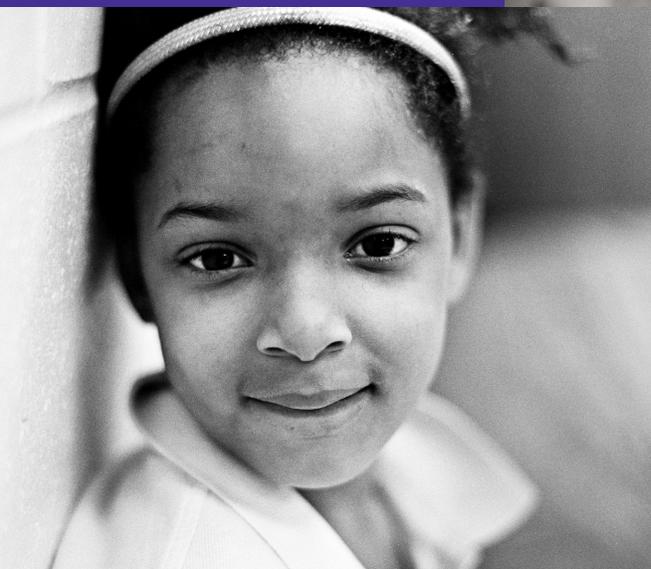


Sounding the Alarm: Criminalization of Black Girls in Florida



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DELORES BARR WEAVER ———
POLICY CENTER
————— SEE THE GIRL®

March 2021

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About the Policy Center

The Policy Center is a private nonprofit organization and an outgrowth of the Justice for Girls Movement that began in Florida more than 15 years ago. With national recognition for its work, the mission of the Policy Center is to engage communities, organizations, and individuals through quality research, advocacy, training, and model programming to advance the rights of girls, young women, and youth who identify as female, especially those impacted by the justice system. The goal of the Policy Center's Girl-Centered research inquiry is to ensure that policies, programs, and services are informed by the best available data trends and are grounded in the experiences of girls and young women. The Policy Center partners with girls to provide services and interventions across systems—school, diversion, detention, probation, court, lockup, and re-entry.

Since the Policy Center opened in 2013, the research team has published numerous research reports focusing on girls in the juvenile justice system. The research team monitors the experiences of system-involved girls through listening and focused attention in various ways: directly contacting girls who are navigating systems and experiencing barriers, collecting information from staff working with girls, participating in community meetings, reviewing policies and statutes, talking with experts in the field, and monitoring the data trends. Based on this, we have learned of the archaic, unfair, and restrictive policies and practices that keep young women and their children trapped in an intergenerational cycle of poverty.

The research has led to the Policy Center's ongoing strategic reform, including the development and implementation of innovative direct service program models and the passage of fundamental and historic legislation to improve policy and practice for girls impacted by the justice system. The Policy Center's community reform model is highlighted in the *Georgetown Journal of Law and Policy* (Ravoira & Patino Lydia, 2013). The Policy Center's research helps communities better understand the issues girls face, provides a platform to advocate for more resources, changes policy and/or practice, and creates interventions that support girls' well-being and future opportunities.

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Sounding the Alarm: Criminalization of Black Girls in Florida

Executive Summary

More than 300,000 Black girls attend K–12 public schools across Florida. Black girls represent about one in five girls, although this varies by location. It is imperative to consider data by race and ethnicity within gender to better understand differences in girls' experiences. The data illuminate ongoing systemic failures and criminalizing responses that put the overall well-being of Black girls at risk. This research brief is sounding the alarm about the experiences of Black girls, who are disproportionately impacted by the education and juvenile justice systems. Disparate responses across systems increase risk of exclusion, criminalization, and system involvement. This is a pressing priority that calls for transformational reforms.

In Florida, 36% of Black girls in middle and high school do not feel safe at school compared to the statewide average of 29% of all girls (Patino Lydia & Gordon, 2019). Datasets from the Florida Department of Education and Florida Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) provide context for levels of disciplinary exclusion, criminalization at school, and justice system involvement for these girls. Statewide, Black girls make up only 21% of girls ages 10–17, but they represent 45% of the girls who were arrested, 52% of girls on probation caseloads, 47% of the girls incarcerated, and 52% of the girls transferred into the adult criminal justice system. This overrepresentation has been consistent for the last decade.

What does this mean in real numbers? In 2019–2020, law enforcement arrested over 3,000 Black girls, over 850 were placed on juvenile probation, and 101 were incarcerated. There were 19 Black girls transferred to the adult system (FL DJJ, 2020b).

These numbers represent a significant overall reduction in arrests and incarceration from previous years. Last year saw a 19% reduction in the number of Black girls arrested and a 23% reduction in the number of White girls arrested. However, **what still remains is a disproportionate percentage of Black girls in the system**—half—compared to their portion of the general population (21%).

This report, *Sounding the Alarm*, brings together research in critical areas that warrant attention. It provides recommendations to address the mechanisms and policies that create disparate and harmful experiences for young Black girls in Florida. The successful implementation of the recommended reforms can start to reduce the number of Black girls entering the justice system.

The research calls attention to three critical findings:

Challenges at school contribute significantly to Black girls' disproportionate entry into Florida's juvenile justice system.

- **Fact:** Black girls account for half (49%) of the 46,666 girls suspended from school.
- **Fact:** Black girls represent half (49%) of the 1,529 girls who made contact with law enforcement at schools for incidents eligible for a civil citation or alternatives to arrest. The majority of such incidents were battery (fighting) and disorderly conduct.
- **Fact:** Over the last five years, one-fourth of Black girls eligible for a civil citation in school was arrested instead.
- **Finding:** Preliminary analyses of civil citation data during April–June, 2020, show decreases that are likely due to school closures during the pandemic. At least 250 fewer Black girls made contact with law enforcement in schools in that period compared to the prior year.

Young Black girls are entering the justice system at significantly greater rates than their peers.

- **Fact:** Black girls represent 83% of the 15 girls arrested under age 10 and 55% of the 524 girls arrested ages 12 or younger in 2019–2020. Although their numbers are higher, Black boys represent 48% of all boys arrested under age 10.
- **Fact:** In 2019–2020, the youngest girl arrested was a six-year-old Black girl.
- **Finding:** There were seven girls ages 6–9—all of whom were Black—arrested for a felony offense, such as assault or fighting.
- **Finding:** 43% of Black girls who were incarcerated experienced their first arrest by age 12, compared to 21% of White girls and 28% of Hispanic girls.

Responses to Black girls show geographical differences.

- **Fact:** Based on the general proportion of the Black girls in each county, there is a wide geographic variance in the local juvenile justice system response.
- **Finding:** One-fourth of Florida counties have a high overrepresentation of Black girls arrested or incarcerated. For example, in Alachua County, up to 82% of arrested girls and 100% of incarcerated girls were Black.
- **Finding:** Ten counties arrested 10 or more Black girls that were under age 12.

Recommendations

Data specific to Florida as well as a documented history of overrepresentation of Black youth in the justice system underscore the urgency for action. Specifically for Black girls, the data show criminalization of their behaviors in schools and support the latest literature on the adultification of Black girls. In comparison to White and Hispanic girls, Black girls in lock-up facilities are significantly more likely to have experienced their first arrest by age 12.

Adultification bias means that Black girls are held to different expectations and standards because they are perceived by the authorities as being older and thus more accountable. Stereotypes of Black girls and adultification bias are linked to harsher treatment from educators and authorities (Epstein et al., 2017). These biases and assumptions lead to less empathy and increased scrutiny of Black girls and contribute to unfair and severe punishments in schools and harsher juvenile justice system responses. It can derail the futures of Black girls.

The preliminary findings regarding the impact of school closures due to the COVID-19 pandemic show significant reductions in arrest and incarceration from April to June, 2020, compared to prior years. Specifically, there was reduced contact with law enforcement in schools, while arrests in the community did not increase.

