

PATCHWORK POLICY:

AN EVALUATION OF ARRESTS AND TICKETS FOR MARIJUANA MISDEMEANORS IN ILLINOIS

ILLINOIS CONSORTIUM ON DRUG POLICY
The Institute for Metropolitan Affairs
Roosevelt University
May 2014

Authored by:
Kathleen Kane-Willis
Giovanni Aviles
Marcia Bazan
Vilmarie Fraguada Narloch

Research Support:
Lucien Izraylov

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is made possible with the generous support of the Chicago Community Trust.

OUR MISSION

The Consortium's primary objectives are to promote discussion of alternatives to Illinois' current drug policies and to serve as a forum for the open, honest, and thoughtful exchange of ideas. We aspire to serve both the general public and populations significantly affected by drug policies through careful analysis of current policies in the areas of housing, employment, education, social services, healthcare and economics. We aim to offer sensible, prudent, just and economically viable alternatives to ineffective policies. The Consortium seeks meaningful change by increasing dialogue, heightening public awareness, meeting with legislators, organizing individuals and communities, and expanding outreach to other organizations that are also impacted by drug policies. The Consortium views individuals and communities that have been directly impacted by drug policies as an integral component for change.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	iv
Methodology	1
Introduction	2
Illinois Marijuana Possession Offenses In National Context	5
Rate of Marijuana Possession Arrests	5
Racial Disparity	5
County Comparisons	5
Ticketing Ordinances in Illinois	8
Importance of Implementation	8
Ordinance Effect on Arrest	9
Level of Implementation	10
Implementation Considerations	11
Net Widening Concerns	11
Disproportionate Minority Contact	13
DMC Analysis Results	13
Conclusion	14
Misdemeanor Rates	15
Arrest Rates	15
Ticketing Rates	15
Examining Chicago	16
History of Chicago's Ordinance	16
Police Officer Time	17
Costs	17
Low Ticketing and Lost Revenue	18
Neighborhood Disparity: A Tale of Two Cities	18
The Importance of Race and Location	19
Chicago: Implications	19
Conclusion	20
Policy Recommendations	21
Appendix A: Municipality Data Overview	23
Appendix B: Municipality Data in Alphabetical Order	24
Appendix C: Disproportionate Minority Contact	29
Appendix D: Chicago Data	32
Appendix E: Illinois municipalities with ticket ordinances for marijuana possession	41
References	46

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Nationally, the conversation around marijuana has changed significantly. More than 75% of Americans support measures that would end criminal sanctions for those in possession of small amounts of marijuana. According to polling data released in 2014, 63% of Illinois voters support a marijuana decriminalization bill. Despite these changing attitudes, Illinois's dubious distinctions in terms of marijuana possession arrests is evident in nearly every metric when compared with other states and the national average:

- Illinois ranked 5th nationally in the number of arrests for marijuana possession in 2010;
- Of the 5 states with the largest number of marijuana possession arrests from 2001 to 2010, Illinois' rate of arrest increased the fastest, by nearly one-third ;
- Illinois tied with Texas for 1st place for the proportion of marijuana possession arrests (97.8%) compared to all marijuana arrests and including sales, manufacturing, and delivery arrests;
- Illinois ranked fourth in the nation for the rate of arrests for marijuana possession per 100K;
- Illinois's marijuana possession arrest rate is more than 150% higher than the national average;
- Illinois ranked third in the nation for the black to white racial disparity of marijuana possession offenders, despite the fact that marijuana use is the same between these two groups;
- In Illinois, African Americans were about 7.6 times more likely to be arrested than whites;
- Cook County made the most marijuana possession arrests of any county in the nation with 33,068 arrests in 2010 and also had one of the worst racial disparity rates in the nation;
- Illinois' estimated spending for marijuana possession ranged from \$78 million to \$364 million per year on marijuana possession arrests and adjudications.

In Illinois, 84% of all marijuana arrests are for misdemeanor possession and these arrests represent a sizable portion of arrests within the state. For example:

- Three year averages for marijuana misdemeanor arrests from 2010-2013 are over 41,000 per year;
- In comparison to FBI index crimes, arrests for marijuana misdemeanors were equivalent to 50% of arrests for all index crimes, that is serious and violent crimes;
- Compared to all drug arrests, marijuana misdemeanor arrests make up 39% of drug arrests – including sales and possession of controlled substances - in the state of Illinois;
- Of marijuana misdemeanor arrests, 85% of arrests were for possession of cannabis totaling less than 10 grams.

As part of these changing attitudes, over 100 Illinois municipalities have passed ordinances that provide ticketing alternatives for small amounts of marijuana. Arrests however, can still be made under state law allowing law enforcement personnel to choose between arresting or ticketing individuals in possession of marijuana. An analysis of pre and post ordinance implementation arresting patterns found:

- Of the four municipalities reviewed, Chicago had the smallest decrease in arrests, with arrests declining by only 21% while Evanston had the largest decrease (46%);

- Marijuana misdemeanor arrests decreased by 40% in Urbana and by over 32% in Yorkville.

In order to understand the level of ticketing to arrests within each municipality, we calculated the ratio of tickets to arrests in six municipalities. Large differences were found between cities:

- Countryside had the highest level of implementation, with 88% of marijuana possession violations resulted in tickets;
- In Champaign, 75% of marijuana misdemeanor offenders received a ticket instead of arrest;
- In Evanston, 69% of misdemeanor marijuana possession violations resulted in a ticket;
- Urbana was slightly more likely to arrest than administer a ticket for marijuana possession (59% v. 41%);
- In Chicago, 93% of misdemeanor marijuana possession violations resulted in an arrest and in only 7% of cases a ticket was issued;

Since ticketing has been identified as a way of possibly reducing the negative impact of disproportionate minority contact (DMC), we assessed municipalities that provided race and ethnicity data:

- Study results indicated no real change in DMC after ticketing ordinances were implemented;
- Individuals receiving the tickets appeared to be a subset of those arrested;
- Yorkville showed little disproportionate minority contact prior to and after ticketing, while Evanston demonstrated high levels of DMC.

Arrest and ticket rate per 100,000 individuals was calculated in order to formulate accurate comparisons between municipalities of varying population sizes:

- Chicago had the highest arrest rate of any municipality in the study, even after the ordinance was implemented, with nearly 590 arrests per 100,000 individuals;
- Chicago was the only municipality studied with a marijuana arrest rate higher than the state rate, specifically 150% higher than the state average; and more than 230% higher than the U.S. rate;
- Evanston had the lowest arrest rate with 128 arrests per 100,000 individuals;

The sizable difference between Chicago's arrest rate and the rates of other municipalities warranted additional analyses. The number of arrests made in Chicago for marijuana misdemeanors drives state totals:

- In 2011, Chicago's misdemeanor arrest comprised almost 50% of the state total;
- Despite the decrease from 2011 -2013, the number of arrests was still disarmingly high in 2013, comprising 38% of Illinois total misdemeanor arrests;
- Additionally, the decrease in arrests did not represent a fundamental shift – both in 2001 and 2002, marijuana misdemeanor arrests were lower than in the most recent year (2013).

Arguments for the ticketing ordinance were focused on police time and costs. We calculated the amount of time and costs spent on marijuana arrests after the ticket was implemented and found:

- In 2013, Chicago police spent from 24,000 hours to 63,000 hours arresting marijuana misdemeanants;
- In 2013, the costs associated with misdemeanor marijuana arrests ranged from \$25 million to upwards of \$115 million dollars *after* the passage of the ticketing ordinance;
- If misdemeanor arrests were reduced by half, potential costs savings range from \$12.5 million to \$57.9 million; if the number of arrests dropped by three quarters, estimated costs savings range between \$18.8 million to \$86.9 million per year.

The low number of tickets given in Chicago in 2013 (only 1,100) resulted in a significant amount of lost revenue:

- The amount of revenue generated for 2013 from marijuana tickets was small, around \$416,250;
- If half of the number of arrests were charged as tickets, the revenue generated would be closer to \$2.9 million and if three-quarters of arrest resulted in tickets, the revenue generated would be more than \$4.5 million per year.

Marijuana misdemeanor rates within community areas prior to and after the implementation of the Chicago ticketing ordinance were also analyzed:

- Geographic disparity by community area was found even *after* the ticketing ordinance was implemented, with marijuana possession rates that are more than 1100% above the national average;
- After the ticketing ordinance was implemented, disparities in neighborhood arrest rates increased, for example Fuller Park, East Garfield Park, and West Garfield Park had arrest rates that were 7 times higher than the city of Chicago's average rate;
- Compared to the Edison Park (the neighborhood with the lowest arrest rate), neighborhoods such as Fuller Park, East and West Garfield Park had marijuana arrest rates that were more than 150 times higher after implementing the ticket ordinance;
- Neighborhoods with a large African American population were found to be predictive of high arrest rates for marijuana misdemeanor arrests ($p < .001$).

Findings

Inconsistencies in the implementation of ticketing legislation are the result of disparities in ticket administration from one community area to the next. Discrepancies in the application of the tickets by geography create a patchwork system of policy resulting in an unequal application of justice. Because a two-tiered system still exists, police retain discretion and can choose who to ticket and who to arrest. Geography, not justice, determines whether marijuana possession results in a fine or an arrest.

METHODOLOGY

Identifying Municipalities with Cannabis Ordinances

Online municipal code directories were used to identify Illinois municipalities that enacted ordinance citations for cannabis.ⁱ Municipal ordinances were cross-referenced to ensure codes were consistent and reflected current legislative information. Municipal code information cited in this paper is current as of April 2014.

Freedom of Information Act Requests

In November 2012, arrest and ticketing information was requested from a total of 25 municipalities through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Information requested included: 1) the number of recorded violations of the ordinance since its inception, by year, race, gender, age of the person cited; 2) the number of Cannabis Control Act violations and/or arrests by year, type (misdemeanor v. felony), race, gender and age. Municipalities were asked to provide arrest data beginning at least one year before the ordinance was passed and up to most recent year available. Chicago ordinance data was also obtained through FOIA requests. Chicago arrest and ticket information was obtained from an online Chicago data portal managed by the City of Chicago.¹

Municipality Data Received

Eighteen of the 25 municipalities contacted provided some or all of the information requested (See Appendix A: Municipality Data Overview). Six municipalities did not provide data prior to the year the ordinance was passed and were disqualified from analysis. Several municipalities did not distinguish misdemeanor violations from felony cannabis charges. Municipalities that did not provide misdemeanor data were excluded from in-depth analysis.

This study focused on data from four municipalities: Chicago, Evanston, Urbana, and Yorkville. Countryside and Champaign were included in level of implementation analyses because both municipalities provided data necessary to answer this specific research question.ⁱⁱ Chicago data was included in all analytical procedures, except disproportionate minority contact because race information was not available for review. Using community neighborhood information, the racial profile of individuals arrested for marijuana violations was established (See Appendix D, Figure D-7).

National Data in Illinois Context, Rates, and Race Data

1. *FBI/Uniform Crime Reporting Program Data: Arrests by Age, Sex, and Race.*
2. *US Census Data:* Population numbers and race data (for rate calculation); Also used in all rate and racial demographic compositions, including community area calculations.

ⁱ Municipal ordinances were obtained two online sources: <http://www.municode.com/> and <http://www.sterlingcodifiers.com/codes-online>

ⁱⁱ See Table A-1 in the appendix for more information.

INTRODUCTION

The conversation regarding changing penalties for marijuana has garnered local and national attention. Eighteen states have already decriminalized possession of marijuana for personal use, including several Midwestern states such as Ohio, Minnesota and Nebraska.² Nationally, many states are considering creating alternative sanctions such as tickets for low level possession offenders. Most recently, Maryland's governor signed a marijuana decriminalization bill into law.³ In addition, Washington DC recently passed legislation that would allow a \$25 fine and a ticket. This replaces their old procedure of arresting individuals for small amounts of marijuana and charging them with criminal penalties for marijuana possession.⁴

Popular Opinion

Polling data from across the nation demonstrates that the vast majority of Americans support these kinds of legislative changes. More than 75% of Americans support measures that would end criminal sanctions for those in possession of small amounts of marijuana. This is a bipartisan issue with 79% of Democrats, 78% of Independents and 69% of Republicans favoring eliminating jail time for small amounts of marijuana.⁵

President Obama recently stated in a *New Yorker* interview that marijuana is no more dangerous than alcohol, echoing the belief of most Americans.⁶ In terms of health risks, 69% of Americans consider alcohol to be more harmful to a person's health than marijuana. Moreover, 63% of Americans believe alcohol to be more harmful to society than marijuana use, even if marijuana was as widely available as alcohol is today.⁷

According to the Pew Research Center, there has been a major shift in attitude on whether or not marijuana use should be legalized. In addition, polling on marijuana legalization shows that the majority of Americans now support taxation and regulation of marijuana. In 2000, just 31% of Americans supported the legalization of marijuana. Now, 54% of Americans surveyed support taxation and regulation of marijuana - a 23% increase in less than 15 years.⁸

The support for decriminalization, alternative sanctions, and regulatory schemes exists in Illinois. According to 2014 polling data, 63% of Illinois voters support a marijuana decriminalization bill. This plan would create a regulatory offense or a \$100 ticket in lieu of criminal sanctions for individuals possessing small amounts of marijuana.⁹

In Illinois, 84% of all marijuana arrests are misdemeanor possession arrests and these arrests represent a sizable portion of arrests within the state. Three year averages for marijuana misdemeanor arrests from 2010-2013 are over 41,000 per year.¹⁰ Arrests for marijuana misdemeanors comprise the largest single category of offenses. Arrests for serious FBI index crimes (including murder, theft robbery, rape etc.) totaled about 83,000 in 2012.¹¹ In comparison to FBI index crimes, arrests for marijuana

misdemeanors arrests were equivalent to 50% of arrests for all index crimes.ⁱⁱⁱ¹² Compared to all drug arrests, marijuana misdemeanor arrests make up 39% of drug arrests – including sales and possession of controlled substances - in the state of Illinois.¹³ Of marijuana misdemeanor arrests, 85% of arrests were for possession of cannabis totaling less than 10 grams.¹⁴

Financial Costs

In addition to these changing attitudes and policies toward marijuana, there is growing recognition that marijuana misdemeanors create many costs at the state level, including police time, court costs, transportation, attorney fees, testing of marijuana by crime labs, etc. Estimated costs per episode range from \$1,577¹⁵ to \$2,500¹⁶ to as high as \$7,000¹⁷ per marijuana enforcement and sentencing. Marijuana possession arrests and adjudication costs in Illinois are estimated to be from \$78¹⁸ million to \$364¹⁹ million per year.

ⁱⁱⁱ Index crimes include the following violent and property crimes. Aggravated assault, forcible rape, murder, and robbery are classified as violent while arson, burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft are classified as property crimes. Drug crimes are not index crimes.

Unforeseen Costs: Collateral Consequences

Continued enforcement of arrests for marijuana possession results in state budgetary concerns and an overburdened criminal justice system. It also negatively affects the very individuals being arrested. The effects of a misdemeanor arrest can last much longer than the ride to the police station.

Between 1975 and 2009, there were over one million marijuana-related arrests made in Illinois.²⁰ These convictions result in significant collateral sanctions not directly associated with the criminal conviction. They are unintended penalties causing the individual to face barriers that are separate from the sentence or the arrest. As a result of these collateral sanctions, consequences exist that create challenges and barriers for those with a criminal record in gaining access to basic human needs such as housing, employment, student aid, and public assistance.

All individuals, including those with marijuana misdemeanor offenses, may be subject to extensive background checks or a criminal record check. Licensed professionals with a misdemeanor criminal conviction on record could face having their license revoked or suspended (e.g., those licensed in the areas of law, education, and healthcare). Additionally, if someone with a conviction on record is seeking a license in any of these fields, their conviction may make them ineligible.²¹

Collateral consequences of an arrest are not something to be taken lightly. The potentially long-term consequences of criminal sanctions provide yet another reason to examine alternatives to arrests for individuals possessing small quantities of marijuana.

ILLINOIS MARIJUANA POSSESSION OFFENSES IN NATIONAL CONTEXT

Illinois's dubious distinction in terms of marijuana possession arrest policies is evident in nearly every metric when compared with other states and the national average. These measures include the highest rates of racial disparities, number of total arrests and rate of arrests. In 2010, Illinois ranked 5th nationally in terms of states with the largest number of arrests for marijuana possession. Only New York, Texas, Florida, and California had larger arrest numbers in 2010; however, these states are considerably larger than the state of Illinois (Table N-1). Of the five states with the largest number of marijuana possession arrests, Illinois' rate of arrest exhibited the fastest increase (30%) from 2001 to 2010 (Table N-2). In comparison, New York and Texas had rate increases of 17% and California's rate increased by just 8% over the same time period. In addition, in Illinois, of those arrested for marijuana charges, 97.8% were arrested for possession charges while less than three percent were charged with sales. For this dubious distinction - arresting possession offenders over sales offenders - Illinois ranked first in the nation, along with Texas (Table N-3).

