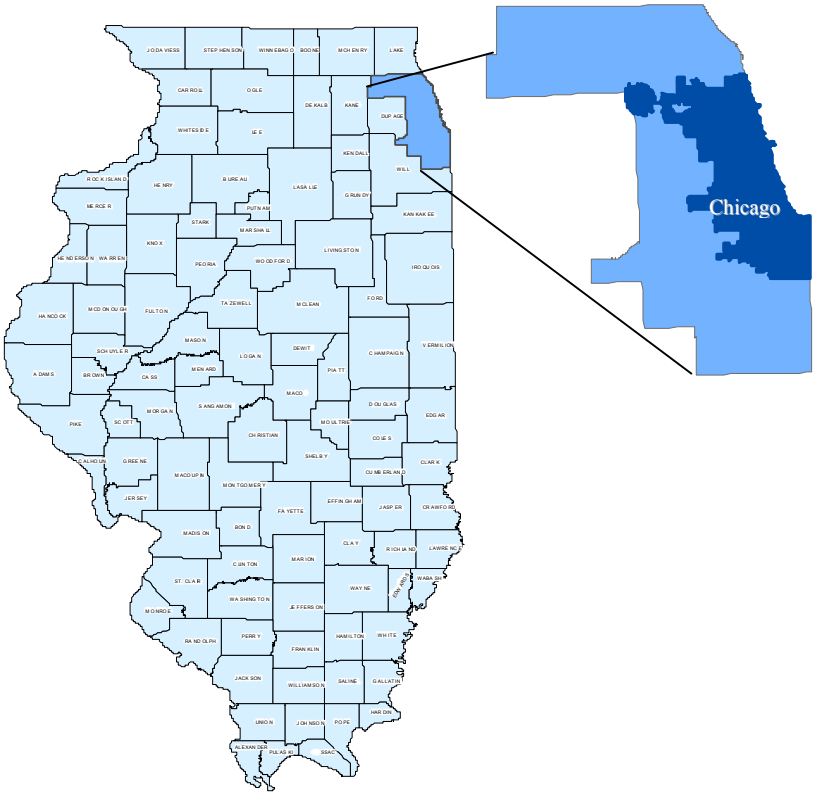
A Study of Disproportionate Minority Representation in the Cook County Juvenile Justice System

Part I:
An Assessment of Disproportionate Minority Representation at Key Decision Points in the Cook County Juvenile Justice System



Prepared by

The Research and Analysis Unit of the
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ILLINOIS
CRIMINAL JUSTICE
INFORMATION AUTHORITY

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Prepared for

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Executive Summary

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974 is a federal law intended to provide support to state and local juvenile justice systems (42 U.S.C § 5601-5785). In order to receive this support, each state must periodically submit a state plan to the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. The plan is to be developed and approved by a state advisory group. In Illinois the state advisory group is the Illinois Juvenile Justice Commission of the Illinois Department of Human Services.

Since 1998, when the JJDP Act was amended by the U.S. Congress, the state plan was required to include a section on disproportionate minority confinement in state detention and correctional facilities. Disproportionate minority confinement occurs when members of minority groups are represented in detention and correctional facilities at proportions higher than their representation in the general population.

The Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority completed a two-part report intended to assess the level and extent of racial disproportionality in the Cook County juvenile justice system. The report is intended to assist the Illinois Juvenile Justice Commission with the disproportionate minority confinement section of the state plan. This summary describes methods and results from both parts of the report.

Part One: Disproportionate Minority Representation in the Aggregate

Part One of the report used broad, aggregate data to examine the overall level and extent of disproportionate minority representation (DMR) at multiple stages in the Cook County juvenile justice system process. Part One treated the juvenile justice system process as a series of sequential stages. At each stage, decisions are made which may: (1) remove juveniles from the juvenile justice system, (2) keep juveniles in the juvenile justice system, but not move them on to the next stage (i.e., move them "deeper" into the juvenile justice system), or (3) move juveniles on to the next stage. One possible "final stage" is confinement in a secure detention or correctional facility. Figure I shows an abridged flowchart of the juvenile justice system process, with the aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system examined in Part One of the report shaded in the figure. By examining these stages, the report examined not just disproportionate minority confinement but, more generally, disproportionate minority *representation* at multiple stages.

Figure I only shows the sequential stages that lead to post-trial confinement in a secure detention or correctional facility. Part One of the report examined both post-trial and pre-trial confinement. Pre-trial confinement was examined in a section of Part One of the report that was separate from the section examining stages shaded in Figure I. On the whole, decisions related to pre-trial confinement (through detention screenings or detention hearings) occur after a juvenile is referred to court, irrespective of subsequent flow through the juvenile justice system process shown in Figure I.

Figure II shows pre-trial confinement decision making processes, again with aspects examined in Part One shaded in the figure.

Figure I
Abridged Flowchart of the Juvenile Justice System Process

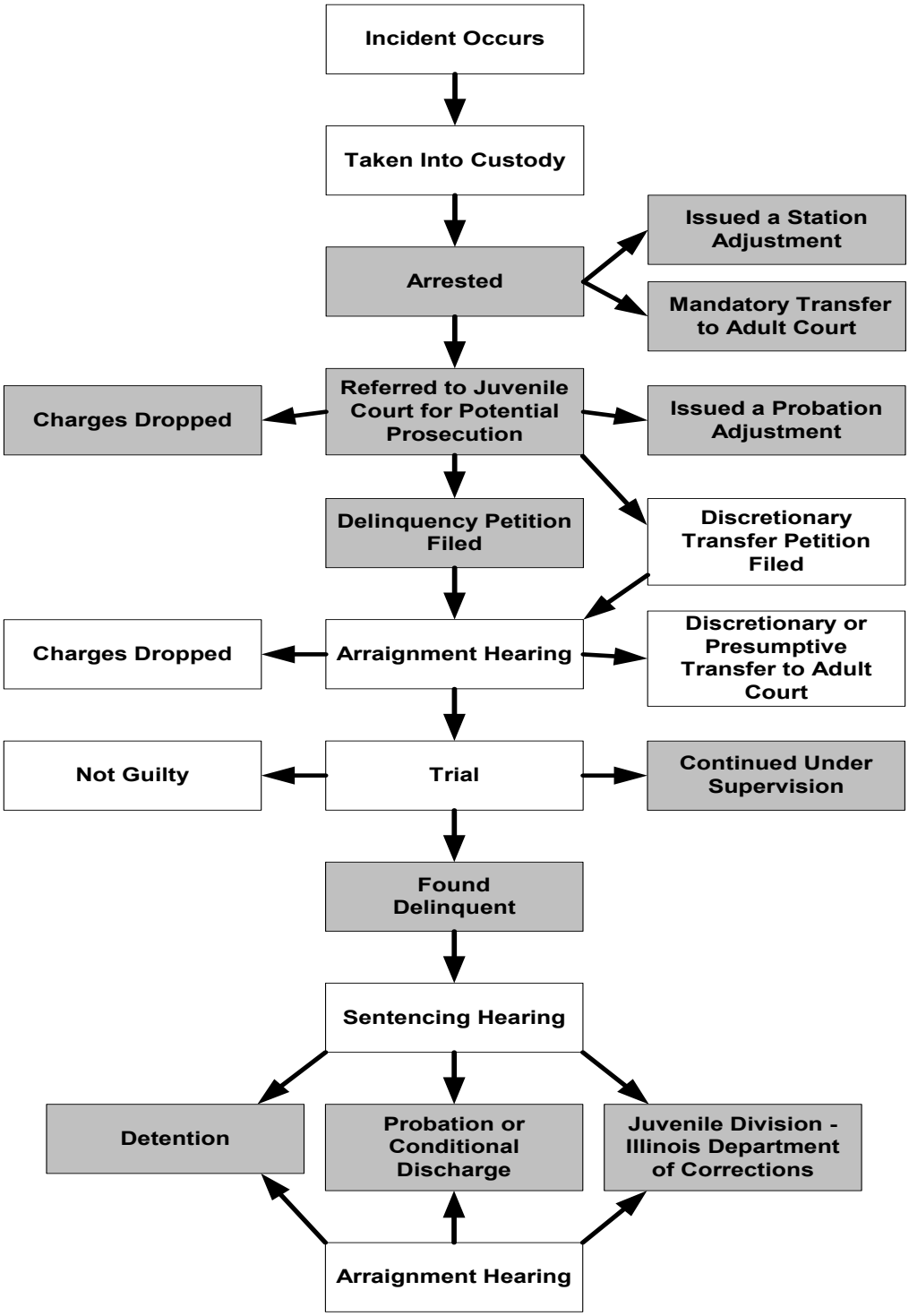
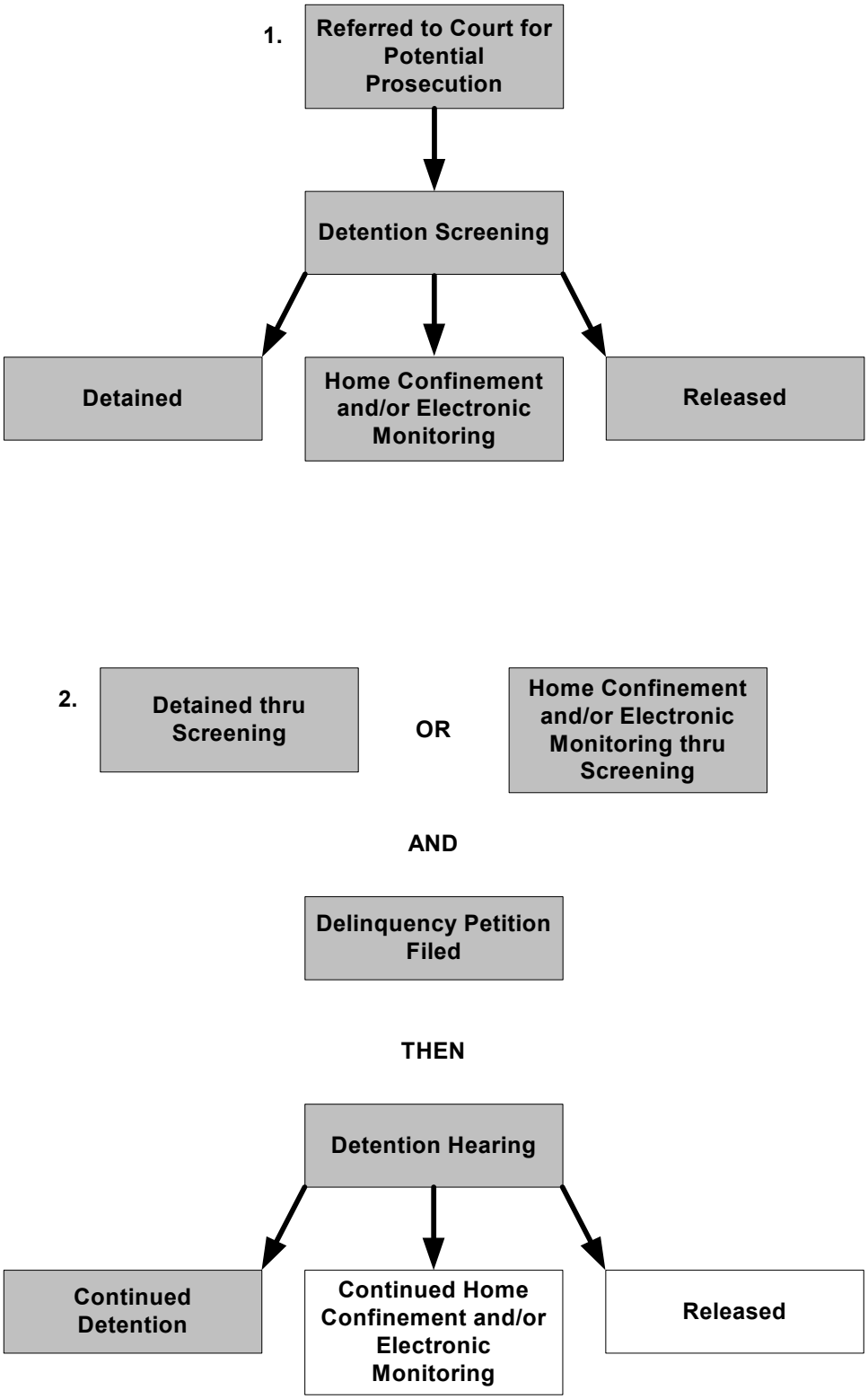


Figure II
Pre-Trial Confinement Process in the Juvenile Justice System



Part One: Method

With the exception of data on arrests and referrals to juvenile court, all data on the aspects shaded in Figure I and Figure II were obtained from the Cook County Juvenile Probation and Court Services Department (juvenile probation) and from the Office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Cook County (circuit clerk's office). Data was obtained which made it possible to calculate the total number of juveniles by race involved in each of the aspects shaded. The data pertained to juveniles *ages 10-16* who were involved in each of the aspects from *1996-1999*. Data was aggregated across these ages and years. The following three racial groups were examined: (1) *Caucasian*, (2) *African-American*, and (3) *Hispanic*.[1]

In addition to disaggregating the data by race, the data was also disaggregated by *gender, geographic location (Chicago vs. suburban Cook County), and offense type (violent offense vs. property offense vs. drug offense vs. weapons offense vs. other offense)*. This made it possible to add additional context to analyses examining representation by race. For example, it made it possible to examine if overrepresentation in a particular aspect of the juvenile justice system is particularly prevalent among male African-Americans from Chicago.

The exception to the two paragraphs above is that, for arrests and referrals to juvenile court, data was not obtained from juvenile probation or from the circuit clerk's office. Instead, data was obtained from the Chicago Police Department and individually from 92 law enforcement agencies in suburban Cook County. It was only possible to obtain 1999 data from the Chicago Police Department. Thus, only 1999 data was examined for the arrest and court referral aspects of the juvenile justice system.

Using U.S. Census Bureau population data in conjunction with the data described above, two basic statistics were calculated for each aspect of the juvenile justice system shaded in Figure I and Figure II: (1) representation indices, and (2) disparity indices.

Representation Index

Each representation index examined the representation of a single racial group or subgroup (e.g., a racial subgroup might be African-American females, Hispanics who were arrested for property offenses, etc.) at a single aspect or stage of the juvenile justice system, relative to the representation of the racial group or subgroup in the general population. The representation indices were calculated as follows:

[1] Throughout both parts of the report, expressions such as "by race", "racial groups", etc., are used to collectively describe Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics. Such expressions are not comprehensive, as Hispanics constitute an ethnic group as opposed to a racial group. In order to maintain simplicity and parsimony in the text, the word ethnic is excluded when collectively describing the three groups. Similarly, for parsimony, throughout both parts of the report, the term Hispanic is used to describe all individuals of Hispanic and Latino descent (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, etc).

$$(1)\ \%\ \text{represented in system aspect} = \frac{\#\ \text{in system aspect for racial group or subgroup}}{\text{total}\ \#\ \text{in system aspect}}$$

AND

$$(2)\ \%\ \text{represented in general population} = \frac{\text{racial group or subgroup population}}{\text{total juvenile population}}$$

THEN

$$(3)\ \text{Representation Index (RI)} = \frac{\%\ \text{represented in system aspect}}{\%\ \text{represented in general population}}$$

As an example, to calculate the RI for African-Americans who have had juvenile delinquency petitions filed against them, first determine (1) the percentage of all those who had a delinquency petition filed against them that are African-American, and (2) the percentage of the total juvenile population that is African-American, then (3) divide the percentage calculated in (1) by the percentage calculated in (2).

The RI can be interpreted as follows:

- **RI < 1** means that representation of the racial group in the aspect of the juvenile justice system being examined is **less than** the representation of the racial group in the general population.

- **RI = 1** means that representation of the racial group in the aspect of the juvenile justice system being examined is **equal to** the representation of the racial group in the general population.

- **RI > 1** means that the representation of the racial group in the aspect of the juvenile justice system being examined is **greater than** the representation of the racial group in the general population.

- **RI > 2** means that the representation of the racial group in the aspect of the juvenile justice system being examined is **more than twice that of** the representation of the racial group in the general population.

According to this interpretation, RI statistics that are greater than one indicate disproportionate overrepresentation.

Disparity Index

Certain aspects of the juvenile justice system proceed in stages. Some stages precede or are preceded by other stages. For example, arrests precede court referrals, court referrals in turn precede the filing of a delinquency petition, and so on. After a juvenile proceeds to a particular stage, it is useful to examine whether the juvenile proceeds from that stage to the subsequent stage. Disparity indices are similar to representation indices, except that disparity indices examine representation at a particular stage relative to representation <u>at the previous stage</u>, as opposed to representation in the general population.

For a juvenile justice system stage, X, and the successive stage, Y, the disparity index statistic for racial group or subgroup, Z, would be calculated as follows:

$$\text{Disparity Index (DI)} = \frac{\text{\% of racial group or subgroup Z at stage Y}}{\text{\% of racial group or subgroup Z at stage X}}$$

As an example, to calculate the DI for African-Americans who were referred to court relative to a subsequent stage, such as African-Americans who had a delinquency petition filed against them, first determine the percentage of those who were referred to court that are African-American (% referred to court), and the percentage of those who had a delinquency petition filed against them that are African-American (% delinquency petition filings), and then divide % delinquency petition filings by % referred to court.

The DI is interpreted in approximately the same manner as the RI, with DI statistics greater than one indicating greater representation at the *subsequent, or later*, stage, DI statistics less than one indicating greater representation at the *earlier* stage, and DI statistics equal to one indicating equal representation at the two stages.

<u>Part One: Results</u>

Stages Leading to Post-Trial Detention

Figure I shows that data was obtained on the following sequential stages that may, as an end result, culminate in post-trial confinement in a secure detention or correctional facility: (1) arrest, (2) referral to juvenile court for potential prosecution, (3) delinquency petition filing, and (4) being found delinquent. Juveniles who proceed past these four stages may be confined in a secure detention or correctional facility.

Table I shows representation indices for the arrest stage for Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics for Cook County as a whole. Table I also shows court referral, delinquency petition filing, findings of delinquency, and post-trial confinement in the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections disparity indices for Cook County as a whole.

Table I can be interpreted as follows. The arrest stage is, in some respects, the "gateway" stage for involvement in the juvenile justice system. As such, the arrest stage plays an important role in determining minority representation in the juvenile justice system. If certain racial groups are over or under represented at the arrest stage, then the relevant question to ask for subsequent stages is whether the stage adds to or minimizes the level of over or under representation that occurred at the arrest stage. Thus, Table I shows RI's for the arrest stage to show initial levels of representation upon "entering the gate", and DI's for subsequent stages to show the direction of change in representation after the arrest stage.

Table I
Representation in Juvenile Justice System Stages
Leading to Post-Trial Confinement – Cook County

Juvenile Justice System Stage	Race		
	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic
Representation Index:			
Arrest	0.61	1.91	0.56
Then, Disparity Index:			
Court Referral	0.42	1.18	1.19
Delinquency Petition	0.80	1.07	0.88
Found Delinquent	0.97	1.02	1.04
Juvenile – IDOC	0.61	1.06	1.01

Figure III provides a visual interpretation of the representation and disparity levels listed in Table I. Essentially, Figure III provides separate lines for Caucasian, African-American, and Hispanic juveniles showing initial representation at the arrest stage and increases or decreases in representation at subsequent stages. Increases or decreases in representation at subsequent stages are based on approximations made using the disparity indices in Table I.

At the top of Figure III, the three lines begin with the arrest stage (the point parallel to the label "Arrested" in Figure III). The lines are located at a place on the Representation Index scale in Figure III that approximates the representation indices shown in Table I (0.61 for Caucasians, 1.91 for African-Americans, and 0.56 for Hispanics). Then, at subsequent stages, Figure III uses the disparity indices in Table I to approximate how much that stage adds to or minimizes over or under representation.

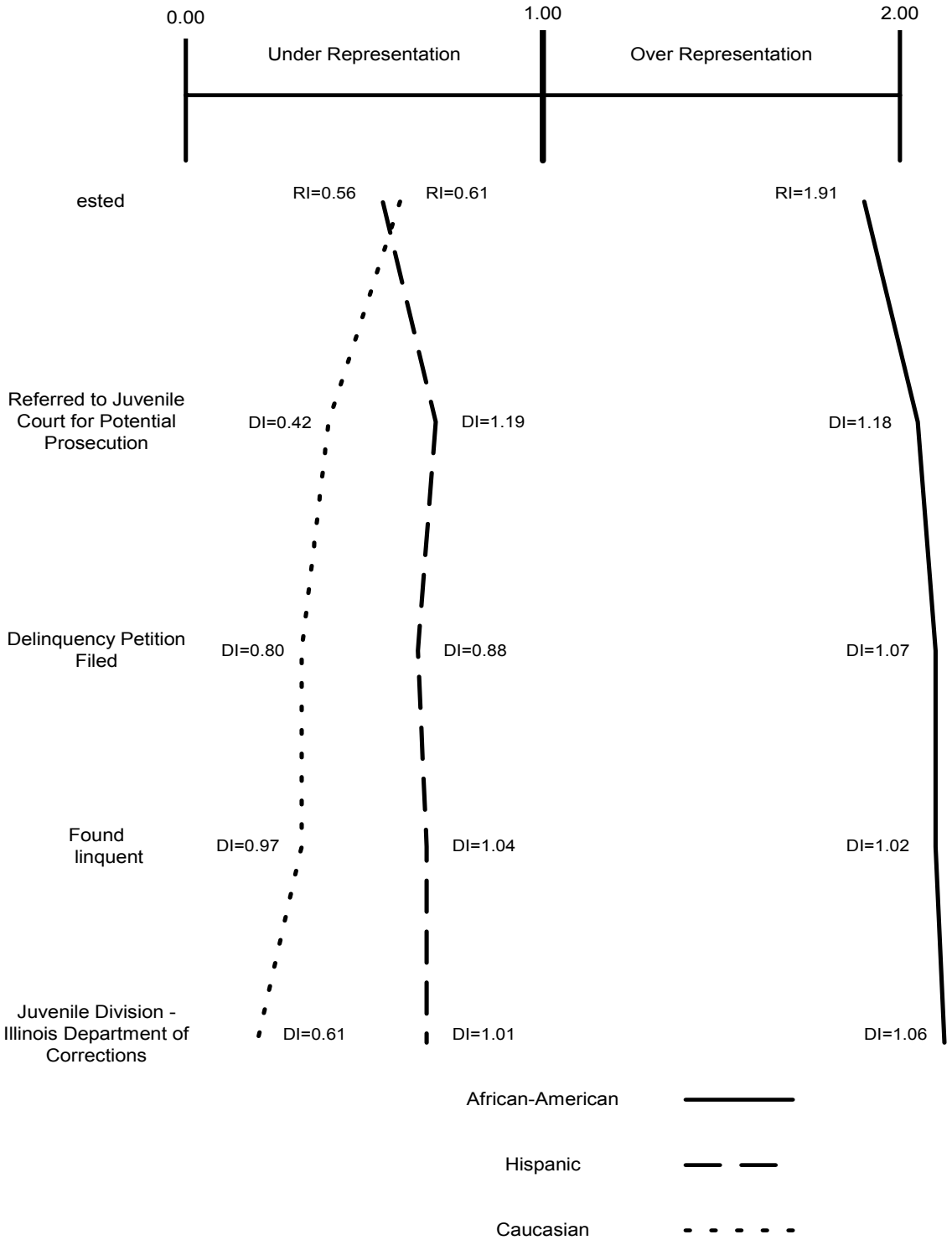
In order to understand Figure III, the reader must: (1) be aware that Figure III combines two statistical measures (the representation index and the disparity index) and that the scale at the top of Figure III is a Representation Index scale, and (2) recall that disparity indices only measure overrepresentation and underrepresentation relative to the previous stage examined. Thus, do not expect that the disparity indices shown in Figure III will match the Representation Index scale at the top of the figure. The purpose of Figure III is to show how changes from one stage to the next (as reflected in the disparity indices) can collectively impact overall representation (as reflected in the Represention Index scale).

For example, the African-American disparity index for court referrals was 1.18. Thus, the court referral stage adds to overrepresentation of African-Americans. This is reflected in Figure III by, from the point labeled "Arrested" to the point labeled "Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution", extending the line even further in the direction of overrepresentation on the Representation Index scale. However, the Representation Index scale at "Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution" for African-Americans will not be 1.18. The disparity index 1.18 only represents the change from the point labeled "Arrested" to the point labeled "Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution", whereas the Representation Index scale at the top of Figure III shows overall representation (which is the Representation Index at the arrest stage, followed by additional overrepresentation at the court referral stage).

Using this strategy, Figure III shows that African-American juveniles were considerably overrepresented at each of the stages that directly lead to post-trial confinement in a secure detention or correctional facility and, as a result, were overrepresented among those in the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections. In addition, Figure III provides some suggestion of how African-American juveniles came to be overrepresented at each of the stages that directly lead to post-trial confinement. Specifically, it is worth noting in Figure III that, on the whole, the three lines are not radically different. They are all fairly straight, with the African-American and Hispanic lines extending slightly in the direction of overrepresentation and the Caucasian extending slightly in the direction of underrepresentation

However, the three lines start at radically different places. This suggests that the first stage in Figure III, the arrest stage, played a large role in contributing to overrepresentation of African-Americans. Subsequent stages did not minimize the overrepresentation of African-Americans. Instead, later stages contributed to overrepresentation of African-Americans, but to a lesser extent than the arrest stage.

Figure III
Visual Interpretation of Representation in Juvenile Justice System Stages Leading to Post-Trial Confinement – Cook County[a]



a: Figure III uses two statistics to show how changes from one stage to the next contribute to overall representation. See pages vii and viii for an explanation of Figure III.

DI's For Other Aspects of the Juvenile Justice System

Table II compares disparity indices for sentences to the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections to the other two post-trial outcomes examined in Part One: (1) probation sentences, and (2) sentences to the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center. The denominator, or earlier stage, for the disparity indices in Table II is the delinquency stage, or the stage at which juveniles are found delinquent. So, the DI's in Table II essentially examine the likelihood of juveniles of different races receiving the three outcomes after they are found delinquent.

Table II
Disparity Indices for Three Post-Trial Outcomes – Cook County

Outcome	Race		
	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic
Probation	1.11	0.98	1.03
Detention Center	0.86	1.02	1.02
Juvenile – IDOC	0.61	1.06	1.01

Table III compares Cook County disparity indices for four aspects of the juvenile justice system that prevent juveniles from moving deeper into the juvenile justice system, either by removing them from the juvenile justice system (by dropping charges after the case is referred to court) or by keeping juveniles in the juvenile justice system, but not moving them on to the next stage (by issuing a station adjustment, issuing a probation adjustment, or continuing the case under supervision). For station adjustments, data was not obtained from Chicago, so Cook County as a whole refers to suburban Cook County.

Table III also shows, for each of the four aspects in the table, the denominator, or earlier stage that was considered when calculating the DI's. For example, "Arrested → Issued a Station Adjustment" in Table III indicates that the arrest stage was the earlier stage used to calculate DI's when examining station adjustments.

Table III
Disparity Indices for Three Alternatives to Moving "Deeper" Into the Juvenile Justice System – Cook County

Alternative	Race		
	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic
Issued a Station Adjustment	0.98	1.11	0.83
Charges Dropped	1.24	0.86	1.38
Issued a Probation Adjustment	1.64	0.82	1.26
Continued Under Supervision	1.99	0.80	1.30
Earlier Stages Used to Calculate DI's			
Arrested → Issued a Station Adjustment			
Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution → Charges Dropped			
Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution → Issued a Probation Adjustment			
Delinquency Petition Filed → Continued Under Supervision			

Perhaps the most notable aspect of Table II is that, of those found delinquent, Caucasians were underrepresented among those receiving outcomes involving confinement in secure detention and correctional facilities.

Perhaps the most notable aspect of Table III is that Caucasians and Hispanics were overrepresented in three of the four alternatives, while African-Americans were underrepresented.

Pre-Trial Confinement

Both pre-trial confinement and post-trial confinement can contribute to disproportionate minority confinement (see Figure II for aspects of the juvenile justice system leading to pre-trial confinement). Table IV shows disparity indices for detention screening for Cook County as a whole. The earlier stage that was considered for the disparity indices was the court referral stage. Thus, the disparity indices examine whether those who were referred to court were screened for detention.

Table IV also shows disparity indices reflecting results of detention screenings for Cook County as whole (detained in a secure facility, non-secure detention, released). The earlier stage that was considered for these disparity indices was detention screening (whether the juvenile was screened for detention). Finally, Table IV shows disparity indices for those who attended a detention hearing and were ordered to be detained (either because they were ordered to remain in secure detention or because they were switched from non-secure to secure detention). The earlier stage that was considered for these disparity indices was detention hearing (whether the juvenile attended a detention hearing).