The Policy Center recommends immediate action on the following three priorities:

1. Pass public policies that improve well-being and address the disparity in justice system entry points.

- Formulate and enact policies that ban suspension of children in Pre-K to third grade and invest in alternatives to suspension.
- Formulate and implement protocols between schools and law enforcement that delineate the roles of school resource officers and law enforcement to minimize push out or the criminalization of student behaviors (NBWJI, 2019).
- Use civil citation as an alternative to arrest in schools and the community to keep youth from having an arrest record.
- Fund increased school mental health services that are girl-centered, trauma-informed, and culturally responsive.
- Provide community-based alternatives outside of the juvenile justice system for families in crisis, such as respite care and family functional therapy.
- Formulate and enact policies that ban arrests for youth under age 12 unless they are an imminent threat of serious harm to another individual.

2. Use community data specific to the experiences of Black girls to inform local decisions.

- Review this report’s county-specific data on educational disparities, discipline, and juvenile justice to guide strategic dialogue. Include a review of local policies and practices.
- Use survey data from Florida Department of Education (DOE)/Youth Risk Behavior Surveys (YRBS) by gender and race to examine indicators of well-being. Update the tool to collect data about gender identity and the impact of the pandemic. Apply this knowledge to recommendations.
- Ensure that all schools and districts are tracking suspension data in a consistent way to verify the accuracy of available data. Examine available school district suspension data specific to Black girls and assess the extent to which girls of different racial and ethnic backgrounds are punished more harshly than their peers for behaviors such as a) disorderly conduct—defiance or talking back; b) dress or hair code violations; or c) touching, kissing, or sexual conduct (NWLC, 2017).
- Request that child-serving agencies disaggregate data (e.g., presenting needs) by race and ethnicity within gender and provide the critical information needed to inform decision-making and community investments.
- Engage girls in the community response. Conduct focus groups led by school districts in partnership with local universities or community providers to better understand the perspectives of Black girls on community-specific data. Guiding questions for focus groups include, a) Why do you think so many girls do not feel safe in school?, b) What would make you feel safer?, and c) What is happening in the school environment or community that makes girls feel hopeless? It is critical that Black girls who identify as LGBT participate in the dialogue.
- Engage girls in leadership roles in their communities and schools. The input from girls is central to understanding the impact of the decisions that policymakers and community leaders make. This includes advisory boards, days at the capitol, and school or community-based programs.

3. Identify and implement best practices and solutions that other states and jurisdictions are using to reduce systemic disparities for Black girls.

- Support schools to create safe spaces for girls that include access to an adult mentor or counselor in times of crisis. Staff assigned to safe spaces must be trained in culture responsiveness, trauma, de-escalation techniques, female development, skills building, community health. These programs have proven effective in reducing suspension rates and increasing school connectedness.
- Provide training and professional staff development that increases understanding and skills in the following topics: implicit bias, aspects of adultification, diversity, equity, and inclusion; female growth and development; a healing-centered approach to trauma; de-escalation and positive discipline approaches; and accessing community resources and referrals.

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Sounding the Alarm: Criminalization of Black Girls in Florida

Introduction

This research brief is sounding the alarm about the experiences of Black girls, who are disproportionately impacted by the education and juvenile justice systems. The Policy Center has released five major research briefs that have disaggregated indicators of well-being and juvenile justice system factors specific to girls over the last two years.

The data show that the safety of girls is compromised. They experience alarming rates of violence and victimization in their homes, schools, and communities. Continued systemic failures of education, child protection, and juvenile justice systems erode their well-being. Nationally, and in Florida, race continues to be a significant factor of disproportionate discipline, starting in school. According to the United States Government Accountability Office, Black three-year-olds were 3.6 times more likely to be suspended at least once compared to White preschoolers (US GAO, 2018). The data show that Black girls in particular experience higher rates of Exclusionary School Discipline (ESD) such as suspension and expulsion, and this is often in response to minor violations, such as dress code or defiance. In 2020, the Georgetown Law Center on Poverty and Inequality conducted a state-by-state survey on ESD Legislative Trends. Data revealed that 32 states and the District of Columbia have amended their laws to reduce the inequalities and disparities found in ESD and zero-tolerance policies (policies with predetermined disciplinary actions, for example suspension for uniform violation) (González, et al., 2020).

Half of the girls in Florida's juvenile justice system are Black girls.

Existing research has examined gender and racial bias in justice system processing and the re-traumatization of girls in the system. Research shows that zero-tolerance, discriminatory policies, and dangerous enforcement of school rules increase girls' likelihood of being pushed out of school through suspensions and school arrests (NWLC, 2017). The system's punitive response can ignore the trauma that drives girls' behavior or even exacerbates the trauma. The research to date calls for policymakers and system decision-makers to examine their practices for gender impact, structural gender bias, and net widening effects, particularly for girls of color in the juvenile justice system (Sherman, 2013).

Despite the success in reducing the overall number of girls involved in Florida's juvenile justice system, disparities by race still exist. Black girls are represented in the justice system in disproportionately high numbers. Half of the girls involved in Florida's juvenile justice system are Black girls, even though they are only one-fifth of girls in the general population.

Sounding the alarm to focus on why Black girls are still being arrested and incarcerated at higher rates than their peers is a pressing priority. Thus, the purpose of this research brief is to illuminate the experiences and disparities affecting Black girls living in Florida. The research analysis emphasizes the critical mechanisms at play and provides policy recommendations to address the practices and policies that create disparate and harmful experiences for young Black girls in Florida who are entering the juvenile justice system in disproportionate numbers.

In Florida, the data show that, once in the juvenile justice system, the proportions of Black girls continue to increase at every decision to detain, place on probation, or incarcerate. But the most critical finding is the mechanisms that criminalize Black girls, pull them into the system, and punish them disproportionately.

The findings provide a deeper analysis of these entry points into the justice system. The final section offers actionable recommendations about public policies, use of local data, and best practices to address disparities and improve well-being.

The Policy Center is committed to ensuring that the experiences and needs of Black girls who are impacted by the justice system are part of the local, state, and national dialogue on racial inequities, historical and racial trauma, and systemic racism. These reforms are long overdue.

Brief Summary of the Research Literature

The attitudes of police, judges, and probation officers become critically important; they can affect the assessment of public safety risk (Sherman & Balck, 2015), juvenile justice disposition (Moore & Padavic, 2010), and girls' probation experiences (Gaarder et al., 2004). Epstein, Blake, and Gonzalez (2017) found significant bias and evidence of adultification attitudes toward Black girls by key stakeholders. Some survey respondents (adults from across the nation with varying race, ethnicity, age, and education) perceive Black girls as older than White girls of the same age, more independent, and in need of less protection and support (Epstein et al., 2017). These adult perceptions about girls were consistent not only for Black girls in the 10–14 age group, but also toward Black girls in the 5–9 age group, suggesting that attitudes related to harsher punishment of Black girls starts at a young age. Such perceptions about girls and particularly girls of color can affect probation officers' assessments of the risk a girl poses, as well as their recommendations for disposition and sentencing (Sherman & Balck, 2015). Black girls in particular are often mischaracterized and mislabeled because of how they look, dress, speak, and act. In short, Black girls are devalued based on how others perceive them (Morris, 2016). Stereotypes of Black girls and adultification bias is linked to harsher treatment by educators and authorities (Epstein et al., 2017). These biases and assumptions lead to less empathy and increased scrutiny of Black girls; they contribute to unfair and severe punishments in schools and harsher juvenile justice system responses. They can derail the futures of Black girls.

Stereotypes of Black girls and adultification bias is linked to harsher treatment by educators and authorities.

Moore and Padavic's (2010) research shows that courts often punish girls' behavior differently, based on the girl's race or ethnicity. They found that even after accounting for the seriousness of offenses, prior record, and age, Black girls received more severe dispositions than White girls. Leiber and Beaudry-Cyr (2017) examined the interrelationship among race, ethnicity, and gender and the treatment of probation violators in juvenile justice proceedings and found that Black females were even more likely to be adjudicated delinquent than Black males.

Espinosa and Sorensen (2016) found that girls with histories of trauma served longer periods in confinement than boys due to violations of probation and related court orders. In contrast to boys, girls who received a disposition and were referred to court for violation of probation were 33% more likely to have experienced trauma (Espinosa & Sorensen, 2016). Research documents mechanisms—such as contempt of court and noncompliance with terms of probation—that play a role in regulating youth behavior (Chappell, 2019). Noncompliance can include technical violations, such as truancy or violating curfew. Smith, Rodriguez, and Zatz (2009) found that Black youth on community supervision were significantly more likely to have documentation of noncompliance (related to guardianship status or family factors). Noncompliance documentation was strongly affected by neighborhood socioeconomic status, and such youth received more severe court outcomes (Smith et al., 2009).

