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Beyond Detention: A 12-Year Longitudinal Study of Positive Outcomes in Delinquent Youth

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Abstract

Importance—Longitudinal studies of delinquent youth have focused on criminal recidivism, not on psychosocial outcomes in adulthood. This omission is critical because most youth return to the community where they become the responsibility of pediatric health care providers.

Objective—To investigate 8 positive outcomes among delinquent youth 5 and 12 years after detention, focusing on sex and racial/ethnic differences.

Design—The *Northwestern Juvenile Project*, the first comprehensive longitudinal US study of long-term outcomes of delinquent youth after detention (n=1829). Youth were interviewed in detention and reinterviewed up to 9 times over 12 years.

Setting—Project staff conducted face-to-face structured interviews at the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center (Chicago, Illinois) between November 20, 1995, and June 14, 1998. At follow-ups, participants were interviewed wherever they were living, in the community or in correctional facilities.

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Participants—Stratified random sample, 1172 males and 657 females (1005 African Americans, 524 Hispanics, 296 non-Hispanic whites, and 4 of other race/ethnicity). At baseline, median age was 15 years. Twelve years later, at median age 28 years, 1520 (83.1%) of the original sample remained.

Main Outcome and Measures—Achievement of positive outcomes in 8 domains: educational attainment, residential independence, gainful activity, desistance from criminal activity, mental health, abstaining from substance abuse, interpersonal functioning, and parenting responsibility. Outcomes were assessed with widely used measures supplemented by correctional records.

Results—Females were significantly more likely than males to achieve most positive outcomes. Twelve years after detention, only 21.9% of males and 54.7% of females had achieved more than half of the outcomes. As youth aged, the number of positive outcomes increased only modestly. Among males, non-Hispanic whites were significantly more likely to achieve most positive outcomes compared with minorities, but less likely to abstain from substance abuse. Latent class analysis shows that African American males fared the worst, with lives characterized by incarceration, criminal activity, and few positive outcomes.

Conclusions and Relevance—Findings highlight racial/ethnic disparities in achieving positive outcomes. To improve outcomes, pediatric health care professionals should recognize the importance of psychosocial health, facilitate access to services in the community, and partner with on-site systems of care.

The United States has the highest incarceration rate of any developed country.¹ Each year, approximately 1.5 million youth are arrested.² More than 54,000 juveniles—disproportionately racial/ethnic minorities—were incarcerated on an average day in 2013.³ Nearly all of these youth eventually return to their communities.

Delinquent youth are at great risk for poor outcomes in adulthood, having limited social support,⁴ adult guidance,⁴ educational attainment,⁵ and cognitive resources.⁶ The stigma of prior criminality limits opportunities for employment.⁷ Moreover, the experience of incarceration may impair psychosocial development.^{8,9}

Despite these adversities, some delinquent youth desist from crime, pursue an education, and become employed. However, little is known about positive outcomes among youth after detention. The most comprehensive study—conducted in England—has limited generalizability to addressing health disparities in the United States.¹⁰ Investigations conducted in the United States also have limitations. The classic Glueck and Glueck study^{11–13}—conducted in the 1940s—examined a variety of outcomes, but did not include racial/ethnic minorities (now two-thirds of US juvenile detainees³). More recent studies also have unrepresentative samples, examining only serious or adjudicated (convicted) offenders,^{14–16} who represent a fraction of youth in the juvenile justice system. One study oversampled youth referred to group homes and sentenced to drug treatment, further reducing generalizability.¹⁵ Finally, studies have examined outcomes only to the early 20s^{14–16} and assessed only recidivism and gainful activity.^{16,17}

These omissions are critical. Hispanics, now the largest minority group in the United States,¹⁸ are disproportionately confined in a number of states.¹⁹ Disproportionate minority

confinement especially affects African American males, who comprise approximately 17% of youth in the United States²⁰ but 40% of youth in correctional facilities.²¹ Data on females are needed because females are a growing proportion of youth in the juvenile justice system, comprising 27.9% of youth processed in juvenile court and 13.6% of incarcerated youth.²¹ Data on positive outcomes of delinquent youth will inform the development of gender-specific preventive interventions, and address racial/ethnic health disparities.

This is the first comprehensive US study of long-term outcomes of delinquent youth after detention. Using data from the Northwestern Juvenile Project, we examined the achievement of positive outcomes in 8 domains: educational attainment, residential independence, gainful activity, desistance from criminal activity, mental health, abstaining from substance abuse, interpersonal functioning, and parenting responsibility. We examine: (1) prevalence of specific outcomes 5 and 12 years after detention (at median ages 20 and 28 years, respectively), focusing on sex and racial/ethnic differences; (2) overall counts of positive outcomes; and, (3) common patterns of outcomes, using a latent class analysis.