Table IV
Disparity Indices for Aspects of the Juvenile Justice System Related to Pre-Trial Confinement – Cook County

Pre-Trial Detention Decision	Race		
	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic
Detention Screening	0.40	1.18	0.85
If Screened, Then:			
Secure Detention	1.18	0.98	1.03
Non-Secure Detention	0.86	1.00	1.03
Released	0.88	1.02	0.90
If Secure Detention or Non-Secure Detention, Then Detention Hearing:			
Secure Detention Thru Hearing	1.07	1.00	0.97

Perhaps the most notable aspect of Table IV is the Detention Screening row. This row essentially shows the likelihood of being screened for detention upon being referred to court. Disparity indices for African-Americans were considerably higher than disparity indices for Hispanics and, especially, for Caucasians. This was the case regardless of the offense for which the juvenile was referred to court. Because more African-Americans were screened for detention, there were more opportunities for African-American juveniles to be detained prior to trial.

Results to Part One by Geographic Location and Gender

RI's and DI's for each of the aspects of the juvenile justice system shaded in Figure I and Figure II were also calculated by geographic location in Cook County (Chicago vs. suburban Cook County) and by gender.

What follows are some notable differences between Chicago and suburban Cook County that qualify the results pertaining to Cook County as a whole:

- Underrepresentation of Caucasians at the arrest stage was more the result of underrepresentation in Chicago as opposed to in suburban Cook County. On the other hand, underrepresentation of Caucasians at the court referral stage (those referred to court of those arrested) was more the result of underrepresentation in suburban Cook County. Thus, in Chicago, Caucasians may be less likely to get arrested, but more likely be prosecuted once they are arrested. The inverse may be true in suburban Cook County.

- Overrepresentation of African-Americans and Hispanics at the court referral stage in suburban Cook County was notably higher than overrepresentation of African-Americans and Hispanics at the court referral stage in Chicago.

- Caucasians and Hispanics who had a delinquency petition filed in suburban Cook County were more likely to be found delinquent than those who had a delinquency petition filed in Chicago.

- Disparity indices by geographic location examining those who had their charges dropped (after having their case referred to court) suggest that Caucasians and Hispanics from Chicago were more likely to have their charges dropped than Caucasians and Hispanics from suburban Cook County. There was little difference in these disparity indices by geographic location for African-Americans.

What follows are some notable differences between male and female offenders that qualify the results pertaining to Cook County as a whole:

- A number of the disparity indices indicating overrepresentation for African-Americans and/or considerable differences in disparity indices between African-Americans and Caucasians can be more aptly described as applying to male African-Americans, but not female African-Americans. For example, there were considerable differences between male African-Americans and female African-Americans in the following aspects of the juvenile justice system, all of which indicate lower representation for females: (1) being found delinquent, (2) being sentenced to the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections, and (3) being screened for pre-trial detention. Overall, DI's for female African-Americans were almost always, to varying extents, lower than DI's for male African-Americans.

- On the whole, the same pattern emerged when examining differences in DI's between male Caucasians and female Caucasians and differences between male Hispanics and female Hispanics: DI's were lower for females. Overall, when comparing DI's by racial group just for females, DI's for female African-Americans were higher than DI's for female Caucasians and/or female Hispanics.

- For a number of aspects of the juvenile justice system, DI's for female African-Americans approximated DI's for male Caucasians and male Hispanics.

Part Two: Individual-Level Analyses and Surveys

Part Two of the report had the same overall goal as Part One: to examine the overall level and extent of disproportionate minority representation at various stages in the Cook County juvenile justice system process. Part Two used different methodological approaches to examine DMR. Part Two used different methodological approaches because Part One relied on a broad, aggregate approach that could potentially mask important details. Overall, results in Part Two of the report corroborated the results of Part One.

There were three components to Part Two of the report. For the most part, data for Part Two of the report was collected from specific police districts in south and southwest Chicago (the 5th, 6th, 8th, and 22nd Districts) and from a specific municipal district of suburban Cook County (the 4th Municipal District, with the largest municipalities in the district being Berwyn, Cicero, and Oak Park). The four Chicago police districts examined either have large majority African-American populations or have majority Caucasian and/or Hispanic populations. The population across all 21 municipalities composing the 4th Municipal District of suburban Cook County is majority Caucasian with reasonably large African-American and Hispanic populations.

For Component One, individual-level data was obtained from a sample of court files pertaining to male juveniles ages 10-16 who were referred to court in 1998 or 1999 from the specified Chicago police districts and municipal district, and who committed specific violent, property, drug, or weapons offenses. The information was used in statistical analyses intended to determine the relative importance of race and other factors in predicting case outcomes. The same three racial groups were examined as in Part One: Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics.

For Component Two, surveys were distributed to juvenile justice professionals responsible for making decisions at many of the juvenile justice system processing stages shown in Figure I. The professionals were asked their perceptions of racial biases or issues in the Cook County juvenile justice system.

For Component Three, short surveys were distributed to juvenile investigators. Juvenile investigators were asked to complete a short survey pertaining to every juvenile interrogation they conducted during a two-week period. The surveys asked juvenile investigators to record case characteristics (including the juvenile's race) and the outcome of the interrogation, such as whether the juvenile investigator issued a station adjustment or referred the case to court. As with Component One, statistical analyses were conducted intended to determine the relative importance of race and other factors in predicting interrogation outcomes.

Component One Results

Two statistical analyses were conducted. Both analyses used a type of analysis called multinomial logistic regression. One purpose of multinomial logistic regression is to determine the importance of several factors in predicting an outcome. For Analysis One, multinomial logistic regression was used to determine the importance of six factors (including juvenile race) in predicting *how far juveniles proceed in the system*. For Analysis Two, multinomial logistic regression was used to determine the importance of the same six factors in predicting *case dispositions*. Table V shows the data and categories used in the two analyses.

Table V
Data Used in Component One Analyses

Variable/Category	Frequency (n=466)
Race	
Juvenile Race	
African-American	260 (55.8%)
Hispanic	98 (21.0%)
Caucasian	108 (23.2%)
Demographics/Juvenile Characteristics	
Juvenile Age	
9	3 (0.6%)
10	2 (0.4%)
11	3 (0.6%)
12	11 (2.4%)
13	40 (8.6%)
14	64 (13.7%)
15	131 (28.1%)
16	206 (44.2%)
17	6 (1.3%)
Living Arrangement[a]	
Two Parents in Home	58 (12.4%)
One Parent in Home	174 (37.3%)
Other Parent(s)	214 (45.9%)
Missing	20 (4.3%)
Location of Arrest and Court Referral	
Chicago	298 (63.9%)
Suburban Cook County	168 (36.1%)
Offense Characteristic	
Offense Type	
Violent Offense	143 (30.7%)
Property Offense	180 (38.6%)
Drug Offense	143 (30.7%)
Criminal History Factor	
Did the Juvenile Have a Prior Arrest?[a]	
Yes	276 (59.2%)
No	190 (40.8%)

Table V (cont.)
Data Used in Component One Analyses

Variable/Category	Frequency (n=466)
How Far Juveniles Proceed in the System	
Resolved Before Arraignment	138 (31.9%)
Resolved At Arraignment	125 (28.9%)
Resolved After Arraignment	170 (39.3%)
Case Outcome	
Charges Dropped/Juvenile Acquitted	99 (23.0%)
Diversion/Screened Out/Supervision	162 (37.6%)
Probation Sentence	141 (32.7%)
Incarceration	29 (6.7%)

a: There were 31 missing cases for How Far Juveniles Proceed in the System and 33 missing cases for Case Outcome either because it was not possible to determine outcomes from the information included in the family folder or because the juvenile had a warrant issued for his or her arrest and, hence, there was no case outcome or resolution as yet.

Two patterns of results from the analyses seemed to corroborate Part One of the report:

- Race played a significant role in predicting how far juveniles proceed in the juvenile justice system (whether their cases are resolved before arraignment, at arraignment, or after arraignment). There was a tendency for *Caucasians and Hispanics to progress further in the system than African-Americans*.

The analyses conducted for Component One pertained to stages of the juvenile justice system that occur after juveniles are referred to court. Part One indicated that much of the overrepresentation of African-Americans in the juvenile justice system could be attributed to stages of the juvenile justice system prior to court referral. This result tends to corroborate the straight lines in Figure III from the court referral stage to the adjudication stage and demonstrates that it is possible for African-Americans to be *more likely* to either be removed from the juvenile justice system or not be moved deeper into the system during these stages.

- Caucasians and Hispanics were more likely than African-Americans to receive a probation sentence than they were to receive any of the other three types of outcomes examined in Analysis Two: charged dropped/acquitted, diversion/prosecutorial screening/supervision, or incarceration. On the other hand, African-Americans were more likely than Caucasians and Hispanics to be incarcerated than they were to receive a probation sentence.

This pattern of results is, in some respects, consistent with Part One, as probation disparity indices for Caucasians were higher than for African-Americans, and probation disparity indices for Hispanics were slightly higher than for African-Americans (see Table II). Table II also showed that incarceration disparity indices for African-Americans were higher than for Caucasians.

The following patterns of results seemed somewhat inconsistent with Part One:

- Caucasians and Hispanics were not more likely than African-Americans to receive outcomes that provide alternatives to moving deeper into the juvenile justice system (charges dropped/acquitted or diversion/screened out/supervision).

Results from Part One indicated that Caucasians and Hispanics were overrepresented in three aspects of the juvenile justice system that provide alternatives to moving deeper into the system, while African-Americans were underrepresented (see Table III).

Component Two Results and Component Three Results

For Component Two, surveys were distributed to patrol officers from the 4th Municipal District, juvenile investigators from the 4th Municipal District, juvenile court judges, juvenile probation officers, and public defenders.

Statistical analysis of results by profession yielded several differences that may potentially tie in to results from Part One:

- Comparisons of survey items by profession yielded several attitudinal differences between law enforcement professionals (patrol officers and juvenile investigators) and two other types of professions (juvenile probation officers and public defenders) such that one or both types of law enforcement professionals were less likely to believe that minority juveniles are treated differently in the juvenile justice system and more likely to attribute negative qualities to minority juveniles (based on survey items asking the extent to which the respondent agrees that minority juveniles are less willing to acknowledge guilt, more likely to have a negative attitude toward authority, and more likely to use drugs).

It is conceivable that perceptions and attitudes of juvenile justice system decision-makers contribute to disproportionate minority representation at earlier, law enforcement-related stages of the juvenile justice system. As such, this result seems to tie in to results of Part One indicating that earlier, law enforcement-related decisions play a large role in contributing to subsequent disproportionate minority confinement.

For Component Three, juvenile investigators from the specified Chicago police districts and municipal district were asked to complete a short survey after every juvenile interrogation they conducted during a two-week period. As with Component One, a statistical analysis was conducted intended to determine the relative importance of race and other factors in predicting interrogation outcomes.

- The analysis indicated that juvenile attitude/demeanor was the factor that played the largest role in predicting post-interrogation juvenile dispositions.

Survey results from Component Two indicated that some juvenile investigators believed that minority juveniles are more likely to have negative attitudes/demeanors. If perceived or actual juvenile attitude/demeanor is correlated with race, then using attitude/demeanor to make decisions may place minority juveniles at a disadvantage.

Directions for Future Research

Part One and Part Two of this report collectively provide a comprehensive examination of the level and extent of disproportionate minority representation in Cook County. To know the level and extent of disproportionate minority representation is to understand what is occurring, but not why it is occurring. The next research step may be to examine areas or aspects of the juvenile justice system that seem to be contributing to disproportionate minority representation. This report identifies areas or aspects of the juvenile justice system that may warrant closer exploration:

- Processes for determining which juveniles are taken into custody and arrested.

- Processes for determining which juveniles are referred to court.

- Processes for determining which juveniles are issued probation adjustments and which juveniles have their cases continued under supervision.

- Processes for determining sentences that juveniles receive, in particular for determining which juveniles receive probation as opposed to incarceration.

This report suggests that these aspects of the juvenile justice system may be contributing to disproportionate minority confinement. As such, it may be useful to closely these aspects of the juvenile justice system, including policies and practices that determine how decisions are made.

This is not to suggest that juvenile justice professionals responsible for making decisions related to these aspects are discriminating against minorities. It is to suggest that perhaps processes, policies, and practices related to these aspects are unwittingly placing minority juveniles at a disadvantage.

I. Introduction

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974 is a federal law intended to provide support to state and local juvenile justice systems.[2] The JJDP Act provides for the allocation of funds to state and local governments, intended to address juvenile delinquency and improve juvenile justice systems. To receive these funds, each state is required to submit periodic plans to the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), the federal agency that administers the funds. Each state is also required to convene a state advisory group, composed of professionals from various areas of the juvenile justice system and the general public, whose responsibilities include developing and approving the state plan. In Illinois, the state advisory group is the Illinois Juvenile Justice Commission (IJJC) of the Illinois Department of Human Services.

Since 1988, when the U.S. Congress amended the JJDP Act, the state plan was required to include a section on disproportionate minority confinement (DMC) in the state's detention and correctional facilities. Disproportionate minority confinement occurs when members of minority groups are represented in detention and correctional facilities at proportions higher than their representation in the general population. This amendment was added to the JJDP Act in light of concerns that large minority populations in juvenile correctional facilities may be the result of systematic biases in the juvenile justice system.

In 1992, disproportionate minority confinement was made an even more prominent aspect of the JJDP Act. In 1992, disproportionate minority confinement was declared to be one of four "core components" of the state plan, or components that are essential to receive funding from OJJDP. The section on disproportionate minority confinement in the state plan section of the JJDP Act states that the plan should:

> "*address efforts to reduce the proportion of juveniles detained or confined in secure detention facilities, secure correctional facilities, jails, and lockups who are members of minority groups if such proportion exceeds the proportion such groups represent in the general population"* (42 U.S.C. § 5633(23)).

This section implies that the state advisory group must assess the level and extent of disproportionate minority confinement in an attempt to direct efforts at reducing its prevalence. IJJC contracted with the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (ICJIA) for the completion of a two-part report intended to achieve this end. This document is Part One of the report.

Both Part One and Part Two of the report pertain exclusively to Cook County, Illinois. IJJC believed that learning about disproportionate minority confinement in Cook County would provide useful information for the state plan because: (1) Cook County has the largest population and, hence, the largest juvenile justice system of any county in Illinois, (2) Illinois' largest city, Chicago, is located in Cook County, (3) Cook County has the

[2] 42 U.S.C § 5601-5785

largest number of minorities of any Illinois county, and (4) Cook County has the greatest amount of juvenile crime of any Illinois county. Appendix A provides a demographic description of Cook County.

Both Part One and Part Two of the report are intended to assist IJJC in completing the state plan section pertaining to disproportionate minority confinement. However, both reports address not only disproportionate minority *confinement*, but also overall disproportionate minority *representation* (DMR) at multiple stages in the juvenile justice system. Various types of juvenile justice professionals make decisions at various points in the juvenile justice system, each of which may contribute to disproportionate minority confinement. For example, overrepresentation at the arrest stage, arraignment stage, trial stage, and so forth, can all contribute to an end result of disproportionate minority confinement. Thus, both Part One and Part Two of the report examine multiple stages in the juvenile justice system, as opposed to simply examining confinement in secure facilities.

The purpose of Part One of the report was to use quantitative analysis of aggregate data to examine the level and extent of minority overrepresentation at numerous stages of the juvenile justice process. The purpose of Part Two of the report was to expand upon Part One by: (1) using data collected from Cook County juvenile court system case files to examine the importance of juveniles' race/ethnicity relative to other potentially relevant factors in predicting case processing decisions at several stages, and (2) using survey data collected from various types of juvenile justice professionals to examine perceptions of racial issues in the Cook County juvenile justice system.[3] Part Two used different methodological approaches because the aggregate approach adopted in Part One could potentially mask important details.

Part One and Part Two are written as stand-alone documents. A reader of Part One need not refer to Part Two (or vice versa) in order to obtain all the information necessary to fully understand the document. Nonetheless, both documents include results and conclusions that are synthesized across both parts of the overall report. In other words, an attempt was made to use all the information in both documents to draw overall conclusions about disproportionate minority representation in Cook County.

Prior to describing Part One in more detail, this introduction includes several subsections that provide additional background information in areas that may contribute to a greater understanding of the document. Subsections are provided on the following topics: (1) a description of the juvenile justice system process (i.e., the sequential stages that minors proceed through), including aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system examined in Part One, (2) a description of previous research and literature examining disproportionate

[3] Throughout both parts of the report, expressions such as "by race", "racial groups", etc., are used to collectively describe Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics. Such expressions are not comprehensive, as Hispanics constitute an ethnic group as opposed to a racial group. In order to maintain simplicity and parsimony in the text, the word ethnic is excluded when collectively describing the three groups.

minority representation in various aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system, and (3) a brief review of notable results from Part Two of the report.

The Juvenile Justice System Process

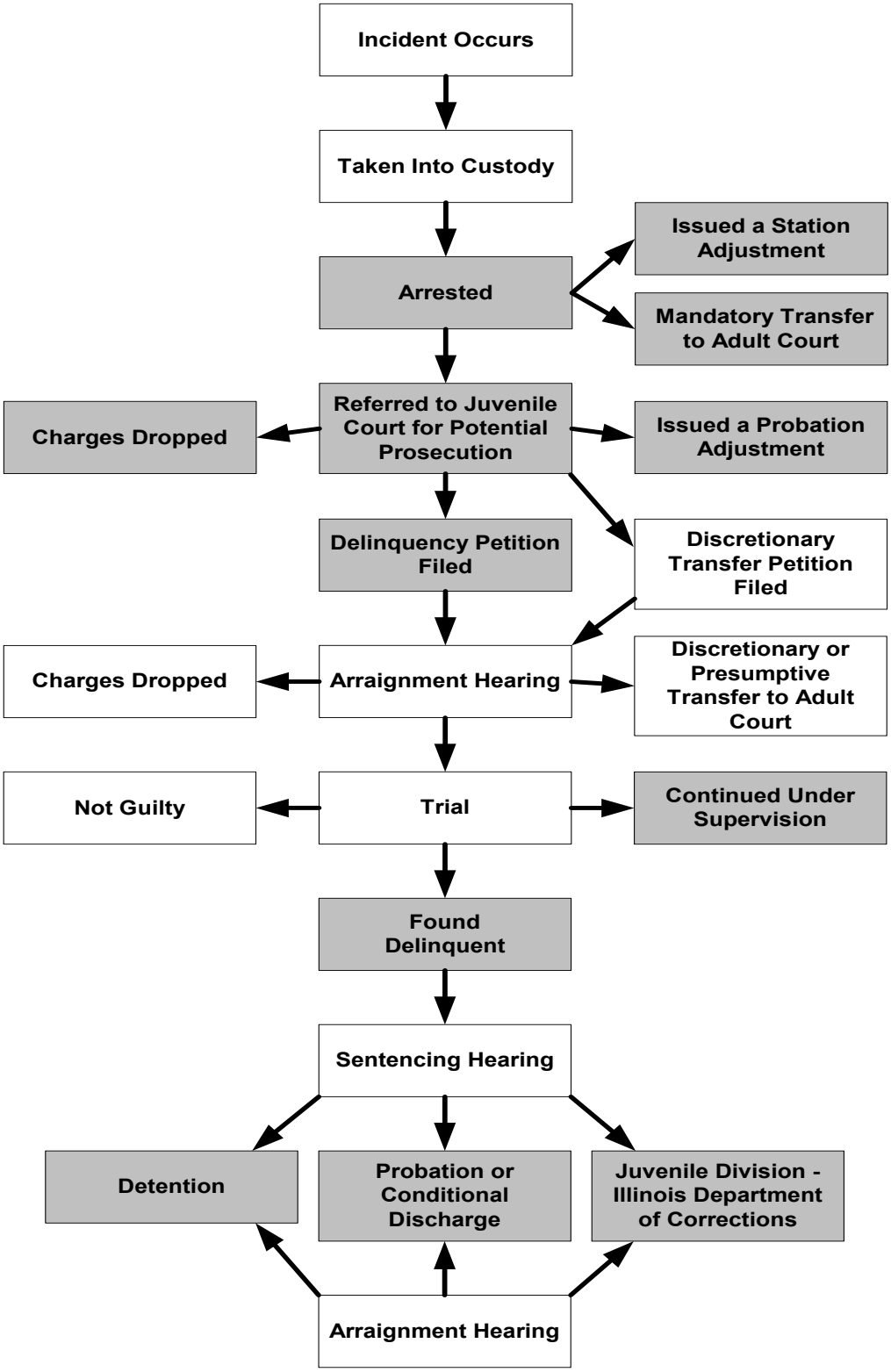
The juvenile justice system process is sequential. In order to be confined in a secure facility, minors must first be arrested, then have their case referred to court for potential prosecution, then the state's attorney must file a delinquency petition against the minor, etc. This sequence dictated the analyses conducted in this document.

Figure 1 shows a simplified flowchart demonstrating the juvenile justice system process in Illinois. The flowchart is not intended to show every possible aspect or stage of the juvenile justice system process in Cook County. The purpose of Figure 1 is to show the core aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system process, including those examined in this document. Aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system process examined in this document are highlighted in Figure 1.

Downward arrows in Figure 1 indicate the juvenile justice system sequence. For example, in order to be confined in a secure facility, a juvenile must proceed from the top of Figure 1 to the bottom of Figure 1. The arrows in Figure 1 pointing to the right, located up to or at the box labeled "trial," indicate instances when there is a case outcome that involves the juvenile remaining in the juvenile justice system or in the adult criminal justice system. The arrows in Figure 1 pointing to the left, that are located up to or at the box labeled "trial," indicate instances when there is a case outcome that involves the juvenile being removed from the juvenile justice system entirely.

What follows is a brief description of the process shown in Figure 1. Throughout the description, aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system examined in this document are italicized.

Figure 1
Abridged Flowchart of the Juvenile Justice System Process[a]



a: Shaded boxes indicate aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system examined in this document.

Brief Process Description

After a juvenile is taken into police custody because there is probable cause that he or she has committed an offense, then a juvenile investigator handles the case at the police station. Unless the juvenile investigator opts not to process the case, the juvenile is then officially *arrested*.

After an arrest is made, the juvenile investigator may handle the case by issuing a *station adjustment*. A station adjustment occurs when the juvenile investigator handles the case at the police station and then releases the juvenile to his or her parents without referring the case to court. The juvenile investigator will typically make this release contingent upon the juvenile completing one or more conditions, often specified in a station adjustment plan.

After an arrest is made, if the juvenile investigator believes that a case warrants prosecution, then the case may be *referred to juvenile court for potential prosecution*.

Illinois law makes it possible for juveniles who have been arrested for violent or serious offenses to be transferred from the juvenile court system to the adult criminal court system. In Illinois, there are three types of transfers: (1) discretionary transfers, (2) presumptive transfers, and (3) *mandatory transfers*. Table 1 provides definitions of these three types of transfers. If it is mandatory that a juvenile be transferred to adult criminal court, then the case is referred directly to adult criminal court without having ever been referred to juvenile court.

In addition to the three types of transfers, Illinois law also lists several offenses for which, if charged with the offense, the juvenile is automatically excluded from juvenile court. These are offenses listed under an excluded jurisdiction section of Illinois' juvenile delinquency laws. The one distinction between excluded jurisdiction and mandatory transfers is that, for mandatory transfers, in order for the juvenile to be prosecuted in adult criminal court, the state's attorney's office must file a transfer motion. For excluded jurisdiction, every juvenile charged with the offense must be transferred to adult criminal court, irrespective of whether the state's attorney's office files a transfer motion. Table 1 shows excluded jurisdiction offenses. However, excluded jurisdiction was not included in Figure 1, as juveniles who are charged with excluded jurisdiction offenses are, by definition, excluded from the juvenile justice system. Juveniles who are found guilty of excluded jurisdiction offenses may be incarcerated in the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections until they become adults. Thus, there is some crossover into the juvenile justice system, even for excluded jurisdiction juveniles.

Table 1
Transfers From Juvenile Court to Adult Criminal Court

Type of Transfer to Adult Criminal Court [4]
Mandatory Transfers: Instances when Illinois law mandates that the juvenile be transferred to adult criminal court, pending a motion made by the state attorney's office. Illinois law mandates that a juvenile be transferred to adult criminal court if the juvenile is 15 years of age or older and: (1) the juvenile has been arrested for committing a forcible felony and has either been previously convicted for a felony or allegedly committed the forcible felony in furtherance of gang activity, (2) the juvenile has been arrested for committing a felony and has either been previously convicted for a forcible felony or allegedly committed the felony in furtherance of gang activity, (3) the juvenile has been arrested for committing one of the offenses listed in the presumptive transfer laws and has previously been convicted for a forcible felony, or (4) the juvenile has been arrested for aggravated discharge of a firearm at school or at a school-related activity.
Presumptive Transfer*:* Instances when Illinois law states that the juvenile will be transferred to adult criminal court pending a motion made by the state's attorney's office, unless the juvenile judge determines based on clear and convincing evidence that the juvenile is amenable to the care, treatment and training programs available to the juvenile court. Pending the juvenile judge's ruling, presumptive transfers may occur if the juvenile is 15 years of age or older and has been arrested for one of the following offenses: (1) a Class X felony other than armed violence, (2) aggravated discharge of a firearm, (3) armed violence with a firearm when the offense is a Class 1 or Class 2 felony and is committed in furtherance of gang activities, (4) armed violence with a firearm in conjunction with a serious drug offense, (5) armed violence when the weapon is one that is outlawed in Illinois' Unlawful Use of Weapons law, such as a machine gun. In Illinois Class X felonies are the most serious felonies (and includes, for example, second degree murder), followed by Class 1 felonies and Class 2 felonies.
Discretionary Transfer: Illinois law allows the state's attorney's office to petition the court for a transfer to adult criminal court for any case. If the offense does not fall under those requiring mandatory or presumptive transfers, then the juvenile judge considers the transfer petition submitted by the state's attorney's office and makes a ruling whether to transfer the case to adult criminal court.

[4] 705 ILCS 405/5-805

Table 1 (cont.)
Transfers From Juvenile Court to Adult Criminal Court

Excluded Jurisdiction[5]
Juveniles of the following ages who are charged with the following offenses are excluded from juvenile court: (1) a juvenile at least 15 years of age or older who is charged with first degree murder, aggravated criminal sexual assault, aggravated battery with a firearm committed at or near school or a school-related activity, armed robbery when the armed robbery was committed with a firearm, aggravated vehicular hijacking when the hijacking was committed with a firearm, (2) a juvenile at least 15 years of age or older who is charged with certain offenses under the Illinois Controlled Substances Act at or near school or a school-related activity, or at or near a public housing property, (3) a juvenile at least 15 years of age or older who is charged with an unlawful use of weapons offense while in school, (4) a juvenile at least 13 years of age or older who is charged with first degree murder committed during the course of aggravated criminal sexual assault, criminal sexual assault, or aggravated kidnapping, (5) any juvenile who escapes from custody or violates bail bond while under the jurisdiction of the adult criminal court, and (6) any juvenile who had previously been convicted in adult criminal court.

Relatively few cases are referred to adult criminal court. Most cases that are referred to court for prosecution are sent to juvenile court. After a case is referred to juvenile court for potential prosecution, the state's attorney's office reviews the case to determine whether to proceed with a prosecution. If the state's attorney's office determines that there is insufficient evidence to warrant prosecution, then the *charges will be dropped*. If the state's attorney's office decides to proceed with the prosecution, then *a delinquency petition is filed*.

Illinois law also provides for an additional option at this stage. The state's attorney's office is authorized to issue *a probation adjustment*. For a probation adjustment, the case is turned over to a probation officer, who convenes a meeting with the juvenile, his or her parent(s) or guardian(s), and other individuals involved in the case. The purpose of the meeting is to resolve the case before it reaches a trial. This resolution is typically contingent upon the juvenile completing one or more conditions, often specified in a probation adjustment plan.

If a delinquency petition is filed, then the juvenile is required to attend an arraignment hearing, at which he or she is typically required to enter a guilty or not guilty plea. It is also possible for the judge to drop the charges during this hearing. If the juvenile's attorney and the state's attorney have submitted a plea agreement to the judge involving a particular sentence, then the arraignment hearing is also used as an opportunity for the judge to accept or reject the plea agreement. If the judge accepts the plea agreement, then the juvenile may receive, among other options, any one of the three sentencing outcomes listed at the bottom of Figure 1: (1) *a juvenile detention sentence*, (2) *a probation or conditional discharge sentence*, or (3) *a sentence to the juvenile division of the Illinois*

[5] 705 ILCS 405/5-130

Department of Corrections. This explains the arrows at the bottom of Figure 1 pointing directly from the arraignment hearing to each of these potential sentences.