Rate of Marijuana Possession Arrests

In terms of the rate of marijuana possession offenses, Illinois ranked fourth in the nation, with a rate of 389 persons arrested for marijuana possession per 100,000 individuals. Illinois's rate is more than 150% higher than the national average of 256 marijuana possession arrest per 100,000 (Table N-4).

Racial Disparity

Illinois ranked third in the nation for the black to white racial disparity of marijuana possession offenders, despite the fact that marijuana use is the same in both groups.²² In Illinois, African Americans were about 7.6 times more likely to be arrested than whites (Table N-5). Illinois's rate of black to white disparity was more than 200% higher than the national average (7.56 v. 3.73) or more than twice as high as the national average (Table N-5).

County Comparisons

Cook County made the most marijuana possession arrests of any county in the nation with 33,068 arrests in 2010, followed by Kings County, New York (Brooklyn); Bronx, NY; Los Angeles, CA; and Harris, TX. Of these counties, Cook also had the highest racial disparity; with nearly 73% of arrestees being African American (Table N-6).

Table N-1 Top 5 States with the largest number of arrests for marijuana possession 2010²³

State	Marijuana Possession Arrests	Rank
New York	103,698	1
Texas	74,286	2
Florida	57,951	3
California	57,262	4
ILLINOIS	49,904	5

Table N-2: Top 5 States with the Largest Numbers of Arrests for Marijuana Possession by Rate and Percent Change: 2001 -2010²⁴

State	Arrest Rates per 100,000		
	Possession Arrest Rate (2001)	Possession Arrests Rate (2010)	% Change in Arrest Rate
New York	459	535	17%
Texas	252	295	17%
Florida	276	308	11%
California	143	153	8%
ILLINOIS	300	389	30%

Table N-3: Top 5 States with the Largest Percentage of Marijuana Possession Arrests Compared to All Marijuana Arrests: 2010²⁵

State	ALL Marijuana Offense Arrests	Marijuana Possession Arrests	% Marijuana Arrests for Possession Only	Rank
ILLINOIS	51,031	49,904	97.8%	1
Texas	75,968	74,286	97.8%	1
New York	106,860	103,698	97.0%	2
Montana	1,210	1,281	94.5%	3
Alabama	5,235	5,546	94.4%	4

Table N-4: Top Five States with the Highest Marijuana Possession Arrests Rates per 100K: 2010²⁶

State	Total Arrests Rate per 100,000 (2010)	Rank
New York	535	1
Nebraska	417	2
Maryland	409	3
ILLINOIS	389	4
Wyoming	374	5
United States	256	

Table N-5: Top 5 States for Racial Disparity in Marijuana Possession Arrest Rate: 2010²⁷

State	Arrest Rates per 100,000			
	Total	Black	White	X's more likely Blacks arrested
Iowa	211	1454	174	8.34
Minnesota	144	835	107	7.81
ILLINOIS	389	1,526	202	7.56
Wisconsin	281	1,285	215	5.98
Kentucky	162	697	117	5.95
United States	256	716	192	3.73

Table N-6: Top 5 Counties with Highest Marijuana Possession Arrests: 2010²⁸

County	Total Possession Arrests	Black % of Arrests
COOK, IL	33,068	72.7%
Kings, NY	20,413	61.5%
Bronx, NY	16,001	43.4%
Los Angeles, CA	15,643	25.4%
Harris, TX	11,836	44.9%

TICKETING ORDINANCES IN ILLINOIS

As of this writing, over 100 municipalities in Illinois have enacted ticket ordinances for marijuana possession. Since 2010, fourteen ticket ordinances have passed in cities across Illinois, allowing police to ticket individuals with small amounts of marijuana in lieu of an arrest. (Appendix E, Table E-1).

Importance of Implementation

At least two objectives propelled the creation of ticketing legislation in Illinois: 1) to reduce costs associated with arrests; and 2) to save police time. To meet these objectives, municipalities must use, or implement, the new law. Policies enacted but not implemented are essentially meaningless.

If the ticket ordinance is not implemented, the only outcome for individuals found with small amounts of marijuana is arrest. Individuals arrested for marijuana possession not only face detention; their arrest and conviction may place restrictions on their ability to obtain housing, eligibility for student aid, and may impact employment eligibility.²⁹

Twelve of the 18 municipalities who responded to requests for data provided citation data indicating the implementation of a ticketing ordinance (Table 1). The city of Aurora has not issued tickets since passing an ordinance law in 2008.^{iv}

Table 1: MUNICIPALITIES THAT IMPLEMENTED THE ORDINANCE^v

MUNICIPALITY	ORDINANCE YEAR	IMPLEMENTED ORDINANCE	AMOUNT COVERED
AURORA ^{vi}	2008	N/A	Up to 30g
CARBONDALE	2004	✓	Up to 10g
CHAMPAIGN	1995	✓	Up to 10g
CHICAGO	2012	✓	Up to 10g
CHICAGO HEIGHTS	2008	✓	Up to 30g
COUNTRYSIDE	2010	✓	Up to 10g
EVANSTON	2011	✓	Up to 10g
OAK LAWN	2005	✓	Up to 30g
NORTHBROOK	2004	✓	Up to 2.5g
STICKNEY	2009	✓	Up to 30g
STREAMWOOD	2010	✓	Up to 30g
URBANA	2008	✓	Not specified ^{vii}
YORKVILLE	2009	✓	Up to 2.5g

^{iv} It is unclear whether the remaining five municipalities (Elmhurst, Manhattan, Midlothian, New Lenox, and Round Lake) implemented the ordinance since data provided did not include ticket citation information or did not distinguish between arrests and ordinance violations (See Appendix B).

^v All municipalities listed (with the exception of Aurora) provided evidence of ordinance implementation. It is unclear whether the municipalities that did not provide ticket data are implementing the ordinance by issuing marijuana violation citations.

^{vi} Aurora did not implement the ticket ordinance.

^{vii} Official contacts in Urbana reported that there is no weight limit specified in the ordinance.

ORDINANCE EFFECT ON ARRESTS

We expect misdemeanor marijuana arrests to decrease after a ticketing policy is implemented. However, we know that factors such as lack of identification, outstanding warrants, and possessing marijuana amounts in excess of ordinance weight limits preclude some individuals from receiving a ticket. Individuals can still be arrested under the state law in cases where they do not meet ordinance criteria. Furthermore, police officers maintain the discretion to arrest anyone in possession of marijuana. Despite these limitations, arrests should decline after a ticketing ordinance is implemented.

Change in Arrests

Data from four municipalities that provided complete, consistent information were analyzed. All four showed decreases in arrests after the implementation of the ticketing ordinance. Evanston's arrests for marijuana misdemeanors decreased the most, dropping by nearly 50 percent from 2010 to 2012 (Table 2). Of the four municipalities reviewed, Chicago had the smallest arrest decrease, with arrests declining by only 21%. Please see the Chicago section for more information regarding Chicago misdemeanor marijuana arrests.

Table 2: DIFFERENCE IN ARRESTS POST ORDINANCE

MUNICIPALITY	ORDINANCE YEAR	YEARS REVIEWED	ARREST CHANGE (%)
CHICAGO	2012	2011/2013	21%↓
YORKVILLE ^{viii}	2009	2008/2011	32%↓
URBANA	2008	2007/2011	40%↓
EVANSTON ^{ix}	2011	2010/2012	46%↓

^{viii} The number of Cannabis Control Act arrests in the city of Yorkville included 44 individuals under the age of 18.

^{ix} Arrest data for 2012 does not include the month of December.

LEVEL OF IMPLEMENTATION

Ticket ordinances have the potential to reduce the number of people arrested and the associated consequences. Successful implementation of a ticket ordinance would manifest as a steady progression of police officers choosing to use the ordinance rather than arresting individuals, with tickets ultimately outnumbering arrests.

As noted previously, we expect that arrests for marijuana possession might continue for individuals who lack identification or who are found with greater amounts of marijuana than outlined in the ordinance. However, this number or proportion should be relatively small. The objective behind alternative sanctions for marijuana misdemeanors is to redirect money and time spent on arrests toward providing vital police resources for more serious crimes.

Adequate Implementation

Of the six municipalities analyzed, Countryside demonstrated the highest level of implementation, with seven tickets issued for every arrest (Table 3). In 2011, Champaign issued approximately three tickets per arrest for marijuana possession. Additionally, 75% of the marijuana misdemeanors infractions were ticketed instead of arrested (Appendix B, Table B-1). The city of Evanston ranked third, with 69% of marijuana cases receiving a ticket (Appendix B, Table B-5). It is not clear why ticket administration rates were not higher (and arrest rates lower) since 84% of all marijuana arrests are misdemeanor offenses making these violations eligible to receive a ticket.³⁰

Low Implementation

A number of municipalities showed low levels of ticket implementation. Urbana police were slightly more likely to arrest than administer a ticket for marijuana possession. In Urbana, 59% of misdemeanor marijuana violations resulted in arrest with the remaining 41% receiving a ticket (Appendix B, Table B-7).

Of all the municipalities evaluated, Chicago had one of the worst levels of implementation. For every single ticket written after the ordinance was implemented, more than 14 arrests occurred. Only 7% of cases involving misdemeanor marijuana possession resulted in a ticket in Chicago, with the remaining 93% resulting in arrest (Appendix D, Figure D-4).

Yorkville had the poorest level of implementation, with police conducting 15 arrests for every ticket issued. Six percent of marijuana possession cases in Yorkville were issued a ticket citation, with 94% of violations resulting in arrest (Appendix B, Figure B-9).

Table 3: LEVEL OF IMPLEMENTATION^x

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL TICKETS	TOTAL ARRESTS	TICKET /ARREST RATIO
COUNTRYSIDE*	15	2	7.7/1.0
CHAMPAIGN*	187	65	2.9/1.0
EVANSTON	215	96	2.2/1.0
URBANA ^{xi}	52	74	1.0/1.4
CHICAGO	1,110	15,898	1.0/14.3
YORKVILLE	2	30	1.0/15.0

*Pre ordinance data not available for analysis; Countryside and Champaign were included to provide two additional complete and consistent data sets for comparison.

Implementation Considerations

Because the passage of the municipal ordinance does not invalidate state law, two options become available to police officers who encounter individuals in possession of marijuana: arrest or ticket. If the creation of civil penalties increased the overall number of marijuana possession charges, either criminal or civil, net widening may be taking place.

Net widening may occur if a penalty is deemed relatively minor as compared to the prior penalty. In Australia, the number of individuals cited for possession was about 300% higher than the number of arrests prior to the enactment of a civil penalty.³¹ This was not due to increased use; rather, it was the result of the individual judgments of police officers. Police officers who were likely to give warnings instead of arresting individuals were now more likely to choose the civil violation option. Therefore, as a result of the policy change, a net widening occurred in Australia after the implementation of civil fines in place of criminal penalties.

Net Widening Concerns

Many of the reasons cited for making changes to legislation arise from awareness that scarce police resources can be used more efficiently. Still, there is a concern that net widening (i.e., increasing the number of individuals ticketed for possession) may reduce police time spent on serious and/or violent crimes. One reason ticketing may result in net widening is the relative ease in which citations can be measured, especially as compared to the metrics involved with more serious crime. Police may be incentivized to issue tickets in order to demonstrate improvements in performance. Overall, net widening reduces the ability of police to focus on crime fighting strategies and decreases policing efficiency.

^x Using most recent year of post ordinance data.

^{xi} Year 2012 data for the city of Urbana does not include the month of December.

Evidence of Net Widening

Data analyses revealed the presence of net widening occurred in one of the four municipalities with reliable pre and post ordinance data. When comparing arrests the year before the ordinance with arrests and tickets post ordinance, Evanston showed an increase in individuals charged with marijuana possession offenses - either criminal or civil, despite a decrease in formal arrests.

At first glance, findings demonstrate that Countryside issued almost four times as many tickets than arrests appear to be positive. However, the low, stable arrest rates contrast with the relatively larger number of citations issued after the passage of the ordinance. This increase in interactions with Countryside police and resulting fines suggests net widening behavior by local authorities (See Appendix B: Countryside). However, because pre ordinance arrest information was not provided, however, the presence of net widening in Countryside cannot be confirmed.

DISPROPORTIONATE MINORITY CONTACT

When the ticketing ordinance passed in Chicago, attention was focused on the fact that arrests disproportionately impacted people of color. Disproportionate minority contact occurs (DMC) when members of minority groups are arrested or ticketed at greater rates when compared to both population demographics and incidence of behavior across all racial and ethnic groups.

Marijuana use occurs across all ethnic and racial groups with little difference in use rates.³² Despite comparable marijuana use rates among all racial and ethnic groups, more Blacks and Latinos are arrested for marijuana possession than their White counterparts. DMC is present among marijuana arrestees as a whole in Illinois. Even in areas where Whites constitute the majority of the population, DMC continues to occur.³³

Since ticketing has been identified as a way of possibly reducing the negative impact of DMC, we assessed municipalities that provided data on race and ethnicity. Because police retain the authority to decide whether to arrest or ticket individuals, municipality arrest and ticket data (pre and post ordinance) were analyzed for evidence of DMC.

DMC Analysis Results

The study results indicate no real change in DMC after ticketing ordinances were implemented (Appendix C). The racial and ethnic composition of those arrested for misdemeanor marijuana offenses prior to implementation were very similar to the composition after implementation. Furthermore, individuals receiving the tickets appeared to be a subset of those arrested.

At first, this might seem counterintuitive. However, DMC occurs because of policing practices. Several factors result in variations in policing behavior including training, experience, and customary conduct of officers. Because these factors are not directly impacted by a policy addressing penalties for marijuana possession offenses, arrest demographics are not likely to drastically change.

Two patterns surfaced following race data analysis: (1) If DMC was present prior to ordinance implementation, it was evident after implementation; (2) If DMC was not present prior to implementation, then it was not evident after implementation.

Two examples of the lack of change in DMC are reviewed:

Yorkville

Prior to implementing a ticket ordinance, Yorkville arrested individuals more or less in proportion to the racial and ethnic composition of the municipality. According to census data, Yorkville is more than 80% White and about 17% other ethnicities. Prior to implementation, more than 80% of arrestees for marijuana possession were White, while 13% were Black, Latino, or another race. That pattern remained the same after implementation with more than 80% of the arrestees being White and 18% Non-White (Appendix C, Figure C-6).

Ticketing for misdemeanor marijuana violations revealed a similar pattern. The only noticeable difference occurred among Latinos. Although the percentage of Latinos arrested rose from 8% to 11% post ordinance implementation, no Latinos were given tickets between years 2009-2011 (Appendix C, Figure C-6).

Even though the numbers changed slightly, it is important to remember that Yorkville has relatively few tickets and arrests in general. Therefore, minor changes from one year to another may result in variability in terms of the racial and ethnic composition of those receiving tickets and those arrested.

Evanston

Evanston (Appendix C, Figure C-3) showed a similar, but inverse pattern to that of Yorkville, with DMC present prior to and after the implementation of the ordinance violation.^{xii} For example, while Blacks comprise only 18% of the population of Evanston, they made up more than half of all arrests both pre and post ordinance implementation (66% and 71%, respectively). Prior to implementation, more than 75% of those arrested were people of color, while after implementation arrestees remained largely people of color (81%).

African Americans were also overrepresented in the ordinance violations (Appendix C, Figure C-3). Among those receiving tickets, 75% were people of color, and 63% were Black. Although 61% of people in Evanston are White, Blacks were more than twice as likely to receive a ticket (61%) than Whites (25%).

Conclusion

DMC is evident among both arrestees and ticket recipients. Results indicate that decriminalization or the implementation of alternative sanctions does not have any impact on DMC. Police arrest practices appear to continue to influence ticketing behavior.

^{xii} Data for the month of December (2012) was unavailable at the time of the original data request and was not included in the analysis.

MISDEMEANOR RATES

Arrest and ticket rate per 100,000 individuals was calculated in order to formulate accurate comparisons between municipalities of varying population sizes.^{xiii}

Arrest Rates

Chicago had the highest rate of any municipality in the study - even after the ordinance was implemented - with nearly 590 arrests per 100,000 individuals. Chicago was the only municipality studied with a marijuana arrest rate higher than the Illinois rate (more than 150% higher) and more than 230% higher than the U.S. rate. All other municipalities studied had marijuana arrest rates that were significantly lower than either the U.S. or Illinois rate. For example, Evanston's arrest rate was about half that of the U.S. rate (128 vs. 256) and only about a third that of Illinois. Urbana and Yorkville also had much lower marijuana arrest rates when compared to the Illinois or U.S. average.

