MAY 2005

ROOT CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS TO DISPARITIES FOR HISPANICS/LATINOS IN THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

HACER in collaboration with:

The Council on Crime and Justice

HACER

HACER's mission is to provide the Minnesota Latino community the ability to create and control information about itself in order to affect critical institutional decision-making and public policy. General support for HACER is provided by the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) and Minnesota-based philanthropic organizations.

Executive Director: Claudia Fuentes

HACER
330 HHH Center,
301 19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
(612) 624-3326
www.hacer-mn.org

Funding for this project was provided by The Council on Crime and Justice. The content of this report is solely the responsibility of HACER and does not necessarily represent the views of our supporters.

Suggested reference to this report is:

HACER. (2005, May) *Root Causes and Solutions to Disparities for Hispanics/Latinos in the Juvenile Justice System.* Minneapolis, MN: Jared Erdmann, Heather Britt, & Tatiana Achcar.

Acknowledgements

HACER extends its sincere gratitude to the Hispanic/Latino youth who stepped forward to participate in this study and share their experiences related to the juvenile justice system. We also thank the service providers and their employers for their support of and contributions to this project.

In addition to the participants in this study, we thank **The Council on Crime and Justice** and **The Office for Juvenile Justice Delinquency and Prevention** for funding this project as well as the Minnesota Supreme Court and Department of Education for their data assistance. We thank the University of Minnesota's Institutional Review Board for reviewing the study. Finally, we appreciate the time and efforts of HACER interns and staff in preparing this report and the guidance and collaboration of Dr. William J. Craig with the **Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA)**.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary

In the past 20 years, research has shown disparities among youth from different racial/ethnic backgrounds in the juvenile justice system. A disparity as defined by the U.S. Department of Justice occurs when the likelihood of receiving a particular outcome differs for youth of different racial/ethnic groups (Bilchik, 1999). A disproportionate number of minority youth, including Hispanic/Latino youth, are represented among police stops, arrests, detention, sentencing, residential placement and aftercare (Minnesota Department of Public Safety, 2004; Pope and Feyerherm, 1993). This project provided evidence of disparities and investigated the root causes and solutions to disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system of Minnesota.

Our reasons for focusing on Hispanic/Latino youth in this project were threefold.

- Youth under age 18 are the largest growing segment of the Hispanic/Latino population.
- The first period during which many Hispanics/Latinos interact with the criminal justice system is adolescence—approximately between the ages of 10 and 19.
- Education and other forms of primary prevention can have a greater impact on youth than on adults who possibly have more history with the criminal justice system.

This report adds to existing literature on disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system (Villaruel and Walker, 2002; Walker, Senger, Villaruel and Arboleda, 2004). More importantly, it works toward filling contextual gaps in the literature with real experiences of Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders and the service providers who work with them. To our knowledge, this project was the first time service providers and Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders had an opportunity to share what they perceived to be the root causes and solutions to disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system of Minnesota.

Methodology

Statistical analyses in this report focused on the state level and three Minnesota counties: Hennepin, Ramsey and Kandiyohi. In addition to performing various statistical analyses using juvenile apprehension data, juvenile disposition data, and the Minnesota Student Survey, HACER carried out 49 interviews of juvenile justice service providers and 3 focus groups with Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders. Interview and focus group participants either resided or worked in Hennepin, Ramsey or Kandiyohi

Counties. The methodology for this study was peer-reviewed through the University of Minnesota's Institutional Review Board (IRB) to ensure the protection of vulnerable subjects of research. For a more detailed explanation of our research methodology, please refer to the full report.

Evidence of Disparities

- Hispanic/Latino youth were overrepresented by 227% in 1990 and by 92% in 2000 among juvenile apprehensions on the state level. **(See Figures 1 & 2.)**

- With the exception of Hennepin County, Hispanic/Latino males were overrepresented among adjudications and diversions in 2002 and 2003. **(See Figure 7.)**

- With the exception of Hennepin County, Hispanic/Latino females were overrepresented for adjudications in 2002 and 2003. **(See Figures 10 & 11.)**

- Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely than White youth to be charged with felony offenses and more likely to be charged with misdemeanor offenses. **(See Figures 13 & 14.)**

- Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely than White youth to be associated with a drug or property offense and more likely to be associated with a person or other offense. **(See Figures 16 & 17.)**

- Hispanic/Latino youth were more likely to be caught offending between the ages of 10 and 14 than White youth, and White youth were more likely to be caught offending between the ages of 16 and 17. **(See Figures 18 & 19.)**

Root Causes

Whereas one service provider might say that poverty is a root cause of racial/ethnic disparities for Hispanic/Latino youth, another might say that it is not useful to talk about poverty being a root cause since it does not have a clear and feasible solution. Instead, not hiring culturally competent staff might be a more accurate root cause of disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth because it has a feasible solution. HACER broadly defined a "root cause" of a racial/ethnic disparity as one of the following:

1) Offenses that were the greatest contributors to overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth;

2) Underlying factors related to delinquent and/or violent behavior of Hispanic/Latino youth;

3) Disparate or unfair treatment of Hispanic/Latino youth in and out of the system;

4) Barriers that prevented Hispanic/Latino youth from benefiting from their involvement with the juvenile justice system.

The following sections present findings related to the types of root causes in the order that they appeared above.

Offenses that contributed to overrepresentation: The offenses that accounted for the majority of overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth among juvenile apprehensions on the state level in 2000 included: Larceny (37%), Disorderly Conduct (11%), Other Type II (11%), Curfew or Loitering (8%), and Other Assaults (8%). Curfew or Loitering accounted for 25% of the overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth among juvenile apprehensions in Ramsey County in 2000. **(See Figures 23 & 24)**

Factors related to delinquent and violent behavior: Analysis of Minnesota Student Survey data (2001 & 2004) and common, recurring themes from the focus groups and interviews identified probable root causes of delinquent and violent behavior among Hispanic/Latino youth. Using a narrow definition of statistical significance in the analysis of the Student Survey data, numerous factors were predictive of violent behavior, including family, behavioral, environmental, and demographic factors. **(See Figure 26.)** The following variables were significant predictors of violent behavior among Hispanic/Latino students in both years and for all three dependent variables related to violence.

- Whether the youth could talk with his/her father
- Whether the youth could talk with his/her mother
- Drug abuse in the family
- Whether the youth had been truant
- How the youth felt about going to school
- Whether teachers respected students
- Gender

The most consistently mentioned root causes of delinquent and violent behavior of Hispanic/Latino youth in the focus groups and interviews included:

- Gang involvement and negative peer association
- Chemical use and selling drugs
- Family factors related to immigration, deportation and acculturation

- Lack of adult supervision
- Poverty and economic conditions
- Exposure to violent behavior

Experiences of disparate and unfair treatment: Juvenile offenders who participated in this study had a wide variety of experiences in the juvenile justice system. Individual biases on the part of service providers and lack of due process (i.e., service providers not fulfilling the full extent of their professional duties) were the most common reasons youth cited for feeling they had been treated unfairly. They described several types of biases, ranging from open displays of what they defined as racism to favoritism, indifference, labeling and stereotypes. Some youth also described abuses of power by the police in which they had been beaten or dropped off in a rival gangs' territory and were never arrested. Multiple youth felt that they had experienced the fairest treatment once they were in the juvenile justice system where corrections staff, unlike police officers, were in the presence of other staff, if not directly supervised.

From the service providers' perspectives maltreatment of undocumented youth was the most blatant injustice that Hispanic/Latino youth encountered in the juvenile justice system. The juvenile justice system appeared to maintain a de facto *Don't Ask Don't Tell* policy which service providers felt led to broad inconsistencies in the consequences undocumented youth and their families faced for delinquent behavior.

Barriers that prevented youth from benefiting from their involvement with the juvenile justice system: Four principal barriers prevented Hispanic/Latino youth from benefiting from their contact with the juvenile justice system.

- English-only speaking service providers did not make sufficient efforts to engage youth and parents or guardians who only spoke Spanish.

- Given that most placements for youth in Minnesota were outside of the metro area, Hispanic/Latino youth often were served by providers who did not understand the youth's backgrounds, languages and cultures.

- Many service providers did not know how they could help undocumented youth especially during their transition back to the community. They did not know what services they could provide (legally) or where to refer them. Many raised questions such as: How reasonable is it for a probation officer to impose consequences on an emancipated, undocumented youth for going to work instead of going to school? How realistic is it for a judge to court-order employment as a condition for an undocumented youth to transition back to the community? Is deportation a reasonable outcome, when the youth no

longer has family in the country of origin and may never have learned the language of that country?

- The same biases that resulted in racial profiling also resulted in service providers having lower expectations for Hispanic/Latino youth once they became involved in the juvenile justice system. Service providers shared examples in which they felt Hispanic/Latino youth had been held to different standards than other youth. They had observed colleagues who appeared to have lower expectations for Hispanic/Latino youth and their families or they did not enforce consequences for Hispanic/Latino youth. One reason for the differing expectations may have been that service providers over-compensated for personal biases to appear unbiased. Another reason may have been that some Hispanic/Latino youth were minor parents, and the system would delay consequences to avoid further disruption of the family.

Solutions

Solutions referred to how the juvenile justice system could better serve and address the needs of Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders and their families. Below are suggestions and recommendations that service providers and youth shared in the focus groups and interviews. The recommendations address each of the four types of root causes of disparities.

Curb overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth by:

- Using diversion in place of arrest and detention of youth, especially if the crime is not a felony.

- Making sure that Hispanic/Latino youth and their families understand impending consequences of the youth's behavior by speaking directly with parents and guardians, instead of sending letters.

- Identifying and tracking ethnic backgrounds of youth to facilitate monitoring the representation of Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system.

- Encouraging the formation of neighborhood justice centers that, given their familiarity with the environment in which youth live, can in some cases serve Hispanic/Latino youth and families more appropriately and effectively than an over-burdened juvenile justice system.

Reduce delinquent and violent behavior by:

- Investing in preventative programming and services such as Head Start, after-school programs, church youth groups, YMCA programs, bilingual/bicultural staff positions in schools, and culturally appropriate, in-home, family therapy.
- Recruiting Hispanic/Latino families for early childhood development and youth programs.
- Providing life skills training that in many cases may be more useful to youth than therapy.
- Promoting positive interactions between juvenile justice service providers and Hispanic/Latino youth and their families in community settings.
- Making sure service providers consider the implications of gang territories in setting up community service placements and meetings with youth and families.
- Acknowledging and addressing priority needs of youth who are minor parents.
- Promoting literacy programs for Hispanic/Latino families.
- Continually educating youth and parents, especially new arrivals, about Minnesota laws as they pertain to truancy, driver's licenses, and legal age of consent.
- Ensuring the youth's family has the capacity to ensure his/her successful treatment.
- Encouraging churches to start early in working with at-risk youth, rather than waiting to intervene when they are adults.

Improve treatment of Hispanic/Latino youth by:

- Continually recruiting bilingual and bicultural staff.
- Confronting bias of service providers at the individual level.
- Avoiding prejudging and labeling Hispanic/Latino youth and families.
- Holding Hispanic/Latino youth accountable for their behavior.

- Observing and rewarding positive behavior of Hispanic/Latino youth.
- Educating service providers and youth about the implications of immigration status on sentencing.
- Ensuring youth are aware of protocols for dealing with conflict with corrections staff.
- Not encouraging English-only policies in correctional or residential placement facilities.
- Making sure service providers have access to community experts when appropriate.
- Implementing measures to monitor police officer contact with youth in the community.
- Calling interpreters ahead of time to make sure that they will show up to court.
- Notifying parents or guardians when law enforcement has had contact with the youth.
- Informing parents of the consequences of calling the police on their own children.

Make sure Hispanic/Latino youth can benefit from involvement in the juvenile justice system by:

- Reducing the time between the criminal charge and the court sentence whenever possible to ensure youth make connections between their behavior and the consequence.
- Ensuring that service providers have opportunities to interact with Hispanic/Latino youth and families in positive contexts other than their own jobs.
- Encouraging involvement of family advocates and mentors who are neutral and who are not in charge of imposing legal consequences.
- Taking measures to effectively diagnose language barriers versus learning disabilities.

- Providing learning and programming materials in Spanish when appropriate.
- Develop programming that uses spoken work for youth who might not be literate.
- Expanding culturally-specific programming in rural and urban areas.

Introduction

In the past 20 years, research has shown disparities among youth from different racial/ethnic backgrounds in the juvenile justice system. A disparity as defined by The U.S. Department of Justice occurs when the likelihood of receiving a particular outcome (for example, being detained in a short-term facility vs. not being detained) differs for youth of different racial/ethnic groups (Bilchik, 1999). A disproportionate number of minority youth, including Hispanic/Latino youth, are represented among police stops, arrests, detention, sentencing, residential placement and aftercare (Minnesota Department of Public Safety, 2004; Pope and Feyerherm, 1993). This project provided evidence of disparities and investigated the root causes and solutions to disparities involving Hispanics/Latino[1] youth in the juvenile justice system of Minnesota.

Our reasons for focusing on Hispanic/Latino youth in this project were threefold:

- Youth under age 18 are the largest growing segment of the Hispanic/Latino population.
- The first period during which many Hispanics/Latinos interact with the criminal justice system is adolescence—approximately between the ages of 10 and 19.
- Education and other forms of primary prevention can have a greater impact on youth than on adults, who possibly have more history with the criminal justice system.

Hispanic/Latino youth were the fastest growing youth population in the nation during the 1990's (Fry, 2003). Youth under the age of 18 comprised 40% of Minnesota's Hispanic/Latino population (Chicano Latino Affairs Council, 2003). Existing literature has already shown that Hispanic/Latino youth have similar risk factors of getting involved in the juvenile justice system as youth from other racial/ethnic backgrounds. Meade (2002) investigated risk factors for youth in general in Minnesota. Substance abuse, association with delinquent peers, and school failure tended to predict recidivism. Parental substance abuse and parents engaged in criminal activity increased the likelihood of re-arrests. Gang activity also affected recidivism rates. Hawkins, Laub et al. (2000) showed that joblessness and poverty caused family disruptions, which in turn had a direct relationship to violent crime rates of juveniles.

Although Hispanic/Latino youth share similar risk factors with other youth, certain risk factors may disparately affect Hispanic/Latino youth. The Minnesota Department of Health (2003) showed disparities in risk factors for violence-related behavior between Hispanic/Latino students and White students. Hispanic/Latino students had higher rates of tobacco and marijuana use, under-age drinking, carrying weapons, emotional distress, sexual activity, and skipping school compared to White students. In addition,

[1] Hispanic/Latino youth come from many distinct racial, cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds and can be at various stages of the immigration/citizenship process. The terms Hispanic and Latino do not refer to race, rather ethnicity. In this sense, the diversity of Hispanic/Latino youth is not confined strictly to racial boundaries and the question of whether or not disparities still exist and the root causes for those disparities are important areas of investigation.

Hispanic/Latino students were far more likely than youth of other racial/ethnic groups to report that they had attempted suicide in the past year.

Nationally, research has shown that youth of color are overrepresented in detention rates and transfers from juvenile to adult court (Villaruel and Walker, 2002; Schirali and Ziedenberg, 2001;Poe-Yamagata and Jones, 2000; Snyder and Sickmund, 1999; Juszkiewicz, 1997; Hamparian and Lieber, 1997). Villaruel and Walker (2002) highlighted deficiencies in the juvenile justice system that were believed to contribute to disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth and recommendations for improving those deficiencies.

On the state level, the Minnesota Department of Public Safety (2004) showed disproportionate minority confinement (DMC) within Minnesota's juvenile justice system. Arrests appeared to have the greatest disparities among all stages of the juvenile justice system. Minority juveniles represented approximately 16% of the state's 10-17 year olds in 2002; however, they comprised 36% of arrests. Hispanic/Latino youth were arrested at a rate 3.18 times more than White youth in Minnesota in 2002.

The following report adds to existing literature on disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system (Villaruel and Walker, 2002; Walker, Senger, Villaruel and Arboleda, 2004). More importantly, it works toward filling contextual gaps in the literature with real experiences of Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders and the service providers who work with them. To our knowledge, this project was the first time service providers and Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders had an opportunity to share what they perceived to be the root causes and solutions to disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system of Minnesota.

Project Design

HACER engaged juvenile justice service providers and Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders in the design of this project. Two design meetings were held, the discussions were recorded, and the data was analyzed to inform development of question guides and overall research methodology for the main study. In total, sixteen (N=16) individuals participated in the design process. Approval of the University of Minnesota, Institutional Review Board (IRB) was obtained before the design discussions took place.

Of the 16 individuals who participated in the design, 10 were service providers who worked in varying capacities with Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system. Of the 10 service providers 5 were women and 7 were Hispanic/Latino. All of the service providers either worked in or resided in Hennepin or Ramsey County. Their ages ranged between 30 and 55 years-old. Six (6) Hispanic/Latino, male juvenile offenders between the ages of 13 and 17 participated in the design as well. All of the young men resided in Ramsey County at the time of the design meeting.

Youth and adult design participants shared perspectives regarding the following questions:

- What are the most important things (culturally and otherwise) that we need to know about Latino youth offenders and Latino youth in general?
- What are the most important things we need to know about system professionals and how they work with Latino youth?
- Who should be included in the system universe?
- If there is one thing that you hope we will ask youth and/or professionals in this study, what would that be?
- If there is one thing that you hope this study will help you to better understand about disparities for Latino youth in the juvenile justice system, what would that be?

Specifically in the youth discussion, researchers used an adaptation of a commonly used icebreaker called My Shield or *Mi Escudo*. Youth were given a large drawing of a shield divided into four quadrants. In each quadrant was a question and the youth were to draw their answers to each question and talk about their drawings afterwards. The questions in the quadrants on the shield were the following:

- Who am I?
- What makes me proud?
- What gives me respect?
- Who is my family?

The youth and service provider comments provided an important window for the researchers into the lives of Hispanic/Latino youth and service providers in the juvenile justice system. Youth comments were helpful in acquainting researchers with the types of experiences they could expect to hear in the main study and in assisting the process of

developing appropriate questions to get at those experiences. Service providers insisted that the geographic focus of the study be narrow, given the amount of funding available for the project. In addition, having quantitative data to provide evidence of disparities was important to a majority of the service providers in the design phase. Before the main study was conducted, service provider participants had the opportunity to review drafts of the question guides (**Appendix G**) and to provide their feedback to HACER on the final project design.

Research Methodology

HACER used descriptive statistics (e.g., expected-outcome and bivariate regression analyses) to provide evidence of disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth. We used expected-outcome analysis, multivariate regression analysis, focus groups and interviews to isolate probable root causes and solutions to the disparities. Quantitative data analyses focused on the state level and three Minnesota counties: Hennepin, Ramsey and Kandiyohi. All research was peer-reviewed through the University of Minnesota's Institutional Review Board (IRB) to ensure the protection of vulnerable subjects of research during the course of the study.

Definitions

HACER defined a "root cause" of a racial/ethnic disparity as one of the following:

- An offense that was a major contributor to overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth;
- Factors related to delinquent and/or violent behavior of Hispanic/Latino youth;
- Experiences of disparate or unfair treatment of Hispanic/Latino youth;
- Barriers that prevented Hispanic/Latino youth from benefiting from their involvement with the juvenile justice system.

Solutions referred to how the juvenile justice system of Minnesota should address the root causes of disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth and thereby improve the system for Hispanic/Latino youth. The sections below summarize the methodology of all research conducted on this project.

Demonstrating Evidence of Disparities

To provide evidence of disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system of Minnesota, HACER performed expected-outcome analysis of juvenile apprehension[2] data and of juvenile delinquency disposition[3] data. We performed bivariate regression analyses with the juvenile delinquency disposition data to investigate additional disparities.

[2] An apprehension (or arrest) refers to a juvenile being taken into custody by a law enforcement agency with the intention of seeking charges for a specific offense.
[3] Juveniles adjudicated for criminal offenses receive a disposition rather than a sentence.

Juvenile Apprehension Data: The juvenile apprehension data, from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting Program, collects standardized aggregate data on known offenses and individuals apprehended. Data is voluntarily submitted by law enforcement agencies nationwide. Report information includes the number and types of criminal acts, number of crimes cleared by an arrest, demographics of people arrested, law enforcement disposition of juveniles and law enforcement employee information. In Minnesota the agency responsible for coordinating the collection and maintenance of the state's Uniform Crime Report data is the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA) at the Department of Public Safety (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1984). HACER obtained statewide juvenile apprehension data and the data from three Minnesota counties: Hennepin, Ramsey and Kandiyohi. These data covered the years 1990 and 2000.

Juvenile Disposition Data: The juvenile disposition data were obtained from the juvenile data mart maintained by the State Court Administrator's Office (2002) of the Minnesota Supreme Court. These data originally came from the court's data warehouse, the Criminal Juvenile Analytical Database. With the exception of Scott County and Carver County, data were included from all Minnesota counties. The disposition data did not include cases for which the only closing activity or disposition was change of venue to another county. HACER obtained statewide juvenile disposition data and the data from three Minnesota counties: Hennepin, Ramsey and Kandiyohi.

According to the report, *Summary Information on Juvenile Delinquency Petitions in Minnesota Courts,* the courts started collecting self-reported race and ethnicity information on all cases in July of 2001 (State Court Administrator's Office, 2002). HACER requested data for the years following this decision, 2002 and 2003, as we believed it to be the best attempt at accurately assessing the race and ethnicity of juveniles. The Juvenile Rules require information to be recorded on the charging document; for delinquency cases, the charging document is the petition. We used the "race/ethnicity of juvenile" variable in our analysis, because it preferences self-reported data first and includes "observed" race or ethnicity data when the self-reported race is missing. The variables used in this analysis included: disposition type, case type at disposition, finding of guilt, county, sex of juvenile, race/ethnicity of juvenile, offense type at disposition and age of juvenile at offense. Where the offense type was unknown, we recoded it to a missing value. We excluded offenses where the age of the offender was less than 10 (because of the few cases) or over 17 (to focus on juveniles). Where gender was unknown or not applicable, we also recoded it to a missing value.

Expected-Outcome Analysis: The expected-outcome analysis of the juvenile apprehension and disposition data calculated how many Hispanic/Latino juvenile outcomes (e.g. apprehensions, adjudications, etc.) might have been expected given the proportion of Hispanic/Latino juveniles in the Census population of a given area. (Formula: Total Hispanic/Latino juvenile actual outcomes X Population Proportion = expected # of Hispanic/Latino outcomes.) HACER determined whether or not Hispanic/Latino youth were over/under-represented for a particular outcome by subtracting the expected outcome from the actual outcome and dividing the result by the

expected outcome. If the result was negative, Hispanic/Latino youth were under-represented. If it was positive, they were overrepresented.

Expected-outcome analysis of the juvenile apprehension data focused only on Hispanic/Latino, apprehended juveniles. HACER calculated the expected outcome for each offense type (see **Appendix C**) as well as the expected outcome of the overall Hispanic/Latino, apprehended juvenile population. The expected-outcome analysis of the juvenile disposition data focused on the five disposition outcomes:

- Certification to adult court;
- Case closure or termination of jurisdiction (only applies to cases where there was not a specific dismissal of the charges or petition);
- Adjudication with sanctions or conditions;
- Dismissal; and
- Diversion/stay of adjudication/continue for dismissal (does not include cases that the County Attorney chose to divert instead of filing the case in court).

We examined each of these disposition types by gender and focused on those juveniles identified as Hispanic/Latino and those juveniles identified as White (Non-Hispanic). (For a summary of all calculations, see **Appendix D**.)

For purposes of estimating population size in both expected-outcome analyses, "juvenile" was defined as youth ages 10-17. Population estimates for calculating the expected numbers of apprehensions in 1990 and 2000 were obtained from the US Census Bureau's *American Fact Finder* website online for each geographic region. Population estimates for calculating the expected numbers for juvenile delinquency dispositions were obtained from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's *Easy Access to Juvenile Populations*, online for each region. HACER used different population estimates for the expected-outcome analysis of the 2002 and 2003 disposition data because these years were not Census years. *Easy Access to Juvenile Populations* provided more updated estimates for post-censal years.

Bivariate Regression Analysis: In addition to expected-outcome analysis, we performed bivariate analysis (using SAS version 8) of the juvenile disposition data to examine the relationship between race/ethnicity and the following variables: disposition type, case type, guilt, offense type and gender. Using Chi-square statistics, we showed the differences between Whites and Hispanics/Latinos for the variables of interest.

Isolating Root Causes

HACER analyzed two datasets to isolate root causes of disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system. In the first analysis, we used the results of the expected-outcome analysis of the juvenile apprehension data from the BCA, to identify the offenses that contributed most to overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth. To carry out this analysis HACER calculated the following:

- **Overrepresentation by Offense:** The difference between the actual and expected numbers of Hispanic/Latino juvenile apprehensions for each offense—overrepresentation by offense.
- **Total Overrepresentation:** The difference between the total number of actual Hispanic/Latino juvenile apprehensions and total number of expected Hispanic/Latino juvenile apprehensions.
- **Percent Contribution to Overrepresentation:** "Overrepresentation by Offense" divided by "Total Overrepresentation." (See **Appendix C**.)

The second analysis used data from the Minnesota Student Survey to identify underlying reasons for delinquent and violent behavior among Hispanic/Latino students. The Student Survey data were obtained from the Minnesota Departments of Education and Health. Survey data from 1998, 2001 and 2004 were obtained, but our analysis focused on 2001 and 2004 data, because they were the most recent, and represented a larger group of Hispanic/Latino youth than the 1998 survey data. We obtained only the data related to Hispanic/Latino youth and because we received data with an ethnicity code, we were unable to obtain any geographic identifier (in an effort to protect individual student identity).

The Minnesota Student Survey is conducted every three years by several Minnesota state agencies. The survey is given to 6^{th}, 9^{th} and 12^{th} graders in regular public schools, and is a census survey, for those districts that choose to participate. Youth can self-identify race and ethnicity on the survey. Youth who identified themselves as Hispanic (Mexican, Puerto Rican or other Hispanic identity) as their sole or part of their race or ethnicity were included in our analysis.

Initially, we examined frequencies of three variables from the Student Survey related to violence (i.e. carried a gun to school; carried other weapon to school; became violent) and three variables related to victimization (i.e. kicked, bitten or hit by other student; student stabbed or fired gun at you; property was damaged or stolen). Then, we used these same variables to identify other variables or factors that may have been related to the likelihood that a youth could become a violent offender or a victim of violence.

To identify these other factors predictive of violent behavior or victimization, we performed multivariate analysis using Proc GLM (generalized linear model) with the dependent variables being the variables of violence and victimization mentioned above. We included an array of factors as independent variables in the model, including:

- **Family environment factors**—whether the youth could talk with his/her father (R6, T6) or mother (R7, T7), whether the youth faced problems at home with alcohol abuse in the family (R57, T57) or drug abuse in the family (R58, T58), and whether the youth faced physical abuse at home (R59, T59);
- **Behavioral factors**—whether the youth had been truant (R10, T10), whether the youth felt good about him/herself (R40, T40), and the mood of the youth (R47, T47);

- **School environment factors**—how the youth felt about going to school (R8, T8), plans for the future (R9, T9), whether students threatened kids of different races at school (R13C, T13C), whether teachers respected students (R14B, T14B), whether illegal gang activity was a problem at school (R15D, T15D), and whether the student had skipped school because he/she felt unsafe (R19, T19);
- **Community factors**—whether the youth felt safe going to/from school (R15A, T15A); and
- **Demographic characteristics**—gender (R1, T1), grade (R2, T2), mental/physical condition (R28, T28), and whether the youth identified as a single or mixed race/ethnicity (race2).

Statistical output for these analyses can be found in **Appendices E and F**.

Interviews and Focus Groups

HACER conducted 3 focus groups with Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders and 49 interviews with juvenile justice service providers. In total, 63 individuals (N=63) participated in the main study. Of the 49 service provider interviews, 25 took place in Hennepin and Ramsey County and 24 took place in Kandiyohi County. Approximately 56% of the service provider key informants were female, and 33% were Hispanic/Latino. Of the juvenile offenders who participated, 2 were female and 12 were male. Eleven (11) of the youth resided in Hennepin and Ramsey counties and 3 resided in Kandiyohi county. Twelve (12) of the 14 youth were under the age of 18. (**Appendix H** provides a breakdown of the study participants' demographic characteristics.)

Following guidelines set forth through the University of Minnesota IRB, HACER recruited juvenile offenders indirectly through a third person, e.g. a corrections staff who worked closely with the youth and/or family. HACER recruited youth (age 18 and under) who had been involved in the juvenile justice system, who resided in one of the three target counties, and who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino. HACER did not pay the youth to participate in the study.

Following similar IRB guidelines, HACER recruited service providers directly. "Service providers" referred to individuals who had worked with Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders in the target counties. During the Design Meetings service providers and juvenile offenders defined the types of workers to be recruited for the main study. They included: judges, referees, attorneys, social workers, mental health providers, clergy, corrections counselors, youth workers, administrators, probation officers, and educators/school liaisons. These workers spanned five broad sectors: corrections, courts/legal representation, social services, education, health/mental health. HACER recruited providers from all five sectors. They were not paid to participate; however, in many cases the providers' employer was reimbursed for his/her time.

Question guides for the focus groups and interviews may be found in **Appendix G**.

Evidence of Disparities Involving Hispanic/Latino Youth

Service providers in the design phase of this study had observed relatively smaller numbers of Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system compared to other youth populations. Given the relatively small numbers of Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system, they felt that the existence of disparities (i.e. overrepresentation and differences in outcomes between Hispanic/Latino and White youth) should not be assumed. Evidence of disparities needed to be demonstrated to be able to speak about the root causes and solutions to those disparities. The following sections provide evidence of disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system of Minnesota.

Juvenile Apprehensions

Hispanics/Latinos were over-represented by 227% in 1990 and by 92% in 2000 statewide among juvenile apprehensions. Changes in the overall juvenile, Hispanic/Latino population seem to be a likely explanation for the decline in overrepresentation. For instance, on the state level the overall Hispanic/Latino population (age 10-17) increased from 1990 to 2000 at a rate much higher than the Hispanic/Latino apprehended juvenile population (190% vs. 87%, respectively). Hispanic/Latino youth were actually underrepresented among the apprehended youth population in Kandiyohi County in 2000. Again, this appeared to be due to the overall Hispanic/Latino youth population increasing at a rate much higher than the rate of apprehended youth. (See **Appendix C** for over/under-representation broken down by offense type.)

Figures 1 & 2 on the next page illustrate the over/under-representation of Hispanic juveniles among apprehended populations in the four regions that were under study in 1990 and 2000.

Figure 1: Over-representation of Hispanic Juveniles among Apprehended Populations by Region (1990)

Region	Total Juvenile Arrests (1990)	Hispanic Juveniles as % of Age 10-17 Juvenile Pop. (1990)*	Expected Hispanic Juv. Arrests	Actual Hispanic Juv. Arrests	Over-Representation of Hispanic Youth
Statewide	44720	2%	792	2586	227%
Hennepin	12151	2%	243	623	156%
Ramsey	7343	5%	344	1258	265%
Kandiyohi	503	5%	27	141	431%

* Rounded percents.

Figure 2: Over/Under-representation of Hispanic Juveniles among Apprehended Populations by Region (2000)

Region	Total Juvenile Arrests (2000)	Hispanic Juveniles as % of Age 10-17 Juvenile Pop. (2000)*	Expected Hispanic Juv. Arrests	Actual Hispanic Juv. Arrests	Over/Under Representation of Hispanic Youth
Statewide	74833	3%	2526	4851	92%
Hennepin	21022	4%	931	1751	88%
Ramsey	10199	7%	667	1103	65%
Kandiyohi	1006	10%	104	72	-31%

* Rounded percents.

Figures 3 through 6 compare the juvenile apprehensions of White youth to those of Hispanic/Latino youth for each region and year.

