

JUVENILE RECIDIVISM IN ILLINOIS

Examining re-arrest and re-incarceration of youth released from the Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice



Juvenile recidivism in Illinois: Examining re-arrest and re-incarceration of youth released from the Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice

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Foreword

In Illinois, information about incarcerated youth is limited. A better understanding of the youth in correctional facilities is needed in order to identify the impact of incarceration on youth sent to prison, society at large, public safety, and state finances. Currently, official recidivism information about youth released from Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice (IDJJ) facilities is limited to how many are re-incarcerated in IDJJ facilities within three years. Little is known about where the youth are released, their re-offending patterns, or whether they are re-arrested or incarcerated as adults.

In Illinois, youth have two mechanisms by which they may be committed to IDJJ. The first is a full delinquency commitment. This is what most would consider a standard commitment to IDJJ as a result of adjudication in a juvenile court. However, youth may also be committed to IDJJ for an evaluation prior to final sentencing. These commitments, referred to as court evaluations, are 30-, 60-, or 90-day commitments during which youth are evaluated on multiple dimensions. At the end of this period, the youth is brought back to court and a report is presented to the judge to assist in the final sentencing decision. These youth occupy an unclear space in the juvenile justice system in Illinois, straddling the border between probation and a full prison commitment.

This report is separated into two chapters. The first chapter examines re-arrest and reincarceration of youth committed to IDJJ on a full delinquency commitment. The second chapter examines youth admitted to IDJJ for a court evaluation.

Key findings

This study was conducted to add to the understanding of juveniles incarcerated in Illinois by examining re-arrest and re-incarceration of juveniles released from the Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice (IDJJ) in state fiscal years 2005, 2006, and 2007. This report provides a detailed summary of this population, including demographics, offending history, and recidivism into the adult system. Key findings include:

Youth who received full delinquency commitments:

- 63 percent of youth in the sample were incarcerated for a non-violent offense, 43 percent for a property offense, and 31 percent for a person offense. Most (85 percent) served sentences in IDJJ for felonies.
- Youth in the sample had been arrested an average of five times prior to incarceration, and 21 percent had previously been incarcerated.
- Youth incarcerated for Class 4 felonies had the highest average number of prior arrests (mean=7) compared to other offense classes.
- Youth incarcerated for drug offenses had the highest average number of prior arrests (mean=8) compared to other offense types.
- 86 percent of youth were re-arrested within three years of release from IDJJ. 68 percent of youth in the sample were re-incarcerated within three years of release.
- Youth released after serving a sentence for a drug offense had the highest re-arrest rates (95 percent), while sex offenders had the lowest (61 percent). Youth released after serving a sentence for a Class 4 felony had the highest re-arrest rates (91 percent).
- 41 percent of those in the sample were re-incarcerated at least once for a new sentence.
- 53 percent of youth in the sample were re-incarcerated at least once for a technical violation of parole or MSR.
- 64 percent of first re-incarcerations were for technical violations of parole.

Youth who received court evaluation commitments:

- Almost two thirds of youth in the sample were incarcerated for court evaluations for a non-violent offense, most commonly a property offense.
- About one quarter of the sample youth were released after being sentenced for a Class 2 felony, while 21 percent had been sentenced for a Class 3 felony.

- Youth incarcerated for court evaluations averaged about 4.6 prior arrests. Only 3 percent of youth had been previously incarcerated.
- Class 4 offenders tended to have more prior arrests, with an average of six. Drug offenders had the lengthiest criminal backgrounds, averaging seven prior arrests.
- Of the youth in the sample, 86 percent were re-arrested within three years of release from a youth prison. Overall, 93 percent of the sample was re-arrested within six years.
- Drug offenders had the highest three-year re-arrest rate at 93 percent, while sex offenders had the lowest (80 percent).
- Class 4 offenders had the highest overall re-arrest rate at 93 percent, while misdemeanants had the lowest (81 percent).
- Overall, 59 percent of the sample was re-incarcerated as either a juvenile or an adult, with 36 percent re-incarcerated within a year after release.
- Forty percent of the youth had at least one juvenile re-incarceration, while 29 percent were re-incarcerated as adults. 10 percent were re-incarcerated as both juveniles and adults.

Introduction

Studying juvenile recidivism

Recidivism is one of the most commonly studied outcomes in criminal justice research and is often used in criminal and juvenile justice to measure program effectiveness. Recidivism is generally defined as re-arrest, re-conviction, re-incarceration, or some combination of these. Re-arrest is the least restrictive definition, since it does not require proof beyond a reasonable doubt that an individual actually committed a crime. Because re-arrest information is often the most readily available, it is frequently used to measure recidivism. However, re-conviction may be a more accurate measure of re-offending than re-arrest, as it requires an admission or finding of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

Re-incarceration is a more restrictive definition, typically limiting the measure of re-offending to incidents for which some standard of proof has been met that the individual committed a crime considered serious enough to merit incarceration. However, a return to prison does not always involve a new offense or sentence. An individual released from prison with supervision can be re-incarcerated for violating the conditions of that supervision, which may not necessarily involve criminal activity. Due to the nature of corrections population management, prison admissions are probably the most accurate administrative data source for measuring recidivism.

Each of these definitions of recidivism provides a different view of an individual's offending behavior after release from a correctional institution. The inclusion of multiple measures of recidivism allows researchers and practitioners to gain a more complete understanding of individual recidivism patterns, and also allows for easier comparison of results across studies and jurisdictions that use different definitions (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006).

Much of what is known about juvenile recidivism rates comes from government juvenile justice departments. For these agencies, a recidivism rate is usually a measure of the effectiveness of two main agency functions—rehabilitative programming in facilities and supervision after release from a facility. The way recidivism is measured depends on the data available to these government agencies, usually via an agency's own data systems. Juvenile corrections agencies often use re-incarceration as the measure of recidivism (Illinois Department of Corrections, 2006; North Carolina Department of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2004; Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice, 2005). However, some agencies have more information available, and can therefore define recidivism in multiple ways (NCDJJDP, 2004; VDJJ, 2005). Responses from 27 states to a survey on how juvenile justice entities define and measure recidivism found that they used a number of different methodologies, follow-up periods, and definitions. Consequently, the recidivism rates returned by the responding states ranged from 8 percent (VDJJ, 2005).

Perhaps the biggest challenge in measuring juvenile recidivism is following the youth into the adult system, as it can be a rather difficult process to match juvenile and adult records. Much of the literature following individuals from the juvenile system into the adult system has focused on offending trajectories and criminal careers (see Blumstein & Cohen, 1987; Moffitt, 1993; and

Nieuwbeerta, Nagin, & Blokland, 2009). However, recidivism studies that follow juveniles into the adult system address underrepresentation of offending, a main limitation of recidivism research, by including adult offending behavior. By counting adult re-arrest and incarceration (Lin, 2007) and referrals of juveniles to adult court (Grunwald, Lockwood, Harris, & Mennis, 2010), more recent studies have been able to provide a more complete picture of juvenile re-offending. Regardless of jurisdiction, the juvenile justice system has an age ceiling that is dependent upon the state's statutes (VDJJ, 2005). As a consequence, studies that ignore adult outcomes cannot account for offending by individuals who have aged out of the juvenile system during a study period. When considering that the upper age for juvenile jurisdiction is 17 in many states (VDJJ, 2005) and research findings have shown that offending behavior is close to peak levels by around age 18 (Nagin & Land, 1993), following juveniles into the adult system should take on an important methodological role in any juvenile recidivism study.

Like many states, the Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice (IDJJ) has examined recidivism only in the context of re-incarceration in a juvenile correctional facility within three years of release. The latest recidivism rate released by IDJJ was for youth released in 2002. By 2005, 48 percent of youth released had returned to IDJJ facilities (IDOC, 2006). However, since many of these youth are close to age 17 at the time of their release, they would not be eligible to return to a juvenile facility for a new offense. Such offenders would instead be dealt with in the adult criminal justice system. Therefore, studies that limit themselves to juvenile justice data risk underestimating true reoffending rates of individuals transitioning from the juvenile to the adult system.

Illinois juvenile correctional system

The juvenile justice system in Illinois is operated by various local, county, and state agencies. In Illinois, youth aged 16 years or younger at the time of an offense are considered juveniles and are processed through the juvenile justice system.¹ However, beginning January 1, 2010, 17-year-olds charged with misdemeanor offenses are prosecuted in the juvenile justice system [705 *ILCS* 405/5-120]. Juvenile prison facilities are operated by IDJJ and a youth must be at least 13 years old to be incarcerated. At trial and sentencing, a youth who has plead or been found guilty (adjudicated delinquent) may be adjudicated a ward of the state and remanded to the custody of IDJJ, referred to by IDJJ as delinquency commitments.

Sentences to incarceration in IDJJ are indeterminate, meaning there is no set release date. However, the youth must be released by their 21st birthday or the maximum time an adult would serve for the same charge, whichever occurs first [705 *ILCS* 405/5-710(7)]. Release dates from IDJJ facilities are ultimately determined by the Illinois Prisoner Review Board (PRB) but IDJJ makes recommendations according to guidelines related to the youth's holding offense, criminal history, and behavior while incarcerated. Upon release from an IDJJ facility for a delinquency commitment, youth are supervised in the community by a parole agent. A youth's parole will last until their 21st birthday unless IDJJ or the PRB requests the court discharge the youth from custody (including early discharge from supervision). Requests are based on a determination the youth is rehabilitated, not a threat to public safety, and successfully complied with the conditions

¹ Illinois has several transfer provisions allowing for the prosecution of juveniles charged with specific offenses and over a certain age in the adult criminal court. See Bostwick (2010) for a discussion of transfer provisions.

of supervised release. Parole conditions for juveniles typically include attending school, refraining from law-violating behavior, abstinence from drugs and/or alcohol, and obtaining a high school degree, GED, or employment. Youth who fail to comply with the conditions of their parole may be re-incarcerated in an IDJJ facility, referred to as a technical violation commitment.

Youth may only be incarcerated in an IDJJ facility for a new sentence if they are between the ages of 13 and 16 for felony offenses or between the ages of 13 and 17 for misdemeanor offenses. However, since youth may remain on parole until their 21st birthdays, it is possible for a youth over the age of 17 to be in an IDJJ facility for a technical violation of their parole. Therefore, IDJJ houses youth ages 13 to 20.

In addition to delinquency commitments, Illinois allows for temporary, short-term commitments to IDJJ, or *court evaluations* (sometimes referred to as "bring-back orders"). A judge can order a youth to 30, 60, or 90-day commitments to IDJJ to assess a youth's needs and better inform sentencing decisions. After the assessment period, a judge can vacate the youth's commitment to IDJJ and impose a formal sentence, including probation or a delinquency commitment to IDJJ. Youth who have had their sentences vacated by a judge following a court evaluation are not required to be on parole unless the judge imposes a delinquency commitment.

This study examined re-arrests and re-incarcerations among youth released from IDJJ during state fiscal years 2005 through 2007 for both full delinquency commitments and court evaluations and sought to answer the following questions:

- 1. At what rate are youth released from IDJJ re-arrested for new offenses?
- 2. At what rate are released youth recommitted to an IDJJ facility for a new offense or a parole violation?
- 3. At what rate are individuals released from IDJJ subsequently committed to correctional facilities as adults for a new criminal offense?

Methodology

Sample

The study sample was derived from youth released from IDJJ facilities in state fiscal years (July 1 to June 30) 2005, 2006, and 2007. The sample included only youth released after a new sentence commitment from a juvenile court, which excludes youth released from technical violation commitments and those adjudicated in adult criminal court. Following the initial selection of youth released after serving a new sentence, these releases were separated into releases after a court evaluation and delinquency commitment releases, creating two distinct samples of youth that were analyzed separately. The rationale for delineating releases from court evaluation commitments and releases from delinquency commitments stems from the nature of the commitment. Court orders for evaluation are temporary or interim dispositions and are not considered to be a final sentence since these youth are returned before a judge to make a final sentencing decision. Further, youth who have their commitments vacated by the court at the end of the evaluation period are not required to undergo post-release supervision. Therefore, they theoretically are a population with unique needs and risks distinct from those who received full delinquency commitments. For these reasons, youth committed on full delinquency commitments are examined in chapter one, while those released after court evaluations are examined separately in chapter two.

If a youth exited IDJJ multiple times for new offenses during the three-year period, the earliest exit was selected to be included in each sample. Overall, there were 4,282 exits in the combined court evaluation and delinquency commitment samples. It was possible for the same youth to have both a court evaluation release and a delinquency commitment release during the time period examined. A total of 276 youth appeared in both samples, leaving 4,006 unique youth between the samples. There were 3,052 youth released from full delinquency commitments, examined in chapter one. There were also 1,230 youth exiting from court evaluation commitments, presented in chapter two.

Arrest information

The youth in the sample were linked to their prior arrests as recorded in Illinois' central repository for criminal history records information system (CHRI), housed by Illinois State Police (ISP). CHRI contains information that is statutorily mandated to be collected by arresting agencies, state's attorney's offices, circuit courts, and state and county correctional institutions. Upon arrest, an individual is fingerprinted and assigned a State Identification Number (SID) unique to those fingerprints. The arresting agency inputs arrest information onto either a paper card or into an electronic Livescan system which is then sent to ISP and checked for completion of mandatory fields. About 94 percent of all arrest cards in Illinois are submitted electronically via Livescan. ICJIA has access to CHRI through a special connection to ISP's backup server, which allows extraction of arrest information for specific individuals. Using name and date of birth, exact matches were first selected and reviewed, as is the ICJIA standard matching process. If there was not an exact match, researchers used the first three letters of the last name, the first three letters of the first name, and the date of birth. An SQL query into the system returned the

unique SIDs of potential matches. The researchers then manually examined the potential matches to confirm their accuracy and make adjustments. Once matches were confirmed, all arrest records for the matched individuals were pulled, cleaned, and analyzed.

