VOLUME I

ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL CASES ON THE JUDICIAL PROCESSING OF
CRIMINAL CASES, CROWDING AND PUBLIC SAFETY:

by

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The Project to Assess the Impact of Drug-Related Criminal Cases on
Criminal Case Processing, Jail Overcrowding and Public Safety

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THE CHALLENGE TO CRIMINAL JUSTICE OF DRUG-RELATED CRIME

Overview of the Research

As issues involving drugs and crime have been moving increasingly to center stage in public policy debate, localities, states and the Federal jurisdiction have been proposing and enacting a wide variety of initiatives aimed at the drug-crime dilemma. Underlying these efforts, of course, has been the rationale that the growth in the availability, use and trafficking of illegal drugs feeds society's "drug problem" which in turn seriously exacerbates the "crime problem." In contrast to the growing mainstream of research and policy development aimed at the impact of the drug problem on the crime problem, the current research has as its principal objective investigation of the impact of the drug-crime problem on government's ability to cope with crime.

As the strain of responding to drug-related crime and criminal cases reaches crisis proportions in the various components of the criminal process, it has become clear that the burden is perceived to be systematic. Police argue that they are understaffed and "outgunned" by the weaponry in the hands of the drug-involved criminals. Prosecutors argue the need for more staff, new legislation and stiffer penalties to meet the apparently growing phenomenon of drug-related crime. The courts experience increased caseloads as a result of new laws and stepped up local enforcement policies and wonder how the mounting caseload demands can be met without additional court resources, including judges and processing reforms. Already overcrowded jails and prisons are stunned by the prospect of impending population increases resulting from enforcement and legislative policies.

One of the worst aspects of the impact of the drug-crime phenomenon is the additional burden it places on the already seriously strained judicial process with its endemic delay, overcrowding and resource difficulties. Thus, though not perhaps being viewed as the original source of these difficulties in criminal justice, the drug-crime phenomenon is increasingly perceived to be the "straw that breaks the camel's back," the catalyst that moves the system from a state of great strain to one of unmanageable crisis.

Although placed within the broad parameters of the effect of drug-related crime on criminal justice, this research focuses more narrowly on the impact of the drug-related criminal caseload on the criminal process, public safety and crowding. Its goals are modest and practical, to contribute knowledge of the impact of these kinds of cases on the criminal justice system. Our approach is to make use of data collected in three large urban jurisdictions to serve as the basis of what might best be characterized as three empirical case studies. As we examine the role of drug-related criminal cases within the entering caseloads in five courts in three cities, Miami (Dade County), Boston and Phoenix (Maricopa County), our purposes are twofold: to describe the actual contours of the drug-crime contribution to caseload, crowding and public safety, and to offer an informed discussion of the implications of the impact of drug-related crime for the future of criminal justice policy.

We have organized the presentation of our investigation into a series of three related monographs. The first monograph (Volume I: The Impact of Drug-Related Criminal Cases on the Judicial Process, Crowding and Public Safety) describes the data which serve as the foundation of our descriptive analysis and develops a working definition of drug-related criminal cases. That definition includes two perspectives central to our analyses, defendants with cases involving charges relating to drug offenses and defendants who have been shown to be active drug abusers. Using an unique data set, we are able to examine the overlap between these two versions of "drug-related" cases moving through the system, one based on criminal charges and the other on drug use.

Volume I characterizes entering defendants using both perspectives of "drug-related" criminal cases and charts their role within and movement through the criminal process. The analysis is comparative at each stage, asking in what ways drug-related cases differ from cases that are not drug-related in the criminal caseload. Although the analysis best addresses questions about the role of drug-related criminal cases in the criminal process, it treats the implications of drug-related crime for public safety in its study of pretrial crime and for institutional crowding in its analyses of the comparative use of pretrial detention and incarcerative sentences. In concluding Volume I we attempt empirically to develop descriptive typologies based on both definitions of drug-related criminal cases and provide a grounded framework for subsequent discussion of the problems posed by the drug-crime problem for the criminal justice system.

The second report (Volume II: The Impact of Drug-Related Criminal Cases on Public Safety: Drug-Related Recidivism) examines the often assumed relationship between drug-related crime and repetitive criminality. Part of the threat to public safety and the burden placed on the criminal process, many policy officials believe, is the continuing criminal activity associated with drug crime which distinguishes drug offenders from non-drug offenders. To investigate the relationship between drug-related crime and subsequent contact with the court system, our analyses make use of two four-year follow-up studies of the 1984 defendant samples described in Volume I (of Maricopa County and Dade County defendants) and one 18 month follow-up of the 1987 Dade felony defendants for whom drug test results were obtained. The question addressed in Volume II is quite straightforward: Do persons involved in drug-related crime (as defined by drug charges or drug abuse) present a greater risk to public safety than other kinds of persons processed by the court system?

In our third volume (Volume III: The Policy Implications of the Impact of Drug-Related Criminal Cases on Criminal Justice: Significant Problems and Issues) we review our empirical findings in light of their implications for criminal justice policy regarding drug-related crime. Once again, we limit our discussion to areas touched upon by our analyses in the earlier volumes and attempt to focus on questions that have been raised by our research. Because policy is often made faster than research can be conducted and reported, we conclude with a discussion of these issues with officials in the research sites so that the findings can serve as a resource in review of policy in the drug-crime area.

I. Definitions, Assumptions and Data Measuring the Drug-Crime Problem

As political debate about the drug problem has become increasingly animated and proposals for innovative policies have become more numerous, choice of promising strategies has at the same time become more difficult. The development of policy to address the drug-crime problem has suffered from confusion in definition (as to what the precise nature of the problem is), in assumptions about the relationship between drugs and crime and their reduction, and in information accurately describing various facets of the drug-crime problem. Contrary to widely

held beliefs, despite modern techniques of data collection and processing, the problem of drug abuse and its relationship to crime and criminal justice in this country still prove difficult to measure accurately--certainly in part, due to the complexity of the problem and its geographical diffusion.

Research investigating the drug-crime problem, like policy debate, is faced at a most basic level with problems of definition. Although many discuss the "drug problem" and debate the success of the "war against drugs," agreeing on precise definitions of what is meant is not so simple, nor, therefore, is measurement of its characteristics. The definitions employed in discussions of drug abuse and its treatment, for example, though often for the purposes of reducing crime, may be quite different from those employed within a legal framework when the objective is the elimination of the drug trade. Even after efforts to develop model Federal legislation in hopes of encouraging greater consistency of definition of drug offenses and penalties in the states, significant diversity still exists.[1] Moreover, even though we may assume we are speaking about the same substances when describing concerns about illegal substances most threatening to public health, we may have different substances in mind. They may change over time (such as the shift from concern about heroin use to concern about marijuana, LSD, cocaine and crack). They may differ greatly by geographic location. These definitional problems, obvious too many, affect the organization of this research--and likely interpretations of some of the findings.

Compounding the definitional problems are problems of data currently available describing the drug-crime problem. As will be clear in our subsequent review of current information, there are many kinds of data--ranging from self-reports of drug use by offenders to drug test results to criminal caseload statistics--used to describe the drug-crime problem in its different facets. These data are disparate, usually aggregate in nature and often suffer important limitations--important enough to raise questions about their reliability or their generalizability. This state of affairs notwithstanding, taken *in toto* the picture presented by these indicators is of a drug-crime problem posing a mounting challenge to criminal justice and public health.

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[1] For an excellent review of the Federal Controlled Substances Act of 1970 and the organization of drug laws in the states, see Criminal Justice Association (1988). See Appendix A for a summary of some of the features of these laws adapted from that source.

II. Current Drug Use in the United States

Three selected sources of data provide relatively recent indications of the extent of drug abuse among Americans. One, the National Institute on Drug Abuse's National Household Survey on Drug Abuse (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1988a and 1988b) reports lifetime, past year and past month prevalence of illicit drug use in American households during 1985. In asking respondents about use of illicit drugs during their "lifetimes," "past year," and "past month," the 1985 National Household Survey shows that, then at least, marijuana/hashish was the category of illicit drug of choice on all three measures, followed, not very closely, by cocaine. (See Figure 1.1.) In reporting trends from 1974 to 1985, the Survey reveals that although marijuana was still the most commonly abused illicit drug in the United States in 1985, with past year use rates exceeding 15 percent of the U.S. household population aged 12 and over, its use had been declining slightly since 1982. (See Figure 1.2.) While only 6 per cent of the U.S. household population aged 12 and over had used cocaine "during the past year," the trend in use appeared to differ by age group (see Figure 1.3): cocaine use remained stable from 1982 to 1985 for the 12 to 17 year age group, declined slightly for the 18 to 25 year age group and increased somewhat among the 26 and older age group. Use of hallucinogens (not shown) between 1979 and 1985 continued to be rare overall.

Johnston et al. (1987) have conducted annual surveys among high school students and young adults and have included questions about drug abuse. (See Figure 1.4.) Their data show that the proportion of senior high school students who claimed to have used marijuana 'within the past 30 days' actually declined slightly from 1975 to 1986 after cresting notably in 1978. Use of cocaine by high school seniors appears to have remained relatively rare, but has increased from about 2 to 6 percent over the decade. Use of hallucinogens has remained very low as well. Use of alcohol, which peaked at around 72 percent between 1978 and 1982, remains the most commonly employed substance among the seniors, roughly two-thirds of defendants used alcohol within the last 30 days. Johnston et al. found that nearly nine-tenths of seniors thought marijuana was "easy or fairly easy to get"; nearly half thought cocaine was that accessible, a noticeable increase over earlier years. In addition, they reported similar results for college students, who also used alcohol most often: roughly 80 percent admitted its use within the last 30 days from

Figure 1.1   Lifetime, past year, and past month prevalence for selected
           illicit drug use, by type of drug, 1985
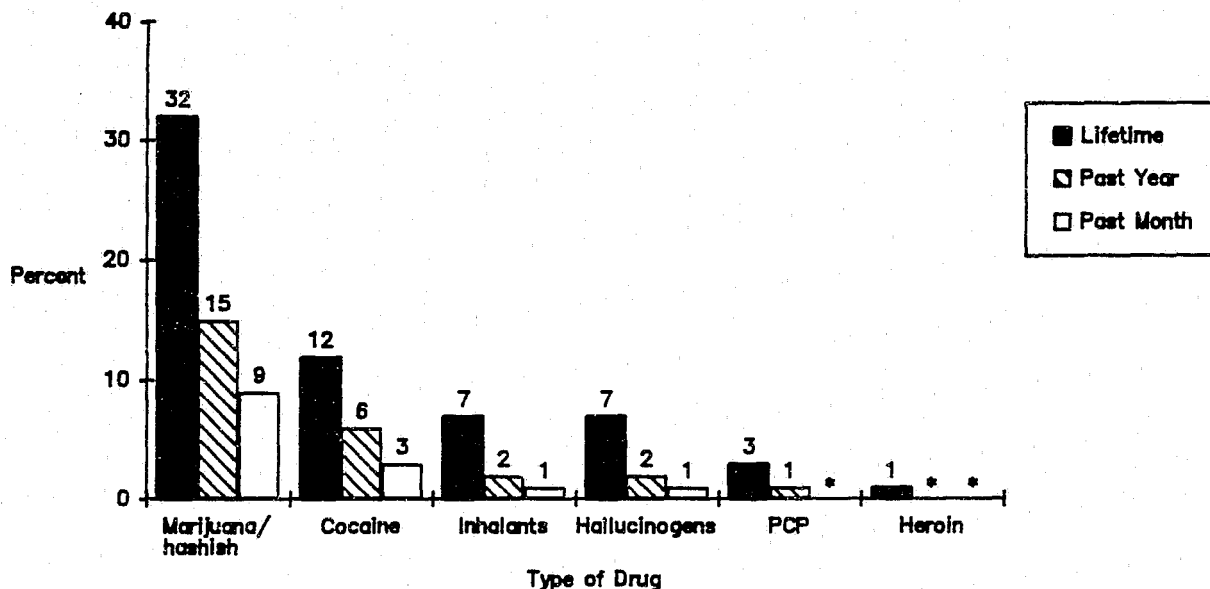
* Less than one-half percent

Source: Adapted from NIDA, National Household Survey on Drug
        buse, 1985: Main Findings (1988: Table 10—12).

Figure 1.2   Trends in reported marijuana use 'during past year', by age group, 1974 to 85
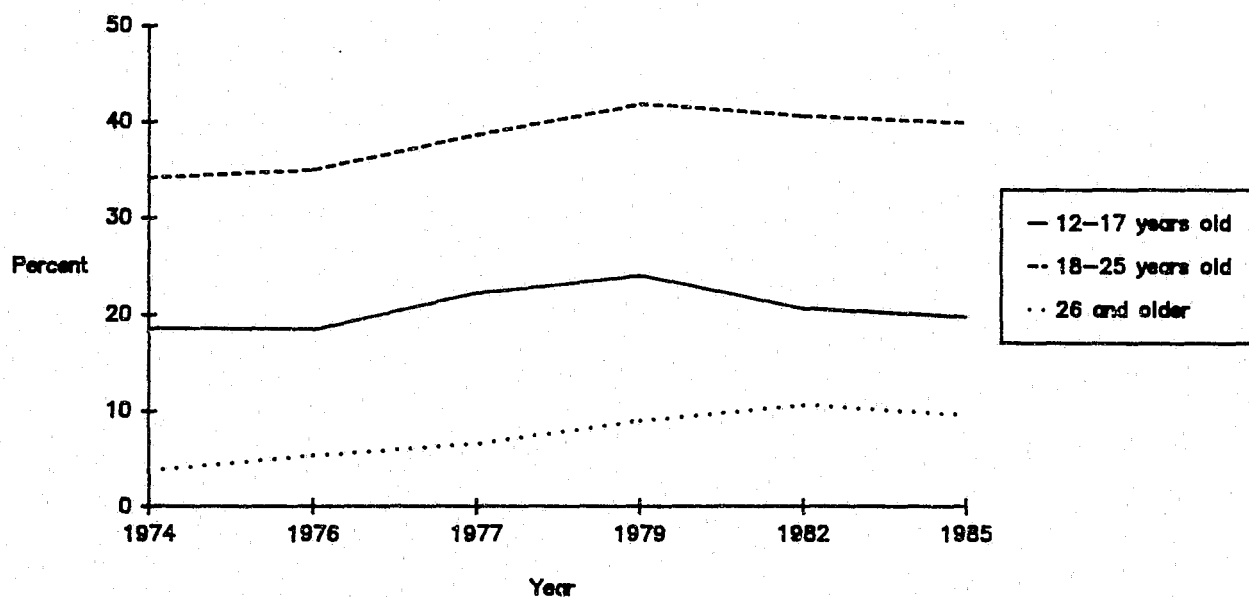
Source: Adapted from NIDA, National Household Survey on Drug
        buse, 1985: Main Findings (1988: Table 10—12).

Figure 1.3 Trends in reported cocaine use 'during past year', by age group, 1974 to 85
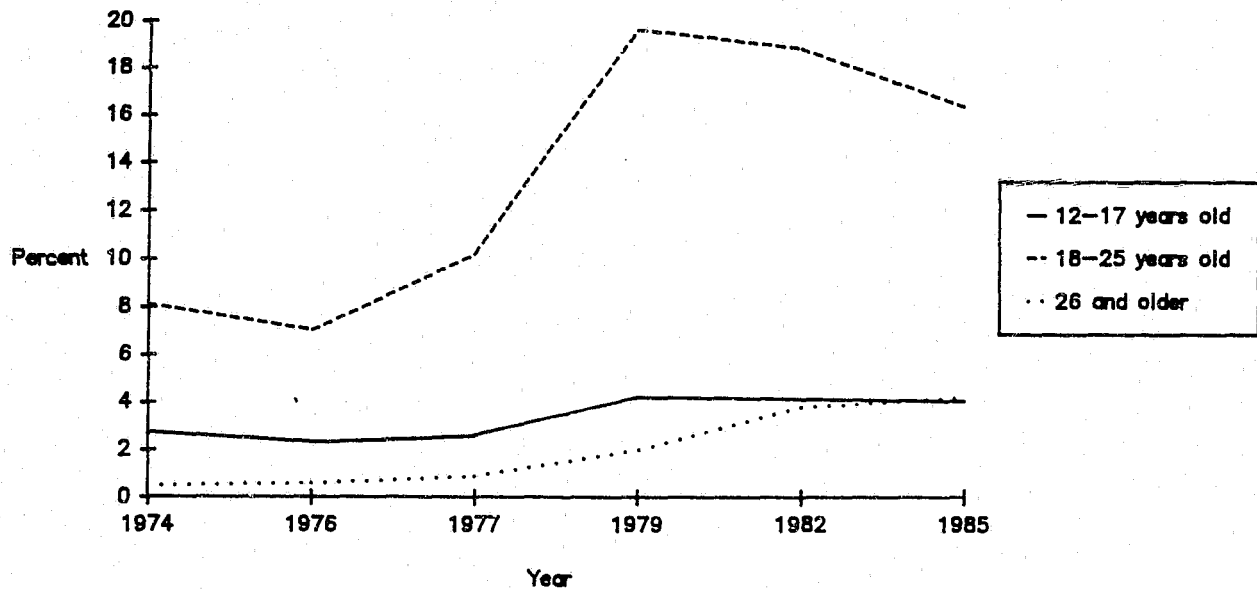
Source: Adapted from NIDA, National Household Survey on Drug
        buse, 1985: Main Findings (1988: Table 10-12).

Figure 1.4 Reported drug use among high school seniors 'within last 30 days'
           by type of drug, 1975-86
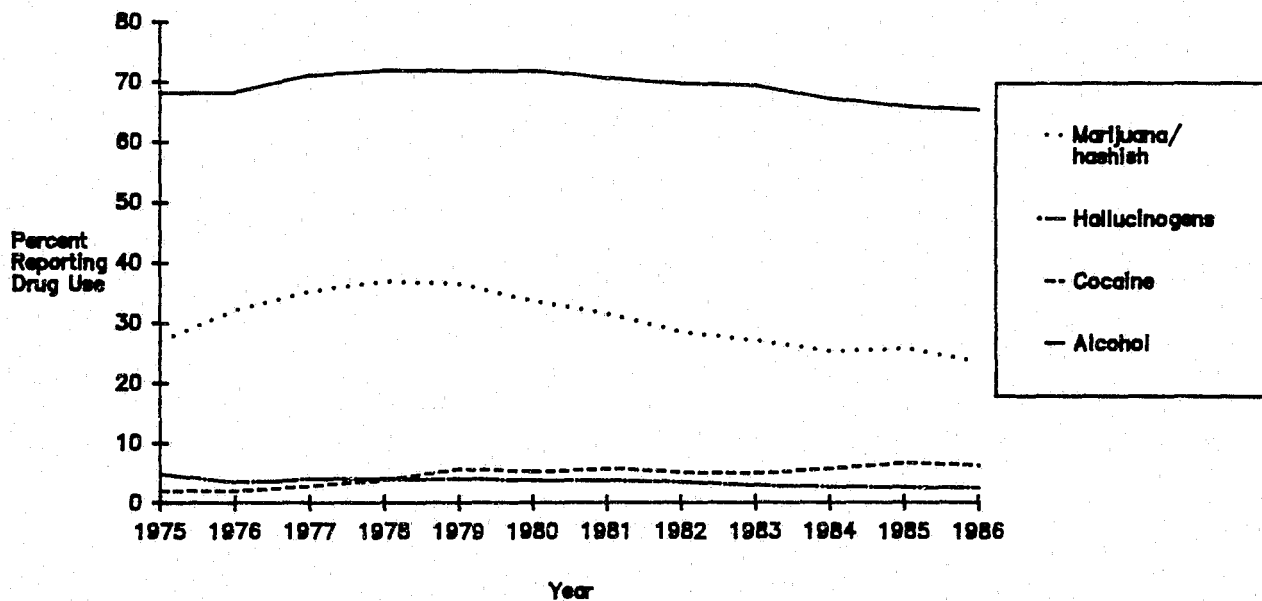
Source: L. Johnston, et al., National Trends in Drug Use and Related Factors Among
         American High School Students and Young Adults, 1975-1986; adapted from
         Flanagan and Jamieson, Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1987 (Table
         3.86).

1980 to 1986. Marijuana use dropped notably among college students during that period, from 34 percent to 22 percent. Cocaine use remained infrequent at around 7 percent of college students throughout the period.

A different sort of estimate of drug abuse is provided by the National Institute on Drug Abuse's Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN). These data refer to episodes in which a drug abuse patient visits a DAWN-participating emergency room or where a drug abuse death is encountered by a DAWN-participating medical examiner (U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1987 and 1988c). The data do not represent a random sample of emergency rooms or medical examiner facilities in the United States. In addition, the DAWN data provide estimates based on visits to emergency rooms, not based on individuals who visit emergency rooms (thus, for example, one person making repeated visits to an emergency room during the year would be counted upon each visit). Nevertheless, even given the limitations of DAWN data, they provide a useful and quite different measure of the extent of the drug problem in the United States--at least in localities contributing to the DAWN data-base.

Figure 1.5 shows that the heroin/morphine category represented the most frequently mentioned drug in emergency room episodes in the reporting cities between 1976 and 1985, with cocaine becoming increasingly common. Although the most recent, 1987, DAWN data are not directly comparable with those of previous years (primarily because of changes in the number and composition of participating facilities), they indicate that cocaine had replaced alcohol-in-combination[2] and heroin/morphine as the primary drug mentioned in emergency room visits (Figure 1.6). Among medical examiner data describing drug-related deaths, alcohol-in-combination and cocaine were documented in nearly equal numbers of deaths, followed very closely by heroin/morphine. (See Figure 1.7).[3]

The DAWN data illustrate not only the pervasiveness of drug abuse throughout the United States but also its changing character over time, and from region to region (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1988c). In recent years there has been an increase in the abuse of LSD in Atlanta, Denver, Phoenix, Dallas and

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[2] Mentions of alcohol are reported only when mentioned in combination with one or more drugs. The other drugs mentioned are also recorded separately.
[3] The percentages include mentions made in combination with other drugs.

Figure 1.5 Number of emergency rooom episodes, by drug type, 1976—85
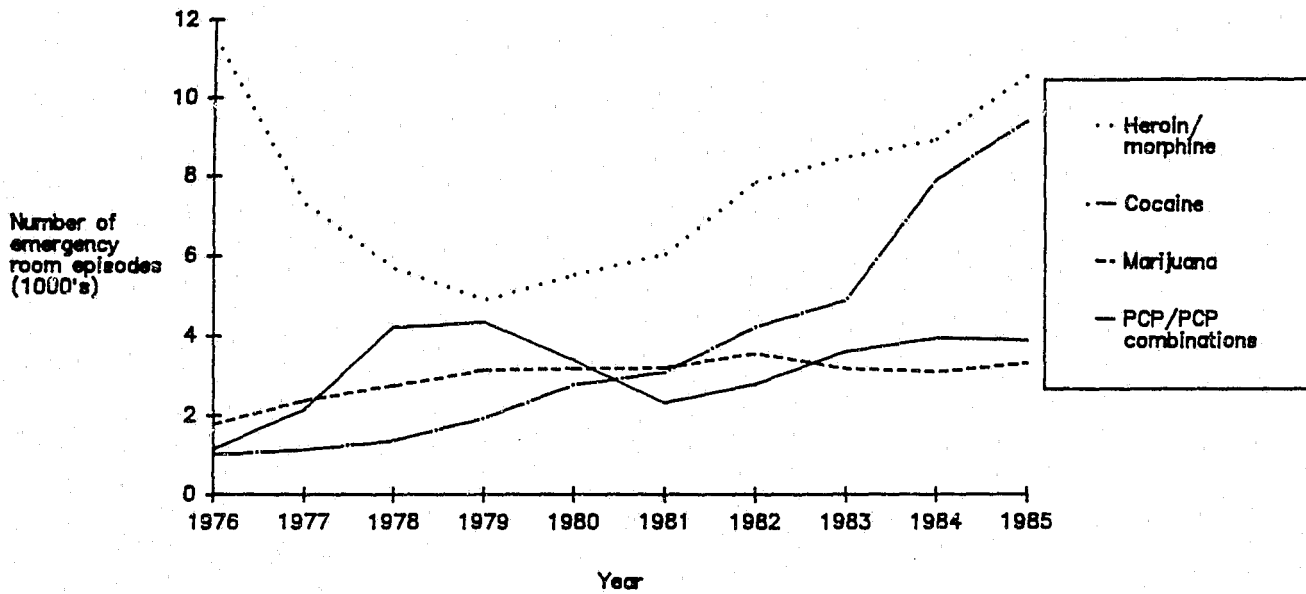
Source: Adapted from NIDA, Drug Abuse Warning Network (1986: 2.ER8)

Figure 1.6 Number of emergency room mentions for selected drugs, 1987
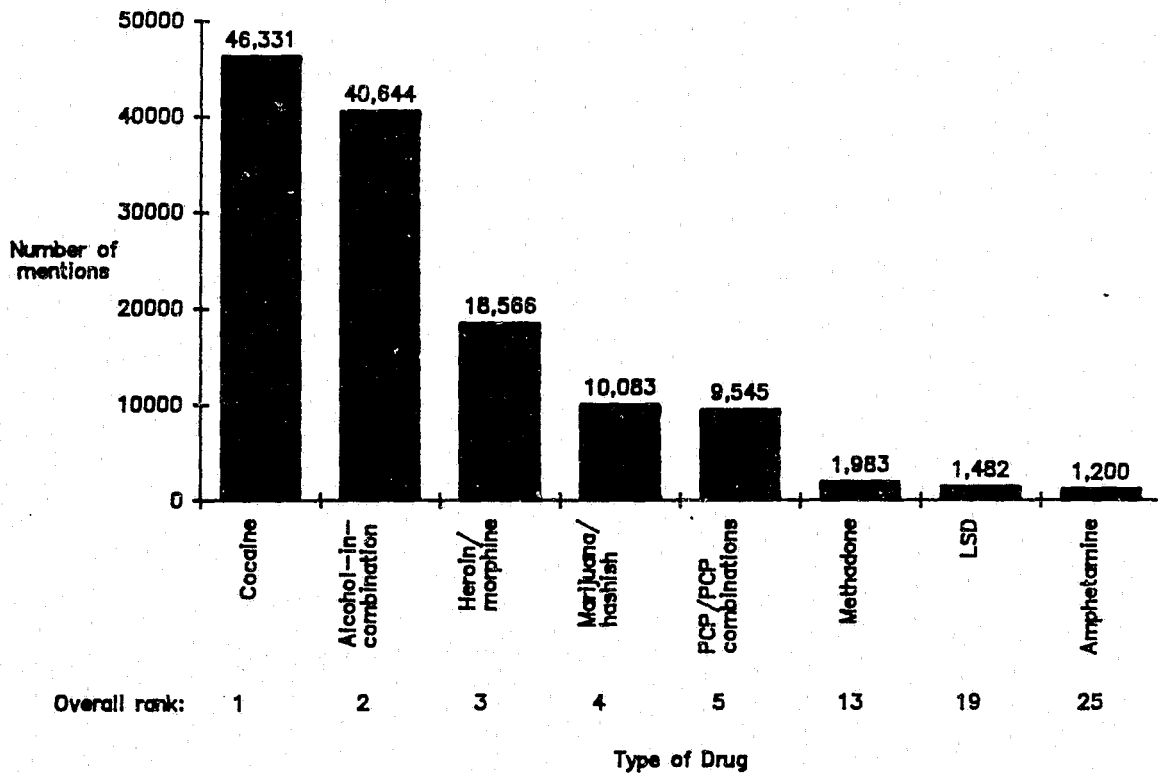
Source: Adapted from NIDA, Drug Abuse Warning Network (1988: Table 2.06a)

Figure 1.7 Number of medical examiner reports for selected drugs, 1987
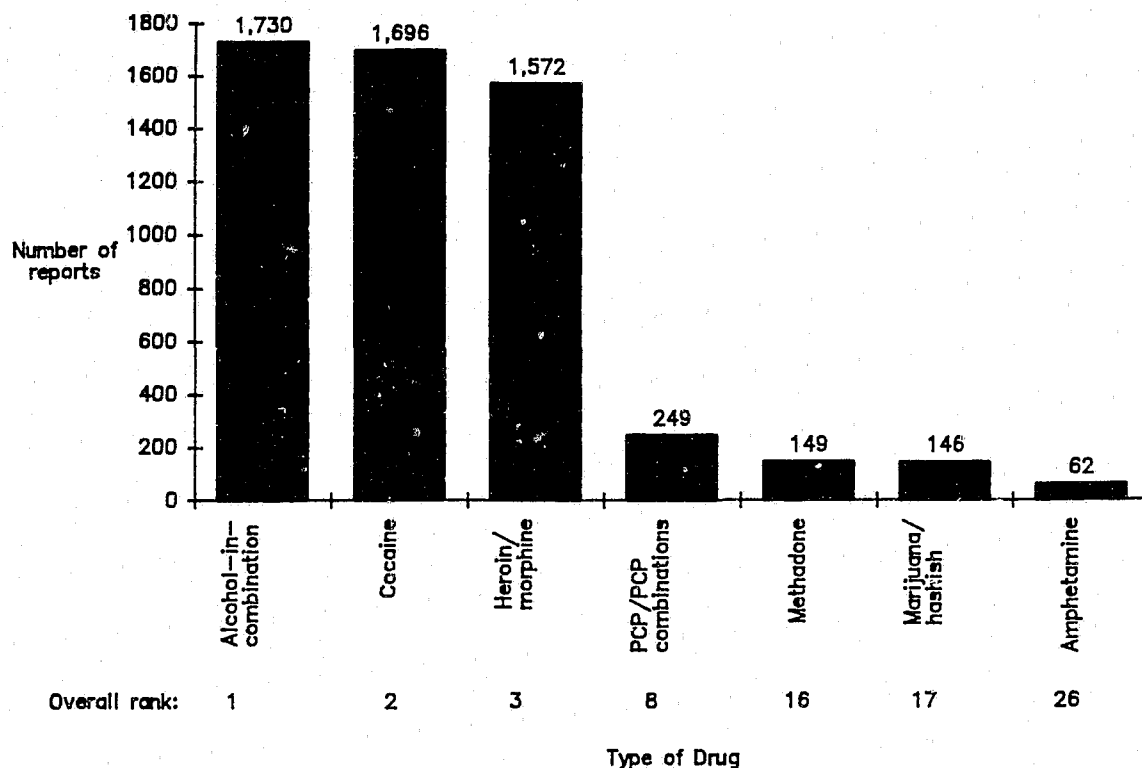
Source: Adapted from NIDA, Drug Abuse Warning Network (1988: Table 3.06a).

Seattle, for example, while the availability and abuse of PCP continue to be an extremely serious problem in Washington D.C., where the number of mentions per 1,000 visits was over eleven times the national average for 1987. At the same time, data from Miami, San Francisco, San Diego and St. Louis all reported the emergence of increased PCP abuse as measured at the emergency room or medical examiner level. The combination of PCP and crack cocaine continued to be highly visible among street drug abusers in New York and in Chicago where PCP was increasingly being used in combination with freebase cocaine. These DAWN data reveal that cocaine was widely used throughout the country but also that the number of mentions per 1,000 visits in Washington D.C., Detroit, New York and New Orleans far exceeded the national average. Finally, the number of emergency room mentions of heroin/morphine were over twice the national average in Detroit, Washington D.C. and San Francisco.

These recent sources of data (among others not reviewed), in short, paint a rather dismal portrait of drug abuse in the United States. Estimating the number of addicts in the United States, particularly for new drug uses such as crack, is quite difficult. The most commonly quoted "best estimate" of the "pool" of heroin addicts--based generally on NIDA data--suggest a relatively constant population of 500,000 whose average age continues to increase.[4] This estimate does not appear to agree with the emergency room and medical examiner data reported above, which show a very clear increase in medical emergencies involving heroin/morphine since 1979. It is conceivable that the population of heroin/morphine users is relatively stable, although an increasing proportion of these are coming to the attention of medical practitioners and treatment programs. The stability of the "best estimate" figures may signal a future decline in the total number of heroin users as they age--although unforeseen changes in the trafficking and distribution of drugs may rapidly alter that picture.

III. Drugs And Crime

There have been several comprehensive reviews of the relationship between drug use (primarily narcotics) and crime (Ball, 1976; Gandossy et al., 1980; Greenberg and Adler, 1974; McGlothlin, 1978; Speckart and Anglin, 1985; Watters et al., 1985; Wish and Johnson, 1986). The general conclusion of the reviewers is that while there is much opinion, speculation and empirical research concerning the relationship between drugs and crime, there is no definitive answer regarding the question of causality. The difficulty lies in determining whether (and to what extent) narcotics use leads to crime, is a consequence of crime, or whether both narcotics use and crime are sparked by similar, antecedent forces (i.e., that the relationship between drugs and crime is spurious).

It seems undeniable that many drug users place substantial reliance on street crime to support their drug use (Johnson et al., 1985). Longitudinal studies of addiction careers have suggested a "substantial, positive covariation between levels of narcotic use and crime... when traced throughout the addiction career" (Speckart and Anglin, 1986). However, research also indicates the existence of pre-addiction property crime at substantial levels, abstinent and non-addicted periods characterized by subsistence levels of property crimes and prodigious levels of

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[4] Some of the problems associated with estimating drug use populations are discussed by Epstein (1977) and Michaels (1987).

property crimes during periods of addiction. Nonetheless, the debate about the precise nature of the role of drug abuse in crime does not undermine the criminological connection between drug use and crime.

A review of the rapidly increasing body of empirical research on the relationship between drugs and crime indicates that much of the research has been conducted within the last three decades. To a large extent this has been due to the paucity of adequate data. Even as recently as 1967 the Presidential Task Force on Narcotics and Drug Abuse had to admit that "the extent of the addict's or drug abuser's responsibility for all non-drug offenses is unknown" (U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967). One of the more significant catalysts for the present level of empirical analysis of the drugs-crime connection was the establishment by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) of a federally sponsored drugs-crime research agenda in 1975. Initially, this included studies in New York, Baltimore, California and Miami (Inciardi, 1979). Since then, research into the nature of the drug-crime connection has mushroomed.

There are several discernible trends within the current body of research. At the aggregate level of analysis there are ecological studies which examine the interrelationships between area crime rates, availability of drugs, number of drug users and other social/psychological indicators. Silverman and Spruil (1977) investigated the relationship of property crime and violent crime involving no financial gain with the street market value of heroin. They reported a positive association between property crime and heroin prices but no association for violent crime and heroin prices.

At the individual level, research has variously examined the nature of the crime-drug use relationship (ie. what types of crimes are committed by drug users), the effect of treatment/supervision on drug use and crime (usually testing the hypothesis that, if drugs cause crime, treatment/supervision should reduce both), and the temporal relationship between drug use and crime.

Johnson et al.'s (1985) study of self-reported offending by heroin addicts in Harlem identified an association between the amount of heroin use (daily users as compared with "regular" users --3 to 5 times weekly)

and the number of burglaries and violent crimes committed. They found daily heroin users committed almost twice as many of these crimes as the "regular" heroin users. The authors added that heroin addicts generally did not experience regular contact with either the criminal justice or drug treatment systems and that the most seriously criminal daily heroin users systematically avoided contact with either system. Ball et al. (1983) found high rates of criminality among Baltimore heroin users during periods of addiction and much lower rates during times of abstinence. Indeed, the authors reported that criminal activity increased as much as six-fold between times of nonaddiction and addiction. Furthermore, over the addiction career of the Baltimore addicts, the average number of 'crime days' per year-at-risk was 230, indicating frequent and persistent patterns of criminal behavior, often over a number of years. In Miami, Inciardi (1979) documented a large amount of often violent crime committed by drug users and argued that the criminality of heroin/cocaine users was already beyond the reach of law enforcement. The association of drug use with violent crime noted by Inciardi conflicts with several other studies which indicate no special association between violent crime and drug use (see Silverman and Spruil, 1977; Johnson et al. 1985; and subsequent sections of this chapter).

Speckart et al. (1986) focused on the time-ordering of the drug use/crime connection and concluded that, while simultaneous relationships between narcotics and criminality are clearly demonstrable, it is not possible to predict either variable from the other over time. This would indicate that any causal relationship which exists between drug use and crime is not characterized by a significant time lag. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) have further argued that the active crime and addiction years do not overlap as causal interpretations would require, finding instead that to date the "onset" and "desistance" of drug use comes later than that of criminal activity.

Although many studies suggest that drug use (narcotic and non-narcotic) precedes the onset of regular criminal activity the inference of causality cannot be made. Inciardi (1986) suggests that the drug-crime relationship varies by type of user. He differentiates between narcotic and non-narcotic users, and claims that, for the latter group, "drugs and crime seemed to emerge hand in hand". For narcotic users, he finds evidence that drug use preceded criminal activity, although heroin use "did not appear until after they were well into their criminal careers".

Such findings seem to suggest that narcotics use drives crime and that drug use careers intensify already existing criminal careers.

In conclusion, the causality debate is unresolved largely for three reasons: the inapplicability of much official data to etiological analysis of the drugs-crime connection, the lack of valid user typologies, and basic methodological weaknesses in many of the research studies. Johnson et al.(1985) emphasized, for example, that even among those "heroin users" deemed to be criminal there exists a wide diversity of types--ranging from the highly predatory and dangerous violent criminals to the less threatening, low-level street drug-dealers. Speckart and Anglin (1986) concur, and argue that a prerequisite of meaningful future research in this area is the development of a practical, valid typology of drug users. Broad categorizations of "users" or "addicts" simply will not discriminate sufficiently for meaningful analysis of the causal relationship between drug use/addiction and crime--and, more to the point, will fail to provide sufficient knowledge to drive promising public policy designed to reduce drug use and criminality among drug users.

IV. The Impact of Drug-related Crime on Criminal Justice: Current Indicators

In the press, in reports of government agencies, we often find announcements of statistics demonstrating the growing dimensions of drug-related crime. However, as we noted in the introduction to this chapter and discuss later in more detail, our effort to assess the impact of drug-related criminal cases on criminal justice and public safety tries to come to grips with the two components of "drug-relatedness"--as well as their inter-relationship: one involving examination of the role of drug crimes, the another involving drug use and its connection to crime (whether or not drug crimes are involved). Stated another way, drug-related crime may be seen as falling into two categories:

         a) crimes related to the business of drugs; and

         b) crimes related to the use of drugs.

The first category of drug-related crime includes the various crimes associated with the production and distribution of drugs as well as other crimes associated with the drug enterprise, such as enterprise-related crimes of violence. The second category of the definition focuses on crime not related to the business of drugs, but rather crime committed by persons who use drugs. Ideally, we would like to be able to differentiate between drug users who commit crimes partly or largely because of drugs and drug users who commit crimes for whom drug use is coincidental and not a motivation toward crime. Full investigation of drug-related crime should include these two components as well as their overlap. Before turning to analysis of our data, we review here available data shedding light on the nature and magnitude of drug-related crime from these two perspectives. A characteristic these indicators share is their limited ability to estimate drug-related crime accurately.

Crime Related to the Business of Drugs

Of course, accurate data describing the production and/or distribution of illicit drugs into and within the United States are very limited and generally provide very sketchy estimates of the true extent of drug-related criminal behavior. Data depicting trends in the number of seizures of illegal drug laboratories serve as a good example. According to the Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics (Flanagan and Jamieson: 1987:406, Table 4.30), the total number of illegal laboratories seized in the United States has increased from just 32 in 1975 to 682 in 1987. However, it is difficult to gauge how much this reflects a real increase in domestic production of illicit drugs as opposed to increased and/or improved law enforcement practices (and/or better record keeping). Similarly limited data, statistics on confiscation and seizures by the U.S. Customs Service, the Coast Guard and the Drug Enforcement Agency, offer at least some perspective on the scale of drug production/distribution. Thus, for example, Figure 1.8 shows drug seizures by the U.S. Customs Service between 1975 and 1986 and reveals the primacy of marijuana transportation (by weight) as well as the changing quantities of seizures for specific drugs. Figure 1.9 summarizes data relating to drug removals by the Drug Enforcement Administration from the domestic market from 1977 to 1987. Again, there are significant fluctuations in the amount of individual drugs removed from the market; however, the overall trend is clearly one of substantial increase over time.

The difficulty in employing these kinds of data to estimate the magnitude of "crime related to the business of drugs" is underscored by the view expressed in the 1988 annual report of the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control which estimated that the three main federal interdictment agencies, the DEA, Coast Guard and U.S. Customs, probably intercept only from 5 to 15 percent of illicit drugs making their way to the U.S. each year.

The difficulty in obtaining estimates of this kind of drug crime from official sources most closely parallels the difficulties associated with the measurement of white collar crime, although the problems with the drug enterprise are perhaps worse. Much has been written criticizing the reliability of Uniform Crime Reports "crimes known to the police" statistics in reflecting the "true" level of crime and detailing the extent to which the UCR under-reports "street" crime. (In fact, this limitation of police data was a major reason for the development of the National Crime Panel or victimization surveys (see, e.g., Hindelang, 1976; Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978).) Like some forms of white collar crime, much drug crime, at least crime in the category of "crime related to the business of crime," would never be reported to law enforcement agencies because of its near invisibility.

Drug violations reported to the police and finding their way into the FBI's UCR--consisting mainly of possession, sale, distribution, manufacture or trafficking--would certainly represent only the "tip of the iceberg" of all such crimes. Far worse, of course, would be reliance on arrests for drug offenses as indicators of this kind of drug-related criminal activity, for all of the reasons long discussed in the literature.[5] Nevertheless, a UCR statistic measuring arrests for "drug abuse violations" provides one of the only indicators of drug-related crime in this category.[6] Arrests for drug abuse violations increased approximately 32 percent increase between 1977 and 1986, compared with a 26 percent increase in all arrests, and 18 percent increase in all index crime arrests, and a 33 percent in violent index crime arrests (U.S. Department of Justice, F.B.I., 1987:168). A major reason these statistics are not very helpful, however, is that a large majority of drug abuse violation arrests in the UCR is for drug possession offenses, not for the kinds of crimes we associate with the business of drugs. In short, we are left without a good estimate of crime related to the business of drugs.

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[5] One of the principal questions raised about patterns in arrest data, for example, is whether they should be interpreted as measures of criminal activity or law enforcement arrest practices.
[6] F.B.I. data for drug abuse violations are generally classified into "sale/manufacture" and "possession" arrests.

Figure 1.8   Drug seizures by the U.S. Customs Service, 1975—86
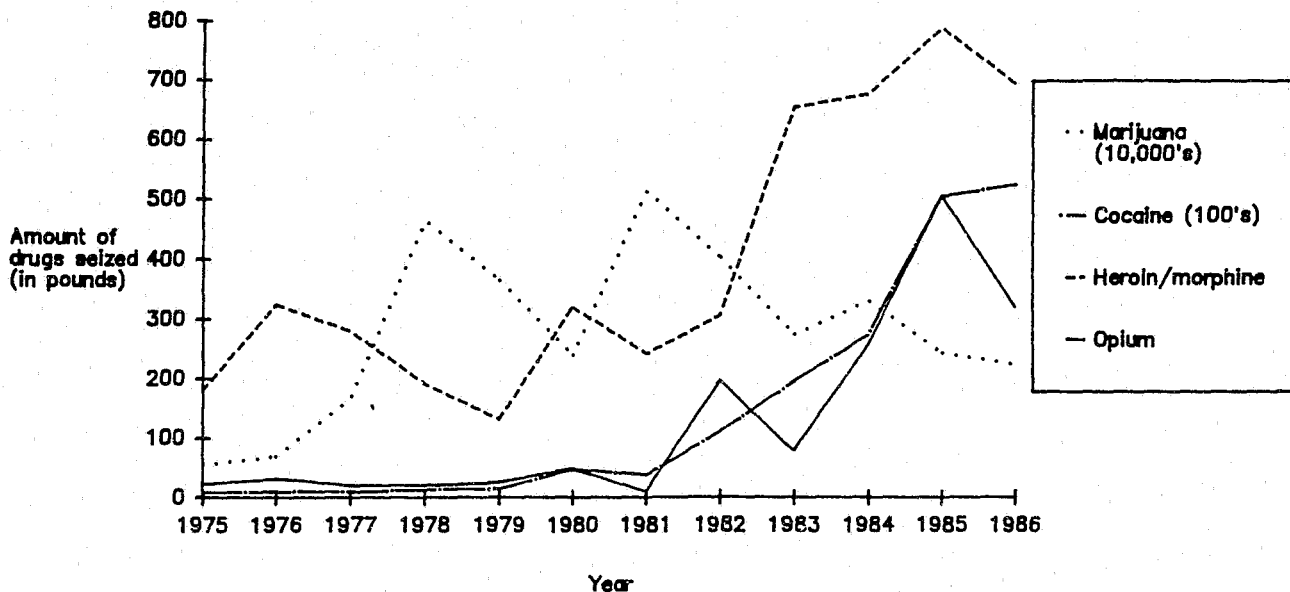
Source: U.S. Customs Service, adapted from compilation in Flanagan and Jamieson,
          Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, (1987: Table 4.27)

Figure 1.9   Drug removals from the domestic market by the Drug
              Enforcement Administration, 1977—87
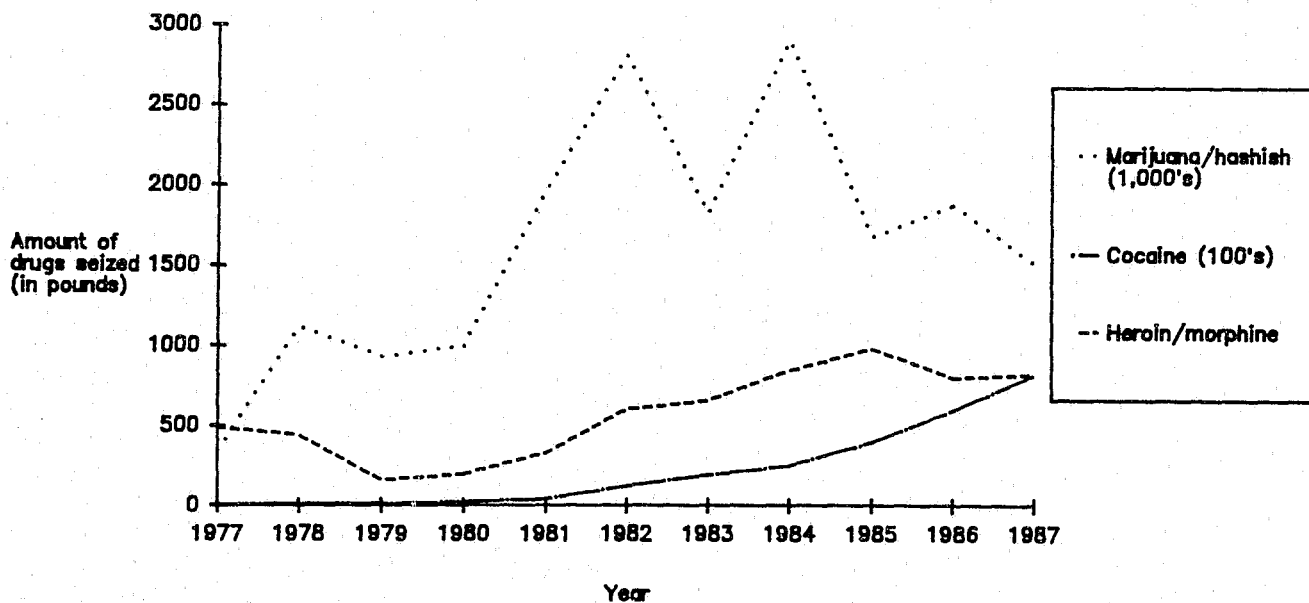
Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Drug Enforcement Administration, adapted
          from compilation in Flanagan of Jamieson, Sourcebook of Criminal
          Justice Statistics, (1987: Table 4.28)

As difficult as it is to obtain accurate estimates of the incidence of such crimes as sale, manufacture, distribution and trafficking, indicators of the other kinds of crime related to the drug enterprise--involving violence particularly--are nearly impossible to come by. Although we are made aware by the media of drug-related murders, in most instances, we are not able to distinguish violence related to the business of drugs from violence by drug users (which falls into the second category of drug-related crime) from "normal" violent crime--unless, of course, an arrest results and drug charges are placed in addition to other charges for violent offenses. We may be able to document the incidence of drug-related homicide best, because of the investigatory resources focused on homicides, but even the "drug-relatedness" of many homicides may be uncertain.

