

Examining Racial Disparities in Criminal Case Outcomes among Indigent Defendants in San Francisco

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SUMMARY REPORT

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Introduction

People of color are overrepresented in California correctional facilities. According to a recent report from the Public Policy Institute of California, approximately 4.4% of the Black male population of California is incarcerated in a California prison.¹ Black men in California are incarcerated at 100 times the rate of Asian men, ten times the rate of White men, and five times the rate of Latino men. It is important for criminal justice practitioners, policymakers, and scholars to understand these disparities and their causes. Potential explanations include variations in socioeconomic status, access to employment and education opportunities, patterns in policing, and differences in charging and sentencing decisions made by prosecutors and judges.

Most studies of racial disparities in the justice system have focused on final case outcomes, such as conviction, incarceration, and sentence length. While important, these data points do not provide sufficient insight into the many points in the criminal justice process where cases against Black, White, and Latinx defendants could diverge. To fill this knowledge gap, the Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice (“Quattrone Center”), in collaboration with the San Francisco Public Defender (“Public Defender”), reviewed the charging and case adjudication process for Public Defender clients in San Francisco, so that differences in the processing of and final outcomes for Black, White, and Latinx defendants could be seen, and to explain the source of any differences that exist.

Study Overview

We reviewed 10,753 complete case records, consisting of cases between 2011 and 2014, from the San Francisco Public Defender’s Office. These data were stored in the Public Defender’s GIDEON case management system, which draws from data maintained by the San Francisco County Superior Court’s larger case management system database. Unlike previous studies that rely solely on arrest and conviction data, these records cover the entire pretrial process, providing a richer portrait of the experiences of defendants in the criminal justice system.

These data can help policymakers and stakeholders understand whether racial disparities exist in the outcomes of San Francisco criminal cases, including cases resolved by plea bargains, and how bargaining affects disparities in other areas of the criminal justice system, such as corrections.² Where disparities were seen, we sought to understand them and to evaluate what changes could be made to ensure that similarly situated individuals receive equal and race-neutral treatment in the criminal justice system. Such information could assist the Public Defender, the San Francisco District Attorney, the San Francisco Police Department, and other criminal justice stakeholders to ensure equitable treatment of all San Franciscans.

¹ Grattet, R. and Hayes, J., “Just the Facts: California’s Changing Prison Population,” April 2015, accessed May 1, 2017 at http://www.ppic.org/main/publication_show.asp?i=702.

² Just under 59% of these cases resulted in a conviction, and the clear majority of all convictions - 91% - involved at least one guilty plea.

Summary of Key Findings

Our analysis revealed that Black, White and Latinx indigent defendants in San Francisco have substantially different experiences during the criminal adjudication process. However, disparities by race/ethnicity could largely be explained by factors determined prior to the initiation of plea negotiations. In particular:

1. **The raw data reveal Black/White and Latinx/White disparities across several metrics related to case processing and outcomes.**
 - a. **Black defendants are held in pretrial custody longer than Whites.** Black defendants are held in pretrial custody for an average of 30 days, 62% longer than Whites.
 - b. **Cases involving Black defendants take longer to resolve.** It takes an average of 90 days to process a case for a Black defendant, but only 77.5 days to process a case for White defendants, a delay of 14%.
 - c. **Defendants of color are convicted of more serious crimes than White defendants.** Black defendants are convicted of 60% more felony charges than White defendants, and 10% fewer misdemeanors. Latinx defendants are convicted of a similar number of felonies to Whites, but 10% more misdemeanors.
 - d. **Defendants of color receive longer sentences than White defendants.** Custodial sentences received by Black defendants are, on average, 28% longer than those received by White defendants. While Latinx defendants receive comparable custodial sentences to White defendants, they receive probation sentences that are 55% longer than those received by White defendants.
2. Even though these disparities are occurring within the plea bargaining system, **plea bargaining itself appears to neither contribute to the disparate outcomes, nor to reduce the disparities.** Bargaining decisions by public defenders and prosecutors did not appear to increase the disparities that were inherited from the arrest process. There was no disparity seen in either the number of charges added by the DA's Office to the booking charges, or the proportion of charges to which individuals plead guilty (across charge type and severity). At the same time, the more severe initial bookings tended to follow Black defendants through the process, resulting in a higher rate of felony convictions and longer sentences on average.
3. The majority of these disparities seem to be generated by two factors that pre-date the case adjudication process:
 - a. **People of color receive more serious charges at the initial booking stage,** reflecting decisions made by officers of the San Francisco Police Department; and

- b. People of color have pre-existing racial differences reflected in their criminal record, based on previous encounters with the criminal justice system in San Francisco County. This criminal history has a “ripple effect” that impacts plea negotiations for subsequent charges, as police, prosecutors, and defense attorneys make plea bargain decisions based in part of the individual’s prior criminal history.

Overall Case Outcomes by Race

Black, White and Latinx indigent defendants in San Francisco experience the criminal adjudication process differently, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Average Case Outcomes by Race

Notes: * indicates statistically significant difference from White, $p < .05$

	White	Black		Latinx	
			% diff.		% diff.
Booking					
Number of Booked Charges	2.57	2.75*	7%	2.58	0%
Felonies	1.46	1.81*	24%	1.30*	-11%
Misdemeanors	0.96	0.80*	-17%	1.12*	17%
Prosecutor Activity					
Number of Added Charges	0.95	0.91	-4%	1.01	6%
Felonies	0.34	0.43*	26%	0.32	-6%
Misdemeanors	0.57	0.46*	-19%	0.63	11%
Case Adjudication					
Guilty of any charge	56.7%	60.0%*	6%	59.2%	4%
Number of Convicted Charges	0.695	0.739*	6%	0.721	4%
Felonies	0.186	0.299*	61%	0.178	-4%
Misdemeanors	0.514	0.451*	-12%	0.557*	8%
Sentence Length (in days, if convicted)	89.3	189.7*	112%	104.5	17%
Method of Resolution					
Plead guilty of any charge	53.5%	54.7%	2%	54.2%	1%
Number of Plead Charges	0.647	0.665	3%	0.637	-2%
Case Processing					
Days from First to Last Court Event	77.5	90.3*	17%	80.9	4%
Days in Pretrial Custody	18.8	30.4*	62%	20.5	9%
Sample Size	3,831	4,749		2,173	

Table 1 reports average outcomes for defendants of different races. These are simple comparisons that do not account for contributing factors other than race that may explain the observed overall disparities (e.g., criminal history). In general, White defendants fared better than minorities, although for some important outcomes the differences between Blacks, Latinx, and Whites were not statistically significant.

Factors Contributing to Racial Disparities in Criminal Case Outcomes

We have taken two approaches to highlighting racial disparities in San Francisco’s criminal justice system. The first is to show “raw” or unadjusted overall differences in case outcomes across defendants of different races, as in Table 1 above. Such comparisons are useful, but can be oversimplified and misleading, as they may not show legally or socially relevant factors that differ across cases involving defendants of different races. Failing to account for such differences could lead to an inaccurate view of the role of race in the criminal justice system.

Criminal history is an excellent example. In most jurisdictions, the sentencing scheme is structured to increase the penalty for criminal conduct if the defendant has prior criminal convictions. In such a system, observations that one racial group tends to receive longer sentences *could* be the result of biased treatment, but they could also simply reflect that the group receiving the longer sentences has more prior convictions, leading to the assignment of longer sentences.

To properly measure racial disparity, then, one would ideally take two pools of otherwise similar defendants that differ only in race, and compare outcomes across such groups. Such an ideal comparison is not possible here, because no two cases are exactly the same. However, we can statistically adjust for a range of legally relevant contextual factors that might vary across defendants drawn from different racial backgrounds, in an effort to isolate race from other factors. Disparities that remain after accounting for other legally relevant race-neutral factors deserve further investigation.

Accordingly, we performed a statistical analysis of the data that accounts for factors other than race that might explain disparities, and analyzed which characteristics are most important for explaining the existence of racial disparities.³

³ To examine this, we conducted a decomposition analysis, which calculated the portion of the unadjusted disparity that is explained by the various contextual factors considered in the analysis. For example, if the results indicated that the unadjusted Black/White disparity in added felonies was 20% - meaning Black defendants on average had 20% more felonies added to their case by prosecutors than White defendants - and 50% of this disparity can be explained by criminal history, then for Black and White defendants with identical criminal histories (rather than the more extensive criminal histories among Black defendants that is actually the case in these data), we would expect Black defendants to have only 10% more added felonies than White defendants.

These contextual factors are more likely to be identified in the decomposition analysis as substantial contributors to disparity if they vary appreciably across minority and White defendants and if, other things being equal, they tend to be more predictive of the outcome in question. It is also possible with such an analysis for a portion of the raw disparity to remain unexplained, meaning that contextual factors outside of those considered in the analysis may be driving the observed disparity.

Criminal History, Poverty, and Police Activity by Neighborhood. Table 2 illustrates the variance across White, Black, and Latinx defendants of several important factors that could contribute to or help explain the racial disparities set forth in Table 1 above. In addition to criminal history, whose importance is explained above, we examined the role of geography, in terms of socioeconomic levels in different neighborhoods that might lead to different types or levels of criminal behavior, as well as disparities that occur due to decisions made by police officers in so-called “high crime” versus “low crime” neighborhoods. To understand this, we examined court records that identified the exact location of each arrest, as well as the defendant’s home address.

Several differences are worth noting:

1. The likelihood that an individual defendant has had previous contact with the criminal justice system is greater for Black than for White defendants, and greater in turn for White than for Latinx defendants. **Blacks averaged almost twice the number of prior arrests and twice the number of prior convictions than whites.**
2. **Poverty rates in the defendant’s neighborhood of residency were higher for Blacks (15%) than for Latinx (11.5%) or whites (9%).**
3. **Police activity in the neighborhood of residence (which combines both crime rates and police presence) and arrest rates were higher for Blacks than for Whites and higher for Whites than for Latinx.**

Table 2. Group Differences in Contextual Factors

Notes: * indicates statistically significant difference from White, $p < .05$.
Incident and arrest rates are measured per 1000 residents.

	White	Black		Latinx	
Defendant Characteristics			% diff.		% diff.
Transient	29.5%	18.8%*	-36%	14.0%*	-53%
Female	15.9%	19.0%*	19%	16.4%*	3%
Age at Arrest	36.27	36.86*	2%	33.51*	-8%
# Previous Arrests	7.85	13.08*	67%	4.88*	-38%
# Previous Convictions	1.59	2.97*	87%	1.13*	-29%
Neighborhood of Residence					
% Adults w/ Limited English	3.5%	3.9%*	11%	5.4%*	54%
% Adults w/ Some College	69.1%	60.2%*	-13%	61.9%*	-10%
% Families in Poverty	8.9%	15.3%*	72%	11.5%*	29%
Police Incident Rate	7,391	9,738	32%	5,749	-22%
Warranted Arrest Rate	383	506	32%	299	-22%
Gang-Related Incident Rate	179	234	31%	145	-19%

Neighborhood of Arrest					
Same as Home	13.4%	12.9%*	-4%	14.6%*	9%
% Black	7.0%	12.3%*	76%	8.1%*	16%
% Hispanic	15.9%	18.2%*	14%	22.5%*	42%
% of Housing Units Not Owner-Occupied	74.6%	75.3%*	1%	70.9%*	-5%
Police Incident Rate (per 1,000 pop.)	82,176	111,466*	36%	58,503*	-29%
Sample Size	3,831	4,749		2,173	

Pre- and Post-filing Case Decisions. We also examined pre- and post-filing phases of the case adjudication process to understand their impact on the overall disparities shown in Table 1 above. We examined many interactions during the case adjudication process where similarly situated defendants could receive different treatment from the criminal justice system. Specifically, we analyzed the decisions of booking officers, prosecutors, public defenders, judges, and probation officers during pre- and post-filing phases

“Pre-filing outcomes” are decisions made by booking officers and prosecutors, often before a client is assigned to the Public Defender’s Office. These initial decisions on what to charge establish the foundation of the criminal proceedings going forward and influence the defendant’s bargaining position during the adjudication phase. Pre-filing outcomes include:

- The total number of charges for which one is booked into a San Francisco jail;
- The number of felony and/or misdemeanor charges for which one is initially booked;
- The total severity⁴ of the charges for which one is booked, including:
 - “Top” charge (i.e., most serious offense, as defined by the District Attorney’s severity scale);
 - Total number of charges;
 - Total severity of all charges; and
- The number, type, and severity of charges that are added to the initial booking by the District Attorney’s Office.

“Post-filing outcomes” include determinations of guilt or innocence for whatever number of charges has been brought. They reflect the ability of defendants, and/or the willingness of prosecutors, to modify the initial charges

⁴ This severity score is based on the California Attorney General’s ranking of criminal charges, which can be found here: <https://oag.ca.gov/law/code-tables>

based on individual defendant characteristics or circumstances.

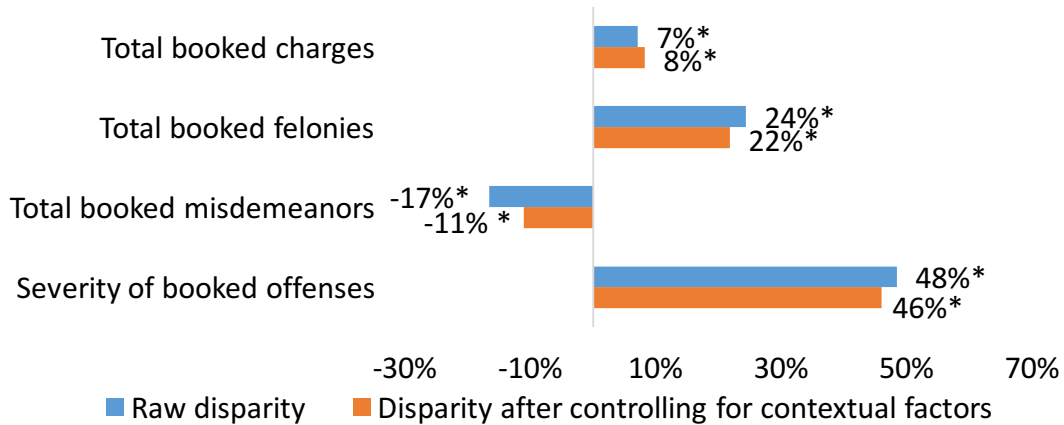
Figures 3 and 4 below display Black/White and Latinx/White disparities across four pre-filing outcome case measures: total booked charges, booked felonies, booked misdemeanors, and case severity. The “case severity” measure combines all booked charges into a single summary measure that considers both the number and seriousness of booked charges. For example, being booked for robbery is more serious than being booked for loitering, and being booked for three similarly serious counts is worse than being booked for one.

The blue bars in the chart show the raw, or unadjusted disparity, while the orange bars show the measured disparity after statistically controlling for the contextual factors noted above using regression analysis. In other words, *the orange bars show the expected difference in pre-filing outcomes for a Black or Latinx arrestee as compared to an individual who is similar in age, gender, residential and arrest neighborhood characteristics, and prior criminal history – but is White.*

Figure 3 shows that Blacks in our dataset are booked for 7% more crimes than Whites on a raw or unadjusted basis, while they are booked for 8% more crimes than Whites with similar age, gender, criminal history, and other characteristics.

Figure 3: Black/White Disparities in Pre-filing Outcomes

Note: * denotes a statistically significant Black/White difference



The blue bars show the raw, or unadjusted disparities between Blacks and Whites: Black defendants were booked on average for more charges overall than White defendants, including more felonies. They were booked for fewer misdemeanors than White defendants (suggesting greater severity in charging on average, even controlling for contextual factors). Black arrestees faced initial cases that were about 50% more severe than White arrestees in terms of number and severity of charges.⁵

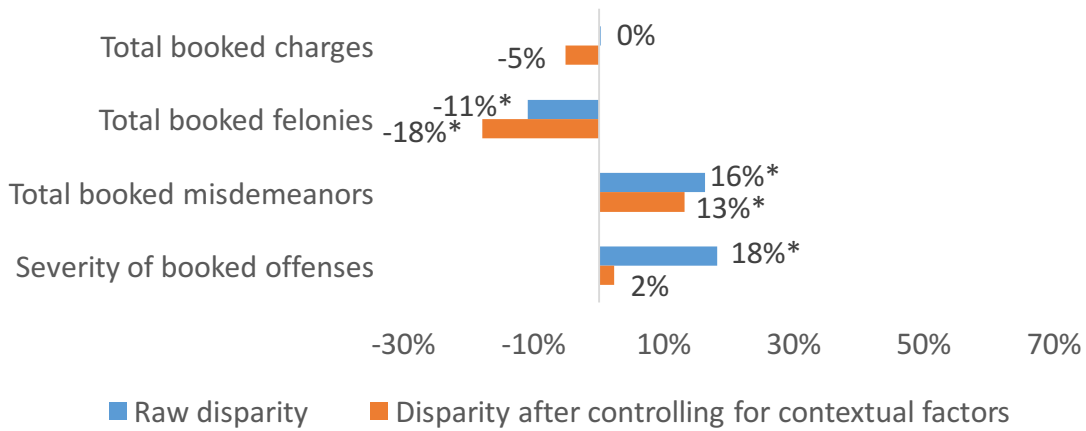
⁵ Total severity on the California Attorney General’s scale, the severity scale used in this analysis, roughly correlates to the length of a typical sentence. Thus, a 50% increase in total severity score can be thought of as roughly equivalent to a 50% increase in length of a typical sentence.

The orange bars show that for Black arrestees, controlling for contextual factors does little to diminish the observed disparity. **The Black/White differences in booked charges cannot be explained by factors such as age, homelessness or poverty, or crime rates in the neighborhoods in which Black citizens reside or routinely encounter police**, though there may be unobserved, legally relevant factors other than bias (e.g., actual criminal conduct, or how particular individuals interact with officers) that are unaccounted for in the analysis and explain the observed disparities.

The situation for Latinx defendants in San Francisco is somewhat different (Figure 4). While the difference in total booked charges between Latinx and White defendants was not statistically significant, the makeup of the charges placed on Latinx defendants was unique. Latinx defendants were booked on fewer felony charges, and more misdemeanor charges, than White defendants with the same background characteristics. After accounting for contextual factors, however, Latinx arrestees faced pre-filing charges that were roughly similar in severity to comparably situated White arrestees.

Figure 4: Latinx/White Disparities in Pre-filing Outcomes

Note: * denotes a statistically significant Black/White difference



Case Adjudication: How Charges Evolve and Are Bargained

The detail available in the Public Defender’s case files enabled us to examine how prosecutors and defense attorneys actually bargain to reach final case outcomes. First, we looked at plea bargaining in a traditional sense – whether defendants pled guilty to any charges, and the number of charges to which they pled guilty (or *nolo contendere*). **The rate at which Black, Latinx, and White defendants pled guilty to any charge was similar, and we observed no statistically significant differences in the number of charges discharged or dismissed among Black and Latinx defendants.**

Figures 5 and 6 depict disparities between Blacks and Whites, and between Latinx and Whites, respectively, in the application of prosecutors’ charging discretion. Put differently, they depict the decision of prosecutors to modify the original charges booked by the police, based on the prosecutor’s review of the case record and what charges are possible based on the facts alleged. We looked at the probability that a felony would be downgraded to a misdemeanor, the probability that a misdemeanor would be refiled as a felony, and the number of times the District Attorney’s office refiled a charge in court documents for any reason.

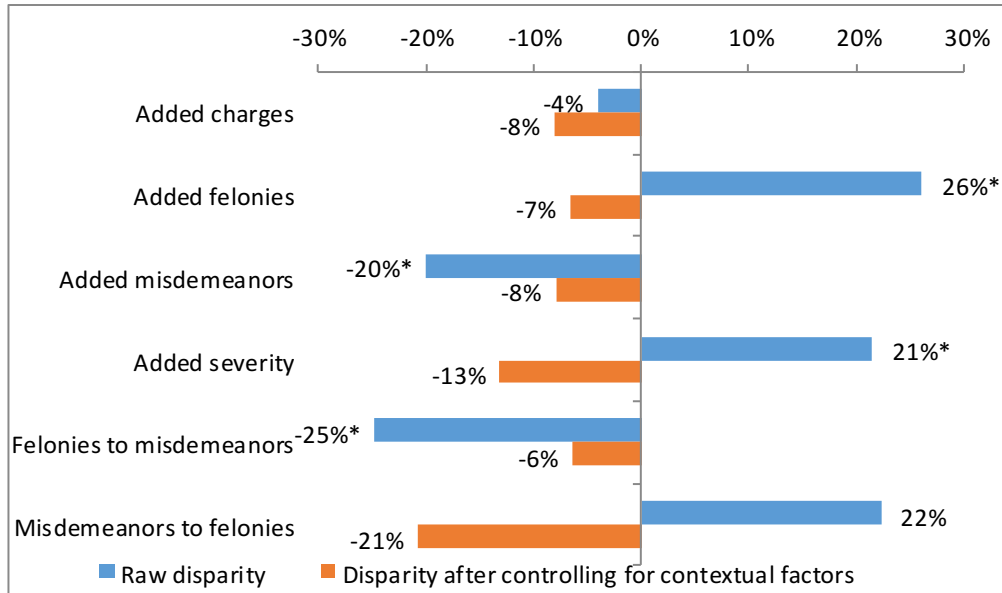
Felony charges filed against White defendants were more likely to be downgraded (31%) than felony charges filed against Black (23%) and Latinx (29%) defendants. However, these differences across groups were not statistically significant after adjusting for contextual factors. **Most of the Black/White disparity can be explained by combining the variation in the criminal history of Black defendants (explaining 26% of the disparity) and the charges for which they were booked (explaining 48%). The disparity in outcomes for Latinx and White defendants also appears to be driven largely by booking charges (explaining 70% of the disparity).**

Latinx defendants were much less likely to have their misdemeanors upgraded to felony convictions, doing so at only 2.3 percent of the rate that misdemeanors for White defendants were upgraded to felonies for White defendants. On the other hand, since felony convictions for Latinx defendants are more likely to raise immigration or citizenship-related concerns than those confronted by White and Black defendants in San Francisco, it is a potentially important source of inequality in the justice system. Very little of this difference can be explained using the study’s control variables; even the variation in booked charges can explain only 21% of the Latinx-White gap.

Again, the blue bars depict the raw or unadjusted disparities shown above in Table 1, while the orange bars depict disparities that persist after adjusting for contextual factors. For these comparisons, in addition to accounting for the demographic and neighborhood characteristics mentioned previously, the adjusted comparisons also account for racial differences that occurred at the booking stage. Thus, the figures compare added charges for two defendants with similar demographics, criminal histories, etc. *and booking charges* who differ only in race.

Figure 5: Black/White Disparities in Prosecutor Charging

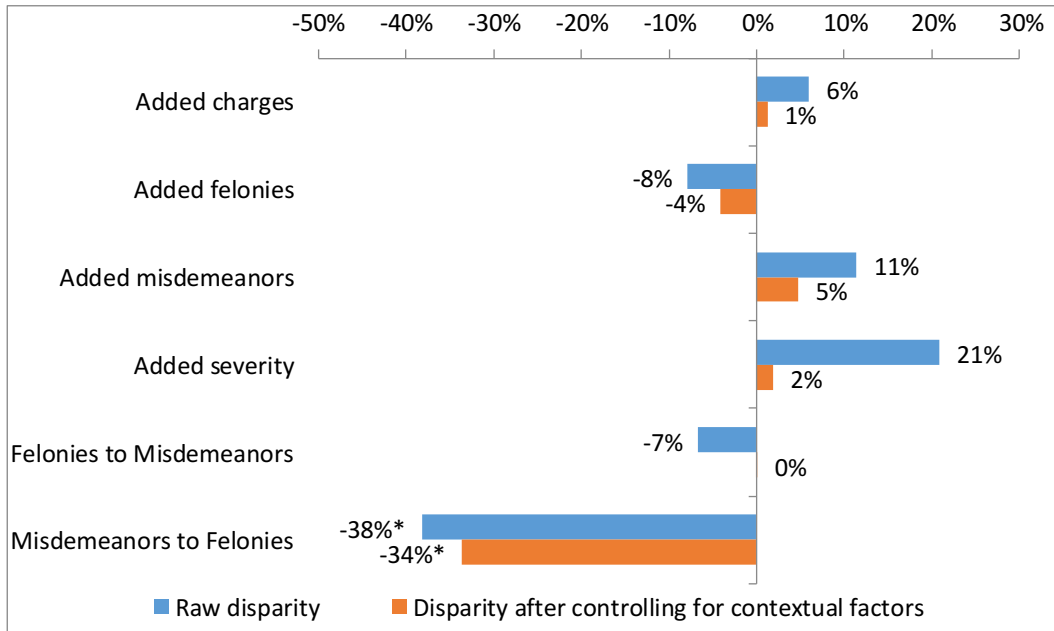
Note: * denotes a statistically significant Black/White difference.



While the raw or unadjusted data shows a disparity in the number and severity of felonies charged against Blacks versus whites, when we adjust for the various contextual factors, we see **no statistically significant differences in the number or severity of charges added by prosecutors for either Black or Latinx as compared to Whites. This suggests that the discretion of the booking (police) officer is more impactful than that of the district attorney in terms of the disparities in the number and seriousness of charges filed.** In fact, we found no evidence that district attorneys file more or fewer charges against Black or Latinx defendants than they file against Whites. While it does appear that charges added by the DA against Black defendants were more likely to be felonies and less likely to be misdemeanors; these differences disappeared after accounting for contextual factors (including booking charges), suggesting that race was not a contributing factor to the decision. Similarly, DAs may have added more misdemeanors and more severe charges to Latinx defendants after booking, but these differences are not statistically significant. For both groups, once the differences in criminal background (including type of charges booked for) were accounted for, the overall disparity was explained.

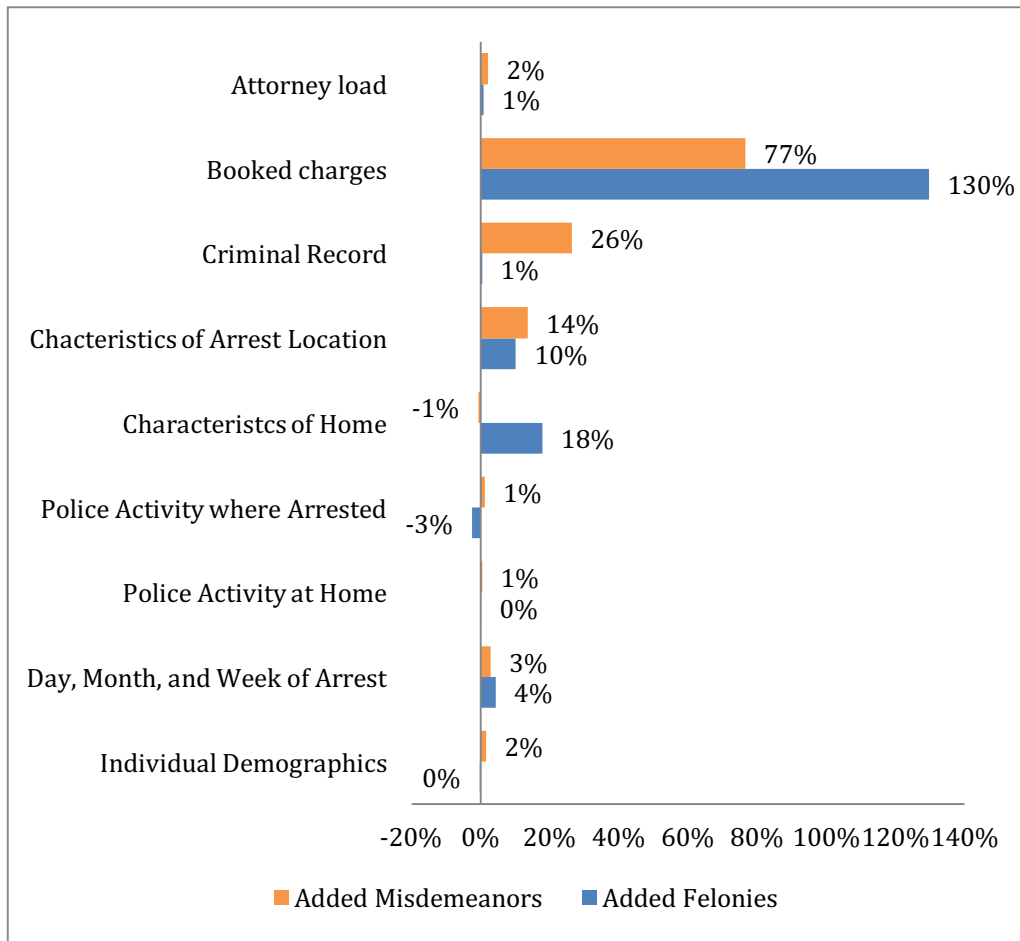
Figure 6: Latinx/White Disparities in Prosecutor Charging

Note: * denotes a statistically significant Latinx/White difference



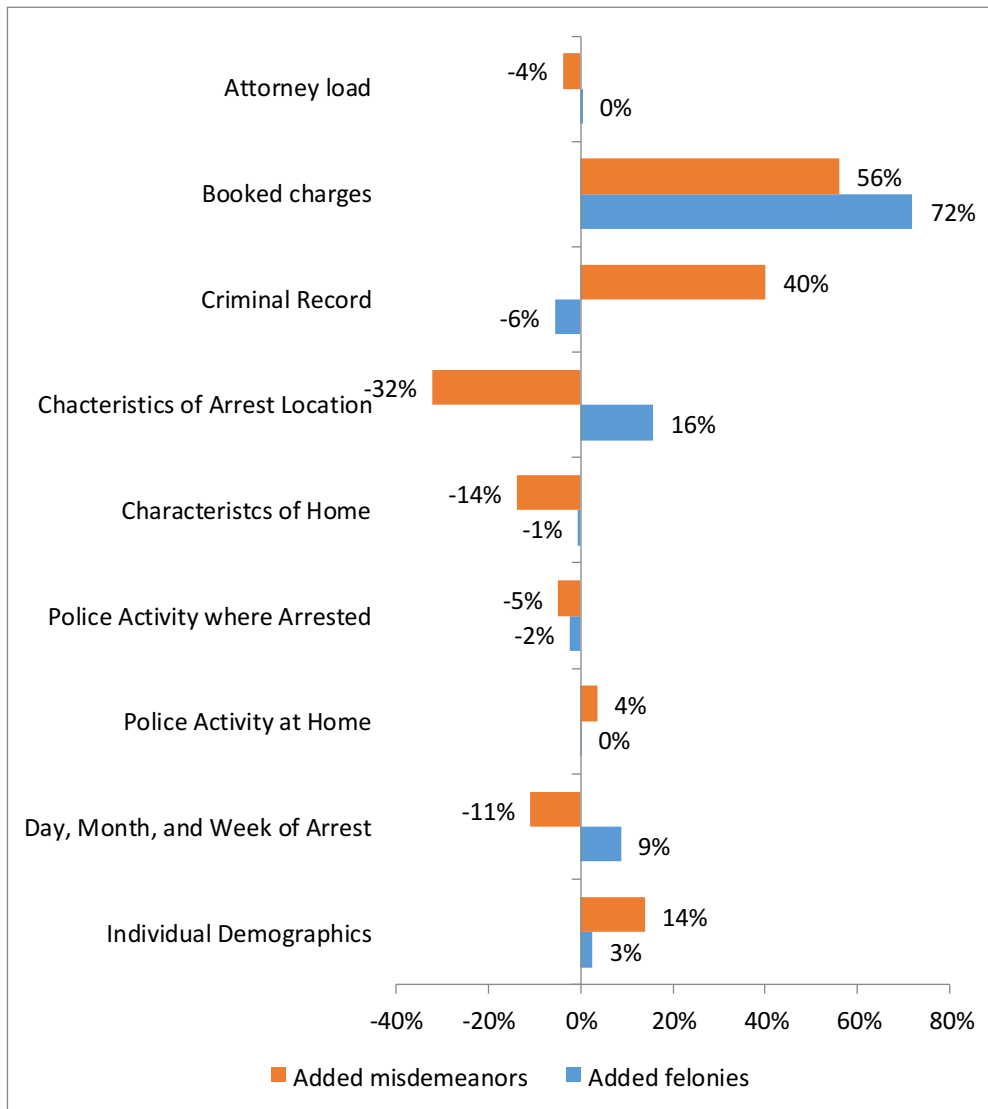
The additional felonies that are added by the District Attorney's Office to the cases of Black defendants can be explained by differences in police booking decisions. There appear to be certain booked charges made by the police that are more likely to cause an Assistant District Attorney to add further charges. One hypothetical example of this could be that an aggravated assault in which a gun was displayed might be more likely to have an illegal gun possession charge added by the DA.

Figure 7. What Affects the Black/White Disparity in Charges Added by Prosecutor?



Recall that in Table 1, we showed that prosecutors add 26% more felonies to cases with Black defendants than to cases with White defendants, and they add 23% fewer misdemeanors to cases with Black defendants. Figures 7 and 8 report which of various contextual factors best explain these charge disparities, with blue bars showing added felonies and orange bars showing misdemeanors. A value above 0% shows that the contextual factor *reduces* the minority/White disparity, while a negative value shows an *increased* disparity.

Figure 8. What Affects the Latinx/White Disparity in Charges Added by Prosecutor?



In this decomposition analysis, booking decisions accounted for 130% of the observed raw Black/White disparity in added felonies, more than enough to explain the entire discrepancy.⁶ Both criminal history and booking charges play a role in explaining raw differences in added charge severity, with criminal history accounting for 26% of the Black/White disparity and 40% of the Latinx/White disparity, and booking charges accounting for 18% of the Black/White disparity and 39% of the Latinx/White disparity. However, for both groups, a substantial fraction of the disparity in added charge severity remains unexplained.

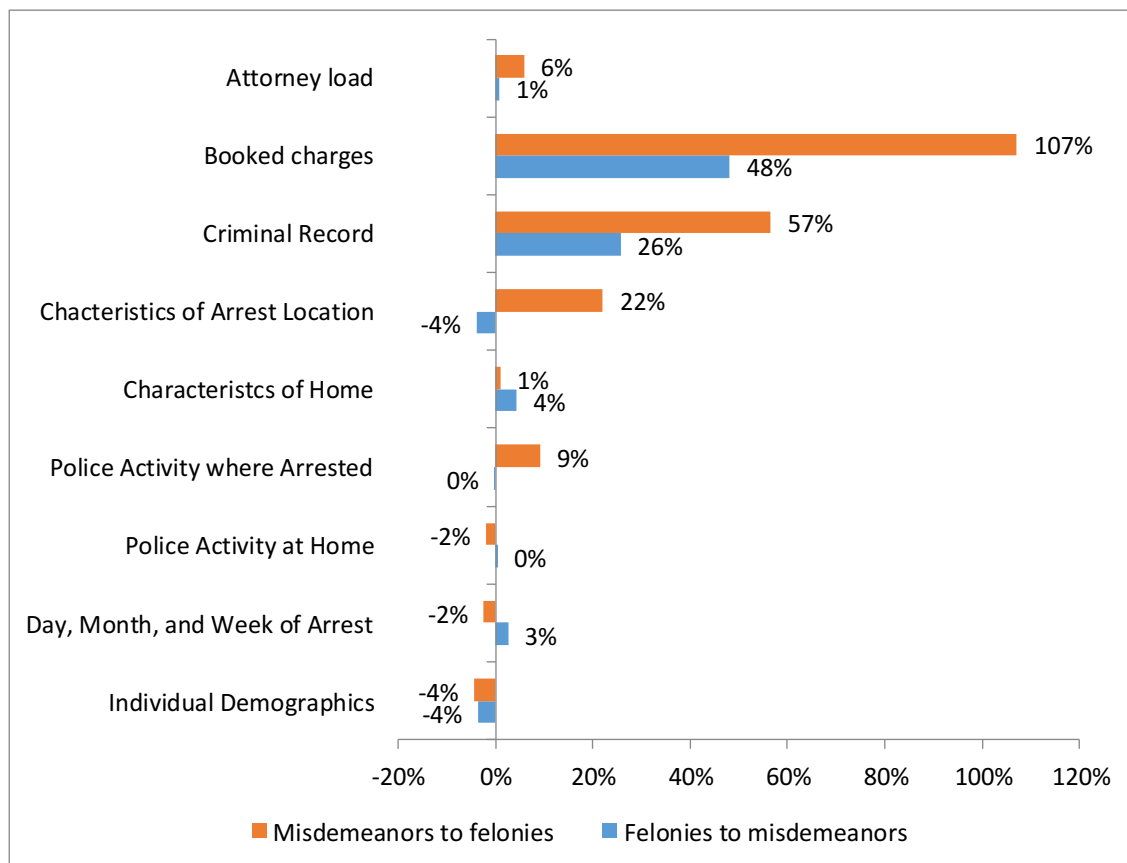
⁶ In other words, if Blacks were booked for the same crimes as Whites, and all other factors were equal, the Blacks would have *fewer additional* felonies added by the prosecutor than Whites by a factor of 30%.

We examined the evolution of all charges against an individual over the course of the adjudication process (i.e., from initial booking through conviction), including:

- The seriousness of the charges for which the client was convicted;
- The seriousness of the charges that were dismissed or discharged;
- The number of charges downgraded from felonies to misdemeanors (or upgraded from misdemeanors to felonies) during the adjudication of the case; and
- The number of charges dismissed in exchange for a guilty plea to another charge.