Arrest data were pulled from ISP on November 22, 2010, and arrest incidents were limited to statutorily reportable arrests, excluding minor traffic violations and offenses that were a Class C misdemeanor or less in seriousness. CHRI entries for an issuance of a warrant or ordinance violations were not included as either prior or subsequent arrest events. For the 3,052 individuals in the delinquency commitment sample, arrest records were matched for 98 percent (n=2,983). Of those with matched criminal histories, 91 percent had at least one arrest in the system prior to their sample incarceration (n=2,723). While it would be expected that all youth in the study have at least one prior arrest, the CHRI system is limited to events that are submitted. Due to the nature of this system, there is an inherent error rate as evidenced by the 9 percent whose arrests were not posted prior to incarceration. Illinois statute does not require arresting agencies to submit misdemeanor arrests to CHRI for juveniles, so it is possible that such an arrest occurred, but was not submitted. Unfortunately, there is currently no way to verify the reason for missing arrests in CHRI. For the 1,230 youth exiting after serving time in IDJJ for a court evaluation, arrest records were matched for 1,205 (98 percent).

For this study, offenses were categorized into seven groups: offenses against a person; property offenses; sex offenses; weapons offenses; drug offenses; status offenses; and all other offenses. Offenses against a person included offenses such as battery and homicide and included most violations of 720 ILCS 5/9 through 720 ILCS 5/14, except for sex offenses. Property offenses include those in the Part C of the Criminal Code of 1961 of the Illinois Compiled Statutes [720 ILCS 5/15 through 720 ILCS 5/21.3] along with motor vehicle theft [625 ILCS 5/4-103]. However, robbery was classified as an offense against a person because it involves the use or threat of force against a person [720 ILCS 5/18]. Sex offenses, including criminal sexual assault, were placed into a category separate from crimes against a person and encompassed violations of 720 ILCS 5/11. Weapons offenses, such as unlawful use of a weapon, included violations of 720 ILCS 5/24. Drug offenses included violations of the Cannabis Control Act [720 ILCS 550], the Illinois Controlled Substances Act [720 ILCS 570], the Drug Paraphernalia Control Act [720 ILCS 600], the Hypodermic Syringes and Needles Act [720 ILCS 635], the Use of Intoxicating Compounds Act [720 ILCS 690], and the three methamphetamine acts [720 ILCS 646; 720 ILCS 647; 720 ILCS 648]. Status offenses included misrepresentation of age by a minor to purchase alcohol [235 ILCS 5/10-1(e)], possession or consumption of liquor by a minor [235 ILCS 5/6-20(e)], driving with a blood alcohol content more than 0.00 but less than 0.08 (zero tolerance) [625 ILCS 5/11-501.8], minors requiring authoritative intervention, and truancy [705 ILCS 405]. Minor traffic violations and offenses that were Class C misdemeanors or less in seriousness were excluded. The remaining offenses, such as disorderly conduct or mob action, were classified as "other" offenses.

In addition to classifying offenses into offense types, this study also classified offenses as violent or non-violent based on the statutory definition provided in the Rights of Crime Victims and Witnesses Act [725 *ILCS* 120/ et seq.]. Violent offenses were defined as any offense that involved bodily harm or the threat of bodily harm, and encompasses most offenses against a person, most sex offenses, such as criminal sexual assault, and some property offenses such as

arson. However, not all offenses against a person are considered violent (such as reckless conduct or aiding child abduction) nor are all sex offenses considered violent (such as prostitution). A complete list of the offenses classified as violent is provided in *Appendix A*.

Incarceration information

In addition to matching youth to their prior arrest records, the sample was linked to any prior incarcerations (from 1993 forward) in IDJJ facilities using the IDJJ number. Each youth is assigned a unique IDJJ number upon initial admission to an IDJJ facility. That number remains a unique identifier for that youth in all subsequent incarcerations with IDJJ. Although admissions were examined back to state fiscal year 1993, the age minimum of 13 for IDJJ admission makes it impossible that any youth in the sample would have been incarcerated prior to 1997. In addition to prior incarcerations, subsequent admissions to IDJJ through state fiscal year 2009, the most current admissions available for examination at the time the study was conducted, were pulled.

The IDJJ number does not follow a youth should he be incarcerated as an adult in the Illinois Department of Corrections (IDOC). Using all IDOC admissions between 1993 and 2009, the researchers first queried for exact name and date of birth matches. After reviewing those matches for accuracy, the researchers then matched using the first three letters of the first name, first three letters of the last name, and date of birth. After the matches were reviewed, all admissions to IDOC through state fiscal year 2009 were pulled.

Data limitations

There are a number of limitations to this study that should be considered when examining the results. Any attempts to compare or generalize these results with another state should be done only after a comparable population is identified, especially when examining youth committed for a court evaluation. It also is important to make sure that recidivism is being measured similarly and that the follow-up periods are comparable. In addition, these results may not be generalizable or comparable to other juvenile justice populations. Youth sent to IDJJ are generally considered to be at a higher risk for re-offending than probation populations or other diverted juveniles.

The availability of suitable Illinois data is lacking in some areas. For example, convictions and other court data are not reliably reported to CHRI for juveniles. As these data currently exist, anyone attempting to link convictions with individuals would have to request that information from each county or circuit court and compile the data into a single matched dataset requiring extensive resources. Therefore, only re-arrest and re-incarceration were analyzed.

In addition, no centralized repository or database containing treatment information exists for individuals after release from an IDJJ facility, which makes determining rehabilitative progress difficult. The IDJJ and IDOC population files utilized for this study do not contain treatment information. Determining programming or treatment the youth in the sample received and subsequent effects on recidivism was not possible.

The datasets used in this study are generally recognized as being some of the best for use in Illinois research. IDOC and IDJJ files are consistently updated and corrected as errors are

discovered. CHRI files are periodically subjected to audits for completeness and accuracy by ICJIA. However, some inconsistencies were found in both sets of files and manually corrected whenever possible. Some dates in corrections files were not correctly carried over between admissions, which researchers were able to manually check and correct. Further, there were instances with CHRI entries where the same individual was assigned more than one SID, and others in which two different individuals were assigned to the same SID. Researchers manually corrected errors as they were identified.

Chapter One: Youth released after a delinquency commitment to IDJJ

Sample demographics

The sample consisted of 3,052 youth released from IDJJ after serving a court-imposed sentence. Thirty-six percent were released in state fiscal year 2005 (n=1,086), 32 percent were released in 2006 (n=988), and 32 percent were released in 2007 (n=978). *Table 1* provides the descriptive characteristics of the delinquency sample.

Characteristic	n	Percent
Race		
White	1,092	35.8%
Black	1,613	52.9%
Hispanic	333	10.9%
Other	14	0.5%
Sex		
Female	322	10.6%
Male	2,730	89.4%
Last grade completed		
5 th grade	18	0.6%
6 th grade	110	3.6%
7 th grade	364	11.9%
Grade school graduate (8 th grade)	1,262	41.4%
9 th grade	748	24.5%
10 th grade	345	11.3%
11 th grade	73	2.4%
High school graduate/GED	47	1.5%
Unknown or missing	85	2.8%
Age at admission		
13	98	3.2%
14	326	10.7%
15	726	23.8%
16	1,144	37.5%
17	582	19.1%
18	132	4.3%
19	25	0.8%
20	19	0.6%

Table 1Sample descriptive characteristics

Table 1, continued

Characteristic	n	Percent
Age at exit		
13	13	0.4%
14	138	4.5%
15	442	14.5%
16	909	29.8%
17	1,012	33.2%
18	376	12.3%
19	111	3.6%
20	51	1.7%
Violent offense		
No	1,926	63.1%
Yes	1,126	36.9%
Offense type		
Person	944	30.9%
Property	1,315	43.1%
Drug	357	11.7%
Weapons	175	5.7%
Sex	184	6.0%
Other	77	2.5%
Offense class		
Misdemeanor	463	15.2%
Class 4	490	16.1%
Class 3	593	19.4%
Class 2	837	27.4%
Class 1	502	16.5%
Class X	154	5.1%
First degree murder	13	0.4%
Security level		
Minimum	1,073	35.2%
Medium	1,791	58.7%
Maximum	180	5.9%
Unknown or missing	8	0.3%
Release institution		
IYC – Chicago	397	13.0%
IYC – Harrisburg	576	18.9%
IYC – Joliet	316	10.4%
IYC – Kewanee	209	6.9%
IYC – Murphysboro	465	15.2%
IYC – Pere Marquette	97	3.2%
IYC – St. Charles	757	24.8%
IYC - Warrenville	235	7.7%

Eighty-nine percent of youth in the sample were male (n=2,730), 53 percent were black (n=1,613), and 36 percent were white (n=1,092). The average age at admission was 15.78 years (SD=1.2) while the average age at exit was 16.51 years (SD=1.2). For 41 percent of the sample, 8th grade was the last grade completed (n=1,262) and 16 percent had not completed grade school (n=492). While, 81 percent of the sample had at least graduated from grade school (n=2,475), only 40 percent had completed some high school (ninth grade or higher) (n=1,213). Less than 2 percent had graduated high school or obtained a GED, however, given the average age of under 18, this was expected.

The majority of the sample (63 percent) were exiting IDJJ facilities after serving sentences for non-violent offenses (n=1,926) and 85 percent had served sentences for felonies (n=2,589). In Illinois, classes are used to define the severity of criminal offenses, with severity meaning the potential sentence length. Misdemeanors are classified as C through A, with Class C indicating the least serious and Class A the most serious. Felonies are classified as 4 through 1, with an additional Class X category. Class 4 felonies are the least serious, while Class X offenses are considered so serious that they are ineligible for probation. Class M is used separately to classify first degree murder. In this sample, Class 2 offenses were the most common (27 percent, n=837) followed by Class 3 offenses (19 percent, n=593). The most common types of offenses youth were incarcerated for were property offenses (43 percent, n=1,315) and offenses against a person (31 percent, n=944).

Security levels are assessed at various times throughout a youth's stay in an IDJJ facility and are used to determine facility placement. Security levels are intended to reflect the risk the individual poses to themselves, other inmates, staff, and their risk of escape. This study only included the last security level assessed prior to release. This information was missing for eight youth (0.26 percent). More than half of youth were last assessed at a medium security level (59 percent, n=1,791), followed by minimum (35 percent, n=1,073), and then maximum (6 percent, n=180). Youth were released from all eight of the Illinois Youth Centers (IYC). The most common release facility was IYC- St. Charles (25 percent, n=757), followed by IYC-Harrisburg (19 percent, n=576) and IYC-Murphysboro (15 percent, n=456). *Figure 1* shows the location of the eight IYCs in Illinois.



Figure 1 Location of IDJJ Youth Centers

Note: The location of the flags within the counties does not indicate the exact location of the facilities.

Prior arrests

The number of prior arrests for the sample ranged from zero to 31, with a mean of 4.85 arrests (SD=4.5) and a median of three, indicating that arrest counts are slightly positive-skewed. Seventy-nine percent had at least one prior felony arrest (n=2,365) and 63 percent had at least one prior violent arrest (n=1,866). Seventy-one percent of the sample had at least one prior arrest for a property offense, 59 percent had at least one prior arrest for an offense against a person (n=1,770), and 39 percent for an offense categorized as *other* (such as disorderly conduct, mob action, fleeing, and eluding a peace officer). One-third had at least one prior arrest for a drug offense (n=997), 13 percent for a weapons offense (n=375), 10 percent for status offenses (n=286), and 6 percent for sex offenses (n=192).

In many cases, there will be multiple charges tied to a single arrest. To account for this, the number of charges in all prior arrests was examined. The sample had an average of 6.4 prior charges (SD=5.5) and total prior charges ranged from 0 to 41. On average, the sample had 2.8 prior felony charges (SD=2.9) and 1.7 prior violent charges (SD=2.2). *Table 2* provides an overview of prior arrest statistics. The standard deviation (SD), is the typical distance of a value from the mean and is used as a measure of the variability in the distribution of a variable. When compared to the mean, a large standard deviation indicates a high level of variation, with values for that variable spread out from the mean. A small standard deviation indicates that the values are more closely grouped around the mean.

Prior arrests/charges	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	SD
Prior arrests	0	31	4.85	3.0	4.5
Violent offense arrests	0	21	1.47	1.0	1.9
Felony offense arrests	0	20	2.31	2.0	2.4
Person offense arrests	0	21	1.41	1.0	1.9
Sex offense arrests	0	3	0.07	0.0	0.3
Property offense arrests	0	22	2.11	1.0	2.6
Drug offense arrests	0	20	0.96	0.0	2.0
Weapons offense arrests	0	5	0.15	0.0	0.4
Status offense arrests	0	12	0.14	0.0	0.5
Other offense arrests	0	12	0.63	0.0	1.0
Prior charges	0	41	6.36	5.0	5.5
Violent offense charges	0	23	1.70	1.0	2.2
Felony offense charges	0	24	2.81	2.0	2.9

Table 2Prior arrest descriptive characteristics

Table 3 provides information on prior arrests by incarceration offense and offense class. As seen in the table, counts of prior arrests are typically skewed and therefore the median provides a less biased statistic than the mean.

Incarceration	Prior arrests			Prior	Prior felony arrests			Prior violent arrests		
offense	Mean	SD	Median	Mean	SD	Median	Mean	SD	Median	
Offense class										
Misdemeanor	3.67	3.89	2.00	1.22	1.89	1.00	1.44	2.06	1.00	
Class 4	7.09	4.75	6.00	3.54	2.82	3.00	1.62	1.82	1.00	
Class 3	4.35	4.00	3.00	1.91	1.80	1.00	1.82	2.02	1.00	
Class 2	5.05	4.77	4.00	2.50	2.31	2.00	1.35	1.80	1.00	
Class 1	4.39	4.34	3.00	2.35	2.50	2.00	1.07	1.48	1.00	
Class X	3.81	4.25	2.00	2.09	2.33	1.00	1.66	1.74	1.00	
First-degree										
murder	2.38	1.5	2.00	1.54	0.88	1.00	1.69	1.25	1.00	
Offense type										
Person	4.62	4.44	3.00	1.98	2.10	1.00	2.15	2.15	2.00	
Property	4.39	4.38	3.00	2.10	2.23	2.00	1.01	1.56	0.00	
Drug	8.28	4.46	8.00	4.62	2.92	5.00	1.53	1.75	1.00	
Weapons	5.55	4.29	5.00	2.25	2.01	2.00	1.64	1.93	1.00	
Sex	2.4	2.56	1.00	1.44	1.47	1.00	1.29	1.30	1.00	
Other	3.32	3.74	3.00	1.34	1.36	1.00	0.77	1.19	0.00	
Overall	4.85	4.52	3.00	2.31	2.38	2.00	1.47	1.85	1.00	

Table 3Descriptive statistics for the number of prior arrests
by incarceration offense class and type

Prior arrests by incarceration offense class

Youth released after serving sentences for Class 4 felonies had a median of six prior arrests, while Class 2 felonies had a median of four prior arrests. Class 3 and Class 1 offenders each had a median number of three prior arrests. First-degree murderers, Class X felons, and misdemeanants each had a median number of two prior arrests. *Figure 2* provides a graph of the median number of prior arrests by incarceration offense class.