METHODS

An overview appears below. Additional information is available in eMethods and is published elsewhere.²²

Sample, Procedures, and Measures

We recruited a stratified random sample of 1829 youth at intake to the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center (CCJTDC) in Chicago, Illinois, between November 20, 1995, and June 14, 1998. The CCJTDC is used for pretrial detention and for offenders sentenced for fewer than 30 days. Consistent with data on juvenile detainees nationwide,^{3,23} nearly 90% of detainees at CCJTDC were male; most were racial/ethnic minority youth. To ensure adequate representation of key subgroups, we stratified our sample by sex, race/ethnicity (African American, non-Hispanic white, Hispanic, or other), age (10–13 years or 14–18 years), and legal status (processed in juvenile or adult court). Face-to-face structured interviews were conducted at the detention center in a private area, most within 2 days of intake. The stratified random sample included 1172 males and 657 females (1005 African Americans, 524 Hispanics, 296 non-Hispanic whites, and 4 of other race/ethnicity). At baseline, youth had a median age of 15 years (mean 14.9; SD 1.4 years).

We conducted follow-up interviews at approximately 3, 5, 6, 8, and 12 years after the baseline interview (hereafter referred to as “after detention”) for the entire sample; subsamples were interviewed more frequently. Participants were interviewed whether they lived in the community or in correctional facilities. We present outcomes at 2 time points, which, for simplicity, we refer to as 5 and 12 years after detention. As in our prior work,²² the 5-year time point consists of 1561 (85.3% of 1829) participants interviewed an average of 4.9 years after detention (SD, 0.4; median 4.7 years). The 12-year time point consists of 1519 (83.1% of 1829) participants interviewed an average of 12.3 years after detention (SD, 0.3; median 12.2 years). eTable 1 summarizes demographics and retention at 5 and 12 years after after detention, when participants were median ages 20 and 28 years, respectively Table

1 shows definitions and measures for the 8 positive outcomes at the 5- and 12-year follow-ups.

Statistical Analysis

All analyses were conducted using STATA statistical software, version 12 (StataCorp) with its survey routines. To generate prevalence estimates and inferential statistics that reflect CCJTDC's population, each participant was assigned a sampling weight augmented with a nonresponse adjustment to account for missing data. Because minorities are disproportionately incarcerated, weighted estimates for males and females overall are similar to those for African American males and females.

We present prevalence estimates for participants who were still living at follow-up. (Five and 12 years after detention, 50 and 97 participants had died, respectively.) Because incarceration prevents people from achieving many positive outcomes, we also present prevalence only for participants living in the community during the recall period (see eMethods). We used logistic regression to examine sex and racial/ethnic differences in outcomes, adjusting for age at detention and legal status. We used the Latent Class Analysis Stata plugin²⁴ to empirically identify "classes" of participants who exhibited similar patterns of positive outcomes 12 years after detention. Three participants who self-identified as "other" race/ethnicity were excluded from all analyses. We conducted separate analyses for males and females because combining them could obfuscate important differences.

RESULTS

Prevalence of Positive Outcomes in Specific Domains

Figure 1 illustrates sex differences 5 and 12 years after detention. For each positive outcome, Figure 1 shows prevalence among males, prevalence among females, and the corresponding odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals (CI) comparing females with males. Figures 2–3 show racial/ethnic differences in positive outcomes among males and females, respectively (see also eTables 2–4). eFigures 1 and 2 show the prevalence of achieving positive outcomes at *both* time points (see also eTable 5).

Sex Differences—Five years after detention, females were more likely than males to have positive outcomes in every domain except abstaining from substance abuse; the largest sex differences were in desistance from criminal activity, residential independence, and parenting responsibility. Twelve years after detention, there were fewer sex differences; females, however, were still more likely than males to have most positive outcomes. Notably, two-thirds of females had desisted from criminal activity compared with one-quarter of males; more than three-quarters of females had a positive outcome in parenting responsibility compared with less than one-quarter of males. Females were more likely than males to have positive outcomes at both time points for educational attainment, desistance from criminal activity, interpersonal functioning, residential independence, parenting responsibility, and mental health.

Racial/Ethnic Differences

Males—Non-Hispanic whites were more likely than African Americans and Hispanics to have positive outcomes in many domains, especially at the 12-year follow-up (Figure 2). For example, 12 years after detention, non-Hispanic whites had more than 5 times the odds of gainful activity than African Americans and more than 2 times the odds of Hispanics. However, African Americans and Hispanics were more likely to be abstaining from substance abuse compared with non-Hispanic whites.

Females—There were far fewer racial/ethnic differences among females at either time point (Figure 3). Notably, as with males, non-Hispanic whites had greater odds of educational attainment than minorities.

Positive Outcomes Among Persons Living in the Community

Because incarceration prevents people from achieving some of the outcomes assessed (Table 1), we also examined sex and racial/ethnic differences only among participants who lived in the community during the entire recall period. Findings were substantially similar (eMethods).

