# CASCADE COUNTY DISPROPORTIONATE MINORITY CONTACT COMMUNITY AND STRATEGIC PLANNING PROJECT: ARREST POINT OF CONTACT STUDY

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Special thanks to members of the Great Falls Police Department and Cascade County Sheriff's office who participated in the interviews from which the qualitative data presented below was gathered. These men and women are committed to working with youth and we are grateful that they took time out of their schedules to share their professional experiences, perspectives, and ideas.

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### INTRODUCTION

In 2003, researchers in the Statistical Analysis Center at the Montana Board of Crime Control began reporting data in the form of Relative Rate Index (RRI) scores to identify racial and ethnic disparities across the multiple points of contact across the juvenile justice systems (JJS) decision points. Patterns of DMC have varied both within the decision points of the same county and between the four remaining counties. The purpose of the current investigation is to address the void in the Hollist, Coolidge, Delano, Greenwood, King, McLean, McKay, Harris, Burfeind, and Doyle (2012) study by focusing on police contacts with juveniles in Cascade County. This investigation also builds upon the findings in the 2012 assessment report, in particular, the findings that emphasize the importance of recognizing and understanding the role and impact of mobility issues on the RRI Scores used to measure DMC.

The objective of the investigation is to address the gap in knowledge about Disproportionate Minority Contact (DMC) at the arrest point of contact in Cascade County and implications for local, state, and national responses to DMC. The report will identify evidence based best practices models that have been shown to reduce DMC at the arrest point of contact. These models will be identified based on their ability to address arrest point of contact issues specific to Cascade County as presented in the qualitative findings. The findings of this report will help inform the State of Montana's 3-year plan to address DMC.

This report is the result of a contract between the Montana Board of Crime Control, the Alliance for Youth, and the University of Montana. The University of Montana, via the Social Sciences Research Laboratory, provided the services of Department of Sociology Professors Dusten Hollist, James Burfeind, Daniel Doyle, Jackson Bunch, and Social Science Research Lab Administrator Chuck Harris. The research also utilized the skills and talents of graduate assistants Daniel Acton, Gabriel Downey, Nicole Camp and undergraduate assistants Luke Stenslie and Murphy Moran.

# METHODOLOGY

The investigation is a mixed methods model. Quantitative data were gathered from the Juvenile Court Assessment and Tracking System (JCATS). These data were used to determine the total number of juvenile citations as well as number of citations per racial category. Juvenile population counts were measured using census as well as Montana Office of Public Instruction data. A comparison of the Relative Rate Index (RRI) scores, as calculated using the census versus the OPI data, was completed to highlight the significance of mobility's impact on Cascade Counties arrest point of contact DMC numbers.

The qualitative data were gathered in March of 2014 when members of the Criminology Research Group traveled to Great Falls and conducted a series of eight interviews, across two visits, with members of the Great Falls Police Department and Cascade Count Sheriff's Office. The interview guide used in the interviews was tailored to specifically ask about police contacts with juveniles, factors influencing contact with and arrest of juveniles, as well as issues specifically regarding policing Minority juveniles.

# RELATIVE RATE INDEX (RRI) SCORES

- RRI scores provide a means to compare the outcomes between Minority juveniles and White juveniles to identify at which point of contact disparities exist and the extent to which they occur.
- The RRI scores are reported to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention on a yearly basis by the Statistical Analysis Center, at the Montana Board of Crime Control.
- There are also cautions to keep in mind when evaluating RRI scores.
  - The RRI scores at the arrest point of contact are estimated per 1,000 juveniles in the population. Accurate estimates are dependent on both a valid number of offenses committed and valid population counts for Minority and White Juveniles.
  - While RRI scores are helpful in identifying where disparities exist, they do not provide an explanation for why the disparities are occurring.

# QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

- Differential Offending Hypothesis
  - The explanation that overrepresentation of Minority juveniles is due to different levels, or participations in different types, of offenses than White juveniles.
  - DMC can be explained by differing levels in the frequency of offenses, specifically that Minority juveniles commit more crime, more serious crime, and have more prior contacts with the police than White juveniles do.
  - Must be evaluated before moving forward with DMC explanations based on differential treatment within the juvenile justice system (see Pope and Feyerherm 1995; Pope, Lovell, and Hsia 2002; Pope and Leiber 2005 for a review of prior research).
- Offenses by Race/Ethnicity
  - The distribution of citations issued by law enforcement to juveniles in Cascade County by offense category and race/ethnicity in a five-year period starting in January 2009 through the end of December 2013 was examined.
  - During this period there were a total of 5,514 citations that were archived in the Juvenile Court Accountability and Tracking System.
  - The evidence shows that the distribution of felony, misdemeanor, and status offense citations are similar for American Indian and White juveniles.
  - There is no evidence to explain differences in the RRI scores between American Indian and White juveniles that could be explained by differences in the types of offenses that citations were issued for.

# MOBILITY IMPACTS ON ARREST POINT OF CONTACT DMC ESTIMATES IN CASCADE COUNTY

• Mobility Impacts on Arrest Point of Contact RRI Scores

- Census counts may not accurately reflect the current population of any given area, which can skew any sort of rate calculation.
- This has been acknowledged in the criminological literature for many years (Boggs 1965; Harries 1981 see also Andresen and Jenion 2010).
- Seasonal mobility during summer months and school breaks can affect the number of juveniles present and present problems to estimates that use population counts.
- The central location of Cascade County, the population characteristics of Great Falls, and the areas status as a hub of activity and various services for several American Indian tribes mandate that mobility issues be addressed when evaluating DMC in this location.
- A Cascade County Example
  - In 2012, there were 228 citations issued to American Indian juveniles and 544 citations issued to White juveniles by Cascade County law enforcement.
  - Census data estimates show shows 449 American Indian juveniles and 6,287 White juveniles residing in Cascade County in 2012.
  - Estimates based on Office of Public Instruction show 649 American Indian juveniles and 4,357 White juveniles attending schools in Cascade County during 2012.
  - Relative rate of arrest scores are 57% lower (RRI=2.69) when the counts for the number of American Indian and White juveniles is based on Office of Public Instruction data compared to census data (RRI=6.29).
  - The evidence shows that mobility issues impact the validity of estimates for the number of American Indian juveniles in Cascade County and account for some of the difference in the likelihood of arrest when compared to White juveniles.

# QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

- Home Life and Parenting Issues
  - Instability and lack of organization within the home is characteristic of the majority of the juveniles in the justice system.
  - Inability to contact a parent of a juvenile often mandates an arrest in a situation that would otherwise result in a release. This situation was cited as particularly prevalent with American Indian juveniles.
  - The connection between home life and parenting issues with involvement in delinquency is well established (see Capaldi and Patterson 1996; Hawkins, Catalano, and Miller 1992; Hay 2003; Herrenkohl, Hill, Hawkins, Chung, and Nagin 2006; Herrenkohl, Maguin, Hill, Hawkins, Abbott, and Catalano 2000).
- Substance Abuse Issues
  - Generational substance abuse is prevalent amongst the families of offenders in the juvenile justice system.
  - Substance abuse significantly contributes to law enforcements inability to contact parents of juveniles.
  - Substance abuse is an underlying cause of poor parenting and home life disruption.
  - Substance abuse by parents and juveniles has been shown to be strongly correlated with delinquent involvement (see Brooks, Whiteman, Balka, and Cohen 1995; Carney, Myers, Louw, Lombard, and Flisher 2013; Chassin, Pillow, Curran, Molina,

and Barrera 1993; Dishion, Capaldi, and Yoerger 1999; Eiden, Chavez, and Leonard 1999; Fals-Stewart, Kelly, Fincham, Golden, and Logsdon 2004; Ferguson and Meehan 2010; Henry 2007; Kuntsche, Knibbe, Engels, and Gmel 2007; Jacob, Haber, Leonard, and Rushe 2000; Swahn and Donovan 2005; Stone, Becker, Huber, and Catalano 2012).