■ Prior arrests ■ Prior felony arrests ■ Prior violent arrests

Youth released from IDJJ after serving sentences for Class 4 felonies had the highest median of prior felony arrests (three), followed by Class 2 and Class 1 offenders, each with a median of two prior felony arrests. First degree murders, Class X felons, and misdemeanants each had a median of one prior felony arrest. All offense classes had a median of one prior violent arrest.

Prior arrests by incarceration offense type

Youth in the sample released from IDJJ after serving a sentence for a drug offense had the highest median number of prior arrests (eight), followed by weapons offenders with a median of five prior arrests. Sex offenders had a median of one prior arrest, while person, property, and *other* offenders had a median of three prior arrests. *Figure 3* shows the median number of prior arrests by incarceration offense type.





Following a similar trend to overall prior arrests, drug offenders had the highest median number of prior felony arrests at five, followed by property and weapons offenders who each had a median number of prior felony arrests of two. All other offenders had a median of one prior felony arrest. Prior violent arrests were less common; half of property offenders and other offenders did not have prior violent arrests (median=zero). Youth incarcerated for offenses against a person had a median number of prior violent arrests of two, the highest of the offense types.

Prior incarcerations

Twenty-one percent of the youth in the sample had been previously incarcerated in IDJJ facilities (n=631). Eighteen percent had only one prior incarceration (n=562) and 3 percent had two or more previous incarcerations (n=69). Only 1 percent of the sample had prior incarcerations for technical parole violations (n=33). *Table 4* provides an overview of the descriptive statistics for prior incarcerations for the sample.

Prior incarcerations	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	SD
Prior incarcerations	0	5	0.24	0.0	0.50
New sentence incarcerations	0	4	0.22	0.0	0.50
Technical violation					
incarcerations	0	4	0.02	0.0	0.20
Violent offenses	0	2	0.07	0.0	0.30
Felony offenses	0	3	0.18	0.0	0.40
Person offenses	0	2	0.06	0.0	0.26
Sex offenses	0	1	0.01	0.0	0.08
Property offenses	0	2	0.11	0.0	0.34
Drug offenses	0	2	0.02	0.0	0.17
Weapons offenses	0	1	0.01	0.0	0.09
Other offenses	0	2	0.01	0.0	0.08

 Table 4

 Prior incarceration descriptive characteristics

By the nature of how descriptive statistics are calculated, the average prior incarcerations will be slightly higher than zero while the median number of prior incarcerations will be zero. Therefore, it is not possible to distinguish any differences in prior incarcerations by incarceration offense type and class.

Recidivism

Recidivism after release from IDJJ was defined in four ways: any re-arrest, any re-incarceration in a juvenile or adult facility, re-incarceration resulting from a conviction in juvenile court, and incarceration in an adult facility or an incarceration resulting from a conviction in criminal (adult) court. Re-incarceration was further delineated by new sentence admissions and admissions for a technical violation of the youth's parole. Youth subsequently admitted to IDJJ facilities for convictions in the criminal court were classified as "adult" incarcerations. The researchers chose to classify re-incarceration as juvenile or adult based on how the courts prosecuted the offense, rather than solely by type of facility in which the youth were incarcerated. Youth convicted as adults will likely be sent to a juvenile facility solely due to their age. These youth technically entered the adult criminal justice system by virtue of their conviction in an adult court and are considered as recidivists in the adult system. However, the same distinction is not made for arrests as criminal court transfers are sought by prosecutors or the court and not by law enforcement.

Re-arrest

Of the 2,983 youth matched to arrest records, 91 percent were re-arrested between the date of their release and November 22, 2010 (between three and seven years, depending on the calendar year of release). Subsequent arrests ranged from zero to 30, with an average of five arrests (SD=4.2) and a median of four. Minor traffic, warrant, and ordinance arrests were excluded from these analyses. Seventy-six percent of the sample were re-arrested for at least one felony (n=2,264) and the number of felony re-arrests ranged from none to 12, with an average of two (SD=1.9) and a median of two. Fifty-nine percent of the sample were re-arrested at least once for a violent offense (n=1,768). Violent re-arrests ranged from none to 16, with an average of 1.25 arrests (SD=1.6) and a median of one.

Sixty-one percent of youth had at least one subsequent arrest for a property offense (n=1,832) and 58 percent had at least one re-arrest for an offense against a person. Forty-nine percent of youth had at least one re-arrest for a drug offense (n=1463), 18 percent for a weapons offense (n=537), 16 percent for a status offense (n=485), and 3 percent for a sex offense (n=97). In addition, 58 percent of the sample had at least one arrest for an *other* offense (n=1,729), such as disorderly conduct, DUI, and mob action. *Table 5* provides the descriptive statistics for re-arrests of the youth in the sample.

Re-arrest type	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	SD
Total re-arrests	0	30	4.87	4.00	4.22
Violent offenses	0	16	1.25	1.00	1.63
Felony offenses	0	12	2.04	2.00	1.90
Person offenses	0	13	1.21	1.00	1.60
Sex offenses	0	5	0.04	0.00	0.23
Property offenses	0	19	1.55	1.00	1.98
Drug offenses	0	20	1.37	0.00	2.24
Weapons offenses	0	4	0.24	0.00	0.57
Status offenses	0	12	0.27	0.00	0.82
Other offenses	0	19	1.22	1.00	1.60
Total re-arrest charges	0	53	7.24	6.00	6.34
Violent re-arrest charges	0	25	1.56	1.00	2.17
Felony re-arrest charges	0	29	2.80	2.00	2.90

Table 5Re-arrest descriptive statistics

Sixty percent of the youth matched to CHRI were arrested for the first time within the first year after their release (n=1,794). Seventeen percent were arrested for the first time during the second year (n=512), 8 percent during the third year (n=243), 4 percent during the fourth year (n=113), 1 percent in the fifth year (n=39), 0.5 percent during the sixth year (n=14), and one person was arrested for the first time in the seventh year after his release. Nine percent were never rearrested during the study period (n=267).

Cumulatively, 86 percent were re-arrested within three years of release (n=2,549) and by the fourth year, 89 percent had been re-arrested (n=2,662). *Figure 4* depicts the cumulative percentage of youth re-arrested in each year after initial release.



Figure 4 Percent re-arrested post release, by year

Youth released from IDJJ for sex offenses were the least likely to be re-arrested—27 percent were not re-arrested during the study period (n=45). Conversely, the highest re-arrest rates were among drug offenders, who had a three-year re-arrest rate of 95 percent and an overall re-arrest rate of 96 percent. In terms of incarceration offense severity, youth released from IDJJ facilities after serving a sentence for a Class 4 felony were the most likely to be re-arrested within three years (92 percent, n=444), followed by Class 3 offenders (87 percent, n=500). In regards to security level, youth last assessed as minimum security had the lowest re-arrest rates, with 10 percent never being re-arrested during the study period (n=109) and 84 percent being re-arrested within three years of release (n=883). *Table 6* provides the cumulative re-arrest rates by year by offender characteristic.

Offender/offense	Never	Cumulative re-arrest rates				
characteristic	re-	Within	Within	Within	Within	Within 5
	arrested	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	or more
		-				years
Offense type						
Person	8.9%	59.1%	77.1%	85.2%	89.3%	91.1%
Property	8.5%	59.0%	77.4%	85.8%	89.9%	91.5%
Drug	4.2%	80.8%	91.8%	94.6%	95.5%	95.8%
Weapons	6.5%	64.1%	82.4%	91.2%	92.9%	93.5%
Sex	26.5%	31.8%	46.5%	61.2%	67.1%	73.5%
Other	5.4%	50.0%	67.6%	81.1%	89.2%	94.6%
Offense class						
Misdemeanor	12.0%	61.1%	74.2%	82.4%	85.8%	88.0%
Class 4	4.4%	72.0%	87.1%	92.1%	94.8%	95.6%
Class 3	7.8%	57.8%	76.4%	86.8%	89.8%	92.2%
Class 2	9.8%	59.6%	77.0%	83.9%	88.8%	90.2%
Class 1	8.0%	57.7%	76.7%	86.5%	89.8%	92.0%
Class X	16.9%	41.2%	65.5%	76.4%	80.4%	83.1%
First degree	15.4%	30.8%	38.5%	46.2%	84.6%	84.6%
Security level						
Minimum	10.4%	57.0%	76.2%	84.4%	88.2%	89.6%
Medium	8.4%	60.7%	77.3%	85.6%	89.5%	91.6%
Maximum	6.2%	72.9%	83.6%	89.8%	92.1%	93.8%
Race						
White	13.3%	46.7%	67.3%	77.9%	83.7%	86.7%
Black	6.1%	68.4%	82.8%	90.1%	92.7%	93.9%
Hispanic	9.6%	63.2%	82.0%	86.7%	89.8%	90.4%
Other	0.0%	57.1%	92.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Gender						
Female	20.9%	34.5%	55.7%	66.5%	75.0%	79.1%
Male	7.5%	63.2%	79.9%	87.7%	90.9%	92.5%

 Table 6

 Cumulative re-arrest rates by year and by offender/offense characteristic

Table	6,	continued
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Offender/offense	Never	Cumulative re-arrest rates				
characteristic	re- arrested	Within 1 year	Within 2 years	Within 3 years	Within 4 years	Within 5 or more
				-		years
Education						
5 th grade	11.8%	64.7%	76.5%	76.5%	88.2%	88.2%
6 th grade	13.5%	48.1%	69.2%	76.9%	84.6%	86.5%
7 th grade	11.3%	50.7%	71.3%	81.4%	86.2%	88.7%
Grade school						
graduate (8 th						
grade)	7.3%	65.6%	81.9%	88.1%	91.5%	92.7%
9 th grade	7.4%	60.5%	77.1%	87.0%	90.5%	92.6%
10 th grade	10.4%	55.4%	74.4%	84.2%	86.9%	89.6%
11 th grade	25.4%	52.1%	63.4%	70.4%	71.8%	74.6%
High school						
graduate	26.7%	30.0%	50.0%	66.7%	73.3%	73.3%
GED	12.5%	37.5%	75.0%	81.3%	87.5%	87.5%
Unknown or						
missing	4.7%	70.6%	80.0%	88.2%	92.9%	95.3%
Age at exit						
13	15.4%	53.8%	69.2%	76.9%	84.6%	84.6%
14	12.7%	47.0%	59.7%	73.1%	82.1%	87.3%
15	9.3%	50.7%	72.0%	83.9%	89.0%	90.7%
16	7.2%	62.8%	80.7%	87.0%	90.7%	92.8%
17	6.8%	67.0%	83.2%	89.7%	92.0%	93.2%
18	14.7%	58.2%	70.7%	80.2%	83.7%	85.3%
19	15.6%	42.2%	67.9%	77.1%	81.7%	84.4%
20	12.2%	49.0%	65.3%	79.6%	87.8%	87.8%

White youth had the lowest three-year re-arrest rates (78 percent, n=816), while Hispanic/Latino youth had a rate of 87 percent (n=280), and black youth had the highest rate at 90 percent (n=1,439). Females were less likely than males to be re-arrested within three years of release (67 percent and 88 percent, respectively), as were youth who had completed high school (67 percent).

Three-year re-arrest rates were lowest for youth 14 years of age at the time they exited IDJJ facilities (73 percent, n=98), followed by 13-year-olds (77 percent, n=10), and 19-year-olds (77 percent, n=84). The highest three-year re-arrest rates were seen among 16- and 17-year-olds at 87 and 89 percent, respectively.

Three-year re-arrest

As the typical follow-up period for recidivism studies is three years, this study further analyzed re-arrest data on the three-year follow-up period. Any re-arrest that occurred after the third year following release was re-coded as "not re-arrested". With this new classification method, 14.5 percent of the sample were not re-arrested (n=434) while 85.5 percent were re-arrested (n=2,549). *Table 7* provides the three-year re-arrest rates by incarceration offense type and offense class.

Offender/offense characteristic	Valid n	Not re-arrested within three years of release		Re-arrested within three years of release	
		n	%	n	%
Offense type					
Person	925	137	14.8%	788	85.2%
Property	1,289	183	14.2%	1,106	85.8%
Drug	355	19	5.4%	336	94.6%
Weapons	170	15	8.8%	155	91.2%
Sex	170	66	38.8%	104	61.2%
Other	74	14	18.9%	60	81.1%
Offense class					
Misdemeanor	450	79	17.6%	371	82.4%
Class 4	482	38	7.9%	444	92.1%
Class 3	576	76	13.2%	500	86.8%
Class 2	825	133	16.1%	692	83.9%
Class 1	489	66	13.5%	423	86.5%
Class X	148	35	23.6%	113	76.4%
First degree					
murder	13	7	53.8%	6	46.2%
Security level					
Minimum	1,046	163	15.6%	883	84.4%
Medium	1,752	252	14.4%	1,500	85.6%
Maximum	177	18	10.2%	159	89.8%
Race					
White	1,048	232	22.1%	816	77.9%
Black	1,,598	159	9.9%	1439	90.1%
Hispanic	323	43	13.3%	280	86.7%
Other	14	0	0.0%	14	100.0%
Gender					
Female	316	106	33.5%	210	66.5%
Male	2,667	328	12.3%	2,339	87.7%

 Table 7

 Three-year re-arrest rates by offender/offense characteristic

Offender/offense characteristic	Valid n	Not re-arrested within three years of release		Re-arrested within three years of release	
		n	%	n	%
Education					
5 th grade	17	4	23.5%	13	76.5%
6 th grade	104	24	23.1%	80	76.9%
7 th grade	355	66	18.6%	289	81.4%
Grade school					
graduate					
(8 th grade)	1,240	148	11.9%	1,092	88.1%
9 th grade	729	95	13.0%	634	87.0%
10 th grade	336	53	15.8%	283	84.2%
11 th grade	71	21	29.6%	50	70.4%
High school					
graduate	30	10	33.3%	20	66.7%
GED	16	3	18.8%	13	81.3%
Unknown or					
missing	85	10	11.8%	75	88.2%
Age at exit					
13	13	3	23.1%	10	76.9%
14	134	36	26.9%	98	73.1%
15	428	69	16.1%	359	83.9%
16	895	116	13.0%	779	87.0%
17	987	102	10.3%	885	89.7%
18	368	73	19.8%	295	80.2%
19	109	25	22.9%	84	77.1%
20	49	10	20.4%	39	79.6%

Table 7, continued

Due to the high rates of re-arrest present in this sample, identifying predictors of re-arrest are difficult. Simply predicting that all youth would be re-arrested would result in 86 percent accuracy. It is unlikely that statistical models would significantly improve such predictions and little variation makes it difficult for analyses to identify models. However, results of bivariate analyses indicate that while certain demographic and incarceration characteristics were significantly correlated with re-arrest within three years of release, these associations were substantively weak (*Table 8* and *Table 9*). Further, some statistical tests, particularly chi-square tests, are sensitive to sample size and may produce significant results due to larger samples. However, due to the highly skewed distribution of three-year re-arrest rates, tests on the strength of association, such as lambda, yield misleading results. Consequently, examining the relationship between categorical variables such as gender or race, are more informed by a discussion of relative risk or odds ratios.