If the juvenile pleads not guilty at the arraignment hearing, then the case proceeds to a trial. At the trial, the juvenile may be *found delinquent*. Alternatively, the juvenile may be offered the opportunity to have the case *continued under supervision*. When a case is continued under supervision, a guilty or not guilty judgment is not made. Instead, the juvenile and the juvenile's parent(s) or guardian(s) agree to a court-determined supervision plan. Juveniles who do not abide by the plan may be asked to return to court and have the case tried in juvenile court.

If a juvenile is found delinquent, then typically a sentencing hearing is held, at which the details of the juvenile's sentence are determined. Three possible sentencing options are those listed towards the bottom of Figure 1: a juvenile detention sentence, a probation or conditional discharge sentence, or a sentence to the juvenile division of the Illinois Department of Corrections.

Pre-Trial Confinement

Confinement in a secure facility can occur when juveniles are found guilty at trial and sentenced to prison. In addition, juveniles who are referred to court may also be detained while waiting for their case to be resolved. Secure confinement that occurs prior to a case being resolved is pre-trial confinement. Minorities may also be overrepresented among those detained while waiting for their case to be resolved. Thus, pre-trial confinement is also examined in this document.

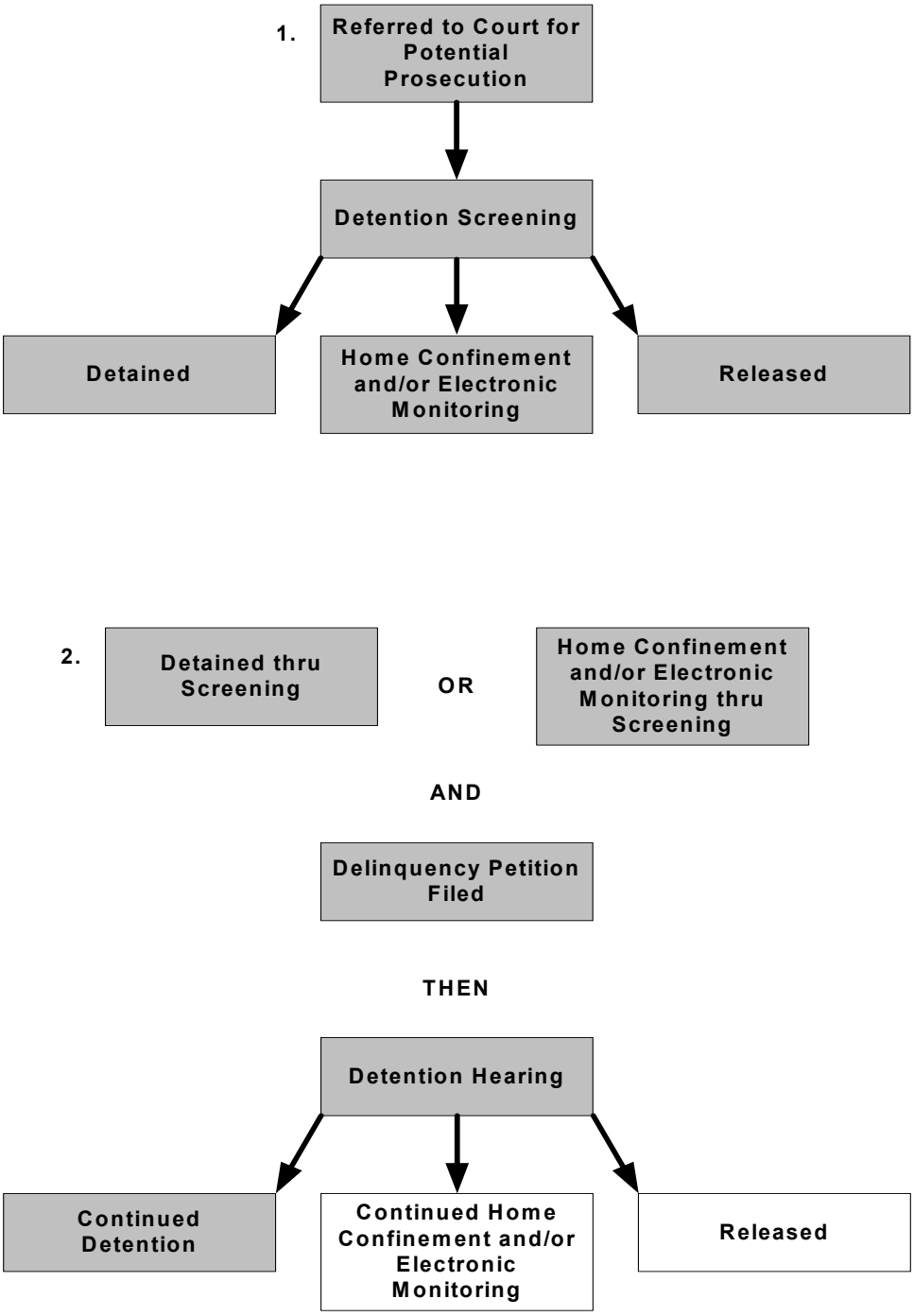
Figure 2 shows that there are two stages in the juvenile justice system process when decisions are made regarding pre-trial confinement. As with Figure 1, aspects of these two stages that are examined in this document are highlighted. What follows is a description of the process for pre-trial confinement decisions. Throughout the description, aspects or stages of the detention process examined in this document are italicized.

Diagram 1 in Figure 2 shows the juvenile court process in instances when a detention screening form is completed. For some juvenile cases, a detention screening form is not completed. For example, in instances when it is apparent on the surface that the minor should not be detained (e.g., because the offense is relatively minor), juvenile decision-makers may not go through the formality of completing a detention screening form.

The primary purpose of the detention screening form is to determine whether the juvenile should be detained for the safety of the community (because the juvenile may re-offend while awaiting trial) or because the juvenile may fail to attend his or her scheduled court dates. Typically, a detention intake officer completes this form. Using this form as a guide, the probation officer determines whether the juvenile should be detained in a secure facility, placed on home confinement and/or electronic monitoring, or released. When juveniles are placed on home confinement, they are required to remain in one or more designated locations during specified hours. When juveniles are placed on

electronic monitoring, they are required to wear an electronic tracking device that permits probation officers to determine their whereabouts.

Figure 2
Pre-Trial Confinement Process in the Juvenile Justice System[a]



a: Shaded boxes indicate aspects of the juvenile justice system examined in this document.

An additional aspect of detention screening not shown in Figure 2 is that the detention intake officer who completes the screening form can recommend *overriding* the decision indicated by the form. For example, if the form indicates that the juvenile should be detained, the detention intake officer can recommend overriding this decision and not detain the juvenile. This is an *override down*. Similarly, if the form indicates that the juvenile should not be detained, the detention intake officer can recommend overriding this decision and detain the juvenile. This is an *override up*. After an override recommendation is made by a detention intake officer, the recommendation must receive administrative approval (be accepted by a supervisor).

Diagram 2 in Figure 2 shows that there is also a second stage in the juvenile justice process when pre-trial confinement decisions are made. If, as a result of the detention screening process, a decision is made to detain the juvenile in a secure facility or to place the juvenile on home confinement and/or electronic monitoring, and if a delinquency petition is filed against the juvenile, then the juvenile is required to attend a *detention hearing*. At the detention hearing, the juvenile court judge considers the juvenile's current detention status and, depending on the current status, determines whether the juvenile should *continue to be detained in a secure facility*, continue on home confinement and/or electronic monitoring, or be released.

Previous Research and Literature

A large number of reports and articles have been written on disproportionate minority representation and/or confinement. This subsection is limited to selected research and literature that directly informed and provided a context for the research described in this document. Specifically, this subsection describes and summarizes the following research and literature: (1) the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's *Disproportionate Minority Confinement Technical Assistance Manual,* and (2) two comprehensive disproportionate minority confinement research reviews written by Carl E. Pope and colleagues (Pope & Feyerherm, 1990; Pope, Lovell, & Hsia, 2003).[6]

OJJDP's Technical Assistance Manual

In 1990, shortly after the changes to the JJDP Act requiring that disproportionate minority confinement be addressed in the state plan, OJJDP published a *Disproportionate Minority Confinement Technical Assistance Manual* intended to provide juvenile justice systems with assistance in addressing disproportionate minority confinement in their communities and to provide suggestions that could guide local assessments of

[6] Disproportionate Minority Confinement Technical Assistance Manual (1990). U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: Washington DC.

Pope, C, & Feyerherm, W.H. (1990). Minority status and juvenile justice processing: An assessment of the research literature (part 1). Criminal Justice Abstracts, 22(2), 527-542.

Pope, C., Lovell, R., & Hsia, H.M. (2003). Disproportionate minority confinement: a review of research literature from 1989 to 2001. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: Washington D.C.

disproportionate minority confinement. The manual included a section on potential causes of disproportionate minority confinement. The section on potential causes introduced two concepts that guided the methodology used in this document: indirect effects and accumulated disadvantaged status.

In the technical assistance manual, three potential causes of disproportionate minority confinement are described: (1) overt discrimination, (2) indirect effects, and (3) accumulated disadvantaged status. Table 2 defines each of these potential causes. Two of the three OJJDP causes (indirect effects and accumulated disadvantaged status) played a large role in the development of this document. While there may be juvenile justice professionals in Cook County who overtly discriminate against minority youth, investigation of such discrimination did not play a large role in this document, as it is difficult to isolate and measure discrimination using most methodological approaches.

Table 2
Suggested OJJDP Causes of Disproportionate Minority Confinement

Cause	Explanation
Overt Discrimination	Juvenile justice system professionals make decisions directly based on or influenced by the race/ethnicity of the juvenile.
Indirect Effects	Juvenile justice system professionals use information to make decisions that is *correlated with* race/ethnicity and which places minorities at a disadvantage. For example, if prior arrest history is used to make decisions and minorities have more prior arrests, then use of prior arrests as a decision-making criteria places minorities at a disadvantage.
Accumulated Disadvantaged Status	The idea that each stage of the juvenile justice system contributes to disproportionate minority confinement. Small levels of disproportionality at each stage "snowball" into appreciable levels of disproportionate minority confinement.

Table 2 shows that OJJDP suggested that disproportionate minority confinement results from indirect effects when juvenile justice professionals use factors to make decisions that are correlated with race and that place minorities at a disadvantage. An indirect effect can be any factor that differs across racial groups. Importantly, juvenile justice professionals may not intend for indirect effects to work to the disadvantage of minority juveniles.

Instead, juvenile justice professionals may believe that, by considering indirect effects when making decisions, they are considering factors that contribute to the likelihood of the juvenile engaging in criminal behavior in the future. In fact, many indirect effects are

also potential *juvenile delinquency risk factors*, or factors that have been demonstrated to be related to juvenile delinquency.

Indirect effects were considered in both parts of the report. In Part One, a section is included that examines differences in selected juvenile delinquency risk factors by race/ethnicity. Table 3 lists the types of potential risk factors that were examined in Part One.[7]

The purpose of examining the potential risk factors listed in Table 3 is to provide additional context to results of analyses examining disproportionate minority representation at various stages of the juvenile justice system process. As such, the potential risk factors listed in Table 3 are not intended to constitute a comprehensive list. Instead, they are intended to provide an abridged examination of the possible impact of indirect effects in explaining disproportionate minority representation. That is, should disproportionate minority representation exist at one or more stages of the Cook County juvenile justice system process, it may be because: (1) the potential risk factors listed in Table 3 are present more often in minority juveniles, and (2) juvenile justice professionals are considering the potential risk factors when making decisions, thereby causing the potential risk factors to become indirect effects contributing to disproportionate minority representation.

Table 3
Types of Risk Factors Examined in Part One

Type of Potential Risk Factor
Community/Environmental Risk Factors
Families Receiving Public Assistance
Unemployment
Social/Family Risk Factors
Reported Domestic Violence Offenses
Child Abuse and Neglect Cases
Child Sexual Abuse Cases
School Risk Factors
High School Dropouts
Truancy
Suspensions
Expulsions

[7] For a detailed description of research examining juvenile delinquency risk factors, see Loeber, R. & Farrington, D.P. (Eds.). (1998). Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders: Risk Factors and Successful Interventions. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, California. It should be noted that the potential risk factors listed in Table 3 were not uniformly determined to be strongly related to juvenile delinquency in Loeber and Farrington (1998). However, it is possible that juvenile justice decision makers consider each of the risk factors in Table 3. Therefore, if the risk factors in Table 3 differ by race, considering them may indirectly place minorities at a disadvantage.

Accumulated disadvantaged status occurs when small levels of minority overrepresentation in multiple aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system process accumulate and result in appreciable levels of disproportionate minority confinement. The possibility of accumulated disadvantaged status occurring in Cook County dictated the decision to examine multiple, sequential stages of the juvenile justice system (those highlighted in Figure 1 and Figure 2).

Reviews of Research on Disproportionate Minority Confinement

Carl E. Pope and colleagues have written two reviews of disproportionate minority confinement-related research.[8] The first review examined research published between 1969 and 1988. The second review examined research published between 1989 and 2001. For both reviews, Pope and colleagues conducted extensive searches for qualitative and/or quantitative empirical research published in academic journals and books. The first review included 46 publications and the second review included 34 publications. Many of the research studies explicitly examined disproportionate minority representation at one or more aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system process (including arrests, trials, and detention sentences), although a number of the studies were included in the review because they are peripherally related to disproportionate minority representation or confinement (e.g., surveys of law enforcement officers or minority juveniles, evaluations of programming intended to address disproportionate minority confinement).

Because the two reviews written by Pope and colleagues covered over 30 years of research and were based on comprehensive searches for high quality research, they provide a strong indication of the prevalence and extent of research on disproportionate minority representation in the United States. This information was considered when developing the approach used in this report. The following bullet points describe characteristics of the research included in the two reviews.

- A considerable majority of the research in both reviews examined disproportionate minority representation of African-Americans, while considerably fewer studies examined other minority groups. However, a number of research studies classified all minorities into a "non-Caucasian" category and compared Caucasians to "non-Caucasians".

- Both reviews included research that examined data aggregated at different levels, including the state level, multiple county level, county level, multiple city level, or city level. The norm was to examine data broken down to at minimum the multiple county level.

- Both reviews included research from disparate geographic areas within the United States.

[8] Ibid.

- In both reviews, the most frequently examined juvenile justice system aspects or stages examined were the disposition (delinquent vs. not delinquent) and the nature/severity of the disposition. Other frequently researched aspects or stages included detention-related decisions and delinquency petition filings. Aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system related to law enforcement, such as arrests or court referrals, were examined much less frequently.

- A large majority of the research in both reviews reported results of a relatively sophisticated statistical analysis, such as log linear analysis, logistic regression, or multiple regression.

In both reviews, Pope and colleagues examined the research for race effects, or instances when minority status has an impact on what happens to youth as they are processed through the juvenile justice system. For the 1989-2001 review, Pope and colleagues used the following coding scheme to record the presence or absence of race effects: (1) "Yes", indicating that there was a race effect for every juvenile justice system aspect or stage examined, (2) "Mixed", indicating that there were race effects for some of the aspects or stages examined, but not others, or that there were race effects for certain types of offenders or offenses, but not others, (3) "No", indicating that there were no race effects for any of the juvenile justice system aspects or stages examined, or (4) "Unknown", for instances when the research was pertinent to disproportionate minority representation, but did not conduct analyses directly examining for race effects. The 1969-1988 review included the "Yes". "No", and "Mixed" categories, but excluded the "Unknown" category. The following bullet points summarize notable results regarding race effects from the research included in the two reviews.

- A majority of the research studies in both reviews were classified "Yes" or "Mixed" by Pope and colleagues (27, or 58.7% of the research studies in the 1969-1988 review and 25, or 71.5% of the research studies in the 1989-2001 review).

- Whereas 19 (41.3%) of the research studies in the 1969-1988 review were classified as "No", only 1 (2.9%) research study from the 1989-2001 review was classified as "No" (although 8, or 23.5% were classified as "Unknown"). However, the category "Unknown" was not included in the 1969-1988 review. Brief descriptions of the research studies included in the 1969-1988 review (available in an appendix in the review) suggested that few studies would have been classified as "Unknown" even if the category had been used.

- Considerably fewer studies in the 1969-1988 review were classified as "Mixed" (9, or 17.6% of the research studies in the 1969-1988 review vs. 17, or 50.0% of the research studies in the 1989-2001 review).

The results described in these three bullet points indicate that, on the whole, results of research included in the two reviews found evidence of disproportionate minority representation, although the percentage of research studies finding race effects was

notably higher in the 1989-2001 review. The bullet points below provide additional detail regarding results of the research studies included in the two reviews.

- It was noted in both reviews that race effects occurred for every aspect or stage of the juvenile justice system process examined in the research studies.

- It was noted in the 1969-1988 review that the level of statistical sophistication was not related to the likelihood of the research study finding a race effect. Research that utilized more sophisticated statistical analyses were just as likely to find race effects as those that utilized less sophisticated analyses. However, the 1989-2001 review noted that, relative to studies published between 1969-1988, research published between 1989-2001 tended to utilize more "precise" analyses (e.g., examining interactions between race/ethnicity and other factors in their statistical analyses). Pope and colleagues suggest that this increased precision resulted in more research from 1989-2001 finding "mixed" results.

- The 1969-1988 review noted that several research studies found evidence of "accumulated disadvantaged status" for minority youths, whereby small levels of disproportionality at each sequential stage of the juvenile justice system "snowball" into appreciable levels of disproportionate minority confinement. On the other hand, the 1989-2001 review noted that there were fewer instances when research studies found evidence of accumulated disadvantaged status. Pope and colleagues attributed this to the increased precision of statistical analyses in the 1989-2001 research studies, resulting in an increased number of research studies finding "mixed" results.

Results From Part Two of the Report

This document (Part One) utilizes basic quantitative analysis to examine the level and extent of disproportionate minority confinement at numerous aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system process. Part Two of the report was intended to expand on Part One. Part Two of the report included three components.

The first component utilized data obtained from files created on minors in Cook County after they have been referred to court. The intent of the first component was to use relatively sophisticated statistical analyses (multinomial logistic regression) to examine the importance of race relative to other potentially relevant factors (e.g., the juvenile's age, offense type, prior arrests) in predicting how juvenile cases are resolved. The two analyses predicted how far juveniles proceed in the system and the case outcome, respectively.

For the second component, several types of juvenile justice professionals completed surveys. Public defenders, judges, probation officers, and police officers completed surveys. The surveys were intended to provide an indication of whether Cook County juvenile justice system decision-makers perceive racial biases in the Cook County juvenile justice system.

The third component examined juvenile interrogations, or interrogations conducted by juvenile police officers after juveniles are taken into custody. These interrogations play a large role in determining the decisions juvenile police officers make regarding how to handle juvenile cases. Juvenile police officers responded to a short survey following each interrogation they completed during a two-week period. The survey inquired about several factors that may impact processing decisions (including race), then inquired about how the juvenile police officer handled the case.

The following bullet points list notable results from Part Two of the report:

- Results of the first analysis conducted for the first component of Part Two indicated that race was a significant factor in predicting how far juveniles proceed in the system. However, unexpectedly, *Caucasians and Hispanics tended to proceed further in the system than African-Americans*. This unexpected result is reconciled in the conclusion section of this document.

- Results of the second analysis conducted for the first component of Part Two indicated that race was a significant factor in predicting case outcomes. Caucasians and Hispanics were more likely than African-Americans to receive a probation sentence as an outcome as opposed to any other type of outcome examined. On the other hand, African-Americans were more likely than Caucasians to receive an outcome involving incarceration as opposed to a probation sentence.

- A notable percentage (37.2%) of all the juvenile justice professionals who responded to the survey distributed for the second component of Part Two strongly agreed or agreed that minority juveniles are treated differently from Caucasian juveniles in the juvenile justice system.

- Analysis of survey items by profession indicated that law enforcement professionals (patrol officers and juvenile investigators) were less likely than two other types of professions (juvenile probation officers and public defenders) to believe that minority juveniles are treated differently in the juvenile justice system and more likely to attribute negative qualities to minority juveniles (minority juveniles are less willing to acknowledge guilt, more likely to have a negative attitude toward authority, more likely to use drugs).

- Results of the statistical analysis conducted for the third component of Part Two indicated that race did not play a large role in predicting interrogation decisions made by juvenile police officers. *The juvenile's attitude and demeanor during the interrogation played the largest role in predicting interrogation decisions.*

II. Method

This section describes the methodology used to examine disproportionate minority representation at each of the juvenile justice system processing stages highlighted in Figure 1 and Figure 2. This section is separated into four subsections: (1) a subsection describing the juvenile justice system data used to determine whether disproportionate minority representation exists at each of the juvenile justice system process or pre-trial confinement aspects or stages examined in this document, (2) a description of the disproportionate minority representation statistics used, (3) a note regarding how to interpret the statistics, and (4) a short subsection describing the risk factor data used to provide context or to explain (by identifying indirect effects) instances when disproportionate minority representation exists in the Cook County juvenile justice system.

Description of Juvenile Justice System Data

Most of the juvenile justice system data examined in this document originated from one of two agencies within the Cook County court system: the Cook County Juvenile Probation and Court Services Department (juvenile probation) or the Office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Cook County (circuit clerk's office). Table 4 lists each of the juvenile justice system process or pre-trial confinement aspects or stages examined in this document and the agency responsible for providing the data (see Figure 1 and Figure 2 for abridged flowcharts of the juvenile justice system process and pre-trial confinement).[9]

Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority research staff contacted juvenile probation and the circuit clerk's office to request data necessary to examine disproportionate minority representation at each juvenile justice system aspect or stage listed in Table 4. The leadership of these agencies voiced their support of the project and referred research staff to individuals within their respective agencies who were most familiar with their data.

Research staff requested data that would enable one to calculate the aggregated, total number of juveniles *ages 10-16* who experienced each of the juvenile justice system aspects or stages listed in Table 4 (e.g., the number of juveniles who were issued a probation adjustment, had a delinquency petition filed against them, etc.) from *1996-1999.*

[9] Data from the circuit clerk's office was provided pertaining to both juveniles sentenced to probation and juveniles provided with a conditional discharge sentence, or a sentence for which the juvenile is required to complete certain conditions in order to be removed from the juvenile justice system. Because there were relatively few cases involving conditional discharge and because a conditional discharge sentence is qualitatively similar to a probation sentence, cases for which the juvenile was given a conditional discharge sentence were combined with cases for which the juvenile was given a probation sentence.

The ages 10-16 were selected because Illinois law states that individuals under 10 may not be detained in a secure facility and individuals over 16 are legal adults and must have their cases processed in adult criminal court. Thus, individuals under 10 and over 16 cannot contribute to the disproportionate minority confinement of juveniles in Illinois.

The years 1996-1999 were selected so that the timeframe of the data obtained from juvenile probation and the circuit clerk's office would match the timeframe of the data collected from individual law enforcement agencies by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (see Table 4 and the section below on data collected from law enforcement agencies).

Table 4
Juvenile Justice System Data Sources

Juvenile Justice System Aspect /Stage	Data Source
Pre-Court System	
Arrested	Individual Law Enforcement Agencies[a]
Issued a Station Adjustment[b]	Individual Law Enforcement Agencies
Mandatory Transfer to Adult Court	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Referred to Juvenile Court for Potential Prosecution	Cook County Juvenile Probation
In Court System, Pre-Trial	
Charged Dropped	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Issued a Probation Adjustment	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Delinquency Petition Filed	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Trial Outcomes and Sentence Options	
Continued Under Supervision	Cook County Circuit Clerk's Office
Found Delinquent	Cook County Circuit Clerk's Office
Detention	Cook County Circuit Clerk's Office
Probation or Conditional Discharge	Cook County Circuit Clerk's Office
Juvenile Division – Illinois DOC	Cook County Circuit Clerk's Office
Detention Screening (Pre-Trial Confinement)	
Detention Screening	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Detained	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Override Up	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Override Down	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Home Confinement and/or Electronic Monitoring	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Released	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Detention Hearing (Pre-Trial Confinement)	
Detention Hearing	Cook County Juvenile Probation
Detained	Cook County Juvenile Probation

a: The Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority collected data on these aspects of the juvenile justice system from individual Cook County law enforcement agencies.
b: Illinois law requires that law enforcement agencies distinguish between two types of station adjustments, formal and informal. For the purposes of this document, these two types of station adjustments are combined.

In addition to requesting data pertaining to juveniles ages 10-16 and for the years 1996-1999, research staff also requested that data be provided in a manner that would make it possible to calculate totals by the *racial group* of the juvenile. Finally, a decision was made to also ensure that data be provided in a manner that would make it possible to calculate totals by *geographic location* (Chicago vs. suburban Cook County), *gender*, and *offense type* (violent offenses vs. property offenses vs. drug offenses vs. weapons offenses vs. other offenses). These additional factors were requested so that it would be possible to examine disproportionate minority representation for subgroups of juveniles (e.g., African-American males who were arrested for violent offenses).

Table 4 shows that data on two aspects of the juvenile justice system process, juveniles arrested and juveniles issued a station adjustment, were obtained directly from individual law enforcement agencies. There are numerous law enforcement agencies in Cook County and, unlike other aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system process, there is no centralized source for all the Cook County arrest and station adjustment data. Thus, for the years 1996-1999, the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority undertook an arrest data collection process, for which data examining the number of juveniles arrested and the number receiving a station adjustment were obtained from numerous Cook County law enforcement agencies.

For the arrest data collection project, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority research staff attempted to collect 1996-1999 juvenile arrest and station adjustment data pertaining to juveniles ages 10-16 from 131 law enforcement agencies in suburban Cook County. Data on arrests and station adjustments were collected in one of three manners: (1) by having staff at the law enforcement agency complete a form and return it the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, (2) by having Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority research staff travel to the law enforcement agency and gather the data by manually inspecting case files, and (3) by receiving permission from the law enforcement agency to examine data available via an electronic, automated law enforcement records system developed and maintained by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority.

Through this process, data was obtained from 92 law enforcement agencies in suburban Cook County (70.2% of the 131 law enforcement agencies in suburban Cook County from whom data was requested). Data was collected in a manner that made it possible to calculate totals by gender, but not in a manner that made it possible to examine gender in conjunction with race (and, for example, examine African-American females, Caucasian males, etc.). For this reason, gender was not examined for the arrest and station adjustment aspects of the juvenile justice system.

However, data was only obtained from the Chicago Police Department for 1999. The Chicago Police Department was having difficulties maintaining their electronic, automated records system, making it necessary to manually collect Chicago Police Department data. A decision was made to omit the Chicago Police Department from the data collected by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority from 1996-1998, as opposed to manually collecting data from case files. However, by 1999, it was possible to

obtain data from the Chicago Police Department automated records system. It was possible to obtain arrest data, but not station adjustment data through the automated system. Thus, when examining juveniles who were issued a station adjustment, the information pertained exclusively to suburban Cook County.

Overall, because of the importance of including data from the Chicago Police Department in analyses examining disproportionate minority representation among juveniles arrested, a decision was made to *only examine 1999 data for arrests.* And, because the statistics that were calculated for station adjustments relied upon arrest data, analyses examining station adjustments were also limited to 1999.

Because of the intensive and time-consuming nature of the data collection process, the collection of arrest and station adjustment data was limited to specific offense types. The Federal Bureau of Investigation developed the Uniform Crime Reporting program in the 1930's. The Uniform Crime Reporting program requires that states maintain reliable information on eight violent and property offenses that have been labeled *index* offenses.

The Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority opted to obtain violent and property offense data only pertaining to the eight index offenses, so that the data collection project could be used as a vehicle for assisting Illinois in complying with Uniform Crime Reporting requirements. Violent index offenses are murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Property index offenses are burglary, larceny/theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. When violent or property offenses are referenced in results describing disproportionate minority representation for arrests or station adjustments, the results are referring exclusively to index offenses. On the other hand, when data was obtained from juvenile probation and from the circuit clerk's office, data was obtained on *every* violent and property offense.

Similarly, for arrests and station adjustments, data was only collected on specific drug offenses (possession of cannabis, manufacture/delivery of cannabis, possession of controlled substances, manufacture/delivery of controlled substances), and one weapons based offense (unlawful use of a weapon), whereas the juvenile probation and circuit clerk's office data provided *every* drug and weapons offense.