- Mobility Issues
  - Cascade County, particularly Great Falls, is centrally located and is a regional hub for a variety of services and amenities. This creates a steady inflow-and-outflow of individuals in the area.
  - Great Falls is a regional hub between numerous proximal Indian reservations. Mobility is particularly prominent in the American Indian population.
  - Mobility has been consistently shown to be related to a variety of negative issues among juveniles such as, delinquency and drug use (see DeWit 1998: Haynie and South 2005, Herrenkohl et al. 2000: Hoffman and Johnson 1998: Smith, Lizotte, Thornberry, and Krohn 1995: and Stack 1994).

### COMMUNITY-BASED INTERVENTION

- Project Venture
  - Strategy to help American Indian communities prevent the use of alcohol, drugs, tobacco, and related problem behaviors.
  - Targets Cascade County's largest Minority population.
  - Specifically addresses substance abuse while also promoting general pro-social development in youth.
- Family and Schools Together
  - Early intervention strategy to prevent later delinquency, violence, substance abuse, and school dropout.
  - Addresses both themes of home life and parenting and substance abuse.
- Strengthening Families Program
  - Goal is to reduce substance abuse and behavioral problems by improving parenting skills as well as competencies of children.
  - Addresses both themes of home life and parenting and substance abuse.
- Life Skills Training
  - Classroom based tobacco, alcohol, and drug abuse prevention program.
  - Specifically addresses the theme of substance abuse.
- Linking the Interests of Families and Teachers
  - Preventative program to limit factors that put children at risk for antisocial behavior and delinquency.
  - LIFT is a general approach to delinquency prevention that involves children, families, and schools.

- Short-Term Placement Program
  - As the five programs listed above either require involvement with schools and/or overlap with programs that are currently operating in Cascade County, a short-term placement intervention is merited.
  - There is currently no program available where law enforcement officers can place juveniles, on a short-term basis, other than secure placement.
  - Mobility issues, in particular for American Indian juveniles, make contacting parents more challenging.
  - Some juveniles are issued tickets and arrested for events that would be handled by counsel and release if a parent were available.

# CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### CONCLUSIONS

- There is no evidence to explain differences in the relative RRI scores between American Indian and White juveniles that could be explained by differences in the types of offenses that citations were issued for.
- Issues related to poor parenting practices, home life disruption of juveniles, and substance use are important considerations for understanding police contact with juveniles and juvenile arrests.
- Mobility issues associated with the back and forth movement of American Indian juveniles between Great Falls and nearby reservations impact and exacerbate RRI scores at the arrest point of contact for American Indian juveniles compared with White juveniles.
- The short-term placement program appears very promising. It is not impacted by complications associated with the five OJJDP-derived best-practices programs outlined above. The consistency with which local officers spoke of the need for short-term alternatives to secure placement suggests it is a program worth investigating.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

- Recommendations for Cascade County
  - Work to establish a short-term alternative to secure placement.
    - Explore the possibility of partnering with a local facility currently housing juveniles that could provide officers a short term detention alternative for juveniles who do not pose a public safety threat.
  - o Survey of local law enforcement
    - Collection of a more representative perspective on law enforcement issues with juveniles and community-based responses to them.
    - Need for establishing a research basis for developing the survey that is informed by prior studies.
  - Collection of law enforcement's informal contacts (counsel and release) with juveniles.

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• The absence of this information prevents an examination of the "differential response hypothesis" at the arrest point of contact.

- The ability to provide evidence that addresses differential responses by law enforcement at the arrest point of contact for American Indian and White juveniles is needed.
- There is a need to advocate for the collection of data on "informal contacts" where there is no citation and/or arrest that is issued.
- Survey of JJS stakeholders that specifically asks questions about awareness of alternatives to formal processing of juveniles in Cascade County.
  - Data to gauge how clear the stakeholder knowledge about the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative and existing programs that are alternatives to formal processing of juveniles is important.
- Recommendations for the State of Montana Three-Year DMC Plan
  - Continue advocating a DMC reduction strategy that is grounded upon a systems approach that involves all stakeholders working with juveniles (law enforcement, youth court services, attorneys, judges, correctional services).
    - Promote interactions and provide trainings that include all stakeholders in an effort to avoid fragmentation that too heavily focuses on a single stakeholder group.
  - Review and, if necessary, update juvenile statutes to comply with reform efforts and the need for data-driven, evidence-based decision making.
  - Work with local jurisdictions to establish the importance of keeping data about police contacts that do not result in citation/arrest.
  - Promote awareness of and education about alternatives to formal processing of juveniles.
  - Develop strategies that improve coordination between social service agencies that provide services to juveniles and practitioners within the juvenile justice system.
  - Continue to develop juvenile justice system reforms for all 56 counties in an effort to improve the health and well-being of juveniles in Montana.
- Implications for National Efforts
  - Coordination of systems approaches for addressing DMC are a key component of best practices models.
  - Many counties across the country experience mobility issues with juveniles that may impact the validity and reliability of arrest point of contact RRI scores.
  - Need for emphasis on law enforcement involvement in juvenile justice reforms that take place at, or before, the arrest point of contact.
- Future Research
  - Need to investigate methods that allow for more accurate counts of juveniles to be made and how methodological issues are impacting the RRI scores used as evidence of DMC.
    - Investigate how many times American Indian juveniles enroll, leave, and reenroll in school during the same academic year.

- Examining truancy and days missed during the academic year may prove useful for determining how common movement back and forth between reservation communities and towns and cities off of the reservation.
- Need to include juveniles and parents in future DMC investigations.
  - The Criminology Research Group has not been involved in gathering data about issues and perspectives from the juveniles and their parents.
  - The development of future research designs that include interviews with and involvement of juveniles and parents is a priority moving forward.

# INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In 2003, researchers in the Statistical Analysis Center at the Montana Board of Crime Control began reporting data in the form of Relative Rate Index (RRI) scores to identify racial and ethnic disparities across the multiple points of contact across the Juvenile Justice System's (JJS) decision points. From their inception, the RRI scores have consistently found evidence of Minority overrepresentation in Cascade County. This disparity has been most consistently shown at the initial point of contact; the focus of the current investigation. Initially RRI data showed disparities in Cascade, Hill, Flathead, Missoula, and Yellowstone counties. The evidence showed an increased likelihood for Minority contact across at least some of the decision points. However, data collected in subsequent years failed to support Disproportionate Minority Contact (DMC) across any of the decision points in Flathead County and it was dropped as a pilot site in 2004.

Patterns of DMC have varied both within the decision points of the same county and between the four remaining counties. The most recent data, from 2013, continues to show both state level and county level overrepresentation of Minority juveniles for at least some of the decision points. Comprehensive reports presenting the trend findings for Cascade, Hill, Missoula, and Yellowstone counties as well as for the State from 2003 to 2013 are available. They are listed in the references section at the end of this document. Readers are encouraged to consult these sources for detailed information on this issue.

In their 2012 study, Criminology Research Group members Hollist, Coolidge, Delano, Greenwood, King, McLean, McKay, Harris, Burfeind, and Doyle examined DMC in Cascade County, but data access issues precluded the examination of the arrest point of contact at that time. The Hollist et al. (2012) study examined race and ethnic disparities at the initial detention, referral to the county attorney, petition, diversion, delinquency findings, and secure placement decision points in Cascade, Hill, Missoula, and Yellowstone Counties. This is consequential as there is a gap in available knowledge about the arrest point of contact that is imperative to local and state-level planning intended to address DMC.