Relationship between demographic characteristics and three-year re-arrest

Age at admission was slightly positively correlated with re-arrest within three years ($r_{rb} = .07$, p<.001), however this correlation is weak and likely influenced by the sample size. This potentially spurious correlation is further evidenced by the fact that age at exit is not significantly

correlated with re-arrest (r_{rb} =.01, p= .75). Additionally, race was significantly, although weakly, correlated with re-arrest (Cramer's V=.16, p<.001) as was gender (phi=.19, p<.001). The last grade completed was not significantly correlated with re-arrest (r_{rb} =-.02, p=.29). *Table 8* provides the bivariate correlations and associations between offender characteristics and whether or not an individual was re-arrested within three years of release.

Characteristic	Pearson's r _{pb}
Age at admission	0.07***
Age at exit	0.01
Last grade completed	-0.02
Length of stay	-0.14***
Prior arrests	0.20***
Prior felony arrests	0.17***
Prior violent arrests	0.08***

Table 8
Results of point-biserial correlation analyses with three-year re-arrest

* p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Relationship between incarceration characteristics and three-year re-arrest

Incarceration offense type was significantly associated with re-arrest ($X^2=110.53$, 5 df, p<.001), and more serious offense classes were less likely to be re-arrested, although the correlation was weak (Cramer's V=0.13, p<.001). Longer lengths of stay in IDJJ correlated with lower re-arrest rates (r_{pb} =-.14, p<.001), although the last assessed security level was not significantly associated with three year re-arrest.

Table 9
Results of chi-square analysis with three year re-arrest

Characteristic	Chi-square	df	Phi/
			Cramer's V
Race	78.51	3	0.16***
Sex	102.58	1	0.19***
Incarceration offense type	110.53	5	0.19***
Incarceration offense class	49.43	6	0.13***
Last security level	3.67	2	0.04

* p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Relationship between criminal history and three-year re-arrest

Additional bivariate analyses revealed that certain types of prior arrests were weakly correlated with three-year re-arrest rates. The number of prior property arrests (r_{pb} =.16, p<.001), drug arrests (r_{pb} =.15, p<.001), and arrests for offenses against a person (r_{pb} =.10, p<.001) were all positively, but weakly, correlated with re-arrest within three years of release. The number of prior sex offense arrests, however, were negatively correlated with re-arrest (r_{pb} =-.11, p<.001).

An individual's criminal history is generally recognized as an important predictor of subsequent criminal behavior. For this sample, indicators of extensive criminal backgrounds were linked to higher likelihood of re-arrest. Youth who were re-arrested within three years had a higher average number of prior arrests than youth who were not re-arrested (t= -16.83, 1015 df, p<.001). However, correlations found this relationship to be rather weak ($r_{pb}=.20$, p<.001). A higher average number of prior felony arrests was also linked to a higher likelihood of being re-arrested within three years (t= -13.29, 953 df, p<.001). There was a weak correlation between the number of prior felony arrests and re-arrest ($r_{pb}=.17$, p<.001). Youth who had more prior arrests for violent offenses also showed a higher likelihood for re-arrest within three years (t= -5.08, p<.001). While this correlation was statistically significant, it was also found to be a weak relationship ($r_{pb}=.08$, p<.001).

Youth who were previously incarcerated would generally be considered at higher risk for reoffending than youth who have only been arrested (Cottle, Lee, & Heilbrun, 2001). Given the higher perceived risk, one would expect that youth who have been previously incarcerated would have higher likelihoods of re-offending and being re-arrested after release. However, with delinquency commitments, a prior incarceration was a rare enough event that no significant relationship was seen between prior stays in IDJJ and future offending (t=-1.84, 640 df, p=.07). *Table 10* provides the t-test results of the difference between youth arrested within three years and those that were not.

Criminal history	Not re-arrested within 3 years (mean)	Re-arrested within 3 years (mean)	t statistic
Prior arrests	2.65	5.23	-16.83***
Prior felony arrests	1.36	2.48	-13.29***
Prior violent arrests	1.11	1.53	-5.08***
Prior IDJJ incarcerations	0.20	0.25	-1.84

Table 10Results of t-tests with three-year re-arrest

* p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Likelihood of re-arrest within three years

Compared to white youth, the odds of being re-arrested within three years of release, not controlling for other factors, were 2.57 times greater for black youth and 1.85 times greater for Hispanic youth. The odds of a male being re-arrested within three years were 3.60 times higher than females, and youth who had a high school diploma or GED were 0.43 times lower than for youth without a completed high school education. Compared to youth released after having served a sentence for an offense against a person, the odds of a property offender being re-arrested within three years were 3.08 times greater, and weapons offender odds were 1.80 times greater. The odds of a youth incarcerated for a sex offense being re-arrested within three years were 0.27 times those of youth incarcerated for offenses against a person.

The odds of a youth incarcerated for Class 4 felonies being re-arrested within three years were 2.49 times greater compared to youth incarcerated for misdemeanor offenses, while the odds for youth incarcerated for Class 3 felonies were 1.40 times greater. The odds of a youth incarcerated for a Class 2 felony being re-arrested within three years were 1.11 times those of misdemeanants, while youth incarcerated for Class 1 felonies had 1.37 times greater odds. Youth incarcerated for Class X felonies (OR=0.69) and youth incarcerated for first-degree murder (OR=0.18) had lower odds of being re-arrested within three years than misdemeanants. Youth last assessed a medium security risk were about as likely to be re-arrested within three years (OR=1.10) while youth assessed as maximum risk had slightly higher odds of being re-arrested (OR=1.63). *Table 11* provides a summary of the odds ratios for three-year re-arrest rates by characteristic.

Characteristic	Odds ratio
Race (reference: white)	
Black	2.57
Hispanic	1.85
Gender (reference: female)	
Male	3.60
Education (reference: no HS or GED)	
HS or GED	0.43
Incarceration offense	
(reference: offense against a person)	
Property	1.05
Drug	3.08
Weapons	1.80
Sex	0.27
Incarceration class	
(reference: misdemeanor)	
First-degree murder	0.18
Class X	0.69
Class 1	1.37
Class 2	1.11
Class 3	1.40
Class 4	2.49
Security level (reference: minimum)	
Medium	1.10
Maximum	1.63

Table 11Three-year re-arrest odds ratios by characteristic
Comparing Illinois re-arrest rates and other states

Comparing recidivism rates with other states can be difficult as many studies use varying definitions of recidivism and varying time periods. However, examining multiple states' recidivism rates can provide context and perspective to the rates found in this study.

Illinois' one-year and two-year re-arrest rates for youth released from IDJJ facilities were similar to those of other states. Sixty percent of youth released from IDJJ facilities were re-arrested within one year. Similarly, California reported re-arrest rates of 62 percent, Florida reported re-arrest rates of 59 percent, and Maryland reported re-arrest rates of 62 percent (Harris, Lockwood, & Mengers, 2009). New York, Texas, and Virginia reported lower one-year re-arrest rates at 49 percent, 43 percent, and 53 percent, respectively (Harris, Lockwood, & Mengers, 2009). *Figure 5* shows the one-year re-arrest rates of Illinois and six other states.



Two-year re-arrest rates in Illinois were 77 percent. The re-arrest rates for California (76 percent), Maryland (72 percent), and Virginia (72 percent) were similar, while New York (66 percent), North Carolina (63 percent), and Texas (66 percent) reported lower rates (Harris, Lockwood, & Mengers, 2009). *Figure 6* provides a comparison of two-year re-arrest rates of the seven states.



Figure 6 Comparison of two-year re-arrest rates in seven states

Time to first re-arrest

As there is little variation in the dependent variable of re-arrest for our sample (91 percent were subsequently arrested), logistic regression coefficients could not be estimated reliably. In order to effectively model the dichotomous re-arrest dependent variable, we used survival analysis techniques using the number of days to the first re-arrest incident that occurred post release. Specifically, we used Cox proportional hazards models with fixed (time invariant) covariates. The covariates used in our model consisted of demographic information (gender, race, age at exit, and last grade completed); criminal history information (number of prior arrests, number of prior violent arrests, number of prior incarcerations, and age at first arrest); IDJJ offense information (offense type and class); and length of stay in IDJJ. All of our variables were measured at one time and most were static variables that would not perceivably change during the study period. Some variables, such as education level, could plausibly change during the study time frame; however we were unable to track such changes.

Cox proportional hazards regression models the predictors of re-arrest at any time *t* and provides a hazard rate. The hazard rate is interpreted as the likelihood of an individual in the sample with a specific value on a predictor being re-arrested at any given time compared to the reference group. Conversely, a survival rate, as seen in *Figure 7*, provides the likelihood of not being arrested at any given time from our models. Approximately 9 percent of cases were censored (n=259) and model fit statistics indicated that some coefficients were significantly different from zero (-2LL=37287.86, X^2 =616.67, 19 df, p<.001).

Figure 7 Survival rate function for re-arrest by incarceration offense type



Table 12 provides the results of the Cox proportional hazards regression for first re-arrest. Compared to white youth, the hazard rate for black youth in the study was 32 percent higher $(\exp(b) = 1.32, p<.001)$. While Hispanic youth had a higher hazard rate than whites, it was not statistically significant. Individuals in the *other* racial category had a significantly higher hazard rate. However, interpretation of this finding is difficult as it is not a cohesive racial group. The hazard rate for males was 81 percent higher than females $(\exp(b)=1.810, p<.001)$. Last grade completed, age at exit, age at first arrest, and number of prior incarcerations were not significant predictors of hazard rates. However, each additional month a youth stayed in a facility decreased the hazard rate by approximately one percent $(\exp(b)=.992, p<.05)$. Youth exiting IDJJ facilities for drug offenses had hazard rates 15 percent higher than those exiting for person offenses, however this difference only approached significance $(\exp(b)=1.15, p=.054)$. Those exiting for sex offenses had hazard rates 41 percent lower $(\exp(b)=.592, p<.001)$.

Table 12Results of Cox proportional hazards regression analysis on first re-arrest

Predictor	В	S.E.	Exp(b)
Gender (female reference)			
Male	0.593	0.070	1.81***
Race (white reference)			
Black	0.279	0.048	1.322***
Hispanic	0.126	0.072	1.135
Other	0.702	0.271	2.018*
Education	-0.024	0.020	0.976
Length of stay (months)	-0.009	0.004	0.992*
Exit age	0.015	0.022	1.015
Incarceration offense type (person reference)			
Property	-0.014	0.054	0.986
Drug	0.142	0.074	1.153*
Weapons	-0.107	0.091	0.898
Sex	-0.524	0.105	0.592***
Other	-0.226	0.130	0.797
Offense class (misdemeanor reference)			
Class 3 & 4	-0.043	0.064	0.958
Class 1 & 2	-0.157	0.065	0.855*
Class X & M	-0.269	0.115	0.764*
Prior arrests	0.086	0.006	1.090***
Prior violent arrests	-0.037	0.014	0.964
Prior incarcerations	0.005	0.037	1.005
Age at first arrest	0.027	0.015	1.027

* p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Each additional prior arrest increased the hazard rate by 9 percent ($\exp(b)=1.09$, p<.001). Conversely, each additional prior violent arrest decreased hazard rates by 4 percent ($\exp(b)=0.96$, p<.001). Misdemeanor and Class 3 and 4 felonies did not have significantly different hazard rates. However, a current incarceration offense for a Class 1 or 2 felony, compared to misdemeanors, decreased hazard rates by 15 percent ($\exp(b)=.855$, p<.05) and a Class X or M offense decreased hazard rates by 24 percent ($\exp(b)=.764$, p<.05).

Re-incarceration

Re-incarceration data were examined through state fiscal year 2009, the most recent year available for examination at the time of the study. Of the 3,052 youth in the sample, 70 percent returned to prison between their date of release and June 30, 2009 (n=2,142). The length of time between when youth were released and the end of state fiscal year 2009 varied for each individual and ranged from a minimum of two years to a maximum of five years. Forty-four percent of youth were re-incarcerated within one year of release (n=1,334), 17 percent during the second year (n=525), 7 percent in the third year (n=207), 2 percent during the fourth year (n=71), and less than one percent were re-incarcerated for the first time five or more years after release (n=5). *Figure* 8 shows the cumulative post-release incarceration rates.



Figure 8

Many of these youth experienced multiple types of re-incarceration. Fifty-three percent were returned to juvenile facilities (n=1,612), while 34 percent were incarcerated as adults, either in an adult IDOC facility or in an IDJJ facility due to a conviction in criminal court (n=1,045). About 41 percent of youth were re-incarcerated for a new sentence as either or adults or juveniles (n=1,251) and 53 percent of youth were re-incarcerated for technical violations (n=1,619) of parole. *Figure 9* shows re-incarceration rates by admission type.



Figure 9 Re-incarceration by admission type

Note: TV = technical violation

Admission type

It is also informative to examine re-incarcerations as mutually exclusive groups, exploring the combinations of different types of returns youth experienced. Slightly less than half the youth in the sample only experienced one type of re-incarceration (49 percent, n=1,510). Twenty-nine percent of youth in the sample only were re-incarcerated for technical violations of juvenile parole conditions (n=884) while 3 percent of the sample only were returned as juveniles for new sentences (n=100). Seventeen percent were only re-incarcerated as adults for new sentences (n=526).