Figure 3: Actual versus Expected Apprehensions, Statewide (1990 & 2000)

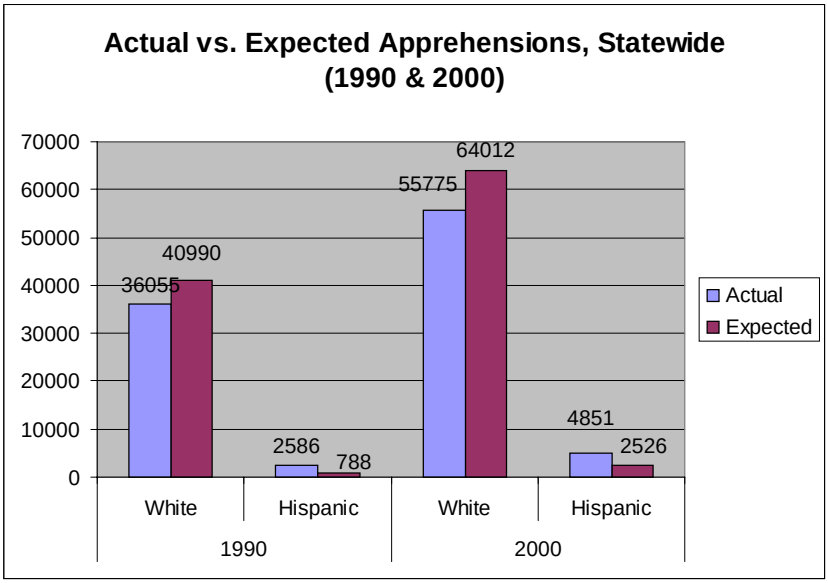


Figure 4: Actual versus Expected Apprehensions, Hennepin (1990 & 2000)

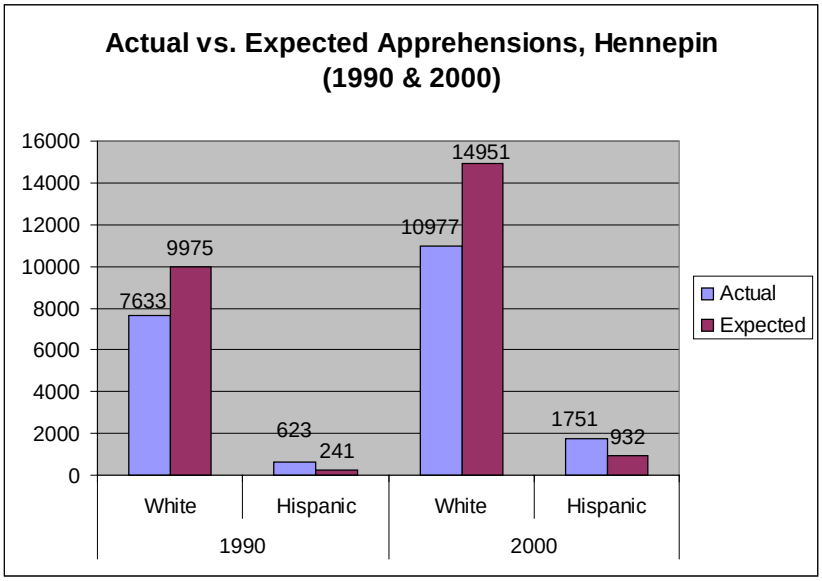


Figure 5: Actual versus Expected Apprehensions, Ramsey (1990 & 2000)

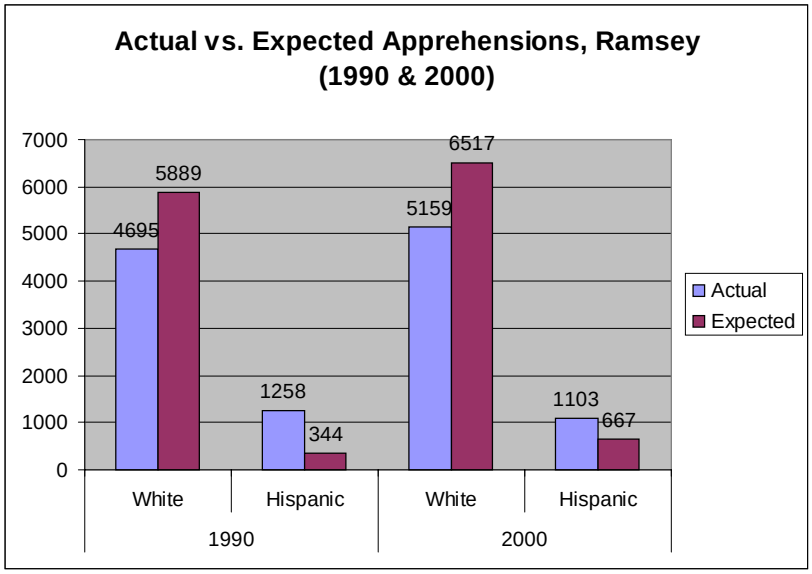
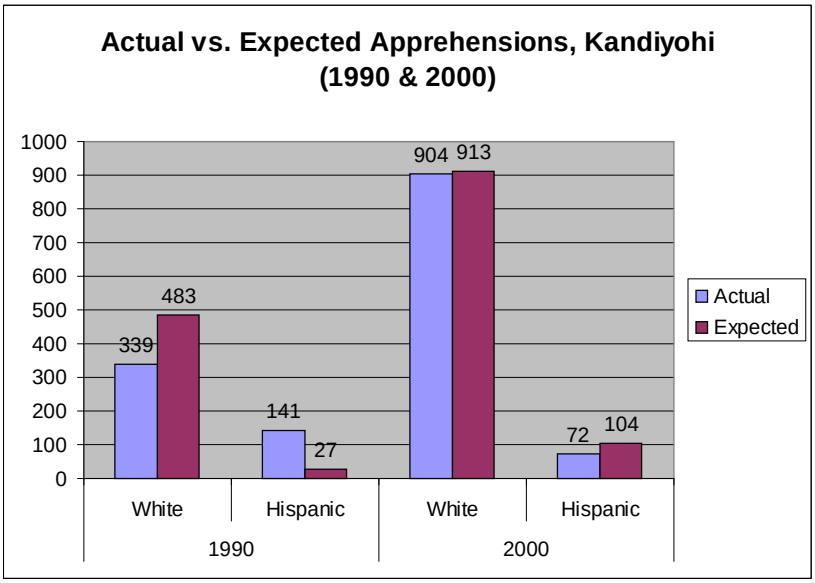


Figure 6: Actual versus Expected Apprehensions, Kandiyohi (1990 & 2000)



Juvenile Delinquency Dispositions

HACER examined juvenile delinquency disposition[4] data to investigate disparities and to provide some possible insight into points where disparities may be developing. **Figure 7** illustrates the over/under-representation of Hispanic/Latino male youth among the five disposition types in 2002 and 2003 by region. With the exception of Hennepin County, Hispanic/Latino males were overrepresented among adjudications and diversions in 2002 and 2003.

Figure 7: Over/Under-representation of Hispanic/Latino Males by Disposition and Region (2002 & 2003)

Disposition Type	Statewide		Hennepin		Ramsey		Kandiyohi	
	2002	2003	2002	2003	2002	2003	2002	2003
Adult Certifications	39%	-49%	-100%*	-31%	191%*	29%	n/a	n/a
Case Closures	48%	11%	-100%	31%	143%	17%	n/a	318%*
Adjudications	69%	52%	-64%	-40%	177%	72%	225%	232%
Dismissals	31%	49%	-75%	-49%	161%	-8%	78%	277%
Diversions	86%	38%	-15%	-27%	243%	10%	220%	139%

* Due to division of small numbers.

Hispanic/Latino female youth were overrepresented in 2002 and 2003 for adjudications on the state level and in Ramsey and Kandiyohi Counties. **Appendix D** summarizes all expected-outcome results for each disposition by gender and region.

Figures 8 through 11 show the expected-outcome results for adjudications by gender and region in 2002 and 2003.

[4] Juveniles adjudicated for criminal offenses receive a disposition rather than a sentence. Dispositions may include a variety of services and sanctions such as probation, residential placement (publicly or privately operated), substance abuse treatment, or other sanctions such as weekend detention, community or victim restitution, counseling, etc.

Figure 8: 2002 Adjudications for Males

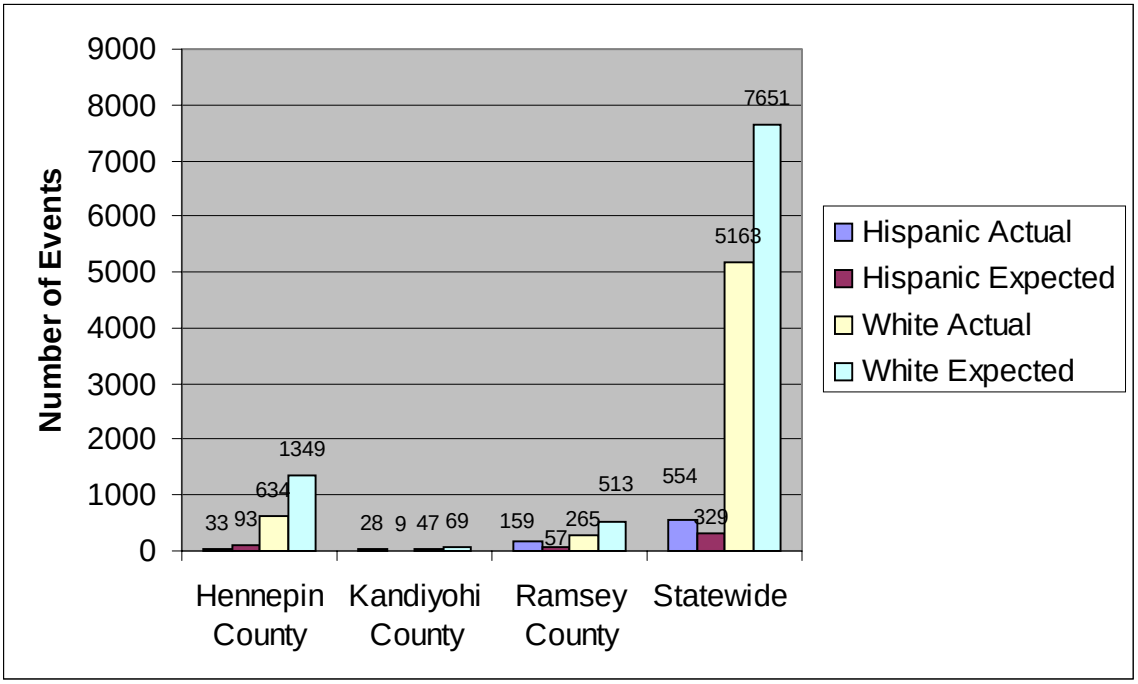


Figure 9: 2003 Adjudications for Males

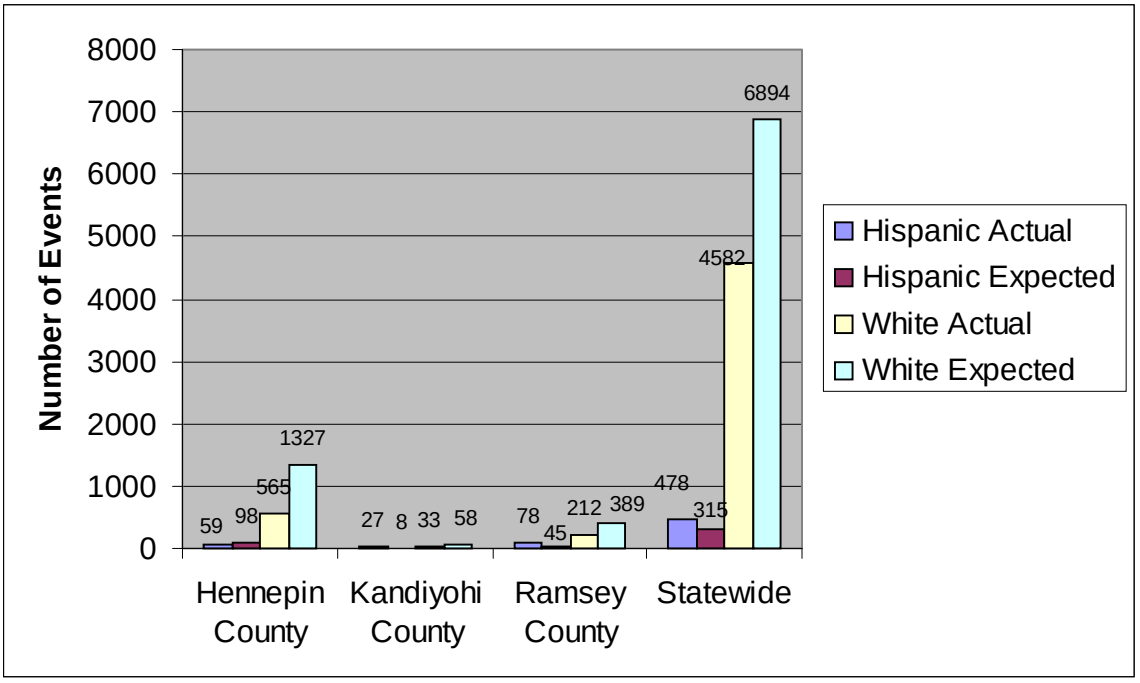


Figure 10: 2002 Adjudications for Females

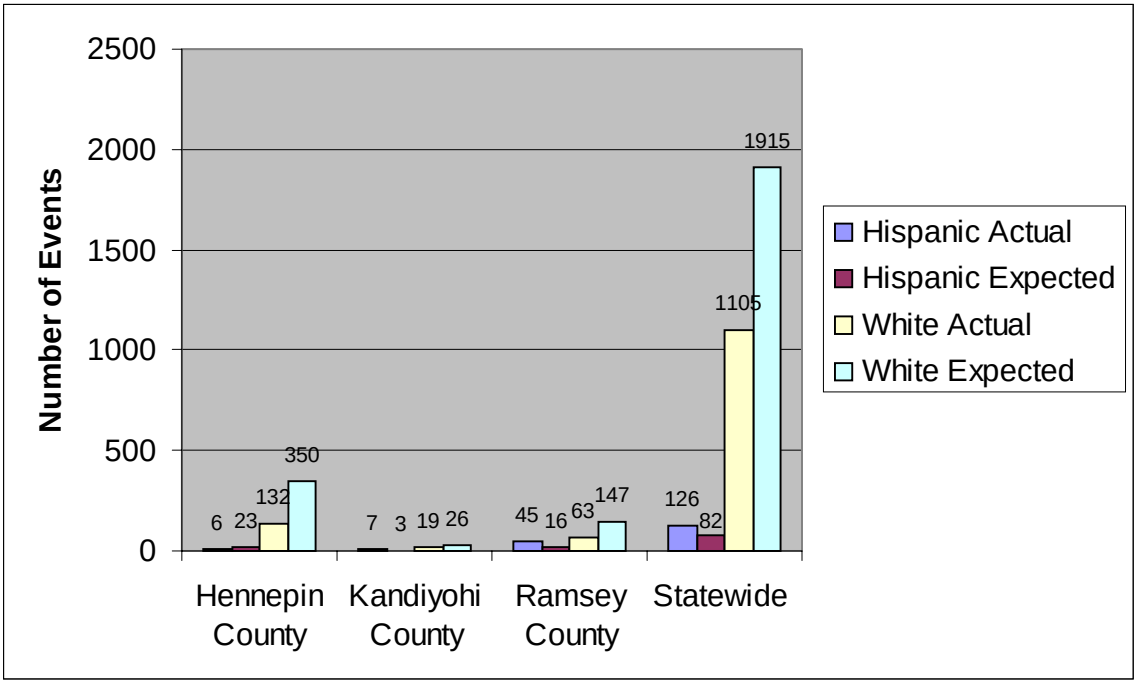
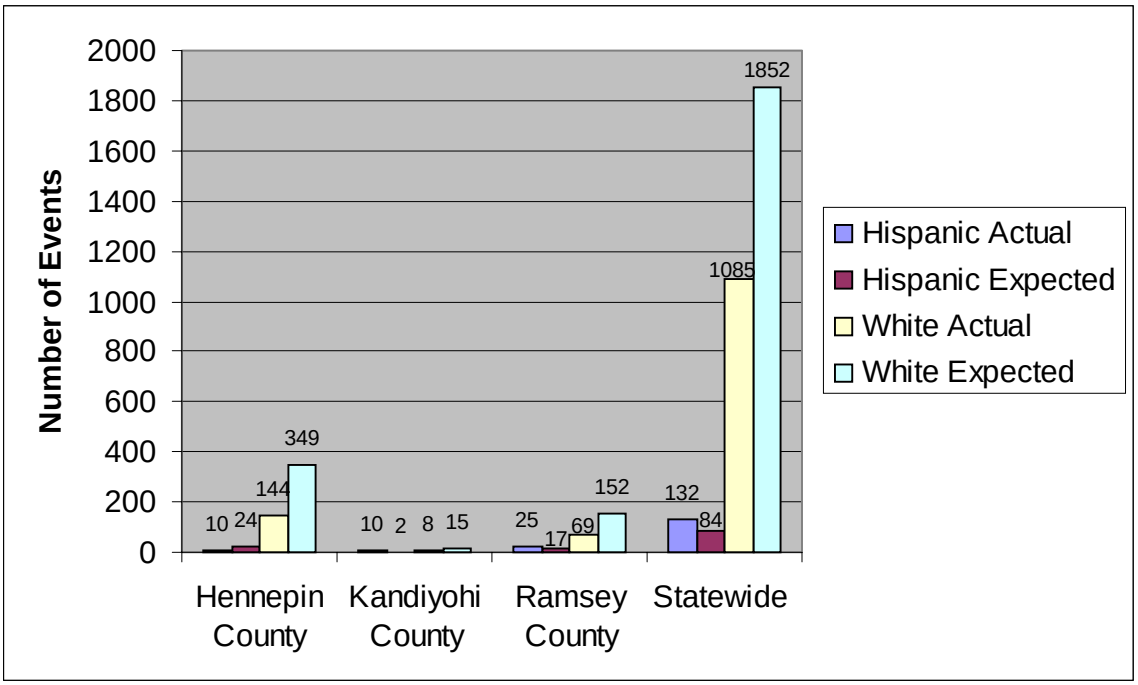


Figure 11: 2003 Adjudications for Females

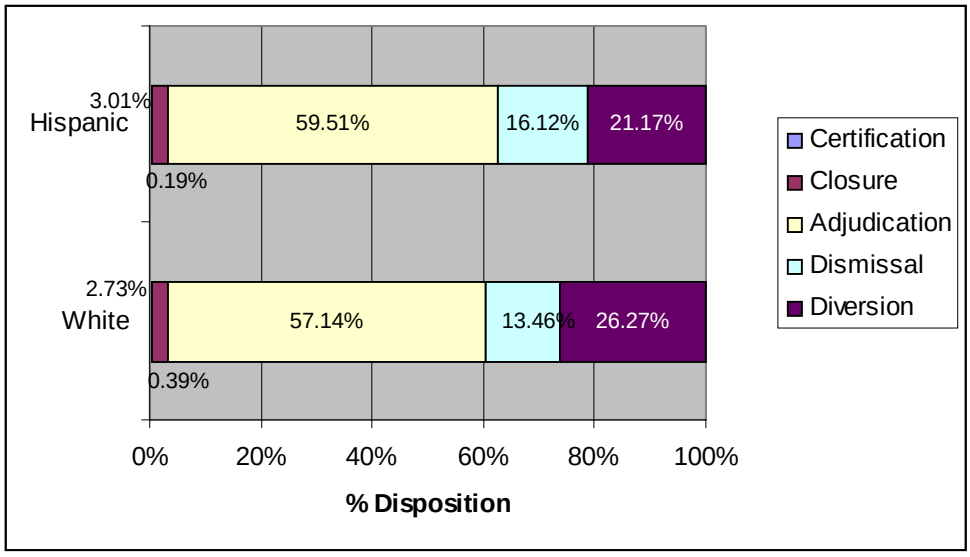


In addition to expected-outcome analysis, we performed bivariate analysis (using SAS version 8) examining the relationship between race/ethnicity and the following variables: disposition type, case type, guilt, offense type and gender. Using Chi-square statistics, we showed differences between Whites and Hispanics/Latinos for the variables of interest. Below are our findings.

Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely to face diversion than White youth.

The 2002 data did not reveal a significant relationship between race/ethnicity and disposition type, but the 2003 data did reveal a significant relationship. Hispanic/Latino youth were slightly more likely to face adjudication and dismissal, as compared with White youth. Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely to face diversion than White youth.

Figure 12: Breakdown of Dispositions of Hispanic and White Youth (2003)



Both the 2002 and 2003 data revealed a significant relationship between race and case type. Specifically, Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely to have delinquent felonies and more likely to have delinquent misdemeanors.

Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely to face felony charges than White youth.

Figure 13: Breakdown of Case Types of Hispanic and White Youth (2002)

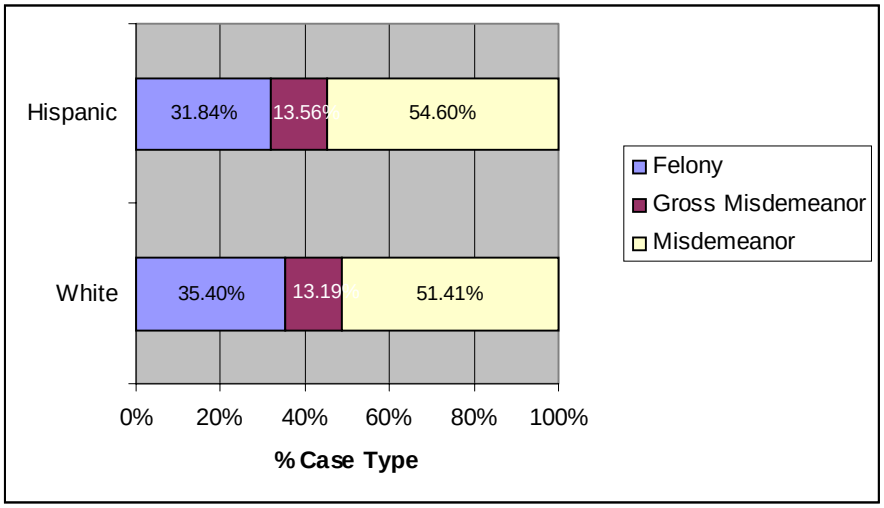
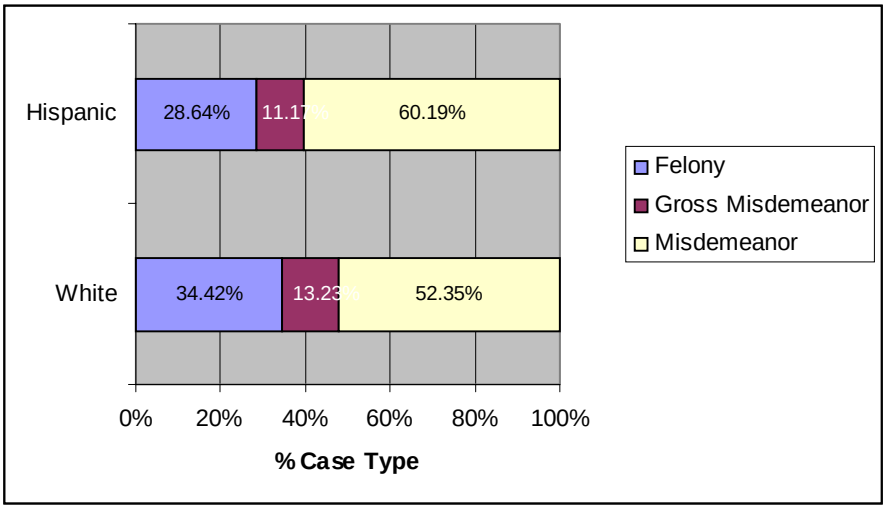


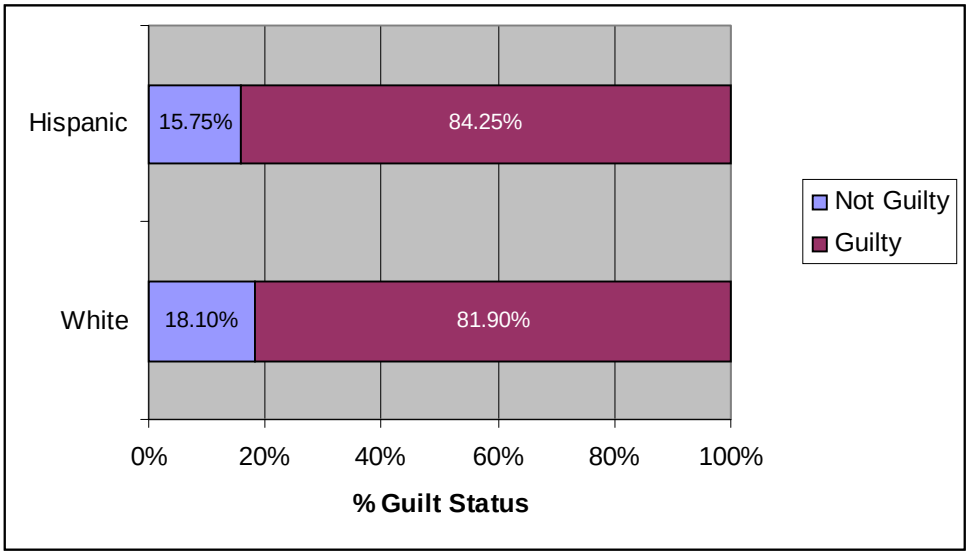
Figure 14: Breakdown of Case Types of Hispanic and White Youth (2003)



More Hispanic/Latino youth admitted guilt or were found guilty than White youth.

The 2002 data revealed a significant relationship between race/ethnicity and finding of guilt, while the 2003 data revealed no such relationship. In the 2002 data, Hispanic/Latino youth were slightly more likely to admit or to be found guilty than White youth.

Figure 15: Race/Ethnicity by Guilt Status (2002)



Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely to have drug or property offenses than White youth.

Both the 2002 and 2003 data revealed a significant relationship between race/ethnicity and offense type. Specifically, Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely to be associated with a drug or property offense and more likely to be associated with a person or other offense, as compared with White youth.

Figure 16: Breakdown of Offense Types of Hispanic and White Youth (2002)

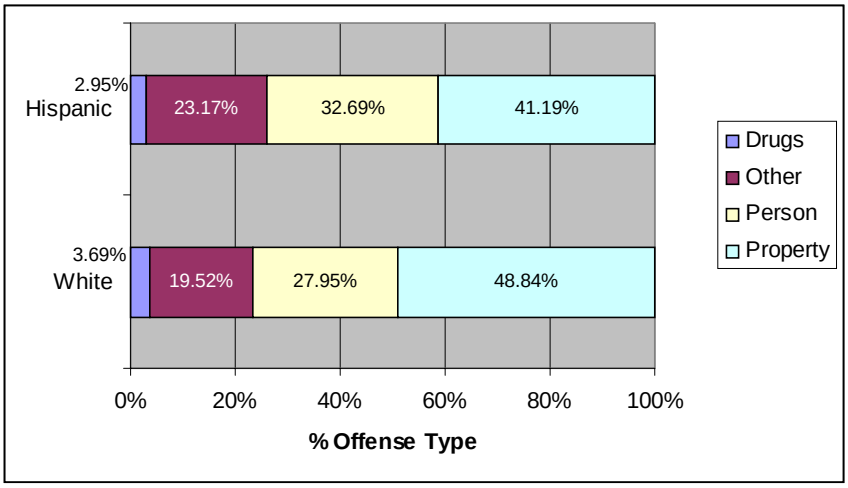
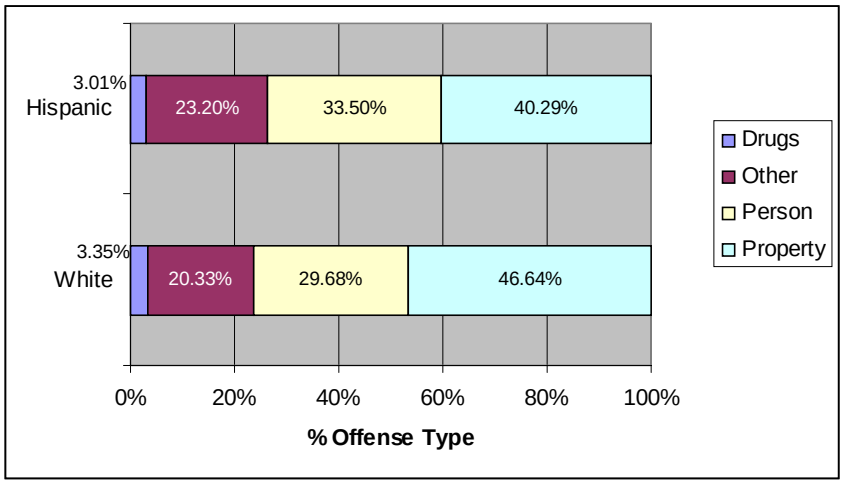


Figure 17: Breakdown of Offense Types of Hispanic and White Youth (2003)



Hispanic/Latino youth were caught offending at younger ages than White youth.

Both the 2002 and 2003 data revealed a significant relationship between age of juvenile at the time of offense and race/ethnicity. Specifically, Hispanic/Latino youth were more likely to be between the ages of 10-14 when the offense was committed than White youth. Conversely, White youth were more likely than Hispanic/Latino youth to be between the ages of 16 and 17 when the offense was committed.

Figure 18: Breakdown of Hispanic and White Juvenile Offenders by Age (2002)

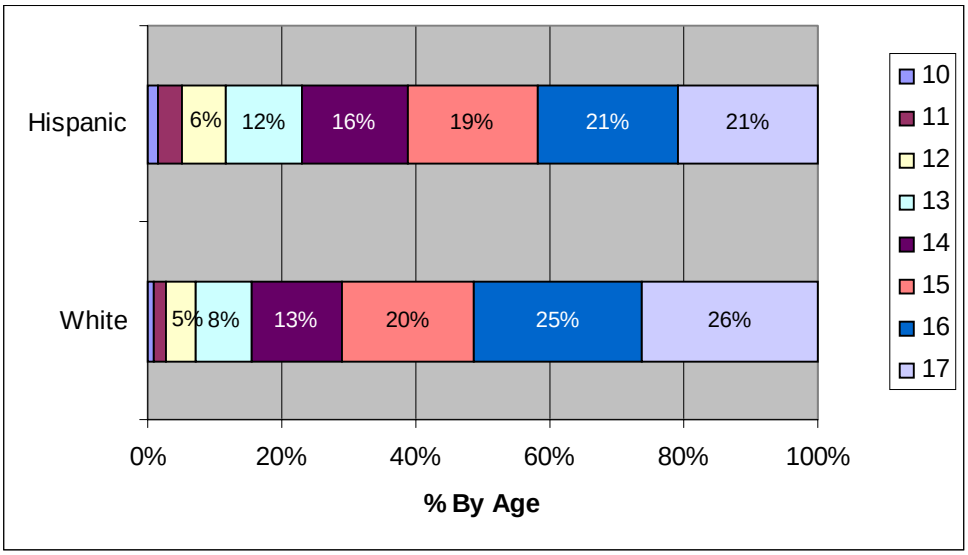
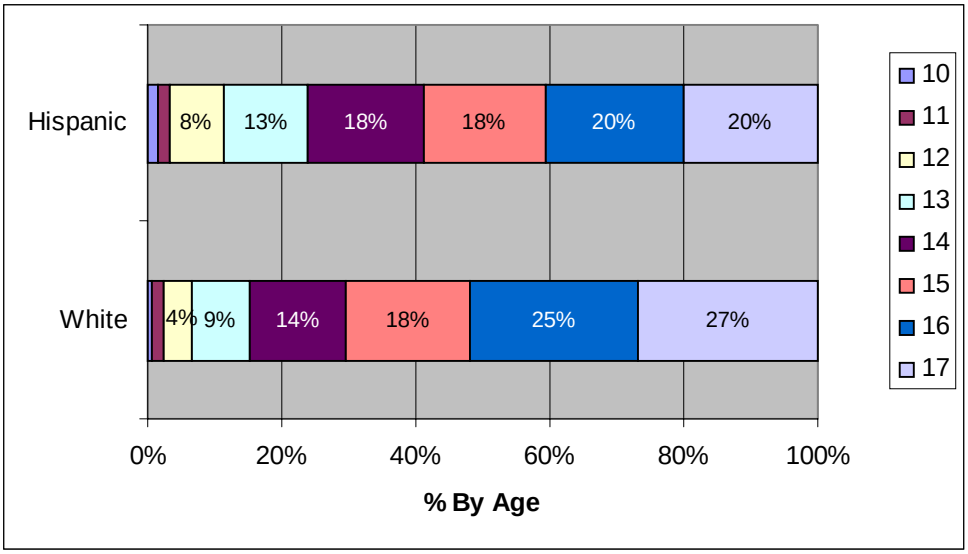


Figure 19: Breakdown of Hispanic and White Juvenile Offenders by Age (2003)



Root Causes of Disparities

Whereas one service provider may say that poverty is a root cause of racial/ethnic disparities for Hispanic/Latino youth, another service provider may say that it is not useful to talk about poverty being a root cause since it does not have a clear and feasible solution. Instead, a more precise root cause of disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth in the system may be not hiring culturally competent staff, because this cause has a feasible solution.

HACER broadly defined a "root cause" of a racial disparity as one of the following:

1) Offenses that were the greatest contributors to overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth;

2) Underlying factors related to delinquent and/or violent behavior among Hispanic/Latino youth;

3) Disparate or unfair treatment of Hispanic/Latino youth in and out of the system;

4) Factors that prevented Hispanic/Latino youth who became involved with the juvenile justice system from benefiting from their involvement with the system.

The following sections describe the major root causes of disparities involving Hispanic/Latino youth that resulted from both our quantitative and qualitative analyses. Each section addresses one of the four types of root causes listed above.

Factors that Contributed to Overrepresentation

Hispanic/Latino youth were overrepresented among juvenile apprehensions primarily because of offenses related to larceny and disorderly conduct. Service providers and youth felt that prejudice and stereotypes on the part of law enforcement contributed to racial profiling, particularly of Hispanic/Latino male youth. Racial profiling resulted in Hispanic/Latino youth being "watched" more (thus apprehended more) than White youth and consequently led to overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system.

