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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE


Derailed: Racially Disparate Consequences of Juvenile Drug Arrests on Life Outcomes

DISSERTATION


submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of


DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology


by


Mariam Tayari Ashtiani

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Cynthia Feliciano, Chair
Associate Professor Geoff Ward
Associate Professor Andrew Penner
Associate Professor Kristin Turney
Associate Professor Charis Kubrin

2016

# DEDICATION

To

my parents

for instilling in me a keen sense of justice,

for the sacrifices they made,

and for their unwavering belief that I can accomplish

any goal I set for myself.

"There is no greater tyranny than that which is perpetrated

under the shield of the law and in the name of justice."

Montesquieu
The Spirit of Laws

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Crime, Law, and Deviance; Race and Ethnicity; Inequality and Stratification; Education.

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Ashtiani, Mariam and Cynthia Feliciano (Forthcoming) "Access and Mobilization: How Social Capital Relates to Low-Income Youth's Postsecondary Educational Attainment." *Youth & Society.*

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Feliciano, Cynthia and Mariam Ashtiani. 2012. "How Low-Income Origins Affect Postsecondary Entry and Degree Completion" *International Journal of Sociology of Education.* 1(2): 123-156.

Ashtiani, Mariam and Cynthia Feliciano. 2012. "Mentorship and the Postsecondary Educational Attainment of Low-Income Youth." Los Angeles, CA: UC ACCORD Pathways to Postsecondary Success: Maximizing Opportunities for Youth in Poverty, October.

Feliciano, Cynthia and Mariam Ashtiani. 2012. "Postsecondary Educational Pathways of Low-Income Youth: An Analysis of Add Health Data." Los Angeles, CA: UC ACCORD Pathways to Postsecondary Success: Maximizing Opportunities for Youth in Poverty, May.

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# ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Derailed: Racially Disparate Consequences of Juvenile Drug Arrests on Life Outcomes

By

Mariam Tayari Ashtiani

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2016

Professor Cynthia Feliciano, Chair

Racial biases in law enforcement over the last three decades are linked to the racialized policies of the War on Drugs, which have given way to controversially aggressive policing tactics, disproportionately focused on minority youth. These policies also pose a serious challenge to race-neutral understandings of inequality: While White youth use and sell drugs at higher rates, Black and Latino youth are more likely to get arrested. What are the consequences of this aggressive and racially biased drug enforcement on the lives of youth? I explore this question by looking at racial differences in the impact of a juvenile drug arrest on two crucial life outcomes: education and employment. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, I compare the effects of juvenile drug arrests on life outcomes to the effects of other types of arrests, highlighting the unique role that drug arrests play in creating divergent life outcomes along racial lines.

Prior research on the impact of juvenile arrests used aggregate measures of arrest, with an underlying assumption that all offenders are uniformly impacted by an arrest, regardless of arrest type or race. In this dissertation, I develop and test Racial Profiling Selection Theory, in which Blacks, and to a lesser extent Latinos, due to racial profiling, are more likely to be arrested for

minor drug crimes than Whites. I argue that Blacks and Latinos who are arrested for drugs are often youth who otherwise do not engage in criminal behavior; their pathways towards educational and labor market success are therefore derailed by the arrest. In contrast, Whites who are arrested tend to be those who engage in more criminal and delinquent behaviors. My findings support this theory. I find that drug arrests are unique, relative to other types of arrests, in their negative impacts on the life chances for Blacks and darker-phenotype Latinos. My findings have important theoretical and policy implications since they show that not only do Blacks suffer more from the War on Drugs than Whites because they are more likely to be arrested, they suffer more because the actual arrest is more detrimental to their life chances.

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# CHAPTER ONE:

# INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the grand jury decisions not to indict the White police officers responsible for the killing of two unarmed Black men, Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri and Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York, White Americans took to Twitter, using the "Criming While White" hashtag, to report various moments when they committed a crime and police officers gave them "the benefit of the doubt," presumably because of their race (J. Dickerson, 2014). Through these accounts, people attempted to demonstrate that even the most blatantly disrespectful and illegal behavior, like blowing marijuana smoke in the face of a police officer, could be overlooked or forgiven when the offender was White. The implicit counterpoint of these messages: When an offender was Black, or more specifically a young Black man, the consequences of such infractions could be dire, or even deadly.

This outcry, most recently seen in the "Black Lives Matter" movement, is best understood in context of a broader, longstanding public dissent spanning back to the 1992 beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles and even further back to the American Civil Rights Movement. It challenges the differential treatment of minorities by the criminal justice system. The premise is relatively straightforward: Young people of color, and more specifically Black youth, are not only policed more closely, but they are also treated more harshly, both during and after arrest by police officers and the criminal justice system. During this same time period, criminology research has confirmed these sentiments, as studies consistently show racial biases at every step of the juvenile and adult criminal justice system, with Black youth being stopped, arrested, and convicted at much higher rates than other youth, even after accounting for prior delinquent and criminal behavior (Cole, 1999; Kennedy, 2001; Tonry, 1995).

These racial biases in law enforcement over the last three decades have been linked both directly and indirectly to the racialized policies of the War on Drugs, which have given way to controversial aggressive policing tactics (e.g., unwarranted "stop and frisk" searches, pretextual car stops, and zero-tolerance policies) that are disproportionately focused on minority youth (Fellner 2009). Racial biases in drug enforcement mean that Black and Latino youth consistently face the risk of being randomly stopped and searched, without any probable cause (Rudovsky, 2001). On the other hand, White youth are targeted less by law enforcement and run a significantly lower risk of getting caught with drugs and subsequently arrested. The result is that between 1980 and 2010, the drug arrest rates for Black youth were more than double the drug arrest rates for White youth (Puzzanchera, 2013), with drug arrest rates for Latino youth not far behind their Black peers (Mascagni, 2011; Tate, Taylor, & Sawyer, 2013). Unlike most other types of arrests, these racial disparities in juvenile drug arrests do not correspond to drug activity, as White youth are actually slightly more likely to have used or sold drugs than Black or Latino youth (Johnston et al., 2011; Wallace Jr. et al., 2002).

What are the consequences of aggressive drug enforcement on the life chances of youth, and particularly Black and Latino youth, who are the primary targets of this enforcement? This dissertation explores this question by looking at racial differences in the impact of a juvenile drug arrest on two crucial life outcomes: education and employment. To answer this question, I develop and test Racial Profiling Selection Theory, where I argue that racial profiling, most prevalent among drug arrest (vs. other types of arrest), leads to a unique selection process among drug arrestees. Since Black and darker-skinned Latino youth run a significantly higher risk of being randomly stopped and subsequently arrested for low-level drug offenses, the "net" of arrests is cast widely for them. Therefore, I predict that arrested youth of color are more likely to

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be adolescents who do not otherwise engage in serious criminal and delinquent behavior. In contrast, White youth are targeted less frequently and rarely subjected to random searches; the "net" of arrests is cast more narrowly for these youth. Therefore, I predict White youth who *are* arrested are more likely to be youth who engage in criminal and delinquent behaviors serious enough to garner police attention.

Prior research finds that the negative impact of a juvenile arrest, regardless of arrest type, is more pronounced for less delinquent youth (Sweeten, 2006). Following this line of reasoning, I ask: Are the effects of an arrest more pronounced for Black and Latino youth with drug-related charges who are more likely to be less delinquent youth, compared to White arrestees? As I will show, the distribution of prior delinquency or criminality differs across race for drug offenses (but not other types of arrest), which leads to more detrimental consequences for Black and darker-skinned Latino youth with drug-related charges, and no impact on life chances for White and light-skinned Latino youth with a drug arrest. Therefore, while most White and light-skinned Latino youth who are arrested for drugs were already on a path towards educational failure and unemployment, most Black and darker-skinned Latino youth who are arrested for drugs were not on such a path, and the arrest itself often derails their life chances.

In this introductory chapter, I first provide some background on drug enforcement and racial profiling to contextualize the dissertation. Next, I discuss the theoretical background and previous research shaping the dissertation. I follow that with a discussion of Racial Profiling Selection Theory, the main theory I develop and test throughout this dissertation to explain why I find racial differences in the impact of a juvenile drug arrest, and not in other types of arrests. I conclude with an overview of the dissertation, briefly outlining the content of the substantive chapters to follow.

## Racial Profiling and the Drug War

At its core, this study is about racially discriminatory law enforcement, and examining its societal implications. As mentioned above, I develop and test Racial Profiling Selection Theory throughout this dissertation to explain why drug arrests, and not other types of arrests, have more detrimental impacts on the life chances of Black and Latino youth as compared to White youth. This section provides a historical context for both this theory and for the larger study at hand, where I will briefly discuss the historical connection between racial profiling and drug enforcement in the United States. First, I will discuss what racial profiling means and what it entails. Next, I will provide a historical overview of how current forms of racial profiling in law enforcement stem from the War on Drugs policies of the late 1970s. Finally, I will discuss some of the consequences of racial profiling and drug arrests, and the imperative for a study of this nature.

In the context of this study, I use a widely used definition of racial profiling: "the use of race or ethnicity, or proxies thereof, by law enforcement officials as a basis for judgment of criminal suspicion" (Glaser, 2015, p.3). Put simply, racial profiling is when law enforcement (i.e., police officers) use the race or ethnicity of an individual (typically "Blackness") as a marker for criminality. Racial profiling also refers to the selective enforcement of laws on some and not others. Racial profiling and selective policing both lead to a higher likelihood of searching and arresting a person because of their perceived race and criminality. Over the last 20 years, there has been a growing concern over the use of racial profiling in law enforcement, particularly because it increases the likelihood that disproportionate numbers of minorities will enter the criminal justice system (Glaser, 2015). If police pay more attention to, and are more likely to stop and/or search Black and Latino Americans, regardless of their actual

criminality or offending rates, these groups will bear a disproportionate share of sanctions. At a time when there are millions of people incarcerated and under the supervision of the criminal justice system (Guerino, Harrison, & Sabol, 2011), such discrepancies can have profound effects on racially disadvantaged communities (Pattillo, Western, & Weiman, 2004). Additionally, racial profiling and the selective enforcement of drug laws will cause disproportionate numbers of innocent Black and Latino Americans to be subjected to stops, searches, and wrongful arrests.

Although racial profiling has influenced law enforcement decisions for as long as there have been stereotypes about race and crime, current forms of racial profiling in law enforcement stem from the War on Drugs (Banks, 2003; Provine, 2007). The Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) and a newly formed Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) developed early drug courier profiles in the mid-1970s. These profiles, which were widely used, included explicit references to race (usually Black race) and ethnicity (typically Latino) as bases for suspicion, in combination with other factors such as age, gender, type of clothing worn, and type of car driven. The profiles also contained highly ambiguous information that afforded police officers considerable discretion when deciding when to stop, search, and arrest someone (Harris, 2003). The DEA trained over tens of thousands of police officers in these tactics of racial profiling through "Operation Pipeline" and these officers then went back and trained others, setting up specialized drug interdiction units (Harris, 2003).

The rationale behind these courier profiles, and behind including race and ethnicity as factors, was the assumption that members of certain groups have a higher probability of engaging in drug crimes. However, survey research over the last two decades continuously indicates that Whites are just as likely (and in some surveys more likely) than Black and Latino youth to use and sell drugs (Health & Services, 2011). And yet, Black youth are five times and

Latino youth three times more likely than White youth to be arrested for either selling or possession of drugs (Puzzanchera, 2013). When revelations about racial profiling emerged across a number of U.S. states in the mid-1990s, there was wide public condemnation. This condemnation even came from the very highest in government, with President Bill Clinton stating in June 1999 that racial profiling is "morally indefensible" and "deeply corrosive" (Glaser, 2015). Nevertheless, research indicates that racial bias in police stops and searches persists, even despite the easing of drug laws in certain jurisdictions over the last few years (DeAngelo, Gittings, Ross, & Walker, 2016).

Some scholars argue that a possible explanation for the racial disparities in drug arrests has to do with the location of drug use and drug dealing among Black and Latino youth. These scholars note that Black youth, and to a lesser extent Latino youth, are more likely to use and sell drugs in public places and are therefore more likely to get caught. This is generally supported by research that finds minority communities have more visible drug problems, although they do not actually have a higher rate of drug use (Beckett, Nyrop, Pfingst, & Bowen, 2005). However, a considerable body of research points instead to discriminatory law enforcement as an explanation for racial disparities in who is caught and arrested for drugs. A number of studies find that profiling a suspect on the basis of race has been the direct causes of disparities, where a police officer is more likely to make an arrest, net of other factors, when the person looks Black or is phenotypically darker (White, 2015).

The most salient example of the racialized nature of drug enforcement and the War on Drugs is Dan Baum's recent release of this 1995 quote from former Nixon policy advisor John Ehrlichman in his 2016 article for *Harper's* (D. Baum, 2016):

At the time, I was writing a book about the politics of drug prohibition. I started to ask Ehrlichman a series of earnest, wonky questions that he impatiently waved away. "You want to know what this was really all about?" he asked with the bluntness of a man who, after public disgrace and a stretch in federal prison, had little left to protect. "The Nixon campaign in 1968, and the Nixon White House after that, had two enemies: the antiwar left and black people. You understand what I'm saying? We knew we couldn't make it illegal to be either against the war or black, but by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and blacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings, and vilify them night after night on the evening news. Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course we did."

One of the consequences of the racially discriminatory War on Drugs policies is the birth of mass incarceration; a consequence that some scholars argue was intended and part of the original design of these policies (Alexander 2010). The proportion of Americans, and particularly Black and Latino Americans, under the control of the criminal justice system has grown dramatically over the last three decades; a large portion of that growth has been due to increased arrests for drug violations. According to the Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics, the number of incarcerated people has gone from about 500,000 in 1980 to about 2.3 million in 2010, and more than half of federal prisoners are incarcerated for drug crimes. In addition, there are currently 4.9 million people on probation or parole (compared to 1.3 million in 1980). Black Americans constitute 12% and Latinos 10% of illicit drug users in 2010 (Health & Services, 2011), yet they represented 57% and 22% of drug prisoners, respectively (Guerino et al., 2011).

Mass incarceration and the overrepresentation of Black and Brown Americans in our prison system is not the only consequence of racial profiling in drug enforcement. Racial profiling results in a disproportionate number of innocent Black and Latino youth to be subjected to stops, searches, and wrongful arrests. In addressing the impact of racial profiling and the War on Drugs, especially on the Black and Latino communities, prior research focuses on the differential *rates* of drug arrests (Blumenson & Nilsen, 2002; Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Fellner, 2000, 2009; Lusane, 1991; Johnson & Jones, 1998; Nunn, 2002; Provine, 2007; Tonry, 1994) and how these rates translate into widening racial disparities. These prior studies conclude that the impact of the War on Drugs on Black, and to some extent Latino, communities has been greater because people in those communities are arrested more often. In addition to disparities in the rate of drug arrest, however, it is also important to consider possible racial differences in the *consequences* of drug arrests on life chances. For example, even if Whites, Blacks, and Latinos were arrested at the same rate, the impact of the arrest on the life chances of these youth may be more consequential for those in racially disadvantaged groups.

Furthermore, the majority of the research assessing the policies of the War on Drugs, as well as the literature on criminal justice contact and its consequences, has been dominated by a Black/White dichotomy. This binary framework must be reconsidered given the increase in the number of persons in the Unites States with origins in Latin America who, some argue, have been racialized and remain disadvantaged in similar ways as Black Americans (R. G. Rumbaut, 2008). This dissertation addresses the key question of how Latinos compare to Black Americans and Whites Americans in terms of the racializing and criminalizing effects of a drug arrest. One view contends that the effects of drug arrest would be similar for Latinos and Black Americans (both would be equally more negatively affected than Whites) because Latinos are similar to

Black Americans in terms of being a racialized or colonized group oppressed by Whites (Blauner, 1972), and would therefore experience similar structural disadvantages. The second view is that the effects for Latinos would be somewhere between Black Americans and Whites in terms of magnitude, since they occupy a "middle-man" position in the social structure (Bonacich & Modell, 1980). The impact of a drug arrest for Latinos, then, would not be as consequential as it is for Blacks, but more impactful that it is for Whites. However, as I argue below, Latinos include a racially and phenotypically heterogeneous population, and the effect of a drug arrest will depend more on how they are perceived and racialized (e.g. their phenotype) by others.

**Theoretical Background and Prior Research**

Most prior studies examining racial differences in the consequences of criminal justice involvement focus on the impact of adult incarceration on life outcomes (Pager, 2003; Pettit & Western, 2004). While these studies are important in highlighting the ways in which mass incarceration leads to blocked opportunities, most adult prisoners have already experienced juvenile arrests and educational failures prior to being incarcerated as adults, making it difficult to differentiate the experiences of incarceration from other confounding factors. By focusing on a first-time juvenile arrest, this study captures the sources of institutional marginalization that occur prior to incarceration (Wacquant, 2000).

The study of juvenile arrest and its impact on crucial outcomes throughout young adulthood is important because it contributes to the larger literature on the transition to adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Hogan & Astone, 1986). The timeframe of this study captures the experiences of youth at important turning points in their lives. During these crucial years, youth make some of the most important decisions in their life. These are the years in which secondary and post-secondary education is most likely to be completed, and early employment credentials and

careers are established. This period of transition, from the teens through the mid- to late 20s, can be a period of growth and accomplishment, especially when youth have the resources and opportunities they need made available to them, such as social networks, family and peer support, financial assistance, and access to education and experiences that provide a foundation for learning, life skills, and credentials. However, this period can also consist of setbacks and obstacles like getting in trouble with the legal system, dropping out of school, or failing to find work. These experiences not only make the transition to adulthood more difficult, but can also have long-lasting effects by compromising a youth's potential to provide for himself or herself in adulthood, and by increasing the risk that their own offspring will experience the same negative outcomes (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999).

Over the last decade, there has been a marked increase in the criminological and sociological studies examining the impacts of a juvenile arrest on life outcomes. This research, however, has two significant methodological shortcomings that this study addresses. First, most of this research does not examine racial differences in both short- and long-term effects of a juvenile arrest (Kirk & Sampson, 2013; Tanner, Davies, & O'Grady, 1999). This is surprising, given the well-documented racial biases in the treatment of Black and Latino youth throughout the criminal justice process. Given the historical trend of the mistreatment of Black, and to some extent, Latino youth, both during and after an arrest by police officers, judges, schools, and community members (M. Alexander, 2010; Rios, 2011), it is important to examine whether the effect of a juvenile arrest on life outcomes is more detrimental for minority youth. Several scholars have also called for such research (Hjalmarsson, 2008; Kirk & Sampson, 2013; Tanner, Davies, & O'Grady, 1999), and the few studies that answered this call conclude that the effect of a juvenile arrest does not vary across racial groups (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; De Li, 1999;

Sweeten, 2006). According to these studies, all types of juvenile arrest similarly impact youth from all racial/ethnic backgrounds. This leads to the second methodological shortcoming of this literature: these studies aggregate all arrestees and examine the average effects of juvenile arrest, which mask racial differences that may exist for one particular type of arrest: drug arrests.

Moreover, a major theoretical debate exists on *how* contact with the criminal justice system (e.g., a juvenile arrest) affects important life outcomes, especially education and employment. Two major theories predict varying relationships. Proponents of *propensity theories* argue that delinquent behavior explains both contact with the criminal justice system and negative outcomes such as dropping out of high school, not enrolling in college, and unemployment, and therefore, any relationship between the two would be spurious (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). These propensity, or deviant self-selection, theories focus on individual deviancy to explain a relationship between criminal justice involvement and important life outcomes. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that crime is a product of weak self-control combined with criminal opportunity. Individuals with an early propensity to engage in crime and delinquency, determined mainly by family socialization and individual differences (e.g. impulsiveness), sort themselves into circumstances consistent with this latent deviant trait throughout adulthood. The authors argue that delinquent and impulsive youth, because of their deficiencies in self-control, will go on to do poorly in or leave school, choose deviant peer groups and unstable jobs, and continue their delinquent or criminal ways into adulthood. This criminal propensity, then, means that a drug arrest would have no independent effect on educational and employment outcomes because youth who are arrested already have the propensity to perform poorly in school, drop out, or have unstable work patterns because of individual self-control/delinquency traits.

Conversely, other scholars contend that a juvenile arrest can be a significant turning point in the lives of youth, and can have a direct negative impact on future life outcomes (Becker, 1963; Sampson & Laub, 1997). For example, an arrest can lead to a stigma or label, affecting how arrested youth are viewed and treated by others, as well as how they view their own life chances and opportunities. In terms of education, the label and subsequent treatment have the potential to translate into marginalization and exclusion in school, possibly leading to expulsion or disengagement, which could deter students from completing high school or attending college after high school. In terms of employment, the label of "criminal" can affect the way potential employers view an individual's credentials when hiring decisions are being made.

While these two theories have often been considered as competing theories, I will argue in this dissertation, through Racial Profiling Selection Theory, that both theories are correct, and that each explains the relationships for a particular group, contingent on race and arrest type.

## Why Arrest Type and Race Matter: Racial Profiling Selection Theory

In this study, I develop and test Racial Profiling Selection Theory, where I argue that race and arrest type are key components of understanding differences in the compounding effects of a juvenile arrest. There are several reasons to expect racial differences in the effect of a drug arrest, which previous studies miss by using aggregate measures of arrest. First, unlike violent and property crimes,[1] the majority of drug arrests are for low-level, victimless offenses such as drug possession (Puzzanchera, 2013). In fact, recreational drug use is relatively common among youth, regardless of their race or class (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2011). The result is that, compared to violent and property offenders, youth arrested for drug-related charges are more likely to have limited prior delinquent and criminal behaviors, and are not

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[1] Violent, property, and drug arrests comprise the three largest types of juvenile arrests.

[2] The complex sampling design often results in cases selected into the sample with unequal probabilities. To handle

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necessarily on a path of subsequent criminal offending (Benson, Kim, Rasmussen, & Zhehlke, 1992; Resignato, 2000). However, *who* is arrested for a drug offense is strongly influenced by race (Fellner, 2009). I argue that this selection bias in arrests, fueled largely by racial profiling (racially biased police surveillance, stop-and-frisk checks, etc.), is unique to drug arrests and drug enforcement, and leads to disparate impacts of an arrest along racial lines.

As discussed earlier, the decision to stop, question, and arrest someone for selling or possession of drugs is often left to the discretion of police officers (Beckett et al., 2005), who more likely to make a drug arrest, net of other factors, when the suspect looks black or phenotypically darker (White, 2015). Over-policing in Black and Latino neighborhoods and discriminatory stops and arrests (Gelman, Fagan, & Kiss, 2012) have led to illegitimate and unwarranted racial disparities in drug arrests. White youth report higher rates of drug use and sale, yet Black youth are five times and Latino youth three times more likely to get arrested (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics 2010).

This ever-present risk of unwarranted stops, searches, and arrests for minor offenses (i.e., drug possession) among Black and phenotypically darker Latino youth means that even youth with minimal delinquent involvement run the risk of getting arrested (see Lundman & Kaufman, 2003). In contrast, White youth are targeted less and arrested only if their behaviors are serious and obvious enough to garner police attention. Even when caught with drugs, White youth are more likely to get a "pass" from police officers (Alpert, MacDonald, & Dunham, 2005). Therefore, White drug arrestees are more likely to be youth who are highly involved in prior delinquent behavior and may already perform poorly in school, and who have a higher likelihood to drop out of high school, not attend college, and have difficulty finding and keeping a job as adults. A juvenile drug arrest, therefore, may be less damaging for White youth, who may

already be on a pathway towards educational failure and unemployment, regardless of an arrest. This falls in line with the predictions of propensity theories, where early behavior traits, like delinquency, explain any effect a juvenile arrest has on educational and labor market attainment, because arrested youth were already on a pathway towards educational failures and unemployment.

Conversely, Black and dark-skinned Latino drug arrestees are more likely than White arrestees to have minimal involvement in criminal and delinquent behaviors, and may not be on the same pathway as White drug arrestees. Prior research finds that the negative impact of a juvenile arrest, regardless of arrest type, is more pronounced for less delinquent youth (Sweeten, 2006). Following this line of reasoning, I argue that Black and Latino drug arrestees may experience more detrimental consequences of an arrest, which are not characterized by the predictions of propensity theory. For these youth, a juvenile drug arrest may impose a direct negative impact on life outcomes. This can happen in several ways. First, an arrest can "type" or "cast" youth as "essentially" deviant, even if the youth is an otherwise non-deviant youth (Garfinkel 1956; Lemert 1951; Matza 1969; Paternoster and Lovanni 1989; Scheff 1966). This label of deviant can take on a "master" status that can affect the way youth are treated by adults and peers, lead to sudden blocked opportunities, like exclusion in school and in their community, and lead youth to develop a self-deviant concept (Lemert, 1951; Matsueda, 1992). Black and Latino youth may also experience higher levels of anxiety and trauma after an arrest since they are more likely to experience more frequent police contact and police brutality (Geller, Fagan, Tyler, & Link, 2014).

Under Racial Profiling Selection Theory, I also argue that there may be differences in the impact of an arrest among Latino youth, given that they are a racially heterogeneous group,

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including youth who are racialized as Black, White, and "other." Skin tone (phenotype) impacts racial profiling for Latinos, with darker-skinned Latinos being stopped and arrested more often than lighter-skinned members of the same group (White, 2015). Therefore, in this study, I break down Latinos by phenotype, and argue that the effect of a drug arrest is more detrimental for darker-skinned Latinos, compared to lighter-skinned Latinos.

## Chapter Overview

Throughout this dissertation, I compare the effects of a drug arrest on the life outcomes of White, Latino, and Black youth, to other types of arrest (i.e., property and violent arrests), to highlight the racial disparities in both the selection of drug arrestees and the impact on Black and Latino youth. This dissertation proceeds as follows. First, in **Chapter 2**, I provide an overview of the data (The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health), describe the measures used in the subsequent analyses, and document the analytic tools employed throughout the dissertation. The first empirical chapter, **Chapter 3**, examines the first prediction of Racial Profiling Selection Theory (RPST): that the distribution of prior delinquency or criminality differs across racial groups for drug offenses (but not for other types of arrests). I find that there are significant racial differences in the characteristics of drug arrestees that do not exist for other types of arrest. Among drug arrestees, Black youth, and to a lesser extent Latino youth, have significantly lower rates of prior delinquency and criminal behaviors than White youth. In **Chapter 3** I also test the second prediction of RPST: These differences in prior delinquency lead to more detrimental consequences for youth of color who have had a drug arrest. This chapter focuses on the consequences of an arrest on the likelihood of dropping out of high school, and consistent with my predictions, I find that the effect of juvenile drug arrest is more detrimental for the high school dropout outcomes of Black and dark-phenotype Latino youth than White and

lighter-skinned Latino youth. In **Chapter 4**, I examine racial differences in the effect of a juvenile drug arrest on college enrollment. There are reasons why a drug arrest may matter more for college enrollment, particularly the ineligibility for federal financial aid for higher education after a drug conviction. This chapter disentangles the effects of a drug arrest with these potentially deterring consequences of a drug conviction, and finds that as predicted by RPST, drug arrests, regardless of a conviction, derail college enrollment for Black and dark-phenotype Latinos with a drug arrest, but not White drug arrestees. The analyses in the final empirical chapter, **Chapter 5**, examine long-term impacts of a juvenile drug arrest on unemployment in adulthood, and considers how earlier setbacks (dropping out of high school and not attending college) may mediate some of the negative effects of a juvenile arrest. I find that a juvenile arrest, regardless of arrest type, bears *no impact* on the labor market outcomes of White and light-phenotype Latino young adults. For Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth, however, a drug arrest serves as an important turning point that carries significant long-term labor market consequences, lending further support to Racial Profiling Selection Theory. Finally, in **Chapter 6**, I synthesize the main findings of the preceding analyses and discuss implications and directions for future research.