Figure 9 illustrates the factors that affect the difference between the charges that exist at the outset of the case, and the charges that ultimately exist at conviction.

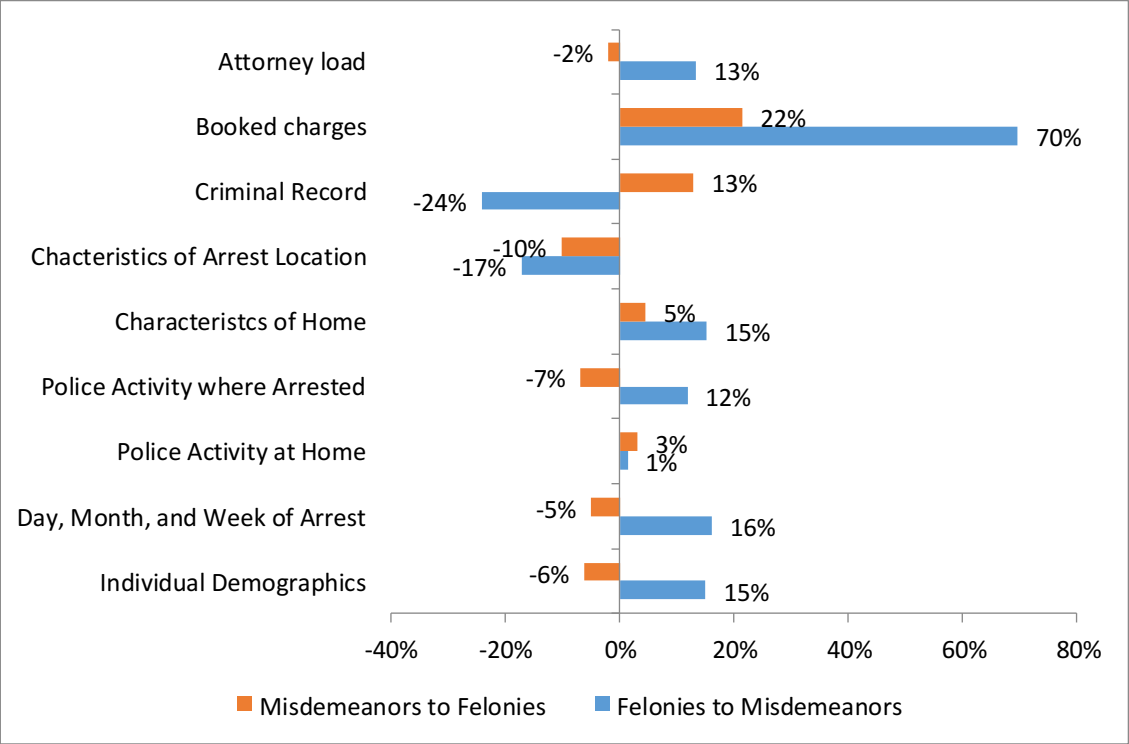
Figure 9. What Affects Black/White Differences in Charge Evolution?



Here again, when we control for the disparity between blacks and whites in booked charges at the time of arrest, we see that the disparity among charges at the time of booking is substantial enough to remove the raw disparities completely for misdemeanors, and to remove roughly half (48%) of the disparity in charge evolution.

In contrast to the situation with Blacks, however, it appears that the evolution of charges in cases involving Latinx defendants may act in the defendants' favor. For Latinx defendants, the contributing factors are similar but differently weighted, as seen in Figure 10. Booking charges continue to be the largest factor explaining the disparities between Latinx and White defendants in the evolution of charges. Controlling for booking charges accounts for 70% of the disparity between Latinx and whites in terms of their booked misdemeanor charges, and 22% of the disparity in the evolution of felony charges during the adjudication period. Surprisingly, though, we see that the defendants' criminal history adds to the disparity in misdemeanors by 24%. Remember that a negative result in this chart means that the Latinx defendants, whose charges are more likely to be misdemeanors, are increasingly evolving from felony charges to misdemeanor charges as their cases evolve. Thus, it appears that police and prosecutors are more likely to agree to a misdemeanor charge for Latinx than whites.

Figure 10. What Affects Latinx/White Differences in Charge Evolution?

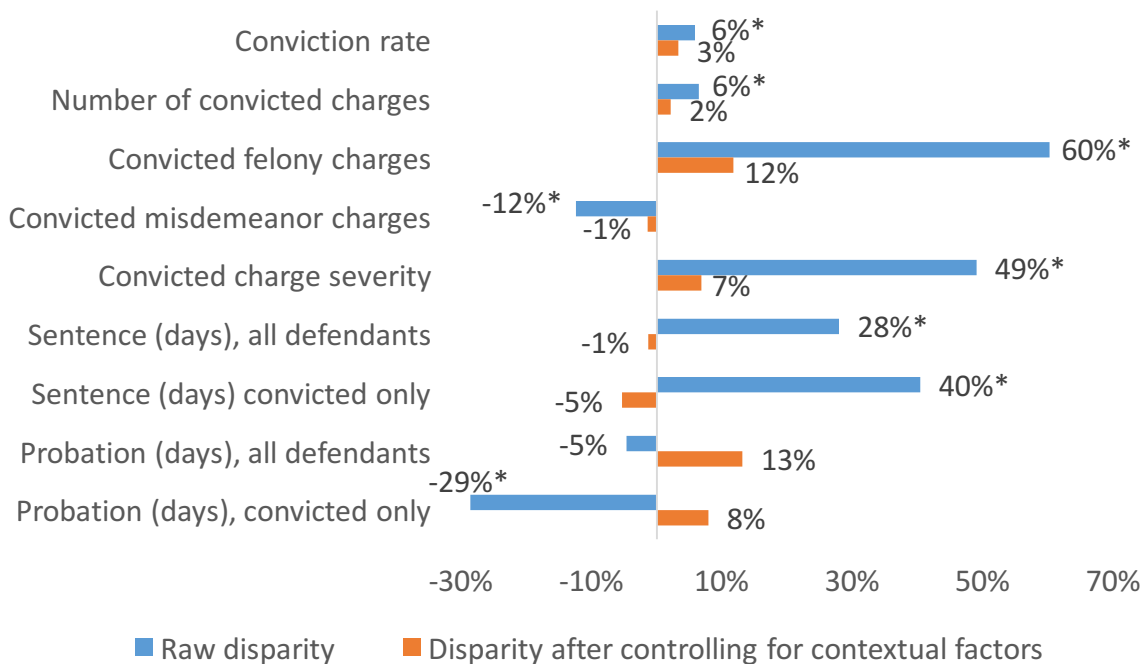


Case Adjudication: Convictions and Sentences

Because criminal cases in San Francisco are primarily resolved by plea bargain rather than bench or jury trials, the study also examined the number of charges to which defendants pled guilty (or nolo contendere). Previous studies have simply compared cases where there is, or is not, a plea bargain;⁷ this focus ignores the substantial variation in how many and which types of plea deals are made.⁸ Our research tracked each individual client of the San Francisco Public Defender from initial booking through case disposition, and accounted for each defendant’s local criminal history, enabling the researchers to consider several pieces of information available to prosecutors, defenders, and judges when they make their decisions. As a result, we can more precisely identify disparities that might arise from the menu of charges for which someone is booked, and their full criminal history in San Francisco County.

Figure 11. Black/White Disparities in Case Adjudication

Note: * denotes a statistically significant Black/White difference.

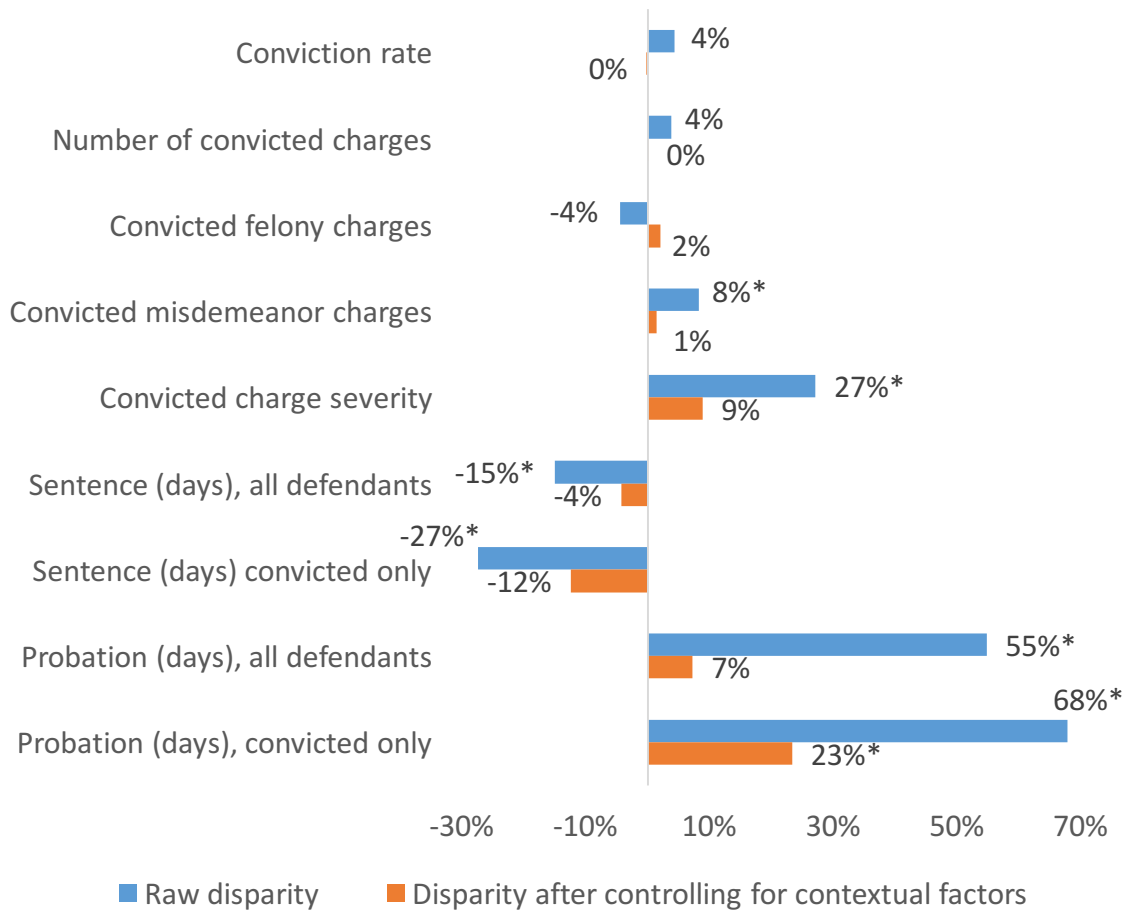


⁷ See, e.g., e.g. Bushway, S. D., Redlich, A. D. and Norris, R. J. (2014), An Explicit Test of Plea Bargaining in the “Shadow of the Trial”. *Criminology*, 52: 723–754

⁸ For example, the Bureau of Justice Statistic’s State Court Processing Statistics only includes information on the most serious charge filed.

Figure 12: Latinx/White Disparities in Case Adjudication

Note: * denotes a statistically significant Latinx/White difference.



Tables 13 and 14 evaluate racial disparities in convictions. In general, Black defendants are convicted of more charges than White defendants. For Black defendants, prior contact with the criminal justice system has a ripple effect that is seen in the severity of punishment for future contact. **More specifically, differences in the number of times that Black defendants were previously arrested, convicted, and incarcerated explain almost all of the difference in conviction rates among Black and White defendants.**

The fact that booking charges have such a substantial impact (see Figure 14 below) suggests that Latinx defendants are being booked for charges for which a conviction tends to be more certain (e.g., littering, which requires a simple observation, vs. assault with intent to injury, which requires a proof of the defendant’s state of mind). Differences in education, employment, and facility with the English language also explain a small amount of the disparity in conviction rates for Black and Latinx defendants, compared to White defendants. When the study looked at how many different charges people are convicted of, booking charges appeared to drive convictions for Latinx defendants, as distinguished from Black defendants, where the driver appears to be previous convictions.

The unadjusted comparisons reveal that Black defendants were convicted of more felonies and fewer misdemeanors than White defendants, and were convicted of more serious charges overall than White defendants. Latinx defendants were convicted of more misdemeanors, and more serious charges overall, than White defendants. All of these disparities can be explained by differences in demographics, criminal history, booking decisions, and public defender caseloads.

Figure 13. What Affects Black/White Differences in Convictions?

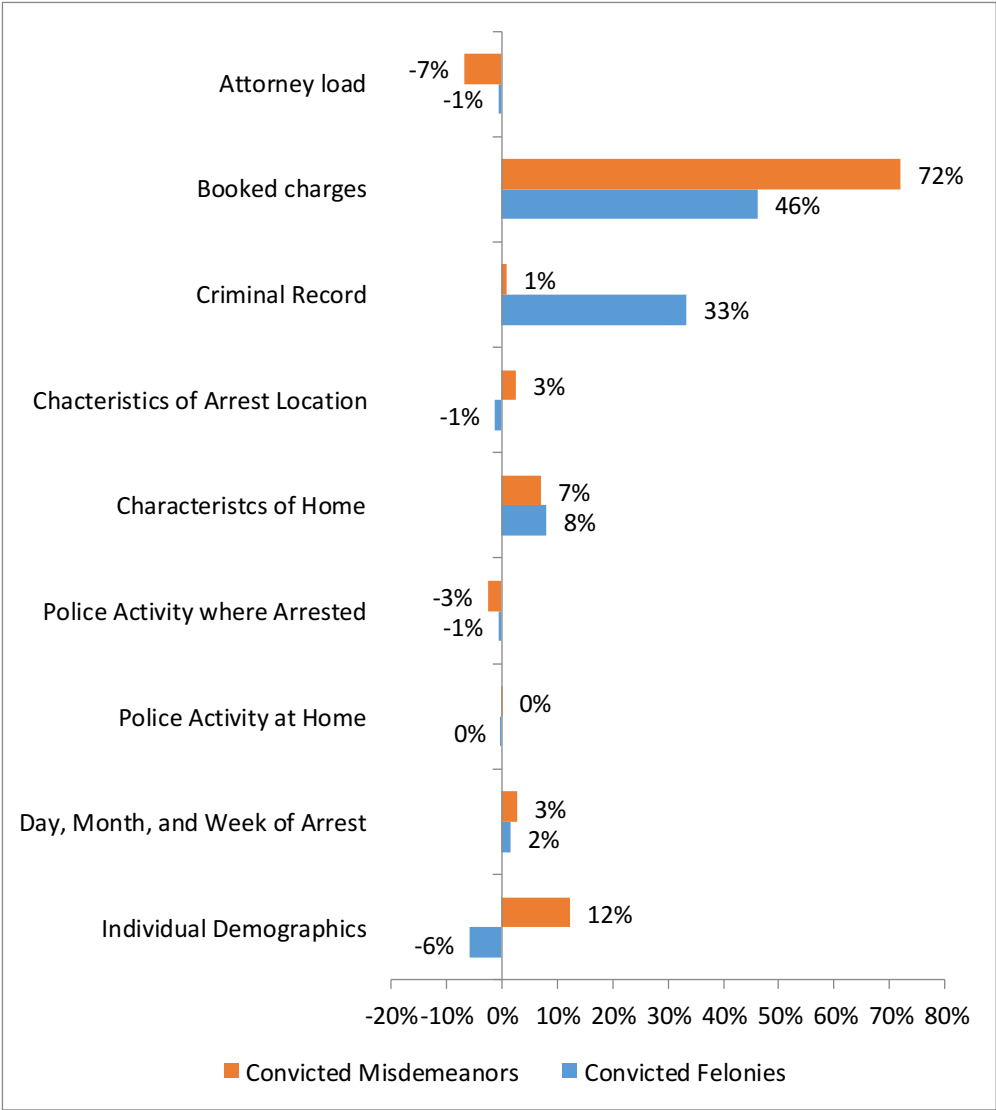
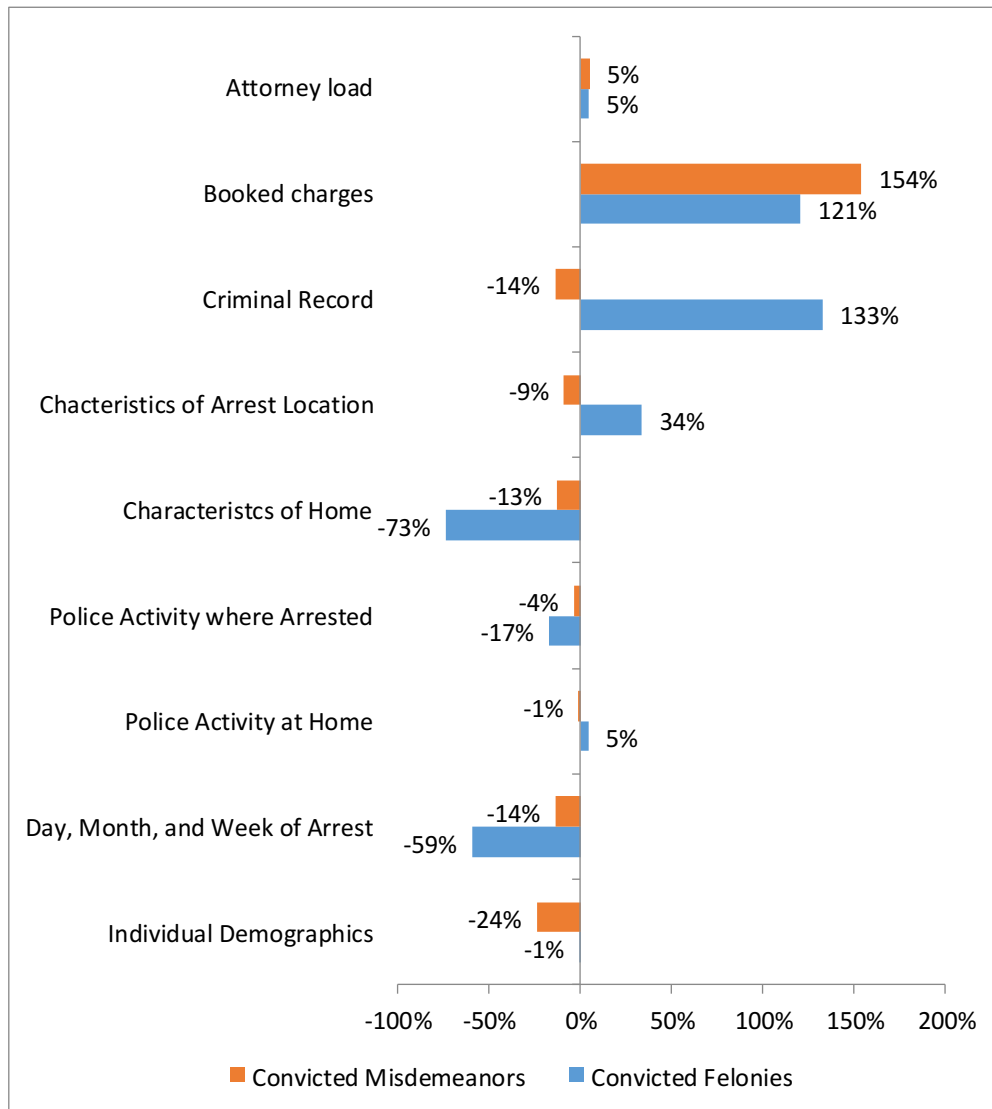


Figure 14. What Affects Latinx/White Differences in Convictions?



Decisions made at booking explain almost half (46%) of the Black-White disparity in the number of felony convictions that Black defendants faced. Criminal history also plays an important role, explaining a third of the disparity. Thus, roughly 20% of the increased number of felony convictions against Blacks remains unexplained or is explained by other factors.

Differences in booking charges are also the primary explanation for why Black defendants were convicted of fewer misdemeanors, and why Latinx defendants were convicted of more misdemeanors. To put these differences in perspective, note that, on average, White defendants in our data set were convicted of 0.19 felony charges on average, while Black defendants were convicted of 0.30 felony charges, a roughly 60% increase. Based on these estimates, if White defendants were booked for the same offenses as similarly situated Black defendants, shared their criminal history, and otherwise were identical on average to Black defendants in contextual factors other than

race, White defendants would on average be convicted of 0.28, rather than 0.19, felonies, reducing the disparity with Blacks to 7%. Latinx defendants were convicted of 0.56 misdemeanors, which is 0.01 more misdemeanors than would be expected among White defendants with the same criminal records, booking charges, and other contextual factors as the Latinx defendants (other than ethnicity). Thus, **while the unadjusted differences across racial groups are large, once pre-adjudication contextual factors are adjusted for, the racial gaps become smaller and in most cases no longer statistically significant.**

Length of Time to Case Resolution. How cases are processed, and in particular whether defendants are released on bail, has a direct influence on outcomes. Longer cases can benefit defendants, as evidence and witness cooperation deteriorate over time, making it harder for the state to prove their case. If clients are in custody, however, there is a direct cost to this extra time, particularly for indigent defendants charged with low-level crimes. In addition to the physical and emotional toll of incarceration, many defendants operate with little or no economic safety net, and even brief periods of incarceration can have widespread collateral consequences including loss of employment, loss of housing, loss of custody and/or child support, and loss of other public benefits. In some instances, even the time burden of appearing at court to handle their cases may disrupt work or other obligations for indigent individuals not in custody, causing them to plead guilty to charges simply to have them resolved and in the past.

We evaluated the time taken to process defendants of different races in the San Francisco County criminal justice system, including:

- Days passed between arrest and adjudication;
- Days a client was in custody;
- Number of times charges were refiled; and
- Court events⁹ that took place.

White, Black and Latinx defendants respectively spent 19, 30, and 21 calendar days detained over the course of their case. That means Black defendants were in custody for 11.6 additional days relative to White defendants, which is statistically and substantively significant (Table 1). This disparity falls by 7 days to 4 days after adjusting for contextual factors, but those remaining four days are still statistically meaningful (Figure 15). Black/White disparities in days in custody may be explained in large part by criminal record (accounting for 25% of the disparity) and booking charges (accounting for 42% of the disparity).

These data suggest that the main driver of the increased length of time to resolution of cases involving Black defendants is their (on average) more extensive criminal history.

⁹ A “court event” as used in this paper means a hearing or other procedure that caused the defendant or the defendant’s counsel to appear in court.

Figure 15: Black/White Disparities in Case Processing

Note: * denotes a statistically significant Black/White difference.

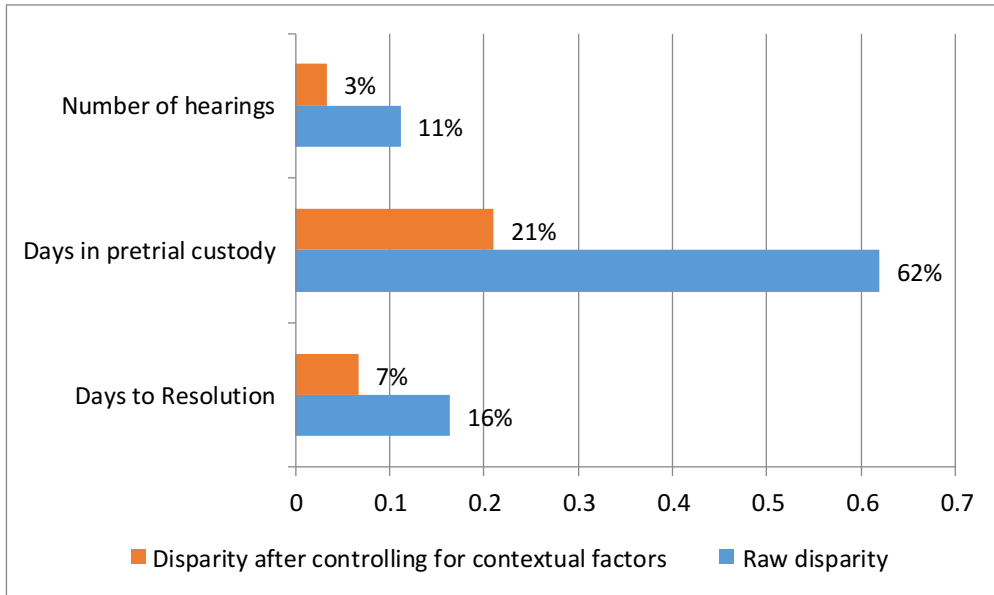
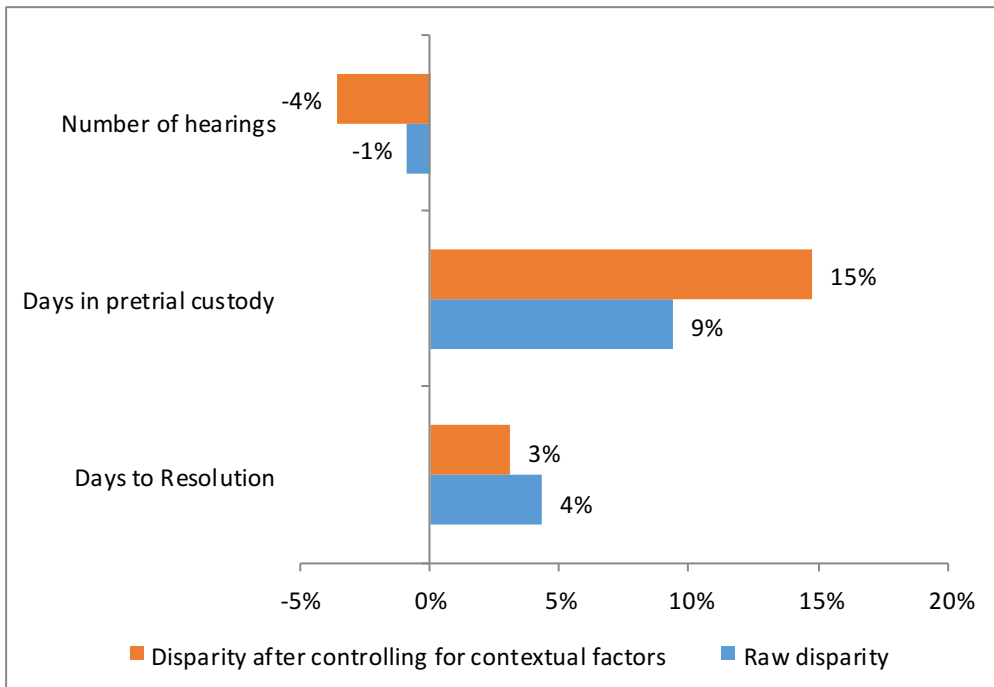


Figure 16: Latinx/White Disparities in Case Processing

Note: * denotes a statistically significant Latinx/White difference.



An additional measurement that reflects the complexity of the case is the number of court events associated with that case. Black defendants had a statistically significant 1.7 additional court events relative to White defendants (Table 1). As was the case for pretrial custody days, this disparity appears to be driven by criminal history (explaining 24% of the disparity) and charges filed at booking (explaining 45% of the disparity).

For Latinx defendants, there were no statistically significant differences in days to resolution or custody days relative to White defendants. Latinx defendants did have roughly 10% fewer hearings than White defendants, a statistically significant difference. The measured gap in hearings remains virtually unchanged after accounting for the contextual factors in the model, so this disparity remains largely unexplained. One speculated possibility is that the need to accommodate the language needs of some Latinx defendants led to different patterns of scheduling of hearings.

Sentencing/Length of Incarceration. For those who were convicted, sentence length (in days) was measured. Without adjusting for contextual factors (but limiting the influence of outlier sentences), Across all defendants (i.e., those convicted of crimes and those who ultimately were not), Blacks received sentences that were on average 27.9% longer than Whites, and Latinx defendants received sentences that were 15% shorter than White defendants. Among the subset of Black defendants that were convicted of crimes, sentences for Black defendants were 40% longer than those of White defendants, while sentences for Latinx defendants were 27% shorter than for White defendants.

Again, however, as shown in Figure 15 below, these unadjusted disparities almost completely disappear when we account for contextual factors. **The main source of the disparities in length of incarceration is criminal history and, in particular, previous incarcerations**, which account for 70-90% of the raw Black/White disparity and 40-50% of the Latinx/White disparity. Booking decisions remain an important secondary explanation for the observed Black-White and Latinx-White disparities.

While Latinx defendants receive shorter terms of incarceration than White defendants, they receive longer sentences of probation. When comparing Latinx defendants who were convicted to their White counterparts, Latinx defendants received probation sentences that were 23.9% longer, for reasons that could not be identified.

Figure 17. What Affects Black/White Differences in Sentence Length?

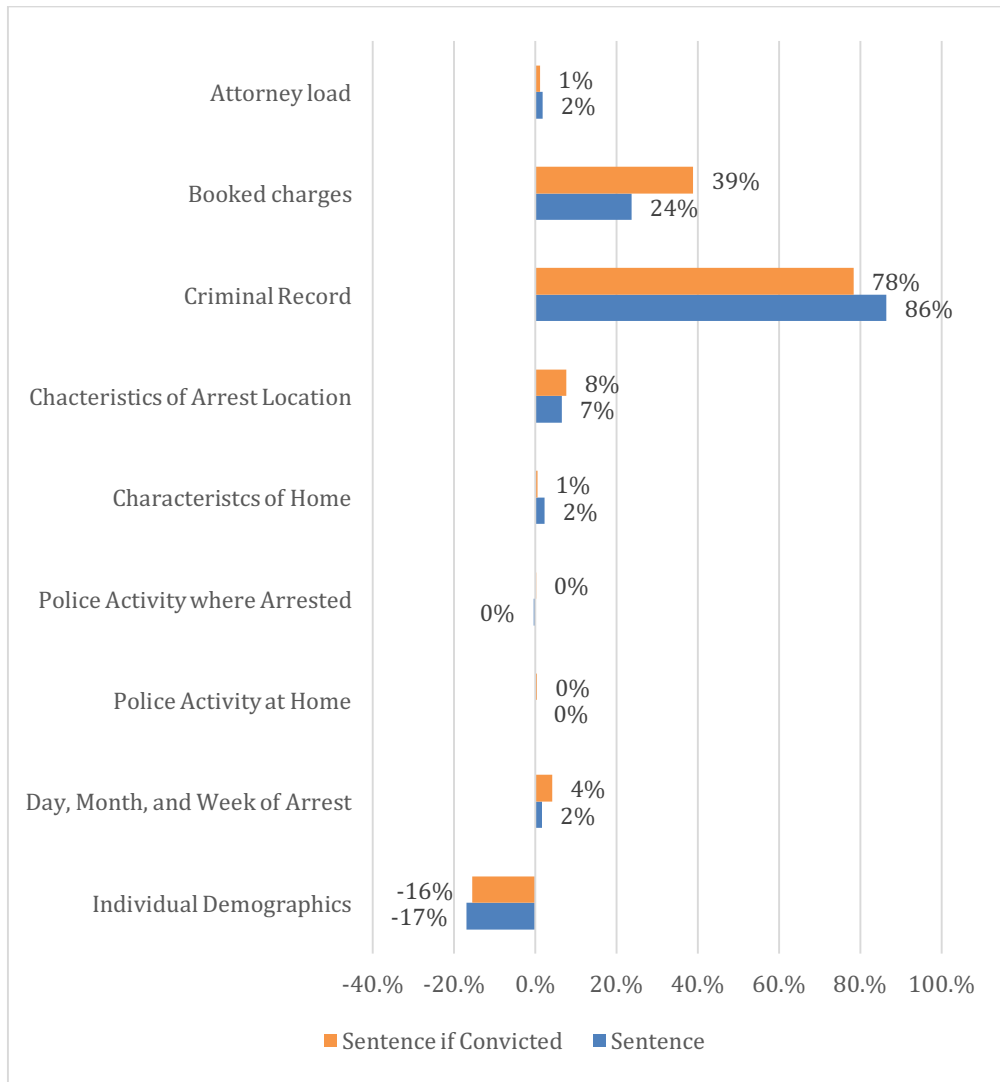
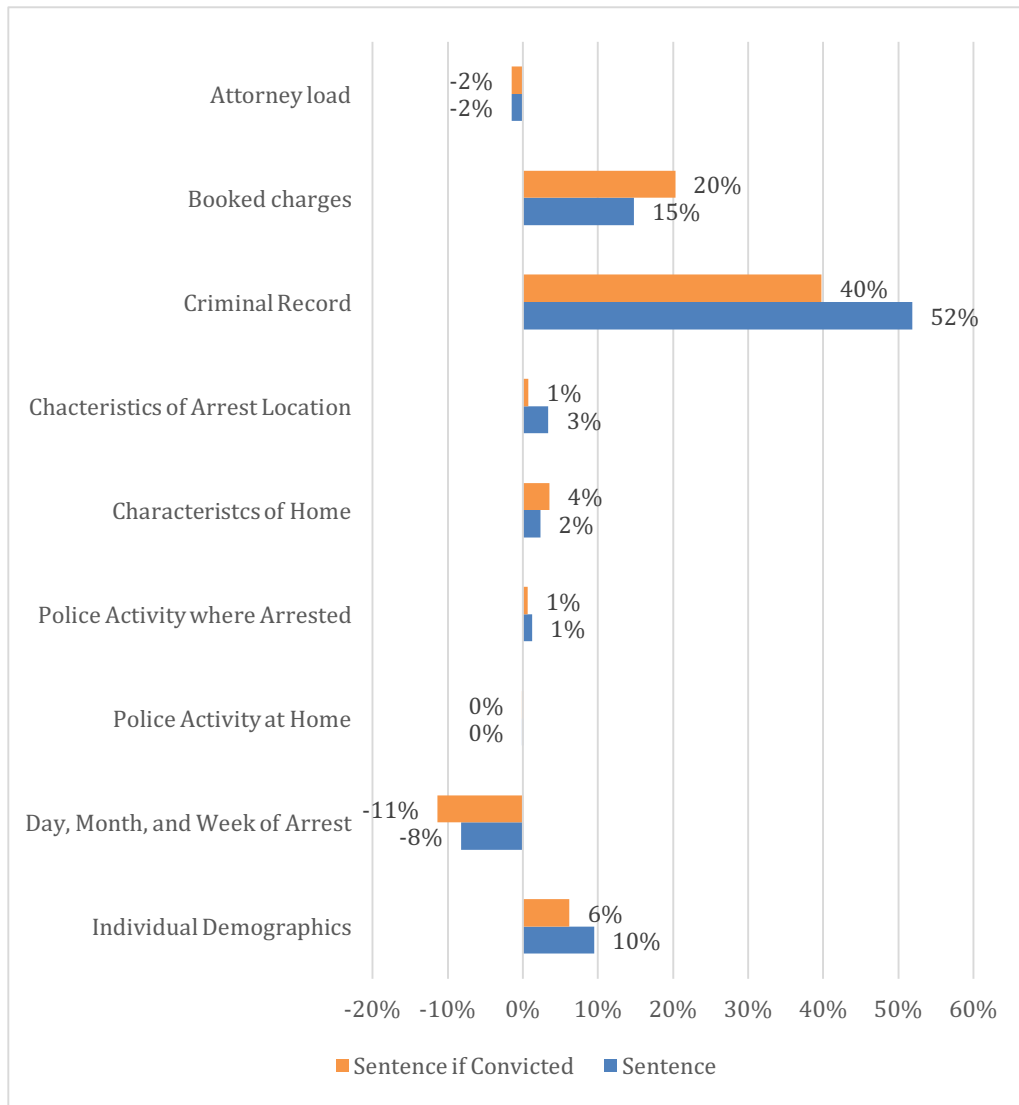


Figure 18. What Affects Latinx/White Differences in Sentence Length?



Public Defender Resource Constraints

Finally, we sought to consider possible constraints on the Public Defender’s office, since different cases unfolding simultaneously compete for the focus of each individual public defender. When charges are modified by the prosecutor, it is generally due to a negotiation with defense counsel, and the amount of time an individual attorney has with the defendant and case file can impact the attorney’s ability to learn about the client’s specific situation and thus to advocate on their behalf. We measured the number of times the client’s attorney representation changed, meaning that a different attorney was handling a court event for the client. We also calculated the average number of court events *for other cases* that each defendant’s primary attorney was responsible for during the weeks

that court events for the defendant’s case took place. The average number of other court events for public defenders was 26, and was slightly lower (25) for black defendants than white defendants (27), a difference that is statistically significant. This is consistent with the fact that black defendants are more likely to be facing felony charges, and our understanding is that the public defender’s office makes efforts to assign fewer cases to attorneys handling felonies.

Ultimately, caseload differences across public defenders were not a major explanation of racial disparities in case outcomes, accounting for only 5% (or less) of the unadjusted disparity for all of the prosecutor activity outcomes listed above in Table 1 and Figures 7-8. This suggests that increasing the number of public defenders representing this group of defendants is not likely to resolve the different outcomes seen among similarly situated Black, Latinx, and White defendants.

Conclusions and Questions for Policy Makers

Disparities in the criminal justice system have an impact that extends beyond the four corners of a criminal charge or conviction. They create and perpetuate inequalities in poverty, family formation, education, and child development. Understanding why Black and Latinx defendants experience disproportionately worse criminal justice outcomes can help policy makers and practitioners mitigate the disparities: by focusing on specific contributing factors associated with race-based negative outcomes, we reduce the likelihood that race is a cause of disparate treatment in our system of justice.

Our analysis of several years of cases from the San Francisco Public Defender’s Office suggests that “equal justice for all” may be elusive in San Francisco for people of color. We observed systematic differences in outcomes for Black, Latinx, and White defendants across almost all metrics evaluated.