Larceny and Disorderly Conduct

HACER analyzed juvenile apprehension data to identify the types of offenses that most contributed to the overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system. An apprehension (or arrest) in this analysis referred to a juvenile taken into custody by a law enforcement agency with the intention of seeking charges for a specific offense. The apprehension data, available online through the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1984), tracked the number of occurrences of apprehensions or arrests.

The three broad categories of offenses (i.e. reasons for apprehension) were Type I, Type II and Status Offenses. (See **Appendix A** for detailed explanations of each offense type.) Type I generally included the most serious crimes such as murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Type II generally included offenses such as other assaults, fraud, narcotics offenses, disorderly conduct, prostitution and vandalism. Status Offenses referred to non-delinquent/non-criminal offenses, i.e. offenses that were illegal only because the individual was underage such as curfew, running away, truancy and underage drinking. The following charts illustrate comparisons of the types of offenses that led to apprehension of White and Hispanic/Latino youth by year and by region.

Figure 20: Breakdown of Apprehensions by Offense Type, Statewide (1990 & 2000)

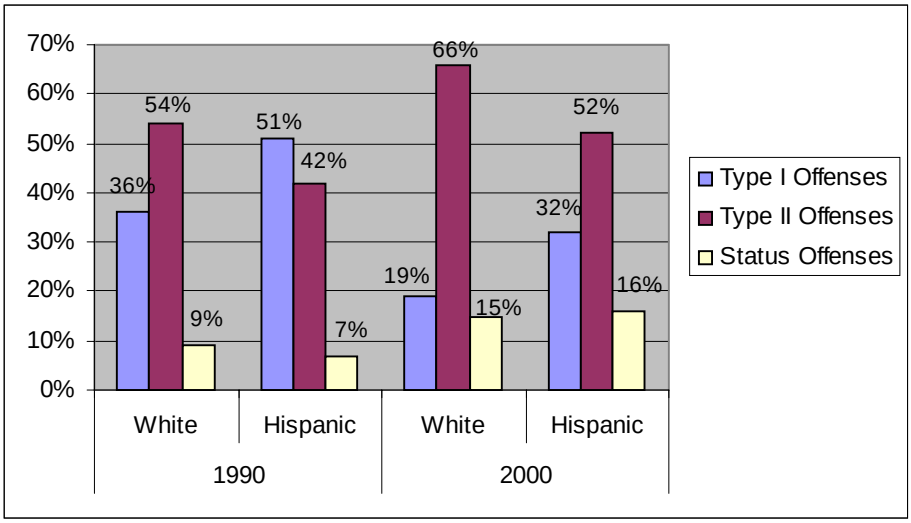


Figure 21: Breakdown of Apprehensions by Offense Type, Hennepin (1990 & 2000)

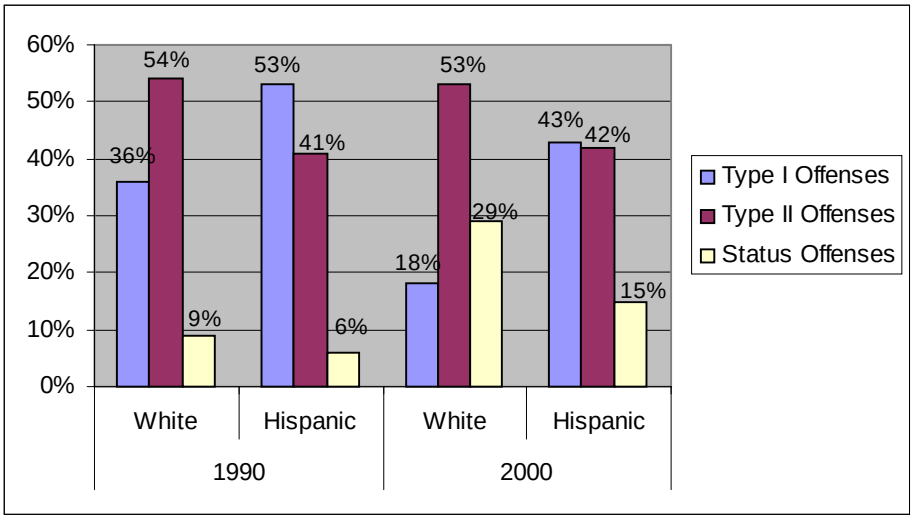


Figure 22: Breakdown of Apprehensions by Offense Type, Ramsey (1990 & 2000)

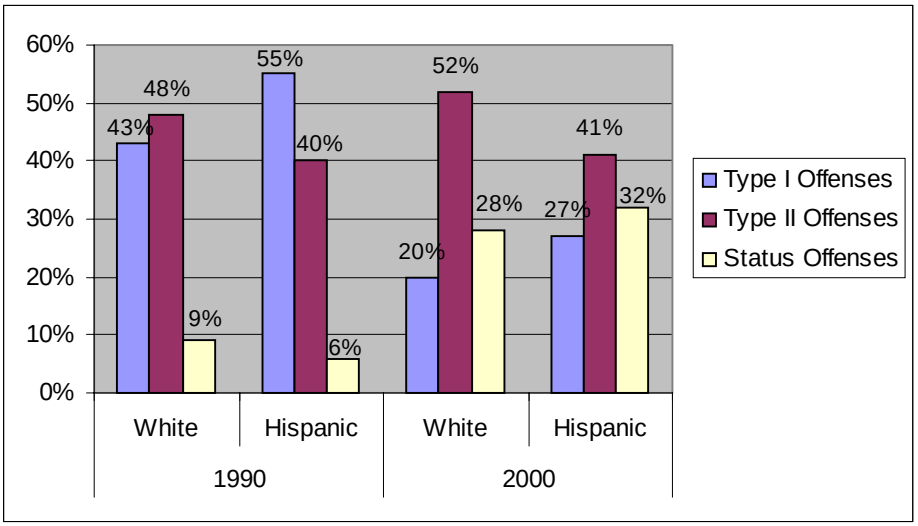
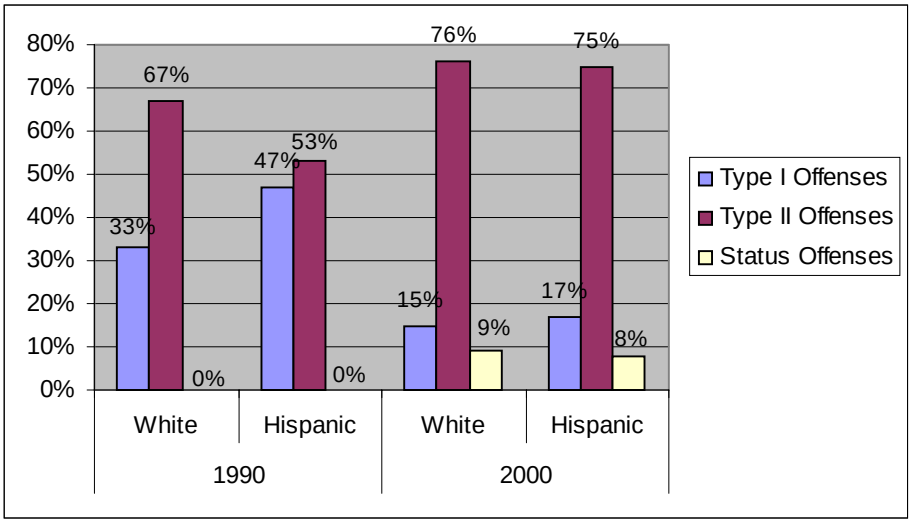


Figure 23: Breakdown of Apprehensions by Offense Type, Kandiyohi (1990 & 2000)



Findings

The proportion of Type I offenses among Hispanic/Latino youth was higher than the same proportion for White youth in 1990 and 2000—mostly due to larceny.[5] In 2000 in Hennepin County, the proportion of Type I offenses among Hispanic/Latino youth actually exceeded the proportion of Type II offenses among Hispanic/Latino youth.

The top five offenses that were the greatest contributors to over/underrepresentation of Hispanic/ Latino youth among juvenile apprehensions are illustrated in **Figures 24 & 25**.

[5] Larceny is the attempted or unlawful taking of property belonging to another person, including such acts as pocket-picking, purse snatching, shoplifting, theft from an automobile or building, and bicycle theft. Motor vehicle theft and thefts resulting from robbery or breaking and entering are not considered larceny.

Appendix C shows expected-outcome results for all offenses by year and by region.

Figure 24: Top Five Offenses Contributing to Over-representation of Latino Youth (1990)

Statewide	Hennepin	Ramsey	Kandiyohi
Larceny (33%)	Larceny (55%)	Larceny (25%)	Larceny (39%)
Other Assaults (13%)	Other Type II (8%)	Other Assaults (18%)	Other Type II (14%)
Aggravated Assault (9%)	Disorderly Conduct (8%)	Aggravated Assault (13%)	Stolen Property (9%)
Other Type II (9%)	Stolen Property (7%)	Motor Vehicle Theft (10%)	Liquor Laws (7%)
Motor Vehicle Theft (8%)	Vandalism (4%)	Other Type II (8%)	Vandalism (7%)

Figure 25: Top Five Offenses Contributing to Over-representation of Latino Youth (2000)

Statewide	Hennepin	Ramsey	Kandiyohi*
Larceny (37%)	Larceny (63%)	Larceny (32%)	n/a
Disorderly Conduct (11%)	Other Type II (10%)	Curfew or Loitering (25%)	n/a
Other Type II (11%)	Disorderly Conduct (8%)	Liquor Laws (8%)	n/a
Curfew or Loitering (8%)	Fraud (5%)	Disorderly Conduct (8%)	n/a
Other Assaults (8%)	Stolen Property (5%)	Other Type II (8%)	n/a

* Hispanic/Latino youth were underrepresented in Kandiyohi County in 2000.

Larceny was the greatest contributor to overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth on the state level and in Hennepin and Ramsey County for both years. On the state level in 2000 the top five offenses accounting for overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth among juvenile apprehensions included: Larceny (37%), Disorderly Conduct (11%), Other Type II (11%), Curfew or Loitering (8%), and Other Assaults (8%) in that order. Curfew or Loitering accounted for 25% of the overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth among juvenile apprehensions in Ramsey County in 2000.

Prejudgments, Stereotypes and Labels

Service providers and youth shed light on factors, other than criminal offenses, that could have contributed to overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth among the apprehended juvenile population. Prejudice, stereotypes and labels were the most likely contributors to overrepresentation as they were believed to result in racial profiling. Service providers

and youth felt that law enforcement targeted Hispanic/Latino youth based on superficial factors and appearances (e.g. gender, race/ethnicity, clothes, hair styles, decals on cars, hanging out in groups, etc.) instead of observed criminal behavior.

Racial profiling involved a perception that service providers, particularly the police, jumped to conclusions too quickly and over-reacted to situations based on prejudgments or biases. A probation officer in Kandiyohi County described how the 'grace factor' was really not in favor of Hispanic/Latino youth.

> *I think there might be some prejudice on the part of the community, you know…I think a lot of the old timers, you know, tend to say, "He's a Hispanic kid. He's gonna steal your car. He's gonna, you know, he's sellin' drugs. He's doin' this." I think maybe they would tend to give a White kid a little break that they wouldn't give the Hispanic kid.*

Service providers who took strictly correctional approaches to their work and who tended not to take socio-cultural aspects into account unfortunately misinterpreted situations involving Hispanic/Latino youth and their families. A bilingual service provider shared an example of a time she did a house visit to investigate a child protection case only to find the father of the youth hiding under a bed and the mother and children fleeing from the back door of the house. Whereas, her colleagues were quick to interpret the behavior as an admission of guilt, after asking the family, the service provider realized that they were undocumented and were afraid they were being sought by immigration services. Upon realizing the main reason for the visit, the family was cooperative with the investigators of the case.

Nonetheless, a service provider in Kandiyohi County justified his not taking culture and other social aspects into account.

> *My philosophy is along the TruThought philosophy. The thinking is where the actions and behaviors of the person is [sic]. The approach of the program is that if the treatment process goes away from individual thinking and generates excuses, then the problems can't be solved. So my focus is so much on thinking that I ignore extenuating circumstances as they become excuses.*

Personal biases translated into outright ignorance about Latino cultures. A judge in the metro area explained how they also translated into ignorance about the dominant, majority culture and its effect on minority groups.

> *A lot of it needs to be White people understanding White people. One of the things that Minnesotans like to do, and nice people in general like to do, is understand others. It might be a good idea to understand ourselves first, and that starts with the 'dark side' of the business, like, "Who are we?" Most White people can't distinguish; they can't describe White culture or European culture. They can't describe the peculiar traits that their group of people has…They can't do it because their view is that they aren't peculiar; they are the way people are. That*

is what comes from being a majority all the time; you are utterly ignorant of yourself because you do not need to know yourself because however you behave, everybody else has to put up with it anyway. If you are a person on the outside, on the other hand, you better know how these White people are going to act because otherwise you are not necessarily going to be safe around them.

In general, negative stereotyping and labeling Hispanic/Latino youth prevented service providers in all stages of the system from seeing each youth with a "fresh set of eyes." Service providers gave examples of assumptions and biases that they felt resulted in unnecessary targeting of Hispanic/Latino youth and that in general were not helpful.

- Assuming all Hispanic/Latino youth were Mexican (or "Spanish").
- Labeling a youth as a gang member because of the clothes he/she wore or what he/she looked like.
- Labeling a Hispanic/Latino youth as a full-fledged gang member for tagging gang graffiti or writing it in his/her notebook.
- Labeling a group of Hispanic/Latino kids walking down the street as a gang.
- Assuming a youth was a criminal because he/she hung out with people or had family members who had been criminally involved.
- Assuming that Hispanic/Latino immigrant parents did not trust U.S. police or service providers in the justice system. As one Latina service provider said,

  We don't have that history that the African American community has, at least not for the new-comers. So they [the police] should be taking advantage of that relationship that they can build but instead they stereotype right away…[We] trust the American police! I don't think that they know that. The assumption is that we are not going to tell them, that we are going to lie. They don't know that about us. They don't know that the average Mexican person—I don't want to speak for everybody else—when they come in, you are respectful to the police officer. You know, but it takes a few years like when you start hearing the kids in the school saying things like "Pigs," and all these derogatory names for the police officers, it is because that is what they see and that is what they hear. The difference is that here they don't take your money compared to Mexico.

- Assuming that if Hispanic/Latino youth or parents were talking in Spanish that they were talking negatively about the person who did not speak English.
- Assuming that if a youth talked loudly, used a lot of hand gestures or moved around a lot when talking, that the youth was being threatening or was a gang member.

Youth Perspectives

The youth felt they often paid the consequences for certain service providers' negative assumptions and stereotypes about them. When community members, police, judges, prosecutors and correctional workers made superficial assumptions about Hispanic/Latino youth, they alienated and angered them and their families. Youth commented about having been targeted by the police for different reasons.

> **For Being 'Mexican':** *Because when they look at me, they see that I am Mexican and right away they say I am a gang member and they start asking me questions about gangs and I tell them that I am not a gang banger but they continue to ask me. They have taken me to the police station for the same, for gangs.*
>
> **For Driving a Fancy Car with Fancy Rims:** *They will pull you over just because…They will pull you over if your car is on rims and you are a person of color they are going to pull your ass over. If you have a fancy car with fancy rims and stuff they are going to pull you over because they suspect you are selling dope.*
>
> **For the Way They Dressed:** *Most of the time that I got stopped by the police was because the way that I dress, like the way that Hispanic gang members dress. Not only would they stop me but sometimes they will beat me up and take away my stuff.*

Other youth gave examples of having been stopped because they "looked suspicious." A youth recounted an incident during which he was targeted by the police.

> *[Police officers were] pointing their tazer guns at us and stuff and asking all these questions… "Yeah, I know you can't afford all that clothes. You sell drugs. Your mom is on welfare, section 8 and stuff." "My mom works ten hours a day! You ain't talking about me!" and then they are like "What are you?" and I was like "Chicano-Native-American" and then the cop was like "Oh, I didn't know y'all talked ghetto."*

Factors Related to Delinquent and/or Violent Behavior

The results of our analysis of the Minnesota Student Survey and qualitative data from the focus groups and interviews underscored the reality of a multiplicity of root causes that may have contributed to Hispanic/Latino youth getting involved in delinquent and/or violent behavior. Whether or not a Hispanic/Latino youth could communicate with his/her parents, in analyzing the Student Survey data, was a predictor of delinquent behavior among Hispanic/Latino students. At the same time, this was likely to have been related to Hispanic/Latino, immigrant parents' ability to effectively deal with acculturation issues personally and with their children. Acculturation issues may have involved clashes related to language, religion, and materialism. Furthermore, a youth's attitude about being in school was related to truancy and delinquent behavior. His/Her attitude about school may have been influenced by many layers of factors: legal status, language barriers, whether or not parents made sure he/she attended school, how teachers treated him/her at school, economic needs/the need to work, and negative peer pressure.

This report does not attempt to simplify the factors related to delinquent behavior of Hispanic/Latino youth using the analysis of the Student Survey. The goal was to identify probable contributing factors to delinquent behavior and to place those factors in a context that describes real experiences of Hispanic/Latino youth and the service providers who work with them. The first section below identifies probable contributing factors to delinquent behavior of Hispanic/Latino students using our analysis of the Minnesota Student Survey. The sections thereafter discuss the most common recurring themes related root causes from the perspectives of the service providers and youth.

Analysis of the Minnesota Student Survey

Initially, we examined the frequencies of three variables related to violence and three variables related to victimization from the Minnesota Student Survey. The three variables related to violence included: whether a student carried a gun on school property, whether a student carried another weapon on school property, or whether the student reported becoming violent in the past year. The three variables related to victimization included: whether another student had kicked/bitten/hit the youth who reported on the survey, whether a student stabbed or fired a gun at him/her, and whether a student had property damaged or stolen. Then, in the multivariate analysis we used the variables for violence and victimization to identify additional factors that could predict violent behavior among Hispanic/Latino students.

Frequency of Violence and Victimization among Hispanic/Latino Students

Violence:
The survey included a question, "On how many of the last 30 days did you carry a gun on school property," to which students could respond: 0 days, 1 day, 2 or 3 days, 4 or 5 days, and 6 or more days. The vast majority of Hispanic/Latino youth (over 95%) did not carry a gun on school property in the month prior to the administration of the survey. **Approximately 2% of Hispanic/Latino youth reported carrying a gun 6 or more days in the past month.**

Another question asked, "On how many of the last 30 days did you carry a weapon (other than a gun) on school property," to which students could respond: 0 days, 1 day, 2 or 3 days, 4 or 5 days and 6 or more days. The majority of Hispanic/Latino youth (almost 90%) did not carry another weapon on school property in the month prior to the administration of the survey. **Approximately 4% of Hispanic/Latino youth reported carrying another weapon 6 or more days in the past month.**

A third question asked, "During the last 12 months, how often have you hit or beat up another person," to which students could respond: never, once or twice, 3 to 5 times, 6 to 10 times and more than 10 times. Most Hispanic/Latino youth (over 55%) did not hit or beat up another person in the year prior to the administration of the survey. **About one-quarter of Hispanic youth reported having hit or beat up another student once or twice. Approximately 5%, though, reported doing this 10 or more times in the past year.**

Victimization:
The survey asked, "During the last 12 months, which of the following has happened to you on school property? Has a student: kicked, bitten, or hit you?" to which students could respond "yes" or "no." **About one-third of Hispanic/Latino youth reported that they had been kicked, bitten or hit at least once on school property in the year prior to the administration of the survey.**

The survey also asked, "During the last 12 months, which of the following has happened to you on school property? Has a student: stabbed you or fired a gun at you?" to which students could respond "yes" or "no." **Less than 5% of Hispanic/Latino youth reported they had been stabbed or had a gun fired at them at least once on school property in the year prior to the administration of the survey.**

A third question was, "During the last 12 months, how many times has someone stolen or deliberately damaged your property at school," to which students could respond: 0 times, 1 time, 2 or 3 times, 4 or 5 times or 6 or more times. A little over half of Hispanic/Latino youth reported they had not had anything stolen or damaged at school in the past year. **Close to 10% of youth, though, reported they had had something damaged or stolen at least 4 or more times.**

Predictors of Violence

The dependent variables related to violence for this analysis were: student carried a gun on school property, student carried another weapon on school property, and the student became violent. **Figure 26** highlights the independent variables that were the most significant predictors of violence among Hispanic/Latino students. **Appendix E** contains the statistical output from this analysis.

Using a narrow definition of statistical significance, numerous factors were predictive of violent behavior, including family, behavioral, school, community, and demographic factors. The following variables were predictive of violent behavior across all years.

- Whether the youth could talk with his/her father
- Whether the youth could talk with his/her mother
- Drug abuse in the family
- Whether the youth had been truant
- How the youth felt about going to school
- Whether teachers respected students
- Gender

There were two clear limitations to this analysis. First, we were unable to explain more than about 20% of the variance in our dependent variables using the factors included in these models; and second, almost all of the factors we included in our models were significantly related to our dependent variable at some point, giving us limited ability to narrow down the types of factors related to violence perpetration by Hispanic/Latino youth. The peer-reviewed literature has repeatedly revealed that numerous factors are related to violence, and this data suggests a similar case.

Figure 26: Most Significant Variables Affecting Violence among Youth

Variable Name	Significant at a <0.0001 Level for Outcome *(* significant, X not significant)*					
	Outcome: Carried Gun to School		Carried Other Weapon to School		Became Violent	
	2001	2004	2001	2004	2001	2004
Youth can talk to father	*	*	*	*	*	*
Youth can talk to mother	*	*	*	*	*	*
Alcohol abuse problems at home	*	X	*	*	*	*
Drug abuse problems at home	*	*	*	*	*	*
Youth has been truant	*	*	*	*	*	*
Youth feels good about self	X	*	*	*	X	X
Mood of youth	*	X				
How youth feels about going to school	*	*	*	*	*	*
Plans for the future	*	*	*	X	X	X
Whether students threaten kids of different races at school	*	*	*	*	X	*
Whether teachers respect students	*	*	*	*	*	*
Whether illegal gang activity is a problem at school	*	*	X	X	X	X
Whether student has skipped school because felt unsafe	*	*	*	*	X	X
Whether youth feels safe going to/from school	*	X	*	X	X	X
Physical abuse at home	X	X	*	*	*	*
Gender	*	*	*	*	*	*
Grade	X	X	X	X		
Mental/physical condition	X	X	*	*	X	X
Youth identifies as single or mixed race/ethnicity	X	X	X	X	X	X

Predictors of Victimization

The dependent variables related to victimization for this analysis were: student had kicked, bitten or hit you; student had stabbed or fired a gun at you; property was damaged or stolen. **Figure 27** highlights the independent variables that were the most significant predictors of victimization among Hispanic/Latino students. **Appendix F** contains the statistical output from each analysis individually. The following variables were predictive of victimization across all years.

- Alcohol abuse problems at home
- Youth felt good about self
- Whether students threatened kids of different races at school
- Whether teachers respected students
- Whether student had skipped school because felt unsafe
- Gender

Here, again, there were two clear limitations. First, we were unable to explain more than about 20% of the variance for the first two dependent variables using the factors included in these models and about 12% of the variance for the third dependent variable. Second, almost all of the factors included in our models were significantly related to our dependent variable, yet again, giving us a limited ability to narrow down the types of factors related to whether Hispanic/Latino youth would experience violence/safety issues.

Figure 27: Most Significant Variables Affecting Victimization among Youth

Variable Name	Significant at a <0.0001 Level for Outcome *(* significant, X not significant)*					
	Student Kicked, Bitten or Hit You		Student Stabbed or Fired Gun at You		Property Was Damaged or Stolen	
	2001	2004	2001	2004	2001	2004
Youth can talk to father	X	*	*	X	X	*
Youth can talk to mother	*	*	*	*	X	X
Alcohol abuse problems at home	*	*	*	*	*	*
Drug abuse problems at home	X	*	*	X	X	X
Youth has been truant	X	*	*	*	*	*
Youth feels good about self	*	*	*	*	*	*
Mood of youth	*	*	*	*	*	X
How youth feels about going to school	*	*	*	*	X	X
Plans for the future	X	X	*	*	X	X
Whether students threaten kids of different races at school	*	*	*	*	*	*
Whether teachers respect students	*	*	*	*	*	*
Whether illegal gang activity is a problem at school	*	*	*	*	X	*
Whether student has skipped school because felt unsafe	*	*	*	*	*	*
Whether youth feels safe going to/from school	*	*	X	X	*	*
Physical abuse at home	*	*	X	X	X	*
Gender	*	*	*	*	*	*
Grade	*	*	X	X	*	*
Mental/physical condition	*	X	X	*	*	X
Youth identifies as single or mixed race/ethnicity	X	X	X	X	X	X

Chemical Use and Selling Drugs

Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely to have drug offenses than White youth; nonetheless, drug abuse and selling drugs were still evident contributing factors to the delinquent behavior of the youth who participated in this study. Drugs translated into fast money which Hispanic/Latino youth used to buy the things that helped them feel a sense of belonging and blend into their local environment. Exposure to drug abuse often began in the home environment. As a prosecutor from Ramsey County explained, "Some of them really have a tough environment and they are startin' in the hole and we're just trying to get them even."

Drugs were intertwined with many other factors such as: gang involvement, living in poverty, and exposure to violent behavior. In particular, service providers observed that Hispanic/Latino youth were often reluctant to seek help outside the family and did not take into account the unintended consequences of drug-related behavior on their families.

Hispanic/Latino youth may be reluctant to seek help outside of the family.

Service providers observed reluctance on the part of Hispanic/Latino youth to seek help outside of the family for problems that may have been occurring at home. A social worker in Hennepin County described how cultural norms contributed to that.

> *It seems like it's usually not okay to go outside your family with personal problems, especially if it's something real shameful like any kind of abuse in the family, but even gang involvement or alcohol and drug involvement. Those are highly shameful and are considered sometimes moral weakness kinds of issues (…) So it may not be understood in the first place and it's very difficult, even shameful to talk about it outside of the family.*

A service provider who specialized in chemical dependency in Kandiyohi County described how she attempted to work with Hispanic/Latino youth.

> *Many times they come in with a chip on their shoulder and you need to somehow get around that. I am not saying that I have the answer because many of them won't open up to me but at least I try to let them know that I care about what they are feeling and I also try not to be judgmental with my assessment of what maybe going on within their home or with what they are doing. Confidentiality is a big piece of that safety net for them once they know that it is not going any further than that room—unless I have to report it. I always make that very clear too. [Confidentiality] helps to open up the door sometimes too and [helps them] to be a little bit more honest with themselves.*

The reluctance to go outside the family or to seek social services was perceived to be even greater for undocumented immigrants.

Hispanic/Latino youth might not take into account the unintended consequences of drug-related behavior on their families.

Youth in general do not always consider the unintended outcomes of their actions. However, for Hispanic/Latino youth getting involved in drug-related behavior and even associating with the wrong crowd could have serious consequences. A social worker in Hennepin County remembered a specific situation where a youth's involvement in drugs led to major unintended consequences for the family.

> *I know of an entire family that was deported back to Guatemala after living here 14 years because their son was arrested at school for possession of a small amount of marijuana. And the sad thing is, when you work with youth, you see that they usually are told by their friends that it's no big deal to smoke weed, or to have possession of a small amount. "Nothing's going to happen to you." So they think that. They don't realize the legal implications and that their whole family can be deported, especially if they're not here legally and they are undocumented.*

A service provider who worked closely with the public schools in Willmar shared the experience of one Hispanic/Latino youth.

> *We had a case just not long ago, where a Latino kid was after this girl, an Anglo girl and the girl asked him to get her some marijuana and he went. He was dumb enough to go and buy it for her (…) We are talking about a really good student, never in trouble, well-behaved you know. He was suspended for a whole year. The girl got in-school suspension for one day because buying marijuana for yourself is a bigger crime than selling it to somebody else. So the girl who was caught with the marijuana in her hands got one day in-school suspension and the guy who went and got it for her, got kicked out of school for a whole year.*

Youth Perspectives

Chemical use was an evident contributor to the delinquent behavior of the youth. For multiple youth, using drugs led to being violent.

> *When I came back home from my biological mother's I started being abusive because I was drunk. I was high too. I was smoking marijuana and I just started being abusive and running my mouth. Just not respecting the rules.*

Youth described how they had been exposed to drugs from members of their own families.

> *A lot of alcohol in the family. I mean from my dad's side. My Mom she did not do no alcohol at all, not even smoke a cigarette but my Dad, I started it from him. He didn't do no illegal drugs but alcohol was his drug of choice.*

Gang Involvement and Negative Peer Association

The sense of family is very important for Hispanic/Latino youth. For those youth whose sense of family is not fulfilled at home, many find that fulfillment elsewhere. Unfortunately, the 'other family' that accepts them as they are, that makes them feel like they belong, that validates their culture, and that provides them access to money and material things that they cannot get at home, is often a gang. As with many other underlying reasons for Hispanic/Latino youth involvement in the juvenile justice system, it was not clear whether or not gang involvement was *the root cause* of delinquent behavior or just *a symptom* of other underlying causes of violent behavior (e.g. poverty, clashes of culture, drug use, under-education, living in a neighborhood claimed by a gang, etc.).

Service providers perceived gang activity as a major contributing factor to truancy and delinquency among Hispanic/Latino youth, especially in the metropolitan area. Some reasons that gang activity appeared to have a disproportionate impact on Hispanic/Latino youth were:

1) Hispanic/Latino youth and their families experienced incredible pressure and intimidation to remain loyal to gangs compared to youth from other racial/ethnic backgrounds;
2) The majority culture in the United States has always treated new arrivals as the latest "punching bag of the day" causing more Hispanic/Latino youth to seek protection within groups who resemble them; and
3) The legislative crackdown on gang activity disparately affected Hispanic/Latino youth by making consequences more severe regardless of whether gang affiliation was actual or perceived.

Hispanic/Latino youth experience overwhelming pressure to belong to a gang and to remain involved—or at least to maintain the perception of loyalty to a gang.

Given the pressures that Hispanic/Latino youth face in getting involved in a gang, 'dressing gang' or 'tagging' for a gang might not have translated into actual gang affiliation. A probation officer in Hennepin County felt that Hispanic/Latino youth with whom she worked

seemed to operate on the fringe of gangs almost according to a textbook to maintain a perception of gang loyalty. The officer mentioned the incredible pressure that Hispanic/Latino youth face to remain in the gang even if they no longer want to be involved in it.

> *The pressure to stay in the gang is not just pressure on the kids; it's pressure on the child's family (…) there is a pattern of these kids operating on the fringes, kids who don't want to be a part of the gang anymore but who don't see a way out because you don't just get to leave, specifically with the Latino gangs. I can't say I have seen this with some of the African American gangs or the Hmong gangs. It's a similar operating tactic but leaving has a cost and it involves physical assault, intimidation, threatening of the family, of knowing where you live, and threatening siblings. It's brutal and so what I see are these kids who are acting out low level. What this means is, because you talk about kids dressing gang, well, they are wearing some but not all and there is almost like a textbook for this somewhere. "Well, if I wear this but not that, if I acknowledge them but don't openly greet them." There is a fine line that these kids are operating under and it is just unbelievable pressure and that's where you see a lot of this tagging.*

Hispanic/Latino immigrant youth may feel like the latest punching bag *du jour* and may need to find safety in numbers.

Gangs in the US historically involved European immigrant youth; however, the vast majority of today's gangs are African American, Latino or Asian (Curry, Ball and Decker, 1996; Howell, 1994, 1998; Miller, 1975; Pappas, 2001). As one service provider in Ramsey County explained, with each new wave of immigration and oppression comes a new punching bag of the day.

> *They get into gangs because they don't belong to anyone and they might be gettin' pounded. The different waves of ethnic groups—whoever is the latest punching bag* du jour*—I mean, the other kids whack on them. I saw it with the Hmong population, the Somalis now. And so they gather together because there is safety in numbers and that shouldn't be.*

Tough on gang legislation is legislation *du jour*.

The criminal justice system's decision to crackdown on gang activity disproportionately impacted Hispanic/Latino youth. A probation officer in Hennepin County speculated that, of the Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders with whom she worked, a disproportionate number of them were involved in gangs. Most of the youth with whom she worked were born in Mexico but had immigrated to the United

States at some point. She felt that, one way or another, the socialization process for these new arrivals, usually involved at least some association with Hispanic/Latino youth who were gang-involved.