Voices from girls who have been involved with the juvenile justice system show that Black girls are often not heard and do not have positive experiences with system leaders. Girls ask that system leaders treat them fairly. Research is beginning to document the impacts of the system that contribute to additional trauma or feelings of “having no voice” (Patino Lydia, 2020).

Latasha shared, “Cop pulled over while I was walking, arrested me, and called me ‘N word.’”

Tiana wants the world to know, “It is not easy for a teen girl to lose their mom and do things grownups have to do; it’s not fun either.” She described wanting to “be able to tell my side of the story and explain why, what happened, and what we were going through in court... Instead, the judge made an example of me in the courtroom.” She believed that her case shouldn’t be in front of other people. She also remarked, “[I] don’t feel public defender was helpful because he was an older white man.”

Monica commented on how she experienced having to go to court in handcuffs and observed, “They don’t let anyone speak...wanted public defender to believe that I didn’t steal...wanted to tell judge I didn’t need to go to program because [I] didn’t do anything. I wanted them to give me [a] lie detector test and DNA test to prove myself.”

Why the Research Matters

This research has led to a better understanding of the disparities affecting Black girls. That information must inform policy and practice that can create positive change in our communities. Florida is home to 1.4 million girls enrolled in K–12 public schools. One in five enrolled girls is Black. In middle and high school, Black girls experience sadness (57%, felt sad most days in the year prior to taking the survey), hopelessness (35%, sometimes felt that life was not worth it), suicide ideation (16%, in the year prior to taking the survey seriously considered attempting suicide), and feeling unsafe in school (36%) and in their neighborhoods (16%) (see Appendix 1 for a county breakdown of emotional health indicators). One in six Black girls in middle and high school (15%) reported having a history of school suspension, and 2% reported an arrest history (compared to 4% of White girls having suspension histories and 1% with arrest histories) (FL DOH, 2018).

When we listen to and learn from girls, they share their fears, anxieties, and grief. They also share their love for their families and communities, their need for safety and understanding, and their desire to be heard.

Girls in Florida have experienced trauma—directly from those they love and through systemic trauma.

Black girls share the importance of being listened to and believed. They recognize the unfair treatment they experience from the systems that are supposed to help. Research literature also reflects how professionals fail to include girls in key decisions that impact their future by pushing them deeper into the system.

“Girls are stereotyped and are held to a different standard.”

“Hate the saying ‘girls should be seen, not heard.’”

“People don’t know what you’re thinking and can’t interpret with body language—you have to say it— they are not trying to be disrespectful.”

The inequalities perpetuated by racism impact the well-being of girls and create barriers in every aspect of their lives and their futures. If decision-makers were trained in trauma, gender-responsive, adolescent behavior, and best practices and were aware of their own biases, these outcomes could improve. Further, investing in alternatives to suspension and arrest and making mental health resources a priority can improve the future for girls.



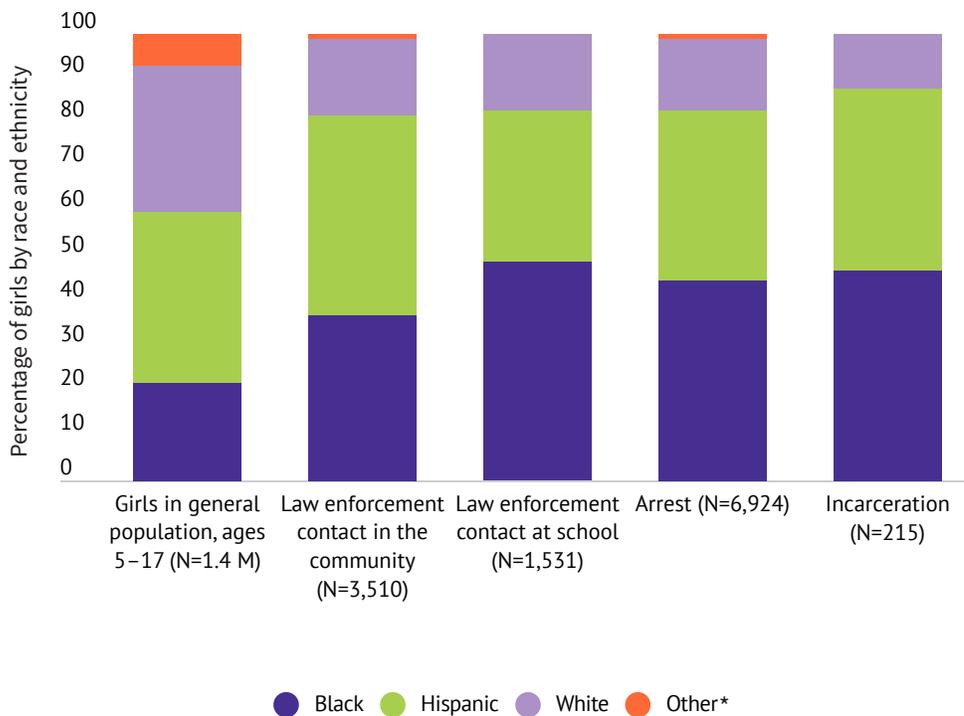
Research Findings: Criminalization of Black Girls

The disparate system response to girls of color increases their risk of exclusion, criminalization, and system involvement (contact with law enforcement at school, arrest, probation, juvenile lock-up, transfer to adult lock-up). Black girls represent the highest proportion of girls in Florida’s lock-up (47%), followed by White girls (41%), and Hispanic girls (12%) (FL DJJ, 2020b). Black girls enter the system through various mechanisms at alarmingly disproportionate rates.

Black girls make up 21% of the general population of girls in Florida. Yet at every point in the education and justice systems, Black girls are over-punished, beginning with suspension from school, then arrest, incarceration, and transfer to the adult system.

Following is a summary of research findings—how school responses contribute to the disproportionate entry into the juvenile justice system, how family conflict is criminalized in the community, adultification trends, and geographical differences in rates of arrest and lock-up of Black girls. The section ends with an exploration of the impact of school closure and stay-at-home orders during the COVID-19 pandemic on the preliminary reduction of initial arrests and incarceration for Black girls.

Figure 1: Proportions of Black Girls at Critical Points in the Justice System, 2019–2020



*Other is defined by FL DJJ as the total of Non-Hispanic: Alaskan Native, American Indian, Asian, Pacific Islander and Other.

Source: Author’s analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. DJJ Delinquency and Civil Citation and Alternative to Arrest Dashboard 2020, extracted January 2021.

Suspension and Criminalization at School

Black girls are being pushed out of school and into the juvenile justice system for disorderly conduct such as dress code violations, tardiness, attitude, disrupting class, and fighting with their peers (Morris, 2016; Stevens, Morash, & Chesney-Lind, 2011). Nationwide, girls from marginalized communities and girls of color—particularly Black girls—receive out-of-school suspensions at disproportionate rates compared to their White peers (The White House Council on Women and Girls, 2015, NWLC, 2017; U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2018). Florida is no exception.

- **Histories of suspension:** Of the 27,000 Florida girls who participated in the survey, 15% of Black girls in middle or high school reported a history of suspension, a rate almost four times higher than that of White girls (FL DOH, 2018).
- **Out-of-school suspension:** During the 2015–2016 school year, 46,666 girls received one or more out-of-school suspensions. Almost half (49%) of the girls suspended were Black (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2018).
- **Seclusion:** During the 2015–2016 school year, 81 girls were put into seclusion/involuntary confinement (alone in a room or area in school where the student is physically prevented from leaving); 52% of those were Black (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, 2018).
- **Law enforcement in school:** Of the 1,546 girls who came in contact with law enforcement at school and were eligible for civil citation, 49% were Black. One-fifth of those were arrested. The majority of these arrests were for assault or battery (47%) and disorderly conduct (39%); 5% were for misdemeanor drug violations, 3% were for misdemeanor obstruction of justice, 3% were for trespassing, 3% were for larceny, and less than 1% were for vandalism (FL DJJ, 2020a).