The main factor explaining these disparate outcomes appears to be racially disparate booking charges imposed by the police, which remain in the system through the downstream case adjudication process managed by prosecutors, defense attorneys, and judges. Moreover, the influence of these booking decisions is actually larger than what is shown by our figures, because today’s booking decisions become tomorrow’s criminal record, and a defendant’s criminal history was the second most important contributing factor in both the length of time a defendant would spend in custody during the adjudication process, and the length of sentence for those convicted of crimes.

Booking decisions influence downstream decisions made by district attorneys, public defenders, and judges. District attorneys and public defenders are making what appear to be race-neutral decisions in response to the charges brought to them by the police – but police bring more severe charges against Blacks and Latinx relative to Whites, and that then persists throughout the case adjudication process.

If we desire a criminal justice system in which similarly situated defendants experience similar outcomes, it may not be sufficient for defense attorneys, prosecutors, and judges to be merely race-blind participants themselves. Given the important role they play as checks and balances on other parts of the system, it may be necessary for these parties to actively mitigate unwarranted racial disparities that occur in earlier stages of the process. Our analysis suggests that to date, the actions of prosecutors, public defenders, and judges do not actively increase disparities – but neither have they undone disparities attributable to upstream booking decisions.

Booking decisions can be thought of as police responses to alleged criminal behavior committed by a defendant with specific characteristics. Our data do not permit the perfect separation of these criteria for independent analysis, and additional research is needed to ensure the utility of further reforms. It is possible that there are legally relevant factors outside of those accounted for in the present study – most importantly, the actual criminal behavior observed relative to the specific charges that are filed – that affect racial disparities in charging at the booking stage. Future studies that examine police behavior and attitudes – dashboard camera media, incident reports, officer statements, and witness testimony, for example – could shed light on this important issue.

To the extent that the Office of the Public Defender and the District Attorney have a shared goal of reducing unwarranted racial disparities, careful scrutiny of booked charges is needed. Moreover, policies that can mitigate the adverse downstream consequences (from the perspective of the defendant) of a prior criminal record—such as use of actuarial risk assessment tools rather than prior record as a proxy for risk in bail setting, more flexible sentencing, or improved access to expungement services—may also serve to reduce disparities.

FULL REPORT

As in most places in the United States, Californians of color are overrepresented in correctional facilities. According to a recent Public Policy Institute of California report, there are approximately 4,400 Black men in California prisons per 100,000 people, which amounts to five times the incarceration rate of Latino men, almost ten times the incarceration rate of White men, and 100 times the incarceration rate of Asian men.¹ The cause of these disparities is a source of tremendous debate among practitioners, policymakers, and academic alike, and potential explanations include variation in socioeconomic status, access to employment or education opportunities, differential patterns in policing, and variation in charging and sentencing decisions by prosecutors and judges.

In this report, we document that Black, White and Latinx indigent defendants in San Francisco have substantially different experiences during the criminal adjudication process. Specifically, defendants of color are more likely to be held in custody during their cases, which tend to take longer than the cases of White defendants. Their felony charges are less likely to be reduced, and misdemeanor charges more likely to be increased during the plea bargaining process, meaning that they are convicted of more serious crimes than similarly situated White defendants. In addition, Black and Latinx defendants are more likely to plead guilty, and the nature of those pleas are different; Black defendants plead guilty to more charges than White or Latinx defendants, while Latinx defendants plead guilty to a smaller fraction of the charges they are booked for than Black or White defendants. After examining multiple potential causes of these differences, we find that the majority of the variance can be explained by two factors: the initial booking decisions made by officers of the San Francisco Police Department and racial differences in previous contact with the criminal justice system in San Francisco County.

With the cooperation of the San Francisco Public Defender's Office ("Public Defender," hereafter), the Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice analyzed the court records of over 10,000 cases taken on by the Public Defender.² We further analyzed a subsample of more than 250 full case files detailing case elements that include discovery, email exchanges, investigation and forensic reports, affidavits, and victim statements.

The goal of our quantitative analysis was to identify whether there have been differences in the processing and adjudication of Black, White, and Latinx defendants, and if so, to statistically explain the source of those differences to guide policymakers and stakeholders in understanding and addressing these disparities. Identifying the characteristics which result in racially disparate outcomes will allow the Public Defender, the San Francisco District Attorney, the San Francisco Police Department and other criminal justice stakeholders to take positive actions to reduce disparate treatments in the criminal justice system.

We initially received an extract of 16,064 case records, representing the universe of cases assigned to the Public Defender's Office where an arrest was made between 2011 and 2014, and the case had been fully adjudicated by the end of 2014. These data were stored in the Public Defender's GIDEON case

¹ Retrieved on September 16, 2016 from: http://www.ppic.org/main/publication_show.asp?id=792
² Just under 59% of these cases resulted in a conviction, and 91% of those convictions involved at least one guilty plea. case management system, which draws on data maintained by the San Francisco County Superior Court's larger case management system database.

After eliminating records with incomplete or missing information, we were left with a sample of 10,753 cases, representing a total of 7,763 individuals.³

How are We Measuring Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice Process?

Most studies of racial disparities in the justice system focus on final case outcomes, such as conviction, incarceration, and sentence length. However, exclusively analyzing the final disposition of a case does not offer sufficient insight into the many points in the criminal justice process where cases against Black, White, or Latinx defendants could diverge. Through our research agreement with the Public Defender's Office, we were also able to analyze a series of initial and intermediate outcomes that reflect the compounding decisions of booking officers, prosecutors, public defenders, judges, and probation officers. Another unique feature of our study is its focus on the duration of case processing time. Typically, researchers only observe a subset of the information on charges and court events. Because our data track a client from the time of booking to disposition for each case, as well as the defendant's local criminal history, we can flexibly account for a large set of the information that is available to prosecutors, defenders, and judges when they make their decisions. As a result, we can more precisely identify disparities that might arise from the menu of charges for which someone is booked, and their full criminal history in San Francisco County.

Pre-filing outcomes are decisions made by booking officers and prosecutors, potentially before a client is assigned to the Public Defender's Office. These include the total number of charges for which you are booked into a San Francisco Jail,⁴ how many felony or misdemeanor charges you are initially booked for, the total severity of the charges for which you are booked, and the number, type, and severity of charges that are added to the initial booking by the District Attorney's Office.⁵

Second, we also examine a set of **post-filing criminal justice outcomes**: Whether defendants are adjudicated guilty, and for how many charges. We also examine how many charges one pleads guilty (or nolo contendere) to, since criminal adjudication in San Francisco is primarily resolved by plea bargain rather than bench or jury trials. As

³ Of these 16,064 cases, 5,311 were excluded due to an incomplete dataset. We excluded 1,204 because the client was not either Latinx (any race), Black Non-Latinx, or White Non-Latinx. Because ethnicity is not consistently recorded in the court data, we follow Freedman and Owens (2016) in identifying individuals as Latinx or Non-Latinx based on their reported last name. While people of Asian descent make up 35% of the population of San Francisco, they represent 5.5% of the public defender clients (roughly 880 cases). This constitutes too small a group to statistically examine separately. Among Asian clients, 10% of them are also Latinx (using our definition), and are included in our sample as such. Another 442 cases were excluded for missing information about the date of arrest or age at arrest. Clients in 793 cases did not have a San Francisco Jail ID number, and therefore we lacked information about their sentence. We could not identify the arrest location in 2,552 cases. Clients in 320 cases were not identified as transient, but did not have an identifiable home address.

⁴ After someone is arrested, the police officer takes them to a local jail where the charges are formally recorded. This process is called "booking." Booking is what creates a formal electronic record of the arrest in the Court Management System.

⁵ The severity of a charge is based on the charge hierarchy as assigned by the California Attorney General. Because these hierarchy scores decrease in severity (treason=1000, fugitive from justice, arrest without warrant = 179500), we define the "seriousness" of an offense as 1000 divided by the AG's hierarchy score. This transformation has the benefit of increasing along with crime severity. We then calculate the total seriousness of a case levied against someone as the sum of the seriousness of each charge.

such, simply comparing cases where there is, or is not, a plea bargain reached ignores substantial variation in how many and which types of plea deals are made. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate these trends. First, we report what fraction of the total charges a defendant pleads guilty to, disaggregated by race. While a slight majority of clients plead guilty, roughly 5% of cases involve a guilty plea to all charges, and in fact most cases involve guilty pleas to less than half of the charges filed. Weighting each charge by seriousness yields even stronger conclusions; in fact, most clients plead guilty to less than 40% of the total severity of the case initially brought against them.

Figure 1: Percent of All Charges Plead To

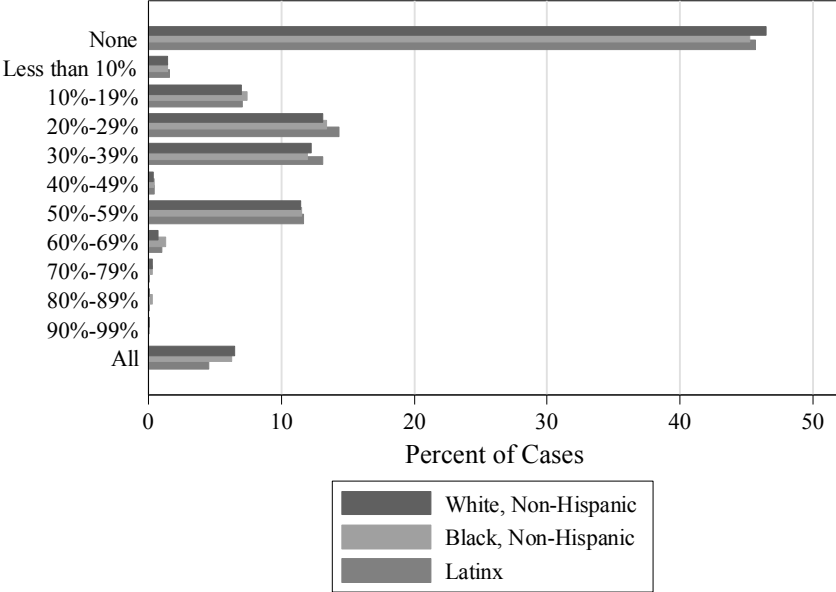
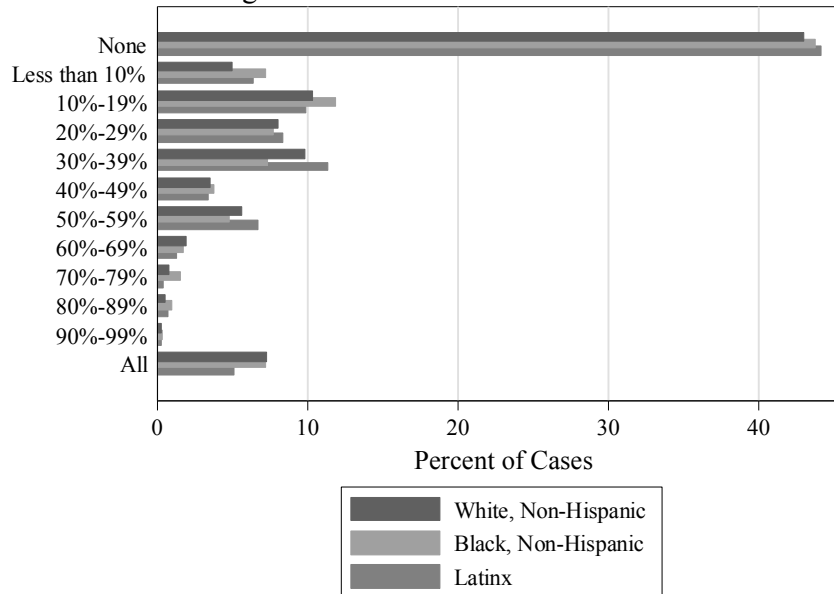


Figure 2: Percent of Case Seriousness Pleaded To



We then examine how the total charges against the client evolved over the course of the bargaining process. Some guiding questions include:

- How serious were the charges that the client was convicted of?
- How serious were the charges that were dismissed or discharged?
- How many charges were downgraded from felonies to misdemeanors (or vice versa?)
- How many charges were dismissed in exchange for a guilty plea to another charge?

Finally, we evaluate how the San Francisco County criminal justice system processes defendants of different races. Research questions of interest include:

- How many days pass between arrest and adjudication?
- How many days is a client in custody?
- How many times are charges refiled?
- How many court events take place?
- How many hearings?
- What fraction of the time do clients' attorney representation assignments change?

In Table 1, we document the presence of disparities in outcomes for Black, Latinx, and White defendants at each recorded point in the adjudication process, and in almost all cases observed. In general, White defendants fare better than minority clients, though for a number of important outcomes the differences in outcomes across Blacks, Latinx and Whites are not statistically significant. As a statistical matter, we found no disparity in the

number of charges added by the DA to the booking charges against Whites, Blacks, and Latinx. In addition, there is no apparent disparity in the proportion of charges to which individuals plead guilty (across charge type and severity). We also do not find evidence that misdemeanor charges are any more or less likely to be refiled as felony charges for White, Black, or Latinx defendants. White defendants also seem to have, on average, less continuity in legal representation. In other words, White defendants are less likely to retain the same public defender from start to finish in their case adjudications than Latinx or Black defendants.

All other differences are statistically significant, meaning that differences of that magnitude would be unlikely to be observed for reasons other than a relationship between the race of the defendant and the criminal justice outcome in question.

Table 1: Case Outcomes by Race						
Defendant Race:	White n=3,831		Black n=4,749		Latinx n=2,173	
	Mean	Std. dev.	Mean	Std. dev.	Mean	Std. dev.
Booking						
Number of Booked Charges	2.57	2.27	2.75	2.36	2.58	2.49
Felonies	1.46	1.86	1.81	2.04	1.30	2.27
Misdemeanors	0.96	1.27	0.80	1.13	1.12	1.23
Case Severity at Booking	44.4	85.7	65.9	126.5	52.5	110.4
Prosecutor Activity						
Number of Added Charges	0.95	1.85	0.91	2.19	1.01	1.73
Felonies	0.34	1.24	0.43	1.44	0.32	1.17
Misdemeanors	0.57	1.31	0.46	1.60	0.63	1.25
Case Severity Added	14.0	55.4	17.0	62.4	16.9	63.6
Case Adjudication						
Guilty of any charge	56.7%	49.6%	60.0%	49.0%	59.2%	49.2%
Number of Convicted Charges	0.695	0.940	0.739	0.927	0.721	0.884
Felonies	0.186	0.608	0.299	0.752	0.178	0.544
Misdemeanors	0.514	0.747	0.451	0.716	0.557	0.728
Case Severity at Conviction	9.9	21.6	14.7	65.0	12.6	48.9
Sentence Length (in days, if convicted)	89.3	481	189.7	2557	104.5	995
Probation Length (in days, if convicted)	999.5	1075	939.7	880	1106	1014
Method of Resolution						
Plead guilty of any charge	53.5%	49.9%	54.7%	49.8%	54.2%	49.8%
Number of Plead Charges	0.647	0.912	0.665	0.830	0.637	0.841
% Charges Dismissed Outright	27.0%	42.7%	26.5%	42.8%	29.3%	44.1%
% Charges Dismissed in Plea Deal	33.9%	38.0%	33.4%	37.5%	35.1%	48.1%
% Charges Discharged	13.5%	45.7%	13.1%	25.1%	11.3%	24.6%
% Felonies Downgraded to Misd.	31.0%	42.2%	23.2%	37.9%	28.8%	41.2%
% Misdemeanors Upgraded Fel.	2.4%	13.0%	2.9%	14.3%	1.5%	9.5%
Case Processing						
Days from First to Last Court Event	77.5	156.1	90.3	181.5	80.9	160.7
Days in Custody	18.8	63.2	30.4	102.0	20.5	72.0
Number of Court Events	15.1	14	16.8	15.3	15	14
Number of Hearings	11.1	12.4	12.4	13.3	9.81	10.3
Number of Non admin. hearings	6.09	7.36	6.44	7.41	5.33	5.89
Charge Refilings	9.16	8.83	9.83	9.11	9.44	8.46
% Court Events with New Representation	13.5%	13.5%	12.6%	12.7%	12.5%	12.8%

What are Potential Sources of Racial Disparities?

Why do these racial disparities appear? One possibility is that Black, Latinx, and White defendants have experiences that are unevenly policed and criminalized. For example, they could be accused of different crimes, or have different criminal records. Homeless clients must reconcile increasingly punitive local policing of public space, adolescent defendants of color are differentially tried as adults, and low-level drug traffickers of color are far more likely to be arrested at a site that prompts a charge enhancement (dealing in a school zone, for instance), than their white counterparts who trade drugs for money in more private settings. Racially disparities exist in an array of behaviors germane to criminal justice intervention.

After discussions with members of the Public Defender's Office, and our own review of academic research on disparities in the criminal justice system, we focused on defendant characteristics, socioeconomic features of the neighborhood where the defendant lives and where they were arrested, measures of police activity where the defendant lives and was arrested, and the workload of the attorney handling the case.

Using court records available to the Public Defender's Office, we identified, for each case in our sample, the following potentially relevant demographic information about the individual defendant:

- Their gender (Female = 1, Male = 0),
- Their housing status (Transient = 1, Not Transient = 0)
- Their age at arrest (four variables)
 - Age 12-19 = 1, Not 12-19 = 0
 - Age 20-29 = 1, Not 20-29 = 0
 - Age 30-39 = 1, Not 30-39 = 0
 - Age 40 or Over = 1, Younger than 40 = 0
- Year of arrest for case top charge
- Month of arrest for case top charge
- Previous number of times arrested in San Francisco (0-144)
- Previous number of charges arrest for in San Francisco (0-202)
- Previous number of convictions in San Francisco Criminal Court (0-18)
- Previous number of convictions in San Francisco Criminal Court resulting in sentences of incarceration (0-18)

In addition, we will also include a flexible set of controls for what, exactly, the defendants are accused of. We focus on the initial contact between the defendant and the criminal justice system: charges filed at booking. We incorporate differences across individuals in what, exactly, they are booked for along the following dimensions:

- Most serious offense as defined by the District Attorney’s severity scale (i.e. “Top” charge)
- Total number of charges
- Sum of severity of all charges

Racial disparities in police-civilian contact may arise because police officers may make different decisions in what are perceived to be “high crime” neighborhoods than in neighborhoods perceived to be “low crime” (Kahn & Martin, 2016; Stuart, Armenta, & Osborne, 2015).⁶ The court records also allow us to identify the exact location of each arrest, as well as where the client lives. We mapped both locations onto disaggregated geographic information from the Census Bureau’s 2010-2014 American Communities Survey (ACS).⁷

To explore the relationship between geographically disparate policing styles and adjudication, we identified summary measures from the ACS that are typically found to be correlated with outsiders’ perceptions of neighborhood stability and safety (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Skogan, 1986; Taylor, 1997).

- The percent of residents who identify as Black or African American (0-100)
- The percent of residents who are Hispanic or Latino (any race) (0-100)
- The percent of housing units that are rented, as opposed to owner occupied (0-100)

It is also possible that people with limited education, or non-native English speakers, may have a harder time interacting with police in ways that yield positive outcomes. Unlike when we are trying to proxy for policing strategies, here the relevant unit of geographical analysis is the location where the defendant lives. We therefore included the following controls from the ACS

- The percent of residents with limited English proficiency (0-100)
- The percent of adults over 25 without a high school degree (0-100)
- The percent of families living below the federal poverty line (0-100)
- The adult employment rate (0-100)

⁶ Indeed, in *Illinois v. Wardlow*, 2000, the US Supreme Court decided that the legal thresholds of reasonable suspicion was different in “high crime” areas, leaving the exact definition of “high crime” unclear, and courts have tended to defer to a police officer’s perceptions (Ferguson, 2011).

⁷ Census block groups are the second smallest geographic unit of analysis in Census surveys, and in urban areas are roughly the size of a city block. There are approximately four census block groups per census tract. Census tracts geographic areas defined by the Census in a way that attempts to make the people living within that tract as homogenous as possible. The result of this is that people living in the same block group (an even smaller area) can reasonably be assumed to be relatively similar along most dimensions. Two randomly selected San Francisco residents are probably much more different than two randomly selected people who live in the same block group in San Francisco.

The San Francisco Police Department releases geographically identified information on almost all police incidents, dating back to 2003.⁸ Using this incident-level data, we extracted information that would help us compare individuals who were exposed to similar levels of police activity. Note that this exposure is due to a combination of actual crime committed and police response to criminal activity, both actual and alleged. We focused on the following:

- The total number of recorded incidents
- The number of incidents resulting in an arrest and booking
- The number of arrests derived from warrants
- The total number of drug related incidents
- The total number of incidents categorized as either gang activity or resisting arrest
- The total number of incidents not involving a serious crime that either recently occurred or was in progress⁹

For each Public Defender case, we calculated the average number of each of these types of incidents over the three years prior to the client's arrest in the block group where the arrest occurred, as well as in the block group where the client lived. These averages were then scaled by the average number of people living in the block group, according to the census data.

⁸ These data retrievable from: <https://data.sfgov.org/browse?category=Public+Safety>.

⁹ These incidents include activities classified as suicide, recovered vehicle, missing person, loitering, suspicious occurrence, a secondary code, "non-criminal," "other offenses," or issuance or execution of a warrant.

Table 2: Client Characteristics by Race (N= 10,753)						
Defendant Race:	White n=3,831		Black n=4,749		Latinx n=2,173	
	Mean	Std. dev.	Mean	Std. dev.	Mean	Std. dev.
Transient	29.5%	45.6%	18.8%	39.1%	14.0%	34.7%
Female	15.9%	36.6%	19.0%	39.3%	16.4%	37.1%
Age at Arrest	36.27	11.37	36.86	12.83	33.51	11.63
# Previous Arrests	7.85	12.14	13.08	15.57	4.88	8.63
# Previous Arrested Charges	11.04	17.41	18.10	22.22	6.53	12.17
# Previous Convictions	1.59	2.57	2.97	3.34	1.13	2.05
# Previous Incarcerations	1.56	2.54	2.90	3.29	1.09	2.00
Neighborhood of Residence						
Employment Rate	89.4%	12.4%	86.2%	13.3%	88.7%	10.3%
% Adults w/ Limited English	3.5%	6.0%	3.9%	5.7%	5.4%	6.9%
% Adults w/ Some College	69.1%	20%	60.2%	19.8%	61.9%	19.0%
% Families in Poverty	8.9%	10.8%	15.3%	14.1%	11.5%	11.9%
Police Incident Rate	7,391	94,522	9,738	106,642	5,749	88,828
Booking Rate	3,623	46,861	4,712	51,827	2,843	43,983
Warranted Arrest Rate	383	4,895	506	5,563	299	4,615
Non-Criminal Incident Rate	3,284	42,245	4,266	46,591	2,723	42,727
Drug Related Incident Rate	1,649	22,291	2,086	23,783	1,281	19,926
Gang-Related Incident Rate	179	2,310	234	2,577	145	2,231
Neighborhood of Arrest						
Same as Home	13.4%	34.0%	12.9%	33.6%	14.6%	35.0%
% Black	7.0%	8.7%	12.3%	13.4%	8.1%	9.7%
% Hispanic	15.9%	14.4%	18.2%	15.3%	22.5%	17.3%
% of Housing Units Not Owner-Occupied	74.6%	26.3%	75.3%	27.9%	70.9%	26.6%
Police Incident Rate	82,176	379,514	111,466	443,013	58,503	323,195
Booking Rate	23,278	107,524	31,257	124,282	16,494	91,255
Warranted Arrest Rate	2,951	13,610	3,988	15,860	2,098	11,601
Non-Criminal Incident Rate	26,971	123,933	36,370	144,122	19,163	105,457
Drug Related Incident Rate	2,016	9,103	2,512	10,095	1,373	7,585
Gang-Related Incident Rate	829	3,812	1,136	4,529	590	3,264

Notes: All police incident data are averages over the three years prior to arrest, and are scaled by 1000 block group residents. Transient clients are identified based on home address, listed as either transient (e.g. "transient"), a non-residential area (e.g. Golden Gate Park) or one of the locations reported on a Google search of "San Francisco" and "Emergency Housing" or "Shelter."

Finally, we included a final measure of the possible constraints on the public defender's office, specifically the fact that different cases unfolding simultaneously compete for an attorney's time. We can observe, in any given week, the number of court events occurring in cases for which each attorney is primarily responsible. For each case, we

calculated the average number of court events *for other cases* that each defendant's primary attorney was responsible for during the weeks that court events for the defendant's case took place.

Table 2 contains summary statistics for key observable characteristics of the defendants in the data, and separately reports the statistics for White, Black and Latinx defendants. Several racial differences are worth noting. The proportion of transients among White defendants is substantially greater than among Black or Latinx ones (29.5, compared to 18.8 and 14 percent, respectively). Also, the likelihood of having previous contact with the criminal justice system is greater for Black than for White defendants, and greater in turn for Whites than for Latinx. Poverty rates in the neighborhood of residency are higher for Black defendants than for others, while police activity, which combines both crime rates and police presence, in the neighborhood of arrest is higher for Blacks than for Whites and higher for Whites than for Latinx.¹⁰

Mapping the location of where defendants are arrested, their entry point into the adjudication process, reveals some initial disparate patterns. Figures 3, 4, and 5 identify areas of San Francisco (by census tract) where Latinx, Black, and White defendants are arrested (respectively). White areas have 25 or fewer defendants during our sample period, and each additional darker interval indicates an additional 25 defendants being arrested in that place. Figure 3 shows that the majority of both Latinx and White defendants are arrested in the Southern Police District, with the central Mission and Ingleside districts also being pronounced sources of Latinx defendants. White defendants are more likely than Latinx defendants to be arrested in the Richmond Police District, particularly in the large census tract associated with Golden Gate Park. Black Defendants' arrest locations (Figure 4) are less concentrated, although most Black defendants are arrested in the Southern or Bayview districts.

¹⁰ Most of the means reported in the table are significantly different across races at conventional levels. The exceptions are the proportion of females across Latinx and White defendants and the variables related to police activity in the defendants' residency neighborhood.

Figure 3: Latinx Defendants by Place of Arrest

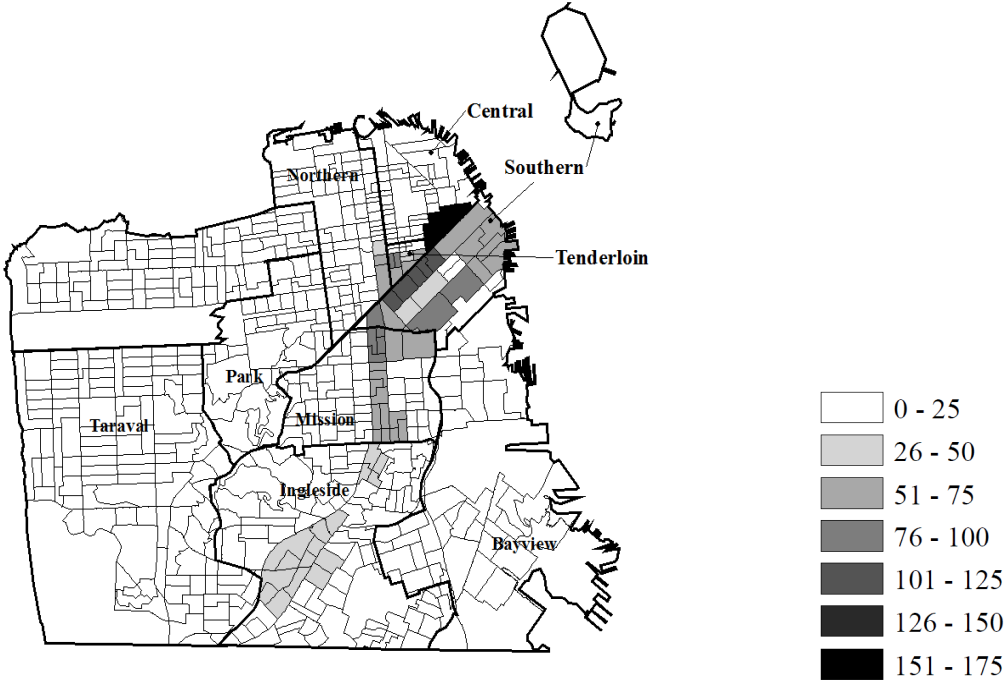


Figure 4: Black Defendants by Place of Arrest

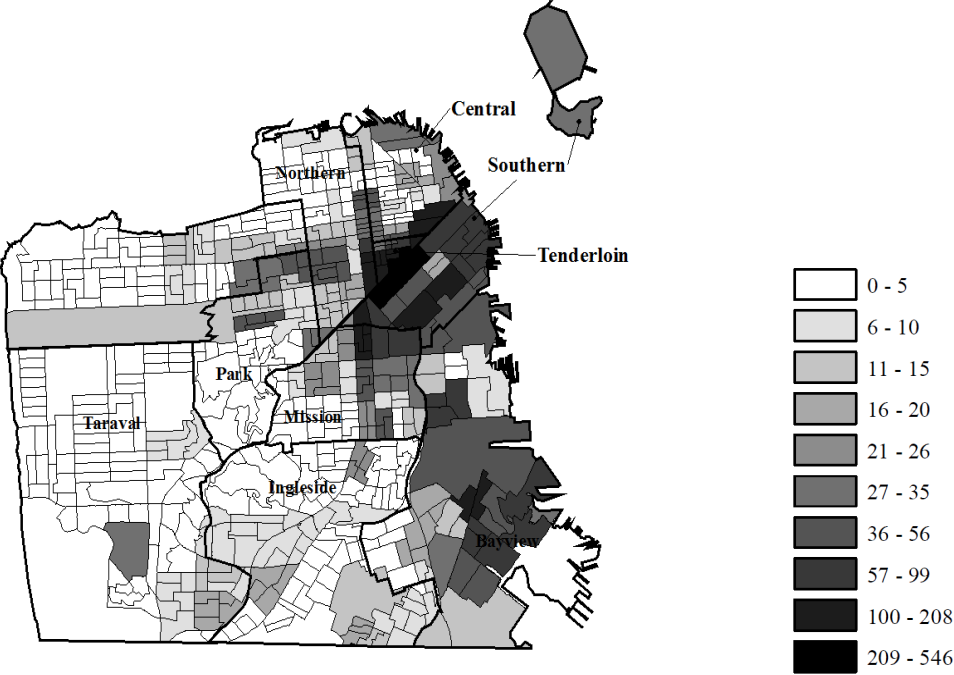
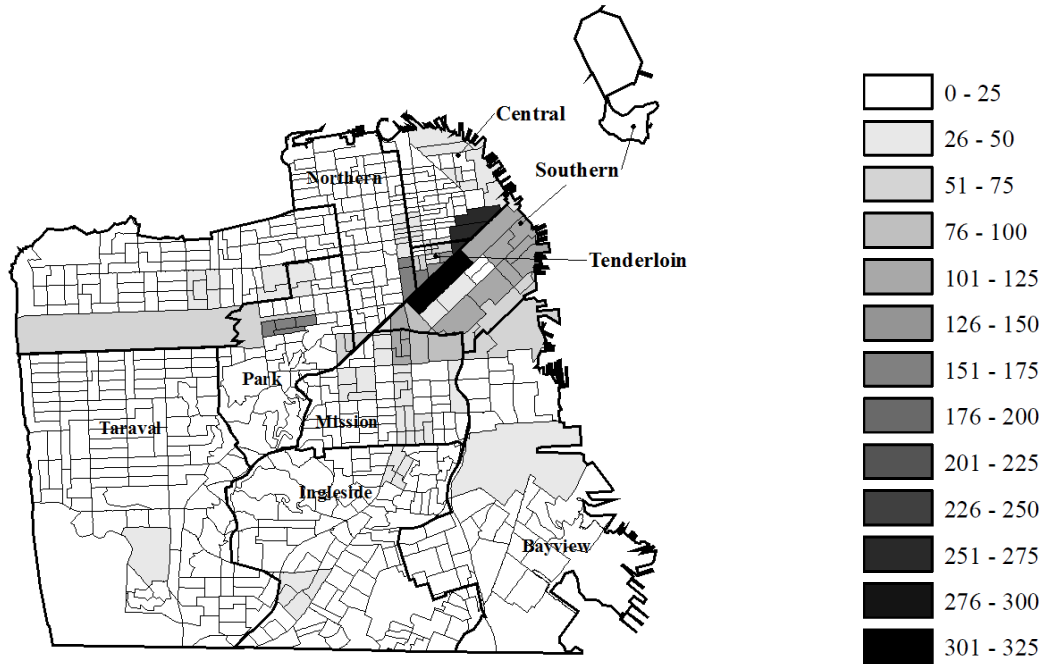


Figure 5: White Defendants by Place of Arrest



Identifying the Source of Racial Disparities: A Multivariate Decomposition Approach

We diagnose the existence and source of racial disparities in the criminal justice process in three mathematical steps. First, we use multivariate regression analysis to determine whether there is a statistically meaningful racial disparity in the outcomes in Table 1, and whether the observed case and client characteristics in Table 2 can explain the observed racial disparities. Second, we use a statistical decomposition approach described by Gelbach (2016) to identify which of the factors in Table 2 are the most, and least, responsible for the observed disparities. Finally, we quantify the importance of the unexplained component of the observed racial disparities, using our statistical models to estimate expected outcomes for hypothetical clients who shared typical characteristics of clients of different races, or alternately were “treated,” for unknown reasons, as if they had a different racial or ethnic background.

To assess the relative importance of the observed case and client characteristics as sources of racial disparities in the observed case outcomes, we consider the following regression model

$$Outcome = \alpha + \gamma_1 Black + \gamma_2 Latino + \beta X + \varepsilon,$$

where *Outcome* is one of the pre-filing, adjudication, resolution, or case processing outcomes described above; *Black* and *Latino* are dummy variables for African-American and Latinx defendants, respectively; *X* is a vector

of “control” variables described in the previous section, and ε is an error term, reflecting idiosyncratic differences across outcomes that are not related to race or the factors measured in X . In these regression models, γ_1 and γ_2 represent the size of unexplained racial disparity in outcomes for Black and Latinx defendants, respectively. If we exclude the variables in X from our regression, γ_1 and γ_2 would be identical to the differences in means presented in Table 1. Including our “control” variables, such as defendant demographics and neighborhood characteristics, may change the estimated values of γ_1 and γ_2 if these characteristics (1) vary across defendants of different races and (2) influence case outcomes. When the addition of control variables causes γ_1 or γ_2 to become substantively or statistically close to zero, it is a statistical indication that we have identified some specific characteristic – e.g., differences in education levels – that is the source of the racial disparities observed in Table 1.¹¹

To the extent that we can explain racial disparities using our set of controls, how do we know which factors are important? Is it education, criminal history, or something else? Previous related research has typically evaluated the role of various control variables in explaining racial disparities using a “horse race” approach, wherein variables are sequentially added to a model, and the researcher analyzes how γ_1 and γ_2 change as other factors are adjusted for (Kutateladze & Andiloro, 2014; Rehavi & Sonja, 2014). While this approach is conceptually straightforward, if control variables are related to each other, this method can yield misleading estimates of the relative importance of each factor.

Table 3 presents an example of this problem. The number of times that someone has been arrested is strongly related to the number of times they have been convicted, and both vary systematically across racial groups. Including a control for number of arrests (Adjusted Disparity 1) reduces the racial disparity from Black defendants by 1.5 percentage points and eliminates the statistical disparity between the groups. At the same time, it slightly increases the disparity between White and Latinx defendants. Adding convictions to the model (Adjusted Disparity 2) causes a statistically insignificant 0.9 percentage point reduction in the Black-White disparity, and a statistically insignificant 1.3 percentage point reduction in the Latinx-White disparity. This seems to imply that arrests are very important, relative to convictions, in explaining racial disparities. However, suppose that the researcher first included a control for convictions (Adjusted Disparity 1b), and then added a control for arrests (Adjusted Disparity 2b). Here, including a control for convictions explained 2.4 percentage points of the Black-White disparity (rather than only 0.9 percentage points), and the subsequent addition of arrests made only a minor difference in the Latinx-White disparity.

¹¹ An additional question we explored was whether, the race or ethnicity of the public defender assigned to a case mitigates, or exacerbates, the observed racial disparities observed elsewhere in the data. However, we were only able to obtain information on the race and ethnicity of a fraction of the attorneys in the Public Defender’s office. The relatively limited size of the subsample of cases that we could merge with the lawyers’ information prevented us from precisely estimating the effects of the attorneys’ race and ethnicity on the outcomes of interest.

	Unadjusted Disparity		Adjusted Disparity 1	Adjusted Disparity 2		Adjusted Disparity 1b	Adjusted Disparity 2b
Black Disparity	0.0330**		0.0181	0.00860		0.00858	0.00860
	(0.0115)		(0.0116)	(0.01147)		(0.01148)	(0.01147)
Latinx Disparity	0.0249+		0.0332*	0.0317*		0.0329*	0.0317*
	(0.0138)		(0.0138)	(0.0137)		(0.0137)	(0.0137)
Controls	None		Arrests	Arrests + Convictions		Convictions	Convictions + Arrests

All models include 10,753 observations. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

To identify the importance of each case characteristic, in a way that is independent of the order in which we introduce each variable, we follow the decomposition method proposed by Gelbach (2016). This also allows us to identify the total role of a set of variables together; i.e. the total role of neighborhood characteristics, rather than the separate influence of education, poverty, and employment (Gelbach, 2016).