Ticketing Rates

Yorkville had the lowest ticketing rate with just over 11 tickets issued per 100,000 individuals. Chicago had the second lowest ticketing rate of any municipality studied with only 41 tickets given per 100,000 individuals. On the other hand, Evanston exhibited the highest ticketing rate at 288 tickets per 100,000 individuals.

Table 7: ARREST AND TICKETING RATES PER 100K*

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION	POST ORDINANCE ARREST RATE	TICKETING RATE
CHICAGO	2,695,598	589.78	41.18
YORKVILLE	16,921	177.29	11.82
URBANA	41,250	140.61	84.85
EVANSTON	74,486	128.88	288.64
ILLINOIS (2010) ³⁴	12,830,632	389.00	
US RATE (2010) ³⁵	308,745,538	256.00	

*Rates reflect most recent year of arrest and ticket data

^{xiii} Arrests and tickets for each municipality were divided by the population and multiplied by 100,000 to allow for equitable comparisons between municipalities, regardless of the size of the city.

Rate Contrast: A Closer Look at Chicago

The substantial difference in Chicago's arrest rate compared to rates of other municipalities warranted additional analyses. The following section provides an in-depth analysis of arrest and ticketing behavior in Chicago neighborhoods.

EXAMINING CHICAGO

The number of arrests made in Chicago for marijuana misdemeanors propels state totals. Prior to implementation, Chicago's misdemeanor arrest comprised almost 50% of the state total. Despite the decrease from 2011 to 2013, the number of arrests was still high, comprising 38% of Illinois' total misdemeanor arrests. Additionally, the decrease in arrests did not represent a fundamental shift – both in 2001 and 2002, marijuana misdemeanor arrests were lower (Appendix D, Figure D-3).

Table SC: Comparison of State Misdemeanor Arrests and Chicago Arrests by Percent of State Total

Area	Number of Misdemeanor Arrests	Percent of State Total
Average state Total 2010-13	41,805	100%
Chicago 2011	20,088	48%
Chicago 2012	17,662	42%
Chicago 2013	15,898	38%

History of Chicago's Ordinance

In 2011, the *Chicago Reader* brought attention to the overwhelming number of arrests in Chicago for marijuana misdemeanors through a series of reports titled "The Grass Gap." Joravsky and Dumke analyzed the racial composition of individuals arrested for marijuana misdemeanors and found that those arrested were overwhelmingly African American (78%) and that just 5% were White.³⁶ Conviction rates showed even greater disparities; of those convicted, 89% were Black, 9% were Latino and just 2% were White. The series also focused on a little known statistic, that 90% of these arrests were dismissed in court.³⁷

In 2011, discussions regarding the marijuana misdemeanor issue began to grow.³⁸ The *Chicago Reader* estimated the costs of these arrests at \$78 million a year and 84,000 police hours.³⁹ Policymakers—in particular Alderman Solis—presented the idea of creating an ordinance to provide tickets for possession of up to 15 grams of marijuana. In December of 2011, Father Michael Pfleger expressed his support of marijuana decriminalization, stating that the criminal record from the arrest created collateral consequences and that ticketing would result in better use of police time.⁴⁰

In 2012, Mayor Emanuel and Superintendent McCarthy publicly stated support for the ticketing ordinance. McCarthy stated that every marijuana arrest accounted for 4 hours in lost police time,⁴¹ an even higher estimate than the average time stated in the *Chicago Reader*.⁴²

The Chicago City Council passed the ticketing ordinance in June of 2012 with a vote of 44-3⁴³. Revenue generation from marijuana tickets was estimated to be from \$4.5 million to \$9 million a year, based on the number of estimated tickets that would replace arrests.⁴⁴ Mayor Emmanuel was quoted in the Tribune on June 28, 2012 as stating the following:

"It's not about revenue, it's about what (police officers) were doing with their time," the mayor said. "The only revenue I'm interested in, I don't want to be paying for these officers time and a half to sit in a courtroom for four hours on something that 80 to 90 percent of the time will be thrown out and everybody, both the residents and police officers and judges, already knows the outcome." ⁴⁵

We will examine several different measures of policymakers' perceived benefits of the ordinance, including police time savings, reducing costs, and the reduction of disparity in arrests between neighborhoods.

Police Officer Time

We looked at how much time police spent arresting individuals for marijuana possession in 2013; one year after the ordinance was implemented. Despite the decrease in arrests, Chicago police spent between 24,000 hours and 63,000 hours arresting marijuana misdemeanants. If the number of arrests were reduced by half, the amount of estimated police time *saved* ranges from 11,932 to 31,796 hours per year; if arrests dropped by three quarters, the police time saved ranges from 17,885 to 47,694 hours per year (Table C-T).

The Chicago Police Department has faced serious time and cost constraints. In 2013, about \$103 million was spent on police overtime⁴⁶. Saving police officers' time was one of the reasons why the ordinance was considered. The hours spent policing for marijuana misdemeanors represent a significant and substantial investment by the Chicago Police Department at a time when resources are especially low (Table C-T).

Table C-T: Estimates of Chicago Marijuana Misdemeanor Arrests in 2013: Time in Hours

Arrest Total (2013)	Police Time Low ⁴⁷	Police Time Middle ⁴⁸	Police Time High ⁴⁹
15,898	1.5	3.0	4.0
Total Estimated Time	23,847	47,694	63,592

Costs

Estimating the costs of the remaining marijuana possession arrests in 2013 is beyond the scope of this paper. Estimates range from about \$1,600⁵⁰ to \$7,200⁵¹ per arrest. Based on these estimates, the costs associated with these arrests ranged from \$25,000,000 to almost \$116,000,000 in 2013, *after* the

passage of the ticketing ordinance (Table C-1).^{xiv} If Chicago reduced the number of marijuana misdemeanor arrests by half, the costs savings range from \$12.5 million to \$57.9 million. If the number of arrests dropped by three quarters the estimated costs savings ranges from \$18.8 million to \$86.9 million (Table C1).

Chicago now faces serious economic challenges including the highest level of unfunded pension debt of any U.S. local government, resulting in a downgrade by Moody's Investor Service to the City's bond rating.⁵² While these cost savings are estimates, there is no question that money can be saved by fully implementing the ticket ordinance and relying less on arrests.

Table C1: Estimates of Chicago Marijuana Misdemeanor Arrests in 2013 Costs

Arrest Total (2013)	WISIPP ⁵³	Coyne ⁵⁴	Miron ⁵⁵
15,898	\$1,577.92	\$2,500.00	\$7,296.38
Total Estimated Costs	\$25,085,851.27	\$39,745,000.00	115,997,924.58

Low Ticketing and Lost Revenue

In 2013, just over 1,100 tickets were issued in Chicago over the course of an entire year (Appendix D, Table D-1). Estimating that the average ticket cost was \$375,^{xv} (the midpoint between the lower ticket cost of \$250 and the higher of \$500), the amount of revenue generated in 2013 from marijuana tickets was nowhere close to the \$6 to \$9 million in projected revenue. Tickets only generated \$416,250. If half of the number of arrests were charged as tickets, the revenue generated would be closer to \$2.9 million. If three-quarters of all individuals arrested for misdemeanor marijuana possession were instead issued a ticket, the revenue generation would be more than \$4.5 million per year.

Neighborhood Disparity: A Tale of Two Cities

Neighborhood arrest rates revealed an overwhelming disparity between neighborhood rates of marijuana misdemeanor arrests. Geographic disparity by community area was found even *after* the ticketing ordinance was implemented. Most arrests, both pre ordinance and post ordinance, occurred in neighborhoods that were 90% or more non-white, with the greatest number of arrests occurring on the South and West sides of Chicago (Appendix D, Figures D-5 and D-6).

After the ticketing ordinance was implemented, disparities in arrest rates *increased*. Neighborhoods such as Fuller Park, East and West Garfield Park, North Lawndale, and Humboldt Park experienced

^{xiv} Determining the fixed vs. marginal costs is beyond the scope of this paper. We recommend looking at the SPAC analysis for an excellent demonstration of cost savings in terms of marginal costs. It is difficult to determine the marginal cost of arrest (and SPAC does not deal with the question here) but the marginal costs of probation and jail costs have been determined by SPAC. Please see the analysis here: http://www.icjia.state.il.us/spac/pdf/Cannabis_Summary_032014.pdf

^{xv} Assuming the midpoint between the ticketing costs of \$250 and \$500 = \$375

significant increases in marijuana arrests *after* ticketing was implemented (Appendix D, Table D-2). Fuller Park, East Garfield Park, and West Garfield Park had arrest rates that were six times or 600% higher than the city's average rate. Compared to Edison Park,^{xvi} neighborhoods such as Fuller Park, East and West Garfield Park had marijuana arrest rates that were more than 150 times higher *after* implementation of the ticketing ordinance.

The Importance of Race and Location

To better understand neighborhood arrest rate differences, statistical analyses were conducted using community area race data and marijuana arrest rates. Neighborhoods with a high African American population were found to be predictive of high arrest rates for misdemeanor arrests ($p < .001$). All neighborhoods that experienced an increase in arrest rates are at least 96% non-white with primarily Black residents.

Of the 25 communities with the highest rates of arrests, almost all were 90% African American. Only Humboldt Park, South Chicago, New City, and Chicago Lawn have a more even distribution of both Latinos and African Americans. These four neighborhoods are adjacent to neighborhoods with high arrest rates and 90% or higher African American residents. Using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), a comparison of high marijuana arrest rates (pre and post ordinance violation implementation) to community race and ethnic composition reveals near perfect overlap with high majority Black neighborhoods.

Chicago: Implications

From any perspective whether cost savings, saving police time or lowering racial, neighborhood or geographic disparity, the Chicago ordinance has not delivered what was promised when it was debated by policymakers and public officials in the press. Arrests for marijuana misdemeanors dropped by about 21% from 2011 to 2013, but the number of arrests remain stubbornly high – more than 15,000 in 2013. *Even after the implementation of the ticketing ordinance Chicago's marijuana arrest rate is more than 2.3 times the national average* (Table 7: Arrest and Ticketing Rates per 100k). Neighborhood disparity is worse than ever (even increasing in some neighborhoods on the South and West side) with rates that are more than 1100% above the national average.

^{xvi} Edison Park was neighborhood with the lowest arrest rate at 17 per 100,000 residents

CONCLUSION

Despite the good intentions that may have guided the creation of ticket legislation, these analyses reveal that the implementation of ticketing ordinances has been uneven and incomplete. While we were unable to look at the more than 100 municipalities who have enacted ticketing for marijuana offenders, this paper provides some understanding of what is working and what is not in terms of municipal alternative sanctions for marijuana misdemeanants at the municipal level.

A primary concern regarding municipal ordinance violations is the co-existence of state law that allows arrests for marijuana possession. Because of the state law, police retain the discretion to either ticket or arrest an individual. In order to realize police time savings and cost savings, policing practices must change. It is not enough to change the wording in the law. Without clear leadership in the municipality, practices may remain the same, even though, on the books, the law was changed.

For example, although Aurora passed the ordinance, they never implemented the law. In Chicago, tickets were seldom issued. Levels of implementation varied extensively. Some municipalities issue many more tickets than arrests while others make more arrests than issue citations. In some areas, arrests for marijuana possession *increased* after a ticketing ordinance was passed. This is particularly true in minority neighborhoods in Chicago.

These ordinances create a two tiered system and a patchwork of policies. What may occur in one area may not occur in another. This patchwork system does not create good policy. Illinois requires a comprehensive solution to the issue of misdemeanor marijuana arrests. As highlighted in the national perspectives sections, Illinois is doing very poorly when it comes to saving police time and money on low level misdemeanor arrests, one of the most frequently occurring charges in the state. In Illinois, the rate at which police arrest individuals for possession of marijuana is more than 150% higher than the national rate. In addition, Illinois ranks 5th in the nation when it comes to arresting marijuana possession offenders; with the majority of arrests for marijuana (84%) being misdemeanor possession offenses. Illinois also has one of the highest rates of racial disparity in the nation. A more efficient method to address the use of vital police resources, time, and to save money in Illinois by creating a coordinated statewide approach to these issues should be considered.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Analyses of the implementation of ticket ordinances in a sampling of municipalities in Illinois revealed inconsistent policies regarding small amounts of marijuana. In some communities, particularly minority neighborhoods, arrests for marijuana possession have increased. This creates a patchwork of policies – what may occur in one area may not occur in another. Illinois requires a comprehensive solution to the issue of misdemeanor cannabis arrests.

As of April 2014, 54% of Americans support the legalization of marijuana and 75% of Americans believe that legalization is inevitable.⁵⁶ In addition to changing opinion regarding marijuana, Illinois's dire financial straits have opened the door to discussions among policymakers regarding examining taxation and regulation of cannabis.⁵⁷ It is estimated by the Governor of Colorado that taxation and regulation of cannabis will bring in about \$94 million in tax revenue from both medical and recreational marijuana in the 2014-15 fiscal year.⁵⁸ In addition, there are some cost savings aside from the taxation of revenue – such as the costs savings stemming from the elimination of probation, detention, policing, and testing under current state law. Both public opinion and the dire fiscal situation in Illinois – which last year had the worst credit rating of all the states in the nation⁵⁹ – indicate that it would be prudent to examine revenue possibilities generated by taxation and legalization of cannabis:

- Illinois should conduct a fiscal analysis of the possible tax revenue generated by the licensing, regulation, and taxation of cannabis for those age 21 and older;
- Determine the best earmarks for these revenues such as school funding, substance use prevention, and treatment.

According to polling data in 2014, 63% of Illinois voters support a marijuana decriminalization bill. In addition, in order to develop a comprehensive marijuana misdemeanor or marijuana possession policy, statewide legislation should be developed to replace the patchwork system which is now in place:

- Establish a comprehensive statewide policy to decriminalize misdemeanor amounts of marijuana;
- Create a civil fine or regulatory offense so that individuals do not experience collateral consequences when seeking employment, housing, education, or professional licensure;
- Create fines small enough to ensure that individuals are capable to pay the ticket;
- Create alternative penalties for people unable to pay the fine, otherwise the ticket may turn into an arrest, which defeats the purpose of reforming marijuana laws;
- Earmark revenues generated from civil marijuana possession penalties for schools, substance use prevention, and treatment programs.

However, it should be noted that a decriminalization policy will likely not reduce racial disparity among ticketing offenders as noted in this report. In order to eliminate racial disparities, policing practices would need to change.

Changing policing policies to reduce the number of marijuana arrests made so that police can focus attention on serious crimes is a sensible idea. Lowering the number of arrests is good policy from a

public safety standpoint, especially given the issue of gun violence in Chicago. Furthermore, redirecting the focus of law enforcement away from low level marijuana offenses makes both fiscal and economic sense, particularly at a time when budgets are especially tight:

- Consider making marijuana possession offenses the lowest law enforcement priority within municipalities;
- If Chicago implemented such a policy, it would greatly reduce the rate of marijuana possession arrests, as Chicago accounted for about 38% of marijuana arrests in 2013 and as much as 50% of state arrest totals in 2011.

Appendix A

Table A-1 Municipality Data Overview

MUNICIPALITY	YEARS OF DATA	ORDINANCE TICKET DATA	PRE AND POST ORDINANCE ARREST DATA	DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN MISDEMEANOR AND FELONY ARRESTS	DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
AURORA	2006-2011	NO	YES	NO	YES
CARBONDALE	2003-2011	YES	YES	NO	YES
CHAMPAIGN ¹⁷	1997-2011	YES	NO	YES	YES
CHICAGO	2011-2013	YES	YES	YES	NO
CHICAGO HEIGHTS ¹⁸	2008-2012	YES	NO	NO	NO
COUNTRYSIDE	2010-2011	YES	NO	NO	YES
ELMHURST	2007-2011	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVANSTON ¹⁹	2008-2012	YES	YES	YES	YES
MANHATTAN	2007-2011	NO	NO	NO	YES
MIDLOTHIAN	2005-2011	NO	NO	NO	YES
NEW LENOX	2009-2011	NO	YES	NO	NO
NORTHBROOK ²⁰	2002-2011	YES	YES	NO	NO
OAK LAWN ²¹	2009-2012	YES	NO	YES	YES
ROUND LAKE ²²	2001-2011	NO	NO	NO	YES
STICKNEY	2007-2012	YES	YES	NO	NO
STREAMWOOD ²³	2008-2012	YES	YES	NO	YES
URBANA	2006-2012	YES	YES	YES	YES
YORKVILLE ²⁴	2007-2011	YES	YES	YES	YES

¹⁷ Unable to provide data prior to ordinance implementation in 1995, therefore, this report will only provide the most recent 5 years of data in the appendix.

