Juvenile detention in Cook County and the feasibility of alternatives

by

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Introduction

In August, 1991, the Judicial Advisory Council of Cook County, Illinois entered into an agreement with the National Center for Juvenile Justice (NCJJ) of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to investigate the utilization of juvenile detention in Cook County and make recommendations for program and policy changes. The tasks of the NCJJ investigation included:

- collect admission and release data for a large sample of juveniles recently detained in the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center,
- assess the demand for available bed space in the Detention Center,
- project the potential size of the detention population if new alternatives to detention were implemented,
- identify the types of detained juveniles who could be referred to detention alternatives,
- recommend the administrative configuration necessary to support the use of alternative programs,
- estimate the costs involved in implementing alternatives to secure detention.

Background of the Study

The number of juveniles held in the Cook County juvenile detention center has increased dramatically during the past several years. The center was designed to hold no more than 498 juveniles at a time. Between 1988 and 1989, the average daily population in the center increased from 348 to 408 (Table 1).[1] By 1990, the detention center population averaged 449, and in 1991 the average reached 523.[2]

On many days, the actual number of juveniles being held in the detention center far exceeded the average. On August 9, 1991, the detention center staff was coping with a population of 604 juveniles -- more than 100 over design capacity.[3]

Table 1. Average daily population 1988-1991: Cook County Juvenile Detention Center.

	1988	1989	1990	1991
Average Population	348	408	449	523

The extent of this crowding led to a significant policy change in the operation of the detention center. As of August 9, 1991, all candidates for detention (whether referred by police or other sources) were to be screened for admission by Pretrial Services. In an order signed by Judge Harry Comerford of the Circuit Court of Cook County, Pretrial Services was authorized to accept or reject juveniles referred for detention.[4] The Circuit Court order explicitly stated that "[n]o minor may be admitted to a detention center and thereby detained without the written authorization of a designated pretrial services officer."

The implementation of screenings by Pretrial Services was a dramatic step, made necessary by what seemed to be unprecedented growth in the demand for detention. The need to control access to detention, however, had been faced before in Cook County. In fact, according to the 1988 & 1989 annual report of the detention center, the intake unit was established more than 50 years ago "to avoid and deter abuses in the use of the Detention Center."[5]

The impact of the screenings by Pretrial Services was immediately perceptible. In the first 13 days of screenings, 302 juveniles appeared at intake. Of these, 182 were accepted for detention and 120 were rejected.[6] Between August 9 and August 21, the population of the detention center fell from 604 to 543 juveniles, a decline of 10 percent. In the months that followed, this analysis will show that the screenings were responsible for reducing the rate of intake admissions by an estimated 40 percent. Furthermore, it is estimated that if screenings had not been initiated on August 8, the total population of the detention center could have eventually reached 755 juveniles.

Source of data

The following analysis is based on data collected from the detention intake unit and the Juvenile Temporary Detention Center of Cook County. The Temporary Detention Center (or TDC) is the primary juvenile detention facility serving Cook County and the Chicago area. Currently, there is no source of case-level data about the use of the detention facility other than the paper records maintained by the staff. To understand the demand for, and use of secure juvenile detention in Cook County, it was necessary to collect information from the records at the TDC and enter it manually into an analyzable data file.

Data were obtained from two sources: 1) the facility's intake log, referred to by staff as "the board"; and 2) the "release sheets" filled out daily for all juveniles released from the TDC. The intake log is similar to a non-computerized spread sheet, maintained entirely on paper but recording essential data about all juvenile admissions into the intake unit. For all juveniles admitted to intake, there is an entry in the log that includes their name, age, sex, race, address, offenses, prior admissions to intake, date of admission, date of the next court hearing, and the date they left intake. About half of the juveniles admitted to intake are released directly from intake and are never formally placed in the TDC. The remainder are held in intake for one or two days, then moved to the TDC.

Once admitted to the TDC, juveniles stay for varying periods. Detention stays of 10 to 30 days are the most common; although some juveniles stay several months or more. The facility staff prepare daily release sheets which indicate the names, addresses, dates of admission and dates of release for all juveniles leaving the TDC each day. These sheets are carefully maintained and filed, but the information they contain has never been entered into a database for analysis. Moreover, because the intake log and the release sheets are separate paper systems, it has not been possible (before this study) to connect the two sources of data and create a complete database on the utilization of juvenile detention and intake in Cook County.

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A team of researchers from NCJJ (see Appendix I) collected information about all juveniles admitted to intake from June 17 through September 30, 1991. This 15-week time period was selected for several reasons. First, it was essential that the study be based on data from an "admission cohort" (i.e., all juveniles admitted during a certain time period.) Cross-sectional (or "snap shot") analysis was rejected since it distorts the characteristics of the juveniles typically admitted to a detention facility by over-sampling those with long stays. The remaining alternative -- to collect data on a release cohort -- was also rejected,

primarily because analyses of release cohorts are more difficult to interpret and apply in a policymaking or management arena. Also important, however, was that the implementation of admission screenings on August 8 fundamentally changed the detention process in Cook County. It was essential that the study distinguish between admissions before and after August 8. Thus, the natural focus of the study is admissions, not releases.

There were 3,050 intake admissions during the study period: June 17 to September 30, 1991.

In order to analyze the overall utilization of detention, it was also necessary to collect actual release dates for as many juveniles as possible. Most detained juveniles stay fewer than 90 days in the TDC. Thus, a follow-up period of 90 days was expected to include nearly all of the releases for the admission cohort. In order to have all data available by December 31, the admission cohort ended on September 30. Releases were tracked through December 31. The beginning date of the admission cohort was chosen to be June 17 because this provided an equal number days (53) both before and after August 8, 1991.

The resulting 106-day admission cohort was tracked until December 31, 1991. By then, 95 percent of all admitted youths were released. For those juveniles not released as of December 31, the analysis estimates length of stay based upon recent patterns of detention among youths who also exceeded 90 days in the TDC (explained below).

Description of Detention Admissions

There were 3,050 intake admissions during the study period: June 17 to September 30, 1991 (Table 2).[7] The number and rate of intake admissions decreased after the initiation of screenings on August 8. In the 53 days prior to screenings, 1,957 juveniles were admitted to intake, representing a rate of 37 admissions per day. Just 1,093 were admitted in the first 53 days after screenings began (i.e., between August 9 and September 30). This represents a rate of 21 admissions per day, a decline of more than 40 percent.

Table 2. Characteristics of admissions to intake before and after August 9, 1991.

	Admission Cohort: June 17 to August 8		August 9 to Sept 30		Total	
	n	Pct.	n	Pct.	n	Pct.
Gender						
Female	163	8%	94	9%	257	8%
Male	1794	92%	999	91%	2793	92%
Ethnicity						
Black	1546	79%	841	77%	2387	78%
Hispanic	163	8%	110	10%	273	9%
White/Other	248	13%	142	13%	390	13%
Age at admission						
Under 14	240	12%	111	10%	351	12%
14	350	18%	182	17%	532	17%
15	561	29%	300	27%	861	28%
16	699	36%	386	36%	1087	36%
Over 16	103	5%	110	10%	213	7%
Source of referral						
Police	1488	76%	679	62%	2167	71%
Juvenile Court	454	23%	390	36%	844	28%
Criminal Court	12	1%	20	2%	32	1%
Other	2	0%	3	0%	5	0%
Prior Admissions to Intake						
None	778	40%	305	28%	1083	35%
One	366	19%	207	19%	573	19%
Two	252	13%	166	15%	418	14%
Over two	562	29%	415	38%	977	32%
Disposition from Intake						
TDC	846	43%	595	55%	1441	47%
Family or self	992	51%	413	38%	1405	46%
Police or other agency	112	6%	81	7%	193	6%
Total	**1957**	**100%**	**1093**	**100%**	**3050**	**100%**

NOTE: Totals may vary due to missing data. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Age, sex, race. Approximately 90 percent of the admitted juveniles were male. Nearly 80 percent were black or African-American youths, while 9 percent were of Hispanic, or Latino origin. Over 40 percent of all admissions involved youths who were at least 16 years of age, although 12

percent were under the age of 14. The youths in the second admission cohort, those admitted after August 8, were slightly older than those in the first cohort. Forty-six percent of the admissions in the second cohort involved juveniles age 16 or older, compared to 41 percent of the admissions on or before August 8.

Source of referral. Youths admitted after the implementation of intake screenings were less likely to have been referred to detention by law enforcement than those admitted prior to screenings (62% compared to 76%). Whereas 23 percent of the admissions in the pre-screening cohort were referred to detention by the Court, 36 percent of those detained after August 8 were referred by the Court.

Prior detention admissions. Admissions after the initiation of screenings were more likely to involve juveniles who had been detained previously. Before the screenings began, 42 percent of the juveniles admitted to intake had been detained on two or more prior occasions; 29 percent were admitted 3 or more times before. Among juveniles admitted in the post-screening cohort, 53 percent had been admitted at least twice before; 38 percent had been admitted 3 or more times.

Disposition from intake. Of the 3,050 admissions to intake during the study period, 1,441 (47%) were transferred to the TDC. An equal number (1,405 or 46%) were released to their family or to their own supervision, while 193 (6%) were released to the custody of the police or some other agency (e.g., the Illinois Department of Children & Family Services, the Department of Corrections, etc.). (Disposition was not recorded for 11 admissions). The proportion of intake admissions that were transferred to the TDC increased somewhat after the beginning of screenings by Pretrial Services. Before screenings, 43 percent of all intakes were admitted to the TDC. After screenings began, 55 percent were admitted to the TDC.

Offenses. The fact that admissions after August 8 involved juveniles who were older, more likely to have been detained before, and more likely to be admitted to the TDC suggests that the screening procedures were effective in preventing the detention of youths with less serious behavior. This conclusion is supported by an analysis of the most serious offenses of youths admitted to the intake unit.