For ease of interpretation across outcomes, we present these results in percentage form, relative to the size of the initial disparity in Table 1. A reported value of 25% associated with a specific characteristic means that this feature explains 25 percent of the observed racial disparity- disparities would be 25% lower among otherwise “typical” Black defendants who happened to look exactly like typical White defendants on that dimension. In contrast, an estimated value of -25% means that the characteristic exacerbates, rather than mitigates, the racial disparity by 25%. Latinx defendants who happened to share this specific feature, and only this feature, with typical white defendants would have a 25% larger disparity in outcomes. When these percentages are larger than 100%, this means this characteristic “over-explains” the disparity. In the case of sentence length, for example, where defendants of color typically receive longer sentences, a Black (or Latinx) defendant who “looked white” along a specific dimension with a value of over 100% would tend to have shorter sentences than a typical white defendant.

Finally, we provide some context for how important the unexplained racial disparities are relative to the racial disparities we can statistically explain. We do this with a counterfactual exercise in the spirit of a Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition (Blinder, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973). Here, we propose two counterfactual estimates for defendants of each race. First: what would the expected outcome be if the defendant were of a different race, *but all other features of the case were unchanged*? Second: what would be expect the outcome be if the defendant’s race was unchanged, *but the observed features of their case reflected a “typical” case for a defendant of a different race*?

Pre-Filing Outcomes

Table 4: Defendant's race/ethnicity and pre-filing outcomes

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdemeanors		Severity of booked offenses	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.182***	0.210***	0.354***	0.317***	-0.160***	-0.107***	21.5***	20.4***
	(0.0540)	(0.0574)	(0.0460)	(0.0496)	(0.0283)	(0.0296)	(2.46)	(2.55)
Latinx	0.005	-0.134+	-0.160**	-0.262***	0.157***	0.126***	8.05**	1.03
	(0.0683)	(0.0714)	(0.0601)	(0.0647)	(0.0351)	(0.0340)	(2.84)	(2.95)
Adj. R ²	0.00125	0.0234	0.0107	0.0304	0.0095	0.0244	0.00749	0.0274
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdemeanors		Severity of booked offenses	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Disparity	0.182	0.005	0.354	-0.160	-0.160	0.157	21.5	8.7
Age, gender, housing	-4.4%	845.2%	-1.5%	-25.6%	0.5%	2.9	-1.9%	6.6
Month, Year of Arrest	0.6%	-41.4%	1.3%	1.6%	2.2%	0.1	1.9%	-0.1
Police (h)	-0.3%	-32.6%	-0.2%	0.8%	-0.3%	-0.3	0.0%	6.2
Police (a)	-10.8%	168%	-2.5%	-4.2%	4.2%	2.6	-1.9%	24
Demog. (h)	0.6%	133%	6.7%	-14.4%	12.4%	-7.7	9.7%	25.3
Demog. (a)	9.3%	1053%	0.9%	-12.4%	-5.2%	18.4	2.3%	16.4
Criminal Record	10%	410%	5%	10.1%	38.2%	3.5	28.7%	8.7
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdemeanors		Severity of book. offenses	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	2.573		1.457		0.963		44.43	
If Black	2.783***		1.774***		0.856***		64.85***	
If Latinx	2.439+		1.195***		1.089***		45.458	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	2.544***		1.495***		0.911***		45.56***	
If Black	2.754		1.812		0.804		65.98	
If Latinx	2.41***		1.233***		1.037***		46.588***	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	2.712+		1.56***		0.994***		51.452	
If Black	2.922***		1.877***		0.887***		71.872***	
If Latinx	2.578		1.298		1.12		52.48	
Notes: Panel 1 reports OLS estimates, with two specifications. Specification (1) has no control variables. Specification (2) includes controls for the defendant's gender, age and housing status; dummies for month and year of arrest; police activity variables at the defendant's residency neighborhood and at the neighborhood of arrest; demographic characteristics of the defendant's residency neighborhood and of the neighborhood of arrest; and the defendant's criminal history. All regressions include 10,753 observations. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Significant at +10%, *5%, **1% and ***0.1% level. Panel 2 presents the Gelbach decomposition of the race differences estimated using specification (2). See the text for details. Panel 3 presents the mean fitted values by race of the regressions using specification (2) of panel 1. Total booked charges, total booked felonies and total booked misdemeanors refer to the number of counts, felonies and misdemeanors filed against the defendant. Severity of booked offenses refers to the sum of the severity of each booked charge, as explained in the text.								

Table 4 describes the magnitude of the differences in pre-filing outcomes in three ways. First, we present our estimates of the difference in outcomes for Black and Latinx defendants. In columns labeled (1), we do not include controls, meaning that the observed estimates, e.g. 0.18 additional booked charges for Black defendants, is identical to the difference in average charges filed against White and Black defendants presented in Table 1 (2.75 – 2.57). In columns labeled (2), we adjust these estimates to account for differences in the observed characteristics presented in Table 2. These regression-adjusted estimates are interpreted as the difference in outcomes for clients that cannot be explained by differences in criminal background, gender, age or housing status, characteristics of the places the defendants live or were arrested, or differences in police activity and known criminal activity in those places.

Comparing Black and White defendants with the same characteristics actually increases the disparity, meaning that similar Black and White defendants are treated more differently than Black and White defendants on average. Latinx defendants have 0.13 fewer charges booked against them, and 0.27 fewer felony charges, than a White defendant with the same background characteristics. Black defendants are also booked for more felonies on average than White defendants, but controlling for background characteristics explains 10% of that disparity. Similarly, Black defendants are booked for 0.15 fewer misdemeanors on average, and 36% of that difference is due to differences in individual backgrounds. When we combine all booked charges into one measure of overall “case severity,” which takes into account the fact that being booked for robbery is more serious than being booked for loitering, and being booked for three similarly serious counts is worse than being booked for one, both Black and Latinx defendants are booked for more serious cases. This difference in seriousness is only partially explained by observed differences in individual and neighborhood characteristics for Black and White defendants. Comparing White and Latinx defendants, on the other hand, our results suggest that White and Latinx defendants with the same criminal histories, who live in the same neighborhoods, of the same gender and age, arrested in the same place, would be booked for cases that are equally serious.¹²

In the next panel, we present the results of the Gelbach (2016) decomposition. For Black and White defendants, 10% of the disparity in booked charges can be explained by differences in the number of times Black and White defendants have previously interacted with the justice system, and 9% of the difference can be explained by the fact that Black people are arrested in places where more Black and Hispanic people live and more people rent vs. own, and people arrested in those places are booked for more charges. Looking across booked charges, variation in criminal record (which includes arrest, conviction, and incarceration history) and the educational, employment,

¹² In appendix Tables A1 and A2, we replicate this analysis for the severity of felony and misdemeanor charges at booking, added after booking, and at conviction. Qualitatively, our results are the same – Black defendants are booked for more serious felonies than White defendants, for reasons that we cannot identify in our model. These booking decisions can explain 100% of the observed disparity in the severity of felonies added, and 75% of the disparity in the severity of felonies Black defendants are convicted of. For Latinx defendants, their education, language, and poverty status can explain 30% of their more severe felonies at booking – while the racial makeup of where they are arrested and their criminal record explain an additional 26% and 20%, respectively. Booked charges continue to be the primary driver of the severity of felony charges added and convicted. Turning to the severity of misdemeanor charges, Black defendants are booked for less serious misdemeanor charges than white defendants, roughly 33% of which is due to their different criminal records. Latinx defendants are booked for more serious misdemeanors, and have more serious misdemeanors added to their case. Just over 20% of the difference in booking can be explained by where these defendants are arrested, and 30% of the difference in added charges can be explained with booking. We do not observe and disparity in the severity of misdemeanors Black or Latinx defendants are convicted of relative to White defendants.

and poverty rates in the places where Black defendants live, explain the largest fractions of disparities in felony charges and case severity between Black and White defendants.

On average, we identified no statistically meaningful disparity in the number of charges that Latinx and White defendants were booked for. However, once we look at *similar* White and Latinx defendants, disparities emerge that suggest that Latinx defendants are booked for fewer charges than otherwise identical White defendants. This is reflected in percentages generated that are greater than 100%. The decomposition reveals that this is because Latinx people are arrested in neighborhoods associated with more booked charges, and their age, arrest, and conviction histories are also associated with more charges being filed. When looking at the overall seriousness of the cases filed against Latinx defendants, variation in arrest history, the racial composition of where they were arrested, and the socio-demographics of where the defendants live are most important in explaining the observed Latinx-White disparity.

Finally, in panel 3, we ask the question: what booking outcomes would we observe if the only thing that was different about these defendants was their race? For example, our data show that White defendants are, on average, booked for 2.57 charges. If they were suddenly viewed as Black, but still lived in the same neighborhoods and were arrested in the same places, they would be booked for an average of 2.78 charges. If the same White defendant was viewed as Latinx, they would be booked for only 2.4 charges. In contrast, we predict that a White defendant had the background of a typical Black defendant would be booked for 2.54 charges (not very different from the 2.57 charges White defendants are typically), but a White defendant with a Latinx background would be booked for 2.71 charges. This suggests that, when it comes to booking, the background characteristics of Latinx defendants are strongly predicative. However, we are unable to precisely identify the source of much of the disparity in the booking of Black and White defendants.

Prosecutor Activity

Table 5: Defendant's race/ethnicity and prosecutor activity

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors		Added severity	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0383	-0.0766	0.0892**	-0.0224	-0.113***	-0.0449	2.998*	-1.834
	(0.0454)	(0.0553)	(0.0303)	(0.0307)	(0.0317)	(0.0448)	(1.284)	(1.497)
Latinx	0.0572	0.012	-0.0268	-0.014	0.0648+	0.0271	2.911+	0.268
	(0.0482)	(0.0473)	(0.0321)	(0.0307)	(0.0342)	(0.0347)	(1.622)	(1.553)
Adj. R ²	0.000139	0.0378	0.00127	0.0723	0.00238	0.0253	0.000375	0.133
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors		Added severity	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	-0.0383	0.0572	0.0892	-0.02678	-0.11285	0.06483	2.9978	2.91052
Age, gender., housing	-17.6%	10.8%	-0.2%	2.6%	1.7%	13.9%	-3.6%	14.6%
Date arrest	-9.4%	10.1%	4.4%	8.7%	3.0%	-10.9%	0.3%	2.8%
Police (h)	-2.2%	0.9%	0.2%	0.1%	0.5%	3.6%	-0.2%	2.4%
Police (a)	-7.4%	3.7%	-2.5%	-2.4%	1.3%	-4.9%	-0.9%	0.7%
Demog. (h)	11.6%	0.8%	17.9%	-0.7%	-0.6%	-13.8%	5.7%	-7.8%
Demog. (a)	-15.5%	1.4%	10.2%	15.7%	13.6%	-32.1%	5.6%	-10.0%
Criminal Record.	31.4%	3.2%	0.5%	-5.6%	26.4%	40.1%	31.7%	19.3%
Booking	-96.0%	49.5%	129.7%	71.9%	76.6%	55.9%	18.4%	38.9%
Att. load	5.2%	-1.8%	0.9%	0.4%	2.2%	-3.9%	3.2%	-2.9%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors		Added severity	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	0.952		0.342		0.567		13.96	
If Black	0.8754		0.3196		0.5221		12.126	
If Latinx	0.964		0.328		0.5941		14.228	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	0.9906		0.4544		0.4999		18.794	
If Black	0.914		0.432		0.455		16.96	
If Latinx	1.0026		0.4404		0.527		19.062	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	0.997		0.33		0.6049		16.602	
If Black	0.9204		0.3076		0.56		14.768	
If Latinx	1.009		0.316		0.632		16.87	
Notes: Panel 1 reports OLS estimates, with two specifications. Specification (1) has no control variables. Specification (2) includes controls for the defendant's gender, age and housing status; dummies for month and year of arrest; police activity variables at the defendant's residency neighborhood and at the neighborhood of arrest; demographic characteristics of the defendant's residency neighborhood and of the neighborhood of arrest; the defendant's criminal history; the initial charges at booking; and the workload of the defense attorney in charge of the case. All regressions include 10,753 observations. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Significant at +10%, *5%, **1% and ***0.1% level. Panel 2 presents the Gelbach decomposition of the race differences estimated using specification (2). See the text for details. Panel 3 presents the mean fitted values by race of the regressions using specification (2) of panel 1. Added charges, added felonies and added misdemeanors are the number of total charges, felony charges and misdemeanor charges added to the booked charges by the prosecutor. Added severity is the sum of the severity of each charge added against the defendant, as explained in the text.								

We turn to decisions made by the prosecution in Table 5.¹³ Under the assumption that, for the most part, booking decisions are made independently of the District Attorney's office, in the remaining regressions we include these charges as a control variable. This is a plausible assumption insofar as booking decisions (conceptualized as the top charge, the total number of charges, and our numeric summary measure of the overall seriousness of the case) are part of the overall file that is presented to DAs, public defenders and judges as non-negotiable "facts" in the same way that a client's criminal history is a non-negotiable "fact." We also include a control for the number of other cases that the main public defender assigned to the case was working while handling this case.

We do not find evidence that district attorneys file more or fewer charges against Black or Latinx defendants. However, it does appear that charges added by the DA against Black defendants are more likely to be felonies, less likely to be misdemeanors, and are therefore more serious overall. We also observe that Latinx defendants have more misdemeanors, and also more serious charges, added by prosecutors after booking. For both groups, once we account for differences in background, including what charges people were booked for, we can statistically explain the overall disparity.

Since we observed little statistical evidence that prosecutors add any more or fewer charges to people of different racial backgrounds, we will focus on the severity of those charges in panel 2. Differences in incarceration history and booking decisions explain the 0.08 additional felonies added to the cases of Black defendants, as well as the 0.03 fewer felonies filed against Latinx defendants. The breakdown of racial and homeownership trends where the defendant's arrest occurred explains 14% of the Black-White disparity in added felonies. This same measure exacerbates the Latinx-White disparity by 32%, but recall that the racial and residential rental composition of a neighborhood also mitigates the disparity in booking charges for Latinx people, which explains over half of the disparity in added felonies for this group. Booked charges explain almost 77% of the additional felonies added to the case of Black defendants, and 26% can be explained by their longer criminal history, on average.

When we look at the differences in the overall seriousness of charges added by the prosecutor, booking charges appear to be the most important source of racial disparities for Black and Latinx defendants, compared to White defendants. This phenomenon explains 130% and 72% of the Black-White and Latinx-White disparity, respectively. Taken as a whole, criminal history plays little role in the seriousness of the charges added. Differences in the education and income across Black and White defendants also explains a substantial portion of the disparity in prosecutor decisions, and the racial and residential rental composition of where Latinx defendants are arrested have an independent effect of the same magnitude as conviction history, in explaining the more serious charges added to the cases of these defendants.

¹³ In an additional analysis, we examined the severity of charges dismissed by the District Attorney for reasons that were directly related to police actions. These types of dismissals account for less than 0.5% of the booking severity, and we had little power to identify statistical differences in this outcome across races. It is also possible, based on feedback from the District Attorney's office, that many such charges might not appear in the Gideon extract from the Court Management System. Our final spatial analysis suggests that Black defendants may have more of their case dismissed, relative to White defendants, when they are arrested in certain police jurisdictions.

Finally, in the third panel of Table 5, we present these results in counter-factual form. Consistent with our findings that booking and incarceration histories explains most of the observed racial disparities, simply “switching” the race of White, Black, or Latinx defendants, without changing their background characteristics, does little to change the number or type of charges added by the prosecution. Rather, it is changing those relevant background characteristics that generates the disparity in outcomes.

This demonstration of the importance of the discretion of the booking officer, rather than the district attorney, is in contrast with recent research on racial disparities in the criminal justice system, notably Rehavi and Starr (2014) and Kutateladze and Andiloro (2014). We believe that there are three reasons for this. First, we focus on a different jurisdiction than Rehavi and Starr (2014) and Kutateladze and Andiloro (2014), who evaluated non-drug federal cases and criminal cases in Manhattan, NY, respectively. The role that race plays in the decision-making process of different actors in these different jurisdictions may be different. Second, and probably more importantly, our data on the nature and severity of all charges assigned by the booking officer (typically either a San Francisco Police Officer or Sherriff’s Deputy) is incorporated in the analysis before the District Attorney may even be notified that an arrest had occurred. Booking charges can therefore be completely separate from any charges that are later added to the case by the District Attorney. Finally, we show in Table 4 that booked charges are highly correlated with other case characteristics, particularly for Latinx defendants. This type of statistical situation is exactly the sort of case where Gelbach-style decompositions are particularly useful in determining the relative importance of different control variables.

Case Adjudication

Table 6: Defendant’s race/ethnicity and case adjudication (part a)

Table 6: Defendant’s race/ethnicity and case adjudication (part a)				
Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0330**	0.0186	0.0445*	0.0147
	(0.0115)	(0.0124)	(0.0214)	(0.0216)
Latinx	0.0249+	-0.00104	0.0263	0.000362
	(0.0138)	(0.0147)	(0.0263)	(0.0287)
Adj. R ²	0.000727	0.135	0.000272	0.0959
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.032962	0.024855	0.0445	0.0263
Age, gender, housing	-38.2%	-33.0%	-34.1%	-35.4%
Date arrest	-4.7%	-15.8%	0.2%	-6.1%
Police (home)	-0.8%	1.0%	-0.3%	-1.7%
Police (arrest)	-1.7%	0.0%	1.4%	-1.8%
Demographics (home)	8.5%	6.9%	8.6%	-1.9%
Demographics (arrest)	-12.5%	-9.6%	-7.0%	-26.8%
Criminal Record	90.1%	-56.2%	83.2%	-65.7%
Booked charges	-2.1%	207.2%	6.6%	230.8%

Attorney load	5.2%	3.6%	8.2%	7.4%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.567		0.695	
If Black	0.5856		0.7097	
If Latinx	0.56596		0.695362	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.5814		0.7243	
If Black	0.6		0.739	
If Latinx	0.58036		0.724662	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.59304		0.720638	
If Black	0.61164		0.735338	
If Latinx	0.592		0.721	
See table 4 for notes				

We begin our analysis of case adjudication by looking at conviction: whether the defendants are convicted of any of the charges filed against them, and then the number of charges they are convicted of. In Table 6, panel 1, we show that the disparities in conviction rates presented in Table 1 are statistically significant, and explained by our observed characteristics. Note also that Black defendants are convicted of 0.04 more charges than White defendants, which we can also statistically explain with our control variables.

When we use the Gelbach decomposition to identify the source of these disparities, we find that, for Black defendants, contact with the criminal justice system compounds future contact. More specifically, differences in the number of times that Black defendants have been previously arrested, convicted, and incarcerated can explain 90% of the difference in conviction rates relative to White defendants. For Latinx defendants, on the other hand, they appear to be booked for charges for which a conviction is more certain. Differences in education, employment, and language ability can also explain just under 10% of the disparity in conviction rates for Black and Latinx defendants, compared to White defendants. When we look at how many different charges people are convicted of, booking charges again appear to be driving convictions for Latinx defendants. For Black defendants, previous convictions lead to more convictions.

Table 7: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.112***	0.0218	-0.0636***	-0.00719	4.844***	0.676
	(0.0159)	(0.0140)	(0.0173)	(0.0196)	(1.014)	(0.896)
Latinx	-0.00828	0.00388	0.0426*	0.00763	2.683*	0.881
	(0.0168)	(0.0192)	(0.0211)	(0.0232)	(1.116)	(1.410)
Adj. R ²	0.00723	0.152	0.00313	0.0999	0.00165	0.164
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.1124	-0.0083	-0.0636	0.0426	0.0048	0.0027
Age, gender, housing	-5.8%	-0.5%	12.3%	-23.8%	-9.2%	-9.9%
Date arrest	1.6%	-59.1%	2.8%	-13.6%	1.0%	6.2%
Police (home)	-0.1%	4.6%	0.1%	-0.9%	0.0%	-0.3%
Police (arrest)	-0.6%	-16.9%	-2.5%	-3.5%	1.0%	-2.1%
Demographics (home)	8.1%	-73.4%	7.1%	-12.6%	9.0%	0.8%
Demographics (arrest)	-1.2%	34.0%	2.6%	-8.7%	-6.4%	-1.0%
Criminal Record	33.3%	132.6%	0.9%	-13.7%	15.2%	-10.9%
Booked charges	46.1%	120.5%	71.9%	153.8%	74.9%	84.2%
Attorney load	-0.6%	5.0%	-6.8%	5.4%	0.3%	0.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	0.186		0.514		9.895	
If Black	0.2078		0.50681		10.571	
If Latinx	0.18988		0.52163		10.776	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	0.2772		0.45819		14.064	
If Black	0.299		0.451		14.74	
If Latinx	0.28108		0.46582		14.945	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	0.17412		0.54937		11.699	
If Black	0.19592		0.54218		12.375	
If Latinx	0.178		0.557		12.58	
See table 4 for notes						

We explore differences in the nature of charges that White, Black and Latinx defendants are convicted of in Table 7. Columns (1) and (2) of panel 1 indicate that Black defendants are convicted of more felonies and fewer misdemeanors than White defendants, and overall they are convicted of more serious cases than White defendants. Latinx defendants are convicted of more misdemeanors than White defendants, and overall more serious cases. All of these disparities can be explained with differences in background, criminal history, booking decisions, and public defender caseloads.

In panel 2, we find that decisions made at booking are the most consequential for the number of felony convictions that Black defendants face, explaining almost 50% of the Black-White disparity. Criminal history also plays an important role, explaining 33% of the disparity, respectively. Differences in booking rates also explain why Black defendants are convicted of fewer misdemeanors, and why Latinx defendants are convicted of more misdemeanors.

Panel 3 describes the magnitude of these differences. On average, White defendants are convicted of 0.19 felony charges. If they were booked for the same offenses as Black defendants, and shared their criminal history, they would be convicted of 0.28 felonies, 0.02 fewer felonies than Black defendants on average. Latinx defendants are convicted of 0.56 misdemeanors, which is 0.04 more misdemeanors than White defendants with the same criminal records and booking charges would be expected to be convicted of. When we think about the overall severity of the convictions, a severity score of 9.9 is roughly equivalent to being convicted of one misdemeanor count of failure to appear in court for a felony charge. In contrast, a White defendant with the record and booked charges of a Black person would expect to be convicted of a case with a seriousness score of 14.1, as serious as a felony count of failure to appear. A White person with the background of the typical Latinx client could expect to be convicted of a charge as serious as a misdemeanor count of failing to register as a sex offender as required by California state law, for example.

Table 8: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	0.246***	-0.0129	-0.0175	0.339***	-0.0549	-0.0607		
	(0.0486)	(0.0499)	(0.0485)	(0.0748)	(0.0759)	(0.0750)		
Latinx	-0.163**	-0.0433	-0.0493	-0.320***	-0.133+	-0.130+		
	(0.0504)	(0.0463)	(0.0466)	(0.0809)	(0.0709)	(0.0710)		
Adj. R ²	0.00738	0.135	0.163	0.0122	0.185	0.191		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Sentence				Sentence, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	0.2461	0.2461	-0.1630	-0.1630	0.3387	0.3387	-0.3199	-0.3199
Age, gender, housing	-17.0%	-15.8%	9.5%	8.4%	-15.6%	-15.1%	6.2%	6.1%
Date arrest	1.7%	1.6%	-8.2%	-7.5%	4.2%	4.0%	-11.4%	-10.9%
Police (home)	0.0%	0.0%	-0.1%	-0.2%	0.4%	0.4%	-0.1%	-0.1%
Police (arrest)	-0.4%	-0.5%	1.2%	0.9%	0.1%	0.0%	0.6%	0.6%
Demographics (home)	2.3%	1.1%	2.3%	2.4%	0.5%	0.1%	3.5%	3.2%
Demographics (arrest)	6.5%	7.4%	3.4%	3.3%	7.7%	8.1%	0.7%	0.9%
Criminal Record	86.4%	84.4%	51.9%	50.7%	78.3%	77.8%	39.8%	39.5%
Booked charges	23.7%	13.7%	14.8%	24.2%	38.9%	34.3%	20.3%	25.5%
Attorney load	1.8%	1.8%	-1.5%	-1.4%	1.2%	1.2%	-1.5%	-1.5%
Guilty severity		13.3%		-11.1%		6.9%		-4.0%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	54.72			89.27				
If Black	54.02			84.37				
If Latinx	52.36			77.40+				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	119.49			200.7				
If Black	117.9			189.7				
If Latinx	114.3			174.0				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	66.94			120.50+				
If Black	66.08			113.88				
If Latinx	64.05			104.5				
See table 4 for notes. Columns four to six use only the 6,368 cases resulting in an incarceration sentence.								

We now turn to the sentences imposed for these offenses, in two forms. In Table 8, data listed in columns 1 to 3 illustrate the expected incarceration sentence for all defendants in our sample. In the next three columns, we only include people who are convicted. We measure sentence length as the natural log of days sentenced. On average,

Black defendants received sentences that are 27.9% longer than White defendants, and Latinx defendants receive sentence that are 15% shorter than White defendants.¹⁴ Among people who are convicted, sentences for Black defendants are 40% longer than what is imposed upon their White counterparts, and sentences for Latinx defendants are 27% shorter than what White defendants must confront. Conditioning on covariates statistically explains the unconditional disparities, although among the convicted, there is a residual, unexplained, disparity for Latinx defendants, who receive sentences that are 13% shorter than we would expect, all things equal.

When we examine the source of these disparities, criminal history and, particularly, previous incarcerations are driving the difference in sentence length. Booking decisions remain an important explanation for the observed Black-White and Latinx-White disparities, but differences in previous interactions with the criminal justice system are the most important factor. Conviction history is roughly as important in determining expected sentence length at filing, but among people who are convicted, the fact that they have been convicted before explains roughly the same amount of the Black-White disparity as differences in the racial and residential rental composition of where they were arrested, and roughly the same amount of the Latinx-White disparity as differences in socioeconomic status across defendants. Notably, conditioning on age, gender, and housing status differences exacerbates sentencing disparities for Black defendants, and mitigates disparities for Latinx defendants, suggesting that characteristics which are typically viewed as making a defendant less culpable (particularly gender or age) do not operate in the same way for Black and Latinx defendants.

After being formally booked into San Francisco jail, once the probability of conviction is taken into account, Black defendants can expect to receive sentences of roughly 3.8 months. If they had the incarceration history and booked charges of a typical White defendant, they could expect a sentence of 1.7 months, just over two months less. Latinx defendants, on the other hand, could expect sentences that were about 12 days shorter if they had the characteristics of a typical White defendant. Once we look only at convicted defendants, these differences become starker; a Black defendant will receive an average sentence of 6.1 months in jail, which is 3.4 months longer than they would receive if they had White characteristics. Latinx defendants whose cases looked like the cases filed against White people would receive sentences that were about 25 days shorter than the typical Latinx sentence.

¹⁴ In a linear model where the outcome is a natural log, the estimated percentage change in outcome is equal to $\exp(\text{Estimated Coefficient})-1$. For small estimated coefficients, $\exp(X)-1$ is roughly equal to X . As X increases, though, these values spread further apart.

Table 9: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (part d)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	-0.0475	0.123	0.116	-0.337***	0.0758	0.0758		
	(0.0790)	(0.0878)	(0.0871)	(0.102)	(0.0990)	(0.0989)		
Latinx	0.437***	0.0703	0.0615	0.518***	0.210*	0.210*		
	(0.0987)	(0.107)	(0.106)	(0.112)	(0.0980)	(0.0981)		
Adj. R ²	0.00262	0.143	0.16	0.0105	0.171	0.171		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	-0.0475	-0.0475	0.437	0.437	-0.337	-0.3377	0.518	0.518
Age, gender, housing	79.7%	70.3%	-10.9%	-10.3%	-17.6%	-17.6%	1.2%	1.2%
Date arrest	22.1%	23.2%	-6.4%	-6.7%	0.1%	0.1%	-3.6%	-3.6%
Police (home)	1.8%	1.8%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	-0.5%	-0.5%
Police (arrest)	-1.1%	0.0%	2.6%	2.7%	-1.0%	-1.0%	3.3%	3.3%
Demographics (home)	6.7%	15.9%	2.6%	2.6%	5.1%	5.1%	1.2%	1.2%
Demographics (arrest)	83.5%	76.9%	-2.5%	-2.4%	8.3%	8.3%	0.4%	0.4%
Criminal Record	126.8%	142.4%	3.0%	3.6%	95.4%	95.4%	30.6%	30.6%
Booked charges	55.5%	131.8%	94.4%	89.2%	31.1%	31.1%	27.3%	27.3%
Attorney load	-16.5%	-16.2%	0.9%	0.9%	0.8%	0.8%	-0.5%	-0.5%
Guilty severity		-101.7%		6.1%		0.0%		0.0%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	579.1			999.5327				
If Black	650.3			1075.29727866				
If Latinx	619.8			1209.434567*				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	506.6			873.5				
If Black	569			939.7				
If Latinx	542.3			1056.9				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	617.9			914.0*				
If Black	693.9			983.4				
If Latinx	661.4			1106				

See table 4 for notes. Columns four to six use only the 6,379 cases resulting in a probation sentence.

Latinx defendants appear to get longer sentences of probation than white defendants, both unconditionally (54.8% longer) and conditional on conviction (67.9% longer). In the full sample, we can explain the disparity in expected probation length. However, when comparing Latinx defendants to white defendants who are convicted, Latinx defendants receive probation sentences that are 23.9% longer, for reasons we cannot identify using these data. The

decomposition makes clear that booking decisions made by police officers are responsible for the majority of what we can explain about differences in probation terms, not conditioning on conviction. When we focus on convicted defendants, the previous incarceration history of Latinx defendants also plays an important role in the length of their probation term.

Table 10: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total Pleas	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0124	0.00928	0.0183	0.00876
	(0.0116)	(0.0126)	(0.0202)	(0.0213)
Latinx	0.00726	-0.0214	-0.00972	-0.0239
	(0.0139)	(0.0147)	(0.0253)	(0.0274)
Adj. R ²	-0.0000633	0.148	-0.0000115	0.0994
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total Pleas	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.0124	0.0073	0.0183	-0.0097
Age, gender, housing	-96.5%	-151.6%	-78.9%	137.7%
Date arrest	-10.7%	-51.9%	1.5%	23.7%
Police (home)	-2.5%	5.6%	-2.8%	-4.4%
Police (arrest)	-1.1%	7.8%	6.1%	-10.0%
Demographics (home)	16.2%	21.3%	20.4%	1.1%
Demographics (arrest)	-44.7%	-24.4%	-39.5%	72.6%
Criminal Record	138.9%	-116.4%	147.7%	123.6%
Booked charges	12.1%	691.5%	-21.7%	-471.2%
Attorney load	13.7%	12.4%	19.3%	-19.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total Pleas	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.535		0.647	
If Black	0.54428		0.65576	
If Latinx	0.5136		0.6231	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.53772		0.65624	
If Black	0.547		0.665	
If Latinx	0.51632*		0.63234	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.5634		0.6609	
If Black	0.57268*		0.66966	
If Latinx	0.542		0.637	
See table 4 for notes				

How Are Charges Resolved?

We now examine how these final outcomes were reached, using the highly detailed court records. First, we examine plea bargaining in a traditional sense – whether the defendants plead guilty to any charges, and how many charges they plead guilty or nolo contendere to. While we observed that Black and Latinx defendants are more likely to plead guilty to any charge than White defendants, these differences are not statistically significant. Including our control variables slightly reduces the estimated difference between the rates at which Black and White defendants plead guilty (from 1.2 percentage points to 0.96 percentage points). Latinx defendants who are booked for the same charges as White defendants, and generally share similar observable characteristics, are 2 percentage points less likely to plead guilty, although the margin of error associated with this estimate is quite large. We also do not observe any statistically significant differences in the number of charges Black and Latinx defendants are pleading to.

Examining the importance of the conditioning variables suggests that the small differences observed in the pleading rates for Black and white defendants can be explained with differences in previous contact with the criminal justice system. Previous arrests and convictions, rather than incarcerations, per se, seem to be important determinates of how many charges someone pleads guilty to.

Roughly half of the charges initially filed against defendants are dismissed in some form, and those charges that are dismissed tend to make up over 70% of the total case against defendants, once the severity of each charge is taken into account.

Table 11: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.45	-0.687	-0.601	-0.658	-0.473	-0.0282
	(0.947)	(0.979)	(0.855)	(0.750)	(1.072)	(1.007)
Latinx	0.54	-0.812	-2.430**	-1.098	2.307+	2.3
	(1.091)	(1.159)	(0.941)	(0.797)	(1.296)	(1.508)
Adj. R ²	-0.0000905	0.0755	0.000495	0.0452	0.000412	0.101
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-0.4496	1.2120	-0.601	-2.435	-0.4735	2.2928
Age, gender, housing	93.3%	-54.7%	26.7%	-3.1%	-309.4%	36.8%
Date arrest	8.5%	-26.1%	7.6%	6.1%	-21.2%	11.8%
Police (home)	2.5%	-0.3%	-0.7%	0.0%	-3.9%	-0.1%
Police (arrest)	10.4%	-2.7%	12.8%	-0.4%	-34.4%	2.6%
Demographics (home)	-37.8%	32.4%	15.3%	-7.1%	4.4%	-1.7%
Demographics (arrest)	80.2%	-46.5%	29.2%	2.8%	-95.8%	22.3%
Criminal Record	-99.2%	-37.3%	-32.9%	-0.5%	620.3%	58.6%
Booked charges	-103.6%	382.5%	-79.9%	55.3%	-102.8%	-125.8%
Attorney load	-7.2%	3.4%	12.3%	1.7%	37.0%	-4.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	33.87		13.73		26.99	
If Black	33.183		13.072		26.9618	
If Latinx	33.058		12.632		29.29	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	34.107		13.788		26.5482	
If Black	33.42		13.13		26.52	
If Latinx	33.295		12.69		28.85+	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	35.222		12.398		27	
If Black	34.535		11.74		26.97+	
If Latinx	34.41		11.3		29.3	
See table 4 for notes						

In Table 11, we compare the way that these charges are dismissed for Black, White, and Latinx defendants. As reported in Table 1, Black defendants have a smaller fraction of their case bargained away, and smaller fractions dismissed or discharged as well, but these differences are not large enough to be statistically significant. Further, the observed differences are not substantively large, as roughly 33.4% of the total case against Black defendants is, on average, dismissed in exchange for a guilty plea to another charge. If that Black defendant had the characteristics of a typical White defendant, 33.2% of the case would likely be bargained away, given these data. Even smaller differences are observed in the fraction of a case that is dismissed outright.

Latinx defendants tend to have slightly more (1-2%) of their cases dismissed or bargained away than White defendants. While not statistically significant, this may be a function of the management of the charges Latinx defendants are booked for – charges that rarely result in conviction, but are more likely to be bargained away rather than dismissed for lack of evidence. From a statistical standpoint, this is different from the way that Black defendants are processed; a Black defendant charged with the same type of offenses as a typical Latinx client would have 27% of the case dismissed, rather than 26.5% of the severity-weighted charges.

Table 12: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-7.669***	-1.965+	0.531	-0.494	0.674**	-0.123
	(1.144)	(1.154)	(0.368)	(0.373)	(0.208)	(0.141)
Latinx	-2.059	0.0421	-0.910**	-0.801*	0.279	0.0311
	(1.512)	(1.415)	(0.346)	(0.349)	(0.244)	(0.186)
Adj. R ²	0.00763	0.183	0.0015	0.0374	0.000967	0.519
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-7.7947	-2.1987	0.5671	-0.8734	0.6741	0.2787
Age, gender, housing	-3.6%	15.1%	-4.4%	-6.2%	-2.3%	-4.2%
Date arrest	2.6%	16.2%	-2.4%	-5.0%	2.8%	7.7%
Police (home)	0.4%	1.4%	-1.9%	3.2%	0.1%	0.3%
Police (arrest)	-0.2%	11.9%	9.2%	-6.8%	1.0%	7.7%
Demographics (home)	4.4%	15.3%	1.0%	4.6%	4.4%	2.7%
Demographics (arrest)	-3.9%	-17.2%	22.1%	-10.2%	12.6%	11.5%
Criminal Record	25.7%	-24.1%	56.5%	13.0%	2.0%	-2.1%
Booked charges	48.1%	69.6%	107.0%	21.5%	96.1%	63.5%
Attorney load	0.8%	13.4%	5.9%	-2.0%	1.1%	1.4%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	31.02		2.382		9.159	
If Black	29.055+		1.888		9.036	
If Latinx	31.0621		1.581*		9.1901	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	25.295+		3.407		9.956	
If Black	23.33		2.913		9.833	
If Latinx	25.3371		2.606		9.9871	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	28.9179		2.273*		9.4069	
If Black	26.9529		1.779		9.2839	
If Latinx	28.96		1.472		9.438	
See table 4 for notes						

We now examine how the specific charges in each case evolve over time. Specifically, we examine three features: the probability that a felony is downgraded to a misdemeanor, the probability that a misdemeanor is refiled as a felony, and the number of times the district attorney in the case refiles a charge in court documents for any reason.

Table 1 illustrates that felony charges filed against White defendants were more likely to be downgraded than felony charges filed against Black and Latinx defendants. In Table 12, we show that the 8% difference in the likelihood that felonies filed against Black vs. White defendants are downgraded is statistically significant. We are also able to explain most, but not all, of this disparity with a combination of variation in the criminal history of Black defendants and the charges they are booked for. We can explain essentially all of the 2-percentage point disparity in outcomes for Latinx and White defendants, which appears to be driven by booking charges and conviction history.