¹⁸ Only provided a total of two “possession of Cannabis” violations from 2008-2012, both of which occurred in 2012.

¹⁹ Arrest data for year 2012 does not include the month of December.

²⁰ The following statement was included with data: “This is not the total number of arrests made for the Act. Some cases had multiple arrestees. Unable to give arrest totals.” As such, Northbrook arrest totals may not reflect the actual number of individuals arrested.

²¹ Although Oak Lawn passed a ticket ordinance in 2005, only ticket information from 2011 and partial 2012 data were provided.

²² Annual arrest status summaries included juveniles ranging in age from 11 to 17 years old.

²³ Race and gender numbers did not correspond. Arrest totals were unable to be confirmed.

²⁴ The total number of Cannabis Control Act arrests from 2007-2011 included 44 individuals under the age of 18.

Appendix B

MUNICIPALITY DATA IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

AURORA

Table B-1

AURORA: Ticket and Arrest Data

YEAR	ARRESTS	TICKETS
2006	589	N/A
2007	556	N/A
2008*	688	0
2009	890	0
2010	794	0
2011	560	0

*Year ordinance was enacted.

CHAMPAIGN

Table B-2

*CHAMPAIGN: Ticket and Arrest Data**

YEAR	ARRESTS	TICKETS
2006	117	153
2007	139	183
2008	146	261
2009	121	204
2010	93	181
2011	65	187

*Ordinance was enacted in 1995. Chart shows six most recent years provided.

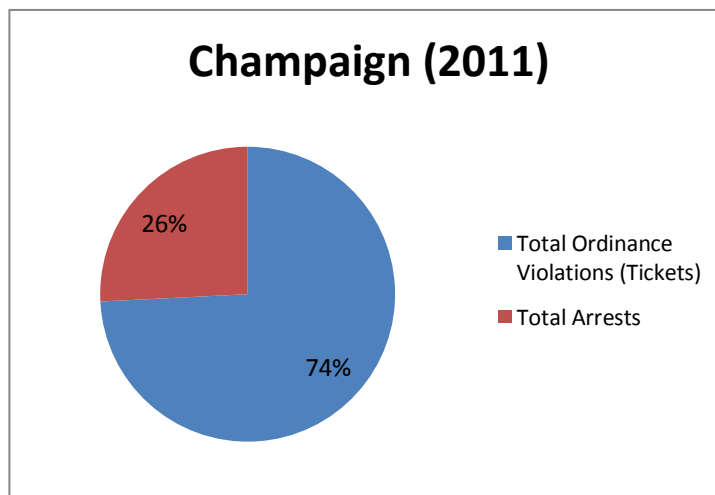


Figure B-1 Champaign: Level of Implementation

COUNTRYSIDE

Table B-3

COUNTRYSIDE: Ticket and Arrest Data

YEAR	ARRESTS	TICKETS
2010*	3	11
2011	2	15

*Year ordinance was enacted.

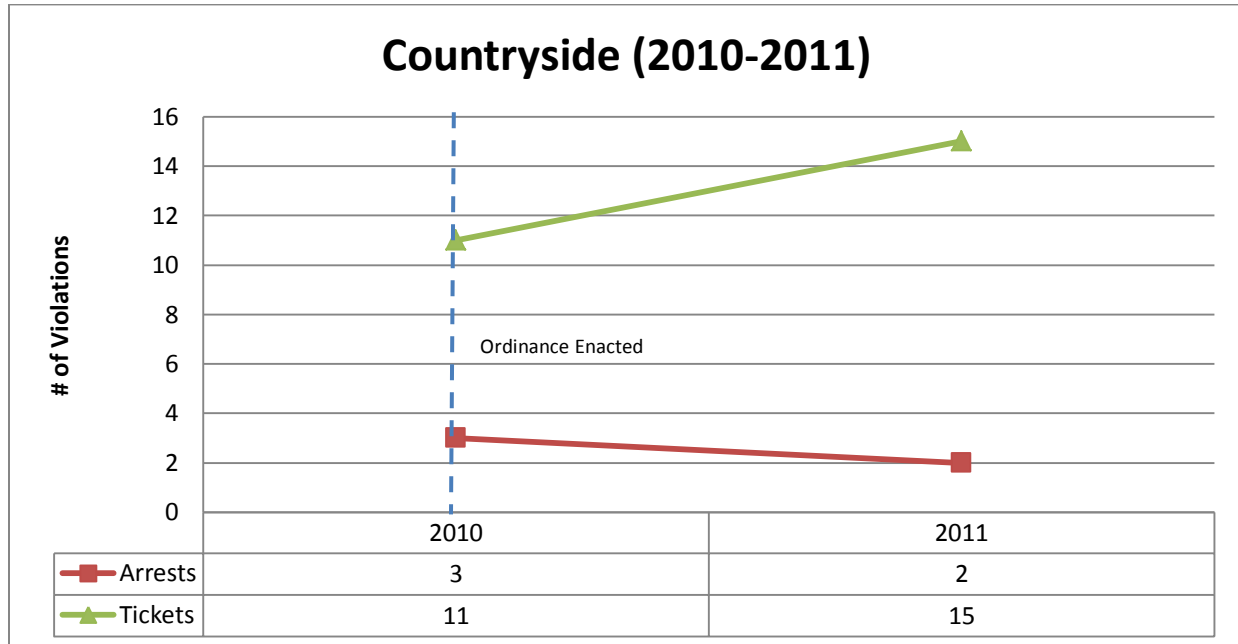


Figure B-2 Countryside: Arrests vs Tickets

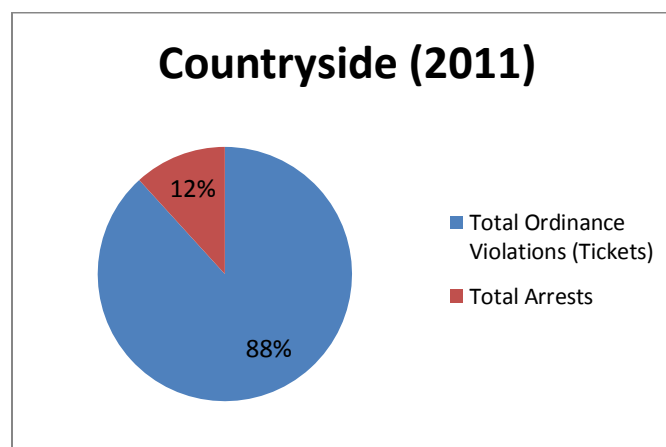


Figure B-3 Countryside: Level of Implementation

EVANSTON

Table B-4

EVANSTON: Ticket and Arrest Data

YEAR	ARRESTS	TICKETS
2008	138	N/A
2009	167	N/A
2010	179	N/A
2011*	147	115
2012	96	215

*Year ordinance was enacted.

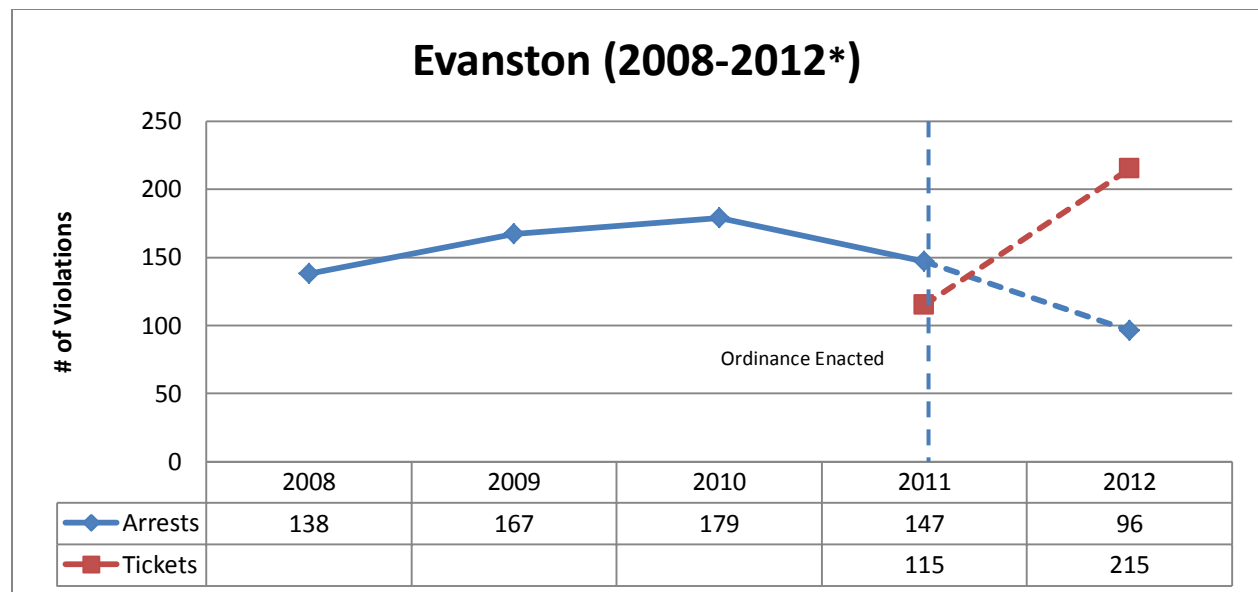


Figure B-4 Evanston: Arrests vs Tickets; *Year 2012 does not include the month of December

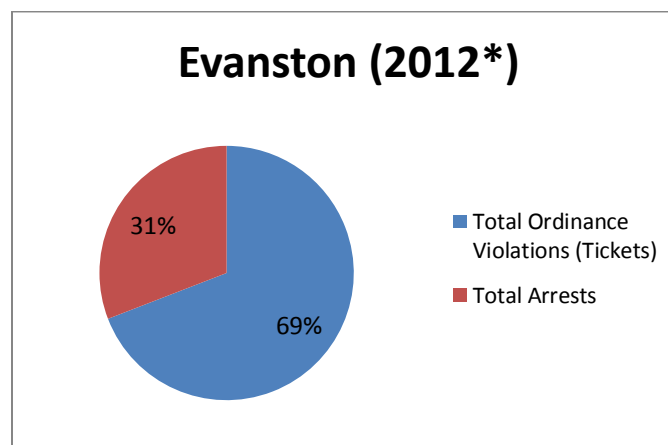


Figure B-5 Evanston – Level of Implementation
*Year 2012 does not include the month of December

URBANA

Table B-5

URBANA: Ticket and Arrest Data

YEAR	ARRESTS	TICKETS
2006	120	N/A
2007	123	N/A
2008*	87	9
2009	68	36
2010	59	50
2011	74	52
2012	58	35

*Year ordinance was enacted.

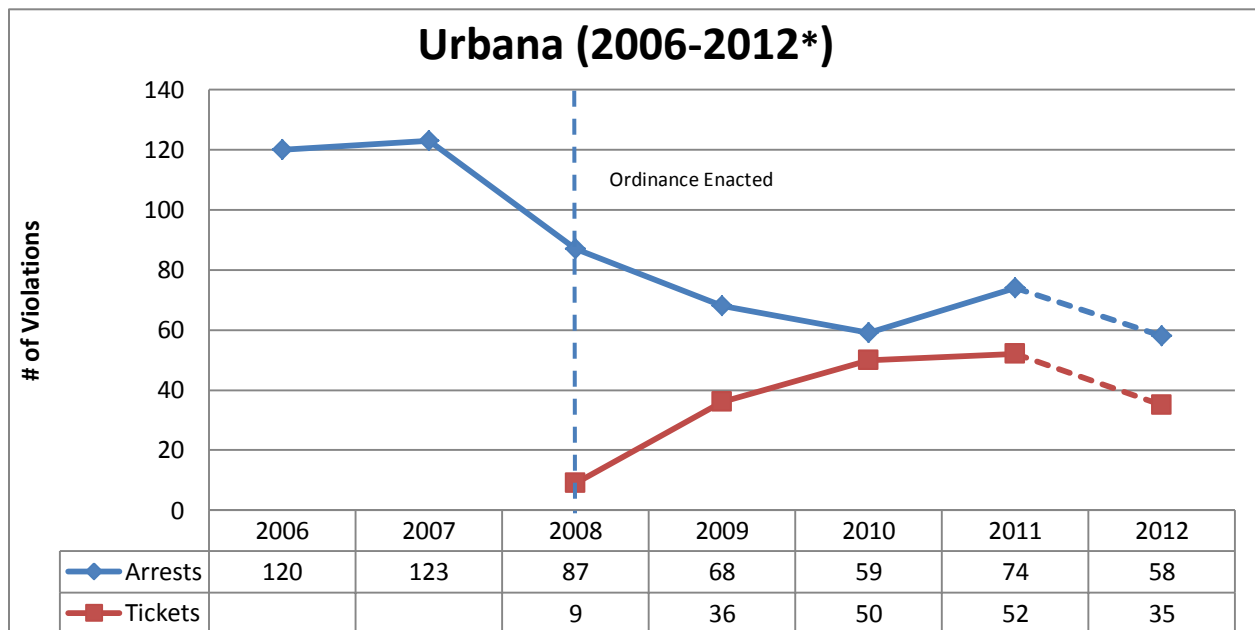


Figure B-6 Urbana – Arrests vs Tickets; *Year 2012 does not include the month of December.

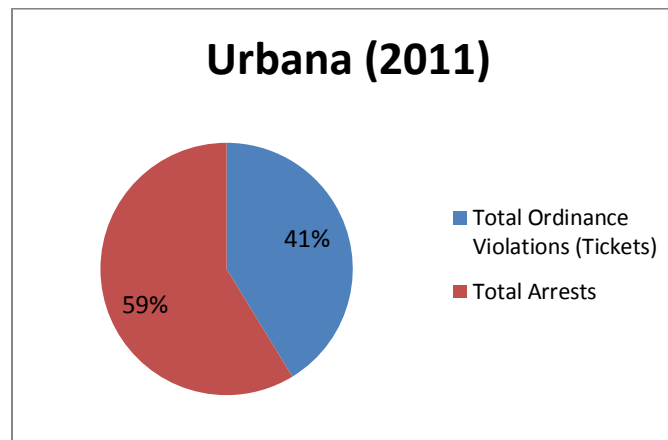


Figure B-7 Urbana: Level of Implementation

YORKVILLE

Table B-6

YORKVILLE: Ticket and Arrest Data

YEAR	ARRESTS	TICKETS
2007	35	N/A
2008	44	N/A
2009*	70	1
2010	33	7
2011	30	2

*Year ordinance was enacted.