Finally, the juvenile probation and circuit clerk's office data provided information on all other offenses in addition to violent, property, drug, and weapons offenses, whereas the data collected from law enforcement agencies *only* included the aforementioned offenses (index offenses and the drug and weapons offenses listed in parentheses). Data pertaining to other offenses was examined, but did not yield additional insights. Thus, text and tables describing results from Part One do not make reference to results pertaining specifically to juveniles who committed other types of offenses.

Measuring Disproportionate Minority Representation

One of two disproportionate minority representation statistics was calculated for each aspect or stage of the juvenile justice system examined. The statistic used was contingent

upon the nature of the stage or aspect being examined. Both of the statistics were suggested in the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's *Disproportionate Minority Confinement Technical Assistance Manual*.

The Cook County population includes fairly appreciable numbers of Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics, and fairly small numbers of other racial/ethnic groups. Thus, a decision was made to only calculate these statistics for Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics.

Statistic One: Representation Index

Disproportionate minority representation occurs when minorities are represented in a particular aspect or stage of the juvenile justice system at proportions that exceed their representation in the general population. The representation index examines the representation of a single racial group or subgroup (e.g., a racial subgroup might be African-American females, Hispanics who were arrested for property offenses, etc.) at a single aspect or stage of the juvenile justice system, relative to the representation of the racial group or subgroup in the general population. The representation index was calculated as follows:

$$(1)\ \%\ \text{represented in system aspect} = \frac{\#\ \text{in system aspect for racial group or subgroup}}{\text{total}\ \#\ \text{in system aspect}}$$

AND

$$(2)\ \%\ \text{represented in general population} = \frac{\text{racial group or subgroup population}}{\text{total juvenile population}}$$

THEN

$$(3)\ \text{Representation Index (RI)} = \frac{\%\ \text{represented in system aspect}}{\%\ \text{represented in general population}}$$

As an example, if one wanted to calculate the RI for African-Americans who have had juvenile delinquency petitions filed against them, one would determine (1) the percentage of all those who had a delinquency petition filed against them who are African-American, and (2) the percentage of the total juvenile population that is African-American, then (3) divide the percentage calculated in (1) by the percentage calculated in (2).
The RI can be interpreted as follows:

- **RI < 1** means that representation of the racial/ethnic group in the aspect of the juvenile justice system being examined is **less than** the representation of the racial group in the general population.

- **RI = 1** means that representation of the racial/ethnic group in the aspect of the juvenile justice system being examined is **equal to** the representation of the racial group in the general population.

- **RI > 1** means that the representation of the racial/ethnic group in the aspect of the juvenile justice system being examined is **greater than** the representation of the racial group in the general population.

- **RI > 2** means that the representation of the racial/ethnic group in the aspect of the juvenile justice system being examined is **more than twice that of** the representation of the racial group in the general population.

According to this interpretation, RI statistics that are greater than one indicate disproportionate representation.

For the most part, data for this project was collected for the years 1996-1999. When the RI was used, data for these four years was aggregated and the RI statistics were calculated based on totals across the four years. The exception to this was arrests, for which just 1999 population data was used, as opposed to 1996-1999 population data.

To calculate the RI statistics, juvenile population data was obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau. The juvenile population data was provided by race, gender, and geographic location. This made it possible to determine juvenile populations and, hence, calculate RI statistics for every combination of racial group, gender, and geographic location.[10] Table 5 shows juvenile populations used to calculate RI statistics (with the exception of arrests and station adjustments).

[10] There is a population-based issue regarding the calculation of RI statistics. The U.S. Census Bureau treats race and ethnicity as separate categories. The U.S. Census Bureau race categories are Caucasian, African-American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Ethnicity categories are Hispanic vs. non-Hispanic. Thus, according to this system, one could be classified as, for example, a Caucasian Hispanic or a Black non-Hispanic. The difficulty with this system is that the classifications Caucasian, African-American, and Hispanic are treated by many individuals and by many government agencies as being separate, non-overlapping categories. For example, many agencies classify race/ethnicity such that one can be Caucasian *or* Hispanic, but not both. This was the case for all data collected to calculate RI statistics. As a result, research staff attempted to use Census Bureau population categories that capture how agencies would likely classify individuals as Caucasian, African-American, or Hispanic (essentially, on the basis of physical cues such as skin color). The Caucasian non-Hispanic population was used for Caucasians, the Black Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic populations were used for African-Americans, and the Caucasian Hispanic population was used for Hispanic/Latinos.

Because it was not possible to obtain population data based on offense type, RI statistics that included offense type were based on the juvenile population for *all other factors* being examined (e.g., the RI statistic for Caucasian males who committed property offenses was based on the population of Caucasian males, the statistic for Hispanics who committed weapons offenses was based on the Hispanic population, etc.).

Table 5
Cook County Juvenile Populations by Racial Group, Gender, and Geographic Location[a]

	Male		Female		TOTAL
	Chicago	Suburban Cook	Chicago	Suburban Cook	
Caucasian	89,410	313,186	85,269	297,907	785,772
African-American	232,421	101,046	228,152	98,134	659,753
Hispanic	159,621	57,838	149,893	54,934	422,286
TOTAL[b]	505,360	504,161	485,877	480,720	1,976,118

a: The populations in Table 6 are for juveniles ages 10-16, aggregated across the years 1996-1999.
b: These totals include all racial groups and, thus, the totals are not the sum of the Caucasian, African-American, and Hispanic populations.

Statistic Two: Disparity Index

The second statistic used to measure disproportionate minority representation was the disparity index. The primary difference between the representation index and the disparity index is that the disparity index is used when the ideal reference population is not the general population. For initial, earlier stages in the juvenile justice system, it is more appropriate to compare representation relative to representation in the general population. However, once juveniles are in the system, they may only proceed to the next stage if they have already been at the previous stage. For example, a juvenile cannot be referred to court unless he or she has been arrested. Put another way, the population at risk for being referred to court is the population of those arrested, not the general population.

Thus, for all stages of the juvenile justice system after initial, early stages, disparity indices were calculated instead of representation indices. Similarly, for all stages of the juvenile justice system after initial, early stages, disparity indices are reported in this document when describing results. The disparity index examines the percentage of juveniles in an aspect or stage of the juvenile justice system, relative to the percentage in the preceding aspect or stage.

For a juvenile justice system stage, X, and the successive stage, Y, the disparity index statistic for racial group or subgroup, Z, would be calculated as follows:

Disparity Index (DI) = % of racial group or subgroup Z at stage Y

% of racial group or subgroup Z at stage X

As an example, if one wanted to calculate the DI for African-Americans who were referred to court relative to a subsequent stage, such as African-Americans who had a delinquency petition filed against them, one would determine the percentage of those who were referred to court that are African-American (% referred to court), and the percentage of those who had a delinquency petition filed against them that are African-American (% delinquency petition filings), and then divide % delinquency petition filings by % referred to court.

The same basic approach was used when calculating DI statistics that was adopted when calculating RI statistics. Specifically, when the DI statistic was used, DI's were calculated on all possible racial group or subgroups using data aggregated across 1996-1999 (except for station adjustments).

Moreover, the DI statistic can be interpreted in the same manner as the RI statistic. DI statistics greater than one indicate greater representation at the *subsequent, or later*, stage, DI statistics less than one indicate greater representation at the *earlier* stage, and DI statistics equal to one indicate equal representation at the two stages.

Table 6 lists the sequential stages of the juvenile justice system for which the DI statistic was calculated. For each series of sequential stages, Table 6 lists the preceding, then the subsequent stage. For example, "Arrested → Issued a Station Adjustment" in Table 6 means that a disparity index statistic was calculated examining whether disproportionate minority representation increases (or decreases) from the arrest stage (the preceding stage) to the station adjustment stage (the subsequent stage).

Table 6
Sequential Juvenile Justice System Stages
For Which Disparity Indices Were Calculated

Sequential Stages
Juvenile Justice System Process
Arrested → Issued a Station Adjustment
Arrested → Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution
Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution → Charges Dropped
Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution → Issued a Probation Adjustment
Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution → Delinquency Petition Filed
Delinquency Petition Filed → Continued Under Supervision
Delinquency Petition Filed → Found Delinquent
Found Delinquent → Detention
Found Delinquent → Probation or Conditional Discharge
Found Delinquent → Juvenile Division – Illinois Department of Corrections

Table 6 (cont.)
Sequential Juvenile Justice System Stages
For Which Disparity Indices Were Calculated

Sequential Stages
Pre-Trial Confinement
Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution → Detention Screening
Detention Screening → Detained
Detention Screening → Home Confinement and/or Electronic Monitoring
Detention Screening → Released
Detention Screening → Override Up
Detention Screening → Override Down
Detention Hearing → Continued Detention

Interpreting the Indices

Although, in general, representation indices and disparity indices greater than one indicate overrepresentation and representation indices and disparity indices less than one indicated underrepresentation, there are two characteristics of the indices that are worth noting, as they have implications for how the indices should be interpreted. The first characteristic pertains to how percentages are interpreted. The second characteristic pertains to upper limits on the indices.

Numbers and Percentages

First, it is worth emphasizing that both indices are based on percentages. The reliability, accuracy, and importance of a percentage is contingent upon the size of the numbers that are used to calculate the percentages. The smaller the numbers used to calculate the percentage, the less useful the percentage. For example, 75 percent is less meaningful if it is based on 3 of 4 individuals than if it is based on 75 of 100 individuals.

Related to this, if small numbers are used to calculate percentages, then even minor changes in numbers that result in great fluctuation in percentage. A change from 2 of 4 individuals to 3 of 4 individuals results in a 25 percent increase, whereas a change from 75 of 100 individuals to 76 of 100 individuals results in a 1 percent increase.

The byproduct of these simple characteristics of percentages is that, when percentages are based on small numbers, it is easier for the indices to show high levels of over or under representation. Smaller differences in terms of absolute numbers are necessary in order to show high levels of over or under representation.

On the other hand, when percentages are based on large numbers, it is more difficult for the indices to show high levels over or under representation. Larger differences in terms of absolute numbers are necessary in order to show high levels of over or under representation.

For example, for the change from 2 of 4 individuals to 3 of 4 individuals, the disparity index would be 1.50 (75%/50%), whereas, for the change from 75 of 100 to 76 of 100 individuals, the disparity index would be 1.01 (76%/75%). When the percentages are based on 100 individuals, there would need to be a difference of 50 individuals in order for the disparity index to be 1.50, or the same index that occurred for change of a single individual when smaller numbers were used to calculate the index.

This issue played a role in how the indices were interpreted. In particular, there were aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system for which there were considerably larger numbers of African-Americans as opposed to Caucasians or Hispanics. In these instances, an index of 1.01 or 1.02 for African-Americans could potentially be just as meaningful as larger indices for Caucasians or Hispanics. Similarly, there were aspects or stages of the juvenile justice system for which there were very few female juveniles. In these instances, there were a number of very large indices that were less meaningful.

Upper Bounds

There is a second dimension of both index statistics that is worth noting, as it also has implications for how the statistics are interpreted. In particular, for each index statistic that is calculated for a racial group or subgroup, there is a limit, or *upper bound*, on how large the statistic can be. The upper bound depends on the percentages that constitute the index. Although there are upper bounds for both representation index statistics and disparity index statistics, for this document upper bounds have a greater impact on how one interprets disparity index statistics.

As an extreme example of how upper bounds impact disparity index statistics, imagine that African-Americans represent 50% of those arrested (the preceding stage), and 90% of those referred to court (the subsequent stage). These percentages would result in a very large disparity index of 1.8 (90% / 50%). But, because African-Americans are so highly represented among those referred to court, there is simply not much room for increase at a subsequent stage, such as having a delinquency petition filed. Even if 100% of those who have a delinquency petition filed against them are African-American, the disparity index would only be 1.11 (100% / 90%). What this suggests is that the size of the disparity index is largely dictated by the magnitude of the percentage in the preceding stage. As a result, important and notable increases in sequential stages of the juvenile justice system may not necessarily result in large disparity index statistics. In addition, if disproportionate minority representations accumulates in small increments and "snowballs" into disproportionate minority confinement, disparity index statistics may become progressively smaller at successive stages of the juvenile justice system.

Implications for Interpreting Indices

Both the issue of absolute numbers and percentages, and the upper bound issue were taken into consideration when interpreting indices. As such, there were instances in descriptions of results when seemingly small indices (1.01, 0.99., etc.) are cautiously classified as showing over or under representation and instances when seemingly large indices are not emphasized.

Description of Risk Factor Data

After reporting and describing representation or disparity index statistics for each of the juvenile justice system aspects or stages examined, this document then includes a short section describing potential juvenile delinquency risk factors. The purpose of this section is to point out potential indirect effects, or factors that differ by race, that may be considered by juvenile justice professionals when they make processing decisions, thus placing minorities at a disadvantage.

Table 3 listed the potential risk factors examined in this document. Each of the potential risk factors listed in Table 3 is collected, housed, and maintained by a state-level government agency in Illinois. Research staff contacted the agencies responsible for the data, and requested aggregated annual totals broken down by race.

Unlike the juvenile justice system data, no attempt was made to request or examine the potential risk factor data based on gender or on geographic location. However, an attempt was made to limit our examination of potential risk factors to data pertaining to the same time period as the juvenile justice system data (1996-1999). Table 7 shows, for each of the potential risk factors examined, the data source and the years examined.

Table 7
Risk Factors Examined

Type of Potential Risk Factor	Source	Years Examined
Families Receiving Public Assistance	Department of Human Service	1996-1999
Unemployment	Department of Employment Securities	1996-1999
Reported Domestic Offenses	Illinois State Police	1997-1999
Child Abuse and Neglect Cases	Dept. of Children and Family Services	1996-1999
Child Sexual Abuse Cases	Dept. of Children and Family Services	1996-1999
High School Dropouts	State Board of Education	1995/96-1999/00
Truancy	State Board of Education	1995/96-1999/00
Suspensions	State Board of Education	1995/96-1999/00
Expulsions	State Board of Education	1995/96-1999/00

III. Minority Representation and the Flow of Youth Through Cook County's Juvenile Justice System

This section and those that follow describe, for the aspects and stages of the juvenile justice system shaded in Figure 1 and Figure 2, the overall level and extent of DMR in Cook County. This section describes the level and extent of DMR at stages that constitute the basic flow of juveniles through the juvenile justice system. Using the parlance in Figure 1, this section examines the following stages: "Arrested", "Referred to Juvenile Court for Potential Prosecution", "Delinquency Petition Filed", "Found Delinquent", "Detention", "Probation or Conditional Discharge", and "Juvenile Division – Illinois Department of Corrections". This section includes a sub-section on each of these stages, which begins by reporting basic statistics (e.g., the number of juveniles by race involved in the stage), then reporting representation indices or disparity indices.

Arrests

Data were analyzed on 21,972 juveniles arrested in Cook County in 1999. African-American juveniles made up 63 percent of the juveniles arrested in Cook County, Hispanic juveniles 12 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 24 percent. The racial composition of juvenile arrestees differed substantially between Chicago and suburban Cook County. In Chicago, African-American juveniles accounted for 79 percent of total juvenile arrestees, Hispanic juveniles 15 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 6 percent. In suburban Cook County, African-American juveniles accounted for 37 percent of juvenile arrestees, Hispanic juveniles 6 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 55 percent.

Because the arrest stage is the "gate" to the juvenile justice system, there is no previous stage to which arrest can be compared. Thus, for the arrest stage, the percentage of juveniles by race who were arrested is compared to the percentage of juveniles by race in the general juvenile population (i.e., the representation index).

At the arrest stage countywide, African-American juveniles were overrepresented and Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented compared to their representation in the general juvenile population. When looking at representation by region and offense, although there is variation in the magnitude of overrepresentation, African-American juveniles were overrepresented at the arrest stage in both Chicago and suburban Cook County, regardless of type of offense. In contrast, with few exceptions, Caucasian and Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented at the arrest stage regardless of region of the county in which the case originated and type of offense. A notable exception is found for Hispanic juveniles charged with weapons offenses in suburban Cook County whose representation among youth arrested for a weapons offenses is nearly twice their representation in the general juvenile population. It is also worth noting that the underrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles is greater among those whose cases originated in Chicago than among those whose cases originated in suburban Cook County.

Table 8
Representation Indices for the Arrest Stage

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**1.91**	0.56	0.61
Violent	**1.97**	0.64	0.46
Property	**1.62**	0.45	0.85
Drug	**2.15**	0.59	0.36
Weapons	**1.67**	**1.14**	0.44
Chicago	**1.71**	0.49	0.31
Violent	**1.70**	0.53	0.29
Property	**1.65**	0.50	0.47
Drug	**1.78**	0.42	0.24
Weapons	**1.46**	0.84	0.35
Suburban Cook	**1.84**	0.55	0.89
Violent	**2.05**	0.81	0.79
Property	**1.90**	0.45	0.88
Drug	**1.20**	0.73	**1.08**
Weapons	**1.85**	**1.82**	0.68

When looking at the representation of youth by race at the arrest stage compared to the representation of youth by race in the general juvenile population, overrepresentation of African-American juveniles in the juvenile justice system is introduced at this stage. Thus, the question that drives the analysis reported in the subsections that follow is whether subsequent stages of the juvenile justice process add to or correct for the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles that is introduced to the juvenile justice system at the arrest stage? As a result, in the subsections that follow, the calculation of representation indices are not repeated, instead the focus is on disparity indices that assess whether the racial disparity introduced at the arrest stage is added to or minimized at subsequent stages of the juvenile justice process.

Referrals to Court

Data were analyzed on 11,228 juvenile cases referred to the Juvenile Justice Bureau of the Cook County's State's Attorney's Office in 1999.[11] Countywide, African-American juveniles accounted for 74 percent of the court referrals, Hispanic juveniles 14 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 10 percent. For those cases that originated in Chicago, African-American juveniles accounted for 80 percent of the court referrals, Hispanic juveniles 14 percent, and Caucasian youth 5 percent. For those cases that originated in suburban Cook County, African-American juveniles accounted for 52 percent of the court referrals,

[11] Since the most reliable arrest data collected was for 1999 only (see pages 19 and 20 for a description of the process by which arrest data was obtained) and the calculation of Disparity Indices for this stage requires the use of arrest data, we use only 1999 court referral data for the analyses in this section. Similarly, because 1999 arrest data was not available by gender and race, Disparity Indices by gender and race, and by gender, race and offense could not be calculated.

Hispanic juveniles 13 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 32 percent. The calculation of disparity indices for the court referral stage compared the percentage of juveniles by race whose cases were referred to court to the percentage of juveniles by race that were arrested.

Table 9
Disparity Indices for the Court Referral Stage

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**1.18**	**1.19**	0.42
Violent	**1.09**	1.00	0.61
Property	**1.22**	**1.54**	0.46
Drug	**1.12**	0.86	0.42
Weapons	**1.07**	**1.31**	0.31
Chicago	**1.01**	0.94	0.82
Violent	**1.03**	0.88	0.75
Property	0.98	**1.04**	**1.03**
Drug	**1.04**	0.78	0.71
Weapons	0.94	**1.22**	0.53
Suburban Cook	**1.41**	**2.22**	0.57
Violent	**1.29**	**1.51**	0.62
Property	**1.37**	**2.59**	0.59
Drug	**2.06**	**1.68**	0.52
Weapons	**1.43**	**1.49**	0.41

Countywide, the court referral stage increased the level of overrepresentation of African-American juveniles in Cook County's juvenile justice system. Even when taking into account the percentage of African-American juveniles arrested, African-American juveniles were disproportionally referred to court. In other words, even though there was already significant disparity at the arrest stage, the disproportionate involvement of African-American juveniles in Cook County's juvenile justice system was added to through court referrals. Although Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented countywide among juveniles arrested compared to their representation in the general population, at the court referral stage we see the first indication of Hispanic juveniles disproportionally progressing through the juvenile justice system process. In contrast to Hispanic juveniles, the degree to which Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented in the Cook County's juvenile justice system increased as a result of the court referral process.

Countywide, the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles whose cases were referred to court was evident among all offense types. In contrast, there was variation by type of offense for Hispanic juveniles. Although Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles referred to court for drug offenses, and were referred to court for violent offenses at a rate that is proportional to the percentage of Hispanic juveniles arrested for a violent offense they were overrepresented among juveniles referred to court on property or weapons offenses.

The degree of overrepresentation for both African-American and Hispanic juveniles was greater among those whose cases originated in suburban Cook County than among those whose cases originated in Chicago. Both African-American and Hispanic juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County were referred to court at a rate that is higher than would be expected given their representation among juveniles arrested, regardless of type of offense.

At the court referral stage of the juvenile justice process, the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles in Cook County's juvenile justice system increased. Although there is an indication of slight overrepresentation of African-American juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago, the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County is more dramatic. In addition, the first sign of Hispanic juveniles overrepresentation is evident at the court referral stage, specifically among Hispanic juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County. Even with the overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles evident at this stage among youth whose cases originated in suburban Cook County, Hispanic juveniles remain underrepresented countywide when compared to their representation in the general juvenile population (RI=0.67).

Delinquency Petitions Filed

Data were analyzed on 56,051 delinquency petitions that were filed during the years 1996-1999. Countywide, African-American juveniles accounted for 72 percent of all delinquency petitions filed, Hispanic juveniles accounted for 14 percent, and Caucasian juveniles accounted for 11 percent. Among those cases originating in Chicago, African-American juveniles comprised 79 percent of delinquency petitions filed, Hispanic juveniles 15 percent, and Caucasian juveniles comprised 5 percent. Among those cases that originated in suburban Cook County, African-American juveniles comprised 48 percent of delinquency petitions filed, Hispanic juveniles 11 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 30 percent. For the calculation of the disparity indices in this subsection, the percentage of juveniles by race for whom delinquency petitions were filed is compared to the percentage of juveniles by race whose cases were referred to court.

When comparing the racial composition of juveniles for whom delinquency petitions were filed to the racial composition of juveniles referred to court, the data suggests that the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is added to at this stage of the juvenile justice system process. The overrepresentation of African-Americans at this stage is driven by the overrepresentation of African-American males in both regions of the county and among all offense types. Although Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented at the delinquency petition filing stage, exceptions were found when looking at Hispanic males charged with weapons offenses. As was the case at the arrest and court referral stage, Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented regardless of gender or type of offense.

Table 10
Disparity Indices for the Delinquency Petition Filed Stage

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**1.07**	0.88	0.80
Males	**1.11**	0.91	0.83
Violent	**1.09**	1.00	0.87
Property	**1.10**	0.92	0.92
Drug	**1.08**	0.83	0.59
Weapons	**1.06**	**1.03**	0.83
Females	0.92	0.83	0.67
Violent	0.95	0.86	0.63
Property	0.92	0.80	0.70
Drug	0.93	0.71	0.43
Weapons	0.84	0.80	0.40
Chicago	**1.05**	0.86	0.84
Males	**1.08**	0.87	0.86
Violent	**1.06**	0.99	1.00
Property	**1.08**	0.89	0.94
Drug	**1.05**	0.82	0.72
Weapons	**1.04**	**1.02**	0.97
Females	0.95	0.79	0.75
Violent	0.94	0.87	0.80
Property	0.99	0.86	0.91
Drug	0.91	0.83	0.67
Weapons	0.86	0.89	1.00
Suburban Cook	**1.07**	0.93	0.87
Males	**1.14**	0.98	0.93
Violent	**1.12**	0.99	0.94
Property	**1.12**	0.98	0.98
Drug	**1.27**	0.84	0.74
Weapons	**1.10**	**1.11**	0.80
Females	0.84	0.67	0.65
Violent	0.88	0.71	0.65
Property	0.78	0.53	0.67
Drug	1.00	0.67	0.36
Weapons	0.78	0.90	0.52

Juveniles Found Delinquent

Data were analyzed on 26,118 juveniles who were found delinquent in Cook County during the years, 1996-1999. African-American juveniles accounted for 74 percent of juveniles found delinquent, Hispanic juveniles 14 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 10 percent. Among those juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were found delinquent, 80 percent were African-American, 15 percent were Hispanic, and 5 percent were Caucasian. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were found delinquent, 44 percent were African-American, 13 percent were Hispanic, and 34 percent were Caucasian.

Table 11
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Found Delinquent

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**1.02**	**1.04**	0.97
Males	**1.05**	**1.06**	1.00
Violent	**1.05**	**1.08**	**1.03**
Property	**1.01**	**1.09**	**1.21**
Drug	**1.02**	**1.02**	0.79
Weapons	0.97	**1.16**	**1.06**
Females	0.77	0.80	0.86
Violent	0.89	0.88	0.94
Property	0.64	0.75	**1.05**
Drug	0.87	1.00	0.67
Weapons	0.78	**1.38**	1.00
Chicago	**1.01**	0.99	0.94
Males	**1.04**	**1.02**	0.95
Violent	**1.03**	**1.03**	**1.02**
Property	**1.03**	**1.04**	**1.09**
Drug	**1.01**	**1.02**	0.92
Weapons	0.96	**1.12**	1.00
Females	0.79	0.80	1.00
Violent	0.91	0.88	1.00
Property	0.71	0.74	1.00
Drug	0.88	1.00	1.00
Weapons	0.83	**1.38**	**1.33**

Table 11 (cont.)
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Found Delinquent

Suburban Cook	0.91	**1.24**	**1.24**
Males	0.97	**1.03**	**1.27**
Violent	**1.07**	**1.24**	**1.18**
Property	0.89	**1.24**	**1.35**
Drug	1.00	**1.37**	**1.09**
Weapons	0.92	**1.33**	**1.40**
Females	0.62	0.92	**1.03**
Violent	0.71	0.94	0.95
Property	0.45	0.88	**1.08**
Drug	1.00	**1.66**	0.81
Weapons	0.67	0.89	**1.09**

Among juveniles found delinquent in Cook County, African-American and Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented when compared to the percentage of African-American and Hispanic juveniles for whom delinquency petitions were filed. In addition, the first indication of overrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles can be found.

Although the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles countywide increases at this stage of the process, it is primarily a function of the overrepresentation of African-American males whose cases originated in Chicago. In contrast, although Hispanic juveniles remain underrepresented at this stage of the juvenile justice process compared to their representation in the general juvenile population (RI=0.69), Hispanic males were overrepresented among juveniles found delinquent when compared to their representation among juveniles for whom delinquency petitions were filed, regardless of region and type of offense. It is worth noting that although Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented when looking at the data countywide, among those whose cases originated in Chicago Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented, but were among those whose cases originated in suburban Cook County Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented.

Although the underrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles continued at this stage of the juvenile justice process when compared to their representation among the general juvenile population (RI=0.26), countywide, Caucasian males found delinquent of violent, property, or weapons offenses, and Caucasian females found delinquent of a property offense were overrepresented when compared to the percentage for whom delinquency petitions were filed. Interestingly, when looking at the experiences of Caucasian juveniles by region, Caucasians were overrepresented among those whose cases originated in suburban Cook County but were underrepresented among those cases that originated in Chicago.

The findings from the assessment of minority representation at the stages of the juvenile justice process preceding the sentencing hearing provide some insight into how the decisions made prior to this stage funnel certain types of juveniles into a population that are at risk of post-trial commitment to the Cook County Temporary Juvenile Detention

Center or the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections. Decisions made at stages that precede the sentencing hearing resulted in a population countywide that were at-risk for commitment to a secure facility that was 74 percent African-American, 14 percent Hispanic, and 10 percent Caucasian. Table 15 describes the percentage of Cook County juveniles who were at risk of commitment to a secured facility by race, gender, and type of offense during the years 1996-1999.

Table 12
Percentage of Juveniles At-Risk for Confinement
by Race, Gender, and Type of Offense

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	74.1	14.4	10.2
Males	68.0	13.1	9.0
Violent	59.1	13.1	9.8
Property	57.1	16.0	17.1
Drug	86.3	6.7	2.3
Weapons	59.6	30.3	5.2
Females	6.1	1.2	1.2
Violent	12.6	2.1	1.6
Property	4.5	1.2	2.0
Drug	3.5	0.5	0.2
Weapons	2.5	1.1	0.4

The next three sections summarize the findings of an assessment of disproportionate minority representation for three possible outcomes from a finding of delinquency, probation/conditional discharge, short-term placement in the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center, and commitment to the Juvenile Division of IDOC

Juveniles Placed on Probation[12]

For the analysis of minority representation among juveniles sentenced to probation, data were analyzed on 20,016 juveniles sentenced to probation during the years 1996-1999. African-American juveniles accounted for 72 percent of the juveniles placed on probation, Hispanic juveniles 15 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 11 percent. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were sentenced to probation, 79 percent were African-American, 15 percent were Hispanic, and 5 percent were Caucasian. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were sentenced to probation, 42 percent were African-American, 14 percent were Hispanic, and 39 percent were Caucasian. The disparity indices reported in this

[12] This section includes data on both probation sentences and conditional discharge sentences. Conditional discharge is a less rigorous type of sentence than probation, but similar to probation in the sense that, in order to be removed from the court system, one must complete certain conditions. Moreover, as with probation, the completion of the conditions is monitored by the court system. For simplicity, and because the data included relatively few conditional discharge cases, the term probation is used throughout this sub-section.

subsection compare the racial composition of juveniles sentenced to probation to the racial composition of juveniles found delinquent.