Counts of Positive Outcomes

eFigure 3 shows sex differences in the total counts of positive outcomes 5 and 12 years after detention. The number of positive outcomes increased only modestly between 5 and 12 years (eTable 6). Twelve years after detention, 21.9% of males and 54.7% of females had achieved more than half of the outcomes (5 or more); only 1 in 10 males and one-third of females had achieved 6 or more positive outcomes. At both time points, females had more positive outcomes than males: at 5 years, the mean difference was 1.6 (95% CI, 1.3–1.8); at 12 years, 1.5 (95% CI, 1.2–1.7).

eFigures 4 and 5 show racial/ethnic differences in the total counts of positive outcomes for males and females, respectively. Among males 12 years after detention, nearly 1 in 2 non-Hispanic whites had achieved more than half of the outcomes, compared with only 1 in 4 Hispanics and only 1 in 5 African Americans. Non-Hispanic white males had more positive outcomes than minority males: at 5 years, the mean difference was 1.0 (95% CI, 0.7–1.4) versus African Americans and 0.9 (95% CI, 0.5–1.3) versus Hispanics. At 12 years, the differences were 1.3 (95% CI, 0.9–1.6) and 0.9 (95% CI, 0.5–1.3), respectively. Among females, there were no significant racial/ethnic differences.

Patterns of Positive Outcomes

We used latent class analyses to empirically identify “classes” of participants who exhibited similar patterns of positive outcomes 12 years after detention. Table 2 shows the percentage of participants in each class for males and females, the probability of attaining a particular positive outcome in each class, and the racial/ethnic distribution and incarceration characteristics of each class. Among males, we found 5 classes: (1) *poor overall functioning* (24.4%): unlikely to have positive outcomes in any domain; (2) *incarcerated* (28.1%): positive outcome in only 1 domain, abstaining from substance abuse; (3) *living independently but struggling* (20.7%): positive outcomes in only 1 domain, residential

independence; (4) *family men but struggling* (5.9%): high probability of achieving interpersonal functioning, parenting responsibility, and abstaining from substance abuse; and (5) *functioning independently* (21.0%): likely to attain positive outcomes in nearly all domains. Among males who had been incarcerated in the past year, 81.0% were in the poorest functioning classes (Classes 1–3) (Table 2). Minorities—especially African Americans—were overrepresented in the classes with the fewest positive outcomes (Classes 1–3) (eTable 7).

Among females, we found 4 classes: (1) *unstable moms* (14.4%): positive outcomes in only 1 domain: parenting responsibility; (2) *substance free but struggling* (10.1%): positive outcomes in only 1 domain: abstaining from substance abuse; (3) *at-home moms* (59.9%): especially likely to be positive in parenting responsibility, desistance from criminal activity, and residential independence, but unlikely to have gainful activity or interpersonal functioning; and (4) *positive overall functioning* (15.6%): likely to have positive outcomes in every domain except interpersonal functioning. Among females who had been incarcerated in the past year, 72.4% were in the poorest functioning classes (Classes 1 and 2) (Table 2). There were no racial/ethnic differences (see eTable 7).

DISCUSSION

Twelve years after detention, only 1 in 5 males and nearly 1 in 2 females had attained positive outcomes in more than half of the domains assessed, which included gainful activity, educational attainment, interpersonal functioning, and parenting responsibility. Moreover, the numbers of positive outcomes increased only slightly between late adolescence and young adulthood. The socioeconomic picture was bleak. Only half of our participants had a high school degree or its equivalent, rates substantially lower than among comparably aged persons nationwide (88.4%).^{25,26} Only one-fifth of males and approximately one-third of females in our sample were working full time or in school. In contrast, 77% of the general population is socioeconomically self-sufficient by 29 to 30 years of age²⁷; in one study, 67% of males and 52% of females, aged 22 to 32 years, were employed full-time in 2011–2013.²⁸

This study is the first to document the dearth of long-term positive outcomes in multiple domains among delinquent youth after detention. Outcomes are even worse than those found by Ramchand and colleagues,¹⁵ who found that 7 years later (ages 20–24 years), 58% of serious offenders sampled from group homes had completed high school or its equivalent, and 32% were employed full time.

Why do females function substantially better than males in nearly every domain? First, delinquency among females is largely confined to adolescence.²⁹ Even in the general population, males are more likely than females to have static and enduring risk factors for delinquent behavior, such as nervous system dysfunctions, difficult temperaments, delayed achievement of verbal and motor milestones, and hyperactivity.^{29,30} Males' more extensive involvement with correctional systems during the transition to adulthood limits opportunities to achieve adult roles, such as employment.

Second, delinquent females are more likely than males to be involved in prosocial activities and relationships.³¹ Prosocial involvement, including parenting, is critical to positive functioning. In our study, females were over 18 times more likely to be parenting their children than males.