Crime Associated with Drug Use

In contrast with crime associated with the drug enterprise, crime linked to drug use forms the second part of the focus on the impact of drug-related crime. This kind of crime includes two categories, both also difficult to measure accurately,

a)   crimes committed by persons motivated by their drug use (either to support their drug habits or because their drug use encourages criminal behavior in itself); and

b)   persons committing crimes who happen to use drugs, but whose drug use plays no role in the commission of crimes.

To estimate the magnitude of this kind of crime generally, we would need to know which persons committing crimes were using drugs. However, even if we were able to obtain these estimates, we would then need to determine the proportion of drug using criminals for whom drug use played no criminogenic role. Because presently this would be nearly impossible, we are left with the task of at least seeking the grosser measure of drug use among persons committing crimes--which would thus provide to an unknown extent an over-estimate of crime associated with the use of drugs. In trying to obtain measures of drug-related crime that is crime by drug users, three kinds of data are available: arrest statistics for drug possession, self-reported data reporting drug use among "criminals" (at least some persons arrested and/or convicted of crimes) and data obtained by means of drug testing.

Each of these sources, while offering estimates of the incidence of drug use among the population of persons committing crimes, again, suffers important limitations.

Arrests for Drug Possession

In our discussion of estimating the extent of crime related to the business of drugs from the UCR arrest data for drug violations, we noted that it largely reflected possession offenses. If we were to infer drug use among persons committing crimes from the FBI measure of arrests for possession (assuming most people possessing drugs to be users of drugs), we would conclude that less than one-tenth (6.6 percent) of all arrested persons in 1986 were drug users (U.S. Department of Justice, F.B.I., 1987:166,167). We would then, of course, still have to debate the question of how many of these were "merely" drug users who, except for buying, possessing and using drugs (each acts, of course, nevertheless consisting of crimes), were not otherwise involved in crime.

Drug Use Estimated through Self-Report

Perhaps the most common source of data used to estimate the extent of drug use among populations of persons committing crimes is provided by self-reports. Delinquency literature, for example, has often relied on this approach in studying the relationship between drug use, other forms of deviant behavior and delinquency. Studies of recidivism have long included self-reported measures of offender drug abuse as factors related to repeated crime. A number of sources of self-report data, several of which we point out here, are currently available describing drug use among recent populations of arrested or institutionalized youths or adults.

For example, the 1987 Bureau of Justice Statistics (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988e:7) survey of juveniles and young adults in long-term, state operated juvenile institutions showed that 83 percent reported some use of illegal drugs in the past, 63 percent reported regular use of drugs and 39 percent said they were under the influence of drugs at the time of their current offense (Figure 1.10). The same self-report source showed the age of first use of illicit drugs by youth in custody: Almost two-fifths (38 percent) of those who had ever used drugs reported first using drugs before the age of 12, and a further one third (34 percent) reported first drug use between the ages of 12

and 13. First use of major drugs only[7] occurred among 13 percent by age 12 and among 29 percent between ages 12 and 13.

The 1983 National Jail Census (U.S. Department of Justice, BJS, 1985b:6-7) asked jail inmates whether they had used drugs at any time during their lives and asked convicted inmates whether they had used drugs just before the current offense. Overall, three-quarters of all jail inmates in 1983 reported using illegal drugs at some time in their lives, a sizeable increase over the 68 percent use reported in a comparable 1978 jail census. Thirty-eight percent admitted use of cocaine, an increase from 29 percent in 1978. Nearly similar proportions indicated use of amphetamines, barbiturates, heroin and other drugs. Roughly one in four convicted jail inmates admitted using drugs just prior to commiting the offenses of which they had been convicted.

In its 1986 survey of state prison inmates, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (U.S. Department of Justice, BJS, 1988a) reported that almost one-fifth of state inmates admitted being daily users of heroin, cocaine, PCP or LSD in the month prior to the commission of their crime. A total of 43 percent of all state inmates reported daily use of other illegal drugs (including marijuana, barbiturates and amphetamines). Figure 1.11 shows that the proportion claiming to have been under the influence of a drug at the time of the "current" offense increased from 25 percent of state prison inmates in 1974 to 35 percent in 1986. The percentage admitting to heroin use at the time of the offense dropped more than half during that time, while the reported use of marijuana nearly doubled and the use of cocaine at the time of the offense increased ten-fold. The same survey showed variation in self-reported drug use by prison inmates by the seriousness of the conviction, ranging from a low of 19 percent of persons serving sentences for weapons offenses to a high of 42 percent of persons serving sentences for burglary, drug possession or drug trafficking. (See Figure 1.12.)

Inferring a level and kind of crime-related drug-use among persons committing crimes overall from self-reports of confined persons, of course, is hampered by problems of reliability (Do inmates remember accurately? Do they tell the truth about drug use?) and sample bias (To what extent are confined persons like the general population of persons committing crimes but who are not confined?).

[7] In this survey, major drugs included heroin, cocaine, LSD and PCP.

Figure 1.10 Use of illegal drugs by youth in long-term state operated juvenile
institutions, 1987
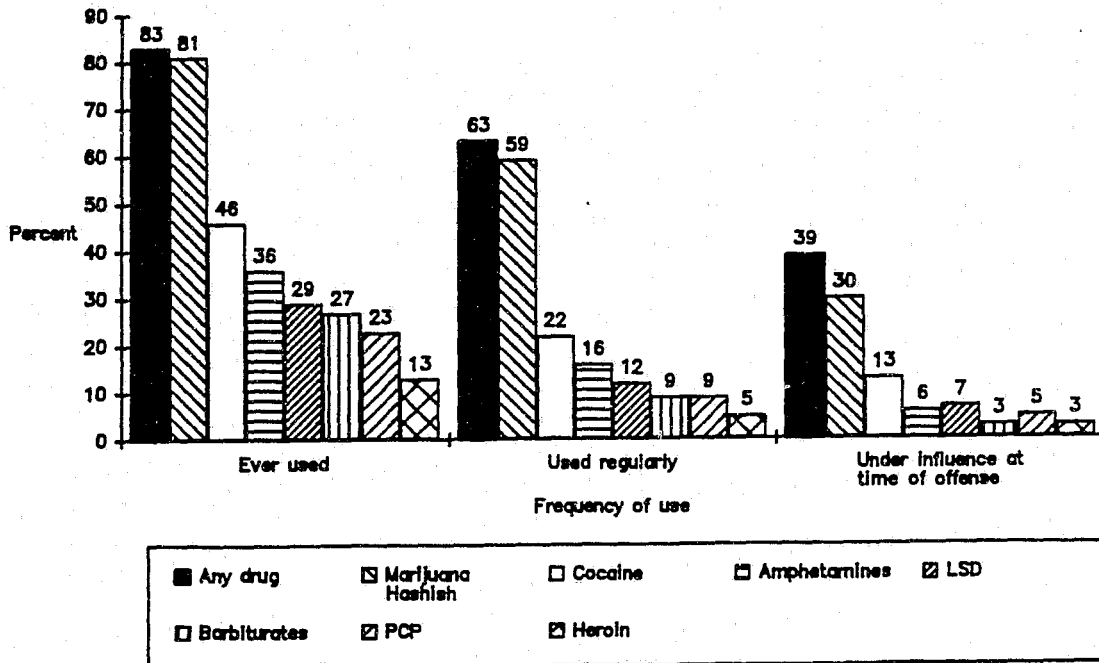
[Note: Percents do not add to total using any drug because of multiple drug use.]

Source: Adapted from Survey of Youth in Custody, 1987: U.S. Department of Justice, BJS (1988: 7)

Figure 1.11   State prison inmates under the influence of drugs, by type of drug used, at
the time of the current offense (1974, 1979, and 1986)
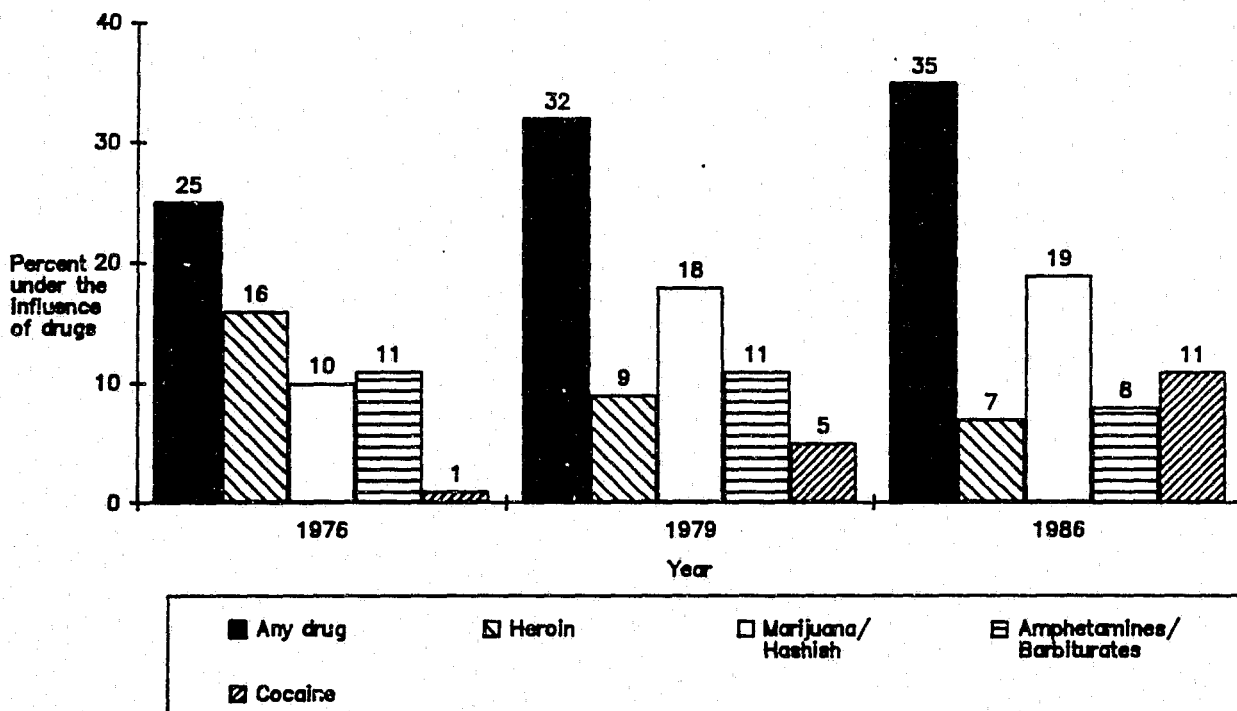
[Note: Individual drugs may not add to total under "any drug" because an inmate may have been
under the influence of more than one drug]

Source: Adapted from Innes, Drug Use and Crime, BJS, U.S. Department of Justice (1988: Table 1)

Drug Use Estimated through Drug Testing

Very recently, additional data describing drug use among arrested persons have become available through the introduction of drug testing at the booking stage, first in the District of Columbia (e.g., Carver, 1986; Toborg et al., 1988; Yezer et al., 1988) and then in selected additional pilot sites funded through a Bureau of Justice Assistance program (See, e.g., Pretrial Services Resource Center, Pretrial Reporter XII/5-6 (1988), XIII/1-2 (1989). Although this is a new area for criminal justice in which study and debate continue (see, e.g., Belenko and Mara-Drita, 1988; Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland, 1988; Smith et al., 1989; Rosen and Goldkamp, 1989), two results are certain: data regarding the use of drugs among persons entering the criminal process are being made available that have not been previously available; arrest statistics for drug offenses and defendant self-report data greatly understate the amount and kind of drug use, at least in the cities studied so far. One result of the innovation in the District of Columbia has been the National Institute of Justice's decision to sponsor the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program which collects urine specimens from small samples of arrestees in a number of cities on a quarterly basis to provide a picture of the level and kind of drug use experienced in those cities. Wish (1987:5) explains the NIJ rationale for the DUF program in the following way: "In addition to uncovering national trends in drug use, the DUF system will enable each site to gather information useful for the early detection of drug epidemics.."

Early DUF data collected by Wish (1987), for example, compared 1984 and 1986 samples of arrestees in New York City (see Figure 1.13), finding a majority testing positively for some drug and increasing proportions testing positively for cocaine. DUF results in 12 cities from June to November, 1987, showed that a majority of all male arrestees who were sampled[8] tested positively for an illegal drug--and that many tested positively for cocaine use in particular, depending on the location. (See Figure 1.14.)

Although drug testing in the selected localities that have adopted such programs can provide measures of drug use among persons entering the criminal process better than arrest data or self-reports from offenders, like self-reports from inmate surveys, drug testing data cannot estimate the level of drug use among the larger offending population. (All offenders--most of whom are not in custody--may use drugs to a greater or lesser extent than those entering the criminal process.) In addition, the results are usually sample specific and are closely tied to the

[8] Samples of arrestees are not comparable across cities.

Figure 1.12 Drug use by state prison inmates, by most serious conviction offense, 1986

Percent under influence of drug at time of offense

All offenses	Murder	Rape	Robbery	Assault	Kidnapping	Burglary	Arson	Auto Theft	Fraud	Larceny	Drug Possession	Drug Trafficking	Weapons
35	28	32	42	29	37	43	31	34	29	39	43	42	19

Most serious conviction
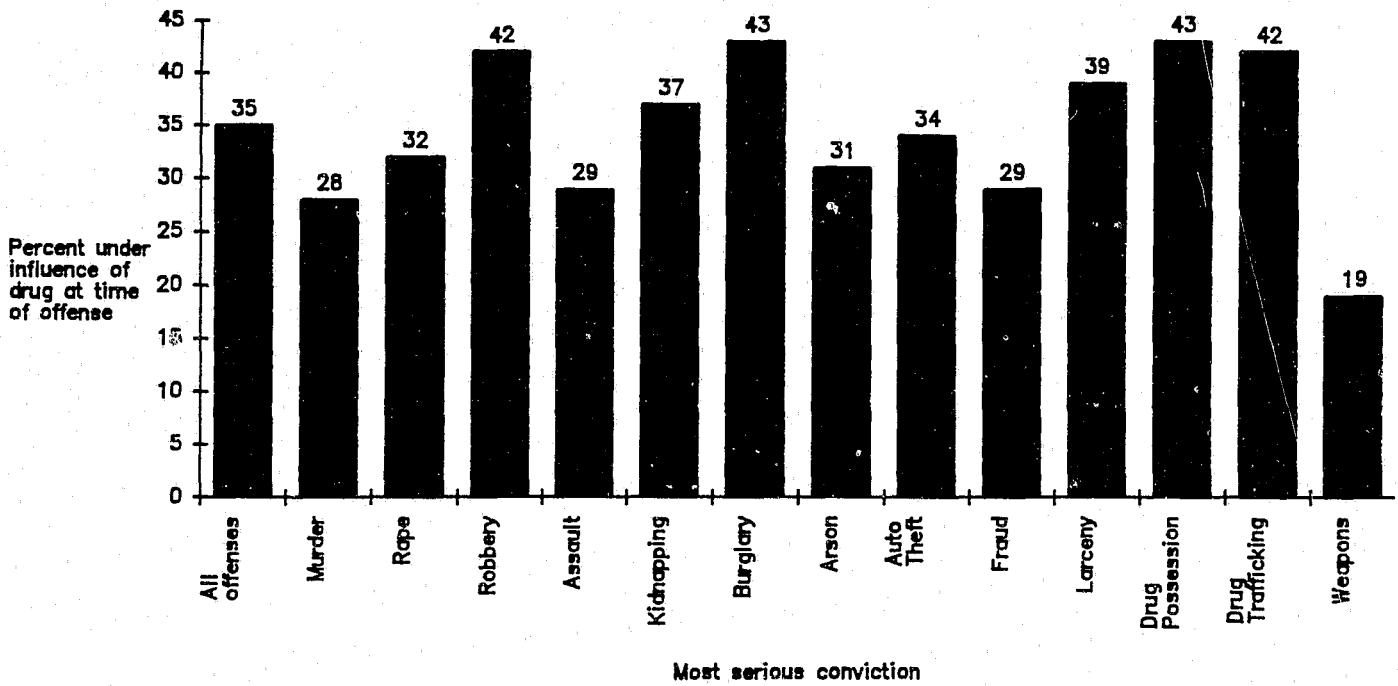
Source: Adapted from Innes, Drug Use and Crime, BJS, U.S. Dept. of Justice (1988: Table 3).

Figure 1.13   New York: Percentage of arrestees testing positively for selected drugs, 1984 and 1986 (DUF data)

Percent testing positively

Legend:
■ Any drug
Ⓢ Cocaine
☐ Opiates
▤ Methadone
▨ PCP

	Any drug	Cocaine	Opiates	Methadone	PCP
1984 (n = 4,847)	56	42	21	8	12
1986 (Sept./Oct.) (n = 414)	85	83	22	8	4
1986 (Nov.) (n = 201)	73	68	20	10	3
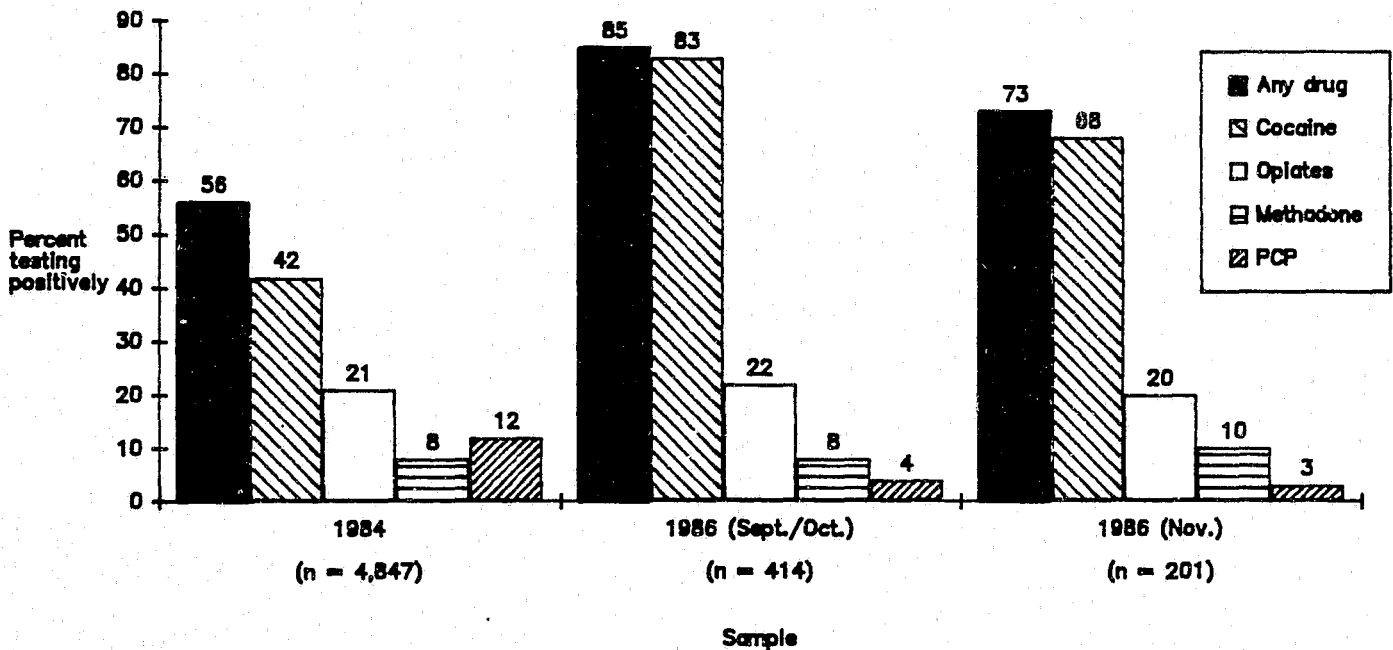
Sample

Source: Adapted from Wish (1987: Table 3)

composition of the samples of arrestees provided in the jurisdicitions, which may vary within jurisdiction over time as well as across jurisdictions. Recall as well, that to estimate the numbers of persons using drugs and committing crimes for whom drug use is a motivation or cause, we will still need to be able to estimate the numbers of all those testing positively for drug use for whom drug use is not a factor in the decision to commit crimes.

Figure 1.14   Percentage of male arrestees testing positively for drugs (June to November, 1987)

Source: Adapted from NIJ Report/SNI 206 (1988)
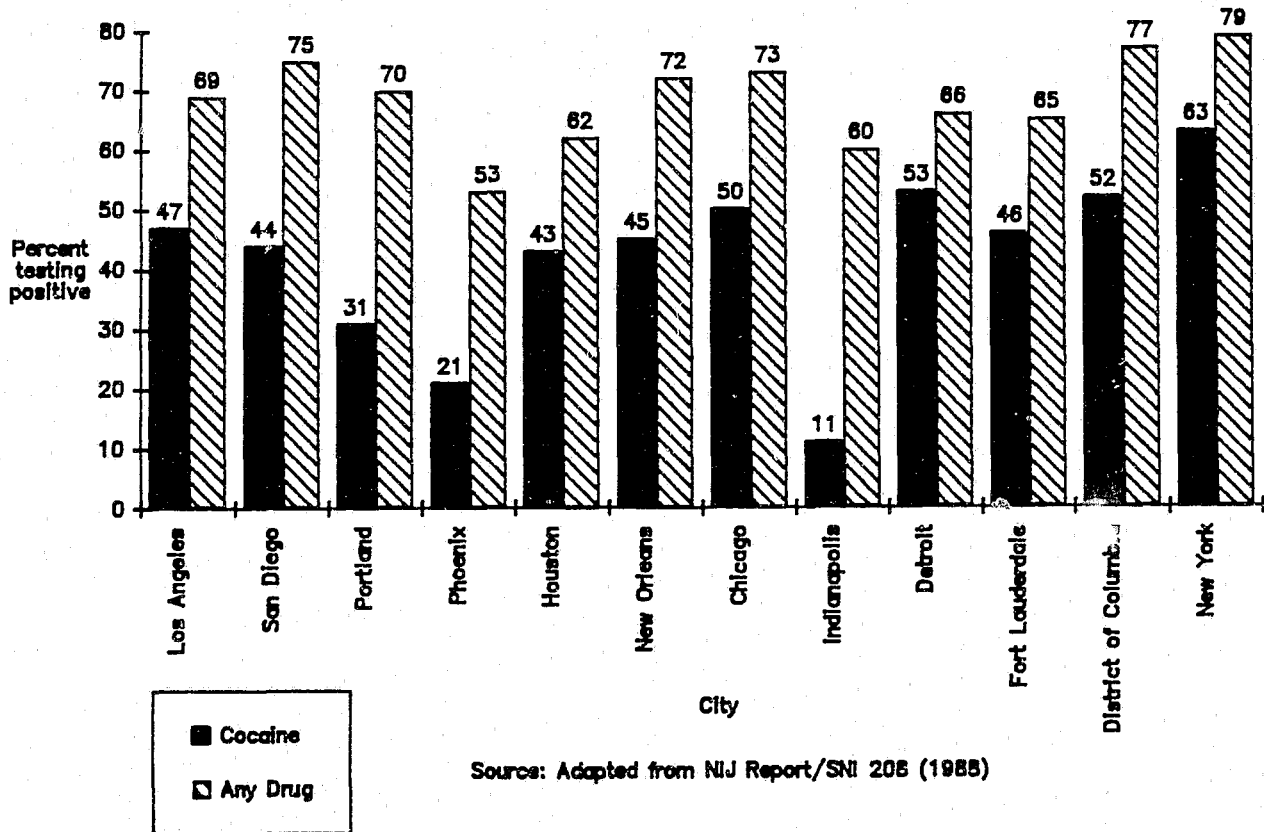
The Impact of Drug Cases on the Criminal Justice System

The impact of drug-related crime cannot, of course, be neatly divided into an impact on public safety and a separate impact on criminal justice. To an extent, the larger the threat that drug-related crime poses to the public safety, the larger the challenge to the performance of the full range of criminal justice agencies. The relationship between these two kinds of impacts of drug-related crime is, of course, not as simple as "the greater the

rate of drug-related crime, the greater the volume of arrests, criminal cases and correctional populations." Some argue, for example, that drug policies--of legislatures, police and prosecutors--account for the impact on criminal justice as much as the level of drug crime itself. We do not investigate, but only note the importance of the issue of the relative importance of policy versus the actual incidence of drug-related crime on criminal justice here. Instead, we set that question aside for a later discussion, and focus on the growing symptoms of increased burden of drug-related crime on criminal processing.

To begin with, although we have discussed the limitations of available data to measure the current level of drug-related crime, we can agree that these data--particularly arrests, self-reports and drug-tests--do provide somewhat more useful estimates of the characteristics of persons entering the criminal process. While the picture we derive of their attributes may differ from that of all offenders at large, it is an increasingly better picture of the role of drug use and drug crime among the criminal justice population, the population that is in custody and with which the system deals.

Thus, however generated, arrest statistics at least tell us quite well about the persons entering processing in the courts; in this sense, at the least growing arrests for drug-related charges translates into growing numbers of drug cases that must be handled by the system. FBI figures (U.S. Department of Justice, BJS, 1989: Table 13), for example, show an increase of 80 percent in arrests for drug violations from 1980 to 1986, a 113 percent increase in the number of sale or manufacture arrests and a 71 percent increase in the number of possession arrests (still the dominant category).

Full and systematic criminal justice processing data describing the impact of drug-related crime on arrests, adjudication, sentencing and confinement are not readily available.[9] When such data are available they tend to be limited in scope and sometimes of questionable reliability given the many difficulties involved in combining law enforcement, court and corrections information from numerous sources and locations. A number of disparate

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[9] Although we attempted to contact many states for reports providing this information, we were not successful in obtaining responses from a sufficient number by the time of this writing to describe state data. We refer the reader to forthcoming publications from the Bureau of Justice Assistance for further information in this area.

sources of data do, however, give the impression of a substantial impact of drug-related cases on the functioning of criminal justice in the states.

Data reported by two states, for example, illustrate this theme: In Pennsylvania, the number of drug arrests increased 39 percent between 1982 and 1987, in contrast with non-drug arrests, which decreased by almost 5 percent. Drug convictions increased by 16 percent during that period, compared with an almost 15 percent decline in non-drug convictions (Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency, 1988). Data for Connecticut show that total arrests increased 87 percent between 1980 and 1988 while drug arrests increased an even more extraordinary 270 percent during the same period (Connecticut Prison and Overcrowding Commission, 1989).

In contrast with data suggesting that state criminal justice is being overwhelmed by the nature and volume of drug-related criminal cases, some data suggest that the processing of persons charged with drug offenses differs little from the processing accorded other kinds of cases. A recent Bureau of Justice Statistics study, for example, tracked from arrest to eventual case disposition 532,000 persons arrested in 1984 in eleven states providing Offender-Based Transaction Statistics (U.S. Department of Justice, BJS, 1988d). Figure 1.15 contrasts the numbers of arrests, prosecutions, convictions, and incarcerative sentences for this data base. Compared to dispositions in arrests for property or violent crimes, persons arrested for drug offenses seemed slightly below average in each category, not standing out as a category of arrestees for any of the processing outcomes.

Data compiled by the National Center for State Courts (Goerdt et al., 1989; Rottman, 1989) show a substantial increase in many of the urban courts they have been studying for the last 6 years. Figure 1.16 indicates that in a comparison of 17 urban courts, general jurisdiction caseloads (from indictment forward) averaged 18 percent drug-related cases (possession and manufacture/sale) in 1983 and 28 percent in 1987, with considerable variation in composition and rate of change associated with the caseloads depending on the location of the court.[10] Using 1987 data for 26 urban trial courts, Goerdt et al. also found substantial proportions of the caseloads to be

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[10] This estimate of drug caseload underestimates the presence of drug charges because only the most serious charges are used to characterize each case. Often drug charges were found among less serious charges as well.

Figure 1.15 Disposition of felony arrests in 11 states by type of offense (1984)
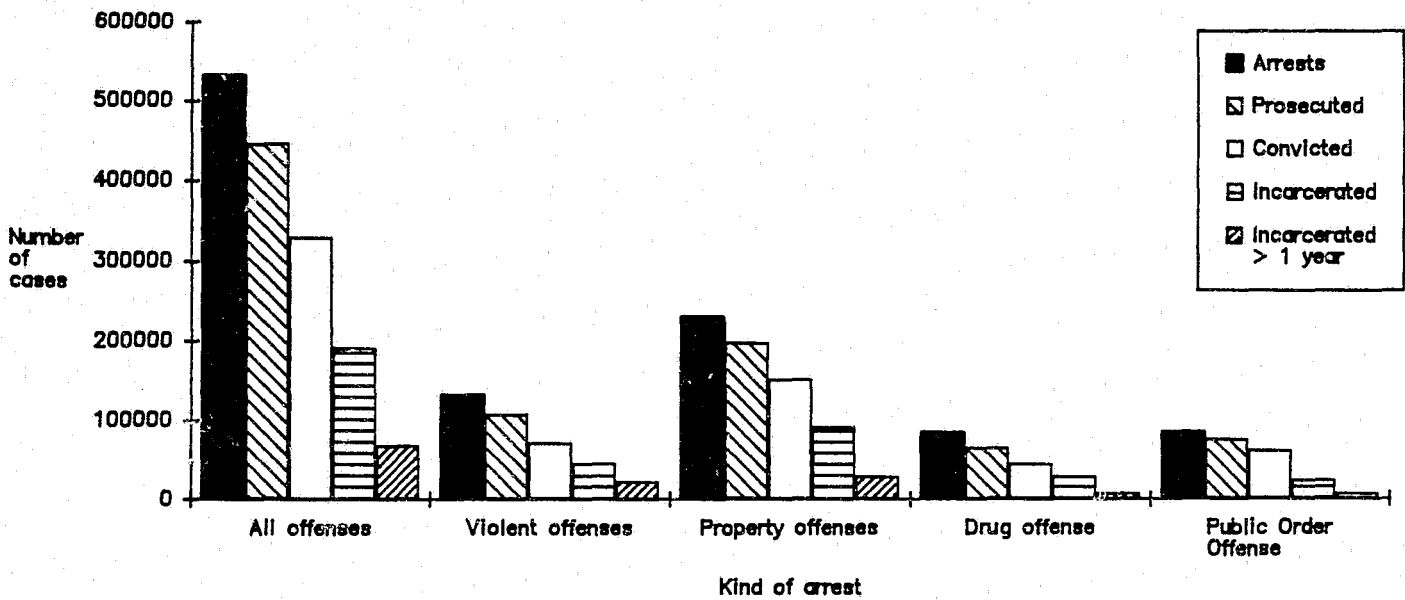
Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of Justice, BJS (1988: Tables 1 and 2)

Figure 1.16 Percentage of drug-related cases in urban court caseloads, 1983-87
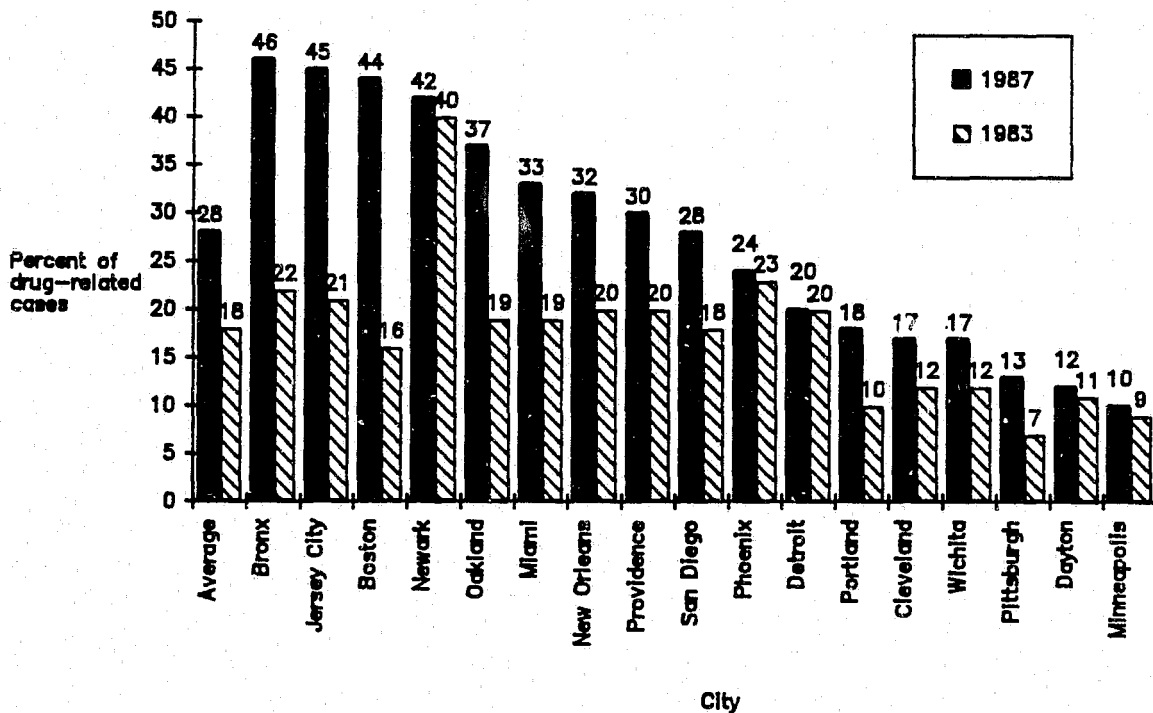
Source: Adapted from Goerdt et al. (1989)

[Note: Case types determined by the most serious charge in the indictment or information.
Does not include as "drug cases" those in which drug-related charges were included
but which were not the most serious (e.g., murder, rape).]

Figure 1.17 Percentage of drug–related cases in 26 urban trial courts, 1987

Percent of felony caseload

■ Drug Sale

▨ Drug Possession

Boston 43, 1
Jersey City 38, 7
Wichita 11, 6
Newark 29, 13
Bronx 41, 5
Miami 10, 23
Providence 13, 17
Denver 2, 17
Tucson 7, 7
Pittsburgh 13, 0
Portland 7, 11
Phoenix 14, 10
Minneapolis 6, 4
Cleveland 11, 6
Colorado Springs 6, 6
St. Paul 7, 11
Norfolk 11, 0
Oakland 26, 11
District of Columbia 11, 22
Atlanta 18, 10
San Diego 19, 9
Dayton 6, 6
New Orleans 3, 29
Detroit Rec. 13, 6
Fairfax 20, 6
Salinas 16, 17

Most serious conviction

Source: Adapted from Goerdt et al., NSCS (1989)

Figure 1.18 Drug filings as a percent of felonies in trial courts, 1980–87, by state

Percent of felony filings that were drug offenses

Court	80	84	87
Colorado District Court	8	9	12
Florida Circuit Court	16	15	24
Hawaii Circuit Court	15	24	25
Idaho District Court	11	9	6
Tennessee Circuit Court	N/A	13	13
Texas District Court	12	15	22
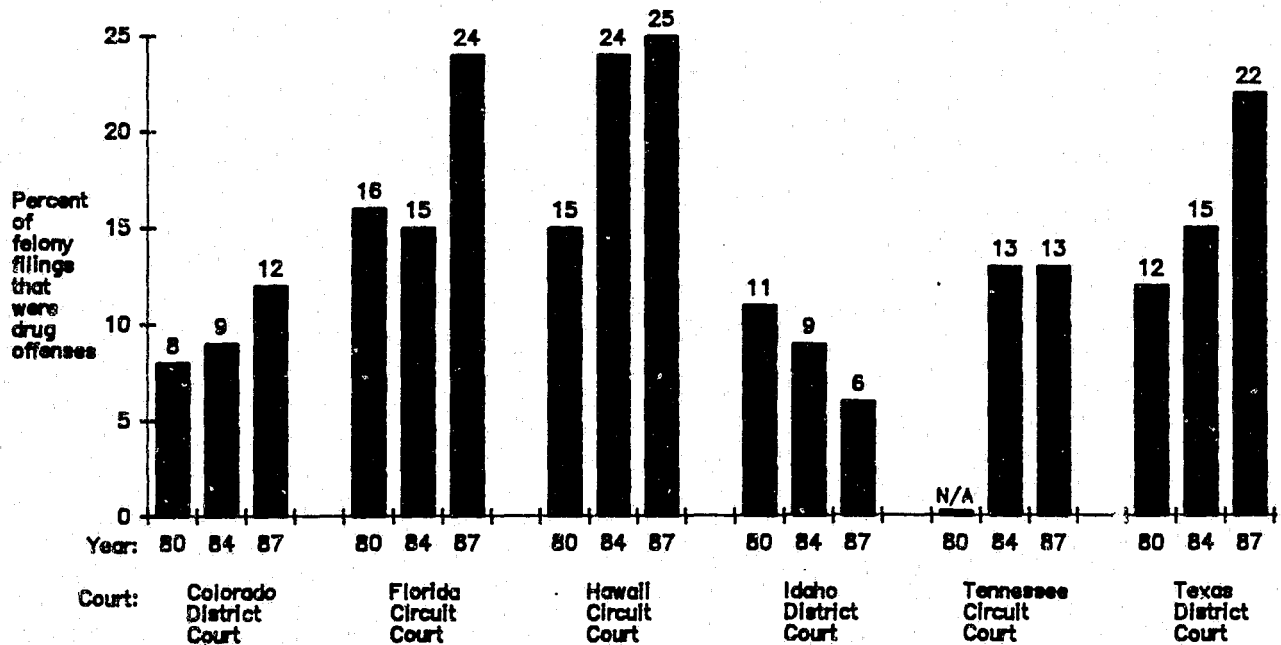
Source: Adapted from Rottman, Court Statistics Project, NCSC (1989)

made up of drug cases, though more often drug possession cases. Once again, this varied notably by the particular court. (See Figure 1.17.) The Court Statistics Project of the National Center (Rottman, 1989) compared caseloads of general jurisdiction courts in six states and found that the percent of felony filings accounted for by drug offenses had grown from 1980 to 1987 in four, and rather sharply. (see Figure 1.18.) Goerdt et al. sought to determine whether there was a relationship between the presence of drug-related cases and court processing time (hence, backlog) in each jurisdiction. The authors found that, although the percentage of drug possession cases had very little impact on a jurisdiction's case processing time, there was a positive association between the percentage of drug sale cases and processing time. That is, slower courts tended to have a higher percentage of drug sale cases.[11] Of course, it is a matter of interpretation whether these drug cases contributed to delay or whether courts experiencing delay also caused slow turn around in the processing of drug cases. Court administrators surveyed by Goerdt et al. in connection with their study ranked drug-related cases as the most serious factor influencing delay.

According to BJS (1988a: Table 2), roughly 20 percent of "suspects" in criminal matters were referred to the U.S. Attorney for drug offenses during 1986, nearly all for distribution/manufacture offenses. A similar proportion (21 percent) of cases filed by U.S. Attorneys in Federal courts involved drug charges as the most serious offense. Federal defendants in drug matters were less often released before trial (62 percent) than defendants in non-drug matters (73 percent). Twenty-seven percent of Federal convictions during that period were for drug violations, an increase from only 18 percent in 1980. Between 1980 and 1986, persons convicted of drug law violations in Federal courts received incarcerative sentences notably more often than persons convicted in non-drug matters (e.g., 77 versus 43 percent respectively during 1986). The same data showed that the total number of convictions for federal drug offenses increased by 134 percent during 1980 and 1986, compared with an increase of just 27 percent for non-drug offenses. The enormity of the increase in the number of federal drug convictions is demonstrated by the fact that 51 percent of the total increase in federal convictions between 1980 and 1986 was attributable to drug cases. It may be difficult to assess the role played by drug related crime on the correctional populations within the United States. Part of the impact of new sentencing laws may only now be translating into higher rates of incarceration for

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[11] Drug sale cases tend to be longer because they frequently go to trial and generally involve private counsel, frequent challenges to the admissibility of evidence and laboratory testing.

longer periods in state facilities and such current data are not yet available. Earlier data have shown that a notable but not major proportion of inmates were serving time or being held pending adjudication for drug offenses. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (U.S. Dept. of Justice, BJS, 1989b) report on correctional populations during 1986, for example, showed that only 9 percent of state prison inmates had been incarcerated for a drug offense. An earlier but more detailed 1983 census of state jail inmates--including sentenced and unsentenced inmates--indicated that 10 percent were held on drug crimes (U.S. Department of Justice, 1985b).

Other sources of data show an increasing role for drug cases in the processing of criminal cases in the Federal courts. Figure 1.19, for example, shows the growth in the number of dispositions in U.S. District Courts from 1945-85. While dispositions of non-drug law violations declined by 15 percent during that period, dispositions for drug law violations increased significantly (by 69 percent). To an unknown extent, the increase in Federal dispositions may be related to the decision of authorities in some localities tp process drug offenders through the Federal courts rather than the state or local systems.

Figure 1.19 Defendants charged with violation of drug laws in U.S. District Courts, 1945—85

The Impact of Drug-Related Crime on Public Safety as Recidivism

In trying to obtain estimates of drug-related crime in its various forms, we are addressing the question of its impact on public safety. In itself, the incidence of drug-related crime forms a dimension--both qualitative and quantitative--of the concern for public safety. Much of the current debate, however, focuses more specifically on fears that much of drug-related crime is committed by repetitive offenders, that there is something about the drug enterprise and/or about drug use among likely offenders that contributes to repeated, serious crime.

Because the purpose of this chapter has been introductory, we want to be careful to limit our discussion of recidivism here to focus on the belief or assumption by many that recidivism is associated with persons involved in drug crimes and in drug use. The reader is referred to a very large body of literature dating back at least 60 years (see, e.g., Burgess, 1922) which has tried to identify the correlates of repeated criminal behavior. As early as the early 1960's (Gottfredson and Ballard, 1964), self-reported drug use was found to be one of the factors predictive of parole outcomes, for example. In the 1970's, drug use was included as one of the risk scoring items in the "salient factor" dimension of the Federal parole guidelines (Gottfredson, Wilkins and Hoffman, 1978). More recently, it has been argued to be predictive of likely criminality of defendants during pretrial release (Toborg and Kirby, 1984; Toborg et al., 1988).

Data are not in agreement on the role of drug-related crime in recidivism, however. For example, data from a BJS (U.S. Department of Justice, BJS, 1987b) study compared the rearrest rates of young parolees (aged 24 to 28) in twenty two states, showing that 69 percent of non-drug offenders compared with 49 percent of drug offenders were rearrested for a serious crime within six years of their release from prison. Similar trends are found when re-convictions are used as the repeat crime measure (53 percent of non-drug versus 30 percent of drug offenders were convicted of a new offense within six years) and as well as when re-incarcerations are the focus (49 percent and 25 percent respectively returned to prison within six years). Recidivism rates for drug offenders in that study were the lowest for any offense type.

Figure 1.20 Recidivism rates of state prisoners released in 1983, by most serious
            conviction offense
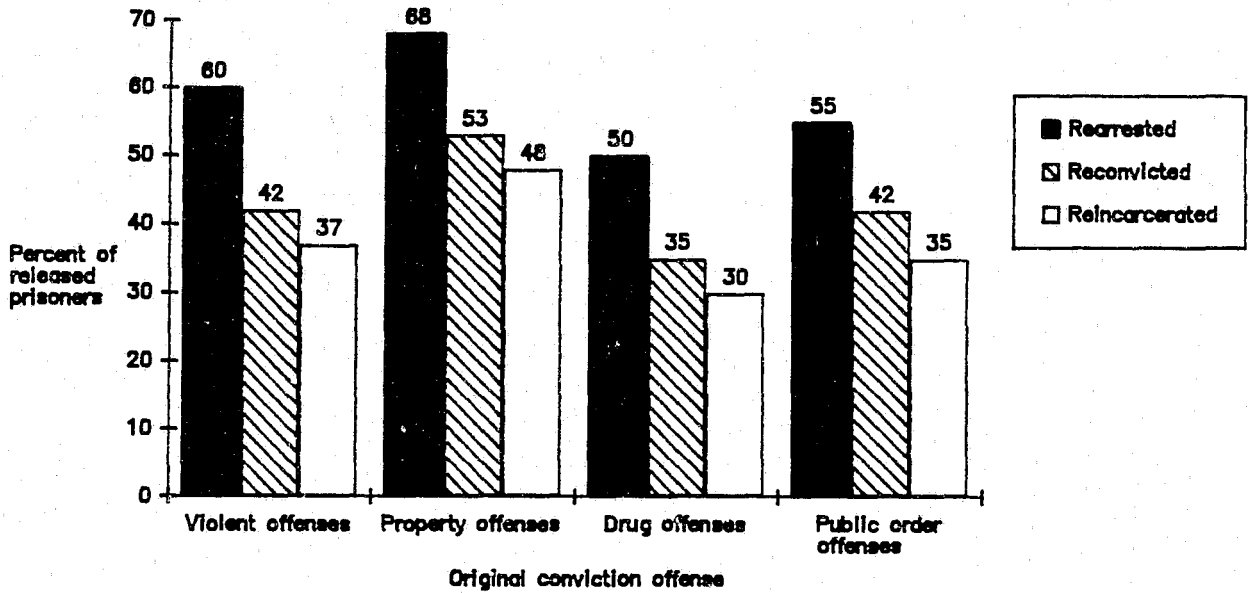
Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of Justice, BJS (1989)

Figure 1.21 Rearrest rates of State prisoners released in 1983 after 3 year follow—up,
            by most serious conviction offense, by kind of rearrest offense
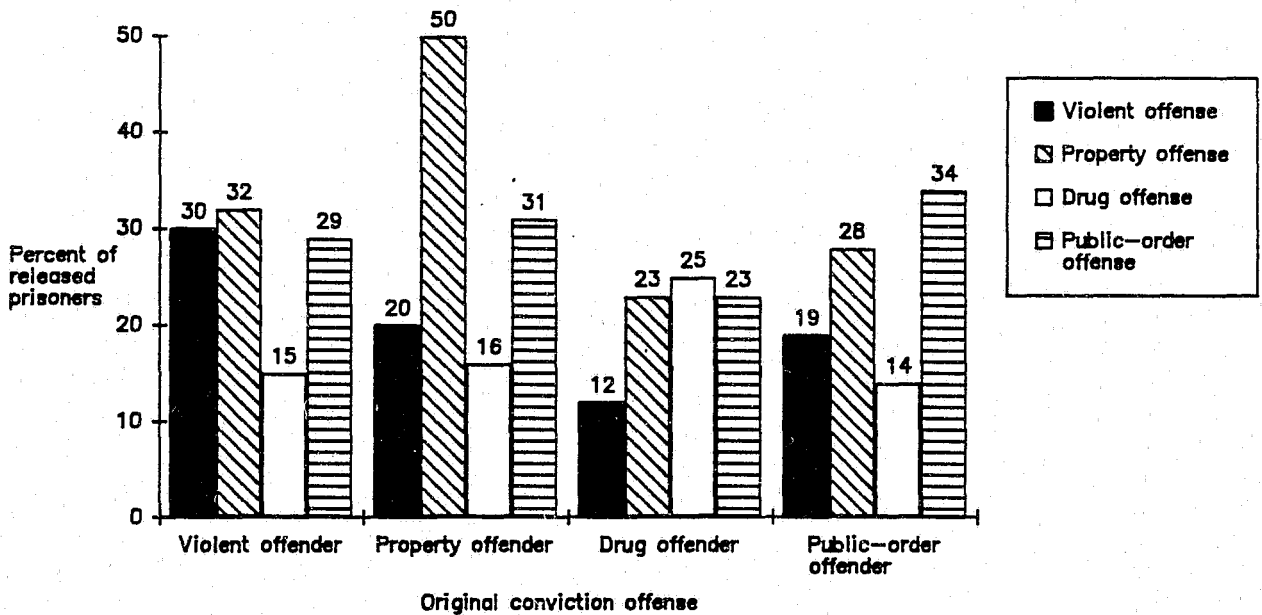
Source: Adapted from Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983, BJS (1989)

A second example is provided by another BJS study. A recent study of recidivism among 108,000 persons released from prisons in eleven states during 1983 confirms the generally lower recidivism rates for drug offenders (BJS, 1989c). Figure 1.20 presents the recidivism rates of released drug and non-drug offenders and shows that 50 percent of drug offenders were rearrested within three years compared with 60 percent rearrest rates for violent offenders and 68 percent rearrest rates for property offenders. Reconviction and reincarceration measures reflect the same pattern. Figure 1.21 describes the nature of the offenses for which released offenders were subsequently rearrested. Generally, released drug offenders who were rearrested during the three year follow-up showed lower rates of proportions rearrested for violent, property and public order crimes than other kinds of offenders, and only showed greater proportions rearrested for drug offenses. Interestingly, released prisoners with one or more prior drug arrests were found to be more likely to be rearrested within the 3 year follow-up period than those without a prior drug arrest (69 percent compared to 59 percent). Indeed, within each offense category for which prisoners were released, a prior drug arrest was associated with a higher rate of rearrest.