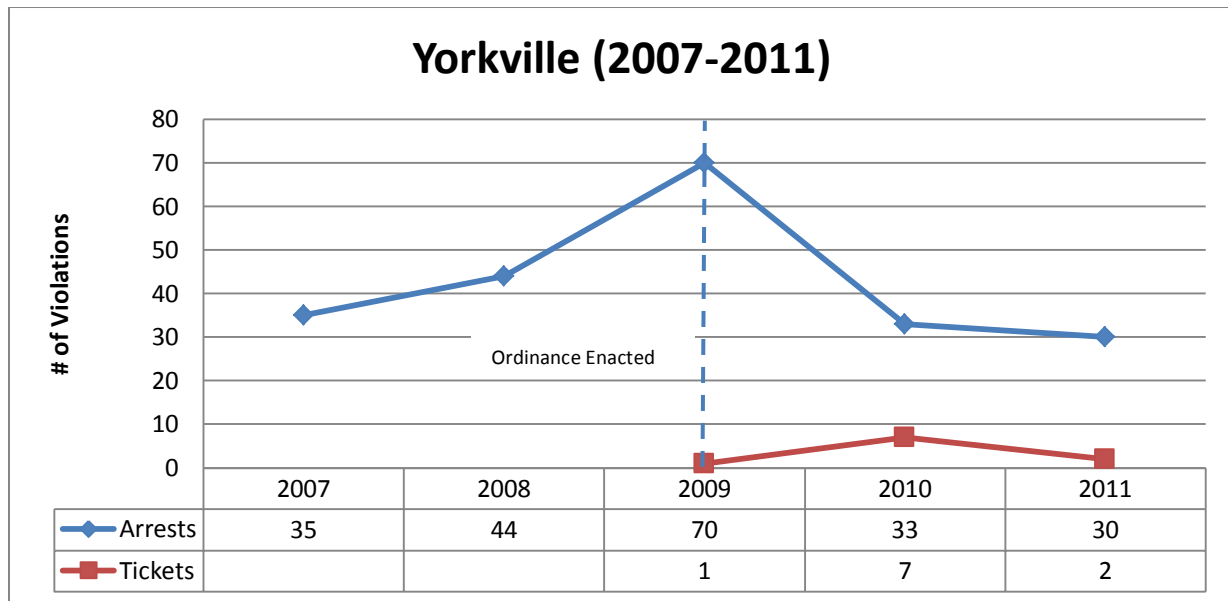


Figure B-8 Yorkville – Arrests vs Tickets

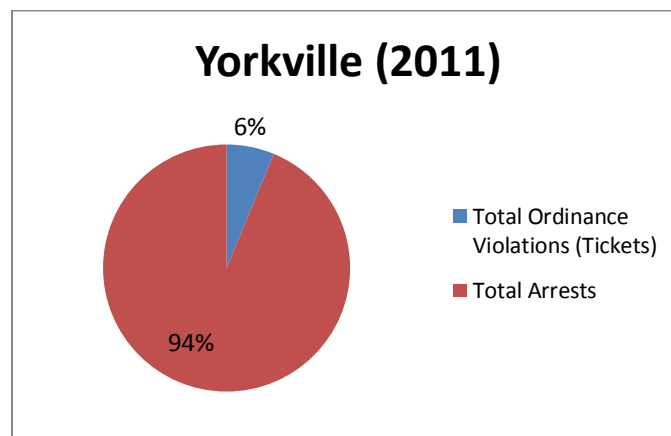
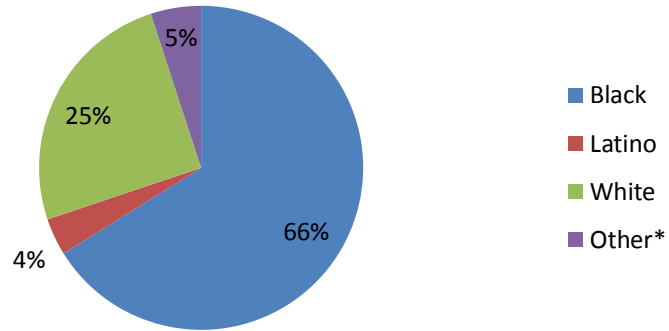


Figure B-9 Yorkville: Level of Implementation

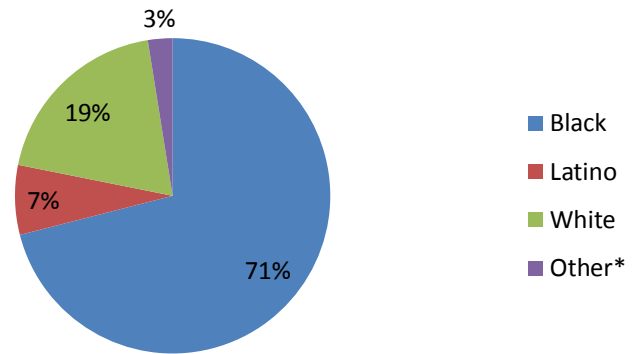
Appendix C

DISPROPORTIONATE MINORITY CONTACT (DMC)

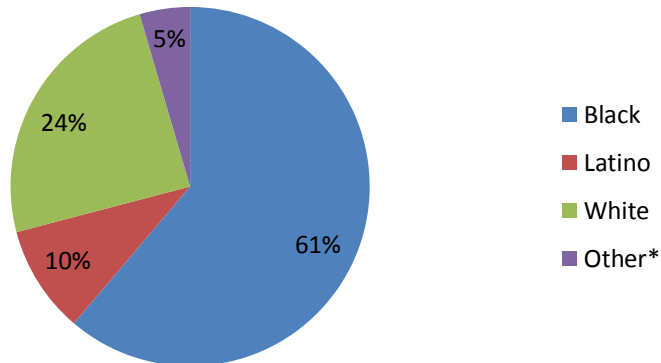
Evanston Arrests (2008-2011)



Evanston Arrests (2011-2012)



Evanston Tickets (2011-2012)



2010 US Census Data: Evanston

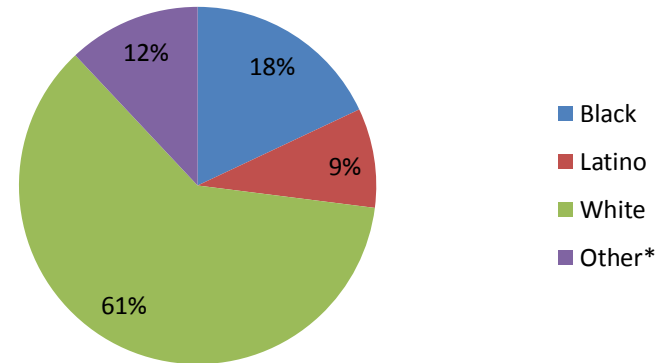
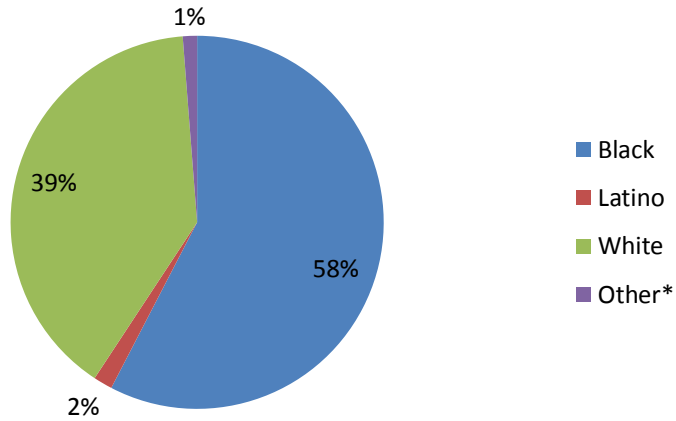
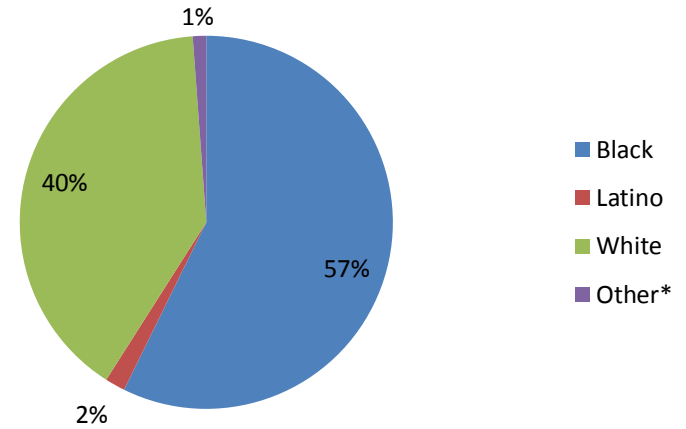


Figure C-3 Evanston – DMC

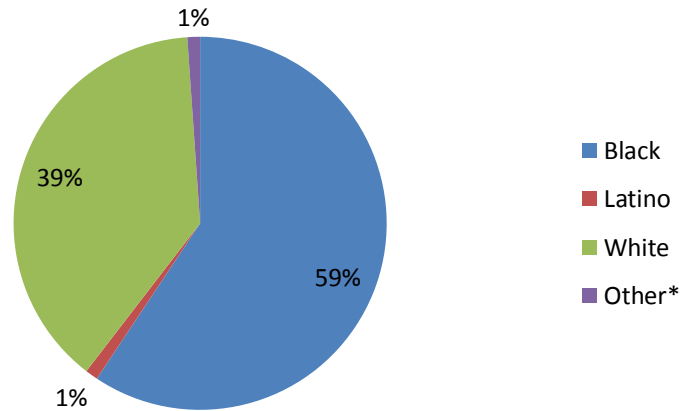
Urbana Arrests (2006-2007)



Urbana Arrests (2008-2012)



Urbana Tickets (2008-2012)



2010 US Census Bureau: Urbana

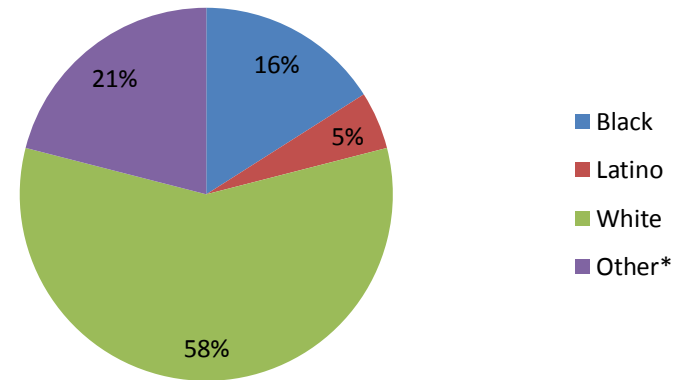
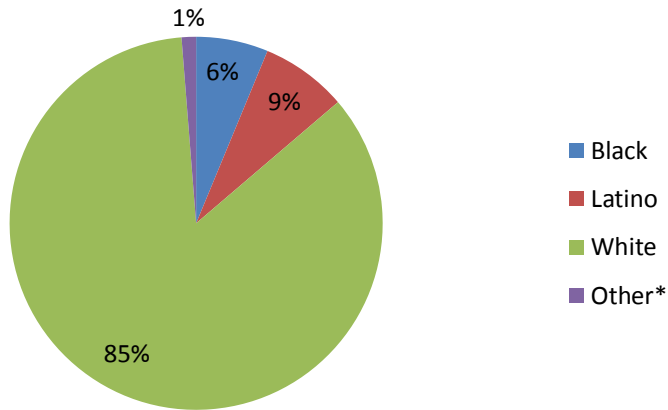
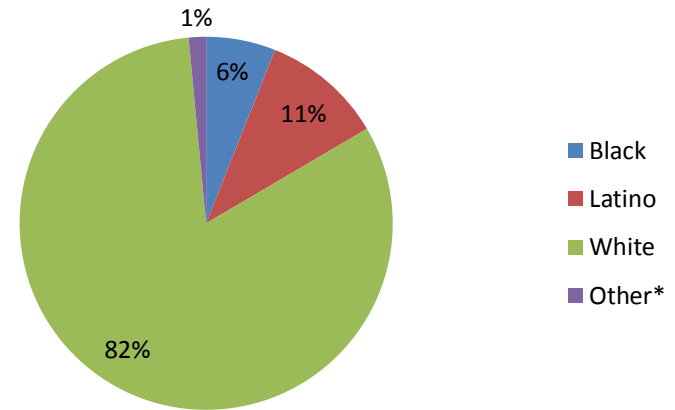


Figure C-5 Urbana – DMC

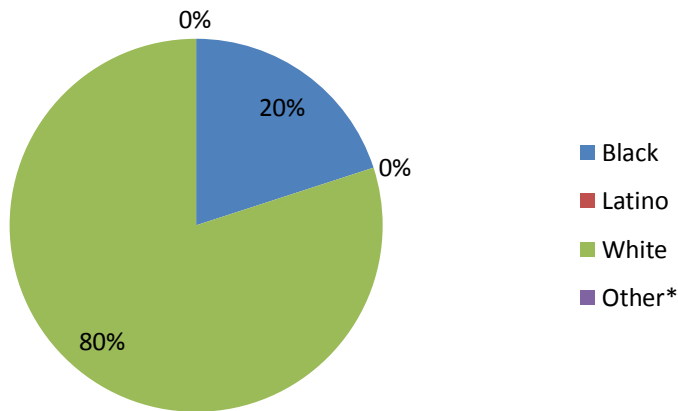
Yorkville Arrests (2007-2008)



Yorkville Arrests (2009-2011)



Yorkville Tickets (2009-2011)



2010 US Census Data: Yorkville

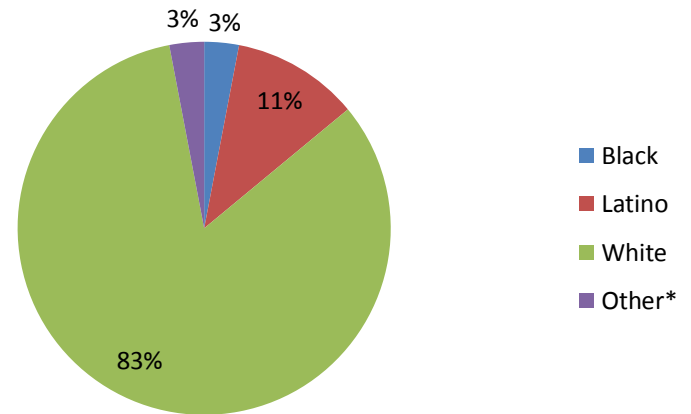


Figure C-6 Yorkville – DMC

Appendix D

CHICAGO DATA

CHICAGO

Table D-1

CHICAGO: Ticket and Arrest Data

YEAR	ARRESTS	TICKETS
2011	20,088	N/A
2012*	17,662	301
2013	15,898	1,110

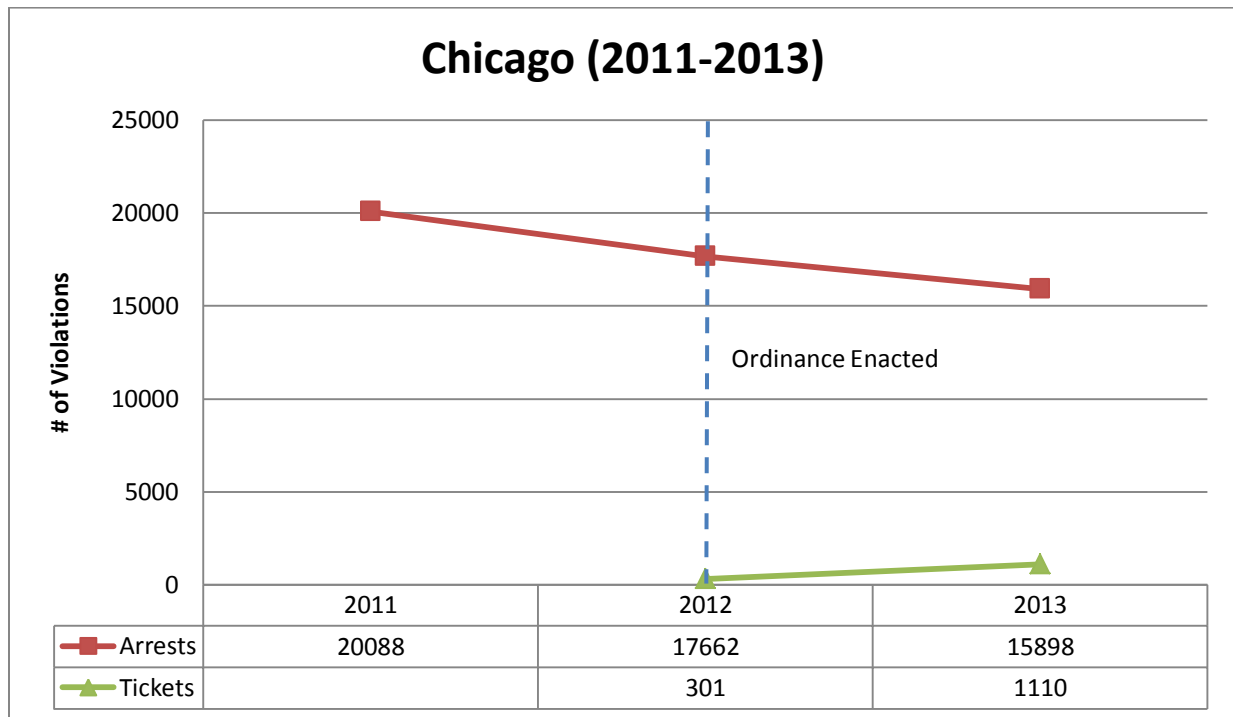


Figure D-1 Chicago: Arrests vs Tickets

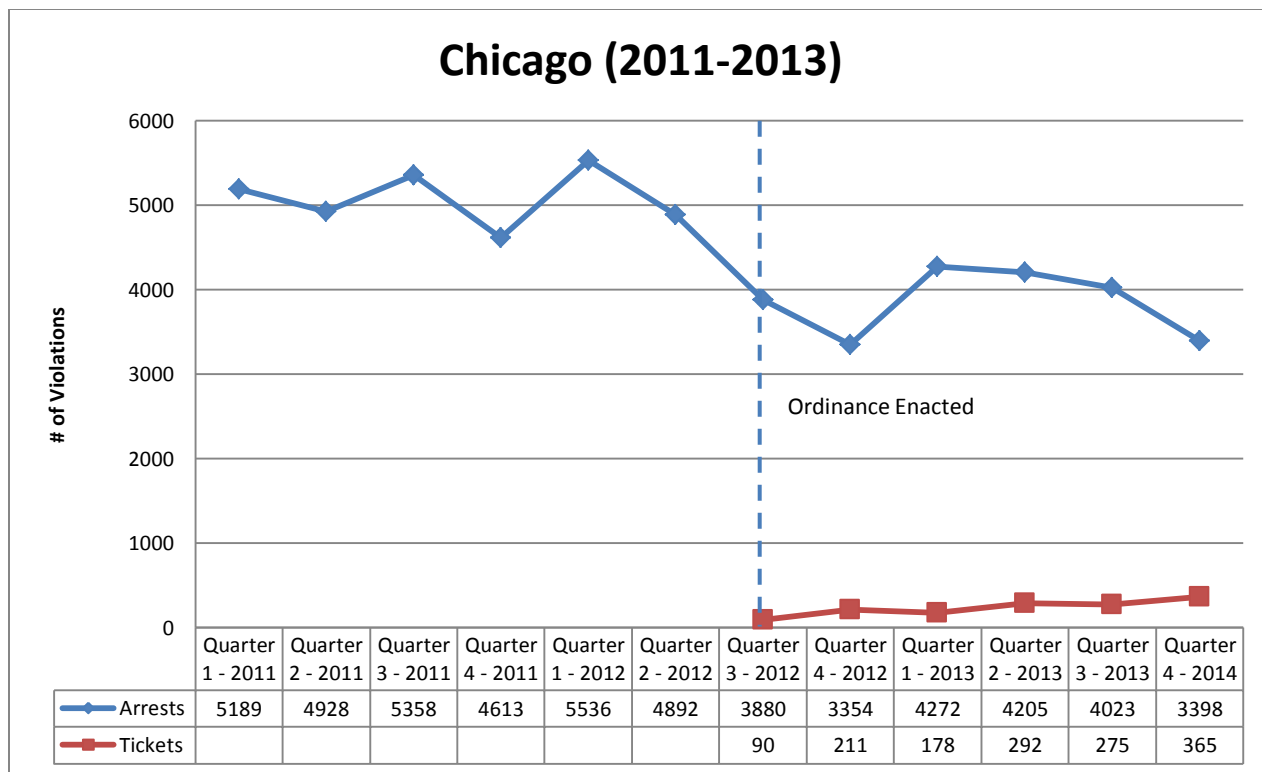


Figure D-2 Chicago: Arrests vs Tickets (Quarterly)

