Examining Racial Disparities in Criminal Case Outcomes among Indigent Defendants in San Francisco **FULL REPORT** Emily Owens, PhD University of California, Irvine School of Social Ecology Erin M. Kerrison, PhD University of California, Berkeley School of Social Welfare Bernardo Santos Da Silveira, PhD Washington University in St. Louis Olin Business School

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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 man, almost ten times the incarceration rate of White men, and 100 times the incarceration rate of Asian men. 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 the Word and manifold by the Sam Frainces County Superior Court's larger 2 Just under 59% of these cases resulted in a conviction, and 91% of those convictions involved at least one guilty plea.

2 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, of 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.

<u>Pre-filing outcomes</u> 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

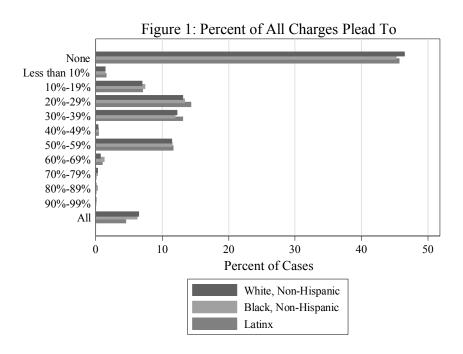
Second, we also examine a set of <u>post-filing criminal justice outcomes</u>: Whether defendants are adjudicated guilty, and for how many charges. We also examine how many charges one pleads guilty (or nolo contendere) to, since criminal adjudication in San Francisco is primarily resolved by plea bargain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

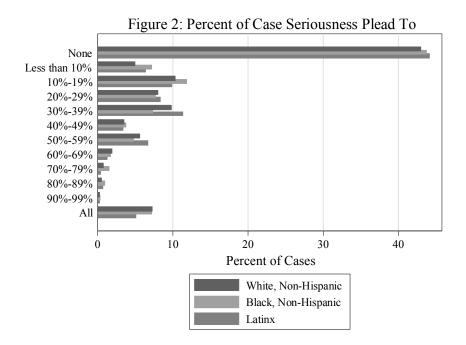
³ Of these 16,064 cases, 5,311 were excluded due to an incomplete dataset. We excluded 1,204 because the client was not either Latinx (any race), Black Non-Latinx, or White Non-Latinx. Because ethnicity is not consistently recorded in the court data, we follow Freedman and Owens (2016) in identifying 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.





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 <u>how the San Francisco County criminal justice system processes defendants of different races</u>. 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.

Tab	le 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)
 - o Age 12-19 = 1, Not 12-19 =0
 - \circ Age 20-29 = 1, Not 20-29 = 0
 - \circ Age 30-39 = 1, Not 30-39 = 0
 - O 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). 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).

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. 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.

9

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,

[&]quot;non-criminal," "other offenses," or issuance or execution of a warrant.

Ta	ble 2: Client C	haracteristic	s by Race (N	l=10,753)	1	
Defendant Race:	White n=3,8	31	Black n=4,74	19	Latinx n=2,1	73
	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

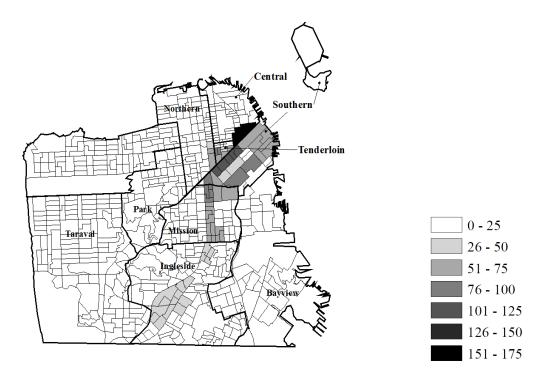


Figure 4: Black Defendants by Place of Arrest

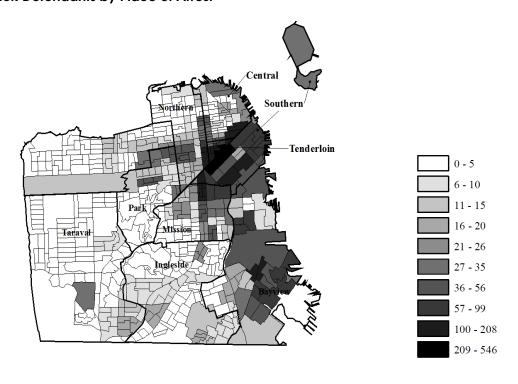
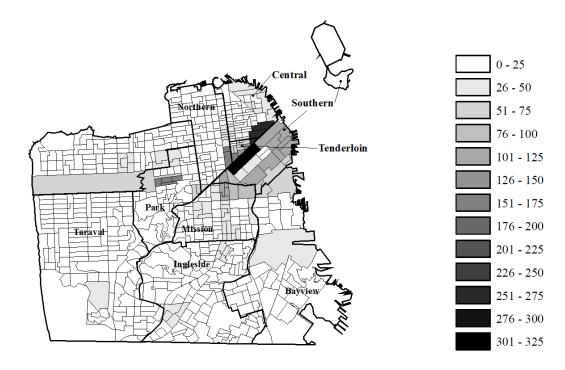


Figure 5: White Defendants by Place of Arrest



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.

	Table 3:	Example of Variable C	order and Disparity S	Sourc	e in Conviction	
	Unadjusted	Adjusted Disparity 1	Adjusted Disparity		Adjusted Disparity	Adjusted Disparity
	Disparity		2		1b	2b
Black	0.0330**	0.0181	0.00860		0.00858	0.00860
Disparity	(0.0115)	(0.0116)	(0.01147)		(0.01148)	(0.01147)
Latinx	0.0249+	0.0332*	0.0317*		0.0329*	0.0317*
Disparity	(0.0138)	(0.0138)	(0.0137)		(0.0137	(0.0137)
Controls	None	Arrests	Arrests +		Convictions	Convictions +
			Convictions			Arrests
All models in	nclude 10,753 observa	ations. Standard errors are	clustered at the indivi	idual	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: De	fendant's rac	ce/ethnicity o	and pre-filing	outcomes		
		F	Panel 1: Identi	fication of Rac	ial Differences			
					Total b	ooked	Severity o	f booked
	Total book	ed charges	Total book	ed felonies	misdem	eanors	offe	nses
	(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
				urce of Racial I				
					Total b	ooked	Severity o	f booked
	Total books	ed charges	Total book	ed felonies	misdem		offe	
	Black-		Black-		Black-		0	
	White	LatWhite	White	LatWhite	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
Disparity	0.182	0.005	0.354	-0.160	-0.160	0.157	21.5	8.7
Age,	01.02	0.000	0.00 .	000	000	3.107	25	0.7
gender,								
housing	-4.4%	845.2%	-1.5%	-25.6%	0.5%	2.9	-1.9%	6.6
Month, Year	41.470	0401270	11070	20.0%	0.070	2.7	11770	0.0
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	7.076	1000 /6	0.776	-12.476	-0.276	10.4	2.076	10.4
Record	10%	410%	5%	10.1%	38,2%	3.5	28.7%	8.7
Record	1076			ained and Une			20.7 /6	0.7
		Farier 5. Magi	illude of Expid		Total b			
	Total book	od charaos	Total book	ed felonies	misdem		Severity of bo	ack offenses
	TOTAL DOOK	ed charges		served White [Severily of bo	JOK. OHEHSES
If White	2.1	573	7.	457		963	1 44	.43
If Black		33***		74***		56***		35***
If Latinx		139+		74 95***		39***		458
II LOIINX	2.4	139+					45.	400
If White	0.5	14***		oserved Black [AF 5	-
			1.49		0.91			56***
If Black		754		812		304		.98
If Latinx	2.4]***	1	33***		37***	46.5	88***
			, , ,	served Latinx [1		1	
If White		12+	1	6***		94***	+	452
If Black		22***		77***		37***	+	72***
If Latinx	2.5	578	1.3	298		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,

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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 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: De	efendant's ra	ce/ethnicity	and prosecut	or activity		
			Panel 1: Identif	ication of Rac	ial Differences	-		
	Added	charges	Added	felonies	Added misc	demeanors	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: Sou	ırce of Racial I	Differences			
	Added o	charges	Added	felonies	Added misc	demeanors	Added	severity
	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
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: Mag	nitude of Explo	ined and Une	xplained Racio	I Differences		
	Added	charges	Added	felonies	Added misc	demeanors	Added	severity
			Typical Ob	served White [Defendant Cha	aracteristics		
If White	0.9	52	0.3	342	0.5	567	13	.96
If Black	0.8	754	0.3	196	0.5	221	12.	126
If Latinx	0.9	064	0.0	328	0.5	941	14.	228
			Typical Ob	served Black [Defendant Cho	aracteristics		
If White	0.9	906	0.4	544	0.4	999	18.	794
If Black	0.9	714	0.4	432	0.4	155	16	.96
If Latinx	1.0	026	0.4	404	0.5	527	19.	062
			Typical Ob	served Latinx (Defendant Cha	aracteristics		
If White	0.9	97	0.	33	0.6	049	16.	602
If Black	0.93	204	0.3	076	0.	56	14.	768
If Latinx	1.0	009	0.3	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.

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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

	Panel 1: I	dentification of Racial Dif	ferences			
	Guilty of ar	ny 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 Differe	ences			
	Guilty of ar	ny 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 o	f Explained and Unexplair	ned Racial Differences					
	Guilty of a	ny charge	Number of g	uilty charges				
If White	0.5	567	0.6	95				
If Black	0.5	0.5856 0.7097						
If Latinx	0.56	5596	0.695362					
	Typical Observed Black Defendant Characteristics							
If White	0.5	814	0.7243					
If Black	0	.6	0.739					
If Latinx	0.58	3036	0.724	4662				
		Typical Observed Latinx [Defendant Characteristics					
If White	0.59	2304	0.720	0638				
If Black	0.61	164	0.735338					
If Latinx	0.5	592	0.7	21				
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.

			e/ethnicity and c ntification of Racia	•		
	Convicte	d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of con-	victed charges
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.112***	0.0218	-0.0636***	-0.00719	4.844***	0.676
black	(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
LUIIIX	(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	0.00723 No	Yes	0.00313 No	Yes	0.00103 No	Yes
COLLIOS	INO		Source of Racial Di		INO	162
	Convicto	d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed 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,	0.1124	-0.0000	-0.0000	0.0420	0.0040	0.0027
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	-0.076	-10.776	-2.076	-0.076	1.076	-2.170
(home)	8.1%	-73.4%	7.1%	-12.6%	9.0%	0.8%
Demographics	0.170	7 01-170	71170	12.0%	71070	0.070
(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 Ex	plained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences	
	Convicte	d felonies	Convicted m	nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed charges
		Typico	al Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	0. 1	186	0.5	514	9.8	95
If Black	0.2	078	0.50	0681	10.8	571
If Latinx	0.18	3988	0.52	2163	10.:	776
		Typico	al Observed Black [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	0.2	772	0.45	5819	14.0	064
If Black	0.2	299	0.4	151	14.	74
If Latinx	0.28	3108	0.46	5582	14.9	945
			al Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	0.17	7412		1937	11.0	599
If Black	0.19	9592	0.54	1218	12.3	375
If Latinx	U .	178	0.557 12.5			

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.

