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Article in *Justice Quarterly* · November 2015

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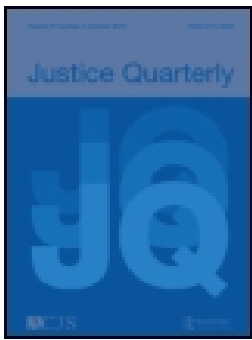


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To cite this article: Jennifer H. Peck, Michael J. Leiber, Maude Beaudry-Cyr & Elisa L. Toman (2015): The Conditioning Effects of Race and Gender on the Juvenile Court Outcomes of Delinquent and “Neglected” Types of Offenders, Justice Quarterly, DOI: [10.1080/07418825.2015.1080851](https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2015.1080851)


To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2015.1080851>

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The Conditioning Effects of Race and Gender on the Juvenile Court Outcomes of Delinquent and “Neglected” Types of Offenders

*Jennifer H. Peck, Michael J. Leiber,
Maude Beaudry-Cyr and Elisa L. Toman*

Drawing upon concepts from prior research that emphasize race and gender stereotyping, the present research compares how delinquent and “neglected” types of offenses (i.e. status offenses, probation violations, youth charged with contempt) are treated across three juvenile court outcomes. Beyond how offense type may directly impact case outcomes, we also investigated whether race and gender influenced juvenile justice processing within each offense type. Using data from two Mid-Atlantic States, results indicated that type of offense, race, and gender resulted in both severe and lenient case outcomes depending on the stage examined. By including different types of offenses that represent a significant percentage of youth that have been relatively neglected in prior research, the current study provides greater insight into the contexts of race and gender

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disparities in juvenile justice decision-making. The implications of the findings and directions for future research are also discussed.

Keywords: race; gender; status offending; probation violation; contempt

An abundance of research has examined the impact of race/ethnicity on juvenile court proceedings (e.g. Rodriguez, 2010). Reasons that attribute to the social control of minority youth have centered on differential involvement in offending and differential treatment.¹ Underlying the former position is the belief that minority youth are subject to greater social control because minorities commit more crime, more serious crimes, and/or come from more problematic environments compared to Whites (e.g. Tracy, 2005). The latter explanation, differential treatment, suggests that race differences in juvenile court processing are based on overt and/or subtle, unintentional negative stereotypes that decision-makers hold against minorities (Bridges & Steen, 1998). A number of comprehensive reviews of the existing literature show that legal (e.g. crime severity, prior record) and extra-legal factors (e.g. race, gender, age) alone are unable to account for minority overrepresentation in the juvenile justice system. This finding lends some credence to the claims of both the differential involvement and differential treatment explanations (e.g. Bishop & Leiber, 2012; Engen, Steen, & Bridges, 2002).

The relationship between gender and juvenile court outcomes has also been examined in prior research, although to a lesser extent than race (MacDonald & Chesney-Lind, 2001). More often than not, results have shown that gender stereotypes may also condition how court actors respond to youth net of legal and other extra-legal considerations. Such stereotypes may result in lenient and/or severe outcomes for a female relative to her male counterpart (Bishop & Frazier, 1992, 1996; Leiber, Brubaker, & Fox, 2009).

While these studies have been fruitful in improving our understanding of the contexts of juvenile justice decision-making and specifically the impact of offender race and gender, with the exception of some studies on status offending (see Chesney-Lind, 1977; Feld, 2009), scholarship has largely focused on the treatment of juvenile delinquents (Engen et al., 2002; Kempf-Leonard & Sontheimer, 1995). Missing is the examination of how various youth who enter the juvenile justice system as status offenders or re-enter the system as probation violators or those found in contempt of court impact case outcomes

1. A third explanation that is not necessarily in competition with the differential offending and differential treatment perspectives is a contextual approach argued by Feld (1991). According to Feld (1991), youth in urban settings are likely to receive greater social control because such areas have high rates of poverty and inequality. Since Blacks are likely to reside in urban areas, they have an increased likelihood of having contact with the juvenile court.

relative to juvenile delinquents.² There is also the potential to investigate how race or gender influences this process.

The omission of these types of offenders when examining disparities in juvenile court outcomes is surprising for several reasons. First, these offense types comprise a substantial percentage of youth handled by the juvenile court. Puzzanchera and Hockenberry (2013), for example, used nationwide intake data to find that public order offenses (i.e. probation violations and contempt cases) account for 24–27% of youth charges. Additional nationwide data showed that curfew violations, loitering violations, and runaways represent approximately 25% of youth in the juvenile justice system (Tracy, Kempf-Leonard, & Abramoske-James, 2009).³ Comparatively, data show that delinquent cases comprise 30% of youth who are property offenders; over 20% are person offenders; and 11–13% are drug offenders (Puzzanchera & Hockenberry, 2013). Thus, a substantial portion of juvenile offenders has remained understudied.

Second, the failure to assess how status offenders, probation violators, and contempt cases are treated throughout juvenile court proceedings in conjunction with delinquent offenders suggests that past research may be either arriving at erroneous conclusions or underestimating the extent of race and/or gender bias in juvenile court decision-making. These offender types have historically occupied a unique place in the juvenile justice system and when examined individually have been the subject of questions concerning the social control of females and minorities (Bishop & Frazier, 1992; Tanenhaus, 2004; Leiber, 2013). Third, and not least, the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as well as its 1992 and 2002 reauthorizations, emphasized the involvement and service needs for both minorities and females in the juvenile justice system (e.g. Leiber & Rodriguez, 2011).⁴

2. Status offenses are noncriminal misbehaviors, such as “incorrigibility”, “immorality”, truancy, running away, and “indecent and lascivious conduct” that would not be crimes if committed by an adult (Feld, 2009). A probation violation is a commitment of a new crime or a technical violation (e.g. failure to attend a probation meeting, failure to pass an urinalysis test, failure to abide curfew conditions) while under probation (Leiber, 2013). Contempt of court within the juvenile justice system is typically defined by rude and disrespectful behavior on the part of the youth (as determined by a judge), and/or the failure to abide by an order of the court (Bishop & Frazier, 1992).

3. Some prior research finds that female status offenders may be “relabelled” or “bootstrapped” as person offenders (i.e. simple assault) (Feld, 2009). The increase in young females’ arrests for simple assault may be a product of relabeling “incorrigibility” as assault or other delinquent behaviors (Bishop & Frazier, 1992). This finding may particularly impact the presence of minority girls in the juvenile justice system (Chesney-Lind, 1997). A similar process of bootstrapping has been cited involving youth charged with a probation violation or contempt of court (Logan & Rausch, 1985). Since the current results revealed that status offense, probation violation, and contempt are significant predictors of court outcomes, the concern of “bootstrapping” obscuring effects is lessened.