> *However, that socialization takes place (…) they are coming in on delinquency charges that are related to gang activity. Whenever you put the label gang activity on anything, even when it is property damage, there are some political things attached to that. There is a stigma attached to that. The county attorney approaches those things differently than random acts of juvenile craziness. So right there you are not going to get in my opinion as much leniency. If you are out doing gang graffiti tags, you are not going to get the break on your sentence that some other kid that just picked up a spray can and decided to go spray paint a bus stop is gonna get. Right or wrong, it is a societal view; it's the court's stand. It's a huge concern over gang violence which even though is a well-founded concern I think that bias comes in.*

The prosecutor from Ramsey County described how legislation shifted with public opinion:

> *Timing makes a difference, you know in the 70's, more in the 80's I'd say when gangs were first coming into Saint Paul you could basically kind of pair up the gangs with ethnic groups and then their enterprises were all different too (…) A lot of the Latino kids were more into the drug trafficking, the African American kids were into shooting—you know it was more of, "You dissed me," kind of thing and there wasn't any real profit in anything—and then a lot of the Asian kids were more into the turf and sexual stuff and that causes a reaction of course in the community. It causes a reaction for the cops; you know they make judgments. When it's hot, hot, hot on the topic, then the [societal] focus changes. It shifts for the prosecution, it shifts for the police and so you know different groups can get targeted, but we are never really ahead of the curve.*

Youth Perspectives

Gangs were a major contributing factor to delinquency among the youth in this study who were from Hennepin and Ramsey Counties. They had observed gangs everywhere. Gangs were in the streets of their neighborhoods and in the schools that they attended. The pressure to join gangs was far greater than any alternative support system available in schools, community centers or homes. For many of the youth, family members were also involved in gangs:

> *The people who are in your gang, most of the time, they are your family because they really are (…) but really, he is really your cousin and you have a lot of pride in your family too. You love your family to death if you are Hispanic (…) [Probation officers] are telling you to leave your cousin, leave your friend and we have a lot of pride in our family, we love our family. There ain't no way that they*

can do nothing or say anything to keep you away from your family (…) all of my family is in a gang, all the guys in there.

One of the youth's first drive-by was with his uncle.

My uncles, I just see them doing stuff. I would go outside to play and they would be on the corner smoking a joint. I thought it must be cool. And I looked up to my uncle especially, a lot. And the same one that I looked up to is the same one that took me on my first drive by.

An undocumented youth described how gangs gave him a sense of belonging.

I have a lot of family in gangs and a lot of friends in gangs. I guess even though in a bad way, you know, gangs are bad 'cause, yeah, they do crimes and hurt people but you feel they kind of love you in a way. You feel that support, that respect—that you want to belong to something or belong with somebody.

Although the sense of belonging was a powerful force that pulled the youth to join gangs, they described the need for protection and the desire for respect as additional incentives.

I joined [gangs] because they got my back. If some other kids try to punk me. I just punk. Basically, like you know if someone is trying to call you names, basically put you down, saying "You are nothing, you are worthless," doing certain things.

Gang membership offered a sense of familiarity, comfort and protection that no other institution in the community – police, schools, churches, neighborhood centers – offered. Ironically, schools were the major nexus for gang activity and association with negative peers. As one youth said, "What got me involved in a gang? School. Really!" However, school was not the most likely root cause of his delinquent behavior. Another youth summarized what got him and many of his peers into trouble.

Gangs, hanging with the homies, friends, making bad choices, getting cocky because you think you won't be caught. [I] abused methamphetamine, all kinds of stuff. Hanging with the wrong crowd I guess. Trying to do something bigger than what you is.

Some of the youth entered the system for being truant.

I got involved in the juvenile justice system for truancy. Getting out of school, getting out, hanging around (…) I got sucked into the bad crowd, I liked the things they did and it just escalated from there. I got curious.

Once the youth were in the juvenile justice system, going back to school after treatment was not going to be easy as two of the youth explained.

> **P1:** *I think [X high school] is better for me to go there because I know that if I stay down there I got a lot of things to look forward to (…) down [in Y school] I have really good relationships with drug dealers, gang members and a lot of guys who are gang material, drug material, gun material.*
>
> **P2:** *You are going to find that in [X high school] too. I mean, that is where I have been three years. I have been there and it is negative.*

High school was going to be much more difficult than junior high, another youth speculated.

> *Now I am in high school though so (…) that means that it's going to be more trouble. More gangs and stuff like that. Now I am in 9th grade. So I don't know how it's going to be. I know it is going to be hard for me to go to high school.*

Lack of Adult Supervision

Poor parenting, lack of parenting and lack of adult supervision were probably the most commonly mentioned contributing factors to delinquency among Hispanic/Latino youth, according to the service providers. In the case of most Hispanic/Latino families whose children became involved in the system, however, the lack of supervision was not always a traditional case of 'neglect.' Lack of supervision was often a result of parents working multiple jobs, having no or limited access to daycare, and consequently, leaving the children home alone or in the care of other siblings who may or may not have been old enough or willing to take on that responsibility. A Hispanic/Latino service provider in Kandiyohi County described his view.

> *The parents just are not in their child's life and just have too many other things going on. Or I would say a lot of 'em around here are working at Jenni-O or some of the bigger production places and they are working overnights and the supervision isn't there. They are asleep during the day and not getting them to school. I think a lot of that plays a part in it.*

The lack of a sense of community in the supervision of youth was also a contributing factor to why Hispanic/Latino youth got involved in delinquent behavior. Service providers gave three examples of factors that exacerbated the lack of a sense of community. First, families and communities were no longer as tight-knit as they had been in the past. As one service provider explained, "In the past, it was not uncommon for a friend of the family to see kids on the corner getting into trouble and to say, 'Hey! I know you. I know your Mom!'" In this way neighborhoods functioned, news got back to the family and kids were kept in-check.

Second, service providers in all three counties observed an absence of positive Hispanic/Latino male role models stepping forward to mentor and spend time with Hispanic/Latino young men. Third, youth-serving, community-based organizations did

not uniformly enforce rules and regulations toward intolerance of gang and violence-related behavior. A service provider shared her experience.

> *[In one youth group] I had five different gangs represented at the table. That was tough! So we had to set the ground rules and be firm about it, no colors, no signs, no throwing down signs, no hats shifted, so you have to stay up on [those things] (…) This agency has some real strict rules when the kids come together and this is what I tell them, "You leave your gang stuff at the door. This is my 'set' right here. I am kinda rich now. I own from the bottom of the bridge to the other side of [X business]. So if you are involved in gang activity from there to there. You need to answer to me. So you walk out this door and you do something or you are at the bus stop. If I find out you are at [Y business] and there is a fight going on over there. Guess what? I am all over you." (…) But the same type of kid, say, at [Z organization] or some of these other places, they don't have the same rules so [the kids] can advertise whatever it is that they want to advertise and so we are not all together on the same page—all of the adults, all the adults that work together with kids.*

Unfortunately, when one agency in the neighborhood strictly enforced rules against gang behavior and another tolerated it, youth in the neighborhood did not receive a consistent message.

Youth Perspectives

The greatest concern for the young men who participated in the study was not so much the lack of supervision but the absence of fathers or other positive male authority figures who could provide them discipline, mentorship and guidance. Nearly half of the young men did not have fathers involved in their lives. They described situations such as: the father had been deported, had been killed, had passed away, the parents were divorced, never knew his father or the father was in prison. One youth explained why finding a positive male role model in his life was difficult.

> *In my family it was always my dad beating on my mom and beating on us and sometimes what I did was because I didn't feel the love in my family, or I didn't feel that I was important in my family, I went to look for it someplace else which was easier.*

The absence of positive role models, especially male role models, meant that Hispanic/Latino youth followed in the footsteps of whoever was available, whether the role model was positive or not. As another youth said, "I had no dad in my life and I just started following my older brother."

Family Disruptions: Immigration, Deportation and Acculturation

The factor that service providers in the juvenile justice system understood least was the degree of disruption that migration and immigration caused in Hispanic/Latino families.

Although migration/immigration could break up or disrupt Hispanic/Latino families, service providers did not believe that migration/immigration alone predicted delinquency among Hispanic/Latino youth. Instead, major differences in the levels of acculturation between Hispanic/Latino youth and their parents and the absence of authority figures—due to deportation, working long hours, and geographic separation due to immigration/migration—were better predictors.

Hispanic/Latino families may have different levels of acculturation in one household.

Multiple service providers described three broad groups of Hispanic/Latino youth according to their levels of acculturation. A youth worker from Ramsey County described these groups in his own words.

> *The ones that are born and raised here are somewhat assimilated into the American culture already but at the same time they are struggling to keep their own culture. Your middle group is kind of a tough group because the parents are trying to keep their old culture. The kids don't want the old culture; they want their new American culture and those kids are the ones that we really, really need to work with their families. The third ones who are brand new here, they can be lost. They need a lot of help because they don't know English. The kids don't know English; the parents don't know English. Some of them are not necessarily citizens and you know they need a lot of services. They don't think there are services out there for them and think that if they go out and try to get the services that they are going to get deported or put in jail. So some of these young people go to either crime or do under-the-table type of stuff to make money and to support their families.*

The vast differences in the levels of acculturation between youth and parents caused youth to end up in roles that adults traditionally would espouse. Fadiman (1997, p.206) referred to this process as 'role loss.' Many Hispanic/Latino families who migrated/ immigrated entered their new community in Minnesota without a support system, without the social networks that previously sustained them and without speaking the language of the majority. In essence, as a judge in Hennepin County stated, "the youth become the cultural brokers for their parents." How well or how poorly Hispanic/Latino families dealt with the differing levels of acculturation was a good predictor of whether or not youth would begin to get involved in delinquent behavior.

> *For kids who immigrate to the United States I think there is a different pathway to their offending behavior that has a direct connection with how their acculturation is for them. The conflicts that occur within their family and their desire to become Americanized and fit in within the American culture and how that clashes with their own family's cultural values and beliefs. That is what I have seen and the kids have described that for me over and over again.*

The ways in which families immigrated caused disruptions in the family.

The ways in which families migrate/immigrate can cause disruptions in the families. One service provider shared an example of how families splitting up during migration/ immigration could cause disruption in the family.

> *When the one parent comes to this country and separates from the family (this is always the single parent families) (…) [he/she] comes up here and starts work and they are going to bring the kids later and they leave them with extended family. What happens sometimes, which I think is going to happen in any culture, is that the parent meets someone else and may or may not have children. This is a huge issue when this delays the other kids coming and they come to this new family and new siblings and I think there is a part of them that says, "You couldn't bring me with because you are going to go up there but you did not have a problem doing this." That doesn't mean that they don't love their siblings but, "Okay, there were four of us but now there is six and the reason that I can't get a new sweatshirt is because there's six!"*

In other cases, the parents brought the child to the United States even though he/she really did not want to be here.

Deportation of youth and authority figures in the family created further disruptions.

Multiple service providers mentioned having observed youth being deported back to their countries of origin without any regard for how it might affect the youth's family. A youth worker in Ramsey County shared her experience.

> *We have seen kids who have either brought immigration issues upon their families or upon themselves. We have seen kids that have been transported out of the country as young as 14 to go back to Mexico because they were undocumented and then it is like, "What does a 14 year old kid do in their home country when their parents are here?" You are assuming that the extended family will step in or you are just creating a street child and making the situation worse.*

A probation officer in Ramsey County described an experience where the husband was deported and suddenly the mother was stuck with her teenage son. He said:

The father who used to be the essence and importance of the family is gone, and now she takes over. And the oldest son now is trying to replace his father. And I see cases in which once the son gets detained, the mother does not know what to do. Now, this is a seventeen year old or a sixteen year old kid, right, who is the head of a household and the mother depends on him.

Youth Perspectives

Two young men described challenges in their families due to immigration, deportation and issues of acculturation. An undocumented youth described the culture clash between him and his parents.

Even though I was kind of like the black sheep of my family, my family came here to work, came here to find a better life, basically to give their kids things they want and things they didn't have when they were kids. That's why we come here. We don't come here to cause trouble or do bad things, some of us do get influenced to do bad things, just like everybody else (…) My family they are very religious. They come here to work and do the right thing. I guess it was just hard for me to understand that and to do that.

Another youth told of his father who had been deported. He said, *"[My father] was deported to Tijuana. I think he is a narcotics guy. He was deported from [Stillwater] (…) I wrote to him but he didn't write back."*

Poverty and Economic Conditions

The challenges of living in poverty can be overwhelming in many Hispanic/Latino families whose children have become involved in the juvenile justice system. Many families may be living paycheck to paycheck with parents working multiple jobs to make ends meet. As previous research has shown, poverty can lead to disruptions in the family that in turn can contribute to youth being truant and getting involved in delinquent behavior (Hawkins, Laub et al., 2000). Service providers mentioned two underlying reasons that poverty and poor economic conditions could contribute to Hispanic/Latino youth turning to criminal activity: homelessness and materialism, i.e. the need for "fast money."

Hispanic/Latino youth in the system might not have a home to go back to.

Housing is particularly challenging for emancipated youth who have run away from home or who have come to the US as undocumented immigrants without their families. A service provider described the predicament of living in the US as an undocumented, emancipated youth.

What's happening in some of our Latin cultures is sometimes the kids, the young men are supposed to be the bread winners, so they leave their homes in Mexico and Honduras and they come to the United States looking for work. They find out that they can't get work because they are illegal and then they turn to the streets and start selling drugs. You know, any way they can survive to make money and it doesn't matter how tough or how hard core these kids are, when you talk to them, it's about their family. "Why are you selling drugs?" "I am selling drugs so I can send money home to my Mom and my Dad." And the thing that they are not realizing is that you need to work for that type of stuff but when it comes to survival it's the quickest way to get the money.

A probation officer in Ramsey County observed some of the living conditions of youth with whom he had worked.

There's a lot of homeless adolescents out there. It's kind of hard to study because it's kind of hard to find where they are. Sometimes they are living together, 20 people in one house. I have got somebody who was living in a garage on the West Side of Saint Paul.

The officer recounted a situation that demonstrated how ill-prepared the juvenile justice system was in understanding and dealing with undocumented, emancipated youth.

I have three teenage individuals who are illegal, undocumented, in which they were sleeping in a car because when they tried to go in their apartment, the owner of the house did not have the key. They are hard working individuals, the three individuals (…) I remember these kids so well. They were sleeping in the car (…) The police] were biased; they thought they were stealing the car. And if you could see the clothes that these kids were wearing, it was full of tar, they were dirty. The cops should have been saying "Wait a second. These guys are sleeping. If they wanted to steal a car…" You could tell that their hands were full of tar (…) finally they took a shower and everything like that but when I saw their clothes, I was like, "These guys were not stealing a car."

And then they explained to me, Mr. X, you know, the problem was that we were tired, and we could not get back into our apartment and we came in and we saw the car and we went in there and we fell asleep because we were tired and it was raining. Immediately, I go, like, "Okay, why did they arrest you?" "Because they are saying that we are a gang bang and we were stealing the car." When I approached these three individuals, I interviewed them separately in juvenile detention and the stories were all the same, they came here to work.

When I approached my supervisor and explained the situation, the supervisor gave me a, "Well, we can't do anything about it." Yes, we can because this is unjustifiable! The judge heard from me. I explained it to the judge. The judge was stunned; he did not know what to do. So, do we sentence these kids to two years? But the judge understood that the cop was wrong; the system was wrong. If it was

any other kid, then we would send him to a special foster home to help them. No, they just put them to jail. The judge instead of sending them to a foster home, because these guys were under the age of 17, he let them go. He let all three guys go. Well, they were happy to leave but they just let them go, they have got no homes, no parents, they let them out in the streets again. And they will be fine, but with any other kid, any other American kid, immediately they would have put him in a foster home. So, they did not know what to do with these kids.

Housing assistance programs ironically contributed to the homelessness of some Hispanic/Latino families according to a social services provider in Kandiyohi County.

Many of our housing programs for lower income families are restricted to a single family unit and so when a family from Texas comes up to live with other family members suddenly we have two or three families trying to live in a house that only allows for one. Then the funders or the program has to enforce their rules and so then this family is kind of skipping around from family to family. Maybe even staying in a car overnight and you'll see some of this in the summer maybe more than the winter. They are not necessarily residents of Kandiyohi County but here to find a job or employment or maybe to look for a new life.

Much like many teens in the United States, "fast money" helps Hispanic/Latino youth buy the things that give them a sense of belonging.

Besides the hardship of homelessness and being an undocumented, emancipated youth, pop culture often clashes with the values and budgets of most traditional Hispanic/Latino homes. The materialism of pop culture pushes youth to "need" expensive clothing, expensive equipment (e.g. cell phones, video games, stereo systems), and expensive cars. A youth worker in Ramsey County described the pressure parents and youth feel.

Kids give a lot of pressure to parents that they need $100 shoes, you know. So you got families in poverty that are going overboard to buy these extraordinarily expensive outfits that these kids feel that they need to have for whatever reason. It puts more pressure on the parent and it puts more pressure on the kid because if the money is not coming in fast enough at home, there's ways to get that money to buy that gear so they look like they are 'with it.' It kind of pushes them into making wrong choices, making risky choices. In my group alone, this last group around (…) there were probably ten kids and there were at least four that were running drugs for fast money.

A probation officer in Hennepin County shared an observation of economic pressures, especially on Latina girls.

> *If you think about the pressure, the economic pressure because if your family came here because you could not sustain yourselves economically in your country of origin and your parents couldn't bring you with at the time, and then they were able to bring you here, there is not a lot of disposable income in this household. Meaning, your material goods are pretty minimal so that your clothing isn't necessarily cutting edge and anybody who knows anything about American teens knows that it is a material culture. It's all about your hair, your make up, your clothes, your shoes. Well how are you going to get access to that? You are going to join the gang and make money selling drugs or your gang sisters—and I think it is even more with the girls—are going to take care of you. You are going to borrow their clothes and you are going to have the cool stuff to wear.*

A mental health provider in Hennepin County clearly articulated the relationship between acculturation, the need for youth to feel like they belong, the need for money to buy the expensive things in order to belong and the United States culture.

> *I think part of it is trying to fit in. I don't think it is necessarily unique to the Latino population but I have seen it with the Hmong population and I am seeing it with the Somali population in the Twin Cities specifically because those are the larger immigration populations that we have within the Twin Cities. I think part of it has been, has to do more with acculturation and you have a real difficulty with families who speak their language and don't understand English very well. Their kids end up getting into the schools and begin to learn English and are able to get around and some of the youth struggle with I think getting very angry or wanting to really become Americanized. What it creates along with it, is a huge clash that I see occurs based on families experiences or their spirituality or their practices or their own moral values which clashes against the American culture, especially when it comes to possession of things.*
>
> *Just because of normal adolescence the youth use it as a way to rebel within the family. It just creates more of a division, and the youth start to gravitate towards other youth that can have a real negative influence on them and that reinforces some of the things like gang involvement. It is almost like they are vulnerable to it because it creates kind of like a family, an extended family for them in the sense outside of their biological family to be able to fit in and feel like this is okay and actually they end up gravitating more towards negative behaviors and get involved in breaking laws and end up in the judicial system.*

Youth Perspectives

Hispanic/Latino youth in this study recognized the intrinsic role of poverty in their lives. They talked about their parents having low paying jobs, having to work long hours, and having to work multiple jobs to cover basic needs. In general, youth described a reality

that maintained families on the fringes of economic sustainability. A youth described the living conditions he faced upon arriving to the United States.

> *So [my mother] worked a lot (…) working in people's houses and getting paid real low (…) She wasn't getting paid that much, you know. Not as much as they pay at McDonald's or something like that or if you are working for a company (…) like a factory (…) so we basically, were poor for a little bit.*

Many youth and their families had come from communities in Latin American countries where they had lived under precarious conditions for decades. A youth reflected on his experience growing up in Mexico:

> *We go through a lot you know, a lot of discrimination (…) My culture and my heritage, they have been through a lot of things and we don't always know what the right thing is because in Mexico or in Latin American countries there is a lot of poverty, a lot of violence, crimes and people are used to it. People are used to that kind of lifestyle.*

The effect of this economic reality on these youth was multilayered. Ongoing poverty drove parents away from home in search of alternative means to sustain their families. One youth explained his family's situation upon arrival to the US in his own words:

> *[W]hen my dad's family first came here they were struggling a lot because they crossed the border (…) [W]hen I first came here, it wasn't the same, they were struggling a lot, a lot! My dad couldn't go to school (…) They didn't have the same kind of stuff like the other people.*

Given the economic challenges that immigrant youth and families faced upon arriving to the US, employment opportunities were extremely important for youth to be able to support their families and sustain themselves. An undocumented youth speculated on how difficult life was going to be for him once he was released from treatment.

> *Well, right now I can't work because I am illegal and I am trying to work towards my work visa (…) hopefully, I don't know how. I don't have any resources yet but I am trying to get help. I am trying to find resources (…)I am in EJJ [extended juvenile jurisdiction] and can't leave the country until my 21st birthday. I am 17. How am I going to support myself for four years, five years? How?*

Other Causes Related to Behavior

Various service providers and youth perceived exposure to violence and poor decision-making on the part of the youth as fundamental root causes to delinquent behavior among Hispanic/Latino youth. Exposure to violence included but was not limited to: watching and seeing violence in the media; violence in video games; witnessing or being involved in fights at school; experiencing or observing violent behavior of police officers; family members involved in criminal activities; to witnessing or being a victim of domestic or

sexual abuse at home. Poor decision making generally involved getting oneself in troublesome situations with no way out. A judge in Ramsey County described what may have been behind some bad decisions.

> *A lot of the kids that I saw were kids from good families, who had intact families, not families from divorced parents or anything like that. Most were from very, very good families, traditional families, first generation who basically had been brought into our culture, had fallen prey to temptations and peer pressure and basically disconnected themselves from all the traditional values their families had and went into a different type of culture because of its appeal.*

Teenage pregnancy also contributed to Hispanic/Latino youth being overwhelmed with life pressures and potentially contributed to their getting involved with the juvenile justice system. Being a minor parent, according to various service providers, increased the pressure for youth to provide for their families, and they would resort to making decisions that otherwise they might not have made.

Disparate or Unfair Treatment of Hispanic/Latino Youth

Hispanic/Latino youth and their families faced various challenges upon getting involved with the juvenile justice system. From the front end to the back end of the juvenile justice system they encountered an absence of culturally appropriate services and programming. Hispanic/Latino youth and families more often than not had contact with service providers who did not understand their culture, language and/or background.

Personal biases prevented service providers from working effectively with Hispanic/Latino youth and their families. Instead of expanding on their limited cultural awareness and taking time to ask the youth questions about his/her cultural background, how he/she chose to identify, and his/her challenges related to acculturation, some service providers acknowledged that they ignored cultural differences in an effort to "treat all youth the same." Inevitably, this attitude led service providers to be completely ignorant of cultural capital and led them to treat Hispanic/Latino youth and their families inappropriately.

Service providers gave examples of colleagues who assumed that an interpreter was not necessary for the family because the youth knew how to speak English. They gave examples of how service providers might not investigate the possibility of learning disabilities when a Hispanic/Latino youth was not succeeding in school or programming because the providers would assume failure was due to language barriers. Probably the most blatant injustice of "treating all youth the same" was the juvenile justice system's de facto *Don't Ask Don't Tell* policy toward youth and families who were undocumented. Many service providers felt that the lack of any policy toward undocumented youth perpetuated ignorance toward realities in the youth's lives and led to broad inconsistencies in the treatment of and the consequences delivered to the youth and their families.

Less than optimal treatment of Hispanic/Latino youth arose from other factors as well. Multiple service providers expressed frustration with colleagues who did not like working with adolescents, much less working with youth from other cultures, languages and backgrounds. Some service providers perceived unfair treatment when outcomes for youth became based solely on the law or the crime that was committed without regard to the needs of the individual. For example, unfair treatment, according to one service provider, occurred when the system was driven by outside economic forces such as HMO's that prescribed the number of hours of mental health services available to a youth suffering from post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Unfair treatment also occurred when consequences delivered to an undocumented youth were based on a societal bias against using public money to finance their medical costs rather than on the usual consequences for a particular offense.

Youth Perspectives

The two most common obstacles to Hispanic/Latino youth being treated fairly in the juvenile justice system were individual biases on the part of service providers and lack of due process, i.e., service providers not fulfilling the full extent of their professional

duties. The youth described several types of biases, ranging from open displays of what they defined as racism to favoritism, indifference, labeling and stereotypes.

Although the service providers generally felt that the juvenile justice system had made great strides in increasing the representation of Hispanic/Latino personnel compared to ten years ago, youth in all three counties consistently observed a lack of Hispanic/Latino personnel in all stages of the system. As one youth described: "[E]very time I went to court, it was a Caucasian judge, prosecutor (…) Caucasian cop (…) Caucasian. I have never been arrested by a minority cop. Never." Some youth described abuses of power by the police in which they had been beaten or dropped off in a rival gangs' territory and were never arrested. A youth in one focus group commented (and others agreed) that they experienced fairer treatment once they were in the juvenile justice system where corrections staff, unlike police officers, were constantly in the presence of other staff.

Lack of due process on the part of service providers in the juvenile justice system resulted in disparate treatment. Staff fell short of extending the necessary services and resources to Hispanic/Latino youth and their families. The majority of unfair treatment involved police, public defenders and probation officers. The youth did not associate unfair sentencing with judges; rather they perceived sentencing more in terms of how well they were represented by public defenders or how hard the prosecutor pushed for more severe consequences.

The following sections break down the perspectives of the service providers and youth according to each stage in the juvenile justice system.

Police

Police officers were often the youth's first contact with the juvenile justice system. How police treated Hispanic/Latino youth during that first contact greatly impacted whether or not the youth felt he/she was in the system justly or unjustly. The youth's perception (negative or positive) carried through all stages of the system and through future encounters with the juvenile justice system. Service providers acknowledged that police officers' jobs were difficult and that the police were "out there on their own." At the same time, many felt that police officers were too quick to jump to conclusions when dealing with Hispanic/Latino youth. Service providers that had more experience working with Hispanic/Latino youth felt that labeling gang bangers was not helpful since it perpetuated racial profiling and unnecessary targeting.

As with any police department, service providers acknowledged the reality of "good cops" and "bad cops." They felt that the ability for youth to see the "humanity" of police officers was crucial. The "good cops" were those who treated youth respectfully by taking the time whenever possible to try to understand the particular circumstances of a crime or to talk to Hispanic/Latino youth before jumping to conclusions. They were officers who took the time to interact with Hispanic/Latino youth in and out of uniform in positive community settings. These police officers understood how to treat Hispanic/Latino youth with respect.

The "bad cops" referred to: the whistle blowers to Homeland Security, which perpetuated mistrust and fear among Hispanics/Latinos in the community; police officers who would arrest gang-involved Hispanic/Latino youth, drive them into a rival gang's territory and drop them off; police officers who brutally beat up Hispanic/Latino youth without arresting them; and, police officers who generally abused their position of authority and power. A social worker in Hennepin County gave multiple examples of Hispanic/Latino youth who had been beaten up and mistreated by the police. She said:

> *A lot of kids get beat up by police, especially if they look like gang bangers but they are not arrested. In one instance, three kids walking down the street on 4th of July had a fire cracker, which is illegal in Minnesota. A cop stopped them, found the [fire] cracker and told the youth who had it to put his hands up and not to move as the cop lit the cracker inside of the boy's pocket. The cracker went off and burnt the boy, leaving a scar. The family of the boy wanted to file a complaint but they are undocumented and feared retaliation.*

Youth Perspectives

Youth described varying degrees of maltreatment by the police, which ranged from severe forms of physical violence and harassment, to racial slurs, abuse of authority, and stereotyping. In particular, youth observed that police were too quick to use force or violent means to restrain them. Youth cited experiences in which police had used night sticks to beat them and mace, tazer guns and handguns to intimidate or restrain them when the youth claimed to have displayed no threatening or violent behavior towards the officers. Similarly, youth indicated that some police officers harassed and threw them down on the ground as an overpowering method when the youth was neither fleeing nor attacking the officers. One youth shared an example of what he felt was undue force and unfair treatment.

> *One time [the police] came in for a warrant to find me and the cops came in and they were talkin' shit about my Mom and Dad and my Mom and Dad had already passed away. They were calling my sister [names]. They maced me on my face and threw me to the ground. They told my brother they were going to throw him off the roof. That ain't a cop (…) He might as well be a gang banger himself if he is going to be doing all that.*

Another youth described having been unnecessarily beaten by an officer.

> *They just told me (…) "You're going to JDC, you are going to be locked up for a few days and that's it." They told me straight up, "You know, you are going to court." I was like "Have a good day." So I just turned around. I think there was only one cop though, one cop. I was walking, he told me to freeze. I didn't freeze; I kept walking. He came down there, hit me with a night stick. I was going to retaliate back but then, no. "You go ahead and charge me." I don't know, he just*

hit me for no reason. And then I stopped right there. And then he hit me again on my knees, right down here. I had a bruise there.

Some police officers responded to situations based on negative assumptions and stereotypes about Hispanic/Latino youth that led to unfair treatment. Youth described situations where the police took items of clothing away because the police believed that they advertised a particular gang. They told of police taking away their belts and shoes and making them walk home, holding their baggy pants up with their hands. One youth described why he thought White youth got more breaks.

When you're with somebody and you're stealing and you're Mexican and they are a White kid, they are just going to call the White kid's parents and say, "He made a mistake. He'll learn from it" or something. But if it's a Mexican, you are going to lock his ass up right away because right then and there he is a criminal. [Sarcastically speaking] I mean the Mexican is born a criminal whether you like it or not, with a bad name, that's just how it is.

Some youth tended to associate police contact with physical conflict and mistrust. A youth described his reluctance to involve the police when he needed help.

The only place that we know where to go for help is press 911 but we get treated bad in our family, by my dad. Why would I want to call 911 and be treated the same by the police?

This youth also described situations where the police had gone out of their way to harass him.

You know, I remember one time specifically I was stopped by the police in [X neighborhood] and they took off my shirt and they spray painted me, and my back said "Kill Me," and they took me to the South Side territory where the rival gang members hang around and it was me and my cousin actually. Me and my cousin got stopped and we both got spray painted and got sent to the opposite gang territory.

Several youth spoke of being labeled as gang bangers for "dressing gang." One youth explained, "The police officer told us that they stopped us because the music was too loud and we looked suspicious." Another youth said, "Like me, they see me, and I got a lot of tattoos and I wear Dickies, stuff like that, baggie pants, and they automatically think that you are a gang banger." He continued to described the contempt of some officers toward gang members.

They would tell me, like, you know, "We don't care about you guys. We don't want to lock you up because you just waste our time. We just want you guys to kill each other; that way we don't have to waste our time on you guys. We got better things to do."

Other experiences youth shared included: a youth witnessing the police plant drugs in his car to set him up; a police officer who threatened to kill a youth if he got into another fight with the officer's nephew; police who took down students at school when it did not appear to be warranted; and police who made offensive comments about the youth's race, family, and/or legal status. One youth described a situation where the police appeared to have left his house because his mother did not know how to express herself in English.

> *Once, I had an incident with my Mom. She speaks English but when she gets mad she just goes to Spanish. Two Caucasian women cops came to our house. My mother was trying to talk to them and they wouldn't listen, and then she [his Mom] said 'Aye por Dios!' and they just opened the door and walked out the door and they never came back. So we had to call the police station again.*

Youth described the "good" police officers and the "bad" police officers. Good police officers, according to one youth, meant that the officers took the time to talk to him, to ask him questions and to tell him why the officers were there, instead of just assuming he was involved in a crime and arresting him. Good police officers also took time to educate youth on legal behavior in less serious or borderline situations. Being treated well by an officer, according to another youth, depended on if the officer was on duty alone or with other officers.

> *The police, there's like some of them that are nice but a lot of them are racist, and when some come alone they are nicer than when they come with a whole group of cops [that's when] they're usually really mean and racist.*

According to a youth in Kandiyohi County, racism motivated some officers to arrest him unnecessarily. He recounted his experience.

> *I was walking down the road one time when I was with one of my friends and then the canine cops come up behind me and start shoving us inside the car and I'm all like "What the hell's going on?" And he takes us to some crime scene and supposedly we were breaking into a house but I mean how stupid can you be to break into a house at 3:00 PM. He picks us up when the sun is bright and out. No one is gonna be dumb enough to break into a house. It's just all racism. It's just the way it is. The only one who can stop it is the President or the White people. That's the only way they are going to stop the violence.*

Another youth described a situation of having been treated well by the police.

> *There have been times when I have been stopped by the police and they have really helped me out (…) I know one time I got stopped and I was driving and I had no license and I was in a bad [gang] territory and I told them that I was in a really bad territory right now, "Can you help me out here?" and they helped me out. They said they would give me a chance, a warning "Go home." There have been nice police officers, there have been bad ones.*

Detention

Multiple service providers gave examples of when they felt Hispanic/Latino clients had been detained too long or unnecessarily. One probation officer in Ramsey County commented:

> *I think the majority of the time they are held in detention while you do investigations [about the case] or while we get to know who their parents are or whatever; whereas in other situations they would let a client go.*

According to a social worker in Hennepin County, Hispanic/Latino youth were detained longer for other reasons.

> *I think people do longer jail times because they're either waiting to get an assessment done, or to get an attorney who speaks Spanish, or maybe getting referred for a psychological evaluation, if they're here legally.*

An attorney in Ramsey County described why a youth might be detained for a longer period of time but he did not feel it particularly applied to Hispanic/Latino youth.