In our Volume II report, we will examine the relationship between drug-related criminal cases and subsequent recidivism in two of sites. Thus, we will return to the discussion of the impact of drug-related crime on public safety at that time.

Chapter Two

**THE PROCESSING OF CRIMINAL CASES IN THREE URBAN JURISDICTIONS:
THE RESEARCH SITES AND METHOD**

The current research was based on recently collected and comprehensive data bases describing criminal

processing in three major American jurisdictions. In addition to fiscal efficiency, utilization of existing data was an

optimal strategy because the data provided an opportunity for detailed consideration of drug-related criminal cases

in the criminal processes of three large cities in the very recent past (ranging variously from 1984 to 1989, depending

on the focus of the data). We reasoned that other American jurisdictions not the subjects of such a research

investigation could benefit from discussion of the findings of the empirical description of processing in Boston,

Maricopa County and Dade County, that themes or lessons from these case studies would have applicability to them

in their attempts to address similar drug-related crime concerns.

The current investigation builds on data collected in an earlier research project which had a more limited

analytic focus, dealing with bail/pretrial release decisionmaking processes and the development of a resource for

their improvement. Though narrower in focus, the earlier research accumulated a substantial body of data relating

to the processing of the cases of large cohorts of criminal defendants in the urban court systems in Boston (the

Boston Municipal and Suffolk County Superior Courts), Miami (Dade County Circuit and County Courts) and

Phoenix (Maricopa County Superior Court) beginning in 1984, with follow-up through 1987 and 1989.[12]

Supplemental data collection was conducted in Miami and in Phoenix to chart the subsequent recidivism and final

case outcomes of the original sample defendants. Though initially focused on front-end criminal processing, the

representative defendant-based samples were designed to permit analyses of broader questions pertaining to the

caseloads of the courts in each of the sites.

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[12] For a detailed discussion of the earlier research, its methodology and findings, see Goldkamp and Gottfredson
(1988); Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Jones (1988); and Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland (1988).

THREE CASE STUDIES: THE RESEARCH SITES

The data we examine in this monograph track the cases of cohorts of defendants entering judicial processing during intervals in 1984 in five courts in three cities.[13] In Boston we sampled defendants entering the Boston Municipal Court, a limited jurisdiction, mostly misdemeanor court which also screened cases on their way to the major trial court and studied the cases of defendants processed by the major trial court, the Suffolk County Superior Court. In Dade County (the greater Miami area), we studied a large sample of defendants representative of both misdemeanor and felony cases entering County and Circuit Courts. In Maricopa County (the greater Phoenix area), the focus was on the processing of felony defendants into the Superior Court. As diverse as these settings were, each shared concerns of growing caseloads, jail overcrowding and serious crime. In our earlier research we characterized each of these sites in some detail; here we briefly note some of the relevant attributes of the sites at the time of the data collection.

Figure 2.1 compares the population growth of the metropolitan statistical areas served by the court systems under study. From 1970 to 1984, the populations of the Miami and Phoenix areas showed steady growth to over 1.5 million inhabitants in contrast to the population of the greater Boston area which remained rather steady over the long term (first declining, then increasing) near 3 million.

Figures 2.2 and 2.3 compare the levels of crime known to the police in the three locations over the ten year period preceding the research. Index crimes had increased in Miami during that period, with a sharp peak around 1980. Index crime was down noticeably in Phoenix during that period and was very slightly down in Boston. Violent offenses known to the police increased markedly in Miami and slightly in Phoenix and Boston by the end of the ten year period preceding the research. Figure 2.4 shows that property offenses had dropped over the ten years in Boston and Phoenix and increased in Miami in a pattern similar to its rates of index crime and violent crime.

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[13] This description is adapted from a more in-depth description of the sites presented in the earlier research reports. See Goldkamp and Gottfredson (1988).

Figure 2.1 Population trends in Boston, Miami and Phoenix metropolitan statistical areas from 1970, 1980 to 1984
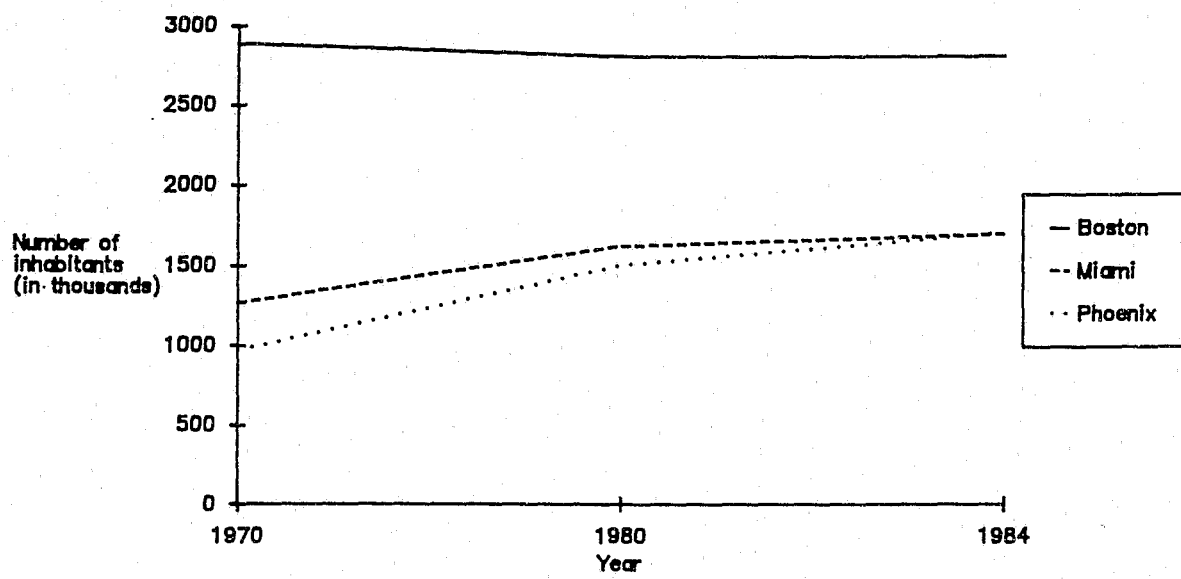
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 2.2 Total index offenses known to police per 100,000 inhabitants in Boston, Miami and Phoenix (MSAs), 1975—1984
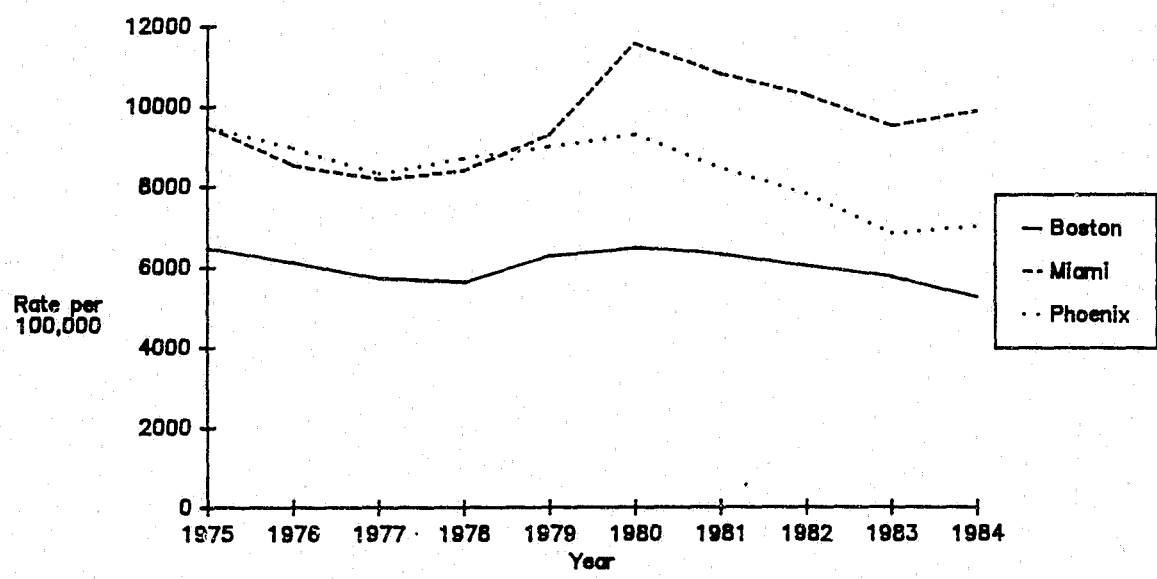
Source: UCR 1975—1984

Figure 2.3 Total violent offenses known to police per 100,000 inhabitants in
            Boston, Miami and Phoenix (MSAs), 1975-1984
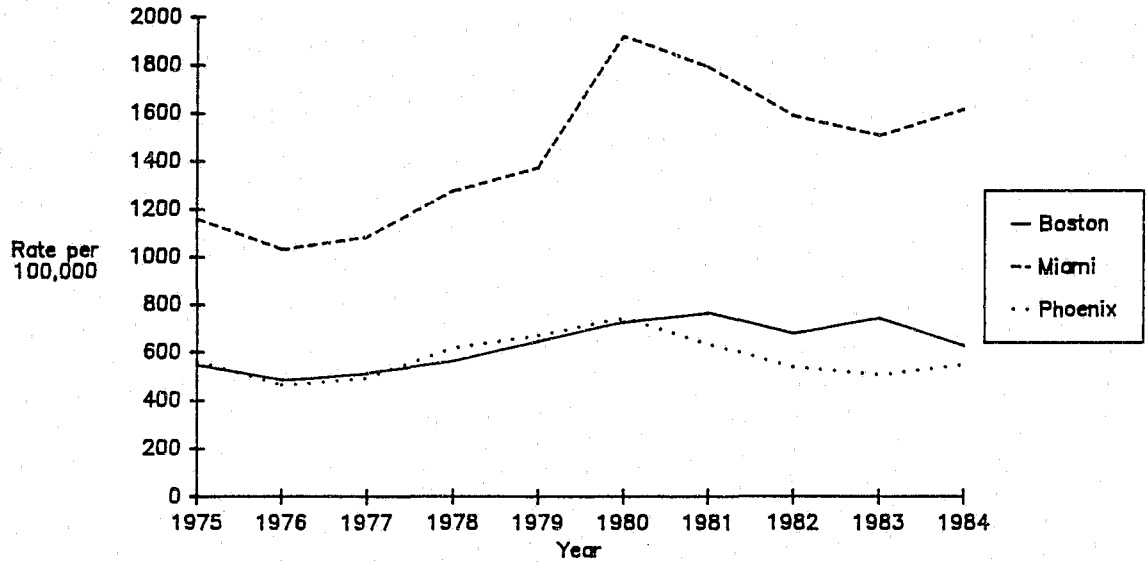
Source: UCR 1975-1984

Figure 2.4 Total property offenses known to police per 100,000 inhabitants in Boston, Miami
            and Phoenix (MSAs), 1975-1984
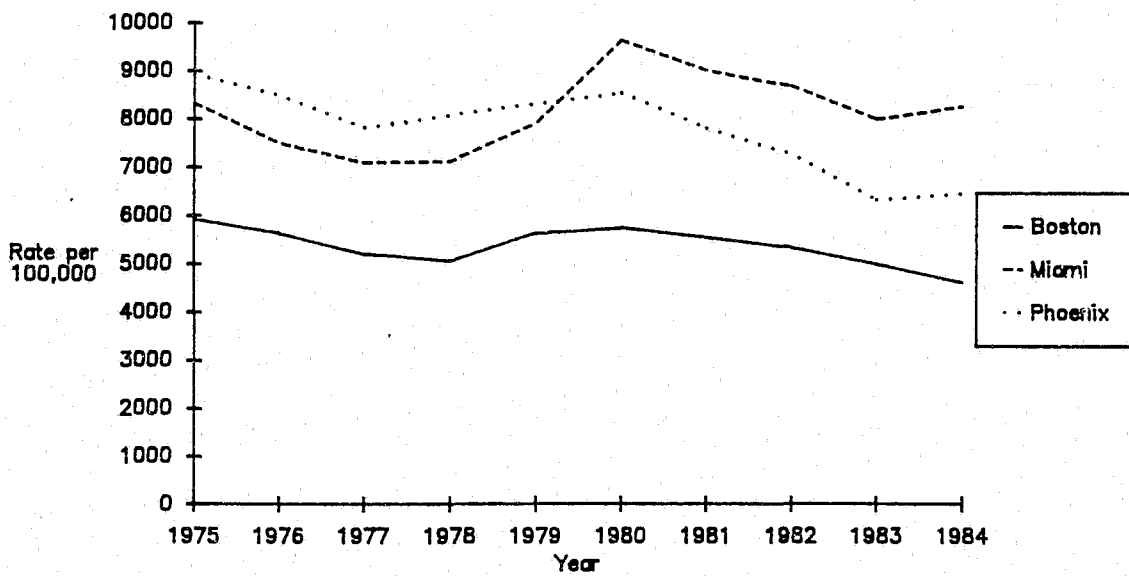
Source: UCR 1975-1984

Arrest rates for index offenses are compared in Figure 2.5. In Boston, arrests per 100, 000 remained at a stable, comparatively low rate through 1984. In Phoenix, index offense arrests dropped over the ten year period. In Miami, however, there was a marked increase.

Figure 2.6 compares the estimated caseload size of the key courts in the study. During 1984, the year the study began, the Dade County courts processed an estimated 56,000 entering criminal cases, more than three times the volume entering the other two court systems.[14]

The sites had in common longstanding jail overcrowding crises in facilities of varying sizes. The average annual daily population for 1984 was about 2,800 persons in Dade County, about 1,840 in Maricopa County and about 320 in Boston's Charles Street Jail. Figure 2.7 compares the estimated annual average daily pretrial populations for the ten year period between 1975 and 1984. The Maricopa and Dade populations demonstrate a sharp increase over that period, in contrast to Boston's only slight increase. (Boston's more stable rate might be explained by the roughly 300 person limit in jail capacity that was reached at an early date and has been exceeded ever since.)

From one day samples during the fall of 1985, Figure 2.8 compares defendants detained in local jails on the basis of selected serious charges. The Dade County pretrial population showed the highest proportions of defendants within each category of the charges, including those held for drug offenses.

[14] These estimates were projected from the samples studied to arrive at an annualized criminal caseload in the criminal court systems. For example, in Maricopa County, the sample included all relevant cases entering the system during June and July or during one-sixth of a year. Multiplied by six, the sample provides a rough estimate of the court's annual criminal caseload. In Boston, the BMC sample included all cases entering between April and October, 1984, or during half the year. These estimates of annual caseloads have important limitations. First, the data were drawn to define "entering cohorts" of criminal defendants. Thus, persons appearing for matters other than facing new charges as well as non-bondable defendants were excluded. Of course, as well, to the extent that defendants entering the systems in other months were not like those included in the samples of particular months, the annualized estimate will be biased. (This would be more of a problem in Maricopa County, which had a two month sample, than in Boston, which employed a six month sample, for example.)

Figure 2.5 Arrest rates for index offenses in Boston, Miami and Phoenix between
1975 and 1984
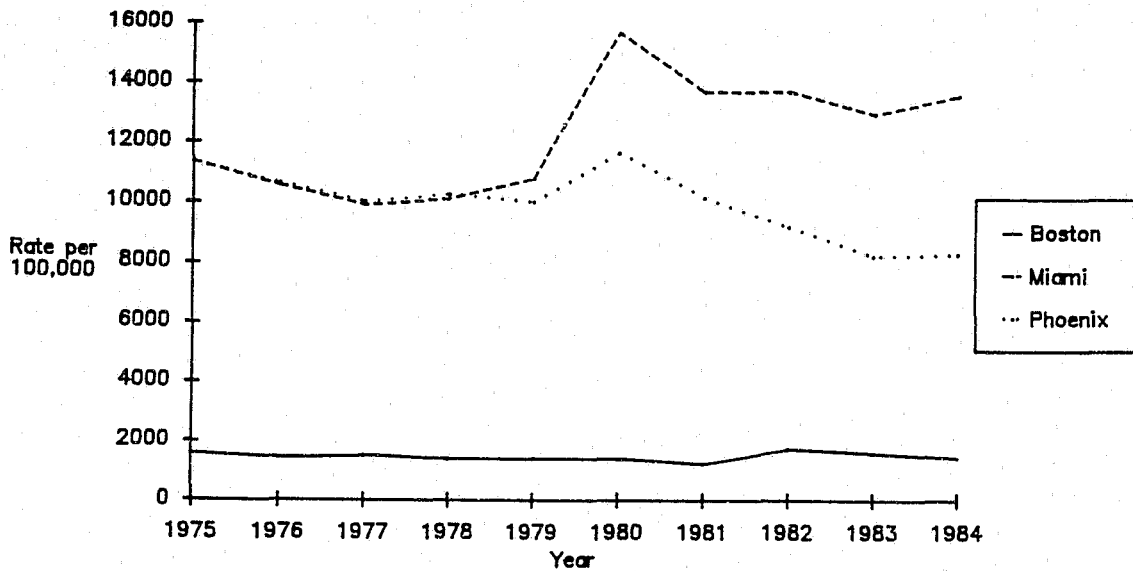
Source: Boston Police Department, Florida State UCR and City of Phoenix Police Department
[Note: Population Source: Editor and Publisher Market Guide, 1975-1986 editions.]

Figure 2.6 Estimated annual criminal caseload of entering ("new") cases in Boston
Municipal Court, Dade County Circuit Court and Maricopa County Superior
Court during 1984, by seriousness of charges (modified index vs. non-index)
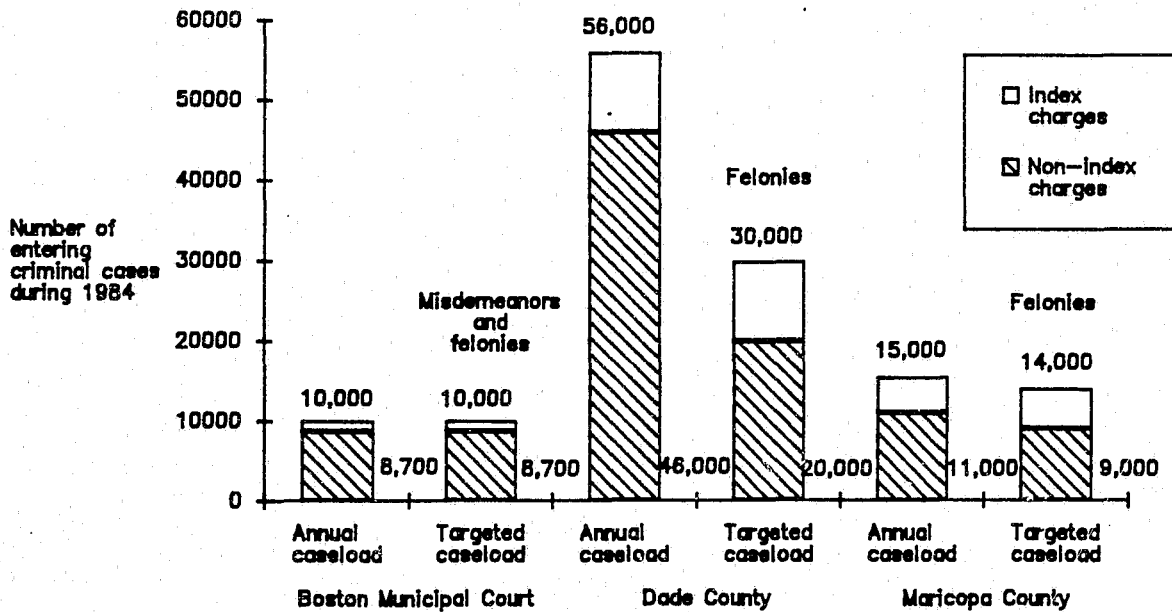
[Note: Charges were classified as non-index versus index offenses using the FBI UCR method—except
that larceny and motor vehicle theft were not included as index offenses. "Targeted caseload"
refers to the part of the criminal caseload that the guidelines research would address. Excluded
were non-bondable offenses.]

Figure 2.7 Estimated annual average daily pretrial population in the local jail,
by research site, 1975 to 1985
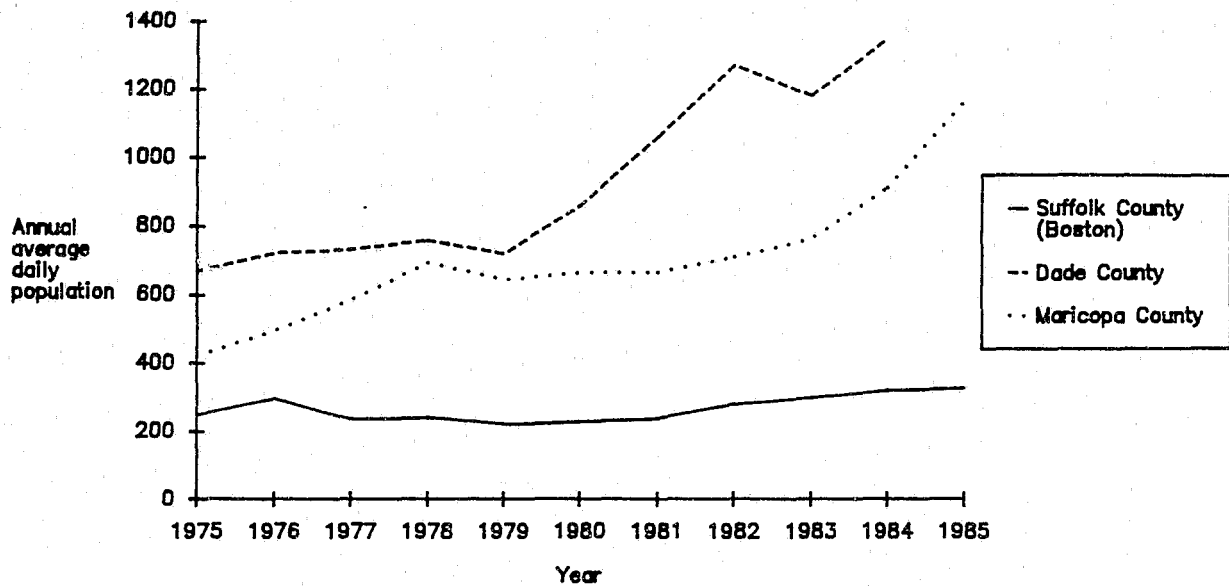
Source: Suffolk County Sheriff's Department, Metro—Dade Corrections and Rehabilitation
Department and Maricopa County Sheriff's Department

[Note: Population numbers for Dade County, 1975—1978, are estimates.]

Figure 2.8 Criminal charges of defendants detained in the local jail, by research site,
on a single day in fall, 1985
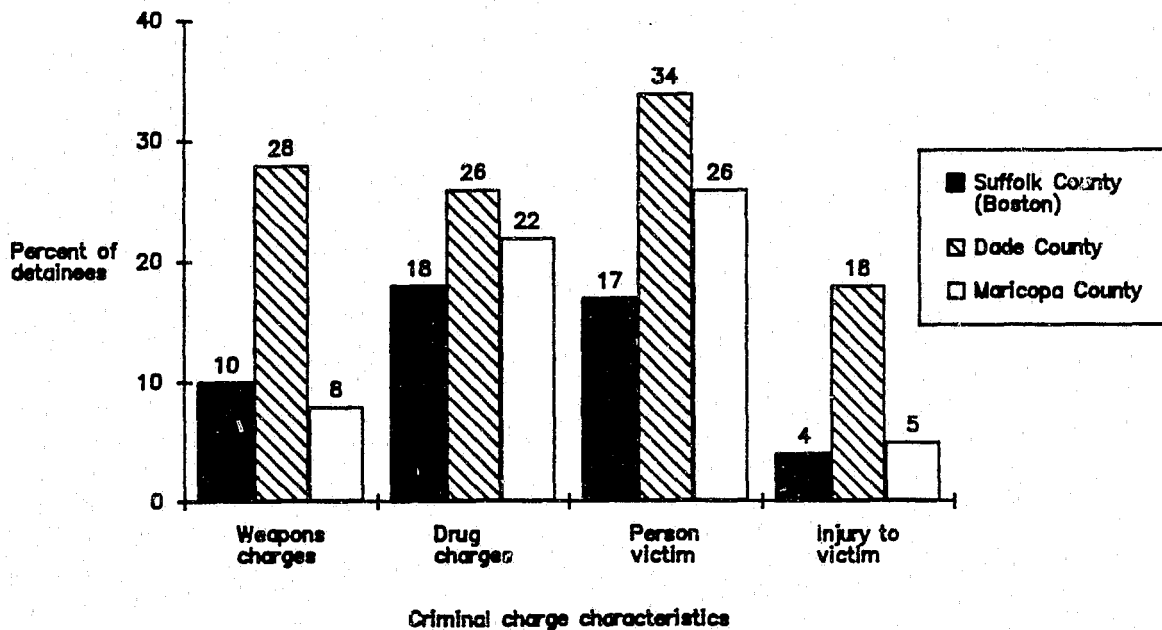
The Boston Courts

The Boston Municipal Court serves both as a limited jurisdiction court having complete jurisdiction over misdemeanor-like cases and as a screening court determining probable cause for cases involving more serious charges before they move to the Superior Court for adjudication. Bail is decided both immediately after arrest at the police station (not by a judge but by a bail commissioner who is a judicial designee) as well as at the defendant's first appearance in court ("arraignment") by a Boston Municipal Court judge shortly thereafter. All criminal cases-- whether the equivalent of felonies or misdemeanors--must be arraigned promptly in Boston Municipal Court and may be reviewed through petition if not resulting in pretrial release by a Superior Court judge within 48 hours.

Serious felony cases (having penalties of 5 years incarceration or more) are next scheduled for "probable cause" (preliminary) hearings in Municipal Court to determine whether they will be bound over to Superior Court for trial. After being bound over, cases are also reviewed by the grand jury which must issue an indictment before a case can move to arraignment in Superior Court. Generally, cases in which the penalty will not include a sentence to the state prison system (i.e., in misdemeanor and lesser felony cases) are scheduled for trial in Municipal Court. The Superior Court is also a court of original jurisdiction for cases resulting from direct indictment by the investigating grand jury.

Circuit and County Courts in Dade County

The Court system in Dade County is also structured as a two-tiered hierarchical system. Although the Eleventh Judicial Circuit of Florida and the Dade County Court, the felony and misdemeanor courts respectively, are separate organizations, they are closely tied together by function and substantially influenced by the leadership of the chief administrative judge of the Circuit Court. Bail is largely the responsibility of the Circuit Court; however, County Court judges preside over bond hearing (the initial bail decision in felony cases) for the Circuit Court during the week and Circuit Court judges preside on a rotating basis on weekends. All persons arrested in Dade County are booked in the central jail (Pretrial Detention Center) and, shortly after booking is completed, have the opportunity to post bond in an amount designated by the bond schedule--except for persons charged with

nonbondable offenses. If release is not secured at that point, felony defendants will have bond decided by a judge at the next bond hearing, which is scheduled twice daily and on weekends.

Misdemeanor cases that have not secured release immediately through the bond schedule will have the opportunity to have bail decided by a County Court judge within a day at jail arraignments at which pleas are also accepted. Misdemeanors are scheduled for trial in County Court, while, after the bond hearing, felonies are scheduled for arraignment and then trial in Circuit Court. Preliminary hearings are not routinely held (an information is filed by the state's attorney within about two weeks), but a probable cause determination is made by judges at the bond hearing. A number of felony cases (roughly one in five at the time of our study) are transferred to County Court for processing as misdemeanors after moving through the initial stages of the Circuit Court process.

Superior Court in Maricopa County

Maricopa County includes the City of Phoenix, a number of surrounding population centers and some other rather remote rural areas. Jurisdiction for processing criminal cases is shared by the Superior Court of Arizona, the Municipal Court of Phoenix and the local Justice Courts located in the outlying districts. With few exceptions, the Superior Court in downtown Phoenix handles all initial appearances, arraignments and adjudication of felony cases--although some felony defendants arrested in remote districts are given their initial appearances in Justice Courts. The Phoenix Municipal Court is responsible for all misdemeanors falling within city limits, except during weekends at which time they are processed by Superior Court at the initial appearance stage.

THE DEFENDANT-BASED SAMPLES

As we noted above, the data discussed in these reports were collected originally for the purposes of studying the early decisionmaking stages of the criminal process in the three locations with an eye primarily to improving the bail and pretrial release function. Because of their design, the samples lend themselves to a broader examination of entering criminal caseloads and thus serve as an excellent basis for discussion of the role of drug-

related crime. In addition, we have supplemented and updated data in two of the three sites as resources allowed. This section describes the original data collection strategy and ways it has been supplemented for the purposes of this research.

Data collection for the description of decisionmaking practices at the early stages followed a similar plan in each of the courts. In general, we sought to collect data describing the cases of a large number of defendants which had recently entered the criminal process at the initial appearance stage. Thus, we defined "entering cohort" of defendants by the first judicial stage of processing. The sample frames were determined from booking lists in each site which were modified to exclude categories of persons not entering the system on new charges.

The Maricopa County Sample: Felony Defendants Entering the Superior Court of Arizona

The Maricopa County sample consisted of all "new" felony cases entering the process at the initial appearance stage in Superior Court during June and July, 1984. Although 3,667 persons appeared before Superior Court commissioners for their initial appearances during that time, 1,435 were excluded from study because they did not fit into the definition of "entering" cases that we employed. The remaining total sample of entering felony cases included 2,232 defendants. A large amount of information describing defendants and their cases was collected including the progress of cases for an 8-month period and a 90 day-followup of defendants' performance during pretrial release. A single day, cross-sectional random sample (n=397 or 16 percent of the 2,484 inmate population) of the local jail population was also drawn on September 21, 1985 for descriptive purposes.

The Dade County Samples: Circuit and County Courts

Large defendant samples of Dade County defendants were drawn during a three month period in the summer of 1984 and a two month period in the summer of 1987. Although the greatest emphasis in the first sample was placed on entering felony defendants entering Circuit Court in Dade County, the sample was designed to reflect the overall entering caseload of misdemeanor and felony cases during weekends (Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays) to

[15] The samples were limited as well in their exclusion of non-bondable cases. This meant generally that defendants charged in capital cases, or in Massachusetts homicide punishable by life imprisonment, were not included. The list of offenses not bondable by statute was more extensive in Florida.

obtain the most representative picture. The population of entering cases was defined with the help of court administration and the booking logs at the Pretrial Detention Center. After excluding cases not relevant to the research, 2,238 felony and 1,972 misdemeanor defendants entered the court system between June 1 and September 2, 1984, the sample period. Because an overall sample size of about 2,000 defendants was required and an emphasis on felony defendants was considered important, a stratified disproportionate sampling ratio was employed. Roughly two-thirds of the weekend felony defendants (n=1,492) and one-fourth of misdemeanor defendants were taken (n=493) were selected randomly to produce an overall sample of 1,985 entering criminal cases. As with the Maricopa sample, defendants in the Dade sample were followed up during pretrial release for the purposes of recording crime or flight and the progress of their cases through the criminal justice process was also followed.

A subsequent sample of 2,566 felony defendants entering Circuit Court during June and July,1987, was also collected. That sample included data similar to that collected in 1984 as well as results of voluntary drug tests from urinalysis conducted at the booking stage. It is these data that allow us to examine the relationship between the two kinds of drug-related criminal cases, those involving drug charges and those involving drug use.[16]

A single day, cross-sectional random sample of the jail population (n=431 of the 3,455 population) on September 19, 1985 was also drawn.

The Boston Samples: the Boston Municipal and Suffolk County Superior Court .

Data were collected in separate samples describing the entering caseloads of the Boston Municipal and the Suffolk County Superior Courts. With primary emphasis given to the Boston Municipal Court, the two court systems were studied in the following manner: Cases entering the Municipal Court at arraignment were sampled using a booking list kept by Municipal Court Probation staff. So that a sufficient number of serious cases (which were relatively rare in the BMC caseload) could be included in the research, the approximately 4,500 cases entering

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[16] Although we studied the role of drug charges among all 2,566 of these 1987 felony defendants, our study of drug use narrowed the sample to approximately 1,950 cases because drug testing was voluntary. Approximately 23 percent of entering defendants did not agree to provide a urine specimen for testing. For a detailed description of this sample, the urinalysis participation rate and its effect on the representativeness of the felony sample, see Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland (1988).

between the beginning of April and the end of October, 1984, (after subtracting non-relevant cases) were stratified on the basis of charge seriousness.[17] All serious (index-level) cases entering during that period (n=603) were included in the sample, and one-third of the less serious cases were randomly selected, resulting in a sample of 2,193 cases.

Several smaller samples were taken to investigate processing in Superior Court. The one most pertinent to our current focus reflected the population of cases entering Superior Court directly (via "direct indictments") without having been screened by a lower court. In addition, we studied all the defendants (n=324) held in the Charles St. Jail on November 18, 1985.

A Note Concerning Terminology: Defendants and Cases

Throughout these reports the terms "defendants" and "cases" are used interchangeably. To avoid possible confusion, we emphasize that each sample consists of defendants entering the system at the initial judicial stages and moving forward into the adjudicatory process. In this study, therefore, we employ a defendant-based measure of cases, meaning the "cases of entering defendants."

The distinction is important because we are discussing the progress and outcomes of the configuration of charges associated with defendants entering the criminal process, not each case as a separate unit--as court administrators might do in reporting caseload statistics. Thus, when we report that "cases were dropped or dismissed," for example, we mean that all related charges were disposed of for each individual by dismissal or discharge. The most obvious difference, of course, is that the number of "cases" processed by a court may be many times the number of persons (defendants) being processed.

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[17] For seriousness we employed a modified version of the UCR index-versus non-index offense categorization (we dropped larceny and motor vehicle theft from the "index" category), oversampling index cases.

Chapter Three

THE PREVALENCE OF DRUG CHARGES AMONG ENTERING CRIMINAL CASES
IN THE THREE SITES

Introduction

The aim this chapter is to describe the volume and nature of drug cases in these courts and to contrast

cases involving drug charges with those not involving drug charges to determine whether their role in the criminal

process differs in any significant way. To do this, we define cases involving drug charges and, in a comparative

analysis, seek to identify attributes that distinguish defendants in cases involving drug charges from those not

involving drug charges (i.e., we treat drug charges as a dependent variable). Finally, we examine the role drug

charges may play in various processing outcomes within the judicial process (i.e., we study drug charges as an

independent variable).

As we noted in Chapter Two, the courts studied in the three jurisdictions differed not only in structure but

also in the make-up of their entering criminal caseloads. In Maricopa County, Arizona, for example, we studied

Superior Court with its mainly felony level criminal caseload. In Dade County, Florida, the data describe a

combined limited jurisdiction (misdemeanor) and trial (felony) court sample of defendants--with a greater emphasis

on felony defendants. In Boston, data describing the limited and trial courts were collected, but the greater weight

was given to the defendants entering the limited jurisdiction court (the Boston Municipal Court).

Because of the difficulty in finding a measure of the severity of criminal charges (such as misdemeanor v.

felony, for example) that applies across jurisdictions, we employ the FBI measure "index offense"[18] to compare

simply the criminal charges associated with cases entering each of the courts. (See Figure 2.6 above in Chapter

Two.) Using this rough standard, we see the essentially "less-serious" (misdemeanor) character of charges handled

in County Court in Dade County and in Boston Municipal Court. The three remaining courts processed caseloads

that involved felony cases predominantly, many of them of the index-level of seriousness.

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[18] We modify the FBI definition of index offense by dropping larceny and auto theft to produce a more restrictive
measure of serious charges.

The Prevalence of Charges Involving Drug Offenses

As the seriousness of cases handled by the courts varied, so too did the prevalence of defendants with cases involving drug charges. Figure 3.1 shows the different proportions of the cohorts of entering defendants charged with drug offenses (of any kind). Roughly one-fourth of the defendants entering the felony-level courts were charged with drug offenses. However, a sizeable proportion of the defendants entering the two misdemeanor level courts were charged with drug offenses as well.

Figure 3.2 displays the percentage of cases involving drug charges among both index and non-index cases. Interestingly, very small proportions of the cases involving the most serious charges (involving index-level offenses) included drug charges, while rather substantial proportions of non-index-level criminal cases involved drug charges.

The Kinds and Seriousness of Drug Charges

Ideally, we would like to be able to distinguish among drug charges more specifically to learn the extent to which such offenses were typically of the "serious" or "less serious" variety. The policy implications would be quite different if we found that drug charges most frequently involved possession for small amounts of controlled substances than if they most commonly involved sale or trafficking. Unfortunately, classification of drug charges into generic categories as "possession" versus "sale or distribution" and/or by the amount of the controlled substance allegedly involved is made difficult by the statutory definitions employed in each of the states and by limitations of arrest- and early processing-stage data. To illustrate, although the Massachusetts statute[19] differentiates most clearly crimes involving possession from those involving sale and distribution, in Arizona and Florida, laws allow possession of large amounts of drugs to be treated as sale or as possession and the criteria for selecting either kind of offense are not uniform or uniformly applied. While one might suppose that an alternative approach would be to classify charges as similar when they involved the same amounts and kinds of drugs, the information available at the early processing stages--included in arrest reports--is frequently not specific enough or is of questionable reliability.

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[19] See Mass. Crime Code, ch 94c: ss 32,34.

Figure 3.1 Entering criminal cases in three urban jurisdictions (Boston, Dade
            County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample periods, by drug
            offenses

Court:	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Sup. Court	Dade: County Court	Dade: Circuit Court	Dade: Combined	Maricopa: Superior Court
	18	25	10	26	19	22
Caseload:	Mixed/ Misd.	Felony	Misd.	Felony	Mixed	Felony
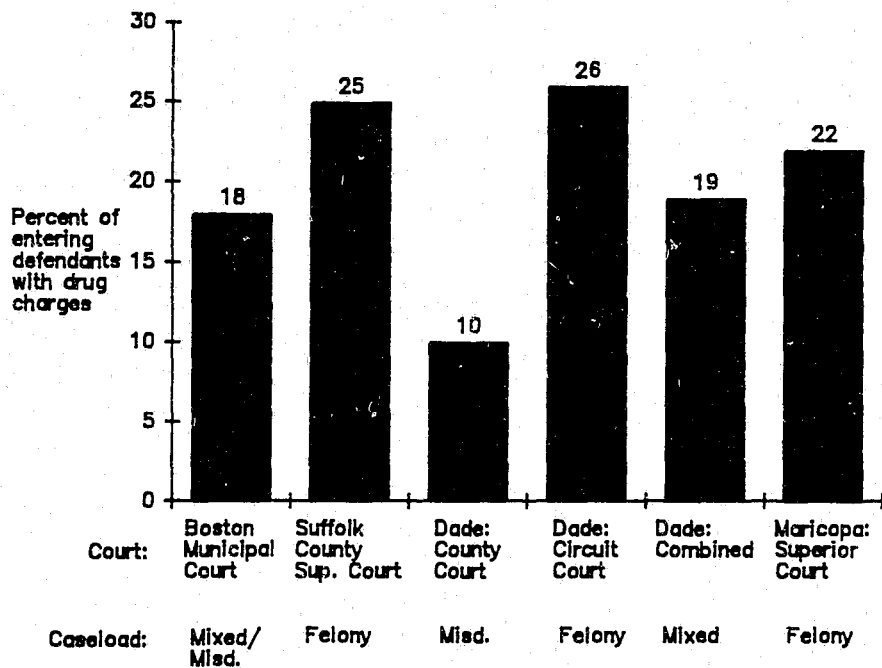
Figure 3.2 Percentage of entering criminal cases with drug charges in three urban
            jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample
            periods, by index offenses

■ Non—index offenses
□ Index offenses

Court:	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Sup. Court	Dade: County Court	Dade: Circuit Court	Dade: Combined	Maricopa: Superior Court
Non-index	20	42	10	39	22	33
Index	2	0	0	1	1	2
Caseload:	Mixed/ Misd.	Felony	Misd.	Felony	Mixed	Felony
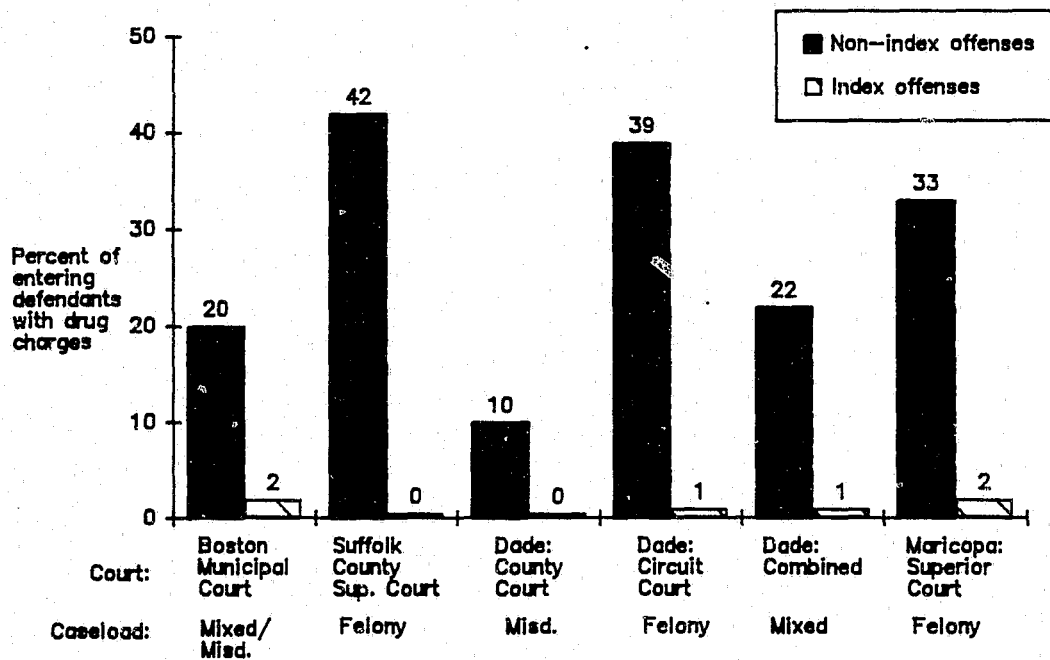
(See Appendix A for a synopsis of the relevant drug statutes in the three states.)

The charges serving as the basis for the defendant's entry into the judicial process were largely unreviewed by prosecutors in each of the sites until a stage subsequent to the initial appearance. Thus, the early stages of the system deal with information a great deal more general ("defendant found with three plastic envelopes containing a white powder consisting of an alleged controlled substance") than later stages. Clearly, as the process works to clarify the charges at preliminary hearing, indictment, and adjudication, belated categorization of charges into "serious" and "less serious" offense categories occurs.

After some investigation, no convenient way of devising a universal drug-charge classification of drug offenses and their relative seriousness could be found that would allow for the desired comparisons across jurisdictions. Instead, we chose to adopt largely non-comparable rankings of seriousness specific to each jurisdiction and to consider the kind of drug involved in the charges (where this information was available) as a way of focusing the analyses on specific categories of drug charges.[20] (See Figures 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5.)

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[20] More specifically, for the Dade County sample, drug defendants were identified by searching the ten booking charges for each defendant, listed in order of severity, and taking the first drug charge on the list. Trafficking cases (statute number 893.135) accounted for about 9 percent of the drug cases in the sample. Cases charged under 893.130 accounted for 89 percent, but that statute covered a wide range of drug offenses, from sale and distribution of Schedule I and II substances to possession of small amounts of marijuana (although, technically, Florida law considers marijuana a Schedule I drug). Offenses falling under that statute range in severity from a first degree misdemeanor to a first degree felony. Factors determining severity in any one case include any combination of the following: the substance, the quantity, the inferred purpose (use or sale), and whether or not the defendant is a repeat offender. Besides the statute involved in the charge, information concerning the type of drug was available for almost all cases. Data concerning drug quantity were missing in more than half of the drug cases. Because of the complexity of factors determining charge severity, it was impossible to derive a meaningful possession versus sale/manufacture classification based on the severity and type of drug alone. The only feasible approach was to classify drug cases based on severity, distinguishing misdemeanor, felony three and felony two or one charges.

In the Maricopa County sample, four statutory sections accounted for 99 percent of the drug cases, again when the first or most serious drug charge was examined. Arizona statutes were similarly nonspecific with respect to possession versus sale/manufacture of controlled substances (although they were more specific about the substance involved)--i.e., the wording of all statutes is "possession and sale of..." In determining the exact nature and severity of the offense, considerable weight is given to the inference of the arresting officer concerning the intended use of the substance. A pound of marijuana in bulk might be considered simple possession, while a pound divided up could be construed as possession for sale. Thus, while the quantities of the drugs were mostly unavailable for the sample, they would not have helped determine severity. The best approach we could adopt involved distinguishing between cases having drug charges equivalent of felony 6 (the lowest grade felony) and cases with drug charges ranked higher.

In Massachusetts, the criminal code distinguished handily between possession of controlled substances and their sale or manufacture--so we employed the statutory classification as our measure of the seriousness/kind of drug charges. As Figure 3.3 shows, in the Boston Municipal Court drug charges were predominantly of the "less serious" variety: of the roughly 18 percent of the entering criminal caseload during the 1984 half-year sample with drug charges, 14 percent involved defendants charged with possession and only 4 percent involved the more serious charges of sale or manufacture. In contrast, nearly all of the defendants with drug charges (25 percent of all defendants) entering Suffolk County Superior Court in Boston in 1984 were charged with sale or manufacture, the more serious category of drug charges.

The "best" categorization of drug charges in Maricopa County relied on the felony-misdemeanor grading equivalent of alleged offenses. Drug charges involving felony 5 or higher offenses seemed to form a group distinct from drug charges involving felony 6 offenses, the least serious of the felony categories. Among felony defendants entering Superior Court in Maricopa County, proportionately twice the number of alleged drug offenders were charged with the more serious kind of drug charges than were charged with the felony 6 variety.

In Florida, because the law classified a variety of drug offenses according to misdemeanor-felony gradings (some of which were rarely in evidence in our samples), we employed a three-part grouping based on misdemeanor (1 and 2), felony 3, and felony 2 or 1 gradings of charges. (In some of the later analyses we simplify this, combining misdemeanor and felony 3 level drug charges into one category.) In Dade County Court, as one might expect, all of the drug charges (10 percent of all entering misdemeanor cases) fell into the misdemeanor gradings. In Circuit Court, the bulk of the drug-related cases involved drug charges ranked as first or second degree felonies (accounting

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The Boston sample lent itself more readily to simple classification of drug charges according to relative seriousness because the statutory definition itself divided drug crimes into possession versus sale/manufacture. Because Massachusetts is a common law state and does not rely on formal misdemeanor/felony gradings of crimes, a classification of severity had to be based on the possible penalty, specifically whether the penalty was 5 years or more or not. Yet, not even 2 percent of the Boston drug cases would have been ranked as the most serious if this criterion had been employed.