Latinx defendants are less likely to have their misdemeanors upgraded to felony convictions. This is a rare outcome, occurring only 3 percent of the time for Black defendants, but, since felony convictions for Latinx defendants are more likely to raise immigration or citizenship-related concerns and consequences than those confronted by White and Black defendants in San Francisco, it is a potentially important source of inequality in the justice system. We can explain very little of this difference with our control variables; even variation in booked charges can explain only 21% of the Latinx-White gap. In fact, Latinx defendants who were simply identified by the court as White would have a 2.3, relative to 1.5 percentage point chance of having their misdemeanors upgraded over the course of a case.

Black and Latinx defendants appear to have more activity on their cases, in the sense that charges are refiled in official court records more frequently than white defendants. The 0.67 additional filings for Black defendants is statistically significant, and we can explain essentially all of this additional activity with our observed characteristics. The most important driver of the Black-White disparity, and the small Latinx-White disparity in case activity, is booked charges, although conviction history and the demographic characteristics – the racial and residential rental composition – of where the arrest occurred also appear to be important factors in how many times the charges are refiled.

How are Cases Processed?

As demonstrated by Heaton and colleagues (2017), how cases are processed, particularly whether defendants are released on bail, can have a direct influence on outcomes. Longer cases typically benefit defendants, as evidence and witness cooperation deteriorate over time, making it harder for the state to prove their case, (Agan, Freedman, & Owens, 2016). However, if clients are in custody, there is a direct cost to this extra time – being held pre-adjudication may the defendant's physical safety in jeopardy, and can lead to the loss of employment and custody of children (Heaton, Mayson, & Stevenson, 2017).

Table 13: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	12.74**	5.223	11.62***	3.953*	1.690***	0.509
	(3.995)	(4.073)	(1.926)	(1.925)	(0.362)	(0.384)
Latinx	3.364	2.412	1.757	2.77	-0.131	-0.542
	(4.511)	(5.258)	(1.919)	(2.123)	(0.425)	(0.455)
Adj. R ²	0.00102	0.0714	0.00407	0.0932	0.0033	0.148
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	12.7421	3.3643	11.6238	1.7574	1.6904	-0.1314
Age, gender, housing	-3.9%	-27.5%	-8.4%	-73.8%	-6.0%	5.4%
Date arrest	6.8%	78.1%	3.4%	60.6%	7.1%	-248.9%
Police (home)	0.1%	-2.9%	0.1%	-3.2%	0.0%	7.1%
Police (arrest)	-4.9%	-5.2%	-0.6%	5.3%	-0.4%	-30.6%
Demographics (home)	4.4%	-17.1%	1.7%	-15.0%	4.3%	57.6%
Demographics (arrest)	-1.3%	14.9%	3.4%	19.4%	1.4%	-31.4%
Criminal Record	3.0%	0.5%	25.0%	-73.5%	24.1%	162.6%
Booked charges	57.6%	-6.7%	42.4%	26.5%	45.6%	-276.6%
Attorney load	-2.8%	-5.7%	-1.1%	-4.0%	-6.1%	42.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	77.55		18.77		15.14	
If Black	82.773		22.723*		15.649	
If Latinx	79.962		21.54		14.598	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	85.067		26.437*		16.321	
If Black	90.29		30.39		16.83	
If Latinx	87.479		29.207		15.779*	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	78.498		17.76		15.552	
If Black	83.721		21.713		16.061*	
If Latinx	80.91		20.53		15.01	

See table 4 for notes

As shown in Table 1, cases for White defendants are resolved faster than cases of Black defendants (12.7 fewer days) and cases of Latinx defendants (3.4 fewer days). In Table 13, we show first that we can statistically identify the source of this disparity. In the second panel, we show that, for Black defendants, this disparity is again due to previous contact with the justice system and booked charges, with only 3% being explained by criminal record overall.

The amount of time it takes from the first to last court event is particularly important if clients are in custody. On average, Black defendants were in custody for 11.6 additional calendar days (as opposed to business days) relative to White defendants, which is statistically and substantively significant. Using our observed characteristics, we can explain roughly seven of those days, but the four additional days that Black defendants spend in jail relative to White defendants are still statistically meaningful. When we evaluate the relative importance of each individual characteristic, we find that, unlike total case length, criminal record plays a central role in how long Black defendants spend in custody. Differences in booking charges also play an important role, explaining just under 50% of the Black-White disparity. We find that when Latinx defendants tend to be arrested, specifically the day, month, and year when they are arrested, is an important source of the (statistically insignificant) extra time it takes for their cases to be processed. This could reflect, for example, long run trends in the propensity of Latinx people to be arrested along with average increases in court processing, or Latinx clients being disproportionately arrested on a Friday, which requires waiting over the weekend to be arraigned.

As shown in the panel 3 of Table 13, White, Black and Latinx defendants spend, on average, 18.7, 30.4, and 20.5 calendar days detained over the course of their case. Black defendants who had, essentially, the criminal histories and current charges of White defendants would spend 22.7 days in jail instead of 30.4, but having “typical” Black characteristics, and simply being treated as “White” for unknown reasons is associated with a hypothetical 26.4 days detained, instead. Latinx defendants who had “White” characteristics would spend one extra day in jail, on average, but being treated as “White” would reduce their time in jail by 3 days, from 20.5 to 17.7; neither difference is statistically significant.

An additional court outcome that reflects the complexity of the case is the number of court events that are associated with a particular case. We observed that Black defendants had a statistically significant 1.7 additional court events relative to White defendants, and we can explain essentially all that difference with our observed factors. Just as in the previous instances, previous interactions with the justice system, along with charges filed at booking, appear to drive this disparity. Whether the magnitude of the disparity is truly meaningful is less obvious, however. Black defendants have an average of 16.8 court events, relative to 15.14 for white defendants. If a Black defendant had the background of a White person, they could expect 15.6 court events, and simply being “treated” as White in court would reduce the number of events associated with that case to 16.3.

Table 14: Defendant’s race/ethnicity and case processing (part b)

Table 14: Defendant’s race/ethnicity and case processing (part b)						
Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	1.301*** (0.321)	0.326 (0.346)	0.353* (0.180)	-0.0757 (0.191)	-0.899** (0.317)	-0.00632 (0.294)
Latinx	-1.317*** (0.345)	-1.129** (0.377)	-0.754*** (0.191)	-0.669*** (0.195)	-0.950* (0.382)	-0.143 (0.390)
Adj. R ²	0.00628	0.133	0.00316	0.116	0.000949	0.0752
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	

	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	1.3011	-1.3171	0.3532	-0.7536	-0.8987	-0.9496
Age, gender, housing	-7.5%	0.6%	-27.8%	-1.4%	11.7%	9.7%
Date arrest	8.0%	-20.5%	16.9%	-22.5%	-1.3%	-1.3%
Police (home)	0.0%	0.6%	-0.3%	0.6%	-0.6%	0.1%
Police (arrest)	0.6%	-1.9%	-3.8%	-2.8%	0.6%	5.4%
Demographics (home)	2.6%	4.8%	10.1%	0.8%	4.6%	3.1%
Demographics (arrest)	-3.9%	3.3%	-9.0%	-3.2%	7.6%	17.8%
Criminal Record	34.1%	17.7%	71.8%	20.7%	1.9%	1.3%
Booked charges	50.3%	4.5%	60.9%	19.8%	72.8%	47.6%
Attorney load	-9.3%	4.9%	2.6%	-0.6%	1.8%	0.9%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	11.13		6.091		13.48	
If Black	11.456		6.0153		13.47368	
If Latinx	10.001**		5.422***		13.337	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	12.104		6.5207		12.58632	
If Black	12.43		6.445		12.58	
If Latinx	10.975***		5.8517**		12.44332	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	10.944**		6.007***		12.673	
If Black	11.27***		5.9313**		12.66668	
If Latinx	9.815		5.338		12.53	
See table 4 for notes						

We examine how court events unfold for defendants in more detail in Table 14. We first refine our measure of court events to only include hearings. These same general patterns are also observed when we focus on hearings that are non-administrative, excluding hearings that are primarily intended to schedule or re-schedule later court events. On average, Black defendants have 1.3 more hearings (0.3 additional non-administrative hearings) associated with their cases than White defendants, and Latinx defendants have 1.3 fewer hearings, and 0.75 fewer non-administrative hearings. We can identify the statistical source of the disparity for Black defendants (relative to White clients), but not for the Latinx-White disparity. As before, previous contact with the criminal justice system is an important factor in the experience of Black defendants, but the initial booking decisions by police officers can only explain 50% of the additional hearings. Perhaps surprisingly, here we find that equalizing attorney workloads would increase, rather than mitigate, the Black-White disparities by just under 10%.

For Latinx defendants, previous criminal justice interactions are also important, but the demographic characteristics of the clients, and the racial and residential rental composition of where they were arrested is roughly as important as what the specific clients are arrested for. Overall, Latinx defendants who are treated by the court, for unknown reasons, as White would have roughly 10.9, versus 9.8 hearings. A Latinx defendant with the case characteristics of a typical White defendant would have 10 hearings.

We finally examine the continuity of representation for clients of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. The San Francisco Public Defender’s office employs a vertical representation model, meaning that one attorney is assigned a case from start to finish.¹⁵ However, since attorneys work multiple cases at the same time, conflicting schedules mean that occasionally, attorneys must cover for one another during court events. Such juggling of cases among attorneys is quite common. On average, the attorney physically representing the client was a “stand in” – someone representing that client in court for the first time, using the case files collected by another public defender – in 13 percent of the court events for clients in our sample.¹⁶ This occurs less frequently for Black and Latinx defendants, and we can identify the source of this disparity.

The majority of the one percentage point difference in the continuity of representation is driven by the types of charges filed at booking. Previous contact with the justice system is also an important factor, but variation in the age, gender, and housing status of defendants is also more important in determining case hand-offs. Particularly for Latinx defendants, variation in how attorneys work cases where the arrests were made in particular neighborhoods also explains a non-trivial amount of the disparity (17.8%). The fact that we can explain the majority of the difference in attorney turnover means that on average, the background characteristics of a client drive the predicted fraction of court events, even when temporarily assigned a new lawyer who might be less familiar with the history of the case.

Geographic Patterns of Booking and Conviction by Arrest Neighborhood

Variation in booked charges across cases appears to be an important source of racially disparate outcomes for indigent defendants in San Francisco. Black defendants are booked for charges that, when taken as a whole, are more serious than those of White defendants’. This finding is conditional on a large number of characteristics, and could be driven by variation in the behavior of the client or variation in the response of the booking officer to that behavior.

To provide further insight on whether or not these disparities are driven by the behavior of individual defendants, rather than a police or other criminal justice institutional response to that behavior, we considered the following exercise: First, we estimated the total severity of all charges for which clients were booked and convicted, using all of our individual and case characteristics in Table 2 and the type of alleged offense in the top charge (e.g. homicide, robbery, drug offense), but excluding the defendant’s race. We then calculated, for each case, the residual severity of bookings or convictions. This residual measure represents the variation in severity across cases that cannot be explained by police activity, such as time of arrest, census characteristics, gender, age, housing status, the client’s

¹⁵ In a horizontal model of public defense, different attorneys would be responsible for the case at different phases of the adjudication (e.g., booking, preliminary hearing, trial prep/trial, sentencing, appeals, etc.)

¹⁶ We exclude the first court event from this calculation,

criminal history, or the broad type of alleged criminal behavior. We then took the average of these residuals for all clients arrested in the same neighborhood (defined as a Census tract), by race. These averaged residuals are, essentially, a representation of the “unexpected” case severity for defendants from each arrest neighborhood, based on all of the information that we do observe about each case.

The idea underlying the exercise described above is that exaggerated booking decisions by police officers would tend to be at least partially corrected by the rest of the justice system. As an illustration, consider the hypothetical cases of two defendants, *A* and *B*, sharing the same characteristics and independently arrested under the same circumstances. Suppose that, for any extrajudicial reason, defendant *A* is booked for substantially more severe charges than defendant *B*. That is, the decisions by the booking officers generated a gap in the severity of the charges booked in the two cases. Since the evidence against each defendant is exactly the same, it is plausible to expect that, as the cases progress and more actors (such as the defense attorney and the judge) get involved with case, the initial disparities driven by the booking officers would hopefully be partially mitigated. To be clear, assuming that both cases result in a conviction, we would still expect that defendant *A* is convicted of more severe offenses than defendant *B*, but the gap in the severity of the convicted charges would tend to be narrower than the gap in the booking charges, due to the checks and balances originating from actors beyond the domain of the police. With this example in mind, one can understand how comparing the racial gaps in the unexplained severity of booked and convicted charges helps us assess the extent to which the observed disparities in booked charges in a given neighborhood are driven by the booking officers’ discretion. The persistency of the initial severity gap through the conviction decisions would suggest that racial disparities in relevant case characteristics that are not observed in our data justify the differences in the average severity of booked charges across races. Conversely, a substantial narrowing of racial severity gap by the time of conviction would suggest that the disparities in the initial booking decisions are, to a large extent, due to the police discretion.

Figures 3 and 4 display the spatial distributions of the gap in unexplained severity of charges booked against Black and White defendants, where darker census tracts reflect larger unexplained disparities in booking. Areas with hatched, rather than solid, coloring reflect areas where Black defendants are booked for less severe cases than would be expected, relative to White defendants arrested in the same place. In all graphs, areas shaded (or hatched) in black have unexplained disparities that are between 50 and 100 severity points, dark gray indicates an unexplained disparity of between 30 and 50 points, medium gray indicates a 15 to 30 point disparity, and light gray indicates a disparity of between 0 and 15 points. San Francisco Police Districts are superimposed on the census tracts, and tracts where fewer than 10 Black or White defendants were arrested are excluded to protect defendants’ confidentiality.

Figure 3: Black-White Booking Gap

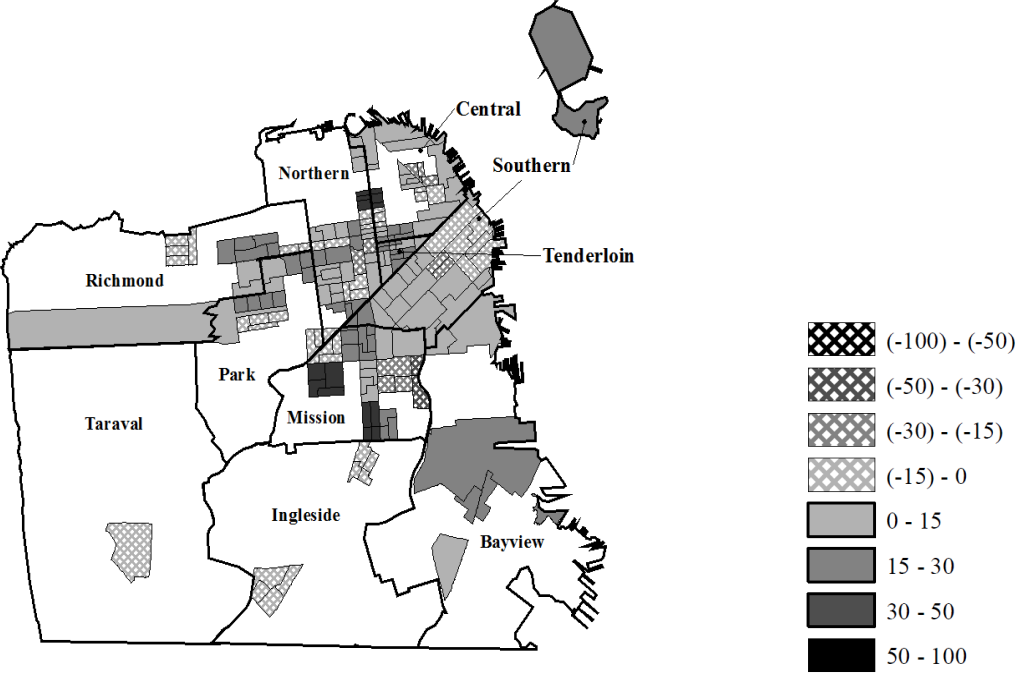


Figure 4: Black White Conviction Gap

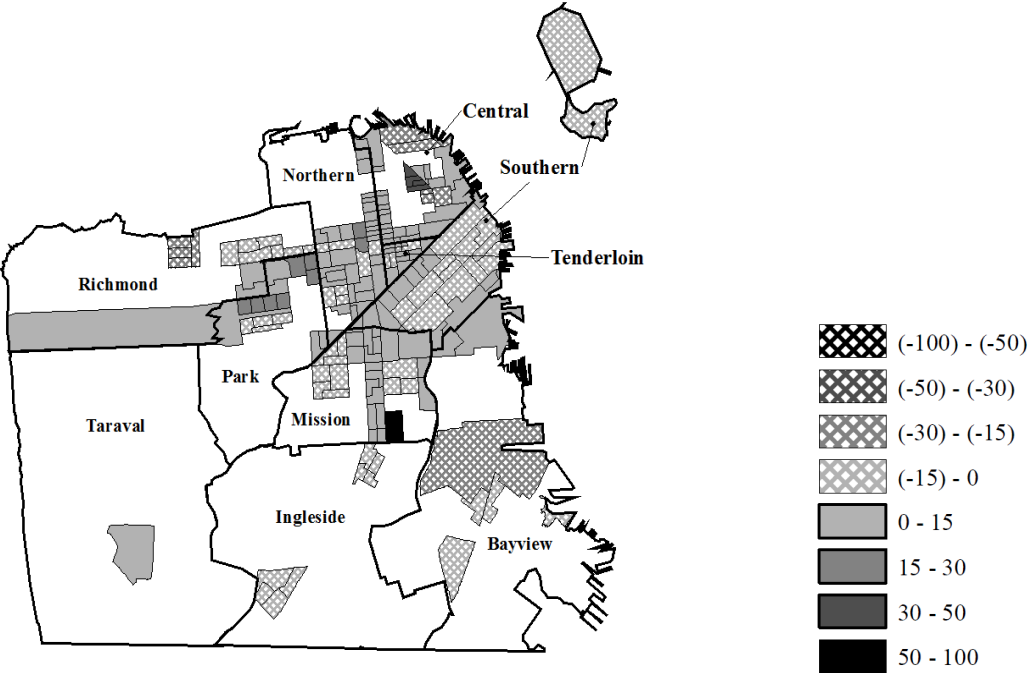


Figure 5: Black-White Gap in Added Charges

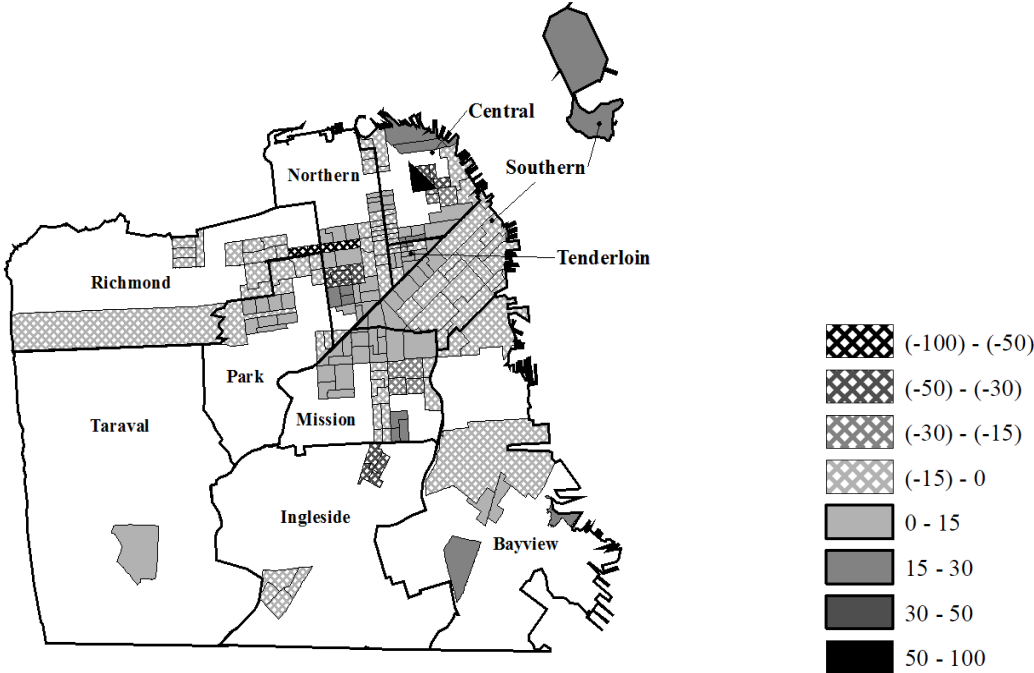
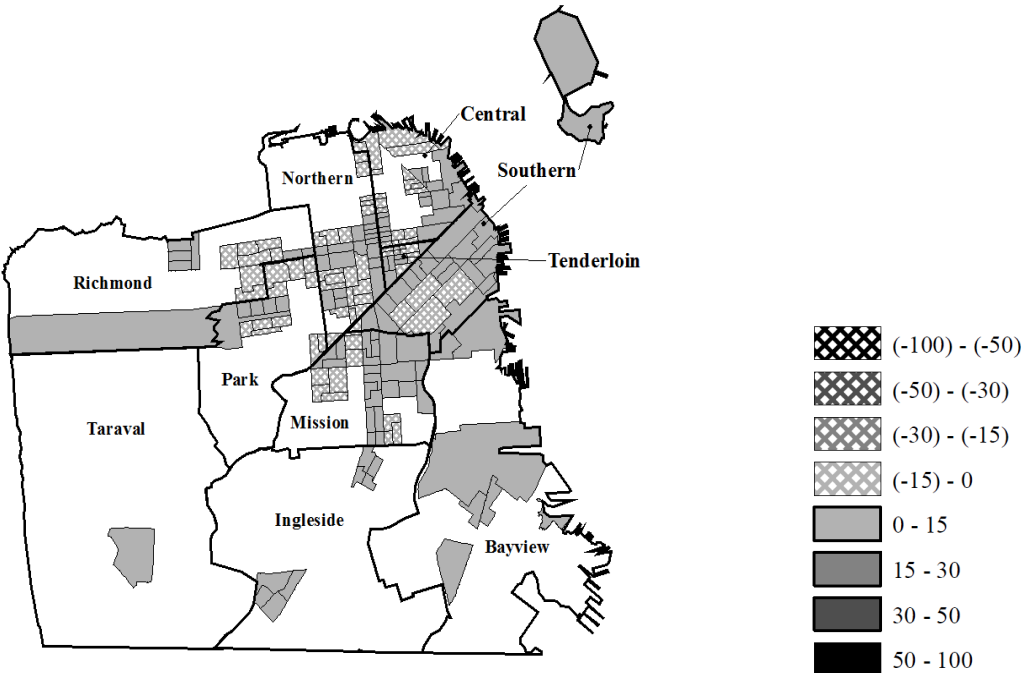


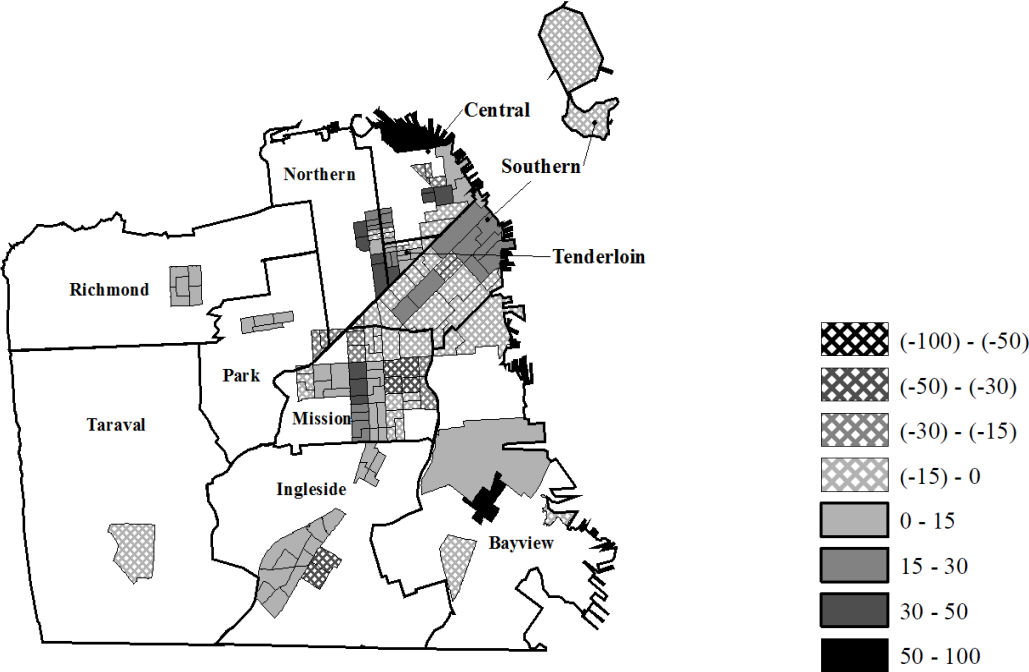
Figure 6: Black - White Gap in "DA Dismissals"



Black defendants are generally booked for more serious cases than would be predicted, particularly relative to White defendants arrested in the same place, with the exception of the Taraval and Ingleside districts in the southwest of San Francisco County. Comparing this map of booking disparities to a map of conviction disparities reveals a striking difference. While there is a large area in the northern part of the city (cutting across the Richmond, Park, Northern, Tenderloin, and Southern districts) where the Black defendants are both booked and convicted of more serious cases than expected, in the majority of the Bayview district, along with large areas in the Mission and Southern districts, the nature of the Black-White gaps reverse. Black defendants are booked for more serious cases, but actually convicted of less serious cases relative to similarly situated White defendants.

Figures 5 and 6 suggest that DA activity help explain this reversal. These figures illustrate a mapped reflection of the unexplained variation, on the same scale, in charges that are added by the DA, along with charges dismissed or discharged by the DA for reasons typically associated with a weaker case.¹⁷ The racial disparities in these actions are smaller than the differences in booking and conviction (all less than 25 points in either direction), but in Bayview and the Southern Districts, the DA appears to add less severe charges and dismiss more severe charges against Black defendants relative to White defendants arrested in the same place for the same top charge.

Figure 7: Latinx-White Booking Gap



¹⁷ Specifically, no incident reported, lack of corpus, substance not prohibited by law, incorrect booking, property unidentifiable, questionable search and seizure, and wrong jurisdiction.

In Figures 7 and 8, we examine the same spatial patterns for Latinx and White defendants. Consistent with our regression analysis, Latinx defendants are booked for less serious charges and more misdemeanors than White defendants across the city, although the Tenderloin district is characteristic of more consistent more serious booking charges for Latinx defendants relative to White defendants arrested in the same place. Comparing the booking and conviction gap reveals a similar pattern of booking and conviction for Latinx defendants relative to White defendants arrested in Bayview. What is most striking about the distribution of Latinx and White convictions, however, is how disparities in the Southern and Mission districts become larger in magnitude relative to booking. Latinx defendants may be booked with fewer charges relative to similarly situated White defendants, but the cases for which they are convicted are more serious.

Figure 8: Latinx-White Conviction Gap

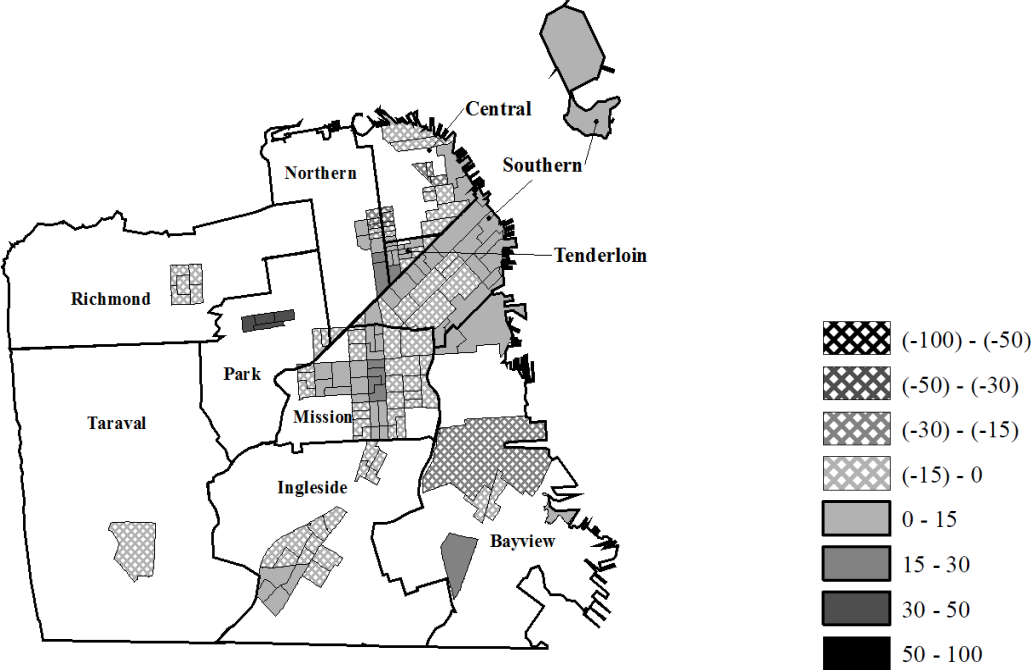


Figure 9: Latinx-White Gap in Added Charges

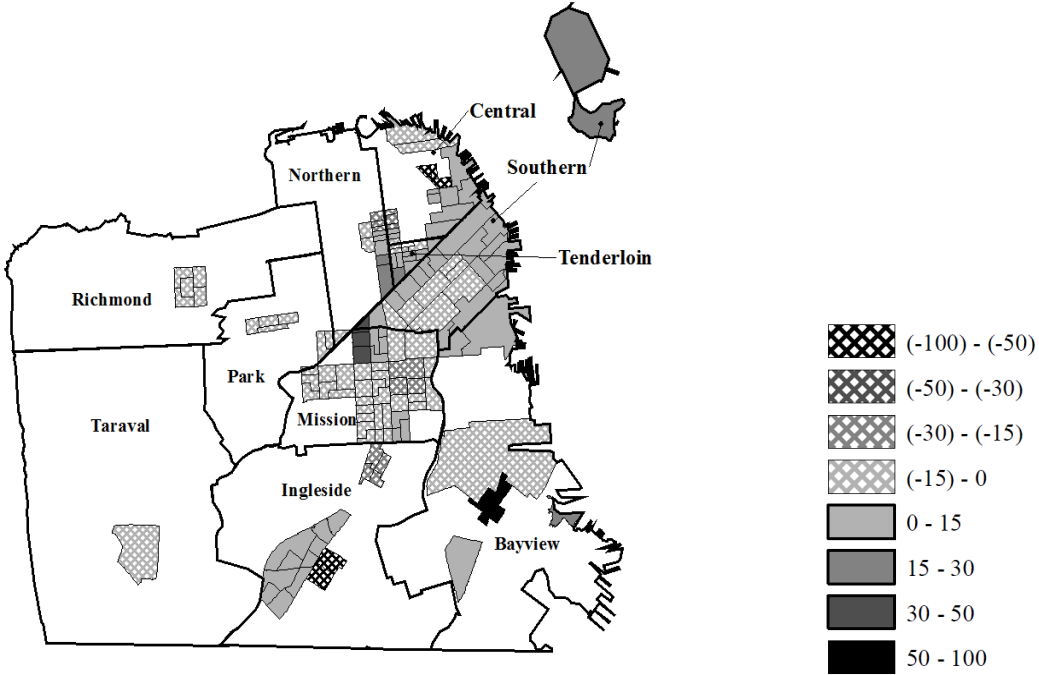
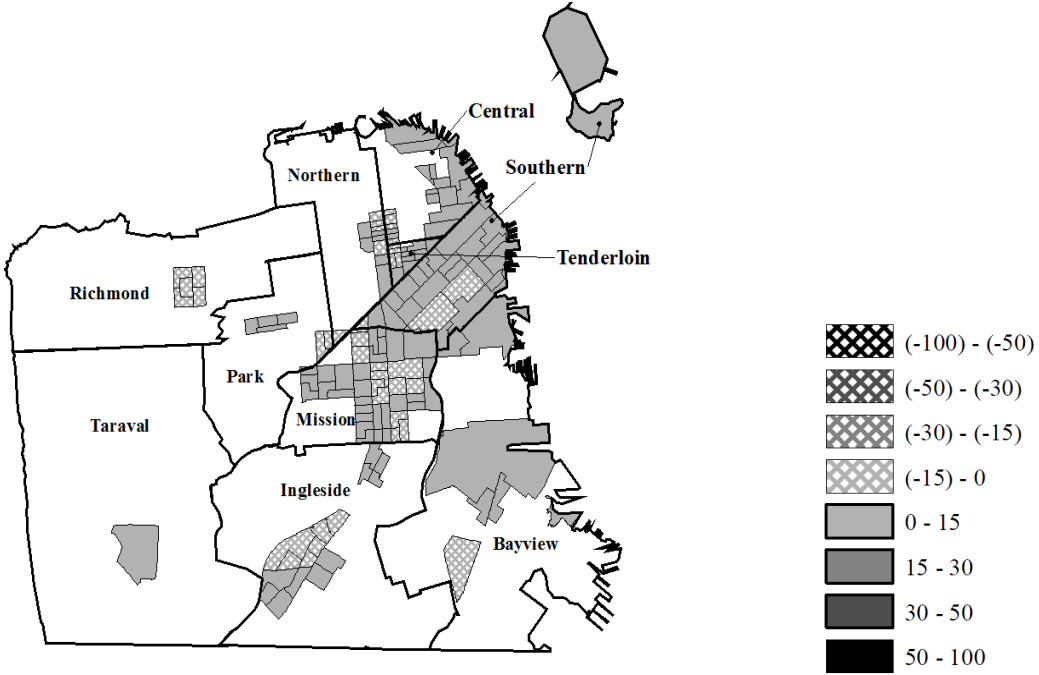


Figure 10: Latinx-White Gap in “DA Dismissals”



Results for Felonies and Misdemeanors

Our results suggest that, in large part, the criminal justice outcomes for poor Black defendants are predetermined. Decisions made by the booking officer, and prior contact with the criminal justice system, create substantial racial disparities in how serious their case becomes after booking, as well as how little of these serious charges are reduced over the course of their case. The processing of Black defendants also comes at a larger symbolic and material cost, where cases take longer to adjudicate, and defendants spend more time in jail prior to final adjudication.

Our analysis also revealed that Latinx defendants have a different experience than Whites. In particular, the former defendants are more likely to be charged with misdemeanors, and these charges are slightly less likely to be upgraded to felonies. In addition, we observed that Latinx defendants were more likely to have serious charges dismissed rather than discharged, a slightly worse legal outcome for the defendant. We are unable to explain these disparities with our rich set of controls, suggesting something unobserved, such as immigration precariousness, may be influencing this process.

Dividing our sample into felony cases and cases involving only misdemeanors yields two conclusions. First, felony cases are driving the observed disparities for Black defendants. The smaller sample size means that some of our estimates are less statistically precise, but overall the disparities identified and quantified in the full sample are essentially replicated in felony cases.

Second, we observe less Black-White disparities in misdemeanor cases. However, comparing Latinx defendants to white defendants reveals a pattern of inequality that was suggested in the full sample. Latinx defendants are booked for more serious misdemeanor cases, and this is explained, in large part, by characteristics of where the defendants were arrested; differences in the racial and residential composition of neighborhoods where Latinx defendants are arrested can explain 40% of the racial disparity, and 22% can be explained by variation in the rates of police activity in those same places. These defendants are more likely to plead guilty, and plead guilty to more charges, than White defendants accused of misdemeanors, which is driven by the booking decisions. This difference in pleading rates appears to be done in exchange for dismissals of other charges, which is typical for defendants booked for the types of charges for which Latinx defendants are booked. Finally, we also observe that Latinx defendants plead guilty to more charges in exchange for dismissing more serious charges initially filed against them, and also potentially for sanctions that are more lenient along one dimension. Incarceration sentences for Latinx defendants tend to be shorter, but adult probation sentences are much longer. Conviction history, as well as police activity where the arrest occurred, appear to serve as important contributors to this difference in punishment.

Results by Charge Type

Felonies and misdemeanors are formally separate in San Francisco, tried in separate courts with separate judges. These cases are also handled by separate groups of attorneys within the Public Defender's office. However, people accused of committing violent, non-violent, or drug or weapons offenses may be viewed differently. Dividing our sample according to the nature of the top charge, or in the case of drugs and weapons, a case with at least one drug or weapons charge, allows us to investigate this possibility.

Unlike the felony/misdemeanor divide, which revealed different patterns of case processing for Latinx defendants, we find relatively consistent results across offense types. Black defendants facing violent charges spend much longer periods of time in custody, 24.5 additional calendar days, but, just as in the full sample, this effect is driven by the booking charges and criminal history. Among cases involving violent crimes, there is less of a racial disparity in the total amount of time from first to last court event than in the entire sample. Moreover, violent crime cases take longer than other cases, on average. We also find that, in cases involving drugs or weapons charges, Black defendants have about 10% more of their case dismissed. About 1/3rd of this difference is attributable to racial and residential rental patterns in the neighborhood where they were arrested, but the majority of this difference in the disposition of these cases is unexplained.