The purpose of the current investigation is to address the void in the Hollist et al. (2012) study by focusing on police contacts with juveniles in Cascade County. This investigation also builds upon the findings in the 2012 Hollist et al. study, in particular, the findings that emphasize the importance of recognizing and understanding the role and impact of mobility issues on the RRI scores used to measure DMC. A key aim of the investigation will be to identify evidence-based, best practices models that have been shown to impact DMC at the arrest point of contact. The qualitative evidence, presented below, will be used as a guide to match key issues and solutions with an evidence-based intervention built from models that have shown to reduce DMC at the arrest point of contact. It is expected that the findings from this study will help inform work intended to move implementation of the DMC reduction model forward in Cascade County. The evidence gathered and lessons learned will also inform the State of Montana's 3-year plan to address DMC.

This report is organized in eight sections. Section one provides information about the study and the current investigation. Section two discusses the Relative Rate Index (RRI) scores that are used as evidence of Minority juvenile overrepresentation in the JJS compared to White juveniles. Section three addresses the issue of DMC at the arrest point of contact in Cascade County. Sections four and five examine mobility issues. Section four provides a general discussion of the role of mobility issues on DMC. Section five focuses specifically on the impact of American Indian mobility in central Montana and the implications of this on the RRI scores at the arrest point of contact in Cascade

County. Section six presents the findings from recent interviews with local Cascade County law enforcement officers. Section seven is dedicated to presenting a series of possible best practices models that could be implemented in Cascade County to address Minority overrepresentation at the arrest point of contact. Section eighth contains the conclusions from the evidence in the previous sections and recommendations for moving forward.

# SECTION ONE: THE CURRENT INVESTIGATION

Great Falls, the Cascade County seat, is one of three Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA) in Montana. As such, it provides regional services to much of the central and northern sections of the state including the Blackfeet, Rocky Boys, Ft. Belknap, and Ft. Peck Reservations. It hosts: the weeklong, State Fair in August; the Pro-Rodeo Circuit Finals in January; and the nationally renowned Charles M. Russell Art Auction in March. Divisional Basketball championships are hosted in March and are a huge draw for American Indian families. Malmstrom Air Force Base is a major contributor to the local population and economy. When the exchange rate is favorable to Canadians, Great Falls becomes a popular Canadian shopping destination. Great Falls is located on I15, the major north/south interstate arterial to Canada and the most direct route between Yellowstone National Park and Glacier/Waterton National Parks, which makes it attractive to gangs trafficking drugs to reservations and Canada, tourists, and air force base personnel.

Immediate proximity of at least three reservations to the urban hub of Great Falls yields a highly transient American Indian population in Cascade County. Families transition with frequency between reservations and Great Falls. The reasons for this transition are many: to gain employment, to escape family dysfunction, to access confidential medical care, to escape dismal living conditions, etc. Regardless of reason, research definitively identifies transition and mobility as a factor placing youth at risk for engagement in criminal (among other) behaviors. American Indian juveniles face a number of barriers: generational substance abuse, generational poverty, and unresolved generational trauma and grief. The fact that contact at point of arrest is significant is not a surprise. A better understanding needs to be developed, however, in order to identify and implement an effective intervention and to help juveniles sail over the hurdles in their path toward a productive, crime-free life.

To work towards this end, a collaboration was developed between Alliance for Youth in Great Falls, the Criminology Research Group of the Social Science Research Laboratory at the University of Montana-Missoula, and the Montana Board of Crime Control. In June of 2013, a collaborative grant proposal, led by Janet Meissner at Alliance for Youth, was submitted to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) for funding consideration for the *FY 2013 Disproportionate Minority Contact Community and Strategic Planning Project (CASP)*. The Montana application was one of four states to receive funding under the award mechanism.

Each of the three groups in the Montana collaboration was given specific tasks to complete. This report is based on the tasks that were associated with work done by members of the Criminology Research Group in the CASP collaboration. These included four specific tasks: 1-) Extract data from the Juvenile Court Assessment and Tracking System (JCATS) to examine the relationship between race/ethnicity and citations that were issued to juveniles in Cascade County; 2-) Assess the impact and importance of mobility issues on the RRI scores used to measure DMC and the specific role of mobility on the RRI at the arrest point of contact in Cascade County; 3-) Conduct interviews with members of the Great Falls Police Department and the Cascade County Sheriff's Department to gain

information about the issues that local law enforcement are presented with when working with juveniles and possible solutions to address them; 4-) Investigate and propose possible interventions, from the best practices models that have been shown to impact DMC at the arrest point of contact, which focus on key findings from interviews with local law enforcement.

To accomplish these tasks, members of the Criminology Research Group extracted data from the JCATS that included all citations issued to juveniles in Cascade County from January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2013. A review of the literature, including prior DMC arrest point of contact studies, was conducted with a specific focus on the role of mobility issues and their impact on the RRI scores. Examination of evidence-based, best practices models that address key problems and possible solutions are matched with findings from interviews with local law enforcement. The findings from these activities are presented in the subsequent sections of this report.

# SECTION TWO: THE RELATIVE RATE INDEX (RRI) SCORES

In order to specify the points of contact where overrepresentation of Minority juveniles exists, an RRI score has been created. The RRI score is based on outcomes at various stages of case processing within the JJS. It provides a means to compare the outcomes between Minority and White juveniles to identify at which point of contact disparities exist and the extent to which they occur. The RRI scores are reported to OJJDP on a yearly basis by the Statistical Analysis Center, at the Montana Board of Crime Control. For additional information on the RRI scores readers are encouraged to review pages 2 through 5, in Chapter One, of the DMC Technical Assistance Manual, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition.

As shown below, the RRI scores are a ratio of the Minority juvenile rate of activity to the corresponding White juvenile rate of activity at each of the JJS decision points. The resulting score from this ratio will be 1.00 when the activity levels, or rate of contact, for Minority and White juveniles are the same for a given decision point. As Minority rate of activity is the reference category, rate of contact is greater for Minority youth whenever the associated RRI score is greater than 1.0. Any instance in which the RRI score is less than 1.0 indicates that the rate of Minority contact is lower than it is for White juveniles; a score less than 1.0 shows that Minority juveniles are under-represented. At the diversion and probation contact points, a score less than 1.0 shows that, relative to the rate for White juveniles, Minority juveniles are less likely to be diverted out of the formal system and less likely to be adjudicated delinquent and placed on probation.

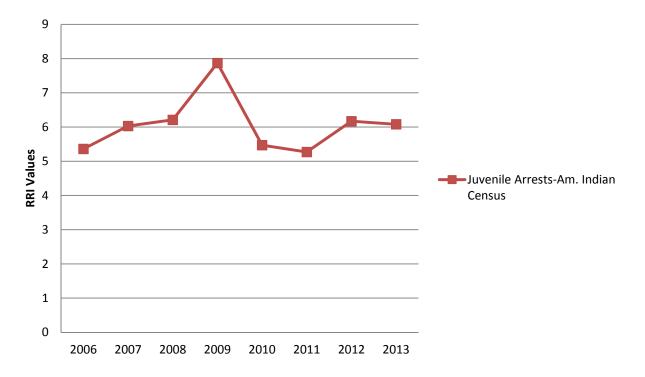
Relative Rate Index =  $\frac{\text{Minority Rate of Activity}}{\text{White Rate of Activity}}$ 

There are a number of advantages of the RRI scores. As mentioned above, the scores have a direct interpretation. They compare activity levels at different points of contact for White juveniles and any racial group that comprises at least one-percent of the population in the examination. The RRI also indicates the magnitude of difference between groups. This allows for relative comparisons to be made. For example, an RRI of 2.0 for Hispanic juveniles at the detention point of contact suggests that the rate of detention for Hispanic juveniles is twice as much as the rate of detention for White juveniles. Additionally, there are tests of significance associated with the RRI scores that allow differences between groups to be evaluated in terms of statistical confidence.