				ification of Racic	-	ation (part c)		
			ence	incanori oi Racic		tence, conditi	onal on conv	riction
	(1)	(2		(3)	(1)		2)	(3)
Black	0.246***		1129	-0.0175	0.339***		0549	-0.0607
BIGGR	(0.0486)		499)	(0.0485)	(0.0748)		1759)	(0.0750)
Latinx	-0.163**	-0.0		-0.0493	-0.320***		133+	-0.130+
Edilik	(0.0504)	(0.0	-	(0.0466)	(0.0809)		709)	(0.0710)
Adj. R ²	0.00738	0.1		0.163	0.0122	-	185	0.191
Basic controls	No	+	es	No	Yes		100 10	Yes
Guilty charges	110			110	100			100
severity control	No	N	lo	Yes	No		10	Yes
devening derinier	110			ource of Racial Di	1	· ·		100
		Sente		a. Se of Racial D		tence, conditi	onal on conv	riction
	Black-		1	tinx-White		-White	1	x-White
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	0.2461	0.2461	-0.1630	, ,	0.3387	0.3387	-0.3199	-0.3199
Age, gender,	5.2.701	0.2.701	3.1000	3,1000	5.500,	5.5007	3.5177	3.3.77
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%
	Pa	nel 3: Magniti	ude of Expl	ained and Unexp	olained Racial	Differences		
		Sente	ence		Sent	tence, conditi	onal on conv	riction
			Typical (Observed White I	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		54	.72			89	2.27	
If Black		54	.02			84	.37	
If Latinx		52	.36			77.	40+	
			Typical (Observed Black [Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		119	7.49			20	0.7	
If Black		11	7.9			18	9.7	
If Latinx		11.	4.3			17	4.0	
			Typical (Observed Latinx I	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		66	.94			120	1.50+	
If Black		66	.08			110	3.88	
If Latinx		64	.05			10	14.5	

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(Estimated Coefficient)-1. For small estimated coefficients, exp(X)-1 is roughly equal to X. As X increases, though, these values spread further apart.

	Iabl			ethnicity and c		ition (part d)	1	
		Po	anel 1: Identi	ification of Racial	1			
		Prol	oation		Prob	ation, conditi	ional on con	viction
	(1)		(2)	(3)	(1)		2)	(3)
Black	-0.0475	0.	123	0.116	-0.337***	0.0	758	0.0758
	(0.0790)	(0.0	0878)	(0.0871)	(0.102)	(0.0	990)	(0.0989)
Latinx	0.437***	0.0	0703	0.0615	0.518***	0.2	210*	0.210*
	(0.0987)	(0.	107)	(0.106)	(0.112)	(0.0	980)	(0.0981)
Adj. R ²	0.00262	0.	143	0.16	0.0105	0.	171	0.171
Basic controls	No	\	'es	No	Yes	N	10	Yes
Guilty charges								
severity control	No	1	No	Yes	No	N	lo	Yes
			Panel 2: So	urce of Racial Dif	ferences			
		Prol	oation		Prob	ation, condit	ional on con	viction
	Black-	White	Lat	inx-White	Black-	White	Latin	x-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%
<u> </u>	Po	anel 3: Magni	tude of Expl	ained and Unexp	lained Racial [Differences		
		Prol	oation			ation, conditi	ional on con	viction
				Observed White D	efendant Cho	ıracteristics		
If White			79.1				.5327	
If Black			50.3				9727866	
If Latinx		6	19.8				134567*	
			Typical (Observed Black D	efendant Cha			
If White			06.6				3.5	
If Black		;	569			93	39.7	
If Latinx		5	42.3			10	56.9	
			Typical C	Observed Latinx D	efendant Cho	aracteristics		
If White		6	17.9			91	4.0*	
If Black		6	93.9			98	33.4	
If Latinx		6	61.4			1.	106	

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.

	Panel 1:	Identification of Racial Diff	ferences		
	Plead guilty o	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 Differe	ences		
	Plead guilty o	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 o	f Explained and Unexplain	ed Racial Differences		
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total	Pleas	
		Typical Observed White D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.5	35	0.0	647	
If Black	0.54	428	0.6	5576	
If Latinx	0.5	136	0.6	231	
		Typical Observed Black D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.53		0.6	5624	
If Black	0.5	47	0.0	665	
If Latinx	0.51	632*	0.63	3234	
		Typical Observed Latinx D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.50	534	0.6	609	
If Black	0.57	268*	0.66966		
If Latinx	0.5	42	0.0	637	

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.

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	l Differences			
	% Plead	to other		harged	% Disr	nissed	
	(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	
000.0			Source of Racial Di				
	% Plead	to other	1	harged	% Disr	nissed	
	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,	2		2.00.		2.7.00		
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	10.470	2.7 70	12.0%	0.470	04.470	2.070	
(home)	-37.8%	32.4%	15.3%	-7.1%	4.4%	-1.7%	
Demographics Demographics	071070	021470	10.070	71170	41470	11773	
(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	77.2.0	07.1070	02.770	0.070	020.0%	00.070	
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%	
, aromey load			plained and Unexp	111114		4.270	
		to other	i ·	harged		nissed	
	7011044		al Observed White [1110000	
If White		.87	1	.73		.99	
If Black		183		072		2618	
If Latinx		058	-	632		.29	
II Edillix	00.		al Observed Black D		l .	.27	
If White	3/1	107		788	26.5	5/18/2	
If Black		.42	1	.13		.52	
If Latinx		.42 295		.69		.52 85+	
II LUIIIA	33.	-	al Observed Latinx [00 1	
If White	25	222		398		7	
If Black		535			27		
If Latinx		.41	11.74 11.3		26.97+ 29.3		

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: De		-		esolution (part o	C)	
	T	Panel 1: lde	entification of R	acial Difference	es .		
	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 Raci	al 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 E	xplained and U	nexplained Rac	ial Differences		
					Refilings		
		Typ	ical Observed \				
If White	31.02		2.382		9.159		
If Black	29.055+		1.888		9.036		
If Latinx	31.0	621	1.581*		9.1901		
-			oical Observed I	Black Defendan	t Characteristics		
If White	25.2		3.407		9.956		
If Black	23.		2.913		9.833		
If Latinx	25.3371		2,606		9.9871		
= 2 05					Characteristics s		
If White	28 9	- ''	2.273*		9.4069		
If Black	28.9179 26.9529		1.779		9.2839		
2.501	28.96		1.472		9,438		

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 preadjudication may the defendant's physical safety in jeopardy, and can lead to the loss of employment and custody of children (Heaton, Mayson, & Stevenson, 2017).

			-	case processing	· · ·		
	Panel 1: Identification of Racial Differences Total days Total custody days Court events					events	
	(1)	(2) (1)		(2)	Court events (1) (2)		
Black	12.74**	5.223	11.62***	3.953*	1.690***	0.509	
DIGCK	(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	
Laiinx	(4.511)		(1.919)	(2.123)	(0.425)		
Adj. R ²	0.00102	(5.258)	0.00407	0.0932	0.0033	(0.455)	
Controls		0.0714 Yes	0.00407 No	0.0932 Yes	0.0033 No	Ves	
Controls	No		Source of Racial Di		INO	Yes	
1	Tatal		ı		Carret	a	
	Total days			tody days		events	
Difference	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,	2.00/	07.50/	0.40/	70.00/	4 00/	E 40/	
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	4.40/	17.10/	1 70/	15.00/	4.00/	57.404	
(home)	4.4%	-17.1%	1.7%	-15.0%	4.3%	57.6%	
Demographics	1.00/	1.4.00/	0.40/	10.40/	1 40/	0.1 40/	
(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	57.404	, 70,	40.40/	0.4.504	45.404	07/ /0/	
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%	
1	1			plained and Unexplained Racial Diffe			
	Total days		Total custody days		Court events		
			Observed White Defendant Charact				
If White		.55	18.77		15.14		
If Black		773	22.723*		15.649		
If Latinx	79.962		21.54		14.598		
				Defendant Charac			
If White	85.067		26.437*		16.321		
If Black	90.29		30.39		16.83		
If Latinx	87.	479	29.207 15.779*			779*	
			Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac			
If White	78.498		17.76		15.552		
If Black	83.721		21.713		16.061*		
If Latinx	80	.91	20	.53	15	.01	

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)							
		Panel 1: Ider	ntification of Racia	l Differences				
	Hearings		Non-administrative hearings		% New attorney events			
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)		
Black	1.301***	0.326	0.353*	-0.0757	-0.899**	-0.00632		
	(0.321)	(0.346)	(0.180)	(0.191)	(0.317)	(0.294)		
Latinx	-1.317***	-1.129**	-0.754***	-0.669***	-0.950*	-0.143		
	(0.345)	(0.377)	(0.191)	(0.195)	(0.382)	(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: S	Source of Racial Di	fferences				
	Hea	rings	Non-administr	rative 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	B: Magnitude of Exp	plained and Unexp	lained Racial Differ	ences			
	Hear	ings Non-administrative hearings			% New attorney events			
	Typical Observed White Defendant Characteristics							
If White	11.13		6.0	91	13.48			
If Black	11.456		6.0	153	13.47368			
If Latinx					13.3	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 not	tes							

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, pervious 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

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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 police department's domain. 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

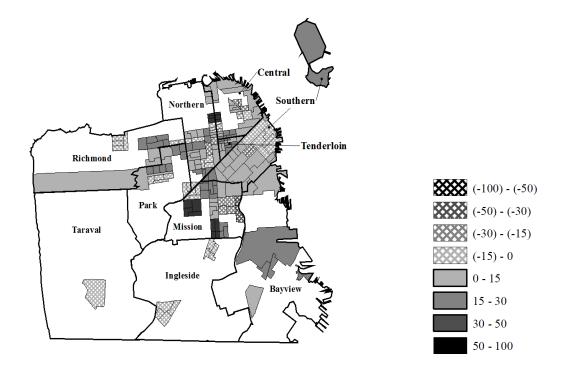


Figure 4: Black White Conviction Gap

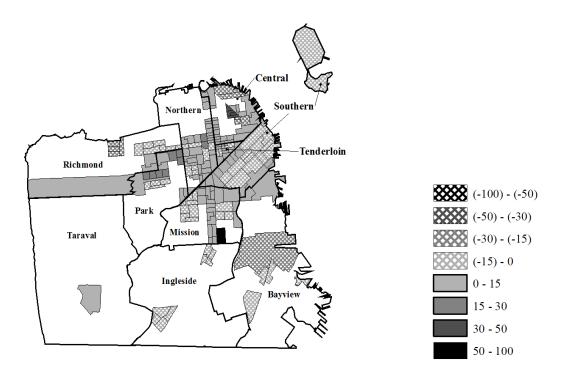


Figure 5: Black-White Gap in Added Charges

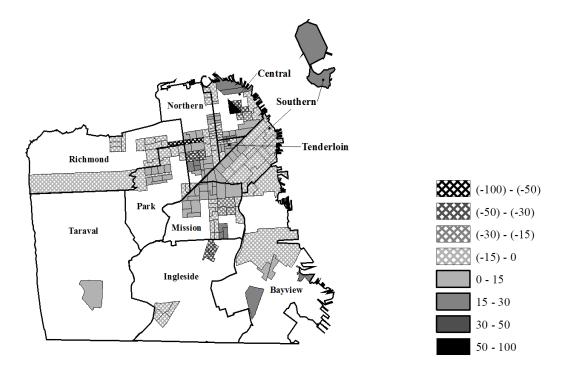
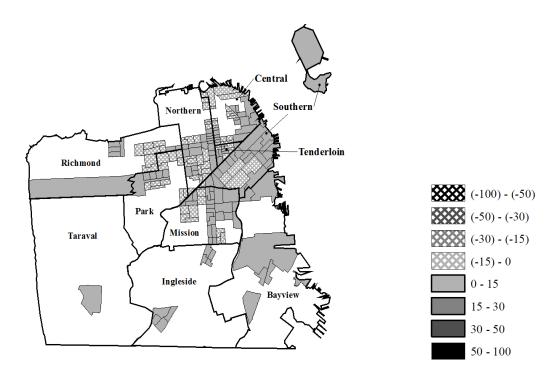