Criminalization in the Community

Black girls also come in contact with law enforcement in the community. In 2019–2020, 3,510 girls in the community were eligible for a civil citation or another alternative to arrest; 1,292 of those (37%) were Black. That same year, 331 Black girls came into contact with law enforcement the first time for family-related offenses (threat or physical contact with someone in the household). Family-related conflict represents one-fourth of the incidents that result in Black girls' contact with law enforcement in the community. More importantly, it is another gateway into the juvenile justice system (as a domestic violence arrest). The percentage of Black girls increases as they become more deeply involved in the juvenile justice system.

In 2019–2020, law enforcement arrested over 3,000 Black girls (45% of all arrested girls); judges placed over 850 Black girls on juvenile probation (52% of all girls on juvenile probation) and incarcerated 101 Black girls (47% of all incarcerated girls). In addition, 19 Black girls were transferred to the adult system (51% of all transferred girls) (FL DJJ, 2020b).

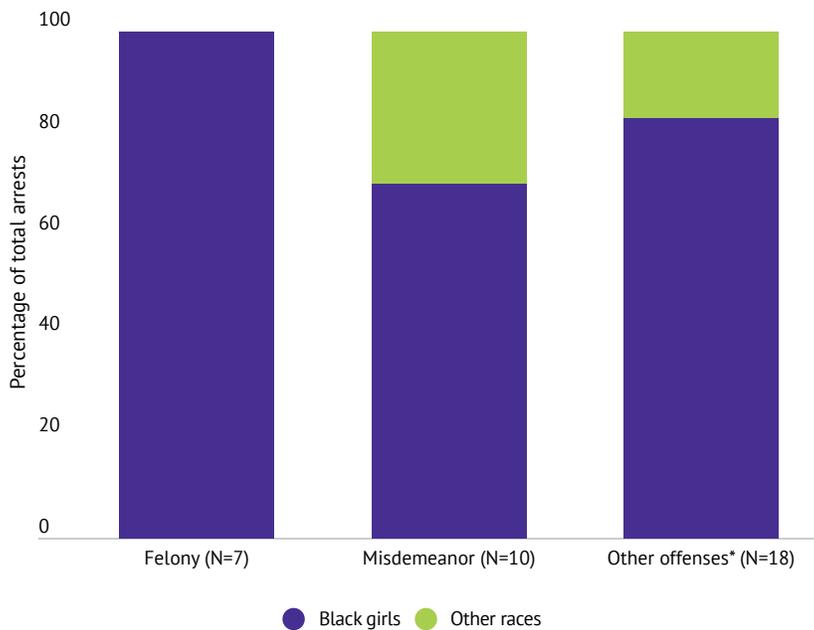
- **Underuse of Alternatives to Arrest/Civil Citation:** In the community, 1,292 Black girls were eligible for an alternative to arrest such as civil citation, but 43% were still arrested (FL DJJ, 2020a). Of the 550 arrests of Black girls, 37% were for a family-related offense.
- **Arrests:** There were 6,924 girls arrested; 45% of those were Black, 38% were White, 16% were Hispanic, and 1% were girls of other races (e.g., Native American, Asian, Multi-racial). In 2019–2020, the youngest Black girl arrested was 6 years old.
- **Secure Detention:** Of the 2,212 girls placed in secure detention, 52% were Black, 33% were White, 15% were Hispanic, and less than 1% were of another race.
- **Probation:** There were 1,643 girls placed on probation; 52% were Black, 34% were White and 14% were Hispanic. Violating terms of probation (e.g., not going to school, running away, curfew violations) can result in detention or lock-up. In Florida last year, 14 Black girls, 18 White girls and 7 Hispanic girls were incarcerated for a technical violation of probation as their most serious offense.
- **Lock-up:** There were 215 girls in lock-up: almost half of those were Black (47%), 41% were White, and 12% were Hispanic.
- **Direct File:** There were 37 girls under the age of 18 transferred to the adult system. Of those, 51% were Black, 35% were White, and 14% were Hispanic (FL DJJ, 2020b).

Adultification of Young Black Girls

Black girls are being arrested at younger ages than children of other races and are receiving more serious charges. This finding is aligned with the research on the adultification of Black girls. In Florida, there were seven girls under age 10 charged with felonies—all of whom were Black. Of all the arrests of girls ages 6–9 in Florida, 83% were Black girls (see Figure 2). Among arrested girls ages 12 and under, 55% were Black. Felonies are not expunged when children turn 18, and they are impacted by this criminal record for life.

- **Contact with law enforcement or eligibility for alternatives to arrest:** There were 558 girls ages 12 and younger that came into contact with law enforcement, in 2019–2020. The percentage of Black girls in this age group (55%) is even higher than the percent of Black girls of all ages that came in contact with law enforcement at school (49%) or in the community (41%). This initial point is critical; all of these girls were eligible for a pre-arrest diversion alternative, because this was their first charge. Of the arrested girls under age 12, 52% were Black (Department of Juvenile Justice Civil Citation and Other Alternatives to Arrest Dashboard, extracted January 2021).
- **Arrests of youth under age 10:** There were 7 girls ages 6–9 who were charged with felony offenses. All of them were Black (100%). Six of these felonies were issued for aggravated assault or battery (fighting) and one for attempted manslaughter (no intent to kill).
- **Girls in lock-up, age at first arrest:** Of Black girls who were incarcerated, 43% experienced their first arrest by age 12, compared to 21% of White girls and 28% of Hispanic girls (FL DJJ, 2018).

Figure 2: Girls Arrested Statewide, Ages 6–9, by Type of Charge, 2019–2020



*Other offenses include technical violations of probation.

Source: Author’s analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. Delinquency Dashboard 2020, extracted January 2021.

Geographical Differences in System Responses for Black Girls

In 2019–2020, more than 3,000 Black girls were arrested, over 850 were placed on juvenile probation, and more than 100 were incarcerated (FL DJJ, 2020b). Table 1 describes the disproportionate rates of arrest and lock-up for Black girls, by county. About half of girls incarcerated in Florida are Black, but there are major geographical differences within the state (see Appendix 3 for arrest and Appendix 4 for incarceration by county).

- One-fourth of Florida counties have a high overrepresentation of Black girls arrested and incarcerated in their counties (see Table 1 below). For example, in Alachua County, Black girls represent 34% of the general population, but are 82% of arrests and 100% of girls committed or incarcerated in that county. In Broward County, Black girls are 39% of the general population, but are 57% of arrests and 87% of girls incarcerated. In Orange County, Black girls are 25% of the general population, but 56% of arrests and 67% of girls incarcerated.
- Seven counties (Broward, Hillsborough, Lake, Manatee, Palm Beach, Pinellas, and Polk) have charged ten or more girls ages 6–12 with a felony offense, and ten counties (Brevard, Escambia, Hillsborough, Lake, Marion, Orange, Osceola, Polk, Seminole, and Volusia) have charged ten or more girls with misdemeanors. In all the counties mentioned, Black girls of all ages are overrepresented.

Table 1: Disparity of Black Girls Arrested and Incarcerated, by County, FY 2019–2020

County	% of Black girls in general population	Arrest		Incarceration	
		Total girls arrested	Black girls as % of total arrests	Total girls incarcerated	Black girls as % of total incarcerations
Alachua	34%	88	82%	7	100%
Brevard	15%	273	36%	5	20%
Broward	39%	371	57%	8	87%
Duval	43%	201	67%	11	64%
Escambia	35%	328	72%	19	63%
Highlands	17%	50	44%	6	33%
Lee	14%	191	29%	10	20%
Manatee	14%	177	34%	7	71%
Marion	20%	183	40%	7	29%
Orange	25%	536	56%	9	67%
Palm Beach	28%	330	55%	8	50%
Pinellas	19%	287	55%	7	86%
Polk	20%	394	46%	16	38%
St. Lucie	31%	148	59%	7	43%
Volusia	16%	252	42%	12	50%

Source: Authors’ analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Dashboard, January 2021.