Individual youths were often charged with more than one offense

when admitted to the intake unit. The NCJJ research team recorded all known offenses for each detained youth in both admission cohorts. For most cases, this information was available in the intake log. If information was known to be missing (i.e., when no offenses were listed, or when the intake log recorded a petition number for which no offenses were indicated), a supplemental search of the automated information system operated by the Clerk of the Courts was conducted to ascertain the offense(s) associated with each admission.

Once all offenses were known, they were sorted by severity and the most serious of the offenses was identified by computer analysis. In other words, an admission that involved a charge of robbery and a charge of theft would be coded as an admission for robbery; an admission for auto theft and joyriding would be coded as a case of auto theft. (A complete list of the most serious offenses in both admission cohorts is available in Appendix II). Admissions for violations of court orders and violations of probation were treated as severe offenses because detention facilities typically have little discretion over whether or not to admit such youths. Thus, an admission that involved one charge of assault and a violation of probation was considered to be an admission for violation of probation.

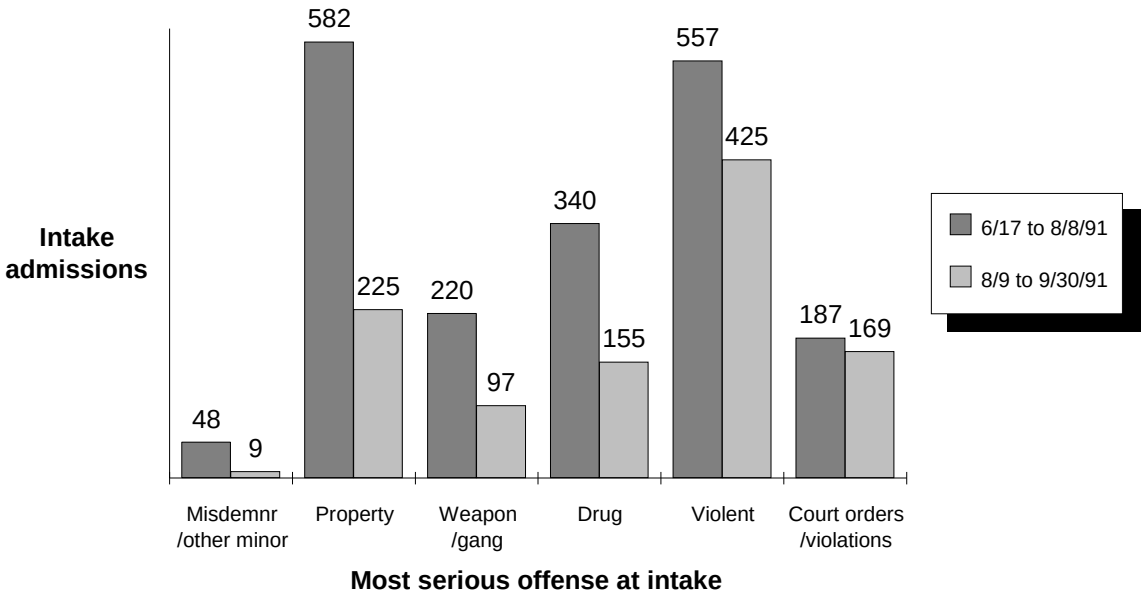
There were several large categories of admission offenses. For example, 391 admissions (or 13% of the entire cohort) involved a most serious charge of possession of controlled substances. Possession of controlled substances was the single most frequent offense among admissions to intake during the study period. The next most common offense was unlawful use of a weapon, which was the most serious offense for 298 (or 10%) of all admissions. Other frequent offenses were aggravated battery (263, or 9%), burglary (228, or 8%), possession of a stolen automobile (227, or 7%), violation of a court order (225, or 7%), battery (147, or 5%), aggravated assault (146, or 5%), and armed robbery (116, or 4%). Together, these eight offenses accounted for 2,041 admissions, or 67 percent of all admissions during the 15-week study period. (Information about offenses was missing or incomplete for 22 juveniles: 14 before screenings began, and 8 post-screenings.)

For ease of comparison, the long list of admission offenses shown in Appendix II was divided into 6 types of offenses: 1) misdemeanors and

other "minor" offenses; 2) property offenses; 3) weapon, or gang-related offenses (e.g., "gang recruitment" or "mob action"; 4) drug offenses (except for minor possession charges); 5) violent offenses; and 6) violations of court orders and violations of probation/supervision.

The impact of the screening procedures implemented by Pretrial Services can be seen by comparing the number of admissions in each cohort within these six offense types. Figure 1 demonstrates that while intake admissions decreased overall after August 8, the change was less dramatic for admissions involving violent offenses and violations. For example, in the 7½ weeks preceding screenings, there were 557 admissions to intake for violent offenses. After screenings began, there were 425 admissions for violent offenses. This represents a decrease of 24 percent. Likewise, admissions for violations of court orders or probation supervision decreased from 187 to 169 after August 8, a decline of just 10 percent.

Figure 1. Most serious offense at intake by admission cohort.



On the other hand, before screenings began on August 8, there were 48 juveniles admitted to intake whose most serious charge was a misdemeanor or other "minor" offense. In the same length of time following the initiation of screenings, there were only 9 such juveniles admitted -- a decrease of 81 percent. Similarly, before screenings began there were 582 juveniles admitted with a property offense as their most serious charge, compared to just 225 after screenings. Thus, admissions for property offenses were reduced by 61 percent.

The effect of screenings on admissions to intake is further illustrated by combining the 6 offense categories into 3 categories as depicted in Figure 2. Admissions of youths charged with violent offenses, violations of court orders and violations of probation began to represent a larger proportion of intake admissions after August 8, 1991. Before screenings were implemented, these offenses accounted for between 35 and 40 percent of the weekly admissions to intake. Juveniles charged with property offenses or misdemeanors usually made up another 30 percent of each week's admissions, while youths charged with drug and weapon offenses accounted for between 25 and 35 percent. After the initiation of screenings, juveniles charged with violent offenses or violations soon began to represent more than half of all intake admissions, while those charged with other offenses made up a smaller proportion of admissions than before screenings.

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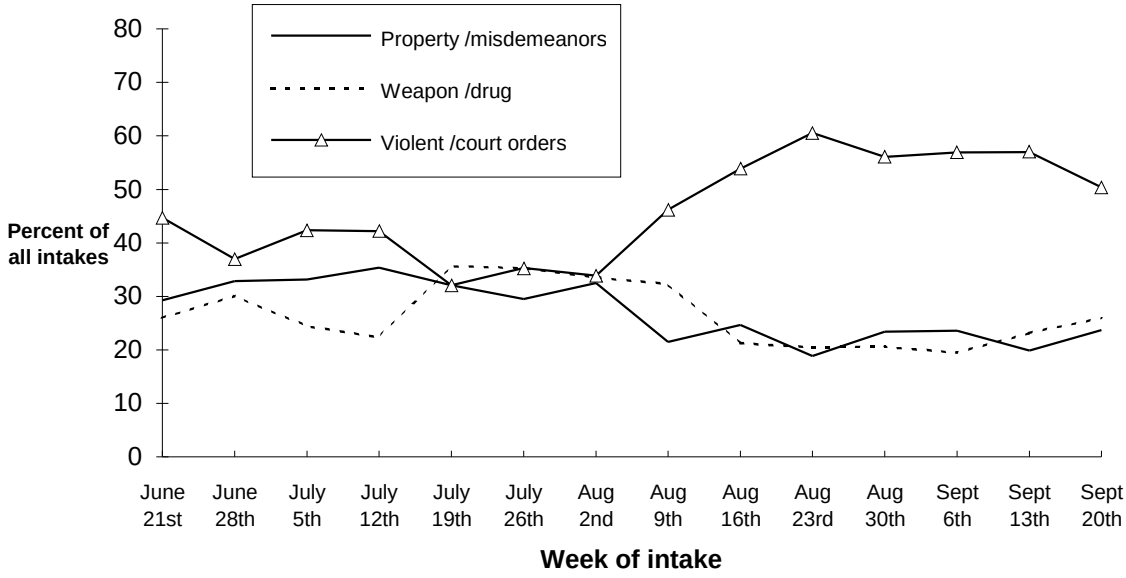
Figure 2. Intake admissions by week, by most serious offense.



Estimating length of stay

The total length of each juvenile's stay in detention is composed of the time spent in the intake unit (usually no more than 2 or 3 days), and the time spent in the TDC itself. The admission cohort for this study consisted of all juveniles admitted to intake between June 17 and September 30, 1991. Release data were collected through December 31, 1991. By that date, nearly all of the juveniles in the admission cohort had been released, either directly from the intake unit or from the TDC.

However, just over five percent of the cohort (or 158 youths) had not been released by December 31. Their lengths of stay had to be at least 92 days by definition (i.e., the last possible admission date of September 30 through December 31), but many undoubtedly had stays far longer than 92 days.

In order to include the non-released cases in the analysis, their lengths of stay were estimated based upon the recent detention stays of other juveniles who exceeded 90 days in detention. Admission and releases dates were collected separately for all juveniles who were in the TDC for more than 3 months before being released between May 1 and December 17, 1991. The lengths of stay among these juveniles were used

to estimate how long youths in the study cohort would likely remain in detention if they had not been released by December 31, 1991.

Youths who were automatic transfers (i.e., to criminal court) were expected to have the longest stays in detention. Therefore, two different averages were used: an average length of stay was calculated for automatic transfers who exceeded 90 days in detention (average stay = 228 days); and an average was calculated for youths who were not automatic transfers but also stayed over 90 days (average stay = 161 days). Of the 158 non-released juveniles in the study cohort, 44 were known to be automatic transfers and were assigned the longer average.

