

EVALUATION OF THE PRETRIAL FAIRNESS ACT'S IMPLEMENTATION IN COOK COUNTY



*A joint report of the Civic Federation
and the League of Women Voters of Cook County*



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Executive Summary

As the first state in the country to completely outlaw the use of cash bail, all eyes are on Illinois to see how implementation of the new law is working. Cook County is Illinois' largest county, and it appears the county was well-prepared to implement the Pretrial Fairness Act (PFA) based on observations in the first six months of new pretrial procedures under the PFA. While the Pretrial Fairness Act made sweeping changes to the pretrial release process, many of these procedures were already followed in Cook County well before the law took effect due to a number of reforms made within the Cook County Circuit Court over the past decade, as well as preparations for new operational processes and legal requirements that began in 2021 through a variety of working groups of Cook County criminal justice stakeholders.

Because of the ramp-up to pretrial reform over the course of several years, as well as the resources available for staffing of court clerks, attorneys and pretrial officers, several requirements in the PFA were already in place in Cook County. For example, every criminal defendant in Cook County is represented by counsel at first appearance; the County already uses a risk assessment to provide judges with information about the potential risk of a defendant's likeliness of being rearrested or not appearing in court; and Cook County has a pretrial services program that oversees defendants ordered to pretrial supervision. There are several notable differences from prior practice, however. For example, first appearance hearings last much longer than bond court hearings did under the old system, and the prosecution and defense appear better prepared to argue the evidence and present the judge with the facts of each case.

Initial data produced by the Cook County Circuit Court also provides answers to some basic questions about how the PFA is impacting the number of people who are arrested and appear in court. Contrary to predictions that the use of highly restrictive conditions such as electronic monitoring would increase once the law took effect, the number of people on the Sheriff's electronic monitoring program and the Chief Judge's two electronic monitoring programs have decreased since the PFA's implementation. At the same time, pretrial supervision caseloads have increased by 22% based on the most recent data available through March 9. The number of people held in the Cook County Jail has decreased by 13% since the PFA took effect, at least part of which is attributable to the Pretrial Fairness Act implementation even after accounting for regular seasonal fluctuations, based on an analysis by Loyola University. Of the 2,732 cases in which the Cook County State's Attorney's Office requested pretrial detention, judges granted detention in 59% of cases.

Overall, the law appears to be working as intended, with a goal of detaining those who pose a risk to public safety while avoiding unnecessary detention of those who are not a threat to public safety. However, questions remain about how the change in law is impacting recidivism and compliance with court appearances.

Background

New pretrial release procedures took effect in Illinois on September 18, 2023. The revisions to the pretrial release process in criminal cases across the State were included as part of sweeping criminal justice reform legislation enacted through Public Act 101-0652, dubbed the Safety, Accountability, Fairness and Equity – Today Act, or SAFE-T Act, as well as subsequent amendments passed through Public Act 102-1104. The SAFE-T Act was initially passed by the Illinois General Assembly and signed by the Governor in early 2021, and the key amendments to the Act were passed in December 2022. The pretrial portions of this criminal justice omnibus legislation, known as the Pretrial Fairness Act (PFA), were originally set to take effect January 1, 2023, but were delayed due to an order issued by the Illinois Supreme Court postponing implementation of the law following a Kankakee Circuit Court ruling that found the legislation unconstitutional. The Illinois Supreme Court later issued a ruling in July 2023 upholding the constitutionality of the Pretrial Fairness Act, and those provisions subsequently took effect statewide on September 18, 2023.

This issue brief examines the changes that have taken place in Cook County criminal courts as a result of the Pretrial Fairness Act, as well as how those changes have played out within the first six months of implementation.

While this report focuses solely on PFA implementation in Cook County, the League and the Federation recognize the importance of the rollout of the new law in all 102 counties across the State of Illinois. A significant amount of preparation work took place under the purview of the Illinois Supreme Court's Pretrial Practices Implementation Task Force, which released training materials, flowcharts, sample forms and webinar recordings to help individual counties and circuit courts across the State prepare for implementation.¹ Additionally, the Illinois Supreme Court established a new Office of Statewide Pretrial Services in 2021 to provide pretrial services programs in counties that did not previously offer these services. Despite efforts to prepare counties across the State for PFA implementation, there are concerns about differences in implementation by county due to varying court procedures, unequal access to county-level resources including public defenders, and different interpretations of the law. The courts have seen an influx in the number of appeals to judges' pretrial detention decisions, indicating a desire for legal clarification on interpretation of the new law.² Data collection and reporting capabilities also differ from county to county, so evaluation of the new law and its impact on the criminal legal system will be a challenge until uniform, statewide data become available. Our organizations will continue monitoring the statewide rollout, in addition to that of Cook County.