4. Minority youth (e.g. Blacks) have been and continue to be overrepresented in the juvenile justice system relative to their representation in society (Kempf-Leonard, 2007). Before the passage of the JJDP Act, females charged and placed in training schools for status offenses significantly outnumbered their male counterparts (Chesney-Lind, 1977; Schwartz, Steketee, & Schneider, 1990). For a detailed historical account of the treatment of girls and minorities within the juvenile court see Schwartz et al. (1990) and Ward (2012).

Against this backdrop, this study aims to fulfill two research objectives. First, this study will compare and contrast court outcomes for neglected offenses (i.e. status offenses, probation violations, contempt cases) with various types of delinquent offenses. The second objective is to examine the extent to which race and gender similarities and differences exist within offense types when predicting harsher outcomes. Thus, the present research represents a more comprehensive study than past inquiries by simultaneously considering both delinquent and other types of offenses handled by the juvenile court. The results may lead to better informed strategies and policy initiatives to reduce potential race and/or gender bias and increase equality in the treatment of youth in the juvenile court.

Theoretical Background

Several theoretical frameworks have emerged in the literature aimed at explaining race and/or gender bias in the juvenile justice system. Based on a consensus view and the differential involvement explanation of justice decision-making, legal factors, especially offense severity, should best predict case outcomes. Race or gender bias is viewed as a random and isolated occurrence (Tracy, 2005), and existing disparities are explained through differences in offending characteristics and to some extent additional extra-legal factors beyond race or gender (e.g. family dysfunction, school problems) stemming from the *parens patriae* foundation of the juvenile court system. Thus, intervention on the part of the court is justified on the basis of the need for retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation and the best interests of the youth (Feld, 1999).

On the contrast, a number of theoretical perspectives (e.g. the symbolic threat thesis, the focal concerns perspective, attribution theory, the intersectionality perspective) have been used to interpret the presence of race and gender bias in juvenile justice proceedings. The tie between each perspective is often the racial and/or gender stereotyping of minority youth and girls by juvenile court actors. For example, the underlying premise of the focal concerns model is that decision-makers have a limited amount of time and information about defendants, and may rely on three focal concerns or attributions (e.g. blameworthiness, societal protection, and concerns involving organizational resources) involving race, gender, and class stereotypes (Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998). The chivalry hypothesis and the traditional sex-role perspective have often been used to explain the effects of gender on decision-makers' perceptions, bias, and stereotypes of female offenders and treatment of leniency or harshness (Kempf-Leonard & Johansson, 2007). For example, females may be treated leniently because court actors have been socialized to protect females, or have perceptions that females do not engage in deviant or delinquent behaviors (e.g. Bishop & Frazier, 1996). Females may be treated harshly when court actors try to protect female sexuality (see MacDonald &

Chesney-Lind, 2001) or enforce stereotypical beliefs of how females should “properly behave.” A common thread of both race and gender perspectives is that Blacks and females are often perceived as aggressive, undisciplined, sexually promiscuous, helpless, and unwilling to take responsibility for their behavior (Chesney-Lind, 1977; Feld, 1999; Leiber et al., 2009). Thus, Blacks and females are perceived by decision-makers as needing different kinds of treatment compared to their White and male counterparts.

The sections to follow present a review of the literature differentiated by race and gender across offense type. The review is meant to illustrate how offender race and gender may attribute to juvenile justice decision-making surrounding the handling of delinquents, status offenders, probation violators, and youth found in contempt.

Race and Gender Disparities in Court Outcomes for Delinquent Offenders

Race

Numerous studies have been conducted involving race and the treatment of delinquents in juvenile court. Overall, this body of research has reported that legal factors and extra-legal considerations are often determinants of juvenile court outcomes. More often than not, race is an extra-legal factor that influences juvenile justice processing (e.g. Bishop & Leiber, 2012; Engen et al., 2002; Tracy, 2005). For instance, Bridges and Steen (1998) examined how racial stereotypes held by decision-makers shaped assessments of youth subsequently impacted juvenile court outcomes. Probation officers were found to use different attributions to assess the delinquent behavior of Blacks and Whites. Black youth involvement in delinquency was related to internal or dispositional attributions (i.e. lack of responsibility), whereas delinquency among White youth was attributed to external causes (i.e. impoverished conditions). Since internal attributions resulted in perceptions that youth were at a higher risk to reoffend, decision-makers recommended longer sentences for Blacks.

Gender

Some studies have reported no gender effects (e.g. Kempf-Leonard & Sontheimer, 1995) while other research has discovered the presence of both severe and lenient outcomes for female youth (e.g. MacDonald & Chesney-Lind, 2001). For example, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative strategies, Leiber and Mack (2003) reported that female delinquents received both preferential and harsher treatment as a result of decision-makers adhering to gender stereotypes. A study by Gaarder and colleagues (2004) examined the perceptions of females through qualitative analysis and also discovered that

attributes of delinquency and victimization assigned to females by court officials often were linked to racialized and gendered social constructions. Prior histories of victimization and delinquency by the youth were overlooked because court actors perceived that these females failed to adhere to proper sexual standards.

Race and Gender Disparities in Court Outcomes for Status Offenders

Race

Only a few studies have placed a specific focus on the individual effects of offender race and the treatment of status offenders across juvenile court processing. Of this research, results have been mixed concerning the lenient or harsh treatment of youth based on race and the decision-making stage. For example, Bishop and Frazier (1996) reported that non-White status offenders were less likely to receive an intake referral compared to their similarly situated White status offenders, yet no race differences in outcomes appeared at judicial disposition. While racial disparities were found at the intake stage, the presence of race differences was less evident at later stages of proceedings (Bishop & Frazier, 1996).

More recent research by Freiburger and Burke (2011) and Peck and colleagues (2014) also examined the relationship between race, status offending, and court outcomes. Peck, Leiber, and Brubaker (2014) reported that race did not predict intake outcomes across all youth charged with a status offense. Furthermore, while being Black was not predictive of adjudication outcomes for status offenders in the study by Freiburger and Burke (2011), Black status offenders were more likely to be adjudicated delinquent compared to Whites in the research by Peck and colleagues (2014).