There are also cautions to keep in mind when evaluating RRI scores. The first of these is specific to the initial point of contact at arrest. At the arrest point of contact the rates are estimated per 1,000 juveniles in the population. This is not a substantial issue at the state level unless youth are counted in one state and live and/or are involved in delinquency in another. It is, however, a much more pronounced concern when the RRI scores are reported at the county level, in a state like Montana, where there is substantial county-to-county mobility. A more general concern is that even though the RRI scores are helpful in identifying where disparities exist, they do not provide an explanation for why the disparities are occurring.

# SECTION THREE: ASSESSING DMC IN CASCADE COUNTY AT THE ARREST POINT OF CONTACT

As stated above, the 2012 Montana DMC assessment study that included Cascade County did not include information on the initial point of contact in the JJS. Information about the arrest point of contact is imperative for DMC planning efforts in Cascade County, as it is one of the decision points where evidence has consistently found disparities between White and Minority juveniles. The largest disparity at the state-level is overrepresentation of American Indian juveniles relative to White Juveniles at the arrest point of contact (Hollist et al. 2012, p21). The relative risk of arrest for American Indian juveniles (RRI=1.51) in Montana's juvenile justice systems is 51% greater than the rate for White juveniles.



#### FIGURE 1: CASCADE COUNTY (2006-2012) ARREST POINT OF CONTACT CENSUS DATA RRI TRENDS

Figure 1 shows the relative risk of arrest for American Indian juveniles compared to White juveniles in Cascade County from 2006 to 2012. RRI scores at the arrest point of contact have been notably higher in Cascade County than they have for other counties across Montana. When census data is used to generate the RRI, scores have fluctuated from a low of 5.27 in 2011 to a high of 7.87

in 2009. This finding suggests that the relative likelihood of arrest for American Indian juveniles is much higher than it is for White juveniles. In 2009, the relative rate of arrest for an American Indian juvenile in Cascade County was almost 700% (RRI=7.87), or eight times greater than the likelihood of arrest for White juveniles.

A key preliminary assessment that is essential to understanding possible explanations for DMC is what scholars in the prior literature refer to as the "differential offending hypothesis." This is the explanation that overrepresentation of Minority juveniles is due to different levels, or participations in different types, of offenses than White Juveniles. As it pertains to DMC, differential offending is the notion that overrepresentation can be explained by differing levels in the frequency of offenses, specifically that Minority juveniles commit more crime, more serious crime, and have more prior contacts with the police than White juveniles do. Any disparities in terms of outcomes would not be attributable to differential treatment within the JJS (see Pope and Feyerherm 1995; Pope, Lovell, and Hsia 2002; Pope and Leiber 2005 for a review of prior research).

Table 1 shows the distribution of citations issued by law enforcement to juveniles in Cascade County. These are organized base on offense category and race/ethnicity of the juvenile. They cover a five-year period starting in January 2009 through the end of December 2013. During this period there were a total of 5,514 citations that were archived in the JCATS. The distribution of percentages by race and ethnicity are very similar to those reported by Hollist et al. (2012) DMC Assessment Report that was based only on citations that were issued in 2009 and 2010 that resulted in at least temporary detention. The five-year data, shown below, indicate a slightly higher rate of felony offenses for Cascade County during the investigation period than was found in the sample used in DMC assessment study.

Offense Category	White	American Indian	African American	Hispanic/ Latino	Total
Felony	258 (7.2%)	94 (6.1%)	14 (6.6%)	14(8.6%)	380(6.9%)
Misdemeanor	2420 (67%)	996 (65%)	143 (67.5%)	110 (67.9%)	3669 (66.5%)
Status/Technical	929 (25.8%)	443(28.9%)	55 (25.9%)	38 (23.5%)	1465 (26.6%)
Total	3607 (100%)	1533 (100%)	212 (100%)	162 (100%)	5514(100%)

# TABLE 1: CITATIONS ISSUED IN CASCADE COUNTY (2009-2013) BY OFFENSE CATEGORY AND<br/>RACE/ETHNICITY OF THE JUVENILE (N=5537)

The findings show that the majority of the citations were issued for misdemeanor offenses (66.5%). Just over one-fourth of the citations (26.6%) were issued for status offenses and technical violations. Approximately seven percent (6.9%) of the citations were for felony offenses. Although the frequencies of cases vary, partially due to differing numbers of juveniles in the population pertaining to each of the groups, distributions for types of offenses by race/ethnicity are similar. In order to examine the relative participation of White and Minority juveniles, an examination of the distribution of the percentages of all offenses committed that are felony, misdemeanor, and status/technical violations must be addressed.

The percentage of total citations issued for felony offenses is highest for White juveniles and lowest for American Indian juveniles. There is some caution merited when interpreting the percentages relative to African American and Hispanic juveniles as the number of citations issued for these two

groups are far smaller than the number of citations issued for American Indian and White juveniles. This is particularly true of felony offenses where there were only 14 citations issued by local law enforcement to African American juveniles and 14 citations issued to Hispanic juveniles in the fiveyear, examination period. The percentage of citations issued to American Indian juveniles for status offenses and technical violations are highest of the four groups examined in Table 1. Prior research conducted by the local Cascade County Juvenile Detention Alternative Initiative Committee suggests that citations issued to female, American Indian juveniles, as the result of running away from placement in groups homes, is a primary explanation for this finding.

Under the differential offending hypothesis, the increased likelihood for arrest among American Indian juveniles shown in Figure 1 would be explained exclusively by evidence showing different, and more serious types of offending when compared to White juveniles. While the RRI score does show that the relative rate of arrest for American Indian juveniles is as much as twice as high as arrest rates for White juveniles, the evidence in Table 1 suggests that offenses are committed in equal proportions between the two groups. As a result, the reason for the disparity in relative rates of arrest resides in an alternative explanation. Mobility issues are a top consideration that was uncovered in the 2012, DMC Assessment Report. The role of mobility and its importance for understanding DMC and the impact on the RRI scores used as evidence to support Minority overrepresentation is discussed in the next two sections of the report.

# SECTION FOUR: MOBILITY ISSUES AS KEY CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERARTIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING DMC

Census counts may not accurately reflect the current population of any given area, which can skew any sort of rate calculation. This potential problem in crime rate and relative rate calculations has been acknowledged in the criminological literature for many years (Boggs 1965; Harries 1981: see also Andresen and Jenion 2010). It is important to consider the discrepancies between the census counts and the actual population because known rates are used by members of the criminal justice community to justify policy, and among law enforcement and policy makers to support the allocation of police resources. Yet, the frequency of crime that occurs may simply reflect an increase in the contact between residents (see Andresen 2006).