The League of Women Voters of Cook County and the Civic Federation have followed bond court reform in Cook County closely over the past decade. This has included multiple bond

¹ All of the Pretrial Practices Implementation Task Force's training and preparation materials can be found on the [Additional Pretrial Resources](#) page of the Illinois Courts website.

² Amanda Vinicky, "[Illinois' High Court Reports 'Breathtaking' Rise in Appeals Following Elimination of Cash Bail](#)," *WTTW*, March 14, 2024.

court observations at different points in time. Prior to the elimination of cash bail in Illinois, the League advocated for the elimination of cash bail, along with other changes to the Cook County Pretrial System.³ In 2022, after the SAFE-T Act was passed but before the Pretrial Fairness Act portions of the law took effect, the Civic Federation and the League partnered to conduct a six-week observation of felony bond court hearings and released a report with the data findings.⁴ This report serves as a follow-up to those reports and provides an update on the current pretrial proceedings in Cook County post-implementation of the PFA.

The information presented in this report builds on prior research conducted by both organizations and is based on a number of sources including: observations of initial court appearance hearings at the Leighton Criminal Courthouse, Domestic Violence Courthouse and suburban courthouses; a meeting with the Office of the Chief Judge in which Chief Judge Evans, his staff and the presiding judges of each division and municipal branch answered questions submitted by the Civic Federation and the League; and Pretrial Fairness Act data dashboards posted by the Office of the Chief Judge.⁵

The New Pretrial Release Process Under the Pretrial Fairness Act

The Pretrial Fairness Act brought some significant changes to the pretrial release process for people charged with criminal offenses in Illinois. A few of the most significant changes from prior practice are the elimination of cash bond as a condition of pretrial release and tighter standards by which a person charged with a crime can be detained pretrial based on the charges and the perceived risk of the individual committing new crimes or failing to appear in court. These and other key changes made to the pretrial process through the PFA are described below.

Elimination of cash bail: A central tenet of the Pretrial Fairness Act is the elimination of monetary bail from the pretrial release process. Under the prior system, judges could set a dollar amount as a condition of release that the defendant would need to post to be released from jail while awaiting trial. This led to unequal outcomes for criminal defendants based on their access to money, resulting in many people charged with low level, non-violent crimes being held in jail for long periods of time (e.g. drug crimes or shoplifting). The intention under the new system is for pretrial detention decisions to be made based on risk to public safety rather than on money. The principle that a defendant's ability to pay should not determine whether they do jail time is endorsed by many groups nationally, including the Conference of Chief Justices/Conference of State Court Administrators National Task Force on Fines, Fees, and

³ See the League of Women Voters of Cook County's [Criminal Justice Interest Group page](#) for those recommendations and reports.

⁴ See [Observations of Cook County Felony Bond Court Hearings: Analysis and Recommendations](#), November 2022.

⁵ The Cook County Circuit Court has begun posting weekly pretrial dashboards on the [Court Statistics and Reports web page](#). Previously, the Circuit Court posted quarterly bond court dashboards, which can be found [here](#).

Bail Practices. This was also recommended by the League of Women Voters in a 2015 report on Cook County's pretrial systems.⁶

Offenses Eligible for Detention: Another key change is that the new law limits the types of offenses for which a criminal defendant is eligible for pretrial detention. There are two types of criteria under which the court can detain a defendant pretrial: risk to community safety and risk of willful flight. Under the community safety threshold, there are a variety of crimes listed for which the judge can order a person detained if the court finds the defendant's release poses a real and present threat to the safety of any person or persons or the community, based on the specific articulable facts of the case. The list of offenses includes: forcible felonies;⁷ non-forcible felonies that are ineligible for probation upon Conviction; stalking; domestic battery; violation of an order of protection; certain sex offenses; certain gun-related offenses;⁸ animal cruelty; and certain aggravated driving under the influence offenses. Under the willful flight threshold, a judge can order detention if a defendant is charged with any type of felony other than a class 4 felony (the lowest felony level) and is found to have a high likelihood of willful flight to avoid prosecution. Willful flight is defined as intentional conduct with a purpose to thwart the judicial process to avoid prosecution. Isolated instances of failure to appear in court alone cannot be used as evidence of the risk of willful flight.