Impact of School Closures

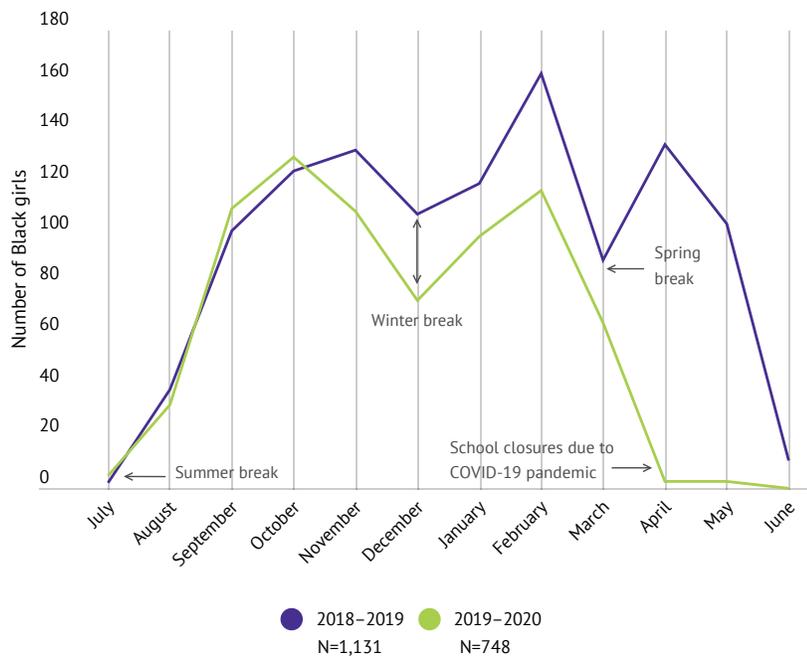
One possible result of COVID-19 school closures may be an overall reduction in system involvement—in the contact with law enforcement, arrests, and incarceration. The number of first-time incidents involving girls in the juvenile justice system declined significantly from the year prior.

Specifically, the data suggest that the significant reduction of arrests at school during the three-month period (April–June 2020) when schools were closed due to the pandemic has affected the number of Black girls pushed into the justice system. This suggests that practices such as zero-tolerance policies at school operate as a gateway into the system. This presents an opportunity for interventions and different responses in schools when students return.

- Given the numbers of civil citations prior to school closure and stay-at-home orders in March of 2020, both the initial contact and number of likely arrests for first-time misdemeanor charges were on track to be higher in 2019–2020 than the previous year (if trends had remained the same).
- Due to the school closure, the number of contacts with law enforcement decreased. Specifically in April–June 2020, there were only 6 contacts, in comparison to 250 contacts during the same prior period (see Figure 3). Additionally, the lower number of contacts is related to months when students are traditionally not in school (summer months, spring break, winter break), based on data obtained in January, 2021.
- The COVID-19 pandemic has not resulted in an increase in contact with law enforcement in the community (see Figure 4).
- The COVID-19 pandemic has contributed to a significant reduction in arrests. There was a 19% reduction in the number of Black girls compared to the year prior (see Figure 5).
- More significantly, there was a 41% reduction in the number of Black girls sent to lock-up (see Figure 6).
- More data will be needed to monitor the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on other indicators of girls' well-being, such as suicide ideation, depression, victimization, and a lack of support and family connection.

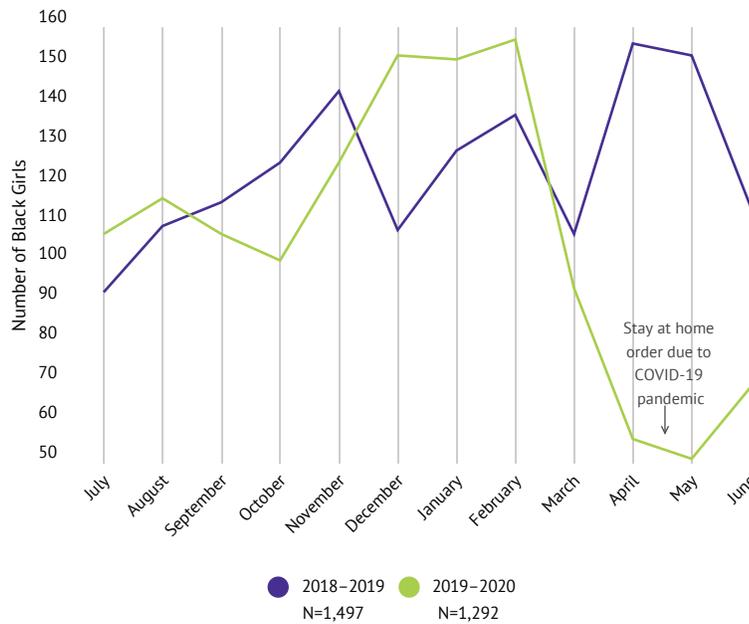
All nine girls' residential facilities have been impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic; 25 girls in lock-up have tested positive. Although information about race and ethnicity is not available for positive cases in lock-up, we can estimate that at least half are Black girls. As of February, 2021, 73 staff in girls' programs had tested positive (FL DJJ, 2021).

Figure 3: Black Girls' Contact with Law Enforcement at School, 2018–2020



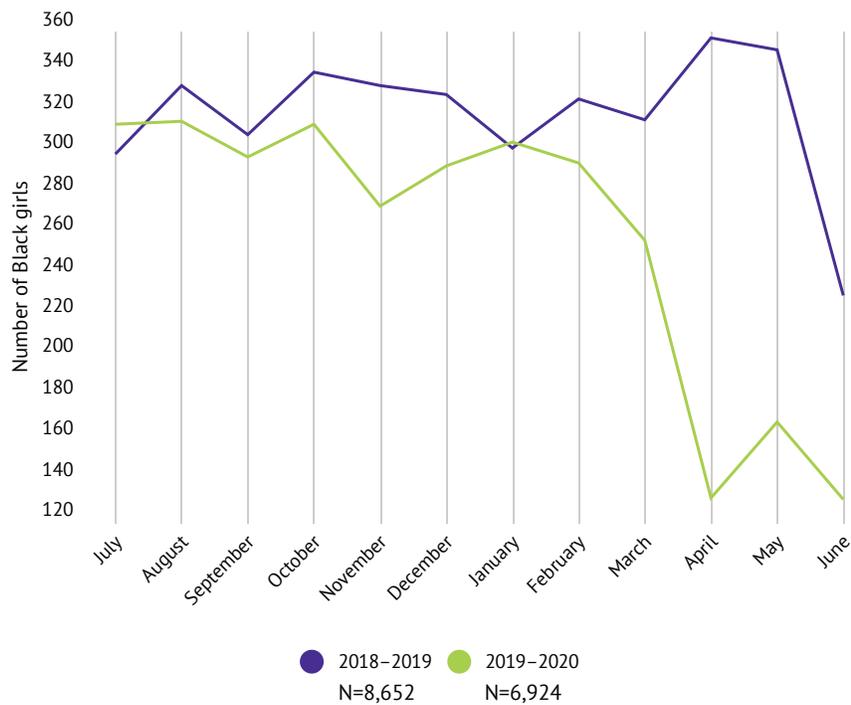
Source: Authors' analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice DJJ Civil Citation Dashboard, extracted January 2021.