The latent class analysis demonstrated that African American males fared the worse, with lives characterized by incarceration, criminal activity, and few positive outcomes. Hispanic males functioned more poorly overall than non-Hispanic white males. Racial/ethnic disparities among delinquent youth appear to be even greater than disparities in the general population.³² The cycle of disadvantage may be most profound for racial/ethnic minorities,³³ who have fewer resources and opportunities to fulfill adult responsibilities.

Limitations

Our data are subject to the limitations of self-report. Generalizability may be limited to youth in urban detention centers with similar sociodemographic characteristics. We did not control for social class because nearly all youth who enter detention are poor. Participants lost to follow-up may have biased the sample. Of course, we could not examine the outcomes of deceased participants; however, including them in computations (defined as negative on all outcomes) did not alter findings substantially (see eMethods). Outcome data are a snapshot of functioning at 2 time points. Although counts of positive outcomes provide a useful summary of overall functioning, their utility is limited because it gives equal weight to each outcome. We likely overestimated residential independence at 12 years because we were unable to determine the number of “householders” in our sample as defined by the US Census Bureau (whether participants’ residences were legally in their name).³⁴ To define gainful activity, we followed the decision rules set forth by the US Department of Labor that defines full-time homemakers as unemployed. Although homemakers would not score a positive outcome in this category, they could score as positive in “parenting responsibility.” Note that although this decision could make females appear to have worse outcomes, they actually had better outcomes than males. Finally, detention is the outcome of multiple risk factors and developmental processes. We cannot determine that detention caused poor outcomes independently of those risk factors.

Implications

1. Expand the scope of services for delinquent youth, focusing on minority males—Our findings demonstrate that programs must be improved for males, who, based on US Department of Justice statistics, comprise 72% of cases handled by juvenile courts³⁵ and 86% of youth in residential placement.³ Although re-entry programs that focus on reducing criminal recidivism are critical for public safety, other needs of delinquent youth must be addressed. To improve outcomes, pediatric health care professionals should recognize the importance of psychosocial health, facilitate access to services in the community, and partner with on-site systems of care.³⁶ Programs are most effective when they implement services flexibly, based on individual need and developmental stage.⁴

Providing services for delinquent males is challenging. Compared with females, males may be less amenable to intervention for delinquent behavior; they generally have lower levels of

interpersonal agreeableness,³⁰ greater susceptibility to deviant peer influence,³⁷ and, in many cases, longer histories of oppositional behavior and aggression.³⁸ Moreover, adolescent males are less likely than females to seek mental health services,³⁹ and their mental health needs are less likely to be detected in correctional settings.⁴⁰ Racial/ethnic minorities are even less likely to receive services than non-Hispanic whites.⁴¹

Despite these challenges, expanding services may improve the outcomes of many racial/ethnic minority males who have been incarcerated. The potential impact cannot be overstated. The US Department of Justice estimates that among infants born in 2001, 1 in 3 African American males and 1 in 6 Hispanic males will be incarcerated in a state or federal prison at some point during their lifetime.⁴²

2. Support policies that reduce the collateral consequences of criminal records—Delinquent youth have many risk factors that reduce the likelihood of positive outcomes.⁴⁻⁶ However, involvement with the justice system presents additional obstacles to positive outcomes as youth—especially minorities—age. First, delinquent youth may find it difficult to return to school after release. Many have cognitive deficits⁶ and low expectations of success.⁴³ Delinquent youth—particularly minorities—experience harsher disciplinary actions than nondelinquent peers.^{44,45} Punitive discipline may have the unintended consequence of increasing delinquency and fostering the “school-to-prison pipeline.”⁴⁶ Second, use of criminal records to make employment decisions impedes hiring of ex-offenders. Finally, in many states, convicted felons may be banned from voting, public housing, college/university admissions, child custody, and public aid.^{47,48} Convicted felons may also be barred from certain occupations, including working in health care facilities, insurance agencies, hair-dressing, and cosmetology.⁴⁹ These consequences increase the likelihood of recidivism.⁵⁰

Conclusions

Positive adult outcomes are the exception and not the rule, particularly for racial/ethnic minorities. To succeed, delinquent youth must be helped not only to desist from crime but also to overcome barriers to social stability and employment.

Supplementary Material

Refer to Web version on PubMed Central for supplementary material.