# CHAPTER TWO:

# DATA AND METHODS

As discussed in the introductory chapter, both sociologists and criminologists have increasingly devoted attention to the relationship between juvenile justice involvement and important life outcomes (i.e., education and employment) over the last two decades. However, most existing studies about the consequences of juvenile justice involvement suffer from several limitations that impede researchers from having a complete and nuanced understanding of this relationship. First, a large proportion of the empirical work in this area focuses on biased samples of youth (e.g., poor White youth, Black youth, urban youth, low-income youth, convicted youth, etc.) (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; De Li, 1999; Kerley & Copes, 2004; Kirk & Sampson, 2013; Lopes et al., 2012). Further, these samples are often limited to small single towns or cities, and are not generalizable. A second limitation of prior research is that prior studies that use large national data sets aggregate all offenders (regardless of offense type or race) into one category (Bushway, 1998; Hannon, 2003; Hjalmarsson, 2008; Sweeten, 2006; Tanner et al., 1999). These studies also use outdated data representing the time period before the era of the War on Drugs, heavy policing, and racial profiling mentioned in the prior chapter. The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) is a current (1994-2008) and rich data source that can address these limitations and help advance our understanding of how criminal justice involvement in adolescence can lead to both short- and long-term disadvantages. In this chapter, I first describe the Add Health data set. I then define how the dependent, independent, and control variables are measured throughout the subsequent chapters. Finally, I provide descriptive characteristics of the sample used in this study.

## Data Source

Throughout this dissertation, I use data drawn from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), a nationally representative longitudinal study of American adolescents. The Add Health sample is the result of a multistage stratified sample of 134 middle and high schools in 80 communities, with an oversample of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Chinese students, as well as Black students with highly educated parents (either a father or mother had a college degree).[2] The first wave, conducted in 1994 and 1995, comprises an in-home interview with a subsample of 20,745 7th-12th grade students, selected from a larger sample of 90,000 students included in an in-school survey not used here. This subsample was stratified within schools by sex and grade. The third wave of the Add Health project, conducted in 2001-2002, attempted to re-interview all the original in-home survey respondents, who were then between the ages of 18 and 26, with a few exceptions.[3] The latest follow-up (Wave 4), conducted in 2007-2008, comprises 15,701 of the original respondents (age 24-32).

This study also uses data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study (AHAA), which contains official transcript information for 12,160 respondents. To provide nationally representative estimates, I limit the data to respondents who were assigned sample weights (see Chantala & Tabor, 1999 for more information on weights and design effects in Add Health). Respondents who were not part of the nationally representative data were excluded

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[2] The complex sampling design often results in cases selected into the sample with unequal probabilities. To handle this problem, the Add Health study constructed three weights, including post-stratification weight based on regions, cluster weight based on schools and grand sample weight, to correct sampling errors caused by the complex sampling design. For more information on the sampling design and the construction of sample weights, see Tourangeau & Shin (1999).

[3] Wave 1 respondents who were out of the country were omitted from Wave 3. Every effort was made to re-interview respondents who were located in correctional facilities.

(29.4% of sample). The final sample consists of 9,421 respondents, but this study only presents

the findings for White, Black, and Latino youth (N=8,563).[4]

To maintain statistical power, missing values on all other independent variables were

imputed into five complete data sets, with all covariates included in the imputation equations.

The majority of missing cases for respondents came from parental income measures (8% of

weighted sample) and respondent's official transcript information (6% of weighted sample),

provided by Add Health in their Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study (AHAA),

which contains official transcript information for only a subset of respondents. Missing variables

on all other variables were minimal (less than 2% of weighted sample).

**Measures**

*Dependent Variables*

High School Dropout (Chapter 3). The binomial outcome for this study, high school dropout (vs.

high school completion) was constructed from a self-report question at Wave 3 (2001-2002),

when respondents were between the age of 18-26, asking respondents to indicate the last year of

schooling they completed. Students who reported completing less than 12 years of high school

by Wave 3 are coded as dropouts. Respondents who dropped out, but later earned a GED, are

still treated as dropouts, as they more closely resemble dropouts than graduates, at least in terms

of work outcomes (Murnane, Willett, & Tyler, 2000).[5] Respondents who reported completing at

least the 12th grade or reported earning a high school diploma by Wave 3 are coded as non-

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[4] The sample for Chapter 3, which examines the effect of juvenile arrest on high school dropouts, is slightly smaller (N=9,260 full sample, N=8,398 White, Latino, Black sample) because of several additional sample restrictions for temporal order of the independent (juvenile arrest) and dependent variables (high school dropout). First, respondents who dropped out or graduated high school prior to Wave 1 (N=105) were dropped from the analyses. Additionally, as discussed below, the measure of a juvenile arrest varies slightly. The descriptives for this sample did not significantly vary; therefore I present the descriptives for the larger sample.
[5] All analyses were replicated with GED earners counted as high school graduates. My substantive findings regarding the effect of drug arrests were unchanged with this alternate coding strategy.

dropouts. The overall dropout rate of the sample (14.4%) coincides with the national averages

between 1995-2000 (14%) (Day, Jamieson, & Census, 2003), when the majority of students

would have dropped out. By racial categories, Latino youth have the highest proportion of

dropouts (19.57%), followed by Black youth (17.15%), while White youth have the lowest

dropout rate (13.85%) (See Table 2.1).

College Enrollment (Chapter 4). The binomial outcome for this study, college enrollment (vs.

never attended college), was constructed from a self-report question at Wave 4 (2007-2008),

when respondents are between the age of 24-32, asking respondents to indicate the highest level

of education they had completed.[6] Respondents who report attending some college (two-year or

four-year) by Wave 4, regardless of degree completion (bachelor's or associate's), will be coded

as having enrolled in college. Respondents who marked any other response (less than high

school degree or diploma/GED, vocational training) were coded as never enrolling in college.

Unemployment at Wave 4 (Chapter 5). This outcome variable distinguishes between respondents

who were unemployed or employed at Wave 4, based on a question asking respondents to

indicate whether they are currently employed. Respondents who report that they did not have a

job at Wave 4 are categorized as "unemployed," while respondents who report having a job

(more than 10 hours a week) are categorized as employed.

*Main Independent Variables.*

Arrest Type. A categorical variable for respondents' *first* juvenile arrest (at age 18 or earlier)[7] is

constructed based on a series of Wave 4 questions where respondents are asked to report whether

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[6] I also ran analyses using the highest level of education reported at Wave 3 (2001-2002) and my substantive
findings didn't change. I chose to use the Wave 4 variable since some youth were still in high school in Wave 3.
Therefore, Wave 4 better captures all youth who went on to attend college.
[7] A juvenile arrest is generally considered an arrest that occurs prior to age 18; however, I use arrests that occur at
age 18 or earlier ( prior to age 19). I ran all the analyses in the study with the traditional measure (arrest before age

they had ever been arrested, the age at which their first arrest occurred, and what they were

charged with (respondents were allowed to choose more than one offense charge). To isolate the

impact of a drug arrest from other types of arrests, respondents who reported both a violent arrest

and a drug arrest were coded as having a violent arrest, and similarly, respondents who reported

both a property offence and a drug arrest were coded as a property arrest. Respondents who

reported both a property and violent arrest, were coded as a violent arrest since that is the more

serious charge. Respondents who reported no arrest at age 18 or earlier are coded as having no

juvenile arrest. Since drug arrests consist of both possession and sale charges, I break down drug

arrests by type of arrest and race in Appendix A.

This measure varies slightly for the Chapter 3 analyses on high school dropouts. In this

set of analyses, I needed to ensure temporal order where a first juvenile arrest occurred prior to

dropping out, and not after dropping out. Since I did not have information on respondents' exact

age when they dropped out, I combined Wave 1 age and grade level information, and I was able

to calculate the grade respondents were in at the time of their first arrest.[8] Respondents who

reported no arrest while they were enrolled in school are coded as having no arrest. To create

temporal order, respondents whose first arrest occurred after dropping out of high school were

dropped from the sample (N=47) for this chapter's analyses only.[9] Respondents who reported a

first-time arrest that occurred while enrolled in school, and who marked that they were charged

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18) and my measure (arrest before age 19) and found no substantive difference. Therefore, to increase my sample
size and strengthen the robustness of my analyses, I use the latter measure (an arrest at age 18 or earlier).
[8] I use a grade level cutoff (arrested while enrolled in school vs. arrested after leaving school), rather than age
(arrested before age 18 vs. arrested over age 18), as the cutoff for an arrest since some students may be 18 or 19
years old when they are in the 11th and 12th grade. Using grade level cutoffs means that the juvenile arrest measure
includes youth who were over age 18 at the time of an arrest (22% of all juvenile arrestees). All models were
replicated with an age-based juvenile arrest measure (arrested before age 18) in place of the grade level measure.
The arrest effects in these models were very similar in magnitude and precision to those reported in this paper.
[9] All analyses were replicated with these respondents coded as "no arrest" and the substantive findings did not
change.

with a drug offense as their most serious charge, are coded as having a juvenile drug arrest.[10] Respondents who reported a property, violent, or other charge as their most serious offense were coded in the other arrest category.[11]

In Chapters 3 and 4, which focus on educational outcomes, I ran all analyses with separate violent, property, and other arrest variables, but found no substantial differences in the magnitude and significance of their effects on high school dropout and college enrollment. These categories were, therefore, collapsed into one "other arrest" category. For the labor market analyses (Chapter 5), I disaggregate and use violent and property arrests, but mainly as a comparison point for drug arrests. Given that "other" arrests (non-drug, violent, or property-related) comprise a wide variation of offense types, and are difficult to theoretically compare to drug arrest, I do not present those results in Chapter 5.

Race/Ethnicity. The Wave 1 in-home questionnaire asked two separate questions for race and ethnicity; one question asked respondents if they are ethnically Latino, while another question asked respondents to mark one or more races they identify with (White, Black, Native American, Asian, other). In a third question, respondents who marked more than one race were asked to mark one race they "best" identify with. Combining the three above questions creates an overall race variable, with mutually exclusive categories.[12] Respondents are coded as Latino if they

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[10] Respondents who reported that their first arrest occurred in the same school year as when they dropped out (N=101) were coded as having had an arrest in high school. Although I do not know the exact dates of dropout and arrest, and cannot decipher if the arrest occurred before dropout for these respondents, I flagged these respondents in my analyses and found that their outcomes did not significantly differ from respondents who reported being arrested before they dropped out. I also ran models excluding these cases, and the substantive results did not differ. To keep the sample size large, I include these cases in the analysis.

[11] I also ran all analyses with separate violent, property, and other arrest variables, but found no substantial differences in the magnitude and significance of their effects on dropout. These categories were, therefore, collapsed into one "other arrest" category.

[12] Interviewer classification of the respondent's race was also recorded at the end of the Wave 1 interview, and interviewers were instructed to code the respondents' race from their own observation. Interviewers selected one option from the following categories: "White," "Black or African American," "American Indian or Alaska Native," "Asian or Pacific Islander," or "other." While this measure serves as a better proxy for how respondents are likely to be racially classified and viewed (an important variable for racial profiling and arrest), using this measure

marked "Latino" in the ethnicity question, regardless of what they marked for the race question. This makes all other race categories non-Latino. Whites, Blacks, Native Americans, Asians, and other, were coded directly from the race variable. If respondents marked more than one race, their response from the "best race" question was used to assign them to a category.[13] Because the number of drug arrests among Asians, Native Americans, and others was so small, and difficult to quantitatively analyze, they were grouped together as an aggregate "other" category and are not presented in the tables or discussed in this study.

*Demographic Controls Used in All Chapters*

Several control variables are included in the regression models in each chapter. I include two demographic controls: age and sex. Sex is measured with a dummy variable equal to 1 for females. Age represents respondents reported age at Wave 1. I also include the respondent's phenotype, based on a question Add Health provides in the interviewer questionnaire from Wave 3, where interviewers were asked to note the phenotype of the respondent based on their own assessment on a skin color scale (1=light/white, 5=dark/black).

*Covariates Used in All Chapters*

Family income background at Wave 1 is included, since youth from disadvantaged households have a higher propensity to drop out of high school, not attend college, and have difficulty finding employment as adults. The measure of family income used is relative to the

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divided the sample of Latino respondents among "white" and "other" racial classifications. All models were replicated with the interviewer race measure in place of self-report race measure. While the arrest effects in these models for White and Black respondents were very similar in magnitude and significance to those reported in this paper, the results for Latinos were less reliable because of the small sample size (only 17 Latino "white" respondents and 20 Latino "other" respondents reported a drug arrest). Instead, I run separate models for Latinos including interactions with interviewer-classified phenotype to address this limitation.

[13] Latino respondents also represent youth who are $1^{st}$, $2^{nd}$, and $3^{rd}$+ generation immigrants, which studies show impact their likelihood of educational attainment and employment outcomes (Rubén G. Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). In earlier analyses, I included immigrant generation as a control, but did not find significant effects; therefore I do not include them in the models for this study. Furthermore, the majority (85%) of arrested youth in the sample are $3^{rd}$+ generation immigrants, which may explain the lack of findings across generation groups (5% of arrested youth are $1^{st}$ generation, 10% are $2^{nd}$ generation).

poverty level. I classify respondents as low-income if their family income and household size at Wave 1 was below 185% of the federal poverty line. I use this threshold because households at this level qualify for a number of means-tested benefits, such as food stamps and reduced price school lunch, and because the official US Census poverty line has been criticized as too low (Citro & Michael, 1995). Although somewhat crude, this measure has been used in multiple studies, and provides an adequate approximation of economic disadvantage.

I include early academic indicators and prior delinquency/criminal proclivity to address the predictions of propensity theories: Any relationship between an arrest and socioeconomic outcomes are spurious and both are rooted in these earlier individual differences. A measure of early school performance (9th grade GPA) is included in the regression models, since students with poor academics also have a higher propensity to drop out of high school, not attend college, and be unemployed (Finn, 1989; Jimerson et al., 2002). This 9th grade GPA measure (4-point scale) is created using students' official transcript information from the AHAA. Four measures of delinquency and criminal proclivity (behavioral variables) are also included.[14] In addition to family background and school performance, inclusion of prior delinquency or criminal proclivity is crucial, since labeling argument imply that an arrest affects dropout beyond the impact of prior delinquency/criminal behavior. First, the delinquency measure from Add Health is included, created from adolescents' response to 14 items that included subscales of delinquency (see Appendix B for delinquency scale questions). Mean scores were calculated with at least eight non-missing responses and recomputed to the original 0-3 scale with an alpha reliability score of 0.82. In addition, two measures of self-reported drug involvement are included from Wave 1.

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[14] All behavior variables are measured at Wave 1. However, 18% of respondents were arrested prior to wave 1. For these youth, the behavior measures are not pre-arrest characteristics. I estimated all models with a smaller sample that only included respondents whose first arrest occurred after wave 1. This insures that the behavior variables measured at Wave 1 are pre-arrest characteristics. The results of the analyses did not change significantly in these models.

The first is whether the respondent has used any illicit drug in the last 12 months; and second, whether the respondent has ever sold illicit drugs in the last 12 months. I also include a measure for impulsivity (also used by Vazsonyi, Cleveland, & Wiebe, 2006) created with the mean of four items from the personality and family section of the Add Health in-home interview. Respondents were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree whether they agreed with the following four statements: (a) "When you have a problem to solve, one of the first things you do is get as many facts about the problem as possible;" (b) "When you are attempting to find a solution to a problem, you usually try to think of as many different ways to approach the problem as possible"; (c) "When making decisions, you generally use a systematic method for judging and comparing alternatives;" and (d) "After carrying out a solution to a problem, you usually try to analyze what went right and what went wrong." The alpha of this 4-item scale was 0.73.

Finally, I include two dummy variables indicating whether respondents had a juvenile conviction, and whether they had any subsequent juvenile arrests. Given that Blacks are more likely to be convicted and potentially incarcerated or placed on parole (Fellner, 2009), this measure accounts for the possibility that an arrest is more influential on the life chances of Black and dark-phenotype Latino youth simply because they are punished more harshly. Since drug offenders are also the only offenders denied financial aid for college, controlling for the effect of conviction sheds light on whether this institutional mechanism is creating a hurdle to college enrollment for youth.

*Additional Covariates for Educational Outcomes (Chapters 3 & 4):*

Parents' education is included for educational outcomes, since youth with parents who graduated high school, and attended/completed college (vs. parents with no high school diploma)

have a lower propensity to drop out of high school, not attend college, and have difficulty finding employment as adults. Therefore, an ordinal measure of parental education is included, representing the highest level of completed schooling of the respondent's mother and/or father. The educational attainment categories are "less than a high school diploma," "a high school diploma or equivalent," those who attended "some college" but did not achieve at least a bachelor's degree, and a "bachelor's degree or higher" category. I also include a dummy variable indicating if youths lived with both biological parents at Wave 1.

A dummy variable for educational expectations is included in the model ("On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is low and 5 is high, how likely is it that you will go to college?"). Respondents who reported a 4 or 5 on the scale were coded as "likely to attend college" (vs. respondents who reported a 1, 2, or 3, who were coded as "unlikely to attend college"). Two dummy variables for school sanctions are also included, one dummy indicating any suspensions Wave 1 (vs. no suspensions), and another dummy indicating any school expulsions prior to respondent's first arrest (vs. no expulsions before first arrest). School sanctions are included as academic indicators (vs. delinquency) because they are not accurate indicators of delinquent behavior, since Black and Latino youth are more likely to get reprimanded and punished in school than White youth for similar behaviors (Lewis 2003). In addition to the other academic and delinquency covariates mentioned in the previous section, these variables help shed light on the pathways that youth may be on prior to their arrest.

*Additional Covariates for Employment Outcome (Chapter 5):*

I include the following Wave 3 variables that may mediate the impact of a juvenile arrest on unemployment in later adulthood (Wave 4):

High School Dropout (Wave 3). This binomial variable was constructed from a self-report question at Wave 3, when respondents are between the ages of 18-26, asking respondents to indicate the highest level of education they had completed. Respondents who report less than a high school diploma are coded as a dropout. Respondents who report a high school degree or higher are coded as "did not drop out."

In School (Wave 3). This variable is constructed from a question at Wave 3 that asks respondents whether they are currently enrolled in school. In this context, currently in school means students are enrolled in a 2-year, 4-year, or graduate college, therefore I occasionally refer to being in school as being in college. For less than 1% of the sample, being in school referred to still being in high school.

Unemployment (Wave 3). This outcome variable distinguishes between respondents who were unemployed or employed at Wave 3, based on a question asking respondents to indicate whether they are currently employed. Respondents who report that they did not have a job at Wave 3 are categorized as "unemployed", while respondents who report having a job (more than 10 hours a week) are categorized as employed.

Other Variables:

I also include several measures of criminal justice contact in adulthood (Wave 4). I include a measure indicating whether respondents had one or more arrests as an adult (after age 18). I include a variable indicating one or more convictions in adulthood and also a variable indicating whether respondents spent any time in jail/or prison (no time, less than one year, or more than one year). Finally, I include a delinquency scale representing delinquent and criminal behavior at Wave 4 (see Appendix B for delinquency scale questions).

(TABLE 2.1 ABOUT HERE)

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## Sample Descriptives

Table 2.1 contains descriptive statistics of the main dependent and independent variables of interest, as well as the covariates, for the full sample by the racial/ethnic background of respondents. Since the sample is weighted and nationally representative, most statistics match national level statistics during this time period (1994-2008). In terms of the outcomes of this study, Latino youth have the highest dropout rate (20%), followed by Black youth (17%) and White youth (14%). Black and Latino youth have lower rates of college enrollment (56% and 57% respectively) than White youth (68%). Finally, by Wave 4, Black young adults have the highest rate of unemployment (22%) followed by White (17%) and Latino (16%) young adults.

In terms of the main independent variables, juvenile arrest, we see that about 20% of Black and Latino youth have experienced some type of juvenile arrest, compared to 13% of White youth. For Black youth, a juvenile drug arrest was the most common type of arrest (7%), while "other" arrest types (non-drug, property, or violent offense) were the most common arrest type for Whites (5%) and Latinos (8%). In Chapter 3, I break down the remaining characteristics by race and arrest type and discuss them at more length.

Table 2.1. Sample Descriptive Statistics of All Variables, Percentages and Means (N=8,563)

| Variables | White | Latino | Black |
|---|---|---|---|
| Percent of Sample | 70.71% | 13.16% | 16.13% |
| **Main Dependent Variables** | | | |
| Drop Out | 13.85% | 19.57% | 17.15% |
| College Enrollment | 68.05% | 56.85% | 55.51% |
| Unemployment (Wave 4) | 17.29% | 15.74% | 21.95% |
| **Juvenile Arrest Type** | | | |
| No Arrest | 86.80% | 80.37% | 79.90% |
| Drug | 2.48% | 3.33% | 7.04% |
| Property | 3.27% | 4.20% | 3.56% |
| Violent | 2.17% | 3.92% | 4.23% |
| Other | 5.28% | 8.19% | 5.26% |
| **Demographics** | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 50.34% | 48.70% | 51.15% |
| Age | 15.46 | 15.62 | 15.74 |
| Phenotype (1=White, 5=Black) | 1.04 | 1.72 | 3.69 |
| | (0.28) | (0.85) | (1.02) |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | |
| Parents' Education | | | |
| No HS diploma | 7.60% | 32.84% | 14.24% |
| HS Diploma | 30.28% | 30.13% | 38.46% |
| Some College | 23.04% | 17.53% | 19.64% |
| BA Degree or more | 39.08% | 19.50% | 27.66% |
| Low-Income Household | 25.22% | 44.32% | 45.92% |
| Two Parents Home | 74.67% | 69.05% | 41.21% |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1):** | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 4.16 | 3.86 | 4.09 |
| | (1.17) | (1.19) | (1.11) |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | 2.68 | 2.31 | 2.14 |
| | (0.87) | (0.90) | (0.89) |
| School Attachment Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 3.77 | 3.76 | 3.76 |
| | (0.88) | (0.84) | (0.86) |
| School Suspension(s) | 21.28% | 31.69% | 47.24% |
| School Expulsion(s) | 5.21% | 9.07% | 14.25% |

Behavior Variables (Wave 1)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Impulsivity Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 3.73 | 3.82 | 3.90 |
| | (0.64) | (0.59) | (0.62) |
| Delinquency Scale W1 (0=low, 3=high) | 0.28 | 0.36 | 0.29 |
| | (0.34) | (0.40) | (0.33) |
| Drug Use | 27.89% | 29.79% | 26.62% |
| Drug Sale | 6.38% | 9.51% | 7.89% |

Other Juvenile Justice Involvement

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Subsequent Juvenile Arrest(s) | 2.70% | 4.77% | 4.16% |
| Juvenile Conviction | 4.31% | 4.53% | 4.46% |

Wave 3 Variables (age 18-26)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| High School Dropout | 13.85% | 19.57% | 17.15% |
| Unemployed W3 | 30.39% | 33.35% | 45.73% |
| In School W3 | 37.22% | 31.04% | 29.53% |

Wave 4 Variables (age 24-32)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Adult Arrest W4 | 25.26% | 27.28% | 32.18% |
| Adult Conviction W4 | 8.85% | 7.38% | 10.43% |
| Incarceration W4 | | | |
| Never | 86.13% | 81.11% | 81.41% |
| Less than 1 year | 12.39% | 16.25% | 14.02% |
| 1+ year(s) | 1.47% | 2.63% | 4.58% |
| Delinquency Scale W4 (1=low, 3=high) | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.08 |
| | (0.245) | (0.220) | (0.461) |
| N | 5,171 | 1,453 | 1,939 |

Note: Respondents who reported their race as Asian, Native American, or Other are excluded from this sample.

# CHAPTER THREE:

# THE RACIALLY DISPARATE EFFECTS OF DRUG ARRESTS

# ON HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT

In this chapter, I develop and test the first prediction of Racial Profiling Selection Theory (RPST): That the distribution of prior delinquency or criminality differs across race for drug offenses (but not for other types of arrests). Under RPST, I argue that racial profiling is most prevalent among drug enforcement, and leads to a unique selection process for this type of arrest. Since Black and darker-skinned Latino youth run a significantly higher risk of being randomly stopped and subsequently arrested for low-level drug offenses, the "net" of arrests is cast widely for them. Therefore, arrested youth are more likely to be youth who do not otherwise engage in serious criminal and delinquent behavior. In contrast, White youth are targeted less and rarely subjected to random searches, the "net" of arrests is cast more narrowly for these youth. Therefore, White youth who *are* arrested are more likely to be youth who engage in criminal and delinquent behaviors serious enough to garner police attention.

In this, and in the subsequent two chapters, I also test the second prediction of RPST, that racial differences in prior delinquency among drug arrestees leads to more detrimental consequences for Black and darker-skinned Latino youth with drug-related charges, compared to White drug arrestees. In this chapter, I focus on the consequences of a drug arrest relating to dropping out of high school. Prior research finds that the negative impact of a juvenile arrest, regardless of arrest type, on the chances of someone dropping out of high school is more pronounced for less delinquent youth (Sweeten, 2006). Following this line of reasoning, I ask in

this chapter: Are the effects of a juvenile arrest on the likelihood of dropping out of high school–a significant turning point for subsequent employment outcomes and the likelihood of adult imprisonment (Sum, Khatiwada, & McLaughlin, 2009)–more pronounced for Black and Latino youth with drug-related charges who are more likely to be less delinquent youth, compared to other arrestees?

As I will show, the distribution of prior delinquency or criminality differs across race for drug offenses (but not other types of arrest) and this leads to more detrimental consequences for Black and darker-skinned Latino youth with drug related charges, and no impact on the likelihood of dropping out of high school for White and light-skinned Latino youth with a drug arrest. Therefore, while most White and light-skinned Latino youth who are arrested for drugs were already on a path towards high school dropout and delinquency, most Black and darker-skinned Latino youth who are arrested for drugs were not on such a path, and the arrest itself derails their chances of graduating from high school.

## Background and Theoretical Framework

### *Arrests, Dropout, and the Vicious Cycle*

Dropping out of high school serves as a critical early marker in the transition to adulthood, carrying long-term consequences for a host of life outcomes, including unemployment, family instability, health consequences, and recidivism (Sum et al., 2009). If Black youth are more likely to drop out after a drug arrest, this may result in cumulative disadvantages, given that dropping out carries more social costs for them (Western, 2006). For example, only 39% of Black high school dropouts are employed at age 19 compared to 60% of white and Latino dropouts (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006). Furthermore, 59% of Black male high school dropouts experience imprisonment by age 34, compared to only 11% of white

dropouts (Pettit & Western, 2004). These blocked opportunities, combined with the higher

potential of imprisonment, could send youth down a vicious cycle of unemployment and

recidivism in adulthood.

*Previous Studies: Debates and Discrepancies*

Several studies over the last two decades have examined the effect of contact with the

criminal justice system on high school dropout, but those studies have several key shortcomings

that this study addresses. First, most of this research does not examine racial differences in the

effect of an arrest. This is surprising, given the well-documented racial biases in the treatment of

Black and Latino youth throughout the criminal justice process. Given the historical trend of the

mistreatment of Black, and to some extent, Latino youth, by police officers, judges, schools, and

community members (M. Alexander, 2010; Rios, 2011), it is important to examine whether the

effect of a juvenile arrest on high school dropout is more detrimental for minority youth. Several

scholars have previously called for such research (Hjalmarsson, 2008; Kirk & Sampson, 2013;

Tanner et al., 1999), and the few studies that have answered this call conclude that the effect of a

juvenile arrest does not vary across racial groups (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; De Li, 1999;

Sweeten, 2006). According to these studies, then, all juvenile arrest types similarly impact youth

of all racial backgrounds. However, these studies aggregate all arrestees and examine average

effects of juvenile arrest, which mask racial differences that may exist for one particular type of

arrest: drug arrests.