Figure 4: Black Girls' Contact with Law Enforcement in the Community, 2018–2020



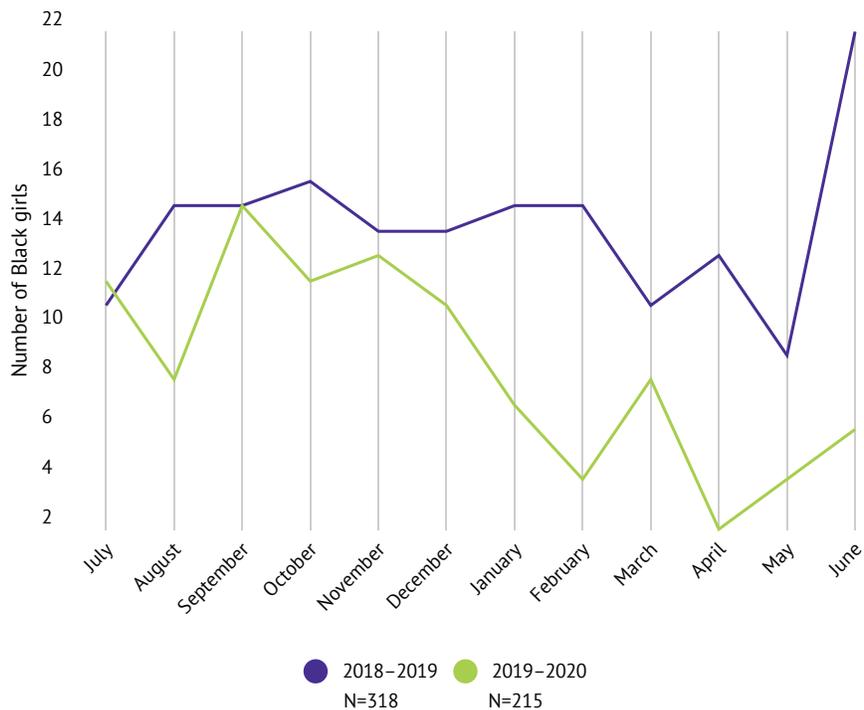
Source: Authors' analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice DJJ Civil Citation Dashboard, extracted January 2021.

Figure 5: Black Girls Arrested by Month, 2018–2020



Source: Authors' analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice DJJ Delinquency Dashboard, extracted January 2021.

Figure 6: Black Girls Incarcerated by Month, 2018–2020



Source: Authors' analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice DJJ Delinquency Dashboard, extracted January 2021.

Recommendations

Sounding the alarm to focus on Black girls—who are still being arrested and incarcerated at higher rates than their peers—is a pressing priority. Girls in Florida have experienced trauma—directly from those they love and through the education and juvenile justice systems. This research supports a call for holding systems accountable in their responses to Black girls.

Policymakers are critical, but equally important are all of those who directly interact with girls and who have the power to make a difference in their lives—school administrators, teachers, counselors, police officers, state attorneys, and judges. Everyone can be a change agent if they are willing to see girls, understand their life experiences, and make decisions to address needs instead of reacting to behaviors. Decision-makers can use their position to provide interventions aligned with needs.

Focusing on Black girls—who are still being arrested and incarcerated at higher rates than their peers— is a pressing priority.

These research findings document the disproportionate entry of young Black girls into the juvenile justice system. Responses to school incidents that result in a juvenile justice involvement vary widely, depending on the community. The data show this criminalization in schools and support the latest literature on the adultification of Black girls. Adultification creates an environment in which Black girls are held to different expectations or standards, in which they are perceived as more culpable and less in need of protection, supports, and comfort (Epstein et al., 2017). This bias puts Black girls at an increased risk of unfair punishments in schools and disparities in juvenile justice outcomes.

The preliminary findings regarding the impact of school closures during the COVID-19 pandemic on reduction in arrests and incarceration during April–June 2020—specifically linked to reduced contact with law enforcement in schools—have significant implications. Due to reduced arrests at school during the three-month period, the number of Black girls pushed into the justice system during that time decreased. Arrests in the community during this time have not increased. This supports the position that school responses do indeed serve as a gateway into the justice system. It also presents an opportunity for intervention. In addition, we must continue to monitor what is happening in homes to gauge the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on girls' well-being—which is already precarious, as indicated by suicide ideation, depression, victimization, lack of support and family connection.



Improve Available Data to Inform Practice and Policy Reforms

The Policy Center's position is that it is imperative to use the data to better understand how, where, and why current practices are creating racial and gender disparities and are failing to help all girls. There are incredible opportunities to use the copious data that are already collected by Florida Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ), Florida Department of Education (DOE), and Florida Department of Children and Families (DCF). Disaggregating these data and using them to make decisions will improve practice and policy at the state and local levels. Analyzing data by race and ethnicity within gender can advance gender and racial justice.

- **School discipline data:** The DOE must disaggregate school discipline data by race and ethnicity within gender and expand their understanding of gender identity to be more inclusive.
- **Delinquency data:** The DJJ must add more race and ethnicity categories (aligned with DOE), create a detention admissions dashboard, and report reasons for detention admissions by race and ethnicity within gender.

The Policy Center recommends immediate action on the following three priorities:

Pass public policies that improve well-being and address the disparity in justice system entry points.

- Formulate and enact policies that ban suspension of children in Pre-K to third grade and invest in alternatives to suspension.
 - » Early intervention strategies that limit contact with law enforcement and decriminalize youthful behavior are critical for addressing the adultification bias and disparate system response to young Black girls.
 - » See H.R. 5325 Ending Pushout Act of 2019 to reduce exclusionary discipline practices in schools and for other purposes.
 - » Formulate and implement protocols between schools and law enforcement. Delineate the roles of school resource officers and law enforcement to minimize pushout or criminalization of student behaviors (NBWJI, 2019).
- Use civil citation as an alternative to arrest in schools and the community to keep youth from having an arrest record.
- Fund increased school mental health services that are girl-centered, trauma-informed, and culturally responsive.
- Provide community-based alternatives outside of the juvenile justice system for families in crisis, such as respite care and family functional therapy.

-
- Formulate and enact policies that ban arrests for youth under age 12, unless they are an imminent threat of serious harm to another individual.
 - » States such as California (California Welf. & Inst. Code 602) set the minimum age of delinquency at 12, except in cases of murder or rape; Texas (Tex. Fam. Code Ann 52.02 (2) (A) sets the age for delinquency at 10; Louisiana (La. Child. Code Ann. Art 804 (3) sets the minimum age of delinquency at 10.
 - » Reintroduce the Kaia Rolle Act (CS/CS SB 7040 and HB 7065), which prevents children from being arrested, unless they are an imminent threat of serious harm to another individual.

Use community data specific to the experiences of Black girls to inform local decisions.

- Review this report’s county-specific data on educational disparities, discipline, and juvenile justice trends to guide strategic dialogue. Include a review of local policies and practices.
- Use survey data from Florida Department of Education (DOE)/Youth Risk Behavior Surveys (YRBS) by gender and race to look at indicators of well-being. Update the tool to collect data about gender identity and impact of the pandemic. Apply this knowledge to recommendations.
- Ensure that all schools and districts are tracking suspension data in a unified way to verify the accuracy of available data. Examine available school district suspension data specific to Black girls and assess the extent to which girls of different racial and ethnic backgrounds are punished more harshly than their peers for behaviors such as disorderly conduct—defiance or talking back, b) dress or hair code violations, or c) touching, kissing, or sexual behaviors (see NWLC, 2017).
- Request that child-serving agencies disaggregate data (e.g., presenting needs) by race and ethnicity within gender and provide the critical information needed to inform decision-making and community investments.
- Engage girls in the community response by conducting focus groups on community-specific data led by school districts in partnership with local universities or community providers to better understand the perspectives of Black girls. Guiding questions for focus groups include: 1) Why do you think so many girls don’t feel safe?, 2) What would make you feel safer?, and 3) What’s happening in the school environment or community that makes girls feel hopeless? It is critical that Black girls who identify as LGBT participate in the dialogue.
- Engage girls in leadership roles in their communities and schools. The input from girls is central to understanding the impact of the decisions that policymakers and community leaders make. This includes advisory boards, days at the capitol, school- or community-based programs.

Identify and implement best practices and solutions that other states and jurisdictions are using to reduce systemic disparities for Black girls.

- Support schools to create safe spaces for girls that include access to an adult mentor or counselor in times of crisis. Staff assigned to safe spaces must be trained in culture responsiveness, trauma, de-escalation techniques, female development, skills building and community health. These programs have proven effective in reducing suspension rates and increased school connectedness. See examples of models in the Appendix of *Make Girls a Priority* (Patino Lydia, Gordon, Basra, & Ravoira, 2021).
- Provide training and professional staff development that increases understanding and skills in the following topics: implicit bias, aspects of adultification; diversity, equity, and inclusion; female growth and development; healing-centered approaches to trauma; de-escalation techniques and positive discipline approaches; and access to community resources and referrals.

Learn More: Policy Center Research Studies

Research to Action: Make Girls a Priority in Florida (2021), highlights the challenges girls and young women face and offers specific recommendations from the research on education and juvenile justice policy changes, school and community investments, and raising public awareness to address educational and well-being disparities.