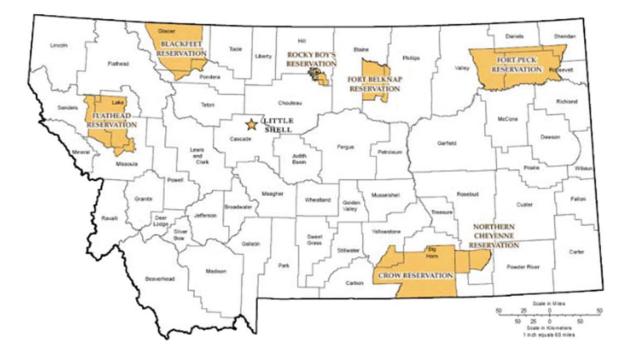
To account for this problem, human mobility researchers have developed a framework that provides a method to account for non-resident population. This is identified in the prior literature as ambient population density. Ambient population density can be thought of as a temporally averaged measure of population density that takes into account increases in the non-resident population of places. The ambient population estimates and rates that are produced from them account for things such as where people work, sleep, eat, drive, shop, etc...: things that are not accounted for in resident only population estimates, like the census (See Andresen: 2006a, 2006b, 2010, 2011: Andresen and Jenion 2010; Andresen, Jenion, and Jenion 2003; Kurland and Kautt 2012). As the number of people, or the density of people, interacting in communities that are experiencing population change, accounting for the ambient population moving in and out of these communities is essential to the development of accurate crime rates, resource allocation, and policy development.

The idea of mobility addresses the issue of ambient population; youth from other jurisdictions may be arrested and/or processed in the jurisdiction for which the RRI score is calculated. Mobility

issues have been examined in many state DMC assessments and U.S. Department of Justice research reports. In the fourth edition of the DMC Technical Assistance Manual, several forms of mobility-related DMC are listed and described. Juveniles may be mobile for various reasons, including: seasonal mobility, attractive nuisances, immigration and migration related mobility, and institutional effects.

Seasonal mobility can affect DMC. In summer months and during winter break, juveniles who are usually in school have more free-time and are less likely to be under adult supervision. Increased freedom can lead to juveniles being arrested and processed in jurisdictions away from where the youth currently lives. If non-resident youth are included, RRI scores may be inflated. Pullmann, Ague, Walker, Negrete, Quick, and Trupin (2013), in the Washington State DMC Assessment, note that minorities are less likely to have accumulated wealth, which can lead to: family instability and high mobility, homelessness, and foster care. These issues impact migration related mobility. Homeless families may be drawn to larger municipalities and homeless youth may not be able to adequately communicate with and navigate the court system. Families that move more frequently are much more difficult to contact when necessary and impoverished families may not even have telephones.

Foster children are more likely to be involved in the JJS and larger municipalities are more likely to have foster-care services for dependent youth. An attractive nuisance is what some crime-control literature might call an activity node, which can include shopping malls, skateboard parks, or other locations that might be of interest or of use. Youth from surrounding areas may be attracted to larger municipalities for the greater diversity in options for recreation. Institutional effects can occur when one institution acts as an institution for the region because the sparsely populated, surrounding areas cannot support independent institutions.



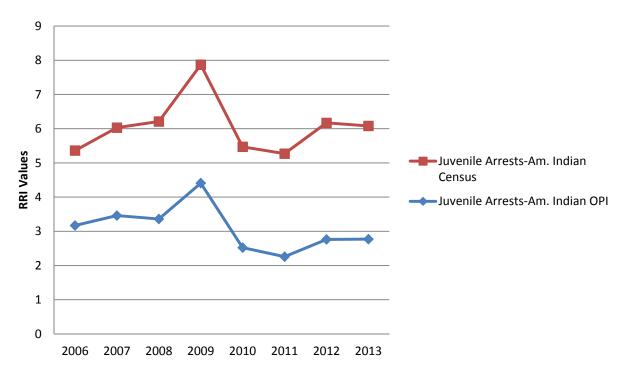
### FIGURE 2: MONTANA COUNTIES AND AMERICAN INDIAN RESERVATIONS

The central location of Cascade County, as seen in Figure 2, the population characteristics of Great Falls, and the areas status as a hub of activity and various services for several American Indian tribes mandate that mobility issues be addressed when evaluating DMC in this location. Certainly, non-resident youth will have differential opportunities for prevention, intervention, and diversion. The mobility of American Indian juveniles back and forth between Great Falls and homes on the reservation, in many instances, complicate the processing of these juveniles and must be accounted for in explanations of DMC in Cascade County.

# SECTION FIVE: MOBILITY IMPACTS ON RELATIVE RATE INDEX SCORES IN CASCADE COUNTY

In Figure 3 below, arrest point of contact trends for Cascade County between 2006 and 2013 are presented. The red line in Figure 3 is based on the RRI values that result when census estimates for the number of American Indian and White juveniles in Cascade County are used (this is the same line that was presented above in Figure 1). The blue line represents the RRI's that result when population counts are based on data from Montana Office of Public Instruction (OPI) enrollment data (adjusted for drop out). American Indians are under-counted in the U.S. Census and stakeholders across Montana have argued that OPI data provides more valid RRI values.





As noted above, RRI scores at the arrest point of contact have been notably higher in Cascade County than they have for other counties across Montana. As shown in the red trend line in Figure 3, when census data is used to generate the RRI, scores have fluctuated from a low of 5.27 in 2011 to a high of 7.87 in 2009. This finding suggests that the relative likelihood of arrest for American Indian juveniles is much higher than it is for White juveniles. In 2009, the relative rate of arrest for

an American Indian juvenile in Cascade County was almost 700% (RRI=7.87) greater than the likelihood of arrest for White juveniles.

When Montana OPI enrollment data, which has been adjusted for drop out levels, was used, there was a notable reduction in the RRI scores. The lowest value in the blue trend line in Figure 3, calculated using OPI data, was 2.26 in 2011 and the highest value calculated was an RRI score of 4.41 in 2009. Although these scores suggest that Minority juveniles have a higher relative risk of arrest compared to White juveniles, the magnitude of the disparity is far lower in the estimate based on the OPI data than what was found when the estimate was based on the numbers of American Indian juveniles in Cascade County based on census data.

### MOBILITY IMPACTS ON RRI SCORES IN CASCADE COUNTY: AN ILLUSTRATION

To illustrate these differences, Professor Dusten Hollist prepared an example, based on data from 2012, for a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Montana Board of Crime Control in March of 2014. In 2012, there were 228 citations issued to American Indian juveniles by Cascade County law enforcement. There were 554 citations issued to White juveniles. Census data shows the population of American Indian juveniles residing in Cascade County to be 449 persons. According to census data there were 6,827 White juveniles residing in Cascade County in 2012. In order to calculate the numerator in the RRI ratio, the number of citations issued to American Indian juveniles must be divided by the total number of American Indian juveniles (228/449). This yields a score of .51 when rounding to the second whole number after the decimal place. The same process is used for the denominator. The number of citations issued to White juveniles must be divided by the total number of citations issued to White juveniles must be divided by the total number of citations issued to White juveniles must be divided by the total number of citations issued to White juveniles must be divided by the total number of citations issued to White juveniles must be divided by the total number of citations issued to White juveniles must be divided by the total number of citations issued to White juveniles must be divided by the total number of citations issued to White juveniles must be divided by the total number of Loss a score of .081. The final step in the generation of the RRI is to divide the estimate for American Indian juveniles by the estimate for White juveniles (.51/.081). This yields the RRI score of 6.29 that is shown in the census line in Figure 3.

Using OPI data, with the same process outlined above, yields a much smaller score of 2.69 in 2012. There are two reasons to account for this reduction. First, the number of American Indian juveniles is higher in the OPI data (649 versus 449). When the number of juvenile arrests based on citations issued to American Indian juveniles is divided by the OPI estimate of 649 Native American juveniles, the new estimate for the numerator is .35 (228/649). Second, OPI data also show fewer White juveniles (4,357 versus 6,827). When the number of juvenile arrests based on citations issued to White juveniles is divided by OPI estimate of 4,357 White juveniles, the new estimate for the denominator in the RRI ratio is .13 (554/4,357). When the estimate of .35 for American Indian juveniles is divided by the .13 estimate for White juveniles, the resulting RRI score is 2.69.