In addition to methodological gaps in this literature, there are also theoretical gaps that

this study addresses. As mentioned in earlier chapters, there is a debate among scholars about

exactly *how* a juvenile arrest impacts the educational trajectories of youth. While most research

finds that a juvenile arrest has a direct effect, increasing the likelihood of dropping out of high

school (De Li, 1999; Hannon, 2003; Hirschfield, 2009; Kirk & Sampson, 2013; Sweeten, 2006; Tanner et al., 1999) other scholars contend that this effect is actually spurious, where both arrest and dropout are explained by prior behavior (e.g. high delinquency and low self-control) (Smith & Paternoster, 1990; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). For example, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that external events, such as an arrest, do not impact dropout rates because they are both the product of a stable delinquent propensity established earlier in life. According to these *propensity theories*, youth who get arrested are already on a path of educational failure, regardless of an arrest. This study considers this perspective, but moves beyond a one-size-fits-all theoretical framework for understanding the impact of an arrest on high school dropout rates. In this next section, I argue, through Racial Profiling Selection Theory, that both theoretical frameworks are correct, and that each explains the relationships for a particular subset of youth–contingent on race and arrest type.

*Why Arrest Type Matters: Racial Profiling Selection Theory*

As discussed in Chapter 1, there are several reasons to expect racial differences in the effect of a drug arrest, which previous studies miss by using aggregate measures of arrest. First, unlike violent and property crimes,[15] the majority of drug arrests are for low-level victimless offenses like drug possession (Puzzanchera, 2013). In fact, recreational drug use is relatively common among youth, regardless of their race or class (Johnston et al., 2011). The result is that, compared to violent and property offenders, youth arrested for drug-related charges more often have limited prior delinquent and criminal behaviors, and are not necessarily on a path of subsequent criminal offending (Benson et al., 1992; Resignato, 2000). However, *who* is arrested for a drug offense is strongly influenced by race (Fellner, 2009). I argue that this selection bias in

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[15] Violent, property, and drug arrests comprise the three largest types of juvenile arrests (Uniform Crime Statistics, 1990-2010)

arrests, fueled largely by racial profiling (racially biased police surveillance, stop-and-frisk checks, etc.), is unique to drug arrests and drug enforcement, and leads to disparate impacts of an arrest along racial lines.

The decision to stop, question, and arrest someone for drugs is often left to the discretion of police officers (Beckett et al., 2005), who are more likely to make a drug arrest, net of other factors, when the suspect looks Black or phenotypically darker (White, 2015). Over-policing in Black and Latino neighborhoods and discriminatory stops and arrests (Gelman et al., 2012) have led to significant racial disparities in drug arrests. White youth report higher rates of drug use and sale, yet Black youth are five times and Latino youth three times more likely to get arrested (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics 2010).

This ever-present risk of unwarranted stops, searches, and arrests for minor offenses (i.e., drug possession) among Black and phenotypically darker Latino youth means that even youth with minimal delinquent involvement run the risk of getting arrested (see Lundman & Kaufman, 2003). In contrast, White youth are targeted less frequently and arrested only if their behaviors are serious and obvious enough to garner police attention. Even when caught with drugs, White youth are more likely to get a "pass" from police officers (Alpert et al., 2005). Therefore, White drug arrestees are more likely to be youth who are highly involved in prior delinquent behavior and may already perform poorly in school. *Therefore, according to Racial Profiling Selection theory, I expect significant characteristic differences between White, Black, and Latino youth with drug arrests–where White drug arrestees have higher rates of delinquent behavior and lower levels of school performance than Black and Latino drug arrestees (Hypothesis 1).*

A juvenile drug arrest, therefore, may be less damaging for White youth, who may already be on a pathway towards dropout regardless of an arrest. This falls in line with the

predictions of propensity theories, where early behavior traits, like delinquency, explain any effect a juvenile arrest has on educational attainment, because arrested youth were already on a pathway towards educational failure. Conversely, Black and dark-skinned Latino drug arrestees are more likely to have minimal involvement in criminal and delinquent behaviors, and may not be on the same pathway as White drug arrestees. *Accordingly, I expect that for White youth, the effect of a drug arrest on high school dropout will be explained by prior delinquency and academic performance, but that this will not be true for Black or Latino youth (Hypothesis 2).*

Other theoretical frameworks may explain the relationship between an arrest and dropout rates for Black and Latino youth. Some scholars challenge propensity theories and argue that a juvenile arrest imposes a direct negative impact on high school dropout rates. These theories predict that labels or stigmas after an arrest can "type" or "cast" youth as "essentially" deviant, even if the youth is an otherwise non-deviant youth (Garfinkel 1956; Lemert 1951; Matza 1969; Paternoster and Lovanni 1989; Scheff 1966). This deviant label/stigma can take on a "master" status that can affect the way youth are treated by adults and peers, lead to sudden blocked opportunities, like exclusion in school and in youths' communities, and lead youth to develop a self-deviant concept (Lemert, 1951; Matsueda, 1992). This, in turn, can lead to increased delinquency, truancy, poor school performance, and disengagement from school, which all increase the likelihood of dropping out (Finn, 1989; Jimerson et al., 2002).

This negative stigma after a drug arrest may matter more for Black and Latino youth for several reasons. First, prior studies find that the negative impact of labeling (after an arrest) on educational attainment is contingent on prior delinquency and criminal behavior (Nagin & Waldfogel, 1995; Sweeten, 2006). Youth with lower levels of delinquent involvement are more likely to suffer the damaging effects of a criminal stigma after an arrest, whereas youth with

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higher levels of delinquency are less impacted by the stigma of an arrest. Other scholars argue that Black and Latino youth have fewer means to counteract the stigmatizing effects of involvement in the justice system and shield them from the negative educational consequences of an arrest, compared to more advantaged White youth (Sampson & Laub, 1997). However, some scholars suggest that White arrestees are more vulnerable to stigma after an arrest, because they are more advantaged and have more to lose (Hannon, 2003). These scholars argue that Black and Latino youth face more structural barriers to educational attainment, so there is less of an educational penalty after an arrest. Furthermore, since Black and Latino youth are more likely to have frequent police encounters in their schools and neighborhoods, an arrest is normalized for them, and less impactful. Despite these latter arguments, there's greater evidence for more detrimental impact among racially disadvantaged youth.

Black and Latino youth may also experience higher levels of anxiety and trauma after an arrest, since they are more likely to experience more frequent police contact and police brutality (Geller et al., 2014). The current Black Lives Matter movement highlights the pervasiveness of racial profiling and the excessive use of police brutality and violence towards Black youth. These experiences can have negative impacts on mental health and other psycho-social outcomes, which can lead to dropout through lowered educational performance and expectations, as well as weakened school and community bonds (Battin-Pearson et al., 2000). *Taken together, I hypothesize that the effect of a drug arrest on the likelihood of dropping out of high school will be more damaging for Black and Latino youth than for White youth. (Hypothesis 3).*

There may be differences, however, in the impact of an arrest among Latino youth, given that they are a racially heterogeneous group, including youth who are racialized as Black, White, and "other." Skin tone (phenotype) impacts racial profiling for Latinos, and darker-skinned

Latinos are stopped and arrested more often than lighter-skinned members of the same group (White, 2015). In his study of Oakland youth, Rios (2011) finds that although Black and Latino boys were criminalized in similar ways after an arrest, light-skinned Latino youth were afforded second chances more often, and gained respect from teachers and police once they changed their behavior and dress style. Black youth and darker-phenotype Latino youth, however, still faced criminalization, even after they changed their behavior and dressed more formally. Therefore, in this study, I break down Latinos by phenotype, and *I hypothesize that the effect of an arrest for light skinned Latinos will be similar to the effect for White youth, while the effect for darker-skinned Latinos is akin to the effect for Black youth (Hypothesis 4).* This also supports the claims of Racial Profiling Selection Theory, given that phenotype is driving the decision to arrest and criminalize Latino youth.

There are other possible mechanisms that may explain why Black and Latino youth may also be more likely to drop out of high school after a drug arrest, beyond mechanisms linked to Racial Profiling Selection Theory. Racial biases in processing and sentencing after an arrest may be one explanation given that Black and Latino youth are more likely to experience longer processing times, more time away from school, a higher likelihood of a drug conviction, and harsher sentencing (McCord, Widom, & Crowell, 2001). If the negative effect of an arrest is the result of biases in conviction, rather than the result of the arrest itself, then accounting for the effect of conviction should explain any racial differences in the impacts of a drug arrest on dropout rates.

Scholars also argue that low-income youth suffer greater educational consequences after an arrest, because they have less access to the necessary financial and social resources to avoid the negative labeling of an arrest (Sampson & Laub, 1997). Given that the majority of drug

enforcement in the United States is concentrated in low-income Black and Latino neighborhoods (Beckett et al., 2005), Black and Latino drug arrestees youth may experience more negative impacts simply because they are more likely come from low-income households. By accounting for the effects of low-income background, I can assure that racial differences in the effects of a drug arrest is not simply a result of class differences among youth. According to these other possible mechanisms, I hypothesize that *any racial differences in the effect of a drug arrest on high school dropout are explained by racial biases in post-arrest processing/ conviction or class differences, rather than racial biases in drug arrests and characteristic differences among youth (Hypothesis 5).*

In sum, there are several possible mechanisms that may be driving racial differences in the impact of a drug arrest that do not exist for other types of juvenile arrests. While I cannot test every mechanism (e.g., labeling theory, psychological trauma), the findings of this study can decipher whether a drug arrest derails the high school trajectories of White, Black, and Latino youth differently, and illuminate whether selection biases rooted in racial profiling underlie these differing impacts.

**Analysis Plan**

To determine whether characteristic differences exist for youth across arrest types and racial groups, I will first run a descriptive analysis of my sample, separated by race and arrest type. To test whether the effects of a first drug arrest on dropout rates vary for White, Latino, and Black youth, I run a weighted logistic regression and include interaction terms for race and arrest.[16] Next, I run predicted probabilities and separate analyses by race to explore how the

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[16] I present the findings for logistic regressions with interactions for race and arrest type in place of other fitting analysis strategies (e.g. propensity score matching) because regression interactions are a more rigorous test of comparisons across groups. The results of propensity score matching (PSM) match the findings presented here (see Appendix F and G). PSM, however, reveals that the effects are more pronounced for Black youth, but they do not

impact and processes of a drug arrest may vary for youth from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Finally, I run separate analyses for Latino youth and include interactions for phenotype to nuance the differential impacts that may exist for this racially and phenotypically heterogeneous group.

## Results

Table 3.1 shows the percentages or means of the key outcome variable (high school dropout) and the individual characteristic variables, by race and arrest type, with chi-square tests. First, there are significant racial differences among drug arrestees, where Black youth have the highest dropout rate (36%), followed by Latino youth (32%), while White youth have the lowest dropout rate (27%) (p<.05). Descriptively, this finding challenges the view that an arrest has similar negative impacts on the high school trajectories of White, Latino, and Black. Looking at other types of arrest, there are no significant racial differences across racial groups. This supports previous research that finds no racial differences in the impact of an arrest on high school dropout for aggregate measures of arrest. White youth also have similar dropout rates, regardless of arrest type (27%). Together, these statistically non-significant racial differences may be driving the findings of previous studies that find no racial differences in the impact of an arrest for high school dropout.

(TABLE 3.1 ABOUT HERE)

*Characteristic Differences among Arrested Youth*

Next, I turn to the individual characteristics of arrested and non-arrested youth to address the first research question–whether the predictions of Racial Profiling Theory are correct and

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separate models for Black, White, and Latino youth to assess what factors and variables explain the effect for different racial groups.

Black and Latino youth with drug arrests are characteristically different than White youth with a drug arrest, as well as youth arrested for other crimes.[17] In terms of school performance, there are more significant racial differences among drug arrestees than among youth arrested for other offenses. Black youth who were arrested for a drug offense report have, on average, higher rates of early college expectations (3.97) than White and Latino drug arrestees. Although White drug arrestees appear to have a higher 9th grade GPA (2.27) than Black and Latino youth arrested for drugs (2.05 and 2.10 respectively), it is important to note differences from same race non-arrested youth. The GPA of white drug arrestees is 0.48 points lower than White non-arrestees, while the difference for Latinos is 0.33 points, and for Black arrestees the difference is only 0.12. While all of these differences are significant, the small difference among Black, and to some extent Latino, youth highlights how drug arrestees are more similar to non-arrested youth than White youth drug arrestees, and may not be on a path for educational failure. Furthermore, these gaps are not as obvious for other types of arrests, highlighting the unique selection process for drug arrests. Similarly, there are no racial differences in terms of school attachment for youth with other arrests, but Black youth with drug arrests have higher levels of school attachment than White and Latino youth with drug arrests.

In terms of school sanctions, White youth have lower rates of suspension and expulsion (49% and 15% respectively) than Latino (50% and 17%) and Black youth (57% and 18%). There are similar stark racial differences among both non-arrestees and youth arrested for other types of arrests. This supports prior research that shows that Black and Latino youth face more school sanctions than White youth, even after taking delinquent behavior into account. Given that White youth with drug arrests report higher rates of impulsivity, delinquency, drug use, and drug sale

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[17] Table 3.1 shows descriptives for key background variables motivated by the theoretical frameworks discussed earlier. Appendix C shows descriptives for other background variables (demographics and family background) by race and arrest type.

(see below) it is striking that they have significantly lower rates of suspension and expulsion. This supports the notion that White youth must exhibit behaviors that are more noticeably delinquent in order to get sanctioned, both by the criminal justice system and by school officials.

Looking next at behavioral variables, we see significant racial differences in impulsive behaviors among drug arrestees that are not evident among other arrest types. White drug offenders reported more impulsive behaviors (3.90), while Black (3.82) and Latino youth (3.73) report significantly less impulsivity. There are also significant racial differences in delinquency rates for drug arrestees that are not evident among youth with other types of arrests. Among drug arrestees, Black youth report the lowest delinquency rate (0.38) among all arrested youth, followed by Latino youth (0.53). White drug offenders have the highest delinquency rate for both groups of arrestees (0.60). There are similar patterns for drug use and drug sales, where Black and Latino youth arrested for drugs are significantly less likely to use or sell drugs, compared to White drug arrestees. These findings lend support to the Racial Profiling Selection Theory, according to which Black, and to some extent Latino, youth, arrested for drugs have lower rates of prior delinquent behaviors than White youth. The fact that a much larger portion of Black youth arrested for drugs reported no drug use or drug sale underscores how Black youth bear the brunt of drug enforcement. We see significantly less racial differences in these behavior variables among other arrestees, highlighting how drug enforcement specifically leads to a racialized selection bias. In terms of differences in formal juvenile sanctions after a youth's first arrest, surprisingly, White drug arrestees have the highest conviction rate (42%) compared to Latino (31%) and Black (38%) drug arrestees. Therefore, conviction may not be driving the racial differences in dropout rates among this group.

Taken together, the descriptive findings reveal higher levels of racial differences in both academic performance and behavior variables among drug arrestees. As hypothesized (*Hypothesis 1)* White drug arrestees have higher rates of delinquent behavior and lower levels of school performance than Black and Latino drug arrestees. Given these differences, Black and Latino youth with drug arrests should be less likely to drop out of high school since they exhibit better academic indicators and lower rates of delinquent behaviors overall. Therefore, their higher dropout rates suggest that the arrest itself may be derailing their educational trajectories, whereas White youth with drug arrests may already be on a path of educational failure given their academic and delinquent indicators. Next, I turn to the logistic regression and predicted probabilities to test whether the consequences of an arrest are, in fact, more pronounced for Black and Latino drug arrestees than for White youth arrested for drugs.

## *Racial Differences in the Impact of an Arrest*

To test for racial differences in the effect of an arrest, I run regression models, which include all controls, for the likelihood of dropping out of high school, and include interaction effects for arrest type and race (See Appendix D). The results of this analysis are summarized in Figure 3.1, which focuses on drug arrests, because I find no significant racial differences in the effect of other arrest types.[18] The results support the predictions of Racial Profiling Selection Theory, in which the only statistically significant interaction effect is for Black youth with drug arrests, who are significantly more likely to drop out than their non-arrested Black peers (12% vs. 2%).[19]

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[18] I ran a separate set of analyses where I broke down "other arrest types" into violent, property, and other arrest types, and included interaction effects for each arrest type. I did not find any statistical differences across different racial or ethnic groups, which confirms that racially different effects are unique to drug arrests.

[19] I ran the same model (available upon request) with Latino youth as the reference group, and found similar results, with Black drug arrestees being significantly more impacted by a drug arrest than Latino youth.

Since Black drug arrestees had the lowest levels of delinquency among all arrestees, these findings are consistent with previous research showing that an arrest is more detrimental to youth with minimal prior delinquency. These results also contrast the findings of previous research, which cites no racial differences in the impact of an arrest on the likelihood of dropping out of high school, and highlights how aggregate measures of arrest mask important racial differences that only exist for certain types of arrest.

(FIGURE 3.1 ABOUT HERE)

While these results tell us that the effects of a drug arrest are more detrimental to the educational trajectories of Black youth, they do not tell us why White or Latino drug arrestees are not negatively affected by a drug arrest. To address this, I ran separate models by race to examine whether certain variables explain the lack of significant effects for White and Latino drug offenders (Table 3.2). I include three models for each group: the first only includes the main effect of a juvenile arrest and basic demographic controls, the second model includes behavior variables, which will illuminate whether delinquent behaviors alone explain the negative impact of an arrest on some youth and not others. The last model includes the remaining variables: academic performance measures (which assess whether academics are driving dropout), family background (which allows us to differentiate the impact of class from race), and conviction (which allows us to assess whether post-arrest biases are driving the results).

(TABLE 3.2 ABOUT HERE)

In Model 1 for White youth, the effects of both a first-time juvenile drug arrest and other arrest increase the odds of dropping out approximately threefold. In Model 2, I introduce behavioral variables, and the effect of a drug arrest decreases and loses significance. Consistent with *Hypothesis 2,* this means that the relationship between arrest and dropout is spurious for

White drug offenders. This also supports the predictions of propensity theories that White drug offenders are more involved in delinquent and criminal behaviors, and on a path of educational failure regardless of an arrest. In the third model, all other variables are introduced, and the impact of other arrests remains significant.

For Latino youth, the effects of both arrest types are significant in Model 1, although the magnitude for drug arrests is larger. Introducing behavior variables in Model 2 does not account for the effect of a drug arrest, but the addition of the remaining variables in Model 3 does. Additional analyses (not shown here) reveal that phenotype, $9^{th}$ grade GPA, and school expulsions explain the effect of a drug arrest for Latino youth. To some extent, this supports the prediction that Latino youth comprise a racially mixed population with varying experiences, driven to some degree by the color of their skin. I explore this further in the next section.

For Black youth, the effects of both arrest types on the likelihood of dropping out are also significant; however, the effects of a drug arrest is significantly larger in magnitude (4.179) than the effect of a drug arrest for Latino (3.346) and White youth (3.514). Although the effect of a drug arrest decreases slightly when behavior variables are added in Model 2, it remains significant, even when the remaining variables are introduced in Model 3. Contrary to *Hypothesis 5,* low-income background is not significant in the final model, which means that the negative effect of a drug arrest for Black youth is not driven by class differences. Also, the lack of significance for convictions in the full model for Black youth underscores the damaging impact of an arrest, above and beyond an actual conviction. Therefore, consistent with *Hypothesis 3,* I find that the effect of a drug arrest is more damaging for Black youth.

Additionally, in the full models (Model 3) for each group, I find that other arrest types significantly increase the likelihood of dropout for White, Latino, and Black youth, highlighting

the lack of racial differences in the impact of other juvenile arrest types. This finding supports previous research that aggregate arrest types and show no racial differences in the impact of an arrest on high school dropout.

*Phonotypical Differences among Latino Youth*

Given that phenotype plays a significant role in the process of criminalization and racialization, and is an important component of racial profiling in law enforcement, I provide a brief breakdown of ascribed phenotypes of the Latino youth in the sample to help illuminate the findings in this study. The average phenotype classification of the Latino sample (1.72) is significantly darker than White youth with drug arrests (1.04), but lighter than Black arrestees (3.69) (see Table 2.1). This means that the effect I find in the previous section for Latino youth may actually be a result of racial heterogeneity. Latinos with different racial phenotypes may be experiencing different effects. I broke down the phenotype of Latino youth by arrest type, and find that Latino youth who had no arrest had the lightest phenotype (1.68), while Latino youth with a drug arrest had the darkest phenotype (1.92) (results not shown). This supports previous research that finds darker-skinned Latinos are stopped and arrested more often than lighter-skinned members of the same group (White 2015). That Latino drug arrestees also have darker phenotypes (1.92) than Latinos arrested for other crimes (1.84) speaks to the racialization of drug enforcement in particular and the significance of racially profiling for this type of arrest.

(FIGURE 3.2 ABOUT HERE)

To test whether the effect of an arrest varies for Latino youth by their phenotype, I present predicted probabilities of dropout in Figure 3.2 (based on logistic regression models for high school dropout with interactions for phenotype and arrest type; see Appendix E). In these models, I collapse Latino youth who were ascribed brown or black skin, and Latino youth who

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were ascribed white, light brown, and medium brown skin, because of the small cell sizes within each phenotype category. The results show a significant interaction for dark-skinned Latino youth who had a drug arrest, net of all controls. Consistent with *Hypothesis 4,* the results for light-skinned Latinos resemble the results in Figure 3.1 for White respondents, where I find little consequence for drug arrest. However, for dark-skinned Latino youth, a drug arrest increases their probability of dropping out from 5% to 10%. While these probabilities are not as large as the effect of drug arrest for Black youth, they still indicate that darker-skinned youth experience more detrimental impacts of a drug arrest. This finding lends further support to the predictions of Racial Profiling Selection Theory: That the impact of a drug arrest is uniquely negative for racialized and marginalized youth.

## Discussion

Two broad conclusions can be drawn from this chapter. First, there are significant racial differences in the characteristics of drug arrestees that do not exist for other types of arrest. Among drug arrestees, Black youth, and to a lesser extent Latino youth, have significantly lower rates of prior delinquency and criminal behaviors than White youth. The results are consistent with Racial Profiling Selection Theory, which argues that despite similar rates of drug use and sale, Black youth, due to racial profiling, are more likely to be arrested for drug offenses than White youth. As a result, Blacks who are arrested for drugs are often youth with minimal prior delinquent and criminal behavior. In contrast, White youth who are arrested for drugs tend to be those who engage in more criminal and delinquent behaviors.

Second, the effect of a first-time drug arrest during high school is more detrimental for the high school dropout outcomes of Black youth than White or Latino youth. Drug arrests have weaker effects for Latinos, but are explained to some extent by the heterogeneous racialized

experiences among this group–where darker-skinned Latinos experience more damaging impacts of a drug arrest than lighter-skinned Latinos. Contrary to prior research showing that a juvenile arrest negatively impacts youth of all racial backgrounds (Hjalmarsson, 2008; Kirk & Sampson, 2013; Sweeten, 2006), I show that a drug arrest has no bearing on the likelihood of graduating from high school for White youth, once delinquent behaviors are taken into account. These findings support Racial Profiling Selection Theory, which argues that the result of racially biased drug enforcement is that most White youth who are arrested for drugs were already on a path towards high school dropout and delinquency. These findings also address the theoretical debate regarding the spurious vs. non-spurious effects of a juvenile arrest on high school dropout. Based on the findings in this study, I argue that propensity theories' predictions of a spurious effect *are* correct, but only for White youth with drug arrests.

While the current study cannot address the specific processes involved for these youth, prior theorists have argued that the negative impact of an arrest may be more pronounced for racially disadvantaged groups who have less protective social, human, and financial capital with which to bargain their way out of stigmatization and delinquent tracking in school (Sampson and Laub 1997). Previous research also shows that juvenile arrests are more consequential for youth who are less involved in delinquency (Sweeten 2006). Therefore, one possible explanation for these findings is that Black and phenotypically darker Latino youth who are arrested for drugs are youth who are not on the same "delinquent" or criminal pathway as White drug arrestees. These youth may have completed high school, but their pathways towards educational success were derailed by the negative stigma, or "mark," after an arrest (Rios 2011). Future research should address more concretely *why* drug arrest affects Black adolescents differently than it affects other racial groups.

This study builds on previous quantitative research that uses aggregate measures of juvenile arrest and fails to find any racial differences in the effect of a juvenile arrest on high school dropout groups (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; De Li, 1999; Sweeten, 2006). This study disaggregates by arrest types and finds racial differences among drug arrestees only. These results, however, do not contradict the findings of prior research. The results in this study show no racial differences in the effect of other arrest types, even after breaking down other arrests into more specific categories (see footnote #18). Therefore, the racial differences in the effect of an arrest on high school dropout among drug arrestees is masked in previous studies by the use of aggregate measures of arrest.

The results also reveal that, surprisingly, White youth with drug arrests have higher rates of conviction than Black and Latino drug arrestees. This contradicts the findings of previous studies, which show Black and Latino youth are more likely to be convicted after an arrest. This finding supports the selection bias claims of Racial Profiling Selection Theory, because White youth who are arrested for drug arrests are more likely to have committed a drug offense than Black and Latino youth. Furthermore, racial differences in the impact of a drug arrest are not explained by differences in conviction. This underscores how the arrest itself is more traumatic for Black and darker-skinned Latino youth, who are more likely to experience police brutality, excessive force, and a consequential social stigma after an arrest.

These findings on the deleterious effects of drug arrests for Black youth suggest another way in which racial inequality is reproduced for Black Americans, and speaks to a larger phenomenon regarding the nature of contemporary racism structures. That a drug arrest carries the most detrimental consequential for Black youth (even compared to dark-phenotype Latino youth) supports theories of Black Exceptionalism (Sears, Citrin, Cheleden, & Van Laar, 1999):

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In terms of opportunities and obstacles, the pathway to achieving success distinctly differs for Blacks, who continuously remain the most disadvantaged, given the nearly impermeable color line they have historically confronted. The findings also suggest that Blackness continues to constitute a fundamental racial construction in American society. Therefore, it is not simply that race matters for the effects of a juvenile arrest, as Sampson and Laub (1997) predict, but more specifically, that *Black* race matters. These implications are discussed more in Chapter 6.

The results of this chapter also highlight the consequences of vastly different policing among Black, White, and Latino youth. It highlights that by treating youthful mistakes like drug use differently, most White youth who do drugs never experience this negative consequence because most are not arrested. This chapter moves beyond previous studies that focus solely on racial biases in the *rates* of juvenile drug arrests, and examines the *effects* of juvenile drug arrests. The findings suggest that estimates of the consequences of drug arrests, and more broadly, the War on Drugs, underestimate the impact on racial disparities, because not only are Black youth much more likely to be arrested than Latino and White youth for drug-related charges (Fellner, 2009), but a drug arrest strongly affects their life chances.

Finally, the deleterious effects of drug arrests on dropout rates for Black and Latino youth may carry significant long-term consequences. Dropping out of high school serves as a critical early marker in the transition to adulthood, carrying long-term consequences for a host of life outcomes, including unemployment, family instability, health consequences, and recidivism (Sum et al., 2009). Since Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth are more likely to drop out after a drug arrest, this may result in cumulative disadvantages, given that dropping out carries more social costs for them (Western, 2006). For example, only 39% of Black high school dropouts are employed at age 19, compared to 60% of white and Latino dropouts (Bureau of

Labor Statistics, 2006). Furthermore, 59% of Black male high school dropouts experience imprisonment by age 34 compared to only 11% of White dropouts (Pettit & Western, 2004). These blocked opportunities, combined with the higher potential of imprisonment, could send youth down a vicious cycle of unemployment and recidivism in adulthood. The subsequent two chapters address some of this, and build on the findings of this chapter by examining whether the negative effects of a drug arrest extend to college enrollment and unemployment in adulthood.