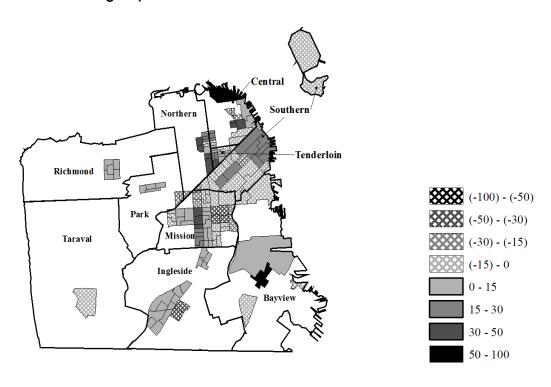
Figure 6: Black – White Gap in "DA Dismissals"



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

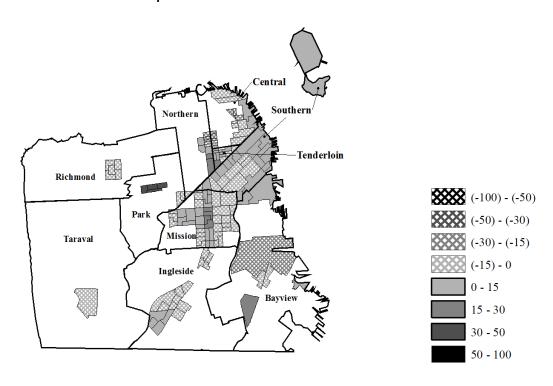


Figure 9: Latinx-White Gap in Added Charges

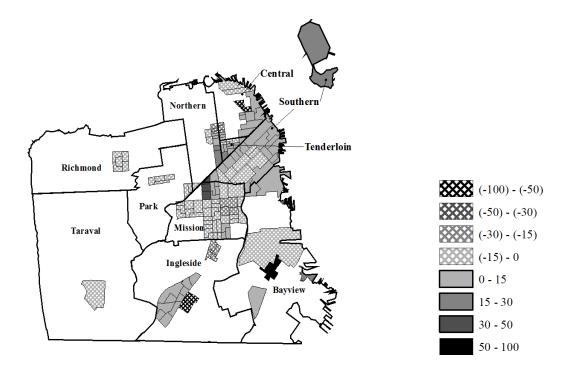
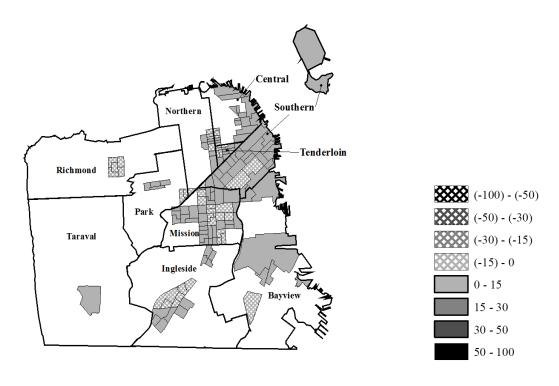


Figure 10: Latinx-White Gap in "DA Dismissals"



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 R² 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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		_	ntification of Racio	arge Addition, a		
	Boo	ked		ded	Conv	ricted
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	22.68***	20.98***	3.908**	-1.52	5.340***	0.694
DIGCK	(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
Edilitix	(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
COLINION	110		ource of Racial D		140	100
	Boo	king		Addition	Conv	victed
	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,	-1.3%	11.0%	-0.8%	-1.6%	-6.3%	-6.8%
housing	1.070	11.070	0.070	1.070	0.070	0.070
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	9.7%	32.9%	13.8%	-0.3%	8.9%	4.4%
(home)	7.770	02.770	10.0%	0.070	0.770	4.470
Demographics	2.1%	26.5%	7.7%	23.6%	-5.2%	-2.0%
(arrest).					0.2.3	
Criminal	-3.5%	20.3%	9.4%	-17.5%	13.2%	-8.3%
Record						
Booked			105.6%	92.9%	75.1%	67.2%
charges						
Attorney load			1.6%	1.8%	-0.5%	-0.6%
	Panel 3:	Magnitude of Exp	plained and Unex	plained Racial Dif	ferences	
	Вос	king	Charge	Addition	Conv	victed
		Typical	Observed White [Defendant Chara	cteristics	
If White	35	.04	7.7	789	3.8	355
If Black	56.0)2***	6.2	269	4.	549
If Latinx	34.	676	7.0	558	4.8	308
		Typical	Observed Black [Defendant Charac	cteristics	
If White	36.7	74***	13	.22	8.8	501
If Black	57	.72	1	1.7	9.	195
If Latinx	36.3	76***	13.	089	9.4	154
		Typical	Observed Latinx [Defendant Chara	cteristics	
If White	41.	544		764		345
If Black	62.5	24***		244	6.039	
If Latinx	/1	.18	9.633		6.298	

	<u> </u>		ntification of Racio		n, and Convicti	- •
	Boo	ked		ded	Conv	/icted
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-1.015***	-0.47	-0.884*	-0.337	-0.411	-0,0686
Biddik	(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
EGIIIX	(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
COLITION	110		ource of Racial D		140	100
	Boo	king		Addition	Conv	/icted
	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,	4.8%	-0.1%	-2.6%	10.4%	25.8%	-37.0%
housing	7.076	-0.176	-2.070	10.476	20.076	-07.076
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	9.1%	-4.5%	1.3%	-1.9%	2.1%	-15.8%
(home)	7.170	4.0%	1.070	-1.770	2.170	-10.076
Demographics	-3.5%	21.5%	-0.4%	2.4%	5.5%	-5.8%
(arrest).	0.070	211070	01470	21470	0.070	0.070
Criminal	33.6%	3.5%	40.0%	16.6%	-10.6%	-24.5%
Record						
Booked			20.0%	29.9%	70.8%	236.2%
charges						
Attorney load			3.9%	-1.9%	-11.5%	8.9%
,	Panel 3:	Magnitude of Exp	plained and Unex	plained Racial Dif	ferences	1
		king		Addition		/icted
				Defendant Chara	cteristics	
If White	8.7	⁷⁵⁷		062		244
If Black		287	5.7	725	6.1	754
If Latinx		147**		451		138
-		Typical	Observed Black D	Defendant Charac		
If White	8.2	213		515		026
If Black		743	†	178		834
If Latinx)3***	+	904		966
2	1100		l.	Defendant Chara	l .	
If White	9.	2**		525		532
If Black						
If Latinx		.49	6.288 7.014		6.5634 6.526	

	Table F	4: Defendar	nt's race/ethn	icity and pre	-filing outcon	nes (Felonie	s only)	
			Panel 1: Identif	fication of Rac	ial Differences		-	
	Total booke	ed charges	Total book	ed felonies	Total booke	d misdem.	Severity of bo	ook. 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: Sou	urce of Racial	Differences			
	Total booke	ed charges	Total booked felonies		Total booke	d misdem.	Severity of bo	ook. offenses
	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
Difference	0.093	0.128	0.161	0.103	-0.076	0.034	20.890	20.189
Age,								
gender.,	1.4.00/	50.00/	10.00/	40.00/	5.00/	07.00/	0.004	0.40/
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: Mag	nitude of Explo	ained and Une	xplained Racio	I Differences		
	Total booke			ed felonies	Total booke		Severity of bo	ook. offenses
			Typical Ob	served White	Defendant Cha	aracteristics		
If White	2.8	95	2	1	0.0	68	57	.69
If Black	3.0	36*	2.2	73**	0.6	27+	78.7	'6***
If Latinx	2.8	67	2.0	069	0.6	95	68.	84*
			Typical Ob	served Black I	Defendant Cha	aracteristics		
If White	2.8	47*	2.0	87**	0.6	58+	57.5	51***
If Black	2.9	88	2.	26	0.6	05	78	.58
If Latinx	2.8	19+	2.0	156*	0.6	73	68.	66*
			Typical Ob	served Latinx	Defendant Cha	aracteristics	•	
If White	3.0	151	2.2	234	0.6	99	66.	73*
If Black	3.19	92+	2.4	107*	0.6	46	87	.8*
If Latinx	3.0	123	2.2	203	0.7	'14	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: Defenda			secutor activ	ity (Felonies	only)	
			Panel 1: Identif	ication of Rac	ial Differences		1	
	Added	charges	Added	severity	Added f	elonies	Added misc	demeanors
	(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. R²	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: Sou	ırce of Racial	Differences			
	Added	charges	Added severity		Added f	elonies	Added misc	demeanors
	Black-							
	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
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%
			nitude of Explo	ined and Une	xplained Racia	I Differences		
	Added	charges	Added		Added f		Added miso	demeanors
		211211922		,	Defendant Cha			
If White	1.0	017	, ,,	.92	0.4		0.5	504
If Black)]]+	1	614	0.4			45
If Latinx)64		956	0.4			547
II EGIIIIX	1.,	50-1			Defendant Cha		0.0)—·
If White	1 (D5+	1	536	0.5		<u> </u>	145
If Black		944	+	.23	0.5		0.3	
If Latinx)97*		. <u></u> 572	0.5		+	88+
II LUIIIIX	1.0	J7 /			Defendant Cha		1 0.4	UU+
If White	1	105	7'	<u>servea Laiinx i</u> 484				549
		105			0.529			
If Black				178	0.4			95+
If Latinx See table F4 fo		152	1 23	.52	0.5	ა 	J 0.8	592

	Panel 1:	Identification of Racial Diff	ferences	
	Guilty of c	iny charge	Number of g	uilty 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
	Pane	el 2: Source of Racial Differe	ences	
	Guilty of c	iny charge	Number of g	uilty 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 o	of Explained and Unexplain	ed Racial Differences	
	Guilty of c	iny charge	Number of g	uilty charges
		Typical Observed White D	Defendant Characteristics	
If White	0.0	519	0.7	772
If Black	0.0	528	0.	77
If Latinx	0.0	538	0.7	796
		Typical Observed Black D	efendant Characteristics	
If White	0.0	537	3.0	303
If Black	0.0	546	3.0	301
If Latinx	0.0	555	0.0	326
		Typical Observed Latinx D	Defendant Characteristics	
If White	0.0	506	0.7	757
If Black	0.0	515	0.7	756
If Latinx	0.0	524	0.7	

		Panel 1: Ider	ntification of Racio	I Differences	-	
	Convicte	d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of conv	victed charges
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.105***	0.0245	-0.0702***	-0.0212	5.150***	0.839
BIGGIK	(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
Edilitix	(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
COLINIOIS	140		Source of Racial Di		140	100
	Convicte	d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed 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,	0.100	0.027	0.070	0.001	0.100	4.010
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.	0.7.70		2.770	302.070	11070	
(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						<u>-</u>
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 Ex	olained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences	
		d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of conv	victed charge:
		Typica	l Observed White [Defendant Charac	•	<u> </u>
If White	0.2	267	0.5	516	11.	98
If Black	0.2	292	0.4	195	12.8	319
If Latinx	0.	27	0.5	552	13.	191
		Typica	l Observed Black [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	0.0	348		167	16.3	301
If Black	0.0	372	0.4	146	17.	14
If Latinx	0.3	351	0.5	04+	17.5	512
			Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	0.2	292		481	15.8	579
If Black		316	0.4	59+	16.4	418
If Latinx		295	0.517		16.79	