Conclusion and Questions for Policy Makers

The impact of disparities in the criminal justice system extends beyond the confines of crime and public safety, creating and perpetuating inequalities in poverty, family formations, education, and child development (Agan et al., 2016). Understanding why Black and Latinx defendants experience worse criminal justice outcomes can help policy makers and practitioners mitigate disparities by drawing their attention to specific "risk factors" that are associated with negative outcomes.

We identified systematic differences in outcomes for Black, Latinx, and White defendants along almost all margins. For many of these outcomes, we could statistically identify the source of the majority, if not all, of the racial disparity. Using cutting-edge statistical decomposition techniques, we could isolate racially disparate booking charges as the driver of racial disparate criminal justice outcomes. The influence of these booking decisions is actually larger than our estimates imply, as booking decisions today become criminal history tomorrow, and a defendant's criminal history was the second most important factor in, for example, determining time spent in custody during the adjudication process. The influence of booking in downstream decisions made by district attorneys, public defenders, and judges can create a system of "race neutral" disparity, where district attorneys are responding directly to the charges brought to them by the police, not a client's race. However, the data suggest that the charges brought by the police are not, in fact, race neutral.

Of course, booking decisions are the product of alleged criminal behavior on the part of the defendant and the response of a police officer to that behavior, and our quantitative data do not allow us to perfectly separate the two. Future analyses will examine qualitative content that illustrates police behavior and animus – dashboard camera media, incident reports, officer statements, and witness testimony, for example – gleaned from the subsample of case files. For now, however, we have confidently identified two patterns in the data that suggest that differential officer response to behavior, rather than a defendant’s behavior per se, plays an important role in booking.

First is the looming role of geography. Throughout the report, our adjusted R^2 values correspond to the percentage of variation in our outcome that we can explain with our models. Using all our control and census variables, we can explain roughly 3% of the variation in booking charges across cases. If, instead of these census, police activity, and defendant characteristics, we simply modeled booking outcomes as a function of binary indicators for what neighborhood a defendant was arrested in, we could explain 10% of the variation in booking outcome.

Second, comparing the seriousness of cases booked against Black and White defendants accused of the same broad crime in the same neighborhood reveals that, in certain police districts, particularly the Bayview and Southern districts, black residents are booked for more, and more serious charges than white residents. These disparities are lower, and in some cases reversed, by the time the case is adjudicated, implying that these more serious charges are regularly dispensed with, at least in part, by the prosecution.

For Latinx defendants, we found similar geographic patterns of booking. In particular, Latinx people arrested in areas marked by greater concentrations of racial and ethnic minorities, and higher levels of neighborhood instability, were more likely to have multiple misdemeanor charges filed against them. In addition, it appears that, on average, more of the charges initially booked against these Latinx clients are later dismissed, but only in exchange for a guilty plea to other charges. As a result, Latinx clients serve much longer periods of probation.

To the extent that the Office of the Public Defender and the District Attorney have a shared goal of reducing unwarranted racial disparities, our analysis suggests that careful scrutiny of booked charges is needed. Simply accepting charges as booked, without acknowledgement of the geographic, rather than individual, component of these charges is likely to result in continued racial disparities in the justice system. Explicit acknowledgement of the geographic patterns in booking may also be a method of limiting unwanted disparities generated by criminal history.

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Table A1: Severity of Felonies at Booking, Charge Addition, and Conviction

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Booked		Added		Convicted	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	22.68***	20.98***	3.908**	-1.52	5.340***	0.694
	(2.459)	(2.562)	(1.231)	(1.445)	(1.004)	(0.838)
Latinx	6.145*	-0.364	1.844	-0.131	2.443*	0.953
	(2.834)	(2.964)	(1.572)	(1.555)	(1.092)	(1.365)
Adj. R ²	0.0086	0.0267	0.000723	0.146	0.0021	0.173
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Booking		Charge Addition		Convicted	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	22.68	6.14	3.91	1.84	5.34	2.44
Age, gender, housing	-1.3%	11.0%	-0.8%	-1.6%	-6.3%	-6.8%
Date arrest	1.9%	8.1%	3.6%	12.5%	1.4%	9.8%
Police (home)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-0.7%	0.0%	-0.4%
Police (arrest)	-1.4%	6.9%	-2.2%	-3.4%	0.4%	-2.1%
Demographics (home)	9.7%	32.9%	13.8%	-0.3%	8.9%	4.4%
Demographics (arrest)	2.1%	26.5%	7.7%	23.6%	-5.2%	-2.0%
Criminal Record	-3.5%	20.3%	9.4%	-17.5%	13.2%	-8.3%
Booked charges			105.6%	92.9%	75.1%	67.2%
Attorney load			1.6%	1.8%	-0.5%	-0.6%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Booking		Charge Addition		Convicted	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	35.04		7.789		3.855	
If Black	56.02***		6.269		4.549	
If Latinx	34.676		7.658		4.808	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	36.74***		13.22		8.501	
If Black	57.72		11.7		9.195	
If Latinx	36.376***		13.089		9.454	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	41.544		9.764		5.345	
If Black	62.524***		8.244		6.039	
If Latinx	41.18		9.633		6.298	
See table 4 for notes						

Table A2: Severity of Misdemeanors at Booking, Charge Addition, and Conviction

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Booked		Added		Convicted	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-1.015***	-0.47	-0.884*	-0.337	-0.411	-0.0686
	(0.292)	(0.316)	(0.357)	(0.505)	(0.258)	(0.299)
Latinx	1.737***	1.290**	0.952*	0.389	0.281	-0.106
	(0.396)	(0.394)	(0.400)	(0.387)	(0.301)	(0.350)
Adj. R ²	0.00582	0.0236	0.00165	0.0228	0.000436	0.0457
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Booking		Charge Addition		Convicted	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-1.015	1.737	-0.884	0.952	-0.411	0.281
Age, gender, housing	4.8%	-0.1%	-2.6%	10.4%	25.8%	-37.0%
Date arrest	3.1%	1.2%	0.9%	2.5%	7.6%	-22.4%
Police (home)	0.0%	-0.5%	-0.4%	1.9%	0.0%	-1.1%
Police (arrest)	6.4%	4.5%	-1.0%	-0.8%	-6.5%	-0.3%
Demographics (home)	9.1%	-4.5%	1.3%	-1.9%	2.1%	-15.8%
Demographics (arrest)	-3.5%	21.5%	-0.4%	2.4%	5.5%	-5.8%
Criminal Record	33.6%	3.5%	40.0%	16.6%	-10.6%	-24.5%
Booked charges			20.0%	29.9%	70.8%	236.2%
Attorney load			3.9%	-1.9%	-11.5%	8.9%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Booking		Charge Addition		Convicted	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	8.757		6.062		6.244	
If Black	8.287		5.725		6.1754	
If Latinx	10.047**		6.451		6.138	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	8.213		5.515		5.9026	
If Black	7.743		5.178		5.834	
If Latinx	9.503***		5.904		5.7966	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	9.2**		6.625		6.632	
If Black	8.73***		6.288		6.5634	
If Latinx	10.49		7.014		6.526	
See table 4 for notes						

Table F4: Defendant's race/ethnicity and pre-filing outcomes (Felonies only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0926	0.141*	0.161**	0.173**	-0.0758**	-0.0534+	20.89***	21.07***
	(0.0657)	(0.0718)	(0.0521)	(0.0578)	(0.0290)	(0.0317)	(3.134)	(3.310)
Latinx	0.128	-0.0278	0.103	-0.0307	0.0337	0.015	20.19***	11.15*
	(0.100)	(0.106)	(0.0834)	(0.0904)	(0.0442)	(0.0448)	(4.435)	(4.533)
Adj. R ²	0.000117	0.022	0.000926	0.0185	0.00132	0.013	0.00578	0.0293
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	0.093	0.128	0.161	0.103	-0.076	0.034	20.890	20.189
Age, gender., housing	14.0%	52.0%	13.0%	48.9%	5.0%	37.0%	0.0%	3.4%
Date arrest	-2.0%	0.5%	3.0%	7.1%	7.0%	-10.1%	3.0%	6.9%
Police (h)	0.0%	-0.7%	0.0%	-0.4%	0.0%	-2.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Police (a)	-18.0%	5.8%	-7.0%	4.6%	3.0%	12.5%	-3.0%	1.9%
Demog. (h)	-20.0%	-4.1%	4.0%	13.5%	24.0%	-43.3%	10.0%	10.8%
Demog. (a)	24.0%	45.0%	1.0%	30.5%	-14.0%	57.5%	2.0%	12.6%
Criminal Record	-49.0%	23.0%	-23.0%	25.2%	3.0%	3.9%	-13.0%	8.8%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	2.895		2.1		0.68		57.69	
If Black	3.036*		2.273**		0.627+		78.76***	
If Latinx	2.867		2.069		0.695		68.84*	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	2.847*		2.087**		0.658+		57.51***	
If Black	2.988		2.26		0.605		78.58	
If Latinx	2.819+		2.056*		0.673		68.66*	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	3.051		2.234		0.699		66.73*	
If Black	3.192+		2.407*		0.646		87.8*	
If Latinx	3.023		2.203		0.714		77.88	
Notes: Panel 1 reports OLS estimates, with two specifications. Specification (1) has no control variables. Specification (2) includes controls for the defendant's gender, age and housing status; dummies for month and year of arrest; police activity variables at the defendant's residency neighborhood and at the neighborhood of arrest; demographic characteristics of the defendant's residency neighborhood and of the neighborhood of arrest; and the defendant's criminal history. All regressions include 7,744 observations. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Significant at +10%, *5%, **1% and ***0.1% level. Panel 2 presents the Gelbach decomposition of the race differences estimated using specification (2). See the text for details. Panel 3 presents the mean fitted values by race of the regressions using specification (2) of panel 1. Total booked charges, total booked felonies and total booked misdemeanors refer to the number of counts, felonies and misdemeanors filed against the defendant. Severity of booked offenses refers to the sum of the severity of each booked charge, as explained in the text.								

Table F5: Defendant's race/ethnicity and prosecutor activity (Felonies only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0729	-0.106+	2.307	-2.306	0.0452	-0.0412	-0.112***	-0.0544
	(0.0529)	(0.0578)	(1.693)	(1.850)	(0.0396)	(0.0405)	(0.0306)	(0.0358)
Latinx	0.135+	0.0471	6.601*	1.036	0.0425	0.0067	0.0886+	0.0428
	(0.0700)	(0.0672)	(2.600)	(2.454)	(0.0499)	(0.0477)	(0.0462)	(0.0439)
Adj. R ²	0.00106	0.052	0.000752	0.134	-6.5E-05	0.0575	0.00374	0.033
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	-0.073	0.135	2.307	6.601	0.045	0.043	-0.112	0.089
Age, gender., housing	-8.9%	-1.4%	-0.2%	-0.5%	10.1%	-15.7%	-0.4%	4.5%
Date arrest	-10.8%	8.0%	7.4%	3.7%	13.3%	17.2%	-0.7%	0.7%
Police (h)	-1.3%	-0.1%	0.0%	-0.2%	2.8%	-1.0%	0.2%	0.3%
Police (a)	-7.0%	0.4%	-3.2%	-1.6%	7.1%	0.0%	-1.4%	0.5%
Demog. (h)	3.1%	4.2%	31.6%	1.0%	-0.3%	8.9%	4.0%	0.7%
Demog. (a)	-22.4%	2.2%	18.1%	8.9%	35.8%	17.0%	1.1%	-2.8%
Criminal Record	12.1%	-4.0%	-0.1%	-5.0%	50.1%	-30.6%	27.8%	7.9%
Book char.	-11.1%	58.2%	146.2%	77.7%	71.8%	88.4%	20.1%	43.6%
Att. load	1.1%	-2.6%	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	-4.0%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.017		16.92		0.493		0.504	
If Black	0.911+		14.614		0.452		0.45	
If Latinx	1.064		17.956		0.5		0.547	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.05+		21.536		0.58		0.445	
If Black	0.944		19.23		0.539		0.391	
If Latinx	1.097*		22.572		0.587		0.488+	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.105		22.484		0.529		0.549	
If Black	0.999*		20.178		0.488		0.495+	
If Latinx	1.152		23.52		0.536		0.592	
See table F4 for notes								

Table F6: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Felonies only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0272*	0.0093	0.0293	-0.00153
	(0.0128)	(0.0136)	(0.0263)	(0.0271)
Latinx	0.00557	0.0185	0.00916	0.0238
	(0.0172)	(0.0164)	(0.0372)	(0.0394)
Adj. R ²	0.000449	0.0746	-7.4E-05	0.0687
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.027	0.006	0.029	0.009
Age, gender, housing	-47.7%	-51.7%	-50.7%	-30.3%
Date arrest	-5.1%	-68.9%	5.6%	-7.8%
Police (home)	-0.7%	2.1%	1.4%	-0.9%
Police (arrest)	-0.9%	-27.8%	3.5%	-27.4%
Demographics (home)	8.7%	64.7%	12.3%	22.3%
Demographics (arrest)	-8.5%	-95.5%	2.2%	-127.6%
Criminal Record	111.1%	-241.2%	121.3%	-175.6%
Booked charges	10.3%	213.9%	9.3%	186.9%
Attorney load	-1.4%	-28.7%	0.0%	0.8%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.619		0.772	
If Black	0.628		0.77	
If Latinx	0.638		0.796	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.637		0.803	
If Black	0.646		0.801	
If Latinx	0.655		0.826	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.606		0.757	
If Black	0.615		0.756	
If Latinx	0.624		0.781	
See table F4 for notes				

Table F7: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Felonies only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.105***	0.0245	-0.0702***	-0.0212	5.150***	0.839
	(0.0205)	(0.0187)	(0.0208)	(0.0248)	(1.276)	(1.209)
Latinx	0.0271	0.0032	0.000828	0.0364	4.810**	1.211
	(0.0252)	(0.0298)	(0.0284)	(0.0295)	(1.825)	(2.432)
Adj. R ²	0.00382	0.125	0.00188	0.0698	0.00143	0.158
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.105	0.027	-0.070	0.001	5.150	4.810
Age, gender, housing	-8.5%	3.4%	7.1%	-650.3%	-11.6%	-4.0%
Date arrest	3.4%	30.3%	2.6%	-930.0%	1.6%	3.8%
Police (home)	-0.1%	-0.9%	-0.8%	6.5%	0.0%	-0.2%
Police (arrest)	-0.7%	4.0%	-2.9%	-382.8%	1.6%	-1.4%
Demog. (home)	11.5%	38.4%	9.7%	-736.4%	9.4%	1.9%
Demog. (arr.)	-2.8%	-18.7%	-3.9%	-768.3%	-6.4%	1.2%
Criminal Record	40.3%	-43.0%	10.7%	-498.6%	14.6%	-5.9%
Book. charges	33.9%	82.1%	48.0%	-571.7%	74.3%	79.7%
Attorney load	-0.4%	-7.5%	-0.6%	237.1%	0.0%	-0.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	0.267		0.516		11.98	
If Black	0.292		0.495		12.819	
If Latinx	0.27		0.552		13.191	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	0.348		0.467		16.301	
If Black	0.372		0.446		17.14	
If Latinx	0.351		0.504+		17.512	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	0.292		0.481		15.579	
If Black	0.316		0.459+		16.418	
If Latinx	0.295		0.517		16.79	

See table F4 for notes

Table F8: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Felonies only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	0.216***	-0.0238	-0.0292	0.273**	-0.0577	-0.0637		
	(0.0610)	(0.0659)	(0.0642)	(0.0878)	(0.0939)	(0.0930)		
Latinx	-0.113	-0.0397	-0.0476	-0.188+	-0.154	-0.146		
	(0.0729)	(0.0685)	(0.0688)	(0.109)	(0.0995)	(0.100)		
Adj. R ²	0.00376	0.134	0.162	0.00494	0.175	0.182		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Sentence				Sentence, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	0.216	0.216	-0.113	-0.113	0.273	0.273	-0.188	-0.188
Age, gender, housing	-23.6%	-21.8%	2.1%	1.0%	-24.8%	-24.1%	7.0%	6.9%
Date arrest	4.3%	4.0%	-19.0%	-18.0%	7.7%	7.4%	-12.9%	-12.5%
Police (home)	0.0%	0.0%	-0.5%	-0.6%	-0.6%	-0.6%	1.2%	1.1%
Police (arrest)	-1.8%	-2.0%	4.0%	3.6%	-1.6%	-1.8%	2.5%	2.4%
Demog. (home)	3.9%	2.5%	-1.3%	-0.8%	2.1%	1.5%	4.9%	4.4%
Demog. (arr.)	8.4%	9.4%	11.7%	12.1%	9.7%	10.0%	3.3%	4.3%
Criminal Record	111.2%	108.9%	81.1%	79.5%	98.1%	97.5%	63.5%	63.1%
Book. charges	8.2%	-3.2%	-10.4%	11.6%	27.9%	22.3%	-42.0%	-25.4%
Attorney load	0.3%	0.3%	-2.8%	-2.9%	2.5%	2.4%	-9.4%	-9.2%
Guilty severity		15.4%		-27.6%		8.6%		-13.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	76.247			113.681				
If Black	74.432			107.122				
If Latinx	73.22			96.174				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If Black	149.192			231.01				
If White	145.641			217.681				
If Latinx	143.269			195.435				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	108.372			189.937				
If Black	105.793			178.978				
If Latinx	104.07			160.687				
See table F4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 7,744 observations. Columns four to six use only the 4,961 cases resulting in an incarceration sentence.								

Table F9: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Felonies only - part d)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	-0.0598	0.0861	0.079	-0.285*	0.0907	0.0909		
	(0.0934)	(0.0976)	(0.0979)	(0.117)	(0.114)	(0.114)		
Latinx	0.291*	0.238+	0.227+	0.414**	0.290*	0.290*		
	(0.126)	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.143)	(0.137)	(0.138)		
Adj. R ²	0.000954	0.0756	0.0919	0.00585	0.166	0.166		
Basic controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	-0.060	-0.060	0.291	0.291	-0.285	-0.285	0.414	0.414
Age, gender, housing	63.7%	55.2%	-14.6%	-14.0%	-24.5%	-24.5%	-3.6%	-3.6%
Date arrest	24.1%	25.3%	-10.5%	-11.1%	2.1%	2.0%	-4.0%	-4.0%
Police (home)	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	-0.2%	-0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Police (arrest)	-14.7%	-13.5%	1.8%	2.0%	-5.7%	-5.7%	4.9%	4.9%
Demog. (home)	16.8%	23.8%	5.4%	5.1%	9.6%	9.6%	-0.8%	-0.8%
Demog. (arr.)	50.0%	45.3%	-8.9%	-9.1%	7.0%	7.0%	0.3%	0.3%
Criminal Record	162.9%	173.6%	8.5%	9.3%	119.6%	119.5%	37.1%	37.1%
Book. charges	-63.6%	-9.3%	40.5%	29.3%	21.6%	21.4%	-0.1%	0.0%
Attorney load	4.5%	4.5%	-3.8%	-3.7%	2.3%	2.3%	-3.8%	-3.8%
Guilty severity		-72.9%		14.0%		0.2%		-0.1%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	640.911			1014.926				
If Black	696.094			1106.98				
If Latinx	793.448+			1309.255*				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	568.57			868.61				
If Black	617.524			947.393				
If Latinx	703.89			1120.507				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	562.251+			853.439*				
If Black	610.661			930.846				
If Latinx	696.067			1100.936				
See table F4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 7,744 observations. Columns four to six use only the 4,956 cases resulting in a probation sentence.								

Table F10: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Felonies only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.00258	-0.00045	-0.00482	-0.006
	(0.0134)	(0.0129)	(0.0252)	(0.0250)
Latinx	-0.0122	-0.00203	-0.0221	0.0086
	(0.0177)	(0.0149)	(0.0366)	(0.0360)
Adj. R ²	-0.00015	0.113	-0.00019	0.0806
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.003	-0.012	-0.005	-0.022
Age, gender, housing	-492.8%	55.8%	298.3%	38.9%
Date arrest	-43.4%	26.0%	-40.1%	2.2%
Police (home)	-12.8%	-0.6%	9.1%	-1.1%
Police (arrest)	8.4%	6.9%	-30.3%	2.8%
Demographics (home)	9.4%	-17.9%	-25.2%	-3.7%
Demographics (arrest)	-140.1%	31.6%	93.8%	49.4%
Criminal Record	608.1%	59.1%	-493.9%	45.7%
Booked charges	190.4%	-85.9%	168.0%	7.9%
Attorney load	-9.6%	8.2%	-4.0%	-3.6%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.583		0.721	
If Black	0.583		0.715	
If Latinx	0.581		0.73	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.585		0.723	
If Black	0.585		0.717	
If Latinx	0.583		0.732	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.572		0.69	
If Black	0.572		0.684	
If Latinx	0.57		0.699	
See table F4 for notes				

Table F11: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Felonies only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.91	-0.418	-1.111	-0.26	0.333	0.25
	(1.058)	(1.131)	(1.086)	(0.933)	(1.124)	(1.033)
Latinx	-0.253	0.446	-0.927	-1.168	2.316	-0.039
	(1.386)	(1.405)	(1.224)	(1.078)	(1.502)	(1.480)
Adj. R ²	-0.00014	0.0573	-5.9E-05	0.0387	0.000125	0.058
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-0.910	-0.253	-1.111	-0.927	0.333	2.316
Age, gender, housing	50.9%	107.6%	4.3%	-8.1%	365.6%	12.9%
Date arrest	5.6%	53.7%	2.7%	20.9%	3.1%	5.0%
Police (home)	0.0%	13.6%	-1.1%	-0.3%	-1.3%	0.7%
Police (arrest)	-7.8%	16.1%	6.4%	-3.5%	19.9%	6.9%
Demog. (home)	38.8%	-9.5%	6.0%	-25.8%	117.7%	-1.0%
Demog. (arr.)	25.1%	139.0%	26.4%	10.6%	87.5%	27.1%
Criminal Record	-21.8%	69.5%	13.9%	-27.7%	-691.0%	41.0%
Book. charges	-44.7%	-174.6%	17.9%	8.8%	101.4%	2.4%
Attorney load	8.0%	60.4%	-0.2%	-0.6%	21.7%	6.5%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	35.77		14.34		23.69	
If Black	35.352		14.08		23.94	
If Latinx	36.216		13.172		23.651	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	35.278		13.49		23.78	
If Black	34.86		13.23		24.03	
If Latinx	35.724		12.322		23.741	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	35.074		14.578		26.039	
If Black	34.656		14.318		26.289	
If Latinx	35.52		13.41		26	

See table F4 for notes

Table F12: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Felonies only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-7.669***	-1.965+	0.219	-0.897	0.4	-0.158
	(1.144)	(1.154)	(0.568)	(0.579)	(0.259)	(0.178)
Latinx	-2.059	0.0421	-0.84	-1.072	0.866*	0.189
	(1.512)	(1.415)	(0.656)	(0.663)	(0.362)	(0.281)
Adj. R ²	0.00763	0.183	6.59E-05	0.0287	0.00065	0.496
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-7.669	-2.059	0.219	-0.840	0.400	0.866
Age, gender, housing	-3.6%	15.1%	-3.5%	-8.1%	-7.8%	-4.1%
Date arrest	2.6%	16.2%	-1.9%	-10.1%	9.4%	3.8%
Police (home)	0.4%	1.4%	10.6%	3.1%	0.4%	0.0%
Police (arrest)	-0.2%	11.9%	30.6%	-7.1%	3.5%	2.4%
Demog. (home)	4.4%	15.3%	3.0%	18.0%	8.5%	1.8%
Demog. (arr.)	-3.9%	-17.2%	88.1%	-18.7%	33.0%	2.9%
Criminal Record	25.7%	-24.1%	184.2%	21.8%	2.9%	-2.5%
Book. charges	48.1%	69.6%	190.5%	-22.1%	89.0%	73.2%
Attorney load	0.8%	13.4%	7.4%	-4.2%	0.2%	0.5%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	31.02		3.929		10.27	
If Black	29.055+		3.032		10.112	
If Latinx	31.062		2.857		10.459	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	25.295+		5.047		10.828	
If Black	23.33		4.15		10.67	
If Latinx	25.337		3.975		11.017	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	28.918		4.161		10.951	
If Black	26.953		3.264		10.793	
If Latinx	28.96		3.089		11.14	

See table F4 for notes

Table F13: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Felonies - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	12.90**	9.128*	11.79***	5.724*	1.354**	0.633
	(4.715)	(4.548)	(2.457)	(2.514)	(0.440)	(0.480)
Latinx	10.78+	7.44	4.932	4.354	0.562	-0.158
	(6.378)	(6.972)	(3.022)	(3.252)	(0.580)	(0.571)
Adj. R ²	0.000796	0.0686	0.0028	0.0934	0.00128	0.172
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	12.899	10.782	11.786	4.932	1.354	0.562
Age, gender, housing	-2.8%	-8.5%	-14.5%	-32.6%	-8.7%	2.4%
Date arrest	8.9%	33.5%	5.3%	31.9%	13.7%	74.8%
Police (home)	0.2%	-0.8%	0.2%	-1.0%	0.4%	-2.0%
Police (arrest)	-3.0%	-1.3%	-0.7%	0.9%	-1.2%	3.1%
Demog. (home)	-12.1%	-17.3%	0.7%	-9.4%	1.0%	-15.8%
Demog. (arr.)	-3.3%	-3.6%	1.5%	-1.7%	1.8%	-8.9%
Criminal Record	2.3%	-2.1%	27.0%	-28.7%	31.5%	-40.5%
Book. charges	40.2%	37.1%	32.0%	56.2%	18.2%	150.7%
Attorney load	-1.2%	-5.9%	-0.3%	-3.8%	-3.6%	-35.7%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	82.29		23.74		16.59	
If Black	91.418*		29.464*		17.223	
If Latinx	89.73		28.094		16.432	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	86.112*		29.816*		17.317	
If Black	95.24		35.54		17.95	
If Latinx	93.552		34.17		17.159	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	85.63		24.316		17.308	
If Black	94.758		30.04		17.941	
If Latinx	93.07		28.67		17.15	

See table F4 for notes

Table F14: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Felonies - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.944*	0.364	0.0516	-0.0943	-0.267	0.181
	(0.391)	(0.433)	(0.222)	(0.241)	(0.309)	(0.306)
Latinx	-0.899*	-1.039*	-0.538*	-0.623*	-1.095**	-0.599
	(0.454)	(0.444)	(0.259)	(0.254)	(0.400)	(0.451)
Adj. R ²	0.00237	0.148	0.000505	0.112	0.00079	0.0166
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.944	-0.899	0.052	-0.538	-0.267	-1.095
Age, gender, housing	-11.5%	-2.2%	-259.7%	-7.6%	17.6%	3.6%
Date arrest	17.3%	-39.1%	166.9%	-39.7%	-8.7%	1.1%
Police (home)	0.5%	1.2%	-0.7%	1.6%	-0.6%	0.0%
Police (arrest)	0.6%	-1.5%	-23.0%	-1.1%	-0.3%	2.7%
Demog. (home)	-0.6%	7.9%	21.7%	3.8%	-14.3%	0.1%
Demog. (arr.)	-7.0%	12.8%	-42.0%	-0.9%	41.3%	6.4%
Criminal Record	50.2%	28.4%	546.0%	33.1%	12.9%	0.6%
Book. charges	17.0%	-45.4%	-115.3%	-9.4%	117.4%	28.1%
Attorney load	-5.2%	22.3%	-11.0%	4.3%	2.2%	2.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	12.46		6.884		11.29	
If Black	12.824		6.79		11.471	
If Latinx	11.421*		6.261*		10.691	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	13.046		7.031		10.839	
If Black	13.41		6.937		11.02	
If Latinx	12.007***		6.408*		10.24*	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	12.599*		6.969*		10.799	
If Black	12.963***		6.875*		10.98*	
If Latinx	11.56		6.346		10.2	

See table F4 for notes

Table M4: Defendant's race/ethnicity and pre-filing outcomes (Misdemeanors only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0288	0.0284	n/a		0.00163	0.0547	0.764	1.042
	(0.0678)	(0.0664)			(0.0579)	(0.0563)	(0.664)	(0.701)
Latinx	0.0985	0.00613			0.0972+	0.0154	1.729**	0.186
	(0.0624)	(0.0578)			(0.0524)	(0.0431)	(0.632)	(0.593)
Adj. R ²	0.000743	0.0415			0.000672	0.0374	0.00191	0.0853
Controls	No	Yes			No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	-0.029	0.098			0.002	0.097	0.764	1.729
Age, gender., housing	55.0%	-12.7%			-996.0%	-11.4%	-23.0%	-3.0%
Date arrest	-35.0%	13.8%			393.0%	14.6%	13.0%	8.6%
Police (h)	5.0%	0.0%			21.0%	-0.3%	-1.0%	0.2%
Police (a)	163.0%	14.6%			-1997.0%	14.2%	-67.0%	22.4%
Demog. (h)	-25.0%	14.4%			592.0%	12.4%	55.0%	13.1%
Demog. (a).	-51.0%	49.9%			765.0%	39.5%	27.0%	41.7%
Criminal Record	86.0%	13.4%			-2042.0%	15.0%	-40.0%	6.0%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.842				1.605		14.33	
If Black	1.87				1.66		15.372	
If Latinx	1.848				1.62		14.516	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.785				1.552		14.048	
If Black	1.813				1.607		15.09	
If Latinx	1.791				1.568		14.234	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.935				1.687		15.874	
If Black	1.963				1.741		16.916	
If Latinx	1.941				1.702		16.06	
<p>Notes: Panel 1 reports OLS estimates, with two specifications. Specification (1) has no control variables. Specification (2) includes controls for the defendant's gender, age and housing status; dummies for month and year of arrest; police activity variables at the defendant's residency neighborhood and at the neighborhood of arrest; demographic characteristics of the defendant's residency neighborhood and of the neighborhood of arrest; and the defendant's criminal history. All regressions include 3,009 observations. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Significant at +10%, *5%, **1% and ***0.1% level. Panel 2 presents the Gelbach decomposition of the race differences estimated using specification (2). See the text for details. Panel 3 presents the mean fitted values by race of the regressions using specification (2) of panel 1. Total booked charges, total booked felonies and total booked misdemeanors refer to the number of counts, felonies and misdemeanors filed against the defendant. Severity of booked offenses refers to the sum of the severity of each booked charge, as explained in the text.</p>								

Table M5: Defendant's race/ethnicity and prosecutor activity (Misdemeanors only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0135	0.00469	0.562	0.629	n/a		-0.00302	0.0146
	(0.0999)	(0.118)	(1.069)	(1.265)			(0.0985)	(0.117)
Latinx	0.000544	-0.016	0.0901	-0.273			-0.0226	-0.0172
	(0.0548)	(0.0601)	(0.520)	(0.537)			(0.0516)	(0.0514)
Adj. R ²	-0.000654	0.00473	-0.00051	0.011			-0.000637	0.0101
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes			No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	-0.014	0.001	0.562	0.090	n/a		-0.003	-0.023
Age, gender., housing	-44.9%	4993.9%	-4.3%	394.1%			-157.2%	-120.0%
Date arrest	-8.1%	1699.7%	-3.9%	166.2%			42.0%	-44.2%
Police (h)	-17.1%	659.5%	5.1%	44.1%			-76.7%	-18.0%
Police (a)	3.0%	652.3%	-8.9%	52.5%			100.4%	-16.4%
Demog. (h)	68.5%	-2860.8%	-0.3%	-189.7%			259.9%	77.2%
Demog. (a)	112.0%	-4334.5%	-18.8%	-113.1%			394.7%	84.4%
Criminal Record	188.1%	2568.7%	-32.7%	163.0%			960.3%	-62.7%
Book. char.	-171.1%	-42.5%	50.5%	-142.5%			-928.4%	128.4%
Att. load	4.2%	-302.5%	1.5%	28.1%			-12.2%	-4.6%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.805		7.256				0.712	
If Black	0.81		7.885				0.727	
If Latinx	0.789		6.983				0.695	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.786		7.189				0.694	
If Black	0.791		7.818				0.709	
If Latinx	0.77		6.916				0.677	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.822		7.627				0.708	
If Black	0.827		8.256				0.723	
If Latinx	0.806		7.354				0.691	
See table M4 for notes								

Table M6: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Misdemeanors only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.035	0.0141	-0.0308	0.0183
	(0.0227)	(0.0212)	(0.0304)	(0.0295)
Latinx	0.0957***	-0.00224	0.115***	0.00165
	(0.0228)	(0.0206)	(0.0310)	(0.0280)
Adj. R ²	0.0106	0.355	0.00727	0.286
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-0.035	0.096	-0.031	0.115
Age, gender, housing	14.5%	-11.1%	24.7%	-9.5%
Date arrest	9.8%	-0.9%	10.0%	0.3%
Police (home)	-1.6%	1.5%	0.1%	1.4%
Police (arrest)	0.0%	3.0%	-8.1%	2.5%
Demographics (home)	8.3%	-5.3%	16.3%	-8.1%
Demographics (arrest)	0.9%	0.6%	2.6%	0.0%
Criminal Record	-25.4%	-6.3%	-54.9%	-8.2%
Booked charges	138.9%	115.1%	176.9%	113.9%
Attorney load	-5.5%	5.8%	-8.2%	6.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.45		0.52	
If Black	0.464		0.538	
If Latinx	0.448		0.522	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.401		0.471	
If Black	0.415		0.489	
If Latinx	0.399		0.472	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.548		0.634	
If Black	0.562		0.653	
If Latinx	0.546		0.636	
See table M4 for notes				

Table M7: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Misdemeanors only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	n/a	n/a	-0.0407 (0.0290)	0.00945 (0.0273)	-0.0818 (0.364)	-0.0416 (0.398)
Latinx			0.104*** (0.0295)	-0.00704 (0.0264)	1.377** (0.473)	0.439 (0.507)
Adj. R ²			0.00755	0.286	0.00402	0.254
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	n/a	n/a	-0.041	0.104	-0.082	1.377
Age, gender, housing			17.9%	-12.8%	38.0%	-3.0%
Date arrest			10.3%	0.5%	53.9%	0.0%
Police (home)			0.1%	1.6%	-27.4%	1.5%
Police (arrest)			-6.5%	2.1%	-50.5%	3.1%
Demog. (home)			13.4%	-7.8%	72.3%	-12.4%
Demog. (arr.)			-0.8%	1.6%	2.0%	0.8%
Criminal Record			-35.9%	-8.4%	-372.8%	-10.8%
Book. charges			130.7%	123.0%	357.2%	84.9%
Attorney load			-6.1%	6.7%	-23.5%	3.9%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White			0.509		5.161	
If Black			0.518		5.119	
If Latinx			0.502		5.6	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White			0.46		5.121	
If Black			0.469		5.079	
If Latinx			0.453		5.56	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White			0.621		6.106	
If Black			0.63		6.064	
If Latinx			0.614		6.545	
See table M4 for notes						

Table M8: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Misdemeanors only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	0.0494 (0.0484)	-0.0178 (0.0473)	-0.0165 (0.0473)	0.172 (0.105)	-0.108 (0.0875)	-0.104 (0.0873)		
Latinx	-0.0851* (0.0431)	-0.0343 (0.0437)	-0.0483 (0.0446)	-0.266** (0.0844)	-0.0767 (0.0839)	-0.0832 (0.0835)		
Adj. R ²	0.00223	0.0389	0.108	0.0147	0.148	0.152		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Sentence				Sentence, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	0.049	0.049	-0.085	-0.085	0.172	0.172	-0.266	-0.266
Age, gender, housing	-26.3%	-24.3%	27.0%	25.4%	4.2%	3.1%	6.5%	6.9%
Date arrest	-9.6%	-6.7%	-0.2%	-0.1%	-1.5%	-1.6%	-2.7%	-2.5%
Police (home)	1.8%	0.3%	0.5%	1.3%	0.9%	0.8%	-4.0%	-3.8%
Police (arrest)	28.1%	25.5%	-4.7%	-3.1%	27.4%	26.9%	-6.9%	-6.5%
Demog. (home)	0.4%	4.2%	13.2%	6.8%	0.5%	0.9%	4.9%	3.9%
Demog. (arr.)	11.3%	11.4%	-2.1%	-1.7%	6.8%	6.9%	-0.9%	-0.4%
Criminal Record	101.5%	81.8%	28.4%	22.8%	67.9%	65.4%	13.3%	12.8%
Book. charges	24.4%	43.3%	4.5%	48.4%	56.3%	52.5%	61.1%	60.5%
Attorney load	4.2%	2.9%	-6.9%	-4.9%	0.4%	0.5%	0.0%	-0.1%
Guilty severity		-5.2%		-51.7%		4.5%		-2.0%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	5.9			13.083				
If Black	5.795			11.67				
If Latinx	5.698			12.08				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	6.314			15.391				
If Black	6.201			13.729				
If Latinx	6.097			14.211				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	6.915			13.262				
If Black	6.792			11.829				
If Latinx	6.677			12.244				
See table M4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 3,009 observations. Columns four to six use only the 1,405 cases resulting in an incarceration sentence.								