Table 3.1. Percentages and Means of High School Dropout and Individual Characteristic Variables, by Juvenile Arrest Type and Race
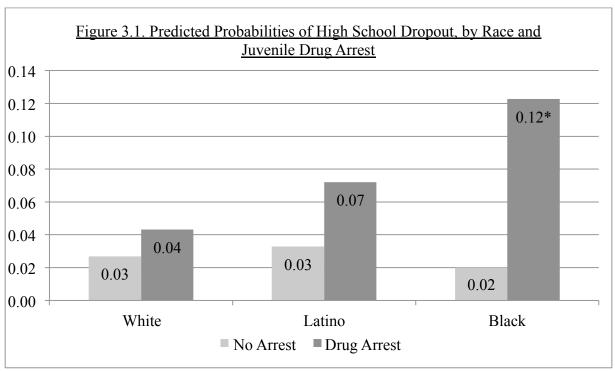
| | No Arrest | | | Drug | | | Other | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black |
| **Independent Variable:** | | | | | | | | | |
| High School Dropout | 10.70% bl* | 18.66% wb* | 14.52% wl* | 27.31% bl | 32.28% wb | 36.18% wl | 27.02% | 29.92% * | 29.08% * |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1):** | | | | | | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 4.23 l* | 3.99 wb* | 4.26 l* | 3.75 bl | 3.55 wb | 3.97 wl | 3.71 l* | 3.50 wb* | 3.71 l* |
| | (1.13) | (1.14) | (1.09) | (1.378) | (1.26) | (1.17) | (1.30) | (1.34) | (1.20) |
| 9th Grade GPA | 2.75 bl* | 2.38 wb* | 2.22 wl* | 2.27 bl | 2.05 wb | 2.10 wl | 2.28 bl | 1.98 wb* | 1.85 wl* |
| | (0.85) | (0.88) | (0.87) | (0.88) | (0.83) | (0.84) | (0.92) | (0.91) | (0.95) |
| School Attachment Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 3.80 | 3.77 | 3.78 | 3.47 b | 3.49 b | 3.61 wl | 3.57 * | 3.66 * | 3.60 |
| | (0.87) | (0.83) | (0.86) | (0.78) | (0.89) | (0.94) | (0.90) | (0.84) | (0.90) |
| School Suspension(s) | 17.53% bl* | 25.87% wb* | 42.26% wl* | 48.59% bl | 49.74% wb | 57.45% wl | 52.43% bl* | 55.62% wb* | 70.68% wl* |
| School Expulsion(s) | 4.27% bl* | 5.62% wb* | 10.39% wl* | 15.44% bl | 17.05% w | 18.27% w | 11.46% bl* | 18.84% w* | 20.68% w* |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Impulsivity Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 3.77 bl* | 3.86 wb* | 3.92 wl* | 3.90 bl | 3.73 wb | 3.82 wl | 3.85 | 3.87 * | 3.98 * |
| | (0.59) | (0.61) | (0.57) | (0.61) | (0.64) | (0.60) | (0.65) | (0.61) | (0.60) |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 0.26 bl* | 0.30 wb* | 0.26 wl* | 0.60 bl | 0.53 wb | 0.38 wl | 0.51 l* | 0.58 wb* | 0.49 l* |
| | (0.30) | (0.35) | (0.29) | (0.42) | (0.63) | (0.42) | (0.49) | (0.56) | (0.46) |
| Drug Use | 25.32% b* | 26.96% b* | 21.39% wl* | 62.22% bl | 55.73% wb | 51.81% wl | 53.21% bl* | 55.49% wb* | 39.38% wl* |
| Drug Sale | 4.75% l* | 6.91% wb* | 5.13% l* | 30.25% b | 30.85% b | 28.04% wl | 18.39% l* | 22.45% wb* | 16.23% l* |
| **Other Juvenile Justice Involvement** | | | | | | | | | |
| Juvenile Conviction | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 41.61% bl | 31.74% wb | 38.64% wl | 38.40% bl* | 35.49% w* | 44.53% w* |
| N | 4429 | 1156 | 1484 | 126 | 48 | 131 | 547 | 234 | 243 |

Notes: chi2 test results shown, w = significantly different from whites at p < .05; b = significantly different from blacks at p < .05; l = significantly different from Latinos at p < .05; * = significantly different from same-race drug-arrestees at p < .05.

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Table 3.2. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on High School Dropout, Separate Models by Race
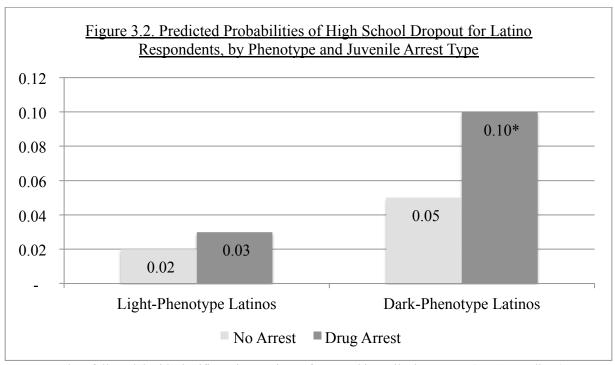
| | White | | | Latino | | | Black | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Drug | 3.514 ** | 1.519 | 1.153 | 3.346 * | 3.051 * | 1.857 | 4.179 ** | 4.091 ** | 5.191 * |
| Other | 3.603 *** | 2.032 ** | 1.399 * | 2.025 * | 1.724 * | 1.529 * | 2.811 ** | 2.208 ** | 1.607 ** |
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 1.036 | 1.360 * | 1.397 * | 1.250 | | 1.440 | 1.192 | | 1.260 |
| Age | 0.888 ** | 0.883 * | 1.516 ** | 0.813 * | | 0.838 ** | 0.822 ** | | 0.813 ** |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 0.975 | 0.935 | 0.982 | 1.345 | | 1.953 * | 1.287 | | 1.085 |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | | | | | | | | |
| HS Diploma/GED | | | 0.416 * | | | 1.474 | | | 0.612 * |
| Some College | | | 0.360 * | | | 0.675 | | | 0.539 * |
| BA Degree or more | | | 0.280 *** | | | 0.307 *** | | | 0.259 *** |
| Low-Income Household | | | 1.698 ** | | | 1.639 * | | | 1.231 |
| Two Parents Home | | | 0.695 * | | | 0.961 | | | 0.769 |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1):** | | | | | | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | | | 0.795 ** | | | 0.929 | | | 0.768 ** |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | | | 0.373 *** | | | 0.208 *** | | | 0.376 *** |
| School Attachment Scale (1=low, 5=high) | | | 0.850 * | | | 0.508 ** | | | 1.150 |
| School Suspension(s) | | 2.965 *** | 1.709 ** | | 1.018 | 1.356 * | | 1.598 * | 0.999 |
| School Expulsion(s) | | 4.742 *** | 2.985 *** | | 3.143 *** | 2.882 ** | | 4.838 *** | 3.889 *** |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Impulsivity Scale (1=low, 5=high) | | 0.893 | 0.968 | | 1.152 | 1.721 * | | 1.093 | 1.118 |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | | 1.470 * | 1.257 * | | 0.867 | 1.301 | | 2.086 * | 1.879 |
| Drug Use | | 1.484 ** | 1.139 * | | 1.933 | 0.968 | | 1.106 | 1.089 |
| Drug Sale | | 0.958 | 0.854 | | 0.904 | 0.989 | | 0.716 | 0.956 |
| **Other Juvenile Justice Involvement** | | | | | | | | | |
| Juvenile Conviction | | | 1.066 | | | 1.896 * | | | 1.572 |
| N | 5,102 | 5,102 | 5,102 | 1,438 | 1,438 | 1,438 | 1,858 | 1,858 | 1,858 |

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Figure 3.1. Predicted Probabilities of High School Dropout, by Race and Juvenile Drug Arrest

Note: Based on full model with significant interactions of race and juvenile drug arrest (see Appendix D).
N = 8,398
Significance Tests for Racial Differences: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001



Figure 3.2. Predicted Probabilities of High School Dropout for Latino Respondents, by Phenotype and Juvenile Arrest Type

Note: Based on full model with significant interactions of race and juvenile drug arrest (see Appendix E).
N = 1,438
Significance Tests for Racial Differences: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

# CHAPTER FOUR:

# THE RACIALLY DISPARATE EFFECTS OF DRUG ARRESTS

# ON COLLEGE ENROLLMENT

Chapter 3 provides evidence for the first prediction of Racial Profiling Selection Theory (RPST): that racial profiling in drug enforcement results in a racially biased selection process for drug arrestees, where Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth are characteristically different than White drug arrestees and other arrestees. Chapter 3 also illustrated that these differences shape the way an arrest impacts their high school trajectories, where Black and Latino youth experience more detrimental effects because they were less delinquent prior to the arrest. This chapter extends these findings, lending further support to RPST, by examining if and how the racially biased detrimental impacts of a juvenile drug arrest also impact college enrollment–a significant stepping stone in the transition to adulthood (Montgomery & Côté, 2003).

College enrollment serves as an important transition in the lives of youth, and it can alter their life trajectories in a number of arenas (Sampson & Laub, 1997). Youth who attend even some college have higher lifelong earnings, and are less likely to experience unemployment, job instability, poverty, and incarceration in adulthood (S. Baum & Payea, 2005). Attending college is an especially important "turning point" in the lives of delinquent youths, on par with marriage or employment (Sampson & Laub, 1990), and education, in particular post-secondary education, is strongly correlated with desistance from crime (Kellam, 2007). The benefits of attending college are also greater for Black youth, despite the fact that they are the least likely to attend college (Brand & Xie, 2010). Most research on the educational consequences of contact with the

juvenile justice system focuses on high school completion (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; De Li, 1999; Hannon, 2003; Sweeten, 2006). However, the negative impacts of a juvenile arrest may also extend beyond high school, especially for those youth who do not drop out. Given the importance of a college education for future employment and earnings, it is imperative to understand to what extent arrest influences this aspect of the transition to adulthood, and whether this influence is more pronounced for racially disadvantaged youth who most need the advantages of a college education.

As discussed in prior chapters, I argue that arrest type and race are crucial in understanding the impact of a juvenile arrest on the educational outcomes of youth. One reason is the selection bias I discuss under Racial Profiling Selection Theory, where the "net" of drug arrests is cast more widely for Black and Latino youth, who are therefore more likely to be youth who do not otherwise engage in serious criminal and delinquent behavior (Chapter 3). In contrast, the "net" of arrests is cast more narrowly for White youth, and therefore, White youth who *are* arrested are more likely to be youth who engage in criminal and delinquent behaviors serious enough to garner police attention. Since the negative impact of a juvenile arrest on educational attainment is more pronounced for less delinquent youth (Sweeten, 2006), Black and Latino drug arrestees' college outcomes may suffer more from an arrest.

Disaggregating by arrest type is also important for college enrollment, because drug offenders are also the only offenders denied educational benefits for college (Wheelock & Uggen, 2006). Without financial aid, many prospective students will not enroll in college (Lovenheim & Owens, 2014), and because Black and Latino youth are more likely to be convicted of a drug offense than White youth, these financial aid restrictions may explain the racial differences in the impact of a drug arrest on college enrollment.

## Background and Theoretical Framework

### *Previous Research*

As mentioned earlier, the majority of prior research on the educational consequences of juvenile justice involvement focuses on early educational outcomes such as high school dropout. One exception is Kirk and Sampson's (2013) study of Chicago Public School students, where they find a significant gap in four-year college enrollment between arrested and otherwise similar youth without a criminal record. While this study is informative, as it is the first to really examine the link between arrest and college enrollment, several important questions and challenges remain. First, the sample consists of only Chicago Public School students, and the results thereof, and are not generalizable. Second, this study does not look at differences across race and arrest type. This is surprising given the well-documented racial biases in the treatment of Black and Latino youth throughout the criminal justice process. Given the historical trend of the mistreatment of Black, and to some extent Latino, youth, both during and after an arrest by police officers, judges, schools, and community members (Petersilia, 1985), it is important to examine whether the effect of a juvenile arrest on educational attainment is more detrimental for minority youth than for White youth. Several scholars have called for such research (Hjalmarsson, 2008; Kirk & Sampson, 2013; Tanner et al., 1999), and the majority of studies that answered this call focus on high school dropout rates and conclude that the effect of a juvenile arrest does not vary across racial groups. According to these studies, all types of juvenile arrests similarly impact youth from all racial backgrounds. However, as Chapter 3 demonstrated, aggregate measures of arrest used by prior studies mask racial differences that exist for one particular type of arrest: drug arrests. Chapter 3 illustrated how the impact of a juvenile drug

arrest had significantly more damaging effects on the likelihood of dropping out of high school for Black and phenotypically darker Latino youth, than their White peers. This chapter builds on those findings to see if the racially disparate consequences of a drug arrest extend beyond high school and also impact the likelihood of enrolling in college.

The lack of empirical work examining the effect of a juvenile drug arrest on college enrollment is problematic, given that a drug offense is the only offense type that bans students from receiving financial aid for college. The limited research available is descriptive and only provides estimates of the number of prospective students affected by "tough on crime" drug policies designed to deny financial aid to drug offenders (Wheelock & Uggen, 2006). One exception is Lovenheim et al.'s (2014) study that finds that this law change had a large negative impact on the college attendance of students with drug convictions; however, rather than looking explicitly for racial differences regarding this negative impact, the authors looked only at urban and non-urban youth. Given that Black and Latino youth are much more likely to experience both a drug arrest and a conviction (McCord et al., 2001), it is imperative to consider racial background in an examination of the effect of drug convictions.

In addition to methodological gaps in the literature, this study also addresses theoretical gaps in the existing literature. There is a debate among scholars concerning *how* a juvenile arrest impacts the educational trajectories of youth. While most research finds that a juvenile arrest has a direct detrimental impact on the educational trajectories of youth (see Huizinga & Henry, 2008 for a review), other scholars contend that this effect is in fact spurious, where both arrest and not attending college are explained by prior behavior (e.g., high delinquency and low self-control). For example, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that external events, such as an arrest, do not impact educational attainment because they are both the product of a stable delinquent

propensity established earlier in life. According to these *propensity theories*, youth who get

arrested were never on a college-bound pathway, regardless of an arrest. This study adjudicates

among these competing hypotheses by examining racial differences in the ways different types

of juvenile arrests hinder the prospects of college enrollment.

*Why Arrest Type Matters: Racial Profiling Selection Theory*

Under RPST, discussed in prior chapters, I argue that compared to Black and Latino

youth, White youth are targeted less by law enforcement and are arrested for drugs only if their

behaviors are serious and obvious enough to garner police attention. Even when caught with

drugs, White youth are more likely to get a "pass" from police officers (Engel, Smith, & Cullen,

2012). Compared to drug arrests, other types of arrest (e.g., violent and property arrests) often

occur under different circumstances, where the decision to arrest is the result of a victim report

or police surveillance while a crime is happening (Smith, Visher, & Davidson, 1984). As Chapter

3 demonstrated, the result is that White youth who *are* actually arrested for drugs are more

delinquent than Black and Latino drug arrestees, perform more poorly in school, and are already

on a path of educational failure. A juvenile drug arrest, therefore, may be less damaging for

White youth who may not be on a college-bound pathway, regardless of an arrest. This falls in

line with the predictions propensity theories in which early behavior traits, like delinquency,

explain any effect a juvenile arrest has on educational attainment. *Accordingly, I expect that for*

*White youth, any effect of a drug arrest on college enrollment will be explained by prior*

*delinquency and academic performance (Hypothesis 1).*

Conversely, other theoretical frameworks may explain the relationship between an arrest

and college enrollment for Black and Latino youth. Some scholars challenge propensity theories

and argue that a juvenile arrest imposes a direct negative impact on the educational trajectories

of youth, even after taking prior delinquency and academic indicators into account (Sampson & Laub, 1997). These scholars point to the stigma or label imposed on youth after arrest, and argue that this criminalization can lead to the development of a deviant self-concept and sudden blocked opportunities, like exclusion in school and in youths' communities (Lemert, 1951; Matsueda, 1992). For example, counselors and teachers may avoid spending any institutional resources preparing and supporting students who they may view as criminally inclined and not "college material." Labeled youth may also experience a loss of support from family networks and peers, which may make the dream of attending college seem less tangible (Rios, 2011). An arrest can also serve as a key trajectory in shaping youths' expectations of future educational opportunities and achievement (Hjalmarsson, 2008; Kirk & Sampson, 2013; Tanner et al., 1999). These factors can lead to increased delinquency and truancy, poor school performance, and disengagement from school, which all decrease the likelihood of college enrollment (Finn, 1989; Jimerson, Anderson, & Whipple, 2002). Arrested youth may also opt out of the college path simply because they may not be able to compete against their non-arrested peers for college admissions. Given that more and more colleges and universities are performing criminal background checks, arrested youth may have significant disadvantages in the application process (D. Dickerson, 2007).

This negative stigma after an arrest may matter more for Black and Latino youth with drug arrests for several reasons. First, prior studies find that the negative impact of an arrest on educational attainment is contingent upon prior delinquency and criminal behavior (Nagin & Waldfogel, 1995; Sweeten, 2006). Youth with lower levels of delinquent involvement are more likely to suffer the damaging effects of a criminal stigma after an arrest, whereas youth with higher levels of delinquency are less impacted by the stigma of an arrest. Other scholars argue

that Black and Latino youth have fewer means with which to counteract the stigmatizing effects of justice system involvement and shield them from the negative educational consequences of an arrest, compared to more advantaged White youth (Sampson & Laub, 1997). For example, White youth may have greater access to the knowledge and resources necessary to expunge their juvenile records. However, there are some scholars who suggest that White arrestees are more vulnerable to stigma after an arrest, because they are more advantaged and have more to lose (Hannon, 2003; Streeter & Franklin, 1991). These scholars argue that Black and Latino youth face more structural barriers to educational attainment, so there is less of an educational penalty after an arrest. Furthermore, since Black and Latino youth are more likely to have frequent police encounters in their schools and neighborhoods, an arrest is normalized for them, and less impactful than for White youth. Despite these arguments, there's greater evidence in the literature for more detrimental impacts among racially disadvantaged youth.

Black and Latino youth may also experience higher levels of anxiety and trauma after an arrest since they are more likely to experience more frequent police contact and police brutality (Geller et al., 2014). The current "Black Lives Matter" movement highlights the pervasiveness of racial profiling and the excessive use of police brutality and violence towards Black youth. These experiences can have negative impacts on mental health and other psycho-social outcomes, which can lead to dropout through lowered educational performance and expectations, as well as weakened school and community bonds(Battin-Pearson et al., 2000). *Taken together, I hypothesize that the effect of a drug arrest on college enrollment will be more damaging for Black and Latino youth than for White youth (Hypothesis 2).*

There may also be differences in the impact of an arrest *among* Latino youth, given that they are a racially heterogeneous group, including youth who are racialized as Black, White, and

"other." Skin tone (phenotype) impacts racial profiling for Latinos, with darker-skinned Latinos are stopped and arrested more often than lighter-skinned members of the same group (White, 2015). In his study of Oakland youth, Rios (2011) finds that although Black and Latino boys were criminalized in similar ways after an arrest, light-skinned Latino youth afforded second chances more often, and gained respect from teachers and police once they changed their behavior and dress style. Black youth and darker-phenotype Latino youth, however, still faced criminalization, even after they changed their behavior and dressed more formally. Therefore, in this study, I break down Latinos by phenotype, and *I hypothesize that the effect of an arrest for light-skinned Latinos will be similar to White youth, while the effect for darker-skinned Latinos will be akin to the effect for Black youth (Hypothesis 3).* This also supports the claims of Racial Profiling Selection Theory, given that phenotype is driving the decision to arrest and criminalize Latino youth.

There are other possible mechanisms that may explain why Black and Latino youth may also be less likely to attend college after a drug arrest beyond mechanisms linked to Racial Profiling Selection Theory. Racial biases in processing and sentencing after an arrest may be one explanation, given that Black and Latino youth are more likely to experience longer processing times, more time away from school, a higher likelihood of a drug conviction, and harsher sentencing (McCord et al., 2001). If the perceived negative effect of an arrest is actually the result of racial biases in a subsequent conviction rather than the result of the arrest itself, then accounting for the effect of conviction should explain any racial differences in the negative impact of a drug arrest on college enrollment.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, convicted drug offenders are also the only offenders denied educational benefits. The Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended by the Higher

Education Act of 1998, suspended higher education benefits for those convicted of misdemeanor or felony drug charges (sale or possession of drugs). Denied benefits included student loans, Pell Grants, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, and Federal Work-Study (U.S. Government Accountability Office 2005). Without financial aid, some proportion of prospective students will not enroll in college (Lovenheim & Owens, 2014; Wheelock & Uggen, 2006). Given that Black and Latino youth are more likely to be convicted of a drug offense than Whites (McCord et al., 2001), these financial aid restrictions may explain racial differences in the impact of a drug arrest on college enrollment.

Along similar lines, some scholars argue that low-income youth suffer greater educational consequences after an arrest because they have less access to the necessary financial and social resources to avoid the negative labeling of an arrest (Sampson & Laub, 1997). This may be especially true for drug arrests and college enrollment since, as mentioned, students who have been arrested for drugs may be denied federal financial aid. Since the majority of drug enforcement is concentrated in low-income Black and Latino neighborhoods (Beckett et al., 2005), and Black and Latino youth are more likely to report college costs and financial aid offers as a decisive factor for attending college (Kim, 2004), then lack of financial aid may be more of a deterrent for Black and Latino youth intending to apply to or attend college. By accounting for the effects of a drug conviction and low-income background, I can conclude that any remaining racial differences in the effects of a drug arrest are not simply a result of class differences among youth or access to financial aid. According to these other possible mechanisms, I hypothesize that *any racial differences in the effect of a drug arrest on college enrollment are explained by racial biases in post-arrest processing/conviction or by class differences, rather than racial biases in drug arrests and characteristic differences among youth (Hypothesis 4).*

In sum, there are several possible mechanisms that may be driving racial differences in the impact of a drug arrest and a subsequent conviction that do not exist for other types of juvenile arrest. While I cannot test every mechanism (e.g., stigmatization, psychological trauma, college background checks, etc.), the findings of this study can decipher whether a drug arrest derails the college trajectories of White, Black, and Latino youth differently, and illuminate whether selection biases rooted in racial profiling underlie these differing impacts.

## Analysis Plan

To test whether the effects of a first-time drug arrest on college enrollment vary for White, Latino, and Black youth, I run a weighted logistic regression and include interaction terms for race and arrest.[20] Next, I run predicted probabilities and separate analyses by race to explore how the impact and processes of a drug arrest may vary for youth from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Finally, I run separate analyses for Latino youth and include interactions for phenotype to nuance the differential impacts that may exist for this racially and phenotypically heterogeneous group.

## Results

(TABLE 4.1 ABOUT HERE)

Table 4.1 shows the percentages or means of the key outcome variable (college enrollment) by race and arrest type, with chi-square tests. First, we see among all arrested youth, Black youth with drug arrests have the lowest rate of college attendance (37%) compared to all other arrested youth. White and Latino youth with a juvenile arrest (of any type) have slightly

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[20] I present the findings for logistic regressions with interactions for race and arrest type in place of other fitting analysis strategies (e.g., propensity score matching) because regression interactions are a more rigorous test of comparisons across groups. The results of propensity score matching (PSM) match the findings presented here (see Appendix J & K). PSM, however, reveals that the effects are more pronounced for Black and Latino youth, but they do not allow separate models for Black, White, and Latino youth to assess which factors and variables explain the effect for different racial groups.

higher rates of enrollment (47-48% for White youth, 41% for Latino youth), as well as Black

youth with other arrest types (44%). Descriptively, this suggests that while the impact of a

juvenile arrest on college enrollment may not vary by arrest type for White and Latino youth, a

drug arrest may be more damaging for Black youth than other types of arrest.

*Racial Differences in the Impact of an Arrest*

To test for racial differences in the effect of an arrest, I run regression models, which

include all controls, for the likelihood of attending college, and include interaction effects for

arrest type and race (See Appendix H).[21] The results of this analysis are summarized in Figure

4.1, which looks only at drug arrests, because I find no significant racial differences in the effect

of other arrest types.[22] The results support the predictions of Racial Profiling Selection Theory,

in which the only statistically significant interactions effect are for Black and Latino youth with

drug arrests, who are significantly less likely to attend college compared to their non-arrested

same-race peers (Latino youth 65% vs. 75%, Black youth 50% vs. 73%). I also ran the same

model (available upon request) with Latino youth as the reference group, and find that Black

drug arrestees are significantly more impacted by a drug arrest than Latino youth. Given that

Black youth are much more likely to experience the brunt of racial profiling in drug enforcement,

it would follow that they would also be more negatively impacted by a drug arrest, according to

Racial Profiling Selection Theory.

Since Black drug arrestees had the lowest levels of delinquency among all arrestees, these

findings are consistent with previous research, which finds an arrest is more detrimental to youth

with minimal prior delinquency. However, while previous research has found this to be true for

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[21] I also broadened the analysis to include two-year colleges in the dependent variable and found no significant differences.

[22] I ran a separate set of analyses where I broke down "other arrest types" into violent, property, and other arrest types, and included interaction effects for each arrest type. I did not find any statistical differences across different racial or ethnic groups, which confirms that racially different effects are unique to drug arrests.

high school dropout, these findings extend this relationship to college enrollment. The findings here also highlight how disaggregating by arrest type unmasks important racial differences that only exist for certain types of arrest.

(FIGURE 4.1 ABOUT HERE)

While these results tell us that, consistent with *Hypothesis 2,* being arrested for drugs is more detrimental to the postsecondary educational trajectories of Black and Latino youth, they do not tell us why a drug arrest does not affect White drug arrestees in the full model. To address this, I run separate models by race in Table 4.2 to examine whether certain variables explain the effect of a drug arrest for White drug arrestees. I include four models for each group: the first includes the main effects of a juvenile arrest and basic demographic controls. The second model includes family background (to account for the effect of socioeconomic factors), academic performance, and school sanction variables. The third model adds the behavior variables, which address predictions of propensity theories where prior delinquent behavior should explain any negative impact of an arrest on educational attainment. Model 4 includes whether the arrest led to a juvenile conviction to account for post-arrest mechanisms as well as the prediction that juvenile *drug* convictions may hinder the college prospects of some youth because they are ineligible for federal financial aid. I also controlled for impulsivity and subsequent juvenile arrests; however, these variables were not significant in any of the models, and were excluded from the results.

(TABLE 4.2 ABOUT HERE)

Model 1 for White youth shows that the effect of both a first-time drug and other arrest significantly decreases the odds of attending college. Model 2 adds family/home and school variables, as well as parent education, low-income background, college expectations, GPA, and

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both suspensions and expulsions are all significant predictors of college entry. This variables explain some of the effects of both drug and other arrests, although not fully. Model 3 includes the behavioral variables, all of which are negatively related to college entry, and the effect of a drug arrest decreases and loses significance. Consistent with *Hypothesis 1,* this means that the relationship between a drug arrest and college enrollment is spurious for White drug offenders. This supports the predictions of propensity theories and Racial Profiling Selection Theory, that White drug offenders are more involved in delinquent and criminal behaviors (Chapter 3), and not on a college-bound pathway, regardless of an arrest. Model 4 adds conviction, which has no net effect on college entry among White youth. In separate models, I found that conviction does have a base effect, but is explained by school performance/sanctions and behavior variables.