> *In cases involving African American children, for instance, the bench would end up keeping children in detention or in custody, if you will, for longer periods of time when parents or extended family would not come to retrieve the children once in the juvenile justice system and that was not uncommon or when they were up for disposition and were ready to make a decision on what to do (…) so that was not necessarily the case for Latino kids. When I saw the Latino cases the parents were there, the family was there and so they were responding in a responsible way and so I didn't get the feeling that that was a problem with the Latino community.*

In general the juvenile justice system is responsible for making sure that youth are not detained alongside adults in detention facilities. A social worker in Hennepin County described a situation where that was not the case.

> *In one occasion, a girl was arrested during a drug raid in which she was not involved. She just happened to be in the same house that the drug deals were taking place. She was taken to an adult facility and remained there for 3 days until someone realized that she was underage. Were there no interpreters?*

Youth Perspectives

Multiple youth commented on the lack of Hispanic/Latino staff among the corrections counselors in the detention centers. Some of the youth commented on the types of programming that they needed to complete while they were in detention. One youth in Kandiyohi County described what he had to do in detention:

I'm not going to say the people there are racist because they're just working and doing their job, but I mean (…) the way they treat kids there, it's their job but it's not the right way they should do it (…) when you're sittin' in group, you have to write a book, practically a whole book about the rules and you can't talk to nobody or do nothing to nobody until you're done with that book (…) that shouldn't be the way to teach people the rules. People just write them down. They just write what's on the paper. You're not gonna get it stuck in their head like that. You gotta read it to somebody, if they can't understand it. So you're not really learnin' no rules, you're just probably hurtin' your hand trying to write too many letters.

A youth from Hennepin County described how he felt about some of the procedures and protocols in the juvenile detention center.

When they do those checks for rooms and all that. You go there and the guys keep looking at you while you are trying to undress. That is what pissed me off. Because the guy looked at me and I was like "You know, what the fuck are you looking at?" You know what I am sayin'. Then he is like "Well, you need to get undressed to do this now." I said, "I am down to my boxers, I am not going anywhere else." He said, "If you don't do this we will put you in a restraint." And I was like, "I suppose." But I didn't pull my pants down. I pulled my pants up and I said "I am done." Then I walked down there and went into my room.

Courts and Sentencing

Service providers were frustrated because, by the time youth received consequences for their behavior, they probably had forgotten what they did to deserve the consequence. The lag time was too long between the offense and the sentence for youth to make a connection and to get the appropriate message. They also were frustrated with judges who sentenced youth to therapy but did little to ensure that the youth received life skills training that could be more useful than therapy.

Lack of communication between the service providers, youth and family were perceived as leading to unanticipated problems and delays in the judicial process. A probation officer described how lack of appropriate communication led to unintended problems later on:

When you sentence a kid that is when he realizes that he did something bad (…) That is when they get depressed and they start crying. I got one kid that they could not even restrain him, because when he came from court he did not know that he was going to do time. No sabía. *He did not know. I mean, he went to court; he did not even know why he went to court. He became so crazy. He had to be restrained until I came in and I talked to him in Spanish: "Tell me what is wrong. Tell me where it hurts." But, finally, once I talked to him I got him to calm down and I told him what happened, why he was sentenced, what the cop did, [and] what the judge did. He had no idea. He had absolutely no idea. And that is sad*

because no one took the time to explain that to him (…) This guy, this kid was saying he was guilty without knowing what he was guilty of.

The court experience was the time when judges (the individuals in the system who have the least contact with Hispanic/Latino youth and families) made decisions that had the greatest impact on Hispanic/Latino youth and families. It was also the time when consequences ought to have been delivered consistently and equitably based on the youth's offense; however, that was not always the case. Socio-economic status and availability of an in-home support system, according to various service providers, commonly affected the degree of sentencing for youth who had committed the same offense. Plea bargains would cause two youth with totally different offenses and numbers of charges to receive similar consequences. Moreover, sentencing could be completely different between a youth who was a refugee versus a youth who was a citizen, even though they committed the same crime. If the youth was a permanent resident, the youth and sometimes the whole family could be deported for having committed certain crimes, e.g., DUI, drug-related charges, and domestic abuse.

Youth Perspectives

The youths' sense of the judicial process was that, while the hearings may have been for them, the process provided little opportunity for them or their families to play active roles and really feel like they were being heard. Getting legal representation, the way in which they were represented in court, and sentencing were in large part out of their control.

Prosecutors and Public Defenders

Service providers observed that public defenders' caseloads were often too heavy to spend any significant time with clients before court. Many families of Hispanic/Latino youth could not afford a private attorney and were represented by public defenders who may or may not have defended their client's true needs and desires. Service providers mentioned having observed various occasions where clients left the courtroom and asked them, "What happened?" Advocates who could help clients to select public defenders and who could keep parents and youth up to speed about the court process in most cases were not available.

Although service providers, in general, did not feel that continuances were helpful because they caused delays in the youth's consequence for the offense, one social worker explained how attorneys often used continuances to avoid potentially racist judges or judges who ruled more harshly on certain crimes.

I know that a lot of attorneys [will] refer [clients] to the right judge on the right day, you know. If they schedule this client or youth with the judge and it comes up on the court document that he's scheduled with Judge so-and-so, and Judge so-and-so is a known racist, well, get a continuance. Set it up with another judge. Every attorney uses that strategy. If they know there's somebody who's really

hard on drug offenders, they're going to try to get them into drug court so they can get into treatment and that kind of thing.

One of the disparities discussed earlier in this report was that Hispanic/Latino youth were less likely than White youth to be charged with felony offenses. A service provider in Hennepin County described how the public defense office in his district may have had a role in that.

The public defense office, at least in Hennepin, is very concerned about Hispanic youth and since they are the young person's advocate in court that tends to lead towards the ability to point out certain concerns as the case goes through the system. I have personally seen public defenders try and negotiate cases at the pretrial level and convince county attorneys to take a plea agreement that calls for an admission to a lesser charge to avoid the possibility of poor result on the immigration status (…) and I have not seen any of them unwilling to consider doing something to help the Hispanic youth avoid a poor immigration consequences as long as the public safety was protected. In other words, they take a plea to a misdemeanor level offense instead of sticking to a felony level, where it might adversely affect a young person's immigration status. And so I was really pleased to see that.

Youth Perspectives

Youths' interactions with public defenders were short and limited. In a couple of cases, the first time the youth met his/her public defender was just minutes before the court hearing. Multiple youth stated that public defenders represented them but did not actually defend them. They felt that the public defenders did not take enough time to get to know them, the circumstances in their lives, and the circumstances surrounding their charges. Public defenders rarely took the time to explain court proceedings to the youth. Youth said that they did not know their rights during court hearings, which in some cases meant not knowing what options were available to them. As one youth stated:

[Public defenders are] just messengers from the prosecutor. They don't really help. "All right bro' this is what is going to happen. It's either this or that. That's it. Take it or leave it." They don't say it that rough like that but they don't really help you.

Youth referred to public defenders as 'public pretenders.' One youth said his public defender's sentencing recommendations did not make sense to him. The public defender recommended the lowest sentence to the judge and when the judge did not grant that sentence he recommended what for the youth was not the logical next highest sentence. His public defender told him:

"If you plead guilty we are going to recommend (…) 7/11, and then the next thing we are going to recommend is 60/90 in Totem Town." Man, that is a big gap! That is a gap. You can give me 30/45, you know. I would do 30/45.

In contrast, one youth was very pleased with his public defender who successfully secured a lesser sentence by advocating arduously on his behalf. Another youth indicated that he too had had a good experience with a public defender who tried to help him by 'doing her homework' and by really making an effort to present him with different options.

Youth in all three counties perceived prosecutors as the people who 'locked everyone up' and who pushed for gang-related charges independently of the true facts of the case. One youth described an experience with a prosecutor.

> *I got truancy or whatever and she [the prosecutor] kept telling him [the judge] that I wasn't gonna go to school and I wasn't gonna listen and stuff like that and they gave me one more chance though. They talked and I dunno, they gave me one chance and the girl [prosecutor] got mad.*

One youth described how the adversarial approach in the juvenile justice system was a disservice to youth when he said, "My prosecutor, she wanted to see me in prison bad, and I think they should have more people in the system who just really want to help out."

Probation Officers

Service providers felt that probation officers in general had strong, positive impacts on Hispanic/Latino youth. They had observed how an uncanny relationship of respect could develop between Hispanic/Latino youth and their probation officers, especially officers who consistently followed through with consequences for the youth's behavior. Probation officers commented that they did not always have enough time to spend with every youth on their caseloads. An unfortunate reality was that the youth who tended to get into the most trouble tended to be the youth who got the most contact with the probation officer. The youth with less serious offenses and who got into less trouble tended to have the least contact, including less affirmation for positive behavior.

Given the apparent *Don't Ask Don't Tell* policy toward undocumented immigrants, probation officers and social workers mentioned that turning undocumented youth into the USCIS was left to the discretion of each probation officer. The shear absence of any legal, institutional policy towards the treatment of undocumented youth just led to broad inconsistencies in delivering consequences. Some probation officers immediately turned youth into the USCIS upon finding out that the youth was undocumented. Other probation officers used deportation as a threat to gain compliance. Still, other probation officers did not feel that turning undocumented youth into the USCIS was his/her job.

The least helpful probation officers were: whistle blowers for the USCIS; held Hispanic/Latino youth to lower standards or expectations than other youth; failed to effectively diagnose the need for linguistic services; and did not make efforts to ensure linguistic access for the youth and the parents in court, meetings, and important conversations.

Youth Perspectives

Overall, most youth mentioned that they did not know their probation officers, that the probation officers did not get to know them, or that they did not communicate with them regularly.

> *I've had one probation officer and (…) when I was placed into a group home for a year and four days, he talked to me like once maybe twice just to ask how I was doing. That's about it.*

In cases where youth had significant contact with probation officers, their experiences varied. In one instance, a youth described a probation officer as disrespectful and racist.

> *[T]here was this PO I got, started being disrespectful to me, started calling me a 'squaw'. Every word that would come out of his mouth, after that would be 'squaw'. He really pissed me off. I told my Mom and Dad about it. They told the court. They gave me another PO and this dude is more respectful than the other one.*

An undocumented youth described a situation where he decided not to return to Mexico but his probation officer insisted in making sure that he left the country.

> *I ended up staying [in a detention facility] for 24 days and I told them that I was going back to Mexico. But at the last minute, I didn't want to leave. They said that I had to leave and that my probation officer would take me to the airport and would make sure that I boarded the airplane. They were, like, deporting me.*

One youth commented that his probation officer had treated him well, describing him as helpful because he could relate to what the youth was going through.

> *[Probation officers] know that you struggle and they know that you make mistakes and they can see that and they help me out through that because they have been through it. That is what really helps.*

Placement

Out-of-home placements in most cases were completely different environments from the communities where Hispanic/Latino youth had actually lived or grown up. Placement farther away from the youth's family created challenges for family visitation, family involvement in treatment, and getting youth and family connected to community-based services before the youth was released back to his/her community. Service providers mentioned specific facilities (urban and rural) that they felt were not optimal placements for minority youth because they felt the staff in the facilities could not relate to or did not know how to work well with minority youth.

Some ways in which corrections staff worked with Hispanic/Latino youth were not helpful. Corrections staff, in an apparent attempt to build rapport with male youth, would refer to the youth as "*ese*," or homeboy, implying even before knowing the youth that he was affiliated with a gang. Although the intention may have been positive, the labeling was negative and not helpful.

Service providers observed the absence of culturally appropriate services in most placements for Hispanic/Latino youth, especially for Latina girls. They emphasized that family therapy with limited-English proficient (LEP) parents was useless without linguistic access, culturally competent staff or culturally appropriate programming. Unfortunately, in the absence of appropriate services, many service providers observed that Hispanic/Latino youth and their families just ended up getting nothing at all. The lack of culturally appropriate programming was unfortunate, according to one service provider, given that the juvenile justice system supposedly was attempting to move away from the idea of "doing time" and moving toward "doing programming."

Youth Perspectives

Unfair treatment in correctional facilities played out in several different ways. However, favoritism, individual biases on the part of staff, feelings of being singled-out because of the youth's particular background or offense, and inconsistencies in treatment were the most common themes. One youth said that a staff person that had worked with him did not notice when he was behaving positively. He described that he did not get the same privilege as other youth did for his positive behavior.

> *One time I was being positive. I was doing good and then there would be a time when we would go to a basketball game or a baseball game and the ones that are chosen are the ones that are good. How I think it's unfair is because they pick the guys that they* ***see*** *doin' good but I was also doin' good and I wasn't treated the same privilege.*

A youth described having received a different consequence than a White youth for the same type of negative behavior.

> *When I was locked up (…) there was times when I would get into a conflict with like a White person, you know, and there was times that we both were responsible or we both had the same part in it (…) and staff will see the conflict, they will see the problem and me, I was treated like "Okay, you were the bad guy," and I got the worst consequence. I got put in a security unit and locked down for like 23 hours a day for like four days and the other dude, he [the staff] would be like, "Just don't do it again," or whatever, you know.*

Another youth echoed a similar situation, "They lock you up and keep him [the White youth] or talk to him, 'Well, no big deal.' but they keep you in your room." According to another youth, favoritism referred to:

> *[I]f there is a certain race of a person running the group, I have seen some staff where they treat their race a little more generously than they do other races. All that stuff. That is what I see as treated unfairly when we don't get treated the same as other people are getting treated.*

One youth felt a staff person had singled him out.

> *Well the way he says it to me, I feel singled out. He says, "You are not a victim, you are a victimizer." I will say, "No I am not a victimizer." And he will say, "No [you are] a victimizer." That's a lot of crap. And I try to tell him.*

Speaking Spanish in a correctional facility that had no Spanish-speaking staff led one youth to receive a consequence. Another youth in the same group said that what made him angry was that he had observed Hmong and Somali youth speaking in their native language who did not receive a consequence (i.e. was not punished). The first youth said:

> *In this place and in JDC we can't talk in Spanish and that is like mind-reading kind of stuff. They say we can't talk in Spanish because they don't know what we are saying and that we might be talking about them. It's true, we might be talking about them but sometimes we don't, really.*

Two youth expressed frustration with staff persons who thought that they were always right. One of the youth explained, "You are never going to make them see that they are wrong and you are right." A youth in the same group had not seen results from filing grievances.

> *All I can do is write up a grievance but grievances really don't work, because what you are supposed to do with grievances is you write the situation and you give it to that staff you are having a problem with and they write down their response and if you don't accept it then you write 'yes' or 'no.' If you don't accept it, you circle 'no' and then it goes to some other place but most of the time it doesn't go. Because I have been in this place long enough to know that grievances, they ain't gonna do nothin'.*

While one youth described having been restrained in what he felt was an excessively violent manner in a residential placement facility, another youth in his group seemed to understand why staff had reacted the way they did and did not seem to feel that the staffs' response was necessarily unfair. As one of the youth said, "I am saying that if you do good, man, they are going to treat you well. If you don't try to get what you want all the time."

Youth experienced bias in the form of racist jokes and other race-based humor from certain service providers who worked with them. Bias included comments from staff who labeled youth as gang members based on what the youth wore or what the youth looked like. Multiple youth mentioned that staff members had labeled them as "a criminal," "a bad person," "a sex offender." One youth was told by a staff person that he would never

be successful. Another youth described a strip search in a correctional facility that made him feel violated.

> *[Corrections staff] makes us go into the time out rooms. They make us strip down and I had this guy watching me. I swear, I saw him lick his lips a couple of times at me (…) I had to strip, I had to hold my hands up, hold my feet up and turn around two times. And that was a violation. I felt used and abused.*

In addition to describing instances in which they felt staff had treated them unfairly, the youth described specific staff members who had supported them and who legitimately cared about them. The most commonly cited form of fair treatment among the youth was when staff took the time to listen to them and made an effort to respond to their requests for help. Many of the youth really appreciated one-on-one time with staff during their breaks. Youth indicated that they could tell which staff actually cared for them and which staff they thought just considered their job a source of income.

Schools

Graduation rates illustrate to some measure how well schools have performed in working with Hispanic/Latino youth in the target counties of this study. The Minnesota Department of Children Families and Learning (2002) tracked students who entered 9th grade in 1997 until their proposed graduation date in 2001. In Minnesota, 46.7% of the Hispanic/Latino high school students graduated in 2001 compared to 82.5% of the White students. **Figure 28** shows the graduation rates of the three largest school districts in Hennepin, Ramsey and Kandiyohi Counties.

Figure 28: Graduation Rates in Hennepin, Ramsey and Kandiyohi Counties

District	# of Hispanic Students Served	# and % of Hispanic Students Graduated	# and % of Hispanic Students Dropped Out	# and % of Hispanic Students Returning the Next School Year	Rank among the 47 Districts
Minneapolis	149	47 (31.5%)	65 (43.6%)	37 (24.8%)	42
Saint Paul	193	94 (48.7%)	54 (28.0%)	45 (23.3%)	31
Willmar	57	11 (19.3%)	33 (57.9%)	13 (22.8%)	46

Although schools were not necessarily part of the juvenile justice system, many experiences involving unfair treatment of Hispanic/Latino youth started in the schools and led to the involvement of law enforcement. According to many service providers, the juvenile justice system lacked investment in prevention.

Schools lacked funds to invest in preventative programs.

Service providers touched upon some of the underlying factors resulting in under-education of Hispanic/Latino students. Those who had worked closely with the schools in the three counties had observed deep cuts in preventive programs (e.g. Head Start, after-school programs, sports, theater) that previously helped to keep youth busy and that encouraged youth to buy into education. Instead of investing in preventative programs the schools, at least in the metro area, "gave kids tickets," e.g. tickets for fighting, tickets for swearing at a teacher, tickets for disorderly conduct.

Service providers expressed frustration with the level of police involvement in day-to-day activities in the schools. One service provider explained:

> *You know, here it really bothers me because if there is a fight between two Latino students, when Latino students get into a fight among themselves it has nothing to do with a gang or anything like that. It takes a lot, and they are usually best friends. Why are you getting a ticket for that? What happened with sit down with the counselor, do a mediation and people go on their way. But rather you took two kids and make them criminals.*

The exaggerated level of police involvement frustrated Hispanic/Latino service providers who had strong contact with the schools, especially as it negatively impacted the students and as it gave school staff excuses not to handle situations in-house. A probation officer commented that some school staff would call her for every negative behavior of the youth, regardless of whether or not the behavior could be handled in-house. In general, the boundaries of authority were not always clear.

Illiteracy creates major barriers for criminally-involved Hispanic/Latino youth.

Illiteracy among Hispanic/ Latino youth and families was a major concern for service providers in the juvenile justice system. Some adolescents and parents did not know how to read and write in either Spanish or English. One service provider in Willmar shared her observation.

> *They are not going to school because it's like "I am not getting anything. Why should I bother?" You know and I understand. Some of these kids get to ninth grade and don't know how to read and write very well. So because the school doesn't believe in retention—you know, to give them another year or two to get caught up—that leads them to failure because they're passing. All the kids here first grade to eighth grade get passed regardless of whether they learn or not. At least this school district does not retain anybody.*

The situation did not appear to be very different for a service provider in Ramsey County either.

> *They have like these throw-away-kids schools where they can't make it in the structural thing so the school gives them packets to do and it's like, okay, if they can't function with supervision, you think their gonna do the packets?! And you know they just, they push'em through and they don't know how to read. You know we have a tutoring program that we are working on and you know we are just trying to get them up to like 5th grade level. I mean we're not talking that we want them to be Mensa members we want them to read a newspaper or to be able to read a book. So I think we really need to raise our standards for education.*

Illiteracy in both Spanish and English can pose major challenges for service providers in the juvenile justice system, not to mention for the youth themselves.

> *For a young boy in [a correctional facility], there's certain levels that he's got to achieve. He has these packets where he's got to write down and he's got to talk about his history, his criminal history. He's got to talk about family instances. He's got to talk about chemical ed, anger management. He's got to talk about a lot of things. There's a lot of things thrown down at him and they may not know English and they may not know how to read or write. That happens to some kids who do speak English but still can't read or write. They have a tough time completing their packets because they can't read or write, then you add the* ***can't read or write*** *to the* ***not understand*** *which gets really tough.*

One service provider in Ramsey County questioned whether or not the lack of investment in services for Hispanics/Latinos to learn how to read and speak English was related to stereotyping them as mostly undocumented immigrants. In spite of the fact that nearly 70% of Hispanics/Latinos in Minnesota are native or naturalized citizens, this service provider felt that the stereotype that most Hispanics/Latinos were undocumented immigrants translated into a lack of political will to provide more English classes for Hispanic/Latino adults or to improve ESL services.

> *What better way to keep any population down than to deny education. The school system would say, "We are not denying education." Well if you don't do enough to support and promote, in essence you are denying (…) There are too many kids graduating without basic skills.*

Immigrant Hispanic/Latino parents did not feel like they could insist on the educational needs of their children.

Fear associated with immigration status, from the perspective of some of the service providers, appeared to contribute to the under-education of Hispanic/Latino youth. They

mentioned that immigrant parents did not feel that they could advocate for and insist upon the educational needs of their children, regardless of whether or not the child was a legal citizen. The parents feared that getting the children involved in school could lead to the administration finding out about the parents' or youth's legal status and consequently could lead to negative, unintended consequences, like deportation or not being granted citizenship. Service providers mentioned having observed immigrant parents taking their kids out of school to watch younger siblings while they were at work or even bringing older children to help out at work.

Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders have difficulty transitioning back into the mainstream educational setting.

Once Hispanic/Latino youth were involved in the juvenile justice system, school staff did not make transitioning back into mainstream school any easier, neither for the youth, nor for the parents nor for the service providers who worked with the youth. In Willmar, a service provider said that many of the Hispanic/Latino students with whom he had worked did not even know that they had the option of going back to the senior high school. School staff was not flexible to meet with parents when they were off work, especially if the parent's work schedule did not coincide with office hours at school. Parents got tired of dealing with the administration and the school system in general as one provider explained.

> *At age 16, a parent can sign their child out of school and many times they are so tired of the court system and so tired of dealing with us as an agency because their child has been truant up to age 16, that they choose to sign the kid out of school. Even though they may disagree and want their child to be educated they get tired of fighting the battle. They are tired of missing work to attend court hearings whatever it might be so they sign their child out of school. Yet on a positive note sometimes when the child is finally signed out of school and they are no longer court ordered to do anything they will go get their GED or go back to school because the pressure is off.*

School districts seemed to be quick to push Hispanic/Latino youth in the three counties into Emotional, Behavioral Disorder (EBD) programs, Alternative Learning Centers (ALCs), and Charter schools. Multiple social workers had observed school staff persons who were reticent to assess whether or not youth were experiencing language barriers or actual learning disabilities, especially if the youth and/or family was known to be undocumented. A social worker explained the dynamics in the Willmar Public Schools.

> *[When Latino youth] start to have some behavior problems in school, rather than looking at maybe some evaluation or testing or something like that to see if there's learning difficulties or possible mental health issues or something like that, [school staff] are very quick to get them out of the mainstream school setting and into a level 5 program with EBD settings, where they specialize in dealing*

with behaviors (…) When you are in an EBD setting where everybody is having EBD problems it is very difficult for them to navigate through that program to get back in to the mainstream setting. Seldom does it happen: you never see them go back to the mainstream successfully.

So [the schools] have a hard time putting their resources into really what the problem is, instead of just getting [the kids] out of their hair. They also use our Alternative Learning Center for a dumping ground. I mean the level 5 program is definite behavior problems. They will put them directly there but typically the chain of command is they screw up in the mainstream setting, they go to the Alternative Learning Center and then there is behaviors that develop there and then they go to the level 5 program. Well the Alternative Learning Center is designed for kids who are motivated to learn (…) they have to have some sort of motivation to be able to get through that setting. Well if they are not motivated to do it in the mainstream setting where they have the teacher that is on their butt, why are they going to go to a self-motivated environment and succeed? So they leave there and go somewhere else. [The schools] need to figure out how to be better diagnosticians and do whatever they need to do to figure out what is truly going on instead of moving them to a different environment altogether.

A probation officer described what he felt was a disparity in the number of Hispanic/Latino students in the Alternative Learning Center in Willmar.

You know I really can't speak for what the school does but I think someplace, somewhere, something is missing there because you go to the ALC and you know, I don't know what the percentage of the Latino kids are out at the high school whether it is 5% or 10% or 20% but you go down there and it seems like it is about 80% or whatever, maybe even higher and I don't know if the school just gets tired of them or whatever and says, "You got into a little bit of trouble and therefore you are going to the ALC." I think the teachers care but I think it's a completely different education than what you get at the high school. Maybe [we should have] a stronger education program at the high school and not give up.

Service providers in general felt that schools did not effectively reach out to Hispanic/Latino youth to help them achieve employment and higher education goals while they were still in school, once they dropped out, or once they had graduated.

Schools don't realize that new immigrant families continually needed to be educated about laws pertaining to their child's school attendance and appropriate behavior at school.

A Latina service provider observed that many Hispanic/Latino families and youth came from countries that had no system of juvenile justice or the country's juvenile

justice system was at best inadequate. The fact that Hispanic/Latino youth in the United States could end up in the juvenile justice system for not going to school was foreign to many of these families. Keeping Hispanic/Latino families up-to-speed about laws pertaining to school was not a one-time effort; rather it needed to be a continual process of re-education.

> *What people tend to forget is that there are new people coming all the time so because we have been working with them for the last ten years people tend to forget that you have been telling them over the last ten years but this [family] is new and you need to be telling this person again.*

In many cases instead of directly communicating with families to ensure parents were aware of the laws, schools would send letters out to non-English speaking parents in English and if the parents did not or could not read the letter, they ended up being unaware of the impending consequences that their child could face. The parents and youth would pay harsher consequences later as a result.

Barriers that Prevented Hispanic/Latino Youth from Benefiting from the System

One service provider emphasized that the juvenile justice system's recent focus has been on "doing programming" instead of just "doing time." However, as the following sections describe, involving Hispanic/Latino youth and their families in one-size-fits-all programming continues to be a major challenge for the juvenile justice system. Addressing issues of cultural competency among the service providers and making sure that they engaged Spanish-speaking parents were big enough challenges.

Not Hiring Service Providers Who Were Culturally Representative of the Youth Population

Hispanic/Latino youth often were served by providers who did not understand their background, language and culture. Hiring bilingual/bicultural staff was difficult for reasons such as: structural/systemic obstacles; individuals who were bilingual/bicultural did not want to live in a rural community (e.g. Kandiyohi County); the applicants who could work did not meet educational qualifications; the agencies had attempted to recruit applicants but were not successful. A service provider in Ramsey County describes what he felt were structural obstacles:

> *My first concern is the professionalism of the individuals that they hire. You have to hire people who can do the job properly. Now, at the same time, I think you can find and recruit people of color who are qualified and it's a matter of making the job attractive to them. Now what does that mean? Well, it means that if you have professional staff to begin with, then you won't have trouble hiring those people because they will be treated fairly by the rest of the staff. If you drop your standards and hire people who are not professionals, then you will have a hard time hiring minorities because they won't be treated fairly (…) We have to keep high standards and it does not make any difference if they are working in probation or working in the correctional system as far as counseling is concerned (…) You have to make sure that there are standards, and that these standards are met. If they are not, you make sure that you have ways to remove these people from a job. Now when it comes to unions, it makes it very difficult. Unions have to understand that. They go to bat for people just because they are in the union; it should not work that way.*

Multiple service providers were pleased that the juvenile justice system had made significant efforts to hire more bilingual and/or bicultural personnel, particularly among public defenders, judges and probation officers over the last ten years. However, law enforcement and many of the direct-service occupations still lacked culturally competent staff with experience working with Hispanic/Latino youth and families.

Youth Perspectives

As one youth said "Some staff are there to help, doesn't matter about the money. They're doing it to help." Another youth said he knew staff worked well with him because of the way they treated him, "They treat you equally, they don't discriminate you. They don't look down on you." In so many words a youth summed up his and his peers' frustration with staff who did not understand them or their backgrounds.

> *No White person can say "I relate to what you're saying, I know what you've been through." No you haven't, you don't know the way I grew up, the way I was raised, you don't know the way I was brought up, you don't know how I think.*

Another youth described who he felt knew how to work well with him.

> *African Americans, they can relate to me. They talk to me; they talk the talk, you know. They talk slang, you know. They eventually get along with me real well and so does Hispanic people, they get along with me real well.*

Not Engaging Spanish-only Speaking Parents

Service providers gave examples of colleagues who made little effort to bridge language barriers and to communicate with parents or guardians who only spoke Spanish. These colleagues would only communicate with the youth, who often spoke better English than the parents. Waivers of court interpreter services signed by youth who knew how to speak and understand English kept family members from having access to some form of language services in court.

At the same time, an interpreter was not always the most appropriate solution to communication barriers in other stages of the juvenile justice system. Professional interpreters were obliged to abide by a professional code of ethics which placed boundaries between the client, the interpreter and the service provider. The client ended up not understanding the service provider in English or the literal interpretation in Spanish. Some service providers, out of the shear scarcity of bilingual/bicultural staff outside of the court setting, relied on the youth or other family members to fill in language gaps. Parents or guardians who only spoke Spanish were often left out of the loop, as a service provider in Kandiyohi County explained.

> *Professionals, if the youth's parents are Spanish-speaking, sometimes are not even making an effort to communicate with parents or to do the work of finding an interpreter. They are mainly dealing with the youth and obviously not involving the parents and what they're feelings are, you know what the child needs basically. I think sometimes that is a huge breakdown in serving Latino kids.*

A youth worker in Ramsey County said he was often the only one available to interpret for family therapy sessions.

It's not necessarily my job in [the correctional facility] to translate things but I have actually taken on that responsibility and I do quite a bit of the translating (…) I know if I wasn't there, it probably wouldn't be getting done. And so those expectations that are put on the kids and the families that need to be completed but if they don't understand'em they are not going to complete'em and they are going to have to suffer the consequences with not completing that when they did not understand it. And that is not just for Latinos that is for Asians and other cultures as well.

Service providers who had the most contact with Hispanic/Latino youth emphasized the importance of building and maintaining relationships with families and youth before, during and after the judicial process. Part of building that relationship could be as simple as being invited to eat with a family during a home visit and needing to challenge the boundaries of 'professionalism.' Even if establishing a 'relationship' was not feasible, success with Hispanic/Latino youth and families still depended on establishing rapport, building trust, and maintaining communication with parents or guardians.

Setting Undocumented Youth Up for Failure

Service providers acknowledged that the greatest inconsistencies in treatment for Latino youth involved undocumented youth. Most of the inconsistencies resulted from service providers not knowing how to help them, what services to provide them (legally), or where to refer them. One of the greatest concerns involved Hispanic/Latino emancipated youth who were undocumented and who successfully completed treatment programs but upon release still had no legal documents or way to work and sustain themselves or their families legally. Not knowing how to get the youth a valid form of identification was also a major concern for some providers. Service providers raised various questions such as: How reasonable is it for a probation officer to impose consequences on an emancipated, undocumented youth for going to work instead of going to school? How realistic is it for a judge to court-order employment as a condition for an undocumented youth to transition back to the community? Is deportation a reasonable outcome, when the youth has no family in the country of origin and may never have learned the language of that country?

The service providers who had worked with immigrant Hispanic/Latino youth felt that the system did not take into account the diversity of experiences in the lives of these youth. Diversity included factors such as: legal status, family background, country of origin, age/point of immigration, desire to live in the United States, living conditions in the country of origin, income level, etc. In some cases, the youths' parents may have brought the youth to the United States when he/she was very young so this may have been the only "home" that he/she ever remembered. Specifically, judges, probation officers and social workers expressed having little to no institutional support in the form of policies that could make consequences for immigrant youth more consistent with consequences for other youth. Multiple service providers voiced experiences whereby imposing consequences for undocumented youth resulted in a cumbersome process of

identifying legal loopholes to avoid spending public money for the care or treatment of undocumented youth.

Having Lower Expectations for Hispanic/Latino Youth

Multiple service providers felt that the same stereotypes and assumptions that resulted in racial profiling resulted in some service providers not holding Hispanic/Latino youth accountable for their behavior or having lower expectations for Hispanic/Latino youth once they became involved in the juvenile justice system. Various service providers shared examples in which they felt Hispanic/Latino youth had been held to different standards than other youth. Some service providers either did not have any expectations or had lower expectations for Hispanic/Latino youth and their families or they did not enforce consequences for Hispanic/Latino youth.

According to a service provider in Kandiyohi County, lower expectations was the result of service providers who over-compensated for their own personal biases about Hispanics/Latinos to maintain a perception that they were unbiased.

> *There's the other side of the prejudicial view which is those people who try very hard to have themselves perceived as non-biased and, by trying to create that perception, they are showing their bias. They are saying, "Well I am not biased." Well, they have to bring it up so there is some bias there you know (…) And so many people just don't understand the culture at all and where they are coming from and are afraid.*

A provider in Kandiyohi observed a similar situation.

> *I see that probation officers that come down here looking for placements as being very respectful and very caring but almost to the point of giving the kid too many chances.*

This provider commented that sometimes Hispanic/Latino youth were probably held to lower expectations because they were minor parents. In these cases, the juvenile justice system might delay consequences on Hispanic/Latino youth who were minor parents because the system would attempt to not cause further disruption in the family than was absolutely necessary.