Gender

A review of the literature on juvenile status offenders offers evidence of both consistent overrepresentation of girls as status offenders (e.g. Feld, 2009) and differential treatment of female status offenders compared to their male counterparts (e.g. Tracy et al., 2009). Such gender discrepancies are consistent with the tenets of the "evil woman" hypothesis, or in particular status offenses, the dichotomy between a "good" girl and a "bad/sexual" girl (Chesney-Lind, 1977). Early status offenses were categorized as sexual in nature (i.e. "sexual immorality", waywardness) (Kempf-Leonard & Johansson, 2007) then later masked by vague classifications such as "incurability" or "runaway". The offense categories were focused more on wanting girls to obey their parents and avoid sexual experimentation (Tanenhaus, 2004).

Therefore, in regards to the relationship between gender and status offending, young females were more “sexually policed” than necessarily “evil”. As introduced earlier, harsher treatment is imposed on females who court actors believe have violated gender roles. This perception ultimately results in large numbers of young females being referred to court for moral violations rather than delinquent acts (e.g. Odem & Schlossman, 1991). Yet, the overall findings with regards to gender and disparate outcomes for status offenders have been mixed. At times research reports similar treatment for male and female status offenders, or lenient rather than harsh outcomes (see Peck et al., 2014).

Race and Gender Disparities in Court Outcomes for Probation Violators

Race

Currently, only three studies have explored the relationship between race, probation violations, and juvenile case outcomes (Leiber, 2013; Leiber & Boggess, 2012; Leiber & Peck, 2013). Findings from these studies have been mixed, and Black youth and probation violators experienced both lenient as well as more severe outcomes depending on the stage examined. For example, Leiber and Boggess (2012) found that youth charged with a probation violation were more likely to be detained pre-adjudication. Race, however, was not a predictor of initial detention and did not relate to probation violations (Leiber & Boggess, 2012).

Conversely, Leiber (2013) and Leiber and Peck (2013) identified Black youth as more likely to be detained pre-adjudication and subjected to harsher outcomes at intake. Probation violations, although not predictive during the early stages of court proceedings, were related to post-adjudication detention (Leiber, 2013). Consistent with the findings by Leiber and Boggess (2012) and Leiber and Peck (2013), race was not associated with probation violations (Leiber, 2013).

Gender

Similar to race, the relationship between gender and probation violations with juvenile court outcomes has been neglected. The few studies reviewed above that involve race and probation violations with juvenile justice proceedings treated gender as a control variable. This void has limited the investigation of possible gender disparities among this group of offenders. Only one study could be found focused on offender gender and probation violations. Beger and Hoffman (1998) discovered that probation violators comprised 13% of detention admissions and female probation violators were more likely to have lengthier detention stays compared to their male counterpart. Based on interview data, Beger and Hoffman (1998) reported that probation officers perceived females as “rude and manipulative” and difficult to work with (1998, p. 183).

Race and Gender Disparities in Court Outcomes for Contempt Offenders

Race

The extent to which race influences the court decision-making process in cases involving youth charged with contempt of court remains unexplored. While research on the effects of race on the legal outcomes of contempt cases remains scarce, a technical report for the Pinellas County Florida Department of Juvenile Justice System offers one of the only sources to report on race and contempt cases (Haynes & Dion, 2011). Between 2005 and 2009, less than 3% of all youth who came into contact with the juvenile justice system had been charged with contempt, though Blacks were reported as the likely recipient of this charge (Haynes & Dion, 2011).

Gender

There is also a lack of inquiry into cases involving gender, contempt and court outcomes. Only one study to the authors' knowledge has examined the relationships among these variables and juvenile justice decision-making. Using data from Florida from the mid-1980s, Bishop and Frazier (1992) showed females as having an increased likelihood of being charged with contempt compared to their male counterparts. Further, girls referred for contempt were reported to be greatly disadvantaged at various decision-making stages, particularly at referral and judicial disposition (Bishop & Frazier, 1992). The authors conclude that these findings are consistent with the "evil woman" hypothesis applied to female status offenders who as a whole may be seen as needing harsher punishment to reinforce proper morals and femininity among girls. Bishop and Frazier (1992) also argued that failure to differentiate between contempt and other delinquency cases could potentially obscure possible gender differences in processing.

Research Questions

A review of the existing literature on juvenile court proceedings reveals that not one study has examined the court outcomes of various delinquent offenses and what could be considered neglected types of offenses (i.e. status offense, probation violation, contempt) and assessed to what extent race or gender impact these relationships. Thus, a comprehensive investigation of how decision-makers respond to several types of juvenile offenders and what role(s) race and gender play in this process is warranted.

Drawing upon concepts from theory and prior research that emphasize race and gender stereotyping, two general research questions are examined. First, does the severity of juvenile court outcomes differ depending on the type of

referral offense? In other words, are the juvenile court outcomes for status offenses, probation violations, those charged with contempt, and various types of delinquent offenses different? As interpreted from the consensus viewpoint of law and differential involvement argument, it is expected that delinquent charges, especially youth charged with a person offense, should be the recipients of greater social control relative to all other types of charges (e.g. Tracy, 2005). Yet of the limited studies that have been conducted, some research has shown this to not necessarily be true (e.g. Bishop & Frazier, 1992). Due to the *parens patriae* foundation of the juvenile court where decision-makers also take into consideration aspects of retribution, deterrence, and rehabilitation (Feld, 1999), other offense types may have equal or even more weight than personal crimes in impacting outcomes.

The second research question asks: When relationships between offense type and juvenile court outcomes are examined, do race or gender influence these associations within each type of offense? One expectation would be that race and gender should play little to no role in the court outcomes of offense types once the severity of the referral (e.g. person offense vs. probation violation; person offense vs. drug offense, etc.) is taken into account (Tracy, 2005). An alternative expectation is that race and gender will impact how delinquent and "less serious" offenses are treated throughout juvenile justice proceedings (Peck et al., 2014). Underlying the anticipation of race and gender effects in case outcomes is the belief that certain race and gender groups are stereotyped as more "problematic", more "dangerous", and in need of social control even after offender type is taken into consideration (e.g. Bishop & Frazier, 1992, 1996; Freiburger & Burke, 2011; Gaarder, Rodriguez, & Zatz, 2004).