Figure 3.3 Distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the Boston courts during
the 1984 sample periods, by seriousness, by court

Seriousness of drug charges

n = 4,554, Boston Municipal Court
n =   348, Suffolk County Superior Court
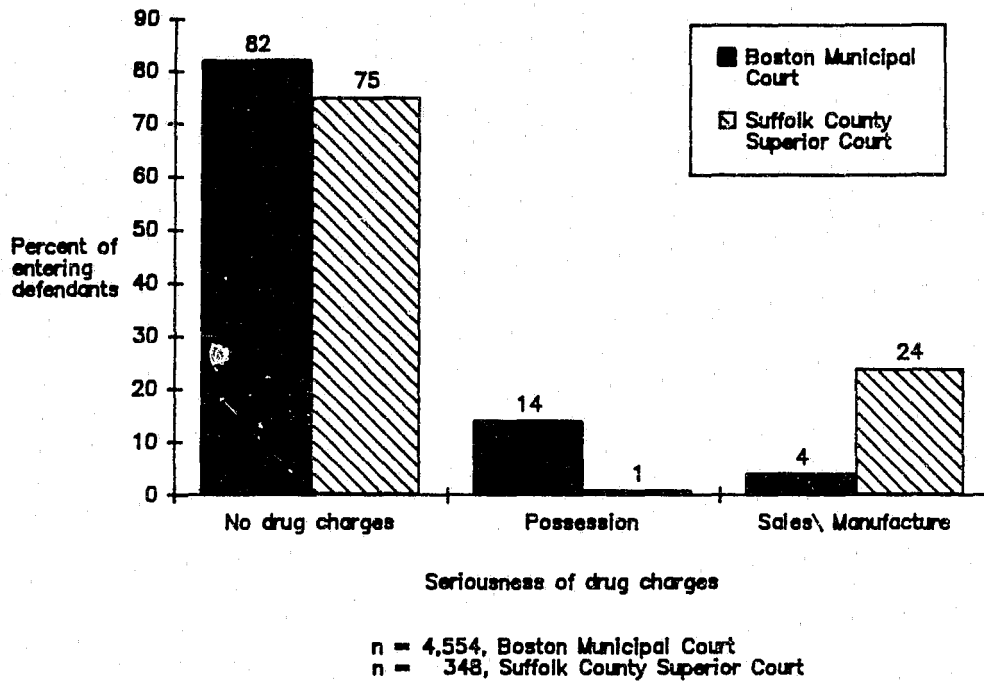
Figure 3.4 Distribution of drug charges among felony defendants entering Maricopa County
Superior Court, June to July, 1984, by seriousness

Seriousness of drug charges

n = 2,229
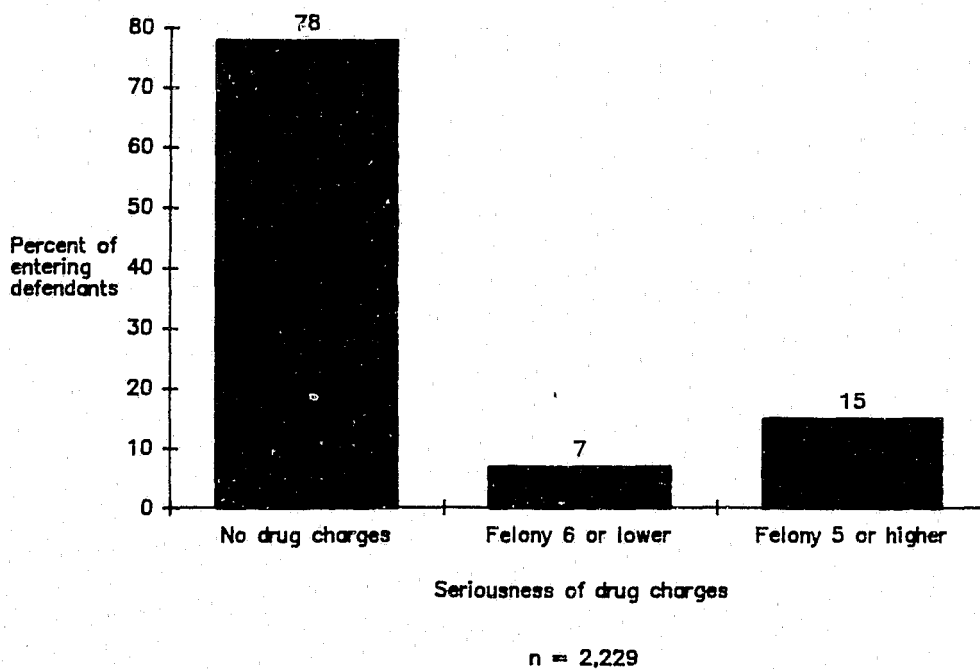
for about 19 percent of all entering felony cases). About 6 percent of all cases involved third degree felony charges; and 2 percent involved misdemeanor drug charges.

The Kinds of Drugs Involved in the Charged Offenses

From arrest reports or other court documents examined during the research, the kind of controlled substance alleged to have been involved in the charges of entering defendants was recorded when available. Figure 3.6 summarizes the kinds of drugs involved in the drug-related criminal cases in the five courts. The kind of drug appears to vary with the seriousness of the drug charges and/or the court jurisdiction. In the limited jurisdiction courts in Boston and Dade County, the kind of drug most often associated with the criminal charges was marijuana, while in the major trial courts cocaine was more prevalent. Among the 1984 Maricopa County felony drug charges, however, marijuana was the principal substance alleged.

II. Drug Related Criminal Cases in the Local Jail Populations

We sampled the populations of the local jails in each of the sites on a "given day" during the fall of 1985. One characteristic the jails had in common was their long histories of overcrowding. The jails differed in size and in function. The Dade County facilities were the largest, holding approximately 3,000 inmates in various statuses. The Maricopa County facility was almost as large, and the Boston jail (the Suffolk County or Charles St. Jail), with a population strictly composed of pretrial detainees about one-tenth the size of the Dade County facility.

Make-up of the Populations

Merely as a way of comparing the jails, Figure 3.7 contrasts the detention populations of each of the jurisdictions using the index offense measure employed earlier in describing the court caseloads. Note that the smallest jail, the Charles St. Jail, held the highest concentration of serious or index-level cases. Not far behind is the Dade County jail population, of which nearly half was charged with index offenses. The Maricopa County facility, on the other hand, held defendants charged with index-level offenses at proportionately half the rate of the others.

Defendants Detained Because of Drug Charges

Figure 3.8 depicts the portion of the detention population in each site charged with drug offenses. Less than one in six of the detainees in Boston, less than one in ten of detainees in Maricopa County and one in four of detainees in Dade County were held on drug charges.

Figure 3.5 Distribution of drug charges among defendants entering County and Circuit Courts in Dade County, June to September, 1984, by seriousness

90

90

80

74

70

■ County Court
☒ Circuit Court

60

50

Percent of
entering   40
defendants

30

20

19

10

10

6

2

0

0

0

No drug   Misdemeanor   Felony 3   Felony 2 or 1
charges

Seriousness of drug charges

n ― 1977, County Court
n ― 2308, Circuit Court
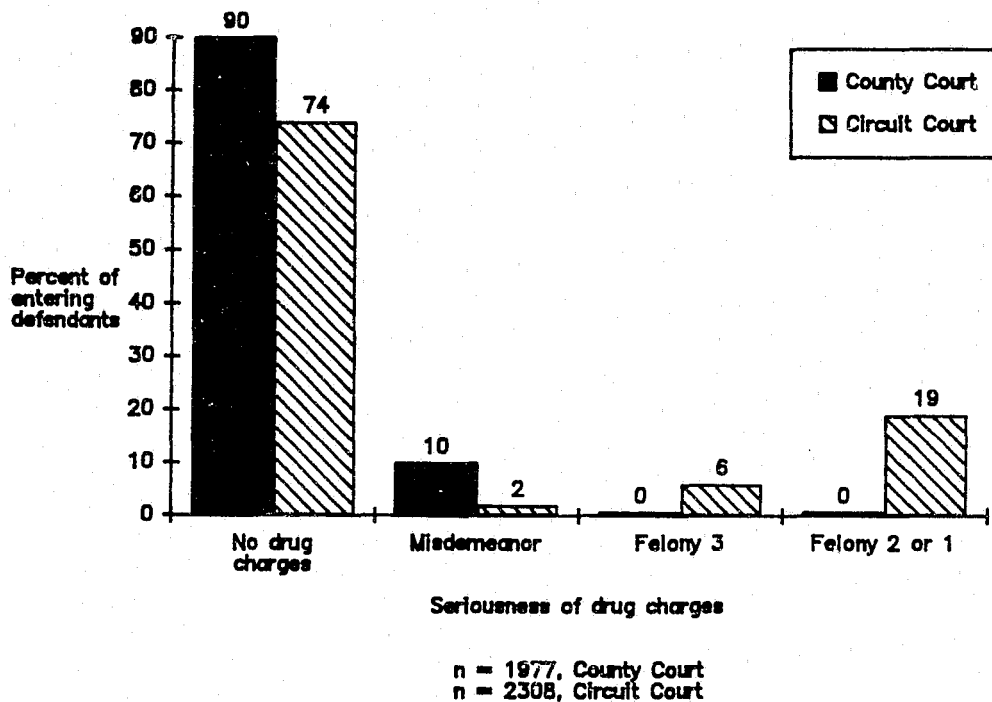
Figure 3.6 Type of drug associated with drug charges of 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charge, by court
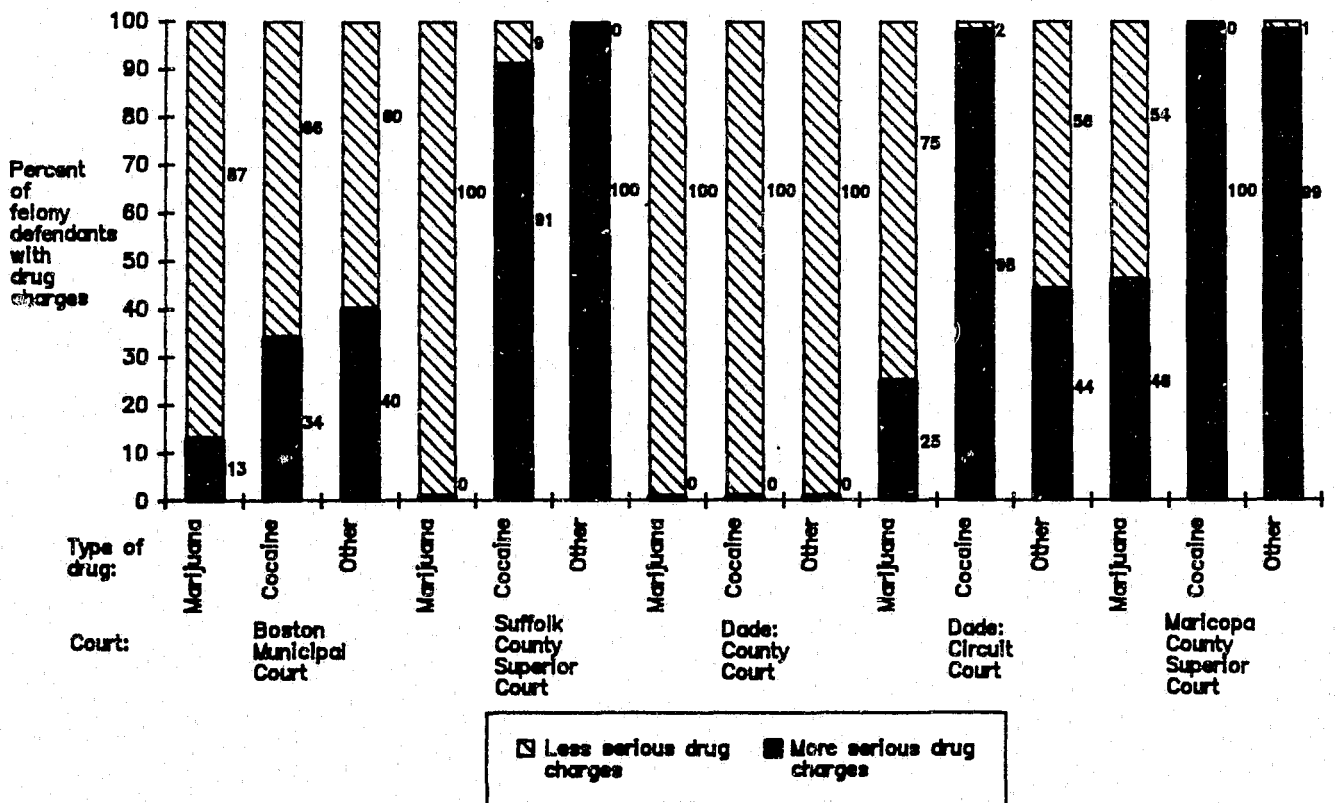
100
90
80

Percent   70
of
felony   60
defendants
with   50
drug
charges   40
30
20
10
0

87   86   80   100   91   100   100   100   100   75   52   56   54   100   99
13   34   40   0   9   0   0   0   0   25   55   44   44   50   1

Type of
drug: Marijuana Cocaine Other   Marijuana Cocaine Other   Marijuana Cocaine Other   Marijuana Cocaine Other   Marijuana Cocaine Other

Court: Boston   Suffolk   Dade: Dade: Maricopa
         Municipal   County   County   Circuit   County
         Court   Superior   Court   Court   Superior
                         Court   Court

☒ Less serious drug   ■ More serious drug
   charges   charges

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Figure 3.7 Persons held in pretrial detention in three urban jails (Suffolk
County, Dade County, Maricopa County) on fall 1985 study dates,
by index offenses

Jail populations

n = 311, Suffolk County
n = 203, Dade County
n = 177, Maricopa County
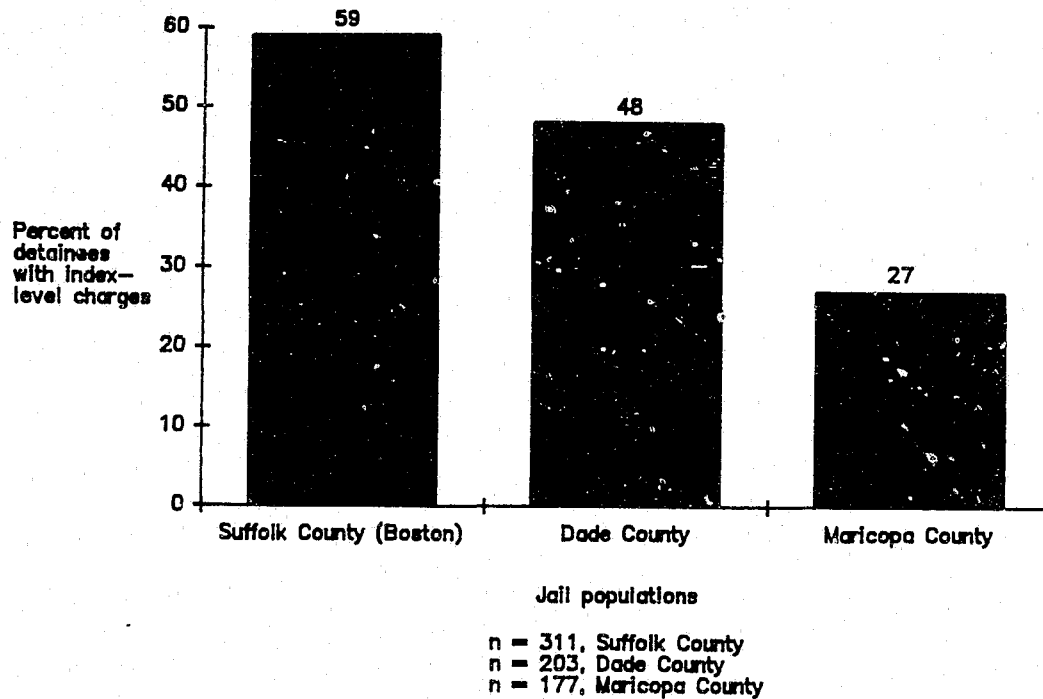
Figure 3.8 Persons held in pretrial detention in three urban jails (Suffolk
County, Dade County, Maricopa County) on fall 1985 study dates,
by drug charges

Jail populations

n = 311, Suffolk County
n = 203, Dade County
n = 177, Maricopa County
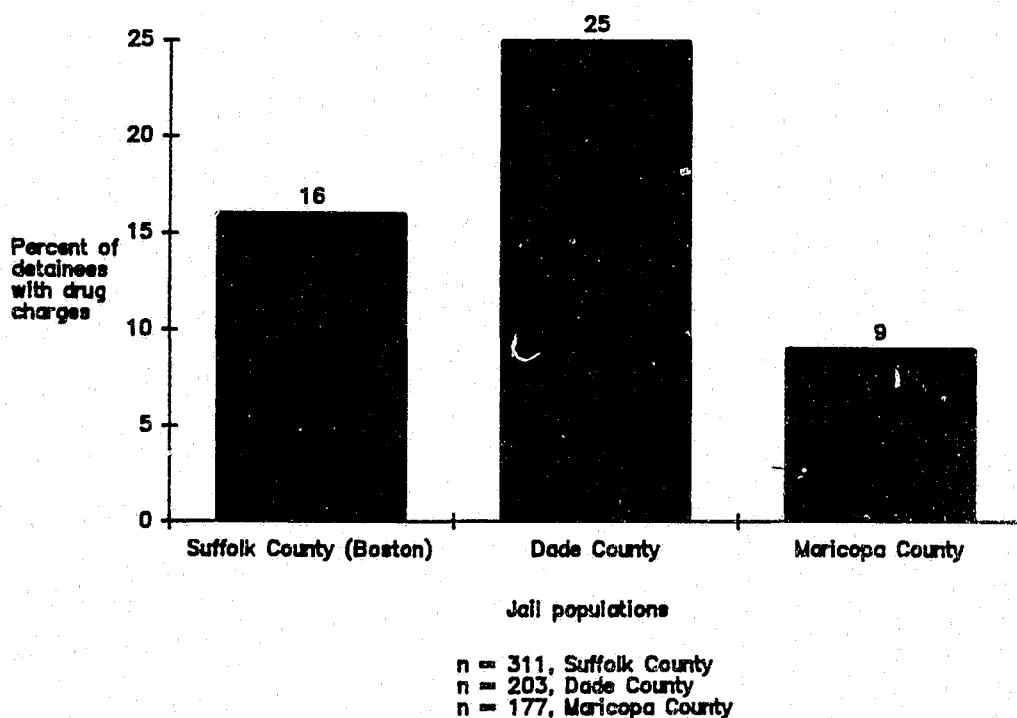
Length of Confinement

In addition to determining the portion of the detention populations accounted for by drug related cases, we sought to learn whether drug-related detention was associated with lengthy periods of pretrial confinement. Figure 3.9 compares the median lengt   3.9 compares the median length of stays associated with drug and non-drug cases in e in Boston the average length of stay for drug-charged offenders was less than half the average length of stay of defendants charged in non-drug cases. In Miami and Phoenix, drug related defendants averaged notably longer periods of confinement than their non-drug charged counterparts. (These findings should be taken in the context of later findings that show drug offenders to gain pretrial release more often than non-drug defendants.)

Bail Holding Detainees

We also were interested in learning whether the bails set for detainees--that were ultimately unaffordable and resulted in detention--differed for defendants held on drug charges. Once again, at least at this level of analysis, no rule-off-thumb summarizes the findings across jails. (See Figure 3.10.) In Boston and Miami, the bails causing the detention of drug-charged defendants were much higher than the bails of detainees charged with other kinds of offenses (in Boston on the average twice as high, in Miami three times as high). In Maricopa County, the bails for drug-charged defendants were slightly lower than the bails for other defendants. This may well be accounted for by the court's reactions to the different kinds of drugs involved--and/or the seriousness of drug offenses. (For example, commissioners may have been viewing alleged involvement with marijuana differently than involvement with other drugs.)

Figure 3.9 Length of time in detention on a given day by detainees in three urban
          jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample
          periods, by drug charges

Legend:
■ Non-drug charges
▨ Drug charges

Median days in confinement (y-axis)

Suffolk County (Boston): 70, 34
Dade County: 32, 38
Maricopa County: 27, 39

Jail populations

n = 311, Suffolk County
n = 203, Dade County
n = 177, Maricopa County
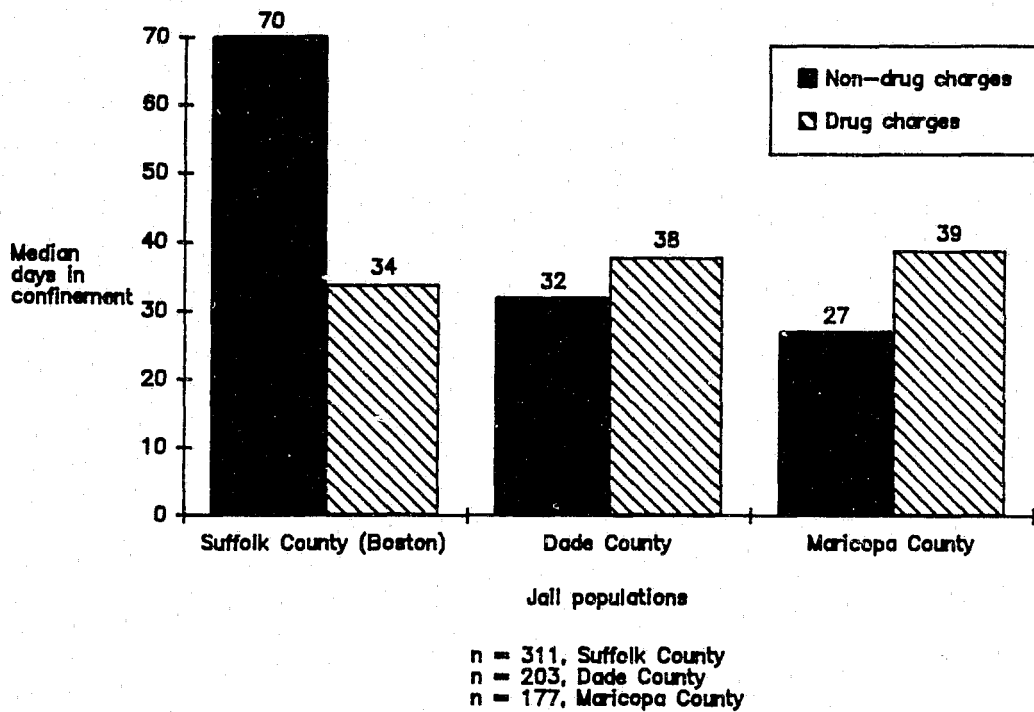
Figure 3.10 Bail holding defendants detained in local jails in Boston, Dade County
           and Maricopa County on study date in fall 1985, by drug charges

Legend:
■ Non-drug charges
▨ Drug charges

Median bail amount (y-axis)

Boston: $2,500, $5,000
Dade County: $4,100, $15,000
Maricopa County: $2,055, $2,055

Jail Populations

n = 311, Suffolk County
n = 203, Dade County
n = 177, Maricopa County
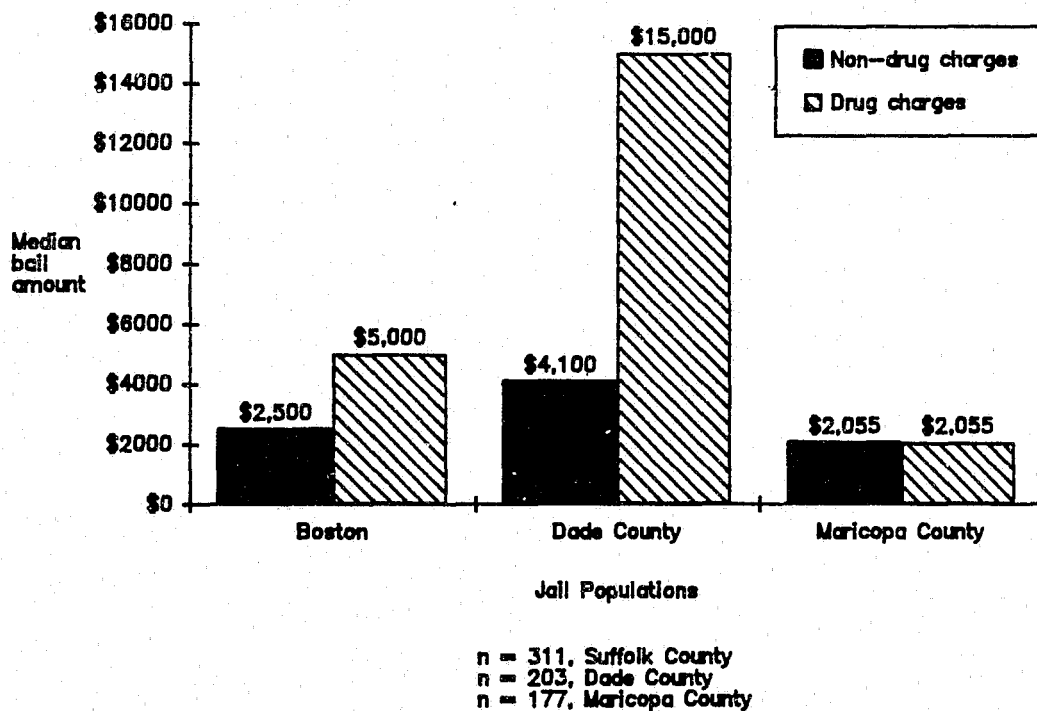
[Note: for discussion of sampling procedures, see text.]

Chapter Four

TOWARD A DESCRIPTIVE CLASSIFICATION OF DRUG CASES

I. The Association of Drug Charges with Other Defendant and Case Attributes

In Chapter Three we discussed the prevalence of defendants with charges for drug offenses within the

caseloads of the different courts. In this chapter, we ask whether characteristics of defendants with drug charges

and/or their cases differentiate them from other defendants. Based on patterns of defendant or case characteristics,

is the drug defendant a different kind of defendant? Does the drug case present a different kind of case? Although

these questions are basic, they have important implications for assessing policy approaches. If drug

defendants/cases cannot be readily distinguished from other defendants and/or are not treated differently by the

system, then different conclusions about the nature of the impact of drug cases on the system and about proposed

policy initiatives might be drawn than if sharp distinctions were found.

Drug Charges and Companion Charges

A first question in trying to characterize criminal cases involving drug charges is whether drug charges are

commonly associated with other kinds of alleged criminal offenses or whether they are relatively homogeneous,

forming a category of cases rather distinct from other kinds of criminal matters. Figure 4.1 depicts graphically the

proportions of defendants charged with selected offenses (such as robbery, burglary, weapons, etc.) also charged

with drug offenses and compares these proportions to the base-rates of defendants overall charged with drug cases.

A first basic finding is that persons charged with drug crimes are seldom also charged with other serious

offenses, at least as defined as index-level by the UCR. In addition, drug charges appear rarely to be associated with

companion charges involving crimes against the person.

Generally, these figures show that rather small proportions of defendants charged in these other kinds of

cases are also charged with drug offenses. In fact, in only one instance--misdemeanor defendants entering County

Court in Dade County charged with weapons offenses--was the proportion of defendants also charged with drug

Figure 4.1a Percentage of defendants charged with selected offenses (robbery, burglary, injury to victim, weapons) also having drug charges in three urban jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample periods
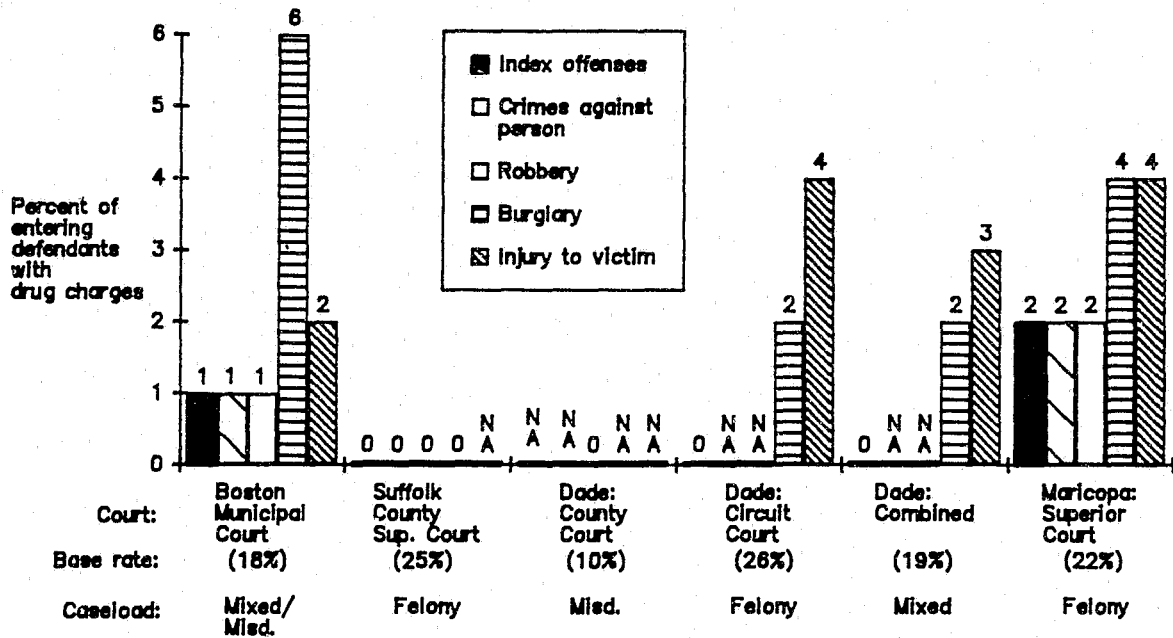
Figure 4.1b Percentage of defendants charged with selected offenses (assault, theft, drunken driving) also having drug charges in three urban jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample periods
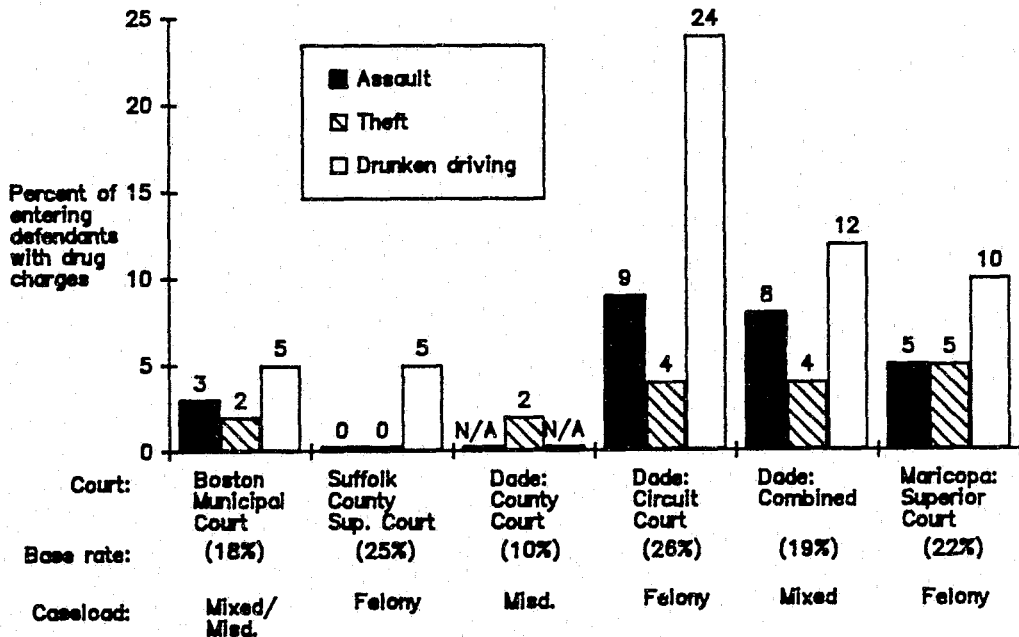
offenses greater than the overall rate (10 percent). These 1984 data suggest that in the court systems examined, drug cases were generally a homogeneous category of cases showing little overlap with other kinds of criminal matters. There were, however, some notable exceptions to this general rule. In Dade County, there was some overlap between weapons charges and drug charges. In addition, in each of the courts there appeared to be some association between drug charges and drunken driving charges, though this was most noticeable among Dade County felony defendants.

One of our primary goals in this study is to contrast persons charged in drug cases with persons charged in non-drug cases to learn whether important differences can be identified. To do this we can examine patterns of criminal charges a second way. Table B4.1 divides persons charged in various categories of cases (robbery, burglary, etc.) into two groups, those charged in drug matters and those not charged in drug matters. In a sense, we are assuming that the percentage of non-drug charge defendants having, say, robbery charges serves as a "norm" or denominator and the percentage of drug-charged defendants having robbery charges is the comparison or numerator. Thus, among the Boston Municipal Court defendants, for example, we calculate a simple ratio by dividing .3 percent (drug-charge cases with robbery charges) by 5 percent (non-drug cases with robbery charges) to produce a ratio of .06.

Because this ratio is less than 1--and is very close to 0--we conclude that robbery charges were very under-represented among Boston Municipal Court drug defendants. When ratios approach unity (1), we conclude that the charge patterns in the cases of defendants charged with drug offenses do not differ from the charge patterns in cases of defendants not charged with drug offenses. When the ratio exceeds unity, we conclude that a particular kind of criminal charge is over-represented among the charges of persons with drug charges.

For each of seven "companion" criminal charge categories, Table B4.1 presents three variations of the companion charge ratio. The first compares the two groups, persons with drug charge and persons without drug charges . The second compares persons charged in drug matters of lesser seriousness[21] with persons not charged

_____

[21] By more or less serious we refer to the definitions discussed above in Chapter Three. Thus, among BMC and Suffolk County Superior Court we employ possession charges as the less serious charge category and

with drug offenses. The third compares persons charged in more serious drug cases with persons not charged in drug cases.

When the simple measure (drug charges versus non-drug charges) is employed across sites, we find very few companion crime categories with ratios anywhere close to 1. This finding suggests that other kinds of criminal charges appear much less frequently among the charges of defendants in drug cases than the norm represented by non-drug cases would project. Cases involving drug charges seem very rarely to involve other kinds of charges.

Two minor exceptions are suggested by Table B4.1: Among Dade County misdemeanor cases, weapons offenses were found disproportionately among defendants with drug charges—and exclusively among defendants with drug offenses of lesser seriousness. Among Dade County felony defendants, drunken driving charges were found disproportionately among defendants with drug charges of the less serious kind. This finding was echoed by defendants entering Superior Court in Suffolk County (Boston). Although drunken driving related charges were found proportionately more frequently among defendants charged with drug offenses than those not so charged, the proportion of drunken driving charges among defendants charged with the less serious drug offenses was 7 times that among non-drug charged defendants.

Demographic Correlates of Drug Charges

In each of the jurisdictions we compared drug and non-drug defendants on the basis of demographic characteristics. Because the availability of demographic data varied in each of the sites, we cannot compare all defendants on all measures. Because of the availability of pretrial services interviews in Dade and Maricopa counties for felony defendants only and of probation screening in the BMC, demographic/defendant background information was best for these defendants and was quite poor for misdemeanor defendants in County Court in Dade County (except for the basics: age, race/ethnicity, gender, address, phone) and felony defendants in the Suffolk County Superior Court sample.

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sale/distribution as the more serious charge category. Among Maricopa County felony defendants we classify defendants charged with felony 6 drug offenses as less serious and defendants with felony 5 or higher as more serious. In Dade County, we grouped defendants charged in misdemeanor 1 or 2 or felony 3 drug matters as less serious and defendants charged with felony 2 and felony 1 drug matters as more serious.

Figure 4.2 Distribution of drug charges among entering 1984 defendants in five courts by age (median years)

Seriousness of drug charges
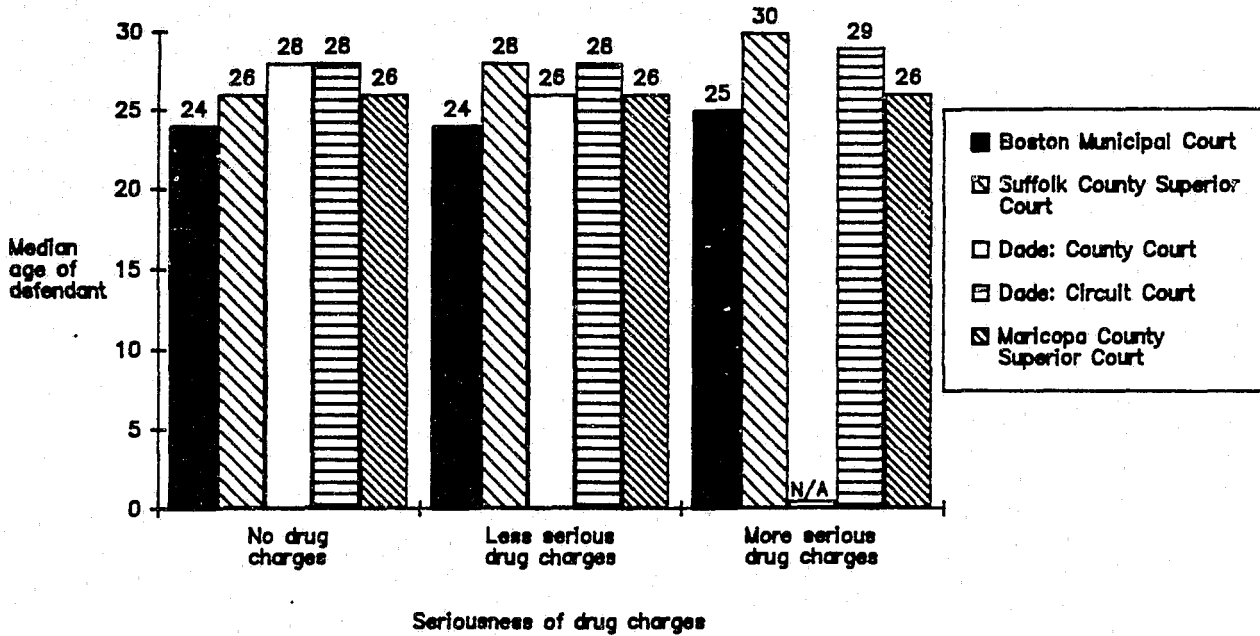
n = 4,353, Boston Municipal Court
n =   321, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,969, Dade County Court
n = 2,299, Dade Circuit Court
n = 2,229, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Figure 4.3 Distribution of drug charges among entering 1984 defendants in five courts by seriousness of drug charges, by gender
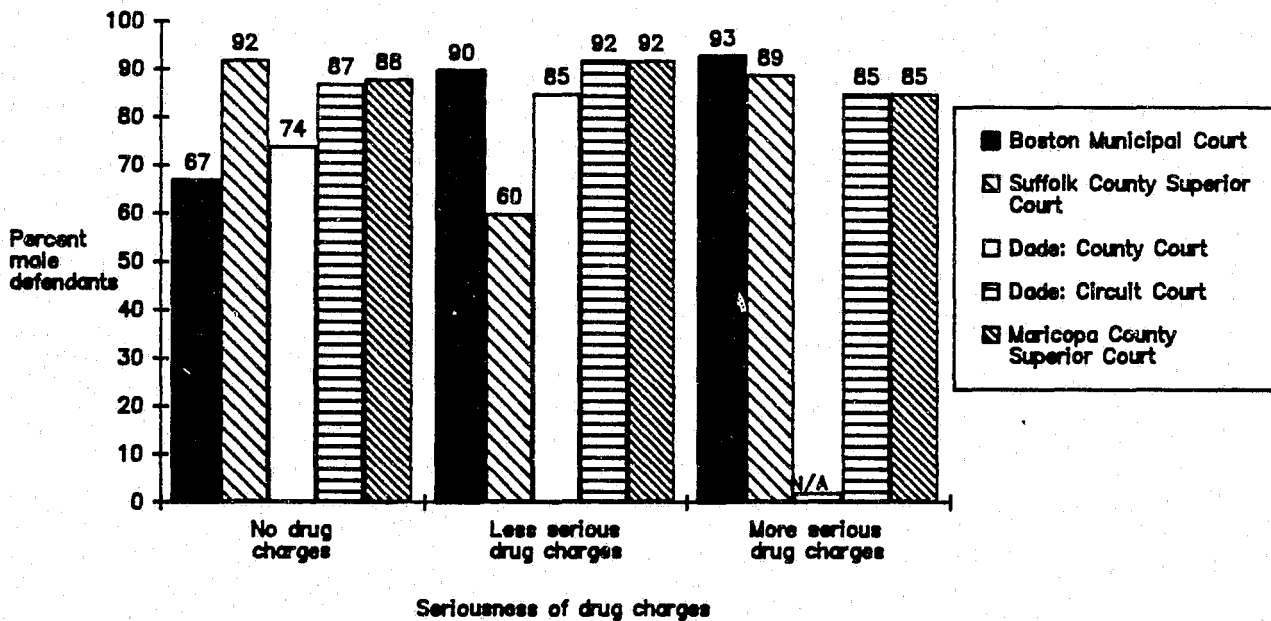
Seriousness of drug charges

n = 4,554, Boston Municipal Court
n =   346, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,977, Dade County Court
n = 2,308, Dade Circuit Court
n = 2,226, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Perhaps because of this reason, clear demographic patterns differentiating drug and non-drug defendants did not emerge across jurisdictions. (See Table B4.2.) For example, little variation in age is noted when the kinds of defendant charges are compared. (See Figure 4.2.) The defendants' gender was slightly related to the kind of offense in the misdemeanor courts of Boston and Dade County, where smaller proportions of non-drug than drug defendants were male . (See Figure 4.3.)

Persons charged in drug cases differed somewhat from persons charged in other kinds of cases when the race/ethnicity of the entering defendants was compared. However, no clear, cross-jurisdictional pattern was discerned.   In the BMC sample, white defendants are under-represented among those charged with sale/distribution of drugs and hispanic/other defendants are over-represented.   Among Dade defendants (misdemeanors and felonies combined), white defendants are over- and black defendants are under-represented among misdemeanor drug charges, and black defendants are over-represented among felony 3 charges. Interestingly, black and white defendants are represented only at the expected rate (reflecting their respective shares of the overall sample) in the most serious--felony 2 and 1--drug categories. Among Maricopa defendants, drug charges did not vary by the race/ethnicity of defendants.

The address of defendants (whether they lived in the areas served by the courts or not) did not appear to make a difference in comparing drug and non-drug cases. Whether a person had a local phone number did: proportionately more drug defendants had such numbers than non-drug defendants.

Some of the most unreliable but most interesting background attributes of defendants involved self-reported substance abuse. Previous research (Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland, 1988) showed --and common sense would dictate--that many entering defendants would not volunteer information regarding their use of controlled substances during their intake interviews. Nevertheless, noticeable numbers of defendants did admit to alcohol and other kinds of substance abuse in two of the court systems. Although we are aware of the limitations

Figure 4.4 Distribution of drug charges among entering 1984 defendants in two courts by seriousness of charges, by self-reported substance abuse

n = 4554, Boston Municipal Court
n = 2308, Dade: Circuit Court
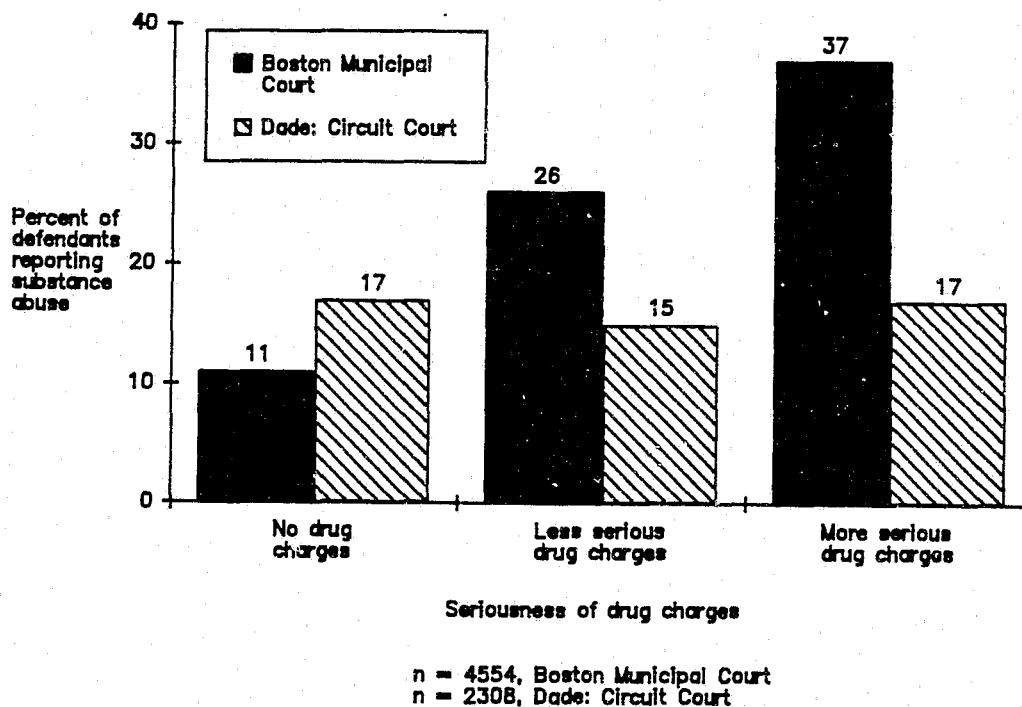
of such self-report data, the data suggest a noticeable relationship between drug charges and self-reported substance abuse among BMC defendants but not among Dade felony defendants. In Boston, those charged with drug offenses were more likely to have admitted substance abuse. (See Figure 4.4.)

Drug Charges and Defendants' Prior Criminal Histories

It is often argued that drug offenders are frequent offenders, repeatedly processed by the criminal courts. To test this assumption, we sought to compare the prior criminal histories of the drug and non-drug charged defendants in the three jurisdictions. Once again, we could differentiate the two groups of defendants--but not often across all three sites. (See Table B4.3 and Figure 4.5.) In fact, the conventional wisdom that defendants in drug cases are more serious, repetitive offenders is not supported by these data.