Table M9: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Misdemeanors only - part d)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	-0.405**	0.0716	0.0774	-0.430*	0.112	0.116		
	(0.150)	(0.142)	(0.124)	(0.212)	(0.180)	(0.179)		
Latinx	0.839***	0.0402	-0.0207	0.581***	0.128	0.117		
	(0.161)	(0.128)	(0.114)	(0.169)	(0.155)	(0.154)		
Adj. R ²	0.0203	0.448	0.558	0.0194	0.253	0.254		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	-0.405	-0.405	0.839	0.839	-0.430	-0.430	0.581	0.581
Age, gender, housing	3.5%	2.5%	-0.7%	0.0%	2.3%	2.8%	11.6%	11.4%
Date arrest	1.8%	0.3%	-0.1%	-0.1%	-0.1%	-0.1%	-1.6%	-1.6%
Police (home)	0.1%	0.8%	0.8%	0.4%	0.1%	0.1%	-3.3%	-3.4%
Police (arrest)	4.1%	5.5%	1.8%	1.1%	16.4%	16.6%	-2.6%	-2.8%
Demog. (home)	10.8%	8.8%	-3.3%	-0.5%	6.7%	6.6%	1.9%	2.4%
Demog. (arr.)	2.2%	2.2%	-0.3%	-0.5%	5.6%	5.5%	0.5%	0.3%
Criminal Record	0.5%	10.9%	-1.0%	1.4%	25.4%	26.7%	7.2%	7.5%
Book. charges	96.0%	86.0%	95.8%	76.4%	68.5%	70.3%	64.4%	64.8%
Attorney load	-1.8%	-1.1%	2.5%	1.6%	1.0%	1.0%	-0.3%	-0.3%
Guilty severity		2.7%		22.7%		-2.7%		1.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	438.859				951.482			
If Black	470.282				1058.048			
If Latinx	456.501				1073.272			
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	348.147				801.544			
If Black	373.074				891.317			
If Latinx	362.142				904.142			
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	587.957				987.918			
If Black	630.054				1098.565			
If Latinx	611.592				1114.372			
See table M4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 3,009 observations. Columns four to six use only the 1,421 cases resulting in a probation sentence.								

Table M10: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Misdemeanors only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0321	0.0164	-0.0195	0.0245
	(0.0223)	(0.0205)	(0.0287)	(0.0286)
Latinx	0.0751***	-0.0147	0.0700*	-0.0251
	(0.0226)	(0.0211)	(0.0279)	(0.0267)
Adj. R ²	0.00684	0.312	0.00276	0.256
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-0.032	0.075	-0.019	0.070
Age, gender, housing	20.2%	-18.2%	44.5%	-21.0%
Date arrest	9.6%	-2.8%	9.0%	-2.3%
Police (home)	-1.1%	2.7%	1.3%	3.3%
Police (arrest)	-1.2%	2.9%	-12.7%	2.6%
Demographics (home)	1.5%	-4.3%	-5.4%	-8.7%
Demographics (arrest)	7.4%	-2.1%	22.6%	-6.5%
Criminal Record	-24.1%	-7.0%	-82.9%	-12.3%
Booked charges	144.2%	142.1%	259.0%	173.0%
Attorney load	-5.2%	6.3%	-9.9%	7.8%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.427		0.479	
If Black	0.443		0.504	
If Latinx	0.412		0.454	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.378		0.435	
If Black	0.394		0.459	
If Latinx	0.363		0.409+	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.517		0.574	
If Black	0.533		0.599+	
If Latinx	0.502		0.549	
See table M4 for notes				

Table M11: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Misdemeanors only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-2.155	-1.25	0.358	-0.961	2.479	0.581
	(1.929)	(1.772)	(1.442)	(1.072)	(2.408)	(2.300)
Latinx	3.242+	-1.86	-4.078**	-0.8	-0.435	3.996+
	(1.714)	(1.588)	(1.306)	(1.091)	(2.321)	(2.294)
Adj. R ²	0.00268	0.177	0.00388	0.12	-0.00000425	0.233
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-2.155	3.242	0.358	-4.078	2.479	-0.435
Age, gender, housing	13.1%	-3.5%	-233.0%	1.0%	74.9%	-367.0%
Date arrest	5.3%	2.1%	-40.6%	5.5%	21.3%	-51.5%
Police (home)	2.4%	2.4%	-0.9%	0.3%	1.6%	31.4%
Police (arrest)	18.9%	3.2%	-44.6%	0.5%	15.0%	29.7%
Demog. (home)	-52.1%	11.7%	-6.8%	-0.4%	-25.5%	-41.1%
Demog. (arr.)	5.0%	-3.3%	-10.2%	3.3%	7.6%	-142.1%
Criminal Record	-48.4%	-9.1%	390.7%	16.5%	-145.9%	-397.7%
Book. charges	101.8%	144.5%	332.6%	48.0%	133.7%	1833.1%
Attorney load	-4.1%	9.3%	-18.3%	5.4%	-6.4%	123.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	29.59		12.35		34.46	
If Black	28.34		11.389		35.041	
If Latinx	27.73		11.55		38.456+	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	28.68		13.671		36.359	
If Black	27.43		12.71		36.94	
If Latinx	26.82		12.871		40.355	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	34.73		9.017		30.014+	
If Black	33.48		8.056		30.595	
If Latinx	32.87		8.217		34.01	
See table M4 for notes						

Table M12: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Misdemeanors only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	n/a		6.52E-09	-0.0638	-0.187	-0.0869
			(0.185)	(0.169)	(0.239)	(0.174)
Latinx			-0.139	-0.252	0.367+	-0.0158
			(0.164)	(0.220)	(0.202)	(0.106)
Adj. R ²			-0.000403	-0.00014	0.00136	0.581
Controls			No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	n/a		n/a	-0.139	-0.187	0.367
Age, gender, housing				-12.4%	-8.2%	12.4%
Date arrest				-1.3%	1.6%	1.9%
Police (home)				2.0%	-2.5%	2.3%
Police (arrest)				-25.8%	-3.0%	1.2%
Demog. (home)				-18.0%	1.1%	-8.1%
Demog. (arr.)				23.7%	16.4%	-10.0%
Criminal Record				8.8%	19.8%	6.1%
Book. charges				-55.9%	27.8%	98.8%
Attorney load				-1.6%	0.3%	-0.5%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	n/a		0.271		6.631	
If Black			0.207		6.544	
If Latinx			0.019		6.615	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White			0.335		6.531	
If Black			0.271		6.444	
If Latinx			0.083		6.515	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White			0.383		7.018	
If Black			0.319		6.931	
If Latinx			0.131		7.002	
See table M4 for notes						

Table M13: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Misdemeanors - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	3.717	-4.206	2.189	-0.404	0.486	-0.091
	(7.666)	(5.920)	(1.550)	(1.455)	(0.503)	(0.419)
Latinx	-3.301	-4.958	1.358	0.338	0.0869	-0.424
	(5.696)	(5.923)	(1.011)	(0.990)	(0.494)	(0.440)
Adj. R ²	-0.000189	0.108	0.000262	0.0632	-0.000271	0.0905
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	3.717	-3.301	2.189	1.358	0.486	0.087
Age, gender, housing	-32.5%	25.7%	20.9%	10.0%	-6.4%	148.3%
Date arrest	45.8%	-5.0%	6.0%	10.4%	31.7%	106.7%
Police (home)	-4.1%	-4.3%	-1.6%	4.8%	-6.9%	12.5%
Police (arrest)	-12.5%	14.9%	13.0%	-4.6%	11.7%	78.4%
Demog. (home)	131.1%	-51.3%	2.9%	9.2%	24.9%	-178.3%
Demog. (arr.)	12.1%	-48.9%	13.2%	49.6%	20.0%	214.6%
Criminal Record	-29.8%	-28.2%	25.6%	-20.9%	11.9%	-70.2%
Book. charges	100.3%	55.7%	39.5%	22.4%	28.6%	224.9%
Attorney load	2.6%	-8.6%	-1.3%	-5.9%	3.1%	50.6%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	66.77		7.495		11.85	
If Black	62.564		7.091		11.759	
If Latinx	61.812		7.833		11.426	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	74.696		10.088		12.431	
If Black	70.49		9.684		12.34	
If Latinx	69.738		10.426		12.007	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	68.498		8.525		12.364	
If Black	64.292		8.121		12.273	
If Latinx	63.54		8.863		11.94	

See table M4 for notes

Table M14: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Misdemeanors - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.391	-0.107	0.17	-0.139	0.414	0.174
	(0.434)	(0.340)	(0.239)	(0.237)	(0.775)	(0.562)
Latinx	-0.805*	-0.715*	-0.401+	-0.475*	-2.566***	-0.307
	(0.404)	(0.336)	(0.218)	(0.224)	(0.721)	(0.639)
Adj. R ²	0.00233	0.085	0.00147	0.114	0.00609	0.131
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.391	-0.805	0.170	-0.401	0.414	-2.566
Age, gender, housing	-10.8%	-9.6%	-1.0%	-13.3%	-77.9%	13.4%
Date arrest	34.9%	-9.5%	52.8%	-9.2%	-10.3%	-0.5%
Police (home)	-7.5%	-1.3%	-11.0%	-0.6%	-6.9%	0.4%
Police (arrest)	15.6%	-3.0%	-9.9%	-11.0%	-1.0%	4.0%
Demog. (home)	11.3%	17.4%	31.3%	5.1%	-35.4%	-0.1%
Demog. (arr.)	5.5%	-10.3%	-0.2%	-5.3%	-11.1%	9.6%
Criminal Record	23.8%	8.8%	26.0%	10.6%	67.9%	2.0%
Book. charges	55.2%	17.9%	78.2%	24.2%	117.4%	66.1%
Attorney load	-0.6%	0.9%	15.7%	-18.9%	15.5%	-7.1%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	8.113		4.294		18.44	
If Black	8.006		4.155		18.614	
If Latinx	7.398*		3.819*		18.133	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	8.611		4.602		18.676	
If Black	8.504		4.463		18.85	
If Latinx	7.896		4.127		18.369	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	8.023*		4.364*		16.157	
If Black	7.916		4.225		16.331	
If Latinx	7.308		3.889		15.85	

See table M4 for notes.

Table V4: Defendant's race/ethnicity and pre-filing outcomes (Violent only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdemean.		Severity of book. offenses	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.109	0.116	0.197*	0.161	-0.120+	-0.0895	24.26*	22.67*
	(0.127)	(0.139)	(0.0964)	(0.107)	(0.0717)	(0.0844)	(9.677)	(10.45)
Latinx	0.0576	-0.0576	0.0834	-0.0722	-0.0264	0.00437	11.05	-1.95
	(0.151)	(0.160)	(0.113)	(0.123)	(0.0881)	(0.0912)	(11.18)	(11.35)
Adj. R ²	-0.00054	0.0158	0.00103	0.0195	0.0007	0.0109	0.00183	0.0174
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdemean.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	0.109	0.058	0.197	0.083	-0.120	-0.026	24.264	11.047
Age, gender, housing								
	-49.0%	50.4%	-11.0%	39.5%	20.0%	15.7%	-5.0%	22.8%
Date arrest	-16.0%	-51.9%	1.0%	-3.2%	13.0%	75.9%	7.0%	12.4%
Police (h)	4.0%	-11.3%	-1.0%	-3.4%	-4.0%	14.4%	0.0%	0.9%
Police (a)	-15.0%	-8.6%	-6.0%	-5.1%	0.0%	-4.9%	-8.0%	-4.4%
Demog. (h)	36.0%	0.5%	31.0%	39.8%	22.0%	114.2%	10.0%	12.4%
Demog. (a)	20.0%	191.3%	2.0%	106.4%	-12.0%	-68.8%	8.0%	57.3%
Criminal Record	14.0%	29.7%	1.0%	12.5%	-14.0%	-30.0%	-5.0%	15.9%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdemean.		Severity of book. offenses	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	3.208		2.331		0.859		93.91	
If Black	3.324		2.492		0.77		116.58*	
If Latinx	3.15		2.259		0.863		91.96	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	3.201		2.367		0.829		95.53*	
If Black	3.317		2.528		0.739		118.2	
If Latinx	3.143		2.295*		0.833		93.58+	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	3.323		2.486		0.829		106.95	
If Black	3.439		2.647*		0.739		129.62+	
If Latinx	3.265		2.414		0.833		105	
Notes: Panel 1 reports OLS estimates, with two specifications. Specification (1) has no control variables. Specification (2) includes controls for the defendant's gender, age and housing status; dummies for month and year of arrest; police activity variables at the defendant's residency neighborhood and at the neighborhood of arrest; demographic characteristics of the defendant's residency neighborhood and of the neighborhood of arrest; and the defendant's criminal history. All regressions include 2,281 observations. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Significant at +10%, *5%, **1% and ***0.1% level. Panel 2 presents the Gelbach decomposition of the race differences estimated using specification (2). See the text for details. Panel 3 presents the mean fitted values by race of the regressions using specification (2) of panel 1. Total booked charges, total booked felonies and total booked misdemeanors refer to the number of counts, felonies and misdemeanors filed against the defendant. Severity of booked offenses refers to the sum of the severity of each booked charge, as explained in the text.								

Table V5: Defendant's race/ethnicity and prosecutor activity (Violent only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.131	-0.164	5.452	-0.749	0.11	-0.0526	-0.217**	-0.0779
	(0.133)	(0.157)	(5.655)	(6.118)	(0.0917)	(0.101)	(0.0835)	(0.106)
Latinx	0.187	0.166	9.814	7.579	0.0283	0.0181	0.173	0.164
	(0.158)	(0.153)	(7.149)	(7.334)	(0.109)	(0.112)	(0.109)	(0.0990)
Adj. R ²	0.00133	0.0216	0.0000171	0.141	-0.0000652	0.0455	0.00676	0.025
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	-0.131	0.187	5.452	9.814	0.110	0.028	-0.217	0.173
Age, gender., housing	0.6%	12.5%	-10.6%	1.3%	4.2%	33.7%	4.0%	7.3%
Date arrest	-23.5%	6.9%	9.0%	-2.7%	13.2%	31.0%	-4.3%	-3.8%
Police (h)	0.0%	-0.5%	-0.3%	-0.5%	0.5%	-4.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Police (a)	11.3%	-3.6%	-12.0%	-3.1%	-1.1%	-14.8%	6.6%	-1.6%
Demog. (h)	-22.6%	9.5%	58.1%	0.7%	2.4%	20.4%	-10.8%	4.8%
Demog. (a)	-18.9%	-2.8%	11.7%	7.8%	16.1%	-13.2%	-2.9%	4.8%
Criminal Record	-18.2%	-15.7%	31.1%	-7.1%	55.7%	-59.2%	21.2%	-8.7%
Book. char.	41.6%	7.9%	21.2%	23.6%	55.9%	38.7%	46.1%	6.9%
Att. load	4.6%	-2.8%	5.4%	2.6%	1.0%	3.5%	4.1%	-4.5%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.682		34.64		0.798		0.847	
If Black	1.518		33.891		0.745		0.769	
If Latinx	1.848		42.219		0.816		1.011	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.715		40.839		0.961		0.708	
If Black	1.551		40.09		0.908		0.63	
If Latinx	1.881+		48.418		0.979		0.872+	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	1.703		36.871		0.809		0.856	
If Black	1.539+		36.122		0.756		0.778+	
If Latinx	1.869		44.45		0.827		1.02	
See table V4 for notes								

Table V6: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Violent only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0322	0.0313	0.0609	0.0516
	(0.0229)	(0.0256)	(0.0481)	(0.0537)
Latinx	0.000436	0.0298	-0.0136	0.0252
	(0.0281)	(0.0245)	(0.0473)	(0.0425)
Adj. R ²	0.000321	0.058	0.000285	0.0803
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.032	0.0004	0.061	-0.014
Age, gender, housing	-8.6%	464.6%	-6.2%	-66.3%
Date arrest	-24.0%	-1514.7%	-26.7%	104.0%
Police (home)	-5.0%	-49.1%	-2.9%	-1.1%
Police (arrest)	4.2%	226.9%	10.1%	-0.8%
Demographics (home)	2.1%	-70.6%	-10.9%	9.4%
Demographics (arrest)	-27.5%	-4291.2%	26.3%	200.4%
Criminal Record	47.4%	-517.7%	21.7%	27.7%
Booked charges	24.9%	-301.3%	12.3%	-21.3%
Attorney load	-10.6%	-688.8%	-8.4%	33.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.675		0.844	
If Black	0.706		0.896	
If Latinx	0.705		0.869	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.676		0.853	
If Black	0.707		0.905	
If Latinx	0.706		0.879	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.646		0.806	
If Black	0.678		0.857	
If Latinx	0.676		0.831	
See table V4 for notes				

Table V7: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Violent only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.149***	0.0656+	-0.0786*	-0.00564	8.532*	4.858
	(0.0365)	(0.0331)	(0.0399)	(0.0403)	(4.055)	(3.838)
Latinx	0.00679	-0.000837	0.00262	0.0453	7.594+	6.354
	(0.0332)	(0.0346)	(0.0456)	(0.0400)	(4.529)	(4.708)
Adj. R ²	0.00728	0.144	0.00182	0.073	0.000514	0.16
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.149	0.007	-0.079	0.003	8.532	7.594
Age, gender, housing	-4.2%	44.7%	-3.7%	142.3%	-7.8%	-2.2%
Date arrest	-1.2%	37.8%	16.6%	-506.3%	-3.3%	-7.9%
Police (home)	0.0%	6.6%	-0.5%	-21.0%	0.5%	0.9%
Police (arrest)	-3.0%	-51.2%	-12.9%	151.0%	2.4%	0.2%
Demog. (home)	6.0%	144.5%	20.2%	-410.9%	11.4%	-4.8%
Demog. (arr.)	1.3%	-169.6%	-13.4%	-621.8%	-14.7%	-0.2%
Criminal Record	19.4%	28.6%	18.7%	-206.1%	9.0%	0.5%
Book. charges	41.2%	141.6%	67.3%	-146.7%	47.6%	31.9%
Attorney load	-3.6%	-70.9%	0.5%	-13.6%	-2.1%	-2.0%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	0.312		0.55		14.95	
If Black	0.378+		0.544		19.808	
If Latinx	0.311		0.595		21.304	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	0.394+		0.478		18.632	
If Black	0.46		0.472		23.49	
If Latinx	0.394		0.523		24.986	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	0.319		0.508		16.196	
If Black	0.384		0.502		21.054	
If Latinx	0.318		0.553		22.55	

See table V4 for notes

Table V8: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Violent only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	0.388***	0.115	0.0912	0.466**	0.127	0.107		
	(0.112)	(0.134)	(0.135)	(0.155)	(0.179)	(0.180)		
Latinx	0.0306	0.061	0.0299	0.0385	-0.0144	-0.014		
	(0.132)	(0.143)	(0.139)	(0.187)	(0.195)	(0.193)		
Adj. R ²	0.00561	0.111	0.149	0.00587	0.178	0.185		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Sentence				Sentence, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	0.388	0.388	0.031	0.031	0.466	0.466	0.039	0.039
Age, gender, housing	-9.6%	-8.7%	8.6%	11.3%	-11.7%	-10.7%	-22.0%	-18.1%
Date arrest	5.4%	5.7%	88.4%	98.1%	12.8%	12.6%	62.2%	69.2%
Police (home)	-1.7%	-1.8%	5.4%	4.2%	-0.2%	-0.2%	-1.1%	-1.7%
Police (arrest)	2.8%	2.6%	-19.8%	-20.2%	2.5%	2.4%	-49.0%	-48.8%
Demog. (home)	-7.8%	-9.0%	-38.6%	-32.6%	-8.7%	-9.2%	-47.3%	-40.9%
Demog. (arr.)	11.8%	13.4%	-112.0%	-111.7%	15.0%	15.8%	-73.7%	-81.2%
Criminal Record	53.1%	52.1%	-47.5%	-48.2%	50.8%	50.3%	-46.0%	-46.2%
Book. charges	13.1%	8.0%	-18.5%	-57.2%	6.6%	5.1%	240.2%	163.4%
Attorney load	3.1%	3.3%	35.0%	37.5%	5.6%	5.5%	74.1%	73.5%
Guilty severity		10.7%		121.2%		5.3%		67.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	95.343			140.24				
If Black	106.307			158.05				
If Latinx	101.159			138.22				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	287.42			390.948				
If Black	320.474			440.599				
If Latinx	304.953			385.319				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	191.308			297.483				
If Black	213.308			335.264				
If Latinx	202.978			293.199				
See table V4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 2,281 observations. Columns four to six use only the 1,596 cases resulting in an incarceration sentence.								

Table V9: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Violent only - part d)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	-0.167	0.0565	0.0432	-0.468**	-0.219	-0.213		
	(0.176)	(0.195)	(0.193)	(0.161)	(0.177)	(0.178)		
Latinx	0.0303	0.216	0.198	0.000883	0.0731	0.0741		
	(0.211)	(0.217)	(0.220)	(0.190)	(0.207)	(0.207)		
Adj. R ²	-0.000222	0.0611	0.0659	0.00583	0.0997	0.0995		
Basic controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	-0.167	-0.167	0.030	0.030	-0.468	-0.468	0.001	0.001
Age, gender, housing	-13.0%	-14.1%	82.0%	83.6%	-12.7%	-12.4%	3105.4%	3052.4%
Date arrest	38.7%	38.2%	-258.9%	-253.4%	7.4%	7.3%	-5725.7%	-5803.5%
Police (home)	2.8%	2.9%	-15.7%	-16.4%	-0.2%	-0.2%	367.2%	373.3%
Police (arrest)	4.8%	5.1%	11.7%	11.5%	4.1%	4.1%	-247.4%	-247.5%
Demog. (home)	-3.0%	-1.4%	114.7%	118.1%	-3.5%	-3.6%	4528.3%	4442.7%
Demog. (arr.)	59.7%	57.7%	-368.1%	-368.0%	11.6%	11.8%	227.5%	317.2%
Criminal Record	61.7%	62.9%	-35.7%	-36.1%	49.8%	49.6%	249.3%	255.3%
Book. charges	-38.2%	-31.5%	-43.7%	-65.7%	-7.7%	-8.0%	-8176.1%	-7444.4%
Attorney load	20.1%	19.8%	-97.9%	-96.4%	4.4%	4.4%	-2509.1%	-2503.2%
Guilty severity		-13.9%		68.7%		1.4%		-733.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	798.234				1159.207			
If Black	843.335				905.341			
If Latinx	970.653				1243.945			
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	726.818				2657.356			
If Black	767.884				2075.395			
If Latinx	883.811				2851.609			
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	645.747				1061.921			
If Black	682.232				829.36			
If Latinx	785.229				1139.547			
See table V4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 2,281 observations. Columns four to six use only the 1,600 cases resulting in a probation sentence.								

Table V10: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Violent only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0454+	0.0363	0.0473	0.0282
	(0.0235)	(0.0240)	(0.0395)	(0.0415)
Latinx	-0.0374	-0.00531	-0.07	-0.0197
	(0.0290)	(0.0270)	(0.0433)	(0.0443)
Adj. R ²	0.00402	0.079	0.00277	0.0874
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.045	-0.037	0.047	-0.070
Age, gender, housing	-9.9%	-0.6%	-12.8%	-5.2%
Date arrest	-14.7%	19.3%	-25.9%	22.0%
Police (home)	-4.1%	2.6%	-5.1%	1.7%
Police (arrest)	3.0%	-3.3%	6.4%	-1.4%
Demographics (home)	-1.3%	4.0%	-10.8%	2.8%
Demographics (arrest)	-20.5%	40.6%	10.5%	28.9%
Criminal Record	40.3%	5.4%	55.8%	3.3%
Booked charges	36.7%	7.8%	32.1%	13.9%
Attorney load	-9.2%	9.8%	-9.6%	5.7%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.639		0.77	
If Black	0.675		0.798	
If Latinx	0.634		0.75	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.649		0.789	
If Black	0.685		0.817	
If Latinx	0.643		0.769	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.607		0.72	
If Black	0.644		0.748	
If Latinx	0.602		0.7	
See table V4 for notes				

Table V11: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Violent only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	1.674	0.436	-0.753	-0.367	-1.425	-0.477
	(1.912)	(2.044)	(1.236)	(1.290)	(2.051)	(2.313)
Latinx	1.09	3.253	-1.477	-1.895	0.442	-0.835
	(2.389)	(2.412)	(1.469)	(1.272)	(2.486)	(2.345)
Adj. R ²	-0.000532	0.0337	-0.000442	0.0572	-0.000487	0.0355
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	1.674	1.090	-0.753	-1.477	-1.425	0.442
Age, gender, housing	-2.3%	22.1%	30.1%	20.8%	-24.3%	-57.3%
Date arrest	1.9%	-25.1%	35.3%	6.1%	-29.9%	73.3%
Police (home)	-6.1%	-6.1%	0.1%	-1.2%	-7.6%	-0.3%
Police (arrest)	-3.2%	-2.8%	-5.0%	-1.6%	5.3%	3.1%
Demog. (home)	-28.3%	16.8%	38.7%	0.0%	-67.5%	18.0%
Demog. (arr.)	-27.0%	-80.1%	-33.7%	-26.9%	13.2%	192.1%
Criminal Record	38.6%	-23.2%	-21.6%	-2.7%	128.2%	12.4%
Book. charges	120.8%	-72.4%	6.8%	-22.8%	71.4%	-15.8%
Attorney load	-20.3%	-27.4%	0.5%	0.2%	-22.3%	63.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	39.24		15.16		24.74	
If Black	39.676		14.793		24.263	
If Latinx	42.493		13.265		23.905	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	40.484		14.777		23.797	
If Black	40.92		14.41		23.32	
If Latinx	43.737		12.882		22.962	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	37.077		15.585		26.015	
If Black	37.513		15.218		25.538	
If Latinx	40.33		13.69		25.18	

See table V4 for notes

Table V12: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Violent only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-8.290***	-0.762	2.296*	0.468	0.353	-0.389
	(1.963)	(2.309)	(1.128)	(1.185)	(0.599)	(0.544)
Latinx	0.913	2.403	-0.146	0.121	0.868	0.617
	(2.474)	(2.667)	(1.130)	(1.288)	(0.742)	(0.562)
Adj. R ²	0.0116	0.157	0.00285	0.0403	-0.000226	0.422
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-8.290	0.913	2.296	-0.146	0.353	0.868
Age, gender, housing	1.0%	-105.0%	-5.9%	-48.6%	-7.6%	8.5%
Date arrest	0.2%	-51.6%	1.2%	40.2%	24.7%	6.1%
Police (home)	-0.1%	-6.1%	-0.8%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Police (arrest)	-3.1%	4.4%	9.9%	-43.7%	-12.8%	-2.1%
Demog. (home)	-1.8%	-12.8%	-9.1%	96.0%	34.5%	3.6%
Demog. (arr.)	3.8%	-0.4%	7.3%	-40.1%	58.2%	-5.9%
Criminal Record	25.7%	11.2%	38.8%	-9.9%	44.9%	-10.1%
Book. charges	58.2%	51.8%	37.6%	167.7%	59.7%	25.6%
Attorney load	6.8%	-54.4%	0.6%	-7.3%	8.5%	3.0%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	29.82		3.834		13.4	
If Black	29.058		4.302		13.011	
If Latinx	32.223		3.955		14.017	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	22.292		5.514		14.139	
If Black	21.53		5.982		13.75	
If Latinx	24.695		5.635		14.756	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	28.337		3.566		13.653	
If Black	27.575		4.034		13.264	
If Latinx	30.74		3.687		14.27	

See table V4 for notes

Table V13: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Violent only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	14.41	1.26	24.53***	8.831	0.407	-0.208
	(9.932)	(9.384)	(6.177)	(6.105)	(0.886)	(0.986)
Latinx	-2.936	-6.118	6.849	6.054	0.933	0.449
	(10.75)	(12.04)	(6.509)	(6.784)	(1.140)	(1.079)
Adj. R ²	0.000676	0.102	0.00602	0.123	-0.000551	0.16
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	14.409	-2.936	24.527	6.849	0.407	0.933
Age, gender, housing	8.9%	-82.5%	-8.5%	-27.4%	-36.1%	14.1%
Date arrest	30.7%	-171.9%	9.3%	38.2%	95.5%	34.9%
Police (home)	7.4%	5.3%	2.2%	-2.5%	5.9%	-3.1%
Police (arrest)	-13.2%	18.0%	-2.9%	-4.9%	-22.5%	-6.7%
Demog. (home)	-27.5%	119.5%	2.3%	-3.8%	104.7%	5.9%
Demog. (arr.)	9.3%	11.3%	2.8%	5.3%	6.5%	-4.5%
Criminal Record	19.7%	-38.3%	28.0%	5.8%	149.9%	4.3%
Book. charges	67.8%	-21.5%	34.9%	14.5%	-43.6%	48.8%
Attorney load	-12.0%	51.8%	-4.2%	-13.5%	-109.1%	-41.7%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	105.4		37.78		21.51	
If Black	106.66		46.611		21.302	
If Latinx	99.282		43.834		21.959	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	118.54		53.479		22.118	
If Black	119.8		62.31		21.91	
If Latinx	112.422		59.533		22.567	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	108.618		38.576		21.991	
If Black	109.878		47.407		21.783	
If Latinx	102.5		44.63		22.44	

See table V4 for notes

Table V14: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Violent only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.218	-0.336	0.435	-0.0868	-0.305	-0.133
	(0.744)	(0.846)	(0.370)	(0.414)	(0.498)	(0.809)
Latinx	-0.986	-1.022	-0.265	-0.625	-0.948	-0.952
	(0.826)	(0.672)	(0.407)	(0.390)	(0.586)	(0.874)
Adj. R ²	0.00016	0.141	0.00055	0.0865	0.000292	0.0201
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.218	-0.986	0.435	-0.265	-0.305	-0.948
Age, gender, housing	-46.9%	-13.3%	-10.8%	-59.3%	-14.4%	4.8%
Date arrest	145.9%	-20.2%	32.7%	-56.1%	-11.6%	3.0%
Police (home)	11.8%	3.6%	-0.4%	5.4%	6.6%	-0.6%
Police (arrest)	-14.3%	3.9%	-3.1%	14.7%	22.6%	4.2%
Demog. (home)	161.7%	-5.0%	42.9%	-32.2%	-32.2%	10.4%
Demog. (arr.)	-54.2%	10.9%	-17.0%	19.4%	37.6%	-11.9%
Criminal Record	264.6%	1.9%	93.9%	8.1%	-2.3%	0.8%
Book. charges	1.1%	-27.5%	-15.6%	-39.7%	60.0%	-8.4%
Attorney load	-215.9%	41.9%	-2.5%	3.7%	-9.7%	-2.7%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	15.03		7.55		10.2	
If Black	14.694		7.463		10.067	
If Latinx	14.008		6.925		9.248	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	15.576		8.073		10.026	
If Black	15.24		7.986		9.893	
If Latinx	14.554		7.448		9.074	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	15.062		7.911		10.202	
If Black	14.726		7.824		10.069	
If Latinx	14.04		7.286		9.25	

See table V4 for notes

Table NV4: Defendant's race/ethnicity and pre-filing outcomes (Nonviolent only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.062	0.116	0.128*	0.150*	-0.0707*	-0.0581+	16.74***	16.25***
	(0.0762)	(0.0856)	(0.0611)	(0.0701)	(0.0294)	(0.0319)	(2.064)	(2.219)
Latinx	0.0845	-0.0401	0.051	-0.049	0.0209	0.00654	15.69***	11.25**
	(0.135)	(0.142)	(0.116)	(0.125)	(0.0510)	(0.0510)	(3.260)	(3.483)
Adj. R ²	-0.000199	0.0248	0.000393	0.0186	0.00118	0.0161	0.0129	0.0564
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	0.062	0.085	0.128	0.051	-0.071	0.021	16.741	15.692
Age, gender., housing	71.0%	86.4%	33.0%	104.2%	-3.0%	71.3%	3.0%	-1.8%
Date arrest	-2.0%	7.5%	3.0%	28.0%	4.0%	-21.6%	1.0%	6.8%
Police (h)	0.0%	-3.6%	0.0%	-3.4%	0.0%	-4.6%	0.0%	-0.5%
Police (a)	-26.0%	14.7%	-5.0%	18.5%	9.0%	16.6%	0.0%	1.6%
Demog. (h)	-61.0%	-14.3%	-9.0%	5.4%	18.0%	-46.4%	11.0%	13.3%
Demog. (a)	18.0%	21.8%	-8.0%	-7.3%	-14.0%	59.2%	0.0%	1.4%
Criminal Record	-86.0%	34.8%	-31.0%	50.8%	2.0%	-5.7%	-10.0%	7.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked mismdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	2.789		2.021		0.62		45.4	
If Black	2.905		2.171*		0.562+		61.65***	
If Latinx	2.749		1.972		0.627		56.65**	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	2.735		1.999*		0.607+		45.89***	
If Black	2.851		2.149		0.549		62.14	
If Latinx	2.695		1.95+		0.614		57.14	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	2.913		2.121		0.634		49.84**	
If Black	3.029		2.271+		0.576		66.09	
If Latinx	2.873		2.072		0.641		61.09	
Notes: Panel 1 reports OLS estimates, with two specifications. Specification (1) has no control variables. Specification (2) includes controls for the defendant's gender, age and housing status; dummies for month and year of arrest; police activity variables at the defendant's residency neighborhood and at the neighborhood of arrest; demographic characteristics of the defendant's residency neighborhood and of the neighborhood of arrest; and the defendant's criminal history. All regressions include 5,462 observations. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Significant at +10%, *5%, **1% and ***0.1% level. Panel 2 presents the Gelbach decomposition of the race differences estimated using specification (2). See the text for details. Panel 3 presents the mean fitted values by race of the regressions using specification (2) of panel 1. Total booked charges, total booked felonies and total booked misdemeanors refer to the number of counts, felonies and misdemeanors filed against the defendant. Severity of booked offenses refers to the sum of the severity of each booked charge, as explained in the text.								

Table NV5: Defendant's race/ethnicity and prosecutor activity (Nonviolent only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0992+	-0.0930+	-0.344	-0.96	-0.00465	-0.0413	-0.0946***	-0.0490+
	(0.0508)	(0.0533)	(0.900)	(0.704)	(0.0424)	(0.0429)	(0.0267)	(0.0254)
Latinx	-0.0846	-0.0747	-0.364	-1.005	-0.0342	-0.0185	-0.0603+	-0.0601
	(0.0638)	(0.0574)	(1.117)	(1.045)	(0.0528)	(0.0484)	(0.0344)	(0.0365)
Adj. R ²	0.000443	0.0483	-0.000331	0.0419	-0.0003	0.0477	0.00249	0.0346
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	-0.099	-0.085	-0.344	-0.364	-0.005	-0.034	-0.095	-0.060
Age, gender., housing	-7.9%	7.4%	-79.0%	17.6%	-88.1%	29.5%	-3.1%	-5.3%
Date arrest	-2.1%	-10.3%	5.5%	-43.4%	-46.7%	-32.4%	0.0%	5.1%
Police (h)	-1.3%	-1.9%	-4.5%	-7.2%	-32.9%	-4.8%	0.1%	-0.2%
Police (a)	-8.4%	1.8%	-24.0%	13.3%	-103.4%	0.0%	-3.7%	2.6%
Demog. (h)	10.6%	-2.6%	41.3%	-17.8%	81.4%	-3.0%	9.0%	-0.6%
Demog. (a)	-10.2%	-3.2%	-39.8%	-81.7%	-372.1%	-27.9%	10.5%	14.2%
Criminal Record	-7.5%	5.1%	-30.9%	35.9%	-567.0%	25.9%	17.6%	-6.3%
Book. char.	33.9%	13.5%	-46.8%	-94.0%	340.0%	59.0%	18.4%	-11.7%
Att. load	-0.6%	1.9%	-0.5%	1.4%	0.7%	-0.2%	-0.6%	2.7%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.791		10.91		0.39		0.387	
If Black	0.698+		9.95		0.349		0.338+	
If Latinx	0.716		9.905		0.372		0.327	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.784+		11.52		0.427		0.341+	
If Black	0.691		10.56		0.386		0.292	
If Latinx	0.709		10.515		0.409		0.281	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.781		11.545		0.375		0.387	
If Black	0.688		10.585		0.333		0.338	
If Latinx	0.706		10.54		0.356		0.327	

See table NV4 for notes.

Table NV6: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Nonviolent only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0208	-0.0027	0.0107	-0.000993
	(0.0154)	(0.0153)	(0.0310)	(0.0297)
Latinx	-0.00709	0.00686	0.00303	0.0329
	(0.0220)	(0.0222)	(0.0522)	(0.0527)
Adj. R ²	0.000203	0.0847	-0.000341	0.0724
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.021	-0.007	0.011	0.003
Age, gender, housing	-88.9%	64.9%	-218.3%	-314.5%
Date arrest	-1.3%	33.0%	25.3%	157.7%
Police (home)	-0.1%	-12.2%	0.6%	52.3%
Police (arrest)	-6.5%	40.5%	-7.4%	-101.4%
Demographics (home)	17.7%	-64.1%	98.3%	156.2%
Demographics (arrest)	9.8%	-6.3%	-39.7%	-147.0%
Criminal Record	182.1%	225.1%	448.5%	-641.3%
Booked charges	-1.8%	-101.2%	-193.5%	-190.6%
Attorney load	2.2%	17.0%	-4.5%	42.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.599		0.748	
If Black	0.596		0.747	
If Latinx	0.606		0.781	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.623		0.759	
If Black	0.62		0.758	
If Latinx	0.63		0.792	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.585		0.718	
If Black	0.582		0.717	
If Latinx	0.592		0.751	
See table NV4 for notes.				