		Pai	nel 1: Ider	ntification of Racio	al Differences			
		Sente	ence		Sent	tence, conditi	onal on con	viction
	(1)	(2	2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Black	0.216***	-0.0	238	-0.0292	0.273**	0.273** -0.0		-0.0637
	(0.0610)	(0.0	659)	(0.0642)	(0.0878)	(0.0)	1939)	(0.0930)
Latinx	-0.113	-0.0	397	-0.0476	-0.188+	-0.	154	-0.146
	(0.0729)	(0.0	685)	(0.0688)	(0.109)	(0.0)	1995)	(0.100)
Adj. R ²	0.00376	0.1	34	0.162	0.00494	0.	175	0.182
Basic controls	No	Ye	es	No	Yes	١	10	Yes
Guilty charges								
severity control	No	No Yes		No	١	10	Yes	
			Panel 2: S	ource of Racial D	ifferences			
		Sente	ence		Sent	tence, conditi	onal on con	viction
	Black-V	Vhite	Lo	atinx-White	Black	-White	Latir	nx-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%	-12.59
Police (home)	0.0%	0.0%	-0.5%		-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%		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%		98.1%	97.5%	63.5%	63.1%
Book. charges	8.2%	-3.2%	-10.4%		27.9%	22.3%	-42.0%	-25.49
Attorney load	0.3%	0.3%	-2.8%		2.5%	2.4%	-9.4%	-9.2%
Guilty severity		15.4%		-27.6%	1	8.6%		-13.3%
	Par			plained and Unex				
		Sente	ence	01 114/11		tence, conditi	onal on con	viction
1634/1-11		7.1		Observed White	Defendant Ch			
If White		76.5					3.681	
If Black			432				7.122	
If Latinx		73			D (.174	
lé Di es - l :		1.40		Observed Black	vetenaant Cho T		1.01	
If Black			.192				1.01	
If White		145					7.681	
If Latinx		143	.269 Tyrologi	Observed Lating	Dofondant Ch		5.435	
If \A/b:±-		100		Observed Latinx	Delendant Ch		0.027	
If White If Black			.372				9.937 3.978	
			.793					
If Latinx			1.07	II 7,744 observation	1).687	

		F	Panel 1: Ide	entification of Rac	ial Differences				
		Prol	bation		Prol	oation, condi	tional on con	viction	
	(1)	((2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	
Black	-0.0598	0.0	0861	0.079	-0.285*	0.0	907	0.0909	
	(0.0934)	(0.0	0976)	(0.0979)	(0.117)	(0.	114)	(0.114)	
Latinx	0.291*	0.2	238+	0.227+	0.414**	0.2	290*	0.290*	
	(0.126)	(0.	123)	(0.123)	(0.143)	(0.	137)	(0.138)	
Adj. R ²	0.000954	0.0	0756	0.0919	0.00585	0.	166	0.166	
Basic controls	No	Y	'es	Yes	Yes	١	10	Yes	
Guilty charges									
severity									
control	No	1	No	Yes	No	N	10	Yes	
			Panel 2:	Source of Racial	Differences				
		Prol	bation		Prol	oation, condi	tional on con	viction	
	Black-	White	Lo	atinx-White	Black-	-White	Latin	x-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%	37.19	
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%	
	F	Panel 3: Magr	nitude of Ex	plained and Une	xplained Racia	l Differences			
		Prol	bation		Prol	oation, condi	tional on con	viction	
			Typica	l Observed White	Defendant Ch	aracteristics			
If White		64	0.911			101	4.926		
If Black		69	6.094			11	06.98		
If Latinx		793	3.448+			130	9.255*		
			Typico	Il Observed Black	Defendant Cha				
If White		56	8.57			86	8.61		
If Black		61	7.524			94	7.393	·	
If Latinx		70	03.89			112	20.507		
			Typica	l Observed Latinx	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		·	
If White		562	2.251+			853	3.439*		
If Black		61	0.661			930.846			
If Latinx		69	6.067			110	0.936	·	

	Panel 1:	Identification of Racial Dif	ferences			
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GN	L 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		
	Pane	l 2: Source of Racial Differe	ences			
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GN	L 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 o	f Explained and Unexplain	ed Racial Differences			
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GNL charges			
		Typical Observed White D	Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.5	583	0.7	721		
If Black	0.5	583	0.7	715		
If Latinx	0.5	581	0.	73		
		Typical Observed Black D	Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.5	585	0.7	723		
If Black	0.5	585	0.7	717		
If Latinx	0.5	583	0.7	732		
			Defendant Characteristics			
If White		572	0.	69		
If Black	0.5	572	0.0	584		
If Latinx	0.	57	0.0	599		

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racial	Differences		
	% Plead	to other	% Disch	narged	% Dism	nissed
	(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: S	Source of Racial Dit	ferences		
	% Plead	to other	% Disch	narged	% Dism	nissed
	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	3: Magnitude of Ex	plained and Unexp	lained Racial Diffe	rences	
	% Plead	to other	% Disch	narged	% Dism	nissed
		Typica	l Observed White D	efendant Charac	teristics	
If White	35	.77	14	34	23.	69
If Black	35.	352	14	08	23.	94
If Latinx	36.	216	13.	172	23.6	551
		Typico	ıl Observed Black D	efendant Charac	teristics	
If White	35.	278	13	49	23.	78
If Black	34	.86	13	23	24.	03
If Latinx	35.	724	12.	12.322		41
		Typica	l Observed Latinx D	efendant Charac	teristics	
If White	35.	074	14.	578	26.0)39
If Black	34.	656	14.	318	26.2	289
If Latinx	35	.52	13	41	20	5

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	Il Differences		
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors		ors to felonies	Ref	ilings
	(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 Di	fferences		
	Felonies to m	isdemeanors	Misdemeand	ors to felonies	Ref	ilings
	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	3: Magnitude of Ex	plained and Unexp	olained Racial Diffe	rences	
	Felonies to m	isdemeanors	Misdemeand	ors to felonies	Ref	ilings
		Typico	Il Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	31	.02	3.9	929	10	1.27
If Black	29.0)55+	3.0	032	10.	112
If Latinx	31.	062	2.8	357	10.	459
		Typico	al Observed Black D	Defendant Charact	teristics	
If White	25.2	295+	5.0	047	10.	828
If Black	23	.33	4.	15	10	1.67
If Latinx	25.	337	3.975		11.017	
		Турісс	Il Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	28.	918	4.	161	10.	951
If Black	26.	953	3.2	264	10.	793
If Latinx	28	.96		089	11	.14

		Panel 1: Ider	ntification of Racia	Il Differences		
	Total	days	Total cus	tody 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: S	Source of Racial Di	fferences		•
	Total	days	Total cus	tody 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	3: Magnitude of Exp	olained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences	
	Total	days	Total cus	tody days	Court	events
		Typica	Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	82	.29	23	5.74	16	.59
If Black	91.4	418*	29.4	464*	17.	223
If Latinx	89	.73	28.	.094	16.	432
		Туріса	l Observed Black D	Defendant Charact	teristics	
If White	86.	112*	29.	816*	17.	317
If Black	95	.24		5.54	17	.95
If Latinx	93.	552	34	1.17	17.	159
		Typica	Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	85	.63	24.	.316	17.	308
If Black	94.	758	30	0.04	17.	941
If Latinx	9.3	.07	28.67		17.15	

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	Differences			
	Hea	rings	Non-administr	ative hearings	% New atto	rney 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 Dit	ferences			
	Hea	rings	Non-administr	ative hearings	% New atto	rney 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 Ex	plained and Unexp	lained Racial Diffe	rences		
	Hea	rings	Non-administr	ative hearings	% New atto	rney events	
		Typico	ol Observed White D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White	12	.46	6.8	84	11.	.29	
If Black		824	6.	79	11.4	471	
If Latinx	11.4	421*	6.2	61*	10.0	591	
		Typico	al Observed Black D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White		046	7.0	31	10.8	839	
If Black		.41	6.9	37	11.	.02	
If Latinx	12.0	07***	6.4		10.:	24*	
		Typico	Il Observed Latinx D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White		599*	6.9	69*	10.	799	
If Black	12.9	63***	6.8	75*	10.	98*	
If Latinx	11	11.56		6.346		10.2	

	Table W4:				ling outcome		anois only)	
					cial Differences			
	Total booke			ked felonies	Total booke	T	Severity of bo	
	(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. R²	0.000743	0.0415			0.000672	0.0374	0.00191	0.0853
Controls	No	Yes			No	Yes	No	Yes
			Panel 2: Sc	ource of Racial	Differences			
	Total booke	ed charges	Total booked felonies		Total booke	ed misdem.	Severity of bo	ook. offenses
			Black-					
	Black-White	LatWhite	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
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						211212		
Record	86.0%	13.4%			-2042.0%	15.0%	-40.0%	6.0%
			nitude of Exp	lained and Une	explained Racio			
	Total booke		·	ked felonies	Total booke		Severity of bo	ook, offenses
		- a. a. a. gaa			Defendant Cha		00.000	30.11 0.1.01.000
If White	1.8	342	.,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,			505	14	.33
If Black	1.8	87				66		372
If Latinx	1.8					62	+	516
II Edillix	1.0	,0	Typical ()	hserved Black	Defendant Cha		1-4.	010
If White	1.7	'85	l ypicai c	BUCITED BIOCK		552	14	048
If Black	1.8					507		.09
If Latinx	1.7							234
II LUIIIX	1.7	/ 1	Typical O	hserved Latiny	l .	1.568		<u> 204</u>
If White	1.9	35	турісці О	Dagi ved Laiii IX	Defendant Characteristics 1.687		15	874
If Black	1.9				1.7			916
If Latinx	1.9							
II LUIIIX	1.5	41			1.702		16.06	

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.