Figure 4.5   The relationship between current drug charges and prior history
of drug arrests among entering 1984 defendants, by court

Percent of
defendants
with current
drug charges

Prior arrests for drug offenses

■ Boston Municipal Court
▨ Suffolk County Superior Court
□ Dade (combined)
▨ Maricopa County Superior Court
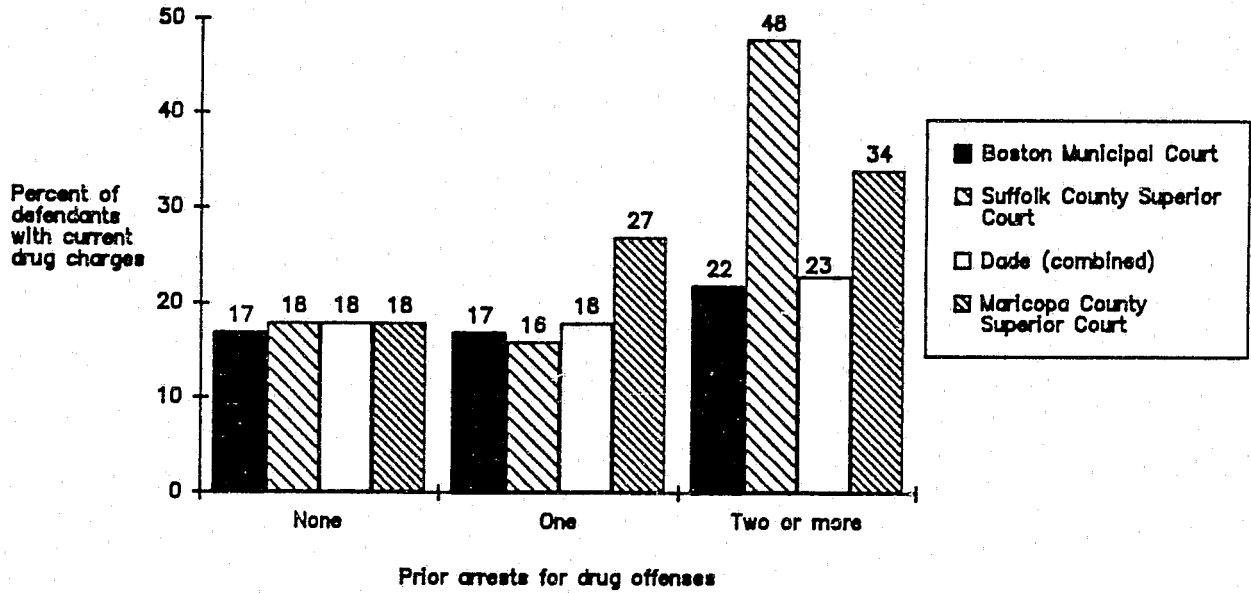
n = 3,632, Boston Municipal Court
n =   311, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 4,217, Dade (combined)
n = 2,215, Maricopa County Superior Court

Figure 4.6   The relationship between current drug charges and prior history
of drug convictions among entering 1984 defendants, by court

Percent of
defendants
with prior
convictions

Prior convictions for drug offenses

■ Boston Municipal Court
▨ Suffolk County Superior Court
□ Dade (combined)
▨ Maricopa County Superior Court
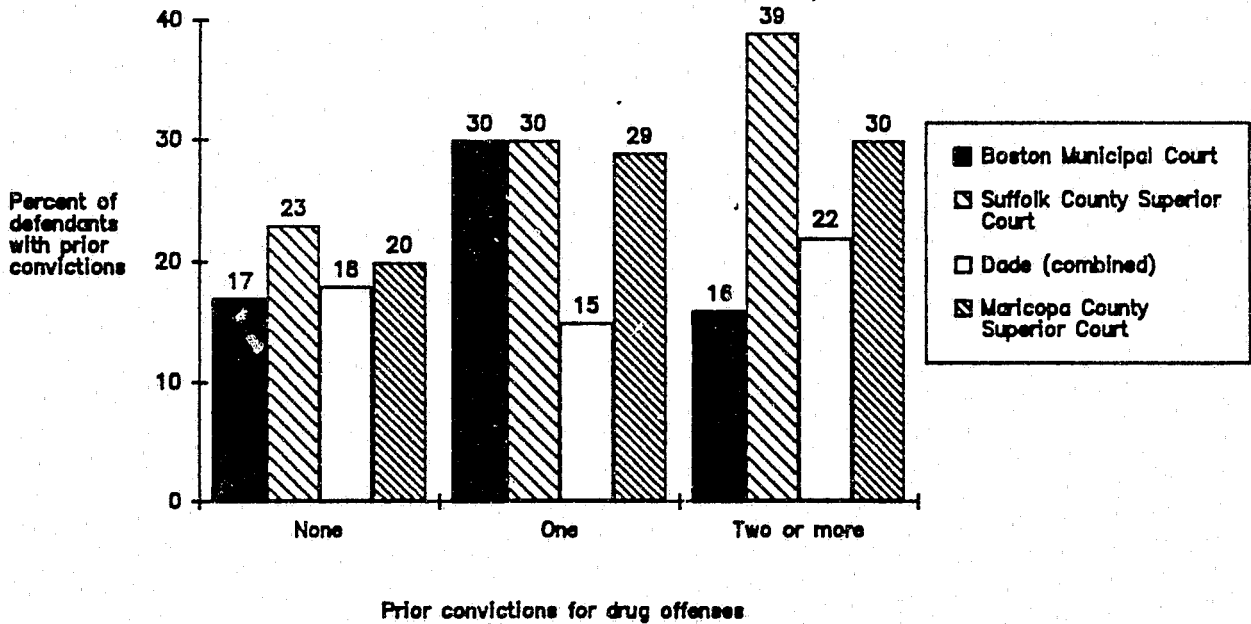
n = 3,626, Boston Municipal Court
n =   317, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 4,215, Dade (combined)
n = 2,197, Maricopa County Superior Court

Generally, defendants' prior arrests appeared either to be unrelated or related in a negative sense to whether or not defendants were charged with drug offenses. One exception to this was that defendants charged with drug offenses more often had prior arrests for drug offenses than their counterparts. They were not distinguished by other kinds of arrests, such as for crimes against the person or weapons offenses. When prior records of convictions were examined, a similar pattern was found: persons charged with drug offenses generally were no different than persons not so charged or they showed fewer prior convictions--except in the case of drug offenses in which they showed more extensive histories. In Maricopa County, this difference (and the difference in arrests) is explained mainly by greater arrest histories among defendants charged with the less serious variety of drug offenses.

In the BMC, Dade felony and Maricopa County samples, we also recorded the kind of drug involved in the alleged drug offense when that was known or available. Interestingly, cases involving marijuana and cocaine offenses showed prior histories that were no different from persons not charged with drug offenses--except in the area of drug arrests and convictions--even across jurisdictions. The prior histories of persons with drug charges involving "other" kinds of drugs were somewhat more extensive.

II. A Typology of Defendants Based on Charges for Drug Offenses

An important emphasis of this research is to determine whether defendants entering the criminal process charged with drug crimes differ in any noticeable ways from other kinds of defendants. So far, our description of them has focused on single descriptors, such as companion charges, demographics or prior criminal history. More helpful would be a classification using any and all available information simultaneously to differentiate defendants according to the prevalence of drug charges. Such a classification, if useful, should result in the grouping of defendants into a number of "types" that are distinguishable by the relative prevalence of drug charges. If such a typology is possible to construct empirically, it should offer a simple way of characterizing defendants in these different groups.

A number of available multivariate statistical techniques could be employed to identify defendant or case attributes that separate defendants into different groups based on the likely presence or absence of drug charges.

Here we make use of predictive attribute analysis (PAA) because of its intuitive simplicity in developing descriptive classifications.[22] Basically, this technique searches for characteristics of defendants most associated with the criterion or phenomenon of interest, the presence or absence of drug charges among entering defendants, and successively partitions the sample into groups differing in their relative prevalence of drug charges. In addition to its simplicity of presentation, PAA has the advantage that different attributes of defendants can be considered among different subgroups, thus allowing for the possibility of interaction effects.

PAA begins by dividing the total sample of defendants on the basis of the attribute (independent variable) most related to the presence or absence of drug charges and stops when no further, related attributes can be found.[23] The partitioning of the three primary 1984 defendant samples are displayed graphically in Figures 4.7 through 4.9. The resulting groupings or "types" of defendants based on the relative presence or absence of drug charges are summarized in Tables 4.4 through 4.6.

Although we will briefly describe these typologies, a first general finding seems to stand out. With the minor exception of Boston defendants, defendants with drug charges do not appear to be distinguishable from other kinds of defendants on the basis of demographic, prior criminal history or other kinds of defendant attributes. Largely, they are distinguishable by the absence of a variety of descriptors of companion charges. Among Dade County and Maricopa County felony defendants, in fact, only information related to defendants' companion charges proved to be related to differentiation of types of defendants.

The Dade County PAA produced five groups or types of defendants differing widely in the presence or absence of charges for drug offenses (ranging from a low of 1 percent of Class 1 defendants to a high of 70 percent of Class 5 defendants having drug charges). (See Figure 4.7 and Table 4.4.) Essentially, having companion charges that were of index-level seriousness or were not index-level in seriousness but involved theft were indicators that

[22] For discussions of PAA, see MacNaughton-Smith (1963; 1965).

[23] The selection procedure selects the next variable based on a minimum coefficient of association (we chose a Somer's d of .15) and a minimum size of the defendant group that would result if the sample were to be split on the basis of the particular attribute. We ruled out attributes if they would not produce a split resulting in at least 50 defendants in weighted samples (Boston and Dade felonies) or 25 in unweighted samples (Maricopa), reasoning that smaller groupings would prove unreliable upon validation on a separate sample.

Figure 4.7 Predictive attribute analysis of prevalence of drug charges
among Dade felony defendants, May to September, 1984

Key

Percent with Drug Charges	Number
Attribute	

26.2%	2308
All Dade Felony Defendants	

d = -.38

38.9%	1542
Non-Index Charges (I)	

0.6%	766
Index Charges (II)	
FINAL	

d = -.48

53.2%	1084
No Theft Charges (III)	

5.1%	458
Theft Charges (IV)	
FINAL	

d = -.47

57.5%	984
No Assault Charges (V)	

10.8%	101
Assault Charges (VI)	
FINAL	

d = -.47

69.7%	730
No Weapons Charges (VII)	
FINAL	

22.6%	254
Weapons Charges (VIII)	
FINAL	
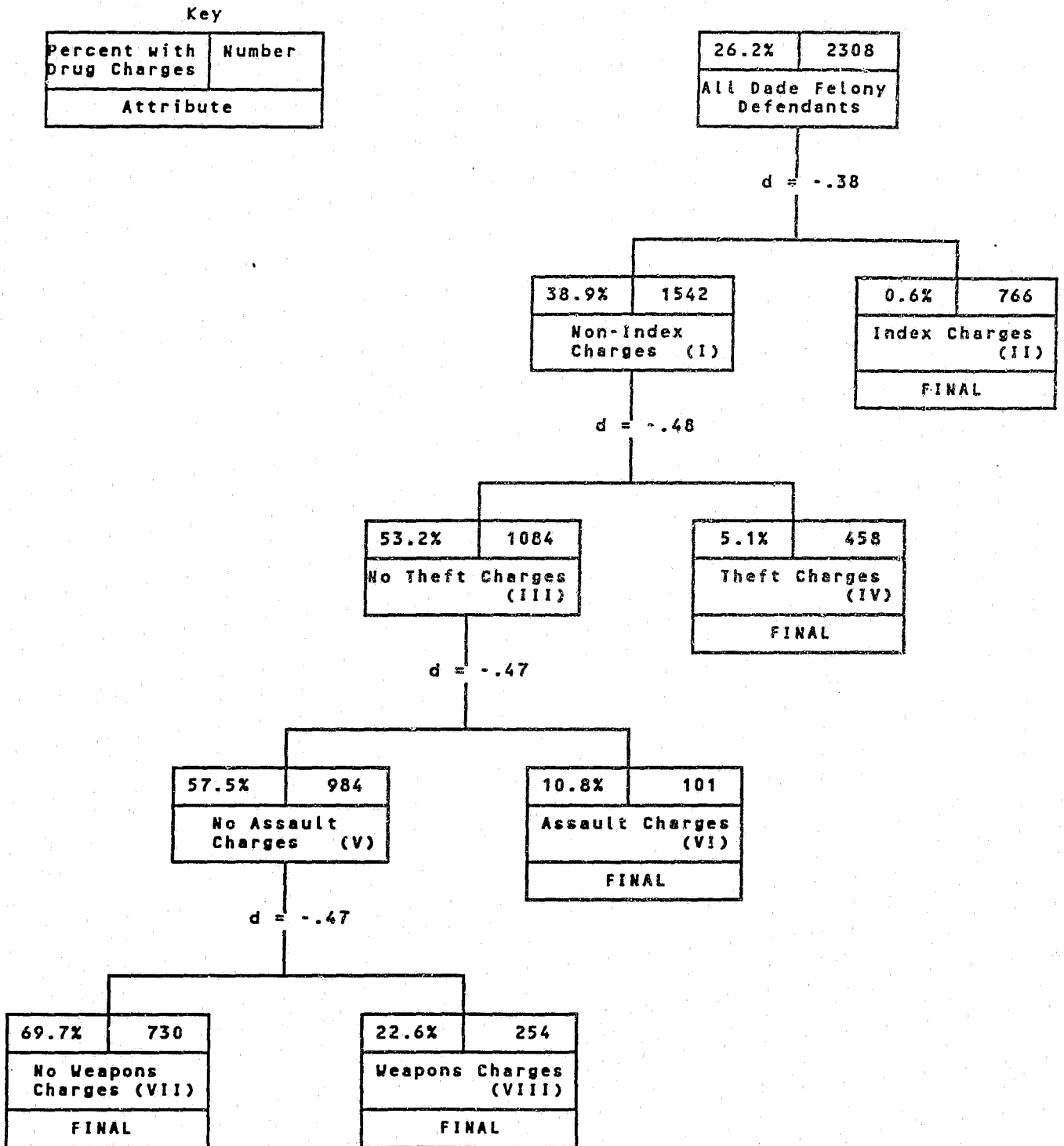
Figure 4.8   Predictive attribute analysis of prevalence of drug charges
among Maricopa County felony defendants, June thru July, 1984

Key

Percent with Drug Charges	Number
Attribute	

21.8%	2,232
All Maricopa Fel. Defendants	

d = -.30

32.4%	1,457
Non-Index Charges (I)	

1.9%	775
Index Charges (II)	
FINAL	

d = -.34

39.5%	1,154
No Theft Charges (III)	

5.3%	303
Theft Charges (IV)	
FINAL	

d = -.36

45.8%	953
No DWI Charges (V)	

10.0%	201
DWI Charges (VI)	
FINAL	

d = -.35

46.7%	928
No Weapons Charges (VII)	

12.0%	25
Weapons Charges (VIII)	
FINAL	

d = -.30

48.5%	870
No Assault Charges (IX)	
FINAL	

19.0%	58
Assault Charges (X)	
FINAL	
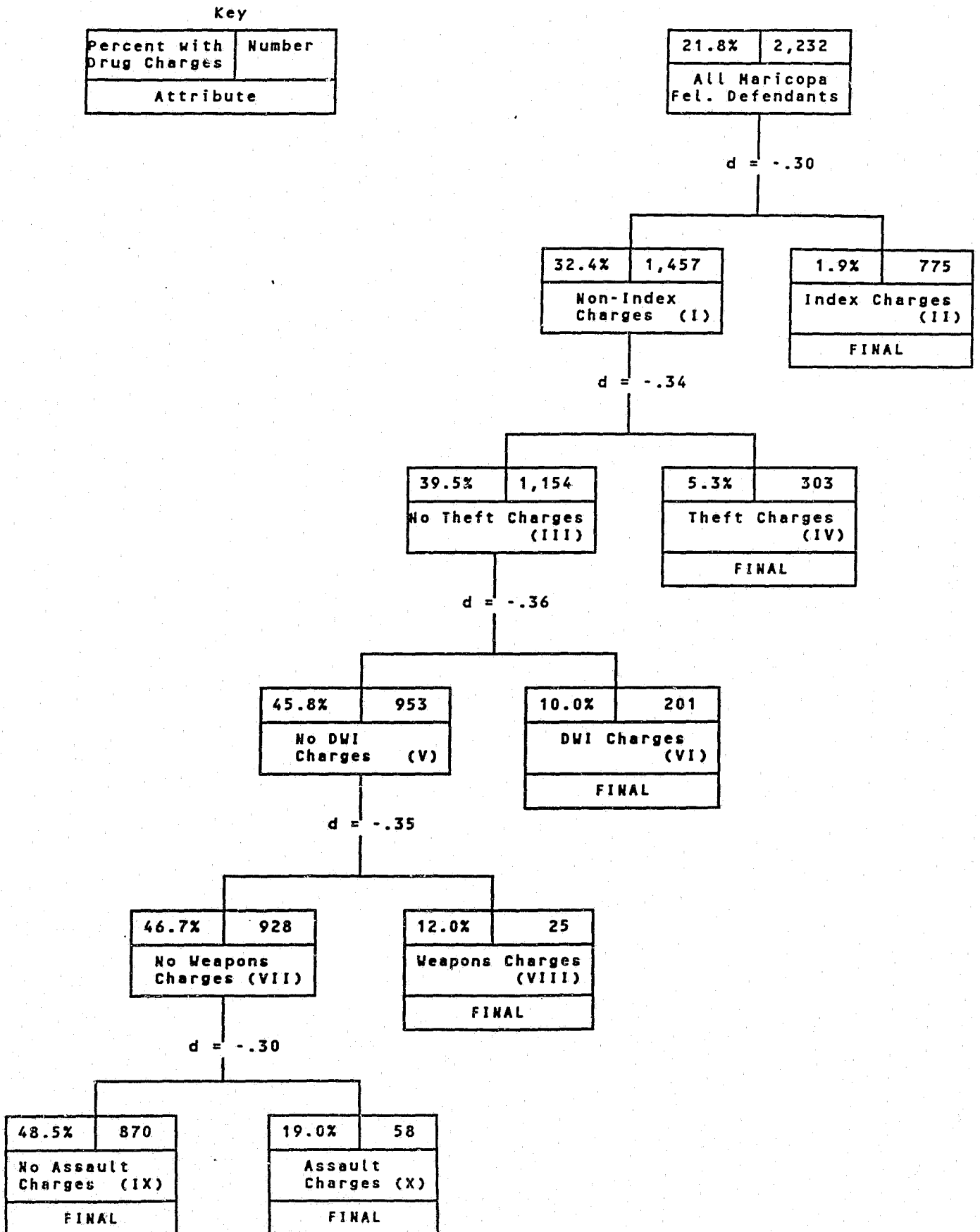
Table 4.4   Classes of Dade felony defendants using predictive attribute analysis, by prevalence of drug charges

Class	Defining attributes	N	Percent with drug charges
1 (II)	Companion charges: index-level	(766)	0.6
2 (IV)	Companion charges: not index-level; theft	(458)	5.1
3 (VI)	Companion charges: not index level; not theft; assault	(101)	10.8
4 (VIII)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not assault; weapons	(254)	22.6
5 (VII)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not assault; not weapons	(730)	69.7
All Dade felony defendants	Base rate	(2,308)	26.2

Table 4.5   Classes of Maricopa County felony defendants using predictive attribute analysis, by prevalence of drug charges

Class	Defining attributes	N	Percent with drug charges
1 (II)	Companion charges: index-level	(775)	1.9
2 (IV)	Companion charges: not index-level; theft	(303)	5.3
3 (VI)	Companion charges: not index level; not theft; DWI	(201)	10.0
4 (VIII)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not DWI; weapons	(25)	12.0
5 (X)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not DWI; not weapons; assault	(58)	19.0
6 (IX)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not DWI; not weapons; not assault	(870)	48.5
All Maricopa felony defendants	Base rate	(2,232)	21.8

drug charges would almost never be found among defendants (see Classes 1 and 2). At the other extreme, defendants with companion charges that were not index-level, not theft-related, not assault-related and not weapons related involved drug charges in a strong majority of cases.

Among Maricopa felony defendants, the predictive attribute analysis yielded results that were strikingly similar, this time producing six groupings of defendants ranging from a low of 2 percent to a high of 49 percent with drug charges. (See Figure 4.8 and Table 4.5.) Again, the key to absence of drug charges seemed to be companion charges of index-level seriousness. The key to the prevalence of drug charges seemed to be the absence of other kinds of companion charges.

When Boston Municipal Court defendants were classified using this technique, seven groupings of defendants were produced, with the presence of drug charges ranging from a low of 0 percent among Class 1 defendants to a high of 62 percent of Class 7 defendants. (See Figure 4.9 and Table 4.6.) Of the six defendant attributes playing a role in the definition of defendant types, three were related to the nature of defendants' companion charges. What is different about the Boston classification of defendants--most of whom were being processed on misdemeanor charges, unlike defendants in Dade and Maricopa--is that the first two most strongly related attributes were not charge-related, but rather related to admitted recent use of drugs (first marijuana and then cocaine). In fact, the group (Class 1) showing the largest proportion (62 percent) of defendants with drug charges was designated solely by reported recent use of marijuana. The group with the second largest proportion (51 percent) of defendants with drug charges was defined by two self-reported drug use items: those not admitting to recent marijuana use but admitting to recent cocaine use. The attribute entering third was the defendant's gender.

The Boston typology departs from the others in its inclusion of self-reported drug use and gender as the primary differentiating attributes probably for two reasons: first, the Boston Municipal Court sample was largely misdemeanor; second, many of the drug offenses associated with defendants in that sample were, therefore, of the less serious, possession variety. Thus, it may be logical that drug use would go hand-in-hand with possession