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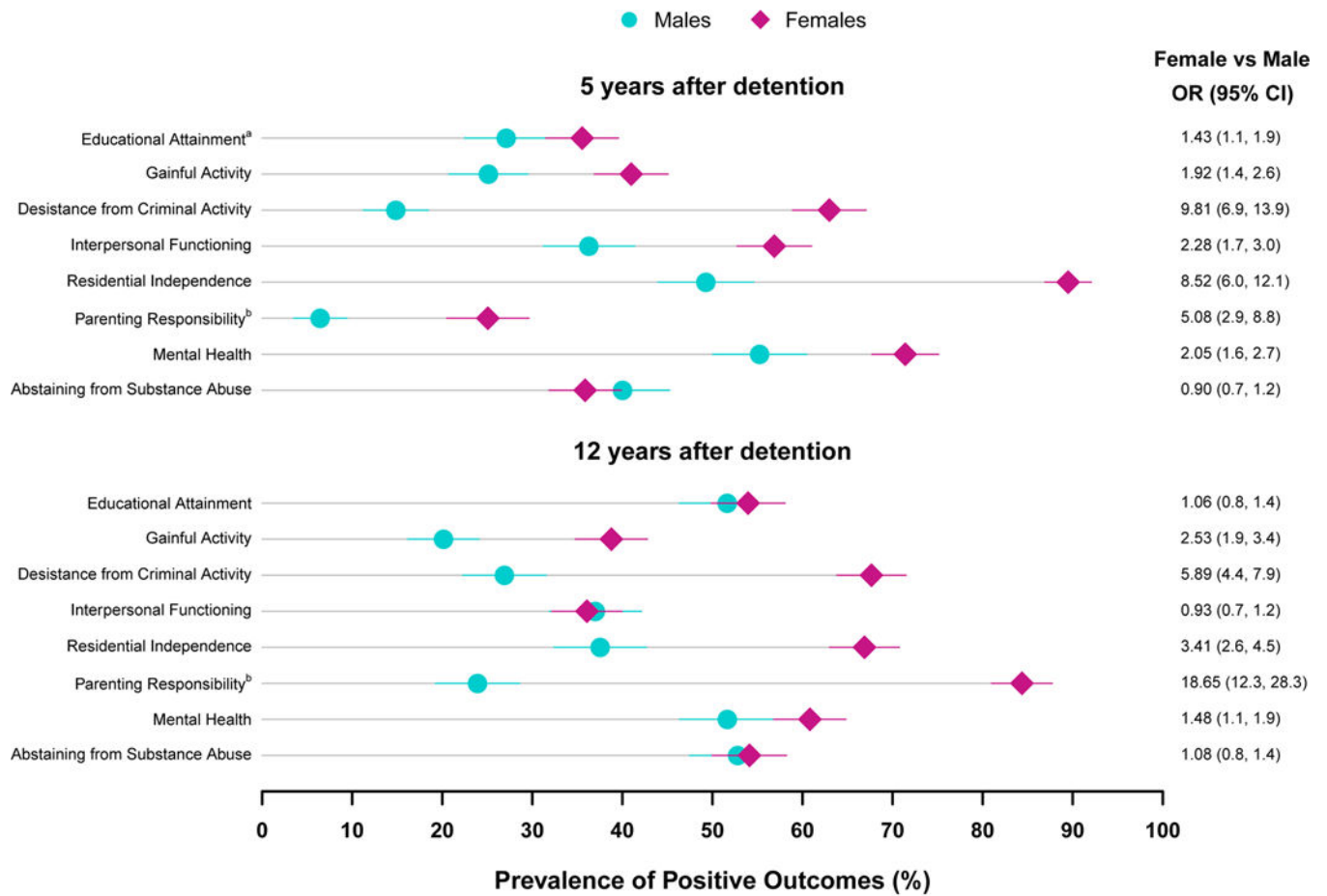
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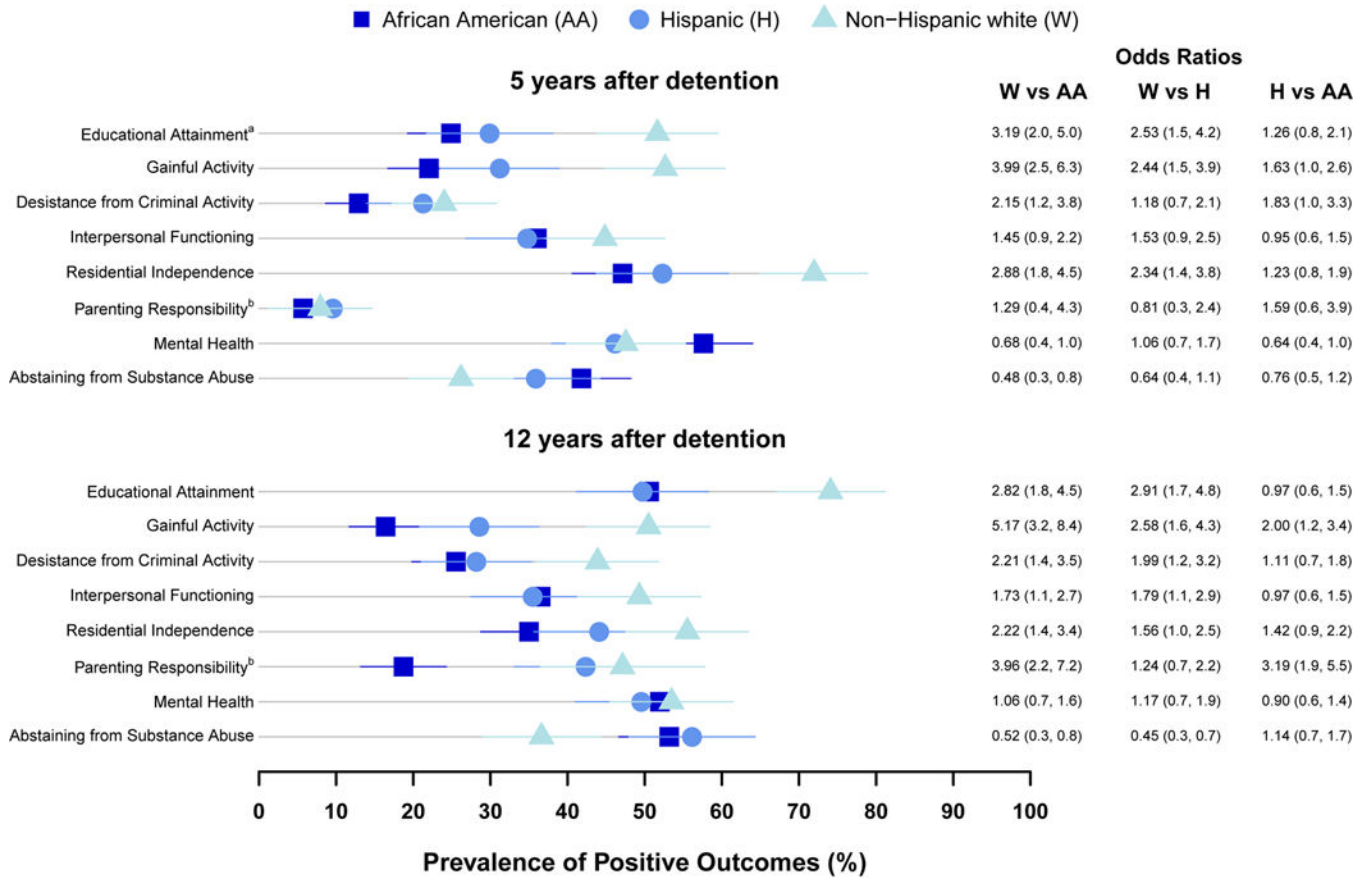
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^a For each positive outcome, this figure shows prevalence and associated 95% confidence intervals among males and females, and the corresponding odds ratios comparing females with males.
^b Educational attainment excludes participants who were less than 18 years of age at the time of interview.
^c Parenting responsibility excludes participants who did not have any children at the time of interview.