	IGDIE IVIO.		race/ethnicit	-			iiois oiliy <i>)</i>	
	\ ddad			severity		felonies	Added miso	domognoro
	Added			,				
Dlevels	(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
• II 52	(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
	1			rce of Racial D			T	
	Added o	charges	Added	severity	ł	felonies	Added miss	demeanors
					Black-			
	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
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: Mag	nitude of Expla	ined and Unex	plained Racio	al Differences		
	Added	charges	Added	severity	Added	felonies	Added miso	demeanors
			Typical Obs	served White D	efendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White	3.0	305	7.2	256			0.7	712
If Black	0.	81	7.8	385			0.7	727
If Latinx	0.7	789	6.9	983			0.6	595
			Typical Ob:	served Black D	efendant Cha	aracteristics	•	
If White	0.7	786	7.	189			0.6	594
If Black	0.7		1	318				709
If Latinx	0.	77		916				577
				served Latinx D	efendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White	0.8	322		527			0.7	708
If Black		327	_	256				723
If Latinx	1	306		354				591
See table M4	1		1		1		1 3.0	

	Panel 1:	Identification of Racial Dif	ferences			
	Guilty of a	ny charge	Number of g	juilty 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		
	Pane	2: Source of Racial Differe	ences			
	Guilty of a	ny charge	Number of g	juilty 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 o	f Explained and Unexplain	ed Racial Differences			
	Guilty of a	ny charge	Number of guilty charges			
		Typical Observed White D	Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.4	45	0.	52		
If Black	0.4	164	0.8	538		
If Latinx	0.4	148	0.8	522		
		Typical Observed Black D	Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.4	101	0.4	471		
If Black	0.4	115	0.4	189		
If Latinx	0.3	199	0.4	172		
		Typical Observed Latinx D	Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.5	548	0.0	534		
If Black	0.5	562	0.653			
If Latinx	0.5	546	0.0	0.636		

		Panel 1: Ide	entification of Racio	Il Differences			
	Convicte	d felonies	Convicted m	nisdemeanors	Severity of conv	victed charges	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	
Black	n/a	n/a	-0.0407	0.00945	-0.0818	-0.0416	
	·	·	(0.0290)	(0.0273)	(0.364)	(0.398)	
Latinx			0.104***	-0.00704	1.377**	0.439	
			(0.0295)	(0.0264)	(0.473)	(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 Di	fferences			
	Convicte	d felonies	Convicted m	nisdemeanors	Severity of conv	victed 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 Ex	plained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences		
	Convicte	d felonies	Convicted m	nisdemeanors	Severity of conv	victed charge:	
		Typico	al Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White			0.5	509	5.1	61	
If Black			0.5	518	5.1	19	
If Latinx			0.5	502	5.	6	
		Typico	al Observed Black [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White			0.	46	5.1	21	
If Black			0.4	169	5.0	79	
If Latinx			0.4	0.453		56	
		Typico	al Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White				521	6.1	06	
If Black				63	6.0	64	
If Latinx			0.4	514	6.545		

				tification of Racio	dication (Misc		, ,		
=			ence	illication of Racio		ence, conditi	anal an cany	viction	
	(1)			(3)	+	1			
Dlack	0.0494		2))178	-0.0165	(1)		2) 108	-0.104	
Black									
	(0.0484)	,	473)	(0.0473)	(0.105)		1875)	(0.0873)	
Latinx	-0.0851*)343	-0.0483	-0.266**	+	0767	-0.0832	
=2	(0.0431)	,	437)	(0.0446)	(0.0844)	,	1839)	(0.0835)	
Adj. R ²	0.00223		389	0.108	0.0147		148	0.152	
Basic controls	No	Y	es	No	Yes	N N	10	Yes	
Guilty charges				.,				.,	
severity control	No	N	lo	Yes	No	N	10	Yes	
1				ource of Racial D	1				
			ence .			ence, conditi	1		
	Black-White			itinx-White	Black-	ı	1	x-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%	
	Po	ınel 3: Magnit	ude of Exp	lained and Unex	plained Racial	Differences			
		Sent	ence		Sent	ence, conditi	onal on conv	iction	
			Typical	Observed White	Defendant Cha	aracteristics			
If White		5	.9			13.	.083		
If Black		5.7	795		11.67				
If Latinx		5.6	598			12	2.08		
			Typical	Observed Black I	Defendant Cha	aracteristics			
If White		6.3	314			15.	.391		
If Black		6.2	201			13.	729		
If Latinx		6.0)97			14.	.211		
			Typical	Observed Latinx	Defendant Cha	aracteristics			
If White		6.9	915			13.	.262		
If Black			792		11.829				
If Latinx			577				244		

			Panel 1: Ide	entification of Rac	ial Differences			
		Pro	bation			bation, cond	itional on conv	viction
	(1)		(2)	(3)	(1)		(2)	(3)
Black	-0.405**		0716	0.0774	-0.430*		.112	0.116
2.0.0.0	(0.150)		.142)	(0.124)	(0.212)	+	.180)	(0.179)
Latinx	0.839***		0402	-0.0207	0.581***		.128	0.117
EGIIIIX	(0.161)		.128)	(0.114)	(0.169)		.155)	(0.154)
Adj. R ²	0.0203		.448	0.558	0.0194		.253	0.254
Basic controls	No		Yes	No	Yes		No	Yes
Guilty charges severity								
control	No		No David al O	Yes	No		No	Yes
		<u></u>		Source of Racial I				dallar
	DI 1		bation La	tion \ \//b !t =			itional on conv	
	Black-			tinx-White	Black-			x-White
Difference	(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	1.076	0.076	-0.176	-0.176	-0.176	-0.176	-1.0%	-1.07
(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.	41170	0.070	11070	11170	101470	10.0%	2.070	2.0%
(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: Mag	gnitude of Ex	plained and Une	xplained Racio	al Differences		
		Pro	bation		Pro	bation, cond	itional on conv	viction
			Typical	Observed White	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		43	8.859			95	1.482	
If Black		47	0.282			10	58.048	
If Latinx		45	6.501			10	73.272	
			Typical	Observed Black	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		34	18.147			80	1.544	
If Black		37	3.074			89	71.317	
If Latinx		36	2.142			90	04.142	
				Observed Latinx	Defendant Ch			
If White		58	37.957			98	37.918	
If Black		63	0.054			10	98.565	
If Latinx		61	1.592			11	14.372	

	Panel 1: I	dentification of Racial Diff	ferences			
	Plead guilty o			L 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 Differe	ences			
	Plead guilty o	f any charge	Total GN	L 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 Unexplain	ed Racial Differences			
	Plead guilty o	f any charge	Total GNL charges			
		Typical Observed White D	Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.4	27	0.4	179		
If Black	0.4	43	0.8	504		
If Latinx	0.4	12	0.4	154		
		Typical Observed Black D	Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.3	78	0.4	135		
If Black	0.3			159		
If Latinx	0.3	53	0.4	09+		
		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	Defendant Characteristics			
If White	0.5	17	0.8	574		
If Black	0.5	33	0.5	99+		
If Latinx	0.5	02	0.8	549		

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	l Differences			
	% Plead	to other		narged	% Disn	nissed	
	(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: 3	Source of Racial Di	fferences			
	% Plead	to other		harged	% Disn	nissed	
	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,			2,222				
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.	.0.7.0	0.270	1 110 70	0.070	10.070	2717.70	
(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		212.12		5.5.5			
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 Ex	plained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences		
		to other		harged	% Disn	nissed	
			l Observed White [teristics		
If White	29	.59		.35	34.	46	
If Black	28	.34	11.	389	35.0	041	
If Latinx	27	.73	11	.55	38.4	56+	
			ıl Observed Black D	Defendant Charact			
If White	28	.68		671	36.3	359	
If Black		.43		.71	36.		
If Latinx	26	.82	12.	871	40.3	355	
		Typica	l Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	34	.73)17	30.0	14+	
If Black		.48	+	8.056			
If Latinx		.87		217	30.595 34.01		

			r and method of rentification of Racia		<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors		ors to felonies	Refil	inas
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	n/a	(2)	6.52E-09	-0.0638	-0.187	-0.0869
BIGGIC	11/ G		(0.185)	(0.169)	(0.239)	(0.174)
Latinx			-0.139	-0.252	0.367+	-0.0158
EGIIIX			(0.164)	(0,220)	(0.202)	(0.106)
Adj. R ²			-0.000403	-0.00014	0.00136	0.581
Controls			No	Yes	No	Yes
COMMON		Panel 2:	Source of Racial Di		110	100
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors		ors to felonies	Refil	inas
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White
Difference	n/a	20	n/a	-0.139	-0.187	0.367
Age, gender,	, -		, -	557	5.157	2.227
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 Ex	plained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences	
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors	Misdemeand	ors to felonies	Refil	ings
		Typico	al Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	n,	/a	0.2	271	6.6	31
If Black			0.2	207	6.5	44
If Latinx			0.0	019	6.6	15
		Typico	al Observed Black D	Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White			0.3	335	6.5	31
If Black			0.2	271	6.4	44
If Latinx			0.0	083	6.5	15
		Typico	al Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White			0.3	383	7.0	18
If Black			0.3	319	6.9	31
If Latinx			0.1	131	7.0	02

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	l Differences				
	Total	days	Total cust	tody 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		
1		Panel 2:	Source of Racial Di	fferences		•		
	Total	days	Total cust	tody 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	3: Magnitude of Ex	plained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences			
	Total	days	Total cust	tody days	Court	events		
		Typico	al Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics			
If White	66	.77	7.4	195	11	.85		
If Black	62.	564	7.0	091	11.	759		
If Latinx	61.	812	7.8	333	11.	426		
		Typico	al Observed Black D	Defendant Charact	teristics			
If White	74.0	696	10.	088	12.	431		
If Black	70	.49	9.6	584	12	.34		
If Latinx	69.	738	10.	10.426		007		
		Турісс	al Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics			
If White	68.4	498	8.5	525	12.	364		
If Black	64.:	292	8.1	121		273		
If Latinx	63	.54	8.8	363	11	11.94		

		dant's race/ethni	ntification of Racia		<u>'</u>		
	Hea	rings		rative hearings	% New atta	rney events	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	
Black	0.391	-0.107	0.17	-0.139	0.414	0.174	
DIGCK	(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	
Lannx	(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	
COITIOIS	110	l.	Source of Racial Di		110	103	
	Hea	rings		rative hearings	% New atta	rney 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,	0.071	0.000	0.170	0.401	0.414	2.000	
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.	10.070	0.070	71770	111070	11070	4.676	
(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 Exp	olained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences	Į.	
		rings		rative hearings		rney events	
			I Observed White Defendant Characteristics				
If White	8.	113	4.2	294	18	.44	
If Black		006	4.	155	18.	614	
If Latinx	7.3	98*	3.8	319*	18.	133	
		Typica	l Observed Black [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	8.6	511		502		676	
If Black		504	4.4	463	18	.85	
If Latinx		396	4.127		18.369		
			Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac			
If White	8.0	23*		664*	1	157	
If Black		916	4.2	225	16.	331	
If Latinx		308	2 (389	15.85		

	Table '	V4: Defendo	ınt's race/eth	nicity and pr	e-filing outco	mes (Violen	t only)	
	10.0.0		Panel 1: Identit				,,	
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdem.		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: Sou	urce of Racial	Differences			
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdem.		Severity of book. offenses	
	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
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: Mag	nitude of Explo	ained and Une	xplained Racia	I Differences		
	Total booked charges		Total booked felonies		Total booked misdem.		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 Ob	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	e V5: Defend	ant's race/eth	nicity and p	osecutor activ	ity (Violent o	only)	
			Panel 1: Identif	ication of Rac	ial Differences			
	Added	charges	Added s	everity	Added fe	elonies	Added mis	demeanors
	(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: Sou	ırce of Racial	Differences			
	Added	charges	Added s	everity	Added fe	elonies	Added mis	demeanors
	Black-						Black-	
	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	White	LatWhite
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: Ma	gnitude of Explo	ined and Une	xplained Racial	Differences		
	Added	charges	Added s	everity	Added fe	elonies	Added mis	demeanors
			Typical Ob	served White [Defendant Char	acteristics		
If White	1.	682	34.	64	0.79	98	0.	847
If Black	1.	518	33.8	391	0.74	45	0.	769
If Latinx	1.	848	42.2	219	0.8	16	1.	011
			Typical Ob	served Black [Defendant Char	acteristics		
If White	1.	715	40.8	339	0.90	51	0.	708
If Black	1.	551	40.	09	0.90	08	0	.63
If Latinx		881+	48.4		0.9		3.0	372+
			Typical Ob	served Latinx [Defendant Char	acteristics	1	
If White	1.	703	36.8		0.80		0.	856
If Black		539+	36.1		0.7	-	0.778+	
If Latinx		869	44.		0.83		1	.02
See table V4 f			1	-	1 0.0.			-