The RRI score of 2.69 based on OPI data is 57% less than the score of 6.29 based on the census data. There are two considerations that need to be addressed before assessing the implication of this difference. Although the under count of American Indian juveniles seems small, the difference of 200 juveniles is 31% of the total (n=649). Second, there is also very likely an over count of White juveniles in the census data. Home-schooled children can partially account for this discrepancy because they are not included in OPI data. It is hard to imagine, however, that there are nearly 2500 (6,827-4,357) White juveniles who were home-schooled in Cascade County in 2012. Third, even at 2.69, the RRI score based on OPI data suggest that American Indian juveniles are 169% more likely to receive a citation compared to White juveniles.

Although there may be other factors that will emerge to explain the differences in these counts, the mobility of American Indian juveniles is a piece of the explanation. The 2012 Hollist et al. study and the interviews completed in the current investigation show the back and forth movement of

American Indian juveniles between reservations and towns like Great Falls, was clearly a concern. This is an issue that merits further attention, as all four counties (Cascade, Hill, Missoula, and Yellowstone) are catchment areas for American Indian juveniles who move back and forth between these towns and their homes on the reservation.

# SECTION SIX: QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

In March of 2014, members of the Criminology Research Group traveled to Great Falls to conduct interviews with members of the Great Falls Police Department and the Cascade County Sheriff's Office. There were a total of eight interviews that were conducted with one female and seven male officers. The interview guide that was used in all eight interviews asked the respondents to talk about their experiences working with juveniles in Cascade County. There were specific questions that asked the respondents to talk about police contact with juveniles, the factors that influence contacts that result in citation/arrest, suggestions for improving police contact with juveniles, and issues with regard to policing Minority juveniles.

The results presented below are only a small piece of the total information that was gathered in the interviews. In an effort to be as concise as possible, the focus was placed on presenting information about problems that influence arrest/citation as a means to highlight areas that could be addressed in an intervention to improve/reduce them. The three most prominent themes were associated with: home life and parenting; substance abuse; and mobility issues. Select findings from the interviews are presented below.

Parenting issues and problems in the home life of juveniles were commonly mentioned as reasons why juveniles have contacts with the police. This view is presented in the passage below:

I think a lot of it comes down to kind of a disorganized, or complete lack of home or family life. A lot of the problem children we see don't really have any sort of domestic structure. The only time they ever really get any type of normalcy or any type of structure would be when they're at school or, unfortunately, when they enter the justice system as an offender.

Of particular importance to arrest, many respondents pointed to the inability to contact a parent or responsible adult guardian or their unwillingness to assist law enforcement as a primary factor for arrest disparities. Inability to contact a parent is clearly presented in the following quote:

Absolutely. We will run into ... let's use an MIP. MIP is a ... you don't go to jail for it. It's a status offense you cannot go to jail. However we will get into a situation where the kid is highly intoxicated gets an MIP ticket and they're in the back of the car and says, "f\*\*\* you, you're a piece of s\*\*\*," well by statute that's disorderly conduct. Its 3'oclock in the morning and we say, "hmm, we need to call a parent or guardian." Well there is no parent or guardian because they're drunk or they cannot come, they will not answer the door, and they don't care where their kid is so the kid ends up going to jail for disorderly conduct.

Although inability to contact parents was discussed in general terms, it was an issue that was specifically cited as an issue complicating police contacts with American Indian juveniles. Often times the parents of American Indian juveniles were not residing in Great Falls and law

enforcement was tasked with working through persons who had been entrusted with caring for juveniles who were associates, not relatives in the traditional sense.

Another commonly mentioned complicating factor was substance abuse. As one officer stated "I'd say if you are looking for a percentage, 90 plus percent of the problems we have contacting parents is drug/alcohol related, guaranteed." In many cases, substance use was discussed in the context of generational substance use as mentioned in the following quote:

I think, we just can't get a hold of the alcohol and drug abuse and it's just not going to go away. And so it, that's what, underlines the majority of what we deal with I think. Um whether it's them abusing it themselves or their parents.

It was common for substance abuse narratives to be connected with parenting issues. Officers described calls to households where both parents were under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. In many cases the children and juveniles were left on their own and were living in households where adults were in conflict with one another and financial resources were scarce. These living situations were cited as "permissive" where juveniles were left to do what they wanted and were not provided adequate guidance. The passage below provides a good example of this:

More frequently? You know, I would say this—and this is true in general—children will often times mirror what they see from their parents. And we are able to tell what kind of upbringing they have. Kids that get away with things, of course they are going to have an easier time doing that when they have no parental supervision. Whatever the cause of that lack of parental supervision may be: it may be alcohol abuse in the home, maybe drug abuse in the home, and maybe just a general disconnect at home. But if the kids aren't supervised or watched, as typical parents would do, not all kids, but there's a certain amount of kids that are going to take advantage of that.

A third issue, one that was addressed in earlier sections of this report, was associated with mobility issues. The importance of Cascade County as a regional hub and the moving back and forth between Great Falls and homes on the reservation of American Indian juveniles is exemplified in the following passage:

Here in Cascade County, we of course see a lot of Native American juveniles. Probably because we're surrounded by reservations, centrally located, of course we're a medical hub, mental health hub, for the greater region, you know whether that be Rocky Boys or whether it's Browning or whatever, a lot of people come here. And also you get a lot of the families that if they're displaced or they're going to go, live with loved ones, you know family, extended family, whatever, they're pulled out of the home; it seems like we get a lot of them here.

Officers discussed having contacts with American Indian juveniles who did not appear to have permanent residences and were essentially transient. The juveniles were described as "not really having a place to live" and were just "bouncing around from house to house." Often these juveniles will tell police officers that they do not live in Great Falls but are there temporarily and have definite plans to return to their home communities. As one officer described it, "We are constantly running into these people who literally vanish; after a couple weeks they are gone, then you don't see them for a couple more weeks and they reappear again."

The connection between mobility, family disruption, and problems with being able to get in to contact with parents were common. This is clearly discussed in the following passage where the officer is specifically speaking about issues regarding policing American Indian juveniles:

We're talking about Minorities in Great Falls, our biggest Minority is Native Americans. A lot of times the other thing that we run into is the family is moving back and forth between the reservations and Great Falls and passing the kids between grandma and grandpa, and aunt and uncle, and mom, and they're just here there and everywhere and it's kind of a roadblock and where we come into difficulty with finding someone taking responsibility for the kid sometimes.

The themes presented throughout the qualitative findings section are representative of the content from the interviews conducted with Cascade County law enforcement officers. The qualitative narratives are supported by findings from prior empirical research. A summary of the evidence that has been compiled from previous studies is presented below in an effort to establish an objective basis for the importance of family issues, substance use, and mobility in understanding the social influences that contribute to and influence juvenile arrests.

Family management, as generally defined as a family's level of supervision, discipline, level of expectation of children's behavior, and extent of praise and positive reinforcement for good behavior, has been shown to be related to antisocial behavior such as violence and delinquency (Capaldi and Patterson 1996; Herrenkohl, Hill, Hawkins, Chung, and Nagin 2006; Herrenkohl, Maguin, Hill, Hawkins, Abbott, and Catalano 2000). Hawkins, Catalano, and Miller (1992) summarize a wide variety of risk factors for alcohol, tobacco, and substance abuse. Key among these factors are family management practices. Lack of parental involvement in activities with children, lack of, or inconsistent, discipline, and low parental aspirations for their children all were found to predict substance abuse. Further, Hawkins, Catalano, and Miller (1992) present evidence that families utilizing authoritative, in comparison to authoritarian and permissive, parenting styles are more likely to produce pro-social and assertive children. Similarly it is added that families that utilized negative communication patterns and inconsistent and unclear behavioral limits were characteristic of families with child substance abusers.