Figure 4.9   Predictive attribute analysis of prevalence of drug charges
            among Boston Municipal Court defendants, April to October, 1984

```
                     Key
         ┌──────────────┬─────────┐                              ┌─────────┬────────┐
         │Percent with  │ Number  │                              │ 17.9%   │ 4,580  │
         │Drug Charges  │         │                              ├─────────┴────────┤
         ├──────────────┴─────────┤                              │    All BMC       │
         │      Attribute         │                              │    Defendants    │
         └────────────────────────┘                              └──────────────────┘
                                                                          │
                                                                     d = .46
                                                      ┌───────────────────┴──────────────────┐
                                           ┌─────────┬────────┐                    ┌─────────┬────────┐
                                           │ 15.1%   │ 4,341  │                    │ 61.8%   │  239   │
                                           ├─────────┴────────┤                    ├─────────┴────────┤
                                           │  No Marijuana    │                    │  Marijuana Use   │
                                           │     Use    (I)   │                    │            (II)  │
                                           └──────────────────┘                    ├──────────────────┤
                                                    │                               │      FINAL       │
                                                d = .36                             └──────────────────┘
                                    ┌───────────────┴──────────────┐
                         ┌─────────┬────────┐            ┌─────────┬────────┐
                         │ 14.9%   │ 4,273  │            │ 51.2%   │   68   │
                         ├─────────┴────────┤            ├─────────┴────────┤
                         │  No Cocaine Use  │            │  Cocaine Use     │
                         │           (III)  │            │           (IV)   │
                         └──────────────────┘            ├──────────────────┤
                                  │                       │      FINAL       │
                              d = -.18                    └──────────────────┘
                    ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
         ┌─────────┬────────┐          ┌─────────┬────────┐
         │ 19.0%   │ 3,036  │          │ 4.7%    │ 1,237  │
         ├─────────┴────────┤          ├─────────┴────────┤
         │   Male           │          │  Female          │
         │          (V)     │          │           (VI)   │
         └──────────────────┘          ├──────────────────┤
                  │                      │      FINAL       │
              d = -.23                   └──────────────────┘
        ┌─────────┴──────────────┐
 ┌─────────┬────────┐   ┌─────────┬────────┐
 │ 23.4%   │ 2,463  │   │ 0.5%    │  573   │
 ├─────────┴────────┤   ├─────────┴────────┤
 │   No Theft       │   │  Theft Charges   │
 │   Charges (VII)  │   │          (VIII)  │
 └──────────────────┘   ├──────────────────┤
          │              │      FINAL       │
      d = -.28           └──────────────────┘
 ┌────────┴───────────────┐
┌─────────┬────────┐  ┌─────────┬────────┐
│ 29.0    │ 1,965  │  │ 1.2%    │  498   │
├─────────┴────────┤  ├─────────┴────────┤
│  Non-Index       │  │  Index Charges   │
│  Charges (IX)    │  │           (X)    │
└──────────────────┘  ├──────────────────┤
         │             │      FINAL       │
     d = -.30          └──────────────────┘
 ┌───────┴────────────┐
┌─────────┬────────┐  ┌─────────┬────────┐
│ 30.2%   │ 1,887  │  │ 0.0%    │   78   │
├─────────┴────────┤  ├─────────┴────────┤
│  No Weapons      │  │  Weapons Charges │
│  Charges   (XI)  │  │           (XII)  │
├──────────────────┤  ├──────────────────┤
│      FINAL       │  │      FINAL       │
└──────────────────┘  └──────────────────┘
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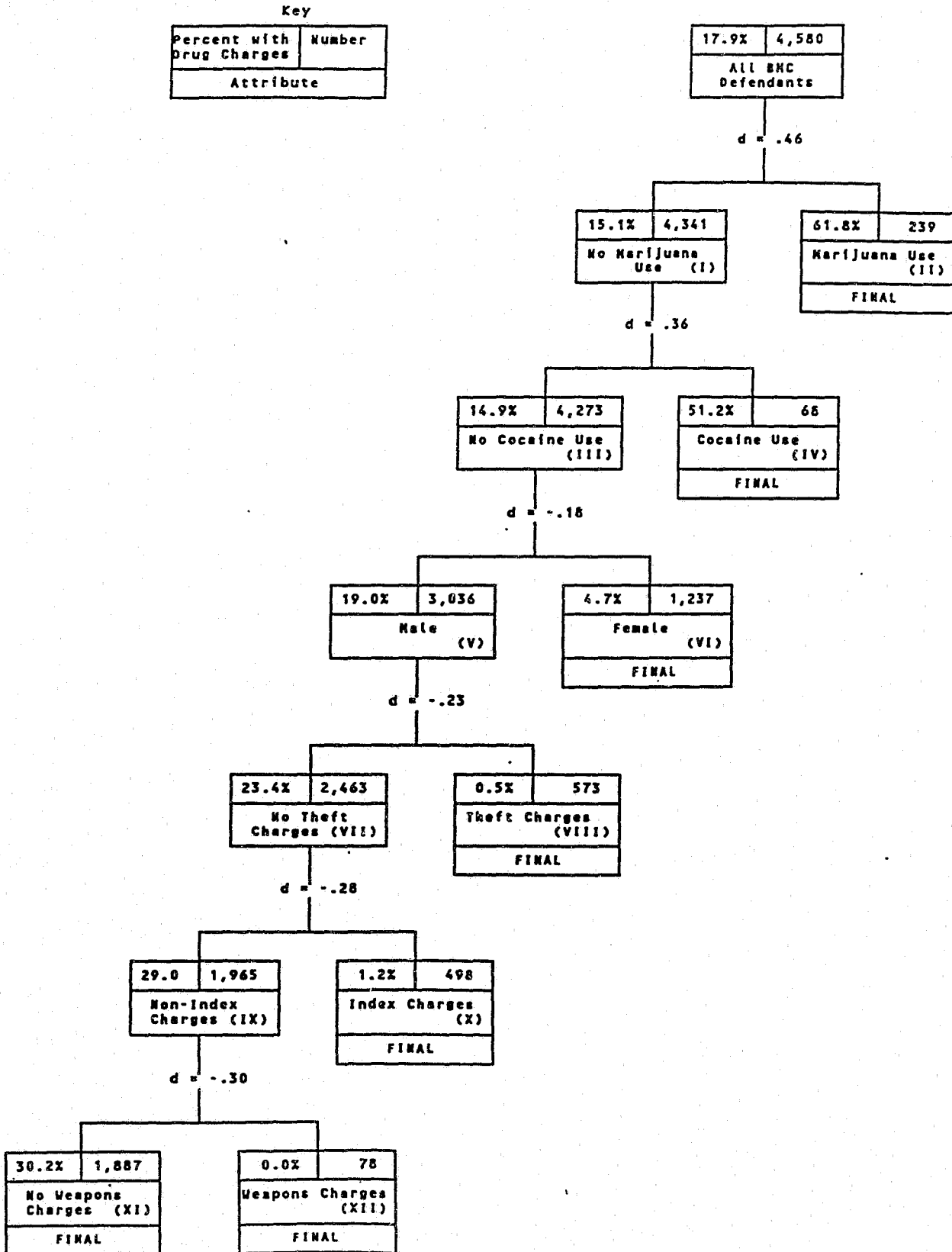
Table 4.6   Classes of Boston Municipal Court felony defendants using predictive attribute analysis, by prevalence of drug charges

Class	Defining attributes	N	Percent with drug charges
1 (XII)	No self-reported marijuana use; no self-reported cocaine use; male; companion charges; not theft; not index-level; weapons	(78)	0.0
2 (VIII)	No self-report marijuana use; no self-reported cocaine use; male; companion charges: theft	(573)	0.5
3 (X)	No self-reported marijuana use; no self-reported cocaine use; male; companion charges: not theft; index-level	(498)	1.2
4 (VI)	No self-reported marijuana use; no self-reported cocaine use; female	(1,237)	4.7
5 (XI)	No self-reported marijuana use; no self-reported cocaine use; male; companion charges: Not theft; not index-level; not weapons	(1,887)	30.2
6 (IV)	No self-reported marijuana use; reported cocaine use	(68)	51.2
7 (II)	Reported marijuana use	(239)	61.8
All Boston Municipal Court defendants	Base rate	(4,580)	17.9

charges--and not, as in the other felony jurisdictions perhaps, be associated with more serious, sale or trafficking offenses.

Overall, we can report that typologies grouping defendants on the basis of the relative presence or absence of drug charges were successfully developed for each of the court samples only in a technical sense. The successive partitioning of defendant samples into defendant types was rather straightforward and did not involve any interactions. Viewed in a more practical fashion, however, the PAA results did not provide a powerful means for identifying characteristics differentiating defendants with and without drug charges. A common theme across jurisdictions, for example, was that little demographic, prior criminal history or other background information differentiated defendants well; rather, the characteristics of companion charges--that is, the lack of particular charge characteristics among companion charges--proved to be the most important information. The conclusion that persons having drug charges are mainly different from persons not having drug charges by their charges approaches the tautological, if not nonsensical.

Ordinarily, the usefulness of a descriptive classification is enhanced by its validation using to other, similar kinds of samples. Because of our illustrative purposes in this chapter and limitations of space, we do not present the results of such a validation analysis. It is sufficient to note here that the typologies developed in our different samples (and see the results of the PAA using 1987 Dade County defendants in Chapter Six) are so similar as to serve as evidence of validation.

Chapter Five

DRUG CASES IN THE ADJUDICATORY PROCESS

Introduction

In this chapter, we shift the focus of our analysis from the description of defendants facing criminal charges for drug offenses to a consideration of the disposition of drug cases at various stages of the adjudicatory process. Once again, our focus is comparative, asking whether the outcomes of cases when defendants are not charged with drug offenses are any different from cases with drug charges. In other words, we are changing the focus of the investigation from one which treats the presence of drug charges as the phenomenon to be explained (i.e., as the dependent variable) to one which asks about the effect of drug charges on particular judicial outcomes of interest (i.e., viewing the presence of drug charges as an independent or explaining variable). To do this, we have divided the chapter into two parts, the first describing the role of drug charges in the pretrial release decision and outcomes and the second examining the outcomes of cases moving forward toward adjudication.[24]

I. Drug Cases at the Pretrial Release Stage

Certainly, one of the points of greatest impact in the criminal process is at the first judicial stage--variously referred to as "arraignment" (Boston Municipal Court), "bond hearing" (Dade County), or "initial appearance" (Maricopa County)[25]--when pretrial release is determined. The importance of this decision stage stems not only from the volume of arrestees processed in each of the jurisdictions (obviously, the volume of cases alone is a major factor in processing at the earliest stages), but also from the fact that this juncture marks the court's first attempt to balance its several concerns--public safety, the defendant's future attendance at court, the defendant's interest in remaining at liberty pending adjudication, equity and, quite likely, the population crisis at the local jail facility.

[24] Although at this exploratory level of analysis we limit our discussion to a bivariate level of analysis, we point out that more in-depth multivariate analyses might show some of the differences in dispositions and outcomes to diminish or to disappear when other kinds of factors related to the decisions are taken into consideration.
[25] For a full discussion of the judicial processes in the three sites and the bail/pretrial release decision stages, see Goldkamp and Gottfredson (1988).

Effective decisionmaking at this stage can minimize the threats to the public posed by unrestrained release of high risk defendants as well as reserve the use of pretrial detention for only defendants for whom no conditions of release can be devised to assure the safety of the community and the orderly administration of justice. Ineffective practices needlessly clog the jail with defendants who would have fared well during pretrial release and/or permit the release of high risk defendants who continue to wreak havoc on the community. Just as ineffective court practices can create a logjam at the local jail for failure to move cases through the system to their final dispositions, the kinds of cases entering the system--a phenomenon over which the courts can exercise little control generally-- can wield considerable influence on the choices that are made concerning release and detention and later processing outcomes.

The potential impact a large number of drug offenses cases can make on the system at this stage depends on the assumptions held about the nature of such cases. If most drug cases involve possession of very small amounts of marijuana, for example, one might argue that they should be diverted or handled less than formally at a very early stage to avoid draining away the system's resources, rightfully reserved for cases of a more serious nature. However, if persons involved in drug cases represent much greater than usual threats to public safety (because of the drug-crime connection) a large volume of drug cases might translate into frequent resort to high bails and pretrial detention, recidivism during pretrial release, protracted adjudicatory procedures and more prison sentences than the more typical criminal case.

Table B5.1 summarizes the relationship between drug charges and pretrial release decisions in the three sites using two measures. The first compares the percentage of entering defendants in each of the sites receiving some form of nonfinancial release (OR with or without some restricting conditions). The second measure compares the median bails (treating nonfinancial release as $0) set in each site in drug and non-drug cases.

In the two courts with the most misdemeanor-like caseloads, the BMC and the County Court in Dade, most defendants received nonfinancial bail (OR) and drug cases did not differ greatly from non-drug cases. In two of the three felony courts, Suffolk County Superior Court and Superior Court in Maricopa County, defendants with drug

charges received nonfinancial release notably <u>more</u> often than defendants charged in non-drug cases. In Circuit Court in Dade County, however, defendants with drug charges received nonfinancial release notably <u>less</u> often than defendants without drug charges. The same findings are reflected in the median bonds displayed in Table B5.1.

Figure 5.1 examines these findings in more detail by making use of the less and more serious subcategories of drug charges described above in Chapter Three. By distinguishing between the kinds of drug charges according to our measures of seriousness, the picture clarifies noticeably. In the Boston Municipal, Suffolk County Superior Court, and Circuit Court in Dade County defendants charged with the less serious drug offenses received nonfinancial release more often and defendants charged with the more serious drug offenses received nonfinancial release substantially less often than defendants not charged with drug offenses.[26] In Maricopa County Superior Court, as Figure 5.1 also shows, felony drug defendants received nonfinancial release more often regardless of the seriousness of the drug offenses.

Pretrial Release

The real importance of the bail decision--for the judicial process, the public and the defendant--of course, is the determination of release or detention before trial. Table B5.1 and Figure 5.3 contrast the use of pretrial release among defendants in each of the sites according to the presence or absence of drug charges using two measures.

In every court, a greater proportion of defendants with drug charges gained pretrial release within two days than defendants without drug charges--with the greatest differences found among Suffolk County Superior Court and Maricopa County defendants. This finding is repeated when release within 90 days is examined. Some variation in release rates is found when the seriousness of the drug charges is taken into consideration. In the BMC, defendants charged with drug possession had notably higher, and defendants charged with sale or manufacture had notably lower release rates within two days than defendants not charged with drug offenses. When release over a 90 day period is considered nearly all defendants gained release no matter what their charges, although the highest rate

[26] Note that County Court in Dade County is not discussed because all drug offenses among defendants entering that court involved only misdemeanors, the less serious category of drug charges.

Figure 5.1 The use of nonfinancial release among entering 1984 defendants,
by seriousness of drug charges, by court
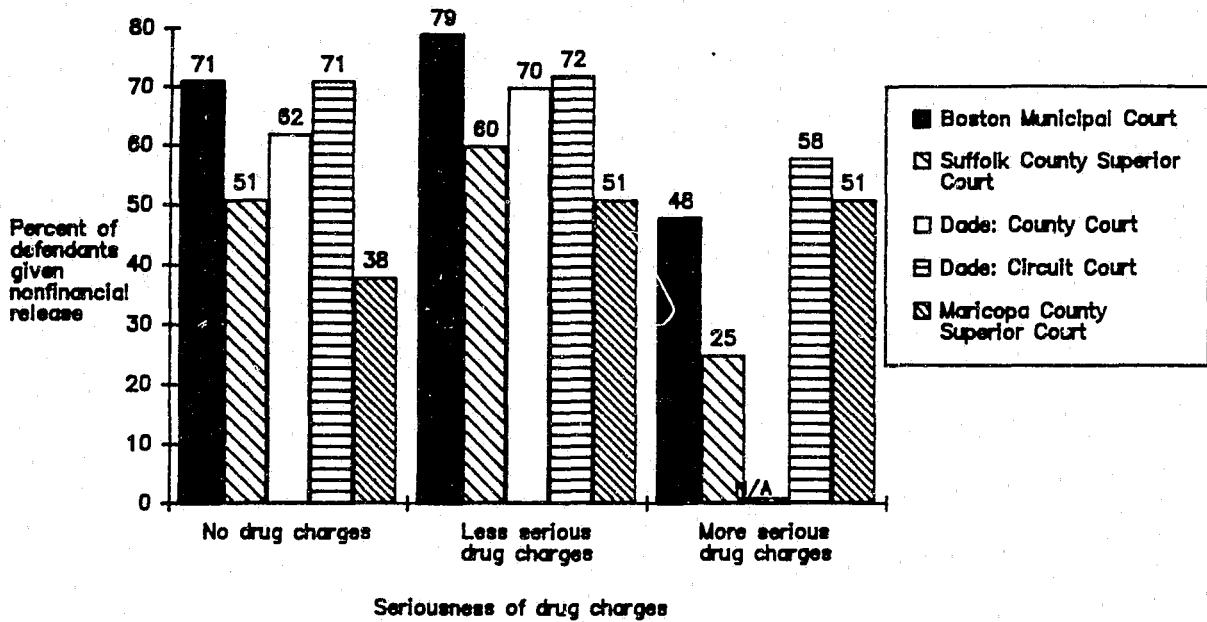
Percent of
defendants
given
nonfinancial
release

Boston Municipal Court
Suffolk County Superior Court
Dade: County Court
Dade: Circuit Court
Maricopa County Superior Court

Seriousness of drug charges

n = 4,401, Boston Municipal Court
n =   321, Suffolk County Superior Court
n =   970, Dade: County Court
n = 1,776, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,185, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Figure 5.2 The use of financial bail among entering 1984 defendants, by
seriousness of drug charges, by court
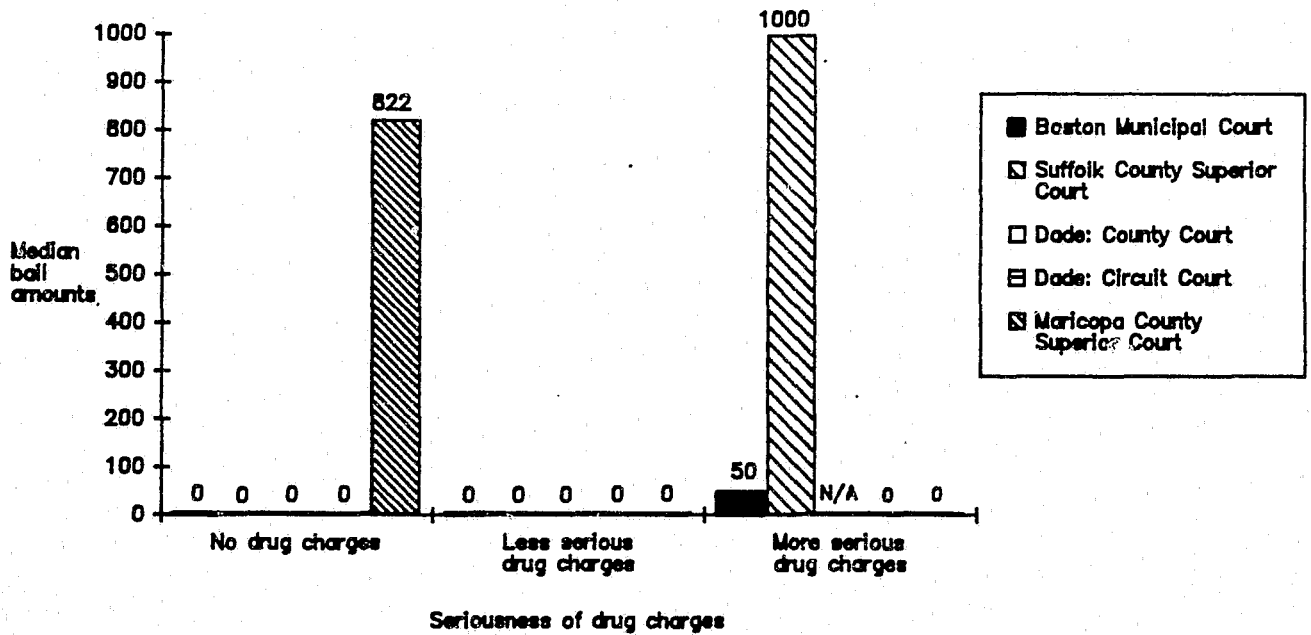
Median
bail
amounts

Boston Municipal Court
Suffolk County Superior Court
Dade: County Court
Dade: Circuit Court
Maricopa County Superior Court

Seriousness of drug charges

n = 4,401, Boston Municipal Court
n =   321, Suffolk County Superior Court
n =   970, Dade: County Court
n = 1,776, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,185, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

of release was among defendants charged with sale/manufacture. In Boston's major trial court, the Suffolk County Superior Court, drug-charged defendants overall were also more frequently released than non-drug charged defendants, and persons charged with possession (less serious drug charges) were released slightly more often than those charged with sale manufacture.

Among Dade County defendants (both misdemeanors and felonies), persons charged with the most serious drug offenses (felony grades 2 or 1) were released within two days of booking at about the same rate as persons whose charges did not include drug offenses. Defendants charged with misdemeanor or felony 3 drug offenses were released at rates much higher than non-drug defendants. When release within 90 days is the measure, drug-charged defendants all gained release at rates higher than non-charged defendants. The greatest increase in pretrial release between the 2 and 90 day periods was experienced by defendants charged with the most serious drug cases.

In Maricopa County, defendants charged with drug offenses--regardless of their relative seriousness-- received pretrial release more frequently than non-drug defendants, although defendants with the most serious drug-related charges were released slightly less often than defendants with less serious drug charges.

The granting of pretrial release also varied by the kind of drug involved in the charged offense, but not consistently across jurisdictions. (See Figure 5.4.) In the Boston Courts, defendants whose drug charges involved marijuana or cocaine were more frequently released within two days than defendants allegedly involved with other kinds of controlled substances. In Dade County, felony court defendants charged with offenses involving marijuana secured release more often than defendants whose charges involved other kinds of drugs and defendants not charged with drug crimes. Among misdemeanor defendants, defendants whose charges involved "other" drugs fared better by far than all other categories of defendants. Cocaine defendants showed the lowest release rates within two days. By the time 90 days had passed, however, defendants having cocaine-related charges showed the most favorable release rate. Among Maricopa County drug defendants, cocaine defendants showed the highest rate of pretrial release, followed by marijuana defendants, and then by defendants whose charges involved "other" kinds of controlled substances.

Figure 5.3 Pretrial release within 2 days of entering 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges, by court

Percent released within 2 days

Seriousness of drug charges
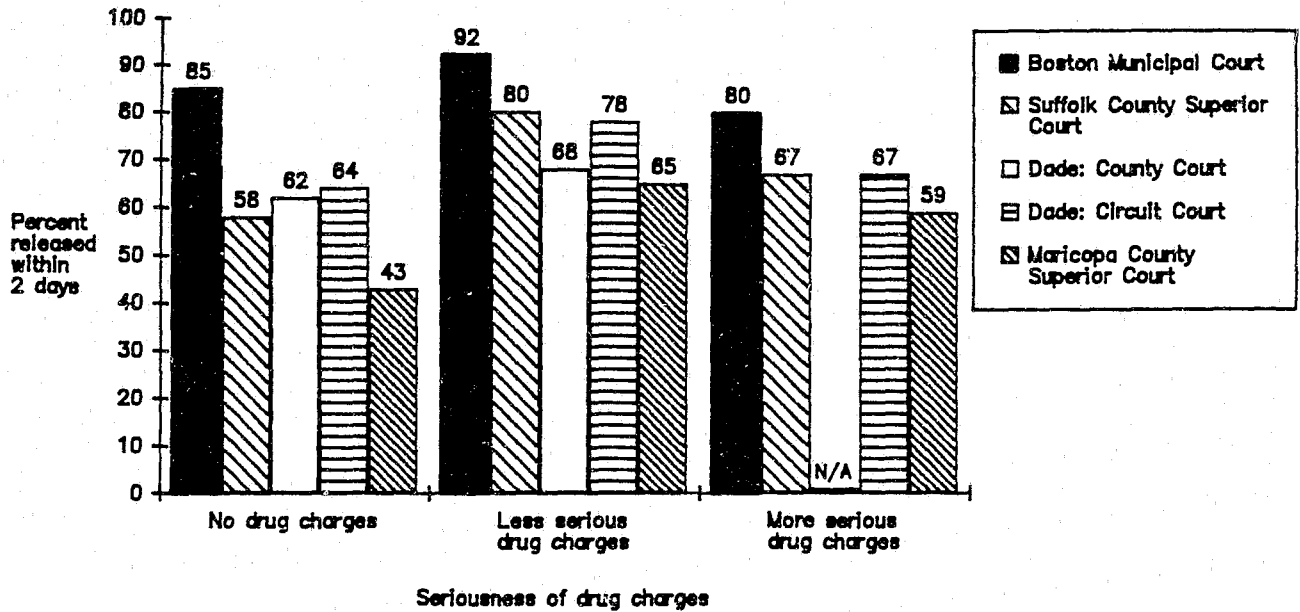
n = 4,554, Boston Municipal Court
n =   348, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,977, Dade: County Court
n = 2,308, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,204, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Figure 5.4 Pretrial release within 2 days of entering 1984 defendants, by kind of drug, by court

Percent released within 2 days

Kind of drug
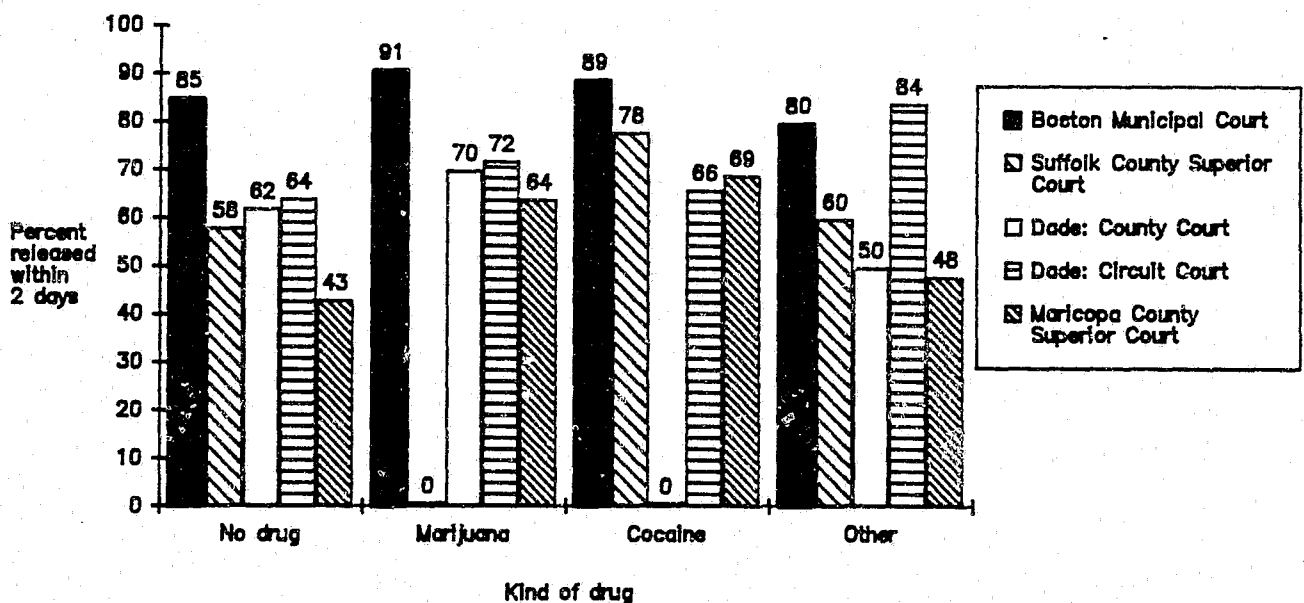
n = 4,556, Boston Municipal Court
n =   353, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,973, Dade: County Court
n = 2,297, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,138, Maricopa County Superior Court

Figure 5.5 Percent of released 1984 defendants gaining release via nonfinancial means, by seriousness of drug charges, by court
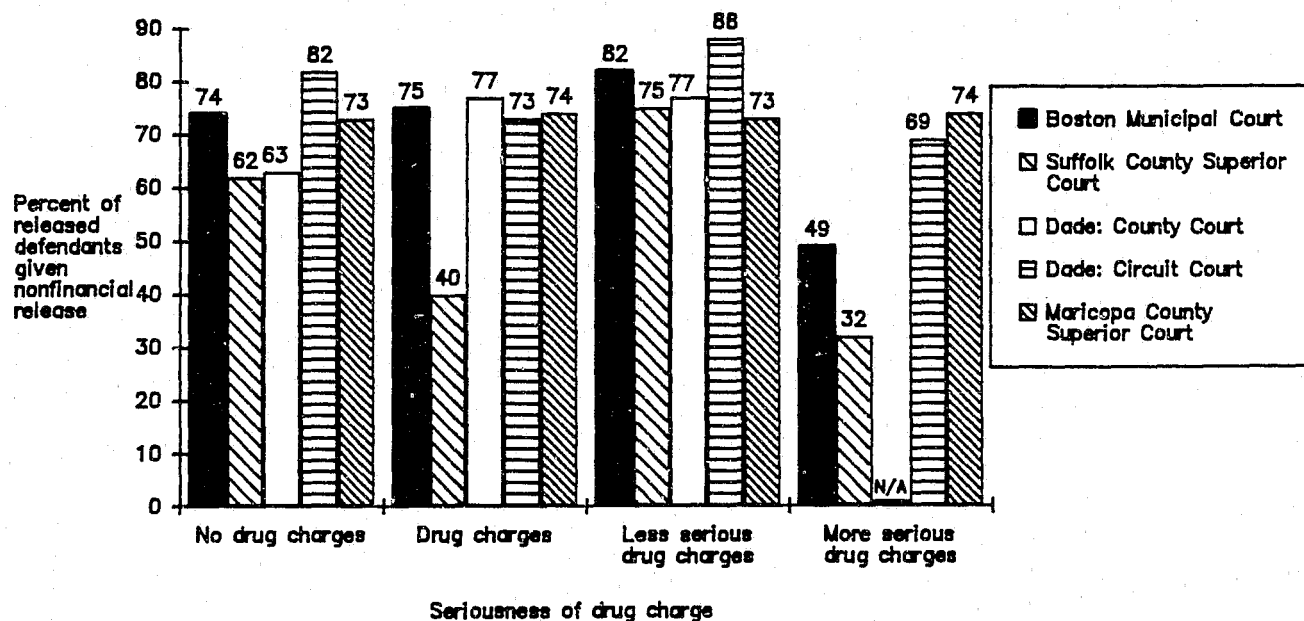
n = 4,237, Boston Municipal Court
n =   246, Suffolk County Superior Court
n =   802, Dade: County Court
n = 1,369, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 1,189, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Figure 5.5 compares the percentages of·released drug and non-drug charged defendants gaining release through nonfinancial means in each site. Here too the findings are not systematic. Only small differences in proportions of released defendants gaining release through nonfinancial means between drug and non-drug defendants can be seen in the Boston Municipal Court, Dade County Court and Superior Court in Maricopa County. Notable differences were found, however, in two felony courts: Suffolk County Superior Court and Circuit Court in Dade County. In these courts, a majority of released defendants charged in drug cases gained release by posting a financial bond; a minority of released non-drug cases achieved release through non-financial means.

Among both samples of Boston defendants, financial release was notably more prevalent among defendants charged with sale/manufacture than among defendants charged with possession. In Dade County, financial bond was the vehicle for pretrial release roughly twice as often among the most seriously charged drug defendants as among the less seriously charged. Among Maricopa County defendants, "secured" (financial) bond explained the same percentage of releases regardless of charge category.

Misconduct among Released Defendants

Table B5.2 contrasts the rates of failure-to-appear (FTA), rearrest, rearrest for serious offenses, and "failure" (either rearrest or failure to appear) among drug and non-drug defendants released before adjudication in each of the locations. In four of the five courts, FTA rates were lower among released defendants with drug charges than among released defendants without drug charges. In the fifth court, the Suffolk County Superior Court, FTA rates were equally low. When rearrests, serious rearrests and "failure" rates are compared the same findings seem universally to apply. Misconduct rates among drug defendants appear to be either slightly or noticeably lower than among non-drug defendants. The one exception is in Maricopa County where a slightly higher rearrest rate was shown for drug-charged defendants.

When the seriousness of drug charges is considered, the generalization that persons charged with drug offenses will fare better on pretrial release is qualified. (See Figures 5.6 through 5.8.) Among BMC defendants, failure-to-appear rates did not differ between possession-charged defendants and sale/manufacture defendants--both showed lower rates than non-drug defendants. However, released sale-charged defendants were rearrested at roughly three times the rate of released possession-charged defendants. Among Dade County felony defendants released before trial, seriousness of drug charges was inversely related to likelihood of flight or crime during release. Among Maricopa defendants, both categories of defendants with drug charges showed lower rates of failure-to-appear during pretrial release than non-drug charged defendants--although the most seriously charged drug defendants had an FTA rate roughly three times that of the less seriously charged drug defendants. Rearrests were highest among the seriously charged drug defendants, however, noticeably higher than the rates of the other two defendant groups.

Figure 5.6 Misconduct (FTA, rearrest) among released Boston Municipal
Court defendants, April to October, 1984, by seriousness of
drug charge

Seriousness of drug charge

n = 910, rearrest
n = 4,295, FTA
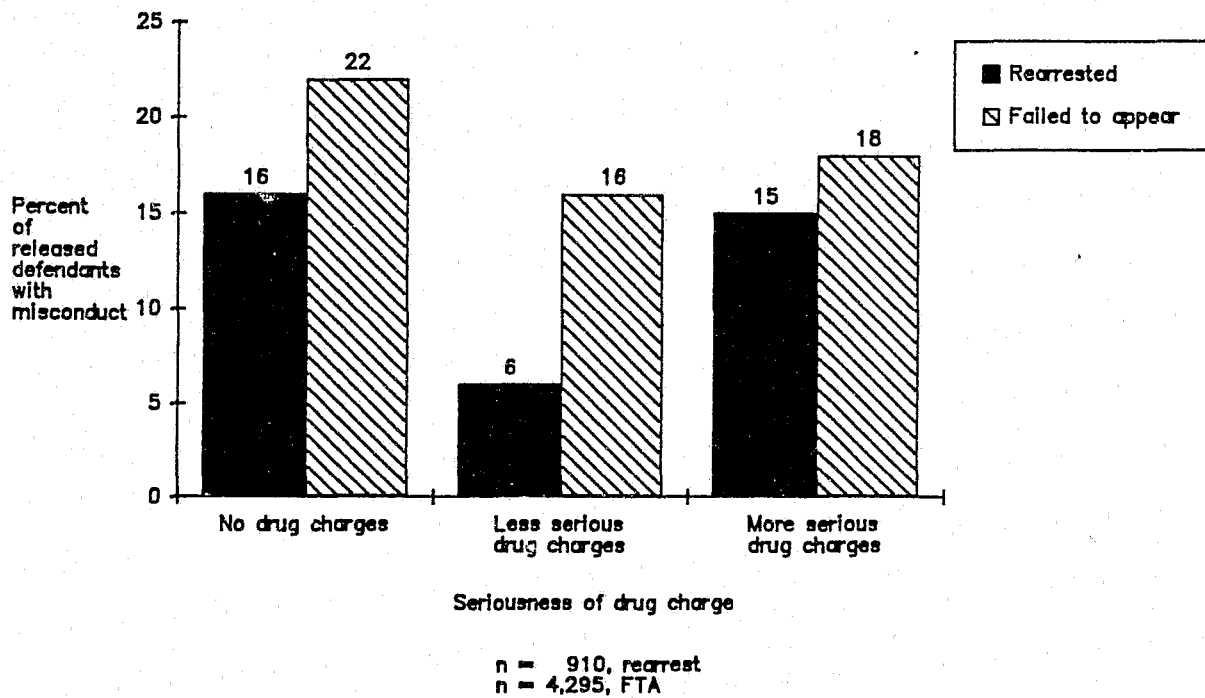
Figure 5.7 Misconduct (FTA, rearrest) among released Dade County felony
defendants, June to September, 1984, by seriousness of drug charge

Seriousness of drug charge

n = 3,078, rearrest
n = 3,123, FTA
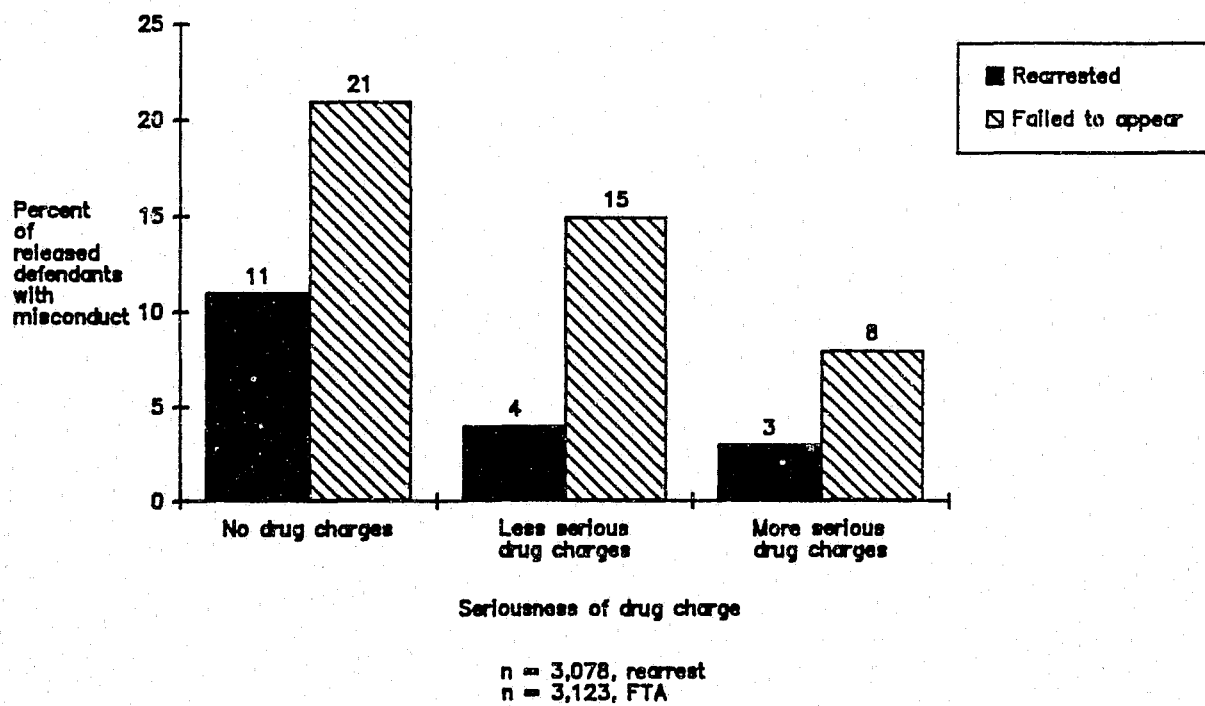
Figure 5.8 Misconduct (FTA, rearrest) among released Maricopa County
felony defendants, June to July, 1984, by seriousness of
drug charge

n = 1,202, rearrest
n = 1,203, FTA
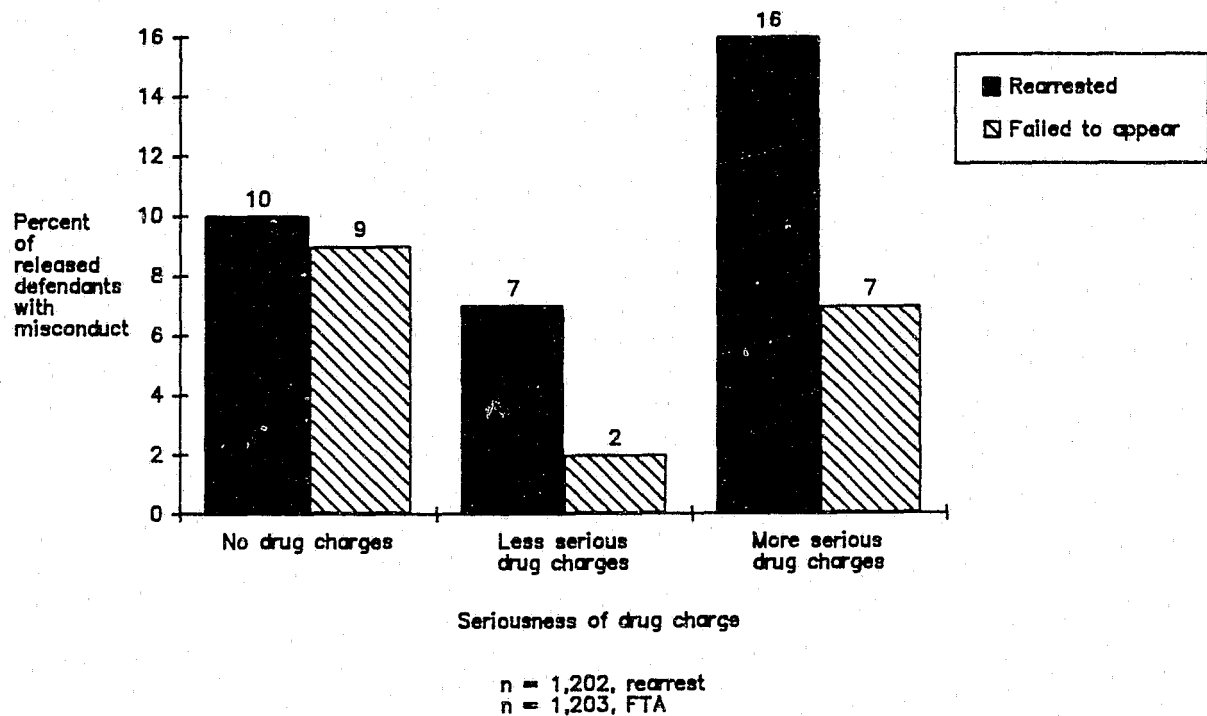
The Effectiveness of Pretrial Release

Misconduct rates associated with released defendants may provide a misleading statistic in that they depend

largely on the jurisdiction's (implicit) detention as well as release policy. For example, one jurisdiction releasing 90

percent of defendants among whom 10 percent were rearrested and another jurisdiction releasing 30 percent of

defendants among whom 10 percent were rearrested cannot be said to be doing the same job. Thus, a fuller

measure--and a better cross-jurisdictional basis for comparison--is the "effectiveness of pretrial release" defined as

100 percent of defendants minus the percent detained minus the percent released and "failing." Ineffectiveness,

therefore, is contributed by detention and by erroneous release (releasing defendants who engage in misconduct).

Figure 5.9 compares the effectiveness of pretrial release from the perspective of failure-to-appear in the five

courts. The rather striking general finding is that courts are generally more effective when it comes to pretrial

release decisionmaking involving defendants having drug charges. That is, at least at this level of analysis, in each court such defendants are both detained less and released "erroneously" (to generate an FTA) less. The same appears true when rearrest is the focus. Thus, courts appear to generate more effective pretrial release decisions in cases in which drug charges are involved.

When the seriousness of the drug charges are considered in Figure 5.10, some differences between categories of drug charges are clearly found. Among BMC defendants, the effectiveness of pretrial release based on FTA showed no difference between the possession and sale categories (both showing more effective release than non-drug cases); however, when rearrests are considered, we find that largely defendants with possession charges account for the greater rates of effectiveness among drug defendants. Pretrial release for defendants charged with sale/manufacture showed no greater effectiveness than pretrial release for non-drug defendants. In Dade County among felony defendants, the seriousness of the drug charges did not make a noticeable difference in effectiveness. In Maricopa County, however, the effectiveness of pretrial release among the less seriously charged drug defendants was notably greater than among the more seriously charged defendants.

II. Drug Cases Moving through the Criminal Process

To chart the role played by drug cases moving through the adjudicatory process, we tracked the dispositions of defendants' charges during a two-part follow-up study. In the first part, the objective was to record early case dispositions, outcomes occurring within 90 days of a defendant's entry into the system at first appearance. Although many cases are not completed within the first 90 days of entering the criminal process, the way in which a court system disposes of its caseload during this initial high volume processing period may have important implications for the size of the court backlog and the population of the local jail facilities, as well as for public safety. The second part of the follow-up extended the time period in order to gather information on later case dispositions. We were able to follow the cases of Boston Municipal Court defendants for nine months subsequent to initial appearance and, in this way, were able to obtain final outcomes of most cases. In Dade County and in Maricopa County, case dispositions were followed for a period of nine months.[27]

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[27] Follow-up data for lengthier periods--up to fours years--were obtained for the Dade and Maricopa felony defendants, but are not reported here.

Figure 5.9 The effectiveness of pretrial release among entering criminal cases in
three urban jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during
1984 sample periods, by drug charges: failure to appear (FTA)

□ Effective pretrial release   ⬚ Released with FTA   ■ Detained 90 days or to
                                                          adjudication
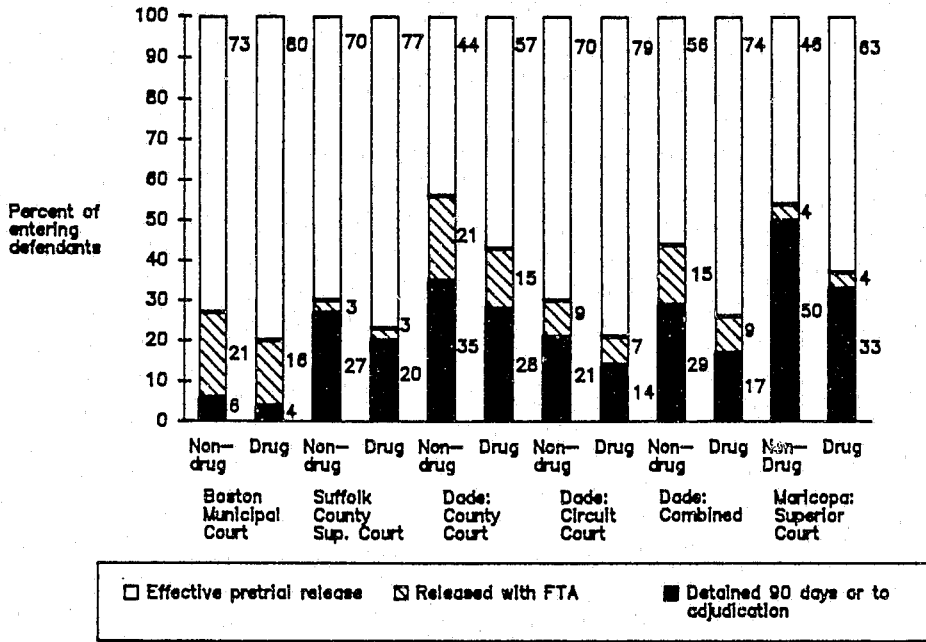
[Note: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent.]

Figure 5.10a The effectiveness of pretrial release (rearrest or FTA) among defendants entering
Boston Municipal Court, April to October, 1984, by seriousness of drug charges
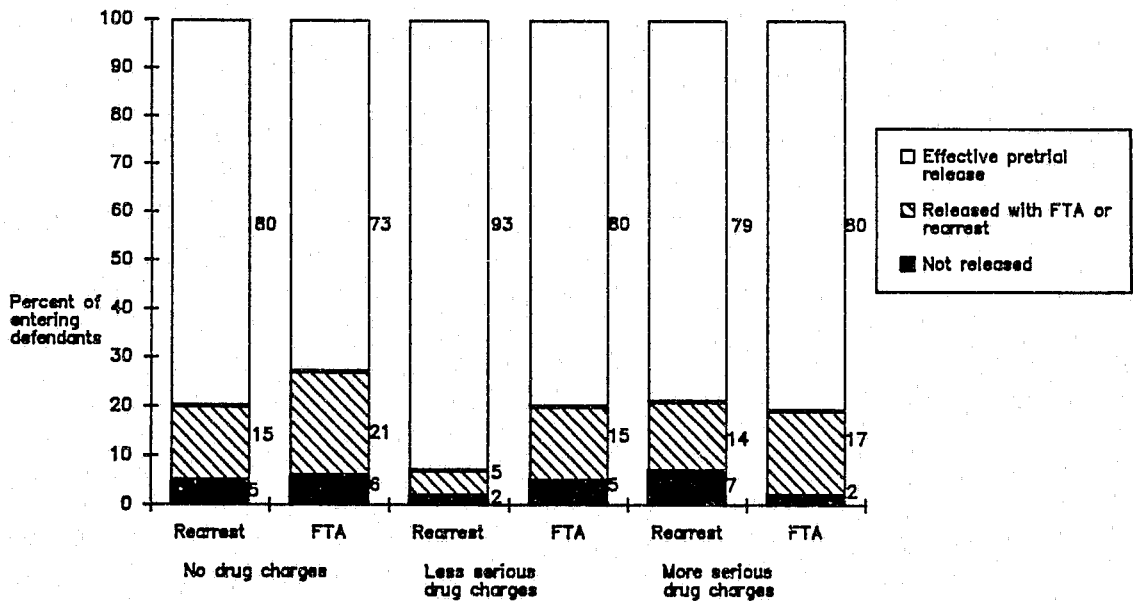
□ Effective pretrial
release

⬚ Released with FTA or
rearrest

■ Not released

[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent.]

Figure 5.10b The effectiveness of pretrial release (rearrest or FTA) among
1984 felony defendants in Dade County Circuit Court, by
seriousness of drug charges
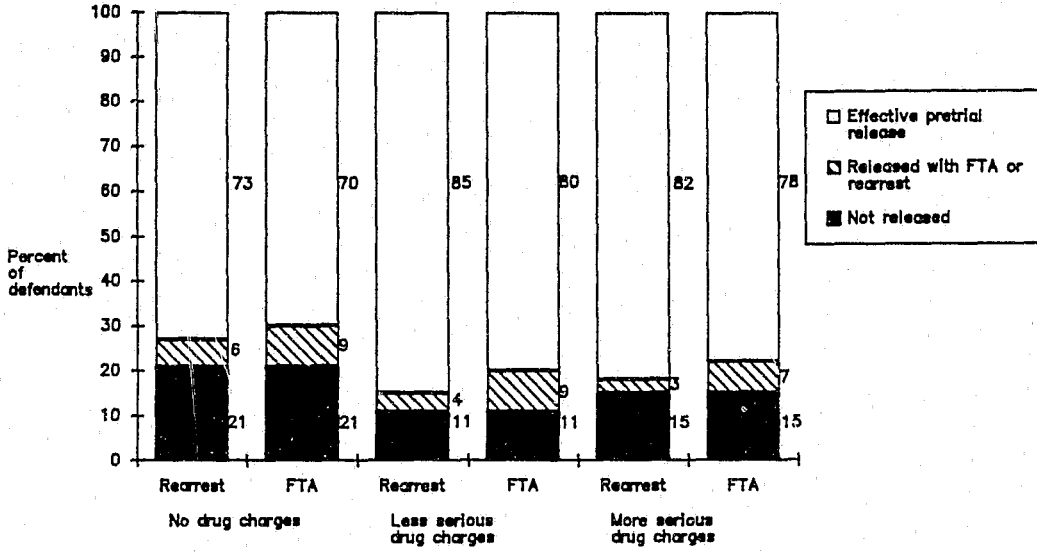
[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent]

Figure 5.10c The effectiveness of pretrial release (rearrest or FTA) among
1984 felony defendants in Maricopa County Superior Court, by
seriousness of drug charges
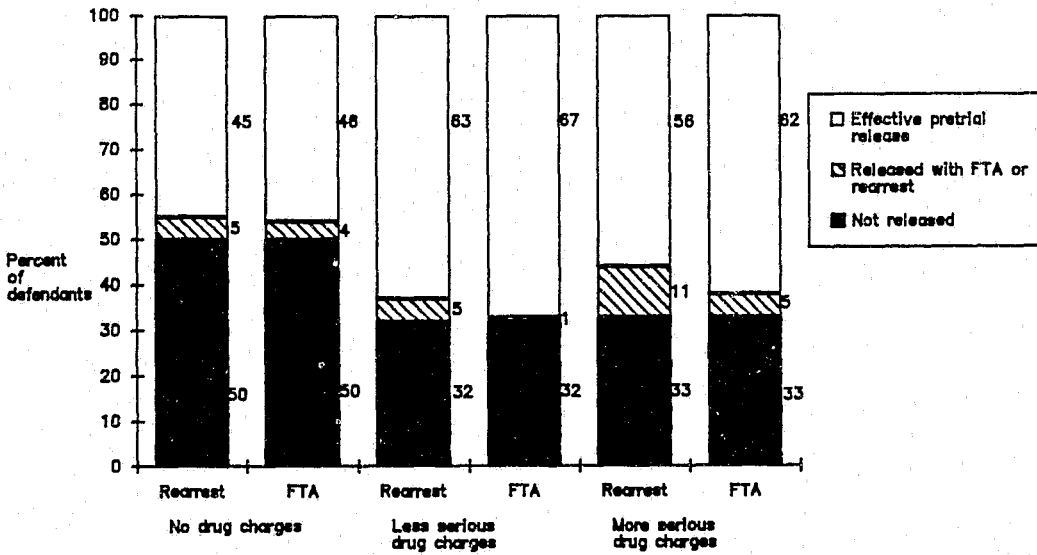
[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent.]

A. The Disposition of Cases within the First 90 Days of Entering the Judicial Process

Early Adjudication and Efficiency of Disposition

In our attempt to characterize the disposition of criminal cases in the three sites and to compare the dispositions of drug- and non-drug cases within and between each, we do not rely on a single measure of outcomes. In fact, any single measure can be misleading if considered alone.

For example, Figure 5.11a contrasts the percentages of entering defendants having their cases reaching adjudication within a 90 day period in the various courts. The courts varied notably on this simple measure. First, a large majority of cases reached disposition within 90 days in two courts, Dade County Court and Superior Court in Maricopa County. Bare majorities, however, had been disposed in Circuit Court in Dade County and in the Boston Municipal Court. Only a small minority of cases had been resolved within that period among defendants entering Suffolk County Superior Court.

That figure also shows that drug cases and non-drug cases differed very little in the proportions reaching disposition within the 90 day period in two jurisdictions, Boston and Maricopa County. In Dade County, however, drug cases did not reach disposition within 90 days as frequently as the non-drug counterparts, principally due to the processing of cases in the felony court. Without any other information, we might be led to conclude that from the point of view of timely adjudication, Maricopa County Superior Court was remarkably proficient--disposing of approximately 9 of 10 cases (whether involving drug charges or not) before it--and Suffolk County Superior Court was remarkably inefficient.

The additional information presented in Figure 5.11b demonstrates that this might be a mistaken inference. A majority of the cases disposed within 90 days in Maricopa County consisted of cases that were dropped or dismissed ("scratched" according to the local jargon); thus, only a small proportion of the quickly completed cases were completed by means of prompt adjudication. In contrast, a tiny minority of Suffolk County Superior Court cases were disposed of by that means. If we assume that processing a large number of cases that later drop out of

Figure 5.11a The efficiency of early disposition of criminal cases (completion within 90 days vs.
            completion excluding dropped/dismissed), by court, by drug charges

n = 4,554, Boston Municipal Court
n =   354, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,973, Dade: County Court
n = 2,294, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,232, Maricopa County Superior Court
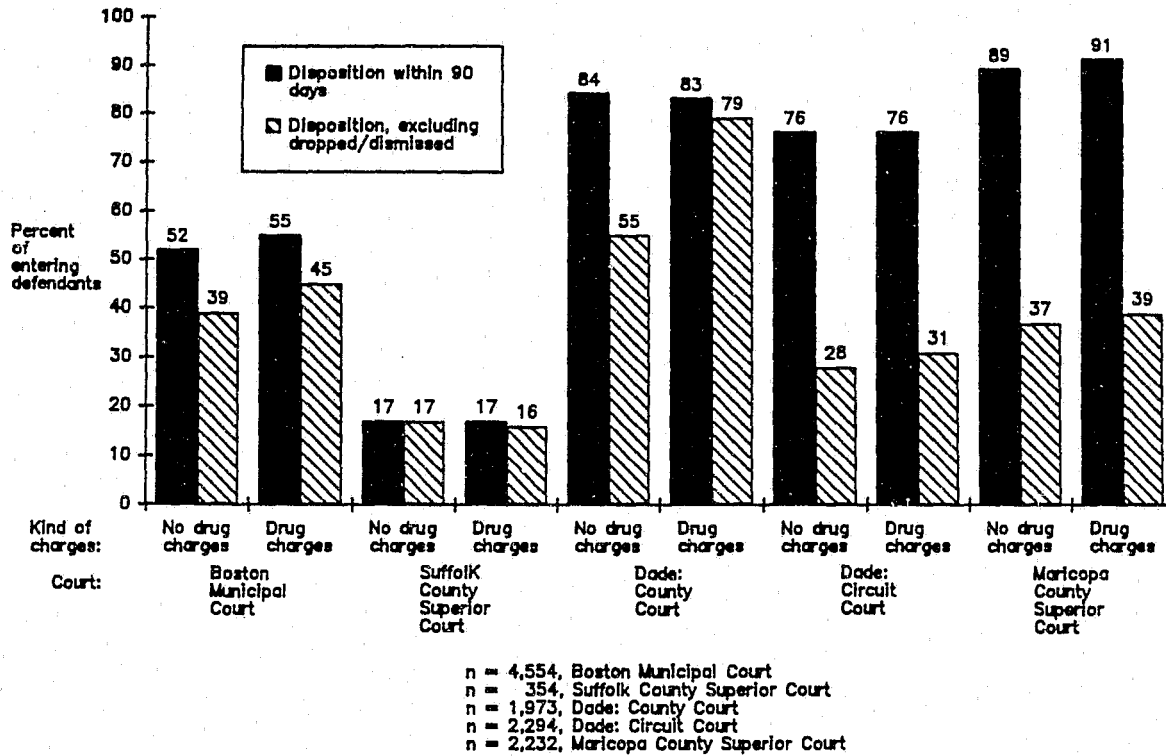
Figure 5.11b The efficiency of early disposition of 1984 defendants' cases (percent of
            entering cases disposed within 90 days minus percentage disposed via
            dropping/dismissing), by court, by seriousness of drug charges
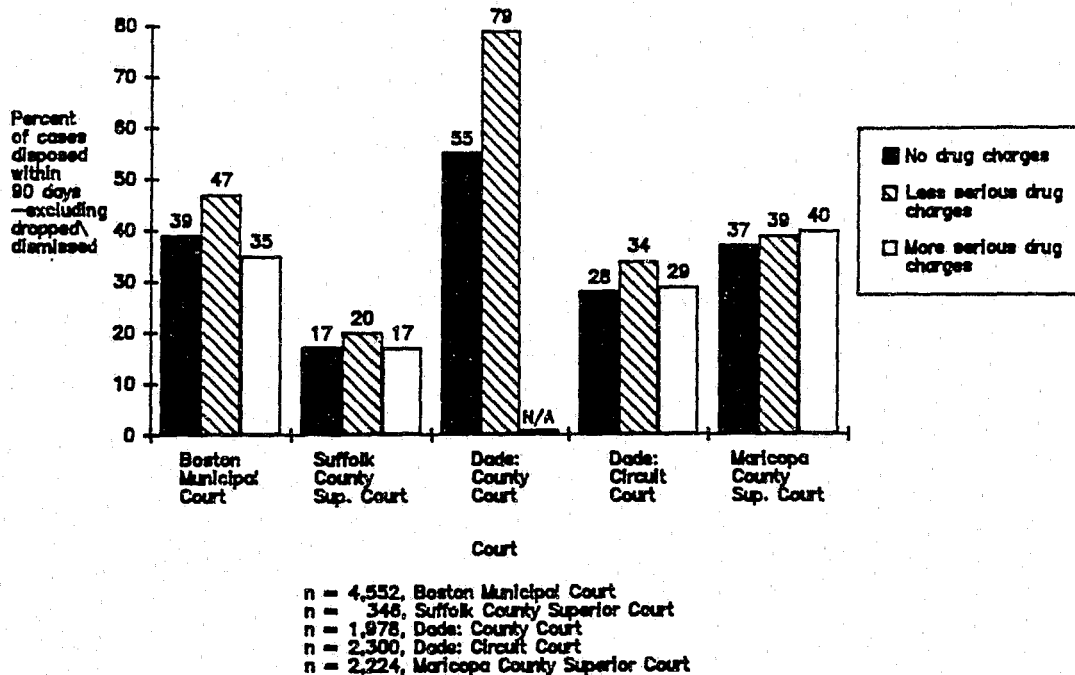
n = 4,552, Boston Municipal Court
n =   348, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,978, Dade: County Court
n = 2,300, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,224, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classificationsof drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

the system is a symptom of inefficiency (arguing, perhaps, that an efficient system would not have allowed such a volume of "droppable" cases to enter and burden the system in the first place), we would have to revise our characterization of the early adjudication of cases in the site court systems.

Using the measure that excluded cases that were dropped or dismissed, Figure 5.11a shows that cases with drug charges were handled more efficiently than those without in the two courts with misdemeanor cases, the Boston Municipal Court and the County Court in Dade County. Drug cases were handled with roughly equal efficiency in Suffolk County Superior Court and in Maricopa County Superior Court. They were handled with noticeably less dispatch in Circuit Court in Dade County.

The percentage of disposed cases accounted for by dropped or dismissed cases varied by drug charge in the Boston Municipal Court (in which both categories of drug charges showed smaller percentages of disposed cases accounted for by drop-outs) and in the Dade County courts (in which the felony-level drug charges were more often, and the misdemeanor drug charges were less often, disposed via drop-out than non-drug charges).

Early Adjudication as a Contingency of Decisions

Because of the sequencing of decisions in the judicial process, the prospect of formal adjudication of a criminal case depends on the outcomes of sometimes many decisions that occurred earlier in the process. That is, for a case to reach the trial stage for formal adjudication of charges, a number of earlier decisions must have already occurred: for example, a determination that the evidence was sufficient to warrant formal adjudication must have been made, or else the charges would have been dropped, dismissed or discharged. A negative decision concerning the appropriateness of diversion must also have been made. Moreover, adjudication via trial would also mean that resolution of the case by means of a guilty plea at an earlier stage had been ruled out. In short, only cases not screened out of the adjudicatory process at these earlier stages will be routed to trial. In contrasting the dispositions of drug and non-drug cases for defendants in each of the courts in Figures 5.13 through 5.16 below, we employ a sequential decisionmaking schematic. This schematic arranges decisions in stages starting with a drop/dismiss decision and ending with a trial disposition. Each decision is made only on the defendants continuing (surviving

from) the previous decision stage. Thus, we can compare the diversion of drug and non-drug defendants only using defendants whose cases were not somehow dropped or dismissed at an earlier stage. We can contrast the use of guilty pleas in drug and non-drug cases only among defendants who did not have their cases dropped and were not diverted earlier. Although we clearly simplify the decisionmaking process--for example, in considering cases that drop out of the process, we do not differentiate between charges dropped by the prosecutor or charges dismissed by the judge--comparisons based on this conceptualization are more specific and less misleading than otherwise would be the case.

The Drop/Dismiss Disposition (Stage I)

Figure 5.12 compares the screening of cases at the first critical processing stage, the point at which the prosecutor may drop or temporarily withdraw the charges or the court may dismiss them.[28] When drug and non-drug cases are compared without specifying the kinds of drug charges involved, it appears that only very slight differences can be noted in each of the courts. The single, marked exception, however, is found in the only exclusively misdemeanor court in the study, County Court in Dade County. There (misdemeanor) drug cases are seven times less likely to be dropped than non-drug cases.

Figures 5.13 through 5.16 show, however, that dropout rates may differ noticeably when the seriousness of the drug charges are taken into consideration. Only a slight difference in dropout by charge category is seen among the Maricopa County felony cases (the least serious drug category drops out at higher rates than either non-drug cases or more serious drug cases). In the BMC the more serious drug cases are less likely to drop out. Conversely, in the Dade County criminal courts it appears that, oddly, the more serious the drug charges the higher the dropout rate.

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[28] In characterizing the dispositions of defendants' charges, we refer to the most formal or "most serious" disposition. By more formal, we mean the decision advancing furthest into the process. Thus, for example, if in a particular defendant's case some charges were dropped but one survived and resulted in a guilty plea, we would select "pleaded guilty" as the disposition by which to characterize the case. In order to classify a case as "dropped/dismissal," all charges would have to be dropped or dismissed. If only some charges are dropped, the case is not categorized in that fashion. In our simple hierarchy of outcomes, diversion is considered "more serious" than dropping/dismissal, disposition through plea is considered "more serious" than either of the previous outcomes, and adjudication through trial "more serious" than pleas of guilty. In cases resulting in conviction, sentencing would be considered more advanced than merely conviction and sentencing to incarceration more serious than a non-incarcerative sentence.

Figure 5.12 Percentage of entering criminal cases dropping out (dropped,
dismissed, discharged) within 90 days in three urban jurisdictions
(Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample
periods, by drug charges
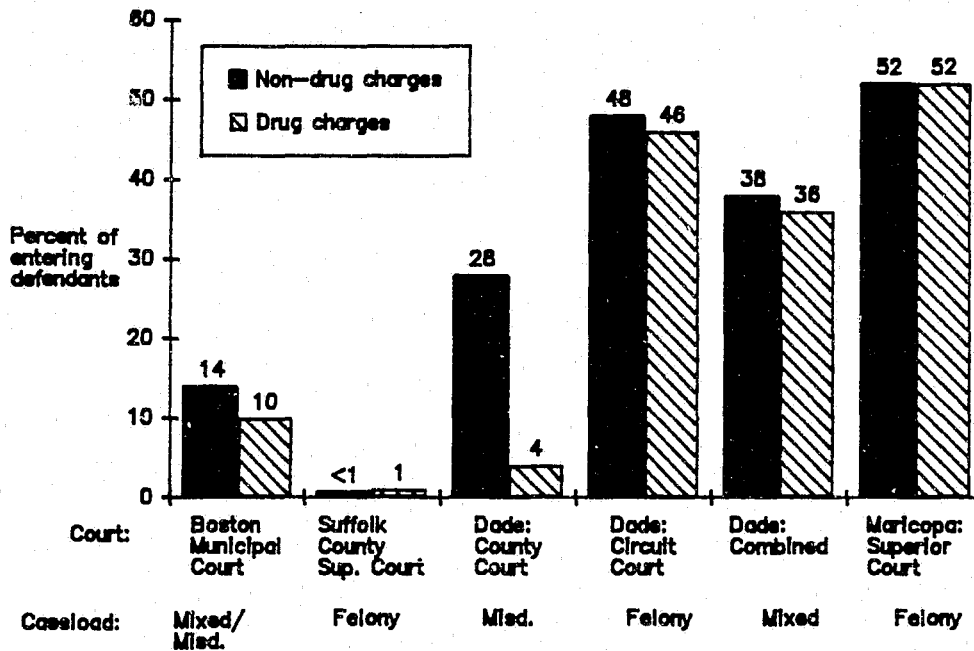
The Decision to Divert (Stage II)

Few of the cases progressing to this stage (i.e., not dropped or dismissed) were subsequently diverted in

Boston or Maricopa County. However, the diversion alternative to more formal adjudication of cases was employed

as a dispositional option in the County and Circuit Courts in Dade County. Interestingly, the use of diversion at this

stage in Dade varied according to the kind of criminal charges involved. Among criminal cases not involving drug

charges and among misdemeanor level drug cases, diversion was employed rarely, in from 5 to 7 percent of cases. It

was employed much more frequently, from 3 to 5 times as often, among the more serious, felony level drug cases.

Figure 5.13 Adjudication within 90 days of entering criminal cases in Boston Municipal Court, April - October, 1984, by seriousness of drug charge

```
                         Defendants
                         N          %
Non-drug                 3751      100.0
Possession                635      100.0
Sale/Manufacture          167      100.0


                                              No
                                         N          %
                                        3238        86.3
        I  Dropped/Dismissed ─────►      571        89.9
                                         153        91.6
                 │
                 ▼
              Yes                                                    No
         N          %                                          N          %
         513        13.7                   II   Diverted ───► 3231      100.0
          64        10.1                                       571      100.0
          14         8.4                          │           153      100.0
                                                  ▼
                                               Yes                                      No
                                          N          %                             N          %
                                          7           0      III  Guilty Plea ──► 2720      84.2
                                          0           0                            401      70.2
                                          0           0                            124      81.0
                                                                   │
                                                                   ▼                              No
                                                                 Yes                         N          %
                                                            N          %                    1787      65.7
                                                            511        15.8   IV Early Trial ► 271   67.4
                                                            170        29.8                    94      76.4
                                                             29        19.0                  (Pending at
                                                                           │                     90 days)
                                                                           ▼
                                                                         Yes
                                                                    N          %
                                                                    933        34.3
                                                                    131        32.6
                                                                     29        23.6
                                                                           │
                                                                           ▼                      No
                                                                                             N          %
                                                                    V  Convicted ──►         45         .8
                                                                                              6         4.6
                                                                                              0          0
                                                                                           (Acquitted)
                                                                           │
                                                                           ▼
                                                                         Yes
                                                                    N          %
                                                                    888        95.2
                                                                    125        95.4
                                                                     29       100.0
                                                                           │
                                                                           ▼
                                                                   VI  [Sentenced]
```

Figure 5.14 Adjudication within 90 days of entering criminal cases (direct indictments) in
            Suffolk County Superior Court, 1984, by seriousness of drug charges
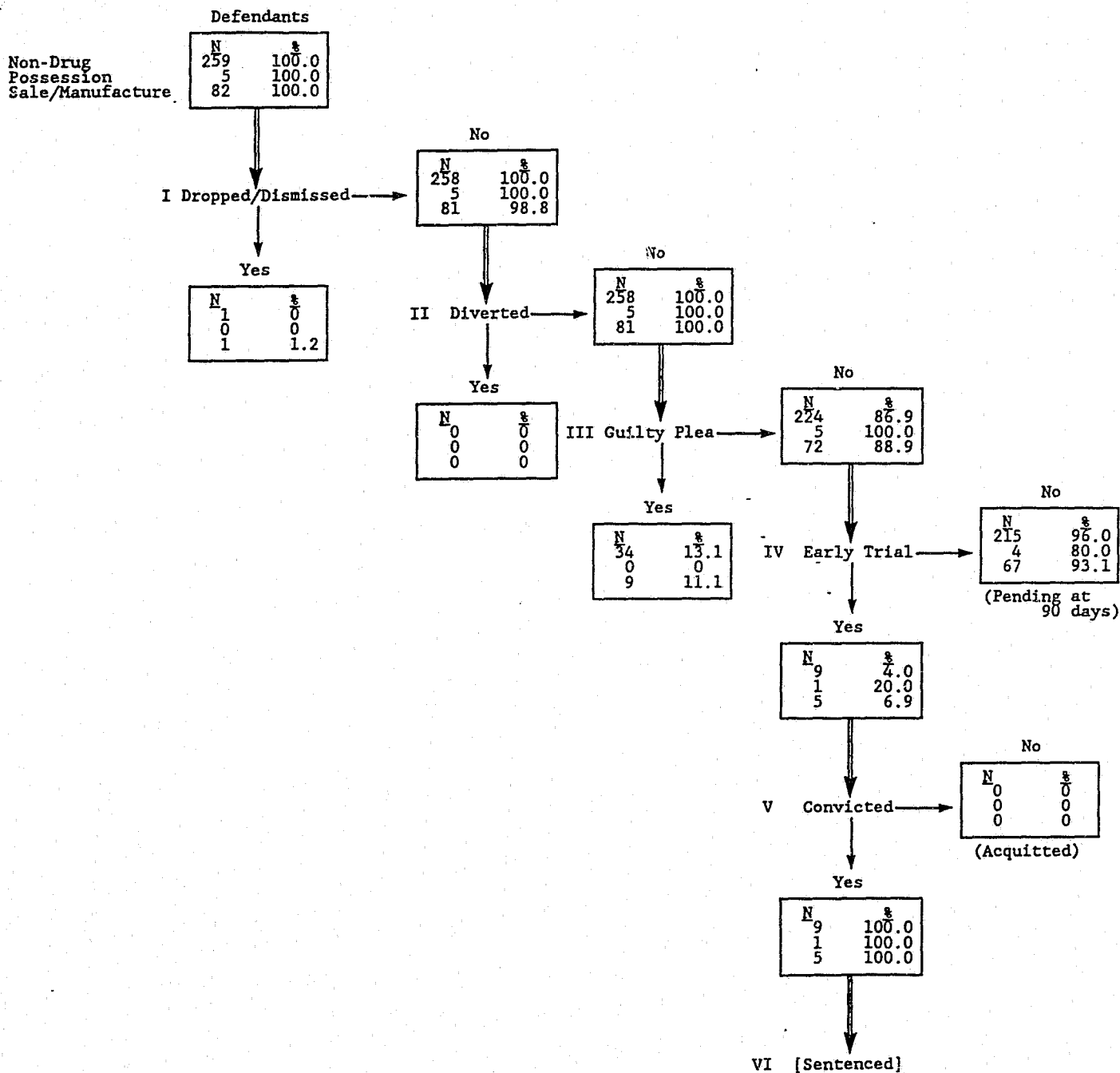
Figure 5.15   Adjudication within 90 days of entering criminal cases in Dade County
              (combined sample), June to September, 1984, by seriousness of drug charges

```
                         Defendants
                       ┌──────────────┐
                       │   N       %  │
Non-drug               │ 3480   100.0 │
Misdemeanor            │  227   100.0 │
Felony 3               │  127   100.0 │
Felony 2 or 1          │  439   100.0 │
                       └──────────────┘
                              ║
                              ▼                    No
                                              ┌──────────────┐
                                              │   N        %  │
   I Dropped/Dismissed ──────────────────────▶│ 2164    62.2  │
                                              │  200    88.3  │
                                              │   73    57.3  │
                                              │  236    55.9  │
                                              └──────────────┘
                   Yes                               ║
              ┌──────────────┐                       ▼                    No
              │   N       %  │                                       ┌──────────────┐
              │ 1316    37.8 │                                       │   N        %  │
              │   27    11.7 │          II    Diverted ─────────────▶│ 2007    92.8  │
              │   54    42.7 │                                       │  189    94.5  │
              │  203    46.1 │                                       │   56    76.8  │
              └──────────────┘                                       │  159    67.4  │
                                            Yes                      └──────────────┘
                                       ┌──────────────┐                    ║
                                       │   N       %  │                    ▼                    No
                                       │  157     7.2 │                                    ┌──────────────┐
                                       │   11     5.5 │                                    │   N        %  │
                                       │   17    23.2 │   III Guilty Plea ────────────────▶│  964    48.0  │
                                       │   77    33.6 │                                    │   81    42.9  │
                                       └──────────────┘                                    │   39    69.7  │
                                                                                           │  120    75.5  │
                                                      Yes                                  └──────────────┘
                                                 ┌──────────────┐                               ║
                                                 │   N       %  │                               ▼                    No
                                                 │ 1043    52.0 │                                              ┌──────────────┐
                                                 │  108    57.1 │                                              │   N        %  │
                                                 │   17    30.3 │      IV  Early Trial ───────────────────────▶│  704    73.0  │
                                                 │   39    24.5 │                                              │   38    46.9  │
                                                 └──────────────┘                                              │   31    79.5  │
                                                                                                               │  108    50.0  │
                                                                                                               └──────────────┘
                                                                                                             (Pending at
                                                                       Yes                                     90 days)
                                                                  ┌──────────────┐
                                                                  │   N       %  │
                                                                  │  260    24.4 │
                                                                  │   43    53.1 │
                                                                  │    8    20.5 │
                                                                  │   12    10.0 │
                                                                  └──────────────┘
                                                                        ║
                                                                        ▼                    No
                                                                                       ┌──────────────┐
                                                                                       │   N       %  │
                                                                                       │   25     9.6 │
                                                    V   Convicted ────────────────────▶│    8    18.6 │
                                                                                       │    0     0   │
                                                                                       │    0     0   │
                                                                                       └──────────────┘
                                                                                        (Acquitted)
                                                                       Yes
                                                                  ┌──────────────┐
                                                                  │   N       %  │
                                                                  │  235    90.4 │
                                                                  │   35    81.4 │
                                                                  │    8   100.0 │
                                                                  │   12   100.0 │
                                                                  └──────────────┘
                                                                        ║
                                                                        ▼
                                                                 IV  [Sentenced]
```

Figure 5.16 Adjudication within 90 days of entering criminal cases in Maricopa County
Superior Court, June to July, 1984, by seriousness of drug charges