	Panel 1:	Identification of Racial Diff	ferences		
	Guilty of c	iny charge	Number of g	uilty 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	
	Pane	el 2: Source of Racial Differe	ences		
	Guilty of c	iny charge	Number of g	uilty 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 c	of Explained and Unexplain	ed Racial Differences		
	Guilty of c	iny charge	Number of g	uilty charges	
		Typical Observed White D	efendant Characteristics		
If White	0.0	575	3.0	344	
If Black		706	3.0	396	
If Latinx	0.7	705	3.0	369	
		Typical Observed Black D	efendant Characteristics		
If White		576	3.0	353	
If Black	0.7	707		205	
If Latinx	0.7	706	3.0	379	
		Typical Observed Latinx D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.0	546	3.0	306	
If Black	0.0	578	0.857		
If Latinx	0.0	676	0.8	331	

		Panel 1: Ider	ntification of Racio	al Differences				
	Convicte	d felonies	Convicted m	nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed 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: S	Source of Racial Di	ifferences				
	Convicte	d felonies	Convicted m	nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed 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 Exp	olained and Unexp	olained Racial Diffe	rences			
	Convicte	d felonies	Convicted m	nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed charges		
		Typical	Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics			
If White	0.3	312	0.	55	14.	95		
If Black	0.3	78+	0.5	544	19.8	308		
If Latinx	0.3	311	0.5	595	21.3	304		
		Typica	Observed Black D	Defendant Charac	teristics			
If White	0.3	94+	0.4	478	18.0	532		
If Black	0.	46	0.4	472	23.	49		
If Latinx	0.3	394	0.523		24.9	986		
		Typical	Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics			
If White	0.3	319	0.5	508	16.196			
If Black	0.3	384	0.5	502	21.054			
If Latinx	0.3	318	0.5	553	22.	22.55		

Г				ication of Racia	l				
		Sent	ence		Sent	ence, conditi	onal on convi	iction	
	(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	0.0	061	0.0299	0.0385	-0.0)144	-0.014	
	(0.132)	(0.	143)	(0.139)	(0.187)	(0.	195)	(0.193)	
Adj. R²	0.00561	0.	111	0.149	0.00587	0.	178	0.185	
Basic controls	No	Y	es	No	Yes	١	lo	Yes	
Guilty charges									
severity control	No	N	lo	Yes	No	N	lo	Yes	
			Panel 2: Sou	ırce of Racial Di	fferences				
		Sent	ence		Sent	ence, conditi	onal on convi	iction	
	Black-	White	Latir	nx-White	Black-	White	Latin	x-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%	-18.19	
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%	-48.89	
Demog.									
(home)	-7.8%	-9.0%	-38.6%	-32.6%	-8.7%	-9.2%	-47.3%	-40.99	
Demog. (arr.).	11.8%	13.4%	-112.0%	-111.7%	15.0%	15.8%	-73.7%	-81.29	
Criminal									
Record	53.1%	52.1%	-47.5%	-48.2%	50.8%	50.3%	-46.0%	-46.29	
Book. charges	13.1%	8.0%	-18.5%	-57.2%	6.6%	5.1%	240.2%	163.49	
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%	
	Pc	inel 3: Magnit	ude of Explo	ined and Unexp	lained Racial	Differences			
		Sent	ence		Sentence, conditional on conviction				
				bserved White D	Defendant Characteristics				
If White		95.	343			140	0.24		
If Black		106	.307			158	3.05		
If Latinx		101	.159			138	3.22		
				bserved Black D	efendant Cho				
If White			7.42				.948		
If Black			.474				.599		
If Latinx		304	.953			385	.319		
			Typical O	bserved Latinx [efendant Cho				
If White		191	.308			297	.483		
If Black		213	.308		335.264				
If Latinx		202	.978			293	.199		

			Panel 1: Ide	entification of Rac	cial Differences	·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
		Pro	bation		Pro	bation, condi	tional on conv	riction
	(1)		(2)	(3)	(1)		(2)	(3)
Black	-0.167	0.0	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	0.0	0731	0.0741
-	(0.211)		217)	(0.220)	(0.190)		.207)	(0.207)
Adj. R ²	-0.000222	0,1	D611	0.0659	0.00583	0.0	0997	0.0995
Basic controls	No		/es	Yes	Yes		No	Yes
Guilty charges								
severity								
control	No		No	Yes	No		No	Yes
		I	Panel 2:	Source of Racial	Differences		JI	
		Pro	bation		Pro	bation, condi	tional on conv	riction
	Black-			atinx-White	-	-White		x-White
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Difference	-0.167	-0.167	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%	-258.99	% -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%	114.79	6 118.1%	-3.5%	-3.6%	4528.3%	4442.7%
Demog. (arr.).	59.7%	57.7%	-368.19	% -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%
	F	Panel 3: Mag	nitude of E	xplained and Une	explained Racio	Il Differences		
		Pro	bation		Pro	bation, condi	tional on conv	riction
			Typico	al Observed White	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		79	8.234			118	59.207	
If Black		84	3.335			90	5.341	
If Latinx		97	0.653			124	43.945	
			Typico	al Observed Black	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		72	6.818			26	57.356	
If Black		76	7.884			20	75.395	
If Latinx		88	3.811			28	51.609	
			Typico	al Observed Latin	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		64	5.747			100	61.921	
If Black		68	2.232			82	29.36	
If Latinx		78	5.229			11;	39.547	

		Identification of Racial Dif	resolution (Violent only		
	Plead guilty o		1	L 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 Differe	ences		
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GN	L 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	f Explained and Unexplain	ed Racial Differences		
	Plead guilty o			L charges	
		, ,	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.6	39	0.	77	
If Black	0.6	75		798	
If Latinx	0.6			75	
			Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.6			789	
If Black	0.6			317	
If Latinx	0.6		0.769		
		• •	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.6		0.72		
If Black	0.6		0.748		
If Latinx	0.6	02	0	1.7	

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	l Differences				
	% Plead	to other	% Discl	harged	% Disn	nissed		
	(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 Di	fferences				
	% Plead	to other	% Discl	harged	% Disn	nissed		
	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	3: Magnitude of Ex	plained and Unexp	olained Racial Diffe	rences			
	% Plead	to other	% Discl	harged	% Disn	nissed		
		Typico	al Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics			
If White	39	.24	15	.16	24.	74		
If Black	39.	676	14.	793	24.2	263		
If Latinx	42.	493	13.	265	23.9	905		
		Typico	al Observed Black D	Defendant Charact	teristics			
If White	40.	484	14.	777	23.7	797		
If Black	40	.92	14	.41	23.	32		
If Latinx	43.	737	12.	12.882		962		
		Typico	al Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics			
If White	37.	077	15.	585	26.0	015		
If Black	37.	513	15.	15.218		25.538		
If Latinx	40	.33	13	.69	25.	18		

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racio	al Differences			
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors	Misdemean	ors to felonies	Refil	ings	
	(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 Di	ifferences			
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors	Misdemean	ors to felonies	Refil	ings	
	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 Ex	plained and Unexp	olained Racial Diffe	rences		
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors	Misdemean	ors to felonies	Refil	ings	
		Typico	al Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	29	.82	3.8	834	13	3.4	
If Black	29.	058	4.0	302	13.0	011	
If Latinx	32.	223	3.9	955	14.0	017	
		Typico	al Observed Black [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	22.	292	5.5	514	14.	139	
If Black	21	.53	5.9	982	13	.75	
If Latinx	24.	695	5.0	5.635		756	
		Турісс	al Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	28.	337	3.5	566	13.0	553	
If Black	27.	575	4.0	034	13.264		
If Latinx	30	.74	3.0	687	14.	.27	

		Panel 1: Ider	ntification of Racia	Differences			
	Total	days	Total cust	ody 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: S	Source of Racial Di	ferences	-		
	Total	days	Total cust		Court	events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White Latinx-W		
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 Exp	plained and Unexp	lained Racial Diffe	rences		
	Total	days	Total cust	ody days	Court	events	
		Туріса	Observed White D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White	10	5.4	37	78	21.	.51	
If Black	106	5.66	46.	511	21.3	302	
If Latinx	99.	282	43.	334	21.0	959	
		Typica	Observed Black D	efendant Charact	teristics		
If White	118	3.54	53.	479	22.	118	
If Black	11	9.8	62	31	21.	.91	
If Latinx	112	.422	59.533		22.	567	
		Туріса	Observed Latinx D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White	108	.618	38.	576	21.9	991	
If Black	109	.878	47.	407	21.783		
If Latinx	10	2.5	44	63	22.44		

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	ll Differences			
	Hea	rings	Non-administr	ative hearings	% New atto	rney 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	
1		Panel 2: S	Source of Racial Di	fferences			
	Hea	rings	Non-administr	rative hearings	% New atto	rney 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 Ex	plained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences		
	Hea	rings	Non-administr	ative hearings	% New atto	rney events	
		Туріса	Observed White D	Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	15	.03	7.	55	10	1.2	
If Black	14.	694	7.4	463	10.0	067	
If Latinx	14.	008	6.9	925	9.2	48	
		Typico	Il Observed Black D	Defendant Charact	teristics		
If White	15.	576	8.0	073	10.0	026	
If Black	15	.24	7.9	986	9.8	93	
If Latinx	14.	554	7.4	148	9.0	174	
		Туріса	Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	15.	062		911	10.202		
If Black	14.	726	7.8	324	10.069		
If Latinx	14	.04	7.2	286	9.2	25	

			nt's race/ethn Panel 1: Identit				,,	
	Total booke	nd charaos	Total book		Total book		Severity of bo	ook 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***
BIGCK	(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**
Edinix	(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
	-	1		urce of Racial				
	Total booke	ed charges	Total book		Total book	ed misdem.	Severity of bo	ook. offenses
					Black-		, , ,	
	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
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: Mag	gnitude of Explo	ained and Une	xplained Racio	al Differences		
	Total booke	ed charges	Total book	ed felonies	Total book	ed misdem.	Severity of bo	ook. offenses
			Typical Ob	served White [Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White	2.7	'89	2.0	021	0	.62		5.4
If Black	2.9	05	2.1	71*	0.5	62+	61.6	55***
If Latinx	2.7	'49	1.9	972	0.0	527	56.0	65**
			Typical Ob	served Black [efendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White	2.7	'35	1.9	99*	0.6	07+	45.8	39***
If Black	2.8	51	2.	149	0.	549	62	.14
If Latinx	2.6	95		95+	_	514	57	.14
			Typical Ob	served Latinx [Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White	2.9	13	2.	121		634	49.84**	
If Black	3.0		2.2	71+	0.5	576		.09
If Latinx	2.8	373	2.0	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 N	vo. Deleliaa	nt's race/ethr			-	ierii Oriiy)	
	Addad .	obaraas	Panel 1: Identi			felonies	Added misc	domognors
	Added	(2)		,		(2)	(1)	
Digale	(1) -0.0992+	-0.0930+	(1)	(2) -0.96	(1)	` ,	-0.0946***	(2)
Black			-0.344	(0.704)	-0.00465 (0.0424)	-0.0413 (0.0429)		-0.0490+
Ladia	(0.0508)	(0.0533)	(0.900)		, ,	, , ,	(0.0267)	(0.0254)
Latinx	-0.0846	-0.0747	-0.364	-1.005	-0.0342	-0.0185	-0.0603+	-0.0601
A -II - D2	(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 Davidado Car	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
	1			urce of Racial				
		charges I	Added	severity I		felonies I	Added misc	demeanors T
	Black-		DI 1 \A/I 'I		Black-		DI 1 14/1/1	
Diff	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
Difference	-0.099	-0.085	-0.344	-0.364	-0.005	-0.034	-0.095	-0.060
Age,								
gender.,	7.00/	7 40/	70.00	17 (0)	00.10/	00.50/	0.10/	5.00/
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%
			gnitude of Explo					
	Added	charges	Added	,	Added		Added misc	demeanors
			1	served White [1	
If White	0.7	791	10		0	.39	0.3	387
If Black		98+		95		349	0.3	
If Latinx	0.7	716	9.9	205	0.	372	0.3	327
			Typical Ob	served Black [Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White	0.7	84+	11.	.52	0.	427	0.3	41+
If Black	0.0	591	10	.56	0.	386	0.2	292
If Latinx	0.7	709	10.	515	0.	409	0.2	281
			Typical Ob	served Latinx (Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White	0.7	781	11.3	545	0.375		0.3	387
If Black	0.0	588	10.	585	0.333		0.3	338
If Latinx	0.7	706	10.54		0.356		0.327	