The Present Study

Sample and Data

Data for the current study were derived from all referrals in two Mid-Atlantic states (State A and State B). The sample for State A was comprised of all referrals in the six largest jurisdictions from 2003 through 2008 ($N = 31,002$).⁵ All referrals in seven counties with the largest Black population in 2009 comprise the sample for State B ($N = 5,376$), for a total sample size of 36,378

5. The counties included in State A are also the six counties with the largest Black population. The jurisdictions included in both State A and State B was determined by county-level racial composition data that was provided from the 2000 US census. Since the primary focus of the research is to examine the effects of race, gender and type of behavior for involvement with the juvenile court, it is not advantageous to separate the analyses to test for year and/or jurisdictional effects. Preliminary tests for year differences indicated no significant differences across time.

referrals. It should be noted that while it is possible that the same youth was referred to juvenile court numerous times during the data collection period, this specific unit of analysis (i.e. referrals) is common in studies of juvenile court outcomes (Armstrong & Rodriguez, 2005; Bishop, Leiber, & Johnson, 2010).⁶ Case-level data were provided from both states' central repository of juvenile court information.

Variables

The coding schemes and distribution of the independent and dependent variables are presented in Table 1. The measures are based on prior research surrounding the relationship between race, gender, and juvenile court outcomes (Freiburger & Burke, 2011; Leiber et al., 2009).

To examine the outcomes of charges that were status offenses, probation violations, and contempt cases along with all other types of referrals, dummy variables were constructed to capture each form of offense (0 = no, 1 = yes). Nineteen percent of all referrals were status offenses.⁷ Probation violations comprised 10% of the sample, while approximately 5% of the offenses were contempt referrals. The remainder of the sample included misdemeanor property referrals (15%), misdemeanor person referrals (15%), felony property referrals (10%), felony person referrals (5%), drug referrals (9%), and other (e.g. disorderly conduct, trespassing) referrals (12%). Overall, the cases within the sample reflected national aggregate court statistics yet were somewhat limited in the extent of their severity (Puzzanchera & Hockenberry, 2013). As can be seen, the "neglected" category of status offenses, probation violation, and contempt cases comprised 34% of the total sample. Since this category contained over one-third of the entire sample, it supports our contention that the omission of these neglected groups of charges may result in an incomplete picture of the predictors of juvenile court outcomes.

Race was coded to differentiate among White and Black cases. Whites represented 44% of all referrals, while Blacks represented 56%. There were not enough cases to warrant sufficient statistical power to include other racial/ethnic categories in the analyses.⁸ The gender distribution of the

6. Supplemental analyses were conducted that disaggregated the sample between cases with no prior referrals and those with one prior referral. The results remained substantively similar to those reported in Table 3 and in the text. These findings (and that we controlled for prior referrals in each regression equation) lessens our concerns that a small group of repeat offenders impacted the overall findings.

7. We were unable to differentiate across different types of status offenses (e.g. runaway, truancy, breaking curfew) and type of probation violation (new crime vs. technical violation).

8. Hispanic youth were not included in the White category. The original sample included various racial/ethnic groups: Hispanic (6.8%); Native American/American Indian (.1%); Asian (1.5%); Pacific Islander (.4%); and "Other" youth (2.5%).

Table 1 Description of variables (*N* = 36,378)

Variable	Value	<i>N</i>	(%)
<i>Independent</i>			
Offense type ^a	0—Status	6,979	19
	1—Probation violation	3,569	10
	2—Contempt	1,637	5
	3—Misdemeanor property	5,515	15
	4—Misdemeanor person	5,596	15
	5—Felony property	3,576	10
	6—Felony person	1,771	5
	7—Drugs	3,355	9
	8—Other	4,380	12
Race	0—White	15,898	44
	1—Black	20,480	56
Gender	0—Male	25,080	69
	1—Female	11,298	31
<i>Controls</i>			
Prior referrals	0—No	16,915	46
	1—Yes	19,463	54
Number charges	(Low to high)	<i>M</i> = 1.46 <i>SD</i> = 1.18 Range = 1–10	
Under court authority	0—No	29,500	81
	1—Yes	6878	19
Age (low–high)	Years	<i>M</i> = 15.42 <i>SD</i> = 1.62 Range = 10–18	
Mid-Atlantic	0—State A	31,002	85
	1—State B	5,376	15
<i>Dependent</i>			
Detention ^b	0—No	28,606	79
	1—Yes	7,772	21
Intake	0—Release/diversion	12,405	34
	1—Referral	23,973	66
Adjudication	0—No	9,026	38
	1—Yes	14,947	62

^aTreated as dummy variables; reference category is Felony Person offense.; ^bTreated as a dependent variable; treated as an independent variable at intake and adjudication.

sample was 69% male and 31% female. The remaining independent variables were treated as controls. Prior referrals were differentiated between not having (coded as 0) and having at least one (coded as 1) prior referral. Fifty-four percent of the sample of cases had at least one prior referral. Number of charges was coded as a continuous measure ranging from 0–10 current charges. The sample on average had 1.46 current charges. Referrals

were also controlled for cases that were currently under court authority or had a history of probation (coded as 1) vs. cases that were not under court authority and had no prior history of probation (coded as 0). Nineteen percent of the charges in the data were under court authority or had a history of probation at the time of the current referral. Age was coded as a continuous measure and ranged from 10–18 years old. On average, the sample was 15.42 years old. To control for any potential state differences, a control variable representing state was also included. Eighty-five percent of the sample was from State A.

Decision-making was measured at three processing junctures. The outcomes at all three stages constituted a separate dependent variable. In both State A and State B, youth can be held in secure detention prior to an intake hearing. Therefore, detention was coded to distinguish between cases that were not detained throughout any court proceedings (coded as 0), compared to referrals that were held in secure detention at some point after arriving at juvenile court (coded as 1). Twenty-one percent of the sample was securely detained. Detention was then treated as an independent variable when predicting the stages of intake and adjudication. Prior research has consistently found an indirect relationship between race and court outcomes through secure detention. Stated differently, Black youth are often held in secure detention and in turn, detention status has been found to impact subsequent outcomes (Leiber & Fox, 2005). Initial processing decisions at intake were coded to differentiate between cases that were dismissed or diverted from the juvenile justice system (coded as 0) vs. cases that received an intake referral (coded as 1). Sixty-six percent of cases were referred on for further court proceedings at intake. At adjudication, outcomes were distinguished by cases that were not adjudicated delinquent (coded as 0) vs. cases that were adjudicated delinquent (coded as 1). Sixty-two percent of referrals that advanced to the adjudication stage were subsequently adjudicated delinquent.