Additional Rights of Defendants: The Pretrial Fairness Act requires a criminal defendant to be appointed a public defender or other legal representation prior to first appearance in court. Both defendants and the State have the right to appeal court orders imposing conditions of pretrial release, revoking pretrial release or denying pretrial release. When the court is using a risk assessment tool to aid its determination of appropriate conditions of release, the defendant's counsel must be provided with the information and scoring system of the risk assessment tool used to arrive at the determination. The defendant has the right to challenge the validity of a risk assessment tool and present evidence relevant to the challenge. The law also requires that defense counsel be given adequate opportunity to confer with the defendant

⁶ League of Women Voters of Cook County, [Pretrial Systems: Report Of The Criminal Justice Interest Group](#), December 16, 2015.

⁷ Forcible felonies include treason, first degree murder, second degree murder, predatory criminal sexual assault of a child, aggravated criminal sexual assault, criminal sexual assault, armed robbery, aggravated robbery, robbery, burglary where there is use of force against another person, residential burglary, home invasion, vehicular invasion, aggravated arson, arson, aggravated kidnaping, kidnaping, aggravated battery resulting in great bodily harm or permanent disability or disfigurement or any other felony which involves the threat of or infliction of great bodily harm or permanent disability or disfigurement. 725 ILCS 5/11-6.1(a)(1.5)

⁸ The violations specified in this section include the following offenses: aggravated discharge of a firearm; aggravated discharge of a machine gun or a firearm equipped with a device designed or use for silencing the report of a firearm; reckless discharge of a firearm; armed habitual criminal; manufacture, sale or transfer of bullets or shells represented to be armor piercing bullets, dragon's breath shotgun shells, bolo shells or flechette shells; unlawful sale or delivery of firearms; unlawful sale or delivery of firearms on the premises of any school; unlawful sale of firearms by liquor license; unlawful purchase of a firearm; gunrunning; firearms trafficking; involuntary servitude; involuntary sexual servitude of a minor; trafficking in persons; unlawful use or possession of weapons by felons or persons in the custody of the Department of Corrections facilities; aggravated unlawful use of a weapon; and aggravated possession of a stolen firearm.

prior to any hearing in which conditions of release or detention are considered, with a physical accommodation made to facilitate attorney/client consultation. Defense attorneys must be provided with the same documentation as the prosecution and the judge ahead of the defendant's first appearance. The defendant also has the right to call witnesses.

Risk Assessments: The Pretrial Fairness Act allows, but does not require, the use of a risk assessment tool to aid the court in determining the conditions of someone's release from custody pretrial. The Act states that a risk assessment tool cannot be the sole basis for denying a person pretrial release.

Notice to Crime Victims: The State's Attorney's Office is required to give crime victims notice of the defendant's initial pretrial hearing and inform victims of their opportunity to obtain an order of protection at the hearing.

Release from Law Enforcement Custody: The Pretrial Fairness Act created new procedures for law enforcement to release people arrested based on the seriousness of the crime. The Act *requires* law enforcement officers to release someone with a citation to appear in court in any offense that is not a felony or Class A misdemeanor unless the officer reasonably believes the accused poses a threat to the community or any person; that an arrest is necessary because the criminal activity persists after the issuance of a citation; or because the accused has an obvious medical or mental health issue that poses a risk to their safety. The Act *allows* law enforcement to release a person arrested for all other offenses that are not eligible for pretrial detention.

Cook County Procedures Under the Pretrial Fairness Act

While the Pretrial Fairness Act made sweeping changes to the pretrial release process, many of these procedures were already followed in Cook County prior to the law taking effect. It is also important to remember that prior to the elimination of cash bail, the Illinois bail statute already included a presumption of *non-monetary* release and the *least restrictive conditions* necessary to ensure appearance of the defendant in court,⁹ although many courts nevertheless continued to require monetary conditions of release. The Pretrial Fairness Act codifies the least restrictive, non-monetary conditions of release.