What Service Providers Needed to Understand

One of the questions that we asked participants in this study was "What should service providers in the juvenile justice system understand about Latino youth and Latino cultures?" Some service providers in the juvenile justice system had never thought of asking themselves that question before and knew very little about Hispanic/Latino youth and Latino cultures. The following sections summarize major cultural disconnects between juvenile justice service providers and Hispanic/Latino youth and families. More importantly, they discuss the cultural components that service providers felt they and their colleagues needed to understand in working with Hispanic/Latino juvenile offenders and their families.

Latino Families

Service providers observed that Hispanic/Latino families were more similar to than different from other families. A service provider in Kandiyohi County—albeit at risk of labeling youth because of their last name—explained how Hispanic/Latino families in his community were not much different than other families.

> *The problem is that Willmar I don't think realizes that there's just a specific, small number of families, Hispanic families, that give the Hispanic community in Willmar a bad name and [they're] not recognizing their [own] pasts where there were a specific number of White families that were creating most of the crime or whatever the case may be. They are not recognizing or remembering that, you know. Old Willmar people know the White people, the [White] families who were real trouble makers in the 60's and the 70's, you know, but they are not recognizing that that can still be the case with the Hispanic culture, that there's just specific families, you know.*

When service providers did not extend the same initial trust to a Hispanic/Latino family that they might have extended to another family, they missed an opportunity to build off of a very strong support system for the youth. Service providers had observed colleagues who failed to acknowledge Hispanic/Latino parents who could be trusted to do right by their children. A judge in Hennepin County observed:

> *[Latino parents] are not to any degree different from anybody else. They are not addicted to drugs. They are not sexually abusing their children and not beating them up. They are not neglecting them and not feeding them. They are doing all those things that they are supposed to do and nevertheless the child is out there getting into a world of trouble. In those situations obviously the parents are our allies, in a major way that we might not have in a more disintegrated, less functional family. So to the extent that we can talk to each other about what they [the parents] think would be helpful in corralling this child, you know, we are going to be more successful.*

When the bond with family was strong, Hispanic/Latino families often supported the youth. They showed up to court, showed up to family therapy sessions, and pushed the youth to take ownership for the consequences of their behavior. One service provider observed Hispanic/Latino parents say over and over again to their children in court, "You don't lie. You made a mistake, you need to make amends, you need to admit it, and you need to take a consequence."

How each youth defined his/her family was very important. Family often included the whole family, not just immediate family. It often included strong relationships with aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, and friends. In some cases different generations of the same family would be living in one household, giving extended family a prominent role in the lives of Hispanic/Latino youth. Multiple families and extended family living in the same household meant a variety of levels of acculturation and, thus, varying degrees of fluency in English/Spanish and different (sometimes conflicting) cultural values within the same household.

Gender Roles

In more traditional families where gender roles were more distinct, fathers or oldest male authority figures were the decision makers in the household. Mothers in these families tended to take care of the family but did not necessarily feel they had the power to make decisions about what should be done or what needed to be done in the family without the spouse's input. They often were not able to seek help outside of the family without involving their spouses.

In addition, transferring legal guardianship to another adult, according to one Hispanic/Latino service provider, did not necessarily mean that the decision-making authority or the structure of Hispanic/Latino family had changed. The provider observed that not acknowledging the roles within the family, even if the male authority figure had no legal custody over the youth, could cause negative, unintended repercussions. A Latina service provider made this observation of gender roles.

> *We give certain roles to certain family members and the more traditional you are, the more you need to adhere to those (…) Women are supposed to be nurturing, have babies, and get married. We come across that but not as often as we used to. Boys can do anything and that is okay.*

Girls and boys might be held to strict gender roles within the family. Parents might expect girls to take on more household responsibilities than the boys. Parents might have fewer expectations for the boys and give the boys more independence than the girls.

Respect for Elders, Parents and Authority Figures

Many service providers emphasized that not maintaining eye contact, reluctance to respond or having their head down was not necessarily defiance or admission of guilt on the part of Hispanic/Latino youth. To the contrary, in many Latino cultures not looking

an authority in the eye and keeping silent could be considered respectful. A Latina service provider gave another example of what she viewed as a cultural misunderstanding.

> *Latinos have a way of calling the teachers and staff as Sir or Miss, and they [the Latinos] think that that's respectful, and that is the best way that Latinos can respect them. But the teachers get offended, "Why can't they call me by my name?" And they say Miss or Sir and it is not disrespectful at all so they [teachers] need to understand a little bit about how we communicate.*

Another service provider observed that some Hispanic/Latino youth may have been victims of abuse or torture or may have been mistreated by authority figures at some point. Thus, not responding or not sharing information about oneself and the family in some cases may have been a defense mechanism if not a form of survival.

The Oldest Son

The youth, even more than the service providers, expressed that, as the older, male siblings in families without a father figure, they felt pressure to take charge and do what their fathers did not do. Even in the presence of a father figure, Hispanic/Latino young men felt pressure to make their families proud and to be able to do their part to provide for the family. Older siblings expressed feeling very protective of younger family members and family in general.

Religion

Religion plays a prominent role in the lives of Hispanic/Latino families. Hispanic/Latino families might seek the help and guidance of priests or other clergy upon becoming involved with the juvenile justice system. Service providers had observed clergy who accompanied Hispanic/Latino families to detention centers, correctional facilities and court hearings. They observed that Hispanic/Latino youth would often create art or draw religious symbols such as the cross, Jesus Christ or the Virgin of Guadalupe. Multiple service providers felt that religious symbols were often misinterpreted as symbols to advertise gangs.

Two Hispanic/Latino service providers, one from Kandiyohi County and one from Ramsey County, described how clashes between belief systems could affect Hispanic/Latino youth. The expression *Si Dios quiere* (God willing) is a common phrase referring to when an individual assigned to Providence what would happen in his/her future. Hispanic/Latino youth who questioned and challenged traditional belief systems and the role of religion were often met with parents who held steadfast to those traditional beliefs. A Latina service provider explained:

> *Religion [in the traditional sense] means we need to follow the Bible. We need to go to church and that's the way God wants it, and if that's the way He wants it,*

> *that's the way it'll be. Instead of looking outside of that (…) You don't question it. You just follow it.*

Hispanic/Latino youths' departure from the educational system and entry into the juvenile justice system was, according to a second provider, the result of an educational system that did not understand the impact of culture clashes between many Hispanic/Latino youth and their parents.

> *[*Si Dios quiere *is] hard for Latino youth to understand—the kids that come from families that are really integrated into that culture. There needs to be more of an effort to engage those kids.*

Views on Therapy

Hispanic/Latino youth and their families might not necessarily understand 'therapy.' If a pre-existing relationship with a therapist does not exist, the youth may view therapy as sharing information about his/her family to an outsider. If the information about the family is negative, therapists who have no pre-existing relationship with the youth may experience communication barriers with the youth. One service provider gave an example.

> *We are very familiar with, you do an assessment, they go to treatment, they are gone and they come back. You see what happens, if the family is very old world or very traditional where they come from and the whole medical model and the whole idea of treatment is just foreign. They don't know what you are doing to their children (…) Someone came and asked me, because they were doing an assessment and a guy (he was younger but I don't know if he was under 18) wouldn't talk about his mother and you know the [probation officer] said, "What's with the mother?" Like, "Well, you can't talk bad about mother! Whatever this mother did to him he is not going to sit and spill his guts and tell you and talk bad about his mother you know." And he was like, "Okay."*

Machismo

According to Anzaldúa (1999) the modern meaning of the word "*machismo*" is an Anglo invention. However, in the past, being *macho* meant something very different.

> *For men like my father, being* 'macho' *meant being strong enough to protect and support my mother and us, yet be able to show love. Today's* macho *has doubts about his ability to feed and protect his family. His* 'machismo' *is an adaptation to oppression and poverty and low self-esteem (…) The loss of a sense of dignity and respect in the* macho *breeds a false machismo which leads him to put down women and even brutalize them (Anzaldúa, 1999, p.105).*

Three female service providers mentioned having observed the modern form of *machismo* among the Hispanic/Latino male youth with whom they had worked. One

Latina service provider explained how she addressed *machismo* with Hispanic/Latino youth.

> *So what I hear from the kids a lot is they are going to respect me [referring to herself] because I am Latina where they might not a respect a teacher who is Caucasian because she is not going to understand them. We talk about being* macho*,* machismo*, and what does that mean to you? We talk about where that came from, the positive perspective of years ago where it has changed now to a guy in a wife beater T-shirt who is drinking and all the negatives that go into it. It is a really misused word. So this last session that passed we talked about "nobleness" in the Latino male, just as I challenge the Latinas in the group to look at the female image. Is the girl that is on* Univisión *you know in the skimpy outfit, is that who you need to be in order to gain respect?*

Multiple female service providers mentioned having to work harder to gain the respect of Hispanic/Latino male youth. One female Caucasian service provider explained what was effective for her in working with Hispanic/Latino youth who were *machistas*.

> *I know when I am working with [Latino youth] I have to approach the Mexican kids differently than the White kids and I don't even know if I can explain it so that it makes any sense but I often have to work darn hard because they don't always have much respect for women in authority. That is a big one that may have been in one of the questions but I just didn't bring it up. In your job you need to know that in every culture they are responding to you differently. In the Hmong culture a woman in authority is not going to get any respect. The Hispanics will respect you but you almost have to be a bitch about it. And the girls? Well, that's just hit and miss but if you don't know that these different types of cultures and different types of people need to be approached in a different way, somewhere along the line you are going to make somebody mad.*

Food, Music, and Culturally-specific Media and Events

Many service providers observed vast differences between Hispanic/Latino youth's home environments and the environments in correctional facilities or residential placements, especially with regard to having access to culturally familiar foods, music, media and celebrations. One service provider observed, "I see a lot of juveniles. They don't eat. They don't eat, not because they aren't hungry but it's because they cannot stand it, eating that American food." Multiple youth commented on the "bad food" in the correctional facility and wished they could cook their own food. A service provider gave an example of a youth who had gone from a very traditional home environment to a foster home.

> *I had a young lady that was placed, and the only way I could explain to the mother of the [foster] home was this way, "This girl comes from a home that is just so Mexican you could pick up that home, put it inside the heart of Mexico and nothing would change." You know because of the way they dealt with everything.*

And the woman's response to me was, "Well I had to learn how to eat other things besides tortillas." Because in this home the woman hated to cook; she didn't even have a kitchen in place. You know the heart of a Latino home is the kitchen. I mean she had a refrigerator. There was no stove and you know and she took these girls out to eat every single day, Kentucky Fried, Taco Bell, pizza, you know the buffet on a regular basis so every time I would see this girl she would ask me, "Please take me to El Burrito so I can get something," or whatever and I would say, "Well what is going on where you are?" You know and she would tell me and so I talked to child protection, I talked to this lady and her response was, "She needs to learn." Well does she? Who says she does? (…) You know so it is those little things, you know that are like, when kids get in placement in a Caucasian home but they are used to having Latino channels on all the time or Latino music and they have none of that, then how are we helping them if their environment is so unknown to them.

Language

Learning a second or third language is a major part of the acculturation process for many Hispanic/Latino youth and their parents. The majority of service providers in the juvenile justice system are White, middle class, monolingual (English-speaking) individuals who do not always see the importance of ensuring linguistic access for parents and, if they do see the importance of it, they do not always have the resources available to bridge the language gap. A probation officer in Ramsey County gave examples of the types of comments some of his colleagues would make.

You still hear generalizations like, for example, "Oh, they understand," referring to [Latino] families or clients, or "They have been here long enough. Yeah, they know English." or "They should know it." or "They know enough but they are playing dumb on you." It seems like that sort of mentality still exists when it comes to Hispanic populations as opposed to say Hmong. Where "They are just playing dumb, they know what you are talking about." Really?

Not communicating with parents/guardians who did not speak English was easier (and less expensive, at least in the short run) for the majority of the service providers in the juvenile justice system who had little or no experience with the challenges of learning another language as an adult.

Juvenile justice service providers in general needed to start trusting and getting more accustomed to working with bilingual support staff and individuals who spoke languages other than English. Multiple Hispanic/Latino youth were dismayed with the fact that speaking Spanish in the presence of staff was prohibited in the correctional facility where they had been placed. One service provider shared a co-worker's challenge of having to work with a counselor who only spoke English. The counselor needed to get accustomed to another language being spoken in his presence and to trusting bilingual support staff to do the job, albeit in another language.

> *The counselor does his thing in an Anglo way, "Kids, this is the lesson for the day." And I said [to my co-worker], "Well, was he comfortable with you doing things all of a sudden just speaking in Spanish and saying to these kids, 'All right,* así lo vamos a hacer. Yo sé que tú no le has dicho a tu mamá de esto*.'" And [the counselor] was real comfortable; where before it wasn't like that. It was, "No! I am the counselor and this is the way we're going to do the program. And no, you do not go and speak Spanish to those kids. We're all going to do this in English."*

Multiple service providers shared situations where they felt they had gone out of their way to ensure linguistic access but were frustrated when, ultimately, the youth or family still did not understand. A service provider gave a unique example.

> *We celebrate birthdays here. We bought a birthday cake for a Hispanic kid and we went and got it written out 'Happy Birthday' and his name in Spanish. He couldn't read it! And we just felt, "Oh man! We really screwed up there, you know." But the intent was good but we will never do that again.*

Asking the youth or family appropriate questions to determine the dominant language as well as his/her ability to read was much more effective than the best of intentions. In some cases having access to a bilingual advocate or bilingual staff was more effective than having an interpreter, according to some service providers. Family advocates could explain unfamiliar terminology and procedures to the parents and guardians who did not speak English. A Latina service provider who at one time had been an interpreter in court echoed the need for bilingual/bicultural advocates.

> *When you're an interpreter it's so hard because families want more than that from you and of course you have these ethics and this oath that you took and that you need to abide by. And you can't say, "Oh I feel for you. You can call [X person], he's running a program." You can't say nothin', nothin'. And so you feel like a total idiot, a jerk and that you have betrayed them.*

Awareness of Local Laws

Laws are based on local culture and since values and beliefs differ across cultures, laws have different impacts on different people. Service providers mentioned various laws that could be problematic for Hispanic/Latino families. They included laws regarding the legal age of consent, carrying weapons, truancy, driver's licenses, and open bottle laws. The confusion became amplified when families moved across state lines and when laws were different in different states.

Placement: Close to Home or Far Away from Home

Sentencing to out-of-home placement was often the only way to ensure that Hispanic/Latino youth had access to a minimum level of treatment or services, at least from the perspective of some of the service providers. Most youth placements in Minnesota were in rural communities and were not close to home. Few of these facilities

had any culturally specific programming. Service providers mentioned various factors that they considered in placements. These factors included:

- Level of gang involvement of the youth
- Placements of co-defendants
- Appropriateness of the program to the youth's background and situation
- Runners, i.e. would run away
- Relationship between the youth and the family

Placing youth far away from home created distances between youth and their families. However, in situations where a disconnection already existed between the youth and the family, service providers felt that distance was not a major problem. If youth were gang-involved, service providers felt that distance was the most effective way to break the youth's ties with the gang. Some service providers commented that the lack of transportation for trips to facilities posed challenges for some Hispanic/Latino families. However, other service providers had observed that if the family bond was strong, Hispanic/Latino parents made whatever efforts necessary to visit their children and participate in family therapy.

Solutions

Solutions in this project referred to how the juvenile justice system could better serve and address the needs of Hispanic/Latino youth offenders and their families. Below are the suggestions and recommendations that service providers and youth shared in the focus groups and interviews. The recommendations address each of the four types of root causes.

Curb Overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino Youth

Below are recommendations that could help to curb overrepresentation of Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system.

When the Crime is not a Felony, Use Diversion, Rather Than Arrest and Detainment. Service providers felt that arrest and detention was expensive and best used as a last resort for youth. If the crime was not a felony, rather than arresting and detaining a youth, the focus could be on educating youth and diversion programs.

Identify and Track Ethnicity throughout All Stages of the Juvenile Justice System. Currently, only courts track ethnicity of the Hispanic/Latino youth, but that data did not trickle down through other stages of the system in Minnesota. Detention centers, correctional/treatment facilities, probation officers and all programs involved in the process should identify and track the ethnicities of the youth whom they serve. If service providers collect their own data, they can always adapt the question from the Census to their needs. (See **Appendix J** for a copy of the Census question.)

Make Sure That Hispanic/Latino Youth and Their Families Understand Impending Consequences. Service providers throughout all stages of the system needed to make concerted efforts to step forward and communicate directly with Hispanic/Latino families. Rather than sending letters, communicating in-person or over-the-phone with Hispanic/Latino parents and guardians took more time but could be much more effective and prevent greater problems in the long run. Moreover, sentencing proceedings may have been the first time that youth and families realized the consequences of becoming involved in the juvenile justice system. Appropriate legal representation in the court of law entitles defendants to a proper explanation of their charge. Courts and public defenders needed to extend the same procedural standard to Hispanic/Latino youth as any other defendant, including use of appropriate communication style, age-appropriate vocabulary and linguistic access services, when needed.

Encourage the Formation of Neighborhood Justice Centers. As an alternative to burdening the criminal justice system, Hispanic/Latino youth and the community at large could benefit from establishing neighborhood justice centers. The neighborhood justice center, given its familiarity with the environment in which the youth live, could possibly serve Hispanic/Latino youth and families more appropriately and effectively.

Invest in Preventative Measures to Reduce Delinquent and Violent Behavior

Below are recommendations to guide investment in preventative programming and services to reduce delinquent and violent behavior among Hispanic/Latino youth.

Invest in Preventative Programming and Services. Many service providers viewed schools as the nexus to connect youth with the services and mentors they needed most. Service providers commented that the juvenile justice system needed to be more proactive than reactive in working with youth, and schools were the logical place to create partnerships for services. Head Start, after-school programs, church youth groups, YMCA programs, bilingual/bicultural staff positions, and in-home therapy were examples of areas in greater need of investment and resources.

Life Skills Training May Be More Useful Than Therapy. Youth may be court-ordered to therapy whether or not they need it. Life-skills training can help youth to develop sustainable and independent ways of managing the day-to-day. Although certain youth and families may require mental health services, others may be more successful focusing on programs that offer training in topics such as: employment, personal finances, anger management, and parenthood (specifically, fatherhood).

Treat Youth with Respect. This included not making assumptions, establishing rapport with youth and collecting information before taking punitive actions whenever possible. Being respectful also entailed taking opportunities to educate youth in non-criminal situations about what behaviors are illegal before imposing consequences.

Promote Positive Interactions with Hispanic/Latino Youth. Service providers mentioned that staff such as police officers, prosecutors and probation officers really needed to make a concerted effort to establish rapport and relationships with Hispanic/Latino youth and their families, possibly even beyond the work setting. In particular, police officers needed to promote positive interaction with youth in the community (out of uniform) and not be limited to incidences of criminal activity. Prosecutors and probation officers could volunteer with youth in schools and community centers and talk about their work, the challenges and adversities they face, and explain their roles in the system.

Address Priority Needs of Minor Parents. Invest in quality school-to-work and vocational programs for youth who need to support their families. These can be of great help to youth who feel torn between mandatory school and the necessity to provide a family income.

Consider the Implications of Gang Territories in Setting Up Community Service Placements and in Holding Meetings with Youth and Families. When setting up meetings or community service placements with youth, consider gang claimed areas and safety implications in sending youth and their families through those territories. A poor choice may unnecessarily put youth and their families in harm's way.

Promote Literacy Programs for Hispanic/Latino Families. Beyond not knowing English, language challenges and barriers were felt to be compounded by partial or total illiteracy of many Hispanic/Latino youth and family members in their own primary language. Service providers needed to understand that many Hispanic/Latino youth do not receive adequate education in the US and that many families came from precarious social and economic backgrounds in their countries of origin and often arrive here without basic reading and writing skills.

Provide On-going Education for Immigrant Youth and Their Parents about Minnesota Laws that Affect Them Most. Schools are intuitive places to hold presentations to educate youth and parents on local laws. In particular, new, in-coming immigrant parents and youth need to be continuously educated on issues such as legal age of consent, consequences of driving without a license, curfew and truancy laws. They need to know how these laws differ in Minnesota from other states and other countries.

Recruit Hispanic/Latino Families for Early Childhood Development Programs. Education needs to start at a young age, when it can have the most impact in the lives of children. Ensuring that Hispanic/Latino youth and families have access to these programs can prevent Hispanic/Latino youth from entering the juvenile justice system later on.

Foster Youth Success by Ensuring Family Success. Many service providers were frustrated with youth going right back into the same less-than-optimal environments from which they came. Families may have been one of the reasons youth ended up in the juvenile justice system. Making sure basic needs were met within the family or exploring other support systems for youth could help youth to be successful on the 'outs.'

Encourage Churches to Provide Opportunities for At-risk Youth and Families to Grow Spiritually. Church programs, community groups, spiritual mentors or peer groups may engage youth in spiritual activities early on that can counter the pressures of pop culture and materialism often present in youths' lives.

Improve Treatment of Hispanic/Latino Youth

Below are recommendations on how to improve treatment of Hispanic/Latino youth in the juvenile justice system.

Seek Advice from Community Experts. When you have situations and confrontations involving Hispanic/Latino youth and need advice, who will be your point of reference? Identify community experts that can advise you or your staff on factors to consider in working with Hispanic/Latino youth. Get their cell phone number and keep it on you. Remember that the youth themselves could be a great place to start.

Actively Recruit Bilingual and Bicultural Staff. Recruitment should occur throughout all stages of the juvenile justice system. However, it should especially occur within the professions on the front line with Hispanic/Latino youth and families, e.g., corrections counselors, chemical dependency counselors, mental health providers, probation officers,

social workers, advocates, and police officers. According to many service providers bilingualism did not automatically mean a person was bicultural. Even providing a certified interpreter did not always ensure that cultural factors were being addressed. Departments and facilities could make a list of providers and their specialties/competencies available to their clients.

Avoid Pre-Judging, Stereotyping or Labeling Hispanic/Latino Youth and Families. Just as important as cultural competency, was seeing each youth with a fresh set of eyes. The most effective ways to do this was through taking the time to get to know and understand the youth, his/her background, and the underlying circumstances of his/her behavior. Service providers who had worked most with Hispanic/Latino youth stressed that success with these youth began with establishing the initial rapport, trust and relationship. For police, it could mean taking a moment to ask a few pertinent questions before taking the kid down or jumping to conclusions. For public defenders, in the youth's perspective, the difference between being a "public pretender" and a "public defender" was making the effort to communicate with the youth and his/her family to best understand the youth's and the family's circumstances. For judges, it was making a concerted effort to get behind the "court face" and the "fronting" on the part of the youth by getting to know and by listening to the youth speak as he/she was most comfortable speaking. For service providers in general, it meant having to set one's own personal biases aside to ask youth and families about their lives and backgrounds.

Confront Bias at the Individual Level. Multiple service providers felt that institutions could do much more during recruitment for staff to directly address issues of cultural competency and to safeguard against potential problems later on. Hiring could include questions, tests and hypothetical scenarios in the interviewing process that are culturally appropriate to youth populations served, and that emphasize the ability to recognize and handle ambiguities associated with racial and cultural bias.

Weed Out Service Providers Who Don't Enjoy Working with Youth. Service providers, from the youths' perspectives, needed to understand how important it was that staff actually cared about them and that staff was willing to help them out. Staff interactions with Latino youth needed to focus on successes. Multiple Hispanic/Latino youth commented that being in the juvenile justice system was not necessarily a bad thing for them. They felt they had learned a lot from being involved in the system and having contact with staff members that really cared about them.

Hold Hispanic/Latino Youth Accountable. Holding any young person accountable for his/her behavior takes work and probation officers, no matter how long they had worked in the system, recognized the need to maintain high expectations for Hispanic/Latino youth. Not holding Hispanic/Latino youth accountable could be just as unfair as holding unreasonably high standards for them. Restorative justice programs can link youth, their families, victims and communities in holding offenders accountable for their behavior. They often involve the voluntary participation of victims, youth, their families and members of the community to "restore" the relationship that was damaged as a result of criminal activity.

Learn About and Understand the Various Immigration Statuses and Their Implications. Youth, families and service providers needed to acknowledge the basic legal differences between statuses—undocumented, non-immigrant, refugee, lawful permanent resident and citizen—and how different statuses affected sentencing. Immigrants could receive much more severe sentences for less serious crimes, depending on their status. Service providers also needed to understand the paradox of a youth being undocumented or "illegal" and his/her ability to "return to lawful behavior" once he/she had successfully completed a program. Certain immigrant statuses imposed limitations on youth's ability to complete consequences, especially those related to employment or job placement.

Understand that Undocumented Youth Cannot Work Here Legally. Federal immigration law prohibits undocumented immigrants from seeking employment in the United States. Exploring alternative options, e.g., educational opportunities, youth programs to ensure an undocumented youth could best 'return to legal behavior' was important to multiple service providers. Court-ordered employment or job placement as a means of transitioning back to the community created ethical dilemmas for the social workers, and probation officers who were charged with enforcing and implementing consequences. At the same time, social workers and probation officers needed to understand that state court judges cannot override federal law and provide employment authorization for undocumented youth.

Implement Measures to Monitor Police Officer Contact with Youth in the Community. Service providers and youth in the juvenile justice system understand very well that police officers are on their own once they are on the streets. Nonetheless, monitoring police contact with youth in the community can prevent negligence, abuses of authority and instances of police brutality that can negatively impact youth and even whole communities' impressions of law enforcement. Anecdotal comments from service providers showed that Hispanic/Latino youth who experienced the most injustices with the system, might not have even reached the first stage of arrest in the juvenile justice system and thus might not have been served at all.

Make Sure Court Interpreters Will Show Up. Multiple service providers felt that probation officers were responsible for making sure that interpreters were available and would show up to court. Rescheduling court proceedings when interpreters were absent had far reaching implications for youth and their families. In some cases, social workers could assist in this process. Family therapy was also an important time to make sure interpreters were available. In cases where Spanish was a family's preferred language, correctional facilities needed to guarantee the presence of an interpreter who could assist in the communication process during therapy sessions.

Do Not Encourage English-only Policies in Correctional Facilities Unless the Policy Can Be Enforced Uniformly for All Languages Other Than English. Prohibiting youth to communicate or express themselves in their primary language was a form of censorship for youth with limited proficiency in English. It ensured that limited-English

proficient youth would have less of a voice than youth who spoke English. When English-only policies were not enforced uniformly across all languages other than English, youth felt the institution or staff was discriminating against them.

Notify and Involve Parents/Guardians When Law Enforcement Has Had Contact with Youth. Early notification could increase parental collaboration in working with youth and could provide more leverage with youth. Youth may be very close to their families and in many cases Hispanic/Latino families will hold youth accountable for their mistakes. Service providers should take advantage of this positive, cultural strength to ensure family can simultaneously support youth and assist service providers in conveying important lessons and messages to youth. Close family ties may include extended relatives in Latino cultures, e.g., uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents. If parents are not available to participate with the youth in the system, extended relatives could also be valuable resources.

Parents Need to Be Aware of the Potential Consequences of Calling the Police on Their Own Children. They need to know that if they call the police on their own child, the child may be arrested whether or not the family intended that outcome.

Reward Positive Behavior of Hispanic/Latino Youth. When working with youth, make a point to show up and observe the youth being involved in positive behaviors, rather than just showing up when something goes wrong.

Ensure That Youth Who Have Conflicts with Staff Are Aware of Conflict Resolution Protocols and Mediation Procedures. When a conflict arose in a correctional facility, youth needed effective ways to express their grievances and to be heard. They also needed to know what was done to address their grievance. According to one youth, having to address the problem alone with the staff person who caused the problem was not fair or effective. It just insured nothing was done about the problem.

Make Sure Hispanic/Latino Youth Can Benefit from Involvement in the Juvenile Justice System

Below are recommendations on making sure that Hispanic/Latino youth have the opportunity to benefit from the juvenile justice system just as other youth have that opportunity.

Reduce the Time Between the Criminal Charge and the Court Sentence Whenever Possible to Ensure Youth Make Connections Between Their Behavior and the Consequence. Judges, public defenders and prosecutors were mentioned as all playing a role in helping youth connect with the consequences of delinquent behavior. They also played a role in making sure youth did not remain in detention longer than necessary and that treatment could begin as soon as possible. Detention was an expensive alternative according to multiple service providers and it kept youth from beginning treatment.

Ensure Cultural Competency of Staff through Cross-community or Cross-departmental Service. Diversity and cultural competency training is most beneficial to staff who have little to no exposure with youth from other cultures and often serves as an introduction to another culture. The challenge, however, is ensuring staff actually makes efforts to interact with youth and parents from other cultures on more than a superficial, take-care-of-business level. The difference between a culturally competent staff person and one who was not was the difference between just doing the job and ensuring that Hispanic/Latino youth and families actually benefited from their contact with the juvenile justice system. Seeing outside of the box meant that service providers made efforts to become aware of or to expose themselves to issues affecting Hispanic/Latino youth beyond one's day-to-day job. It meant being able to recognize and speak up about injustices when they occurred with Hispanic/Latino youth. Just as a certain number of diversity training workshops could be mandatory for staff, so could hours of community service volunteering for a community-based organization or a department/agency that worked with Hispanic/Latino families on a different capacity than one's own job. Providing incentives and opportunities for staff to interact with youth and families from other cultures outside of the work setting could be part of on-going staff development.

Encourage Involvement of Family Advocates and Mentors. All stages of the justice system may benefit from including advocates that work directly with the families and mentors who can keep youth on track. While probation officers must impose consequences and enforce rules on youth, mentors and family advocates could educate, coach and guide youth and their families without having to bring "down the hammer." Unlike probation officers, family advocates and mentors can continue to be a positive resource for youth and families once they are out of the juvenile justice system. Involving family advocates can facilitate matching the most appropriate public defenders with clients. Those who are bilingual/bicultural often can take more time and more appropriate measures than interpreters, who are bound by codes of conduct and professional standards, to explain important details. Family advocates and mentors can create bridges for transitioning youth out of the system and back into the community by facilitating jobs, volunteer opportunities, and work-school opportunities.

Take Measures to Effectively Diagnose Language Barriers Versus Learning Disabilities. English proficiency falls on a wide scale of possibilities ranging from a combination of written, oral and comprehensive skills all of which can be very distinct levels for one youth, not to mention within one family. For instance, some Latino youth only could speak English, others only could speak Spanish, and others could speak a combination of both. All had been exposed to varying levels of both languages at home and in community settings. To determine the language abilities of youth, service providers must make efforts to assess youths' abilities rather than operating off of assumptions that can overlook language barriers and potential learning disabilities.

Provide Packets and Materials in Spanish When Necessary. Ensuring Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latino youth could be engaged and successful in treatment and therapy involved providing treatment and program materials in his/her primary language. For instance, a limited-English speaking youth could not possibly be held to the same

performance expectations as a youth who knew how to read, write and express him/herself in English. Programming using spoken word could be developed for youth who were illiterate in both languages.

Develop and Provide Culturally Specific Programming in Rural and Urban Areas. Although urban placements, programs and treatments may count on a handful of culturally competent staff members, culturally appropriate programming was necessary to ensure that Hispanic/Latino youth did more that just "do time" in the juvenile justice system. Culturally appropriate programming ensured that Latino youth and their families actually benefited from their involvement with juvenile justice system.

Table of Figures

References

Anzaldúa, G. (1999) *Borderlands la frontera: The new meztiza.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books. p.105

Bilchik, S. (1999) Minorities in the Juvenile Justice System: 1999 National Report Series. ***Juvenile Justice Bulletin***, Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Chicano Latino Affairs Council. (2003, January) *The Hispanic/Latino Population in Minnesota.* Minnesota: Chicano/Latino Affairs Council.

Curry, G., Ball, R. and Decker, S. (1996) *Estimating the national scope of gang crime from law enforcement data.* In Gangs in America, 2d ed., edited by C. Ronald Huff. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Fadiman, A. (1997) *The spirit catches you and you fall down: A Hmong child, her American doctors, and the collision of two cultures.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. p.206

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (1984). *Uniform crime reporting handbook*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Available from: http://www.mnplan.state.mn.us/cj/arrest.html

Fry, R. (2003, June 12) *Hispanic Youth Dropping Out of US Schools: Measuring the Challenge.* PEW Hispanic Center.

Hamparian, D. and Leiber, M. (1997) *Disproportionate Confinement of Minority Juveniles in Secure Facilities: 1996 National Report.* Community Research Associates. Champaign, IL.