```
                         Defendants
                       ┌──────────────┐
Non-Drug               │  N        %  │
Felony 6               │1742   100.0  │
Felony 5 to 1          │ 157   100.0  │
                       │ 325   100.0  │
                       └──────────────┘
                              │                    No
                              │               ┌──────────────┐
                              ▼               │  N        %  │
          I  Dropped/Dismissed────────────────▶│ 839    48.2  │
                              │               │  68    43.3  │
                              │               │ 167    51.4  │
                              ▼               └──────────────┘
                            Yes                      │                    No
                       ┌──────────────┐              │               ┌──────────────┐
                       │  N        %  │              ▼               │  N        %  │
                       │ 903    51.8  │      II   Diverted────────────▶│ 836    99.6  │
                       │  89    56.7  │              │               │  67    98.5  │
                       │ 158    48.6  │              │               │ 165    98.8  │
                       └──────────────┘              ▼               └──────────────┘
                                                   Yes                      │                    No
                                              ┌──────────────┐              │               ┌──────────────┐
                                              │  N        %  │              ▼               │  N        %  │
                                              │   3     .4   │ III Guilty Plea──────────────▶│ 199    23.9  │
                                              │   1    1.5   │              │               │   5     7.5  │
                                              │   2    1.2   │              │               │  35    21.2  │
                                              └──────────────┘              ▼               └──────────────┘
                                                   Yes                      │                         No
                                              ┌──────────────┐              │                    ┌──────────────┐
                                              │  N        %  │              ▼                    │  N        %  │
                                              │ 637    76.1  │      IV  Early Trial──────────────▶│ 192    96.4  │
                                              │  62    92.5  │              │                    │   5   100.0  │
                                              │ 130    78.8  │              │                    │  35   100.0  │
                                              └──────────────┘              ▼                    └──────────────┘
                                                                          Yes                    (Pending at
                                                                     ┌──────────────┐               90 days)
                                                                     │  N        %  │
                                                                     │   7     3.6  │
                                                                     │   0     0    │
                                                                     │   0     0    │
                                                                     └──────────────┘
                                                                            │                         No
                                                                            │                    ┌──────────────┐
                                                                            ▼                    │  N        %  │
                                                              V     Convicted──────────────────▶│   1    14.3  │
                                                                            │                    │   0     0    │
                                                                            │                    │   0     0    │
                                                                            ▼                    └──────────────┘
                                                                          Yes                    (Acquitted)
                                                                     ┌──────────────┐
                                                                     │  N        %  │
                                                                     │   6    85.7  │
                                                                     │   0     0    │
                                                                     │   0     0    │
                                                                     └──────────────┘
                                                                            │
                                                                            ▼
                                                              VI   [Sentenced]
```
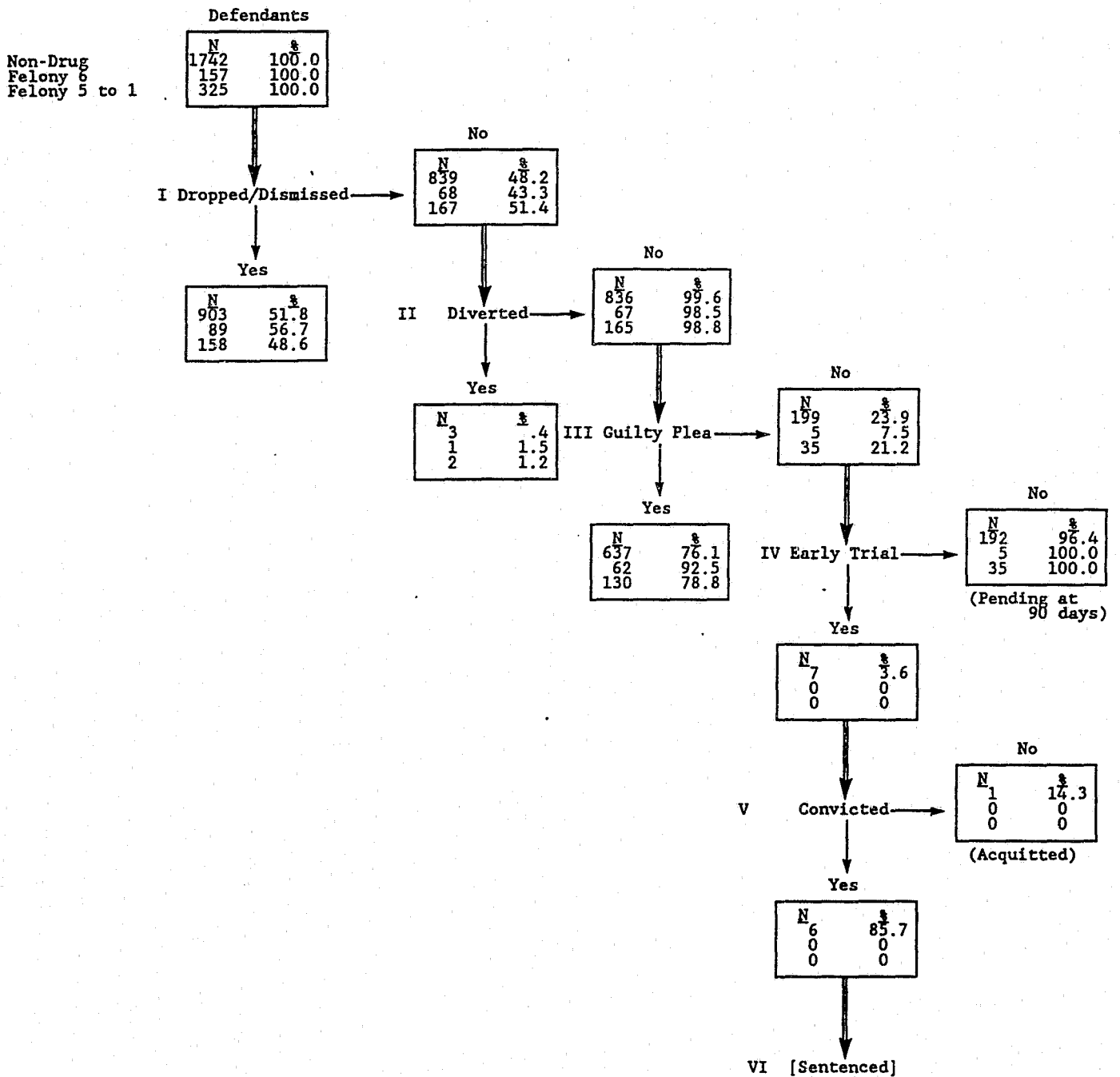
Early Guilty Pleas in Criminal Cases (Stage III)

Figure 5.17 compares the percentage of drug and non-drug defendants having their cases disposed within 90 days through guilty pleas in each of the courts. This simple measure suggests that, with the exception of the Boston Municipal Court and the Dade County Court (the mostly misdemeanor courts), defendants pleaded guilty either less frequently or roughly as often in drug cases as in non-drug cases. In the BMC and in the Florida misdemeanor court, defendants charged in drug cases pleaded guilty more frequently than non-drug defendants.

In contrast, Figures 5.13 through 5.16 measures the use of guilty pleas more specifically among criminal cases not disposed via dropout or diversion. Using this processing perspective, we found that about 1 in 6 (16 percent) of the non-disposed defendants in the BMC with cases not involving drug charges reached adjudication within 90 days by pleading guilty. While a similar proportion of defendants charged with the more serious drug offenses (sale/manufacture) also pleaded guilty, twice that proportion of defendants with less serious drug charges so concluded their cases. Pleading guilty was much more common among possession cases than among cases involving more serious kinds of drug charges and among defendants charged with non-drug crimes. In Suffolk County Superior Court defendants charged in serious drug matters and persons not charged with drug crimes pleaded guilty at the same, relatively infrequent rate (from between 11 to 13 percent of the time). (Possession-level cases were not handled in that court.)

In Dade County roughly half (52 percent) of non-drug misdemeanor and felony defendants were adjudicated through guilty pleas within 90 days. The guilty plea rate for misdemeanor drug defendants was very similar (57 percent). This finding could explain the fact that hardly any misdemeanor-level drug cases "dropped out" of processing early (Figure 5.12). We might hypothesize that they may have been pleading guilty in exchange for short sentences or time-served. In sharp contrast, defendants with felony level drug charges pleaded guilty only half as often as other kinds of cases (from 25 to 30 percent of the time).

Most Maricopa County felony defendants not having their cases disposed through drop-out or diversion within the first 90 days pleaded guilty. Roughly three-fourths of felony defendants charged in non-drug cases and of defendants charged in the more serious drug cases (felony level 5 or higher) resolved their cases through guilty pleas. Remarkably, a substantially higher proportion--nearly all (93 percent)--of defendants charged with the least serious drug felonies (level 6) offenses pleaded guilty.

Resolution via Early Trial (within 90 Days) (Stage IV)

Following the sequential processing model, we have seen that the courts in the three sites have taken rather different means to dispose of varying proportions of their entering caseloads. Within 90 days of booking, a substantial majority of defendants' cases had been disposed of, by one means or another, prior to trial in the Dade County and Maricopa County courts. In the Boston courts, a minority of cases had been completed at that stage. (See Figure 5.18.) In the BMC, a greater proportion of defendants with possession charges had completed their cases short of trial than the other two categories of defendants. A similar finding is found in Superior Court in Maricopa County. In Suffolk County Superior Court and Dade County Circuit Court drug charges or their seriousness did not affect the rate of case completion short of trial. In County Court in Dade, substantially fewer drug defendants than non-drug defendants had cases completed short of trial.

For cases remaining unresolved--cases not dropped, diverted or concluded by means of a guilty plea--we were also able to compare the occurrence of early trials versus longer-term dispositions occurring beyond 90 days. In examining the occurrence of early versus later trials, we expected early trial dispositions to be associated with misdemeanor level cases. In fact, in the Maricopa County and Suffolk County felony courts, early trials (completed within 90 days of booking) were rare. Among the heavily misdemeanor-level BMC cases, they were, predictably, more common. Roughly one-third of non-drug cases and of drug possession cases were concluded through trial within 90 days. Proportionately fewer of the more serious drug cases (involving sale/manufacture)--about one-fourth--were so resolved.

Figure 5.17 Percentage of entering cases pleading guilty within 90 days in three urban jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample periods, by drug charges
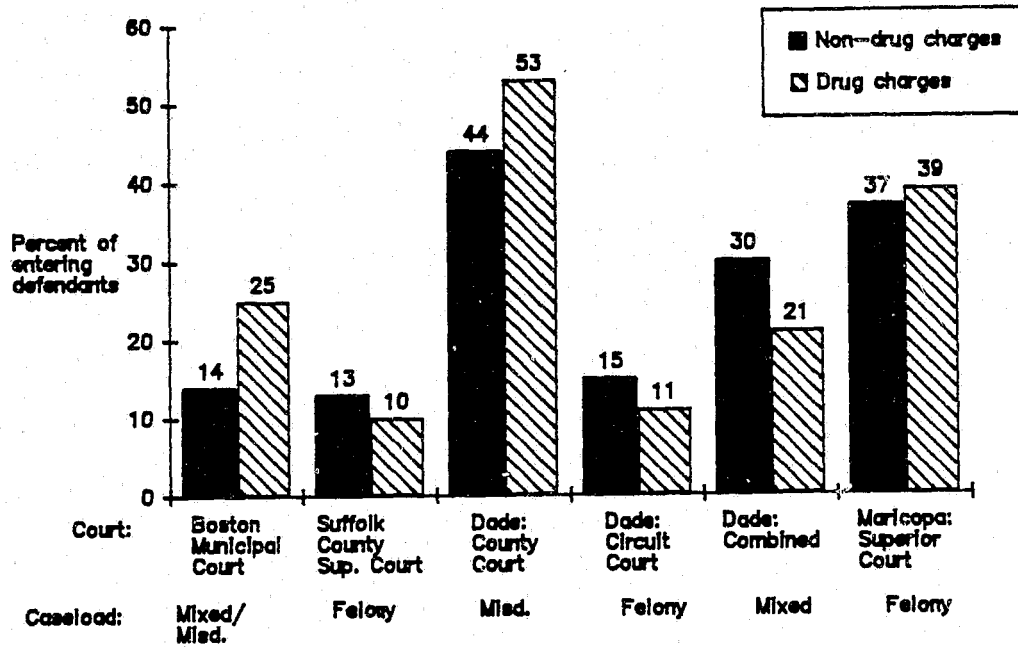
Figure 5.18 Completion of 1984 cases short of trial within 90 days of booking, by court, by seriousness of drug charges
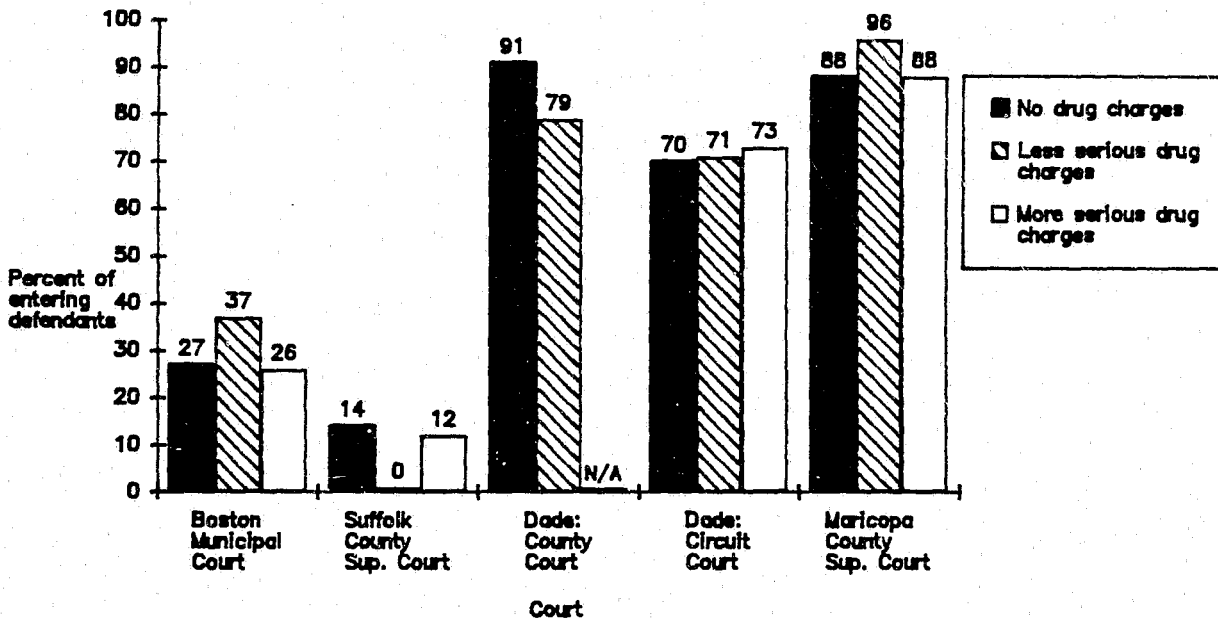
n = 4,552, Boston Municipal Court
n =   347, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,973, Dade: County Court
n = 2,300, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,224, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Early trial disposition among the Dade County cases was not so simply explained. Early trial disposition was relatively rare among non-drug cases, occurring roughly one-fourth of the time. Among misdemeanor-level drug cases, as might have been expected, early trial disposition occurred much more frequently, roughly half of the time. Among felony three level drug cases this disposition occurred even more frequently, in three-fourths of all cases. Among the most serious of drug cases--those involving felony 1 or 2 offenses--early trial outcomes occurred very rarely, in only about one in ten cases.

Early Trial Outcomes (Stage V)

In the jurisdictions where early trials did occur as the final disposition of cases, one additional finding stands out throughout: regardless of whether the charges involved drug offenses, persons going to early trial overwhelmingly were found guilty. With the exception of misdemeanor drug offenders in Dade County Court-- where 19 percent of defendants were acquitted--nearly all early trial defendants were found guilty.

B. The Later Outcomes of Criminal Cases

Although the three sites varied widely in the proportions of entering defendants totally disposed of within the first 90 days of processing, early dispositions accounted for a sizeable share of the volume of cases in each court. We reported in our discussion of Figure 5.11 above that the overall 90-day disposition rate did not, however, differ much based on the kind of criminal charges (whether drug offenses were involved or not)--with the exception that the most serious drug charges were less likely to be concluded early in the Boston Municipal Court.[29] Figure 5.19 further confirms that survival in the judicial process beyond the early stages did not depend on the presence or absence of drug charges. Although the number of cases had been substantially reduced in each court by the 90-day mark, the composition of the defendant cohort from the point of view of criminal charges had changed little.

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[29] (This is most likely explained by the fact that the more serious, felony-level cases in that court--including those involving drug charges--were assigned for trial in the major trial court after probable cause screening in the BMC.)

Conviction and Sentencing: Follow-up of Later Outcomes of Criminal Cases in Three Courts

Conviction

In criminal justice texts, the criminal process has been likened to a filtering process in which at each subsequent decision stage, some cases are screened out of further processing. To state the obvious, of all persons arrested by police, far fewer persons than began at the arrest stage remain in the judicial process through conviction and sentencing, for example. It is not our purpose here to discuss the various reasons for the successively selective functioning of the criminal court decisionmaking process; this has been extensively discussed in other studies. However, one might argue that the more efficient the law enforcement, prosecution and adjudication of criminal cases in given jurisdictions, the larger the proportion of cases reaching the final stages of the judicial process (i.e., resulting in conviction and being sentenced). In this sense, it is inefficient from the point of view of system resources to spend time processing cases that do not result in conviction.

From this single perspective of efficiency, then, it would be appropriate to ask to what extent court systems have "produced" convictions[30]--whether from plea or trial--among the defendants being processed within given periods of time, such as the 8 or 9 months employed in our follow-up studies.[31] Figures 5.21 through 5.23 which display the adjudicatory and sentencing outcomes of cases in three of the courts we studied, comparing drug and non-drug cases.

Although we do see differences among the courts generally in the rate of convictions produced among the entering defendant caseloads, the differences in conviction rates between defendants charged and not charged with drug offenses were not great, with two exceptions (See Figure 5.20). In the Boston Municipal Court, roughly equal

---

[30] In this analysis we are setting aside consideration of the reasons why convictions might not have been produced. They include, of course, dismissal or diversion of cases as well as cases that have simply not reached trial or, if trial was reached, had not completed trial by the end of the follow-up period.

[31] In conducting our follow-up of cases as they reached their final outcomes in the judicial process, we chose 9 months as our cut-off point. This was done for two reasons: First, this brought us past the 6 month framework adopted by many states as the "speedy trial" limit, the period within which most trial should be completed. Secondly, our time and resource constraints initially limited us to this framework. In Maricopa County, we were able to follow cases for only 8 months subsequent to their entry into the judicial process at the initial appearance stage. At the time of this report, four year follow-ups of a smaller sample of cases in Dade County and in Maricopa County were nearing completion but were not yet available.

Figure 5.19   The composition of criminal caseloads not disposed within 90 days, by court, by seriousness of drug charges
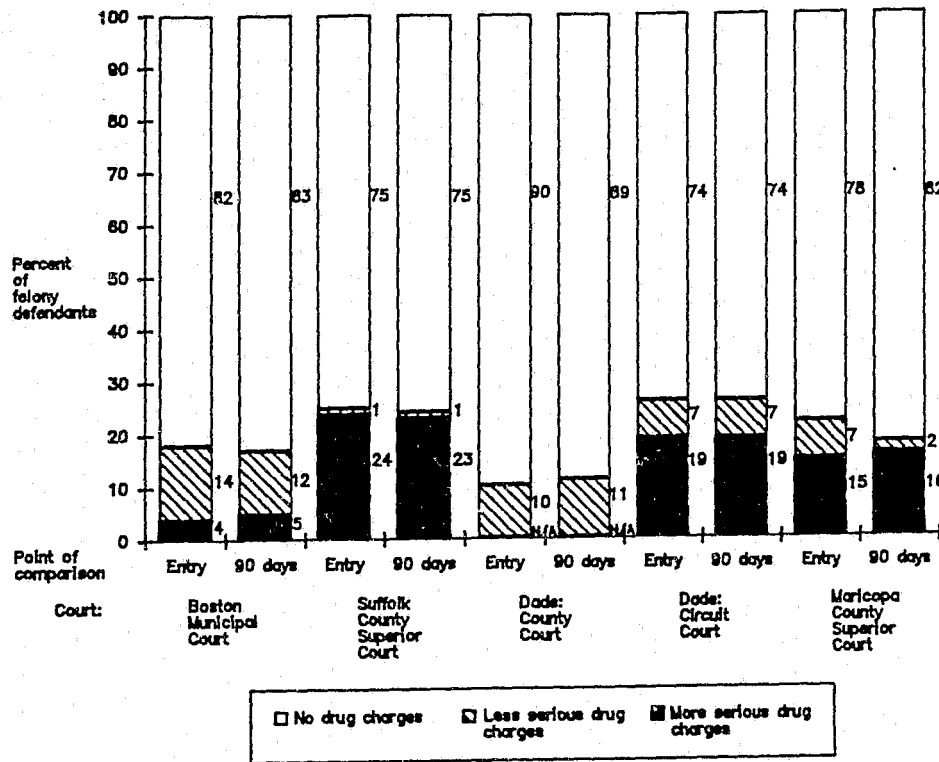
[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Figure 5.20   Percentage of entering 1984 defendants adjudicated (found or pleaded) guilty, in three municipal courts, by seriousness of drug charges
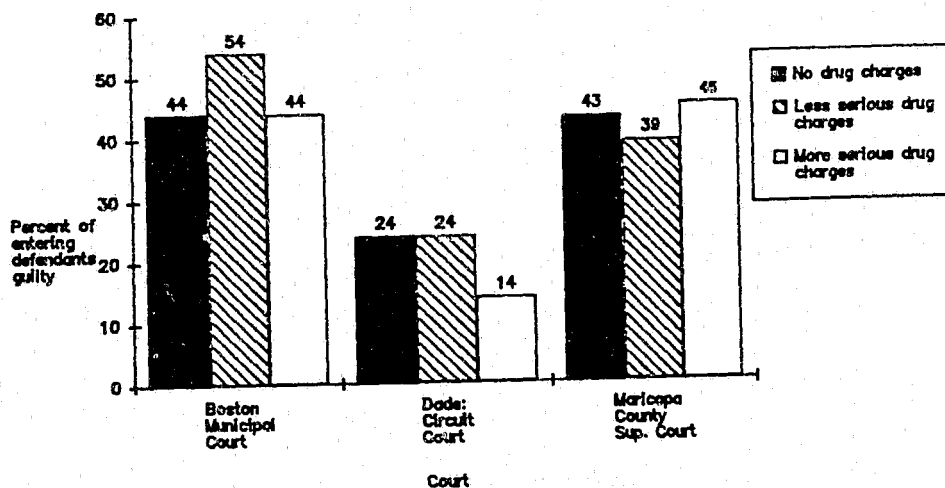
n = 4,549, Boston Municipal Court
n = 2,248, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,228, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

proportions (about 44 percent) of defendants not having drug charges and defendants having sale/manufacture (the more serious) drug charges had been convicted. A larger proportion of defendants (54 percent) charged with possession (the less serious) offenses, however, had been convicted.

In the Dade County Circuit Court, far fewer felony cases had resulted in convictions within 9 months. Approximately one-fourth (24 percent) of non-drug cases and of drug cases involving the less serious kinds of drug charges had resulted in conviction within the 9 month follow-up period. Notably fewer (only 14 percent) of the more serious kinds of drug cases, those involving drug charges equivalent to first and second degree felonies had resulted in conviction during that time.

Among the felony defendants we studied entering the process in Superior Court in Maricopa County, the conviction rate did not appear to vary notably by criminal charge, between 39 and 45 percent of defendants were convicted by that time.

Sentencing

The courts differed as well in the numbers of convicted defendants who had been sentenced during the follow-up period. In Maricopa County, for example, nearly all of the felony defendants who had been convicted within the 8 month follow-up period had also received their sentences, regardless of whether drug charges were involved or of their severity. In Dade County, less than half of the felony defendants convicted during the follow-up also reached sentencing. Among Dade felony cases, drug charges made a slight difference: defendants with convictions in serious drug cases were somewhat more likely to have been sentenced (49 percent), defendants with convictions in the less serious drug cases and in non-drug cases were less likely to be sentenced (39 and 42 percent respectively).

The progress of the Boston Municipal Court defendants fell somewhere between the other two courts and varied more notably on the basis of drug charges. Roughly 81 percent of convicted defendants with the most serious

Figure 5.21 Conviction and sentencing of defendants entering Boston Municipal Court between April 1
and October 30, 1984, during 9 month follow-up, by seriousness of drug charges

	Defendants				Yes	
	N	%			N	%
No Drug Charge	3747	100.0			1650	44.0
Possession	635	100.0			342	53.9
Sale/Manuf.	167	100.0			74	44.5

I Conviction Resulted

	No	
	N	%
	2097	56.0
	293	46.1
	92	55.5

	Yes	
	N	%
	1162	70.4
	183	53.5
	60	80.5

II Sentenced during
9 mo. follow-up

	No	
	N	%
	488	29.6
	159	46.5
	14	19.5

III Sentenced to
Incarceration

	Yes		
	N	%	Md.Mos.
	293	25.2	5.9
	40	22.1	3.3
	7	11.3	8.1

	No	
	N	%
	869	74.8
	143	77.9
	53	88.7
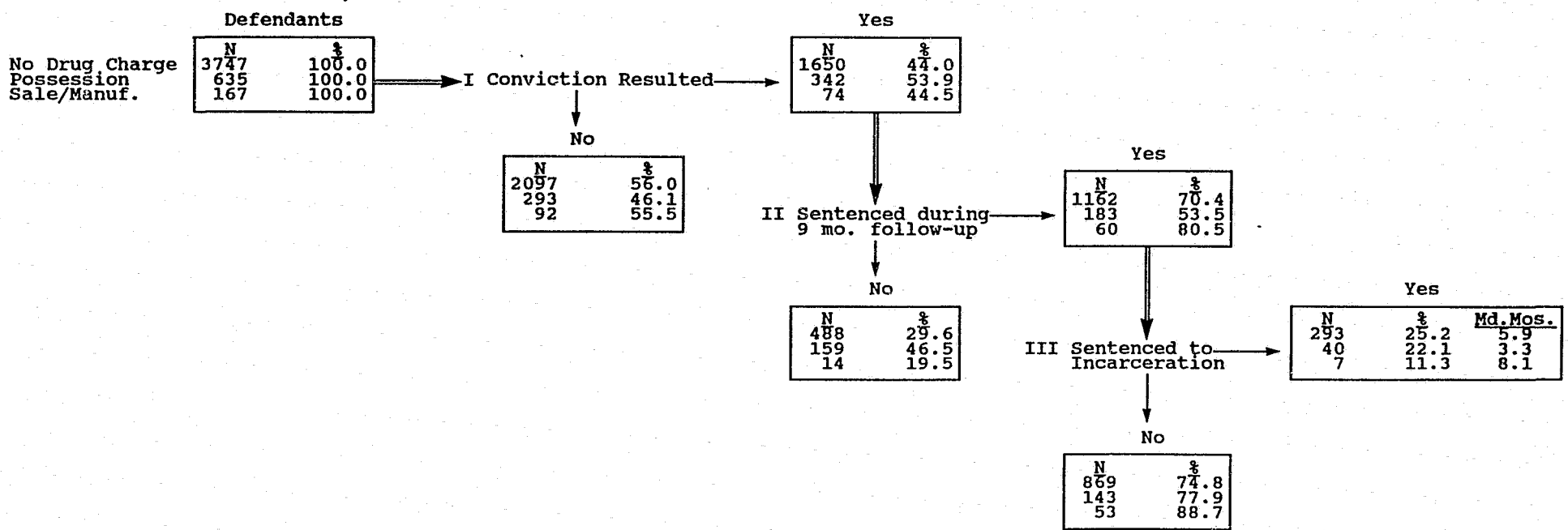
Figure 5.22 Conviction and sentencing of felony defendants entering Circuit Court in Dade County between June 1 and September 2, 1984, during 9 month follow-up, by seriousness of drug charge

Defendants

	N	%
No Drug Charge	1694	100.0
Felony 3 or less	118	100.0
Felony 2 or 1	429	100.0

⟹ I Conviction Resulted ⟶

Yes

N	%
405	23.8
28	23.7
60	14.1

No

N	%
1289	75.7
90	76.3
368	85.9

II Sentenced during 9 mo. follow-up ⟶

Yes

N	%
169	41.6
11	38.9
29	48.7

No

N	%
237	58.4
17	61.1
31	51.3

III Sentenced to Incarceration ⟶

Yes

N	%	Md.Mos.
125	74.3	12
9	85.7	1
20	68.4	12

No

N	%
43	25.7
2	14.3
9	31.6
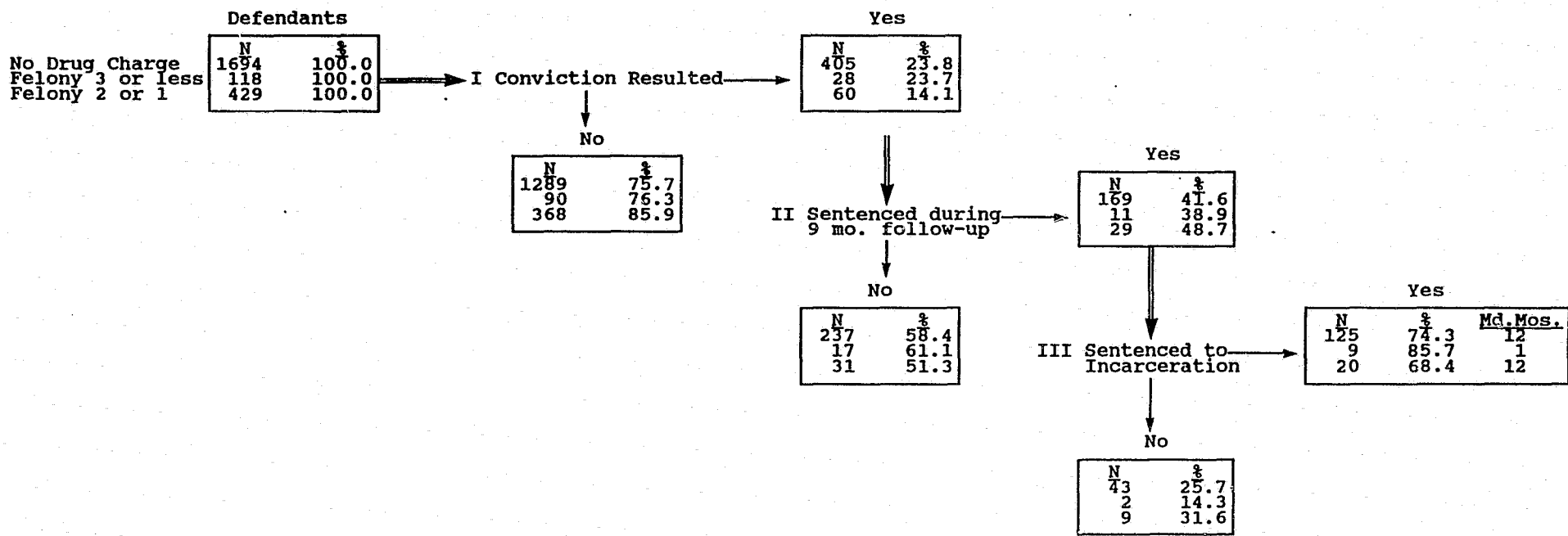
Figure 5.23 Conviction and sentencing of felony defendants entering Superior Court in Maricopa County, June thru July, 1984, during 8 month follow-up, by seriousness of drug charges

Defendants

	N	%
No Drug Charge	1742	100.0
Felony 6 or less	158	100.0
Felony 5 or more	326	100.0

→ I Conviction Resulted →

Yes

N	%
754	43.2
62	39.2
148	45.4

No

N	%
988	56.6
96	60.8
178	54.6

II Sentenced during 9 mo. follow-up →

Yes

N	%
720	95.5
62	100.0
141	95.3

No

N	%
34	4.5
0	0
7	4.7

III Sentenced to Incarceration →

Yes

N	%	Md.Mos.
414	57.7	17.8
19	30.6	1.5
67	47.5	9.0

No

N	%
304	42.3
43	69.4
74	52.5
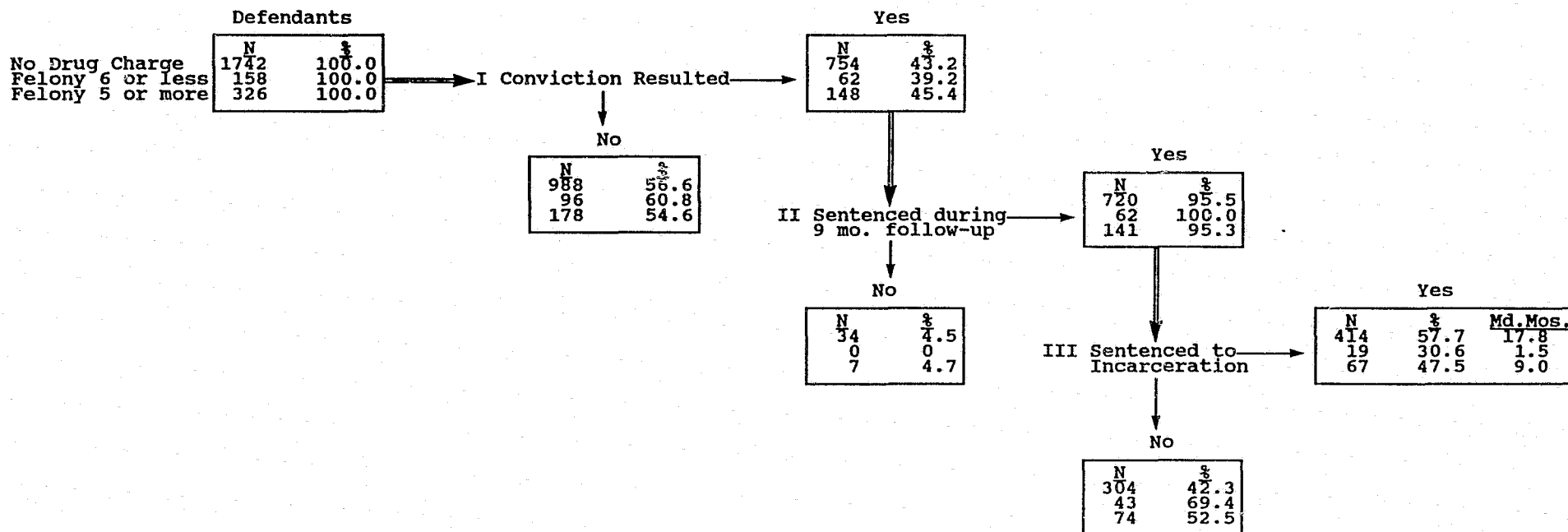
drug charges had been sentenced, 70 percent of convicted non-drug defendants and only 54 percent of convicted

defendants with the less serious (possession-level) drug charges had been sentenced.

The kind of sentences assigned to convicted offenders in three courts differed by court and by kind of

criminal charge. In Boston Municipal Court, the majority of convicted persons received non-incarcerative

sanctions--as might be expected in a court processing predominantly misdemeanor charges. Persons having non-

drug and possession-level drug charges were sentenced to incarceration in roughly one in four cases. Oddly,

convicted persons with the more serious kind of drug charges (sale/manufacture) were less often incarcerated.

Among defendants convicted within the time frame of the follow-up study in the two felony courts, of

course, incarcerative sentences were more common--most common in Circuit Court in Dade County. In Maricopa

County Superior Court felony offenders without drug charges received incarcerative sentences more often (58

percent) and for longer terms (with a median of 18 months) than felony offenders with drug charges. Convicted

persons with the more serious variety of drug offenses, felony 5 or higher, were given incarcerative terms 58 percent

of the time averaging about half the length of the non-drug offenders (with a median term of 9 months). Offenders

with less serious drug offenses equivalent to felony 6 or lower grades) were sentenced to incarcerative terms 31

percent of the time, with terms averaging 1.5 months.

Among Dade County felony defendants convicted within the 9 month follow-up period, the less seriously

charged drug offenders received incarcerative terms most often (86 percent of the time), but with short average

lengths (with a median of 1 month). The proportions of persons without drug charges and persons with the most

serious drug charges (felony 2 or 1) still received incarcerative terms a majority of the time (74 and 68 percent,

respectively) with longer average terms (with medians of 1 year).

Conclusion

The results of the follow-up analyses of case outcomes for defendant cohorts entering processing in three

central urban courts during 1984 have shown differences in conviction and sentencing rates, not only between courts

but also based on the type of offense involved (whether drug charges were involved or not). The differences between courts seem more pronounced than the differences between categories of cases, and these are probably mostly explained by the nature of the criminal caseload. For example, about two-thirds of the cases handled by the Boston Municipal Court were misdemeanors, in comparison with the felony caseloads of the Circuit Court and of Superior Court.

Although we find some slight differences in conviction rates and in sentences when drug-charged and non-drug charged groups of defendants are contrasted at a gross level, we do not see a consistent theme emerge. We might expect, for example, that less seriously charged drug offenses would receive incarcerative terms less often and terms of shorter duration and that more seriously charged drug cases would receive such sanctions more often and terms of longer duration than non-drug cases as a whole because non-drug cases represent a more general category of offenses, really an average of less and more serious non-drug cases. This was not consistently found.

We do not attempt to draw strong lessons from these findings in part because of how small the samples become when we focus on the final judicial stages and, perhaps more importantly, how differently the "filtering" has affected the surviving defendant samples in each court by these later stages. In Circuit Court in Dade County, for example, under one-fourth of entering felony defendants had been convicted by the time 9 months had elapsed. Nearly twice the proportion of entering felony defendants had been convicted by the completion of the 8 month follow-up in Maricopa County. (Superior Court, thus, presents an interesting contradiction: on the one hand, we found earlier that a very large proportion of entering felony cases dropped out--were "scratched"--very early in the process, leading us to characterize early dispositions as less efficient. On the other, a comparatively (though not absolutely) large number of cases resulted in convictions during the follow-up period.) We remind the reader, finally, that our analyses are intended primarily to permit within court comparisons of cases involving drug versus other kinds of criminal charges and that between court comparisons are largely illustrative, given the different make-up of the criminal caseloads.

Chapter Six

THE ROLE OF DRUG ABUSING DEFENDANTS IN THE CRIMINAL PROCESS

Introduction: The 1987 Dade County Sample of Felony Defendants

Between June 9th and July 24th, 1987, we again studied a large cohort of about 2,600 felony defendants entering the criminal process in Dade County's felony court for the purposes of collecting information about drug use. Although the 1987 sample was not precisely similar to the 1984 sample of felony defendants,[32] it was designed to represent entering felony defendants and to serve as a useful comparison with the former sample of defendants. Much of the same information collected in 1984 was again obtained for the 1987 defendants, with one major difference. We attempted to collect urine specimens from the 1987 felony defendants for subsequent testing for use of drugs. The testing procedures have been described in detail in earlier work (Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland, 1988) and will not be discussed here. We would like to point out, however, that the testing was done on a voluntary basis and that the results were kept confidential, used only for research purposes. One result of the voluntary procedures, however, is that when drug test results are a focus of analysis, the sample size shrinks to about 79 percent of the overall sample; 21 percent did not voluntarily provide a specimen for testing.

**THE ATTRIBUTES AND PROCESSING OF CASES INVOLVING DRUG CHARGES:
CHANGES FROM 1984 TO 1987 IN DADE COUNTY**

I. Drug Charges Among the 1987 Felony Defendants

Because we have examined the characteristics of drug charges in some depth in Chapters Three and Four, we do not repeat a detailed analysis here. Instead, we consider whether the patterns associated with drug charges have changed among felony cases in Dade County between the 1984 and 1987 study periods. One immediate change is that drug charges played a growing role in the June-July, 1987, sample of felony defendants. More than one-third of all defendants (34 percent) in the June-July, 1987, sample had been charged with drug offenses, compared to one-fourth (26 percent) of the 1984 defendants. Interstingly, the increase seems due to a

---

[32] See Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland (1988) for a description of the sample and its limitations.

Figure 6.1   The distribution of drug charges among felony samples, by study
            period (1984 vs. 1987), by seriousness of drug charges

n = 2,308, 1984
n = 2,560, 1987
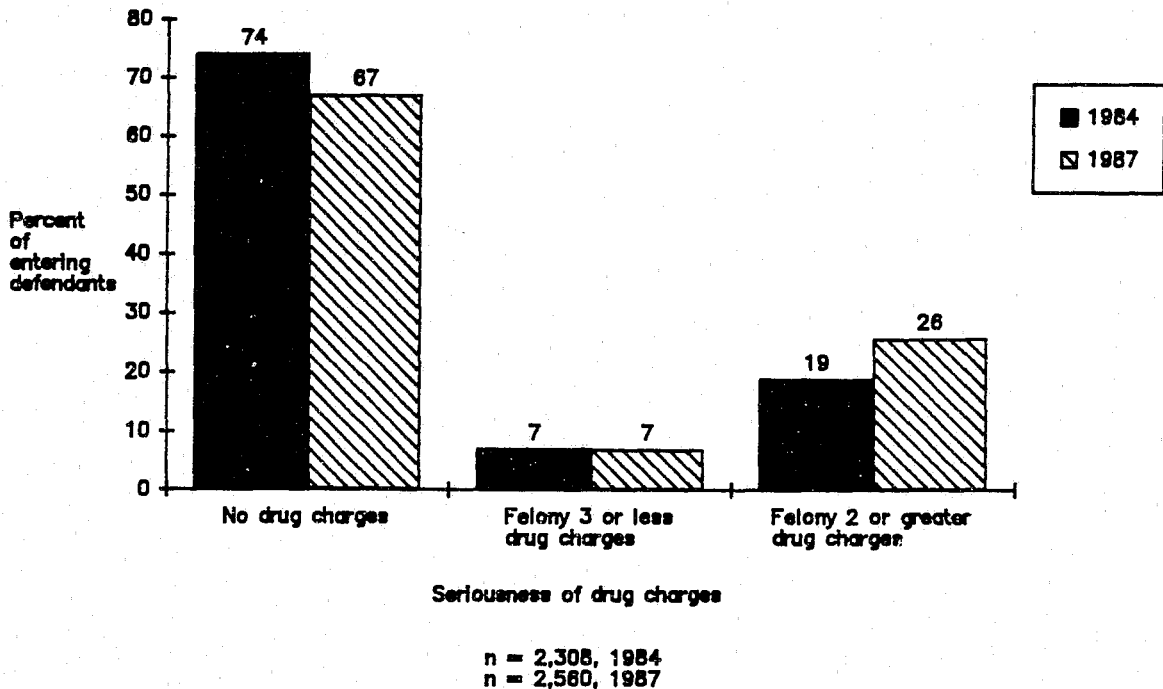
greater proportion of defendants entering the system charged with the most serious of drug offenses. (See Figure

6.1.)

        In examining the attributes of defendants and their criminal cases associated with drug charges, few

differences from the 1984 data were discovered.[33] The similarity in patterns of attributes associated with drug

charges is best demonstrated by the descriptive classification of 1987 defendants based on the prevalence of drug

charges in Figure 6.2 and Table 6.1. Recall that the purpose of the descriptive typology is to identify types or classes

of defendants that differ in the prevalence of drug-related criminal charges. Although the typology of 1987

defendants results in several more classes, it otherwise resembles the typology of 1984 defendants quite closely. On

the basis of characteristics of companion charges (no other kinds of information were found to be strongly related to

the presence or absence of drug charges among the cases of entering defendants), seven groupings of defendants

[33] These data are not presented here in the interest of space.

Figure 6.2   Predictive attribute analysis of prevalence of drug charges
            among Dade felony defendants, June - July, 1987

```
              Key
        ┌──────────────┬────────┐
        │Percent with  │Number  │
        │Drug Charges  │        │
        ├──────────────┴────────┤
        │      Attribute        │
        └───────────────────────┘
```