		Identification of Racial Dif	ication (Nonviolent only		
		iny charge		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	
	Pane	l 2: Source of Racial Differe	ences		
	Guilty of a	iny charge	Number of g	juilty 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 o	of Explained and Unexplain	ned Racial Differences		
	Guilty of a	iny charge	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	juilty charges	
		, ·	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.5	599	0.7	748	
If Black	0.5	596	0.7	747	
If Latinx	0.6	506	1	781	
			Defendant Characteristics		
If White		523		759	
If Black		62		758	
If Latinx	0.	63		792	
		•	Defendant Characteristics		
If White		585		718	
If Black		582	0.717		
If Latinx	0.5	592	0.7	751	

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racio	l Differences		
	Convicte	d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed charaes
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	0.0830***	0.0148	-0.0693**	-0.0121	3.520***	1.069
D.G.G.K	(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
EGIIIIX	(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
COMMON	110		Source of Racial Di		110	100
	Convicte	d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed 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,		0.027	0.007	0.0.0	0.020	2.2.0
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.	0.070	71170		00.070	61.75	11070
(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 Ex	plained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences	
		d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed charges
		Typica	l Observed White [Defendant Charac	•	<u> </u>
If White	0.2	252	0.5	505	10.	97
If Black	0.2	267	0.4	193	12.0	039
If Latinx	0.2	271	0.5	533	11.3	211
		Typica	l Observed Black D	Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	0.	32		147	13.4	431
If Black	0.3	335	0.4	135	14	.5
If Latinx	0.	34	0.475		13.0	572
		Туріса	Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	0.2	261	0.467		12.9	979
If Black		276		155	14.0	048
If Latinx	Ω	28	0.495		13.22	

		Pa	nel 1: Identifi	cation of Racia	l Differences					
		Sent	ence		Sent	ence, conditi	onal on conv	ction		
	(1)	(2	2)	(3)	(1)	(2	2)	(3)		
Black	0.148*	-0.0	906	-0.11	0.198+	-0.	145	-0.174+		
	(0.0711)	(0.0)	700)	(0.0669)	(0.104)	(0.0)	994)	(0.0967)		
Latinx	-0.190*	-0.0	759	-0.0804	-0.292*	-0.	171	-0.175		
	(0.0849)	(0.0)	723)	(0.0723)	(0.130)	(0.1	07)	(0.108)		
Adj. R²	0.00325	0.1	159	0.202	0.00464	0.1	96	0.207		
Basic controls	No	Y	es	No	Yes	N	0	Yes		
Guilty charges										
severity control	No	N	lo	Yes	No	N	0	Yes		
			Panel 2: Sou	rce of Racial Di	fferences					
		Sent	ence		Sent	ence, conditi	onal on conv	iction		
	Black-	Black-White		x-White	Black-	White	Latin	k-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% -14.49					
	Pa			ined and Unexp						
		Sent	ence			ence, conditi	onal on conv	iction		
				oserved White D	efendant Cho					
If White			763				.526			
If Black			443				515			
If Latinx		64.	468				823			
				bserved Black D	efendant Cho					
If White			.29				.114			
If Black			016				.103			
If Latinx		74.	196				.694			
				oserved Latinx [efendant Cho					
If White			.23				779			
If Black			042				066			
If Latinx		42.	722			66.	966			

			Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Raci	al Differences			
			bation	- mileaner er kael		bation cond	itional on conv	/iction
	(1)		(2)	(3)	(1)		(2)	(3)
Black	-0.0799		0712	0.0131	-0.269+		.222	0.205
Biddik	(0.109)		.105)	(0.109)	(0.147)		.146)	(0.145)
Latinx	0.213		.147	0.134	0.448*		306+	0.303+
Lamix	(0.155)		.139)	(0.118)	(0.191)		.160)	(0.157)
Adj. R ²	0.000409		.091	0.208	0.00484		.215	0.217
Basic controls	No	+	/es	No	Yes		No No	Yes
Guilty charges	110		100	140	100		110	100
severity								
control	No		No	Yes	No		No	Yes
GOTTIIGI	110			Source of Racial [110	100
		Pro	bation	ocarco or Raciar I	1	bation cond	itional on conv	/iction
	Black-		1	tinx-White	+	-White	1	x-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,	0.000	0.000	0.210	0.210	0.207	0.207	0.440	0.440
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.								1
(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%
· · ·	ı	Panel 3: Mag	nitude of Ex	plained and Une	plained Racio	l Differences	•	
			bation	•			itional on conv	viction
			Typical	Observed White	_			
If White		58	37.493			95	59.761	
If Black		62	9.322			11	72.827	
If Latinx		67	3.854			125	53.447+	
				l Observed Black	Defendant Ch	aracteristics		
If White		51	8.172			7	25.67	
If Black			5.066				36.769	
If Latinx		59	4.343			94	17.726	
			Typical	Observed Latinx	Defendant Ch			
If White		55	8.644			82	2.074+	
If Black		59	8.419			10	04.574	
If Latinx			0.765				73.628	

	Panel 1:	Identification of Racial Diff	ferences		
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GNI	_ 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	
	Pane	el 2: Source of Racial Differe	ences		
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GNI	_ 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 o	of Explained and Unexplain	ed Racial Differences		
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GNL charges		
		Typical Observed White D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.8	563	0.7	'05	
If Black	0.0	544	0.6	587	
If Latinx	0.8	551	0.7	'18	
		Typical Observed Black D	efendant Characteristics		
If White	0.0	563	0.6	593	
If Black	0.8	544	0.6	575	
If Latinx	0.0	551	0.7	'06	
		Typical Observed Latinx D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.8	563	0.6	86	
If Black	0.0	544	0.6	668	
If Latinx	0.0	551	0.6	599	

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	l Differences		
	% Plead	to other		harged	% Disn	nissed
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	-2.222+	-0.785	-1.315	-0.0704	1.007	0.713
Biddik	(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
23	(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 Di	fferences		
	% Plead	to other	% Discl	harged	% Disn	nissed
	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 Ex	plained and Unexp	olained Racial Diffe	rences	
	% Plead	to other	% Discl	harged	% Disn	nissed
		Typico	al Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	34	.53	14	.04	23.	31
If Black	33.	745	13	.97	24.0	023
If Latinx	32.	957	13.	237	23.9	954
		Typico	al Observed Black D	Defendant Charact	teristics	
If White	33.	085		.81	23.0	517
If Black	32	2.3	12	.74	24.	33
If Latinx	31.	512	12.	12.007		261
		Typico	al Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics	
If White	34.	013	14.	033	25.8	386
If Black	33.	228	13.	963	26.	599
If Latinx	32	.44	13.23		26.53	

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racic	al Differences			
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors		ors to felonies	Refi	lings	
	(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: 3	Source of Racial Di	ifferences	l .	l .	
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors		ors to felonies	Refi	lings	
	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 Ex	plained and Unexp	olained Racial Diffe	rences		
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors	Misdemean	ors to felonies	Refi	lings	
		Typica	Il Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	31	.42	3.0	966	9.2	212	
If Black	29.	776	2.2	266*	9.1	86	
If Latinx	30.	277	2.1	32**	9.0)44	
		Typico	al Observed Black [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	25.	724	4.9	21*	9.4	123	
If Black	24	.08	3.2	221	9.3	396	
If Latinx	24.581		3.087		9.255		
		Туріса	I Observed Latinx (Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	28.	993		33**		368	
If Black		349	2.7	733	9.3	342	
If Latinx	27	.85	2.5	2.599		9.2	

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	I Differences			
	Total	days	Total cust	tody 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: S	Source of Racial Di	fferences			
	Total	days	Total cust	tody days	Court	events	
	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-White	Black-White	Latinx-Whit	
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	3: Magnitude of Ex	plained and Unexp	olained Racial Diffe	rences		
	Total	days	Total cust	tody days	Court	events	
		Туріса	l Observed White D	Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	74	.44	18	.97	14	.92	
If Black	85.	52*	23.5	565+	15.	714	
If Latinx	85	.64	22.	186	13.7	785+	
		Typica	l Observed Black D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White	73.	93*	19.8	315+	15.	516	
If Black	85	.01	24	.41	16	.31	
If Latinx	85	.13	23.	031	14.3	881**	
		Typica	l Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	76	.03	15.	554	15.0	005+	
If Black	87	.11	20.	149	15.7	'99**	
If Latinx	87	87.23		18.77		13.87	

			ntification of Racia		olent only - part t	•
	Heo	rings	Non-administr		% New atto	rnev events
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Black	1.051*	0.533	-0.158	-0.124	-0.169	0.29
DIGCK	(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
LUIIIX	(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	0.000200 No	Yes
COLITION	110		Source of Racial Di		140	103
	Hec		Non-administr		% New atto	rnev events
	Hearings 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,	1.001	-1.004	-0.100	-0.074	-0.107	-0.077
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.	4.470	1.070	4.470	1.070	0.070	4.070
(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		5.5.5			57.12.0	
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 Ex	plained and Unexp		rences	
		rings	Non-administr		% New atto	rney events
			l Observed White D		teristics	,
If White	11	.59	6.6		11.	67
If Black	12.	123	6.5	33	11.	96
If Latinx	10.1	21**	5.83	33**	11.2	211
		Typica	l Observed Black D	efendant Charact	teristics	
If White	12.	117	6.6		11	.2
If Black	12	.65	6.5	01	11.	49
If Latinx	10.6	48***	5.801*		10.7	741
		Туріса	l Observed Latinx D	efendant Charac	teristics	
If White	11.4	!99**	6.58		11.2	249
If Black	12.0	32***	6.4	53*	11.5	
If Latinx	10	.03	5.763		10.79	

	Table DW4: D	efendant's i	ace/ethnicity	y and pre-fili	ng outcomes	(Drugs and w	veapons only)		
			Panel 1: Iden	tification of Ra	cial Differences	3			
	Total booke	d charges	Total book	ed felonies	Total booke	ed misdem.	Severity of bo	ook. 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: So	ource of Racio	l Differences		•		
	Total booke	d charges	Total book	ed felonies	Total booke	ed misdem.	Severity of bo	ook. offenses	
	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	
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: Ma	gnitude of Exp	lained and Un	explained Raci	al Differences			
	Total booke	d charges		ed felonies	Total booke		Severity of bo	ook. offenses	
			Typical OI	oserved White	Defendant Ch	aracteristics			
If White	3.4	71		23		021		2.9	
If Black	3.66	53+	2.57	75***	0.86	51***		3***	
If Latinx	3.2	24		055		996	75.	01*	
					Defendant Ch				
If White	3.40)5+	2.219***		1.00	08***	68.1	68.15***	
If Black	3.5	97	2.564		0.0	348		.28	
If Latinx	3.17	4**		14***		983*	80.	26*	
			Typical OI	oserved Latinx	Defendant Ch	aracteristics			
If White	3.5			35		006		37*	
If Black	3.76	4**		95***		346*		.5*	
If Latinx	3.3	41	2.	175	0.9	981	82.48		

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 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.