Hawkins, D. F., Laub, J.H., Lauritsen, J.L. and Cothern, L. (2000, June) Race, Ethnicity and Serious and Violent Juvenile Offending. ***Juvenile Justice Bulletin***. Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Howell, J.C. (1994). *Gang fact sheet#12.* Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Howell, J.C. (1998). *Youth gangs: An overview.* (NCJ 167249) Juvenile Justice Bulletin. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Ingram DD, Parker JD, Schenker N, Weed JA, Hamilton B, Arias E, Madans JH. (2003) *United States Census 2000 population with bridged race categories.* National Center for Health Statistics. Vital Health Stat 2(135). pp. 11-12 Available from: http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/series/sr_02/sr02_135.pdf

Institute on Race and Poverty and Council on Crime and Justice (2003, September). *Minnesota statewide racial profiling report: All participating jurisdictions.*

Juszkiewicz, J. (1997). *Juvenile crime/adult time: Is justice served?* Building Blocks for Youth. Washington, DC.

Meade, K. (2002, September). *Face of the Twin Cities: A regional look at community trends and disparities.* Greater Twin Cities United Way: Research and Planning Department.

Miller, W. (1975) *Violence by youth gangs and youth groups as a crime problem in major American cities.* Washington, D.C.: US Department of Justice.

Minnesota Department of Children Families and Learning. (2002, August) *Completion Study for the Class of 2001* [Electronic Version].

Retrieved April 28, 2005 from: http://www.citizensleague.net/highschool/html/new/MN%20Class%20of%202001%20completion%20report.pdf

Minnesota Department of Health, Community Health Division Center for Health Statistics. (2003, Summer). Adolescent health among Minnesota's racial/ethnic groups: Progress and Disparities. ***Population Health Assessment Quarterly, Vol. 4, Issue 1.***

Minnesota Department of Public Safety (2004). *Disproportionate minority confinement of juveniles in the juvenile correctional system.* Minnesota Department of Public Safety.

National Center for Health Statistics (2004). *Estimates of the July 1, 2000-July 1, 2003, United States resident population from the Vintage 2003 postcensal series by year, county, age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin*. [Released 9/14/2004; Retrieved 9/15/2004]. Prepared under a collaborative arrangement with the U.S. Census Bureau. Available online from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/about/major/dvs/popbridge/popbridge.htm.]

Pappas, C. (2001, August). *US gangs: Their changing history and contemporary solutions.* Youth Advocate Program Resource Paper [Electronic version]. Retrieved April 29, 2005 from: http://www.yapi.org/old/publications/resourcepapers/Gangscon.pdf

Poe-Yamagata, E., & Jones, M.A. (2000). *And justice for some: Differential treatment of minority juveniles in the justice system.* Building Blocks for Youth. Washington, DC:

Pope, C. and Feyerherm, W. (1993, December) *Research Summary: Minorities and the Juvenile Justice System*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Puzzanchera, C., Finnegan, T. and Kang, W. (2005). *Easy Access to Juvenile Populations.* Online. Available from: http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org/ojstatbb/ezapop/

Schirali, V. and Ziedenberg, J. (2001, September 21) *Reducing Disproportionate Minority Confinement: The Multnomah County Oregon Success Story and Its Implications.* Justice Policy Institute.

Sickmund, M. Sladky, T.J., and Kang, W. (2004) *Census of Juveniles in Residential Placement Databook* [Electronic version]. Retrieved May 15, 2005 from: http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org/ojstatbb/cjrp/

Snyder, H. and Sickmund, M. (1999) *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report.* Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

State Court Administrator's Office. (2002) *Summary Information on Juvenile Delinquency Petitions in Minnesota Courts: Calendar Year 2002.* Paper presented to the House and Senate Crime Prevention Committees pursuant to M.S. 260B.173 in December, 2003.

U.S. Census Bureau: www.census.gov

Villaruel, F. and Nancy Walker. (2002, July). *Donde está la justicia? A Call to Action on Behalf of Latino and Latina Youth in the US Justice System.* Building Blocks for Youth. Washington, DC.

Appendices

Appendix A: Breakdown of Offense Types

Statutes	*Type I Offenses*	Description
609-185	Murder	The willful, premeditated killing of another person; also includes non-negligent manslaughter, which is willful but not premeditated. Attempts to kill are classified as aggravated assaults. Justifiable homicides, suicides and accidental deaths are excluded.
609-205	Negligent manslaughter	Death that occurs as a result of no willful, gross negligence by some person other than the victim. This category does not include traffic fatalities.
609-342	Rape	Carnal knowledge of a female or male forcibly and against her or his will, including assaults and attempts to rape. This category excludes statutory rape — cases in which no force is used and the victim is under the age of consent — and other sex offenses.
609-245	Robbery	The threatened, attempted or actual taking of other people's property against their will by using force or putting them in fear.
609-2231	Aggravated assault	The attempted or actual use of force, through the use of a weapon or physical attack, intended to inflict severe bodily injury upon another person. This category does not include assaults committed with intent to rape or robbery, simple assaults or assault and battery.
609-582	Burglary	The unlawful or forcible entry of any structure such as a public building, factory, apartment, house, trailer, ship or warehouse to commit a felony or theft. Attempts at forcible entry also are included. If theft occurs as a result of the unlawful or forced entry, only a burglary is recorded. Any behavior aimed at unlawful entry of a locked structure is considered forcible.
609-52	Larceny	The attempted or unlawful taking of property belonging to another person, including such acts as pocket-picking, purse snatching, shoplifting, theft from an automobile or building, and bicycle theft. Motor vehicle theft and thefts resulting from robbery or breaking and entering are not considered larceny.
609.52 Sub. 2(1), (2), (5)	Motor vehicle theft	The attempted or actual theft of a motor vehicle; includes all vehicles that can be registered as a motor vehicle in Minnesota.
609-561	Arson	Willful or malicious burning — whether attempted or actually completed — of any entity, including a dwelling, building, motor vehicle, ship, aircraft, personal property of another, crops, grain, trees, fences, marshes and meadows. Deaths resulting from arson are classified as murder and personal injuries as assault.
	Type II Offenses	
609-224-2	Other assaults	Attempted or actual assault that is minor in nature. These incidents do not involve weapons and do not result in serious bodily injury to the victim.
609-63	Forgery and counterfeiting	Making, altering, uttering or possessing anything false in place of the authentic item with intent to defraud. This category includes illegally making, altering or forging public records, coins, plates or banknotes; signing the name of another or fictitious person; and all attempts to commit these acts.
609-82	Fraud	The fraudulent conversion and acquisition of money under false pretenses. Includes such acts as writing bad checks, conducting confidence games, withdrawing money from an automatic teller machine without authorization and any attempts to commit these acts.
609-54	Embezzlement	The misappropriation or misapplication of money or property entrusted to one's care, custody or control.
609-53-1	Stolen property	Buying, receiving, possessing or concealing stolen property, including attempts to commit these acts.
609.595 Sub. 1	Vandalism	Willful or malicious destruction, injury, disfigurement or defacement of any public or private property, real or personal, without consent of the owner or persons having custody or control by cutting, tearing, breaking, marking, painting, drawing, covering with filth or any other such means as may be

(1)-(4)		specified by law.
624-731	Weapons offenses	Violations of laws governing the manufacture, sale or possession of deadly weapons or silencers; carrying deadly weapons, concealed or openly; furnishing deadly weapons to minors; the possession of deadly weapons by aliens; and all attempts to commit any of these acts.
609.324 Subs. 1 - 3	Prostitution	Sex offenses of a commercialized nature such as prostitution, keeping a house of ill repute or procuring, transporting or detaining males and females for immoral purposes. Attempts to commit any of these acts also are included.
609-365 (Incest) 609-36 Sub.1 (Adultery)	Other sex offenses	Violations of common decency or morals and such acts as adultery, incest, indecent exposure, sodomy and all attempts to commit these acts. This category does not include forcible rape or prostitution.
152-022	Narcotics offenses	Violations of any state or local laws relating to the unlawful possession, sale, use, growing, manufacturing or making of narcotic drugs.
609-76	Gambling offenses	Promoting, permitting or engaging in illegal gambling.
609-378	Offenses against family or children	Desertion, abandonment, nonsupport, neglect or abuse of a child or family member, or nonpayment of alimony.
169 A20	Driving under the influence	Driving or operating any vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or narcotic drugs.
340A-503	Liquor laws	Violation of any state or local liquor laws, such as maintaining an unlawful drinking establishment or furnishing liquor to a minor. Federal violations are excluded.
609-72	Disorderly conduct	Breach of the peace including unlawful assembly, use of obscene language, desecration of the flag or refusal to assist an officer. Attempts to commit any of these actions also are included.
609.725(1) - (4)	Vagrancy	Such acts as transience, begging and loitering (this offense applies only to individuals age 18 or older).
	Other offenses	Violations of any state or local laws not defined in this document, excluding traffic violations and the juvenile offenses of running away, loitering and violating curfew.
	Status Offenses	
260B-007	Curfew or loitering	Violations of local curfew or loitering ordinances for which juveniles but not adults can be apprehended. Adults arrested for loitering are counted under the offense of vagrancy.
260B-007	Runaways	Juveniles taken into protective custody under provisions of state statutes.

Appendix B: Offense Descriptions for Detention and Residential Placement Data

Offense Label	Offense Description
Delinquency	An offense that is considered illegal for adults.
Person Offenses	Aggravated assault, Criminal homicide, Robbery, Simple assault, violent sexual assault
Property Offenses	Arson, Auto theft, Burglary, Theft, non-household larceny
Drug	Trafficking, Other drug-related offenses
Public order	Alcohol or drugs, driving under the influence, Weapons, Other public order offenses
Technical violation	Violations of probation, parole, or valid court orders; acts that disobey or go against the conditions of probation or parole. Examples include: failure to participate in a specific program, failure to appear for drug
Status offense	A non-delinquent/non-criminal offense; an offense that is illegal for underage persons, but not for adults. Curfew, Incorrigible, Running away, Truancy, Underage drinking, other Status Offenses

Appendix C: Expected-Outcome Analysis of Hispanic/Latino Juvenile Apprehensions (1990 & 2000)

Statewide, 1990

Type of Offense	Total Juv. Arrests (1990)	Actual Arrests (1990)	Expected Arrests (1990)	Difference	Difference as % of Total Difference	Over/Under Representation
Murder	18	0	0	0	0%	NA
Negligent manslaughter	1	0	0	0	0%	NA
Rape	75	4	1	3	0%	201%
Robbery	304	49	5	44	2%	811%
Aggravated assault	955	178	17	161	9%	953%
Burglary	1,728	89	31	58	3%	191%
Larceny	11,864	803	210	593	33%	282%
Motor vehicle theft	2,010	177	36	141	8%	398%
Arson	161	17	3	14	1%	497%
Total Part I offenses	**17116**	**1,317**	**303**	**1014**	**57%**	**335%**
Other assaults	2,865	282	51	231	13%	456%
Forgery and counterfeiting	412	16	7	9	0%	119%
Fraud	283	19	5	14	1%	279%
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Stolen property	814	67	14	53	3%	365%
Vandalism	3,707	166	66	100	6%	153%
Weapons offenses	465	32	8	24	1%	289%
Prostitution	51	3	1	2	0%	232%
Other sex offenses	278	13	5	8	0%	164%
Narcotics offenses	749	39	13	26	1%	194%
Gambling offenses	2	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Offenses against family or children	12	1	0	1	0%	371%
Driving under the influence	608	11	11	0	0%	2%
Liquor laws	6,830	81	121	-40	-2%	-33%
Disorderly conduct	1,915	117	34	83	5%	245%
Vagrancy	2	2	0	2	0%	5550%
Other offenses (except traffic)	4,680	240	83	157	9%	190%
Total Part II offenses	**23673**	**1,089**	**419**	**670**	**37%**	**160%**
Curfew or loitering	1,825	107	32	75	4%	231%
Runaways	2,106	73	37	36	2%	96%
Total juvenile status offenses	**3931**	**180**	**70**	**110**	**6%**	**159%**
Total	**44720**	**2,586**	**792**	**1794**	**100%**	**227%**

Statewide, 2000

Type of Offense	Total Juv. Arrests (2000)	Actual Arrests (2000)	Expected Arrests (2000)	Difference	Difference as % of Total Difference	Over/Under Representation
Murder	13	0	0	0	0%	NA
Negligent manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Rape	202	14	7	7	0%	105%
Robbery	353	22	12	10	0%	85%
Aggravated assault	1,113	124	38	86	4%	230%
Burglary	1,528	87	52	35	2%	69%
Larceny	10,531	1,218	355	863	37%	243%
Motor vehicle theft	1,471	61	50	11	0%	23%
Arson	187	4	6	-2	0%	-37%
Total Part I offenses	**15398**	**1,530**	**520**	**1010**	**43%**	**194%**
Other assaults	4,896	354	165	189	8%	114%
Forgery and counterfeiting	287	26	10	16	1%	168%
Fraud	339	70	11	59	3%	512%
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Stolen property	1,029	112	35	77	3%	222%
Vandalism	4,125	226	139	87	4%	62%
Weapons offenses	917	83	31	52	2%	168%
Prostitution	75	4	3	1	0%	58%
Other sex offenses	322	20	11	9	0%	84%
Narcotics offenses	5,422	205	183	22	1%	12%
Gambling offenses	19	1	1	0	0%	56%
Offenses against family or children	24	1	1	0	0%	23%
Driving under the influence	1,204	45	41	4	0%	11%
Liquor laws	10,032	316	339	-23	-1%	-7%
Disorderly conduct	4,627	403	156	247	11%	158%
Vagrancy	28	1	1	0	0%	6%
Other offenses (except traffic)	12,166	657	411	246	11%	60%
Total Part II offenses	**45512**	**2,524**	**1536**	**988**	**42%**	**64%**
Curfew or loitering	10,301	545	348	197	8%	57%
Runaways	3,622	252	122	130	6%	106%
Total juvenile statusoffenses	**13923**	**797**	**470**	**327**	**14%**	**70%**
Total	**74833**	**4,851**	**2526**	**2325**	**100%**	**92%**

Hennepin, 1990

Type of Offense	Total Juv. Arrests (1990)	Actual Arrests (1990)	Expected Arrests (1990)	Difference	Difference as % of Total Difference	Over/Under Representation
Murder	14	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Negligent manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Rape	40	1	1	0	0%	25%
Robbery	176	5	4	1	0%	42%
Aggravated assault	189	13	4	9	2%	244%
Burglary	472	14	9	5	1%	48%
Larceny	3,089	270	62	208	55%	337%
Motor vehicle theft	581	23	12	11	3%	98%
Arson	50	2	1	1	0%	100%
Total Part I offenses	**4611**	**328**	**92**	**236**	**62%**	**256%**
Other assaults	834	35	17	18	5%	110%
Forgery and counterfeiting	110	6	2	4	1%	173%
Fraud	74	8	1	7	2%	441%
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Stolen property	308	33	6	27	7%	436%
Vandalism	837	32	17	15	4%	91%
Weapons offenses	190	8	4	4	1%	111%
Prostitution	31	0	1	-1	0%	-100%
Other sex offenses	62	6	1	5	1%	384%
Narcotics offenses	300	6	6	0	0%	0%
Gambling offenses	2	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Offenses against family or children	1	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Driving under the influence	99	0	2	-2	-1%	-100%
Liquor laws	990	11	20	-9	-2%	-44%
Disorderly conduct	671	43	13	30	8%	220%
Vagrancy	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Other offenses (except traffic)	1,901	67	38	29	8%	76%
Total Part II offenses	**6410**	**255**	**128**	**127**	**33%**	**99%**
Curfew or loitering	520	17	10	7	2%	63%
Runaways	610	23	12	11	3%	89%
Total juvenile status offenses	**1130**	**40**	**23**	**17**	**5%**	77%
Total	**12151**	**623**	**243**	**380**	**100%**	**156%**

Hennepin, 2000

Type of Offense	Total Juv. Arrests (2000)	Actual Arrests (2000)	Expected Arrests (2000)	Difference	Difference as % of Total Difference	Over/Under Representation
Murder	8	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Negligent manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Rape	59	7	3	4	1%	168%
Robbery	179	6	8	-2	0%	-24%
Aggravated assault	355	43	16	27	3%	173%
Burglary	359	14	16	-2	0%	-12%
Larceny	3,186	659	141	518	63%	367%
Motor vehicle theft	398	16	18	-2	0%	-9%
Arson	23	0	1	-1	0%	-100%
Total Part I offenses	**4567**	**745**	**202**	**543**	**66%**	**268%**
Other assaults	1,211	79	54	25	3%	47%
Forgery and counterfeiting	70	14	3	11	1%	351%
Fraud	92	46	4	42	5%	1029%
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Stolen property	364	57	16	41	5%	253%
Vandalism	1,021	64	45	19	2%	41%
Weapons offenses	290	38	13	25	3%	196%
Prostitution	72	4	3	1	0%	25%
Other sex offenses	46	3	2	1	0%	47%
Narcotics offenses	1,440	71	64	7	1%	11%
Gambling offenses	7	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Offenses against family or children	3	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Driving under the influence	173	9	8	1	0%	17%
Liquor laws	1,415	37	63	-26	-3%	-41%
Disorderly conduct	1,051	109	47	62	8%	134%
Vagrancy	12	0	1	-1	0%	-100%
Other offenses (except traffic)	2,840	207	126	81	10%	65%
Total Part II offenses	**10107**	**738**	**448**	**290**	**35%**	**65%**
Curfew or loitering	4,780	164	212	-48	-6%	-23%
Runaways	1,568	104	69	35	4%	50%
Total juvenile status offenses	**6348**	**268**	**281**	**-13**	**-2%**	**-5%**
Total	**21022**	**1,751**	**931**	**820**	**100%**	**88%**

Ramsey, 1990

Type of Offense	Total Juv. Arrests (1990)	Actual Arrests (1990)	Expected Arrests (1990)	Difference	Difference as % of Total Difference	Over/Under Representation
Murder	1	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Negligent manslaughter	1	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Rape	4	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Robbery	95	41	4	37	4%	820%
Aggravated assault	448	137	21	116	13%	552%
Burglary	220	53	10	43	5%	414%
Larceny	2094	326	98	228	25%	232%
Motor vehicle theft	506	115	24	91	10%	385%
Arson	764	15	36	-21	-2%	-58%
Total Part I offenses	**4133**	**687**	**194**	**493**	**54%**	**254%**
Other assaults	207	176	10	166	18%	1713%
Forgery and counterfeiting	58	7	3	4	0%	157%
Fraud	34	11	2	9	1%	590%
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Stolen property	61	7	3	4	0%	145%
Vandalism	617	93	29	64	7%	221%
Weapons offenses	68	16	3	13	1%	402%
Prostitution	19	3	1	2	0%	237%
Other sex offenses	38	1	2	-1	0%	-44%
Narcotics offenses	138	26	6	20	2%	302%
Gambling offenses	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Offenses against family or children	2	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Driving under the influence	24	1	1	0	0%	-11%
Liquor laws	414	18	19	-1	0%	-7%
Disorderly conduct	220	32	10	22	2%	210%
Vagrancy	2	2	0	2	0%	2032%
Other offenses (except traffic)	754	105	35	70	8%	197%
Total Part II offenses	**2656**	**498**	**125**	**373**	**41%**	**300%**
Curfew or loitering	264	58	12	46	5%	368%
Runaways	290	15	14	1	0%	10%
Total juvenile status offenses	**554**	**73**	**26**	**47**	**5%**	**181%**
Total	**7343**	**1,258**	**344**	**914**	**100%**	**265%**

Ramsey, 2000

Type of Offense	Total Juv. Arrests (2000)	Actual Arrests (2000)	Expected Arrests (2000)	Difference	Difference as % of Total Difference	Over/Under Representation
Murder	1	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Negligent manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Rape	9	0	1	-1	0%	-100%
Robbery	91	9	6	3	1%	51%
Aggravated assault	206	23	13	10	2%	71%
Burglary	115	5	8	-3	-1%	-34%
Larceny	1,568	241	103	138	32%	135%
Motor vehicle theft	353	20	23	-3	-1%	-13%
Arson	55	1	4	-3	-1%	-72%
Total Part I offenses	**2398**	**299**	**157**	**142**	**33%**	**91%**
Other assaults	926	65	61	4	1%	7%
Forgery and counterfeiting	28	5	2	3	1%	173%
Fraud	94	16	6	10	2%	160%
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Stolen property	60	11	4	7	2%	180%
Vandalism	529	54	35	19	4%	56%
Weapons offenses	145	16	9	7	1%	69%
Prostitution	2	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Other sex offenses	29	4	2	2	0%	111%
Narcotics offenses	492	38	32	6	1%	18%
Gambling offenses	4	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Offenses against family or children	6	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Driving under the influence	38	0	2	-2	-1%	-100%
Liquor laws	500	68	33	35	8%	108%
Disorderly conduct	511	67	33	34	8%	100%
Vagrancy	7	1	0	1	0%	118%
Other offenses (except traffic)	1,166	109	76	33	8%	43%
Total Part II offenses	**4537**	**454**	**297**	**157**	**36%**	**53%**
Curfew or loitering	2,514	272	164	108	25%	65%
Runaways	750	78	49	29	7%	59%
Total juvenile status offenses	**3264**	**350**	**213**	**137**	**31%**	**64%**
Total	**10199**	**1,103**	**667**	**436**	**100%**	**65%**

Kandiyohi, 1990

Type of Offense	Total Juv. Arrests (1990)	Actual Arrests (1990)	Expected Arrests (1990)	Difference	Difference as % of Total Difference	Over/Under Representation
Murder	0	0	0	0	0	NA
Negligent manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0	NA
Rape	0	0	0	0	0	NA
Robbery	2	1	0	1	1%	847%
Aggravated assault	10	6	1	5	5%	1036%
Burglary	12	6	1	5	5%	847%
Larceny	130	51	7	44	39%	643%
Motor vehicle theft	10	2	1	1	1%	279%
Arson	19	0	1	-1	-1%	-100%
Total Part I offenses	**183**	**66**	**10**	**56**	**49%**	**583%**
Other assaults	0	4	0	4	4%	NA
Forgery and counterfeiting	5	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Fraud	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Stolen property	18	11	1	10	9%	1057%
Vandalism	46	10	2	8	7%	312%
Weapons offenses	2	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Prostitution	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Other sex offenses	4	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Narcotics offenses	3	1	0	1	1%	531%
Gambling offenses	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Offenses against family or children	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Driving under the influence	18	6	1	5	4%	531%
Liquor laws	138	15	7	8	7%	106%
Disorderly conduct	31	9	2	7	6%	450%
Vagrancy	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Other offenses (except traffic)	55	19	3	16	14%	554%
Total Part II offenses	**320**	**75**	**17**	**58**	**51%**	**344%**
Curfew or loitering	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Runaways	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Total juvenile status offenses	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0%**	**NA**
Total	**503**	**141**	**27**	**114**	**100%**	**431%**

Kandiyohi, 2000

Type of Offense	Total Juv. Arrests (2000)	Actual Arrests (2000)	Expected Arrests (2000)	Difference	Difference as % of Total Difference	Over/Under Representation
Murder	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Negligent manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Rape	1	0	0	0	0%	NA
Robbery	1	0	0	0	0%	NA
Aggravated assault	16	1	2	-1	2%	-40%
Burglary	58	5	6	-1	3%	-17%
Larceny	66	3	7	-4	12%	-56%
Motor vehicle theft	11	0	1	-1	4%	-100%
Arson	6	3	1	2	-7%	384%
Total Part I offenses	**159**	**12**	**16**	**-4**	**14%**	**-27%**
Other assaults	70	6	7	-1	4%	-17%
Forgery and counterfeiting	7	0	1	-1	2%	-100%
Fraud	1	0	0	0	0%	-100%
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Stolen property	14	4	1	3	-8%	176%
Vandalism	93	10	10	0	-1%	4%
Weapons offenses	12	1	1	0	1%	-19%
Prostitution	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Other sex offenses	7	0	1	-1	2%	-100%
Narcotics offenses	69	1	7	-6	19%	-86%
Gambling offenses	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Offenses against family or children	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Driving under the influence	32	0	3	-3	10%	-100%
Liquor laws	194	15	20	-5	16%	-25%
Disorderly conduct	36	2	4	-2	5%	-46%
Vagrancy	0	0	0	0	0%	NA
Other offenses (except traffic)	221	15	23	-8	25%	-34%
Total Part II offenses	**756**	**54**	**78**	**-24**	**76%**	**-31%**
Curfew or loitering	87	5	9	-4	12%	-44%
Runaways	4	1	0	1	-2%	142%
Total juvenile status offenses	**91**	**6**	**9**	**-3**	**11%**	**-36%**
Total	**1006**	**72**	**104**	**-32**	**100%**	**-31%**

Appendix D: Expected-Outcome Analysis Summary for Juvenile Delinquency Disposition Data (2002 & 2003)

Appendix D: Summary of Results of Expected-Outcomes for Disposition Data

2002 Type of Disposition

Hispanic Male

Geographic Location	Population	Proportion	Certifications Actual	Certifications Expected	% Diff	Case Closure Actual	Case Closure Expected	% Diff	Adjudication Actual	Adjudication Expected	% Diff	Dismissal Actual	Dismissal Expected	% Diff	Diversion Actual	Diversion Expected	% Diff
Hennepin County	2,935	0.0464990	0	1	-100.0%	0	2	-100.0%	31	93	-64.4%	10	39	-74.5%	13	15	-14.8%
(Total)	66,521		21			43			1914			688			314		
Ramsey County	394	0.1551980	0	0	NA	0	0	NA	28	8	**324.6%**	7	4	**78.1%**	22	7	**199.8%**
(Total)	2,801		0			1			78			35			53		
Ramsey County	2,044	0.0808574	1	0	**191.3%**	22	9	**142.8%**	155	57	**176.7%**	43	16	**161.0%**	89	29	**243.3%**
(Total)	28,771		5			132			837			240			420		
Statewide/Total	11,997	0.0352857	5	4	**39.3%**	32	22	**47.6%**	554	329	**68.5%**	123	94	**31.3%**	217	117	**85.6%**
(Total)	385,164		99			938			9085			2993			3224		

Hispanic Female

Geographic Location	Population	Proportion	Certifications Actual	Certifications Expected	% Diff	Case Closure Actual	Case Closure Expected	% Diff	Adjudication Actual	Adjudication Expected	% Diff	Dismissal Actual	Dismissal Expected	% Diff	Diversion Actual	Diversion Expected	% Diff
Hennepin County	2,824	0.0458332	0	0	NA	0	1	-100.0%	6	23	-73.5%	1	10	-90.5%	7	5	**34.6%**
(Total)	57,502		2			21			496			230			114		
Ramsey County	272	0.1691081	0	0	NA	0	0	NA	7	3	**115.8%**	1	0	**288.3%**	6	2	**177.5%**
(Total)	2,816		0			0			38			3			20		
Ramsey County	1,908	0.0885646	0	0	NA	4	2	**62.1%**	45	16	**173.5%**	12	6	**100.1%**	41	11	**306.3%**
(Total)	28,521		0			36			246			84			150		
Statewide/Total	10,437	0.030868	0	0	NA	6	8	-28.8%	126	82	**54.2%**	23	29	-20.0%	85	38	**124.2%**
(Total)	280,175		8			210			2272			789			1864		

White Male

Geographic Location	Population	Proportion	Certifications Actual	Certifications Expected	% Diff	Case Closure Actual	Case Closure Expected	% Diff	Adjudication Actual	Adjudication Expected	% Diff	Dismissal Actual	Dismissal Expected	% Diff	Diversion Actual	Diversion Expected	% Diff
Hennepin County	42,868	0.7802116	1	15	-93.3%	6	30	-80.2%	834	1349	-53.0%	187	670	-67.2%	186	221	-42.6%
(Total)	62,521		21			43			1914			688			314		
Ramsey County	2,267	0.0877432	0	0	NA	1	1	**15.2%**	67	99	-31.4%	19	31	-39.2%	39	68	-36.5%
(Total)	2,801		0			1			78			35			53		
Ramsey County	16,236	0.6129280	1	3	-67.3%	36	81	-68.7%	395	513	-46.3%	70	147	-52.4%	148	257	-44.8%
(Total)	26,771		5			132			837			240			420		
Statewide/Total	257,661	0.9439757	47	84	-43.7%	209	605	-65.6%	6163	7661	-32.5%	1138	2180	-48.2%	1967	2721	-27.8%
(Total)	385,164		99			938			9085			2993			3224		

White Female

Geographic Location	Population	Proportion	Certifications Actual	Certifications Expected	% Diff	Case Closure Actual	Case Closure Expected	% Diff	Adjudication Actual	Adjudication Expected	% Diff	Dismissal Actual	Dismissal Expected	% Diff	Diversion Actual	Diversion Expected	% Diff
Hennepin County	40,809	0.7952189	1	1	-29.2%	6	15	-59.5%	132	360	-62.3%	37	152	-77.2%	32	61	-48.3%
(Total)	57,502		2			21			496			230			114		
Ramsey County	2,155	0.0783316	0	0	NA	0	0	NA	15	26	-27.2%	1	3	-81.7%	13	17	-25.2%
(Total)	2,816		0			0			38			3			20		
Ramsey County	17,518	0.6142141	0	0	NA	6	22	-63.8%	63	147	-57.3%	24	52	-53.5%	40	97	-58.8%
(Total)	28,521		0			36			246			84			150		
Statewide/Total	244,585	0.842815	3	4	-28.8%	67	177	-62.1%	1185	1915	-42.3%	280	673	-57.2%	580	897	-34.2%
(Total)	280,175		5			210			2272			789			1864		

2003 Type of Disposition

Hispanic Male

Geographic Location	Population	Proportion	Certifications Actual	Certifications Expected	% Diff	Case Closure Actual	Case Closure Expected	% Diff	Adjudication Actual	Adjudication Expected	% Diff	Dismissal Actual	Dismissal Expected	% Diff	Diversion Actual	Diversion Expected	% Diff
Hennepin County	3,105	0.0515962	1	1	-30.0%	8	5	**59.7%**	69	98	-29.8%	21	41	-49.1%	10	14	-27.4%
(Total)	60,180		28			89			1901			799			287		
Ramsey County	311	0.1195234	0	0	NA	1	0	**318.3%**	27	8	**232.2%**	10	5	**276.5%**	14	6	**139.8%**
(Total)	2,602		2			2			68			40			49		
Ramsey County	2,070	0.0782791	1	1	**29.4%**	11	9	**16.8%**	78	46	**71.5%**	14	15	-7.6%	39	38	**9.9%**
(Total)	29,454		11			134			847			318			506		
Statewide/Total	11,586	0.0383319	2	4	-49.6%	23	21	**10.7%**	478	315	**55.6%**	143	86	**69.4%**	170	128	**37.9%**
(Total)	302,255		102			542			6205			2497			3367		

Hispanic Female

Geographic Location	Population	Proportion	Certifications Actual	Certifications Expected	% Diff	Case Closure Actual	Case Closure Expected	% Diff	Adjudication Actual	Adjudication Expected	% Diff	Dismissal Actual	Dismissal Expected	% Diff	Diversion Actual	Diversion Expected	% Diff
Hennepin County	2,753	0.0482035	0	0	NA	0	1	-100.0%	10	24	-58.3%	0	8	-100.0%	0	3	-100.0%
(Total)	57,112		2			20			496			161			72		
Ramsey County	291	0.1182134	0	0	NA	0	0	-100.0%	10	2	**366.8%**	4	1	**319.6%**	4	2	**139.2%**
(Total)	2,441		0			1			68			6			14		
Ramsey County	1,965	0.0889607	0	0	NA	4	3	**19.1%**	26	17	**42.9%**	5	5	-2.1%	9	13	-30.8%
(Total)	26,089		2			49			293			73			186		
Statewide/Total	10,804	0.0379279	0	0	NA	8	8	-5.1%	132	84	**57.2%**	27	29	-27.7%	39	39	2.6%
(Total)	287,214		6			222			2211			766			1626		

White Male

Geographic Location	Population	Proportion	Certifications Actual	Certifications Expected	% Diff	Case Closure Actual	Case Closure Expected	% Diff	Adjudication Actual	Adjudication Expected	% Diff	Dismissal Actual	Dismissal Expected	% Diff	Diversion Actual	Diversion Expected	% Diff
Hennepin County	42,010	0.6982954	3	20	-84.7%	26	62	-58.2%	566	1327	-57.4%	169	568	-85.4%	106	168	-43.1%
(Total)	60,180		28			89			1901			799			287		
Hennepin County	2,230	0.8570331	2	2	**16.7%**	1	2	-41.7%	33	58	-43.4%	16	34	-53.2%	33	42	-21.4%
(Total)	2,602		2			2			68			40			49		
Ramsey County	17,731	0.6019856	0	7	-100.0%	36	81	-55.4%	212	389	-45.5%	60	130	-53.9%	215	304	-28.3%
(Total)	29,454		11			134			847			318			506		
Statewide/Total	263,392	0.8382104	97	85	-66.7%	280	464	-54.2%	4602	6084	-33.5%	1026	2800	-81.0%	2064	2822	-27.2%
(Total)	302,255		102			542			6205			2497			3367		