Prior to the SAFE-T Act, Cook County had already enacted a number of pretrial reforms over the past decade. These included changing the bond court schedule to allow more time for collection and verification of information by pretrial services officers, improved training of judges, development of comprehensive measurements of bond court performance and effectiveness, and establishing pretrial release criteria.¹⁰ The Cook County Circuit Court began

⁹ 725 ILCS 5/110-5(a-5).

¹⁰These initial reforms were prompted by a report from the Illinois Supreme Court, Administrative Office of the Illinois Courts, *Circuit Court of Cook County Pretrial Operational Review*, March 2014. For a more detailed overview of the history of the Cook County Bond Court process and reforms, see: The Civic Federation, [The Impact of Cook County Bond Court on the Jail Population: A Call for Increased Public Data and Analysis](#), November 15, 2017.

using a pretrial risk assessment in 2015 called the Public Safety Assessment (PSA) to provide judges with risk assessment scores and associated release recommendations based on a defendant's likelihood of failing to appear in court or committing a new crime if released. Additionally, the County streamlined the intake process and worked toward improving data sharing between criminal justice stakeholders.

Another key policy change in Cook County was a 2017 order directing judges to set affordable bail amounts, intended to prevent people from being held in jail due to an inability to pay for their pretrial release.¹¹ This initially reduced the use of cash bond in Cook County but the trend later reversed.¹² It also led to negotiations between the judge and the defense attorney to determine bail amounts in cases when the defendant could only afford to pay a certain amount.

Upon observation, Cook County's pretrial release processes have not changed drastically from what they were prior to the Pretrial Fairness Act. The Circuit Court continues to use the Public Safety Assessment. While judges can no longer order the payment of cash bail as a condition of release, judges may continue to issue a variety of previously existing conditions, including basic conditions that all defendants are required to abide by (appearing in court at all required hearings, not violating any laws of any jurisdiction, surrendering any firearms and complying with any other orders of the court).¹³ Judges may also order additional special conditions of release when it is determined that they are necessary to ensure a defendant's appearance in court or compliance with court orders. Such conditions include pretrial supervision (check-ins with a pretrial officer), electronic monitoring, drug testing and no contact orders. These special conditions must be the least restrictive means and must be individualized. Pretrial supervision continues to operate under a Pretrial Services program operated by the Office of the Chief Judge.

Initial hearings in Cook County continue to involve the same components as in prior practice:

- An assistant State's Attorney reads the details of the charged offense and describes the defendant's criminal history;
- A Public Defender (or occasionally a private attorney) provides mitigating factors;
- A pretrial services officer provides the judge with the defendant's PSA score and a corresponding release recommendation; and
- The judge hears all the factors involved in the defendant's case and makes a release decision at the conclusion of each hearing.

¹¹ Circuit Court of Cook County, [General Order No. 18.8A](#).

¹² An independent study by Loyola University found that the percentage of defendants released on I-Bonds (which did not require monetary payment for release) increased from 26% prior to the new policy to 57% after the new policy took effect, while having no negative impact on crime rates. (Don Stemen and David Olson, Loyola University Chicago, [Dollars and Sense in Cook County: Examining the Impact of General Order 18.8A on Felony Bond Court Decisions, Pretrial Release, and Crime](#), November 19, 2019.) However, the number of I-Bonds issued later decreased as the number of cash bonds increased. In the [quarter](#) just before implementation of the Pretrial Fairness Act, the percentage of I-bonds issued by judges had decreased to 32.7%.

¹³ 725 ILCS 5/110-10(a).

In Cook County, criminal defendants who cannot afford a private attorney are assigned a public defender to represent them in court. This right to counsel at first court appearance has already been a longstanding practice in Cook County.

Procedures at the Leighton Criminal Courthouse and Domestic Violence Courthouse are generally clear and easy to follow. Procedures at the suburban courthouses, however, are less clear, and each suburban courtroom appears to run on its own schedule. It was unclear to court observers what time court hearings were held and how the public could access the courtrooms to observe. Some observers also ran into restrictions gaining access to observe court in suburban courthouses. The suburban court presiding judges explained that they try to stick to a schedule, but it is not always possible to have a set schedule for initial appearances because of the variance in timing of when the Sheriff's Office brings defendants to court from the Cook County Jail. Many suburban arrestees end up in Cook County Jail because local police department station lock-ups are often very small, so those defendants must be transferred to various court locations around the County. There are also logistical limitations at the suburban courthouses because of a limited number of courtrooms with attached lock-ups. This requires multiple and different types of hearings to be held in one or two courtrooms.