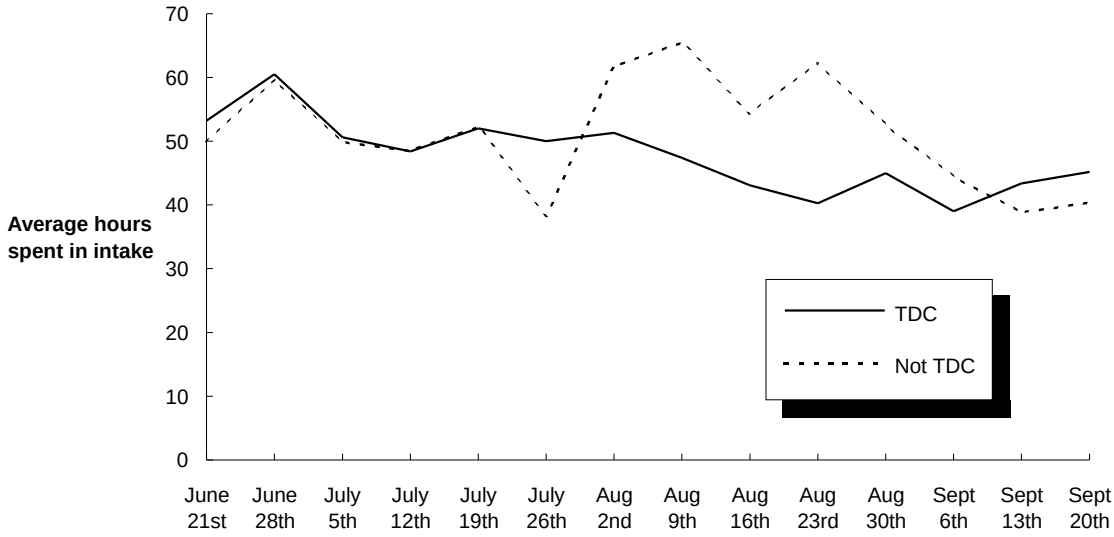
Length of stay

The juveniles admitted to intake between June 17 and September 30 spent an average of 49 hours in the intake unit before being released or transferred to the TDC. Time spent in intake varied slightly according to whether the juvenile was eventually admitted to the TDC. Youths who were released from intake spent an average of 51 hours in intake prior to release. Youths who were transferred to the TDC, on the other hand, spent 47 hours in intake.

Average time in intake declined slightly with the onset of screenings by Pretrial Services. After August 8, the average stay in intake fell from 49 to 47 hours. The initiation of screenings had no effect on the length of stay in intake among those youths released from intake. Both before and after August 8, juveniles released from the intake unit spent an average of 51 hours there. Juveniles who were admitted to the TDC, however, spent slightly less time in intake after screenings began on August 8. Before screenings, youths admitted to the TDC spent an average of 50 hours in intake. After screenings started, their average stay in intake was 44 hours.

Figure 3 portrays the slight decline in intake lengths of stay for TDC cases. Figure 3 also indicates that the difference in intake length of stay for TDC and non-TDC cases may have been a temporary response to the implementation of screenings. The average stay in intake by non-TDC cases increased at first, but by the end of the admission cohort it had returned to its pre-screening level.

Figure 3. Average hours spent in intake by week of admission, by whether admitted to TDC.



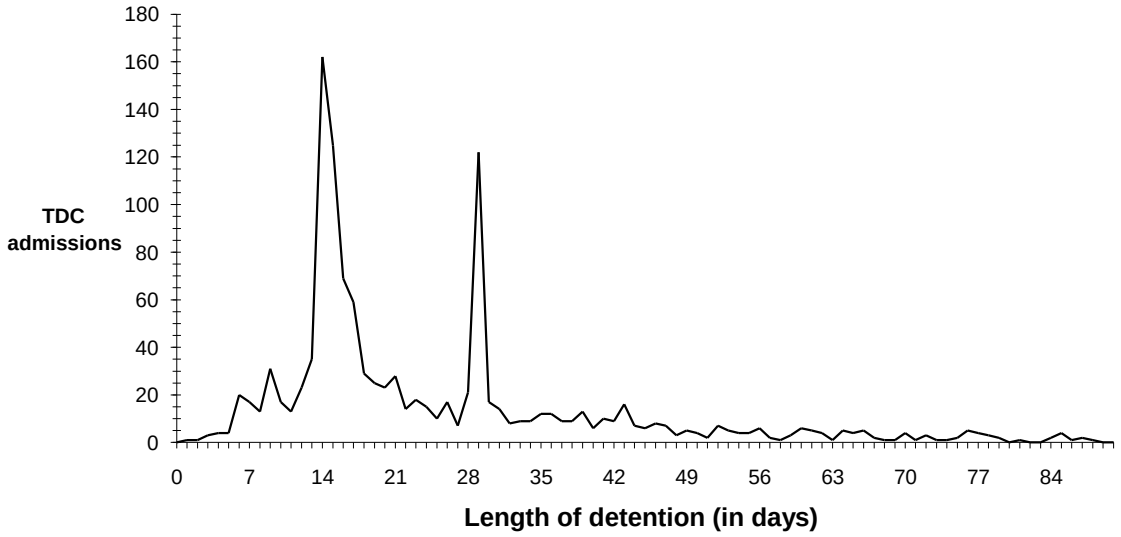
Of course, the total length of detention among the study cohort was considerably longer. For all cases admitted between June 17 and September 30, the average time spent in detained status (both intake and the TDC) was 22.8 days. Length of detention changed with the onset of screenings. Before August 8, the average total time in detention was 20.4 days; after August 8 the average total stay increased to 27 days.

Of those juveniles admitted to the TDC (1,441 of 3,050, or 47%), their average stay in the TDC (excluding time spent in intake) was 44 days. Length of stay in the TDC also increased with the beginning of screenings -- from 42 to 46 days.

Length of detention changed with the onset of screenings. Before August 8, the average total time in detention was 20 days; after August 8 the average total stay increased to 27 days.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of length of stay in detention among the 1,441 juveniles admitted to the TDC. The obvious peaks in the distribution indicate that most juveniles admitted to the TDC were released within 4 to 6 weeks, although a few cases had stays which were far longer. Also, a large proportion of TDC admissions had lengths of stay of approximately 14 days, while another large group stayed about 30 days. This pattern held regardless of whether a juvenile was admitted before or after the onset of screenings.

Figure 4. TDC admissions between June 17 and September 30, 1991, by length of detention (stays over 90 days not shown).

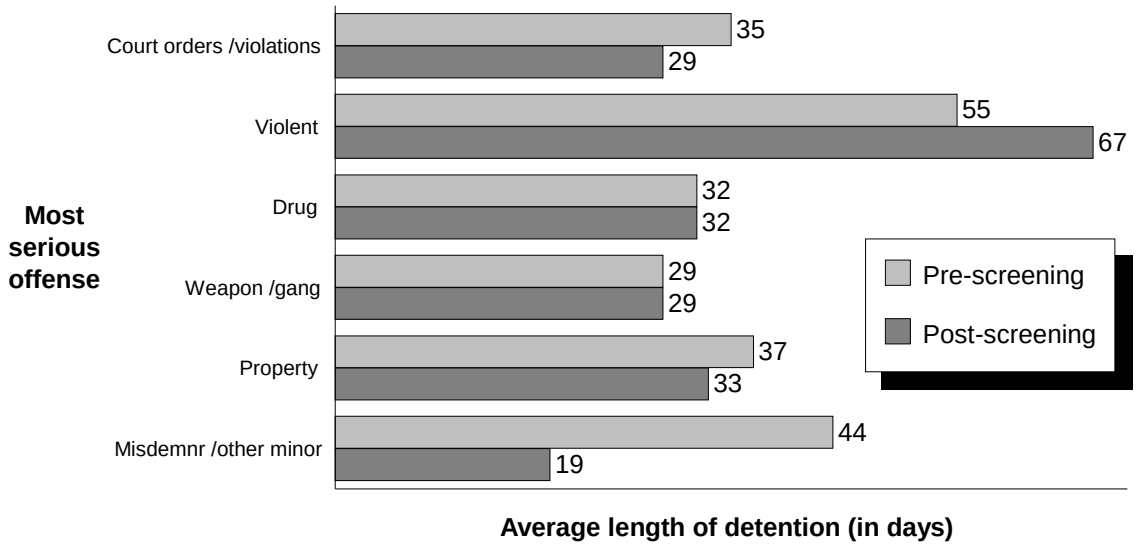


The peculiar distribution in Figure 4 is most likely an artifact of statutory requirements and administrative practices. Specifically, Illinois statutes require that an adjudicatory hearing be held within 10 days of a juvenile's detention (although the State's Attorney may request a delay of a few days). This would be consistent with a large number of TDC cases being released on or near the 14th day of detention. A considerable number of the cases that were released on the 30th day of detention were juveniles placed in detention as part of a disposition, or commitment order. These juveniles were ordered to detention for 30 days

and released after the order had been completed. Once a juvenile passed the 30th day of detention, the timing of his or her release was relatively random.

Among those juveniles admitted to the TDC, length of detention varied somewhat by the most serious offense associated with the case. The primary difference was that juveniles charged with violent offenses stayed in the TDC considerably longer than other juveniles. Before screenings began, violent offense cases stayed in the TDC for an average of 55 days, while most other cases remained in detention for 30 to 40 days (figure 5). After the initiation of screenings on August 8, the average length of stay in the TDC for violent offense cases increased to 67 days, while the detention stays of other cases remained relatively unchanged, or even declined slightly (e.g., violations of court orders and probation conditions, and property offense cases).

Figure 5. Average length of detention (in days) by most serious offense, by admission cohort.