The remaining 51 percent of youth experienced multiple types of returns (n=1,542). Two percent were returned for both juvenile and adult new sentences (n=48), 4 percent were returned for new juvenile sentences and technical violations of juvenile parole. Fourteen percent experienced both technical violation returns as well as returns as adults for a new sentence (n=416), while 2 percent experienced returns as juveniles for technical violations, returns as juveniles for a new sentence, and returns as an adult for a new sentence (n=45). *Figure 10* provides a diagram of the returns as mutually exclusive groups.



Note: TV=technical violation

Re-incarceration by offense type

Examining what types of offenses youth are re-incarcerated for can help better understand their offending behaviors. However, since some youth have multiple re-incarcerations, they may be included in more than one offense group displayed in *Table 12*. For example, if a youth were re-incarcerated once for a property offense and another time for a drug offense, the youth would be counted once in property offenses and once in drug offenses. If a youth were re-incarcerated three times for property offenses, the youth would only be counted once in property offense. Re-incarcerations for new sentences occurred for 41 of the sample, and re-incarcerated for property offenses (n=479). *Table 12* provides detailed information on new sentence returns by offense type.

			Adult		Either juvenile or	
Offerna e turne	Te-mcarce		Te-Incarcer		auuit re-inc	
Offense type	n	%	n	%	n	%
Offense against a						
person	94	3.1%	283	9.3%	377	12.4%
Property offense	140	4.6%	339	11.1%	479	15.7%
Drug offense	54	1.5%	308	10.1%	353	11.6%
Weapons offense	26	0.9%	145	4.8%	171	5.6%
Sex offense	5	0.2%	34	1.1%	39	1.3%
Other offense	10	0.3%	41	1.3%	51	1.7%
Total new						
sentence returns	307	10.1%	1047	34.0%	1251	41.0%

Table 12New sentence re-incarcerations by offense type

Eleven percent of youth were re-incarcerated as adults for a new property offense (n=339) and 5 percent were re-incarcerated as juveniles for new property offenses (n=140). The second most common new re-incarceration sentence was for offenses against a person (12 percent, n=377). Nine percent of youth were returned as adults for an offense against a person (n=283) while 3 percent of youth were returned as juveniles for an offense against a person (n=94). Drug offenses were the third most common cause of new sentence re-incarceration at 12 percent (n=353). Ten percent of youth were re-incarcerated as adults for drug offenses (n=308) and 2 percent were returned as juveniles for drug offenses (n=45). *Figure 11* shows new sentence re-incarcerations by offense type.



Figure 11 New sentence re-incarcerations by offense type

First re-incarceration within two years

Youth in the sample were released from IDJJ between FY05 and FY07. While arrest records are available in real time, the most recent year IDJJ data were available for this study was FY09, providing a follow-up period for re-incarceration between two to four years, varying by the date of release. Combining re-incarceration data with varying time periods can potentially confound results, therefore in addition to all years, this study also examined re-incarcerations within the first two years (the minimum follow-up period common to all youth).

Of the 3,052 youth in the sample, 61 percent were returned to prison within two years (n=1,859). For 49 percent of the sample, the first re-incarceration was as a juvenile (n=1,482) while for 12 percent the first re-incarceration was as an adult (n=377). The majority of first re-incarcerations as juveniles (n=1,482) were for technical violations of parole (81 percent, n=1,198). The remaining 19 percent of juvenile first re-incarcerations were for new offenses (n=284).

Overall, 36 percent of all youth returned to correctional facilities within two years were for new offenses (n=661), while 64 percent were returned for technical violations (n=1,198). *Table 13* provides the return rates by type within two years after release.

Table 13First re-incarceration within two years, by re-incarceration type

Re-incarceration type	n	Percent of all youth (n=3,052)	Percent of all returns (n=1,859)
Not returned within two years	1,193	39.1%	-
First re-incarceration as juvenile	1,482	48.6%	79.7%
First re-incarceration as adult	377	12.4%	20.3%
First re-incarceration for a new offense	661	21.7%	35.6%
First re-incarceration for a technical violation	1,198	39.3%	64.4%
First re-incarceration for a juvenile new offense	284	9.4%	15.3%

Conclusion

Overall, youth released from IDJJ facilities after serving a court-imposed sentence in 2005 through 2007 were predominantly male, and more than half were black. The average age of released youth was 16.5 years old, and while the majority had completed grade school, only 40 percent had completed some high school. Most youth released from IDJJ had been admitted for non-violent offenses, most commonly property offenses, followed by offenses against a person.

About half of youth released had been initially admitted for offenses that were Class 3 and 4 felonies or misdemeanors and the majority of youth were last assessed at a medium security level prior to their release. The majority of youth were released from IYC St. Charles or IYC Harrisburg. Youth in the sample had been arrested prior to their incarceration an average of five times and had an average of six prior charges. The majority of youth had at least one arrest prior to incarceration for a property offense and a violent offense.

Youth incarcerated for Class 4 felony offenses had the highest average number of prior arrests and were the most likely to have been arrested for a felony offense prior to their incarcerations. Further, those incarcerated for drug offenses were the most likely to have prior arrests and prior felony arrests and sex offenders were the least likely to have prior arrests. The number of youth in the sample that had been previously incarcerated was low (21 percent) and the majority of those youth had only one prior incarceration. The most common conviction behind prior incarceration was for felony property offenses.

The majority of youth in the sample were re-arrested within five years of release (91 percent). Sixty percent were re-arrested within one year of release, 77 percent within two years of release, and 86 percent were re-arrested within three years of release. Illinois' re-arrest rates were similar

to those found by other states, which typically reported an average of 70 percent re-arrested within two years.

Certain characteristics were correlated with three year re-arrest rates: age, length of stay, criminal history, race, and gender. However, these correlations were generally weak and statistical significance may be influenced by sample size. Those with more extensive criminal histories (more prior arrests) were more likely to be re-arrested within three years. Drug offenders had the highest re-arrest rates (95 percent) while sex offenders had the lowest (61 percent). Class 4 offenders had the highest re-arrest rates (92 percent) while fewer than half of youth released for first-degree murder were re-arrested (46 percent). Females and youth who completed high school were less likely to be re-arrested within three years (67 percent for each group).

The majority of youth were re-incarcerated by the end of the study period (70 percent). Fortyfour percent were returned within one year of release, 61 percent within two years, and 68 percent within three years. Fifty-three percent were returned as juveniles while 34 percent returned as adults to either an IDOC facility or an IDJJ facility from the criminal court.

Forty-one percent were returned for new sentences and 53 percent returned at least once for a technical violation of parole or Mandatory Supervised Release. Youth were least likely to return as juveniles for a new sentence (10 percent), although this was likely affected by their aging out of the juvenile justice system. Forty-eight percent of youth returned to juvenile facilities for technical violations of parole. The majority of first re-incarcerations were for technical violations of parole (64 percent).

Information on juvenile correctional populations in Illinois has not been readily available in the past. This study provides a detailed examination of re-arrest and re-incarceration of youth released from Illinois juvenile correctional facilities. This population has received very little research attention and, consequently, is not well understood. The findings presented are consistent with other states' findings on their juvenile corrections populations. While re-arrest rates were quite high, Illinois re-arrest rates were in-line with many other states and re-incarceration rates were lower—fewer than half were re-incarcerated for new offenses.

Youth in this study were released from IDJJ facilities between July 1, 2004, and June 30, 2007, and were monitored under the adult parole model of IDOC. On July 1, 2006, the Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice began operations independent of IDOC. The new department was created to provide age-specific programming, but has been hindered in its ability to do so by funding cuts, staff turnover, and decreasing staffing levels. While some progress has been made despite these difficulties, the youth in this study were monitored under the adult parole model of IDOC. Two of the main purposes of post-release supervision are to maintain public safety and assist in the re-integration of individuals into society. Youth are developmentally different from adults and have specific needs and rehabilitative goals and juvenile parole models are tailored to these needs (Loughran et al., 2009; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith, 2006). IDJJ developed a plan for comprehensive aftercare and re-entry services for youth released from their facilities. Funding constraints have limited IDJJ in accomplishing this goal and youth in Illinois continue to be supervised by adult parole agents outside of Cook County (Connell, 2010).

Although these recidivism rates are high, this should not be interpreted to mean that IDJJ is failing. Short stays combined with a lack of resources make it difficult for IDJJ to provide the services and programming youth may need. In the current economic climate, IDJJ does not have the resources to and cannot be reasonably expected to affect positive change in these individuals. Further, with high caseloads and few juvenile-specific parole officers, implementation of IDJJ's proposed aftercare program is challenging. While this study was unable to account for programming and services needed and received, other studies have indicated that aftercare programming is crucial to successful community re-entry and reduction in recidivism (Kurlychek & Kempinen, 2006). As more information becomes available about incarcerated youth in Illinois, and as IDJJ works towards implementation of its aftercare system, the state will be better positioned to address the underlying causes of recidivism.

Chapter two: Youth released after a court evaluation

Sample demographics

The sample of youth incarcerated for court evaluations consisted of 1,230 unique individuals. Out of these youth, 36.5 percent (n=449) were released in SFY05, 32.3 percent (n=397) were released in SFY06, and the remaining 31.2 percent (n=384) were released in SFY07. Most of the youth in this sample were black (52.8 percent, n=650), just more than one-third were white (36.3 percent, n=446), and just less than 11 percent were Hispanic (n=132).

As would be expected based on general correctional population characteristics, almost all of the youth in the sample were male (88.9 percent, n=1,093). Youth in the sample tended to be slightly younger at admission and exit than the maximum age of juvenile jurisdiction in Illinois (age 16), with mean ages of 15.47 (SD=1.2) and 15.75 (SD =1.2), respectively. The average education level for the court evaluation sample was 8th grade. Only 36 percent of the sample had completed any high school (9th through 12th grade or GED), while 45 percent had completed grade school. Most of the youth in the sample were admitted to IDJJ for a non-violent offense (64 percent, n=788). The largest group of individuals were admitted to IDJJ for a property offense (46 percent, n=568), while 33 percent were committed for an offense against a person (n=409), about 10 percent for a drug offense (n=117), 6 percent for a weapons offense (n=76), and 3 percent for a sex offense (n=33). The remaining 2 percent were committed for *other* offenses (n=27). A more detailed examination of the sample characteristics among those incarcerated for court evaluations is found in *Table 14*.

Characteristic	n	Percent
Race		
White	446	36.3%
Black	650	52.8%
Hispanic	132	10.7%
Other	2	0.2%
Sex		
Female	137	11.1%
Male	1,093	88.9%

Table 14Sample descriptive characteristics

Characteristic	n	Percent
Last grade completed		
5 th grade	15	1.3%
6 th grade	53	4.4%
7 th grade	164	13.7%
Grade school graduate (8 th grade)	541	45.1%
9 th grade	282	23.5%
10 th grade	117	9.8%
11 th grade	22	1.8%
High school graduate/GED	6	0.5%
Age at admission		
13	64	5.2%
14	191	15.5%
15	344	28.0%
16	422	34.3%
17	175	14.2%
18	30	2.4%
19	4	0.3%
Age at exit		
13	42	3.4%
14	144	11.7%
15	297	24.1%
16	410	33.3%
17	279	22.7%
18	51	4.1%
19	7	0.6%
Violent offense		
No	788	64.1%
Yes	442	35.9%
Offense type		
Person	409	33.3%
Property	568	46.2%
Drug	117	9.5%
Weapons	76	6.2%
Sex	33	2.7%
Other	27	2.2%

Table 14: Sample descriptive characteristics, continued

Characteristic	n	Percent
Offense class		
Misdemeanor	184	15.0%
4	155	12.6%
3	262	21.3%
2	326	26.5%
1	242	19.7%
Х	61	5.0%
Security Level		
Minimum	415	34.2%
Medium	766	63.1%
Maximum	33	2.7%
Release institution		
IYC – Chicago	195	15.9%
IYC – Harrisburg	153	12.4%
IYC – Joliet	117	9.5%
IYC – Kewanee	99	8.0%
IYC – Murphysboro	77	6.3%
IYC – Pere Marquette	36	2.9%
IYC – St. Charles	455	37.0%
IYC – Warrenville	98	8.0%

Table 14: Sample descriptive characteristics, continued

A large majority of these youth were exiting after a felony sentence (85 percent, n=1,046). Class 2 felonies were the most common offense class (27 percent, n=326), followed by Class 3 offenses (21 percent, n=262). State law allows for juveniles to be sentenced to IDJJ for misdemeanors, but this population was relatively small.

Security levels are assessed at multiple times during a youth's stay in IDJJ, and are used in deciding facility placement. To gain an accurate representation of the individual's risk level close to the time of their release, only the last assessed security level was considered. This security level for most individuals was medium (63 percent, n=766), with only about 3 percent being classified as maximum security at release (n=33). Youth in the sample had exited from all eight IDJJ facilities, most frequently from St. Charles (37 percent, n=455). About 16 percent were released from IYC Chicago, a step-down facility mainly for youth close to release (n=195), and about 12 percent exited from IYC Harrisburg (n=153).

Prior arrests

Total prior arrests for the individuals in the court evaluation sample (for those with available CHRI) ranged from 0 to 27 arrests, with an average of 4.56 (SD =4.1) and a median of 3, indicating a slightly positive skew.

Of the 1,205 youth who had available CHRI, 80 percent had at least one felony arrest prior to their incarceration (n=949), and 60 percent had at least one prior violent arrest (n=746). Further breaking down prior arrests into offense types, 70 percent of the youth had at least one prior property arrest (n=848), and 58 percent had at least one prior offense against a person (n=698). Only a third had a prior arrest for a drug offense (n=400), about 12 percent had a prior weapons offense (n=149), 8 percent had a prior status offense arrest (n=98), and only 3 percent had a prior sex offense arrest (n=41).

When arrest history was broken down by charges, these youth averaged 6.06 prior charges (SD=5.2) and total prior charges ranged from 0 to 34. The sample averaged 1.62 prior violent charges (SD=2.1) and 2.66 prior felony charges (SD=2.8). Neither the violent nor felony categories are exclusive. For example, a felony arrest for an offense against a person would be counted as a person arrest, a violent arrest, and a felony arrest. *Table 15* provides an overview of prior arrest statistics broken down into offense types and individual charges.