Changes to the Initial Hearing Process

One of the most apparent changes is the new initial hearing process that has taken the place of bond court hearings, where all defendants would appear before the judge and the judge would set bail and other conditions of release or order the person to be detained. Now under the new PFA process, there are two types of initial hearings: conditions hearings, where the judge sets conditions of release and the individual is released from custody; and detention hearings, where the judge determines whether to detain or release the defendant. According to the new statute, after a person is arrested for an offense for which pretrial release may be denied, they must be taken to appear before a judge within 48 hours.¹⁴ In cases where detention is requested, the detention hearing must take place either immediately upon the State's Attorney filing a petition for detention or within 48 hours of the person's first appearance if a continuance is requested and granted.¹⁵ If the continuance is granted, the Court has the discretion to detain or release the defendant in the time between the filing of the petition and the hearing. The way this process plays out in Cook County is that a person's initial court appearance is typically either a conditions hearing or a detention hearing if the State has already requested detention prior to the person's first court appearance before a judge. In some cases, though, a detention hearing is held immediately following a conditions hearing if all parties are prepared with the necessary information.

In order for detention to be ordered, the State's Attorney must now file a petition for a detention hearing stating the grounds on which the State is seeking a person's pretrial detention. As noted earlier, the charge must be a detainable offense under 725 ILCS 5/110-6.1

¹⁴ 725 ILCS 5/109-1. The statute only addresses a specific 48-hour timeframe for cases in which pretrial release may be denied per 725 ILCS 110-6.1.

¹⁵ 725 ILCS 5/110-6.1(c)(2).

or there must be a risk of willful flight. The burden is now on the State's Attorney to prove by clear and convincing evidence that: the proof is evident and the presumption is great that the person appearing in court committed the offense; that releasing the person would present a real and present threat to any person(s) or the community; and that there is no condition or combination of conditions that could mitigate the threat the person presents to public safety or risk of willful flight. At the detention hearing, the judge makes a determination on whether to detain or release the defendant. Notably, the judges state on the record at the conclusion of each initial appearance hearing that the defendant has the right to appeal the judge's decision.

As a result of new PFA operations, there have been some slight changes to the courtroom schedules, language and terms used in court hearings, and paperwork requirements and forms filed. Some judges stated during court hearings that there is now more paperwork required, which has slowed the pace of hearings.

The length of time spent on each initial appearance hearing is a notable change from prior to the PFA. Especially in detention decisions, hearings last much longer than previous bond court hearings. Under the prior bond court system, initial hearings frequently lasted only one or two minutes. In that short time, it was difficult to understand the details of the defendant's charges and basis of the judge's decision. Now, observers have found that initial conditions hearings and detention hearings often last more than five minutes. In some domestic violence cases, the hearings lasted up to 15 minutes. Detention hearings in some observations lasted as long as 20 to 30 minutes. While this has significantly slowed the pace of the hearings, a benefit is that there is much greater clarity about the proceedings and the basis of judges' orders. All parties (defense and prosecution) are working from the same information and given adequate time to present their interpretation of the incidents leading up to the defendant's appearance in court. The judges are taking the time to clearly explain defendants' rights under the law and the basis of their decisions to release or detain the person.

While the law allows defendants to call witnesses at initial hearings, representatives from the Office of the Chief Judge said this is very rare because of the limited scope at that early stage in the criminal legal process where witnesses and evidence presented can only be used for determining detention. Most witnesses appear in domestic violence court to receive an order of protection.

Analysis of Preliminary Pretrial Data

Many questions about the implementation of the PFA remain. How will the new law impact the number of people incarcerated pretrial? How will it affect outcomes for individuals impacted by the incarceration system? How will it impact public safety? While we do not yet know the answer to all these questions, some can be answered through initial data released by the Cook County Circuit Court.

The data dashboards include the number of people detained or released with conditions since the PFA took effect. During the period of September 18, 2023, (the effective date of the PFA)

through March 9, 2024, there were 28,245 criminal cases filed in the Cook County Circuit Court.¹⁶ Of those, 45% of the people arrested and charged were released from custody by law enforcement with a citation to appear in court and 53% were held in custody for an initial appearance hearing in court. Of the 15,099 individuals held in custody for an initial court appearance, the Cook County State's Attorney filed petitions for detention in 2,732 cases, or 18%. Detention was granted by the judge in 59%, or 1,622 of those cases. In other words, of the 28,245 criminal cases filed during this period, 1,622 defendants were ordered to be held in detention by the judge. The dashboards do not include details about the types of charges among defendants released or held in detention, so the reasons behind why someone was held in jail or released are not yet known. We hope that this information will be made available in the future.