Table 13
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Sentenced to Probation

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
	0.98	**1.03**	**1.11**
Males	0.96	**1.03**	**1.11**
Violent	0.97	0.97	**1.07**
Property	0.95	**1.02**	**1.09**
Drug	0.99	**1.04**	**1.17**
Weapons	0.97	**1.03**	**1.06**
Females	**1.13**	**1.17**	**1.08**
Violent	**1.10**	**1.09**	**1.06**
Property	**1.07**	**1.08**	**1.10**
Drug	**1.14**	**1.20**	1.00
Weapons	**1.08**	**1.09**	**1.50**
Chicago	0.99	**1.04**	**1.09**
Males	0.96	**1.03**	**1.11**
Violent	0.97	0.97	**1.06**
Property	0.97	**1.04**	**1.04**
Drug	0.99	0.99	**1.08**
Weapons	0.98	0.98	**1.03**
Females	**1.13**	**1.17**	**1.08**
Violent	**1.22**	**1.09**	**1.25**
Property	**1.29**	**1.07**	**1.20**
Drug	**1.21**	1.00	1.00
Weapons	**1.08**	**1.09**	1.00
Suburban Cook	0.95	**1.03**	**1.06**
Males	0.93	**1.02**	**1.05**
Violent	0.96	0.96	**1.05**
Property	0.91	**1.01**	**1.06**
Drug	0.92	**1.14**	**1.08**
Weapons	0.93	**1.07**	**1.05**
Females	**1.06**	**1.09**	**1.05**
Violent	**1.08**	1.00	**1.07**
Property	**1.04**	**1.29**	**1.05**
Drug	1.00	**1.30**	**1.23**
Weapons	1.00	**1.25**	**1.17**

Countywide, African-American juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles sentenced to probation when compared to the percentage of African-American juveniles found guilty of their crimes. Driving the underrepresentation of African-American juveniles is the underrepresentation of African-American males, regardless of type of offense and region of the county. In contrast, with relatively few exceptions, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles regardless of gender and region of the county in which their cases originated, were overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to probation when compared to the percentage of Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles found guilty of their crimes.

Sentences to the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center

For the assessment of minority representation among juveniles sentenced to the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center (CCJTDC), data was collected on 2,387 juveniles who were sentenced to detention during the years 1996-1999. Of the youth countywide who were sentenced to detention during these years, African-American juveniles accounted for 75 percent, Hispanic juveniles 15 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 9 percent. For those juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were sentenced to detention, 80 percent were African-American, 15 percent Hispanic, and 5 percent were Caucasian. For those juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and were eventually sentenced to detention, 33 percent were African-American, 15 percent Hispanic, and 49 percent were Caucasian. For the disparity indices calculated for this subsection, the racial composition of juveniles sentenced to CCJTDC is compared to the racial composition of juveniles found delinquent.

Table 14
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Sentenced to CCJTDC[13]

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**1.02**	**1.02**	0.86
Males	**1.03**	**1.03**	0.89
Violent	**1.04**	0.98	0.90
Property	**1.02**	**1.05**	0.94
Drug	**1.02**	0.85	**1.09**
Weapons	0.98	**1.13**	0.81
Females	0.89	1.00	0.67
Violent	**1.05**	**1.10**	0.31
Property	0.82	**1.25**	0.90
Drug	0.65	0.60	**1.50**
Weapons	0.68	0.36	0.00

[13] As described in the methods section of this report (pages 25-26), as the number of cases analyzed decreases, the disparity indices are subject to dramatic changes in their values with small changes in the numbers. This is illustrated by the large disparity index for Hispanic females whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were found delinquent of a property offense. If one less Hispanic female whose case originated in suburban Cook County had been found delinquent of a property offense, the disparity index would have dropped from 4.14 to 2.74.

Table 14 (cont.)
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Sentenced to CCJTDC

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Chicago	1.00	**1.03**	1.00
Males	1.00	**1.04**	1.00
Violent	0.99	0.96	**1.26**
Property	**1.01**	**1.05**	0.91
Drug	**1.02**	0.89	**1.17**
Weapons	0.97	**1.15**	0.69
Females	0.92	0.92	0.83
Violent	**1.02**	**1.13**	0.50
Property	0.85	0.71	**1.20**
Drug	0.66	0.80	1.00
Weapons	0.72	0.36	0.00
Suburban Cook	0.74	**1.04**	**1.29**
Males	0.78	**1.02**	**1.34**
Violent	0.99	0.60	**1.33**
Property	0.65	**1.02**	**1.29**
Drug	**1.08**	0.59	**1.19**
Weapons	0.51	**1.22**	**1.85**
Females	0.33	**1.36**	0.88
Violent	0.51	0.00	0.49
Property	0.37	**4.14**	0.88
Drug	0.00	0.00	**2.92**
Weapons	0.00	0.00	0.00

Countywide, African-American and Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to CCJTDC when compared to the percentage found delinquent. For African-American juveniles, their overrepresentation is primarily a function of the overrepresentation of African-American males found delinquent for a violent, property, or a drug offense. Hispanic males charged with a property or a weapons offense were also overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to CCJTDC. Although Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles sentenced to CCJTDC, Caucasian males found guilty of a drug offense were overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to CCJTDC.

This is one of the few stages of the juvenile justice process where we see overrepresentation of female juveniles. African-American females found delinquent of a violent offense, Hispanic females found delinquent of a violent or property offense, and Caucasian females found delinquent of a drug offense were all overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to CCJTDC.

Generally speaking, the percentage of African-American juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were sentenced to detention is proportional to the percentage found delinquent, although African-American-males found delinquent of a property or a drug offense and African-American females found delinquent of a violent

offense were overrepresented. Similarly, although Caucasian juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago were also sentenced to the CCJTDC at a rate that is proportional to the rate at which they were found guilty of their crimes, Caucasian males found guilty of a violent or drug offense and Caucasian females found guilty of a property offense were overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to detention. In contrast, Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented among those whose cases originated in Chicago and who were sentenced to the CCJTDC. Driving the overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles is the overrepresentation of Hispanic males found guilty of a property or weapons offense and Hispanic females found guilty of a violent offense.

Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County were both overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to detention. Contributing to Hispanic overrepresentation is the overrepresentation of Hispanic males found guilty of a property or weapons offense and Hispanic females found guilty of a property offense. Contributing to the overrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles is the overrepresentation of Caucasian males regardless of offense type and Caucasian females found guilty of a drug offense. Although African-American juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County were generally underrepresented among juveniles sentenced to detention, African-American males whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and found delinquent for a drug offense were overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to detention.

Of the juveniles found guilty of their crimes and for whom we analyzed race, gender, offense, and region data, approximately 11 percent were sentenced to the CCJTDC. The result is that small changes in the numbers of juveniles sentenced to detention may result in large changes in the disparity index. Although sentences to detention obviously impact disproportionate minority representation, it is important to note that more juveniles were sent to detention prior to their being convicted of a crime than were sent to detention as an outcome of a finding of delinquency. Thus, the experiences of juveniles pre-trial have a greater effect on racial disparity in the CCJTDC than does the post-trial use of detention.

Sentences to the Juvenile Division of IDOC

Data were analyzed on 3,541 juveniles sentenced to IDOC during the years 1996-1999. Of those juveniles sentenced to IDOC, African-Americans accounted for 78 percent, Hispanics 15 percent, and Caucasians 6 percent. Of the youth whose cases originated in Chicago and who were sentenced to IDOC, 81 percent were African-American, 15 percent were Hispanic, and 4 percent were Caucasian. Of the youth whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and were sentenced to IDOC, 58 percent were African-American, 12 percent Hispanic, and 27 percent were Caucasian. For the calculation of the disparity indices in this subsection, the racial composition of the juveniles sentenced to IDOC is compared to the racial composition of the juveniles found delinquent.

Table 15
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Sentenced to IDOC

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**1.06**	**1.01**	0.61
Males	**1.10**	**1.06**	0.62
Violent	**1.10**	**1.27**	0.64
Property	**1.18**	0.95	0.68
Drug	**1.06**	0.76	0.39
Weapons	**1.01**	**1.12**	0.71
Females	0.62	0.42	0.50
Violent	0.67	0.38	0.44
Property	0.58	0.58	0.55
Drug	0.59	0.40	1.00
Weapons	0.32	0.45	0.00
Chicago	**1.01**	**1.02**	0.78
Males	**1.05**	**1.08**	0.83
Violent	**1.07**	**1.29**	0.81
Property	**1.10**	0.94	0.90
Drug	**1.04**	0.79	0.42
Weapons	0.99	**1.12**	1.00
Females	0.56	0.50	0.33
Violent	0.58	0.39	0.38
Property	0.55	0.50	0.10
Drug	0.60	0.40	1.00
Weapons	0.36	0.55	0.00
Suburban Cook	**1.31**	0.85	0.71
Males	**1.34**	0.90	0.70
Violent	**1.22**	**1.11**	0.64
Property	**1.47**	0.74	0.72
Drug	**1.41**	0.24	0.73
Weapons	**1.23**	**1.10**	0.56
Females	**1.09**	0.27	0.85
Violent	**1.15**	0.44	0.68
Property	0.67	0.00	**1.26**
Drug	**1.35**	0.00	0.00
Weapons	0.00	0.00	0.00

Countywide, African-American juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to an IDOC juvenile facility. The overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is driven by the overrepresentation of African-American males, regardless of type of offense or region of the county in which the cases originated. Hispanic juveniles were also overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to an IDOC juvenile facility. Hispanic overrepresentation countywide was also driven by the overrepresentation of Hispanic males; more specifically the overrepresentation of Hispanic males whose cases

originated in either region of the county and who were found delinquent for a violent or weapons offense.

In contrast to the experiences of African-American and Hispanic juveniles, Caucasian juveniles regardless of gender, type of offense, or region of the county were underrepresented among juveniles sentenced to an IDOC facility with the sole exception of Caucasian females whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and were found delinquent for a property offense.

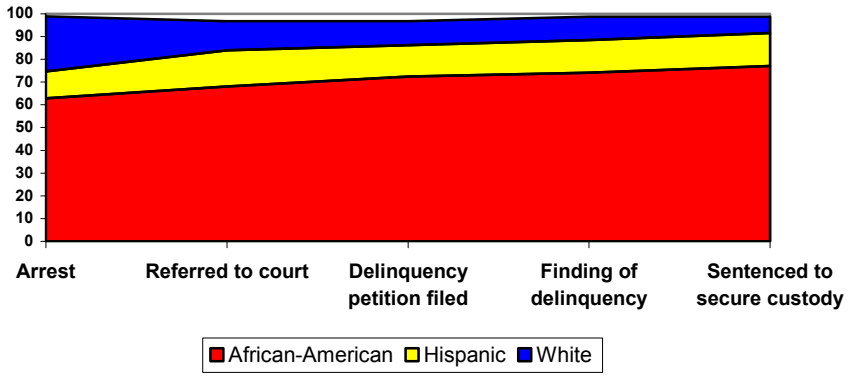
Conclusion

The juvenile justice process described in this section focuses on four major decision points leading to a sentence of probation, commitment to the CCJTDC, or commitment to the juvenile division of IDOC.

For the years 1996-1999, African-American juveniles comprised 33 percent of the general juvenile population of Cook County, Hispanic juveniles 21 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 40 percent. In 1999, the only year for which we have reliable arrest information, African-American juveniles comprised 63 percent of juveniles arrested, Hispanic juveniles 12 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 24 percent. From these percentages alone, it is clear that minority overrepresentation in Cook County's juvenile justice system is, more accurately, a problem of African-American overrepresentation that begins at the arrest stage. The juvenile justice process described in this section focuses on the contribution that major decision points have made to reduce or increase the representation of African-American, Hispanic, and Caucasian juveniles in Cook County's juvenile justice system.

Figure 3 depicts changes in the racial composition of juveniles as they progress through Cook County's juvenile justice system. As juveniles move through the system, the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles increases at each stage, albeit not nearly to the degree that overrepresentation was introduced at the arrest stage, resulting in a far greater percentage of African-American juveniles sentenced to either the CCJTDC or an IDOC juvenile facility than Hispanic or Caucasian juveniles. In the data analyzed for this report, among the juveniles sentenced to secure custody during the years 1996-1999, 77 percent were African-American, 15 percent Hispanic, and 7 percent Caucasian. Although Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented in the juvenile justice system generally, the percentage of Hispanic juveniles in the juvenile justice system increases slightly as the juvenile justice process takes its course.

Figure 3
Percentage of Juveniles at Selected Stages by Race



As this section illustrates, the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles in Cook County's juvenile justice system begins at the arrest stage and continues throughout the juvenile justice process. Importantly, when looking at the region of the county in which cases originated (i.e., Chicago and suburban Cook County), variation is found across regions in the stages at which African-American juveniles overrepresentation is added to. In Chicago, overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is added to at each stage leading to a sentencing outcome except for the trial outcome stage (i.e., findings of delinquency). In suburban Cook County, the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is added to at every stage of the process leading up to sentencing.

In contrast to the experiences of African-American juveniles in the juvenile justice system, only two stages of the juvenile justice process described in this section contribute to an increase in the percentage of Hispanic juveniles in the juvenile justice system, the court referral stage and the trial stage. Among juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago, a higher percentage of Hispanic juveniles were found guilty of their crimes than the percentage of Hispanic juveniles for which delinquency petitions were filed. Among juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County, a higher percentage of Hispanic juveniles were referred to court than were arrested. Although Hispanic juveniles were generally underrepresented in the juvenile justice system compared to their percentage in the general juvenile population, a higher percentage of Hispanic juveniles were sentenced to secure custody than were arrested.

In contrast to the experiences of African-American and Hispanic juveniles, the percentage of Caucasian juveniles in the system decreases at every stage of the process countywide and in suburban Cook County. In Chicago, only among juveniles found delinquent is the percentage of Caucasian juveniles higher than at a previous stage.

When analyzing the data on the outcomes of a finding of delinquency, the concern over the disproportionate confinement of minority juveniles is supported by the data.

Countywide, Caucasian and Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles sentenced to probation and African-American juveniles were underrepresented regardless of whether the racial composition of youth sentenced to probation is compared to the previous stage (i.e., adjudicated delinquent) or the general juvenile population. Similarly, Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among youth sentenced to secure custody regardless of whether the percentage of Caucasian juveniles is compared to the percentage of Caucasian juveniles at the previous stage or among the general juvenile population. Among juveniles sentenced to CCJTDC or to an IDOC, although a greater percentage of Hispanic juveniles were sentenced to secure custody than were arrested, compared to the general juvenile population, Hispanic juveniles in Cook County were underrepresented in secure custody. Finally, African-American juveniles were overrepresented among youth sentenced to secure custody regardless of whether the percentage of African-American juveniles is compared to the percentage at the previous stage or in the general juvenile population.

IV. Minority Representation and Pre-Trial Detention

Figure 2 shows the pre-trial confinement process in the juvenile justice system. This section describes the level and extent of DMR for aspects of the juvenile justice system pertaining to pre-trial detention (those aspects shaded in Figure 2). In addition, this section describes DMR among those who were screened for detention and had the detention decision overridden. This section includes a sub-section on each of these stages, which begins by reporting basic statistics, then reporting disparity indices.

Juveniles Screened for Detention

Data was analyzed on 45,474 juveniles who were screened for detention in Cook County during the years 1996-1999. Of those juveniles, African-Americans accounted for 80 percent of the detention screenings, Hispanics 14 percent, and Caucasians 5 percent. When looking at those juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were screened for detention, African-Americans accounted for 82 percent, Hispanics 13 percent, and Caucasians 4 percent. For those juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were screened for detention, African-Americans accounted for 63 percent, Hispanics 15 percent, and Caucasians 17 percent. The calculation of the disparity indices for juveniles screened for detention compares the racial composition of juveniles screened for detention to the racial composition of juveniles whose cases were referred to court.

Table 16
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Screened for Detention

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**1.18**	0.85	0.40
Males	**1.25**	0.90	0.42
Violent	**1.28**	**1.16**	0.44
Property	**1.36**	0.87	0.46
Drug	**1.12**	0.72	0.21
Weapons	**1.08**	**1.07**	0.67
Females	0.33	0.66	0.79
Violent	0.75	0.57	0.31
Property	0.75	0.65	0.35
Drug	**1.02**	0.71	0.29
Weapons	0.89	1.00	0.33

Table 16 (cont.)
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Screened for Detention

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Chicago	**1.25**	0.80	0.70
Males	0.98	0.83	0.65
Violent	**1.16**	**1.02**	0.76
Property	**1.21**	0.76	0.72
Drug	0.68	0.74	0.44
Weapons	**1.04**	**1.02**	0.99
Females	0.81	0.58	0.50
Violent	0.73	0.53	0.50
Property	0.71	0.65	0.64
Drug	0.98	0.83	0.71
Weapons	**1.03**	0.88	0.33
Suburban Cook	**1.41**	**1.22**	0.58
Males	**1.59**	**1.28**	0.59
Violent	**1.56**	**1.72**	0.56
Property	**1.63**	**1.02**	0.66
Drug	**1.89**	0.60	0.24
Weapons	**1.27**	**1.68**	0.53
Females	0.67	0.89	0.57
Violent	0.63	0.71	0.48
Property	0.71	0.73	0.57
Drug	**1.17**	**1.02**	0.16
Weapons	**1.16**	**1.02**	0.19

Countywide, African-American juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles screened for detention, even when controlling for their representation among juveniles referred to court. In contrast, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles screened for detention.

Primarily driving the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles screened for detention countywide is the overrepresentation of African-American males whose cases originated in Chicago and were charged with a violent, property, or weapons offense and African-American males whose cases originated in suburban Cook County, regardless of type of offense. Also contributing to the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is the overrepresentation of African-American females whose cases originated in Chicago and who were charged with a weapons offense, and African-American females whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and were charged with a drug or weapons offense.

Although Hispanic juveniles were generally underrepresented among juveniles screened for detention, Hispanic males whose cases originated in Chicago and who were charged with a violent or weapon offense were overrepresented among juveniles screened for detention. In addition, Hispanic males whose cases originated in suburban Cook County

and who were charged with a violent, property, or weapons offense, and Hispanic females whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and were charged with a drug or weapons offense were also overrepresented among juveniles screened for detention.

In contrast to the experiences of African-American and Hispanic juveniles, Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles screened for detention regardless of region of the county, gender, or type of offense.

Juveniles Detained by Screening

Data were analyzed on 19,740 juveniles who were detained prior to their trial during the years 1996-1999. Countywide, African-American juveniles accounted for 79 percent, Hispanic juveniles 14 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 6 percent of the juveniles detained prior to their trial. Among juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were detained pre-trial, African-Americans accounted for 82 percent, Hispanics 14 percent, and Caucasians 3 percent. Among juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were detained pre-trial, African-Americans accounted for 61 percent, Hispanics 15 percent, and Caucasians 21 percent. To calculate the disparity indices reported in this subsection, the racial composition of juveniles detained by screening is compared to the racial composition of juveniles who were screened for detention.

Table 17
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Detained by Screening

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	0.98	**1.03**	**1.18**
Males	0.99	**1.16**	**1.06**
Violent	**1.05**	**1.06**	0.96
Property	**1.04**	0.79	**1.16**
Drug	**1.03**	0.79	0.80
Weapons	**1.02**	**1.01**	0.92
Females	0.90	0.83	**1.29**
Violent	0.69	0.69	0.75
Property	0.91	0.62	**1.11**
Drug	0.86	0.60	0.50
Weapons	0.68	0.78	0.50
Chicago	1.00	**1.03**	0.97
Males	1.00	0.95	0.94
Violent	**1.05**	**1.06**	0.96
Property	**1.04**	0.79	**1.16**
Drug	**1.03**	0.79	0.80
Weapons	**1.02**	**1.01**	0.92

Table 17 (cont.)
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Detained by Screening

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Females	0.91	0.91	1.00
Violent	0.68	0.75	0.60
Property	0.96	0.69	0.86
Drug	0.86	0.60	0.50
Weapons	0.69	0.78	0.00
Suburban Cook	0.97	**1.04**	**1.28**
Males	0.98	**1.07**	**1.07**
Violent	**1.04**	**1.10**	0.99
Property	0.99	0.90	**1.23**
Drug	**1.05**	0.75	0.86
Weapons	0.97	**1.04**	**1.08**
Females	0.90	0.82	**1.03**
Violent	0.83	0.08	0.72
Property	0.61	0.00	**1.21**
Drug	**1.07**	0.70	0.00
Weapons	0.82	0.00	1.00

Although the disparity indices for juveniles by type of offense are included in this section and subsequent sections on the pre-trial use of detention, these results should be viewed with some caution. In the data provided to us for the assessment of racial disparity in the pre-trial use of detention, the offense type in one-third of the cases was classified as "other." This brings into question the validity of the disparity indices by offense since we do not know how many of the 6,658 cases classified as "other" could have been classified into one of the other four offense categories.

Countywide, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles detained as a result of detention screening when compared to the racial composition of juveniles screened for detention. The overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles countywide among those detained through the detention screening process is driven by the overrepresentation of Hispanic males, while both genders contribute to the overrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles.

Hispanic juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago were overrepresented among juveniles detained pre-trial, driven by the overrepresentation of Hispanic males charged with a violent or weapons offense. Although Caucasian juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago were generally underrepresented among juveniles detained pre-trial, Caucasian males charged with a property offense were overrepresented among juveniles detained by screening. Even though the percentage of African-American juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were detained is proportional to the percentage of African-American juveniles screened for detention, African-American males, regardless of type of offense were slightly overrepresented.

Among juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles detained pre-trial. The overrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles is a function of the overrepresentation of both Caucasian males and Caucasian females. The overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles among those detained pre-trial is driven by the overrepresentation of Hispanic males. Although African-American juveniles were generally underrepresented among juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were detained pre-trial, African-American males charged with a violent or drug offense, and African-American females charged with a drug offense were overrepresented among juveniles detained by screening.

Juveniles Placed in Non-Secure Detention Through Detention-Screening

In Cook County, for the period 1996-1999, there were 13,693 juveniles placed in non-secure detention. Countywide, African-Americans juveniles accounted for 81 percent, Hispanic juveniles 14 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 4 percent of all juveniles placed in non-secure detention. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were placed in non-secure detention, 82 percent were African-American, 14 percent were Hispanic, and 4 percent were Caucasian. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were placed in non-secure detention, 64 percent were African-American, 16 percent were Hispanic, and 18 percent were Caucasian. To calculate the disparity indices reported in this subsection, the racial composition of juveniles referred to non-secure detention is compared to the racial composition of juveniles who were screened for detention.

Table 18
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Placed in Non-Secure Detention

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	1.00	**1.03**	0.86
Males	0.99	**1.02**	0.86
Violent	0.97	0.94	1.00
Property	0.99	**1.01**	0.97
Drug	**1.01**	**1.05**	0.80
Weapons	0.95	**1.06**	0.95
Females	**1.18**	**1.17**	0.86
Violent	**1.21**	**1.25**	1.00
Property	**1.11**	**1.08**	1.00
Drug	0.81	1.00	1.00
Weapons	**1.56**	**1.44**	**2.00**

Table 18 (cont.)
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Placed in Non-Secure Detention

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Chicago	1.00	**1.03**	**1.03**
Males	0.95	**1.01**	1.00
Violent	0.96	0.95	**1.11**
Property	0.86	0.98	0.96
Drug	**1.01**	**1.05**	0.88
Weapons	0.94	**1.04**	**1.12**
Females	**1.17**	**1.18**	**1.25**
Violent	**1.20**	**1.19**	**1.20**
Property	**1.12**	**1.08**	1.00
Drug	0.81	1.00	1.00
Weapons	**1.53**	**1.22**	**4.00**
Suburban Cook	**1.01**	**1.10**	0.90
Males	0.99	**1.06**	0.89
Violent	0.93	0.95	0.97
Property	0.92	**1.59**	**1.16**
Drug	**1.02**	**1.15**	0.75
Weapons	**1.17**	**1.02**	0.00
Females	**1.19**	0.25	0.91
Violent	**1.10**	0.17	**1.28**
Property	0.76	0.45	0.76
Drug	**1.07**	0.00	0.00
Weapons	0.00	**2.18**	0.00

Among juveniles referred to non-secure detention countywide, Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented. The percentage of African-American juveniles referred to non-secure detention is proportional to the percentage of African-American juveniles screened for detention. In contrast to the experiences of Hispanic and African-American juveniles, Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles referred to non-secure detention.

The overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles referred to non-secure detention is driven by the overrepresentation of Hispanic males charged with a property, drug, or weapons offense and Hispanic females charged with violent, property or weapons offense. Although the percentage of African-American juveniles referred to non-secure detention is proportional to the percentage screened for detention, African-American males charged with a drug offense and African-American females charged with a violent, property, or weapons offense were overrepresented among juveniles referred to non-secure detention. Although the data shows that Caucasian females charged with a weapons offense were also overrepresented among juveniles referred to non-secure detention, it is important to point out that only six Caucasian females were screened for detention in Cook County (one-fifth of one percent). Thus, even though only one Caucasian female charged with a

weapons offense was referred to non-secure detention, it resulted in a disparity index of 2.0.

Among juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented among those referred to non-secure detention. Overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago is driven by the overrepresentation of Hispanic males charged with a drug or weapons offense, and Hispanic females charged with a violent, property, or weapons offense. Driving the overrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles among those cases that originated in Chicago is the overrepresentation of Caucasian males and females charged with a violent or weapons offense. Although the percentage of African-American juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were referred to non-secure detention is proportional to the percentage screened for detention, African-American females charged with a violent, property, or weapons offense were overrepresented among juveniles referred to non-secure detention.

Among youth whose cases originated in suburban Cook County, African-American and Hispanic juveniles were both overrepresented among juveniles referred to non-secure detention. African-American juveniles overrepresentation is driven by overrepresentation of African-American males charged with a drug or a weapons offense, and the overrepresentation of African-American females charged with a violent or drug offense. Hispanic overrepresentation is primarily a function of the overrepresentation of Hispanic males charged with a property, drug, or weapons offense. Although the disparity index for Hispanic females charged with a weapons offense indicates overrepresentation, it is the result of one Hispanic female being referred to non-secure custody from suburban Cook County out of the three who were screened for detention. Although Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among youth whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and were referred to non-secure detention, Caucasian males charged with a property offense and Caucasian females charged with a violent offense were both overrepresented.

Although there were interesting differences of note in the disparity indices by type of offense, the number of juveniles referred to non-secure detention by type of offense when disaggregating even further by gender is sufficiently low to cause large changes in the disparity indices with small changes in the numbers of juveniles referred to non-secure detention. It is also important to note that because there were three general outcomes of a detention screening (i.e., secure detention, non-secure detention, and release to a parent or guardian), overrepresentation among the non-secure detention population, is not in and of itself, an indication of underrepresentation among juveniles referred to secure detention.

Juveniles Released by Detention Screening

Data were analyzed on 12,041 juveniles in Cook County who were screened for detention during the years 1996-1999 and subsequently released. Countywide, African-American juveniles accounted for 82 percent, Hispanic juveniles 12 percent, and Caucasian

juveniles 5 percent of the juveniles released after being screened for detention. Among those juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were released after being screened for detention, African-Americans accounted for 83 percent, Hispanics 12 percent, and Caucasians 4 percent. Among those juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were released after being screened for detention, African-Americans accounted for 69 percent, Hispanics 10 percent, and Caucasians 17 percent. To calculate the disparity indices for this outcome, the racial composition of juveniles released to the custody of an adult is compared to the racial composition of juveniles screened for detention. Given the potential outcomes of a detention screening, being released to the custody of an adult is the most "positive" outcome of a detention screening. Thus, for the discussion that follows, in contrast to most of the other decision points assessed in this report, overrepresentation is less problematic than underrepresentation.