Analytic Strategy

The analysis procedure for the current study involved several steps. First, bivariate comparisons in the form of cross-tabulations were performed to examine associations between the nine offense types with race and gender (Table 2). Second, logistic regression analyses were conducted to estimate the additive/main effects of each offense type, race, gender, all control variables, and decision-making at detention, intake, and adjudication (Table 3). Each offense type was first compared to person felony offense (reference category). Next, additional analyses were conducted that involved comparisons of all offense types (each offense type was rotated as the reference category) with the three dependent variables (see supplementary online material). The final

step in the analyses involved estimating regression equations of the individual effects of race and gender within each offense type to predict case outcomes (Table 4). In other words, offense type-specific equations were estimated with each independent variable and with the three stages.

It is important to note that some prior research of juvenile justice processing has utilized Heckman's (1976) two-stage estimator to adjust for potential selection bias at multiple decision-making stages. We side with Bushway and colleagues (2007) and Baumer (2013) and do not employ the hazard rate as an additional predictor variable. First, exclusion restrictions are absent from each model (which is common in studies of juvenile court outcomes, not in criminal justice outcomes.) Second, each dependent variable has a binary outcome. It has been argued that the hazard rate should not be used when predicting any model other than ordinary least squares regression (see Stolzenberg & Relles, 1990).

All regression equations included the control variables and independent variables of interest. For the purpose of clarity, only the effects of offense type, race, and gender on all three court outcomes are discussed in the tables that present the logistic regression results (Tables 3 and 4).⁹ One exception is the inclusion of detention as an independent variable when presenting the results for intake and adjudication outcomes (Table 3). The existence of indirect effects of detention status on decision-making at intake and adjudication are also discussed.

Results

Bivariate Associations among Type of Offender, Race, and Gender

Table 2 provides bivariate associations between the nine offense types and race and gender that comprise the sample of referrals. Overall, there were significant associations between offense type, race, and gender.

Recall from Table 1 that the sample was made up of 44% Whites, and 56% Blacks, who were 69% male and 31% female. The "neglected" category of status offenses, probation violation, and contempt cases comprised 34% of the entire sample. Keeping this in mind, Table 2 indicates that consistent with prior research, females had a larger presence within status (+14%) (Feld, 2009) and contempt offending (+10%) compared to their overall representation the sample. Also paralleling national statistics, Black youth experienced higher

9. Supplemental analyses were conducted that did not include detention status when predicting intake outcomes. Even with the exclusion of detention status, the inverse effect of race on decision-making at intake remained statistically significant. Models were also estimated that disaggregated between non-detained referrals and cases that were held in secure detention. For cases that were detained, there was no evidence of a positive statistically significant effect of race on intake outcomes.

than expected percentages within probation violations (+7%), contempt (+8%), misdemeanor person (+10%) and felony person offenses (+15%) (Sickmund, Sladky, & Kang, 2014). Males experienced overrepresentation within probation violations, felony property and felony person offenses (+4, +12, +17%, respectively). White youth (+18%) and males (+13%) were represented at higher than expected percentages among drug offenses.

Moreover, Whites were most likely to be charged with a status offense (21%), whereas Blacks were most likely to be charged with a misdemeanor person offense (18%). Male offenders were most likely to be charged with status (15%) and misdemeanor property (15%) offenses. Consistent with earlier research, the most common charge for females was a status offense (28%) (Feld, 2009). Based on the above bivariate comparisons, it can be concluded that to some degree, the sample parallels the overrepresentation of females charged with status offenses, and the notion of Blacks as more "dangerous" offenders (Steffensmeier et al., 1998).

The results also highlight the importance of including offender types that are typically low-level and have been neglected and/or overlooked in prior research.

Table 2 Bivariate associations among race, gender, and offense type ($N = 36,378$)

	Race		Gender	
	White ($N = 15,898$) (%)	Black ($N = 20,480$) (%)	Male ($N = 25,080$) (%)	Female ($N = 11,298$) (%)
Status	49	51	55	45*
	21	17	15	28
Probation violation	37	63*	73	27*
	8	11	10	9
Contempt	36	64*	59	41*
	4	5	4	6
Misdemeanor property	49	51	70	30*
	17	14	15	15
Misdemeanor person	34	66*	64	36*
	12	18	14	18
Felony property	40	60*	81	19*
	9	10	12	6
Felony person	29	71*	86	14*
	3	6	6	2
Drugs	62	38*	82	18*
	13	6	11	5
Other	45	55*	71	29*
	12	12	12	11

*Represents statistically significant association between race/gender and type of offender at $p < .01$. The first row in each type of offense represents the percentage within each type of offense. The second row represents the percentage within race and gender.

Effects of Offense Type, Race, and Gender on Decision-Making

Table 3 represents the logistic regression results for the additive models that predicted decision-making at detention (column 1), intake (column 2), and adjudication (column 3). Recall that all equations involved comparisons of each offense type to felony person referrals.

Table 3 Logistic regression results for decision-making differentiated by stages

Variable	Detention (1)	Intake (2)	Adjudication (3)
Status offense	-3.38 ^{***} (.03)	-2.09 ^{**} (.12)	.31 ^{**} (1.36)
Probation violation	-.64 ^{**} (.53)	-.32 [*] (.73)	-.69 ^{**} (.50)
Contempt	-.48 ^{**} (.62)	-.86 ^{**} (.42)	-.01 (0.99)
Misdemeanor property	-2.21 ^{**} (.11)	-2.08 ^{**} (.13)	-.20 ^{**} (.82)
Misdemeanor person	-1.57 ^{**} (.21)	-1.42 ^{**} (.24)	-.01 (.99)
Felony property	-1.08 ^{**} (.34)	-.46 ^{**} (.63)	-.24 ^{**} (.79)
Drugs	-1.73 ^{**} (.18)	-1.19 ^{**} (.30)	.22 ^{**} (1.25)
Other offenses	-2.06 ^{**} (.13)	-2.24 ^{**} (.11)	.41 ^{**} (1.11)
Race	.38 ^{**} (1.47)	-.18 ^{**} (.84)	.13 ^{**} (1.14)
Gender	-.05 (.95)	-.12 ^{**} (.89)	.22 ^{**} (1.24)
<i>Controls</i>			
Prior referrals	1.07 ^{**} (2.93)	1.19 ^{**} (3.29)	-.51 ^{**} (.60)
Number of charges	.29 ^{**} (1.34)	.16 ^{**} (1.17)	-.02 (.99)
Under court authority	.54 ^{**} (1.72)	.89 ^{**} (2.43)	-.21 ^{**} (.81)
Age	-.09 ^{**} (.92)	.03 ^{**} (1.03)	.03 ^{**} (1.03)
Mid-Atlantic	-.10 (.90)	-1.48 ^{**} (.23)	1.03 ^{**} (2.79)
Detention	—	1.87 ^{**} (6.52)	-.51 ^{**} (.60)
-2 Log Likelihood	29074.78 ^{**}	32923.30 ^{**}	29399.92 ^{**}

^aRegression coefficients; Exp(B) is presented in the parenthesis (); * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

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As can be seen in column 1, status, probation violation, and contempt offenses all decreased the likelihood of being detained compared to felony person offenses by 97, 47, and 38% respectively. All other offense types had inverse relationships with detention outcomes, ranging in strength from an 89% decrease (misdemeanor property) to a 66% decrease (felony property). Consistent with prior research, Black referrals had a greater likelihood of being detained compared to similarly situated Whites (Leiber & Fox, 2005). Gender, on the other hand, failed to reach statistical significance.