Table NV7: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Nonviolent only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0830***	0.0148	-0.0693**	-0.0121	3.520***	1.069
	(0.0241)	(0.0216)	(0.0242)	(0.0276)	(0.696)	(0.708)
Latinx	0.0274	0.0193	-0.00985	0.0282	2.248*	0.241
	(0.0341)	(0.0366)	(0.0372)	(0.0401)	(1.062)	(1.080)
Adj. R ²	0.00234	0.116	0.00158	0.0931	0.00419	0.139
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.083	0.027	-0.069	-0.010	3.520	2.248
Age, gender, housing	-13.4%	-1.5%	15.6%	102.5%	-13.2%	-8.9%
Date arrest	3.5%	45.9%	0.1%	65.5%	1.7%	13.3%
Police (home)	0.0%	0.7%	-0.1%	-16.2%	0.0%	1.4%
Police (arrest)	0.5%	9.1%	1.1%	53.5%	-0.4%	-1.0%
Demog. (home)	16.3%	42.9%	0.7%	40.5%	11.3%	12.0%
Demog. (arr.)	-2.8%	-3.9%	1.9%	28.5%	-7.2%	-6.3%
Criminal Record	56.2%	-43.0%	0.5%	74.8%	24.6%	-13.2%
Book. charges	21.0%	-13.4%	60.6%	68.9%	52.9%	91.5%
Attorney load	0.9%	-7.2%	1.7%	-32.3%	-0.1%	0.4%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	0.252		0.505		10.97	
If Black	0.267		0.493		12.039	
If Latinx	0.271		0.533		11.211	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	0.32		0.447		13.431	
If Black	0.335		0.435		14.5	
If Latinx	0.34		0.475		13.672	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	0.261		0.467		12.979	
If Black	0.276		0.455		14.048	
If Latinx	0.28		0.495		13.22	

See table NV4 for notes.

Table NV8: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Nonviolent only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	0.148*	-0.0906	-0.11	0.198+	-0.145	-0.174+		
	(0.0711)	(0.0700)	(0.0669)	(0.104)	(0.0994)	(0.0967)		
Latinx	-0.190*	-0.0759	-0.0804	-0.292*	-0.171	-0.175		
	(0.0849)	(0.0723)	(0.0723)	(0.130)	(0.107)	(0.108)		
Adj. R ²	0.00325	0.159	0.202	0.00464	0.196	0.207		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Sentence				Sentence, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	0.148	0.148	-0.190	-0.190	0.198	0.198	-0.292	-0.292
Age, gender, housing	-37.5%	-31.7%	1.2%	-0.7%	-32.9%	-32.6%	3.8%	3.7%
Date arrest	3.6%	2.8%	-8.9%	-5.9%	2.2%	1.6%	-5.9%	-4.4%
Police (home)	0.0%	0.0%	-0.8%	-0.5%	-0.5%	-0.4%	0.5%	0.5%
Police (arrest)	-2.2%	-2.0%	1.1%	0.8%	-0.7%	-1.2%	-0.3%	0.0%
Demog. (home)	15.1%	10.1%	-5.2%	-2.6%	11.6%	8.2%	-0.6%	0.6%
Demog. (arr.)	11.3%	14.5%	-1.1%	-2.5%	10.5%	12.4%	-3.7%	-4.5%
Criminal Record	169.6%	158.8%	47.1%	44.2%	137.6%	135.0%	35.2%	34.8%
Book. charges	1.3%	-21.9%	27.5%	47.6%	45.1%	37.5%	17.9%	29.1%
Attorney load	-0.3%	-0.3%	-0.7%	-0.6%	0.5%	0.5%	-5.3%	-5.1%
Guilty severity		43.9%		-21.8%		26.9%		-14.4%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	69.763			103.526				
If Black	63.443			88.515				
If Latinx	64.468			85.823				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	80.29			131.114				
If Black	73.016			112.103				
If Latinx	74.196			108.694				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	46.23			80.779				
If Black	42.042			69.066				
If Latinx	42.722			66.966				
See table NV4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 5,462 observations. Columns four to six use only the 3,365 cases resulting in an incarceration sentence.								

Table NV9: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Nonviolent only - part d)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	-0.0799	0.0712	0.0131	-0.269+	0.222	0.205		
	(0.109)	(0.105)	(0.109)	(0.147)	(0.146)	(0.145)		
Latinx	0.213	0.147	0.134	0.448*	0.306+	0.303+		
	(0.155)	(0.139)	(0.118)	(0.191)	(0.160)	(0.157)		
Adj. R ²	0.000409	0.091	0.208	0.00484	0.215	0.217		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	-0.080	-0.080	0.213	0.213	-0.269	-0.269	0.448	0.448
Age, gender, housing	94.1%	62.3%	-32.5%	-27.3%	-17.6%	-17.8%	-11.1%	-11.0%
Date arrest	11.4%	15.7%	-3.3%	-11.0%	-0.6%	-0.3%	0.0%	-0.6%
Police (home)	-2.6%	-2.8%	2.3%	1.4%	-1.9%	-2.0%	0.7%	0.7%
Police (arrest)	-6.7%	-7.9%	-0.9%	-0.3%	-8.0%	-7.8%	4.9%	4.8%
Demog. (home)	16.3%	43.5%	0.6%	-6.2%	15.4%	16.8%	-5.9%	-6.4%
Demog. (arr.)	-1.6%	-18.9%	-0.3%	3.3%	5.6%	4.7%	-2.8%	-2.4%
Criminal Record	71.4%	130.4%	3.3%	10.9%	120.4%	121.8%	29.7%	30.0%
Book. charges	9.1%	136.2%	64.1%	11.4%	68.4%	71.8%	19.3%	14.9%
Attorney load	-2.2%	-2.5%	-2.2%	-2.5%	0.6%	0.6%	-3.1%	-3.2%
Guilty severity		-239.7%		57.4%		-11.7%		5.6%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	587.493				959.761			
If Black	629.322				1172.827			
If Latinx	673.854				1253.447+			
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	518.172				725.67			
If Black	555.066				886.769			
If Latinx	594.343				947.726			
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	558.644				822.074+			
If Black	598.419				1004.574			
If Latinx	640.765				1073.628			
See table NV4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 5,462 observations. Columns four to six use only the 3,357 cases resulting in a probation sentence.								

Table NV10: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Nonviolent only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0120	-0.0194	-0.0302	-0.0176
	(0.0160)	(0.0134)	(0.0313)	(0.0279)
Latinx	-0.0126	-0.012	-0.00605	0.0133
	(0.0225)	(0.0187)	(0.0522)	(0.0507)
Adj. R ²	-0.0000429	0.154	-0.000156	0.0978
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-0.020	-0.013	-0.030	-0.006
Age, gender, housing	90.0%	74.6%	71.5%	242.4%
Date arrest	1.2%	4.7%	-9.4%	-108.6%
Police (home)	0.1%	-6.6%	0.5%	-22.7%
Police (arrest)	1.7%	16.8%	-5.3%	35.4%
Demographics (home)	-3.5%	-14.9%	-15.9%	-7.5%
Demographics (arrest)	7.9%	1.8%	26.8%	91.8%
Criminal Record	-113.7%	75.0%	-105.1%	210.6%
Booked charges	17.1%	-147.0%	75.7%	-82.5%
Attorney load	-0.1%	0.4%	3.0%	-39.8%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.563		0.705	
If Black	0.544		0.687	
If Latinx	0.551		0.718	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.563		0.693	
If Black	0.544		0.675	
If Latinx	0.551		0.706	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.563		0.686	
If Black	0.544		0.668	
If Latinx	0.551		0.699	
See table NV4 for notes.				

Table NV11: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Nonviolent only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-2.222+	-0.785	-1.315	-0.0704	1.007	0.713
	(1.260)	(1.263)	(1.407)	(0.944)	(1.328)	(1.096)
Latinx	-2.091	-1.573	-0.808	-0.803	3.218+	0.644
	(1.711)	(1.581)	(1.595)	(1.324)	(1.898)	(1.637)
Adj. R ²	0.00042	0.075	-0.000142	0.0367	0.00028	0.0729
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-2.222	-2.091	-1.315	-0.808	1.007	3.218
Age, gender, housing	32.8%	20.3%	-0.3%	-26.5%	164.9%	13.5%
Date arrest	3.7%	0.8%	-3.7%	33.4%	-4.1%	2.4%
Police (home)	0.2%	4.1%	-0.8%	0.9%	0.1%	1.4%
Police (arrest)	-2.0%	4.6%	4.9%	-11.7%	13.2%	5.6%
Demog. (home)	11.6%	0.7%	-3.5%	-37.1%	24.8%	0.2%
Demog. (arr.)	4.5%	5.4%	45.7%	42.2%	41.0%	15.1%
Criminal Record	-25.1%	15.8%	10.0%	-36.4%	-247.7%	33.3%
Book. charges	38.4%	-32.3%	42.3%	36.4%	35.8%	4.1%
Attorney load	0.3%	4.9%	0.0%	-0.5%	0.9%	3.9%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	34.53		14.04		23.31	
If Black	33.745		13.97		24.023	
If Latinx	32.957		13.237		23.954	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	33.085		12.81		23.617	
If Black	32.3		12.74		24.33	
If Latinx	31.512		12.007		24.261	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	34.013		14.033		25.886	
If Black	33.228		13.963		26.599	
If Latinx	32.44		13.23		26.53	

See table NV4 for notes.

Table NV12: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Nonviolent only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-7.321***	-1.644	-0.747	-1.700*	0.182	-0.0265
	(1.370)	(1.345)	(0.645)	(0.715)	(0.265)	(0.154)
Latinx	-3.568+	-1.143	-1.366+	-1.834**	-0.0121	-0.168
	(1.911)	(1.701)	(0.800)	(0.615)	(0.377)	(0.253)
Adj. R ²	0.00645	0.224	0.000283	0.0269	-0.000244	0.552
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-7.321	-3.568	-0.747	-1.366	0.182	-0.012
Age, gender, housing	-3.2%	5.8%	-9.2%	-9.2%	-17.7%	613.7%
Date arrest	1.7%	8.9%	13.5%	-11.3%	10.3%	-332.3%
Police (home)	0.5%	1.8%	-0.5%	0.0%	1.0%	-18.9%
Police (arrest)	1.4%	8.9%	-7.2%	-4.6%	14.6%	-188.9%
Demog. (home)	4.0%	8.3%	-10.7%	8.5%	12.7%	-231.3%
Demog. (arr.)	-5.0%	-11.4%	-30.3%	-13.8%	49.8%	-261.1%
Criminal Record	23.9%	-9.5%	-47.2%	15.2%	32.6%	99.6%
Book. charges	55.2%	48.7%	-37.4%	-15.9%	12.3%	-922.2%
Attorney load	-1.1%	6.1%	1.8%	-2.8%	-1.2%	-50.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	31.42		3.966		9.212	
If Black	29.776		2.266*		9.186	
If Latinx	30.277		2.132**		9.044	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	25.724		4.921*		9.423	
If Black	24.08		3.221		9.396	
If Latinx	24.581		3.087		9.255	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	28.993		4.433**		9.368	
If Black	27.349		2.733		9.342	
If Latinx	27.85		2.599		9.2	

See table NV4 for notes.

Table NV13: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Nonviolent only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	10.52*	11.08*	5.428*	4.595+	1.374**	0.794
	(5.193)	(5.325)	(2.273)	(2.753)	(0.488)	(0.507)
Latinx	12.8	11.2	-0.199	3.216	-1.049+	-1.135+
	(8.175)	(7.518)	(2.983)	(3.406)	(0.610)	(0.611)
Adj. R ²	0.000589	0.0477	0.000985	0.0345	0.00376	0.168
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	10.517	12.796	5.428	-0.199	1.374	-1.049
Age, gender, housing	-10.6%	-18.4%	-27.2%	714.5%	-13.2%	4.5%
Date arrest	0.5%	24.8%	4.4%	-573.8%	5.7%	-41.7%
Police (home)	-0.8%	-0.7%	-0.4%	20.2%	-0.2%	1.1%
Police (arrest)	1.6%	-2.7%	6.1%	-70.7%	2.7%	-3.5%
Demog. (home)	-10.9%	-11.0%	-11.1%	374.0%	-10.7%	16.5%
Demog. (arr.)	-4.2%	-2.2%	3.3%	97.0%	1.6%	5.1%
Criminal Record	-2.1%	-4.0%	45.0%	710.1%	39.6%	30.7%
Book. charges	19.9%	30.0%	-4.9%	436.9%	12.3%	-35.9%
Attorney load	1.4%	-3.0%	0.1%	10.4%	4.3%	14.9%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	74.44		18.97		14.92	
If Black	85.52*		23.565+		15.714	
If Latinx	85.64		22.186		13.785+	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	73.93*		19.815+		15.516	
If Black	85.01		24.41		16.31	
If Latinx	85.13		23.031		14.381**	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	76.03		15.554		15.005+	
If Black	87.11		20.149		15.799**	
If Latinx	87.23		18.77		13.87	

See table NV4 for notes.

Table NV14: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Nonviolent only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	1.051*	0.533	-0.158	-0.124	-0.169	0.29
	(0.454)	(0.489)	(0.268)	(0.302)	(0.378)	(0.365)
Latinx	-1.564**	-1.469**	-0.894**	-0.824**	-0.879+	-0.459
	(0.540)	(0.507)	(0.329)	(0.312)	(0.521)	(0.551)
Adj. R ²	0.00463	0.157	0.00108	0.136	0.000208	0.0149
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	1.051	-1.564	-0.158	-0.894	-0.169	-0.879
Age, gender, housing	-16.5%	2.5%	136.1%	1.2%	26.5%	3.0%
Date arrest	7.2%	-25.3%	-25.7%	-29.2%	-27.1%	1.0%
Police (home)	-0.2%	0.7%	2.3%	1.4%	0.2%	-0.3%
Police (arrest)	4.4%	-1.6%	-4.4%	-1.8%	-8.6%	4.0%
Demog. (home)	-14.9%	9.8%	33.1%	7.2%	-14.5%	-2.9%
Demog. (arr.)	-3.6%	6.3%	2.0%	-1.2%	67.2%	12.2%
Criminal Record	52.2%	21.0%	-212.6%	24.5%	51.8%	-0.5%
Book. charges	14.9%	-17.6%	95.9%	3.5%	184.7%	27.1%
Attorney load	5.7%	10.2%	-4.8%	2.2%	-8.2%	4.1%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	11.59		6.657		11.67	
If Black	12.123		6.533		11.96	
If Latinx	10.121**		5.833**		11.211	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	12.117		6.625		11.2	
If Black	12.65		6.501		11.49	
If Latinx	10.648***		5.801*		10.741	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	11.499**		6.587**		11.249	
If Black	12.032***		6.463*		11.539	
If Latinx	10.03		5.763		10.79	

See table NV4 for notes.

Table DW4: Defendant's race/ethnicity and pre-filing outcomes (Drugs and weapons only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.126	0.192+	0.334***	0.345***	-0.174***	-0.160***	31.38***	26.13***
	(0.0993)	(0.115)	(0.0831)	(0.0990)	(0.0448)	(0.0480)	(3.866)	(4.124)
Latinx	-0.13	-0.231	-0.0556	-0.175	-0.0397	-0.0248	19.58***	12.11*
	(0.168)	(0.183)	(0.148)	(0.167)	(0.0648)	(0.0646)	(5.330)	(5.682)
Adj. R ²	0.000587	0.0369	0.00468	0.0258	0.0044	0.0453	0.015	0.031
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	0.126	-0.130	0.334	-0.056	-0.174	-0.040	31.385	19.584
Age, gender, housing	14.0%	-51.7%	6.0%	-113.7%	3.0%	0.2%	0.0%	2.8%
Date arrest	-20.0%	9.4%	0.0%	-3.0%	9.0%	19.5%	4.0%	5.0%
Police (h)	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	5.7%	-1.0%	1.5%	0.0%	-0.3%
Police (a)	-16.0%	-9.1%	-5.0%	-13.1%	0.0%	-8.7%	-1.0%	2.5%
Demog. (h)	-40.0%	31.2%	-4.0%	24.3%	11.0%	47.9%	10.0%	12.6%
Demog. (a)	0.0%	-46.5%	0.0%	-57.3%	-5.0%	-57.3%	1.0%	7.6%
Criminal Record	11.0%	-14.1%	1.0%	-57.1%	-11.0%	34.3%	0.0%	7.6%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	3.471		2.23		1.021		62.9	
If Black	3.663+		2.575***		0.861***		89.03***	
If Latinx	3.24		2.055		0.996		75.01*	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	3.405+		2.219***		1.008***		68.15***	
If Black	3.597		2.564		0.848		94.28	
If Latinx	3.174**		2.044***		0.983*		80.26*	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	3.572		2.35		1.006		70.37*	
If Black	3.764**		2.695***		0.846*		96.5*	
If Latinx	3.341		2.175		0.981		82.48	
<p>Notes: Panel 1 reports OLS estimates, with two specifications. Specification (1) has no control variables. Specification (2) includes controls for the defendant's gender, age and housing status; dummies for month and year of arrest; police activity variables at the defendant's residency neighborhood and at the neighborhood of arrest; demographic characteristics of the defendant's residency neighborhood and of the neighborhood of arrest; and the defendant's criminal history. All regressions include 3,733 observations. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Significant at +10%, *5%, **1% and ***0.1% level. Panel 2 presents the Gelbach decomposition of the race differences estimated using specification (2). See the text for details. Panel 3 presents the mean fitted values by race of the regressions using specification (2) of panel 1. Total booked charges, total booked felonies and total booked misdemeanors refer to the number of counts, felonies and misdemeanors filed against the defendant. Severity of booked offenses refers to the sum of the severity of each booked charge, as explained in the text.</p>								

Table DW5: Defendant's race/ethnicity and prosecutor activity (Drugs and weapons only)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0525	-0.0887	6.168***	1.545	0.0512	-0.0321	-0.0995**	-0.0474
	(0.0566)	(0.0706)	(1.748)	(1.443)	(0.0438)	(0.0544)	(0.0309)	(0.0361)
Latinx	-0.0536	-0.074	1.607	-1.366	-0.018	-0.0499	-0.0618	-0.0347
	(0.0749)	(0.0684)	(1.787)	(2.208)	(0.0591)	(0.0594)	(0.0405)	(0.0423)
Adj. R ²	-0.00026	0.0597	0.00235	0.208	0.0000796	0.0698	0.00244	0.0439
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White	Black-White	Lat.-White
Difference	-0.052	-0.054	6.168	1.607	0.051	-0.018	-0.099	-0.062
Age, gender., housing	-57.0%	-35.6%	7.2%	28.9%	29.2%	-62.5%	-13.7%	-11.8%
Date arrest	1.8%	3.1%	2.7%	11.4%	5.3%	-15.0%	4.3%	9.3%
Police (h)	-0.8%	-6.2%	-0.1%	3.6%	2.2%	-11.0%	0.5%	-2.4%
Police (a)	-3.0%	-0.8%	-3.0%	-5.9%	3.4%	-29.4%	-0.9%	7.0%
Demog. (h)	-5.3%	-2.4%	10.2%	6.7%	8.8%	14.8%	5.2%	-1.6%
Demog. (a)	16.7%	-8.1%	-2.0%	-1.4%	20.8%	-78.3%	23.8%	20.6%
Criminal Record	22.5%	27.2%	5.5%	-15.5%	7.7%	59.5%	13.8%	5.9%
Book. char.	-44.2%	-14.5%	54.7%	155.7%	85.8%	-51.6%	19.4%	16.4%
Att. load	0.3%	-0.4%	-0.2%	1.3%	-0.8%	-3.5%	-0.1%	0.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Added charges		Added severity		Added felonies		Added misdemeanors	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.865		12.43		0.384		0.464	
If Black	0.776		13.975		0.352		0.417	
If Latinx	0.791		11.064		0.334		0.429	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.902		17.065		0.468		0.411	
If Black	0.813		18.61		0.436		0.364	
If Latinx	0.828		15.699		0.418		0.377	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.886		15.406		0.416		0.437	
If Black	0.797		16.951		0.384		0.389	
If Latinx	0.812		14.04		0.366		0.402	
See table DW4 for notes								

Table DW6: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Drugs and weapons only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.00274	-0.00748	0.00503	-0.00227
	(0.0187)	(0.0197)	(0.0362)	(0.0377)
Latinx	-0.00226	0.000249	0.00294	0.0247
	(0.0259)	(0.0245)	(0.0571)	(0.0554)
Adj. R ²	-0.00053	0.0647	-0.000531	0.0581
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-0.003	-0.002	0.005	0.003
Age, gender, housing	640.1%	99.9%	-336.5%	57.8%
Date arrest	195.1%	143.9%	47.9%	43.6%
Police (home)	4.6%	-30.1%	-0.5%	75.0%
Police (arrest)	131.7%	184.9%	-60.4%	-177.9%
Demographics (home)	-90.2%	-36.3%	210.8%	-93.9%
Demographics (arrest)	208.9%	-94.5%	-108.0%	13.1%
Criminal Record	-895.1%	248.2%	543.6%	-191.0%
Booked charges	-362.4%	-414.1%	-138.1%	-497.0%
Attorney load	-5.4%	9.1%	-13.6%	32.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Guilty of any charge		Number of guilty charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.599		0.731	
If Black	0.592		0.729	
If Latinx	0.599		0.756	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.603		0.738	
If Black	0.596		0.736	
If Latinx	0.604		0.763	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.597		0.709	
If Black	0.589		0.707	
If Latinx	0.597		0.734	
See table DW4 for notes				

Table DW7: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Drugs and weapons only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.109***	0.034	-0.0963***	-0.0307	5.938***	1.825+
	(0.0251)	(0.0253)	(0.0270)	(0.0313)	(1.179)	(1.000)
Latinx	0.0743*	0.0412	-0.0548	0.000678	4.297*	1.869
	(0.0372)	(0.0372)	(0.0382)	(0.0424)	(1.930)	(1.590)
Adj. R ²	0.00472	0.096	0.00308	0.0561	0.00543	0.137
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	0.109	0.074	-0.096	-0.055	5.938	4.297
Age, gender, housing	-2.8%	15.1%	12.9%	20.1%	-5.3%	3.3%
Date arrest	7.1%	10.5%	4.7%	10.0%	4.4%	9.2%
Police (home)	-0.4%	-1.0%	-0.3%	-3.9%	-0.2%	1.0%
Police (arrest)	2.2%	5.3%	4.5%	14.8%	0.8%	0.6%
Demog. (home)	7.8%	8.4%	-2.6%	16.1%	11.4%	7.4%
Demog. (arr.)	-2.2%	0.3%	4.5%	-2.6%	-6.0%	-1.8%
Criminal Record	29.8%	0.7%	6.0%	11.9%	19.6%	-1.8%
Book. charges	26.5%	6.0%	37.0%	37.6%	44.2%	38.9%
Attorney load	0.5%	-1.0%	1.2%	-3.0%	0.2%	-0.4%
Unexplained	0.109	0.074	-0.096	-0.055	5.938	4.297
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Convicted felonies		Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	0.216		0.524		12.24	
If Black	0.25		0.493		14.065+	
If Latinx	0.257		0.525		14.109	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	0.29		0.459		16.365+	
If Black	0.324		0.428		18.19	
If Latinx	0.331		0.459		18.234	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	0.249		0.468		14.671	
If Black	0.283		0.438		16.496	
If Latinx	0.29		0.469		16.54	
See table DW4 for notes						

Table DW8: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Drugs and weapons only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	0.172*	-0.0507	-0.0767	0.297**	-0.0403	-0.0732		
	(0.0730)	(0.0887)	(0.0810)	(0.112)	(0.131)	(0.125)		
Latinx	-0.0478	-0.0634	-0.09	-0.0723	-0.162	-0.176		
	(0.0884)	(0.0687)	(0.0687)	(0.138)	(0.108)	(0.109)		
Adj. R ²	0.0019	0.124	0.18	0.00393	0.149	0.164		
Basic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Sentence				Sentence, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	0.172	0.172	-0.048	-0.048	0.297	0.297	-0.072	-0.072
Age, gender, housing	-16.4%	-13.7%	-47.2%	-42.9%	-12.1%	-12.3%	-45.3%	-41.7%
Date arrest	10.8%	8.6%	-31.8%	-20.0%	17.9%	15.8%	-60.9%	-52.3%
Police (home)	0.0%	0.1%	-9.3%	-8.0%	-2.5%	-2.4%	6.9%	6.8%
Police (arrest)	-1.3%	-1.7%	4.7%	5.5%	1.9%	1.2%	-12.8%	-10.6%
Demog. (home)	1.3%	-4.3%	21.5%	31.1%	2.6%	0.1%	7.5%	12.5%
Demog. (arr.)	3.7%	6.7%	-24.0%	-26.4%	5.7%	6.8%	-17.3%	-18.3%
Criminal Record	110.0%	100.3%	77.5%	75.1%	83.9%	82.1%	73.1%	75.1%
Book. charges	22.4%	0.6%	-18.1%	31.7%	18.9%	8.4%	-73.3%	-31.5%
Attorney load	-1.1%	-1.2%	-5.7%	-6.2%	-2.8%	-2.8%	-1.4%	-1.4%
Guilty severity		49.3%		-128.1%		27.6%		-81.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Sentence			Sentence, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	68.544			98.984				
If Black	65.069			94.995				
If Latinx	64.198			82.948				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	103.039			164.489				
If Black	97.815			157.86				
If Latinx	96.506			137.842				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	57.393			100.195				
If Black	54.483			96.157				
If Latinx	53.754			83.963				
See table DW4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 3,733 observations. Columns four to six use only the 2,258 cases resulting in an incarceration sentence.								

Table DW9: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case adjudication (Drugs and weapons only - part d)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Black	-0.148	-0.0166	-0.0737	-0.178	0.0551	0.0463		
	(0.130)	(0.131)	(0.128)	(0.149)	(0.158)	(0.156)		
Latinx	0.132	0.147	0.0882	0.305	0.333*	0.328*		
	(0.182)	(0.166)	(0.146)	(0.187)	(0.164)	(0.162)		
Adj. R ²	0.000334	0.0342	0.114	0.00221	0.0848	0.0851		
Basic controls	-0.148	-0.0166	-0.0737	-0.178	0.0551	0.0463		
Guilty charges severity control	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes		
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences								
	Probation				Probation, conditional on conviction			
	Black-White		Latinx-White		Black-White		Latinx-White	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	-0.148	-0.148	0.132	0.132	-0.178	-0.178	0.305	0.305
Age, gender, housing	58.7%	52.0%	-49.0%	-52.4%	-23.2%	-23.3%	-25.8%	-26.1%
Date arrest	19.0%	24.6%	-10.2%	-19.6%	3.8%	4.7%	-5.2%	-5.7%
Police (home)	-1.0%	-1.3%	1.4%	0.3%	-7.9%	-8.0%	2.6%	2.6%
Police (arrest)	4.1%	5.2%	-4.7%	-5.3%	-11.6%	-11.3%	8.2%	8.0%
Demog. (home)	-11.2%	3.0%	12.4%	4.8%	4.2%	5.2%	0.6%	0.3%
Demog. (arr.)	12.2%	4.6%	4.3%	6.2%	-9.4%	-10.0%	0.8%	1.0%
Criminal Record	44.2%	68.9%	3.3%	5.1%	184.0%	185.1%	21.1%	20.9%
Book. charges	-35.5%	20.0%	34.3%	-5.2%	-4.2%	0.4%	-11.3%	-13.9%
Attorney load	-1.7%	-1.5%	-2.7%	-2.3%	-4.3%	-4.3%	-0.1%	-0.1%
Guilty severity		-125.6%		101.7%		-12.3%		5.3%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences								
	Probation			Probation, conditional on conviction				
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics								
If White	619.084			1007.536				
If Black	608.807			1063.051				
If Latinx	710.089			1343.045*				
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics								
If White	603.447			933.228				
If Black	593.43			984.649				
If Latinx	692.154			1243.992				
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics								
If White	586.648			840.658*				
If Black	576.909			886.978				
If Latinx	672.885			1120.597				
See table DW4 for notes. The first three columns employ all 3,733 observations. Columns four to six use only the 2,255 cases resulting in a probation sentence.								

Table DW10: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Drugs and weapons only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-0.0121	-0.0173	-0.0134	-0.0186
	(0.0190)	(0.0185)	(0.0361)	(0.0358)
Latinx	-0.0126	-0.00641	-0.0168	0.0139
	(0.0260)	(0.0241)	(0.0566)	(0.0550)
Adj. R ²	-0.0004	0.062	-0.000486	0.0555
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-0.012	-0.013	-0.013	-0.017
Age, gender, housing	153.7%	26.9%	135.4%	4.0%
Date arrest	36.4%	21.9%	-23.8%	-6.9%
Police (home)	1.1%	-5.6%	-0.2%	-13.7%
Police (arrest)	23.5%	26.5%	23.1%	29.2%
Demographics (home)	-4.9%	6.4%	-54.8%	35.8%
Demographics (arrest)	69.0%	-13.4%	72.7%	-2.6%
Criminal Record	-225.7%	39.8%	-231.3%	33.4%
Booked charges	-95.3%	-55.2%	35.3%	108.7%
Attorney load	-1.2%	1.6%	5.0%	-5.5%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences				
	Plead guilty of any charge		Total GNL charges	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.596		0.725	
If Black	0.579		0.706	
If Latinx	0.59		0.739	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.601		0.731	
If Black	0.584		0.712	
If Latinx	0.595		0.745	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0.589		0.694	
If Black	0.572		0.676	
If Latinx	0.583		0.708	
See table DW4 for notes				

Table DW11: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Drugs and weapons only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-1.779	-0.901	-0.222	-0.00164	2.931+	1.964
	(1.476)	(1.611)	(0.876)	(0.877)	(1.616)	(1.411)
Latinx	-1.607	-0.493	-1.218	-0.865	3.208	1.618
	(1.977)	(2.037)	(1.235)	(1.309)	(2.272)	(2.137)
Adj. R ²	-0.0000721	0.0148	-0.000247	0.0806	0.000586	0.0612
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-1.779	-1.607	-0.222	-1.218	2.931	3.208
Age, gender, housing	54.3%	22.2%	10.7%	-4.2%	55.0%	6.7%
Date arrest	26.0%	7.6%	-11.5%	14.1%	8.2%	6.9%
Police (home)	-1.0%	2.7%	-16.6%	1.9%	-1.7%	1.1%
Police (arrest)	1.9%	10.4%	75.5%	6.5%	10.1%	9.6%
Demog. (home)	14.4%	-2.9%	338.7%	18.0%	25.7%	8.1%
Demog. (arr.)	11.9%	22.0%	83.4%	-0.9%	39.0%	17.4%
Criminal Record	-47.8%	-3.4%	-147.5%	-5.1%	-83.2%	12.4%
Book. charges	-9.3%	8.7%	-229.4%	-2.4%	-19.3%	-14.0%
Attorney load	-1.1%	1.8%	-3.9%	1.0%	-0.9%	1.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	% Plead to other		% Discharged		% Dismissed	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	38.87		15.61		25.25	
If Black	37.969		15.608		27.214	
If Latinx	38.377		14.745		26.868	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	38.011		15.402		26.176	
If Black	37.11		15.4		28.14	
If Latinx	37.518		14.537		27.794	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	37.753		15.255		26.832	
If Black	36.852		15.253		28.796	
If Latinx	37.26		14.39		28.45	

See table DW4 for notes

Table DW12: Defendant's race/ethnicity and method of resolution (Drugs and weapons only - part c)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-8.693***	-4.487**	0.351	-0.813	0.609+	0.0215
	(1.487)	(1.604)	(0.700)	(0.738)	(0.343)	(0.234)
Latinx	-5.799**	-1.952	-1.394+	-2.033**	-0.469	-0.359
	(2.027)	(2.030)	(0.781)	(0.756)	(0.457)	(0.322)
Adj. R ²	0.0112	0.133	0.000679	0.0394	0.00155	0.572
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	-8.693	-5.799	0.351	-1.394	0.609	-0.469
Age, gender, housing	0.0%	15.4%	8.1%	-9.7%	1.5%	-5.2%
Date arrest	2.7%	-1.2%	-9.9%	-0.1%	-1.3%	2.7%
Police (home)	1.0%	0.0%	13.4%	2.5%	0.1%	-1.7%
Police (arrest)	-0.1%	7.5%	23.9%	-7.7%	2.0%	-6.4%
Demog. (home)	2.6%	7.4%	9.2%	11.2%	9.4%	2.4%
Demog. (arr.)	-1.7%	-5.8%	55.9%	-26.5%	16.8%	-18.7%
Criminal Record	13.6%	2.3%	100.3%	11.3%	1.8%	5.4%
Convic. hist.	30.8%	37.1%	140.0%	-27.3%	66.4%	46.0%
Incarc. hist.	-0.6%	3.4%	-9.3%	0.5%	-0.5%	-1.0%
Book. charges	-8.693	-5.799	0.351	-1.394	0.609	-0.469
Attorney load	0.0%	15.4%	8.1%	-9.7%	1.5%	-5.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Felonies to misdemeanors		Misdemeanors to felonies		Refilings	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	25.91		3.683		11.11	
If Black	21.423**		2.87		11.132	
If Latinx	23.958		1.65**		10.751	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	21.677**		4.849		11.699	
If Black	17.19		4.036		11.72	
If Latinx	19.725		2.816		11.34	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	22.042		4.322**		10.999	
If Black	17.555		3.509		11.021	
If Latinx	20.09		2.289		10.64	
See table DW4 for notes						

Table DW13: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Drugs and weapons only - part a)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	18.91**	6.457	14.92***	3.756	3.107***	1.326*
	(6.997)	(7.925)	(3.460)	(3.761)	(0.587)	(0.623)
Latinx	8.996	5.23	4.738	2.006	-0.667	-0.914
	(9.532)	(10.01)	(3.788)	(3.893)	(0.693)	(0.610)
Adj. R ²	0.00148	0.0615	0.00443	0.142	0.0123	0.143
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	18.907	8.996	14.917	4.738	3.107	-0.667
Age, gender, housing	-0.4%	-15.2%	-8.7%	-19.6%	-0.9%	-4.9%
Date arrest	16.7%	17.3%	12.1%	22.6%	12.9%	-29.0%
Police (home)	1.0%	-0.8%	1.2%	-1.4%	1.0%	4.6%
Police (arrest)	-5.1%	-5.6%	-1.4%	1.1%	1.4%	-7.7%
Demog. (home)	2.3%	-7.6%	2.6%	6.6%	0.0%	12.0%
Demog. (arr.)	-6.5%	-3.0%	4.9%	1.4%	4.0%	-8.0%
Criminal Record	9.5%	-8.2%	25.3%	-27.3%	18.5%	34.6%
Book. charges	47.0%	68.8%	38.5%	75.5%	18.0%	-52.7%
Attorney load	1.1%	-3.5%	0.3%	-1.3%	2.2%	14.2%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events	
Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics						
If White	84.77		18.67		15.59	
If Black	91.227		22.426		16.916*	
If Latinx	90		20.676		14.676	
Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics						
If White	97.243		29.854		17.364*	
If Black	103.7		33.61		18.69	
If Latinx	102.473		31.86		16.45**	
Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics						
If White	88.54		21.404		15.834	
If Black	94.997		25.16		17.16**	
If Latinx	93.77		23.41		14.92	

See table DW4 for notes

Table DW14: Defendant's race/ethnicity and case processing (Drugs and weapons only - part b)

Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	2.364***	0.944	0.0915	-0.298	-0.44	-0.0707
	(0.544)	(0.589)	(0.301)	(0.342)	(0.427)	(0.462)
Latinx	-1.277*	-1.171*	-0.764*	-0.674+	-0.176	0.115
	(0.624)	(0.529)	(0.383)	(0.369)	(0.600)	(0.627)
Adj. R ²	0.0114	0.142	0.00104	0.112	-0.000219	0.0106
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Panel 2: Source of Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	2.364	-1.277	0.092	-0.764	-0.440	-0.176
Age, gender, housing	-1.1%	-2.9%	-172.7%	3.6%	23.0%	0.1%
Date arrest	14.4%	-11.9%	242.1%	-16.4%	-9.5%	23.5%
Police (home)	1.5%	2.4%	-2.1%	1.4%	-0.3%	-0.5%
Police (arrest)	2.0%	-2.4%	26.6%	-3.0%	8.0%	45.8%
Demog. (home)	-1.9%	6.7%	-33.4%	1.8%	-3.6%	-40.0%
Demog. (arr.)	0.2%	2.7%	-7.8%	-3.5%	56.3%	41.9%
Criminal Record	24.7%	19.6%	319.7%	20.0%	-40.9%	36.7%
Book. charges	17.1%	-13.6%	43.9%	6.4%	51.5%	55.4%
Attorney load	3.0%	7.7%	9.0%	1.5%	-0.6%	2.1%
Panel 3: Magnitude of Explained and Unexplained Racial Differences						
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events	
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics					
If White	11.99		6.876		11.23	
If Black	12.934		6.578		11.159	
If Latinx	10.819*		6.202+		11.345	
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics					
If White	13.416		7.268		10.861	
If Black	14.36		6.97		10.79	
If Latinx	12.245***		6.594		10.976	
	Typical Observed Latinx Defendant Characteristics					
If White	11.891*		6.786+		10.935	
If Black	12.835***		6.488		10.864	
If Latinx	10.72		6.112		11.05	

See table DW4 for notes



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