Research from Carter Hay's (2003) work has shown a linkage between family strain and children's negative emotions, such as anger, as well as delinquency. Family strain in this instance is measured in terms of physical punishment, parental rejection, psychological control, unfair discipline, and residence in a non-intact family. These findings support the themes in the qualitative narrative centered on home life and parenting. This evidence supports a link between a wide variety of family issues ranging from poor parental involvement to inconsistent disciplinary practices and a spectrum of negative outcomes for children.

Substance abuse by either parents or children has been linked to a variety of social problems. Substance abuse by children has been connected with delinquency (Carney, Myers, Louw, Lombard, and Flisher 2013), truancy (Henry 2007), and violence (Ferguson and Meehan 2010; Kuntsche, Knibbe, Engels, and Gmel 2007; Swahn and Donovan 2005). Substance abuse by parents has been shown to be related to a variety of problematic parenting practices such as poor child monitoring (Chassin, Pillow, Curran, Molina, and Barrera 1993; Dishion, Capaldi, and Yoerger 1999), poor parent-child interactions (Brooks, Whiteman, Balka, and Cohen 1995; Jacob, Haber, Leonard, and Rushe 2000; Eiden, Chavez and Leonard 1999), and poor discipline (Fals-Stewart, Kelly, Fincham, Golden, and Logshon 2004). Substance abuse by parents has also been shown to be related to violence and delinquency in their children (Velleman and Orford 1999). Stone, Becker, Huber, and Catalano (2012) identify a family history of substance use and parental involvement in substance use as key risk factors influencing substance abuse in young adulthood. These findings support the theme of generational substance abuse highlighted in the qualitative findings.

Mobility has been consistently shown to be related to a variety of negative issues among juveniles such as, delinquency and drug use (Smith, Lizotte, Thornberry, and Krohn 1995; DeWit 1998; Hoffman and Johnson 1998), early onset of sexual activity (Stack 1994), and violent behavior (Haynie and South 2005). Herrenkohl et al. (2000), in an analysis of risk factors for youth violence, found that residential mobility at age 16 was predictive of violent behavior at age 18 (<.001). Based upon the prevalence with which the mobility of youths and associated problems was highlighted within the interviews it becomes clear that mobility is an issue of particular concern in regards to juvenile policing in Cascade County. This finding is consistent with the empirical evidence from prior research linking mobility with negative outcomes for juveniles.

The qualitative findings represent key issues that influence juvenile policing in Cascade County from the perspective of eight local law enforcement officers. The findings are comprised of three major themes: home-life and parenting; substance abuse; and mobility issues. In order to support these findings a summary of the objective research related to the themes was compiled. The objective research provides a basis for understanding the connection between the themes from the officer interviews and more comprehensive and broad research that has been completed in the past.

# SECTION SEVEN: ARREST POINT OF CONTACT INTERVENTION

A key part of the work activity for the current study involved the review of and identification of best practices models that have been proven to impact DMC at the arrest point of contact. A review of programs and evaluations was conducted during the winter of 2014. The objective of this review was to identify as many models as possible that are proven, evidence-based programs. After the interviews were completed, attention was given to identifying promising interventions that address major themes in the qualitative findings that were presented above.

The five programs outlined below are included on the National Institute of Justices website www.Crimesolutions.gov. Each of the programs have been evaluated and empirically shown to impact juvenile policing issues at the arrest point of contact. All of these programs have received a rating of "effective" by more than one prior study, with the exception of Project Venture, which has been evaluated only one time and has received a "promising" rating. Evaluation and rating of the programs, along with the brief implementation timeline associated with the present study, and \$10,000 limit for available funding were also considerations in the selection of programs presented below.

### **Project Venture**

Project venture is an outdoor-based program targeted at fifth to eighth grade, American Indian juveniles. It focuses on American Indian cultural values to promote healthy development. The program was designed as a strategy to help American Indian communities prevent alcohol abuse. The program's goal is to help youth develop a positive self-concept, effective social and

communication skills, a community service ethic, decision-making and problem-solving skills, and self-efficacy. In doing so, the program aims to develop in youth a resistance to alcohol, tobacco, drugs, and related problem behaviors.

Project Venture includes both classroom and outdoor experiential learning elements. The program consists of a minimum of 20, one-hour class sessions to be conducted once a week in the school setting as well as weekly after school sessions and monthly weekend activities. The program culminates in a weeklong summer leadership camp. The key components of Project Venture's approach are the use of community service learning activities and the use of a metaphorical "rite of passage" that builds on traditional ceremonies for coming of age.

Project Venture is tailored specifically towards working with Cascade County's largest Minority juvenile population; American Indians. Project Venture also focuses on what was identified in the qualitative findings as one of Cascade County's most significant juvenile delinquency problems, which is alcohol and substance abuse. Lastly, Project Venture generally promotes pro-social development in youth to prevent a wide spectrum of juvenile delinquency and related issues. For these reasons, Project Venture was selected as a potential intervention.

### Families and Schools Together (FAST)

The overall goal of Families and Schools Together is to intervene early to help at-risk youth succeed in the community, at home, and in school and thus avoid problems such as adolescent delinquency, violence, addiction, and dropping out of school. The program is geared toward helping at-risk children, ages four to 12, and their families.

School referrals are used to recruit participants into the program. Families of the juveniles receive an invitation letter from school administrators to participate. The juvenile and their family will then meet with eight to 12 other families for eight, weekly meetings at the juveniles' school. The meetings last around 2½ hours. Activities include planned opening and closing routines, a family meal, structured family activities and communications, parent mutual-support time, and parentchild play therapy. These group activities provide support to parents aimed at helping them to teach their child to connect to the cultures of work and school. A graduation ceremony is held at the end of the eight weeks. Follow up meetings are held once a month for the following two years.

In the qualitative findings the area most frequently emphasized by law enforcement was the role of family dynamic in delinquency outcomes. For this reason, FAST was chosen as a potential intervention. FAST works both with children and their families to affect positive change. One of the goals of FAST is to prevent substance abuse, which was also identified as one of the primary areas of concern.

### **Strengthening Families Program (SFP)**

The Strengthening Families Program's goal is to reduce substance use and behavior problems by building nurturing and child management skills in parents and improved interpersonal and personal competencies among juveniles.

SFP is made up of seven, two-hour sessions for parents and children. The sessions are held once a week. Parents and juveniles attend separate, skill-building groups for the first hour then come together for supervised family activities in the second hour. A series of four booster sessions, held six-months to one-year after the completion of the initial seven sessions, are used to reinforce skills

learned in the initial sessions. The goal of the program is to develop appropriate rules, encourage good behavior, use consequences, build bridges, and protect against substance abuse.

This program is geared directly towards strengthening the family in hopes of reducing substance abuse and problem behaviors. Both of these areas were identified in the qualitative findings as critical issues in juvenile policing in Cascade County by law enforcement. For this reason, SFP was selected as a potential intervention.

### Life Skills Training (LST)

Life Skills Training is a classroom based substance abuse prevention program for elementary and junior high school students. The goals of LST are to prevent tobacco, alcohol, and drug abuse by focusing on diminishing risk and developing protective factors guarding against substance abuse. The program is available in different formats for a variety of age groups.

The LST program focuses on building drug resistance, personal self-management, and social skills in participants. LST is designed to reduce substance use by increasing coping, refusal, social skills, and knowledge in its students. Prevention is approached utilizing a social influence theory perspective. Based upon this approach enhancing personal competence and knowledge are promoted in order to strengthen resistance to substance abuse.

Life Skills Training specifically targets and focuses on the prevention of substance use and uptake, an area heavily emphasized as problematic in the qualitative findings. For this reason, it was selected as a potential intervention.