Table 19
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Released After Being Screened for Detention

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**1.02**	0.90	0.88
Males	**1.03**	0.89	0.91
Violent	0.94	0.95	**1.24**
Property	0.98	**1.10**	0.94
Drug	0.97	**1.10**	**1.40**
Weapons	0.89	0.67	**3.21**
Females	0.96	1.00	0.86
Violent	**1.28**	1.00	**1.75**
Property	0.96	**1.23**	1.00
Drug	**1.23**	**1.40**	1.00
Weapons	**2.82**	**1.89**	0.00
Chicago	**1.01**	0.92	**1.06**
Males	**1.02**	0.91	**1.06**
Violent	0.93	0.99	**1.29**
Property	0.97	**1.13**	1.00
Drug	0.97	**1.09**	**1.38**
Weapons	0.90	0.71	**3.03**
Females	0.93	1.00	1.00
Violent	**1.27**	**1.06**	**1.80**
Property	0.93	**1.15**	1.00
Drug	**1.26**	**1.40**	1.00
Weapons	**2.78**	**1.11**	0.00

Table 19 (cont.)
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Released After Being Screened for Detention

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Suburban Cook	**1.10**	0.72	0.87
Males	**1.09**	0.67	0.85
Violent	0.98	0.73	**1.06**
Property	**1.05**	0.75	0.76
Drug	0.95	**1.10**	**1.27**
Weapons	0.96	0.35	**2.62**
Females	**1.20**	**1.06**	0.94
Violent	**1.46**	0.71	**1.53**
Property	**1.43**	**2.00**	0.97
Drug	0.85	**1.20**	**2.43**
Weapons	**6.09**	**6.09**	0.00

Countywide, African-American juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles screened for detention and released to the custody of an adult. In contrast, both Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles screened for detention and released to the custody of an adult. Contributing to the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles among those screened for detention and released to the custody of an adult is the overrepresentation of African-American males and African-American females charged with a violent, drug, or weapons offense.

Although Hispanic juveniles generally were underrepresented countywide among juveniles screened for detention and released to the custody of an adult, Hispanic males charged with a property or drug offense, and Hispanic females charged with a property, drug, or weapons offense were overrepresented. Similarly, although Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented countywide, Caucasian males charged with a violent, drug, or weapons offense were overrepresented, as were Caucasian females charged with a violent offense

For those cases that originated in Chicago, African-American and Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles screened for detention and released to the custody of an adult. Driving the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is the overrepresentation of African-American males and African-American females charged with a violent, drug, or weapons offense. Driving the overrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles among those screened for detention and released to the custody of an adult is the overrepresentation of Caucasian males, specifically those charged with a violent, drug, or weapons offense, and Caucasian females charged with a violent offense. Although Hispanic juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago were underrepresented generally among juveniles screened for detention and subsequently released to the custody of an adult, Hispanic males charged with a property or drug offense, as well as Hispanic females regardless of offense type were overrepresented.

Among those juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County, African-Americans were overrepresented among those screened for detention and subsequently released. In contrast, both Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented. Contributing to the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is the overrepresentation of African-American males charged with a property offense and African-American females charged with a violent, property, or weapons offense. Although Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented, Hispanic males charged with a drug offense and Hispanic females charged with a property, drug, or weapons offense were overrepresented. Similarly, although Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles screened for detention and subsequently released to the custody of an adult, Caucasian males charged with a violent, drug, or weapons offense, and Caucasian females charged with a violent or drug offense were overrepresented.

Juvenile Detention Screening Overrides[14]

In Cook County's juvenile justice system process, with a supervisor's approval, detention intake staff may override the detention decision arrived at through the use of the detention-screening instrument. Two possible outcomes of detention overrides that impact disproportionate minority confinement are, the decision screening decision to detain a juvenile can be "overridden down," thus placing a juvenile in non-secure detention, or the detention screening decision to place a juvenile in non-secure detention can be "overridden up," thus placing a youth in secure detention. In preceding subsections on the pre-trial use of detention, decisions arrived at through the use of the detention screening instrument and those arrived at through administrative overrides were analyzed together. In the next two subsections, the effect that administrative overrides have on which juveniles get placed in detention through administrative overrides up and which juveniles were diverted from secure detention through an override down were assessed.

Juvenile Detention Screening: "Overrides Up"

Data were analyzed on 654 cases countywide where the recommendation of the detention screening instrument was overridden up from non-secure to secure detention. Of those juveniles for whom their detention decision were overridden up to secure custody, African-Americans accounted for 74 percent, Hispanics 12 percent, and Caucasians 12 percent. For those juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and whose detention screening decisions were overridden up to secure custody, 78 percent were African-American, 13 percent Hispanic, and 7 percent Caucasian. Of those juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and whose detention screening decision was overridden up to secure custody, 59 percent were African-American, 9 percent were Hispanic, and 29 percent were Caucasian. For the calculation of the disparity indices, the

[14] Due to the relatively low numbers of youth whose detention screening decision was overridden up to secure custody or down to non-secure custody, disparity indices calculated by offense and gender are extremely sensitive to small changes to the number of youth detained through administrative override. As a result, the utility of disparity indices for overrides up or down by offense and gender is limited. Therefore disparity indices by offense were not calculated.

racial composition of juveniles whose detention screening decision was overridden up to secure detention was compared to the racial composition of juveniles whose detention screening recommendation was non-secure detention.

Table 20
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Overridden Up to Secure Detention

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	0.91	0.91	**2.83**
Males	0.79	0.71	**2.89**
Females	**2.04**	**2.92**	**2.50**
Chicago	0.95	0.97	**2.19**
Males	0.82	0.74	**2.36**
Females	**2.13**	**3.15**	1.00
Suburban Cook	0.87	0.64	**1.71**
Males	0.75	0.57	**1.68**
Females	**1.70**	**1.36**	**1.87**

Among juveniles whose detention screening decision was overridden up from non-secure to secure detention, Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented regardless of region or gender with the exception of Caucasian females whose cases originated in Chicago. Interestingly, although African-American and Hispanic juveniles were generally underrepresented among juveniles whose detention screening decision was overridden up to secure custody, African-American and Hispanic females were overrepresented regardless of region of the county in which their case originated.

Juvenile Detention Screening: "Overrides Down"

Data were also analyzed on 435 juveniles whose detention screening decision was overridden down from secure to non-secure custody during the years 1996 to 1999. Of the juveniles in Cook County who had their detention decision overridden down to non-secure custody, African-Americans accounted for 75 percent, Hispanics 19 percent, and Caucasians 6 percent. For juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and whose detention screening decisions were overridden down to non-secure custody, 77 percent were African-American, 17 percent Hispanic, and 5 percent were Caucasian. Of those juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and whose detention screening decision was overridden down to non-secure custody, 58 percent were African-American, 35 percent were Hispanic, and 7 percent were Caucasian. The disparity indices for overrides down were calculated by comparing the racial composition of juveniles whose detention screening decision was overridden down to non-secure detention to the racial composition of juveniles whose detention screening resulted in a recommendation for secure custody.

Table 21
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Overridden Down to Non-Secure Detention

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	0.94	**1.32**	0.96
Males	0.93	**1.34**	**1.12**
Females	**1.16**	**1.22**	0.00
Chicago	0.94	**1.21**	**1.64**
Males	0.91	**1.24**	**1.86**
Females	**1.18**	0.63	0.00
Suburban Cook	0.94	**2.36**	0.33
Males	0.98	**2.10**	0.39
Females	0.47	**4.67**	0.00

Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles whose detention screening decision was overridden down from secure to non-secure custody. With the exception of Hispanic females whose cases originated in Chicago, the overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles was evident regardless of gender or region of the county in which their cases originated. Although both African-American and Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among those whose detention screening decision was overridden down, there were isolated cases of overrepresentation among African-American and Caucasian juveniles. African-American females were overrepresented countywide, primarily driven by the overrepresentation among those whose cases originated in Chicago. Caucasian males were overrepresented countywide among juveniles whose detention screening decision was overridden down, driven primarily by the overrepresentation of Caucasian males whose cases originated in Chicago.

Juveniles Detained at Detention Hearings

Within 40 hours of a juvenile being detained prior to trial, a detention hearing must be held to determine whether the juvenile should remain in detention or be released (705 ILCS 405/5-415). Thus, this is another stage that impacts an assessment of disproportionate minority confinement.

Data were analyzed on 12,961 juveniles detained as a result of detention hearings during the years 1996-1999. Countywide, African-Americans accounted for 80 percent, Hispanic juveniles 14 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 6 percent of all juveniles detained as the result of a detention hearing. Of those juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were detained as a result of the detention hearing, 82 percent were African-American, 14 percent Hispanic, and 3 percent Caucasian. Of those juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were detained as a result of a detention hearing, 63 percent were African-American, 14 percent Hispanic, and 21 percent Caucasian. The disparity indices were calculated by comparing the racial composition of juveniles whose detention continued as a result of the detention hearing to the racial composition of juveniles for whom detention hearings were held.

Table 22
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Detained at a Detention Hearing

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	1.00	0.97	**1.07**
Males	**1.02**	0.99	**1.07**
Violent	**1.04**	**1.20**	0.87
Property	**1.08**	0.73	1.00
Drug	**1.03**	0.79	0.75
Weapons	**1.01**	**1.04**	**1.03**
Females	0.80	0.75	0.80
Violent	0.68	0.63	0.50
Property	0.79	0.64	0.29
Drug	0.74	0.50	0.33
Weapons	0.56	0.56	1.00
Chicago	1.00	0.99	0.97
Males	**1.03**	**1.01**	0.97
Violent	**1.04**	**1.23**	0.71
Property	**1.07**	0.77	0.93
Drug	**1.02**	0.83	0.83
Weapons	**1.01**	**1.04**	**1.03**
Females	0.79	0.73	0.80
Violent	0.67	0.63	0.75
Property	0.80	0.67	0.43
Drug	0.74	0.67	0.50
Weapons	0.60	0.56	0.50
Suburban Cook	**1.02**	0.90	**1.03**
Males	**1.04**	0.88	**1.03**
Violent	**1.10**	0.93	0.93
Property	**1.17**	0.54	0.97
Drug	**1.10**	0.47	0.63
Weapons	**1.03**	**1.01**	**1.02**
Females	0.89	0.94	1.00
Violent	0.94	0.60	0.65
Property	0.78	0.00	0.56
Drug	0.00	**1.25**	0.00
Weapons	0.00	**1.33**	0.00

Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles whose detention was extended as a result of a detention hearing. The overrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles among those whose detention was extended at a detention hearing is driven by the overrepresentation of Caucasian males, especially those who were charged with a weapons offense.

In contrast, Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented among those detained as a result of a detention hearing. Although Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented among those detained at a detention hearing, Hispanic males whose cases originated in Chicago and who were charged with a violent or weapons offense were overrepresented. Also in contrast to the general underrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles, among Hispanic juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County, Hispanic males charged with a weapons offense and Hispanic females charged with a drug or weapons offense were overrepresented among juveniles whose detention was extended at a detention hearing.

The percentage of African-American juveniles detained as the result of a detention hearing, is proportional to the percentage of African-American juveniles for whom a detention hearing was held. Although the percentage of African-American juveniles detained as a result of a detention hearing is proportional to the percentage of African-American juveniles for whom a detention hearing was held, African-American males, regardless of type of offense and region of the county in which their cases originated, were overrepresented among juveniles detained at a detention hearing.

Conclusion

Countywide, 80 percent of the juveniles screened for pre-trial detention were African-American, 14 percent were Hispanic, and 5 percent were Caucasian. Because detention is more frequently used for pre-trial than post-trial detention, this sets the stage for significant levels of disproportionate minority confinement of African-American juveniles in the CCJTDC. Interestingly, the decisions made through the detention screening process and administrative overrides result in a smaller percentage of African-Americans being referred to secure detention than would be expected given the percentage screened for detention. Although the reasons for this are unknown, one plausible explanation for these findings is that there is an informal screening process whereby those who refer juveniles for formal screening were identifying a greater percentage of Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles for screening that were likely to be detained than African-American juveniles. Importantly, although Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles who were screened were more likely to be detained, due to the overrepresentation that is introduced into the system at the arrest stage, African-American youth were overrepresented among youth detained pre-trial in the CCJTDC.

V. Minority Representation and Alternatives to Moving Deeper Into The Juvenile Justice System

In the previous two sections, the major stages leading up to and including the sentencing of juveniles and the stages at which a juvenile can be referred to pre-trial secure custody were assessed for DMR. This section describes the level and extent of DMR for aspects of the juvenile justice system that prevent juveniles from moving deeper into the juvenile justice system, either by removing them from the juvenile justice system or by keeping juveniles in the juvenile justice system, but not moving them on to the next stage. Figure 1 shows that this report examines four such aspects of the juvenile justice system: "Issued a Station Adjustment", "Charges Dropped" (after the juvenile is referred to court, "Issued a Probation Adjustment", and "Continued Under Supervision". This section includes a sub-section on each of these stages, each of which reports basic statistics and disparity indices.

Disparity indices in this section indicate overrepresentation among those who were prevented from moving deeper into the juvenile justice system. Thus, whereas representation indices and disparity indices in the previous two sections had a negative connotation, for this section disparity indices greater than one have a positive connotation.

Station Adjustments[15]

Data were analyzed on 5,397 juveniles who were given a station adjustment by a suburban Cook County law enforcement agency in 1999. Of those juveniles receiving a station adjustment, African-Americans accounted for 41 percent, Hispanics 5 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 54 percent. Just over three-fourths (77 percent) of these station adjustments were for juveniles charged with property offenses. Juveniles charged with a violent or drug offense each made up 11 percent of the station adjustments, and the remaining one percent was for juveniles charged with a weapons offense. The disparity indices reported in this subsection were calculated by comparing the racial composition of juveniles granted a station adjustment in suburban Cook County in 1999 to the racial composition of juveniles who were arrested by a suburban Cook County law enforcement agency in 1999.

[15] Because station adjustment data was unavailable for Chicago (see pages 19 and 20), the discussion in this section will focus on the data for suburban Cook County only. In addition, due to the unavailability of station adjustment data by gender, Representation and Disparity Indices could not be calculated by race and gender, or by race, gender, and offense.

Table 23
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Station Adjusted in Suburban Cook County

		Hispanic	Caucasian
Suburban Cook	**1.11**	0.82	0.98
Violent	0.80	0.67	**1.24**
Property	**1.16**	1.00	0.91
Drug	**1.67**	0.50	1.00
Weapons	0.43	0.40	**1.81**

Generally speaking, African-American juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles granted a station adjustment by juvenile officers working for suburban Cook County law enforcement agencies. Caucasian and Hispanic juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles receiving station adjustments in suburban Cook County.

Although African-American juveniles were generally overrepresented among those receiving a station adjustment, African-American juveniles arrested for violent or weapons offenses were found to be underrepresented among juveniles receiving station adjustments. Driving the general overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles arrested for a property or drug offense. In contrast, although Caucasian juveniles were found to be generally underrepresented among station adjusted juveniles, they were overrepresented among juveniles arrested for a violent or weapons offense. Driving the general underrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles is the underrepresentation of Caucasian juveniles receiving a station adjustment for a property offense.

When considering minority representation among juveniles who receive a station adjustment, one must recognize that station adjustments are an opportunity for juveniles to not progress deeper into the juvenile justice system. If the alternative to receiving a station adjustment is a court referral, African-American overrepresentation at the station adjustment stage might, to some degree, alleviate the overrepresentation of African-Americans introduced at the arrest stage.

An alternative perspective is that station adjustments were an opportunity for juvenile officers to sanction juveniles and document in their official records that they were arrested without having to prove the allegations in court. This perspective on station adjustments is plausible if it is also the case that giving juveniles a station adjustment might also be an alternative to releasing them to the custody of an adult without any further action. From this perspective, overrepresentation among juveniles receiving a station adjustment signifies a more punitive response, with potentially longer lasting consequences, than the alternative. Since the passing of the Juvenile Justice Reform Act, juvenile police officers are required to submit to the Illinois State Police the disposition of juveniles arrested for felony offenses and have the option of submitting arrest disposition information for juveniles arrested for Class A and B misdemeanors. Thus, minority overrepresentation among juveniles receiving station adjustments may result in more punitive outcomes for minority juveniles in the future based on their real or alleged

involvement in past delinquent activity. The issues raised here around the interpretation of over and underrepresentation at this stage illustrates the complexity of studying and understanding the causes and effects of disproportionate minority representation and begs for a deeper investigation of the station-adjustment process.

Probation Adjustments

Data were analyzed on 9,458 juveniles who received a probation adjustment during the years 1996-1999. Countywide, African-American juveniles accounted for 56 percent, Hispanic juveniles 20 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 22 percent of those receiving probation adjustments. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who received a probation adjustment, African-Americans accounted for 68 percent, Hispanics 22 percent, and Caucasians 8 percent. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who received probation adjustment, 31 percent were African-American, 15 percent Hispanic, and 49 percent were Caucasian. Disparity indices were calculated by comparing the racial composition of juveniles receiving a probation adjustment to the racial composition of juveniles whose cases were referred to court.

Table 24
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Granted a Probation Adjustment

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	0.82	**1.26**	**1.64**
Males	0.78	**1.23**	**1.57**
Violent	0.78	1.00	**1.44**
Property	0.72	**1.41**	**1.40**
Drug	0.83	**1.56**	**2.22**
Weapons	0.57	0.72	**2.90**
Females	**1.19**	**1.72**	**2.14**
Violent	**1.25**	**1.89**	**2.22**
Property	**1.05**	**1.50**	**1.78**
Drug	**1.62**	**2.00**	**3.00**
Weapons	**4.50**	**6.10**	**7.3**
Chicago	0.69	**1.26**	**1.42**
Males	0.87	**1.28**	**1.45**
Violent	0.87	0.99	**1.04**
Property	0.77	**1.48**	**1.47**
Drug	0.89	**1.55**	**2.05**
Weapons	0.51	**1.42**	0.79
Females	**1.29**	**1.53**	**1.38**
Violent	**1.36**	**1.90**	**1.90**
Property	**1.11**	**1.32**	**1.09**
Drug	**1.73**	**2.33**	**2.00**
Weapons	**6.03**	**11.67**	0.00

Table 24 (cont.)
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Granted a Probation Adjustment

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Suburban Cook	0.90	**1.29**	**1.44**
Males	0.61	**1.18**	**1.33**
Violent	0.71	**1.23**	**1.23**
Property	0.58	**1.26**	**1.29**
Drug	0.45	**1.25**	**1.55**
Weapons	0.89	0.30	**1.54**
Females	1.00	**1.89**	**1.88**
Violent	**1.11**	**2.00**	**1.77**
Property	0.92	**2.07**	**1.92**
Drug	**1.17**	**1.78**	**2.32**
Weapons	**2.47**	**2.30**	**6.48**

Countywide, African-American juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles who received a probation adjustment. In contrast, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles receiving probation adjustments.

Driving the underrepresentation of African-American juveniles among those who received a probation adjustment is the underrepresentation of African-American males, regardless of type of offense or region of the county in which the case originated. With few exceptions, Hispanic juveniles were overrepresented among those who received a probation adjustment regardless of gender, type of offense, or region of the county in which the case originated. Similarly, with the exception of Caucasian males and females charged with a weapons offense in Chicago, Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented regardless of gender, type of offense, or region of the county in which their case originated.

Probation adjustments provide juveniles with the opportunity to end their involvement with the juvenile justice system. Thus, a probation adjustment can be seen as a more favorable outcome than having a delinquency petition filed in their case. But an alternative perspective similar to that introduced in the discussion of the findings on station adjustments applies to probation adjustments as well. Probation adjustments allow the court to sanction a juvenile without having to prove the allegations in court. If probation adjustments are an alternative to dropping the charges or failing to prove the allegations in court, probation adjustments are a potentially more punitive option than the alternative.

Charges Dropped

Data were analyzed on 13,162 juveniles who were involved in cases where the charges were dropped by the state's attorney's office during the years 1996-1999. Countywide, of the juveniles involved in cases in which the charges were dropped, African-Americans

accounted for 58 percent, Hispanics 22 percent, and Caucasians 16 percent. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and who were involved in cases in which the charges were dropped, 64 percent were African-American, 25 percent were Hispanic, and 8 percent were Caucasian. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were involved in cases in which the charges were dropped, 44 percent were African-American, 13 percent were Hispanic, and 38 percent were Caucasian. To calculate the disparity indices on juveniles whose charges were dropped, the racial composition of juveniles whose charges were dropped were compared to the racial composition of juveniles whose cases were referred to court.

Countywide, African-American juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles whose cases were dropped by the state's attorney's office. In contrast, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles whose cases were dropped by the state's attorney's office, although it is worth noting that the degree of Hispanic and Caucasian overrepresentation was far greater among the cases that originated in Chicago than those that originated in suburban Cook County.

Table 25
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Whose Charges Were Dropped

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	0.86	**1.38**	**1.24**
Males	0.82	**1.37**	**1.18**
Violent	0.87	**1.17**	**1.10**
Property	0.96	**1.11**	0.89
Drug	0.71	**2.55**	**2.92**
Weapons	0.53	**1.03**	**4.03**
Females	**1.23**	**1.50**	**1.62**
Violent	**1.22**	**1.14**	**1.70**
Property	**1.24**	**1.40**	**1.22**
Drug	0.90	**1.71**	**3.29**
Weapons	**3.45**	0.00	0.80
Chicago	0.85	**1.47**	**1.46**
Males	0.82	**1.49**	**1.43**
Violent	0.87	**1.23**	**1.20**
Property	0.95	**1.12**	**1.01**
Drug	0.78	**2.77**	**3.28**
Weapons	0.65	**1.20**	**2.76**
Females	**1.15**	**1.47**	**1.63**
Violent	**1.20**	**1.17**	**1.70**
Property	**1.01**	**1.36**	1.00
Drug	**1.02**	**1.67**	**3.00**
Weapons	**4.83**	0.00	0.00

Table 25 (cont.)
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Whose Charges Were Dropped

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Suburban Cook	0.98	**1.03**	**1.10**
Males	0.88	1.00	**1.01**
Violent	0.82	0.93	**1.16**
Property	0.97	0.93	0.88
Drug	0.70	**1.46**	**1.26**
Weapons	0.41	0.80	**2.55**
Females	**1.43**	**1.33**	**1.53**
Violent	**1.20**	**1.04**	**1.79**
Property	**1.71**	**1.47**	**1.42**
Drug	0.83	**1.78**	**1.48**
Weapons	**1.22**	0.00	**1.05**

Primarily driving the underrepresentation of African-American juveniles among those who were involved in cases in which the charges were dropped, is the underrepresentation of African-American males, regardless of type of offense or region of the county in which the case originated. Hispanic overrepresentation is evident regardless of gender, type of offense, or region of the county in which the cases originated, with the exception of Hispanic males whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were charged with a violent, property, or weapons offense. Similarly, with the exception of Caucasian females whose cases originated in Chicago and who were charged with a property or weapons offense and Hispanic males whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were charged with a property offense, Caucasian overrepresentation was evident regardless of gender, type of offense, or region of the county in which the cases originated.

Continued Under Supervision

Data were analyzed on 4,326 juveniles who had their case continued under supervision during the years 1996-1999. Countywide, African-American juveniles accounted for 58 percent, Hispanic juveniles 18 percent, and Caucasian juveniles 21 percent of the case continued under supervision. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and were continued under supervision, 66 percent were African-American, 22 percent Hispanic, and 10 percent Caucasian. Of the juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and were continued under supervision, 44 percent were African-American, 11 percent Hispanic, and 39 percent Caucasian. To calculate the disparity indices, the racial composition of juveniles whose cases were continued under supervision was compared to the racial composition of juveniles for whom delinquency petitions were filed.

Table 26
Disparity Indices for Juveniles Whose Cases Were Continued Under Supervision

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	0.80	**1.30**	**1.99**
Males	0.65	**1.13**	**1.89**
Violent	0.74	0.87	**1.52**
Property	0.73	**1.15**	**1.26**
Drug	0.64	**2.38**	**6.62**
Weapons	0.60	0.60	**2.14**
Females	**1.95**	**2.67**	**2.79**
Violent	**1.47**	**2.13**	**2.59**
Property	**1.94**	**2.31**	**1.74**
Drug	**1.05**	**4.40**	**7.33**
Weapons	**6.59**	0.00	**6.50**
Chicago	0.83	**1.53**	**2.13**
Males	0.67	**1.33**	**1.98**
Violent	0.78	0.90	**1.09**
Property	0.70	**1.22**	**1.47**
Drug	0.73	**3.05**	**4.92**
Weapons	0.67	0.98	**2.72**
Females	**2.22**	**3.33**	**3.17**
Violent	**1.63**	**2.46**	**2.63**
Property	**2.04**	**2.42**	**1.90**
Drug	**1.48**	**6.00**	**4.00**
Weapons	**7.23**	0.00	0.00
Suburban Cook	0.90	0.95	**1.30**
Males	0.79	0.84	**1.22**
Violent	0.77	0.99	**1.24**
Property	0.87	0.97	**1.09**
Drug	0.65	0.94	**1.91**
Weapons	0.63	0.00	0.86
Females	**1.50**	**1.83**	**1.87**
Violent	**1.27**	**1.82**	**1.88**
Property	**1.67**	**2.13**	**1.50**
Drug	0.35	**1.33**	**2.50**
Weapons	**4.65**	0.00	**6.09**

African-American juveniles were underrepresented among those whose cases were continued under supervision. In contrast to the experiences of African-American juveniles, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented countywide among juveniles whose cases were continued under supervision.

Driving the underrepresentation of African-American juveniles is the underrepresentation of African-American males regardless of type of offense or region of the county where the cases originated. Contributing to the overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles is the overrepresentation of Hispanic females, regardless of offense type or region of the county in which the cases originated, with the exception of Hispanic females whose cases originated in Chicago or suburban Cook County and were charged with a weapons offense. Also contributing to the overrepresentation of Hispanic juveniles generally is the overrepresentation of Hispanic males whose cases originated in Chicago and who were charged with a property or drug offense. Caucasian juveniles were overrepresented among juveniles whose cases were continued under supervision regardless of gender, type of offense, and region of the county in which the cases originated with the exception of Caucasian females whose cases originated in Chicago and who were charged with a weapons offense, and Caucasian males whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and who were charged with a weapons offense.

Conclusion

In this section of the report, four aspects of the juvenile justice system process where juveniles were given an opportunity to exit the juvenile justice system were assessed for disproportionate minority representation. African-American males were underrepresented among those juveniles who were given a probation adjustment, whose charges were dropped, and whose cases were continued under supervision. Among youth who received a station adjustment in suburban Cook County, African-American juveniles were overrepresented and Hispanic and White juveniles were underrepresented.

These four decision aspects of the juvenile justice system process give juvenile police officers and assistant state's attorneys some influence over which juveniles will remain in the system and may be put at risk for confinement. A more optimistic perspective on the findings in this section of the report is that juvenile police officers and assistant state's attorneys might have based these decisions in part on which juveniles they believe would be better served through the programs and services that are offered to juveniles in the juvenile justice system. Whichever perspective one takes, the data strongly suggests that African-American juveniles, more specifically African-American males, were less likely than Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles to be given the opportunity to exit the juvenile justice system.

VI. Mandatory Transfers to Adult Court

Table 1 describes the laws in Illinois regarding the transfer of juveniles to adult court. Figure 1 shows that this report examines DMR among juveniles whose cases were automatically transferred to adult court ("Mandatory Transfer to Adult Court"). This section reports basic statistics and representation indices on mandatory transfers to adult court.

Data were analyzed on 1,539 juveniles who had their cases automatically transferred to criminal court during the years 1996-1999. Countywide, of the juveniles who had their cases automatically transferred to criminal court, 85 percent were African-American, 12 percent were Hispanic, and 3 percent were Caucasian. Of those juveniles whose cases originated in Chicago and were transferred to criminal court, 85 percent were African-American, 11 percent were Hispanic, and 2 percent were Caucasian. Of juveniles whose cases originated in suburban Cook County and were transferred to criminal court, 70 percent were African-American, 12 percent Hispanic, and 6 percent were Caucasian. Since there is no data available on juveniles who were at risk of having cases automatically transferred to criminal court (i.e., juveniles who commit automatic transferable offenses), this subsection reports representation indices that compare the racial composition of juveniles automatically transferred to criminal court to the racial composition of the general juvenile population of Cook County.