Column 2 presents the additive results predicting intake decision-making. Similar to detention decisions, all offense types had inverse relationships with the intake outcome compared to a youth charged with a felony person offense. Contrary to the results at detention and to the results of most prior research (e.g. Engen et al., 2002), being Black had an inverse relationship at intake. Consistent with previous inquiries, female cases experienced a decrease in the odds of receiving an intake referral (see Leiber et al., 2009). Detention had a positive effect on intake outcomes in that detained cases were 6½ times more likely to receive an intake referral compared to non-detained youth. However, it is important to note that although race was predictive of detention status (column 1), and detention is a significant determinant of receiving an intake referral (column 2), race did not appear to have an indirect effect through detention with intake decision-making.¹⁰ Up to this point in the analysis regarding the first research question, results are in line with the consensus viewpoint of offending in that all offense types received leniency at detention and intake compared to the most severe offense (i.e. felony person). Race, and to a lesser extent gender, were also found to be determinants of detention and intake outcomes.

The logistic regression results for predicting adjudication decision-making are provided in column 3. Increases in the odds of being adjudicated delinquent were evident for status offenses, drug offenses, and other types of offenses. The remaining offenses experienced an inverse relationship with the adjudication outcome (i.e. probation violations, misdemeanor property offenses, and felony property offenses) or were not significantly related to adjudication (i.e. contempt cases and misdemeanor person offenses). Black and female referrals had an increased likelihood of being adjudicated compared to their White and male counterparts. The finding of more severe treatment toward Blacks and females at adjudication is consistent with prior research (e.g. Mallicoat, 2007). Detention was also a determinant of decision-making but this time the effect inversely impacts adjudication outcomes.

While the results at detention (column 1) and intake (column 2) involved offense types that are consistent with a consensus perspective of social con-

10. An examination of descriptive statistics for the nine offense types at each decision-making stage showed variation across each type of offense to demonstrate that not one type of offense impacted the results based on sample size.

trol, the findings at adjudication (column 3) revealed a varied multifaceted approach consistent with the *parens patriae* foundation of the juvenile court. Case decisions within the juvenile court take into consideration not only the severity of the offense (paralleling the adult system), but also other factors such as offense type, age, family, and school situations. To obtain a more insightful understanding of the effect of offense type on court outcomes when felony person offenses constituted the reference category, additional analyses were conducted that involved comparisons of all offense types with the three dependent variables. For the purpose of clarity and space considerations, only statistically significant effects and odds ratios are provided in Appendix 1 (see [supplementary online material](#)). The discussion below focuses on general themes emerging from Appendix 1 (see [supplementary online material](#)) that involved 99 separate regression equations.

Consistent with the above results involving detention and intake (Table 3), felony person offense was a statistically significant predictor of decision-making. With one exception (see [supplementary online material](#), Part A, column 7), effects were often the strongest based on the magnitude of the odds ratios. Contempt charges and probation violations were often the second and third strongest determinant of detention, respectively. Concerning intake, being held in secure detention often had the strongest impact on decision-making (see [supplementary online material](#), Part B). Felony person charges were the second strongest predictor of intake outcomes compared to all other offense types. At adjudication (see [supplementary online material](#), Part C), offenses classified as “other” (e.g. loitering), status offenses, drug offenses, and to some degree, gender and race, exerted stronger effects on adjudication outcomes compared to felony person referrals.¹¹

Effects of Race and Gender within Each Offense Type

Table 4 details the logistic regression results within each offense type and across detention, intake, and adjudication outcomes (Part A, Part B, and Part C).

Race

Results indicated that in Table 4 (Part A) with one exception, (column 5; misdemeanor person offenses) race had a positive significant effect with each type of offense and detention outcomes. Thus, the main inverse effect for

11. Supplemental analyses (not presented) revealed that 8% of the sample in State B at intake was Black, while 74% of the sample in State B at adjudication were Black and subsequently adjudicated delinquent. The increase in the proportion of Black referrals from intake to adjudication may reveal additional information (although bivariate in nature) for the positive effect of race at the adjudication stage.

Table 4 Logistic regression results for detention, intake, and adjudication by offense type, race, and gender

Variable	Status (N = 6,979) (1)	Prob. violation (N = 3,569) (2)	Contempt (N = 1,637) (3)	Misd. property (N = 5,515) (4)	Misd. Person (N = 5,596) (5)	Fel. property (N = 3,576) (6)	Fel. person (N = 1,771) (7)	Drugs (N = 3,355) (8)	Other (N = 4,380) (9)
<i>Part A: Detention</i>									
Race—Black	0.51^{***a} (1.66)	0.31^{**} (1.36)	0.36^{**} (1.43)	0.27[*] (1.31)	-0.04 (.96)	0.22[*] (1.24)	0.54^{**} (1.71)	1.14^{**} (3.12)	0.38^{**} (1.47)
Gender—Female	0.17 (1.19)	0.01 (1.01)	0.00 (1.00)	-0.01 (0.99)	-0.14 (0.87)	.18 (0.84)	-0.03 (0.98)	-0.12 (0.89)	-0.02 (0.99)
-2 Log Likelihood	1763.40 ^{**}	4678.98 ^{**}	2150.45 ^{**}	3210.26 ^{**}	5049.84 ^{**}	4070.25 ^{**}	2171.31 ^{**}	2237.22 ^{**}	3064.18 ^{**}
<i>Part B: Intake</i>									
Race—Black	-0.11 (0.90)	-0.35 (0.71)	-0.35 (0.71)	.12 (1.13)	-0.32 ^{**} (0.73)	-0.02 (0.98)	0.36 (1.44)	-0.26 [*] (0.77)	-0.58 ^{**} (0.56)
Gender—Female	0.11[*] (1.12)	-0.07 (0.93)	0.30 (1.35)	-0.49 ^{**} (0.61)	-0.06 (0.94)	-0.52 ^{**} (0.59)	-0.75 [*] (0.47)	-0.19 (0.83)	-0.14 (0.87)
-2 Log Likelihood	8640.07 ^{**}	855.79 ^{**}	805.92 ^{**}	5405.78 ^{**}	5356.09 ^{**}	2137.23 ^{**}	522.79 ^{**}	3249.40 ^{**}	4571.50 ^{**}
<i>Part C: Adjudication</i>									
Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Race—Black	0.84^{***a} (2.32)	0.43^{**} (1.54)	0.25[*] (1.29)	0.11 (1.12)	-0.13 (.88)	0.00 (1.00)	0.29[*] (1.33)	-0.43 ^{**} (0.65)	-0.33 ^{**} (0.72)

