08
Asian	Yes	35	0.23	0.46	0.29	0.06	0.03	0.09
Other	No	30	0.40	0.53	0.33	0.33	0.10	0.20
Other	Yes	64	0.42	0.47	0.20	0.28	0.00	0.09

Racial Group	parent college grad	gang (member or pressured)	crime victim	vandalism	serious fight	weapon s fight	suspended	skipped classes
White	No	0.08	0.26	0.35	0.32	0.12	0.07	0.31
White	Yes	0.04	0.24	0.31	0.26	0.08	0.04	0.24
Black	No	0.44	0.44	0.17	0.72	0.50	0.56	0.78
Black	Yes	0.14	0.32	0.41	0.50	0.27	0.18	0.55
Asian	No	0.23	0.23	0.15	0.31	0.23	0.08	0.15
Asian	Yes	0.09	0.06	0.11	0.17	0.11	0.03	0.17
Other	No	0.13	0.23	0.27	0.27	0.17	0.07	0.27
Other	Yes	0.03	0.31	0.36	0.44	0.11	0.05	0.30

Racial groups: Whites are non-Hispanic whites. Asian includes both Hmong and "other Asian," and "other" includes Hispanics, "mixed," "Native American," and "other" because there were too few in any of these groups for meaningful percentages. Proportions for all groups other than whites are based on too few cases to be stable and should be considered suggestive only. Parent college grad is whether the child reported that at least one parent had graduated from college. For each "delinquency" item, the proportion is for those who say they have ever done it.

Table 5. Racial Disparities in Arrests of Persons Under 18 for 1997. (Estimated) US National. Calculated from national arrest statistics in the UCR's Easy Access system and racial percentages given in And Justice for Some? By Building Blocks for Youth.

Population 10 thru 17	Black/White Ratio	Offense Type
Drug abuse violations	2.6	drug
All other offenses	1.8	order
Suspicion	1.4	order
Curfew and loitering	2.0	order
Runaways	1.2	order
Vagrancy	2.0	order
Offenses against family	1.3	order
Prostitution/common vice	4.3	order
Weapons	2.6	order
Disorderly conduct	2.5	order
Gambling	24.0	order
Liquor laws	0.3	order
Drunkenness	0.4	order
Driving under the influence	0.4	order
Aggravated assault	3.2	person
Robbery	6.6	person
Murder & non-negligent manslaughter	5.2	person
Other assaults	2.7	person
Other Sex offenses	2.1	person
Forcible rape	3.6	person
total Violent crime	4.0	person2
Fraud	2.8	property
Forgery and counterfeiting	1.4	property
Arson	1.2	property
Motor vehicle theft	3.1	property
Larceny-theft	2.0	property
Burglary	1.7	property
Embezzlement	2.8	property
Stolen property	3.3	property
Vandalism	1.1	property
Serious Property crime	2.0	property2

Tables 6. National patterns of racial disparity in juvenile justice system, compiled from the report *And Justice for Some* published by Building Blocks for Youth, and my own analysis of statistics available from the US Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's Easy Access data packages.

A. Disparity Ratios Compared: Arrests, In the Juvenile Justice System. Ratio of per capita arrest rates for blacks to whites, and per capita rates of being referred into the juvenile justice system.

	arrests	in the system
drug	2.55	2.52
order	1.60	2.69
person	3.08	3.08
property	1.90	2.00

B. Of those arrested, black/white ratio of being waived into adult court or placed in a residential facility (i.e. in custody).

	adult court	placed
drug	3.33	2.61
order	4.38	1.84
person	2.00	1.31
property	1.45	1.31

C. Percentage of juveniles detained during processing (National Data).

Offense Category	white	black
All juveniles in the system		
person	18	28
property	12	23
drugs	19	38
order	15	29
Those ultimately not placed or waived into adult court	white	black
person	15	23
property	9	20
drugs	12	33
order	16	27
Those ultimately waived or placed (i.e. judged more serious)	white	black
person	54	59
property	41	47
drugs	48	59
order	42	38