Another factor that is known to affect length of stay in detention is whether or not a juvenile is held as an automatic transfer (i.e., cases transferred to criminal court jurisdiction by statute). Juveniles held as automatic transfers (or AT) had far longer stays in detention. Between June 17 and September 30, there were 95 cases admitted under automatic transfer status (Table 3). Three of the AT cases had a property charge as their most serious offense, 4 had been charged with a weapon offense, and 13 were drug cases. Of the remaining 75 AT cases, 10 were ordered held by the court for violations or warrants, and the rest (or 65 cases) were to be tried for violent offenses (35 were charged with murder).

In Table 3, the most serious offenses of youths in the admission cohort are broken down somewhat differently than in previous analyses. Violent offenses are separated into "less serious" (primarily assault and battery offenses) and more serious (murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, and sexual assault). Also, violations of court orders are distinguished from violations of probation, violations of supervision, and warrants.

Table 3 shows that very few (1) of the AT cases admitted to the TDC were charged with violations of court orders, or the "less serious" violent offenses (4 cases). The vast majority of AT cases (70 out of 95) were charged with one of the more serious violent offenses, or violation of probation, or were held by other court orders including out-of-state warrants.

While the average stay in the TDC was 44 days, automatic transfers stayed an average of 140 days.

Automatic transfer cases strongly influence the average length of stay in the TDC. While the average stay in the TDC was 44 days (excluding intake), the 95 cases held as automatic transfers stayed in the TDC an average of 140 days. When automatic transfers are excluded, the average stay in the TDC for the remaining cases is reduced to 37 days. Similarly, the average length of stay for cases involving weapon or gang-related offenses which were <u>not</u> automatic transfers was 26 days. The four automatic transfer cases among those charged with weapon offenses, however, stayed an average of 103 days. The same effect is seen for

cases in which the most serious charge was a drug offense. Automatic transfer drug cases stayed an average of 79 days, while non-transfer cases stayed just 29 days on average.[8]

Table 3. Average length of stay in TDC (excluding time in intake), by most serious offense, by whether youth was under automatic transfer status.

	Not Automatic Transfer		Automatic Transfer	
Most serious offense	Cases	Avg. stay in TDC	Cases	Avg. stay in TDC
Property/Misdemeanors	339	35 days	3	87 days
Weapon/gang related	95	26 days	4	103 days
Drug offenses	152	29 days	13	79 days
Less serious violent offenses*	344	41 days	4	161 days
Viol. of court order	181	29 days	1	16 days
All other offenses**	227	50 days	70	157 days
Total	**1338**	**37 days**	**95**	**140 days**

Note: Offense information was unavailable for 8 cases.

* Includes all violent offenses except murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, and sexual assault.

** Includes murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, sexual assault, violations of probation, out-of-state warrants, and custody holds for criminal court.

Detention bed-days

Detention bed-days is a practical measure of detention use. A single juvenile who spends one day in detention consumes one bed-day. Five juveniles who each spend one day in detention consume five bed-days, just as one juvenile who spends 10 days in detention consumes 10 bed-days. For a cohort of admissions, total bed-days consumed is calculated as the number of juveniles admitted, multiplied by their average length of stay.

The 3,050 cases admitted to the intake unit between June 17 and September 30 spent an average of 22.8 days in detention (including time in intake). Thus, the entire admission cohort consumed over 69,000 bed-days.[9] The 1,609 cases that were released from intake and never admitted to the TDC consumed only a small portion of these bed-days. Since their average stay in intake was just 47 hours (or 1.96 days), intake cases consumed just 3,154 bed-days, or 4.5 percent of the total. The remaining 95 percent is accounted for by juveniles detained in the TDC.

Cases released from intake and never admitted to the TDC consume a very small portion (4.5%) of available detention resources.

More detailed information about the bed-days consumed by the study juveniles is presented in Table 4. The top two panels depict the number of admissions, and average length of stay (including intake) for the total pre-screening and post-screening admission cohorts. The lower two panels depict the number of admissions to the TDC and their average stays in the TDC (excluding intake) during the pre-screening and post-screening periods. For each panel, the number of cases is multiplied by average length of stay in order to derive total bed-days.

Table 4 shows that much of the TDC bed-days consumed by the detention admissions in this study could be attributed to cases in which the most serious charge was either a violent offense, or a violation of probation. Of the 40,008 total detention bed-days consumed by youths admitted before screenings began, 25.1 percent were consumed by cases in which the most serious charge was a misdemeanor or property offense. Over 5 percent were used by weapon or gang-related cases, 9.3 percent were consumed by drug cases, and 9.2 percent were used by cases in which the most serious offense was violation of a court order. Over 30 percent of the total pre-screening bed-days were consumed by violent offense cases or cases detained for violations of probation and warrants, while 19.3 percent were consumed by cases charged with one of the "less serious" violent offenses. Together, all violent offense cases and violations of probation or warrants accounted for 50 percent of the TDC bed-days consumed by the admission cohort.[10]

Table 4. Bed-days consumed, by most serious offense, by admission cohort.

	Number of Admissions	Avg. stay (days)	Bed-days used	Percent of Bed-days
TOTAL: INCLUDING INTAKE				
Pre-screening cohort				
Property/Misdemeanors	633	15.87	10,046	25.1
Weapon/gang related	221	9.71	2,146	5.4
Drug offenses	340	10.96	3,726	9.3
Less serious violent offenses*	381	20.26	7,719	19.3
Viol. of court order	130	28.31	3,680	9.2
All other offenses**	238	51.68	12,300	30.7
Offense unknown	14	27.90	391	1.0
Total	**1957**	**20.4435**	**40,008**	**100.0**
Post-screening cohort				
Property/Misdemeanors	236	17.33	4,090	13.8
Weapon/gang related	97	14.20	1,377	4.7
Drug offenses	155	16.20	2,511	8.5
Less serious violent offenses*	284	30.11	8,551	28.9
Viol. of court order	95	21.84	2,075	7.0
All other offenses**	218	50.46	10,935	37.0
Offense unknown	8	2.38	19	0.1
Total	**1093**	**27.043**	**29,558**	**100.0**
TDC BED-DAYS ONLY: EXCLUDING INTAKE				
Pre-screening cohort				
Property/Misdemeanors	229	37.25	8,531	23.9
Weapon/gang related	58	29.34	1,702	4.8
Drug offenses	96	32.46	3,116	8.7
Less serious violent offenses*	190	36.00	6,840	19.1
Viol. of court order	109	30.98	3,377	9.4
All other offenses**	157	75.22	11,810	33.0
Offense unknown	7	51.43	360	1.0
Total	**846**	**42.241**	**35,736**	**100.0**
Post-screening cohort				
Property/Misdemeanors	113	32.05	3,622	13.3
Weapon/gang related	41	29.00	1,189	4.4
Drug offenses	69	32.26	2,226	8.2
Less serious violent offenses*	158	50.13	7,921	29.0
Viol. of court order	73	26.26	1,917	7.0
All other offenses**	140	74.39	10,414	38.2
Offense unknown	1	5.00	5	0.0
Total	**595**	**45.872**	**27,294**	**100.0**

Note: Percentages may not add due to rounding. Cases missing length of stay are assigned their cohort average.

* Includes all violent offenses except murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, and sexual assault.

** Includes murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, sexual assault, violations of probation, out-of-state warrants, and custody holds for criminal court.

After screenings began, the percentage of total bed-days consumed by violent offense cases and violations increased to over 65 percent. Of the 29,558 bed-days accounted for by post-screening admissions, 37 percent were consumed by violent offenses, violations of probation, and warrants. Another 29 percent were consumed by the less serious violent offenses. The proportion of bed-days used by misdemeanor and property cases, however, fell by nearly half, to 13.8 percent.

Automatic transfer bed-days

Although there were relatively few cases held in detention as automatic transfers, they consumed a disproportionate share of the total bed-days used by the TDC admissions in this study. Table 3 showed that there were 95 automatic transfer cases admitted to the TDC during the 15-week study period. This is just 6.6 percent of the cohort total. The entire TDC admission cohort (1,441 cases) had an average length of stay in the TDC of just over 43.7 days, representing 63,030 bed-days. As shown in Table 3, the 95 automatic transfer cases had an average length of stay in the TDC of 140 days, which accounts for 13,300 bed-days. Thus, while automatic transfers made up 6.6 percent of all TDC cases, they used 13,300 out of 63,030 bed-days, or 21 percent of all bed-days consumed by the total cohort.

The proportion of TDC bed-days consumed by automatic transfers increased to 25 percent for cases admitted after the initiation of screenings on August 8. A total of 595 cases were admitted to the TDC after screenings began. These admissions consumed 27,294 bed-days (average stay = 45.872). The 45 AT cases admitted after screenings had an average length of stay in the TDC of 149.22 days, and consumed 6715 bed-days. Therefore, AT cases represented 8 percent of admissions, but used 25 percent of the TDC bed-days consumed by admissions between August 9th and September 30th.

Automatic Transfers represented 8% of TDC admissions, but used 25% of the TDC bed-days consumed by cases admitted between August 9th and September 30th.

Daily Population in the TDC

While an analysis of the consumption of detention bed-days is useful in understanding the demand for detention resources, those who administer detention facilities are interested in aspects of utilization that are more apparent on a day-to-day basis. In particular, administrators and policy makers prefer information about the size of the detention population. The most common indicator of size is the average daily population (or ADP). Fortunately, the bed-days consumed by an admission cohort can be easily converted into average daily population.

For any admission cohort with a known average length of stay (measured in days), average daily population is simply total bed-days consumed, divided by the cohort period (also measured in days). Or:

$$ADP = (N_c \times ALOS) \div D_c$$

where

ADP = average daily population

N_c = the number (N) of admissions in the cohort

ALOS = average length of stay (in days)

D_c = the days (D) elapsed during the admission cohort

If the admission cohort being analyzed were one full year, the number of annual admissions would be multiplied by the average length of stay (to derive total bed-days), and the product would be divided by the number of days in a year, or 365. In this study, the complete admission cohort is 106 days. For the purposes of projecting ADP, however, only admissions from the post-screening cohort will be used as it is this rate of admissions that will likely continue in the future.