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	SD
Prior arrests	0	27	4.56	3.00	4.06
Prior violent arrests	0	12	1.41	1.00	1.78
Prior felony arrests	0	13	2.13	2.00	2.12
Prior person arrests	0	12	1.39	1.00	1.81
Prior sex arrests	0	2	0.04	0.00	0.19
Prior property arrests	0	17	2.02	1.00	2.42
Prior drug arrests	0	16	0.81	0.00	1.73
Prior weapons arrests	0	4	0.14	0.00	0.41
Prior status arrests	0	6	0.13	0.00	0.53
Prior Other arrests	0	6	0.62	0.00	0.98
Prior charges	0	34	6.06	5.00	5.17
Prior violent charges	0	20	1.62	1.00	2.12
Prior felony charges	0	26	2.66	2.00	2.76

Table 15Prior arrest descriptive characteristics

Table 16 provides information on prior arrests by incarceration offense type, and offense class for which the youth was being evaluated in IDJJ. As seen in the table, counts of prior arrests are typically skewed so the median provides a more accurate measure of central tendency.

Study **Prior arrests Prior felony arrests Prior violent arrests** incarceration Mean SD Median Mean SD Median Mean SD Median offense **Offense Class** Misdemeanor 3.57 3.48 2.00 1.00 1.00 2.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 Class 4 6.34 4.36 6.00 3.00 2.00 3.00 2.00 2.00 1.00 Class 3 4.46 3.98 3.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 1.00 Class 2 4.9 4.37 4.00 3.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 1.00 1.00 Class 1 3.95 3.82 3.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 1.00 2.00 0.00 Class X 4.35 3.38 4.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 1.00 Offense type Person 4.72 4.12 3.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 Property 4.07 3.86 3.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 1.00 1.00 0.00 7.16 4.58 7.00 4.00 4.00 Drug 3.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 Weapons 5 3.95 4.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 2.00 1.00 1.00 Sex 2.87 2.47 2.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 Other 2.78 2.62 3.00 1.00 2.00 1.00 1.00 2.00 1.00 Overall 4.58 4.09 3.00 2.15 2.13 2.00 1.42 1.79 1.00

 Table 16

 Descriptive statistics for prior arrests by incarceration offense class and type

Individuals who were incarcerated for Class 4 offenses had a median of six prior arrests, followed by those admitted on Class 2 and Class X felonies (median of 4). Class 1 and Class 3 offenders both had a median of three prior arrests, with misdemeanants having a median of two prior arrests. There were no individuals given court evaluations for a charge of first degree murder, so that offense is not included in this table. As *Figure 12* shows, prior arrests for felonies and violent offenses were fairly evenly distributed across offense classes.

Figure 12 Median number of prior arrests by incarceration offense class



Youth who were exiting from a court evaluation for a drug offense had a median of seven prior arrests, the highest among all offense types. Weapons offenders were the next highest with a median of four. Sex offenders had the lowest median number of prior arrests, with only two. As shown in *Figure 13*, drug offenders also had the highest median number of prior felony arrests, while youth who had committed offenses against persons had the highest median number of prior violent arrests.

Figure 13 Median number of prior arrests by incarceration offense type



Prior incarcerations

While the youth in this sample had somewhat extensive prior arrest histories, they were very unlikely to have been in IDJJ prior to their evaluation; only 3 percent had a prior IDJJ stay (n=34). Of these 34 youth, only four had more than one prior incarceration. *Table 17* provides more information on the prior incarcerations for the sample.

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	SD
Prior incarcerations	0	3	0.03	0.00	0.20
Prior new sentence incarcerations	0	3	0.03	0.00	0.19
Prior technical violation					
incarcerations	0	1	0.00	0.00	0.03
Prior violent incarcerations	0	2	0.01	0.00	0.11
Prior felony incarcerations	0	2	0.02	0.00	0.15
Prior person incarcerations	0	2	0.01	0.00	0.11
Prior sex incarcerations	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Prior property incarcerations	0	3	0.02	0.00	0.15

Table 17Prior incarceration descriptive characteristics

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	SD
Prior drug incarcerations	0	1	0.00	0.00	0.04
Prior weapons incarcerations	0	1	0.00	0.00	0.04
Prior Other incarcerations	0	1	0.00	0.00	0.03

Table 17: Prior incarceration descriptive characteristics, continued

Recidivism

Recidivism after release from IDJJ was defined in four ways: (1) any re-arrest; (2) any reincarceration as a juvenile or an adult; (3) re-incarceration resulting from a new conviction in juvenile court; and (4) incarceration in an adult facility or an incarceration resulting from a conviction in adult criminal court. A court evaluation commitment does not include parole supervision after release, so re-incarceration for a technical violation of parole was not included in these analyses. It is important to note that youth subsequently admitted to IDJJ facilities for convictions in the criminal court were defined as "adult" incarcerations. For this study, reincarceration as a juvenile or an adult was based on how the courts prosecuted the offense, rather than solely by the type of facility in which the youth was incarcerated. Some youth convicted as adults may have been sent to a juvenile facility because of age requirements for incarceration in an adult facility. These youth have entered the adult criminal justice system by virtue of their conviction in an adult court and were considered to be adult recidivists. However, the same distinction was not made for arrests, as transfers to adult criminal court are sought by prosecutors or the court and not by law enforcement.

Re-arrest

Of the 1,205 youth admitted for court evaluation who were matched to their criminal histories, only about 7 percent (n=83) were not re-arrested during the follow-up period ranging from three to seven years depending on year of exit. These youth were re-arrested an average of five times (s=4.3), with a median of four arrests. About 76 percent of the sample was re-arrested for a felony after release (n=911), with an average of two felony arrests and a high of 12. Just more than 59 percent of these youth were re-arrested for at least one violent offense (n=713), with an average of 1.29 (s=1.8) and a median of one. Two thirds of the youth incarcerated for court evaluation were re-arrested for a property offense (n=803), while about 57 percent were re-arrested for a drug offense (n=602), and 17 percent were re-arrested for a weapons offense (n=207). About 56 percent of the sample was re-arrested for an offense categorized as *other* (n=652), 19 percent were re-arrested for a status offense (n=230), and less than 3 percent were re-arrested for a sex offense (n=33). Re-arrest characteristics for these youth are further described in *Table 18*.

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	SD
Post arrests	0	28	5.02	4.00	4.28
Post violent arrests	0	14	1.29	1.00	1.75
Post felony arrests	0	12	2.01	2.00	1.88
Post charges	0	40	7.26	6.00	6.17
Post violent charges	0	20	1.58	1.00	2.24
Post felony charges	0	19	2.69	2.00	2.73
Post drug arrests	0	17	1.30	1.00	2.03
Post Other arrests	0	11	1.12	1.00	1.44
Post person arrests	0	14	1.24	1.00	1.72
Post property arrests	0	24	1.73	1.00	2.17
Post sex arrests	0	5	0.04	0.00	0.26
Post status arrests	0	7	0.33	0.00	0.85
Post weapons arrests	0	5	0.22	0.00	0.54

Table 18Re-arrest descriptive statistics

Since there was such an extensive follow up period for this study, re-arrest rates were also examined by year. During the first year after release, about 57 percent (n=684) of these youth had a re-arrest reported in CHRI. The first year is widely recognized as the most high-risk time for re-offending, which is evidenced by the steep decline in re-arrests after year one. In year two, 19.8 percent of the sample was re-arrested for the first time (n=239), which indicates a 65 percent reduction year-to-year. First re-arrests during year three declined to 9.4 percent (n=113), while only 5 percent were re-arrested for the first time during year four (n=63), almost 2 percent during year five (n=21), and 0.2 percent during year six (n=2). It should also be noted that incapacitation due to re-incarceration could impact the yearly rates of re-arrest.

Cumulatively, about 86 percent of the youth in the sample were re-arrested within the first three years after release (n=1,036). By the fourth year after release, 91 percent of youth incarcerated for court evaluation had been re-arrested (n=1,099), increasing to 93 percent after the fourth year (n=1,122). *Figure 14* provides further representation of these cumulative re-arrest rates by year post-release.

100% 90% 80% 70% Percent re-arrested 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% Within 1 year Within 2 years Within 3 years Within 4 years 5+ years Years post release Cumulative percent arrested Percent arrested

Figure 14 Percent re-arrested post release, by year

Sex offenders incarcerated for court evaluations were found to have the lowest re-arrest rates over the entire period studied (87.1 percent), while drug offenders had the highest re-arrest rates (96.6 percent). In terms of offense class, youth incarcerated for court evaluation who were admitted to IDJJ for misdemeanors had the lowest overall re-arrest rate (90 percent), while the small number of offenders admitted for Class X offenses (most serious offenses) were re-arrested at the highest rate (96.7 percent, n=2).

Only 33 of these youth that had a security level recorded were classified as maximum security (2.8 percent). Despite this small number, all 33 youth incarcerated in a maximum security setting for court evaluation were re-arrested during the study period. The minimum and medium security individuals were re-arrested at lower rates than maximum security individuals, but similar rates to each other (92.7 and 92.9 percent, respectively).

 Table 19

 Cumulative re-arrest rates by year and by offender/offense characteristic

		Cumulative re-arrest rates				
Offender/offense characteristics	Never re- arrested	Within 1 year	Within 2 years	Within 3 years	Within 4 years	Within 5 or more years
Offense type						
Person	6.2%	54.7%	75.5%	86.4%	91.1%	93.8%
Property	7.4%	54.4%	75.0%	84.6%	90.6%	92.6%
Drug	3.5%	74.1%	89.7%	93.1%	96.6%	96.6%
Weapons	8.0%	60.0%	81.3%	88.0%	92.0%	92.0%
Sex	12.9%	45.2%	61.3%	80.7%	87.1%	87.1%
Other	11.1%	66.7%	74.1%	77.8%	85.2%	88.9%
Offense class						
Misdemeanor	10.0%	50.6%	71.7%	81.1%	88.9%	90.0%
Class 4	4.5%	75.5%	90.9%	92.9%	94.8%	95.5%
Class 3	6.6%	52.9%	71.9%	83.7%	90.7%	93.4%
Class 2	7.5%	58.8%	76.3%	87.2%	90.6%	92.5%
Class 1	6.4%	51.9%	77.3%	84.9%	90.9%	93. 6%
Class X	3.3%	51.7%	73.3%	90.0%	95.0%	96.7%
Security level						
Minimum	7.3%	56.7%	75.1%	85.3%	90.7%	92.7%
Medium	7.1%	56.3%	77.0%	86.1%	91.0%	92.9%
Maximum	0.0%	75.8%	90.9%	93.9%	96.9%	100.0%
Race						
White	10.9%	41.6%	66.1%	78.3%	86.5%	89.0%
Black	2.6%	66.5%	83.5%	91.5%	95.5%	97.4%
Hispanic	14.5%	58.8%	76.3%	83.9%	85.5%	85.5%
Other	0.0%	50.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Gender						
Female	18.2%	40.2%	59.9%	70.5%	78.8%	81.8%
Male	5.5%	58.8%	78.7%	87.9%	92.7%	94.5%

		Cumulative re-arrest rates				
Offender/offense characteristics	Never re- arrested	Within 1 year	Within 2 years	Within 3 years	Within 4 years	Within 5 or more years
Education						
5 th grade	6.7%	46.7%	80.0%	86.7%	86.7%	93.3%
6 th grade	8.0%	40.0%	58.0%	72.0%	84.0%	92.0%
7 th grade	5.7%	50.9%	73.6%	83.0%	91.2%	94.3%
Grade school graduate (8 th grade)	6.2%	60.3%	79.0%	88.2%	92.7%	93.8%
9 th grade	8.7%	57.1%	75.3%	85.5%	89.5%	91.3%
10 th grade	7.8%	54.8%	80.9%	88.7%	92.2%	92.2%
11 th grade	4.6%	68.2%	77.3%	81.8%	95.5%	95.5%
High school graduate	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
GED	0.0%	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%	100.0%
Unknown or missing	6.7%	56.7%	80.0%	86.0%	93.3%	93.3%
Age at exit						
13	5.1%	43.6%	61.5%	74.4%	87.2%	94.9%
14	7.1%	43.6%	62.1%	79.3%	88.6%	92.9%
15	6.2%	50.7%	72.4%	83.5%	91.7%	93.8%
16	7.7%	57.7%	80.4%	88.3%	91.3%	92.3%
17	6.5%	68.4%	83.8%	89.2%	92.5%	93.5%
18	6.1%	69.4%	83.7%	91.8%	91.8%	93.9%
19	14.3%	42.9%	71.4%	85.7%	85.7%	85.7%

Table 19: Cumulative re-arrest rates by year and by offender/offense characteristic, continued

Hispanic youth had the lowest rate of re-arrest (85.5 percent), followed by white youth (89 percent), and black youth (97.4 percent). Males had a much higher likelihood of recidivism compared to females, as almost 95 percent of males were re-arrested, compared to about 82 percent of females. Youth who had finished the 9th grade (first year of high school) had lower re-arrest rates than youth with lower or higher education levels.

In general, re-arrest rates were similar for individuals regardless of their age at release. The exception, as seen in *Table 19*, is with youth who were 19 upon release. While this age group had the lowest likelihood of re-arrest, it is based on a small sample size (n=7). In raw numbers, only one 19-year-old remained arrest-free after release.

Three year re-arrest

Many of the existing studies that examine recidivism utilize either a one-year or three-year follow-up period. Three years generally allows ample time for the sample to be exposed to the risk of re-offending and to subsequently matriculate through the justice system in the event of recidivism. To be more closely comparable to existing studies, the sample was separately analyzed for recidivism at three years. Individuals who were re-arrested during the three year period after release were still considered to have recidivated.

If a youth had been re-arrested after three years, they were not counted as having recidivated for these analyses. These individuals would not have had a re-arrest recorded if the study had been limited to three years of follow-up originally. Using this shorter follow up period, 14 percent (n=169) of these youth were not re-arrested within three years, while 86 percent (n=1,036) had at least one re-arrest during that period. *Table 20* shows the re-arrest rates for certain sample characteristics that have been adjusted to fit within the three year follow up window.