			Panel 1: Ident	fication of Ra	cial Differences			
	Added	charges	Addeds	severity	Added fo	elonies	Added miso	demeanors
	(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: So	urce of Racia	l Differences			
	Added	charges	Added s	severity	Added fo	elonies	Added misc	demeanors
	Black-							
	White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite	Black-White	LatWhite
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: Ma	gnitude of Expl	ained and Une	explained Racia	I Differences		
	Added	charges	Added s	severity	Added fo	elonies	Added misc	demeanors
			Typical Ob	served White	Defendant Cha	racteristics		
If White	0.8	865	12.	43	0.3	84	0.4	464
If Black	0.3	776	13.9	975	0.3	52	0.4	417
If Latinx	0.3	791	11.0	064	0.3	34	0.4	429
			Typical Ob	served Black	Defendant Cha	racteristics		
If White	0.0	902	17.0	065	0.4	68	0.4	411
If Black	0.8	813	18.	18.61		36	0.3	364
If Latinx	0.8	828	15.0	599	0.4	18	0.3	377
			Typical Ob	served Latinx	Defendant Cha	racteristics		
If White	0.8	886	15.4	406	0.4	16	0.4	437
If Black	0.	797	16.9	951	0.3	84	0.0	389
If Latinx	0.6	812	14.	Ω4	0.366		0.402	

	Panel 1:	Identification of Racial Dif	ferences		
	Guilty of c	any charge	Number of g	juilty 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	
	Pane	el 2: Source of Racial Differe	ences		
	Guilty of any charge		Number of g	juilty 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 o	of Explained and Unexplain	ned Racial Differences		
	Guilty of c	any charge	Number of guilty charges		
		Typical Observed White D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.8	599	0.5	731	
If Black	0.8	592	0.5	729	
If Latinx	0.8	599	0.5	756	
		Typical Observed Black D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.0	603	0.5	738	
If Black	0.8	596	0.7	736	
If Latinx	0.0	504	0.5	763	
			Defendant Characteristics		
If White		597	0.3	709	
If Black	0.8	589	0.5	707	
If Latinx	0.8	597	0.3	734	

Table D	W/: Delendani s	_			l weapons only -	pan b)		
<u> </u>	Camidata		ntification of Racio		Coverity of some			
		d felonies	Convicted misdemeanors		Severity of convicted charge			
DI I	(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: S	Source of Racial Di	fferences	T			
	Convicte	d felonies	Convicted m	nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed 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		
		3: Magnitude of Ex						
		d felonies		nisdemeanors	Severity of con	victed charges		
	001111010			Defendant Charac	•	violed charges		
If White	n ′	216		524	12.	24		
If Black		25	0.493		14.065+			
If Latinx		257	0.493		14.109			
II LUIIIX	0.2			U.525 14.109 I Observed Black Defendant Characteristics				
If White	0	29				45.		
			0.459		16.365+ 18.19			
If Black		324	0.428					
If Latinx	U.č	331	0.459 18.234			204		
16 / 4 / / / /			al Observed Latinx Defendant Charac					
If White		249	0.468		14.671			
If Black		283	0.438		16.4			
If Latinx See table DW4 fo		29	0.4	169	16.	54		

		Pa	nel 1: Identi	fication of Racia	Differences				
		Sent	ence		Sent	ence, conditi	onal on convi	ction	
	(1)	(2	2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	
Black	0.172*	-0.0	507	-0.0767	0.297**	-0.0)403	-0.0732	
	(0.0730)	(0.0)	887)	(0.0810)	(0.112)	(0.	131)	(0.125)	
Latinx	-0.0478	-0.0	634	-0.09	-0.0723	-0.	162	-0.176	
	(0.0884)	(0.0)	687)	(0.0687)	(0.138)	(0.	108)	(0.109)	
Adj. R ²	0.0019	0.1	24	0.18	0.00393	0.	149	0.164	
Basic controls	No	Y	es	No	Yes	N	lo	Yes	
Guilty charges									
severity control	No	N	lo	Yes	No	N	lo	Yes	
			Panel 2: So	urce of Racial Di	ferences				
		Sent	ence		Sent	ence, conditi	onal on convi	ction	
	Black-	White	Lati	nx-White	Black-	White	Latin	x-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%	-41.79	
Date arrest	10.8%	8.6%	-31.8%	-20.0%	17.9%	15.8%	-60.9%	-52.39	
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%	-10.69	
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%	-18.39	
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%	-31.59	
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%		-81.39	
	Ро	ınel 3: Magnit	ude of Explo	ained and Unexp	lained Racial	Differences			
		Sent	ence		Sentence, conditional on conviction				
				bserved White D	efendant Cho	aracteristics			
If White		68.	544		98.984				
If Black		65.	069		94.995				
If Latinx		64.	198		82.948				
			Typical C	bserved Black D	efendant Cho	aracteristics			
If White		103	.039		164.489				
If Black			815		157.86				
If Latinx		96.	506				.842		
			Typical C	bserved Latinx D	efendant Cho				
If White		57.	393			100	.195		
If Black		54.	483		96.157				
If Latinx		53.	754			83.	963		

		F	anel 1: Iden	tification of Racio	al Differences				
		Pr	obation		Prol	oation, condi	tional on conv	/iction	
	(1)		(2)	(3)	(1)		(2)	(3)	
Black	-0.148	-0	.0166	-0.0737	-0.178	0.	0551	0.0463	
	(0.130)	(C	.131)	(0.128)	(0.149)	(0	.158)	(0.156)	
Latinx	0.132	C	1.147	0.0882	0.305	0.	333*	0.328*	
	(0.182)	(0	1.166)	(0.146)	(0.187)	(0	.164)	(0.162)	
Adj. R ²	0.00033	4 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: Sa			ource of Racial D	ifferences				
		Pr	obation		Prol	oation, condi	tional on conv	/iction	
	Black	k-White	Lat	inx-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%	
	P	anel 3: Magr	nitude of Exp	lained and Unex	olained Racia	I Differences			
		Pr	obation		Probation, conditional on conviction				
			Typico	Il Observed White	Defendant C				
If White		(519.084				07.536		
If Black		(508.807		1063.051				
If Latinx		7	10.089			134	13.045*		
			Typico	al Observed Black	Defendant C	haracteristics	S		
If White		(603.447			93	3.228		
If Black			593.43		984.649				
If Latinx		(92.154			12	43.992		
			Typico	ıl Observed Latin	Defendant C	Characteristics	3		
If White		Ę	86.648			84	0.658*		
If Black		Ę	76.909		886.978				
If Latinx		ć	572.885			11:	20.597		

	Panel 1:	Identification of Racial Dif	ferences		
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GNI	L 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 Differen	ences		
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GN	L 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 o	f Explained and Unexplain	ned Racial Differences		
	Plead guilty o	of any charge	Total GNI	L charges	
		Typical Observed White E	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.5	96	0.725		
If Black	0.5	579	0.706		
If Latinx	0.8	59	0.739		
		Typical Observed Black D	Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.6	001	0.7	731	
If Black	0.5	584	0.7	712	
If Latinx	0.5	95	0.7	745	
		Typical Observed Latinx [Defendant Characteristics		
If White	0.5	589	0.694		
If Black	0.5	572	0.6	576	
If Latinx	0.5		0.7	708	

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	Differences			
	% Plead	to other	% Disch	narged	% 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 Di	ferences			
	% Plead	to other	% Disch	narged	% Disn	nissed	
	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	3: Magnitude of Ex	plained and Unexp	lained Racial Diffe	rences		
	% Plead	to other	% Disch	narged	% Disn	nissed	
		Typica	l Observed White D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White	38.87		15	61	25.	25	
If Black	37.9	969	15.608		27.214		
If Latinx	38.	377	14.745		26.868		
		Typico	ıl Observed Black D	efendant Charact	teristics		
If White	38.	011	15.402		26.176		
If Black	37	.11	15.4		28.14		
If Latinx	37.	518	14.537		27.794		
		Typica	Observed Latinx D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White	37.	753	15.255		26.832		
If Black		852	15.	253	28.7	796	
If Latinx	37	.26	14.39		28.45		

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	l Differences			
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors		ors to felonies	Refi	lings	
	(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	
20	(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	
			Source of Racial Di				
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors	1	ors to felonies	Refi	lings	
	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,		2					
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.				·	- 1		
(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 Ex	plained and Unexp	plained Racial Diffe	rences	•	
	Felonies to m	nisdemeanors	Misdemeand	ors to felonies	Refi	lings	
		Typico	al Observed White D	Defendant Charact	teristics		
If White	25	.91	3.6	583	11	.11	
If Black	21.4	23**	2.87		11.132		
If Latinx	23.	958	1.65**		10.751		
		Typico	al Observed Black D	Defendant Charact	eristics		
If White	21.6	77**	4.8	349	11.	699	
If Black	17	.19	4.0	036	11	.72	
If Latinx		725	2.816			.34	
			al Observed Latinx [
If White	22.	042	4.322**		10.999		
If Black	17.	555		509	11.021		
If Latinx	20	.09	2.289		10.64		

		Panel 1: Ide	ntification of Racia	l Differences			
	Total	days	Total cust	ody 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 Di	fferences			
	Total	days	Total cust	ody 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	3: Magnitude of Ex	plained and Unexp	lained Racial Diffe	rences		
	Total	days	Total cust	ody days	Court	events	
		Typico	I Observed White [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	84	.77	18	.67	15.	.59	
If Black	91.:	227	22.426		16.916*		
If Latinx	9	0	20.676		14.676		
		Typico	al Observed Black D	efendant Charac	teristics		
If White	97.:		29.854		17.364*		
If Black	10-	3.7	33	.61	18.69		
If Latinx	102	.473	31.86		16.4	1 5**	
		Typico	I Observed Latinx [Defendant Charac	teristics		
If White	88		21.404		ı	834	
If Black	94.		1	.16	17.1		
If Latinx	93	77	23.41		14.92		

Table B	W 14. Deletiaani		ntification of Racia		weapons only -	pan b)
	Нес	rings		ative hearings	% New atto	rnev events
	(1)	(2)	(1) (2)		(1) (2)	
Black	2.364***	0.944	0.0915	-0.298	-0.44	-0.0707
DIACK		-			_	
1 11	(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
=2	(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: S	Source of Racial Di			
	Hed	rings	Non-administr	ative hearings	% New atto	rney 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%
		3: Magnitude of Ex				-
		rings		ative hearings	% New atto	rnev events
				Defendant Charac		
If White	11	.99		376	11.	23
If Black		934	6.578		11.159	
If Latinx		319*		02+	11.345	
II Edili IX	10.0			Defendant Charact		540
If White	13	416				861
If Black		.36	7.268 6.97		10.861	
If Latinx		.50 45***	6.594		10.79	
II LUIIIX	12.2					7/0
lf \A/b:±-	77.		al Observed Latinx Defendant Charac			725
If White		391*	6.786+		10.935	
If Black		35***	6.488 6.112		10.864	
If Latinx See table DW4 for		.72	6.1	112	11.	UO