Impact of screenings by Pretrial Services

The effect of the screenings implemented on August 8 has already been seen in the reduced rate of intake admissions and the changing characteristics of detained juveniles. The impact can also be measured by comparing the estimated ADP that would have resulted from the rate of admissions before screenings began, to the ADP that would result from the post-screening rate of admissions.

Table 4 demonstrated that there were 1,957 cases admitted to intake during the 53-day, pre-screening period, and that these cases had an average stay of slightly more than 20.4 days (i.e., $N_c = 1{,}957$; $D_c = 53$; ALOS = 20.4435). Using the above formula, it can be shown that this level of admissions would result in

an average daily population of 755. In other words, if the rate of admissions that existed between June 17 and August 8 had continued for an extended period, the average daily population in the detention center (both intake and the TDC) would have eventually reached 755 juveniles.

After screenings were initiated, admissions declined to 1,093 over a 53-day period, while the average length of stay increased to just over 27 days. Using the formula, it can be seen that the post-screening rate of admissions would eventually produce a population of 558 (i.e., {1093 x 27.043} ÷ 53 = 558). Therefore, assuming that the 15 weeks of admissions analyzed by this study were not atypical, the detention screenings by Pretrial Services effectively reduced the average daily population in the detention center by 26 percent (from 755 to 558).[11]

Making further reductions in ADP. Although reducing the ADP from 755 to 558 should be considered an achievement, the rated capacity of the detention center is 498 juveniles. To bring the average daily population in the detention center down to, or below its rated capacity, a number of strategies could be pursued. One strategy could be to turn away a larger number of detention referrals at the point of intake. This strategy is already being successfully implemented by the Pretrial Services screenings. Thus, it is not likely that significantly greater reductions are achievable through pre-intake screening.

The detention screenings by Pretrial Services effectively reduced the average daily population in the detention center by 26 percent.

A second strategy could be to reduce the average length of stay in the detention center. Two ways to do so are: reduce the number of juveniles placed in the TDC as court commitments, and/or reduce the use of the TDC by automatic transfer cases. For example, restricting the number of AT cases in the TDC would significantly reduce the average length of stay in the facility and, therefore, reduce the average daily population. Based upon the data collected for this study, barring the admission of all automatic transfer cases would immediately reduce the average daily population in the detention center from

558 to 452. Given current policy realities, however, it is unlikely that significant gains are possible though altering the use of detention for commitment cases or automatic transfers.

A third strategy *(the one recommended by this study)* would be to divert juveniles to an alternative program at the point of transfer from intake to the TDC. There are several benefits to implementing an alternative program at the point of TDC admission rather than intake. There would be fewer disagreements with law enforcement if juveniles were accepted to intake and then screened for the alternative, rather than being screened at the point of intake and released if rejected for admission. Screening decisions could be made in a more controlled and stable atmosphere since staff would have 48 hours to decide if a juvenile was appropriate for an alternative supervision program. The quality of screening assessments would be enhanced by giving staff more time to develop information about the juveniles as well as about their home situations. Finally, in terms of reducing ADP, greater gains are possible through preventing admissions to the TDC than by preventing intakes.

Projecting ADP Reductions

To reduce the ADP in the detention center to 498 juveniles, it would be necessary to reduce the population in the TDC to at least 458. Based upon post-screening admission patterns, the average daily count in the intake unit is approximately 40 juveniles (i.e., 1,093 admissions in 53 days with an average stay in intake of 47 hours: { 1093 x 47 } ÷ { 53 x 24 } = 40.4). Assuming that the intake unit remains continuously full, the average TDC population would have to be kept below 458 (i.e., the facility's rated capacity of 498, minus 40).

An additional adjustment is required before setting the ADP target at 458. The ADP goal should account for population "spikes," or daily counts which far exceed the average. The average TDC population should be low enough that <u>daily</u> populations rarely exceed 458. To estimate population spiking, the daily detention center populations for September through December, 1991 were examined to determine the maximum percentage difference between the average population and the largest populations.[12]

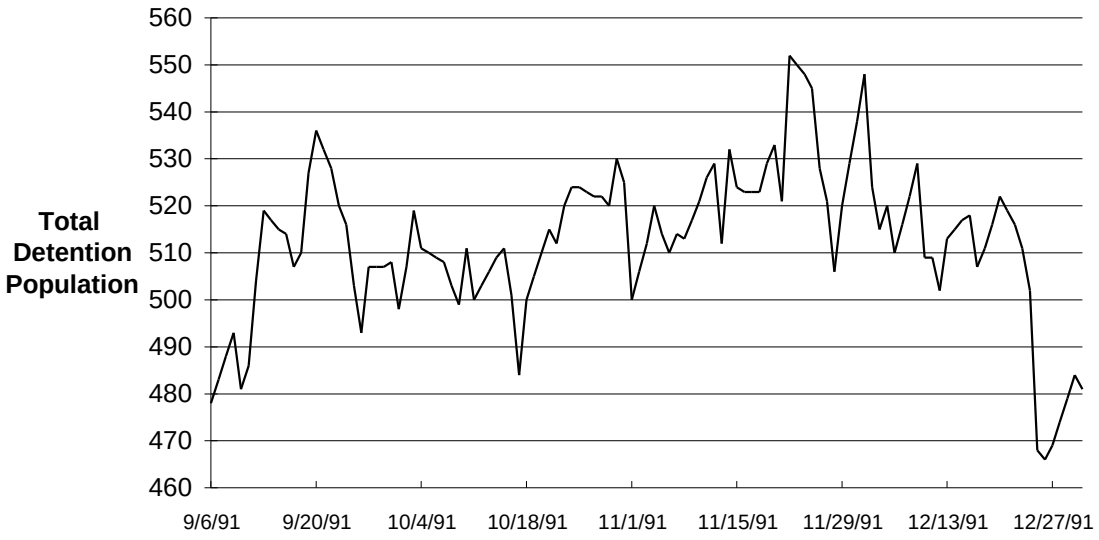
Figure 6 shows the total detention population for each day during this period. Although the average daily population was 512

juveniles, the count was much higher on some days. On several days the total population was approximately 550 juveniles. This represents a spiking factor of 7 percent ({550 ÷ 512} x 100 =107%).

Therefore, the ADP target should assume 7 percent spiking. This suggests that the TDC population average should be reduced to 428 rather than 458. With an average daily population of 428, population spikes will usually be below 458 -- the maximum tolerable TDC population.

To reduce the total detention population to below design capacity, the average daily population in the TDC should be kept at or below 428.

Figure 6. Daily total detention population, September 6 through December 31,1991.



According to Table 4, there were 595 admissions to the TDC in the first 53 days after screenings began. Their average stay in the TDC was 45.9 days. Using the formula for estimating ADP, this rate of admissions would produce an average daily TDC population of 515. Thus, **in order to reduce the population in the TDC from 515 to 428, it will be necessary to reduce ADP by 17 percent.**

Reducing TDC bed-days by 17 percent cannot be accomplished by reducing TDC admissions by 17 percent. The cases most likely to be screened out -- younger juveniles, those with less serious offenses, and with fewer prior admissions to detention -- are also more likely to have shorter lengths of stay and consume fewer bed-days. This is evident when one considers that screenings reduced TDC admissions by 30 percent (from 846 to 595), but reduced TDC bed-days by 24 percent (from 35,736 to 27,294). Projecting changes in ADP, therefore, requires a method which can account for bed-days consumed, not simply admissions.

Table 5 contains the estimated consumption of TDC bed-days by admissions in the post-screening cohort, categorized by offense, age at admission, and prior admissions to intake. The percentages reported in Table 5 are the proportions of total TDC bed-days consumed by each category of juveniles.

For example, juveniles admitted to the TDC whose most serious offenses were either property offenses or misdemeanors, who were under the age of 15 at the time of admission, and who had never been admitted to intake before, consumed just over one quarter of one percent (0.28%) of the total bed-days used by the post-screening cohort. This is because the 6 juveniles who fit this category consumed only 76 of the post-screening cohort's total bed days (76 ÷ 27,294 = .00278).

The data in Table 5 could be used to estimate the outcome of future policy decisions. To achieve the goal of reducing TDC bed-days (and thereby the average TDC population) by 17 percent, all cases matching the descriptions of the enclosed areas in Table 5 could be diverted to the alternative program.

Table 5. Percentage of TDC bed-days consumed by post-screening cases, by age at admission, by offense, and by prior admissions.

		Prior admissions to detention			
		None	One	Two	Three or more
PROPRTY/MISDEMEANR					
	Under 15	0.28%	0.40%	0.53%	1.52%
Age	15	0.53	0.51	0.76	2.33
	16	0.65	0.47	1.04	3.68
	Over 16	0.0	0.13	0.05	0.44
WEAPON OFFENSES					
	Under 15	0.0%	0.18%	0.04%	0.29%
Age	15	0.25	0.15	0.19	1.57
	16	0.26	0.10	0.14	0.84
	Over 16	0.03	0.02	0.0	0.31
DRUG OFFENSES					
	Under 15	0.80%	0.24%	0.0%	0.22%
Age	15	0.04	0.12	0.43	1.05
	16	0.27	1.43	0.87	2.06
	Over 16	0.0	0.10	0.09	0.47
LESS SERIOUS VIOLENT*					
	Under 15	2.22%	0.57%	1.51%	2.22%
Age	15	3.58	2.24	0.38	1.38
	16	4.47	2.56	1.56	5.63
	Over 16	0.14	0.36	0.09	0.22
VIOL. OF COURT ORDER					
	Under 15	0.0%	0.07%	0.33%	1.64%
Age	15	0.0	0.04	0.24	1.14
	16	0.07	0.46	0.18	1.73
	Over 16	0.12	0.0	0.04	0.97
ALL OTHER OFFENSES**					
	Under 15	3.48%	0.90%	1.17%	2.75%
Age	15	3.16	1.08	2.61	5.35
	16	6.10	2.49	2.23	4.68
	Over 16	0.0	0.96	0.09	0.88

Note: Enclosed areas indicate cases to be referred to home detention. Total percentage of enclosed areas estimates the reduction in TDC bed-days that would result from diversion of all such cases. In this example, the reduction in bed-days would be 17 percent.