Offender/offence	Not re-arrested			Re-arrested within		
characteristic	Valid n	within	three	three years of		
Characteristic		years of	years of release		release	
		n	%	n	%	
Offense type						
Person	404	55	13.6	349	86.4	
Property	552	85	15.4	467	84.6	
Drug	116	8	6.9	108	93.1	
Weapons	75	9	12.0	66	88.0	
Sex	31	6	19.4	25	80.7	
Other	27	6	22.2	21	77.8	
Offense class						
Misdemeanor	180	34	18.9	146	81.1	
Class 4	155	11	7.1	144	92.9	
Class 3	257	42	16.4	215	83.7	
Class 2	320	41	12.8	279	87.2	
Class 1	233	35	15.0	198	84.9	
Class X	60	6	10.0	54	90.0	
Security level						
Minimum	409	60	14.7	349	85.3	
Medium	748	104	13.9	644	86.1	
Maximum	33	2	6.1	31	93.9	

Table 20Three-year re-arrest rates by offender/offense characteristic

Table 20: Three-year re-arrest rates	by offender/offense	characteristic, continued
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Offender/offense characteristic	Valid n	Not re-a within years of	arrested three release	Re-arrested within three years of release		
		n	%	n	%	
Race						
White	428	93	21.7	335	78.3	
Black	644	55	8.5	589	91.5	
Hispanic	131	21	16.0	110	83.9	
Other	2	0	0.0	2	100.0	
Gender						
Female	132	39	29.6	93	70.5	
Male	1073	130	12.1	943	87.9	
Education						
5 th grade	15	2	13.3	13	86.7	
6 th grade	50	14	28.0	36	72.0	
7 th grade	159	27	16.9	132	83.0	
Grade school graduate (8 th grade)	534	63	11.8	471	88.2	
9 th grade	275	40	14.6	235	85.5	
10 th grade	115	13	11.3	102	88.7	
11 th grade	22	4	18.2	18	81.8	
High school graduate	2	1	50.0	1	50.0	
GED	3	1	33.3	2	66.7	
Unknown or missing	30	4	13.3	26	86.7	
Age at exit						
13	39	10	25.6	29	74.4	
14	140	29	20.7	111	79.3	
15	290	48	16.6	242	83.5	
16	402	47	11.7	355	88.3	
17	278	30	10.8	248	89.2	
18	49	4	8.2	45	91.8	
19	7	1	14.3	6	85.7	

Due to the high rates of re-arrest experienced by these youth, identifying predictors of re-arrest becomes difficult because simply guessing that all youth would be re-arrested within three years, one would be correct 86 percent of the time. However, bivariate analyses allow for testing the relationships between demographic and incarceration characteristics and re-arrest within three years of release. Some statistical tests, particularly chi-square tests, are affected by sample size and may produce significant results due more to the large sample than the actual relationships.

Further, the highly skewed distribution of three-year re-arrest rates can cause tests on the strength of association, such as lambda, to yield misleading results. These difficulties and limitations make a discussion of odds ratios more informative for explaining the relationships between categorical variables.

Characteristic	Pearson's r _{pb}		
Age at admission	0.13***		
Last grade completed	0.03		
Age at exit	0.11***		
Length of stay	0.02		
Prior arrests	0.19***		
Prior felony arrests	0.17***		
Prior violent arrests	0.09***		
Prior IDJJ incarcerations	0.03		

Table 21Results of point-biserial correlation analyses with three-year re-arrest

* p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

A youth's age at admission was found to be positively correlated with re-arrest (r_{pb} =.129, p<.001), although the relationship was a weak. However, age at exit was also significantly related to re-arrest. As *Table 21* shows, youth who are older at exit tended to be more likely to get re-arrested (r_{pb} =.110, p<.001), although this was a weak relationship as well. Race was also found to have a statistically significant relationship with re-arrest. However, this was not a substantively significant association (Cramer's V=.177, p<.001). Gender was also found to be related to re-arrest, although it was a weak relationship (phi=.157, p<.001). Although the sample incarceration offense type was not significantly related to re-arrest, the seriousness of that offense measured as offense class was significantly related. Although statistically significant, the relationship between offense class and re-arrest was substantively very weak (Cramer's V=.101, p<.05). See *Table 22* for more detailed bivariate results.

Characteristic	Chi-square	df	Phi/Cramer's V
Race	37.896	3	0.177***
Sex	29.614	1	0.157***
Incarceration offense type	8.299	5	0.083
Incarceration offense class	12.235	5	0.101*
Last security level	1.889	2	0.040

Table 22Results of chi-square analyses with three-year re-arrest

* p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Criminal history is generally recognized as an important predictor of future criminal behavior. In this sample, indicators of extensive criminal backgrounds were linked to a higher likelihood of

re-arrest. Youth who were re-arrested within three years had a higher average number of prior arrests than youth who were not re-arrested (t= -6.68, p<0.001). However, this relationship was found to be rather weak (r_{pb} =.189, p<.001). A higher number of prior arrests for felonies was also linked to a higher likelihood of being re-arrested (t= -5.91, p<0.001), though it was a weak correlation (r_{pb} =.168, p<.001). Youth who had more prior arrests for violent offenses also showed a higher likelihood for re-arrest within three years (t= -3.33, p=0.001). While this positive correlation was statistically significant, it was also found to be a substantively weak relationship (r_{pb} =.095, p=.001).

Youth with a prior incarceration in their background are generally at a higher risk for recidivism than youth who have only been arrested (Cottle, Lee, & Heilbrun, 2001). However, a prior incarceration was a rare event for the youth in this study, so there was no statistical relationship between prior commitments to IDJJ and future offending. *Table 23* provides more detailed results of these bivariate analyses.

Criminal history	Not re-arrested within 3 years (mean)	Re-arrested within 3 years (mean)	t statistic
Prior arrests	2.669	4.894	-6.681***
Prior felony arrests	1.260	2.290	-5.909***
Prior violent arrests	0.990	1.490	-3.327***
Prior IDJJ incarcerations	0.018	0.034	-0.96

Table 23Results of t-tests with three-year re-arrest

* p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Results of the chi-square tests found that race, gender, and incarceration offense class were statistically related to re-arrest. While chi-square cannot provide any insight into relationships between the different categories of these variables, odds ratios (OR) can be used to compare the odds of re-arrest between the categories and a reference category. While useful, the odds ratios presented below do not control for the influence of other variables and should be interpreted with care. Black youth in the sample were found to have odds of being re-arrested that were almost three times as high as white youth (OR=2.97). Hispanic youth had a lower odds ratio than black youth, but still had odds of re-arrest 1.45 times as high as white youth in the sample. Males who had been sentenced for a court evaluation were found to have odds of re-arrest over three times as high as female youth (OR=3.04).

Incarceration offense class was also significantly related to re-arrest in the chi-square analyses. In terms of odds or re-arrest, Class X offenders were found to have odds 2.10 times as high youth sentenced for misdemeanors. Class 1 offenders, the next most serious offense class, had odds of re-arrest 1.32 times as high as misdemeanants, while Class 2 and Class 3 offenders also had slightly higher odds of re-arrest compared to misdemeanants (OR=1.59 and 1.19, respectively). Class 4 offenders had the highest odds of re-arrest when compared to misdemeanants, over three times as high (OR=3.05). *Table 24* provides a more detailed examination of the relative odds of re-arrest, with the reference category in bold.

Characteristic	Odds ratio
Race (white reference)	
Black	2.97
Hispanic	1.45
Gender (female reference)	
Male	3.04
Education (no HS or GED reference)	
HS or GED	0.24
Incarceration offense type (person reference)	
Property	0.87
Drug	2.13
Weapons	1.16
Sex	0.66
Incarceration offense class (misdemeanor reference)	
Class X	2.10
Class 1	1.32
Class 2	1.59
Class 3	1.19
Class 4	3.05
Security level (minimum reference)	
Medium	1.06
Maximum	2.67

Table 24Three-year re-arrest odds ratios by characteristic

Time to first re-arrest

As with delinquency commitments, time to first re-arrest for youth incarcerated for a court evaluation was modeled using a Cox proportional hazards model, with *Figure 15* showing the survival rate for these youth by incarceration offense type. About 6 percent of the cases were censored (n=76), meaning that these youth had not been re-arrested. Model fit statistics indicated an acceptable fit (-2LL=13665.41, X^2 =282.28, p<.001). Notably, the number of statistically significant coefficients was notably smaller for these youth compared to the full delinquency commitments.

Figure 15 Survival rate function for re-arrest by incarceration offense type



Compared to white youth, the hazard rate for black youth was found to be about 42 percent higher (exp(b)=1.42, p<0.001). However, neither Hispanic youth, nor youth in the *other* race category had hazard rates statistically different from white youth. The hazard rate for males who had been incarcerated for a court evaluation was about 52 percent higher than for females $(\exp(b)=1.52, p<0.001)$. The overall number of prior arrests was also found to be statistically related to an increased hazard rate; for every additional prior arrest recorded, the hazard rate was found to increase by 11 percent (exp(b)=1.11, p<0.001). Interestingly, having more prior violent arrests was linked to lower hazard rates. For every additional prior violent arrest, the hazard rate decreased by about 6 percent ($\exp(b)=0.94$, p<0.05). A youth's age at exit approached statistical significance (p=0.057), but did not meet the level of statistical significance used in this study $(\alpha=0.05)$. Although there appears to be a relationship between hazard rates and incarceration offense type as shown in *Figure 15*, the relationships are not statistically significant. This may be due to propensity for delinquent behavior, as evidenced by higher numbers of prior arrests. In the case of a youth with a lengthy criminal history, that criminal history appears to be more important in determining the quickness of re-offending than the specific offense for which the youth was incarcerated. A pattern of behavior may have already been established, and that

pattern may have reached a point where the justice system responded with incarceration, regardless of the current offense type. *Table 25* provides complete results of the Cox proportional hazards model for youth incarcerated for court evaluation.

Characteristic	В	S.E.	Exp(B)	
Gender (female reference)				
Male	0.416	0.107	1.516***	
Race (white reference)				
Black	0.354	0.074	1.424***	
Hispanic	0.109	0.116	1.115	
Other	0.278	0.714	1.321	
Education	-0.009	0.036	0.991	
Length of stay (months)	0.015	0.014	1.015	
Exit age	0.070	0.037	1.072	
Incarceration offense type (person reference)				
Property	-0.016	0.085	0.985	
Drug	0.097	0.124	1.102	
Weapons	-0.041	0.138	0.959	
Sex	-0.262	0.208	0.770	
Other	0.067	0.214	1.069	
Offense class (misdemeanor reference)				
Class 3 & 4	0.073	0.097	1.076	
Class 1 & 2	0.009	0.096	1.009	
Class X & M	-0.017	0.163	0.983	
Prior arrests	0.100	0.012	1.106***	
Prior violent arrests	-0.062	0.024	0.940*	
Prior incarcerations	-0.054	0.157	0.947	
Age at first arrest	0.014	0.024	1.014	

Table 25Results of Cox proportional hazards regression on first re-arrest

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Re-incarceration

If an individual is re-incarcerated for a new sentence, that person has either pleaded guilty to an offense, or has been found guilty. Since youth incarcerated for court evaluation are not subject to parole supervision upon release, they are not at risk for a technical parole violation. As a result, technical violation returns are not included in this examination.

Of the 1,230 youth in the sample, almost 59 percent were re-incarcerated between the time of their release and the end of SFY 2009 (n=723). Since three separate cohorts were included in the sample (SFY05, SFY06, and SFY07), the period of being at risk of re-incarceration varied between two and five years. In the first year after release, 36 percent of the sample was re-incarcerated (n=447). An additional 12 percent were re-incarcerated during the second year after release (n=153). This declined further to about 6 percent within three years (n=78) and about 3 percent within four years (n=41). Only 0.3 percent of the youth were re-incarcerated for the first time after four years (n=4). *Figure 16* further describes the trends in re-incarceration over time at risk.





Almost one third of youth who were re-incarcerated for new sentences experienced more than one re-incarceration (n=223). A re-incarceration as a juvenile for a new sentence was most prevalent, as 40 percent of the youth incarcerated for a court evaluation had at least one new return as a juvenile (n=492), while 29 percent had a new return as an adult (n=356). Individuals who had been sentenced for a new offense in adult criminal court, but were housed in IDJJ by virtue of their age, were counted as adult returns. *Figure 17* shows re-incarceration rates by

admission type, which is non-exclusive (individuals who were re-incarcerated as both juveniles and adults are counted in both columns).



Figure 17 Re-incarceration by admission type

Although there were a number of individuals who were re-incarcerated for new offenses as both juveniles and adults, most youth in the sample were re-incarcerated as *either* a juvenile *or* an adult. Of the 723 individuals who were re-incarcerated for new offenses, just more than 50 percent were returned only as juveniles (n=367). Thirty two percent of the youth who recidivated were re-incarcerated only as adults for new sentences (n=231), while just more than 17 percent of the sample had a new sentence of re-incarceration as both a juvenile and an adult (n=125). *Figure 18* shows roughly how the re-incarcerations were distributed between the admission types. The percentages included in the diagram are reflective of the overall sample (n=1,230), while the percentages discussed here reflect *only* those individuals who were re-incarcerated (n=723).

Figure 18 Venn diagram of re-incarcerations



Re-incarceration by offense type

New sentence re-incarcerations were further examined by the type of offense committed. Since many youth had more than one re-incarceration, the study counted all new admissions to get a better idea of the types of offenses for which these individuals were being re-incarcerated. Because the study did not examine only the first re-incarceration, there is some overlap of individuals across offense types and admission types. For example, if an individual was re-incarcerated once for a new drug offense and again for a new property offense, both of those would be counted in their respective offense types. The youth in the sample were most commonly re-incarcerated for property offenses (32 percent), followed by offenses against persons (20 percent). *Table 26* provides a more detailed breakdown of new sentence re-incarceration offense types.