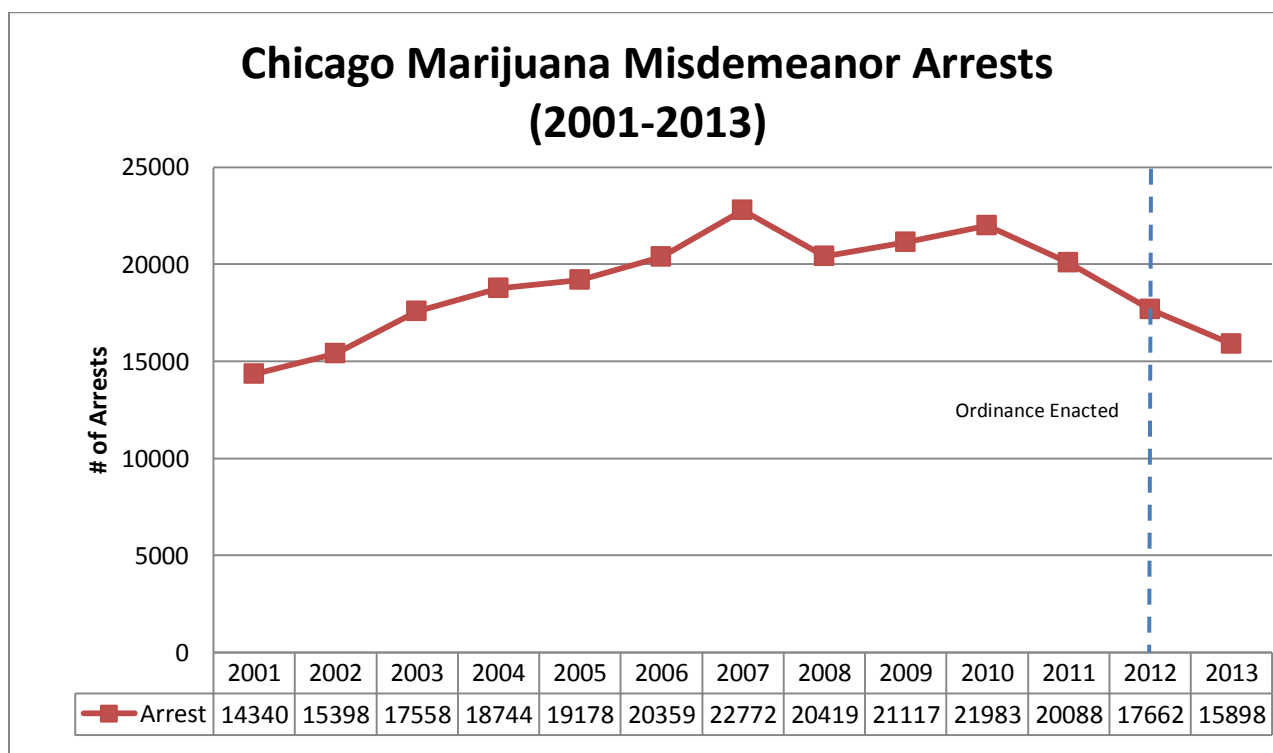


Figure D-3 Chicago: Marijuana Misdemeanor Arrests (2001-2013)

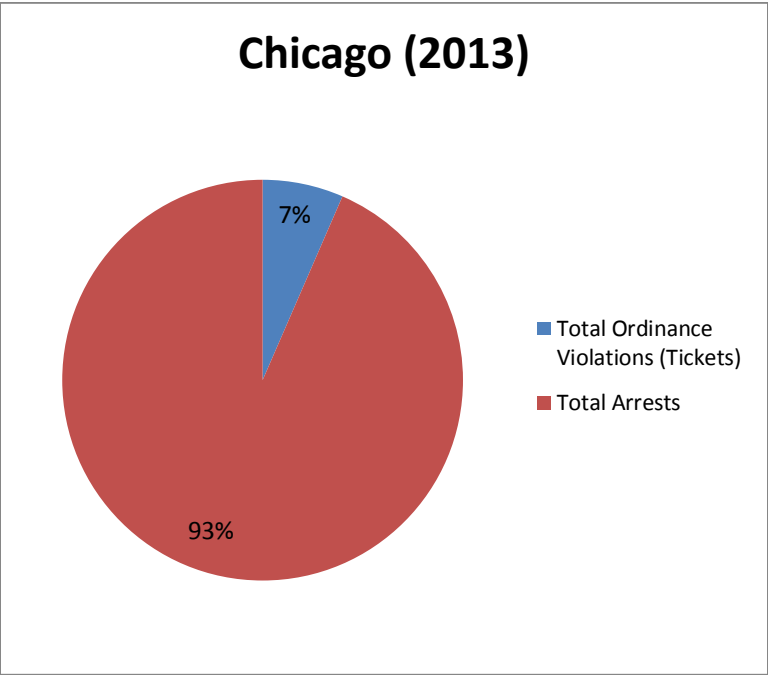


Figure D-4 Chicago: Level of Implementation

CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS: Race and Arrest Information

Table D-2: Top 25 Community Areas with the Highest Arrest Rates after Ticketing Implementation

Rank	Community Area (Map No.)	% Black	% Latino	%Non White	Rate Pre	Rate Post	Change
1	Fuller Park (37)	92%	5%	98%	2399.17	3,198.89	799.72
2	East Garfield Park (27)	91%	4%	97%	2027.52	3,194.44	1,166.92
3	West Garfield Park (26)	96%	2%	99%	2233.21	3,049.83	816.62
4	North Lawndale (29)	91%	6%	99%	1659.61	2,174.76	515.15
5	Washington Park (40)	97%	1%	99%	3089.53	2,142.19	-947.34
6	Austin (25)	85%	9%	96%	2440.26	2,029.15	-411.11
7	Humboldt Park (23)	41%	53%	96%	1622.78	1,745.29	122.51
8	Englewood (68)	97%	1%	100%	1875.77	1,543.03	-332.75
9	West Englewood (67)	96%	2%	100%	2002.53	1,433.60	-568.93
10	Greater Grand Crossing (69)	97%	1%	99%	2052.02	1,349.61	-702.41
11	Grand Boulevard (38)	94%	2%	98%	1441.01	1,327.01	-114.00
12	West Pullman (53)	93%	5%	99%	1632.32	1,271.46	-360.86
13	Woodlawn (42)	87%	2%	93%	2101.37	1,216.18	-885.19
14	Roseland (49)	97%	1%	100%	1797.44	1,214.73	-582.71
15	South Shore (43)	95%	2%	99%	1597.44	1,163.42	-434.02
16	Auburn Gresham (71)	98%	1%	100%	1823.85	1,111.95	-711.90
17	South Chicago (46)	75%	22%	98%	1455.22	1,089.81	-365.41
18	Chatham (44)	97%	1%	100%	1479.31	1,070.00	-409.31
19	Burnside (47)	98%	1%	99%	1165.98	1,063.10	-102.88
20	New City (61)	30%	57%	89%	1516.55	998.26	-518.29
21	Washington Heights (73)	97%	1%	100%	894.58	962.52	67.94
22	Chicago Lawn (66)	49%	45%	96%	1702.38	886.24	-816.14
23	Riverdale (54)	96%	2%	100%	570.81	740.51	169.70
24	Douglas (35)	73%	3%	90%	570.24	685.38	115.14
25	Avalon Park (45)	96%	2%	99%	490.92	667.65	176.73
MEAN	Chicago	32%	29%	68%	745.07	589.78	-155.29
MEDIAN	Loop (32)	11%	7%	37%	665.92	338.08	-327.84

CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS: Race and Arrest Information

Table D-3: Community Areas with Intermediate Arrest Rates after Ticketing Implementation

Rank	Community Area (Map No.)	% Black	% Latino	%Non White	Rate Pre	Rate Post	Change
26	Oakland (36)	94%	1%	98%	456.24	642.11	185.87
27	Morgan Park (75)	67%	3%	71%	754.08	634.32	-119.77
MEAN	Chicago	32%	29%	68%	745.07	589.78	-155.29
28	South Deering (51)	62%	32%	95%	767.75	529.49	-238.27
29	Uptown (3)	20%	14%	48%	720.34	500.34	-220.01
30	Lower West Side (31)	3%	82%	88%	584.30	480.86	-103.44
31	East Side (52)	3%	78%	83%	594.57	455.69	-138.88
32	Rogers Park (1)	26%	24%	61%	563.73	438.25	-125.48
33	Hermosa (20)	3%	87%	92%	479.81	435.83	-43.98
34	Pullman (50)	84%	8%	93%	409.56	409.56	0.00
35	Portage Park (15)	1%	39%	46%	240.16	383.63	143.47
36	Near West Side (28)	32%	9%	58%	499.26	364.42	-134.84
37	Gage Park (63)	5%	89%	95%	569.01	353.44	-215.57
38	Kenwood (39)	72%	3%	84%	459.62	347.51	-112.10
MEDIAN	Loop (32)	11%	7%	37%	665.92	338.08	-327.84
40	Hegewisch (55)	4%	50%	55%	339.49	318.27	-21.22
41	South Lawndale (30)	13%	83%	96%	387.20	317.83	-69.37
42	McKinley Park (56)	1%	65%	83%	538.05	301.05	-237.00
43	Calumet Heights (48)	93%	4%	99%	506.81	289.60	-217.20
44	Belmont Cragin (19)	3%	79%	85%	463.53	287.01	-176.52
45	Archer Heights (57)	1%	76%	79%	201.60	283.73	82.13
46	Brighton Park (58)	1%	85%	92%	332.83	282.14	-50.70
47	Garfield Ridge (56)	6%	39%	47%	318.72	260.77	-57.95
48	West Elsdon (62)	1%	79%	82%	298.19	226.41	-71.79
49	Ashburn (70)	46%	37%	85%	357.83	216.65	-141.18
50	West Town (24)	8%	29%	43%	391.74	209.99	-181.75
51	Jefferson Park (11)	1%	19%	31%	117.89	200.41	82.52

CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS: Race and Arrest Information

Table D-4: Community Areas with the Lowest Arrest Rates after Ticketing Implementation

Rank	Community Area (Map No.)	% Black	% Latino	%Non White	Rate Pre	Rate Post	Change
MEAN	Chicago	32%	29%	68%	745.07	589.78	-155.29
MEDIAN	Loop (32)	11%	7%	37%	665.92	338.08	-327.84
52	Irving Park (16)	3%	46%	58%	311.10	193.03	-118.07
53	Albany Park (14)	4%	49%	71%	259.98	190.14	-69.85
54	West Ridge (2)	11%	20%	57%	240.47	189.04	-51.43
55	Armour Square (34)	11%	3%	88%	328.58	186.69	-141.89
56	Logan Square (22)	5%	51%	60%	226.92	178.00	-48.92
57	Bridgeport (60)	2%	27%	65%	231.42	156.36	-75.05
58	Lake View (6)	4%	8%	20%	225.71	153.65	-72.06
59	Avondale (45)	3%	64%	72%	354.03	134.99	-219.04
60	Dunning (17)	1%	24%	30%	109.70	133.55	23.85
61	West Lawn (65)	4%	80%	85%	224.85	128.92	-95.94
62	North Park (13)	3%	18%	51%	161.73	122.69	-39.04
63	Norwood Park (10)	0%	12%	19%	54.02	102.64	48.62
64	Montclare (18)	4%	54%	62%	104.28	96.83	-7.45
65	Near North Side (8)	11%	5%	28%	226.13	95.67	-130.46
66	O'Hare (76)	3%	10%	23%	156.79	94.07	-62.72
67	Edgewater (77)	14%	16%	45%	162.77	93.77	-69.00
68	Hyde Park (41)	30%	6%	53%	268.68	89.56	-179.12
69	Lincoln Square (4)	4%	19%	37%	298.79	83.56	-215.23
70	Clearing (64)	1%	45%	48%	159.90	73.47	-86.43
71	North Center (5)	2%	14%	23%	103.56	72.17	-31.38
72	Lincoln Park (7)	4%	6%	17%	96.70	67.07	-29.63
73	Beverly (72)	34%	5%	41%	129.78	54.91	-74.87
74	Near South Side (8)	28%	6%	52%	102.85	51.43	-51.43
75	Mount Greenwood (74)	5%	7%	14%	109.99	47.14	-62.85
76	Forest Glen (12)	1%	11%	25%	27.02	21.61	-5.40
77	Edison Park (9)	0%	8%	12%	35.76	17.88	-17.88

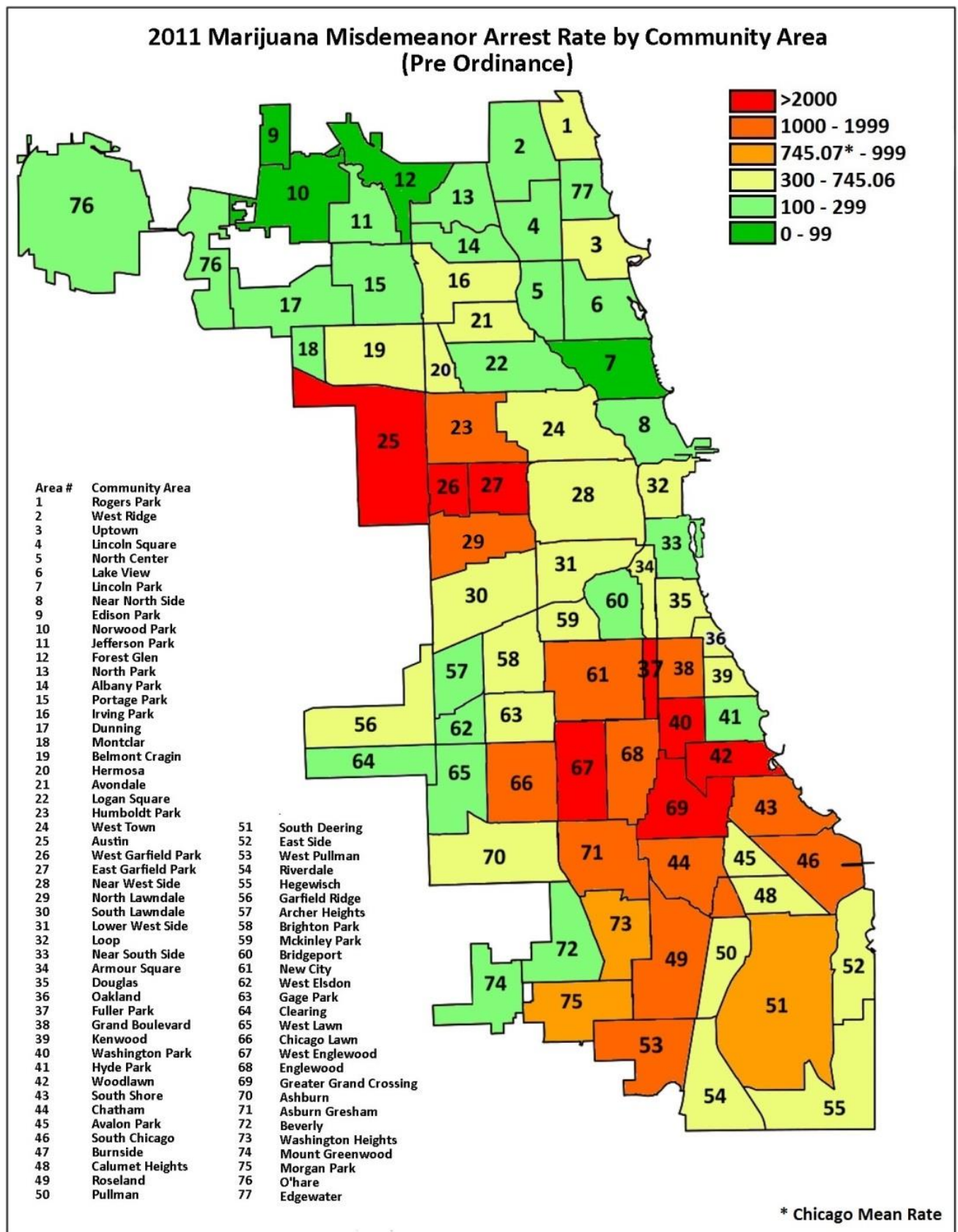


Figure D-5 Chicago Marijuana Misdemeanor Arrests by Community Area (2011)