* Includes all violent offenses except murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, and sexual assault.

** Includes murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, sexual assault, violations of probation, out-of-state warrants, and custody holds for criminal court.

The sum of the enclosed percentages in Table 5 is 17. Thus, if all juveniles falling into the enclosed categories were diverted to detention alternatives rather than admitted to the TDC, the reduction in ADP would be approximately 17 percent and the TDC population would eventually fall to 428 juveniles on average. Even with occasional spikes, the total detention population would remain below 498 on any given day.

Implementing the alternative program

If the decision was made to divert the cases in the enclosed areas of Table 5 to an alternative program, it would be helpful to be able to predict the rate of these referrals in order to design and implement the program, and to anticipate the cost of operating the program. Table 6 provides a method of making these predictions.

Table 6 presents the expected number of TDC admissions from each category for a 30-day period, based upon the rate of referrals during the post-screening cohort. For example, as described above, there were 6 juveniles admitted to the TDC in the post-screening cohort who were under 15, had no prior admissions, and were charged with property or misdemeanor offenses.

Six admissions in 53 days is equivalent to a 30-day rate of 3.4 (rounded to 3 in Table 6). Therefore, this category of juveniles is expected to contribute 3 cases per month to the alternative program. Together, the enclosed areas of Table 6 add to 75, which suggests that an alternative program would have to be capable of handling 75 referrals per month should the TDC population be reduced by 17 percent.

The ADP formula introduced earlier can also be used to anticipate the average daily caseload of the alternative program. The total number of referrals to the program (N_c) can be multiplied by the number of days that diverted youths would be expected to stay in the program (ALOS), and then divided by 30 (or, D_c). For instance, 75 referrals per month with an average program stay of 14 days would require that the program staff be able to supervise approximately 35 juveniles on any given day (i.e., $\{75 \times 14\} \div 30 = 35$). Should more youths be diverted, or the diverted youths remain longer in the alternative program, the daily caseload would necessarily increase. For example, if the length of program stay turned out to be 21 days instead of 14, the alternative program would have to supervise 53 youths each day (i.e., $\{75 \times 21\} \div 30 = 52.5$).

Table 6. Number of estimated TDC admissions per 30 days, by age at admission, by offense, and by prior admissions.

		Prior admissions to detention			
		None	One	Two	Three or more
PROPRTY/MISDEMEANR					
	Under 15	3	3	3	7
Age	15	3	3	3	11
	16	3	3	3	14
	Over 16	0	1	1	2
WEAPON OFFENSES					
	Under 15	0	2	1	3
Age	15	1	1	1	5
	16	2	1	1	3
	Over 16	1	1	0	2
DRUG OFFENSES					
	Under 15	2	2	0	2
Age	15	1	1	2	6
	16	3	4	3	7
	Over 16	0	1	1	3
LESS SERIOUS VIOLENT*					
	Under 15	4	6	6	7
Age	15	7	8	3	6
	16	10	7	6	14
	Over 16	2	2	1	1
VIOL. OF COURT ORDER					
	Under 15	0	1	1	7
Age	15	0	1	1	7
	16	1	2	2	9
	Over 16	2	0	1	7
ALL OTHER OFFENSES**					
	Under 15	7	3	4	7
Age	15	5	3	2	12
	16	10	6	5	10
	Over 16	2	2	1	2

Note: Estimated admissions represent the number of cases in each category that would be admitted to the TDC every 30 days, based upon the post-screening rate of admissions.

* Includes all violent offenses except murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, and sexual assault.

** Includes murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, sexual assault, violations of probation, out-of-state warrants, and custody holds for criminal court.

A Final Adjustment

If the criteria depicted in Table 5 were implemented, the County could be reasonably certain that the daily population in the detention center would drop below its design capacity of 498 juveniles. In order for this strategy to be effective all of the detained juveniles meeting the criteria outlined in Table 5 would have to be diverted to the home detention alternative at the point of transfer from intake to the TDC.

A small number of the cases that fall within the enclosed areas in Table 5, however, may be juveniles detained as part of a commitment order or cases held under automatic transfer status. There may be concern over diverting such cases to an alternative setting. For automatic transfers, home detention may not even be possible; and average stays of 14 days would certainly not be likely for AT cases. It may be more realistic, therefore, to exclude such cases from diversion to the alternative program.

If AT cases and committed juveniles are barred from the detention alternative, the criteria for diversion would have to be expanded for other juveniles. In order for the population in the TDC to decline in sufficient numbers to bring the total detention population below the facility's design capacity, total TDC bed-days must be reduced by 17 percent. If some juveniles are removed from the potential diversion pool, the 17 percent reduction in TDC bed-days must be made up by additional diversions among the cases still eligible for the alternative program.

Table 7 shows the percentage of TDC bed-days consumed by the post-screening cohort. Table 7 is exactly the same as Table 5 except that automatic transfer cases and juveniles detained under a commitment order were removed from the calculations.

In order for this strategy to be effective, all of the detained juveniles meeting the criteria for diversion would have to be handled in the alternative program.

The percentages in Table 7 are the proportion of total TDC bed-days consumed by non-AT, and non-committed cases. With commitments and AT cases removed, the enclosed categories from Table 5 now add to only 14 percent. Thus, an additional 3 percent would have to be captured in order for the total detention population to reach the 17 percent target.

One way to achieve an additional 3 percent reduction in TDC bed-days would be to expand the eligibility of detained juveniles whose most serious charges were either property offenses or misdemeanors.

If diversions to the alternative program were expanded to 16 year-olds in this category with two or fewer previous admissions (accounting for 0.93% of bed-days), and 15 year-olds with more than two previous admissions (accounting for 2.07% of bed-days), the added reduction in TDC bed-days would bring the total reduction to over 17 percent.

Altering the diversion pool to eliminate committed juveniles and AT cases could change the expected caseload in the alternative program. Most AT cases will already be excluded from the alternative program due to offense, but a large number of committed juveniles would be otherwise eligible for diversion. Commitment cases have shorter than average lengths of stay since committed juveniles rarely stay longer than 30 days in the TDC.

It is likely, therefore, that the exclusion of AT cases and commitments will result in a slight decrease in the number of referrals necessary to achieve a 17 percent reduction in TDC bed-days.

If AT cases and committed juveniles are excluded from the alternative program, the 17 percent reduction in ADP must be made up by expanding diversions among the remaining eligible juveniles.

Table 8 indicates the probable number of referrals when AT cases and commitments are removed from the diversion pool. Using the same criteria as before, there would be 59 referrals to the alternative program every 30 days. Adding the two categories necessary to achieve a 17 percent reduction in ADP brings the total to 71 referrals every 30 days.

Table 7. Percentage of TDC bed-days consumed by post-screening cases: by age at admission, by offense, and by prior admissions: excludes automatic transfers and juveniles detained by commitment order.

		Prior admissions to detention			
		None	One	Two	Three or more
PROPRTY/MISDEMEANR					
	Under 15	0.28%	0.35%	0.48%	1.41%
Age	15	0.22	0.42	0.59	2.07
	16	0.53	0.37	0.93	3.46
	Over 16	0.0	0.12	0.05	0.32
WEAPON OFFENSES					
	Under 15	0.0%	0.08%	0.0%	0.19%
Age	15	0.25	0.07	0.14	0.54
	16	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.69
	Over 16	0.03	0.0	0.0	0.10
DRUG OFFENSES					
	Under 15	0.80%	0.24%	0.0%	0.22%
Age	15	0.04	0.12	0.06	0.53
	16	0.13	0.21	0.13	1.11
	Over 16	0.0	0.10	0.0	0.19
LESS SERIOUS VIOLENT*					
	Under 15	2.18%	0.46%	1.11%	1.79%
Age	15	2.69	2.10	0.28	1.37
	16	4.46	1.40	1.10	5.54
	Over 16	0.10	0.34	0.02	0.22
VIOL. OF COURT ORDER					
	Under 15	0.0%	0.04%	0.33%	1.43%
Age	15	0.0	0.04	0.24	0.89
	16	0.07	0.37	0.16	1.66
	Over 16	0.12	0.0	0.04	0.68
ALL OTHER OFFENSES**					
	Under 15	3.42%	0.90%	1.16%	2.74%
Age	15	1.46	0.14	0.0	2.57
	16	2.11	1.15	0.20	1.93
	Over 16	0.0	0.0	0.07	0.73

Note: Percentages are based on total bed-days. Total percentage of table is 67 percent, indicating that non-AT, non-committed cases consumed 67% of total TDC bed-days.

* Includes all violent offenses except murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, and sexual assault.

** Includes murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, sexual assault, violations of probation, out-of-state warrants, and custody holds for criminal court.

Table 8. Number of estimated TDC admissions per 30 days, by age at admission, by offense, and by prior admissions: excluding automatic transfers and committed juveniles.