Offense type	Juvenile re- incarceration		Adult re- incarceration		Either juvenile or adult re-incarceration	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Person offense	147	11.9%	100	8.1%	247	20.1%
Property offense	257	20.9%	135	10.9%	392	31.9%
Drug offense	64	5.2%	80	6.5%	144	11.7%
Weapons offense	29	2.4%	44	3.6%	73	5.9%
Sex offense	9	0.7%	8	0.4%	17	1.4%
Other offense	8	0.7%	17	1.4%	25	2.0%
New sentence re- incarcerations	367	29.8%	231	18.8%	125	10.2%

Table 26New sentence re-incarcerations by offense type

Overall, property offenses appear to be the most common new offense leading to reincarceration. Close to one third of the youth initially incarcerated for court evaluation were later re-incarcerated for property offenses, while 21 percent of these individuals were re-incarcerated as juveniles for property offenses and 11 percent of these youth were re-incarcerated as adults for property offenses. Offenses against persons were the next most common, with 20 percent of the sample being re-incarcerated for this type of offense. Twelve percent of the sample was reincarcerated as a juvenile for offenses against persons, while 8 percent were re-incarcerated as adults for these types of offenses. *Figure 19* provides a visualization of how the proportions of new sentence re-incarcerations were spread across the different offense types and adult and juvenile admissions.
Figure 19 New sentence re-incarcerations by offense type



■Juvenile ■Adult ■Any new return

First re-incarceration within two years

Youth in the sample were released between FY05 and FY07. The most current year that IDJJ data were available for this study was FY09, which allows for a follow-up period between two to four years, depending on the date an individual was released from IDJJ. Combining reincarceration data with varying time periods can potentially skew results, so this study also examined re-incarcerations within the first two years. This allows for a follow-up period that is standardized for the whole sample, regardless of release year. Identifying recidivism during this period was done in a similar way to calculating three year re-arrest rates. Individuals who were re-incarcerated within two years of their original release were still counted as having recidivated, while individuals who were re-incarcerated after two years were counted as not having recidivated for these analyses. Within two years of release, 600 youth had been re-incarcerated (48.8 percent). As *Table 27* shows, almost 40 percent of the sample had a first re-incarceration as a juvenile (n=479) within two years. Just less than 10 percent had a first re-incarceration as an adult within two years (n=121).

Table 27First re-incarceration within two years, by re-incarceration type

Туре	n	Percent of all youth (n=1230)	Percent of all re- incarcerations (n=723)
Not re-incarcerated within two			
years	630	51.2%	-
First re-incarceration as juvenile	479	38.9%	66.3%
First re-incarceration as adult	121	9.8%	16.7%

Implications for policy and practice

Existing research on juvenile correctional populations in Illinois is limited in terms of quantity and usefulness. This is even more of an issue with youth incarcerated for court evaluations, since there is no existing research that has examined this population in depth. The implications of having these data available in an easy-to-understand format that can be further analyzed means that decisions that affect IDJJ generally, and court evaluations specifically, can become more data-driven. This study helps to fill a sizeable gap in knowledge for the state with information that can be used to address high recidivism rates. Now that a baseline for recidivism rates has been established, further research is needed to examine the causes behind the high recidivism of this population.

More specifically, the findings presented here have implications for the continued diversion of youth incarcerated for court evaluations. Starting in 2005, Redeploy Illinois has focused on diverting these youth from IDJJ into community-based programming. This initiative makes funds available for enhancing rehabilitative services (substance abuse treatment, mental health treatment, cognitive behavioral therapy) in local jurisdictions. By accepting the money, these jurisdictions agree to reduce the number of commitments to IDJJ by 25 percent. Early in the planning stages, Redeploy Illinois was designed to divert youth from becoming incarcerated for court evaluation and keep them in their communities for evaluation instead. The findings of this study provide support for an expansion of diversion programs like Redeploy Illinois. Youth who underwent court evaluation while incarcerated were found to be at a lower risk for reincarceration in the future when compared to full commitments and may benefit from the services provided by programs like Redeploy Illinois.

Youth incarcerated for court evaluation are sent to IDJJ to be evaluated for appropriate placement, usually probation or a full incarceration commitment. Since these individuals generally have less serious criminal backgrounds, they may be more likely to benefit from rehabilitative services such as mental health treatment and cognitive behavioral therapy. In many cases treatment is more appropriately delivered in the community where there is a more well-developed treatment infrastructure and more options available for individualized treatment plans. One of the driving factors behind the creation of Redeploy Illinois was to build up these community resources and increase the capacity of community service providers in underserved areas of Illinois. Instead of sending these youth to IDJJ to be evaluated, it may make more sense

from a fiscal standpoint to have them evaluated in the community, and then placed in a diversion program or, if warranted, committed to IDJJ. Proper risk, assets, and needs assessments will help to place these individuals in the appropriate setting.

Without the increased demands of supervising and assessing this short term population, IDJJ may be able to better identify and address the risks and needs of youth placed there on a full commitment.

Discussion and conclusions

Youth who are incarcerated for court evaluation are a unique population in Illinois. Although they are incarcerated and spend a relatively short period of time in an IDJJ facility, the sentence can still be vacated, diverting them from continued involvement with IDJJ. Despite this ambiguous status, youth incarcerated for court evaluation share many characteristics with the delinquents who received full commitments to IDJJ. As with the delinquent sample, youth incarcerated for a court evaluation were typically black males exiting IDJJ just prior to their 16th birthday. Most of these youth had finished grade school, while just more than one-third had completed some high school. Given the average age at admission (just over 15), it would be reasonable to assume that the sample would have a higher proportion of youth who had completed some high school. However, it appears that involvement in the juvenile justice system has derailed educational outcomes for many of these youth.

Most of the youth in the sample were in IDJJ for a non-violent crime, most commonly a property offense. Just less than half of the sample received a court evaluation after arrest for lower-level offense classes, namely Class 3 and 4 felonies or misdemeanors. These youth averaged about 4.5 prior arrests and about six total prior charges, and most had previous arrests for a violent offense or a property offense. Most youth had also been arrested for a felony offense. Youth who were Class 4 offenders had the highest average number of prior arrests and were most likely to have a prior felony arrest. Although a Class 4 felony is the least-serious felony class, a comparatively lengthy and serious arrest history may partially explain why these youth were sent to IDJJ for evaluation instead of receiving probation. Additionally, drug offenders in this sample tended to have lengthier arrest histories, while sex offenders tended to have fewer prior arrests. Youth incarcerated for court evaluations were very unlikely to have been incarcerated previously (3 percent), which may indicate some previous diversion attempts for these youth.

The court evaluation sample also had high overall re-arrest rates. Between the three to six years of follow-up, about 93 percent of these youth were re-arrested. The highest risk time for re-arrest was found to be within the first year after release, which is consistent with recidivism literature for other populations. About 57 percent of the sample was re-arrested within the first year, while another 20 percent did not make it past two years without a new arrest. After standardizing the follow-up period at three years, the re-arrest rate was only slightly lower (86 percent). Consistent with the measures of prior criminal history, Class 4 offenders tended to have the highest likelihoods of re-arrest (93 percent), while misdemeanants had the lowest (81 percent). In terms of offense type, drug offenders likewise had the highest rates of re-arrest (93 percent), with sex

offenders having the lowest (81 percent). Males also had much higher re-arrest rates than females.

The bivariate statistical tests that were conducted on the sample youth showed some relationships between re-arrest within three years and individual characteristics. The age of the sample at both intake and exit were positively correlated with re-arrests at three years, indicating that youths who were older tended to have higher levels of recidivism. Similarly, prior arrests generally and prior felony and violent arrests specifically were also found to be positively correlated with re-arrest within three years. However, these relationships were weak and showed little substantive significance. Nevertheless, these results support current understandings of recidivism; criminal history is generally a good indicator of future criminality.

Recidivism measured as re-incarceration also proved to be rather common for this sample, with an overall re-incarceration rate of 59 percent. Within the first year after release, 36 percent of the sample was returned to prison, while an additional 12 percent were re-incarcerated within the second year at risk. Part of the reason for such a high re-incarceration rate was the inclusion of adult returns. Because many of these youth were released close to the maximum age of juvenile jurisdiction, not including adult offending may have depressed previous juvenile recidivism rates. About 30 percent of the sample experienced an adult return, either as a juvenile convicted in that adult system or as a regular adult commitment. Only about 10 percent of the sample consisted of double failures—individuals who were returned both as juveniles and adults.

Although the study has some limitations, the findings presented are consistent with other juvenile corrections populations in some ways, while reflective of the lower risk that these youth present. Although re-arrest rates were quite high for this population, re-incarceration rates were appreciably lower. This finding may be an indication of a lower inherent risk of re-offending for youth incarcerated for court evaluations, a deterrent effect of the short stay in IDJJ, or likely some combination of these and other factors.

Although recidivism rates are high, this should not be interpreted to mean that IDJJ is failing. These youth are not placed in IDJJ to be rehabilitated but to be evaluated for appropriate placement. The vast majority of these youth have their sentences vacated after their brief stay in IDJJ, with aftercare and supervision not required. Even if IDJJ had access to the resources needed, their short stays in facilities make it almost impossible to ensure these youth would be able to complete programming. This makes identifying and diverting appropriate individuals even more important, and highlights the need for enhanced supervision and aftercare participation for youth who are sent to prison.

There is justifiable concern from criminal justice policymakers, practitioners, and citizens about high recidivism rates of youth released from IDJJ facilities. Close to 30 percent of youth sentenced for court evaluations go on to be incarcerated as an adult, which means that improvements in assessment, treatment, and placement can be made to address this problem. As more information becomes available on cost-effective alternatives that can improve outcomes for juveniles in the system, more informed decisions can be made with respect to having a positive impact on the juvenile corrections system and the youth it serves.

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Appendix A: Violent offenses

The following is a list of offenses categorized as violent according to the Rights of Crime Victims and Witnesses Act which defines a violent offense as any felony in which force or threat of force was used against the victim [725 *ILCS* 120/et seq.].

Description of offense	Statute
Solicitation for murder	720 ILCS 5/8-1
First degree murder	720 ILCS 5/9
Homicide of unborn child	720 ILCS 5/9-1.2
Second degree murder	720 ILCS 5/9-2
Involuntary manslaughter of unborn child	720 ILCS 5/9-2.1
Involuntary manslaughter or reckless homicide	720 ILCS 5/9-3
Involuntary manslaughter or reckless homicide	
of unborn child	720 ILCS 5/9-3.2
Drug induced homicide	720 ILCS 5/9-3.3
Concealment of homicidal death	720 ILCS 5/9-3.4
Kidnapping	720 ILCS 5/10-1
Aggravated kidnapping	720 ILCS 5/10-2
Unlawful restraint	720 ILCS 5/10-3
Aggravated unlawful restraint	720 ILCS 5/10-3.1
Forcible detention	720 ILCS 5/10-4
Child abduction	720 ILCS 5/10-5
Trafficking persons	720 ILCS 5/10-9
Indecent solicitation of a child	720 ILCS 5/11-6
Indecent solicitation of an adult	720 ILCS 5/11-6.5
Solicitation to meet a child	720 ILCS 5/11-6.6
Sexual exploitation of a child	720 ILCS 5/11-9.1
Custodial sexual misconduct	720 ILCS 5/11-9.2
Sexual misconduct with a disabled person	720 ILCS 5/11-9.5
Child pornography	720 ILCS 5/11-20.1
Aggravated child pornography	720 ILCS 5/11-20.3
Assault	720 ILCS 5/12-1
Aggravated assault	720 ILCS 5/12-2
Vehicular endangerment	720 ILCS 5/12-2.5
Battery	720 ILCS 5/12-3
Battery of an unborn child	720 ILCS 5/12-3.1
Domestic battery	720 ILCS 5/12-3.2
Aggravated domestic battery	720 ILCS 5/12-3.3
Aggravated battery	720 ILCS 5/12-4
Heinous battery	720 ILCS 5/12-4.1
Aggravated battery with a firearm	720 ILCS 5/12-4.2
Aggravated battery with a machine gun or	
silencer	720 ILCS 5/12-4.2-5
Aggravated battery of a child	720 ILCS 5/12-4.3
Aggravated battery of an unborn child	720 ILCS 5/12-4.4

Description of offense	Statute
Tampering with food drugs or cosmetics	720 ILCS 5/12-4.5
Aggravated battery of a senior citizen	720 ILCS 5/12-4.6
Drug induced infliction of great bodily harm	720 ILCS 5/12-4.7
Infected domestic animals	720 ILCS 5/12-4.8
Drug-induced infliction of aggravated battery to	
a child athlete	720 ILCS 5/12-4.9
Reckless conduct	720 ILCS 5/12-5-A
Intimidation	720 ILCS 5/12-6
Compelling organization membership of	
persons	720 ILCS 5/12-6.1
Aggravated intimidation	720 ILCS 5/12-6.2
Interfering with report of domestic violence	720 ILCS 5/12-6.3
Criminal street gang recruitment	720 ILCS 5/12-6.4
Compelling confession by force or threat	720 ILCS 5/12-7
Hate crime	720 /LCS 5/12-7.1
Educational intimidation	720 ILCS 5/12-7.2
Stalking	720 ILCS 5/12-7.3
Aggravated stalking	720 /LCS 5/12-7.4
Cyber stalking	720 /LCS 5/12-7.5
Cross-burning	720 ILCS 5/12-7.6
Threatening public officials	720 ILCS 5/12-9
Home invasion	720 ILCS 5/12-11
Vehicular invasion	720 ILCS 5/12-11.1
Criminal sexual assault	720 ILCS 5/12-13
Aggravated criminal sexual assault	720 ILCS 5/12-14
Predatory criminal sexual assault of a child	720 ILCS 5/12-14.1
Criminal sexual abuse	720 ILCS 5/12-15
Aggravated criminal sexual abuse	720 ILCS 5/12-16
Criminal transmission of HIV	720 ILCS 5/12-16.2
Criminal abuse or neglect of an elderly person	
or person with disability	720 ILCS 5/12-21
Child abandonment	720 ILCS 5/12-21.5
Endangering the life or health of a child	720 ILCS 5/12-21.6
Violation of an order of protection	720 ILCS 5/12-30
Inducement to commit suicide	720 ILCS 5/12-31
Ritual mutilation	720 ILCS 5/12-32
Ritualized abuse of a child	720 ILCS 5/12-33
Female genital mutilation	720 ILCS 5/12-34
Robbery	720 ILCS 5/18-1
Armed robbery	720 ILCS 5/18-2
Vehicular hijacking	720 ILCS 5/18-3
Aggravated vehicular hijacking	720 ILCS 5/18-4
Aggravated robbery	720 ILCS 5/18-5
Arson	720 ILCS 5/20-1
Aggravated arson	720 /LCS 5/20-1.1

Description of offense	Statute
Residential arson	720 ILCS 5/20-1.2
Place of worship arson	720 ILCS 5/20-1.3
Aggravated DUI with bodily injury	625 ILCS 5/11-501-D-1-C
	625 ILCS 5/11-501-D-1-E
	625 ILCS 5/11-501-D-1-F
	625 /LCS 5/11-501-D-1-J
Aggravated discharge of a firearm	720 ILCS 5/24-1.2



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