Figure 1. Prevalence of Positive Outcomes 5 and 12 Years After Detention: Sex Differences
 For each positive outcome, the figure shows prevalence among males (circles) and females (diamonds), and the associated 95% confidence intervals (colored lines). Odds ratios comparing females with males are shown in the right column.



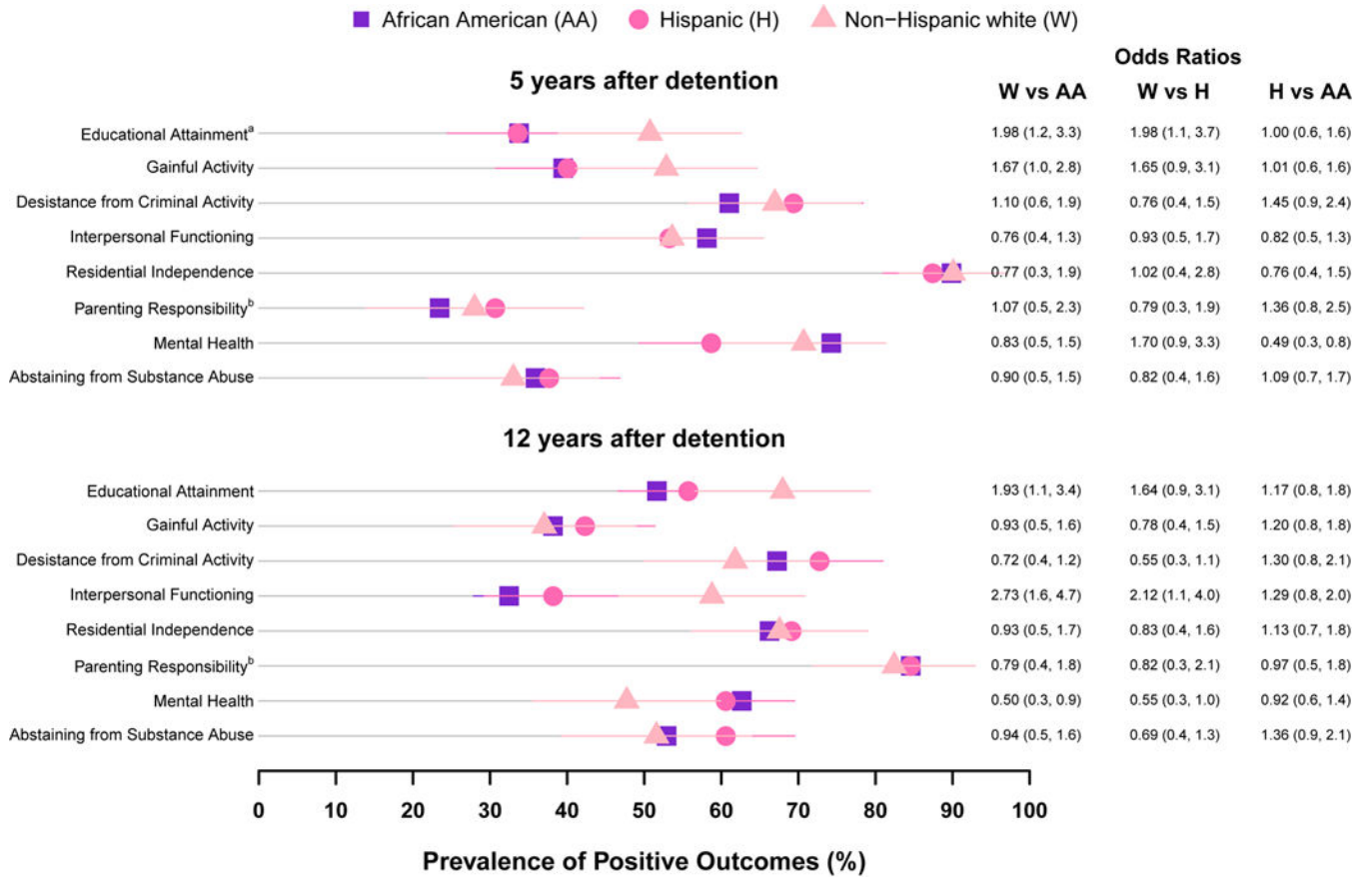
^a For each positive outcome, this figure shows prevalence and associated 95% confidence intervals among African American males, Hispanic males, and Non-Hispanic white males, and the corresponding odds ratios comparing racial/ethnic groups.

^b Educational attainment excludes participants who were less than 18 years of age at the time of interview.

^c Parenting responsibility excludes participants who did not have any children at the time of interview.

Figure 2. Prevalence of Positive Outcomes 5 and 12 Years After Detention Among Males: Racial/Ethnic Differences

For each positive outcome, the figure shows prevalence among African American males (squares), Hispanic males (circles), and non-Hispanic white males (triangles), and the associated 95% confidence intervals (colored lines). Odds ratios comparing racial/ethnic groups among males are shown in the right column.



^a For each positive outcome, this figure shows prevalence and associated 95% confidence intervals among African American females, Hispanic females, and Non-Hispanic white females, and the corresponding odds ratios comparing racial/ethnic groups.

^b Educational attainment excludes participants who were less than 18 years of age at the time of interview.

^c Parenting responsibility excludes participants who did not have any children at the time of interview.

Figure 3. Prevalence of Positive Outcomes 5 and 12 Years After Detention Among Females: Racial/Ethnic Differences

For each positive outcome, the figure shows prevalence among African American females (squares), Hispanic females (circles), and non-Hispanic white females (triangles), and the associated 95% confidence intervals (colored lines). Odds ratios comparing racial/ethnic groups among females are shown in the right column.