		Prior admissions to detention			
		None	One	Two	Three or more
PROPRTY/MISDEMEANR					
Age	Under 15	3	2	3	6
	15	2	2	2	9
	16	2	3	3	13
	Over 16	0	1	1	1
WEAPON OFFENSES					
Age	Under 15	0	1	0	2
	15	1	1	1	3
	16	0	0	0	2
	Over 16	1	0	0	1
DRUG OFFENSES					
Age	Under 15	2	2	0	2
	15	1	1	1	4
	16	1	2	2	6
	Over 16	0	1	0	2
LESS SERIOUS VIOLENT*					
Age	Under 15	3	4	5	6
	15	5	6	2	6
	16	10	5	5	14
	Over 16	1	2	1	1
VIOL. OF COURT ORDER					
Age	Under 15	0	1	1	6
	15	0	1	1	6
	16	1	1	1	8
	Over 16	2	0	1	5
ALL OTHER OFFENSES**					
Age	Under 15	7	3	4	7
	15	3	2	0	10
	16	5	2	2	7
	Over 16	0	0	1	1

Note: Estimated admissions represent the number of cases in each category that would be admitted to the TDC every 30 days, based upon the post-screening rate of admissions and excluding automatic transfers and committed juveniles.

* Includes all violent offenses except murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, and sexual assault.

** Includes murder/manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, armed violence, sexual assault, violations of probation, out-of-state warrants, and custody holds for criminal court.

Cost Analysis

A number of factors are involved in the per diem cost of home detention, or intensive supervision programs. Most of the costs are attributed to payroll, but other items such as office space, local transportation, and administrative support contribute to the budget as well. A reasonable estimate of home detention costs is $30 per day, per juvenile. To be conservative, however, cost estimates should also consider per diems as high as $40.

Using this range of per diem costs, analyses of detention admissions can be adapted to project the costs of reducing the population in the detention center to below the design capacity of 498. To estimate the annual budget of the alternative programs, the expected daily population in the programs can be multiplied by the per diem costs, and then multiplied by 365.[13]

Assuming that there would be 75 referrals per month, and that the average time in the program would be 14 days, the average program enrollment would be 35 juveniles. If each of these program slots cost $30 per day, the daily cost of the program would be just over one thousand dollars (i.e., $30 x 35 slots = $1,050). As shown in Table 9, the annual cost to the County under these assumptions would be over $383,000.[14]

Given different assumptions, the costs to the County could also be quite different. For instance, if the per diem costs of the program were $35 instead of $30, annual program costs would increase to approximately $447,000.

Similarly, if length of stay varied considerably, annual costs would vary as well. At a per diem cost of $30, and if the length of stay in the program was 21 days instead of 14 days, the annual cost of the alternative program would increase to $575,269.

Due to the slightly lower rate of referrals, excluding AT and commitment cases from the diversion pool could reduce the cost of the alternative program. For example, at a rate of 71 referrals every 30 days, and assuming a length of stay in the program of 14 days and a per diem cost of $30, the annual cost of operating the alternative program would be approximately $363,000.

Table 9. Cost Projections: Cook County Detention Alternatives

	Monthly Referrals	Average Days in Program	Daily Program Costs	Annual Program Budget
No Exclusions				
Option 1	75	14	$30	$383,513
Option 2	75	14	$35	$447,431
Option 3	75	14	$40	$511,350
Option 4	75	21	$30	$575,269
Option 5	75	21	$35	$671,147
Option 6	75	21	$40	$767,025
AT/Commitments Excluded				
Option 7	71	14	$30	$363,059
Option 8	71	14	$35	$423,568
Option 9	71	14	$40	$484,078
Option 10	71	21	$30	$544,588
Option 11	71	21	$35	$635,352
Option 12	71	21	$40	$726,117
Option 13*	71	41	$30	$1,063,243
Option 14*	71	41	$35	$1,240,450
Option 15*	71	41	$40	$1,417,657

* Options 13 through 15 assume a length of stay in the TDC of 41 days, which is the actual average stay of non-AT, non-committed cases admitted during the post-screening cohort.

If commitment cases were excluded from diversion, however, lengths of stay in the program could actually increase, since fewer program referrals would have pre-determined periods of supervision. It may be more accurate to assume a program stay of 21 days if commitments and AT cases were to be excluded.

The most expensive scenario would assume that diverted cases remain in the alternative program for periods of time comparable to what they would have spent in the TDC. In the post-screening cohort, the average stay in the TDC for non-AT, non-committed cases was 41 days. If juveniles remained in the alternative program for an average of 41 days, the costs of the program would increase significantly.

Recommendations

Cook County has an immediate and pressing need to reduce the average daily population of the Juvenile Temporary Detention Center. To accomplish this goal, a number of simultaneous activities must be conducted which will produce a comprehensive "program of detention." Based on the results of the analysis presented above, and guided by experience with other jurisdictions that have successfully resolved similar population problems in detention, the National Center for Juvenile Justice offers the following policy and practice recommendations.

1. Cook County officials should plan to reduce the average daily population of the Temporary Detention Center by at least 17% through a program of detention alternatives.

Comment: While the screening conducted by pre-trial services has been effective in reducing admissions, it is the collective belief of Cook County officials that gains from this strategy have been exhausted. Moreover, the screening procedure has had a greater impact on admissions than on daily population since many of the youth screened out would not have stayed for a considerable length of time.

Further reductions in average daily population will require a program that holds youth accountable and in a confined status outside of the Temporary Detention Center. It is important that the County develop a range of detention options and begin to think of detention as a status rather than a location. The detention program of Cook County should include alternatives such as home detention, electronic monitoring, day report centers, and shelter care.

The goal of reducing the average population in the TDC by 17 percent is necessary to avoid exceeding the facility's rated capacity on a daily basis. It should be seen as a minimum objective, but one that can be accomplished in the near term. It is the belief of the authors that, after an initial period of experimentation, plans can be made to reduce the population further in subsequent years.

2. To begin, the County should provide detention alternative services through contracts with the private sector.

Comment: Home detention and other alternatives have been provided in other jurisdictions by both private and public sector agencies. Most essential to success is that an agency be able to respond in a flexible and innovative manner to a rapid stream of referrals who remain with the agency for a relatively brief period of time.

To begin, Cook County would be better served by contracting these services rather than attempting to build them with existing County agencies. There are a number of private-sector models from which to build a program. The County will have the benefit of these existing models and can move quickly to establish one or more detention alternatives that maximize flexibility both in terms of program components and geography. It is the authors' belief that, in this instance, the detention program can be more cost-effective if contracted with the private sector.

3. The first components to be developed should be an intensive supervision home detention program, and additional shelter care.

Comment: While it will be necessary to develop a full range of detention alternatives in the near future, there is an immediate and pressing need for a simple home detention model and additional shelter care. A substantial number of current detainees could be safely and adequately maintained in a home detention program that provides for many daily contacts and includes a structure to assure that juveniles will be present for court activity. The need for shelter care is apparent from the residual number of youth who are reluctantly admitted to the intake unit because there is no safe and viable alternative.

These two components will provide a foundation upon which further program development can be built. Once having experienced success with these two elements, additional detention alternatives can be added. Among these are electronic monitoring for more intractable

youth, and day report centers for youth without a firm home structure to support home detention.

4. The decision to place a youth on home detention status should be made by a judge, and should occur at the detention hearing.

Comment: Subsequently, it may be desirable to place the home detention decision at the intake stage of processing. To begin, however, decisions regarding home detention should be made in the courtroom. There are a number of reasons for this decision.

First, while some brief intakes are perhaps an unnecessary deprivation of liberty, the average stay of juveniles awaiting detention hearings in the intake unit is relatively brief, and time in intake affords a period of observation and contact with family by the provider in preparation for a detention status decision.
Second, eliminating additional stays in the intake unit will not have a significant impact on average daily population.
Third, there is an advantage to having the judge dictate the conditions of home detention on the record.
Fourth, all parties having an interest in the matter are usually available for the hearing.
Fifth, placing the decision at the detention hearing may prevent the unintended consequence of using home detention for juveniles who would otherwise have been released at the detention hearing.

The difficulty with this strategy lies in the fact that the decision makers (judges) do not have an inherent, vested interest in reducing the average daily population in the detention facility. It will be necessary, therefore, to involve the judicial and legal communities in planning and implementing the program so that their concerns are addressed and all parties are in accord regarding the purpose and operation of the program. Once judges are exposed to home detention alternatives and observe success, they often become quite supportive and amenable to the program.

5. All youth placed on home detention status should be viewed as detained, and the court should continue to handle them as though they were being held in the Temporary Detention Center.

Comment: Both Illinois law and common sense dictate that juveniles on home detention status must benefit from the same procedural guidelines as other detained youth (e.g., speedy trial). All projections contained in this report assume that home detention cases are "in custody." To assume otherwise will greatly increase the cost of home detention and quickly fill available program spaces, leading to an increased reliance, once again, on the Temporary Detention Center.

6. As a pilot program, home detention activities should be administered by the offices of the Judicial Advisory Council.

Comment: The Judicial Advisory Council has been given responsibility, among other things, for reviewing and recommending solutions to the problems of the Cook County Jail and the Temporary Detention Center. It is the appropriate administrative entity in which to house a contract program of detention alternatives. In reporting to the Cook County Coordinating Council and the Board President, the JAC represents the executive branch's inherent interest in reducing the population in the detention center. The role for the JAC in this regard is identical to its function in matters concerning the Cook County Jail. Further, given the statutory responsibility of the JAC pursuant to Illinois State statute, particularly its prescribed liaison role between the Cook County executive and the judiciary, the JAC is in the proper position to facilitate the joint commitment to detention alternatives between these two branches of government.

While the pilot effort in developing a detention program is appropriate for the JAC, consideration should be given to eventually transferring that responsibility to the administration of the detention facility itself. If amenable, detention administrators are in an ideal position to develop

a full range of detention options where youth can move efficiently between various detention statuses. After a period of experimentation and program development, this function may be better managed by detention administration.