Table 27
Representation Indices for Mandatory Transfers to Adult Court

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Cook County	**2.58**	0.55	0.07
Males	**4.73**	0.98	0.12
Violent	**4.28**	**1.74**	0.20
Drug	**5.06**	0.45	0.06
Weapons	**3.94**	**2.03**	0.16
Females	0.29	0.07	0.02
Violent	0.11	0.10	0.03
Drug	0.38	0.05	0.01
Weapons	0.31	0.11	0.00
Chicago	**1.87**	0.35	0.13
Males	**3.53**	0.63	0.22
Violent	**3.22**	**1.16**	0.39
Drug	**3.75**	0.31	0.12
Weapons	**2.90**	**1.31**	0.41

Table 27 (cont.)
Representation Indices for Mandatory Transfers to Adult Court

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Females	0.21	0.05	0.03
Violent	0.08	0.07	0.04
Drug	0.29	0.03	0.02
Weapons	0.27	0.08	0.00
Suburban Cook	**3.51**	**1.94**	0.10
Males	**6.47**	**3.61**	0.20
Violent	**6.30**	**3.88**	0.22
Drug	**7.13**	0.00	0.29
Weapons	**6.78**	**5.22**	0.00
Females	0.43	0.00	0.00
Violent	0.29	0.00	0.00
Drug	**1.82**	0.00	0.00
Weapons	0.00	0.00	0.00

Among juveniles whose cases were transferred to criminal court, African-American juveniles were overrepresented by more than two and one-half times their representation in the general juvenile population. In contrast, Hispanic and Caucasian juveniles were underrepresented among juveniles whose cases were automatically transferred to criminal court when compared to their representation among general juvenile population.

Driving the general overrepresentation of African-American juveniles is the overrepresentation of African-American males, regardless of type of offense or region of the county in which the cases originated. The only instance where African-American females were overrepresented is among those who were charged with a transferable drug offense in suburban Cook County. Although Hispanic juveniles generally were underrepresented, Hispanic males charged with a transferable violent or weapons offense were overrepresented, regardless of region in which the case originated. Caucasian juveniles underrepresentation was evident regardless of gender, type of offense, and region of the county in which the cases originated.

VII. Risk Factors and Minority Overrepresentation in Cook County's Juvenile Justice System

This section describes selected juvenile delinquency risk factors by race. Table 3 shows the types of risk factors examined in this section.

This section was included in the report for two reasons. First, juvenile justice decision-makers implicitly or explicitly consider various risk factors when deciding how to handle juvenile cases. Should prevalence of the risk factors that are used to make decisions differ by race then, by considering the risk factors, juvenile justice system decision makers may unknowingly be placing minorities at a disadvantage. Second, Section III of this report found that the arrest stage played a large role in contributing to the overrepresentation of African-Americans. Increased prevalence of risk factors for African-Americans may help explain why the percentage of African-American juveniles who were arrested was higher than the percentage of African-American juveniles in the general juvenile population.

The selection of the risk factors listed in Table 3 was guided largely by availability. The list in Table 3 is not intended to be a comprehensive list. Table 3 excludes important risk factors, as well as protective factors that insulate minors from the risk of committing delinquent acts. Moreover, empirical research has examined the importance of the risk factors examined in this section as predictors of juvenile delinquency. This research has shown that the risk factors in Table 3 vary in the strength of their relationships to juvenile delinquency. However, it is possible that juvenile justice decision makers consider each of the risk factors in Table 3. Therefore, if the risk factors in Table 3 differ by race, considering them may indirectly place minorities at a disadvantage.

Each factor discussed in this section and the data associated with the factor is listed in Table 28. Since the assessment of disproportionate minority representation reveals that disparity in the arrest rates of African-American juveniles provides the foundation for the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles throughout Cook County's juvenile justice system, the focus of the risk factor section is on the differential exposure of African-American juveniles to the selected risk factors.

Table 28
The Rate of Youth Exposed to Selected Risk Factors by Race

Temporary Assistance to Needy Families Rate per 100,000 Persons ages 0-18 years				
	1996	1997	1998	1999
White	8,619	7,133	5,887	3,869
Black	70,994	63,396	55,964	45,266
Hispanic	21,271	16,711	13,246	9,339
Total	31,999	27,800	23,952	18,648
Unemployment Rate per 100,000 Eligible for Labor				
	1996	1997	1998	1999[c]
White[a]	3,175	2,857	2,694	N/A
Black[b]	12,723	11,564	10,961	N/A
Hispanic	7,551	6,826	6,452	N/A
Total	5,573	5,028	4,747	N/A
Domestic Violence Offense Rate per 100,000 Persons in the Population				
	1996[d]	1997	1998	1999
White	471	644	625	559
Black	2,876	3,941	4,341	4,284
Hispanic	839	1,277	1,299	1,238
Total	1,146	1,595	1,697	1,641
Indicated Child Abuse and Neglect Rate per 100,000 Persons ages 0-16 years				
	1996	1997	1998	1999
White	536	513	436	377
Black	3,230	2,955	2,374	2,038
Hispanic	786	791	664	556
Total	1,484	1,387	1,130	963
Indicated Child Sexual Abuse Rate per 100,000 Persons ages 0-16 years				
	1996	1997	1998	1999
White	66	62	51	45
Black	182	180	156	143
Hispanic	108	104	88	88
Total	114	110	94	87

Table 28 (cont.)
The Rate of Youth Exposed to Selected Risk Factors by Race

Suspension Rate per 100,000 Students Enrolled				
	1996/1997	1997/1998	1998/1999	1999/2000
White	5,002	4,831	4,265	4,075
Black	11,834	12,725	8,715	10,194
Hispanic	6,176	6,326	4,390	4,860
Total	7,734	8,069	5,877	6,477
Expulsion Rate per 100,000 Students Enrolled				
	1996/1997	1997/1998	1998/1999	1999/2000
White	48	61	64	42
Black	120	230	269	179
Hispanic	61	127	110	77
Total	78	139	155	102
High School Dropout Rate per 100,000 Students Enrolled				
	1996/1997	1997/1998	1998/1999	1999/2000
White	4,753	4,454	4,420	4,251
Black	14,193	16,155	14,638	13,728
Hispanic	13,198	13,409	12,668	12,669
Total	9,908	10,530	9,759	9,379

Poverty

Research has consistently shown that children who grow up in economically deprived neighborhoods are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior (OJJDP 1995). In this report, data on Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) and unemployment are used as proxy measures for poverty.

Temporary Assistance to Needy Families[16]

Formally known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), TANF is a temporary public welfare program for families with children 18 years or younger living in the home. For the years 1996 through 1999, African-American youth had a higher rate of TANF than Caucasian and Hispanic youth combined. In 1996, approximately 70 out of

[16] The data presented here represent a snapshot of persons receiving TANF in June of every year examined. Since a large number of recipients are minors 18 years and younger, rates were calculated using the total number of minors 18 years and younger.

every 100 African-American youth lived in families that were receiving TANF benefits, compared to 8 out of every 100 Caucasian youth and 21 out of every 100 Hispanic youth. Although the rate of receiving TANF has declined for all youth throughout the latter half of the 1990's, African-American youth remain those with the highest rate of receiving TANF benefits.

Unemployment[17]

Each year from 1996 through 1998, the unemployment rate dropped for African-Americans, Hispanics, and Caucasians. From 1996 to 1998, the unemployment rate dropped approximately 15 percent for each racial group. Although the unemployment rate dropped similarly across racial groups, the unemployment rate remains the highest for African-Americans.[18] Approximately 13 out of every 100 African-Americans "eligible" for work were unemployed in 1996. [19] In contrast, 2 out of every 100 Caucasians and 8 out of every 100 Hispanics eligible for work were unemployed in 1996. By 1998, the rate dropped to 11 per 100 for African-Americans, 6 per 100 for Hispanics, and 3 per 100 Caucasians.

Family Violence

Research has also shown that conflict in the family is a risk factor for delinquency. For example, Kracke (2001) reports that children who were exposed to domestic violence in the home are more likely to engage in violent behavior than children who were not exposed to violence in the home.[20] More generally, research has shown that children raised in homes characterized by conflict and violence are more likely to be involved in delinquency than children not raised in an environment of conflict. What follows is a discussion of two types of data that measure conflict in the family, domestic violence and child abuse and neglect.

Domestic Violence

Beginning in April 1996, data on domestic offenses have been collected by police agencies and submitted to the Illinois State Police (ISP) as part of the supplemental Uniform Crime Reports. Offenses classified as domestic offenses include any offense that occurs between members of the same household. Domestic offenses include any offenses that occur between individuals involved in intimate relationships even if they do not live

[17] Unemployment data by race for 1999 was unavailable to the authors at the time this report was written.
[18] It is important to note that the racial categories African-American, Other and Caucasian all include portions of the Hispanic population. The data collected from the Illinois Department of Employment Security (IDES) did not enable us to exclude Hispanics from these categories, although we were able to examine Hispanics separately.
[19] "Eligible persons" is the sum of individuals that are unemployed, available and actively looking for work and the number of individuals employed. "Individuals employed" includes those employed both part-time and full time.
[20] Kracke, K. (2001). Children's exposure to violence: The safe start initiative. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Fact Sheet # 13. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

in the same household. In 1999, 85 police agencies (64 percent) from Cook County reported domestic offenses to ISP.[21]

During the years examined, African-Americans had the highest rate of domestic victimization in Cook County.[22] Each year the rate of domestic victimization of African-Americans was higher than that of Caucasians and Hispanics combined. In 1996, the rate of domestic victimization of African-Americans was 6 times that of Caucasians and twice that of Hispanics. In 1999, the rate of domestic victimization of African-Americans was 7 times that of Caucasians and 3 times that of Hispanics.

Child Abuse and Neglect[23]

From 1996 to 1999, the rate of indicated cases of child abuse and neglect in Cook County decreased from approximately 1,484 per 100,000 children ages 0-16 to 963 per 100,000 children ages 0-16 in 1999. Although the rate of indicated child abuse and neglect decreased for all racial groups in the latter half of the 1990's, and dropped the most for African-Americans, African-Americans still had higher rates of child abuse and neglect than either Caucasians or Hispanics each year. Depending on the specific year, the rate of indicated child abuse and neglect for African-Americans is 4 to 5 times that of Caucasians and 3 to 4 times that of Hispanics.

Attachment to School

Research has also discovered school-based risk factors, such as truancy, dropping out of school, and poor academic performance, that are related to delinquency.[24] More importantly, studies examining school commitment and delinquency have found that being committed to school may act as a protective factor against violent behavior in youth.[25] This section describes the data on suspensions, dropouts, and expulsions of students attending public schools in Cook County. Unless otherwise noted, these numbers reflect youth in kindergarten through 12th grade.

Suspensions

For the 96/97 school year through the 99/00 school year, African-American youth had higher rates of school suspension than either Caucasian or Hispanic youth. The rate of school suspensions for African-American youth was twice that of Caucasian youth for the

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[21] It is unknown as to why the other Cook County law enforcement agencies did not report domestic offense data. It could be that there were no domestic offenses reported to those agencies or that those agencies did not report them to ISP.
[22] These racial breakdowns are based on the race of the victim only.
[23] According to the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, indicated cases of child abuse and neglect are cases in which an "investigation of suspected child abuse/neglect has revealed credible evidence that the abuse/neglect occurred," www.state.il.us/dcfs/com_communications_cantstats.shtml.
[24] Hawkins, J., Herrenkohl, T. Farrington, D., Brewer, D., Catalano, R. & Harachi, T. (1998). In R. Loeber & D. Farrington (Eds.). Serious and violent juvenile offenders: Risk factors and successful interventions. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
[25] Ibid.

96/97 through 99/00 school years. Although the rate of school suspensions for Hispanic youth was higher than that of Caucasian youth for each school year, it was not as high as the annual rate for African-American youth.

Drop Outs

During the 96/97 school year, African-American youth had higher dropout rates than either Caucasian or Hispanic youth. For the school years 96/97 through 99/00, the dropout rate for African-American youth was 4 times that of Caucasian youth. Although the dropout rate for Hispanic youth approached that for African-American youth, it remained lower throughout the latter half of the 1990s.

Expulsions

The rate of school expulsions for African-American youth for the school years 96/97 through 99/00 was higher than the rate for Caucasian or Hispanic youth. For the 96/97 school year, the expulsion rate for African-American youth was twice that of Caucasian youth. For the 97/98 through 99/00 school years, the expulsion rate for African-American youth increased to 4 times that of Caucasian youth. Throughout this time period, the expulsion rate for African-American youth hovered around twice the expulsion rate for Hispanic youth.

Conclusion

The risk factors presented above offer some insight to the level of exposure to risk factors experienced across youth in different racial groups. Overall, African-Americans had the highest rates across all risk factors examined. Moreover, African-Americans typically accounted for over 50 percent of all individuals experiencing these risk factors. Hispanics had the second highest rates, while Caucasians, in general, had the third highest (i.e., lowest) rates.

The description of the data on selected risk factors provides some insight into possible explanations for the racial disparity evident in Cook County's juvenile justice system. If the factors that are predictive of involvement in delinquency are more prevalent among African-American youth, one would expect there to be more African-American youth in the juvenile justice system. These data suggest that African-American youth in Cook County have greater exposure to certain risk factors that might lead them to engaging in delinquency, and ultimately, entrance into the "front door" of the Cook County juvenile justice system.

The distribution of exposure to risk factors by racial group might also contribute to differences in how juveniles are processed once they are in the juvenile justice system, if juvenile justice system personnel use risk factors to guide their decisions once juveniles enter the system. Although the finding that the overrepresentation of African-American juveniles increases at nearly every stage of the juvenile justice system might be explained by the existence of risk factors in a youth's life, this remains a wholly unsatisfying

explanation. Whether it is due to the factors that put kids at risk of delinquency or intentional and unintentional discrimination, African-American youth in many ways were treated differently by the juvenile justice system due to factors out of their immediate control.

VIII. Summary and Conclusions

Part One and Part Two of the report were intended to achieve the same goal: to assess the level and extent of disproportionate minority representation at multiple stages and aspects of the Cook County juvenile justice system process. Part One used aggregate data to obtain an overall indication of disproportionate minority representation, while Part Two used different methods to provide additional detail.

This section presents the basic framework of the most notable results provided in Part One, then integrates several results from Part Two into this framework. The goal of this section is to develop a cohesive overall description of disproportionate minority representation across both parts of the report. On the whole, the results from Part Two corroborated the results of Part One.

After integrating the two parts of the report, this section then identifies aspects of the Cook County juvenile justice system that may warrant closer exploration to determine if processes, policies, and practices related to the decision are unintentionally contributing to disproportionate minority representation and, subsequently, confinement.

Notable Results from Part One

Post-Trial Confinement

The core analyses of Part One examined disproportionate minority representation at stages of juvenile justice system that approximately represent the sequential flow through the juvenile justice system: (1) arrested, (2) referred to court for potential prosecution, (3) delinquency petition filed, and (4) found delinquent. One end result of this flow is post-trial confinement in a secure facility

Figure 4 provides a visual interpretation of the conclusion that can be drawn for Cook County as a whole (collapsed across gender, offense type, and geographic location) regarding the representation of Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics at these four stages of the juvenile justice system, as well as representation in the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections. The visual interpretation is based on representation indices for the arrest stage and disparity indices for subsequent stages (see pages 29-35 for representation or disparity indices for the four sequential stages and pages 40-41 for disparity indices describing representation in the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections).

Essentially, Figure 4 provides separate lines for Caucasian, African-American, and Hispanic juveniles showing initial representation at the arrest stage and increases or decreases in representation at subsequent stages. Increases or decreases in representation at subsequent stages are based on approximations made using the disparity indices in Table I.

At the top of Figure 4, the three lines begin with the arrest stage (the point parallel to the label "Arrested" in Figure 4). The lines are located at a place on the Representation Index scale in Figure 4 that approximates the overall representation indices (collapsed across gender, offense type, and geographic location) reported in the text of this document (0.61 for Caucasians, 1.91 for African-Americans, and 0.56 for Hispanics). Then, at subsequent stages, Figure 4 uses the overall disparity indices reported in the text of this document to approximate how much that stage adds to or minimizes over or under representation.

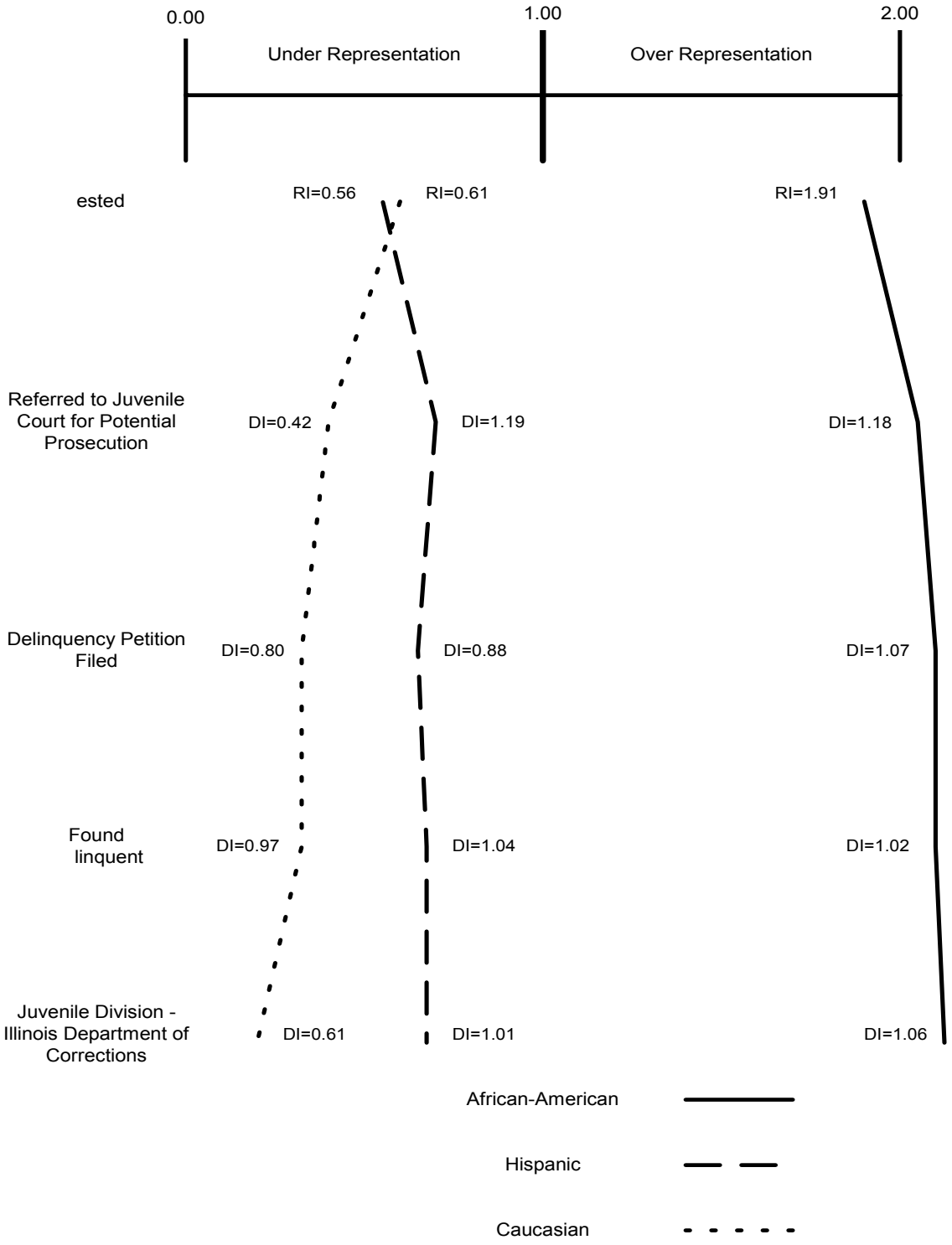
In order to understand Figure 4, the reader must: (1) be aware that Figure 4 combines two statistical measures (the representation index and the disparity index) and that the scale at the top of Figure 4 is a Representation Index scale, and (2) recall that disparity indices only measure overrepresentation and underrepresentation relative to the previous stage examined. Thus, do not expect that the disparity indices shown in Figure 4 will match the Representation Index scale at the top of the figure. The purpose of Figure 4 is to show how changes from one stage to the next (as reflected in the disparity indices) can collectively impact overall representation (as reflected in the Represention Index scale).

For example, the African-American disparity index for court referrals was 1.18. Thus, the court referral stage adds to overrepresentation of African-Americans. This is reflected in Figure 4 by, from the point labeled "Arrested" to the point labeled "Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution", extending the line even further in the direction of overrepresentation on the Representation Index scale. However, the Representation Index scale at "Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution" for African-Americans will not be 1.18. The disparity index 1.18 only represents the change from the point labeled "Arrested" to the point labeled "Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution", whereas the Representation Index scale at the top of Figure 4 shows overall representation (which is the Representation Index at the arrest stage, followed by additional overrepresentation at the court referral stage).

Figure 4 shows that African-American juveniles were considerably overrepresented at each of the stages that directly lead to post-trial confinement in a secure detention or correctional facility and, as a result, were overrepresented among those in the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections. In addition, Figure 4 provides some suggestion of how African-American juveniles came to be overrepresented at each of the stages that directly lead to post-trial confinement. Specifically, it is worth noting in Figure 3 that, on the whole, the three lines are not radically different. They are all fairly straight, with the African-American and Hispanic lines extending slightly in the direction of overrepresentation and the Caucasian extending slightly in the direction of underrepresentation.

However, the three lines start at radically different places. This suggests that the first stage in Figure 4, the arrest stage, played a large role in contributing to overrepresentation of African-Americans. Subsequent stages did not minimize the overrepresentation of African-Americans. Instead, later stages contributed to overrepresentation of African-Americans, but to a lesser extent than the arrest stage.

Figure 4
Visual Interpretation of Representation in Juvenile Justice System Stages Leading to Post-Trial Confinement – Cook County[a]



a: Figure 4 uses two statistics to show how changes from one stage to the next contribute to overall representation. See pages 75 and 76 for an explanation of Figure 4.

Other Post-Trial Outcomes

Table 29 compares disparity indices for sentences to the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections to the other two post-trial outcomes examined in Part One: (1) probation sentences, and (2) sentences to the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center. The denominator, or earlier stage, for the disparity indices in Table 29 is the delinquency stage, or the stage at which juveniles are found delinquent. So, the DI's in Table 29 essentially examine the likelihood of juveniles of different races or receiving the three outcomes after they are found delinquent.

Table 29
Disparity Indices for Three Post-Trial Outcomes – Cook County

Outcome	Race		
	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic
Probation	1.11	0.98	1.03
Detention Center	0.86	1.02	1.02
Juvenile – IDOC	0.61	1.06	1.01

Perhaps the most notable aspect of Table 29 is that disparity indices for Caucasians receiving outcomes involving confinement in secure detention and correctional facilities were low relative to African-Americans and Hispanics. On the whole, these disparity indices were low regardless of the type of offense for which Caucasian youths were found delinquent. The only exception was that Caucasians who committed drug offenses were overrepresented among those sentenced to the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center. On the other hand, disparity indices for Caucasians receiving probation sentences were somewhat higher relative to African-Americans and Hispanics.

Overall, the results in Table 29 suggest that sentencing patterns for the three outcomes examined differ by race, with Caucasians being less likely to receive outcomes involving incarceration.

Alternatives to Moving Deeper Into the System

Table 30 compares Cook County disparity indices for four aspects of the juvenile justice system that prevent juveniles from moving deeper into the juvenile justice system, either by removing them from the juvenile justice system (by dropping charges after the case is referred to court) or by keeping juveniles in the juvenile justice system, but not moving them on to the next stage (by issuing a station adjustment, issuing a probation adjustment, or continuing the case under supervision). For station adjustments, data was not obtained from Chicago, so Cook County as a whole refers to suburban Cook County.

Table 30 also shows, for each of the three aspects in the table, the denominator, or earlier stage that was considered when calculating the DI's. For example, "Arrested → Issued a Station Adjustment" in Table 30 indicates that the arrest stage was the earlier stage used to calculate DI's when examining station adjustments.

Table 30
Disparity Indices for Three Alternatives to Moving "Deeper" Into the Juvenile Justice System – Cook County

Alternative	Race		
	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic
Issued a Station Adjustment	0.98	1.11	0.83
Charges Dropped	1.24	0.86	1.38
Issued a Probation Adjustment	1.64	0.82	1.26
Continued Under Supervision	1.99	0.80	1.30
Earlier Stages Used to Calculate DI's			
Arrested → Issued a Station Adjustment			
Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution → Charges Dropped			
Referred to Court for Potential Prosecution → Issued a Probation Adjustment			
Delinquency Petition Filed → Continued Under Supervision			

Table 30 shows that, for all four alternatives to moving deeper into the juvenile justice system, disparity indices for Caucasians and Hispanics differed considerably from African-Americans. For three of the four alternatives (charges dropped, issued a station adjustment, continued under supervision), Caucasians and Hispanics were overrepresented while African-Americans were underrepresented. For these three alternatives, Caucasians and Hispanics were more likely to capitalize on them and, hence, not move deeper into the juvenile justice system.

Pre-Trial Confinement

Both pre-trial confinement and post-trial confinement can contribute to disproportionate minority confinement (see Figure 2 and pages 8-10 for a description of the processes by which juveniles are detained prior to trial).

Table 31 shows disparity indices for detention screening for Cook County as a whole. The earlier stage that was considered for the disparity indices was the court referral stage. Thus, the disparity indices examine whether those who were referred to court were screened for detention at all. In some respects, these are the most important DI's for determining whether a juvenile will be detained prior to trial. If juveniles are not screened, then they have no chance of being detained prior to trial, will not be required to attend a detention hearing, etc.

Table 31 also shows disparity indices reflecting results of detention screenings for Cook County as whole (detained in a secure facility, non-secure detention, released). The earlier stage that was considered for these disparity indices was detention screening (i.e., the number and, in terms of the DI formula, percentage of juveniles who were screened for detention at all). Finally, Table 31 shows disparity indices for those who attended a detention hearing and were ordered to be detained (either because they were ordered to remain in secure detention or because they were switched from non-secure to secure detention). The earlier stage that was considered for these disparity indices was detention hearing (the number and percentage of juveniles who attended a detention hearing).

Table 31
Disparity Indices for Aspects of the Juvenile Justice System Related to Pre-Trial Confinement – Cook County

Pre-Trial Detention Decision	Race		
	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic
Detention Screening	0.40	1.18	0.85
If Screened, Then:			
Secure Detention	1.18	0.98	1.03
Non-Secure Detention	0.86	1.00	1.03
Released	0.88	1.02	0.90
If Secure Detention or Non-Secure Detention, Then Detention Hearing:			
Secure Detention Thru Hearing	1.07	1.00	0.97

Perhaps the most notable aspect of Table 31 is the Detention Screening row. This row essentially shows the likelihood of being screened for detention upon being referred to court. Disparity indices for African-American were considerably higher than disparity indices for Hispanics and, especially, for Caucasians. This was the case regardless of the offense for which the juvenile was referred to court. Because more African-Americans were screened for detention, there were more opportunities for African-American juveniles to be detained prior to trial.

The disparity index for Caucasians placed in Secure Detention (1.18) also seems noteworthy. The slightly larger DI for Caucasians in the Secure Detention row suggests that detention screening may have been reserved for a smaller number of Caucasians for whom it was reasonably clear that they will be detained upon screening.

Chicago vs. Suburban Cook County

Table 32 compares most of the indices reported in this section (representation indices for arrests and disparity indices for all other aspects of the juvenile justice system) by geographic location in Cook County. Station adjustments are not compared by geographic location because data for this aspect of the juvenile justice system was not collected from Chicago.

Indices that differ by 0.20 or more between Chicago and suburban Cook County, an arbitrary yet seemingly notable amount of difference, are listed in bold in Table 32.