(Continued)

Table 4 (Continued)

Variable	Status (N = 6,979) (1)	Prob. violation (N = 3,569) (2)	Contempt (N = 1,637) (3)	Misd. property (N = 5,515) (4)	Misd. Person (N = 5,596) (5)	Fel. property (N = 3,576) (6)	Fel. person (N = 1,771) (7)	Drugs (N = 3,355) (8)	Other (N = 4,380) (9)
Gender—Female	0.13 (1.14)	0.30** (1.35)	0.17 (1.19)	0.38** (1.46)	0.30** (1.34)	0.03 (1.03)	0.45** (1.57)	0.17 (1.19)	0.08 (1.08)
-2 Log Likelihood	3134.60**	4160.42**	2010.43**	3301.65**	4608.23**	4003.47**	2128.20**	2665.45**	2757.14**

Note. All models included control variables listed in Table 1.

*Regression coefficient; Exp(B) is presented in the parenthesis ().: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

status, probation violation, contempt, misdemeanor property, felony property, felony person, drugs, and other offenses with detention (reported in Table 3), was conditioned by whether the youth was Black. It is important to note that based on an examination of the effects within the offense type models, the strongest race effects within offense type involved being Black and having a drug charge (Part A, column 8).

Similar to detention, recall that each offense type compared to a felony person offense had an inverse effect with intake. Likewise, race had an inverse relationship with intake outcomes (see Table 3). Estimations of effects within each offense type at intake provide insight into some of those relationships (Table 4, Part B). Black misdemeanor person referrals (column 5), drug referrals (column 8), and other charges (column 9) decreased the likelihood of receiving an intake referral.

At adjudication, the main effects of offense type showed some variability relative to the findings at detention and intake (recall Table 3). More specific, status offenses, drug offenses and other offenses resulted in a greater likelihood of being adjudicated delinquent relative to felony person offenses. Black referrals were also predictive of the more severe adjudication outcome. As shown in Table 4, Part C, estimations of race effects within each offense type shed further detail on these findings. Black status offenses (column 1), probation violations (column 2), contempt (column 3), or felony person charges (column 7), resulted in an increase likelihood of being adjudicated delinquent. Being Black and charged with a drug offense or involved in other offenses decreased the chances of this outcome (column 8, column 9, respectively).

In summary, the findings in regards to race, for the most part, revealed that the combination of offense type and race of a youth predict outcomes across all three stages. However, with the exception of detention, these effects did not involve all offending behaviors and sometimes result in lenient outcomes (i.e. intake) and/or harsh outcomes (i.e. adjudication). Being Black appeared to be the driving force behind detention decisions that goes beyond the relative effects of the type of charge at this stage in the proceedings.

Gender

As a reminder, gender did not have a statistically significant impact on detention decisions (Table 3, column 1). Tests for the existence of gender effects within each offense type with detention also failed to yield evidence of significant relationships with the dependent variable (Table 4, Part A).

Also recall that gender was found to have an additive inverse effect with intake outcomes (Table 3, column 2). As can be seen in Table 4, Part B, gender effects existed within certain offense types of behavior and provide further insight into this finding. Being female and charged with a misdemeanor property offense (column 4), felony property offense (column 6), or felony person offense (column 7) decreased the odd of receiving an intake referral. Being a

female and charged with a status offense, however, increased the likelihood of such a referral by 12% (column 1). This finding parallels prior research in that female status offenses are at a disadvantage at intake relative to their male counterparts (Peck et al., 2014).

At adjudication, female youth were more likely to be adjudicated delinquent than similarly situated male referrals (recall Table 3). Estimations of models involving offense type with adjudication revealed an abundance of gender effects (Table 4, Part C). Females involved in probation violations (column 2), misdemeanor property offenses (column 4), misdemeanor person offenses (column 5), and felony person offenses (column 7) increased the odds of being adjudicated compared to their male counterparts.

In summary (and similar to race), gender appeared to impact juvenile court decision-making that is sometimes dependent on the offense type examined. Likewise, these relationships involved both lenient and severe outcomes. The overall findings involving offense type and race and gender with juvenile court proceedings as measured here by detention, intake and adjudication support the initial impetus for the research. That is, to gain a fuller understanding of race and gender disparities in responses to referrals to the juvenile court, delinquent and what is referred to here as neglected offenses (i.e. status offenses, probation violations, contempt, and other offenses) need to be examined simultaneously.

Discussion

The present study explored whether the severity of juvenile court outcomes across three processing stages differed depending on the type of referral offense, and if these relationships were contextualized within each offense type by the race or the gender of the referral. The current research extended prior investigations of juvenile court outcomes by examining a relatively neglected group of low-level offenses that are typically overlooked in the juvenile court literature. Drawing on theory and concepts from prior research that focused on the treatment of youth based on (individually and in combination) offense type, race, and gender, two general research questions were examined. Utilizing referral data from two Mid-Atlantic States, results indicated partial support for both research questions.

Concerning the first research question, the severity of the type of referral was predictive of harsh outcomes at the earlier court stages of detention and intake. On the one hand, the finding that felony person cases received greater social control is consistent with the consensus view of decision-making and differential involvement argument that legal factors strongly influence court processing (see Tracy, 2005). On the other hand, "less severe" (e.g. status, drug, other) cases received harsher outcomes at adjudication. At this stage, the findings are consistent with the differential treatment viewpoint (e.g. potential presence of bias

on behalf of decision-makers). For instance, status offenses, drug offenses, and other offenses resulted in greater social control at adjudication.¹¹

A potential explanation for this finding is that although less severe offenses were granted leniency at earlier stages of proceedings, judges may be “punishing” status and less severe types of cases to “teach youth a lesson” if they reach the stage of adjudication (Freiburger & Burke, 2011; Leiber et al., 2009). The findings may also be a function of offender and offense characteristics that are channeled through juvenile justice proceedings. In other words, the features of the referral may provide some context and play an important role in the “type of cases” that appear at the adjudication stage.