For Latino youth, Model 1 shows that all types of juvenile arrest significantly decrease the likelihood that youth will attend college. In Model 2, we see similar family/home and academic predictors compared to White youth, and the magnitude of both arrest variables decrease, as well as the significance of other arrest types, suggesting that some of the effects are explained by these variables. Model 3 controls for behavior variables, and although this decreases the magnitude of the odds ratios, both arrest variables remain significant. Model 4 includes conviction, which has no net effect on college enrollment. Notably, in every model, phenotype is significant with lighter-skinned Latino youth being more likely to attend college than their darker skinned peers. To some extent, this supports the prediction that Latino youth comprise a racially mixed population with varying experiences, driven to some degree by the color of their skin. I explore this further in the next section.

For Black youth, the effects of both arrest types on the likelihood of attending college are also significant in Model 1. Comparing across models, we see that the effect of a drug arrest is

stronger (0.398) for Black youth than for Latino (0.557) or White youth (0.609). Furthermore, effect of a drug arrest remains significant, even when the remaining variables are introduced in Models 2 and 3. Conviction is significant in the final model, and explains some of the effect of a drug arrest on college enrollment, although not fully. Somewhat addressing *Hypothesis 4,* this suggests that the negative effect of a drug arrest on college enrollment is driven *partially* by the effect of a conviction and possibly by the fact that drug arrestees are banned from receiving any type of financial aid for higher education. However, that conviction does not fully explain how the effect of a drug arrest underscores the damaging impact of the arrest itself.

In the full model (Model 4) for each racial group, I find that getting arrested for other crimes significantly decreases the likelihood of college enrollment for all youth. This finding supports Kirk and Sampson's (2012) findings that aggregate measures of juvenile arrest significantly decrease the likelihood of attending college after accounting for a host of behavior and family factors. However, contrary to Kirk and Sampson, I find that not all arrest types impose a negative impact on college enrollment. Unlike other arrest types, I find significant racial differences in the impact of a drug arrest, which are a significant hindrance for college enrollment for Black and Latino youth only.

*Phonotypical Differences among Latino Youth*

As discussed in Chapter 3, the effects I find in the previous section for Latino youth may actually be a result of the racially heterogeneous mix of youth in this sample, where Latino youth with different phenotypes may actually be experiencing different effects. I found in Chapter 3 that Latino drug arrestees in my sample have darker phenotypes than Latinos arrested for other crimes, which speaks to the racialization of drug enforcement, and in particular, the significance of racially profiling for this type of arrest.

(FIGURE 4.2 ABOUT HERE)

To test whether the effect of a juvenile arrest on college enrollment varies for Latino youth by their phenotype, I present predicted probabilities of college enrollment in Figure 4.2, based on logistic regression models for college enrollment with interactions for phenotype and arrest type (See Appendix I). In these models, I collapse Latino youth who were ascribed brown or black skin, because of the small cell sizes within each phenotype category. The results show a significant interaction for dark-skinned Latino youth who had a drug arrest, net of all controls. Consistent with *Hypothesis 3,* the results for light-skinned Latinos resemble the results in Figure 4.1 for White respondents, where I find little consequence for a drug arrest. However, for dark-skinned Latino youth, a drug arrest decreases their probability of attending college from 0.74 to 0.59. While these probabilities are not as small as the probabilities of attending college for Black drug arrestees (0.50) in Figure 4.1, they still indicate that darker-skinned youth experience more detrimental impacts of a drug arrest. This finding lends further support to the predictions of Racial Profiling Selection Theory, that the impact of a drug arrest is uniquely negative for racialized and marginalized youth.

## Discussion

Building on the findings on the effect of a first-time drug arrest on high school dropout in Chapter 3, I find that a juvenile drug arrest also hinders the likelihood of attending college for Black and dark-phenotype Latino youth, more than for White and light-phenotype Latino youth. Similar to the findings for high school dropout, a drug arrest has no bearing on the likelihood of attending college for White youth, once delinquent behaviors are taken into account. These findings lend further support to Racial Profiling Selection Theory, which argues that as a result of racially biased drug enforcement, most White youth who are arrested for drugs were never on

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a college-bound pathway. These findings also address the theoretical debate regarding the spurious vs. non-spurious effects of a juvenile arrest on educational attainment. Based on the findings in this study, I argue that propensity theories predictions of a spurious effect *are* correct, but only for White youth with drug arrests.

While I cannot address the exact mechanisms at work for Black and Latino drug arrestees, prior theorists argue that an arrest can stigmatize or mark youth, hindering their college prospects, and that the effect of this stigma matters more for racially disadvantaged youth (Sampson & Laub, 1997). Disaggregating by arrest type is especially important for college enrollment because convicted drug offenders are also the only offenders denied educational benefits for college (Wheelock & Uggen, 2006). Given that Black and Latino youth are more likely to be convicted of a drug offense than White youth (McCord et al., 2001), I tested whether the perceived negative effect of an arrest is actually the result of racial biases in a subsequent conviction rather than the result of the arrest itself. For Black youth only, the effect of a drug arrest on college enrollment is driven *partially* by the effect of a conviction and possibly by the fact that drug arrestees are banned from receiving any type of financial aid for higher education. This may be driven by the fact that Black youth often have less protective social, human, and financial capital with which to bargain their way out of stigmatization (i.e., delinquent tracking in school, expunging/sealing their juvenile records so they do not have to report them in applications, etc.) (Sampson & Laub, 1997). However, that conviction does not fully explain how the effect of a drug arrest for Black youth underscores the damaging impact of the arrest itself. Previous research also shows that the effect of a juvenile arrest and the stigmatization that follows is more pronounced for youth who are less involved in delinquency (Sweeten 2006). Therefore, one possible explanation for these findings is that Black and phenotypically darker

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Latino youth who are arrested for drugs were on different educational trajectories than White drug arrestees. These youth may have gone on to college, but their college trajectories were derailed by the negative stigma, or "mark," after an arrest (Rios 2011). Future research should address more concretely *why* drug arrest affects the college enrollment patterns of Black and Latino adolescents differently.

While prior research finds that juvenile arrests negatively impact the college prospects of all youth (Kirk and Sampson 2013), the findings here highlight how aggregate measures of juvenile arrests mask important differences that exist for drug arrests. Given the level of discretion, racial profiling, and selective policing that exists for drug enforcement in the United States, the findings highlight tangible consequences of holding Black and Latino youth to a different moral standard than White youth. College enrollment serves as an important transition in the lives of youth and can alter their life trajectories in a number of arenas (Sampson & Laub, 1997). Youth who attend even some college have higher lifelong earnings, and are less likely to experience unemployment, job instability, poverty, and incarceration in adulthood (S. Baum & Payea, 2005). Attending college is an especially important turning point in the lives of delinquent youths, on par with marriage or employment (Sampson & Laub, 1990), and is strongly correlated with a discontinuance from crime (Kellam, 2007). The benefits of attending college are also greater for Black youth (Brand & Xie, 2010). Given that Black and Latino youth already have a lower likelihood of attending college (Perna 2008), it is especially important for them to be tied to intuitions that can help them succeed in high school and enroll in college. Instead, these youth are being disproportionately policed and arrested, for crimes that White youth are more likely to commit, and then derailed into pathways that are detrimental to their future success.

Together with the findings from Chapter 3, the results highlight the consequences of vastly different policing among Black, White, and Latino youth. It highlights that by treating youthful mistakes like drug use differently, most White youth who use drugs do not experience an arrest or its negative consequences - because most White youth are never caught. Again, by moving beyond racial biases in the *rates* of juvenile drug arrests, and examining the *consequences* of juvenile drug arrests, these findings suggest that Black and darker phenotype Latino youth are not only more likely to be arrested than light-phenotype Latino and White youth for drug-related charges (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985), but a drug arrest strongly affects their life chances. The findings from Chapters 3 and 4 tell us that drug arrests not only push Black and phenotypically darker Latino youth out of high school, but for those who do not drop out, a drug arrest can also derail their chances of attending college. Again, this underscores the deleterious effects of drug arrests in contributing to the ways existing racial inequality is reproduced for Black and some Latino Americans. Furthermore, the fact that a drug arrest carries the most detrimental consequences for Black youth (even compared to dark phenotype Latino youth) supports theories of Black Exceptionalism (Sears et al., 1999): that in terms of opportunities and obstacles, the pathway to achieving success distinctly differs for Blacks, who continuously remain the most disadvantaged. The next chapter examines how these early educational setbacks, onset by a juvenile drug arrest, can lead to cumulative disadvantage into adulthood.

Table 4.1. Percentages and Means of College Enrollment and Individual Characteristic Variables, by Juvenile Arrest Type and Race

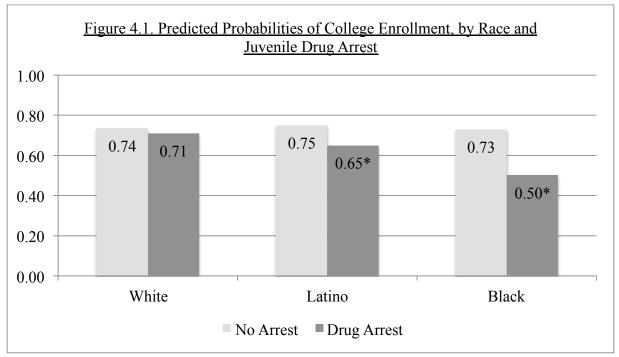| | No Arrest | | | Drug | | | Other | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black |
| **Independent Variable** | | | | | | | | | |
| College Enrollment | 70.6% [bl*] | 60.3% [wb*] | 57.3% [wl*] | 47.1% [bl] | 41.3% [wb] | 36.6% [wl] | 48.0% [bl] | 40.5% [wb] | 44.2% [wl*] |
| High School/GED or Less | 29.4% [bl*] | 39.7% [wb*] | 42.7% [wl*] | 52.9% [bl] | 58.7% [wb] | 63.4% [wl] | 52.0% [bl] | 59.5% [wb] | 55.8% [wl*] |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 4.23 [bl] | 3.96 [wb*] | 4.14 [wl*] | 3.71 [bl] | 3.59 [wb] | 3.89 [wl] | 3.69 [l] | 3.46 [wb*] | 3.70 [l*] |
| | (0.037) | (0.063) | (0.049) | (0.169) | (0.174) | (0.140) | (0.137) | (0.242) | (0.319) |
| 9th grade GPA (0-4) | 2.77 [bl*] | 2.37 [wb*] | 2.20 [wl*] | 2.29 [bl] | 2.12 [wb] | 2.06 [wl] | 2.22 [bl] | 2.02 [wb] | 1.86 [wl*] |
| | (0.033) | (0.045) | (0.041) | (0.107) | (0.345) | (0.091) | (0.097) | (0.201) | (0.157) |
| School Suspension(s) | 18.5% [bl*] | 26.4% [wb*] | 42.0% [wl*] | 49.6% [bl] | 53.7% [wb] | 58.1% [wl] | 54.0% [bl*] | 57.7% [wb*] | 73.3% [wl*] |
| School Expulsion(s) | 4.5% [bl*] | 5.4% [wb*] | 11.3% [wl*] | 15.7% [bl] | 16.3% [wb] | 20.7% [wl] | 10.6% [bl] | 20.5% [wb*] | 22.2% [wl*] |
| **Behavioral Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 0.26 [l*] | 0.30 [wb*] | 0.27 [l*] | 0.58 [bl] | 0.51 [wb] | 0.41 [wl] | 0.52 [bl*] | 0.55 [wb*] | 0.49 [wl*] |
| | (0.30) | (0.36) | (0.28) | (0.43) | (0.63) | (0.42) | (0.23) | (0.48) | (0.39) |
| Drug Use | 28.7% [b*] | 28.9% [b*] | 22.9% [wl*] | 62.7% [bl] | 56.5% [wb] | 52.4% [wl] | 55.1% [b*] | 56.4% [b] | 41.9% [wl*] |
| Drug Sale | 5.4% [l*] | 6.8% [wb*] | 5.2% [l*] | 30.3% [b] | 30.9% [b] | 28.0% [wl] | 21.9% [bl*] | 20.5% [wb*] | 18.9% [wl*] |
| **Other Juvenile Justice Involvement** | | | | | | | | | |
| Juvenile Conviction | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 40.27% [bl] | 31.11% [wb] | 36.69% [wl] | 39.6% [bl*] | 37.0% [wb*] | 42.5% [wl*] |
| N | 4,483 | 1,180 | 1,516 | 128 | 49 | 134 | 554 | 239 | 248 |

Notes: chi2 test results shown, w = significantly different from whites at p < .05; b = significantly different from blacks at p < .05; l = significantly different from Latinos at p < .05; * = significantly different from same-race drug-arrestees at p < .05.

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Table 4.2. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on College Enrollment, Separate Models by Race

| | White | | | | Latino | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| **Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest)** | | | | | | | | |
| Drug | 0.609 ** | 0.658 * | 0.821 | 0.826 | 0.557 ** | 0.682 ** | 0.757 * | 0.769 * |
| Other | 0.504 *** | 0.555 ** | 0.739 * | 0.757 * | 0.519 *** | 0.724 * | 0.817 * | 0.829 * |
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 1.378 *** | 1.219 * | 1.378 *** | 1.131 ** | 1.422 ** | 1.416 ** | 1.392 ** | 1.203 * |
| Age | 0.980 | 1.219 * | 0.957 | 1.066 | 0.940 | 0.949 | 0.940 | 1.030 |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 0.961 | 1.111 | 1.116 | 1.115 | 0.743 ** | 0.811 ** | 0.864 ** | 0.879 * |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | |
| **Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma)** | | | | | | | | |
| HS Diploma/GED | | 1.731 ** | 1.776 ** | 2.223 ** | | 1.199 * | 1.245 * | 1.235 * |
| Some College | | 2.544 *** | 2.611 *** | 4.102 *** | | 2.488 ** | 2.644 ** | 1.265 ** |
| BA Degree or more | | 3.829 *** | 3.921 *** | 6.953 *** | | 2.251 ** | 2.348 ** | 1.234 ** |
| Two Parents Home | | 0.901 | 0.918 | 0.997 | | 0.831 | 0.806 | 0.809 |
| Low-Income | | 0.763 ** | 0.777 * | 0.753 * | | 0.788 * | 0.782 * | 0.775 * |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | | 1.617 *** | 1.627 *** | 1.829 *** | | 1.425 *** | 1.460 *** | 1.467 *** |
| GPA (0-4) | | 1.899 *** | 1.902 *** | 2.553 *** | | 1.451 *** | 1.425 *** | 1.422 *** |
| Suspension(s) | | 0.612 * | 0.775 ** | 0.769 ** | | 0.692 | 0.724 | 0.716 |
| Expulsion(s) | | 0.649 * | 0.712 * | 0.717 * | | 0.548 * | 0.761 * | 0.767 * |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | | | 0.760 ** | 0.769 * | | | 0.816 * | 0.818 * |
| Drug Use | | | 0.772 * | 0.710 * | | | 0.781 | 0.771 |
| Drug Sale | | | 0.502 ** | 0.830 ** | | | 0.602 * | 0.606 * |
| **Other Juvenile Justice Involvement** | | | | | | | | |
| Juvenile Conviction | | | | 0.947 | | | | 1.009 |
| N | 5165 | 5165 | 5165 | 5165 | 1468 | 1468 | 1468 | 1468 |

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Table 4.2. Continued

| | Black | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| **Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest)** | | | | |
| Drug | 0.398 ** | 0.411 ** | 0.428 ** | 0.559 * |
| Other | 0.590 ** | 0.611 * | 0.697 * | 0.701 * |
| **Demographics** | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 1.367 *** | 1.439 ** | 1.421 *** | 1.424 ** |
| Age | 0.951 | 0.941 | 0.958 | 0.943 |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 0.827 * | 0.813 * | 0.808 * | 0.807 * |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | | | |
| HS Diploma/GED | | 1.607 * | 1.599 * | 1.600 ** |
| Some College | | 2.949 *** | 2.990 *** | 2.987 *** |
| BA Degree or more | | 3.909 *** | 3.953 *** | 3.934 *** |
| Two Parents Home | | 0.847 | 0.855 | 0.857 |
| Low-Income | | 0.678 * | 0.690 * | 0.690 * |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1)** | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | | 1.566 *** | 1.564 *** | 1.567 *** |
| GPA (0-4) | | 0.177 *** | 1.775 *** | 1.775 *** |
| Suspension(s) | | 0.704 * | 0.716 * | 0.716 * |
| Expulsion(s) | | 0.899 | 0.989 | 1.020 |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | | | 0.630 ** | 0.659 |
| Drug Use | | | 0.997 | 0.809 * |
| Drug Sale | | | 1.035 | 0.929 |
| **Other Juvenile Justice Involvement** | | | | |
| Juvenile Conviction | | | | 0.638 * |
| N | 1897 | 1897 | 1897 | 1897 |

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Figure 4.1. Predicted Probabilities of College Enrollment, by Race and Juvenile Drug Arrest

Note: Based on full model with significant interactions of race and juvenile drug arrest (see Appendix H).
N = 9,421
Significance Tests for Racial Differences: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001



Figure 4.2. Predicted Probabilities of College Enrollment for Latino Respondents, by Phenotype and Juvenile Arrest Type

Note: Based on full model with significant interactions of race and juvenile drug arrest (see Appendix I).
N = 1,468
Significance Tests for Racial Differences: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

# CHAPTER FIVE:

# ENDURING EFFECTS: THE RACIALLY DISPARATE EFFECTS OF DRUG ARRESTS ON UNEMPLOYMENT IN ADULTHOOD

Do the short-term educational consequences of a juvenile drug arrest translate into enduring long-term negative effects for some youth, but not others? Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate, as predicted by Racial Profiling Selection Theory (RPST), that racial profiling in drug enforcement results in a racially biased selection process for drug arrestees, where Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth are characteristically different than White drug arrestees and other arrestees. These differences shape the way the arrest impacts their educational trajectories, with Black and Latino youth experiencing more detrimental effects because they were less delinquent prior to the arrest. Building on these findings and lending further support to RPST, this chapter examines if and how the racially biased detrimental impacts of a juvenile drug arrest carry through into young adulthood and impact unemployment.

The period of young adulthood (age 18-34) is often considered a crucial period in the life course (Settersten Jr, Furstenberg, & Rumbaut, 2008). Finishing school, entering the labor force, and establishing a stable work history are all central tasks in young adulthood which are critical to individual and family well-being (Caspi, Wright, Moffitt, & Silva, 1998). Failures in this transition often have long-term negative economic and psychosocial consequences (Ezzy, 1993; Leventhal, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2001). In criminology, interest in the labor market impact of juvenile justice involvement has increased over the last two decades. This growth is attributed to

the unprecedented expansion of policing and mass incarceration in the U.S., fueled by being "tough on crime" and the War on Drugs (M. Alexander, 2010). However, the findings of prior research examining this relationship are mixed. While some studies find that a juvenile arrest does increase the likelihood of unemployment (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Nagin & Waldfogel, 1995; Pager, 2003; Thornberry & Christenson, 1984) and decreases income and job stability (De Li, 1999; Kerley & Copes, 2004; Sampson & Laub, 1995), others find no effect (Bushway, 1998; Hagan, 1993; Tanner et al., 1999). These inconsistent findings suggest that the story is incomplete.

In this chapter, I argue that arrest type and race are crucial in understanding the impact of a juvenile arrest on the labor market outcomes of youth. I show that prior studies have several methodological shortcomings that limit the generalizability of their findings and contribute to these inconsistent results. First, the majority of the empirical work mentioned in the previous paragraph focuses on small regional subsamples of youth (e.g. White youth, Black youth, urban youth, low-income youth, convicted youth, etc.) (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Bushway, 1998; Kerley & Copes, 2004; Lopes et al., 2012). This study uses nationally representative data without the bias of subsamples of youth. Furthermore, the few studies that use large national data sets aggregate all offenders (regardless of offense type or race) into one category (Tanner et al., 1999). Finally, nearly all of these prior studies use outdated data representing the time period before the War on Drugs and heavy policing.

This chapter also addresses the theoretical gaps of prior research. The mixed findings of prior research fuels an ongoing criminological debate about the relative importance and causality of personality traits/behaviors (i.e., delinquency) and life events (i.e., a juvenile arrest) as influences upon adult labor market outcomes. On the one hand, propensity theories claim that an

arrest has no effect on life chances, and rather that the trait of self-control–acquired early in life and relatively stable over time–is a strong determinant of both involvement in crime and labor market outcomes (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). On the other hand, other scholars argue that a juvenile arrest can have a strong impact on life destinies and is not explained by earlier delinquent characteristics (Sampson & Laub, 1997). By accounting for early delinquency, this chapter speaks to this theoretical debate by testing for both the direct effect of a juvenile arrest and whether this effect is explained by individual delinquency differences. Furthermore, through the predictions of RPST, I reconcile that both of these theories are valid, but for different subsets of youth, contingent on race and arrest type.

This chapter uses current, nationally representative, and longitudinal data (1994-2008) to examine racial differences in the enduring effects of a juvenile arrest on unemployment in young adulthood. Additionally, moving beyond the erroneous assumption that all arrest types impose the same long-term effects, I compare and contrast the varying effects of drug, property, and violent arrests.[23] First, employing Racial Profiling Selection Theory (RPST), which I argue is a more complete approach to examining juvenile arrests, I will discuss *why* I expect the long-term impacts of a juvenile arrest to be more detrimental for Black and darker-phenotype Latino drug arrestees, compared to other arrested youth. Then, drawing from competing theories from prior research, I will discuss *how* I expect the effects to differ for Black and darker phenotype Latino drug arrestees compared to other arrested youth.

## Background and Theoretical Framework

*Juvenile Drug Arrests and White Advantage*

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[23] Violent, property, and drug arrests comprise the three largest types of juvenile arrests (Uniform Crime Statistics, 1990-2010).

As mentioned in prior chapters in my discussion of RPST, compared to Black and Latino youth, White youth are targeted less by law enforcement and are arrested for drugs only if their behaviors are serious and obvious enough to garner police attention. Even when caught with drugs, White youth are more likely to get a "pass" from police officers (Engel et al., 2012). As prior chapters have demonstrated, the result is that White youth who *are* actually arrested for drugs are more delinquent than Black and Latino drug arrestees, perform more poorly in school, and are already on a path of educational failure. Building on those findings, I argue that, in line with propensity theories, any effect of a juvenile arrest on future life outcomes is spurious, and explained by early background and behavior traits, such as delinquent/criminal behavior and poor school performance. *Therefore, I hypothesize that for White youth, any effect of a drug arrest on unemployment will be explained by delinquent behaviors and academic factors prior to their juvenile arrest (Hypothesis 1).*

Similar to White drug arrestees, property and violent juvenile arrestees of all racial backgrounds also reported higher rates of early delinquency in Wave 1 (Chapter 3), compared to Black and Latino drug arrestees. Therefore, like White drug arrestees, the relationship between a juvenile arrest and the labor market outcomes for these youth may also fit the propensity framework, since they may already be on a "delinquent" pathway, leading to both a juvenile arrest and employment obstacles in adulthood. Violent and property arrests also happen under different circumstances than a drug arrest, where the decision to arrest is often the result of a victim report or police surveillance while a crime is happening (Smith et al., 1984). It should be noted, however, that property and violent arrests are included as a methodological counterfactual to drug arrests, rather than substantive reasons, because they vary in both selection and nature. They are included to highlight the different processes at work among drug arrestees, indicated by

the significant racial differences in the effects of a drug arrest that do not exist for these other types of arrest.

*Cumulative Disadvantage for Black and Latino Youth*

Unlike White drug arrestees, and violent and property arrestees of all racial backgrounds, who may experience no direct effects of a juvenile arrest (because it is a spurious relationship), a juvenile drug arrest can serve as a transitional event for Black and Latino youth, shaping their educational and labor market trajectories. According to RPST, the result of the "wide net" cast for drug enforcement in Black and Brown communities is that Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth arrested for drugs have minimal prior involvement in criminal and delinquent behaviors (Chapter 3), compared to other arrestees (White drug arrestees, property/violent arrestees of all racial backgrounds). Therefore, they are not on the same educational and employment trajectories as other arrestees. Previous research finds that a juvenile arrest is more consequential for youth with lower levels of prior delinquency and criminal behavior (Nagin & Waldfogel, 1995; Sweeten, 2006). Building on this, Chapters 3 and 4 illustrated that a juvenile drug arrest is more detrimental to the educational outcomes of Black and darker-skinned Latino drug arrestees than for others.

In this chapter, I argue that the detrimental consequences of a drug arrest for these youth may continue into adulthood and increase their likelihood of experiencing unemployment. Therefore, while RPST theorizes *why* the effect of a drug arrest on unemployment may differ for Black and Latino youth (because they are less delinquent and on a different path than other arrestees), we can turn to existing literature and theoretical frameworks to theorize *how* the effect may be more damaging for the employment prospects of Black and Latino youth. First, prior research suggests that a drug arrest could *directly* affect unemployment through discrimination

and exclusion in the job market for Black and Latino applicants, more so than White applicants. A criminal record can serve as a negative credential, which makes an adult with a juvenile drug arrest appear less trustworthy, and therefore less likely to be hired, or if hired, more likely to be fired first and paid less (Stoll, 2009). Sociologist Devah Pager (2007, p. 94) argues that especially for Black adults "the credential of a criminal record, like educational or professional credentials, constitutes formal and enduring classification of social status, which can be used to regulate access and opportunities across numerous social, economic, and political domains." Latino adults are also more likely than their White counterparts to suffer employment discrimination as a result of a criminal record, although not to the same extent as Black adults (Pager, Western, & Bonikowski, 2009). White young adults are much more likely to rely on social capital such as the networks of their families and friends to help them find legitimate employment (K. Alexander, Entwisle, & Olson, 2014), and this capital may also help them avoid hiring discrimination because of an arrest.

A drug arrest may also disproportionately impact the employment outcomes of Black and Latino youth because they experience higher levels of anxiety and trauma, a result of the more frequent stop-and-frisks and police brutality they face (Geller et al., 2014) . This reality is highlighted by the current "Black Lives Matter" movement, which challenges the ways Black youth are racially profiled and then met with violence and excessive force during an arrest by police officers (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). These experiences and their negative impacts on mental health and other psycho-social outcomes can hinder the prospects of finishing school, weaken community bonds, and decrease the likelihood of looking for and/or finding a job (Battin-Pearson et al., 2000). Since I cannot directly test employment discrimination and the psychosocial impacts of a drug arrest here, any remaining direct effects of juvenile drug arrest

(after accounting for other factors like delinquent behavior, education, poverty, etc.) may be an indication that these processes are at work.

Finally, as opposed to direct effects, a juvenile drug arrest may impact the employment outcomes of Black and Latino adults *through* its effects on early structural outcomes (education and early employment outcomes). In their *Life-Course Theory of Cumulative Disadvantage*, Sampson and Laub (1997) argue that contact with the criminal justice system in adolescence, a crucial period in the course of life, creates formal labeling and stigmatization, which leads to marginalization and exclusion from conventionally structured opportunities, particularly those shaped by education and early employment. They suggest a "snowball" effect," in which an arrest and its negative consequences increasingly "mortgage'' one's future through a causal sequence, with an arrest leading to early failures (i.e., dropping out of school, not attending college, early unemployment) that feed into a subsequent failures (later unemployment). Under this framework, a drug arrest leads to earlier structural failures (i.e., dropping out of high school, not attending college, unemployment in early adulthood). These educational and labor market failures lead to unemployment in later adulthood, and therefore mediate the effect of an arrest on later unemployment.