<https://www.seethegirl.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Florida-Girls-Publication-1.14.21.pdf>

Status of Girls Educational Attainment (2019), the first in a three- part series, this report looks at how girls are faring in school and the disparities that exist for them by county and by race and ethnicity.

<https://www.seethegirl.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Full-Report-Eduational-Attainment.pdf>

Status of Girls Well-Being (2019), the second publication in the Status of Girls series, this report examines girls' well-being on emotional health indicators and highlights the victimizations that girls are facing.

<https://www.seethegirl.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Well-BeingReportFinal.pdf>

Girls in Secure Detention (2019), is a look at how girls are placed in detention and the traumatic impact it has. This report provides policy recommendations and cost saving alternatives to detention.

<https://www.seethegirl.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Girls-in-Secure-Detention-in-Florida.pdf>

Breaking the Cycle: Policies and Practices Creating Barriers that Trap Young Women into Poverty (2019), is a report on the impact of intergenerational poverty on education, employment, and housing for justice- involved young women.

<https://www.seethegirl.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Poverty-brief-Final-1.pdf>

In addition to the research briefs, the Policy Center, in partnership with The Children’s Campaign, is developing a strategic plan to prioritize issues that negatively impact girls and to recommend responses for communities, education, child welfare, and juvenile justice systems to improve well-being outcomes for all girls in Florida.

Justice for Girls Blueprint for Action 2021 (forthcoming), The Blueprint is a renewed call to action. Although reform for girls in Florida has advanced with numerous positive policies and programs, progress has been sluggish in critical areas:

- Decriminalization of girls of color
- Reduced use of Baker Acts/mental health
- Prevention of cross-over from the child welfare system
- Safeguarding victims of sex trafficking from the juvenile justice system
- Use of civil citation and other alternatives
- Remedies for the overuse of secure detention for technical violations of probation
- Clarity on the emerging disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on the victimization and emotional, mental, and physical health of girls in our communities.

To learn more about the Policy Center’s Justice for Girls movement and Position Statement for Gender and Racial Equity, visit seethegirl.org.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Black Girls' Emotional Health Indicators, 2018

County	Hopelessness	Sadness	Do not feel safe in their neighborhood	Do not feel safe at school
Alachua	40%	62%	18%	26%
Baker	36%	60%	13%	43%
Bay	37%	53%	8%	26%
Bradford	33%	64%	13%	37%
Brevard	28%	56%	9%	30%
Broward	34%	54%	20%	45%
Calhoun	33%	56%	6%	25%
Charlotte	21%	38%	8%	41%
Citrus	35%	47%	21%	28%
Clay	27%	53%	8%	28%
Collier	39%	47%	22%	37%
Columbia	32%	66%	19%	25%
Dade	35%	62%	42%	51%
Desoto	28%	56%	19%	35%
Dixie	50%	50%	13%	20%
Duval	37%	63%	21%	51%
Escambia	40%	58%	15%	26%
Flagler	47%	68%	10%	24%
Franklin	22%	33%	13%	42%
Gadsden	41%	61%	16%	43%
Gilchrist	0%	29%	14%	36%
Glades	18%	59%	19%	12%
Gulf	20%	30%	11%	22%
Hamilton	29%	49%	12%	42%
Hardee	54%	54%	36%	8%
Hendry	22%	50%	28%	52%
Hernando	36%	48%	4%	32%
Highlands	42%	67%	25%	38%
Hillsborough	43%	59%	13%	31%
Holmes	38%	56%	14%	40%
Indian River	44%	57%	5%	33%
Jackson	29%	51%	15%	40%
Jefferson	40%	56%	17%	27%
Lafayette	40%	100%	0%	40%
Lake	45%	58%	17%	35%
Lee	32%	49%	7%	34%
Leon	37%	60%	17%	31%
Levy	30%	64%	18%	30%

Appendix 1 continued

County	Hopelessness	Sadness	Do not feel safe in their neighborhood	Do not feel safe at school
Liberty	40%	67%	0%	83%
Madison	37%	49%	15%	45%
Manatee	30%	55%	11%	28%
Marion	30%	63%	18%	35%
Martin	26%	37%	0%	21%
Monroe	36%	58%	9%	37%
Nassau	38%	44%	0%	25%
Okaloosa	36%	64%	14%	34%
Okeechobee	26%	48%	17%	44%
Orange	31%	54%	20%	33%
Osceola	39%	68%	3%	39%
Palm Beach	28%	59%	28%	44%
Pasco	48%	64%	21%	38%
Pinellas	36%	54%	17%	24%
Polk	38%	54%	12%	45%
Putnam	31%	56%	22%	45%
St. Johns	29%	51%	15%	21%
St. Lucie	22%	51%	8%	42%
Santa Rosa	59%	76%	4%	34%
Sarasota	40%	70%	20%	18%
Seminole	33%	42%	12%	42%
Sumter	30%	47%	21%	27%
Suwanee	25%	50%	9%	27%
Union	33%	42%	10%	42%
Volusia	39%	68%	14%	39%
Wakulla	38%	54%	14%	42%
Walton	30%	60%	40%	36%
Washington	40%	67%	12%	37%
Statewide	35%	57%	16%	36%

Source: Author's analyses of Florida Youth Substance Abuse Survey (FYSAS), 2018.

Data are not available for Taylor County.

Hopelessness was interpreted from the "yes and YES!" response on survey question, "Sometimes I feel like life is not worth it."



Appendix 2: Black Girls' First Contact with Law Enforcement in the Community and at School, 2018–2020

County	% of Black girls in general population	FY 2018–2019		FY 2019–2020	
		N	Black girls	N	Black girls
Alachua	34%	91	60%	56	66%
Baker	13%	18	28%	7	0%
Bay	13%	75	31%	62	27%
Bradford	23%	6	50%	8	38%
Brevard	15%	153	31%	176	35%
Broward	39%	498	56%	288	62%
Calhoun	10%	2	0%	3	0%
Charlotte	9%	50	14%	39	15%
Citrus	5%	29	10%	25	20%
Clay	16%	85	32%	61	39%
Collier	12%	195	22%	93	18%
Columbia	22%	32	50%	13	23%
Dade	20%	307	41%	212	41%
Desoto	12%	32	28%	13	23%
Dixie	8%				
Duval	43%	260	61%	247	61%
Escambia	35%	180	67%	150	65%
Flagler	14%	52	29%	30	40%
Franklin	11%	2	100%	5	60%
Gadsden	72%	5	80%	4	75%
Gilchrist	4%	1	0%	6	0%
Glades	10%	2	0%	1	0%
Gulf	12%	7	29%	2	100%
Hamilton	38%	11	64%	10	100%
Hardee	6%	22	9%	6	17%
Hendry	13%	25	20%	26	38%
Hernando	8%	84	14%	66	17%
Highlands	17%	34	44%	22	50%
Hillsborough	21%	484	44%	324	46%
Holmes	4%	2	0%		
Indian River	17%	32	53%	23	52%
Jackson	31%	10	50%	7	57%
Jefferson	65%	4	100%		
Lafayette	7%			3	33%
Lake	15%	144	35%	151	36%
Lee	14%	206	24%	123	25%

Appendix 2 continued

County	% of Black girls in general population	FY 2018–2019		FY 2019–2020	
		N	Black girls	N	Black girls
Leon	44%	131	56%	58	71%
Levy	12%	18	22%	15	13%
Liberty	10%				
Madison	48%	9	78%	2	100%
Manatee	14%	144	33%	118	36%
Marion*	20%	167	40%	102	39%
Martin	7%	71	23%	40	23%
Monroe	11%	31	6%	17	12%
Nassau	7%	24	17%	29	14%
Okaloosa	12%	155	19%	135	10%
Okeechobee	8%	36	17%	11	18%
Orange	25%	386	43%	322	45%
Osceola	11%	171	16%	132	22%
Palm Beach	28%	302	47%	247	49%
Pasco	8%	232	18%	191	23%
Pinellas	19%	360	48%	279	53%
Polk	20%	423	37%	340	41%
Putnam	25%	39	59%	42	50%
Santa Rosa	5%	50	12%	57	9%
Sarasota	8%	102	15%	105	22%
Seminole	15%	230	37%	163	46%
St. Johns	7%	89	17%	93	32%
St. Lucie	31%	139	58%	80	59%
Sumter	13%	21	5%	9	33%
Suwannee	15%	32	38%	15	27%
Taylor	26%	8	50%	7	29%
Union	12%	4	25%		
Volusia	16%	250	36%	125	30%
Wakulla	10%	5	20%	11	18%
Walton	6%	54	7%		
Washington	17%	12	17%		
Statewide	20%	6,840	38%	5,040	40%

Source: Authors' analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice Civil Citation Dashboard, January 2021.