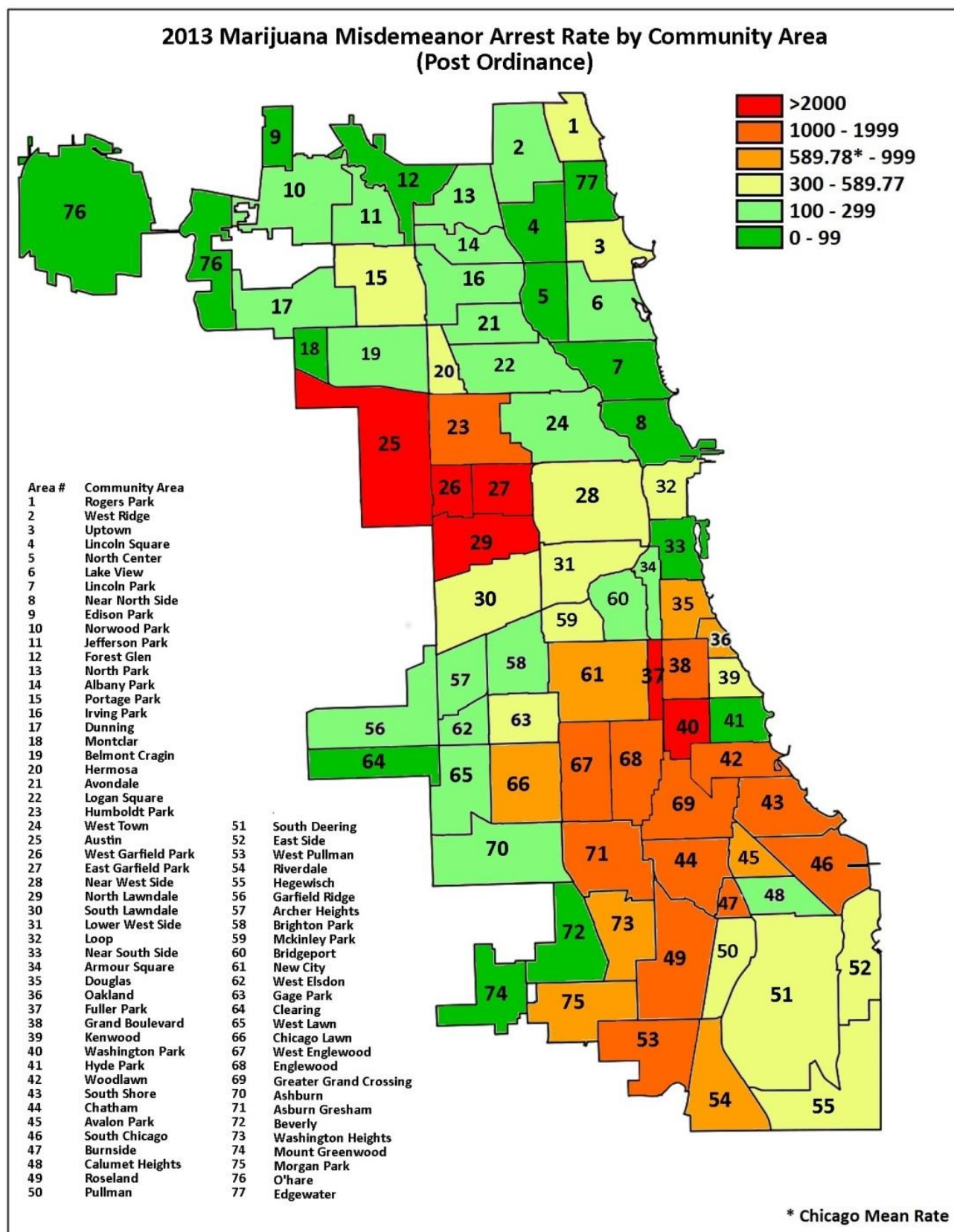


Figure D-6 Chicago Marijuana Misdemeanor Arrests by Community Area (2013)

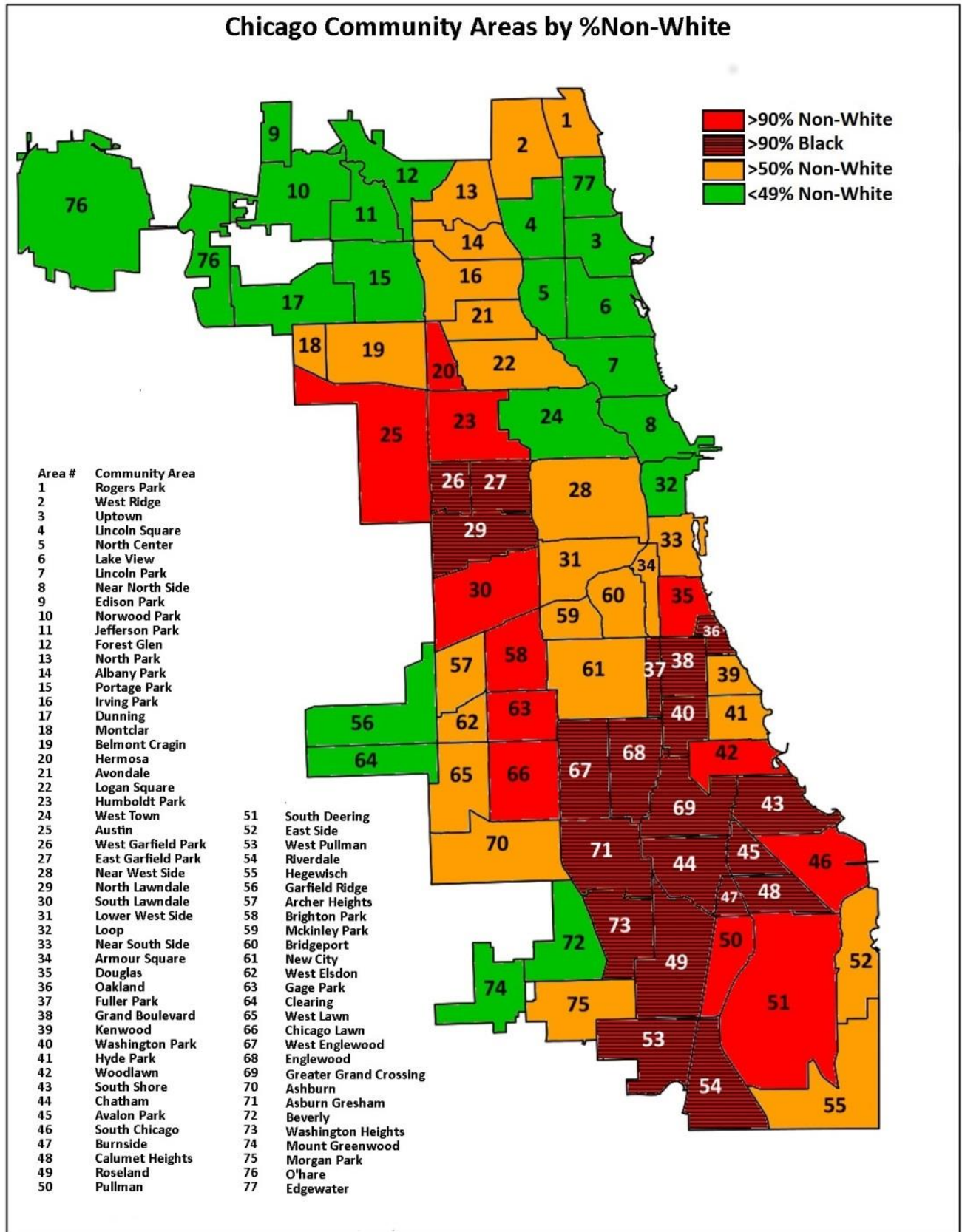


Figure D-7 Chicago Community Areas by %Non-White

Appendix E

Table E-1 Illinois municipalities with ticket ordinances for marijuana possession

Municipalities A-G	Implementation Year*	Code
Antioch	1976	Title 6, Ch. 2: 1976 Code § 130.041
Aurora	2008	Ch. 29, Article IX: Ord. No. 008-56, § 1, 6-10-08
Barrington	2013	Title 5, Ch. 2: Ord. 13-3757, 10-14-2013
Barrington Hills	1984	Title 8, Ch. 2: Ord. 84-26, 9-24-84
Bartonville	2006	Ch. 38, Article V, Div. 3: Ord. No. 1496, § 4, 12-14-2006
Beach Park	1993	Title 9, Ch. 9: Ord. 1993-O-23 § VIII
Beecher	1991	Title 6, Ch. 1: Ord. 1173, 2-11-2013
Bensenville	1976	Title 4, Ch. 3: Ord. 62-2011, 10-25-2011
Bloomington	1994	Ch. 28, Section 103: Ordinance No. 1994-3
Braidwood	1997	Ch. 58, Article IX: Ord. No. 97-34, § 3, 11-11-97
Broadview	2009	Title 15, Ch. 20: Ord. 09-48, 10-19-2009
Burbank	2006	Ch. 9, Article 1: Ord. No. 7-9-84, § 1, 1-25-84
Calumet City	2008	Ch. 62, Article V, Division 1: Ord. No. 08-4, § 2, 1-24-2008
Carbondale	2004	Title 14, Ch. 7: Ord. 2004-15
Carpentersville	2011	Title 9, Ch. 9: Ord. No. 11-17, § 1, 3-15-2011
Champaign	1995	Ch. 23, Article VI, Division 2: C.B. No. 95-321, § 1, 12-19-95
Charleston	2002	Title 5, Ch. 3: Ord. 2002-O-27, 9-17-2002
Chicago	2012	Title 7, Ch. 7, Article II-A: Added Coun. J. 6-27-12, p. 30306, § 1
Chicago Heights	2008	Ch. 30, Article IV, Div. 1: Ord. No. 08-20, § I, 12-1-08
Chicago Ridge	2010	Ch. 50, Article IV, Div. 2: Code 1978, § 10-3-11(C); Ord. No. 10-03-14, § 5, 3-16-10; Ord. No. 10-04-17, § 3, 4-6-10
Chillicothe	2011	Ch. 62: Ord. No. 11-08-15, § 2, 8-8-2011
Countryside	2010	Title 4, Ch. 2: Ord. 10-28-0, 5-26-2010
Darien	1977	Title 8, Ch. 7: Ord. 0-12-77, 4-4-1977
Des Plaines	1994	Title 6, Ch. 2: Ord. M-68-94, 10-17-1994; amd. 2002 Code
East Moline	1982	Title 6, Ch. 3: Ord. 82-5, 1-4-1982; Ord. 83-5, 1-17-1983
East Peoria	2006	Title 10, Ch. 1: Ord. No. 3272, § 2, 3-6-01; Ord. No. 3292, § 74, 7-3-01; Ord. No. 3372, § 1, 6-18-02; Ord. No. 3670, § 1, 3-21-06; Ord. No. 4051, § 1, 7-17-12
Edwardsville	2009	Ch. 74, Article VII: Ord. No. 5781-5-09, § 2(2), 5-4-2009
Elk Grove Village	1978	Title 6, Ch. 6: Ord. 1256, 10-24-1978
Elmhurst	2009	Ch. 51: Ord. 14-2004 § 6; Ord. 06-2009, §§ 1, 2
Evanston	2011	Title 8, Ch. 13: Ord. No. 92-O-11, § 2(8-16-3), 11-28-2011
Forest Park	2005	Title 5, Ch. 2: Ord. O-36-05, 7-26-2005
Franklin Park	Unknown	Title 5, Ch. 5: Ord. 7778 MC 10, § 1
Glendale Heights	2011	Title 6, Ch. 6, Article C: 1978 Code § 10-6-2-11; amd. 2011 Code
Glen Ellyn	1981	Title 6, Ch. 2: Ord. 2719, 12-14-1981
Glenview	1959	Ch. 46, Article II, Division 1: Code 1959, § 13.63
Glenwood	2004	Ch. 62: Ord. No. 2004-01, § IV, 1-20-2004
Granite City	1978	Title 9, Div. III, Ch. 9: Ord. 3488 § 2, 1978; Ord. 4918 §§ 1—4(part), 1995; Ord. 3488 § 4, 1978

Municipalities H-P	Implementation Year*	Code
Hanover Park	2008	Ch. 66, Article VI: Ord. No. O-12-08, § 2, 3-15-2012
Hazel Crest	1999	Ch. 20, Article 1: Ord. No. 6-1999, § 1, 4-27-99
Herschler	2004	Title 4, Ch. 1: Ord. 04-03, 1-19-2004
Inverness	1995	Title 10, Ch. 2: Ord. 95-553, 12-12-1995
Island Lake	1977	Title 6, Ch. 5: Ord. 355, 10-6-1977; Ord. 1153-01, 12-13-2001
Jo Daviess County	2009	Title 5, Ch. 12: Ord., 10-11-2005; amd. 2009 Code
Joliet	1976	Ch. 21, Article I: Ord. No. 6421, §§ 2, 3, 2-17-76
Lake Barrington	1994	Title 4, Ch. 1: Ord. 94-O-18, 8-19-1994
Lake Villa	1977	Title 6, Ch. 2: Ord. 77-6-2, 6-22-1977; amd. 1983 Code
Lansing	2003	Part I, Ch. 26, Article 1: Code 1982, § 20-33; Ord. No. 03-007, §§ 1—4, 4-15-2003
Lebanon	1979	Ch. 13, Article 1: Ord. No. 619, § 1, 11-26-79
LeRoy	2009	Title 5, Ch. 2: Ord. 09-01-02-70, 1-19-2009; Ord. 09-11-03-10, 11-16-2009; amd. Ord. 10-01-01-10, 1-4-2010; Ord. 11-08-02-70, 8-1-2011
Lindenhurst	1984	Title 13, Ch. 134: Ord. 84-8-559, passed 8-27-84; Am. Ord. 96-4-975, passed 4-22-96
Lisle	2001	Title 9, Ch. 4: Ord. 2001-3321, 7-2-2001
Lynwood	2005	Ch. 70, Article VIII, Div. 3: Ord. No. 05-18, § 1, 5-24-2005
Manhattan	2007	Title 9, Ch. 6: Ord. 936, 2-6-2007
Manteno	2010	Title 4, Ch. 1, Article 4: Ord. 10-08, 8-2-2010
Marquette Heights	2002	Title 10, Ch. 2: Ord. 644, 8-12-2002
McCook	1965	Ch. 54, Article 2: Code 1965, § 9-1-24
McCullum Lake	2012	Ch. 8, Article VII: Ord. No. 443, § 2, 6-12-12
Midlothian	2005	Title 6, Ch. 10: Ord. 1613, 4-27-2005
Monmouth	2002	Title 13, Ch. 131: Ord. 02-1108, passed 10-21-02
Mount Prospect	2001	Ch. 23, Article 1: Ord. 3424, 6-5-1984; amd. Ord. 5189, 5-15-2001
New Lenox	2011	Ch. 54, Article IV: Ord. No. 1762, § 2, 5-9-2006; Ord. No. 2192, § 13, 8-22-2011
Niles	1965	Ch. 66, Article V, Div. 1: Code 1965, § 22-32(b), (c)
Northbrook	2004	Ch. 17, Article III: Ord. No. 04-5, § 2, 2-10-2004; (Ord. No. 01-54, § 2, 6-26-2001; Ord. No. 2011-17, § 2.f., 4-12-2011)
Northfield	2006	Ch. 15, Article IV: Ord. 06-1306, 12-5-2006
Northlake	1980	Title 5, Ch. 6: Ord. O-10-80, 5-13-1980; 1992 Code
North Pekin	2007	Title 6, Ch. 2, Article IV: Ord. 374, 7-12-1982; amd. Ord. 817, 5-14-2007
Oak Brook	1996	Title 6, Ch. 1: Ord. G-971, 5-22-2012
Oak Lawn	2005	Title 10, Ch. 5: Ord. 05-15-46
Oregon	1996	Ch. 6, Article IV: Ord. No. 1093, 8-12-96
Palatine	1998	Ch. 12, Article I: § 12-29, Ord. No. O-37-76, §1, 4-12-76; Ord. No. O-69-83, §1, 10-10-83; Ord. No. O-5-98, §15, 1-26-98
Plainfield	1986	Ch. 6, Article VI: Ord. No. 1520, § 8, 8-30-93; Ord. No. 1654, § 2, 2-5-96
Prospect Heights	1998	Title 9, Ch. 2: Ord. 0-97-77, 12-15-1997, eff. 1-1-1998