Sampson and Laub also contend that stigmatization and cumulative disadvantage after an arrest is more likely to occur among racially disadvantaged youth, who are less able to avoid the negative consequences of an arrest because they lack the economic capital (i.e., parents income), social capital (i.e., social networks), and even symbolic capital (i.e. White privilege) necessary to buffer the stigma after an arrest or escaping the consequences of a criminal stigma. Studies that have tested whether the consequences of arrest matters more for racially disadvantaged youth tend to use aggregate measures of juvenile arrest and regionally biased samples, finding mixed

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results. For example, Bernburg and Krohn (2003) use a small sample of males (oversampling Black youth) from Rochester, New York and find that the cumulative effect of juvenile justice intervention on adult life chances is stronger for Black respondents. In contrast, Bushway (1998) uses a small sample of working-class White males and finds no cumulative effects of juvenile arrest on adult life chances.

In the present chapter, I use nationally representative data, and employ Racial Profiling Selection Theory to argue that race *and arrest type* are key components of understanding differences in the compounding effects of a juvenile arrest. Therefore, cumulative disadvantage may occur for *one subset* of racially disadvantaged youth–those with a drug arrest. For these youth, a juvenile arrest leads to a causal sequence in which one failure leads to another. A drug arrest is more likely to derail their educational trajectories, increasing their likelihood of dropping out and not attending college (Chapters 3 and 4). Educational failures increase the likelihood of a weak early start in the labor market, increasing the likelihood of unemployment in early young adulthood (late teens/early 20s). Blocked educational and early employment opportunities weaken the "social and institutional bonds" necessary for employment opportunities in later adulthood (late 20s/early 30s) (Sampson and Laub 1997). So for Black and Latino youth, a drug arrest (rather than early propensities for delinquency and crime) push young people on a trajectory of structural disadvantage, increasing their likelihood of experiencing unemployment in adulthood (DIAGRAM). *Therefore, based on the predictions of RPST, I expect that a drug arrest will negatively affect employment outcomes in later adulthood for Black and Latino youth, even after accounting for prior delinquency and academic indicators. If the predictions of Cumulative Disadvantage Theory hold, the negative effects of a drug arrest on unemployment in adulthood will be explained by earlier structural failures (high school dropout,*

*not attending college, early unemployment) associated with a juvenile drug arrest (Hypothesis*

*2). If the negative effect remains after accounting for all other factors (delinquency, academic*

*indicators, educational attainment, etc.), then this may be an indication that the arrest is*

*impacting unemployment through other mechanisms (i.e., hiring discrimination, psychosocial*

*effects, etc.) (Hypothesis 3).*

Building on the findings of prior chapters, there may also be differences in the impact of

an arrest *among* Latino youth, given that they are a racially heterogeneous group, including

youth who are racialized as Black, White, and "other." Darker-skinned Latinos are randomly

stopped and searched for drugs (and subsequently arrested more often) than lighter-skinned

members of the same group (White, 2015) . Therefore, under the predictions of RPST, in

additional to the educational consequences I find in Chapters 3 and 4, dark-phenotype Latino

youth may also suffer more damaging long-term consequences. Therefore, in this chapter, I

break down Latinos by phenotype, and *I hypothesize that the effect of a drug arrest on*

*unemployment in adulthood for light-skinned Latinos may be more similar to White youth, while*

*the effect of a drug arrest for darker-skinned Latinos may be more akin to the effect for Black*

*youth (Hypothesis 4).*

There are other possible mechanisms that may explain why Black and Latino youth with

a drug arrest may be more likely to experience unemployment and live in poverty as adults

beyond mechanisms linked to Racial Profiling Selection Theory. After a drug arrest, Black and

Latino youth have a higher likelihood of getting convicted and receiving harsher sentencing, and

they are less likely to get their juvenile records expunged or sealed (McCord et al., 2001).

Therefore, they may be more likely to experience unemployment because they are more likely to

have a conviction on their record, as opposed to the mechanisms mentioned earlier (linked to an

arrest). According to this rationale, *controlling for the effect of conviction would explain any racial differences in the negative impact of a drug arrest on unemployment (Hypothesis 5).*

A juvenile drug arrest may also increase the likelihood of unemployment as an adult because it can lead to increased adult delinquency and involvement in the adult criminal justice system. Despite the fact that Black and Latino drug arrestees had lower levels of delinquency prior to their arrest (Chapter 3), the arrest can still lead to social exclusion (from school, friendships, community, family, etc.). Youth may find themselves embedded in criminal contexts that isolate them from legitimate employment opportunities, increasing their involvement in "illegitimate" employment and crime (Granovetter, 1985; Hagan, 1993). Given that adult-level criminal justice contact (arrest, conviction, and incarceration) is strongly linked to unemployment, these factors (rather than earlier structural failures like education and early unemployment) may be the link between an arrest and unemployment. Therefore, according to this literature*, I hypothesize that accounting for adult level delinquency and criminal justice involvement would explain any impact a juvenile drug arrest has on the employment outcomes of Black and Latino youth (Hypothesis 6).*

In sum, there are several possible mechanisms that may be driving racial differences in the impact of a drug arrest that do not exist for other types of juvenile arrest. While I cannot test every mechanism directly, the findings of this study can decipher whether a drug arrest derails the socioeconomic trajectories of White, Black, and Latino young adults differently, and illuminate whether selection biases rooted in racial profiling underlie these differing impacts.

## Analysis Plan

Since the analyses are longitudinal, I am focusing on three broad time periods, ranging from adolescence (Wave 1, ages 11-18) to early young adulthood (Wave 3, ages 18-26), to later

young adulthood (Wave 4, ages 24-32), and direct and indirect effects are considered. First, I run

logistic regression equations predicting Wave 4 unemployment, and include interaction terms for

race and arrest type to test the predictions of Racial Profiling Selection Theory (that there are

racial difference in the effect of a drug arrest but not in other arrest types). Next, I run separate

models by race to see if the effects of juvenile arrest on unemployment are explained by different

mechanisms for each group. Specifically, I am interested in the predictions of the theoretical

frameworks discussed earlier in this chapter. First, I will look to see if Wave 1 behavior variables

explain the effect of an arrest, particularly for White drug arrestees and property and violent

arrestees of all racial backgrounds, supporting the predictions of propensity theory. I will also

examine whether structural disadvantages in Wave 3 (high school dropout, not in school, and

early unemployment) mediate the effects of an arrest on employment and poverty in later young

adulthood, supporting the predictions of Cumulative Disadvantage Theory. Finally, I will run

logistic regression equations predicting Wave 4 unemployment for Latino youth, and include

interaction terms for phenotype (lighter-skinned Latinos vs. darker-skinned Latinos) and arrest

type to further test the predictions of RPST (that even among Latinos, there are racial differences

in the effect of a drug arrest but not in other types of arrest).

**Results**

(TABLE 5.1 ABOUT HERE)

Table 5.1 shows the percentages or means of the key outcome variable (unemployment)

by race and arrest type, with chi-square tests. First, we see among all arrested respondents, Black

young adults with a juvenile drug arrest have the highest rate of unemployment (29%) compared

to all young adults with a juvenile arrest. Interestingly, the unemployment rate for Black young

adults with property and violent arrests (21% and 19%) is not significantly different than Black

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young adults with no juvenile arrests. For White youth, the unemployment rate among all arrest types is lower or not significantly different, suggesting that juvenile arrests may have no impact on unemployment. Similarly for Latino youth, with the exception of those with a property juvenile arrest, arrested youth do not have significantly higher unemployment rates than their non-arrested peers. Descriptively, this suggests that the impact of a juvenile arrest on unemployment in young adulthood may only exist for Black youth and some Latino youth.

*Racial Differences in the Impact of an Arrest on Unemployment in Young Adulthood*

To examine the impact of juvenile arrest on unemployment in young adulthood (age 24-32), I run logistic regression models of unemployment in later young adulthood on juvenile arrest. I included all independent variables and interaction terms (race X arrest type) to examine whether the effects of an arrest on long-term employment are dependent on race (See Appendix L). The interaction term for Black youth with a drug arrest is significant, indicating that the effect of a juvenile arrest on unemployment in young adulthood depends on race and arrest type. Figure 5.1 illustrates this interaction effect and is based on Appendix L Model 2, with all the independent variables set to their means (except with gender set to male). It shows that as predicted, White youth who had a juvenile drug arrest do not have significantly higher predicted probabilities of unemployment in later young adulthood (0.08). Latino youth with a drug arrest do have higher predicted probabilities of unemployment in Wave 4 (0.07-0.10), but contrary to my predictions, this increase is not statistically significant. For Black youth, a juvenile drug arrest significantly increases the predicted probability of unemployment from 0.09 to 0.13. Furthermore, none of the differences in predicted probabilities for property and violent arrest

type are significant, supporting the predictions of RPST that only among drug arrestees do we find racial differences in the impact of an arrest.

(FIGURE 5.1 ABOUT HERE)

Next, I run separate models by race to see if the effects of juvenile arrest on unemployment are explained by different mechanisms for each group (Tables 5.2-5.4). For White young adults (Table 5.2), we see in Model 1 that there are no base effects of any arrest type on unemployment. Under the propensity theory framework, I predicted in *Hypothesis 1* that the effect of a juvenile arrest would be explained by earlier behavior and academic factors (Model 2); however, the findings from Model 1 show that there is no relationship between juvenile arrest and adult unemployment for White young adults. In fact none of the juvenile delinquency (delinquency, drug use, drug sale) and criminal justice involvement variables (subsequent arrest, juvenile conviction) are significant predictors of unemployment in adulthood, suggesting that juvenile infractions do not follow White youth into adulthood. The only Wave 1 variables that significantly predict unemployment are poverty (wave 1) and GPA. Models 3 and 4 include Wave 3 variables, and dropping out of high school, not being in school, and early unemployment are all strong predictors of unemployment in adulthood for White young adults. Finally in Model 5, I include adult delinquency and criminal justice involvement, where adult conviction, incarceration, and delinquency have strong net effects on unemployment.

(TABLE 5.2 ABOUT HERE)

Next, we look at Latino young adults (Table 5.3). We see in Model 1 that, contrary to my predictions, there are no significant base effects of any arrest type in unemployment, although the odds ratios are large in magnitude (the lack of significance may be due the small sample size). In Model 2, I add Wave 1 variables, and we see that both GPA and subsequent juvenile

arrests are significant predictors of unemployment; therefore, a first arrest may not impact unemployment but that repeated contact with the juvenile justice system does have consequences. Models 3 and 4 include Wave 3 variables, which are all strongly associated with unemployment in Wave 4. Finally, in Model 5 I add adult delinquency and criminal justice system contact, and we see that almost all variables (arrest, conviction, incarceration and delinquency) are significant predictors of unemployment. The addition of these adult-level variables decrease the odds ratio for a drug arrest from 1.354 to 1.012, suggesting that accounting for adult-level delinquency/criminal justice involvement may be explaining some of the impact of a juvenile drug arrest for Latino youth (*Hypothesis 6*). To better understand what is happening for Latino young adults, and to further test the predictions of Racial Profiling Theory, I will further analyze this group by phenotype in the next section.

(TABLE 5.3 ABOUT HERE)

For Black young adults (Table 5.4), Model 1 includes only the base effects for juvenile arrest and controls for basic demographics, and I find a drug arrest is the only arrest type that significantly increases the likelihood of unemployment. In Model 2, I include Wave 1 background variables, which address the predictions of propensity theories, but the effect of a drug arrest on unemployment remains significant. In Model 3, I include Wave 3 educational attainment variables (high school dropout and in school status), which partially explain the effect of a drug arrest. In Model 4, I include the final Wave 3 mediating variable, unemployment, which also has a strong and significant effect, and explains the remaining effect of a drug arrest. Therefore, consistent with *Hypothesis 2,* dropping out of high school, not being in school at Wave 3, and unemployment at Wave 3 all significantly increase the odds of unemployment at

Wave 4, and fully explain any impact a drug arrest has on unemployment in adulthood

(representing a process of cumulative disadvantage).

(TABLE 5.4 ABOUT HERE)

*Differences by Phenotype for Latino Youth*

As discussed in prior chapters, phenotype plays a significant role in the process of

criminalization and racialization, and is an important component of racial profiling in law

enforcement. In Chapter 3 and 4, I provided a brief breakdown of ascribed phenotype for the

Latino youth in the sample, and found Latino youth represent a racially bifurcated population,

some who are racialized as dark-skinned (Brown/Black) and some that are seen as light-skinned

(White), and that these groups are experiencing different effects of a drug arrest on their

educational outcomes.

To test the predictions of RPST, whether the effect of a juvenile drug arrest on

unemployment varies for Latino youth by their racialized status, I present predicted probabilities

of unemployment in Figure 5.2 (based on logistic regression models for unemployment with

interactions for phenotype and arrest type; see Appendix M). Similar to models in previous

chapters, I collapse Latino youth who were ascribed brown or black skin, because of the small

cell sizes within each phenotype category. The results show a significant interaction for dark-

skinned Latino youth who had a drug arrest, net of all controls. Consistent with *Hypothesis 4,* the

results for light-skinned Latinos resemble the results in Figure 5.1 for White respondents, where

I find no consequence for any arrest type. However, for dark-skinned Latino youth, a drug arrest

is the only arrest type that significantly increases their predicted probability of unemployment

from 0.07 to 0.12–which is almost as large as the probabilities of unemployment for Black drug

arrestees (0.13) in Figure 5.1. This indicates that darker-skinned youth experience more

detrimental impacts of a drug arrest. This finding lends further support to the predictions of

Racial Profiling Selection Theory, that the impact of a drug arrest is uniquely negative for

racialized and marginalized youth.

(FIGURE 5.2 ABOUT HERE)

## Discussion

In Chapter 3, I established that, as predicted by Racial Profiling Selection Theory

(RPST), racial profiling in drug enforcement results in a racially biased selection process for

drug arrestees, in which Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth are characteristically different

than White drug arrestees and other arrestees. These differences lead to different processes and

mechanisms in how an arrest impacts the life chances of arrested youth. Chapters 3 and 4

provided evidence for this by showing how a juvenile drug arrest disproportionately impacts the

educational attainment of Black and Latino youth. In this chapter, I build on the findings of prior

chapters to show how these racially disparate effects outlined by RPST also carry through to

employment outcomes in young adulthood. The main findings of this chapter are 1) there is no

relationship between a juvenile arrest (of any type) and unemployment in adulthood for White

youth and light-skinned Latino youth, and 2) for Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth, a

drug arrest serves as an important turning point that carries significant long-term labor market

consequences, lending further support to Racial Profiling Selection Theory.

The most significant finding is that, contrary to prior studies that contend a juvenile arrest

negatively impacts the labor market outcomes of all youth (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Bushway,

1998; De Li, 1999), I find that a juvenile arrest (regardless of arrest type) bears *no impact* on the

labor market outcomes of White arrestees in adulthood (White and light-skinned Latinos). This is

contrary to both prior research that finds effects for all White arrestees, as well as my expectation

that there would be a relationship, but any effect is explained by prior delinquency and academics. Furthermore, contrary to prior research, a juvenile conviction also had no long-term impacts on unemployment for White young adults. This means that juvenile justice involvement (of any type) has no relationship to unemployment in adulthood for White youth. It may be that White youth involved in crime as adolescents are better positioned to desist from crime and move into legitimate employment as adults, while Black and Latino youth become embedded in these criminal pathways. Prior studies note that, due to the influence White parents have on the criminal justice system, encounters White youth had with the police resulted in less severe consequences than those involving minority youth, including the ability to remove infractions from youths' permanent records (Sullivan, 1989). Furthermore, these findings also support prior findings that show White youth do not rely as heavily on early structural opportunities and achievements (i.e., educational attainment and early employment) as Black and Latino youth. Instead, White young adults' labor market pathways are tied to other means of mobility, particularly the social capital and networks of their families and friends to help them find legitimate employment (K. Alexander et al., 2014). This capital may also be helping them avoid the snares of contact with the juvenile justice system.

That White youth experience no educational and labor market consequences from their involvement with the juvenile justice system also highlights the protective power of White privilege in buffering any negative consequences of juvenile justice involvement, a protection not afforded to racially disadvantaged youth (Joe R. Feagin & O'Brien, 2004; Pewewardy & Severson, 2003). As predicted by RPST, because White youth who are arrested in adolescence boast more serious problem behavior profiles (Chapter 3), they are less likely to suffer any consequences from their criminal behaviors or an arrest. An arrest is not a significant turning

point in their lives, and in fact, by the time they are adults, their juvenile transgressions are only memories of the past that bear no consequences on their life chances. White youth are able to grow up and access employment outside the status-attainment-through-schooling paradigm.

The story for the Black respondents in this study differs drastically. Not only does a drug arrest derail their educational pathways, a juvenile drug arrest also pushes young Black adults on a trajectory of both short- and long-term structural disadvantage. In line with Sampson and Laub's (1997) Life Course Theory of Cumulative Disadvantage, the deficits and disadvantages after a drug arrest pile up faster for a racially disadvantaged youth. They are more likely to get racially profiled, stopped, searched, and subsequently arrested for drugs. A drug arrest also increases the chances that Black youth will drop out of high school and not attend college. These structural disadvantages then translate into long-term unemployment young adulthood (cumulative disadvantage). This illustrates one of many ways the criminal justice system diverts the pathways of young Black youth, and helps recreate racial disadvantage and inequality. It illustrates how minor transgressions in adolescence become obstacles in both school and in the labor market for Black youth, even though White youth exhibit more problem behavior profiles than Black youth, but suffer adverse consequences less frequently.

Building on the findings for educational outcomes in prior chapters, I find that a drug arrest negatively impacts the socioeconomic outcomes of Latino young adults, but not to the same extent as Black young adults. However, I find that the negative impact of a drug arrest is contingent on phenotype, and darker Latinos experiences more damaging consequences. First, I find that a juvenile arrest (of any type) does not impact the likelihood of unemployment for both light- and dark-phenotype Latino young adults. This supports prior research that finds, in general, Latinos (with or without criminal records) face less hiring discrimination than Black

Americans (Pager et al., 2009). However, I do find that only among darker-phenotype Latinos, a juvenile drug arrest does increase their likelihood of living in a low-income household as young adults, although not to the same extent as Black young adults with a drug arrest. These findings lend further support to RPST, that race and phenotype are linked to the selection process of drug arrestees and subsequently how that arrest shapes their future. Furthermore, Latinos do not face the same level of obstacles for socioeconomic mobility as Black drug arrestees speaks to larger patterns of racial disadvantage and Black Exceptionalism (Sears et al., 1999): that in terms of opportunities and obstacles, the pathway to achieving success distinctly differs for Blacks, who continuously remain the most disadvantaged. Although marginalized, Latinos still have better odds of finding work despite juvenile justice involvement.

This study uses a large and representative sample of American youth, and therefore allows for a much deeper and richer analysis of the relationship between a juvenile arrest and future life chances than do prior studies. The findings here underscore distinct differences in the impact of an arrest across race and arrest type that other studies missed. By attempting to generalize findings from research on biased samples to all arrestees, these prior studies missed an important implication of their findings highlighted by this study: that the race of the offender and their arrest type matter. This chapter helps us understand some of the social processes that translate the short-term consequences of a juvenile arrest into long-term enduring effects for some, but not others. For racially disadvantaged drug arrestees, an arrest becomes a transitional event that substantially alters the life course by reducing opportunities for a conventional life (Becker, 1963). As a result of blocked employment opportunities and living in poor households, these disadvantaged youth are now more likely to become involved in delinquency and criminal behaviors in adulthood (Sampson & Laub, 1997). Future research should continue examining the

pathways of these youth to see how the cumulative consequences of a drug arrest may exist for other important outcomes like marriage, health, and crime.

Table 5.1. Percentages and Means of Unemployment in Young Adulthood and Individual Characteristic Variables, by Juvenile Arrest Type and Race

| | No Juvenile Arrest | | | Drug | | | Property | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black |
| **Independent Variable** | | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployed Wave 4 | 17% [b*] | 15% [b] | 21% [wl*] | 13% [wb] | 15% [wb] | 29% [wl] | 14% [bl] | 17% [wb] | 21% [wl*] |
| **Background Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Low-Income Household | 18% [bl*] | 37% [wb*] | 39% [wl*] | 21% [bl] | 41% [w] | 42% [w] | 20% [bl] | 39% [wb] | 33% [wl*] |
| 9th Grade GPA | 2.77 [bl*] | 2.37 [wb*] | 2.20 [wl*] | 2.29 [bl] | 2.12 [wb] | 2.06 [wl] | 2.347 [bl] | 2.134 [wb] | 1.957 [wl*] |
| | (0.033) | (0.045) | (0.041) | (0.107) | (0.345) | (0.091) | (0.0987) | (0.121) | (0.223) |
| Delinquency Scale W1 (0=low, 3=high) | 0.26 [1*] | 0.30 [wb*] | 0.27 [wl*] | 0.58 [bl] | 0.51 [wb] | 0.41 [wl] | 0.49 [1*] | 0.60 [wb*] | 0.48 [1*] |
| | (0.30) | (0.36) | (0.28) | (0.43) | (0.63) | (0.42) | (0.059) | (0.099) | (0.092) |
| Drug Use W1 | 28.7% [b*] | 28.9% [b*] | 22.9% [wl*] | 62.7% [bl] | 56.5% [wb] | 52.4% [wl] | 55.44% [bl*] | 59.02% [wb*] | 41.18% [wl*] |
| Drug Sale W1 | 5.4% [1*] | 6.8% [wb*] | 5.2% [1*] | 30.3% [b] | 30.9% [b] | 28.0% [wl] | 19.64% [bl*] | 28.20% [wb*] | 16.18% [wl*] |
| Subsequent Juvenile Arrest(s) | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 31.9% [1] | 41.5% [wb] | 32.3% [1] | 37.60% [bl*] | 25.00% [wb*] | 40.38% [wl*] |
| Juvenile Conviction | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 40.27% [bl] | 31.11% [wb] | 36.69% [wl] | 39.64 | 32.95 | 43.48 |
| **Mediating Variables (Wave 3)** | | | | | | | | | |
| High School Dropout W3 | 11% [bl*] | 19% [wb*] | 15% [wl*] | 27.31% [bl] | 32.28% [wb] | 36.18% [wl] | 26% [*] | 28% [*] | 27% [*] |
| In School W3 | 39% [bl*] | 36% [wb*] | 33% [wl*] | 25% [bl] | 18% [wb] | 20% [wl] | 26% [1] | 35% [wb*] | 25% [1*] |
| Unemployed W3 | 29% [bl] | 33% [wb*] | 43% [wl*] | 29% [bl] | 36% [wb] | 58% [wl] | 28% [b] | 27% [b*] | 47% [wl*] |
| **Adult Criminal Justice Variables (Wave 4)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Arrest after age 18 | 22% [bl*] | 21% [wb*] | 28% [wl*] | 76% [bl] | 85% [w] | 87% [w] | 64% [bl*] | 53% [wb*] | 73% [wl*] |
| Conviction after 18 | 8% [bl*] | 6% [wb*] | 9% [wl*] | 14% [bl] | 22% [wb] | 35% [wl] | 15% [1] | 12% [wb*] | 16% [1*] |
| Incarcerated after 18 | | | | | | | | | |
| Never | 91% [bl*] | 89% [wb*] | 85% [wl*] | 37% [bl] | 26% [wb] | 19% [wl] | 43% [bl*] | 52% [wb*] | 31% [wl*] |
| Less than 1 year | 8% [bl*] | 10% [wb*] | 12% [wl*] | 49% [1] | 44% [1] | 47% [1] | 44% [bl*] | 27% [wb*] | 39% [wl*] |
| 1+ year(s) | 1% [b*] | 1% [b*] | 3% [wl*] | 13% [bl] | 30% [wb] | 34% [wl] | 13% [bl] | 21% [wb*] | 31% [wl*] |
| Delinquency Scale W4 (1=low, 3=high) | 0.024 [b*] | 0.027 [b*] | 0.038 [wl*] | 0.131 | 0.149 | 0.158 [wl] | 0.088 [b*] | 0.089 [b*] | 0.078 [wl*] |
| | (0.133) | (0.176) | (0.167) | (0.225) | (0.228) | (0.249) | (0.172) | (0.174) | (0.163) |
| N | 4,483 | 1,180 | 1,516 | 128 | 49 | 134 | 169 | 61 | 69 |

Notes: chi2 test results shown, w = significantly different from whites at p < .05; b = significantly different from blacks at p < .05; 1 = significantly different from Latinos at p < .05; * = significantly different from same-race drug-arrestees at p < .05.

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Table 5.1. Continued

| Independent Variable | Violent | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | White | Latino | Black |
| Unemployed Wave 4 | 19% [b*] | 20% [b*] | 19% [wl*] |
| **Background Variables (Wave 1)** | | | |
| Low-Income Household | 29% [bl*] | 38% [wb] | 41% [wl] |
| 9th Grade GPA | 2.105 [bl*] | 1.913 [w*] | 1.847 [w*] |
| | (0.102) | (0.154) | (0.124) |
| Delinquency Scale W1 (0=low, 3=high) | 0.60 [bl] | 0.49 [wb] | 0.53 [wl*] |
| | (0.069) | (0.054) | (0.087) |
| Drug Use W1 | 60.50% [b] | 61.36% [b*] | 38.18% [wl*] |
| Drug Sale W1 | 23.64% [bl*] | 28.07% [wb*] | 17.07% [wl*] |
| Subsequent Juvenile Arrest(s) | 34.69% [bl*] | 47.92% [wb*] | 32.86% [wl] |
| Juvenile Conviction | 40.18 [b] | 40.35 [b*] | 44.69 [bl*] |
| **Mediating Variables (Wave 3)** | | | |
| High School Dropout W3 | 33% [*] | 34% [*] | 32% [*] |
| In School W3 | 25% [bl] | 17% [w] | 17% [w*] |
| Unemployed W3 | 28% [bl] | 35% [wb] | 47% [wl*] |
| **Adult Criminal Justice Variables (Wave 4)** | | | |
| Arrest after age 18 | 80% [bl*] | 82% [w*] | 82% [w*] |
| Conviction after 18 | 12% [bl] | 22% [w] | 21% [w*] |
| Incarcerated after 18 | | | |
| Never | 41% [bl*] | 27% [wb] | 27% [wl*] |
| Less than 1 year | 39% [bl*] | 41% [wb*] | 40% [wl*] |
| 1+ year(s) | 20% [bl*] | 32% [wb*] | 33% [wl] |
| Delinquency Scale W4 (1=low, 3=high) | 0.192 [*] | 0.189 [*] | 0.191 [*] |
| | (0.383) | (0.331) | (0.241) |
| N | 112 | 57 | 82 |

Notes: chi2 test results shown, w = significantly different from whites at p < .05; b = significantly different from blacks at p < .05; l = significantly different from Latinos at p < .05; * = significantly different from same-race drug-arrestees at p < .05.