Table 32
A Comparison of Indices in Chicago and Suburban Cook County

AFRICAN-AMERICAN		
	Chicago	**Suburban Cook**
Leading to Post-Trial Confinement		
Arrest (Representation Indices)	1.71	1.84
Court Referral	**1.01**	**1.41**
Delinquency Petition	1.05	1.07
Found Delinquent	1.01	0.91
Post-Trial Outcomes		
Probation	0.99	0.95
Detention Center	**1.00**	**0.74**
Juvenile – IDOC	1.10	1.25
Alternatives to Moving "Deeper" in the System		
Charges Dropped	0.85	0.98
Issued a Probation Adjustment	**0.69**	**0.90**
Continued Under Supervision	0.83	0.90
Related to Pre-Trial Confinement		
Detention Screening	1.25	1.41
Secure Detention	1.00	0.97
Non-Secure Detention	1.00	1.01
Released	1.01	1.10
Secure Detention Thru Hearing	1.00	1.02

Table 32 (cont.)
A Comparison of Indices in Chicago and Suburban Cook County

CAUCASIAN		
	Chicago	**Suburban Cook**
Leading to Post-Trial Confinement		
Arrest (Representation Indices)	**0.31**	**0.89**
Court Referral	**0.82**	**0.57**
Delinquency Petition	0.84	0.87
Found Delinquent	**0.94**	**1.24**
Post-Trial Outcomes		
Probation	1.09	1.06
Detention Center	**1.00**	**1.29**
Juvenile – IDOC	0.78	0.74
Alternatives to Moving "Deeper" in the System		
Charges Dropped	**1.46**	**1.10**
Issued a Probation Adjustment	1.42	1.44
Continued Under Supervision	**2.13**	**1.30**
Related to Pre-Trial Confinement		
Detention Screening	0.70	0.58
Secure Detention	**0.97**	**1.28**
Non-Secure Detention	1.03	1.08
Released	1.06	0.87
Secure Detention Thru Hearing	0.97	1.03
HISPANIC		
	Chicago	**Suburban Cook**
Leading to Post-Trial Confinement		
Arrest (Representation Indices)	0.49	0.55
Court Referral	**0.94**	**2.22**
Delinquency Petition	0.86	0.93
Found Delinquent	**0.99**	**1.24**
Post-Trial Outcomes		
Probation	1.04	1.03
Detention Center	1.03	1.04
Juvenile – IDOC	1.02	0.90
Alternatives to Moving "Deeper" in the System		
Charges Dropped	**1.47**	**1.03**
Issued a Probation Adjustment	1.26	1.29
Continued Under Supervision	**1.53**	**0.95**
Related to Pre-Trial Confinement		
Detention Screening	**0.80**	**1.22**
Secure Detention	1.03	1.04
Non-Secure Detention	1.03	1.10
Released	**0.92**	**0.72**
Secure Detention Thru Hearing	0.99	0.90

What follows are some notable differences between Chicago and suburban Cook County that qualify the results pertaining to Cook County as a whole:

- Underrepresentation of Caucasians at the arrest stage was more the result of underrepresentation in Chicago as opposed to in suburban Cook County. On the other hand, underrepresentation of Caucasians at the court referral stage (those referred to court of those arrested) was more the result of underrepresentation in suburban Cook County. Thus, in Chicago, Caucasians may be less likely to get arrested, but more likely be prosecuted once they are arrested. The inverse may be true in suburban Cook County.

- Overrepresentation of African-Americans and Hispanics at the court referral stage in suburban Cook County was notably higher than overrepresentation of African-Americans and Hispanics at the court referral stage in Chicago.

- Disparity indices by geographic location examining findings of delinquency for those who had delinquency petitions filed indicated that, for Caucasians and Hispanics, those who had a delinquency petition filed against them in suburban Cook County were more likely to be found delinquent than those who had a delinquency petition filed against them in Chicago.

- Disparity indices by geographic location examining those who had their charges dropped (after having their case referred to court) suggest that Caucasians and Hispanics from Chicago were more likely to have their charges dropped than Caucasians and Hispanics from suburban Cook County. There was little difference in these disparity indices by geographic location for African-Americans.

Males vs. Females

Table 33 compares most of the indices reported in this section for Cook County as a whole by gender. Arrests, court referrals, and station adjustments are not compared by gender because data for these two aspects of the juvenile justice system was not collected in a manner that made it possible to calculate RI's and DI's by gender.

As with Table 33, indices that differ by 0.20 or more between males and females are listed in bold in Table 33.

Table 33
A Comparison of Disparity Indices by Gender – Cook County

AFRICAN-AMERICAN		
	Male	**Female**
Leading to Post-Trial Confinement		
Delinquency Petition	1.11	0.92
Found Delinquent	**1.05**	**0.77**
Post-Trial Outcomes		
Probation	0.96	1.13
Detention Center	1.03	0.89
Juvenile – IDOC	**1.10**	**0.62**
Alternatives to Moving "Deeper" in the System		
Charges Dropped	**0.82**	**1.15**
Issued a Probation Adjustment	**0.78**	**1.19**
Continued Under Supervision	**0.65**	**1.95**
Related to Pre-Trial Confinement		
Detention Screening	**1.25**	**0.33**
Secure Detention	0.99	0.90
Non-Secure Detention	0.99	1.18
Released	1.03	0.98
Secure Detention Thru Hearing	**1.02**	**0.80**
CAUCASIAN		
	Male	**Female**
Leading to Post-Trial Confinement		
Delinquency Petition	0.83	0.67
Found Delinquent	1.00	0.86
Post-Trial Outcomes		
Probation	1.11	1.08
Detention Center	**0.89**	**0.67**
Juvenile – IDOC	0.62	0.50
Alternatives to Moving "Deeper" in the System		
Charges Dropped	**1.43**	**1.63**
Issued a Probation Adjustment	**1.57**	**2.14**
Continued Under Supervision	**1.89**	**2.79**
Related to Pre-Trial Confinement		
Detention Screening	**0.90**	**0.66**
Secure Detention	**1.06**	**1.29**
Non-Secure Detention	0.86	0.86
Released	0.91	0.86
Secure Detention Thru Hearing	**0.99**	**0.75**

Table 33 (cont.)
A Comparison of Disparity Indices by Gender – Cook County

HISPANIC		
	Male	**Female**
Leading to Post-Trial Confinement		
Delinquency Petition	0.91	0.83
Found Delinquent	**1.06**	**0.80**
Post-Trial Outcomes		
Probation	1.03	1.17
Detention Center	1.03	1.00
Juvenile – IDOC	**1.06**	**0.42**
Alternatives to Moving "Deeper" in the System		
Charges Dropped	1.49	1.47
Issued a Probation Adjustment	**1.23**	**1.72**
Continued Under Supervision	**1.13**	**2.67**
Related to Pre-Trial Confinement		
Detention Screening	**0.42**	**0.79**
Secure Detention	**1.16**	**0.83**
Non-Secure Detention	1.02	1.17
Released	0.89	1.00
Secure Detention Thru Hearing	**1.07**	**0.80**

What follows are some notable differences by gender that qualify the results pertaining to Cook County as a whole:

- A number of the disparity indices indicating overrepresentation for African-Americans and/or considerable differences in disparity indices between African-Americans and Caucasians can be more aptly described as applying to male African-Americans, but not female African-Americans. For example, there were considerable differences between male African-Americans and female African-Americans in the following aspects of the juvenile justice system, all of which indicated lower representation for females: (1) being found delinquent, (2) being sentenced to the Juvenile Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections, and (3) being screened for pre-trial detention. Overall, DI's for female African-Americans were almost always, to varying extents, lower than DI's for male African-Americans.

- On the whole, the same pattern emerged when examining differences in DI's between male Caucasians and female Caucasians and differences between male Hispanics and female Hispanics: DI's were lower for females. Overall, when comparing DI's by racial group just for females, DI's for female African-Americans were higher than DI's for female Caucasians and/or female Hispanics.

- For a number of aspects of the juvenile justice system, DI's for female African-Americans approximated DI's for male Caucasians and male Hispanics.

Part Two: Converging Results

Part Two of the report had the same overall goal as Part One: to examine the overall level and extent of disproportionate minority representation at various stages in the Cook County juvenile justice system process. Part Two used different methodological approaches to examine DMR. Part Two used different methodological approaches because Part One relied on an aggregate approach that could potentially mask important details. Overall, results to Part Two of the report corroborated the results of Part One.

There were three components to Part Two of the report. For the most part, data for Part Two of the report was collected from specific police districts in south and southwest Chicago (the 5th, 6th, 8th, and 22nd Districts) and from a specific municipal district of suburban Cook County (the 4th Municipal District, with the largest municipalities in the district being Berwyn, Cicero, and Oak Park).

For Component One, individual-level data was obtained from a sample of court files pertaining to juveniles who were referred to court. The information was used in statistical analyses intended to determine the relative importance of race and other factors in predicting case outcomes.

Results to these analyses directly or indirectly corroborated the following two results described in this document:

- That, overall, juvenile justice system stages occurring after court referral played a smaller role in contributing to disproportionate minority representation and subsequent disproportionate minority confinement.

However,

- The sentencing process may play a role in contributing to disproportionate minority representation as, consistent with Part One, Caucasians were less likely than African-Americans to receive outcomes involving incarceration and more likely to receive a probation sentence.

For Component Two, surveys were distributed to juvenile justice professionals responsible for making decisions at many of the juvenile justice system processing stages shown in Figure 1. The professionals were asked their perceptions of racial biases or issues in the Cook County juvenile justice system. Results indicated several differences in responses by profession.

- Comparisons of survey items by profession yielded several attitudinal differences between law enforcement professionals (patrol officers and juvenile investigators) and two other types of professions (juvenile probation officers and public defenders) such that one or both types of law enforcement professionals were less likely to believe that minority juveniles are treated differently in the juvenile justice system and more likely to attribute negative qualities to minority juveniles (based on survey items asking the extent to which the respondent agrees that minority juveniles are less willing to acknowledge guilt, more likely to have a negative attitude toward authority, and more likely to use drugs).

It is conceivable perceptions and attitudes contribute to disproportionate minority representation at earlier, law enforcement related stages of the juvenile justice system. As such, this result seems to tie in to results of Part One indicating that earlier, law enforcement related decisions play a large role in contributing to subsequent disproportionate minority confinement.

For Component Three, juvenile investigators were asked to complete a short survey after every juvenile interrogation they conducted during a two-week period. As with Component One, a statistical analysis was conducted intended to determine the relative importance of race and other factors in predicting interrogation outcomes.

- The analysis indicated that juvenile attitude/demeanor was the factor that played the largest role in predicting post-interrogation juvenile dispositions.

Survey results from Component Two indicated that some juvenile investigators believed that minority juveniles are more likely to have negative attitudes/demeanors. If perceived or actual juvenile attitude/demeanor is correlated with race, then using attitude/demeanor to make decisions may place minority juveniles at a disadvantage.

Directions for Future Research

Part One and Part Two of this report collectively provide an examination of the level and extent of disproportionate minority representation in Cook County. To know the level and extent of disproportionate minority representation is to understand what is occurring, but not why it is occurring. The next research step may be to examine areas or aspects of the juvenile justice system that seem to be contributing to disproportionate minority representation. This report identifies areas or aspects of the juvenile justice system that may warrant closer exploration:

- Processes for determining which juveniles are taken into custody and arrested.

- Processes for determining which juveniles are referred to court.

- Processes for determining which juveniles are issued probation adjustments and which juveniles have their cases continued under supervision.

- Processes for determining sentences that juveniles receive, in particular for determining which juveniles receive probation as opposed to incarceration.

This report suggests that these aspects of the juvenile justice system may be contributing to disproportionate minority confinement. As such, it may be useful to closely these aspects of the juvenile justice system, including policies and practices that determine how decisions are made.

This is not to suggest that juvenile justice professionals responsible for making decisions related to these aspects are discriminating against minorities. It is to suggest that perhaps processes, policies, and practices related to these aspects are unwittingly placing minority juveniles at a disadvantage.

Appendix A

Cook County Demographic Information

This appendix provides a brief description of Cook County demographics, intended for readers who are unfamiliar with Cook County or who would like additional contextual information that can aid in interpreting Part One and Part Two of the report. For the most part, the demographic description is confined to the years 1996-2001 as, across Part One and Part Two of the report, data was used pertaining to these years (although no data was used directly pertaining to 2000). Part One of the report focused exclusively on 1996-1999. The family folder component (Component One) of Part Two focused on 1998-1999, while the surveys utilized for Component Two and Component Three were collected during 2001.

Cook County

Cook County is located on the eastern border of Illinois, towards the northern part of the state (one Illinois county separates Cook County from Wisconsin, the state immediately north of Illinois). Cook County is one of Illinois' larger counties. Cook County encompasses an area of 945.7 square miles, making it Illinois' 6th largest county.

Cook County also has by far the largest population of any Illinois County. Using 2000 U.S. Census Bureau data as an example, Cook County had an estimated total population of 5,376,741, whereas DuPage County, the second most populous Illinois county, had an estimated total population of 904,161. As a result of this large population relative to other Illinois counties, Cook County is also by far the most densely populated Illinois county. Based on 2000 U.S. Census Bureau data, there were an estimated 5,684 persons per square mile in Cook County.

Cook County has been the most populous and most densely populated Illinois county for a long period of time. Cook County has consistently been the most populous and densely populated Illinois county primarily because the City of Chicago is located in Cook County. As a major urban metropolitan area, Chicago plays a large role in determining the Cook County economy and, related to this, where individuals locate themselves within Cook County.

Even though Chicago plays a large role in dictating overall Cook County demographics, there are still distinct differences in Chicago demographics and demographics for the remainder of Cook County (labeled suburban Cook County throughout the remainder of Appendix A). Thus, an attempt is made, for the basic demographic data reported below, to distinguish between Cook County as a whole and Chicago (although data for Chicago was not always available). This enables the reader to see the percentage of the Cook County total accounted for by Chicago.

The following four sections briefly describe, for Chicago, Cook County as a whole, and Illinois as a whole: (1) the juvenile population, (2) racial demographics, (3) economic demographics, and (4) basic crime levels. This demographic data shows that, relative to Illinois as a whole, Cook County is more racially disparate, has a larger percentage of indigent individuals, and experiences more crime.

Similarly, when data on Chicago is available, it is possible to examine the percentage of the Cook County total attributed specifically to Chicago. The remaining percentage not attributed to Chicago can be attributed to suburban Cook County. Comparisons between Chicago and Cook County as a whole show that, relative to suburban Cook County, Chicago is more racially disparate, has a larger percentage of indigent individuals, and experiences more crime.

Juvenile Population

Table A-1 shows the size of the juvenile population (ages 10-16) from 1996-2000 for Chicago, Cook County as a whole, and Illinois as a whole. Table A-1 also shows the percentage of the total population for that year accounted for by juveniles ages 10-16. For example, the percentage for Cook County for 1996 represents the percent of the total 1996 Cook County population who were 10-16.

The ages 10-16 were selected because, in Illinois, an individual must be 10 years old in order to be detained in a secure facility (and, hence, contribute to disproportionate minority confinement) and, after the age of 16, an individual is no longer considered a juvenile. 17 year olds who are arrested for criminal offenses have their cases processed in adult criminal court.

Table A-1
Juvenile Populations Ages 10-16, 1996-2000

Year	Chicago	Cook County	Illinois
1996	249,413 (8.9%)[a]	494,974 (9.5%)	1,199,355 (10.0%)
1997	247,192 (8.8%)	493,806 (9.5%)	1,202,435 (10.0%)
1998	246,661 (8.8%)	493,307 (9.5%)	1,204,448 (10.0%)
1999	247,972 (8.9%)	494,031 (9.5%)	1,208,336 (10.0%)
2000	277,614 (9.6%)	527,450 (9.8%)	1,258,314 (10.1%)

a: Percentages reflect the percentage of the total Chicago, Cook County, or Illinois population for that year who are 10-16.

Population by Race and Ethnicity

Table A-2 shows estimated overall 2000 populations for Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois by race and ethnicity, using U.S. Census Bureau data. These estimates provide an indication of the percentage of Cook County juveniles in various racial and ethnic groups,

as percentages in the overall population tend to mirror percentages for specific age groups.

In order to understand the populations shown in Table A-2, it helps to understand how the U.S. Census Bureau classifies race and ethnicity. The U.S. Census Bureau treats race and ethnicity as separate categories. The U.S. Census Bureau race categories are White, African-American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Ethnicity categories are Hispanic vs. non-Hispanic. Thus, according to this system, one could be classified as, for example, a White Hispanic or a Black non-Hispanic.

Although the U.S. Census Bureau classification scheme makes it possible for one to be White and Hispanic, or African-American and Hispanic, when individuals or agencies make classifications by race/ethnicity, they tend to use distinct non-overlapping categories. Individuals are genderally classified as White or African-American or Hispanic. These categories are based largely on physical cues, such as skin color.

In general, those who are commonly considered to be "White" by individuals or agencies are classified into the "Non-Hispanic White" U.S. Census Bureau category. Those who are commonly considered to be "African-American" by individuals or agencies are classified into the "Non-Hispanic African-American" or "Hispanic African-American" U.S. Census Bureau categories. Those who are commonly considered to be "Hispanic" by individuals or agencies are classified into the "Hispanic White" U.S. Census Bureau category. The U.S. Census Bureau categories that coincide with common societal perceptions of "White", "African-American", and "Hispanic", are listed in bold in Table A-2.

Table A-2
Overall 2000 Populations by Race and Ethnicity

Racial/Ethnic Category	Chicago	Cook County	Illinois
Non-Hispanic:	2,142,372 (74.0%)[a]	4,305,001 (80.1%)	10,889,031 (87.7%)
White[b]	**907,166 (31.3%)**	**2,558,709 (47.6%)**	**8,424,140 (67.8%)**
African-American	**1,053,739 (36.4%)**	**1,390,448 (25.9%)**	**1,856,152 (14.9%)**
American Indian/Alaska Native	4,253 (0.1%)	6,754 (0.1%)	18,232 (0.1%)
Asian	124,437 (4.3%)	257,843 (4.8%)	419,916 (3.4%)
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	972 (0.03%)	1,543 (0.03%)	3,116 (0.03%)
Other Race	4,331 (0.1%)	7,291 (0.1%)	13,479 (0.1%)
Two or More Races	47,474 (1.6%)	82,413 (1.5%)	153,996 (1.2%)
Hispanic:	753,644 (26.0%)	1,071,740 (19.9%)	1,530,262 (12.3%)
White	**308,149 (10.6%)**	**467,051 (8.7%)**	**701,331 (5.6%)**
African-American	**11,270 (0.4%)**	**14,913 (0.3%)**	**20,723 (0.2%)**
American Indian/Alaska Native	6,037 (0.2%)	8,742 (0.2%)	12,774 (0.1%)
Asian	1,537 (0.1%)	2,327 (0.04%)	3,687 (0.03%)
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	816 (0.03%)	1,018 (0.02%)	1,494 (0.01%)
Other Race	388,872 (13.4%)	523,879 (9.7%)	709,223 (5.7%)
Two or More Races	36,963 (1.3%)	53,810 (1.0%)	81,020 (0.7%)
TOTAL	2,896,016	5,376,741	12,419,293

a: Percentages reflect the percentage of the total Chicago, Cook County, or Illinois population who are classified in the racial/ethnic category.

b: Racial groups listed in bold reflect categories that are commonly identified as White (Non-Hispanic White), African-American (Non-Hispanic African-American and Hispanic African-American), and Hispanic (Hispanic White).

Table A-2 shows that there are large African-American and Hispanic populations in Cook County and that, of the total 2000 Cook County African-American and Hispanic populations, a notable majority resided in Chicago. For example, of the 1,390,448 Non-Hispanic African-Americans in Cook County, 1,053,079 resided in Chicago (75.7%). On the whole, Chicago has larger minority populations than suburban Cook County.

In addition, Cook County accounts for a notable majority of the overall minority population in Illinois. For example, of the 1,856,152 Non-Hispanic African-Americans in Illinois, 1,390,448 reside in Cook County (74.9%).

Economy

Economic information plays a large role in defining the nature and character of a county. One basic economic indicator is the extent to which the population lives in poverty. Because Chicago is a major metropolitan area, Cook County is home to a large white-collar middle class population. However, the three tables below show that Cook County (and, when data was available, Chicago) also tends to have a sizable number of indigent individuals.

Table A-3 shows the number and percentage of minors ages 0-17 living in poverty (data was not available specifically for the age group 10-16) in Cook County and Illinois. Table A-4 shows the number of unemployed individuals and the percentage of the workforce that is unemployed in Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois. Table A-5 shows the number of individuals ages 0-19 living in families receiving public assistance (again, data was not available specifically for the age group 10-16).

Table A-3
Number and Percentage of Minors Ages 0-17 Living in Poverty

Year	Cook County	Illinois
1997	311,294 (22.7%)	564,675 (17.5%)
1998	273,245 (20.0%)	498,804 (15.4%)
1999	258,210 (18.7%)	480,853 (15.0%)

Table A-3 shows that, relative to Illinois as a whole, a larger percentage of the population of minors ages 0-17 in Cook County were living in poverty. On average, across the three years from 1996-2001 for which data was available, Cook County accounted for approximately 55% of the minors ages 0-17 living in poverty in Illinois.

Table A-4
Total Number of Unemployed Individuals,
and Percentage of Workforce Unemployed

Year	Chicago	Cook County	Illinois
1996	87,612 (7%)	146,092 (6%)	325,734 (5%)
1997	78,977 (6%)	132,114 (5%)	291,921 (5%)
1998	74,434 (6%)	125,818 (5%)	278,172 (4%)
1999	72,695 (5%)	122,645 (5%)	273,630 (4%)
2000	72,696 (5%)	125,430 (5%)	279,439 (4%)
2001	72,697 (5%)	157,274 (6%)	342,573 (5%)

Table A-4 shows that the percentage of the total workforce in Chicago and Cook County who are unemployed tended to be 1% or 2% higher than the percentage in Illinois as a whole. On average, from 1996-2001, Cook County accounted for approximately 45% of those unemployed in Illinois.

Table A-5
Total Number of Individuals Ages 0-19 Living in Families
Receiving Public Assistance

Year	Cook County	Illinois
1996	310,445 (22.0%)	467,988 (14.1%)
1997	267,008 (18.8%)	396,221 (11.8%)
1998	233,402 (16.5%)	337,421 (10.1%)
1999	183,093 (12.9%)	248,178 (7.4%)
2000	146,563 (10.4%)	191,001 (5.7%)
2001	110,233 (7.8%)	143,296 (4.3%)

Table A-5 shows that, relative to Illinois as a whole, a larger percentage of individuals ages 0-19 in Cook County were living in families receiving public assistance. From 1996 to 2001, the percentage of individuals ages 0-19 living in poverty in Illinois accounted for by Cook County tended to increase, from 66.3% in 1996 to 76.9% in 2001.

Crime

Crime levels in Cook County tend to be higher than those in other Illinois counties. Table A-6 shows the total number of arrests, across all ages, for violent index and property index offenses in Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois as a whole from 1996-2001. See Table 6 on page 26 for a list of violent index and property index offenses.

Table A-6
Number of Arrests for Violent Index and Property Index Offenses

Year	Chicago		Cook County		Illinois	
	Violent	Property	Violent		Violent	Property
1996	12,685	46,638	16,591	65,231	31,967	108,938
1997	11,244	45,148	15,144	64,792	30,618	107,453
1998	10,176	34,793	14,222	53,007	29,413	94,283
1999	11,291	41,094	14,997	59,045	29,091	97,509
2000	10,001	39,933	13,373	59,956	27,264	94,672
2001	10,386	37,864	13,732	55,441	26,919	92,666

Table A-6 shows that a significant majority of the violent index and property index arrests in Cook County occurred in Chicago. Approximately 75% of Cook County violent index arrests and 70% of Cook County property index arrests from 1996-2001 occurred in Chicago. In addition, a significant percentage of the violent index and property index arrests in Illinois occurred in Cook County. Approximately 50% of Illinois violent index arrests and 60% of Illinois property index arrests occurred in Cook County.

Appendix B

Data Analyzed for the Assessment of Disproportionate Minority Representation in Cook County's Juvenile Justice System[26]

Table B-1
Cases Analyzed by Race at Decision Points in Simplified Juvenile Justice System Flow and Disparity Indices

	Number of Cases			Disparity Index		
	African-American	Hispanic		African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Arrest (1999)						
Cook County	13,827	2,600	5,315	1.91 (RI)	0.56 (RI)	0.61 (RI)
Chicago	10,800	2,105	775	1.71 (RI)	0.49 (RI)	0.31 (RI)
Suburban Cook	3,027	495	4,540	1.84 (RI)	0.55 (RI)	0.89 (RI)
Court Referral (1999)						
Cook County	8,322	1,588	1,147	1.18	1.19	0.42
Chicago	7,114	1,278	409	1.01	0.94	0.82
Suburban Cook	1,208	310	738	1.41	2.22	0.57
Court Referral[27]						
Cook County	57,083	13,180	11,101	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chicago	46,239	10,376	3,505	N/A	N/A	N/A
Suburban Cook	8,962	2,398	6,875	N/A	N/A	N/A
Delinquency Petitions						
Cook County	40,587	7,754	5,872	1.07	0.88	0.80
Chicago	34,671	6,387	2,116	1.05	0.86	0.84
Suburban Cook	5,916	1,367	3,710	1.07	0.93	0.87
Findings of Delinquency						
Cook County	19,353	3,749	2,659	1.02	1.04	0.97
Chicago	17,045	3,084	965	1.01	0.99	0.94
Suburban Cook	1,873	591	1,591	0.91	1.24	1.24
Probation						
Cook County	14,478	2,984	2,267	0.98	1.03	1.11
Chicago	12,684	2,425	787	0.99	1.04	1.09
Suburban Cook	1,482	506	1,401	0.95	1.03	1.06
JTDC Commitments						
Cook County	1,798	350	211	1.02	1.02	0.86
Chicago	1,702	318	96	1.00	1.03	1.00
Suburban Cook	65	29	97	0.74	1.04	1.29
IDOC Commitments						
Cook County	2,776	512	218	1.06	1.01	0.61
Chicago	2,475	452	106	1.01	1.02	0.78
Suburban Cook	222	45	102	1.31	0.85	0.71

[26] Unless otherwise noted, data analyzed for this assessment was on youth in the juvenile justice system during the years 1996-1999.
[27] Court referral data for 1996-1999 were only used as the denominator in the calculation of disparity indices for the delinquency petition filed stage.

Table B-2
Cases Analyzed by Race at Decision Points Impacting Pre-Trial Detention and Disparity Indices

	Number of Cases			Disparity Index		
	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Secure Detention						
Cook County	15,573	2,773	1,177	0.98	1.03	1.18
Chicago	13,843	2,346	574	1.00	1.03	0.97
Suburban Cook	1,730	427	603	0.97	1.04	1.28
Non-Secure Detention						
Cook County	11,055	1,901	603	1.00	1.03	0.86
Chicago	10,554	1,776	462	1.00	1.03	1.03
Suburban Cook	501	125	141	1.01	1.10	1.08
Release at Screening						
Cook County	9,904	1,467	547	1.02	0.90	0.88
Chicago	9,377	1,388	415	1.01	0.92	1.06
Suburban Cook	527	79	132	1.10	0.72	0.87
Override Up						
Cook County	484	81	76	0.91	0.91	2.83
Chicago	403	69	36	0.95	0.97	2.19
Suburban Cook	81	12	40	0.87	0.64	1.71
Override Down						
Cook County	325	81	24	0.94	1.32	0.96
Chicago	300	66	21	0.94	1.21	1.64
Suburban Cook	25	15	3	0.94	2.36	0.33
Detained at Detention Hearing						
Cook County	10,332	1,767	740	1.00	0.97	1.07
Chicago	9,246	1,532	377	1.00	0.99	0.97
Suburban Cook	1,086	235	363	1.02	0.90	1.03

Table B-3
Cases Analyzed by Race at Decision Points Offering an Exit from Formal Processing and Disparity Indices

	Number of Cases			Disparity Index		
	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Station Adjustment						
Cook County	No data	No data	No data	No Data	No Data	No Data
Chicago	No data	No data	No data	No Data	No Data	No Data
Suburban Cook	2,207	263	2,895	1.11	0.82	0.98
Probation Adjustments						
Cook County	5,286	1,874	2,041	0.82	1.26	1.64
Chicago	4,329	1,401	522	0.69	1.26	1.42
Suburban Cook	957	473	1,519	0.90	1.29	1.44
Charges Dropped						
Cook County	7.712	2,851	2,152	0.86	1.38	1.24
Chicago	6,137	2,405	799	0.85	1.47	1.46
Suburban Cook	1,575	446	1,353	0.98	1.03	1.10
Continued Under Supervision						
Cook County	2,490	778	903	0.80	1.30	1.99
Chicago	1,780	605	277	0.83	1.53	2.13
Suburban Cook	669	163	606	0.90	0.95	1.30

Table B-4
Cases Analyzed by Race at Automatic Transfer and Representation Indices

	Number of Cases			Representation Index		
	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasian
Automatic Transfers						
Cook County	1,312	177	40	2.58	0.55	0.07
Chicago	1,246	157	33	1.87	0.35	0.13
Suburban Cook	66	20	6	3.51	1.94	0.10