White Female

Geographic Location	Population	Proportion	Certifications Actual	Certifications Expected	% Diff	Case Closure Actual	Case Closure Expected	% Diff	Adjudication Actual	Adjudication Expected	% Diff	Dismissal Actual	Dismissal Expected	% Diff	Diversion Actual	Diversion Expected	% Diff
Hennepin County	40,007	0.7010061	2	1	**67.6%**	6	14	-57.2%	144	349	-58.8%	31	113	-72.5%	39	68	-44.5%
(Total)	57,112		2			20			496			161			72		
Hennepin County	2,094	0.8576451	0	0	NA	1	1	**16.6%**	6	15	-48.2%	4	7	-41.7%	7	12	-41.7%
(Total)	2,441		0			1			68			6			14		
Ramsey County	17,029	0.6082731	0	1	-100.0%	17	29	-41.8%	69	152	-54.5%	22	44	-50.3%	63	113	-44.1%
(Total)	29,089		2			49			293			73			186		
Statewide/Total	249,508	0.8376742	2	4	-52.2%	54	166	-65.8%	1085	1662	-41.4%	309	641	-51.8%	549	859	-36.1%
(Total)	287,214		6			222			2211			766			1626		

Appendix E: Multivariate Analysis of Minnesota Student Survey Data (Violence)

Carried a Gun to School

The GLM Procedure

2001 Dependent Variable: newT20

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	54	43.4918289	0.8054042	26.83	<.0001
Error	3391	101.8035860	0.0300217		
Corrected Total	3445	145.2954150			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newT20 Mean
0.299334	18.12631	0.173268	0.955891

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
T6	4	0.49150613	0.12287653	4.09	0.0026
T7	4	4.11476738	1.02869185	34.26	<.0001
T57	1	1.58167739	1.58167739	52.68	<.0001
T58	1	0.77075648	0.77075648	25.67	<.0001
T10	4	11.98311204	2.99577801	99.79	<.0001
T40	3	0.55014918	0.18338306	6.11	0.0004
T47	4	1.55363750	0.38840938	12.94	<.0001
T8	4	2.40627535	0.60156884	20.04	<.0001
T9	4	3.57344980	0.89336245	29.76	<.0001
T13C	4	3.06848662	0.76712166	25.55	<.0001
T14B	4	3.44388173	0.86097043	28.68	<.0001
T15D	3	0.72419464	0.24139821	8.04	<.0001
T19	4	6.41785848	1.60446462	53.44	<.0001
T15A	3	1.01229636	0.33743212	11.24	<.0001
T59	1	0.08495021	0.08495021	2.83	0.0926
T1	1	1.07692555	1.07692555	35.87	<.0001
T2	2	0.19546229	0.09773115	3.26	0.0387
T28	1	0.42592601	0.42592601	14.19	0.0002
RACE2	2	0.01651580	0.00825790	0.28	0.7595

2004 Dependent Variable: newR20

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	53	35.6142106	0.6719662	22.28	<.0001
Error	4329	130.5573614	0.0301588		
Corrected Total	4382	166.1715720			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newR20 Mean
0.214322	18.07991	0.173663	0.960529

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
R6	4	1.15617936	0.28904484	9.58	<.0001
R7	4	3.32222813	0.83055703	27.54	<.0001
R57	1	1.34848941	1.34848941	44.71	<.0001
R58	1	0.29630611	0.29630611	9.82	0.0017
R10	4	11.60835815	2.90208954	96.23	<.0001
R40	3	0.92380783	0.30793594	10.21	<.0001
R47	4	0.59552490	0.14888122	4.94	0.0006
R8	4	1.95832852	0.48958213	16.23	<.0001
R9	4	1.27103852	0.31775963	10.54	<.0001
R13C	4	2.62992312	0.65748078	21.80	<.0001
R14B	4	4.26681839	1.06670460	35.37	<.0001
R15D	3	1.06441135	0.35480378	11.76	<.0001
R19	4	2.83792913	0.70948228	23.52	<.0001
R15A	3	0.54915249	0.18305083	6.07	0.0004
R59	1	0.22706526	0.22706526	7.53	0.0061
R1	1	0.93861343	0.93861343	31.12	<.0001
R2	2	0.38724320	0.19362160	6.42	0.0016
R28	1	0.22976427	0.22976427	7.62	0.0058
RACE2	1	0.00302901	0.00302901	0.10	0.7513

Carried another Weapon to School

2001 Dependent Variable: newT21

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	54	64.8896288	1.2016598	16.72	<.0001
Error	3382	243.0795304	0.0718745		
Corrected Total	3436	307.9691592			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newT21 Mean
0.210702	29.77188	0.268094	0.900495

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
T6	4	3.47466057	0.86866514	12.09	<.0001
T7	4	9.75311870	2.43827967	33.92	<.0001
T57	1	4.20601899	4.20601899	58.52	<.0001
T58	1	1.44710460	1.44710460	20.13	<.0001
T10	4	11.00179993	2.75044998	38.27	<.0001
T40	3	2.58683040	0.86227680	12.00	<.0001
T47	4	2.94960709	0.73740177	10.26	<.0001
T8	4	7.04230902	1.76057725	24.50	<.0001
T9	4	1.97167479	0.49291870	6.86	<.0001
T13C	4	2.69224967	0.67306242	9.36	<.0001
T14B	4	5.58960366	1.39740091	19.44	<.0001
T15D	3	1.50272301	0.50090767	6.97	0.0001
T19	4	2.24444114	0.56111029	7.81	<.0001
T15A	3	1.57165533	0.52388511	7.29	<.0001
T59	1	1.09080525	1.09080525	15.18	<.0001
T1	1	3.32409100	3.32409100	46.25	<.0001
T2	2	0.42532329	0.21266164	2.96	0.0520
T28	1	1.46518542	1.46518542	20.39	<.0001
RACE2	2	0.55042691	0.27521345	3.83	0.0218

2004 Dependent Variable: newR21

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	53	85.8535283	1.6198779	20.25	<.0001
Error	4329	346.2573547	0.0799855		
Corrected Total	4382	432.1108830			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newR21 Mean
0.198684	31.80876	0.282817	0.889117

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
R6	4	7.89788099	1.97447025	24.69	<.0001
R7	4	8.65675275	2.16418819	27.06	<.0001
R57	1	7.84091921	7.84091921	98.03	<.0001
R58	1	3.95623529	3.95623529	49.46	<.0001
R10	4	19.62264756	4.90566189	61.33	<.0001
R40	3	2.29180331	0.76393444	9.55	<.0001
R47	4	2.72599047	0.68149762	8.52	<.0001
R8	4	6.71510952	1.67877738	20.99	<.0001
R9	4	1.44402810	0.36100702	4.51	0.0012
R13C	4	3.62049632	0.90512408	11.32	<.0001
R14B	4	6.44652649	1.61163162	20.15	<.0001
R15D	3	1.19680515	0.39893505	4.99	0.0019
R19	4	1.95040182	0.48760046	6.10	<.0001
R15A	3	1.57517082	0.52505694	6.56	0.0002
R59	1	1.88360646	1.88360646	23.55	<.0001
R1	1	4.98249400	4.98249400	62.29	<.0001
R2	2	0.62700685	0.31350343	3.92	0.0199
R28	1	2.19677636	2.19677636	27.46	<.0001
RACE2	1	0.22287678	0.22287678	2.79	0.0951

Became Violent in Past Year

2001 Dependent Variable: newT68

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	54	170.5583718	3.1584884	16.06	<.0001
Error	3344	657.5051763	0.1966224		
Corrected Total	3398	828.0635481			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newT68 Mean
0.205973	76.46822	0.443421	0.579876

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
T6	4	9.91716126	2.47929032	12.61	<.0001
T7	4	12.06093551	3.01523388	15.34	<.0001
T57	1	12.83910324	12.83910324	65.30	<.0001
T58	1	3.96438038	3.96438038	20.16	<.0001
T10	4	24.97353563	6.24338391	31.75	<.0001
T40	3	3.82550563	1.27516854	6.49	0.0002
T47	4	13.91410333	3.47852583	17.69	<.0001
T8	4	18.99564082	4.74891020	24.15	<.0001
T9	4	2.62206053	0.65551513	3.33	0.0098
T13C	4	3.50827191	0.87706798	4.46	0.0013
T14B	4	4.63959563	1.15989891	5.90	<.0001
T15D	3	2.61093759	0.87031253	4.43	0.0041
T19	4	1.22122140	0.30530535	1.55	0.1842
T15A	3	1.48146510	0.49382170	2.51	0.0569
T59	1	8.21055470	8.21055470	41.76	<.0001
T1	1	23.71707223	23.71707223	120.62	<.0001
T2	2	19.35784150	9.67892075	49.23	<.0001
T28	1	0.28480654	0.28480654	1.45	0.2289
RACE2	2	2.41417885	1.20708942	6.14	0.0022

2004 Dependent Variable: newR68

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	53	194.205801	3.664260	18.38	<.0001
Error	4265	850.056297	0.199310		
Corrected Total	4318	1044.262098			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newR68 Mean
0.185974	75.58525	0.446441	0.590646

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
R6	4	11.82616021	2.95654005	14.83	<.0001
R7	4	14.19375426	3.54843857	17.80	<.0001
R57	1	15.32679345	15.32679345	76.90	<.0001
R58	1	6.58000596	6.58000596	33.01	<.0001
R10	4	24.95228175	6.23807044	31.30	<.0001
R40	3	2.10868589	0.70289530	3.53	0.0143
R47	4	20.14688753	5.03672188	25.27	<.0001
R8	4	18.92363251	4.73090813	23.74	<.0001
R9	4	2.28244111	0.57061028	2.86	0.0220
R13C	4	5.96636421	1.49159105	7.48	<.0001
R14B	4	14.02005429	3.50501357	17.59	<.0001
R15D	3	0.87308455	0.29102818	1.46	0.2234
R19	4	0.50178201	0.12544550	0.63	0.6415
R15A	3	0.30979515	0.10326505	0.52	0.6698
R59	1	6.85008718	6.85008718	34.37	<.0001
R1	1	27.10621559	27.10621559	136.00	<.0001
R2	2	20.35964392	10.17982196	51.08	<.0001
R28	1	0.12069068	0.12069068	0.61	0.4365
RACE2	1	1.75744077	1.75744077	8.82	0.0030

Appendix F: Multivariate Analysis of Minnesota Student Survey Data (Safety)

Student Kicked, Bitten, or Hit You

2001 Dependent Variable: newT16D

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	54	146.4397340	2.7118469	15.79	<.0001
Error	3354	575.8923282	0.1717031		
Corrected Total	3408	722.3320622			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newT16D Mean
0.202732	59.60295	0.414371	0.695219

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
T6	4	2.77427863	0.69356966	4.04	0.0029
T7	4	8.72334580	2.18083645	12.70	<.0001
T57	1	5.15581220	5.15581220	30.03	<.0001
T58	1	0.36266508	0.36266508	2.11	0.1462
T10	4	3.74769566	0.93692391	5.46	0.0002
T40	3	7.43219141	2.47739714	14.43	<.0001
T47	4	10.13298197	2.53324549	14.75	<.0001
T8	4	7.12985308	1.78246327	10.38	<.0001
T9	4	1.31527185	0.32881796	1.92	0.1051
T13C	4	12.44954517	3.11238629	18.13	<.0001
T14B	4	4.31243809	1.07810952	6.28	<.0001
T15D	3	4.22113751	1.40704584	8.19	<.0001
T19	4	4.75710461	1.18927615	6.93	<.0001
T15A	3	6.62728330	2.20909443	12.87	<.0001
T59	1	4.61902275	4.61902275	26.90	<.0001
T1	1	21.36427295	21.36427295	124.43	<.0001
T2	2	35.58277622	17.79138811	103.62	<.0001
T28	1	2.88211436	2.88211436	16.79	<.0001
RACE2	2	2.84994339	1.42497169	8.30	0.0003

2004 Dependent Variable: newR16D

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	53	186.9669392	3.5276781	20.76	<.0001
Error	4281	727.5576282	0.1699504		
Corrected Total	4334	914.5245675			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newR16D Mean
0.204442	59.09740	0.412250	0.697578

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
R6	4	6.12072095	1.53018024	9.00	<.0001
R7	4	8.85580295	2.21395074	13.03	<.0001
R57	1	9.04460892	9.04460892	53.22	<.0001
R58	1	5.35941068	5.35941068	31.54	<.0001
R10	4	6.77443566	1.69360891	9.97	<.0001
R40	3	5.56875182	1.85625061	10.92	<.0001
R47	4	8.49803715	2.12450929	12.50	<.0001
R8	4	14.44515408	3.61128852	21.25	<.0001
R9	4	3.26872465	0.81718116	4.81	0.0007
R13C	4	13.46598040	3.36649510	19.81	<.0001
R14B	4	5.47550536	1.36887634	8.05	<.0001
R15D	3	4.90084945	1.63361648	9.61	<.0001
R19	4	13.19438323	3.29859581	19.41	<.0001
R15A	3	5.11189334	1.70396445	10.03	<.0001
R59	1	7.15325223	7.15325223	42.09	<.0001
R1	1	16.40570459	16.40570459	96.53	<.0001
R2	2	49.21922734	24.60961367	144.80	<.0001
R28	1	2.54913255	2.54913255	15.00	0.0001
RACE2	1	1.55536390	1.55536390	9.15	0.0025

Student Stabbed or Fired Gun at You

2001 Dependent Variable: newT16E

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	54	33.6827359	0.6237544	19.85	<.0001
Error	3346	105.1352588	0.0314212		
Corrected Total	3400	138.8179947			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newT16E Mean
0.242640	18.51542	0.177260	0.957365

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
T6	4	0.97151344	0.24287836	7.73	<.0001
T7	4	3.34346132	0.83586533	26.60	<.0001
T57	1	0.76476925	0.76476925	24.34	<.0001
T58	1	0.51960544	0.51960544	16.54	<.0001
T10	4	5.44867525	1.36216881	43.35	<.0001
T40	3	2.60523247	0.86841082	27.64	<.0001
T47	4	2.32702162	0.58175540	18.51	<.0001
T8	4	2.53300362	0.63325091	20.15	<.0001
T9	4	0.87037453	0.21759363	6.93	<.0001
T13C	4	3.00025003	0.75006251	23.87	<.0001
T14B	4	3.82720530	0.95680133	30.45	<.0001
T15D	3	0.75654994	0.25218331	8.03	<.0001
T19	4	4.33500473	1.08375118	34.49	<.0001
T15A	3	0.21167571	0.07055857	2.25	0.0810
T59	1	0.13789973	0.13789973	4.39	0.0363
T1	1	1.60389753	1.60389753	51.05	<.0001
T2	2	0.05999658	0.02999829	0.95	0.3850
T28	1	0.32844808	0.32844808	10.45	0.0012
RACE2	2	0.03815129	0.01907564	0.61	0.5450

2004 Dependent Variable: newR16E

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	53	31.6771778	0.5976826	21.27	<.0001
Error	4256	119.6037967	0.0281024		
Corrected Total	4309	151.2809745			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newR16E Mean
0.209393	17.39751	0.167638	0.963573

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
R6	4	0.65405669	0.16351417	5.82	0.0001
R7	4	2.36938034	0.59234508	21.08	<.0001
R57	1	0.66073047	0.66073047	23.51	<.0001
R58	1	0.30050660	0.30050660	10.69	0.0011
R10	4	6.39283936	1.59820984	56.87	<.0001
R40	3	1.37172136	0.45724045	16.27	<.0001
R47	4	0.67449705	0.16862426	6.00	<.0001
R8	4	2.46539578	0.61634894	21.93	<.0001
R9	4	1.18750827	0.29687707	10.56	<.0001
R13C	4	2.21694500	0.55423625	19.72	<.0001
R14B	4	6.54046000	1.63511500	58.18	<.0001
R15D	3	0.77013155	0.25671052	9.13	<.0001
R19	4	3.61059872	0.90264968	32.12	<.0001
R15A	3	0.49268276	0.16422759	5.84	0.0006
R59	1	0.16787302	0.16787302	5.97	0.0146
R1	1	1.03665651	1.03665651	36.89	<.0001
R2	2	0.13556134	0.06778067	2.41	0.0898
R28	1	0.46663046	0.46663046	16.60	<.0001
RACE2	1	0.16300251	0.16300251	5.80	0.0161

Property Was Damaged or Stolen

2001 Dependent Variable: newT17

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	54	107.7931233	1.9961689	9.20	<.0001
Error	3397	737.3899590	0.2170709		
Corrected Total	3451	845.1830823			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newT17 Mean
0.127538	81.47502	0.465909	0.571842

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
T6	4	1.32403207	0.33100802	1.52	0.1921
T7	4	5.05803355	1.26450839	5.83	0.0001
T57	1	3.94395923	3.94395923	18.17	<.0001
T58	1	2.37471002	2.37471002	10.94	0.0010
T10	4	6.40698703	1.60174676	7.38	<.0001
T40	3	7.29398813	2.43132938	11.20	<.0001
T47	4	10.70372488	2.67593122	12.33	<.0001
T8	4	2.60443633	0.65110908	3.00	0.0175
T9	4	2.30268953	0.57567238	2.65	0.0315
T13C	4	8.97305544	2.24326386	10.33	<.0001
T14B	4	6.25313221	1.56328305	7.20	<.0001
T15D	3	2.29113771	0.76371257	3.52	0.0145
T19	4	6.31198985	1.57799746	7.27	<.0001
T15A	3	7.54487256	2.51495752	11.59	<.0001
T59	1	2.67699940	2.67699940	12.33	0.0005
T1	1	7.81630629	7.81630629	36.01	<.0001
T2	2	18.09360377	9.04680188	41.68	<.0001
T28	1	4.16737451	4.16737451	19.20	<.0001
RACE2	2	1.65209078	0.82604539	3.81	0.0223

2004 Dependent Variable: newR17

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	53	136.364894	2.572923	11.92	<.0001
Error	4334	935.666783	0.215890		
Corrected Total	4387	1072.031677			

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	newR17 Mean
0.127202	80.74607	0.464640	0.575433

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
R6	4	7.32999950	1.83249988	8.49	<.0001
R7	4	4.51104969	1.12776242	5.22	0.0003
R57	1	11.37208743	11.37208743	52.68	<.0001
R58	1	3.25551178	3.25551178	15.08	0.0001
R10	4	9.63183542	2.40795886	11.15	<.0001
R40	3	8.11121649	2.70373883	12.52	<.0001
R47	4	4.87180014	1.21795003	5.64	0.0002
R8	4	2.71297247	0.67824312	3.14	0.0137
R9	4	1.55121411	0.38780353	1.80	0.1266
R13C	4	15.29883696	3.82470924	17.72	<.0001
R14B	4	8.27164198	2.06791049	9.58	<.0001
R15D	3	7.09491082	2.36497027	10.95	<.0001
R19	4	15.85371688	3.96342922	18.36	<.0001
R15A	3	5.63033540	1.87677847	8.69	<.0001
R59	1	4.53593728	4.53593728	21.01	<.0001
R1	1	3.64433024	3.64433024	16.88	<.0001
R2	2	19.08372649	9.54186324	44.20	<.0001
R28	1	2.78684357	2.78684357	12.91	0.0003
RACE2	1	0.81692759	0.81692759	3.78	0.0518

Appendix G: Youth and Service Provider Question Guides

Question Guide:
Focus Groups with Latino Youth

Latino Youth: Definitions and Experiences

1. **Can you tell me a little bit about your contact with the juvenile justice system and how you got involved in it?**

¿Me puedes contar en pocas palabras tu experiencia con el sistema de justicia juvenil y el por qué lo conociste?

2. **What does it mean to you when we speak of being treated "unfairly" in the juvenile justice system?** Probe: How would you define "unfair?" (by police, PO's, social workers, corrections staff, etc.)

Cuando hablamos de ser tratado "injustamente" dentro del sistema de justicia juvenil, ¿Para ti qué significa " injustamente"?

3. **How have you been treated? Do you feel that you have been treated fairly? (If no, then give examples.)**

¿Cómo te ha tratado? ¿Piensas que te ha tratado justamente? (Si no, dame unos ejemplos.)

Latino Youth: Root Causes
4. **What things do you wish people in the juvenile justice system understood about your culture and where you come from?**

¿Qué cosas desearías que las personas que trabajan en el sistema de justicia juvenil entendieran sobre tu cultura y de donde vienes?

5. **Aside from being sentenced for a crime, what other things in your life might have led to your getting involved with the juvenile justice system?** Probe: for example, family members, school, work, where you live, your culture.

Además de haber sido sentenciado/a por algún delito, ¿Cuáles otras situaciones en tu vida te habrían llevado a estar involucrado/a en el sistema de justicia juvenil?

6. **What differences have you observed among staff in the juvenile justice system and how they work with you?** Probe: For example, public defenders, judges, corrections staff and police. Who has been most helpful? Who is least helpful?

¿Cuáles diferencias has observado entre el personal del sistema de justicia juvenil y su manera de trabajar contigo? ¿Quién te ayuda lo más? ¿Quién te ayuda lo menos?

7. **What differences have you observed between your experiences being placed in a corrections facility in a large city like Saint Paul compared to your experiences being placed in facilities up North or in other parts of Minnesota?**
Comparando tus experiencias de reclusión en un centro de detención en una ciudad grande como Saint Paul con tus experiencias de reclusión en centros en el norte u otras partes de Minnesota, ¿Qué diferencias has observado?

Latino Youth: Solutions
8. **What activities or programs would help Latino youth like you from getting involved with the juvenile justice system in the first place?**

¿Cuáles actividades o programas les ayudarían a los jovenes latinos, como tú, para que no terminen envueltos en el sistema de justicia juvenil?

9. **Youth like you go through many different stages in the juvenile justice system. These stages include: 1) your first contact with the police; 2) getting a public defender; 3) going to court; 4) getting sentenced; 5) doing time in a facility; 6) being on probation/after-care; and 7) going back to friends, family and school. What can be done to make sure that you and other Latino youth are treated fairly in each of these stages?**

Jovenes, como tú, pasan por muchas etapas diferentes en el sistema de justicia juvenil. Las etapas incluyen: 1) el primer contacto con la policía; 2) el buscar a un representante legal ; 3) los procedimientos de los tribunales; 4) el ser sentenciado; 5) el periodo de reclusión; 6) el pasar por un periodo de prueba y/o libertad condicional; 7) y el volver a estar con tus amigos, tu familia y el asistir a las clases en la escuela. ¿Qué se puede hacer para asegurar que tú y otros jovenes latinos sean tratados justamente durante cada etapa del proceso?

10. **What can you do to make sure that you do not get involved with the juvenile justice system again?**

¿Qué puedes hacer para evitar de volver a estar envuelto/a en sistema de justicia juvenil?

Question Guide:
Interviews with Service Providers

Service Providers: Definitions and Experiences

1. **Can you tell me a little bit about your work with Latino youth in the juvenile justice system?**

¿Me podría contar brevemente sobre su trabajo con jovenes latinos en el sistema de justicia juvenil?

2. **What does it mean to you when we speak of being treated "unfairly" in the juvenile justice system?** Probe: How would you define "unfair?"

Cuando hablamos de ser tratado "injustamente" dentro del sistema de justicia juvenil, para Ud. ¿Qué significa " injustamente"?

3. **How do you feel Latino youth have been treated? Do you feel that Latino youth are treated fairly? (If no, then give examples.)**

Según su opinión ¿Cómo trata a los jovenes latinos? ¿Piensa que a los jovenes latinos se les trata justamente? (Si no, déme unos ejemplos.)

Service Providers: Root Causes
4. **What things should people in the juvenile justice system understand about Latino cultures and Latino youth in general?**

¿Qué cosas desearía Ud. que las personas que trabajan en el sistema de justicia juvenil entendieran sobre la cultura de los jovenes latinos y de donde vienen?

5. **Aside from being sentenced for a crime or another offense, what other things in the lives of the Latino youth with whom you have worked might have led to their getting involved with the juvenile justice system?**
Probe: for example, family members, school, work, legal status, culture.
Follow up: Which of these things can only be attributed to Latino youth? In other words, that only Latino youth face these challenges.

Además de haber sido sentenciado/a por algún delito, ¿Cuáles otras situaciones en la vida de los jovenes latinos, con quien Ud. ha trabajado, los habrían llevado a estar envueltos en el sistema de justicia juvenil? ¿Cuáles de estas cosas únicamente se les atribuyen a los jovenes latinos? Es decir, barreras que solamente enfrentan los jovenes latinos.

6. **What differences have you observed among staff in the juvenile justice system and how they work with Latino youth?** Probe: For example, public defenders, judges, corrections staff and police. Who has been most helpful? Who is least helpful?

¿Cuáles diferencias ha observado entre el personal del sistema de justicia juvenil y su manera de trabajar con los jovenes latinos? ¿Quién los ayuda lo más? ¿Quién los ayuda lo menos?

7. **What differences have you observed between Latino youths' experiences of being placed in a corrections facility in a large city like Saint Paul compared to his/her experiences of being placed in facilities up North or in other parts of Minnesota?**

Comparando las experiencias de jovenes latinos de reclusión en un centro de detención en una ciudad grande como Saint Paul con las experiencias en centros en el norte u otras partes de Minnesota, ¿Cuales diferencias ha observado?

Service Providers: Solutions

8. **What activities or programs would help Latino youth from getting involved with the juvenile justice system in the first place?**

¿Cuáles actividades o programas les ayudarían a los jovenes latinos para evitar ser llevados al sistema de justicia juvenil?

9. **Latino youth go through many different stages in the juvenile justice system. These stages include: 1) their first contact with the police; 2) getting a public defender; 3) going to court; 4) getting sentenced; 5) doing time in a facility; 6) being on probation/after-care; and 7) going back to friends, family and school. What can be done to make sure that Latino youth are treated fairly in each of these stages?**

Jovenes latinos pasan por muchas etapas diferentes en el sistema de justicia juvenil. Las etapas incluyen: 1) el primer contacto con la policía; 2) el buscar a un representante legal; 3) los procedimientos de los tribunales; 4) el ser sentenciado; 5) el periodo de reclusión; 6) el pasar por un periodo de prueba y/o libertad condicional; 7) y el volver a estar con sus amigos, su familia y el asistir a las clases en la escuela. ¿Qué se puede hacer para asegurar que los jovenes latinos sean tratados justamente durante cada etapa del proceso?

10. **What can you do to make sure that Latino youth are being treated fairly in your work?**

¿Qué puede hacer Ud. en su trabajo para asegurar que a los jovenes se les trate justamente?

Appendix H: Breakdown of Demographic Characteristics of Main Study Participants

Demographic Summary- Service Providers

#	Age	Gender	Country of birth	What language read?						Language usually speak?						Highest level of education						County of residence	Area work in	# of yrs. in MN	# of yrs. In U.S.	Identify	Occupation
				Only Spanish	Spanish>English	Both equally	English>Spanish	Only English	Other	Only Spanish	Spanish>English	Both equally	English>Spanish	Only English	Other	Elem.	Jr. High	High Scl.	Some Coll.	Coll. grad	Post grad.						
1	40-49	F	USA					X						X							X	Hennepin	Metro	10+	n/a	African-American	Court
2	30-39	F	USA					X						X							X	Metro	Metro	0-5	n/a	Caucasian	Mental Health
3	50+	F	USA					X						X							X	Metro	Metro	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Court
4	50+	F	USA				X							X							X	Metro	Metro	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Legal Representation
5	40-49	F	USA				X						X								X	Metro	Metro	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
6	30-39	F	USA					X						X						X		Hennepin	Metro	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
7	50+	F	USA						X					X						X		Hennepin	Metro	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Mental Health
8	40-49	F	USA				X						X							X		Hennepin	Metro	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Mental Health
9	50+	F	USA				X							X							X	Metro	Metro	10+	n/a	Hispanic/latino	Court
10	40-49	F	USA				X						X								X	Ramsey	Metro	10+	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Mental Health
11	30-39	F	USA			X							X								X	Washington	Metro	0-5	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Mental Health
12	30-39	F	Mexico			X						X									X	Ramsey	Metro	10+	10+	Hispanic/Latino	Education
13	30-39	F	USA			X							X							X		Washington	Metro	5-10.	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Corrections
14	30-39	F	Mexico			X							X						X			Ramsey	Metro	10+	10+	Hispanic/Latino	Education
15	30-39	F	USA			X							X							X		Ramsey	Metro	10+	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Education
16	50+	M	USA					X						X						X		Washington	Metro	10+	n/a	African American	Chaplin
17	50+	M	USA					X						X							X	Hennepin	Metro	10+	n/a	Asian	Court
18	40-49	M	USA					X						X							X	Ramsey	Metro	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Mental Health
19	50+	M	USA					X						X						X		Washington	Metro	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
20	20-29	M	USA				X							X							X	Hennepin	Metro	0-5	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Social Service
21	50+	M	USA				X						X								X	Ramsey	Metro	10+	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Corrections
22	50+	M	USA				X						X								X	Ramsey	Metro	10+	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Court
23	50+	M	USA				X						X								X	Ramsey	Metro	10+	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Legal Representation
24	40-49	M	Puerto Rico			X						X								X		Ramsey	Metro	10+	10+	Hispanic/Latino	Corrections
25	30-39	M	USA				X						X						X			Washington	Metro	10+	n/a	Hispanic/Latino	Social Service
26	40-49	F	USA					X						X							X	Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
27	30-39	F	USA					X						X						X		Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
28	40-49	F	USA					X						X						X		Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
29	50+	F	USA					X						X						X		Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Education
30	30-39	F	USA					X						X						X		Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
31	50+	F	USA					X						X						X		Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
32	50+	F	USA					X						X						X		Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
33	30-39	F	USA				X							X						X		Stearns	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
34	50+	F	USA					X						X					X			Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
35	20-29	F	USA					X						X						X		Stearns	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
36	30-39	F	USA				X							X						X		Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
37	40-49	F	Mexico				X						X						X			Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	10+	Hispanic/Caucasian	Education
38	30-39	F	Mexico			X							X									Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	10+	Hispanic/Latino	Education
39	30-39	M	USA					X						X							X	Stearns	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
40	50+	M	USA					X						X							X	Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
41	50+	M	USA					X						X							X	Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
42	50+	M	USA					X						X							X	Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Education
43	50+	M	USA					X						X							X	Todd	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Mental Health
44	50+	M	USA					X						X							X	Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
45	50+	M	USA					X						X						X		Chippewa	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Social Service
46	40-49	M	USA					X						X					X			Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
47	40-49	M	USA					X						X					X			Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Caucasian	Corrections
48	40-49	M	USA					X						X						X		Kandiyohi	Rural	10+	n/a	Hispanic/Caucasian	Corrections
49	30-39	M	Puerto Rico			X						X								X		Renville	Rural	0-5	10+	Hispanic/Latino	Education

Demographic Summary- Youth

#	Age	Gender	Country of birth	Language usually for reading?						Language usually spoken?						Highest level of education						County of residence	Area	Age of first encounter w/ police	# of yrs. in MN	# of yrs. In U.S.	Identify
				Only Spanish	Spanish>English	Both equally	English>Spanish	Only English	Other	Only Spanish	Spanish>English	Both equally	English>Spanish	Only English	Other	Elem.	Jr. High	High Scl.	Some Coll.	Coll. grad	Post grad.						
1	17	M	Mexico			X						X						X				Hennepin	Metro	2	13	13	Hispanic/Latino
2	15	M	USA				X						X					X				Hennepin	Metro	5	10	n/a	African American/Hispanic
3	16	M	Nicaragua		X							X						X				Hennepin	Metro	13	2	2	Hispanic/Latino
4	15	M	USA			X								X				X				Hennepin	Metro		15	n/a	Native American/Hispanic
5	18	F	USA				X						X									Hennepin	Metro	13	8	18	Chicana/Latina
6	17	M	USA			X							X					X				Ramsey	Metro	12	7	n/a	Hispanic/Latino
7	16	M	USA					X						X				X				Ramsey	Metro	14	16	n/a	Mixed
8	15	M	USA				X						X					X				Ramsey	Metro	10	15	n/a	Hispanic/Latino
9	15	M	USA					X						X				X				Ramsey	Metro	8		n/a	Native American/Hispanic
10	18	M	El Salvador				X					X						X				Ramsey	Metro	13	10	17	Hispanic/Latino
11	17	M	Mexico		X						X							X				Ramsey	Metro	14	4	4	Hispanic/Latino
12	13	F	USA				X						X				X					Kandiyohi	Rural	13	13	n/a	Hispanic/Latino
13	17	M	USA				X						X					X				Kandiyohi	Rural	8	17	n/a	Hispanic/Latino
14	14	M	USA				X							X			X					Kandiyohi	Rural	13	14	n/a	Hispanic/Latino

Appendix I: Adaptation of Hispanic Ethnicity Question from Census 2000 Shortform

NOTE: Please answer BOTH Questions 5 and 6.

5. Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino? Mark the **"No"** box if **not** Spanish/Hispanic/Latino.

• No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino • Yes, Puerto Rican

• Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano • Yes, Cuban

• Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino (please, print group)

_____

6. What is this person's race?
Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be.

• White

• Black, African Am., or Negro

• American Indian or Alaska Native – Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.

_____

• Asian Indian • Japanese • Native Hawaiian

• Chinese • Korean • Guamanian or Chamorro

• Filipino • Vietnamese • Samoan

• Other Asian – Print race below • Other Pacific Islander – Print race below.

_____