Table 5.2. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on Unemployment at Wave 4, White respondents only (N=5,165)

| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | | Model 4 | | Model 5 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Drug | 1.106 | | 1.118 | | 1.064 | | 1.014 | | 0.933 | |
| Property | 0.952 | | 0.920 | | 0.874 | | 0.799 | | 0.729 | |
| Violent | 1.297 | | 1.158 | | 1.109 | | 1.100 | | 1.053 | |
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 2.653 | *** | 2.891 | *** | 2.944 | *** | 2.767 | *** | 2.885 | *** |
| Age | 0.990 | | 0.953 | * | 0.940 | ** | 0.953 | * | 0.954 | * |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 0.898 | | 0.912 | | 0.905 | | 0.910 | | 0.909 | |
| **Background Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Low-Income Household W1 | | | 1.605 | *** | 1.408 | *** | 1.363 | *** | 1.347 | *** |
| GPA W1 | | | 0.724 | *** | 0.819 | *** | 0.820 | *** | 0.820 | *** |
| Delinquency Scale W1 (0=low, 3=high) | | | 0.850 | | 0.817 | | 0.820 | | 0.795 | |
| Drug Use W1 | | | 0.955 | | 0.947 | | 0.945 | | 0.934 | |
| Drug Sale W1 | | | 1.184 | | 1.229 | | 1.267 | | 1.240 | |
| Subsequent Juvenile Arrest(s) | | | 1.027 | | 1.006 | | 1.008 | | 0.975 | |
| Juvenile Conviction | | | 1.192 | | 1.176 | | 1.095 | | 1.094 | |
| **Mediating Variables (Wave 3)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| High School Dropout | | | | | 2.147 | *** | 1.911 | *** | 1.852 | *** |
| In School W3 | | | | | 0.622 | *** | 0.540 | *** | 0.544 | *** |
| Unemployed W3 | | | | | | | 2.429 | *** | 2.420 | *** |
| **Adult Criminal Justice Variables (Wave 4)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Adult Arrest W4 | | | | | | | | | 1.047 | |
| Adult Conviction W4 | | | | | | | | | 1.208 | * |
| Adult Incarceration (ref: Never) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than a year | | | | | | | | | 1.097 | |
| 1+ year(s) | | | | | | | | | 1.548 | * |
| Delinquency Scale W4 (0=low, 3=high) | | | | | | | | | 1.385 | * |

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001
Odds ratios not shown for respondents who had "other" juvenile arrest.

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Table 5.3. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on Unemployment at Wave 4, Latino respondents only (N=1,468)
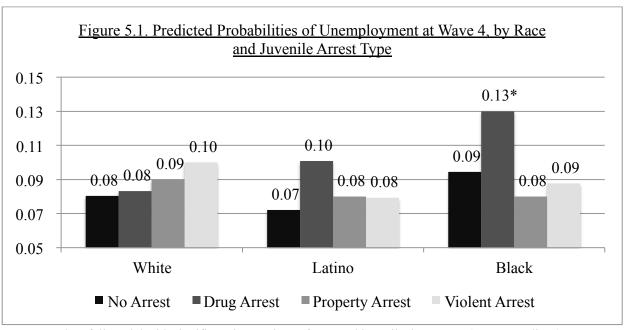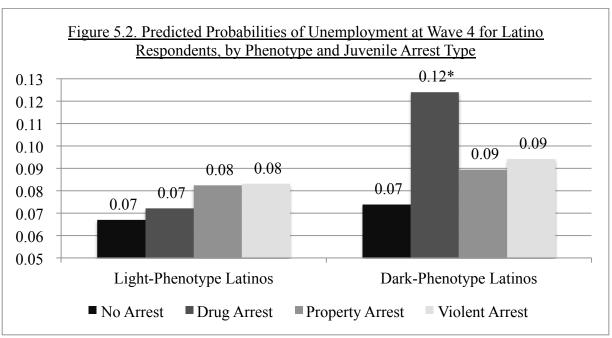
| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | | Model 4 | | Model 5 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Drug | 1.521 | | 1.327 | | 1.336 | | 1.354 | | 1.012 | |
| Property | 1.274 | | 0.477 | | 0.502 | | 0.542 | | 0.369 | |
| Violent | 1.370 | | 0.962 | | 0.919 | | 0.878 | | 0.374 | |
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 2.418 | | 2.743 | *** | 2.793 | *** | 2.586 | *** | 2.800 | *** |
| Age | 0.956 | | 0.968 | | 0.963 | | 0.980 | | 0.990 | |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 1.166 | * | 1.207 | * | 1.183 | * | 1.178 | * | 1.168 | |
| **Background Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Low-Income Household W1 | | | 1.086 | | 0.989 | | 0.954 | | 0.984 | |
| GPA W1 | | | 0.836 | * | 0.944 | | 0.966 | | 0.976 | |
| Delinquency Scale W1 (0=low, 3=high) | | | 0.964 | | 0.907 | | 0.873 | | 0.845 | |
| Drug Use W1 | | | 0.985 | | 0.979 | | 0.960 | | 0.963 | |
| Drug Sale W1 | | | 1.096 | | 1.074 | | 1.092 | | 0.909 | |
| Subsequent Juvenile Arrest(s) | | | 1.618 | * | 1.565 | * | 1.478 | * | 1.352 | * |
| Juvenile Conviction | | | 1.016 | | 0.917 | | 0.835 | | 0.818 | |
| **Mediating Variables (Wave 3)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| High School Dropout | | | | | 2.031 | *** | 1.725 | ** | 1.635 | * |
| In School W3 | | | | | 0.584 | *** | 0.586 | *** | 0.600 | ** |
| Unemployed W3 | | | | | | | 2.286 | *** | 2.306 | *** |
| **Adult Criminal Justice Variables (Wave 4)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Adult Arrest W4 | | | | | | | | | 1.542 | * |
| Adult Conviction W4 | | | | | | | | | 1.661 | * |
| Adult Incarceration (ref: Never) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than a year | | | | | | | | | 1.023 | |
| 1+ year(s) | | | | | | | | | 2.146 | ** |
| Delinquency Scale W4 (0=low, 3=high) | | | | | | | | | 5.175 | ** |

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001
Odds ratios not shown for respondents who had "other" juvenile arrest.

Table 5.4. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on Unemployment at Wave 4, Black respondents only (N=1,897)

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest)** | | | | | |
| Drug | 1.720 *** | 1.673 *** | 1.254 * | 1.130 | 1.149 |
| Property | 1.286 | 0.866 | 0.725 | 0.796 | 0.942 |
| Violent | 1.088 | 0.891 | 0.801 | 0.856 | 0.875 |
| **Demographics** | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 1.146 * | 1.234 * | 1.222 | 1.183 | 1.398 *** |
| Age | 0.958 | 0.924 | 0.925 * | 0.962 | 0.964 |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 1.020 | 1.004 | 0.975 | 0.954 | 0.962 |
| **Background Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | |
| Low-Income Household W1 | | 1.338 ** | 1.187 | 1.164 | 1.110 |
| GPA W1 | | 0.745 *** | 0.821 ** | 0.828 * | 0.871 * |
| Delinquency Scale W1 (0=low, 3=high) | | 1.327 | 1.174 | 1.177 | 1.081 |
| Drug Use W1 | | 0.981 | 0.960 | 0.970 | 0.894 |
| Drug Sale W1 | | 1.341 | 1.501 | 1.557 | 1.453 |
| Subsequent Juvenile Arrest(s) | | 1.378 | 1.232 | 1.108 | 1.002 |
| Juvenile Conviction | | 1.201 | 1.290 | 1.213 | 0.939 |
| **Mediating Variables (Wave 3)** | | | | | |
| High School Dropout | | | 2.886 *** | 2.649 *** | 2.034 *** |
| In School W3 | | | 0.764 * | 0.721 ** | 0.684 * |
| Unemployed W3 | | | | 2.524 *** | 2.448 *** |
| **Adult Criminal Justice Variables (Wave 4)** | | | | | |
| Adult Arrest W4 | | | | | 1.440 ** |
| Adult Conviction W4 | | | | | 1.169 |
| **Adult Incarceration (ref: Never)** | | | | | |
| Less than a year | | | | | 0.984 |
| 1+ year(s) | | | | | 1.540 * |
| Delinquency Scale W4 (0=low, 3=high) | | | | | 1.213 |

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001
Odds ratios not shown for respondents who had "other" juvenile arrest.

Figure 5.1. Predicted Probabilities of Unemployment at Wave 4, by Race and Juvenile Arrest Type



Note: Based on full model with significant interactions of race and juvenile drug arrest (see Appendix L).
N = 9,421
Significance Tests for Racial Differences: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Figure 5.2. Predicted Probabilities of Unemployment at Wave 4 for Latino Respondents, by Phenotype and Juvenile Arrest Type



Note: Based on full model with significant interactions of race and juvenile drug arrest (see Appendix M).
N = 1,468
Significance Tests for Racial Differences: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

# CHAPTER SIX:

# CONCLUSION

On April 21, 2016 *The Marshall Project* published the article "Why I Hated Being a Cop" by Raeford Davis, a former North Charleston police officer. Davis's police force came under national scrutiny in 2015 when Officer Michael T. Slager was caught on camera shooting unarmed black man Walter Scott eight times in the back after a traffic stop. Throughout the article, Davis confesses that he was troubled from the very start of his career by the department's approach to combatting drugs in minority communities. American drug polices, he argued, were not only ineffective, but also harmful in the ways they locked up juveniles who were already disadvantaged. In a poignant quote, Davis writes, "I realized how it became self-perpetuating. You arrest people for selling drugs, they become criminalized, and it destroys any opportunity for them to be productive members of society."

This dissertation validates Davis's statement by showing how juvenile drug arrests diminish key educational and labor market opportunities, specifically for minority youth. The main contribution of this dissertation to the study of racial inequality and the criminal justice system is that race and arrest type matter. This is contrary to prior studies on the effect of contact with the juvenile justice system that use aggregate measures of juvenile arrest and miss important racial differences in their consequences. Throughout this dissertation, I develop and test Racial Profiling Selection Theory, where I argue that racial profiling is most prevalent in drug enforcement, and leads to a unique selection process for this type of arrest. Since Black and darker-skinned Latino youth run a significantly higher risk of being randomly stopped and subsequently arrested for low-level drug offenses, the "net" of arrests is cast widely for them.

Therefore, arrested youth are more likely to be youth who do not otherwise engage in serious criminal and delinquent behavior. In contrast, White youth are targeted less and rarely subjected to random searches; the "net" of arrests is cast more narrowly for these youth. Therefore, White youth who *are* arrested are more likely to be youth who engage in criminal and delinquent behaviors serious enough to garner police attention. I find that the distribution of prior delinquency or criminality differs across race for drug offenses (but not other types of arrests), which leads to more detrimental consequences for Black and darker-skinned Latino youth with drug-related charges, and no impact on life chances for White and light-skinned Latino youth with a drug arrest. Therefore, while most White and light-skinned Latino youth who are arrested for drugs were already on a path towards educational failure and unemployment, most Black and darker-skinned Latino youth who are arrested for drugs were not on such a path, and the arrest itself derails their life chances.

My findings suggest that previous research based on arrest rates underestimates the racially disparate consequences of the War on Drugs: Black and Latino youth are not only more likely to be arrested for drug-related charges, they are also more negatively impacted by their drug arrests. By sharpening our theoretical and empirical understanding of the "punishment boom" and its individual and group consequences, this research helps to inform and prioritize public policy responses.

## Summary of Main Findings

Previous studies have focused solely on disproportionate *rates* of drug arrests to measure the disparate impacts of drug policy on minorities and the poor. This study moves beyond rates, and examines the direct *consequences* of aggressive drug enforcement on the life chances of youth, and particularly Black and Latino youth, the primary targets of this enforcement. Using data

from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), my dissertation compares the effects of juvenile drug arrests on educational and employment outcomes to other types of arrests, highlighting the unique role that drug arrests play in creating divergent life outcomes along racial lines. By considering that all juvenile arrestees are not the same, and by showing that the selection process of arrests has implications for the consequences of an arrest, this dissertation helps shed light on how drug enforcement and arrests constitute an overlooked mechanism for the production of racialized disadvantage. In this section, I summarize the main findings of each substantive chapter.

In Chapter 3, I develop and test the first prediction of Racial Profiling Selection Theory (RPST) that the distribution of prior delinquency or criminality differs across race for drug offenses (but not for other types of arrest). I also test the second prediction of RPST, that racial differences in prior delinquency among drug arrestees leads to more detrimental consequences for Black and darker-skinned Latino youth with drug-related charges, compared to White drug arrestees, and focus on high school dropout as the key outcome. First, I find that there are significant racial differences in the characteristics of drug arrestees that do not exist for other types of arrest. These results are consistent with Racial Profiling Selection Theory, which argues that despite similar rates of drug use and sale, Black and Latino youth, due to racial profiling, are more likely to be arrested for drug offenses than White youth. As a result, Blacks, and to some extent Latinos, who are arrested for drugs are often youth with minimal prior delinquent and criminal behavior. In contrast, White youth who are arrested for drugs tend to be those who engage in more criminal and delinquent behaviors. Second, I find that the effect of a first-time drug arrest during high school is more detrimental for the high school dropout outcomes of Black youth than White or Latino youth. Drug arrests have weaker effects for Latinos, but are

explained to some extent by the heterogeneous racialized experiences among this group–where darker-skinned Latinos experience more damaging impacts from a drug arrest than lighter-skinned Latinos. As expected, being arrested for drugs has no bearing on the likelihood of graduating from high school for White youth, once delinquent behaviors are taken into account. These findings support Racial Profiling Selection Theory, which argues that the result of racially biased drug enforcement is that most White youth who are arrested for drugs were already on a path towards high school dropout and delinquency.

Chapter 4 builds on the findings of Chapter 3, by examining if and how the racially biased detrimental impacts of a juvenile drug arrest impact college enrollment–a significant stepping stone in the transition to adulthood (Montgomery & Côté, 2003). Disaggregating by arrest type is especially important for college enrollment because convicted drug offenders are also the only offenders denied federal financial aid for college (Wheelock & Uggen, 2006). Given that Black and Latino youth are more likely to be convicted of a drug offense than White youth (McCord et al., 2001), I tested whether the perceived negative effect of an arrest is actually the result of racial biases in a subsequent conviction rather than the result of the arrest itself. Similar to the findings for high school dropout in Chapter 3, I find that a juvenile drug arrest hinders the likelihood of attending college for Black youth more than White youth. For Black youth only, the effect of a drug arrest on college enrollment is driven *partially* by the effect of a conviction and possibly by the fact that drug arrestees are banned from receiving any type of financial aid for higher education. However, that conviction does not fully explain how the effect of a drug arrest for Black youth underscores the damaging impact of the arrest itself. Drug arrests have weaker effects for Latinos than Black youth, but are explained to some extent by the heterogeneous racialized experiences among this group–where darker skinned Latinos are

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experience more damaging impacts of a drug arrest than lighter-skinned Latinos. Again, as predicted, being arrested for drugs has no bearing on the likelihood of attending college for White youth, once delinquent behaviors are taken into account. These findings lend further support to Racial Profiling Selection Theory, which states that as a result of racially bias drug enforcement, most White youth who are arrested for drugs were never on a college-bound pathway.

Chapter 5 examines if and how the racially biased detrimental impacts of a juvenile drug arrest carry through into young adulthood and impact unemployment. The most significant finding is that contrary to prior studies that contend a juvenile arrest negatively impacts the labor market outcomes of all youth (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Bushway, 1998; De Li, 1999), I find that a juvenile arrest (regardless of arrest type) has *no association* with the labor market outcomes of White and light-phenotype Latino young adults. For Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth, however, a drug arrest serves as an important turning point that carries significant long-term labor market consequences, lending further support to Racial Profiling Selection Theory. I find that the deficits and disadvantages after a drug arrest pile up faster for racially disadvantaged youth, creating cumulative disadvantage. These youth are more likely to get racially profiled, stopped, searched, and subsequently arrested for drugs. A drug arrest subsequently increases their chances of dropping out of high school and not attending college. These structural disadvantages then translate into long-term unemployment in young adulthood. This illustrates one of many ways the criminal justice system diverts the pathways of young Black youth, helping to recreate racial disadvantage and inequality.

Together, the findings of each chapter highlight two distinct processes. First, they highlight the protective power of White advantage and White privilege in shielding youth from

the negative consequences of juvenile justice involvement. For Whites, an arrest is not a significant turning point in their lives, and in fact, by the time they are young adults, their juvenile transgressions are only memories of the past, bearing no consequences on their life chances. On the other hand, the findings illustrate racial disadvantage and how minor transgressions in adolescence become obstacles in both school and in the labor market for Black and darker-phenotype Latino youth. This highlights one distinct way in which the criminal justice system diverts the pathways of young Black and Brown youth, and helps recreate racial disadvantage and inequality.

## Implications of the Study

### *Racism and Racial Inequality*

A great deal of research has been dedicated to unraveling the durability of racial inequality nearly a half-century after the Civil Rights struggle which has been widely regarded as successful. A recent and growing area of this research has focused on the role of the criminal justice system in perpetuating and reproducing what Eduardo Bonilla-Silva calls "a racialized state," (1996, 469) in which opportunities are hierarchically organized to benefit some racial groups at the expense of others. Along these lines, the negative effects of criminal justice involvement may also take on this hierarchical shape. Adding to the literature on the continuing significance of race for opportunities and life chances in America (J. R. Feagin, 1991; Hughes & Thomas, 1998; Massey, 1990), these findings suggest that the disadvantaging effect of a drug arrest on education and employment is another way in which racial inequality is reproduced for Black Americans. Moreover, by distinguishing between race and skin color for Latino respondents in the sample, this study shows that darker-skinned Latinos are also experiencing the

deleterious effects of drug arrest and not light-skinned Latinos–which provides valuable insight on racial inequality and the place of Latinos in the U.S. racial structure.

While scholars agree that recent waves of immigration are transforming the U.S. racial structure, previously a biracial order (Black/White divide), they disagree on how it is changing. Some scholars contend that the racial structure in the U.S. still holds a binary division between Blacks and non-Blacks (Lee & Bean, 2004) and that Latinos are "becoming White" (Yancey, 2003). Others argue for a more complex racial system in which Latinos are increasingly "racialized" and seen as a racial group in between Blacks and Whites, but with discrimination and inequality dependent on phenotype/skin color (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Feliciano, 2015). The findings here support the latter perspective, in which dark-skinned Latinos represent this "racialized" Latino group. The effects of a drug arrest on life outcomes are the most minimal for White and light-skinned Latino youth, supporting prior research arguing that light-skinned Latinos are being seen as White (Feliciano, 2015), and perhaps given the privileges associated with that racial status. Furthermore, the fact that Black youth suffer the most detrimental consequences of a drug arrest, even compared to dark-skinned Latino youth, lends some credence to theories of Black Exceptionalism (Sears et al., 1999): In terms of opportunities and obstacles, the pathway to achieving success distinctly differs for Blacks, who continuously remain the most disadvantaged. The significantly stronger effect of drug arrest for Black youth suggests that Blackness continues to constitute a fundamental racial construction in American society.

That behavioral and family background variables explain the effect of drug arrest on educational outcomes for Whites speaks to a larger notion of White privilege. Propensity theory proposes that the White youths who experience educational failures after arrest are probably the

*most* deviant among their white peers, already on a path of deviance and failure, and an arrest does not impact their educational pathway. The story is quite different for Black youth, who are not necessarily the most deviant, but because of the racial bias in drug enforcement, have a higher chance of being arrested for drugs (Beckett et al., 2005) which significantly derails their life chances. In other words, White privilege means that because drug problems are seen as a *Black* problem, "police officers and officials are simply less likely to perceive Whites who are involved in illicit drug activity as drug offenders" (Beckett et al., 2005, 130). Therefore, Black youth are not significantly more likely to use or sell prohibited drugs than Whites, but they are arrested, stigmatized, and marginalized at drastically higher rates for precisely the same conduct.

The findings of this dissertation speak to larger patterns of racial discrimination and racial inequality happening at every step of the life process. These patterns show that Black and phenotypically darker Latino youth are less likely to sell or do drugs, but are more likely to get randomly stopped, searched, and subsequently arrested than White youth. These patterns also come about through gatekeeper behaviors of high school guidance counselors who favor their White high school graduates over Black students (Royster 2003) and are more likely to refer them to college or jobs after high school. This is exacerbated through the behavior of employers who favor white applications over equally qualified Black applicants (Pager, Western, and Bonikowski 2009), and through the social capital that White families have (that racially disadvantaged families do not have) that provide White young adults with connections to find good jobs–through strong ties through kin and friendship networks, as well as weak ties (friends of friends, or supervisors on the job) (Alexander 2014). At each step, White youth experience cumulative advantage while their Black and Latino peers are experiencing cumulative disadvantage.

*Drug Policies and Race*

      The deleterious effects of juvenile drug arrests on the life chances of Black and darker-phenotype Latino Americans is situated in a larger discussion centered around the impact of the War on Drugs policies of the past 30 years on Black and Brown communities. In her book *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Era of* Colorblindness Michelle Alexander (2010) cites the War on Drugs as the major catalyst of the rise of mass incarceration over the last three decades (from 300,000 people in 1980 to 2.3 million people in 2010). Alexander argues that mass incarceration and the policies and practices of the War on Drugs are a redesign or extension of systems of slavery and Jim Crow:

> *"In the era of colorblindness, it is no longer socially permissible to use race, explicitly, as a justification for discrimination, exclusion, and social contempt. So we don't. Rather than rely on race, we use our criminal justice system to label people of color "criminals" and then engage in all the practices we supposedly left behind. Today it is perfectly legal to discriminate against criminals in nearly all the ways that it was once legal to discriminate against African Americans."*

      In 2000, there were more Black men of any age incarcerated (791,000) than were enrolled in higher education (603,000) (Western, Schiraldi, & Ziedenberg, 2003), with the overwhelming majority serving time for minor drug offenses such as marijuana possession. This has led Bobo and Thomson (2006) to hailing this an "unjust war" and our contemporary period one of "laissez faire" racism, characterized by the "persistent negative stereotyping of Blacks, a tendency to blame Blacks themselves for the Black-White gap in socioeconomic status, and resistance to meaningful policy efforts to ameliorate U.S. racist social conditions and

institutions" (2004, 16-17). Doris Marie Provine (2007) argues that the normalization of the War on Drug policies, which work such disadvantages on the Black population, are not only striking in the context of the country's highly publicized commitment to equal opportunity, but in the ways they have created a system in which racism has become rationalized. She points out that "old tendencies to associate dangerous drugs with dangerous minorities bent on corrupting White, law-abiding youths" has become much evident in this War on Drugs debate (p. 23). What these studies point out is how the War on Drugs is really a War on Blacks, as evidenced by the disproportionate drug arrest rates amongst Blacks (Fellner, 2008) and the harsh sentencing for drugs most often used by Blacks (Provine, 2007) which has been the main catalyst in the prison boom of the last two decades. This dissertation highlights how these scholars may actually be underestimating the effects of this war on its most frequent casualty: Black youth are not only more likely to get stopped, searched, and arrested for drugs, they are also more negatively impacted by their drug arrests. This differential *impact* constitutes an overlooked mechanism for the production of racialized disadvantage and Black Exceptionalism in the United States.

There are two primary police recommendations implied by the findings of this dissertation. First and foremost, this study highlights the need for an end to racial profiling and greater law enforcement accountability. As discussed in the introduction, drug enforcement was born out of a necessity to control the Black population (D. Baum, 2016). Racial courier profiles, the root of modern-day racial profiling, was created not to target and ameliorate the supposed drug epidemic, but to imprison and disenfranchise large proportions of Black Americans (Harris, 2003), effectively extending Jim Crow laws of the early 20th century (M. Alexander, 2010). Racial profiling in drug enforcement is widespread and a daily reality for communities of color (Kasravi & Mayers II, 2014). This study highlights how racial profiling in drug arrests derails the

lives of so many youth of color whose are guilty of being the wrong race in the wrong place at the wrong time. Twenty states still have no polices against racial profiling, and of the states that do, none have sufficiently strong enough models for effectively ending racial profiling (Kasravi & Mayers II, 2014). Furthermore, Congress has yet to pass the federal End Racial Profiling Act (ERPA), which has been introduced several times since 2001, most recently in 2015. The United States not only lacks any meaningful policies banning racial profiling, there also exists little recourse of action for this victimized by this abusive practice.

The second, and perhaps most obvious, policy recommendation of this study is the ratification of drug laws and the end of the War on Drugs policies. The punitive emphasis of these policies–arrests and incarceration, rather than prevention and treatment–has been largely ineffective at addressing issues of drug use and drug sale in the United States. There needs to be a shift to a rehabilitative and restorative public health approach for dealing with drug addiction and drug abuse, and a stop to criminalizing what is a public health issue. Therefore, the substitution of alternatives to the criminal justice system, such as drug treatment programs, may serve to better promote the well-being of youth, and the public safety of their communities. The country spends $68 billion a year on a criminal justice system that destabilizes communities and derails the lives of individuals without improving public safety. Refocusing spending on community-based, front-end solutions (i.e., investing in schools, employment opportunities, and youth programs) can address the problems that lead to contact with the criminal justice system and reduce expensive incarceration.

## Directions for Future Research

The findings of this study leave several questions for future research. While I have identified juvenile drug arrests as a mechanism for racial inequality in education and

employment, how exactly this mechanism operates remains unanswered. This level of analysis, perhaps, is best answered with a qualitative lens that can examine the nuanced micro-level processes occurring for Black and Latino youth both during and after a drug arrest.

The findings in this study also underscores the significance of skin color in the Unites States, particularly for Latinos, and provides a more nuanced understanding of how discrimination functions in the United States. These findings would be missed if I used conventional measures of race and ethnicity, and did not disaggregate Latinos by skin color. Discrimination based on skin color, or colorism, is a present reality and should be considered as we further our understandings of race. Developing a firm understanding of colorism, particularly for Latinos, is essential in the quest for equal opportunity. Future studies should tease out processes of racialization and criminalization of Latino youth, particularly youth with darker phenotypes. Some prior research has hinted at some of these processes. For example, in his study of Black and Latino youth in Oakland, Victor Rios (2011) finds that both Black and Latino youth were criminalized in similar ways, but that Black youth faced harsher sanctions from family, teachers, and the police than did Latino youth. For example, he found that light-skinned Latinos gained respect from teachers and police once they chose to dress more formally. Conversely, Black youth still faced criminalization, even after they dressed more formally. However, to truly disentangle the processes for Latino youth, comparisons should be made between the racialization and criminalization of dark-skinned Latino youth compared to Black and light-skinned Latino youth.

The racially disparate impacts of a juvenile drug arrest should also be explored on other important opportunity outcomes, including marriage, health, and crime in adulthood. The theory of Racial Profiling Selection Theory can also be utilized and tested to study the impacts of other

racially discriminatory sanctions where this racially biased selection process can occur. For example, future studies should test whether the same disparate consequences occur for adult drug arrests, where racial profiling is also rampant. Future research can also examine school criminalization (e.g., school suspensions and expulsions), where, similar to drug enforcement, Black and Latino youth are more likely to face harsher punishment for similar "delinquent" behaviors as White youth (Losen & Gillespie, 2012). For example, building on RPST, future studies can assess whether the effects of school suspensions and expulsions are more damaging to Black and phenotypically darker Latino youth. These suggestions for future research likely just touch on the numerous possibilities for expanding on the topic of racially disparate selection into the criminal justice system and its detrimental impact on the life outcomes of Black and Latino Americans.

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Appendix A. Descriptive Statistics for Juvenile Drug Arrests
by Race (N=311)

| Variables | White | Latino | Black |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marijuana Possession | 75% | 71% | 70% |
| Marijuana Sale | 19% | 23% | 17% |
| Other Drug Possession | 24% | 22% | 28% |
| Other Drug Sale | 9% | 13% | 19% |
| | | | |
| N | 128 | 49 | 134 |

Appendix B. Wave 1 and Wave 4 Add Health Delinquency
Scales

**Wave 1 Delinquency Scale:**
The delinquency scale is created from the Add Health Delinquency Scale. Respondent's were asked "In the past 12 months, how often did you…" and then given the following scenarios:
1) paint graffiti or signs on someone else's property or in a public place?
2) deliberately damage property that didn't belong to you?
3) lie to your parents or guardians about where you had been or whom you were with?
4) take something from a store without paying for it?
5) get into a serious physical fight?
6) hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or care from a doctor or nurse?
7) run away from home?
8) drive a car without its owner's permission?
9) steal something worth more than $50?
10) go into a house or building to steal something?
11) use or threaten to use a weapon to get something from someone?
12) steal something worth less than $50?
13) take part in a fight where a group of your friends was against another group?
14) act loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place?
The final question in the scale (how often respondents sold marijuana or other drugs), was not included in the scale, but used to create the variable indicating respondents had sold drugs.