Race and gender were also found to directly impact the nature in which cases were processed through the system even after controlling for a variety of factors. Blacks and females were discovered to receive both leniency and harshness across stages. These overall findings are consistent with prior research that both differential offending and differential treatment account for race and gender disparities in juvenile court outcomes (Rodriguez, 2010; Tracy et al., 2009).

Further and in regards to the second research question, race and gender were also discovered to influence relationships within each offense type and social control, but these relationships were not consistent across all three stages. The impact of race and gender within each offense type, especially the neglected types of offenses (i.e. status offenses, probation violations, and contempt cases) show both severe and lenient treatment. Since there is a void in the literature to have investigated the link between contempt charges, race, gender, and court outcomes, the present finding that Black contempt referrals received disadvantaged court outcomes is consistent with Bishop and Frazier’s (1996) finding of racial disparities in the treatment of contempt cases. The results highlight the need to understand the circumstances under which race and/or gender contextualize how contempt cases are handled in the juvenile court (Bishop & Frazier, 1992; Haynes & Dion, 2011).

Results also found that race impacted the relationship between status offending and adjudication outcomes. Contrary to Freiburger and Burke (2011), but consistent with the results from Peck and colleagues (2014), Black status offenders were found to receive greater social control compared to similarly situated Whites. It may be that judges perceive Black status offending cases as more problematic than to of Whites. Furthermore, females who were charged with probation violations, misdemeanor property offenses, misdemeanor person offenses, and felony person offenses had a higher likelihood of being adjudicated delinquent compared similarly situated males. Although speculative, court actors may view females as non-compliant with feminine, submissive, and passive behavior resulting in greater social control (Seitz, 2005).

One potential explanation for variation in the findings across all stages may be understood within the context of Bishop and colleagues (2010) integrative focal concerns (Steffensmeier et al., 1998) and organizational coupling perspective. Bishop and colleagues (2010) applied their perspective to juvenile

justice decision-making to propose that the juvenile court is comprised of numerous court actors with varying goals and objectives. Police agencies, judges, court intake officers, and probation departments all make decisions concerning how youth are processed in the juvenile court. At every stage, each decision-maker's specialized interests and perceptions come into play when deciding the outcomes of juvenile offenders.

In light of Bishop and colleagues' (2010) theory, the current results highlight the importance of taking into consideration delinquent and various other offense types as well as the processing stage when studying how race and gender may matter in the juvenile court. This is a significant implication for future research of juvenile justice processing. For example, race interacted with eight offense types at detention, influenced three relationships at intake, and six outcomes at adjudication. Gender interacted with four offense types at intake and four at adjudication. The intersection of race or gender within different referral types (especially status offenses, probation violations, and those charged with contempt) confirms the need to more thoroughly examine juvenile court outcomes across different stages and offense characteristics. More specific, research should also attempt to understand whether race and gender in combination influence the juvenile court outcomes of both delinquent and various other types of offenders.

In regards to policy implications, the Disproportionate Minority Contact (DMC) mandate is part of the JJDP Act and requires states and localities to identify the extent of minority youth presence in the juvenile justice system, assess the causes, and implement strategies and interventions to address racial disparities (Kempf-Leonard, 2007; Leiber & Rodriguez, 2011). One suggested addition to the DMC mandate is a more thorough examination of not only the relationship between race and delinquency offenses, but also how race individually, and in conjunction with gender (i.e. Black males, Black females) impacts court processing within neglected, often low-level offenses. Additions to the JJDP Act would also benefit from not only investigating potential race and gender bias with status offending, but how this problem can emerge with youth charged with probation violation or contempt of court. Especially, how these cases can further a youth's continuation into the juvenile justice system.

It is important to note that the present study is not without limitations. Central control variables pertaining to both youth and offense characteristics were unavailable in the data. Indicators of family structure/family status (intact vs. non-intact) (Bishop et al., 2010), school status (in-school vs. out of school) (Leiber & Mack, 2003), and family income level (Armstrong & Rodriguez, 2005) were not available. Prior research has found these factors to be related to the disadvantaged treatment of minority youth (Bishop & Leiber, 2012). We were also unable to control for the actual behavior of youth surrounding the offense. However, we were able to control for factors that court actors use in making decisions (i.e. crime severity, prior record, etc.) that may address concerns from the differential involvement explanation for minority overrepresentation in the juvenile justice system. Future research on this topic

should attempt to include the above measures based on their effects on all juvenile offenders referred to court.

In addition, the present study focused on juvenile court outcomes in two Mid-Atlantic States. More research is needed to explore the present study's research questions in additional jurisdictions and geographic locations to further clarify and potentially replicate current results. Although the results may be not generalizable to other counties, jurisdictions, or states, the present findings shed light on the complexities of how offense type, race and gender influence juvenile justice decision-making.

A final limitation of the research that provides a direction for future study is the ability to disaggregate different types of neglected offenses. By aggregating all types of status offenses, probation violations, and contempt cases together, race and gender differences in the court outcomes of these specific cases may go unnoticed. A task for future research is to assess whether youth charged with a specific status offense (e.g. runaway, truancy, alcohol/tobacco violation, etc.), specific probation violation (e.g. technical violation, new crime), and specific contempt (disobedient to the court, failure to appear, disruption of court proceedings, etc.) are treated differently compared to other types of offenses.

Despite these limitations, the results show that future studies should attempt to take into account as many different offense types as possible to fully understand the handling of youth in the juvenile court. Status offending, violating probation, being charged with contempt of court comprise a rather large proportion of the clientele of those entering juvenile justice proceedings. As the results reveal, excluding these neglected types of offenses in future examinations may lead to false conclusions surrounding the existence or nonexistence of race and gender disparities and potential selection bias.

Acknowledgement

We thank our colleagues Dr. John Cochran, Dr. Joshua Cochran, and Dr. Wesley Jennings for providing insight and expertise with earlier drafts of this manuscript.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Supplemental data

Supplemental data for this article can be accessed here: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2015.1080851>.

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