The Cook County data also reports the number of Public Safety Assessments (PSA) completed and pretrial services caseloads. The court completed 15,333 PSAs between September 18, 2023, and March 9, 2024, which includes almost all the defendants charged and held in custody for first appearance during that period. Since the PFA took effect on September 18, 2023, the number of people on pretrial supervision in Cook County has increased by 22%, from 4,716 to 5,763.

Cook County has three electronic monitoring programs, two of which are operated by the Cook County Circuit Court: the Curfew Program and the Bischof Program. Both are operated by the Adult Probation Home Confinement Unit within the Office of the Chief Judge. The Curfew Program requires wearing a radio frequency ankle monitor and generally allows a person to leave their home during the day. The Bischof Program, named for domestic violence victim Cindy Bischof, is used in domestic violence cases and requires wearing a GPS ankle monitor. The third and largest electronic monitoring program is operated by the Cook County Sheriff. During the same reporting period, September 18, 2023, through March 9, 2024, the daily Curfew population decreased by 19%, from 934 to 761 people on Curfew. The Bischof program population decreased by 4%, from 782 to 754. The Sheriff's electronic monitoring population decreased by 12%, from 1,846 to 1,616 people.¹⁷

The number of people held in the Cook County Jail has decreased by 13% since the PFA took effect, from 5,419 to 4,709, based on the same data set.¹⁸ Analysis by Loyola University finds that the Cook County Jail population after the PFA implementation fell by more than would have been expected after accounting for normal seasonal fluctuations in crime. Bookings into Cook County Jail fell by three percentage points more than would have been expected based on historical trends, and the average daily jail population fell by 10 percentage points more than would have been expected, indicating that at least part of the jail population decrease can be attributed to the PFA.¹⁹

¹⁶ Circuit Court of Cook County, Pretrial Fairness Act Weekly Dashboard, [September 18, 2023 – March 9, 2024](#).

¹⁷ Circuit Court of Cook County, Pretrial Fairness Act Weekly Dashboard, [September 18, 2023 – March 9, 2024](#).

¹⁸ Circuit Court of Cook County, Pretrial Fairness Act Weekly Dashboard, [September 18, 2023 – March 9, 2024](#).

¹⁹ David Olson and Don Stemen, Loyola University Center for Criminal Justice, [Short-Term Trends in Jail Bookings & Populations After the Pretrial Fairness Act](#), March 10, 2024.

There is not yet data available from the Circuit Court about violations of pretrial release, as measured by the number of defendants released pretrial who are arrested for new crimes or fail to appear for court hearings. The Chief Judge's Office says it intends to begin including those data points in future weekly dashboards. We also do not know whether the PFA has had any impact on crime. One of the aims of the new pretrial law is to ensure that people who pose a risk to community safety are held in jail pretrial, while avoiding unnecessary detention of those who do not pose a threat to public safety. While we know the jail population has decreased since the PFA was implemented, there is not yet data available to show whether there has been a shift in the types of crimes for which people are being detained, and how many of those released are being arrested and charged with new crimes.

Conclusion

Overall, the League of Women Voters and the Civic Federation have observed that the initial implementation of the PFA in Cook County is running smoothly. Judges are following standard scripts in the court hearings, which makes decisions clear and easier to understand than the old bond court process. However, observers did encounter issues accessing the suburban courthouses and some courtrooms at the Leighton Criminal Courthouse on weekends. The Circuit Court should pursue efforts to make the courts more welcoming and procedures and schedules in the suburban courts clearer.

We were pleased that the Circuit Court has begun releasing data providing basic information about the number of initial appearance hearings, detention petitions and pretrial supervision and electronic monitoring. We look forward to more detailed data regarding pretrial rearrest rates and return to court rates. We also hope the Court will release additional details about the types of charges for which people are being detained or released from jail.

While the focus of this report is only on Cook County, every county throughout the State of Illinois is required to implement the PFA provisions. With different court procedures and various interpretations of the law, there is potential for uneven implementation in counties across the state. We will continue to monitor pretrial changes in Cook County and statewide.