**Wave 4 Delinquency Scale:**
The delinquency scale is created from the Add Health Criminal Offending scale at Wave 4. Respondent's were asked "In the past 12 months, how often did you…" and then given the following scenarios:

1)  deliberately damage property that didn't belong to you?
2)  steal something worth more than $50?
3)  go into a house or building to steal something?
4) use or threaten to use a weapon to get something from someone?
5) sell marijuana or other drugs?
6) take part in a physical fight where a group of your friends was against another group?
7) buy, sell, or hold stolen property?
8) use someone else's credit card, bank card, or automatic teller card without their permission or knowledge?
9) deliberately write a bad check?
10) get into a serious physical fight?

Appendix C. Percentages and Means of Demographic and Family Background Variables, by Juvenile Arrest Type and Race

| | No Juvenile Arrest | | | Drug | | | Property | | | Violent | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black | White | Latino | Black |
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 54.3% | 53.4% | 58.2% | 18.1% | 15.6% | 10.9% | 32.5% | 39.3% | 33.3% | 17.0% | 28.1% | 30.5% |
| Age | 15.88 | 16.03 | 16.14 | 15.44 | 16.03 | 15.98 | 15.96 | 15.70 | 15.74 | 16.06 | 15.88 | 16.30 |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 1.05 | 1.69 | 3.68 | 1.08 | 1.86 | 3.82 | 1.03 | 1.71 | 3.75 | 1.06 | 1.83 | 4.05 |
| | (0.010) | (0.019) | (0.012) | (0.037) | (0.138) | (0.063) | (0.078) | (0.123) | (0.084) | (0.055) | (0.067) | (0.071) |
| **Family Background (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Parents' Education | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No HS Diploma | 7.3% | 34.1% | 13.7% | 6.8% | 35.4% | 12.2% | 8.9% | 26.3% | 9.1% | 14.0% | 32.1% | 15.5% |
| HS Diploma/GED | 30.4% | 28.1% | 38.2% | 29.9% | 27.1% | 37.2% | 35.0% | 33.3% | 41.4% | 47.7% | 37.7% | 47.6% |
| Some College | 22.9% | 18.5% | 19.6% | 22.9% | 18.4% | 21.2% | 23.6% | 17.5% | 19.5% | 16.8% | 11.3% | 16.0% |
| B.A. Degree or Higher | 39.4% | 19.4% | 28.5% | 40.3% | 18.9% | 29.3% | 32.5% | 22.8% | 30.1% | 21.5% | 18.9% | 21.0% |
| Two-Parent Home | 76.3% | 72.6% | 43.9% | 67.8% | 59.1% | 42.0% | 63.7% | 62.9% | 36.2% | 58.0% | 56.1% | 33.7% |
| Low-Income Household | 17.7% | 37.0% | 39.1% | 21% | 41% | 42% | 20% | 39% | 33% | 29% | 38% | 41% |
| N | 4,483 | 1,180 | 1,516 | 128 | 49 | 134 | 169 | 61 | 69 | 112 | 57 | 82 |

Appendix D. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on High School Dropout, including Interactions for Race and Arrest Type

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest) | | |
| Drug | 1.434 | |
| Other | 1.308 | * |
| | | |
| Race: (ref: White) | | |
| Latino | 0.832 | |
| Black | 0.627 | * |
| | | |
| Race Interactions (ref: White X No Arrest) | | |
| Latino X Drug Arrest | 1.741 | |
| Latino X Other Arrest | 1.002 | |
| Black X Drug Arrest | 2.763 | * |
| Black X Other Arrest | 1.320 | |
| | | |
| Demographics | | |
| Gender (Female) | 1.283 | * |
| Age | 0.819 | *** |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 1.087 | |
| | | |
| Family/Home (Wave 1) | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | |
| HS Diploma/GED | 0.576 | *** |
| Some College | 0.482 | *** |
| BA Degree or more | 0.266 | *** |
| Low-Income Household | 1.444 | *** |
| Two Parents Home | 0.776 | ** |
| | | |
| School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1): | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 0.815 | *** |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | 0.316 | *** |
| School Attachment Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 0.903 | ^ |
| School Suspension(s) | 1.399 | *** |
| School Expulsion(s) | 3.942 | *** |
| | | |
| Behavior Variables (Wave 1) | | |
| Impulsivity Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 1.040 | |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 1.171 | |
| Drug Use | 1.171 | |
| Drug Sale | 0.970 | |
| | | |
| Other Juvenile Justice Involvement | | |
| Juvenile Conviction | 1.586 | * |

N=9,269

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Odds ratios not shown for Asian, Native American, or respondents who reported their race as other.

Appendix E. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on High School Dropout for Latino Respondents Only, including Interactions for Phenotype and Arrest Type

| | |
|---|---|
| Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: no arrest) | |
|   Drug | 1.328 |
|   Other | 1.286 |
| | |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 0.912 |
| | |
| Phenotype Interactions (ref: Light-Phenotype Latino w/No Arrest) | |
|   Dark-Phenotype X Drug Arrest | 1.927 * |
|   Dark-Phenotype X Other Arrest | 0.527 |
| | |
| Demographics | |
|   Gender (Female) | 1.153 |
|   Age | 0.805 * |
| | |
| Family/Home (Wave 1) | |
|   Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | |
|     HS Diploma/GED | 0.833 |
|     Some College | 0.588 |
|     BA Degree or more | 0.205 ** |
|   Low-Income Household | 1.707 * |
|   Two Parents Home | 1.172 |
| | |
| School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1): | |
|   College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 0.989 |
|   9th Grade GPA (0-4) | 0.262 *** |
|   School Attachment Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 0.903 |
|   School Suspension(s) | 1.669 * |
|   School Expulsion(s) | 7.925 *** |
| | |
| Behavior Variables (Wave 1) | |
|   Impulsivity Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 1.515 * |
|   Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 1.492 * |
|   Drug Use | 1.171 |
|   Drug Sale | 0.918 |
| | |
| Other Juvenile Justice Involvement | |
|   Juvenile Conviction | 2.918 * |

N=1438

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Appendix F. Descriptive Statistics, Propensity Score Model and Balance Diagnostics, for Juvenile Drug Arrest and High School Dropout

| | WHITE | | | Balance Diagnostics: standardized bias (SB) | | LATINO | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean (SD) | Logit Model of juvenile drug arrest | | | | Mean (SD) | Logit Model of juvenile drug arrest | |
| | | b | S.D. | Unmatched | Matched | | b | S.D. |
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 50.34% | -1.603 *** | (0.274) | -103.8 | -29.3 | 48.70% | -1.518 ** | (0.509) |
| Age | 15.46 | -0.321 *** | (0.069) | -18.3 | -4.1 | 15.62 | -0.255 * | (0.127) |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 1.04 (0.28) | -0.291 | (0.295) | -6.7 | -10.2 | 1.72 (0.85) | 0.110 * | (0.223) |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | | | | | | | |
| HS Diploma | 30.28% | 0.715 | (0.465) | -1 | 8.5 | 30.13% | -0.491 | (0.586) |
| Some College | 23.04% | 0.502 | (0.485) | -1.9 | 2.5 | 17.53% | 0.691 | (0.545) |
| BA Degree or more | 39.08% | 0.861 | (0.480) | 2.9 | -13.2 | 19.50% | -0.414 | (0.670) |
| Low-Income Household | 25.22% | 0.102 | (0.284) | 9.3 | 16.5 | 44.32% | 0.178 | (0.459) |
| Two Parents Home | 74.67% | -0.006 | (0.247) | -19.4 | -1.2 | 69.05% | -0.939 * | (0.427) |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1):** | | | | | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 4.162 (1.17) | -0.096 | (0.093) | -39.3 | -11.5 | 3.861 (1.19) | 0.177 | (0.195) |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | 2.675 (0.87) | -0.139 * | (0.139) | -57 | -11.2 | 2.305 (0.90) | -0.393 | (0.255) |
| School Attachment Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 3.766 (0.88) | -0.062 | (0.122) | -35.8 | -5.9 | 3.758 (0.84) | 0.193 | (0.249) |
| School Suspension(s) | 21.28% | 0.394 | (0.254) | 62.7 | 15.4 | 31.69% | 0.145 | (0.447) |
| School Expulsion(s) | 5.21% | 0.41 | (0.337) | 42.4 | -6.5 | 9.07% | 0.575 | (0.582) |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | |
| Impulsivity Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 3.731 (0.64) | -0.02 | (0.166) | -26.8 | -11.2 | 3.82 (0.59) | -0.642 | (0.340) |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 0.279 (0.34) | 0.519 ** | (0.267) | 78.6 | 6.9 | 0.357 (0.40) | 0.742 | (0.419) |
| Drug Use | 27.89% | 0.867 *** | (0.258) | 71 | 12.8 | 29.79% | 0.537 | (0.519) |
| Drug Sale | 6.38% | 0.855 ** | (0.312) | 60.6 | 19.3 | 9.51% | 1.418 ** | (0.547) |

Note: Significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001
Post-matching standardized bias is based on kernel matching (bandwidth 0.06).

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Appendix F. Continued

| | LATINO | | BLACK | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Balance Diagnostics: standardized bias (SB) | | Mean (SD) | Logit Model of juvenile drug arrest | | Balance Diagnostics: standardized bias (SB) | |
| | Unmatched | Matched | | b | S.D. | Unmatched | Matched |
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | -85.9 | -30.7 | 51.15% | -2.742 *** | (0.457) | -141.3 | -44.5 |
| Age | -27.9 | -18.7 | 15.74 | -0.058 | (0.077) | 17.4 | 1.6 |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | -28.8 | -13 | 3.69 (1.02) | 0.199 * | (0.130) | 0.8 | -10 |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | | | | | | |
| HS Diploma | 0.1 | 3.2 | 38.46% | -0.699 | (0.454) | -13.5 | 0.1 |
| Some College | 22.3 | 9 | 19.64% | 0.009 | (0.454) | 15.7 | 3.5 |
| BA Degree or more | -3.8 | -8 | 27.66% | -0.305 | (0.457) | -9 | -6.1 |
| Low-Income Household | 2.2 | -3.6 | 45.92% | -0.034 | (0.283) | 14.2 | 4.2 |
| Two Parents Home | -49.1 | -11.2 | 41.21% | 0.005 | (0.275) | -9.5 | -18.3 |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1):** | | | | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | -30.1 | -14.5 | 4.09 (1.11) | -0.088 | (0.116) | -32.5 | -3.2 |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | -72.1 | -28.4 | 2.138 (0.89) | -0.179 | (0.168) | -53.4 | -11.2 |
| School Attachment Scale (1=low, 5=high) | -21.7 | -4.3 | 3.76 (0.86) | 0.098 | (0.156) | -10.1 | -5 |
| School Suspension(s) | 65.5 | 17.9 | 47.24% | 1.013 ** | (0.305) | 76.7 | 13.1 |
| School Expulsion(s) | 40.1 | 11 | 14.25% | 0.250 | (0.336) | 42.3 | 12.3 |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | |
| Impulsivity Scale (1=low, 5=high) | -47 | -19.9 | 3.895 (0.62) | -0.166 | (0.206) | -14.9 | -5.5 |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 92.1 | 18.6 | 0.291 (0.33) | 0.402 | (0.340) | 59.2 | 11.6 |
| Drug Use | 79.8 | 17.5 | 26.62% | 0.771 ** | (0.297) | 85.9 | 9.3 |
| Drug Sale | 90.2 | 19.9 | 7.89% | 0.999 * | (0.350) | 73.8 | 12.3 |

Note. Significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001
Post-matching standardized bias is based on kernel matching (bandwidth 0.06).

Appendix G: Propensity Score Models, Average Treatment Effect of a Juvenile Drug Arrest on High School Dropout

| | White | Latino | Black |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Average Treatment Effect** | | | |
| Juvenile Drug Arrest (ref: No Juvenile Arrest) | 1.177 | 1.725 | 2.472 ** |
| | | | |
| **Demographics** | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 1.437 *** | 1.204 | 1.095 |
| Age | 1.368 ** | 0.863 * | 0.845 *** |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 0.980 | 1.724 * | 0.942 |
| | | | |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | | |
| HS Diploma/GED | 0.552 * | 0.590 * | 0.764 * |
| Some College | 0.364 ** | 0.547 * | 0.523 ** |
| BA Degree or more | 0.289 *** | 0.361 *** | 0.377 *** |
| Low-Income Household | 1.596 ** | 1.487 * | 1.262 |
| Two Parents Home | 0.749 ** | 0.735 * | 0.810 |
| | | | |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1)** | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 0.732 ** | 0.775 *** | 0.740 *** |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | 0.462 *** | 0.558 *** | 0.446 *** |
| School Attachment Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 0.813 * | 0.720 * | 1.043 |
| School Suspension(s) | 2.124 *** | 1.068 | 1.606 *** |
| School Expulsion(s) | 3.065 *** | 2.814 *** | 4.221 *** |
| | | | |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | |
| Impulsivity Scale (1=low, 5=high) | 1.032 | 1.575 * | 1.058 |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 1.273 * | 1.324 | 1.565 |
| Drug Use | 1.339 ** | 0.942 | 1.074 |
| Drug Sale | 0.786 | 1.145 | 0.788 |
| | | | |
| **Other Juvenile Justice Involvement** | | | |
| Juvenile Conviction | 1.172 | 1.761 * | 1.790 |
| | | | |
| N | 5,102 | 1,438 | 1,858 |

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Appendix H. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects
of Juvenile Arrest on College Enrollment, including Interactions
for Race and Arrest Type

| | |
|---|---|
| Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest) | |
| Drug | 1.034 |
| Other | 0.875 * |
| | |
| Race: (ref: White) | |
| Latino | 1.388 * |
| Black | 1.241 |
| | |
| Race Interactions (ref: White X No Arrest) | |
| Latino X Drug Arrest | 0.884 * |
| Latino X Other Arrest | 0.909 |
| Black X Drug Arrest | 0.700 * |
| Black X Other Arrest | 1.096 |
| | |
| Demographics | |
| Gender (Female) | 1.242 ** |
| Age | 0.987 |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 0.980 |
| | |
| Family/Home (Wave 1) | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | |
| HS Diploma/GED | 1.360 * |
| Some College | 2.192 ** |
| BA Degree or more | 3.655 *** |
| Low-Income Household | 0.727 * |
| Two Parents Home | 0.901 |
| | |
| School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1) | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 1.568 *** |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | 2.293 *** |
| School Suspension(s) | 0.746 ** |
| School Expulsion(s) | 0.871 |
| | |
| Behavior Variables (Wave 1) | |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 0.923 * |
| Drug Use | 0.746 |
| Drug Sale | 0.807 * |
| | |
| Other Juvenile Justice Involvement | |
| Juvenile Conviction | 0.417 * |

N=9421

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Odds ratios not shown for Asian, Native American, or respondents who
reported their race as other.

Appendix I. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on College Enrollment for Latino Respondents Only, including Interactions for Phenotype and Arrest Type

Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest)
  Drug                                          0.826
  Other                                         0.721 **

Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark)                     0.912

Phenotype Interactions (ref: Light-Phenotype Latino w/No Arrest)
  Dark-Phenotype X Drug Arrest                  0.785 *
  Dark-Phenotype X Other Arrest                 0.893

Demographics
  Gender (Female)                               1.293 *
  Age                                           0.805

Family/Home (Wave 1)
  Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma)
    HS Diploma/GED                              1.475
    Some College                                2.055 ***
    BA Degree or more                           2.582 ***
  Low-Income Household                          0.881
  Two Parents Home                              0.757

School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1)
  College Expectations (1=low, 5=high)          1.384 ***
  9th Grade GPA (0-4)                           2.262 ***
  School Suspension(s)                          0.866
  School Expulsion(s)                           0.426 *

Behavior Variables (Wave 1)
  Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high)             0.926 *
  Drug Use                                      0.817
  Drug Sale                                     0.593 *

Other Juvenile Justice Involvement
  Juvenile Conviction                           2.918 *

N=1468

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Appendix J. Descriptive Statistics, Propensity Score Model and Balance Diagnostics, for Juvenile Drug Arrest and College Enrollment

| | WHITE | | | Balance Diagnostics: | | | LATINO | |
| | | Logit Model of juvenile drug arrest | | standardized bias (SB) | | | | Logit Model of juvenile drug arrest |
| | Mean (SD) | b | S.D. | Unmatched | Matched | Mean (SD) | b | S.D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 50.34% | -1.303 *** | (0.287) | -95.1 | -28 | 48.70% | -1.803 * | (0.734) |
| Age | 15.46 | -0.306 *** | (0.078) | -18.3 | -9.7 | 15.62 | -0.604 ** | (0.194) |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 1.04 (0.28) | 0.334 | (0.305) | 10.9 | 4.8 | 1.72 (0.85) | 0.122 * | (0.323) |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | | | | | | | |
| HS Diploma | 30.28% | 1.152 | (0.556) | -1.4 | 10 | 30.13% | -1.810 | (1.132) |
| Some College | 23.04% | 0.986 | (0.566) | 6 | -0.3 | 17.53% | 1.139 | (0.718) |
| BA Degree or more | 39.08% | 1.182 | (0.563) | -2 | -3.7 | 19.50% | -1.512 | (1.122) |
| Low-Income Household | 25.22% | 0.278 | (0.312) | 15.2 | 11 | 44.32% | -0.435 | (0.683) |
| Two Parents Home | 74.67% | -0.027 | (0.281) | -20.1 | -0.4 | 69.05% | -0.360 * | (0.637) |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1):** | | | | | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 4.162 (1.17) | -0.089 | (0.103) | -38.9 | -2.5 | 3.861 (1.19) | -0.175 | (0.281) |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | 2.675 (0.87) | -0.063 * | (0.160) | -45.5 | -3.5 | 2.305 (0.90) | -0.471 | (0.411) |
| School Suspension(s) | 21.28% | 0.660 | (0.281) | 72.4 | 16.4 | 31.69% | 0.718 | (0.703) |
| School Expulsion(s) | 5.21% | 0.947 | (0.506) | 38.9 | 14.2 | 9.07% | 0.891 | (0.803) |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | | |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 0.279 (0.34) | 0.494 ** | (0.290) | 87.2 | -3.2 | 0.357 (0.40) | 1.540 * | (0.661) |
| Drug Use | 27.89% | 0.857 ** | (0.287) | 73.7 | 13.8 | 29.79% | 0.171 | (0.732) |
| Drug Sale | 6.38% | 0.863 * | (0.345) | 66.1 | 15 | 9.51% | 0.684 * | (0.850) |

Note: Significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001
Post-matching standardized bias is based on kernel matching (bandwidth 0.06).

Appendix J. Continued

| | LATINO | | | BLACK | | | |
| | Balance Diagnostics: standardized bias (SB) | | Mean (SD) | Logit Model of juvenile drug arrest | | Balance Diagnostics: standardized bias (SB) | |
| Demographics | Unmatched | Matched | | $b$ | S.D. | Unmatched | Matched |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender (Female) | -94.9 | -46.6 | 51.15% | -2.455 *** | (0.508) | -141 | -41.8 |
| Age | -62.6 | -16.4 | 15.74 | -0.166 | (0.103) | -5.3 | 8.7 |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 23.9 | 7.4 | 3.69 (1.02) | 0.014 * | (0.166) | 18.1 | -7.8 |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | | | | | | |
| HS Diploma | -29.3 | -15.4 | 38.46% | -0.614 | (0.588) | -1.2 | -19.5 |
| Some College | 59.5 | 16.6 | 19.64% | 0.090 | (0.591) | 15.7 | 9.6 |
| BA Degree or more | -0.5 | 5.3 | 27.66% | -0.531 | (0.599) | -15.7 | 8.5 |
| Low-Income Household | 3.7 | -16.1 | 45.92% | 0.061 | (0.360) | 21.3 | 6.1 |
| Two Parents Home | -27.6 | 10.1 | 41.21% | -0.399 | (0.362) | -25.3 | -17.9 |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1):** | | | | | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | -27.7 | -9.2 | 4.09 (1.11) | 0.017 | (0.159) | -31 | -9 |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | -26 | -9.7 | 2.138 (0.89) | -0.238 | (0.250) | -64.2 | -15.4 |
| School Suspension(s) | 37.4 | 10.1 | 47.24% | 0.669 * | (0.384) | 67.3 | 1.3 |
| School Expulsion(s) | 38.9 | 12.5 | 14.25% | 0.946 * | (0.441) | 57 | 18.1 |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | | | | | |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 70.9 | 18.1 | 0.291 (0.33) | 0.407 | (0.400) | 62.8 | 19.3 |
| Drug Use | 53.4 | 4.8 | 26.62% | 0.747 * | (0.383) | 85.9 | 18.5 |
| Drug Sale | 49.9 | 14.9 | 7.89% | 1.221 ** | (0.441) | 72.3 | 16.4 |

Note: Significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001
Post-matching standardized bias is based on kernel matching (bandwidth 0.06).

Appendix K: Propensity Score Models, Average Treatment Effect of a Juvenile Drug Arrest on College Enrollment

| | White | Latino | Black |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Average Treatment Effect** | | | |
| Juvenile Drug Arrest (ref: No Juvenile Arrest) | 0.896 | 0.678 * | 0.685 * |
| | | | |
| **Demographics** | | | |
| Gender (Female) | 1.128 ** | 1.121 * | 1.575 *** |
| Age | 1.059 | 1.035 | 1.003 |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 1.232 | 0.874 * | 0.892 * |
| | | | |
| **Family/Home (Wave 1)** | | | |
| Parents' Education (ref: No HS diploma) | | | |
| HS Diploma/GED | 1.638 *** | 1.322 * | 1.772 *** |
| Some College | 2.820 *** | 2.180 *** | 4.005 *** |
| BA Degree or more | 5.638 *** | 2.737 *** | 5.822 *** |
| Low-Income Household | 0.636 * | 0.887 | 0.610 * |
| Two Parents Home | 0.857 | 0.773 | 0.824 |
| | | | |
| **School Performance and Sanctions (Wave 1)** | | | |
| College Expectations (1=low, 5=high) | 1.646 *** | 1.561 *** | 1.398 *** |
| 9th Grade GPA (0-4) | 1.904 *** | 1.463 *** | 1.579 *** |
| School Suspension(s) | 0.594 *** | 0.670 | 0.740 * |
| School Expulsion(s) | 0.721 * | 0.698 * | 0.873 |
| | | | |
| **Behavior Variables (Wave 1)** | | | |
| Delinquency Scale (0=low, 3=high) | 0.705 * | 1.498 * | 0.859 |
| Drug Use | 0.820 | 0.804 | 1.037 |
| Drug Sale | 0.744 * | 0.740 * | 1.055 |
| | | | |
| **Other Juvenile Justice Involvement** | | | |
| Juvenile Conviction | 0.925 | 1.122 | 0.741 * |
| | | | |
| N | 5,102 | 1,438 | 1,858 |

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Appendix L. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on Unemployment at Wave 4, including Interactions for Race and Arrest Type

| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: No Arrest) | | | | |
|   Drug | 0.738 | | 0.900 | |
|   Property | 0.833 | | 0.811 | |
|   Violent | 0.802 | | 0.934 | |
| | | | | |
| Race (ref: White) | | | | |
|   Latino | 0.671 | *** | 0.698 | *** |
|   Black | 0.899 | | 0.950 | |
| | | | | |
| Race Interactions (ref: White X no arrest) | | | | |
|   Latino X Drug Arrest | - | | 1.764 | |
|   Latino X Property Arrest | - | | 1.494 | |
|   Latino X Viol Arrest | - | | 1.092 | |
|   Black X Drug Arrest | - | | 2.174 | * |
|   Black X Prop Arrest | - | | 0.764 | |
|   Black X Viol Arrest | - | | 1.601 | |
| | | | | |
| Demographics | | | | |
|   Gender (Female) | 2.371 | *** | 2.366 | *** |
|   Age | 0.951 | *** | 0.960 | ** |
|   Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 0.991 | | 0.969 | |
| | | | | |
| Background Variables (Wave 1) | | | | |
|   Low-Income Household W1 | 1.196 | * | 1.162 | * |
|   GPA W1 | 0.857 | *** | 0.872 | *** |
|   Delinquency Scale W1 (0=low, 3=high) | 0.851 | | 0.865 | |
|   Drug Use W1 | 0.980 | | 0.973 | |
|   Drug Sale W1 | 1.328 | ** | 1.326 | ** |
|   Subsequent Juvenile Arrest(s) | 1.409 | | 1.221 | |
|   Juvenile Conviction | 1.329 | | 1.078 | |
| | | | | |
| Mediating Variables (Wave 3) | | | | |
|   High School Dropout | 1.979 | *** | 1.941 | *** |
|   In School W3 | 2.378 | *** | 2.414 | *** |
|   Unemployed W3 | 0.616 | *** | 0.621 | *** |
| | | | | |
| Adult Criminal Justice Variables (Wave 4) | | | | |
|   Adult Arrest W4 | 1.235 | * | 1.168 | * |
|   Adult Conviction W4 | 1.116 | | 1.042 | |
|   Adult Incarceration (ref: Never) | | | | |
|     Less than a year | 1.063 | | 1.109 | |
|     1+ year(s) | 1.373 | *** | 1.715 | *** |
|   Delinquency Scale W4 (0=low, 3=high) | 1.367 | * | 1.295 | *** |

N=9421

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Odds ratios not shown for Asian, Native American, or respondents who reported their race as other.
Odds ratios also not shown for respondents who had "other" juvenile arrest.

Appendix M. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression of the Effects of Juvenile Arrest on Unemployment at Wave 4 for Latino Respondents Only, including Interactions for Phenotype and Arrest Type

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Juvenile Arrest Type (ref: no arrest) | | |
| Drug | 0.921 | |
| Property | 0.885 | |
| Violent | 1.022 | |
| | | |
| Phenotype (1=Light, 5=Dark) | 1.217 | |
| | | |
| Phenotype Interactions (ref: Light-Phenotype Latino w/No Arrest) | | |
| Dark-Phenotype X Drug Arrest | 1.742 | * |
| Dark-Phenotype X Property Arrest | 1.027 | |
| Dark-Phenotype X Violent Arrest | 1.140 | |
| | | |
| Demographics | | |
| Gender (Female) | 2.829 | *** |
| Age | 0.996 | |
| | | |
| Background Variables (Wave 1) | | |
| Low-Income Household W1 | 0.996 | |
| GPA W1 | 0.966 | |
| Delinquency Scale W1 (0=low, 3=high) | 0.872 | |
| Drug Use W1 | 0.943 | |
| Drug Sale W1 | 0.897 | |
| Subsequent Juvenile Arrest(s) | 1.548 | * |
| Juvenile Conviction | 0.896 | |
| | | |
| Mediating Variables (Wave 3) | | |
| High School Dropout | 1.604 | * |
| In School W3 | 0.603 | ** |
| Unemployed W3 | 2.365 | *** |
| | | |
| Adult Criminal Justice Variables (Wave 4) | | |
| Adult Arrest W4 | 1.625 | * |
| Adult Conviction W4 | 1.618 | * |
| Adult Incarceration (ref: Never) | | |
| Less than a year | 0.953 | |
| 1+ year(s) | 2.297 | * |
| Delinquency Scale W4 (0=low, 3=high) | 1.807 | ** |

N=1468

Note: significance tests *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Odds ratios not shown for respondents who had "other" juvenile arrest.