Municipalities H-Woodstock	Implementation Year*	Code
Rantoul	2007	Ch. 20, Article VI: Ord. No. 2102, § 18.6.8, 6-12-2007; Code 1977, § 1.5; Ord. No. 2098, § 1(1.5), 6-12-2007; Ord. No. 2283, § 1, 1-10-2012
River Forest	1981	Title 8, Ch. 6: Ord. 3412, 3-12-2012
Riverside	1976	Title 6, Ch. 1: Ord. 1299, 12-20-1976; Ord. 2154, 6-3-1996
Riverwoods	2002	Title 5, Ch. 1, Article A: Ord. 02-3-7, 3-5-2002; amd. Ord. 02-12-30, 12-3-2002
Roselle	1992	Ch. 13, Article III: Ord. No. 2153-92, § 1, 3-23-92
Round Lake	2001	Title 9, Ch. 9: Editorially amended during 2001 codification; prior code § 43A-10
Round Lake Beach	2000	Title 4, Ch. 7: Ord. No. 78-9-29, 9-26-1978; Ord. No. 00-08-04, 8-14-2000
Silvis	2003	Ch. 58, Article VI: Ord. No. 2003-09, § 18, 6-3-2003
South Barrington	2007	Title 5, Ch. 4: Ord. 2007-830, 9-13-2007
South Beloit	2004	Ch. 62, Article III: Ord. No. 1685, §§ 1—3, 11-1-2004; Ord. No. 1824, § 2, 8-1-2011
South Holland	1999	Ch. 11, Article I: Ord. No. 99-15, 7-19-99
Springfield	2010	Title 13, Ch. 131: Ord. No. 90-02-09, § 1, 2-3-09; Ord. No. 230-06-10, § 1, 6-1-10
Steger	2009	Ch. 58: Ord. No. 984, § 2, 8-17-09
Stickney	2009	Ch. 50, Article II: (Code 1981, § 16-24; Ord. No. 2009-28, § 2, 11-18-2009
Streamwood	2010	Title 4, Ch. 3: Ord. 2010-15, 8-5-2010
Sugar Grove	1995	Title 5, Ch. 2: Ord. 615, 3-6-1995
Sycamore	2006	Title 5, Ch. 4: Ord. 97.77, 5-11-1998; amd. Ord. 2005.78, 1-3-2006; Ord. 2012.29, 10-15-2012
University Park	1977	Part 6, Ch. 660: Ord. 366. Passed 8-9-77; Ord. 372. Passed 9-13-77
Urbana	2008	Ch. 15, Article IV, Div. 1: Ord. No. 2008-09-103, § 1, 10-6-08
Vernon Hills	1982	Ch. 14, Article I: Code 1982, § 14-1
Villa Park	1978	Ch. 16, Article I: Ord. No. 1791, §§ 1—3, 5-15-78
Wadsworth	2004	Title 5, Ch. 6: Ord. 2004-653, 3-2-2004
Warrenville	2005	Title 4, Ch. 3: Ord. 2192, 2-7-2005
West Chicago	2005	Ch. 11, Article II, Div. 7: Ord. No. 1442, § 1, 10-15-79; Ord. No. 05-O-0097, § 4, 12-5-2005
Wheeling	1986	Title 8, Ch. 8.54: Ord. 2301 § M (part), 1986; Ord. No. 4731, § 3, 11-12-2012
Wilmette	1982	Ch. 12-18, 78-O-32, 8/15/78; 91-O-74, 11/5/91; 96-O-11, 4/9/96
Willowbrook	1980	Title 5, Ch. 3: Ord. 79-0-11, 3-26-79; amd. Ord. 80-01, 1-14-80
Winnetka	Unknown	Title 9, Ch. 9; Prior code § 45.14
Wood Dale	2000	Ch. 14, Article V: Ord. 2015, 5-4-2000
Woodridge	1991	Title 5, Ch. 7: 1976 Code §10-17; amd. 1991 Code
Woodstock	2011	Title 4, Ch. 9: Ord. 09-O-43, 6-16-2009; Ord. 11-O-43, 6-21-2011

Municipalities Worth - Z	Implementation Year*	Code
Worth	2006	Title 10, Ch. 4: Ord. 06-31, 5-16-2006
Yorkville	2009	Title 5, Ch. 3: Ord. 2009-02, 1-13-2009
Zion	1969	Ch. 62, Article IV: Ord. No. 79-0-20, § 1, 5-15-79; Code 1969, § 18-65

*Year of implementation as cited in municipal code documents

- ¹ City of Chicago Data Portal. (2011). Crimes 2001 to present. [Data set]. Retrieved from <https://data.cityofchicago.org/Public-Safety/Crimes-2001-to-present/ijzp-q8t2>
- ² NORML and the NORML Foundation. (2014). States that have decriminalized. *NORML: Working to reform marijuana laws*. Retrieved from: <http://norml.org/aboutmarijuana/item/states-that-have-decriminalized>; Marijuana Policy Project. (2014). [Map illustrating states that have implemented new marijuana policies]. *Marijuana Policy in the States*. Retrieved from
- ³ Wagner, J. (2014 April 14). "Maryland governor signs legislation removing threat of jail for small amount of marijuana." *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/md-politics/maryland-governor-signs-legislation-removing-threat-of-jail-for-small-amount-of-marijuana/2014/04/14/c5a185d2-c3f6-11e3-bcec-b71ee10e9bc3_story.html
- ⁴ Simpson, I. (2014, March 31). Washington Mayor Vincent Gray signs marijuana decriminalization bill. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/03/31/washington-dc-marijuana_n_5065238.html
- ⁵ Pew Research Center. (2014). *America's changing drug policy landscape: Two-thirds favor treatment, not jail, for use of heroin, cocaine*. Retrieved from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/04-02-14%20Drug%20Policy%20Release.pdf>
- ⁶ Remnick, D. (2014, January 27). "Going the distance." *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2014/01/27/140127fa_fact_remnick?currentPage=all
- ⁷ Pew Research Center. (2014). *America's changing drug policy landscape: Two-thirds favor treatment, not jail, for use of heroin, cocaine*. Retrieved from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/04-02-14%20Drug%20Policy%20Release.pdf>
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ Public Policy Polling. (2014). *March 28-30, 2014 survey of 769 Illinois voters*. Retrieved from <http://www.mpp.org/states/illinois/ILpoll.pdf>
- ¹⁰ Saltmarsh, K. (2014, March 20). HB5708 Reclassification and sentencing reductions for cannabis offenses 720 ILCS 550 Section 4. *SPAC: Illinois Sentencing Policy Advisory Council*. Retrieved , from http://www.icjia.state.il.us/spac/pdf/HB5708_Cannabis_Fiscal_Impact_032014.pdf
- ¹¹ Illinois Statistical Analysis Center. (2013, October 10). *Illinois Statistical Analysis Center*. Retrieved , from <http://www.icjia.org/public/sac/index.cfm?metasection=forms&metapage=rawMetadata&k=170>
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Saltmarsh, K. (2014, March 20). HB5708 Reclassification and sentencing reductions for cannabis offenses 720 ILCS 550 Section 4. *SPAC: Illinois Sentencing Policy Advisory Council*. Retrieved , from http://www.icjia.state.il.us/spac/pdf/HB5708_Cannabis_Fiscal_Impact_032014.pdf
- ¹⁵ American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation. (2013) *The war on marijuana in black and white: Billions of dollars wasted on racially biased arrests*. New York, NY: Edwards, E., Bunting, W., & Garcia, L. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/1114413-mj-report-rfs-rel1.pdf>
- ¹⁶ Coyne, T. (2010). *Proposal for drug offender stationhouse deferral program*. Retrieved from http://scholarship.kentlaw.iit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1190&context=fac_schol
- ¹⁷ American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation. (2013) *The war on marijuana in black and white: Billions of dollars wasted on racially biased arrests*. New York, NY: Edwards, E., Bunting, W., & Garcia, L. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/1114413-mj-report-rfs-rel1.pdf>
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ The Marijuana Policy Project. (2014). *Marked for life: Collateral sanctions associated with marijuana offenses in Illinois*. Chicago, IL: Marijuana Policy Project. Retrieved from <http://www.mpp.org/states/illinois/MarkedForLifeIL.pdf>
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2013). *Results from the 2012 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Summary of national findings*, NSDUH Series H-46, HHS Publication No. (SMA) 13-4795. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Retrieved from <http://www.samhsa.gov/data/NSDUH/2012SummNatFindDetTables/Index.aspx>
- ²³ American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation. (2013) *The war on marijuana in black and white: Billions of dollars wasted on racially biased arrests*. New York, NY: Edwards, E., Bunting, W., & Garcia, L. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/1114413-mj-report-rfs-rel1.pdf>
- ²⁴ Ibid
- ²⁵ Ibid
- ²⁶ Ibid
- ²⁷ Ibid
- ²⁸ Ibid

-
- ²⁹ American Bar Association and National Institute of Justice. (2013). [Interactive map illustrating the collateral consequences of a criminal conviction by state]. *National inventory of the collateral consequences of conviction*. Retrieved from <http://www.abacollateralconsequences.org/>
- ³⁰ Illinois Sentencing Policy Advisory Council. (2014). *HB5708 reclassification and sentencing reductions for cannabis offenses: 720 ILCS 550 Section 4*. SPAC, Illinois: Saltmarsh, K. Retrieved from http://www.icjia.state.il.us/spac/pdf/HB5708_Cannabis_Fiscal_Impact_032014.pdf
- ³¹ Social Policy Group. (2001). *Reforming the old and refining the new: A critical overview of Australian approaches to cannabis*. Research Paper No. 6 2001–02. Department of the Parliamentary Library, Commonwealth of Australia: Rickard, M. Retrieved from <http://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=194320>
- ³² Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2011). *Results from the 2010 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Summary of national findings*. NSDUH Series H-41, HHS Publication No. (SMA) 11-4658. Retrieved from <http://www.samhsa.gov/data/NSDUH/2k10NSDUH/2k10Results.htm>
- ³³ American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation. (2013) *The war on marijuana in black and white: Billions of dollars wasted on racially biased arrests*. New York, NY: Edwards, E., Bunting, W., & Garcia, L. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/1114413-mj-report-rfs-rel1.pdf>
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Dumke, M., & Joravsky, B. (2011, July 7). "The grass gap: People all over Chicago smoke pot-but almost everyone busted for it is black." *The Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/chicago-marijuana-arrest-statistics/Content?oid=4198958>
- ³⁷ Spielman, F., & Main, F. (2012, June 14). "Emanuel: Decriminalize possession for small amounts of marijuana." *Chicago Sun-Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.suntimes.com/13190911-761/emanuel-backs-decriminalizing-small-amounts-of-marijuana.html#.U01aDs4VArg>
- ³⁸ Corley, C. (Narrator). (2012, June 27). Exhale Chicago: A little pot may be fine(d). [Radio broadcast episode]. In *Morning Edition*. Chicago, IL: National Public Radio. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/2012/06/27/155791620/exhale-chicago-a-little-pot-may-be-fine-d>
- ³⁹ Dumke, M., & Joravsky, B. (2011, October 6). "The \$78 million bag: That's what Cook County spent last year on weed (or to arrest and prosecute those possessing it)." *The Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/marijuana-busts-costing-taxpayers-millions-a-year/Content?oid=4757570>
- ⁴⁰ Dumke, M. (2011, December 5). Father Pfleger: End the pot possession busts!. [Web log comment]. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/Bleeder/archives/2011/12/05/father-pfleger-end-the-pot-possession-busts>
- ⁴¹ Corley, C. (Narrator). (2012, June 27). Exhale Chicago: A little pot may be fine(d). [Radio broadcast episode]. In *Morning Edition*. Chicago, IL: National Public Radio. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/2012/06/27/155791620/exhale-chicago-a-little-pot-may-be-fine-d>
- ⁴² Dumke, M., & Joravsky, B. (2011, October 6). "The \$78 million bag: That's what Cook County spent last year on weed (or to arrest and prosecute those possessing it)." *The Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/marijuana-busts-costing-taxpayers-millions-a-year/Content?oid=4757570>
- ⁴³ Mack, K. (2012, June 28). "Chicago OKs pot tickets: City may reap millions from Emanuel's plan to decriminalize possession of small amounts of marijuana." *The Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-06-28/news/ct-met-chicago-city-council-0628-20120628_1_pot-possession-possession-of-small-amounts-pot-tickets
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Spielman, F. (2014, February 6). "OT overload: Some cops get more overtime pay than annual salary." *Chicago Sun-Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.suntimes.com/news/metro/25428177-418/ot-overload-some-cops-get-more-overtime-pay-than-annual-salary.html#.U01yLM4VArg>
- ⁴⁷ Matrix Consulting Group. (2011). *Organizational review and performance audit: City of Des Moines, Washington*. Palo Alto, CA: Matrix Consulting Group. Retrieved from <http://www.desmoineswa.gov/DocumentCenter/View/405>
- ⁴⁸ Dumke, M., & Joravsky, B. (2011, October 6). "The \$78 million bag: That's what Cook County spent last year on weed (or to arrest and prosecute those possessing it)." *The Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/marijuana-busts-costing-taxpayers-millions-a-year/Content?oid=4757570>
- ⁴⁹ Corley, C. (Narrator). (2012, June 27). Exhale Chicago: A little pot may be fine(d). [Radio broadcast episode]. In *Morning Edition*. Chicago, IL: National Public Radio. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/2012/06/27/155791620/exhale-chicago-a-little-pot-may-be-fine-d>
- ⁵⁰ American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation. (2013) *The war on marijuana in black and white: Billions of dollars wasted on racially biased arrests*. New York, NY: Edwards, E., Bunting, W., & Garcia, L. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/1114413-mj-report-rfs-rel1.pdf>

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Dardick, H. (2014, March 5). "Chicago credit rating takes a major hit." *The Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/politics/clout/chi-chicago-credit-rating-takes-major-hit-20140304,0,4878096.story>

⁵³ American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation. (2013) *The war on marijuana in black and white: Billions of dollars wasted on racially biased arrests*. New York, NY: Edwards, E., Bunting, W., & Garcia, L. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/1114413-mj-report-rfs-rel1.pdf>

⁵⁴ Coyne, T. (2010). *Proposal for drug offender stationhouse deferral program*. Retrieved from http://scholarship.kentlaw.iit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1190&context=fac_schol

⁵⁵ American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation. (2013) *The war on marijuana in black and white: Billions of dollars wasted on racially biased arrests*. New York, NY: Edwards, E., Bunting, W., & Garcia, L. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/1114413-mj-report-rfs-rel1.pdf>

⁵⁶ Pew Research Center. (2014). *America's changing drug policy landscape: Two-thirds favor treatment, not jail, for use of heroin, cocaine*. Retrieved from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/04-02-14%20Drug%20Policy%20Release.pdf>

⁵⁷ Cody, J. (Narrator). (2014, February 21). Illinois lawmaker: Legalization of recreational marijuana inevitable here. [Radio Broadcast Episode]. In *News Radio 780*. Chicago, IL: CBS Local Chicago. Retrieved from <http://chicago.cbslocal.com/2014/02/21/illinois-lawmaker-legalization-of-recreational-marijuana-inevitable-here/>
⁵⁸ <http://www.colorado.gov/cs/Satellite?blobcol=urldata&blobheader=application%2Fpdf&blobkey=id&blobtable=MungoBlobs&blobwhere=1251943287907&ssbinary=true>

⁵⁹ Long, R. & Garcia, M. (2013, January 26). "Illinois credit rating worst in the nation after downgrade." *The Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2013-01-26/news/ct-met-illinois-bond-rating-20130126_1_action-on-pension-reform-robin-prunty-downgrade