Table 1

Definitions and Measures of Positive Outcome by Domain

Domain	5-Year Follow-up (Median Age, 20.5 years)	12-Year Follow-up (Median Age, 27.9 years)	Measure
Educational Attainment	High school degree (or equivalent)	High school degree (or equivalent)	Diagnostic Interview Schedule IV ⁵¹
Gainful Activity *	Currently in school or employed at least 20 hours a week	Currently in school or employed at least 35 hours a week	Multisite Epidemiologic Catchment Area Study ⁵²
Desistance From Criminal Activity *	No detected or undetected criminal offenses (past 3 months), no arrests (past 1.5 years), and no incarcerations (past year)	No detected or undetected criminal offenses (past 3 months), no arrests (past year), and no incarcerations (past year)	Denver Youth Survey ⁵³ ; NIDA Risk Behavior Assessment ⁵⁴ Correctional records from the Illinois Department of Corrections adult and youth divisions, the Cook County Department of Corrections, the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center, and the Clerk of the Court of Cook County supplemented by self-report.
Interpersonal Functioning *	Neither a victim nor perpetrator of domestic violence (past 3 months) and no more than minimal impairment on a "behavior towards others" scale (past 3 months)	Neither a victim nor perpetrator of domestic violence (past 3 months), 2 people in social support network, and relationship rated 7+ (on a scale of 1–10; if they currently have a spouse or live-in partner)	National Violence Against Women Survey ⁵⁵ ; National Comorbidity Survey Replication ⁵⁶ ; Indiana Consortium for Mental Health Service and Research Central State Hospital Discharge Study ⁵⁷ ; Child and Adolescent Functional Assessment Scale ⁵⁸
Parenting Responsibility *	Biological parent who (with or without a partner) cares for his/her child(ren); has not left a child <6 years unattended nor had a child removed by the state (past 1.5 years); and has no more than minimum impairment on a "youth as caregiver" scale (past 3 months)	Biological parent who (with or without a partner) cares for his/her child(ren) and has not had a child removed by the state (past 4 years)	Child and Adolescent Functional Assessment Scale ⁵⁸ ; Questions on removal of children by the state were created for the Northwestern Juvenile Project
Residential Independence *	Not transient or homeless (past 3 months)	Lives independently, either self-supporting or currently with a partner	Multisite Epidemiologic Catchment Area Study ⁵²
Mental Health	No psychotic, mood, anxiety, or behavioral disorders (past year)	No psychotic, mood, anxiety, or behavioral disorders (past year)	Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children IV ⁵⁹ ; Diagnostic Interview Schedule IV ⁵¹ ; World Mental Health Composite International Diagnostic Interview ⁶⁰
Abstaining From Substance Abuse	No substance use disorder (past year), no illicit drug use (past 30 days), and, if <21 years, no drinking (past 30 days)	No substance use disorder (past year) and no illicit drug use (past 30 days)	Diagnostic Interview Schedule IV ⁵¹ ; NIDA Risk Behavior Assessment ⁵⁴

* Participants incarcerated during the referenced time period were automatically coded as not having achieved this outcome.

Latent-Class Models of Positive Outcomes, 12 Years After Detention^{a,b}

Table 2

Assigned Label	Latent Class for Males (n = 933)					Latent Class for Females (n = 574)			
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4
% in Latent Class	24.4	28.1	20.7	5.9	21.0	14.4	10.1	59.9	15.6
Conditional Probability of a Positive Outcome (%)^{c*}									
Educational attainment	37.9	52.1	45.7	52.5	73.7	35.8	46.9	53.7	76.7
Gainful activity	4.8	0.3	26.4	7.0	63.5	12.2	14.7	35.4	91.2
Desistance from criminal activity	16.7	0.9	22.6	8.7	84.8	9.5	28.8	79.9	99.4
Interpersonal functioning	43.4	4.3	42.7	98.5	50.3	37.1	7.7	38.4	44.9
Residential independence	1.6	1.8	86.9	57.7	72.5	45.8	17.6	76.2	82.6
Parenting responsibility	0.2	0.0	44.7	70.7	41.8	60.0	29.4	96.9	88.2
Mental health	30.5	58.9	31.4	45.2	87.1	30.1	48.3	60.5	98.2
Abstaining from substance abuse	28.5	99.0	0.9	95.3	59.4	1.2	79.5	55.6	79.8
Prevalence Across Class (%)^{c,d}									
Incarceration									
None	21.0	1.5	27.9	2.4	47.2	9.9	6.0	65.7	18.4
Any incarceration	26.7	46.1	8.3	15.8	3.2	39.2	33.2	27.4	0.2
In/out	35.7	21.8	24.7	12.9	4.9	44.1	25.9	29.9	0.2
Entire past year	10.9	88.6	0.1	0.1	0.3	4.7	85.0	10.3	0.0
Race/ethnicity									
African American	26.2	29.4	19.4	5.9	19.1	15.1	10.3	58.8	15.8
Hispanic	17.5	27.6	24.4	6.4	24.1	10.2	10.1	63.3	16.4
Non-Hispanic white	18.4	10.4	27.5	3.9	39.9	16.7	8.3	62.1	12.9

* To facilitate interpretation, bolding indicates probability of a positive outcome 60%.

^d Latent class models are weighted to adjust for sampling design and to reflect the demographic characteristics of the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center.

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^bThe 5-class model for males minimized adjusted BIC (4-class = 551.2; 5-class = 527.3; 6-class = 528.7), had reasonable entropy (4-class = 0.68; 5-class = 0.72; 6-class = 0.74), and provided the most interpretable groups. Although a 3-class model for females minimized the adjusted BIC (3-class = 319.0; 4-class = 325.2; 5-class = 342.2), the 4-class model had substantially better entropy (3-class = 0.51; 4-class = 0.66; 5-class = 0.61) and yielded more meaningful groups.

^cPrevalence across latent classes sum over each characteristic. For example, 26.2% of African American males are in *Poor Overall Functioning*, 29.4% are in *Incarcerated*, 19.4% are in *Living Independently but Struggling*, 5.9% are in *Family Men, but Struggling*, and 19.1% are in *Functioning Independently*.

^dPercentages across rows may not sum to 100% due to rounding error.