7. A full-time professional position within the office of the Judicial Advisory Council should be dedicated to detention programming.

Comment: In launching a new (and to some in Cook County, discomforting) detention program, there will be a need for continuous program monitoring and communication. Detention alternatives will become embedded in the overall juvenile justice offerings of the County only with a great deal of personal leadership and guidance. It has been the authors' experience in the conduct of this study that there are an inordinate number of participants who must be involved in order to reach system-wide consensus on a direction for juvenile justice policy in Cook County. This will be more than a part-time job.

The detention program manager should have an additional responsibility -- that of individual case advocacy. In other jurisdictions, an essential component of success was the establishment of a position with responsibility for tracking individual cases to get them "unstuck," and for using knowledge gained in these instances to guide system change. In Cook County there are several ancillary factors that appear to contribute to the size of the detention population. Included among these are a relatively large number of youth detained for writs and violations, on-going problems for RUR's, the automatic transfer population, etc. Fine tuning system responses for these on-going factors is a necessity and requires full-time attention.

8. The development of detention options should be accompanied by a monitoring system that can measure its impact.

Comment: This report required a great deal of original data collection, the type of data which should be regularly available to County officials.

In establishing a more complex and varied program for juvenile detention, an adequate information and monitoring system is vital in order to measure success. This is especially true since new programs invariably produce unintended consequences that, if not observed, could swell the population in detained status and lead to unnecessary detentions and increased cost. For example, the availability of home detention options sometimes "weakens the resolve" of admission screening and leads to a decrease in the proportion of youth who are released outright at a detention hearing. The projections in this report assume a one-to-one ratio of secure bed decreases and home detention increases. Administrators must be able to detect variations from this pattern and respond quickly to minimize their consequences.

9. A Detention Task Force should continue to monitor detention practice and should address the problem of detention space required by the automatic transfer population.

Comment: For the reasons presented above, a multi-disciplinary task force must continue to be involved in policy and practice considerations regarding the detention program. This task force should address the inordinate amount of detention resources attributable to the automatic transfer (AT) population. The authors found little support in any quarter for moving the AT population to another facility or program. Nevertheless, the fact that this group uses 25 percent of available detention beds, combined with the current need for the County to develop a very different detention program strategy, argues for consideration of this proposition. A long-term solution to crowding in the Temporary Detention Center without a plan for increased construction will, in the next few years, require that the AT population be housed elsewhere. In the meantime, freeing existing non-AT beds may allow for more dedicated programming for this long-staying and difficult population.

Conclusion

This report represents an opportunity for Cook County to establish a comprehensive program of detention options that will reduce the daily population housed at the Temporary Detention Center, while providing for adequate supervision of a class of detained youth. It suggests a preliminary profile of youth who could be eligible for detention options, and provides recommendations regarding the structure and administration of the detention program.

It is the belief of the National Center for Juvenile Justice that there is support for the development of a multi-faceted detention program in Cook County which, if actualized, will defer for some time the need to increase the capacity of secure detention in the County. Further, if the County can develop a full range of options, it is our belief that the total cost of detention programming will not rise, and in fact may decrease over time.

All the program components described in this report can be accomplished, and are already in practice in many jurisdictions across the United States. To get from "here to there" requires only good judgement, innovative thinking, and will.

Appendix I:
Data Collection Team

Ms. Tracy Robinson, Chicago

Mr. William Maddocks, River Forest, IL

Ms. Amy Zielazinski, Berwyn, IL

Mr. Roosevelt Myles, Chicago

Appendix II

Most serious offense by admission cohort.

	June 17 to Aug. 8		Aug. 9 to Sept. 30		**Total**	
	n	Pct.	n	Pct.	n	Pct.
Dependency/status						
Environmt injurious to welfare	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Intoxication/possess alcohol	2	0%	0	0%	2	0%
Misdemeanors/other minor						
Public indecency	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Phone harassment	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Disorderly conduct	16	1%	1	0%	17	1%
Discharge air rifle	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Alter identification of vehicle	2	0%	0	0%	2	0%
Solicitation	1	0%	1	0%	2	0%
Prostitution	2	0%	0	0%	2	0%
Reckless conduct	4	0%	1	0%	5	0%
Obstructing service process	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Possession of cannabis	8	0%	1	0%	9	0%
Use intoxicating compound	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Resisting police officer	4	0%	0	0%	4	0%
Obtain service - defraud	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Intimidation	5	0%	5	0%	10	0%
Property						
Tampering/invasion vehicle	2	0%	2	0%	4	0%
Att theft of auto	8	0%	0	0%	8	0%
Retail theft	10	1%	1	0%	11	0%
Attempted burglary	1	0%	1	0%	2	0%
Crim trespass vehicle	40	2%	7	1%	47	2%
Criminal trespass	5	0%	5	0%	10	0%
Crim damage to property	54	3%	6	1%	60	2%
Theft of service	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Possess stolen prop	4	0%	0	0%	4	0%
Possess stolen auto	176	9%	51	5%	227	7%
Unlawful use of credit card	2	0%	1	0%	3	0%
Burglary auto	11	1%	1	0%	12	0%
Burg, took possession of	2	0%	0	0%	2	0%
Theft under $300	8	0%	4	0%	12	0%
Theft	55	3%	18	2%	73	2%
Theft of auto	16	1%	16	1%	32	1%
Theft over $300	11	1%	6	1%	17	1%
Forgery	3	0%	0	0%	3	0%
Attempted burgl of residence	3	0%	0	0%	3	0%
Burglary	141	7%	87	8%	228	8%
Burglary of residence	20	1%	13	1%	33	1%
Attempted arson	3	0%	0	0%	3	0%
Arson	8	0%	4	0%	12	0%
Aggravated arson	0	0%	2	0%	2	0%

(Continued on next page)

Appendix II continued:

Most serious offense by admission cohort.

	June 17 to Aug. 8		Aug. 9 to Sept 30		**Total**	
	n	Pct	n	Pct	n	Pct
Weapon/gang related						
Unlawful possession firearm	4	0%	0	0%	4	0%
Mob action	10	1%	3	0%	13	0%
Gang recruitment	2	0%	0	0%	2	0%
Possess explosives	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Unlawful use weapon	204	10%	94	9%	298	10%
Drug offenses						
Poss control substance	277	14%	114	11%	391	13%
Delivery of cannabis	1	0%	2	0%	3	0%
Deliv control substance	59	3%	39	4%	98	3%
Sale control substance	3	0%	0	0%	3	0%
Violent offenses						
Endang/aband child	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Attempted theft from person	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Attempted robbery	3	0%	4	0%	7	0%
Attempted armed robbery	1	0%	5	0%	6	0%
Attempt crim sexual assault	3	0%	2	0%	5	0%
Unlawful restraint	1	0%	1	0%	2	0%
Assault	13	1%	9	1%	22	1%
Theft from person	5	0%	7	1%	12	0%
Criminal sexual abuse	5	0%	4	0%	9	0%
Battery	101	5%	46	4%	147	5%
Criminal sexual assault	17	1%	12	1%	29	1%
Aggrav crim sexual abuse	11	1%	6	1%	17	1%
Aggrav crim sexual assault	26	1%	18	2%	44	1%
Armed violence	0	0%	2	0%	2	0%
Robbery	34	2%	29	3%	63	2%
Armed robbery	68	3%	48	4%	116	4%
Armed robbery with firearm	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Aggravated assault	87	4%	59	5%	146	5%
Heinous battery	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Aggravated battery	137	7%	126	12%	263	9%
Kidnapping	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Aggrav kidnapping of child	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Attempted murder	15	1%	10	1%	25	1%
Manslaughter (vol. or invol.)	5	0%	1	0%	6	0%
Murder	29	1%	33	3%	62	2%
Court orders/violations						
Violation of court order	130	7%	95	9%	225	7%
Violation of probation	46	2%	54	5%	100	3%
Out-of-state warrant	5	0%	6	1%	11	0%
Return from hospital	0	0%	4	0%	4	0%
Commitment to DOC	3	0%	6	1%	9	0%
Hold for Criminal Court	4	0%	4	0%	8	0%
Total	1943	100%	1085	100%	3028	100%

Notes

1 Annual Report of the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center, 1988-1989, p. 5.

2 Data provided by detention center administrative staff. Populations for 1990 and 1991 are actually for fiscal years 90 and 91 (December through November).

3 August 22, 1991 memorandum to the Judicial Advisory Council from Steve McGuire, Director of Pretrial Services.

4 General Order No. 20, in the Circuit Court of Cook County, IL. re. "Implementation of Section 5-7 of the Juvenile Court Act". Signed August 9, 1991.

5 *op. cit.*, Annual Report, p. 6

6 *op. cit.*, August 22, 1991 memorandum to the Judicial Advisory Council.

7 This study uses duplicate counts. In other words, a youth admitted twice during the study period is counted twice. Each admission is treated as a separate case.

8 The reader should recall that of the 95 automatic transfer cases in the admission cohort, 44 had not been relased as of the end of data collection on December 31, 1991. Their total length of stay in detention is estimated from previous cases.

9 Total bed-days reported varies between analyses due to rounding in length of stay.

10 Length of stay was not available for 11 cases due to missing data. For calculations of total bed-days, missing cases were assigned the average for their respective admission cohort.

11 This discussion assumes that admissions subsequent to September 30 are essentially similar to those that occurred between August 9 and September 30, 1991. To the extent that this is not true (e.g., if admissions after September 30 are consistently older, have more prior admissions, or are charged with more serious offenses), these estimates may need to be adjusted.

12 In statistical terms, this is essentially measuring the standard deviation of daily population.

13 The actual multiplier is 365.25, in order to account for a leap year every four years.

14 Annual costs = (program ADP x per diem costs) x 365.25; where program ADP = (monthly referrals x average stay) ÷ 30.