Appendix 3: Arrests of Black Girls, by County

County	% of Black girls in general population	FY 2018–2019		FY 2019–2020		Black girls age 12 and younger	
		N	Black girls % of arrests	N	Black girls % of arrests		
Alachua	34%	137	74%	88	82%	2	100%
Baker	13%	24	38%	11	27%	2	
Bay	13%	124	36%	104	35%	6	83%
Bradford	23%	17	59%	12	17%	2	100%
Brevard	15%	194	38%	273	36%	20	35%
Broward	39%	505	60%	371	57%	19	47%
Calhoun	10%	3	0%	3	0%		
Charlotte	9%	60	17%	47	26%	2	
Citrus	5%	38	13%	45	16%	1	
Clay	16%	67	15%	42	19%	2	
Collier	12%	145	15%	103	18%	6	
Columbia	22%	34	53%	22	18%	1	100%
Dade	20%	389	52%	235	51%	8	63%
Desoto	12%	36	36%	26	35%	4	75%
Dixie	8%	6	17%	3	0%	0	
Duval	43%	290	73%	201	67%	8	75%
Escambia	35%	341	69%	328	72%	36	81%
Flagler	14%	48	29%	50	46%	3	100%
Franklin	11%	4	75%	4	50%		
Gadsden	72%	15	73%	9	89%	1	100%
Gilchrist	4%	7	29%	10	30%		
Glades	10%	4	25%	3	0%		
Gulf	12%	7	43%	4	100%		
Hamilton	38%	19	84%	20	90%	3	100%
Hardee	6%	42	10%	26	8%	7	14%
Hendry	13%	19	32%	32	25%	3	33%
Hernando	8%	117	18%	82	11%	6	17%
Highlands	17%	80	38%	50	44%	9	11%
Hillsborough	21%	652	52%	521	54%	46	65%
Holmes	4%	7	0%	4	0%		
Indian River	17%	48	48%	30	60%	2	100%
Jackson	31%	13	62%	8	75%	1	100%
Jefferson	65%	11	73%	10	60%		
Lafayette	7%	3	33%	4	50%		

Appendix 3 continued

County	% of Black girls in general population	FY 2018–2019		FY 2019–2020			
		N	Black girls % of arrests	N	Black girls % of arrests	N	Black girls age 12 and younger
Lake	15%	204	35%	179	43%	24	67%
Lee	14%	321	28%	191	29%	4	25%
Leon	44%	129	77%	102	76%	4	75%
Levy	12%	31	26%	32	31%	6	50%
Liberty	10%	3	33%	0	0%		
Madison	48%	11	82%	7	71%	3	67%
Manatee	14%	166	45%	177	34%	21	62%
Marion	20%	249	44%	183	40%	18	67%
Martin	7%	65	17%	42	24%		
Monroe	11%	15	13%	13	15%	1	
Nassau	7%	31	16%	23	17%		
Okaloosa	12%	200	20%	177	16%	7	71%
Okeechobee	8%	49	22%	26	15%	2	
Orange	25%	603	53%	536	56%	21	48%
Osceola	11%	245	23%	231	23%	21	24%
Palm Beach	28%	450	50%	330	55%	24	38%
Pasco	8%	233	21%	200	21%	10	10%
Pinellas	19%	365	54%	287	55%	22	82%
Polk	20%	463	42%	394	46%	55	55%
Putnam	25%	40	58%	46	50%	7	43%
Santa Rosa	5%	98	13%	87	18%	9	22%
Sarasota	8%	100	33%	94	34%	1	
Seminole	15%	267	41%	194	49%	17	59%
St. Johns	7%	52	13%	53	11%	3	
St. Lucie	31%	205	56%	148	59%	11	55%
Sumter	13%	25	28%	15	40%	1	
Suwannee	15%	40	38%	28	36%	4	25%
Taylor	26%	13	31%	15	47%		
Union	12%	7	43%	3	33%		
Volusia	16%	369	39%	252	42%	27	41%
Wakulla	10%	6	33%	12	0%	1	
Walton	6%	60	8%	43	5%		
Washington	17%	8	75%	9	33%		
Statewide	20%	8,637	44%	6,924	45%	524	51%

Source: Authors’ analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Dashboard, January 2021.

Appendix 4: Incarceration of Black Girls, by County

County	% of Black girls in general population	FY 2018–2019		FY 2019–2020	
		N	Black girls % of incarcerations	N	Black girls % of incarcerations
Alachua	34%	12	92%	7	100%
Baker	13%	1	0%	0	0%
Bay	13%	3	100%	2	50%
Bradford	23%	1	0%	1	0%
Brevard	15%	11	36%	5	20%
Broward	39%	13	85%	8	87%
Calhoun	10%	0		1	0%
Charlotte	9%	0		0	0%
Citrus	5%	1	100%	0	0%
Clay	16%	3	33%	4	25%
Collier	12%	12	33%	3	0%
Columbia	22%	6	33%	3	0%
Dade	20%	10	80%	3	67%
Desoto	12%	0		1	0%
Dixie	8%	0		0	0%
Duval	43%	15	93%	11	64%
Escambia	35%	30	50%	19	63%
Flagler	14%	0		1	100%
Franklin	11%	0		0	0%
Gadsden	72%	1	100%	0	0%
Gilchrist	4%	0		0	0%
Glades	10%	0		0	0%
Gulf	12%	1	0%	0	0%
Hamilton	38%	1	100%	0	0%
Hardee	6%	1	0%	1	0%
Hendry	13%	0		2	0%
Hernando	8%	4	50%	1	0%
Highlands	17%	5	20%	6	33%
Hillsborough	21%	6	67%	4	75%
Holmes	4%	0		0	0%
Indian River	17%	5	40%	1	100%
Jackson	31%	0		2	100%
Jefferson	65%	0		0	0%
Lafayette	7%	0		0	0%

Appendix 4 continued

County	% of Black girls in general population	FY 2018–2019		FY 2019–2020	
		N	Black girls % of incarcerations	N	Black girls % of incarcerations
Lake	15%	6	50%	8	63%
Lee	14%	9	44%	10	20%
Leon	44%	11	64%	4	50%
Levy	12%	2	50%	0	0%
Liberty	10%	0		0	0%
Madison	48%	1	0%	1	100%
Manatee	14%	5	60%	7	71%
Marion	20%	10	50%	7	29%
Martin	7%	3	33%	1	0%
Monroe	11%	1	0%	0	0%
Nassau	7%	0		3	33%
Okaloosa	12%	8	38%	4	0%
Okeechobee	8%	0		1	0%
Orange	25%	20	75%	9	67%
Osceola	11%	7	71%	1	100%
Palm Beach	28%	14	71%	8	50%
Pasco	8%	9	0%	5	0%
Pinellas	19%	10	50%	7	86%
Polk	20%	20	45%	16	38%
Putnam	25%	1	0%	0	0%
Santa Rosa	5%	9	22%	5	0%
Sarasota	8%	5	20%	2	0%
Seminole	15%	3	67%	2	100%
St. Johns	7%	0		0	0%
St. Lucie	31%	4	50%	7	43%
Sumter	13%	1	100%	0	0%
Suwannee	15%	3	33%	4	50%
Taylor	26%	2	0%	1	0%
Union	12%	0		0	0%
Volusia	16%	11	45%	12	50%
Wakulla	10%	0		1	0%
Walton	6%	0		1	0%
Washington	17%	0		2	0%
Statewide	20%	317	54%	215	47%

Source: Authors' analysis of Florida Department of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Dashboard, January 2021.

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