### Linking the Interests of Families and Teachers (LIFT)

Linking the Interests of Families and Teachers is a preventive program. The program's goal is to limit factors that put children at risk for antisocial behavior and delinquency. These include aggressive and other at-risk social behaviors with teachers and peers at school, along with poor parenting practices, such as inconsistent discipline and lax supervision. The target population is elementary school aged children.

LIFT was developed based on research from the Oregon Social Learning Center on the development of delinquency. Coercion theory provides the basis for which the program is founded upon. This assumption is that social agents respond coercively to children who present conduct problems. The program is designed to decrease these conduct problems and thus the coercive response to such behaviors, as well as to increase pro-social behaviors.

LIFT aims to decrease delinquency in general by working with both children and their families. The program has been evaluated and has been shown, based on teacher assessments, to reduce child aggression and improve child behavior. The program was also shown to reduce substance use. For these reasons, LIFT was selected as a potential intervention.

### **Cascade County Short-Term Placement Program**

As the five programs listed above either require involvement with schools and/or overlap with programs that are currently operating in Cascade County, a short-term placement intervention is merited. There is currently no program available where law enforcement officers can place juveniles, on a short-term basis, other than secure placement. Mobility issues, in particular for

American Indian juveniles, make contacting parents more challenging. Some juveniles are issued tickets and arrested for events that would be handled by counsel and release if a parent were available. A creative solution to this problem is to explore the possibility of partnering with a local facility currently housing juveniles, such as a halfway house or foster care facility, and reserve a bed or an area within their facility that could provide officers a short-term detention alternative for juveniles when they find themselves in this situation.

Inability to contact a parent at the point of contact where arrest decisions need to be made was highlighted in the officers' interviews as a serious problem that they commonly face. A number of anecdotes were given in which this exact situation played out and a detention alternative would have prevented an arrest and detention. The qualitative evidence also shows this issue as being particularly pertinent to the American Indian juvenile population. This may be due to the mobility of American Indian juveniles in and out of Cascade County and homes on the reservation as discussed in this report.

Officers detailed how American Indian juveniles, from outside Cascade County, would be picked up for what would normally be a non-arrest offense (e.g. MIP, Curfew Violation). Due to the fact that the juvenile was visiting from outside the County and their parents were not available for them to be released to, officers would be forced to arrest the juvenile. For these reasons, exploring a potential solution to this problem could be significant in positively impacting DMC at the arrest point of contact within Cascade County.

# CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The objective of this report has been to outline the work activity of the Criminology Research Group in the State of Montana collaboration on the *FY 2013 Disproportionate Minority Contact Community and Strategic Planning Project (CASP)*. The investigation presented above builds upon the Cascade County findings presented in the Hollist et al. (2012) assessment report. Identification of issues facing law enforcement officers in their interactions with juveniles at the arrest point of contact has been the primary focus. Information on the role of race/ethnicity at the arrest point of contact, the impact of juvenile mobility issues on the RRI scores used as evidence of DMC, and possible best-practices intervention programs that build on evidence from interviews with Cascade County law enforcement officers were specifically addressed.

The evidence presented above shows that the types of offenses that White juveniles and Minority juveniles participate in are very similar and does not explain disparities such as the increased likelihood of arrest for American Indian juveniles in the RRI scores. In Cascade County mobility issues associated with the back and forth movement of American Indian juveniles between Great Falls and nearby reservations communities impact and exacerbate RRI point contact scores. Narratives from the interviews with local law enforcement officers show that there are many, often overlapping, considerations that influence juvenile contacts with the police.

A key component of this study has been to identify promising interventions that can be implemented to address DMC at the arrest point of contact. It is the position of the researchers that the intervention programs presented above should each be given serious consideration. These programs should be discussed with local stakeholders and consensus on the most appropriate strategy should be a local decision. The short-term placement program appears very promising. It is not impacted by complications associated with the five OJJDP-derived best-practices programs outlined above. The consistency with which local officers spoke of the need for short-term alternatives to secure placement suggest it is an option worth investigating.

In addition to implementing the intervention, there are a series of key recommendations from the information gathered in the present study. For ease of readability, these are presented as bulletpoints below and are broken-down in four categories: Recommendations for Cascade County; Recommendations for the State of Montana; Implications for National DMC Efforts; Future Research.

- Recommendations for Cascade County
  - Work to establish a short-term alternative to secure placement.
    - Explore the possibility of partnering with a local facility currently housing juveniles that could provide officers a short-term detention alternative for juveniles who do not pose a public safety threat.
  - o Survey of local law enforcement
    - Collection of a more representative perspective on law enforcement issues with juveniles and community-based responses to address these issues.
    - Need for establishing a research basis for developing the survey that is informed by prior studies.
  - Collection of law enforcement's informal contacts (counsel and release) with juveniles.
    - The absence of this information prevents an examination of the "differential response hypothesis" at the arrest point of contact.
    - The ability to provide evidence that addresses differential responses by law enforcement at the arrest point of contact for American Indian and White juveniles is needed.
    - There is a need to advocate for the collection of data on "informal contacts" where there is no citation and/or arrest that is issued.
  - Survey of JJS stakeholders that specifically asks questions about awareness of alternatives to formal processing of juveniles in Cascade County.
    - Data to gauge how clear the stakeholder knowledge about the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative and existing programs that are alternatives to formal processing of juveniles is important.
- Recommendations for the State of Montana Three-Year DMC Plan
  - Continue advocating a DMC reduction strategy that is grounded upon a systems approach that involves all stakeholders working with juveniles (law enforcement, youth court services, attorneys, judges, correctional services).
    - Promote interactions and provide trainings that include all stakeholders in an effort to avoid fragmentation that too heavily focuses on a single stakeholder group.
  - Review and, if necessary, update juvenile statutes to comply with reform efforts and the need for data-driven, evidence-based decision making.
  - Work with local jurisdictions to establish the importance of keeping data about police contacts that do not result in citation/arrest.

- Promote awareness of and education about alternatives to formal processing of juveniles.
- Develop strategies that improving coordination between social service agencies that provide services to juveniles and practitioners within the JJS.
- Continue to develop JJS reforms for all 56 counties in an effort to improve the health and well-being of juveniles in Montana.
- Implications for National Efforts
  - Coordination of systems approaches for addressing DMC are a key component of best practices models.
  - Many counties across the country experience mobility issues with juveniles that may impact the validity and reliability of RRI scores at the arrest point of contact.
  - Need for emphasis on law enforcement involvement in JJS reforms that take place at, or before, the arrest point of contact.
- Future Research
  - Need to investigate methods that allow for more accurate counts of juveniles to be made and how methodological issues are impacting the RRI scores used as evidence of DMC.
    - Investigate how many times American Indian juveniles enroll, leave, and reenroll in school during the same academic year.
    - Examining truancy and days missed during the academic year may prove useful for determining how common back and forth movement between reservation communities and towns and cities off of the reservation.
  - Need to include juveniles and parents in future DMC investigations.
    - The Criminology Research Group has not been involved in gathering data about issues and perspectives from the juveniles and their parents.
    - The development of future research designs that include interviews with and involvement from juveniles and parents is a priority moving forward.
    - This information will forward the knowledge gained in the current investigation and is key to the development of community-based, DMC approaches.

In closing, the goal of this investigation has been to advance knowledge on a key area that has often been overlooked in prior DMC research. It is expected that the findings and associated recommendations will assist with advancement of community responses to DMC in Cascade County. The members of the Criminology Research Group anticipate that we will have continued opportunities to collaborate with stakeholders in Cascade County to promote evidence-based strategies and continue to advocate for the importance of evidence-based decision making that is informed by data and research for improving responses to DMC.

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