```
                                          ┌────────┬────────┐
                                          │ 33.9%  │ 2,557  │
                                          ├────────┴────────┤
                                          │All 1987 felony  │
                                          │  Defendants     │
                                          └─────────────────┘
                                                   │
                                              d = -.42
                                  ┌────────────────┴─────────────────┐
                        ┌────────┬────────┐              ┌────────┬────────┐
                        │ 43.3%  │ 1,978  │              │ 1.7%   │  579   │
                        ├────────┴────────┤              ├────────┴────────┤
                        │  Non-Index      │              │ Index Charges   │
                        │  Charges  (I)   │              │          (II)   │
                        └─────────────────┘              ├─────────────────┤
                                 │                        │     FINAL       │
                             d = -.53                     └─────────────────┘
                    ┌────────────┴─────────────┐
          ┌────────┬────────┐       ┌────────┬────────┐
          │ 57.9%  │ 1,436  │       │ 4.8%   │  542   │
          ├────────┴────────┤       ├────────┴────────┤
          │  No Theft       │       │ Theft Charges   │
          │  Charges (III)  │       │          (IV)   │
          └─────────────────┘       ├─────────────────┤
                   │                 │     FINAL       │
               d = -.65             └─────────────────┘
        ┌──────────┴───────────┐
   ┌────────┬────────┐   ┌────────┬────────┐
   │ 67.7%  │ 1,218  │   │ 2.8%   │  218   │
   ├────────┴────────┤   ├────────┴────────┤
   │  No Burglary    │   │Burglary Charges │
   │  Charges  (V)   │   │          (VI)   │
   └─────────────────┘   ├─────────────────┤
            │             │     FINAL       │
        d = -.60         └─────────────────┘
   ┌────────┴──────────┐
┌────────┬────────┐ ┌────────┬────────┐
│ 74.9%  │ 1,072  │ │ 15.1%  │  146   │
├────────┴────────┤ ├────────┴────────┤
│ No Injury       │ │Injury Related   │
│         (VII)   │ │Charges  (VIII)  │
└─────────────────┘ ├─────────────────┤
         │           │     FINAL       │
     d = -.54       └─────────────────┘
┌────────┴──────────┐
┌────────┬────────┐ ┌────────┬────────┐
│ 76.5%  │ 1,041  │ │ 22.6%  │   31   │
├────────┴────────┤ ├────────┴────────┤
│ No Assault      │ │  Assault        │
│ Charges (IX)    │ │  Charges  (X)   │
└─────────────────┘ ├─────────────────┤
         │           │     FINAL       │
     d = -.44       └─────────────────┘
┌────────┴──────────┐
┌────────┬────────┐ ┌────────┬────────┐
│ 80.2%  │  951   │ │ 36.7%  │   90   │
├────────┴────────┤ ├────────┴────────┤
│ No Weapons      │ │Weapons Charges  │
│ Charges  (XI)   │ │         (XII)   │
├─────────────────┤ ├─────────────────┤
│     FINAL       │ │     FINAL       │
└─────────────────┘ └─────────────────┘
```

Table 6.1   Classes of 1987 Dade felony defendants using predictive attribute
             analysis, by prevalence of drug charges

Class	Defining attributes	N	Percent with drug charges
1 (II)	Companion charges: index-level	(579)	1.7
2 (VI)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft, burglary	(218)	2.8
3 (IV)	Companion charges: not index level; theft	(542)	4.8
4 (VII)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not burglary charges involving injury to victim	(146)	15.1
5 (X)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not burglary, not involving injury to victims; assault	(31)	22.6
6 (XII)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not burglary; not involving injury to victims; not assault; weapons	(90)	36.7
7 (XI)	Companion charges: not index-level; not theft; not burglary; not involving injury to victims; not assault; not weapons	(951)	80.2
All 1987 defendants	Base rate	(2,557)	33.9

ranging in the presence of drug charges from a very small proportion of group 1 defendants (only 2 percent were charged with drug offenses) to a very large proportion of group 7 defendants (80 percent had cases with drug charges). Again, the thrust of this classification is that high probabilities of drug charges are not associated with other kinds of charge-related attributes. Other defendant attributes, such as prior criminal history or social background measures did not appear to differentiate drug from non-drug charged defendants.

II. Felony Defendants at the Bail Stage: 1987 versus 1984

In Chapter Three we described the bail and pretrial release decisions made in the three court systems during the 1984 sample periods and discussed the impact of the bail decision on jail crowding and on concerns of public safety, as well as on court processing. Here we briefly compare the treatment of drug and non-drug cases at the bail stage during the two study periods and their consequent impact on detention and defendant misconduct during pretrial release.

Table B6.2 compares the pretrial release decisions of drug and non-drug defendants in the 1984 and 1987 Dade felony samples. The first finding is that the use of nonfinancial release decreased notably from 1984 to 1987 within each of the charge categories. The most dramatic drop in ROR occurred among non-drug cases, but nonfinancial release was less often assigned by judges in both categories of drug-related cases. The use of financial bond also differed in the two periods.

Pretrial Release

As we noted previously, the real importance of the bail decision for defendants and for public safety purposes of course is the determination of release or detention before trial. Table B6.2 also contrasts the use of pretrial release and detention among defendants in the two felony samples according to the presence or absence of drug charges using two measures--release within two days and release within 90 days of initial custody.

The most striking finding is that release--whether measured as within two days or within 90 days of booking--decreased precipitously in all charge categories among the 1987 felony sample. Persons charged in either category of drug matters in 1987, however, still gained pretrial release more frequently than persons charged in non drug kinds of crimes.

Figure 6.3 Failure to appear (FTA) among released Dade felony defendants, by seriousness of drug charges, by study period (1984 vs. 1987)

n = 1,839, 1984
n = 1,872, 1987
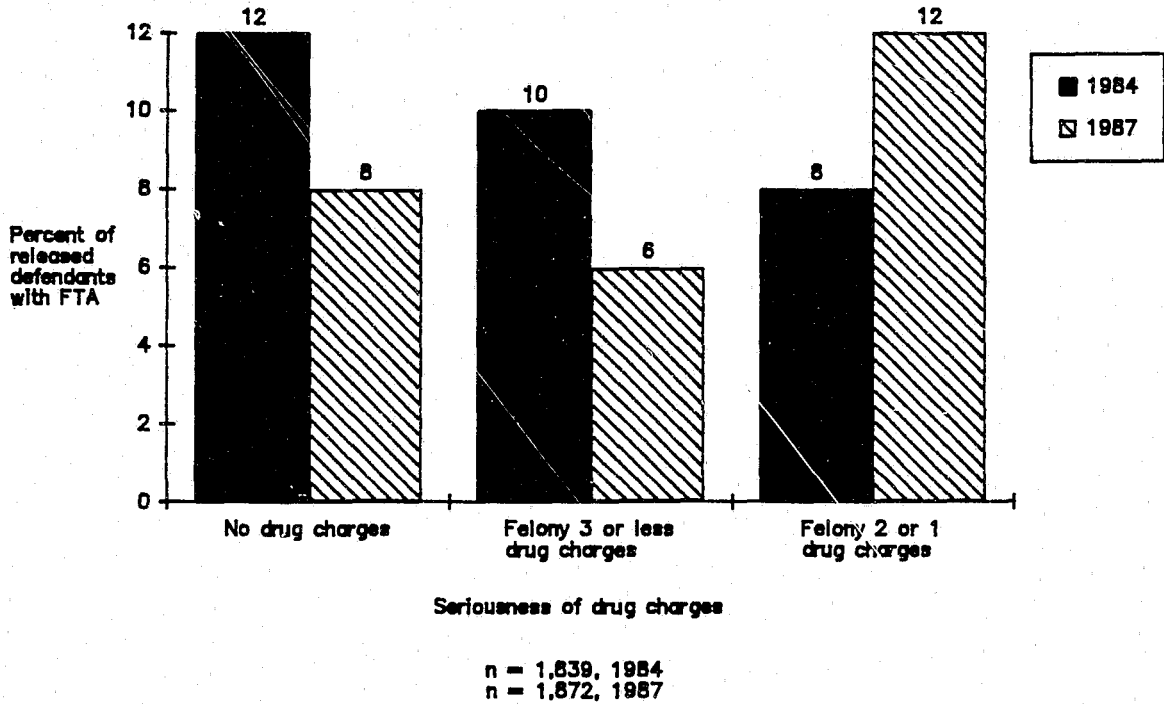
Figure 6.4 Rearrest among released Dade felony defendants, by seriousness of drug charges, by study period (1984 vs. 1987)

n = 1,819, 1984
n = 1,841, 1987
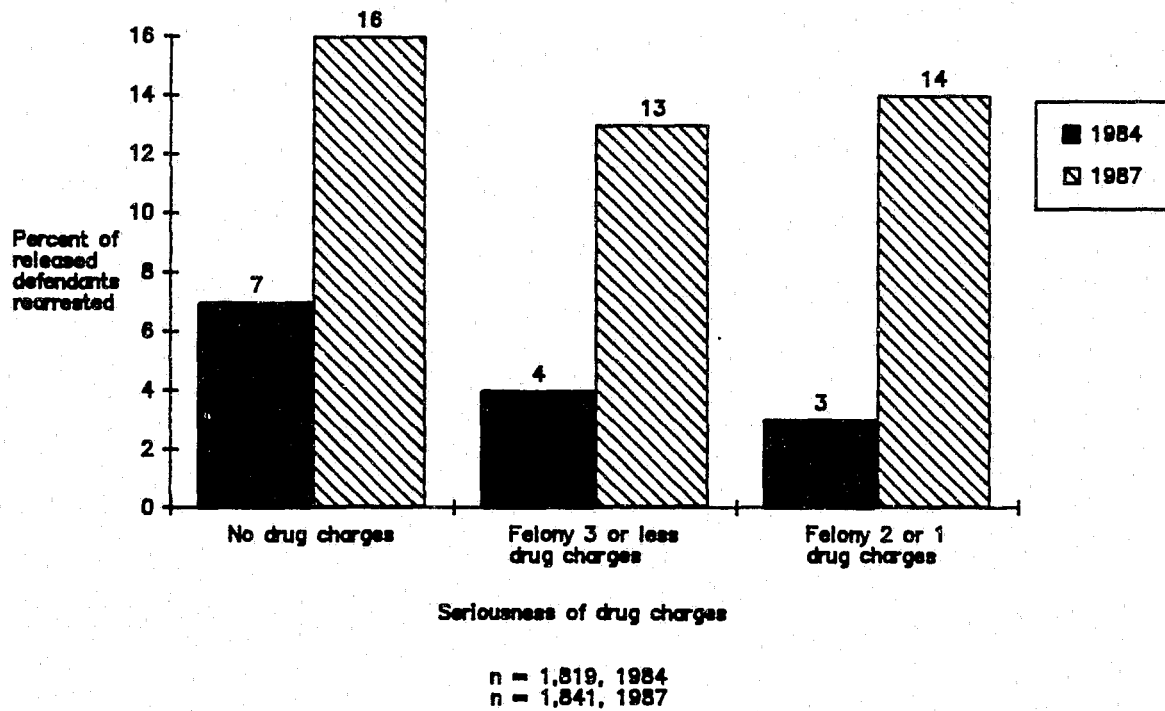
Misconduct among Released Defendants

Figures 6.3 and 6.4 contrast the rates of failure-to-appear and rearrest among drug and non-drug defendants released before adjudication in the 1984 and 1987 samples of felony defendants. In 1984 persons charged with drug offenses--regardless of their relative seriousness--showed very slightly lower rates of misconduct during pretrial release than persons charged with non-drug offenses. Rates of misconduct among released defendants in the 1987 sample did not vary greatly by kind of criminal charge. Failures-to-appear (FTAs) remained at a relatively low level generally, although among 1987 defendants those charged with felony two or one-level drug offenses showed the highest rate of failure to appear. More notable is the fact that rearrests among released felony defendants appeared to increase markedly in 1987: among non-drug defendants, the rate more than doubled (from 7 to 16 percent); among persons charged with misdemeanor or felony three-level drug offenses, the rate more than tripled; among the most seriously charged drug defendants, the rate of pretrial rearrest more than quadrupled.

The Comparative Effectiveness of Pretrial Release in 1987

In Chapter Four, we explained that misconduct rates associated with released defendants can be a misleading way to evaluate the effectiveness of pretrial release decisionmaking because they depend largely on the jurisdiction's (implicit) detention as well as release policy. We illustrated this concept by contrasting one jurisdiction releasing 90 percent of defendants among whom 10 percent were rearrested with another jurisdiction releasing 30 percent of defendants among whom 10 percent were rearrested and argued that they cannot be said to be doing the same job. Thus, a fuller measure--and a better cross-jurisdictional basis for comparison--is the "effectiveness of pretrial release," calculated as 100 percent of defendants minus both the percent detained and the percent released and "failing." Ineffectiveness, therefore, is contributed by detention and by erroneous release (releasing defendants who engage in misconduct).

Figure 6.5   The effectiveness of pretrial release (FTA) among Dade felony defendants,
             by seriousness of drug charges, by study period (1984 vs. 1987)
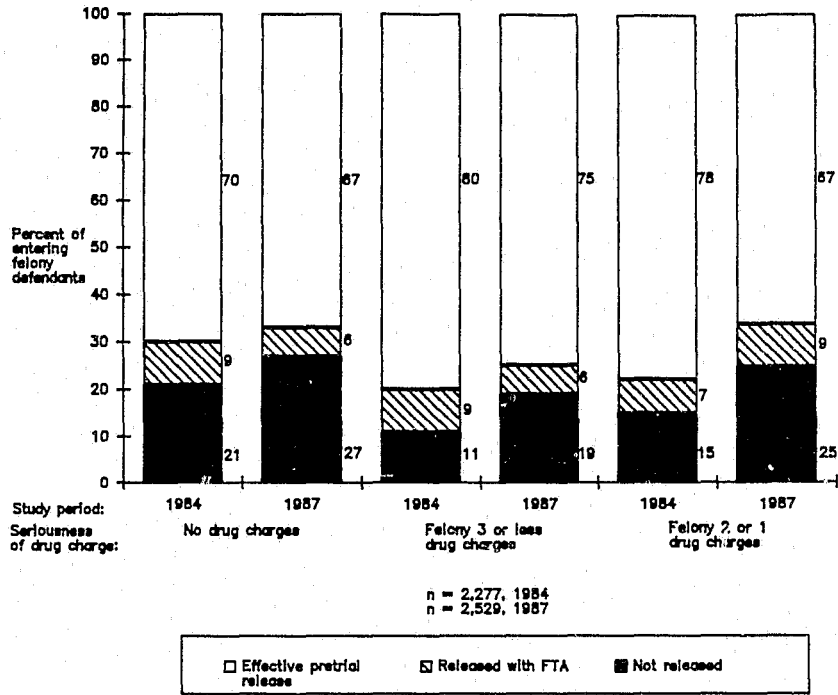
Study period: 1984   1987   1984   1987   1984   1987
Seriousness   No drug charges   Felony 3 or less   Felony 2 or 1
of drug charge: drug charges   drug charges

                              n = 2,277, 1984
                              n = 2,529, 1987

        □ Effective pretrial   ▨ Released with FTA   ■ Not released
          release

[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent.]

Figure 6.6   The effectiveness of pretrial release (FTA or rearrest) among Dade felony
             defendants, by seriousness of drug charges, by study period (1984 vs. 1987)

Study period: 1984   1987   1984   1987   1984   1987
Seriousness   No drug charges   Felony 3 or less   Felony 2 or 1
of drug charge: drug charges   drug charges

                              n = 2,294, 1984
                              n = 2,498, 1987

        □ Effective pretrial   ▨ Released with FTA or   ■ Not released
          release   rearrest
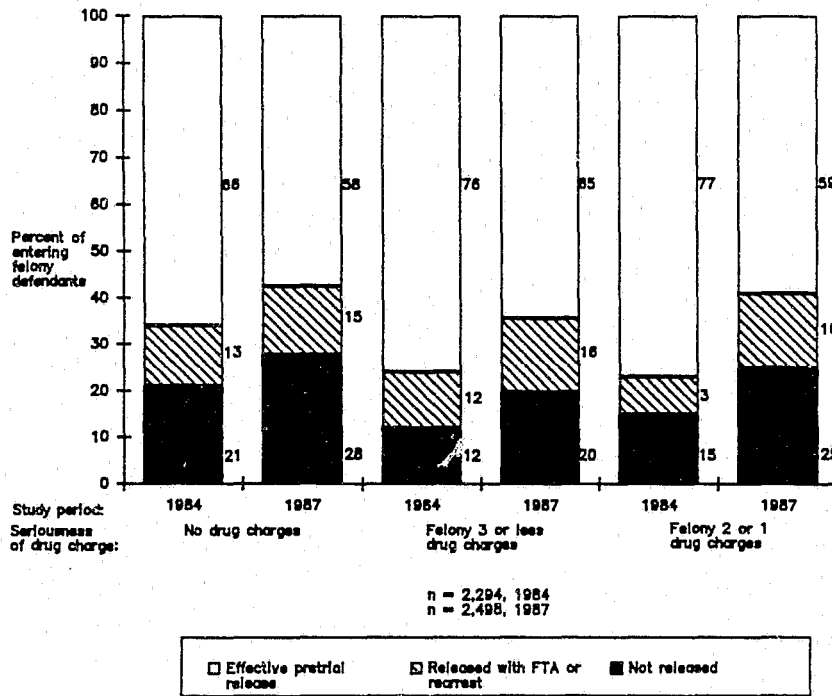
[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent.]

Figure 6.7 The effectiveness of pretrial release (rearrest) among Dade felony
defendants, by seriousness of drug charges, by study period (1984
vs. 1987)

Percent of
entering
felony
defendants

100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0

73   61   65   68   62   65
12   12   10
6
21   28   11   20   15   25

Study period: 1984   1987   1984   1987   1984   1987
Seriousness   No drug charges   Felony 3 or less   Felony 2 or 1
of drug charge: drug charges   drug charges

n = 2,257, 1984
n = 2,496, 1987

□ Effective pretrial   ⊠ Released with   ■ Not released
   release   rearrest
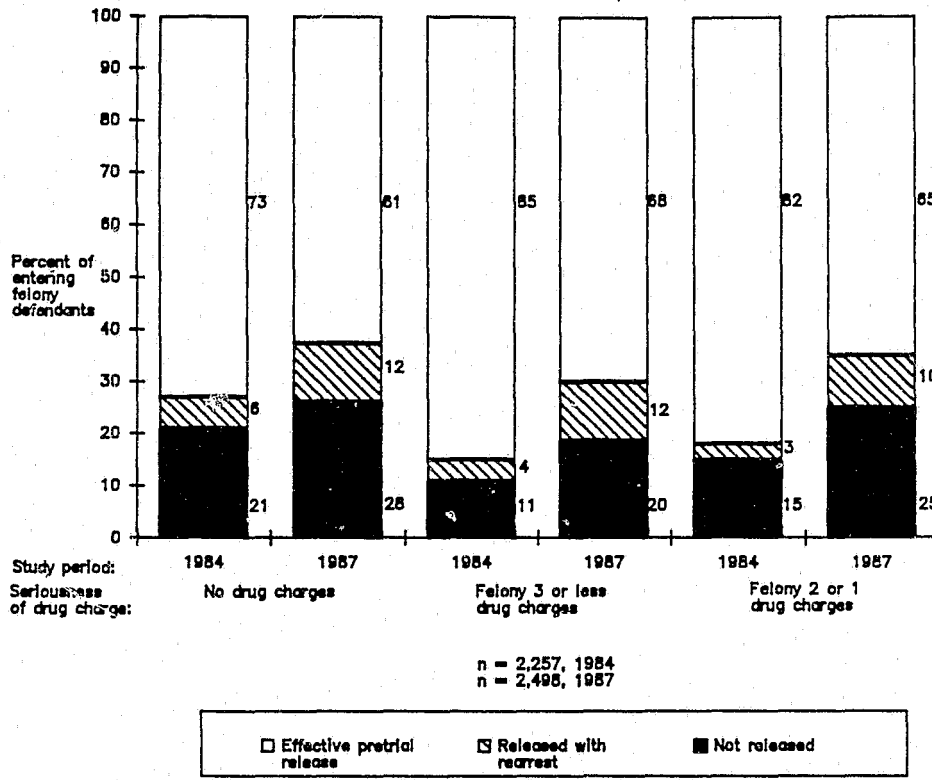
[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent.]

Figure 6.8 The effeciency of early disposition of criminal cases (completion
within 90 days vs. completion excluding dropped/dismissed), by
kind of charges, by study period (1984 vs. 1987)
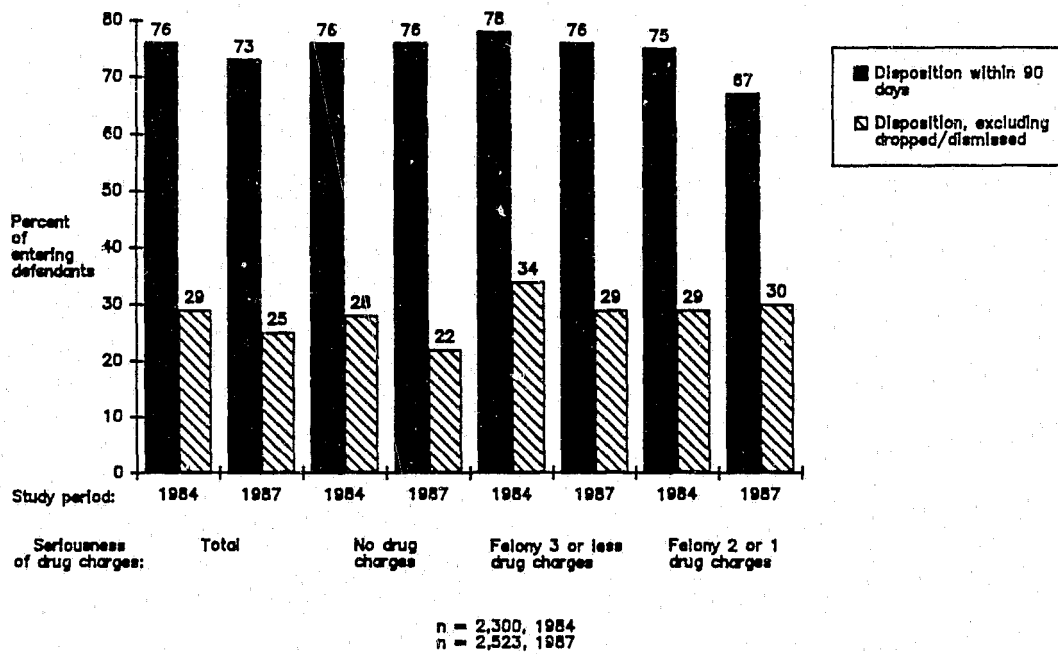
Percent
of
entering
defendants

80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0

76   73   76   76   78   76   75   67
      29   25   28   22   34   29   29   30

■ Disposition within 90
   days

⊠ Disposition, excluding
   dropped/dismissed

Study period: 1984   1987   1984   1987   1984   1987   1984   1987

Seriousness   Total   No drug   Felony 3 or less   Felony 2 or 1
of drug charges: charges   drug charges   drug charges

n = 2,300, 1984
n = 2,523, 1987

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Figures 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7 compare the effectiveness of bail/pretrial release decisionmaking in drug and non-drug cases associated with the two study periods, focusing in turn on failure-to-appear, rearrest and "failure" (measured as either rearrest or failure-to-appear). Among 1984 felony defendants, bail/pretrial release decisions were slightly more effective for defendants having drug charges. In 1987, when decisions were apparently slightly to noticeably less effective overall regarding FTA, greater effectiveness was seen among persons charged with the least serious drug matters. Defendants charged in non-drug cases and in drug cases involving the most serious drug offenses experienced the same level of effective release.

When effectiveness is considered from the perspective of defendant rearrest during pretrial release, the effectiveness of bail decisions was dramatically lower in the cases of the 1987 felony defendants, although the decisions in drug-related criminal cases were somewhat more effective still than in non-drug felony cases. The greater ineffectiveness seen among the 1987 defendants seemed, across categories, to be explained by notable increases in use of pretrial detention and in rearrest rates. These same findings are noted when the question is the effectiveness of pretrial release from the perspective of misconduct generally ("failure" or rearrest or FTA).

II. The Disposition of Drug Charges among the 1987 Felony Defendants

Early Adjudication and Efficiency of Disposition

In the 1987 sample, greater proportions of felony defendants' cases in all offense categories were completed within 90 days than in the 1984 felony sample. The pattern found in 1984 nevertheless applied also to the 1987 defendants: defendants having no drug charges and defendants charged with the less serious drug offenses (equivalent to felony three or lesser seriousness) had their cases completed at a higher rate (76 percent) than defendants charged in the most serious drug matters (67 percent).

In addition to the increased size of the drug-offense caseload, the efficiency of early dispositions had decreased by 1987, at least in the processing of cases involving drug charges. (See Figure 6.8.) (To the extent that a

jurisdiction adjudicates--completes--these cases early and to the extent that the early dispositions are not explained by dropped or dismissed cases, we consider the processing of criminal cases to be efficient.) The efficiency of early disposition decreased somewhat in non-drug and less serious drug charge cases but remained about the same for defendants with the most serious drug charges.

Decision Stages for Early Disposition

In Chapter Five we contrasted the adjudicatory process in the three study sites by employing a sequential or contingent decisionmaking model. In this section, we briefly compare the decisions made in the 1987 felony sample with those made regarding the 1984 felony cases. See Figure 6.9.

The Drop/Dismiss Disposition (Stage I)

The overall "dropout" rate among entering felony cases differed little between the two study periods (47 percent in 1984 and 49 percent in 1987). However, 1987 defendants facing drug charges clearly had cases dropped or dismissed at rates lower than non-drug defendants (54 percent). Proportionately more cases involving the less serious drug charges (47 percent) were completed by being dropped within 90 days than cases involving the most serious drug offenses (36 percent).

The Decision to Divert (Stage II)

As in 1984, diversion in the 1987 study period was rarely used to dispose of defendants' charges--from 11 to 16 percent of the time--regardless of the kind of criminal charge involved.

Early Guilty Pleas in Criminal Cases (Stage III)

Among the 1987 cases reaching this stage of the process, the resolution of charges via early guilty pleas dropped markedly--by more than half its 1984 level. Defendants charged with drug offenses of the less serious variety pleaded guilty more often (24 percent of the time) than defendants charged with more serious drug offenses (11 percent) and defendants not charged in drug matters (12 percent).

Figure 6.9 Adjudication within 90 days of entering Circuit Court in Dade County, 1984 v. 1987, by seriousness of drug charges

```
                        Defendants
                         1984
                        N        %
Non-drug               1696    100.0
Felony 3 or less        166    100.0
Felony 2 or 1           439    100.0
                         1987
Non-drug               1667    100.0
Felony 3 or less        180    100.0               No
Felony 2 or 1           676    100.0              1984
                                            N           %
                                           855        52.2
                                            93        56.0
                                           236        53.8
           I Dropped/Dismissed──►           1987
                                           762        45.7
                                            96        53.3           No
                                           432        63.9         1984
                 │                                            N          %
                 ▼                                           764       86.3
               Yes                                            73       88.2
               1984                                          159       67.3
              N        %                                      1987
             811      47.8              II   Diverted──►     641       84.1
              73      44.0                                    81       84.4
             203      46.2                     │             386       89.4           No
               1987                            ▼                                    1984
             905      54.3                   Yes                              N          %
              84      46.7                   1984                            503       65.8
             244      36.1                 N        %                         48       65.8
                                          121      13.7                      120       75.5
                                           20      21.5  III Guilty Plea──►   1987
                                           77      32.7                      565       88.1
                                            1987                              62       76.5
                                           91      15.9                      344       89.1        No
                                           15      15.6                                          1984
                                           46      10.6                                     N          %
                                                                                           411       81.7
                                            Yes                                             37       77.1
                                            1984                                           108       90.0
                                          N        %                                        1987
                                         261      34.2         IV Early Trial──►           376       66.6
                                          25      34.2                                      43       69.4
                                          39      25.5                                     228       66.3
                                           1987                          │
                                          76      11.9                   ▼              (Pending at
                                          19      23.5                 Yes                  90 days)
                                          42      10.9                 1984
                                                                  N        %
                                                                 92      18.3
                                                                 11      22.9
                                                                 12      10.0
                                                                  1987
                                                                189      33.4
                                                                 19      30.6
                                                                116      33.7
                                                                   │
                                                                   ▼                      No
                                                                                        1984
                                                          V   Convicted──►          N        %
                                                                                    5       5.4
                                                                                    0       0
                                                                                    0       0
                                                                Yes                   1987
                                                                1984                16       8.4
                                                           N        %                 2      10.5
                                                          87      94.6                 5      95.7
                                                          11     100.0
                                                          12     100.0               (Acquitted)
                                                            1987
                                                         173      93.6
                                                          17      89.5
                                                         111      95.7
                                                             │
                                                             ▼
                                                     VI  [Sentenced]
```

Resolution via Early Trial (within 90 Days) (Stage IV)

Roughly twice the proportion of the 1987 felony defendants (33 percent) proceeded to trial within the initial 90 days for adjudication of their charges than did 1984 defendants (17 percent). This rate did not vary by the type of criminal charge (i.e., whether drug charges were involved or not). The make-up of the cases remaining for later adjudication—presumably by trials occurring beyond the 90 day period—did differ notably between 1984 and 1987. In 1984, roughly 26 percent of the continuing cases involved drug-related criminal offenses. In the 1987 felony sample, 40 percent of the cases not disposed within the initial 90 day period involved drug offenses. In 1987, the composition of the defendant cohort increased in its proportion of drug cases as continuing moved beyond the 90 day stage: 34 percent of entering defendants had drug charges, 40 percent of the continuing cases were charged with drug offenses. (See Figure 6.10.)

Figure 6.10 The composition of Dade County caseloads not disposed within 90 days, by seriousness of drug charges, by study period (1984 vs. 1987)
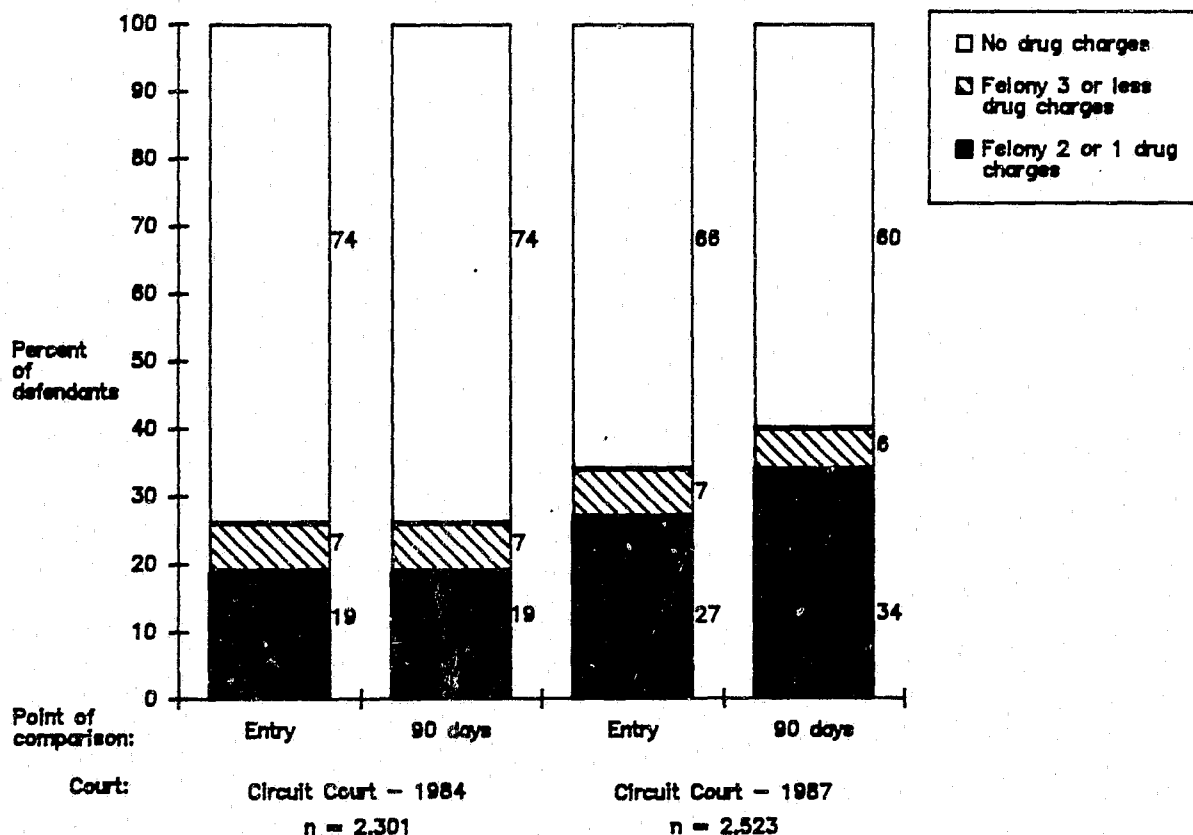
DRUG USE AMONG DADE COUNTY FELONY DEFENDANTS AS
MEASURED BY URINALYSIS

As explained earlier, urine specimens were collected voluntarily from the felony defendants in the June-July, 1987 sample at the booking stage in the Dade County Jail (see Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland, 1988 for a discussion of the results and methods).

I. Drug Use Among Dade County Felony Defendants

Figure 6.11 summarizes the results of the urinalysis conducted on entering felony defendants during the summer of 1987 in Dade County. First, we should note that, because the testing was voluntary, our focus shifts to the 77 percent of the 1987 sample who provided specimens for testing.[34] For the purpose of the current analyses, the relationship between drug use and drug crimes among cases moving through the system, the nonparticipation by some defendants will be of little import.

The association of drug use (as indicated by positive tests) with selected defendant attributes for the tested defendants is depicted in Figures 6.12 through 6.20. Although defendant urine specimens were tested for the presence of seven drugs,[35] only two drugs, cocaine and marijuana, were commonly in found. The total columns in these figures show that among defendants tested 44 percent tested positively for marijuana, 75 percent tested positively for cocaine and 81 percent tested positively for either of the drugs.

To summarize, drug use among the Dade felony defendants appeared to be related to the following demographic characteristics: the defendant's age (marijuana use peaked among defendants 25 years old or younger; cocaine use was highest among 26-30 year olds); race/ethnicity (both marijuana use and cocaine use were found at higher levels among black defendants compared to white or hispanic/other defendants); and marital status (unmarried defendants tested positively at higher rates than married/other defendants). Cocaine use was related to

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[34] In our earlier research report, we consider the extent to which the failure of 23 percent of the original sample may bias the results of our analyses. We conclude that the effect does not appear to be great and that the drug testing sample differs only slightly in character from the total sample of 1987 defendants.
[35] Specimens were tested for marijuana (THC), cocaine, PCP, opiates, amphetamines, valium and barbiturates.

Figure 6.11 Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County
Circuit Court, June to July, 1987

Percent of felony
defendants

Drug testing results

n = 2,408
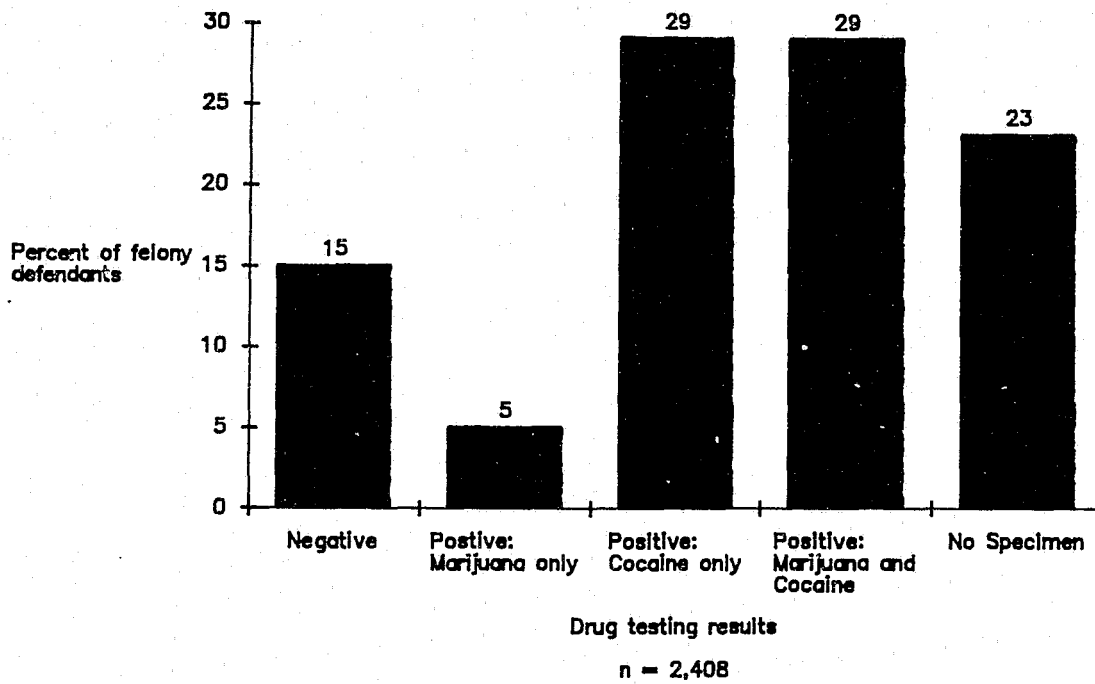
Figure 6.12 Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit
Court, June to July, 1987, by age

Percent of tested
defendants with
positive results

■ Marijuana
◩ Cocaine
☐ Either

Age of defendant

n = 1,822, Marijuana
n = 1,824, Cocaine
n = 1,815, Either
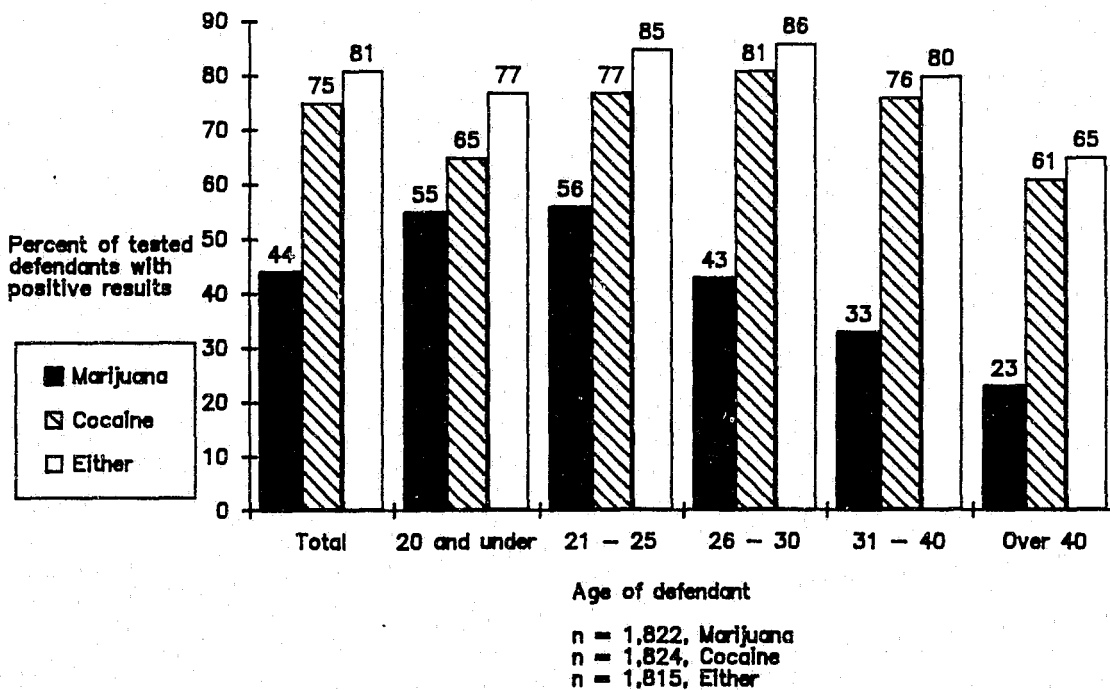
employment status (higher proportions of employed defendants tested positively) but not to gender. Marijuana was related to gender (males tested positively at a higher rate than females) but not employment status.

Figures 6.13 through 6.18 show that positive test results varied depending on the kind of offenses (although not simply according to the seriousness) involved in the defendants' criminal charges (see Figure 6.17). For example, of the three grades of felony charges, drug use was highest among defendants charged in second degree felonies, second highest among those charged with first degree felonies and lowest among those charged in third degree felonies. Figure 6.14 shows that the kind of criminal charges involved in a defendant's case made an important difference in the probability of positive test results. For example, 89 percent of defendants charged with drug offenses tested positively for cocaine, compared to 40 percent of defendants charged with carrying a concealed firearm. Sixty-one percent of defendants charged with robbery tested positively for marijuana, compared to 28 percent of defendants charged with aggravated assault. These findings are further illustrated in Figures 6.15 through 6.18.

A finding that runs contrary to the conventional lore is that drug use was not associated with crimes of violence or injury to victims of such crimes in this sample of Dade felony defendants. Rather, drug use was present disproportionately in drug and property related crimes.

Positive test results were also found to be strongly related to defendants' prior criminal histories--both of arrests and convictions. The figures presented here show that--particularly for cocaine use--the percentage of defendants testing positively for drugs increases with the extent of their prior criminal records. For example, while 55 percent of defendants with no prior arrests tested positively for cocaine, 68 percent of those with one arrest and 84 percent of those with two or more arrests tested positively. The relationship seems stronger when prior drug arrests (and prior drug convictions not presented here) are examined.

Figure 6.13 Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit
          Court, June to July, 1987, by felony grading

Percent of tested
defendants with
positive results

■ Marijuana
◩ Cocaine
☐ Either

Total   Felony 3   Felony 2   Felony 1

Felony grading

n = 1,795, Marijuana
n = 1,797, Cocaine
n = 1,788, Either
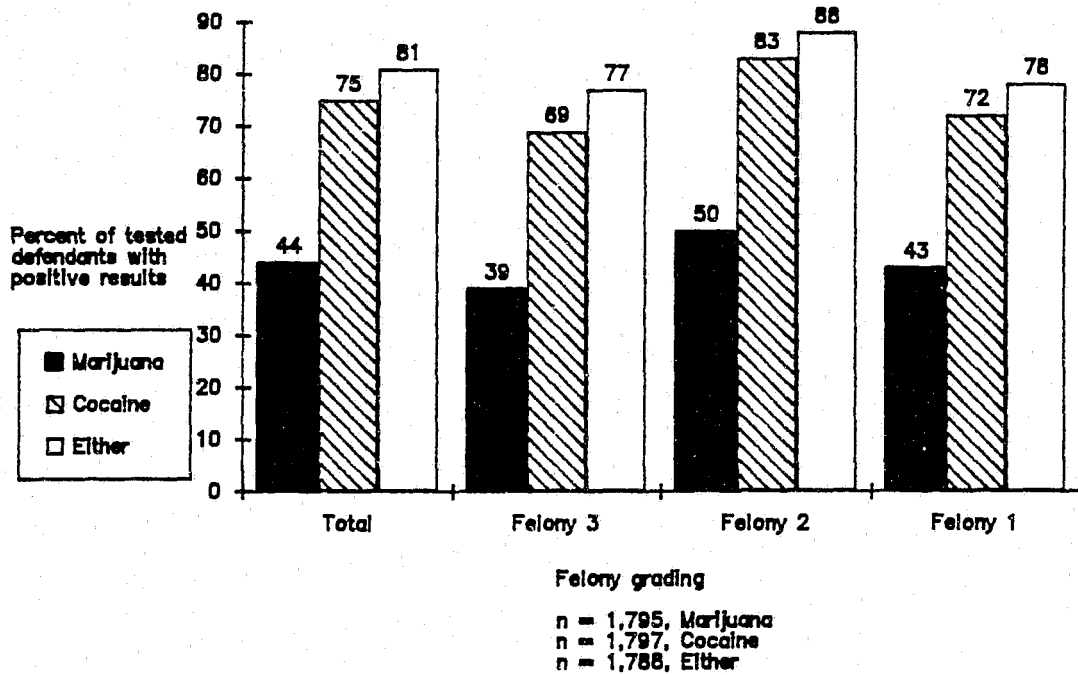
Figure 6.14 Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit Court, June to July,
          1987, by selected offenses (in order of frequency)

Percent of tested
defendants with
positive results

■ Marijuana
◩ Cocaine
☐ Either

Total Drugs Theft B & E Buglary Agg. Agg. Robbery Assault Carrying Other
       poss. or   unoccu. /B & E battery assault   on police concealed
       sale   officer firearm

Selected offenses

n = 1,868, Marijuana
n = 1,870, Cocaine
n = 1,861, Either
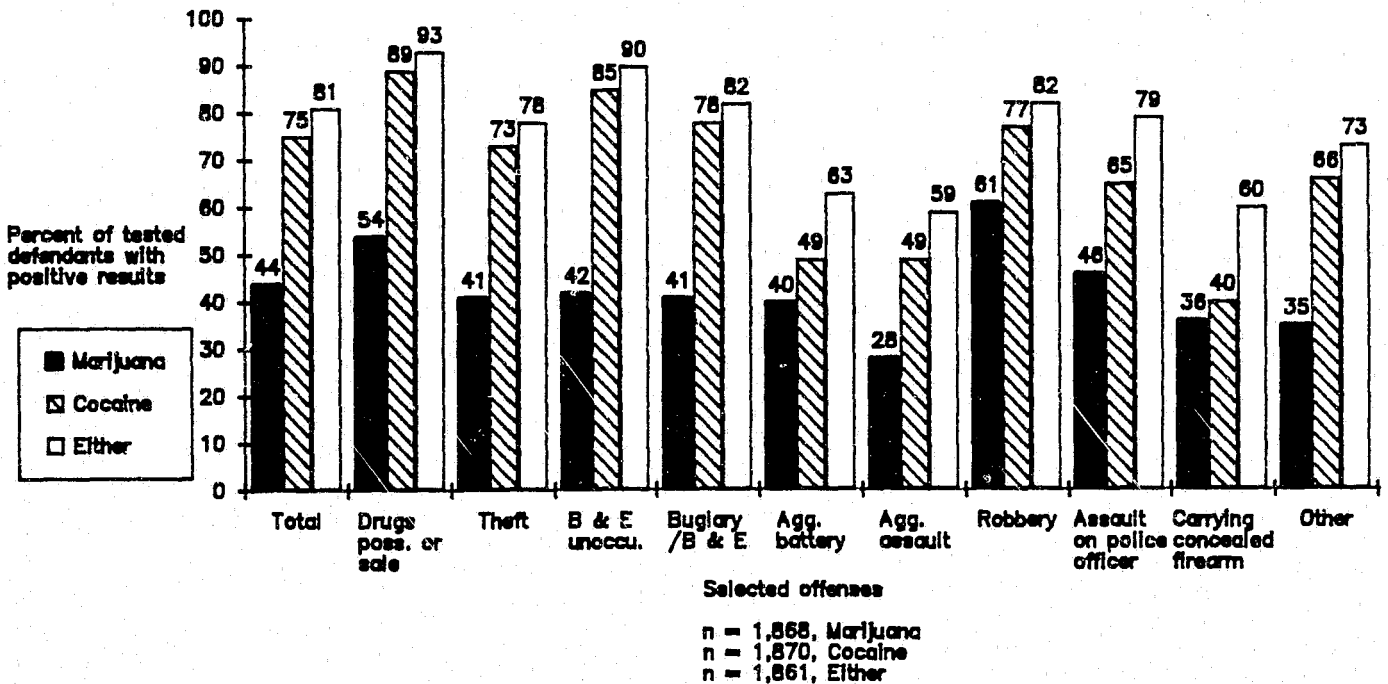
Figure 6.15 Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit
Court, June to July, 1987, by weapons charges

Percent of tested
defendants with
positive results

■ Marijuana
⧄ Cocaine
☐ Either

	Total	No	Yes
Marijuana	44	44	38
Cocaine	75	80	56
Either	81	82	67

Weapons charges

n = 1,728, Marijuana
n = 1,730, Cocaine
n = 1,771, Either
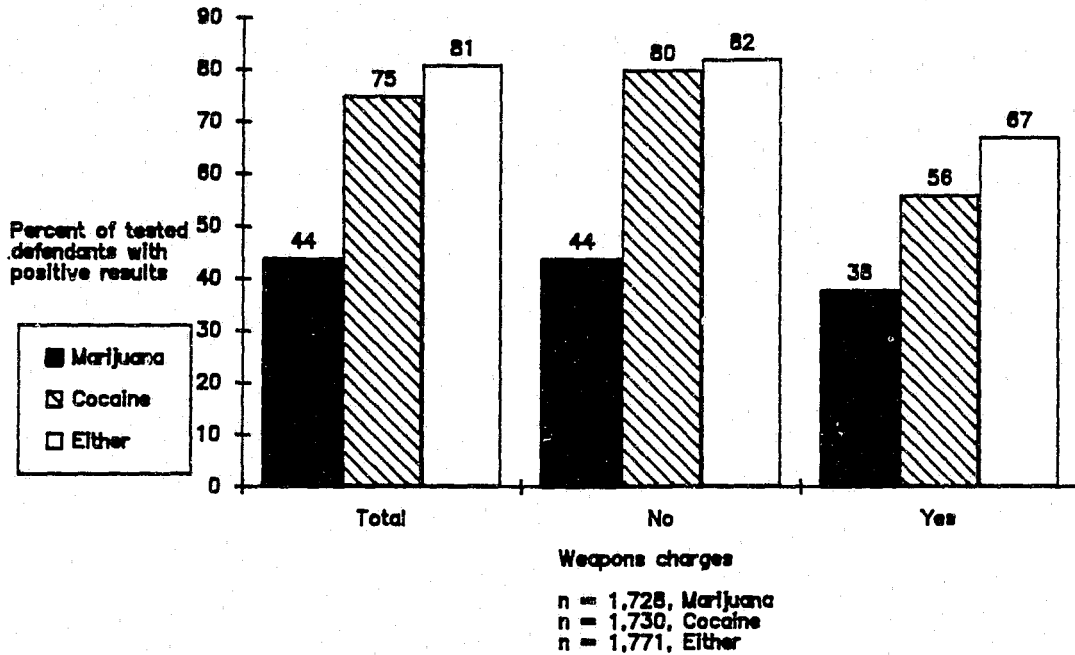
Figure 6.16 Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit
Court, June to July, 1987, by injury to victim

Percent of tested
defendants with
positive results

■ Marijuana
⧄ Cocaine
☐ Either

	Total	Not a person crime	Person crime, no injury	Person crime, minor injury	Person crime, more serious injury
Marijuana	44	83	38	44	46
Cocaine	75	85	63	68	52
Either	81	84	69	81	67

Injury to victim

n = 1,778, Marijuana
n = 1,780, Cocaine
n = 1,771, Either
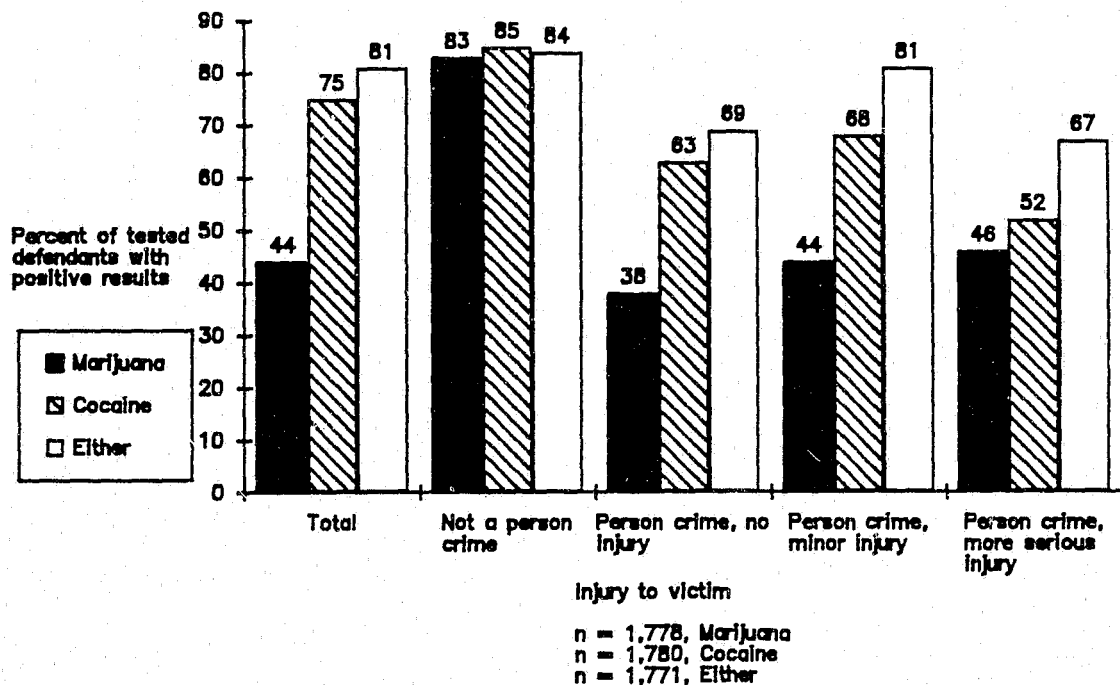
Figure 6.19   Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit
Court, June to July, 1987, by arrest history

Percent of tested
defendants with
positive results

■ Marijuana
◩ Cocaine
□ Either

Total   No prior arrests   One   Two or more

Arrest history

n = 1,843, Marijuana
n = 1,845, Cocaine
n = 1,836, Either
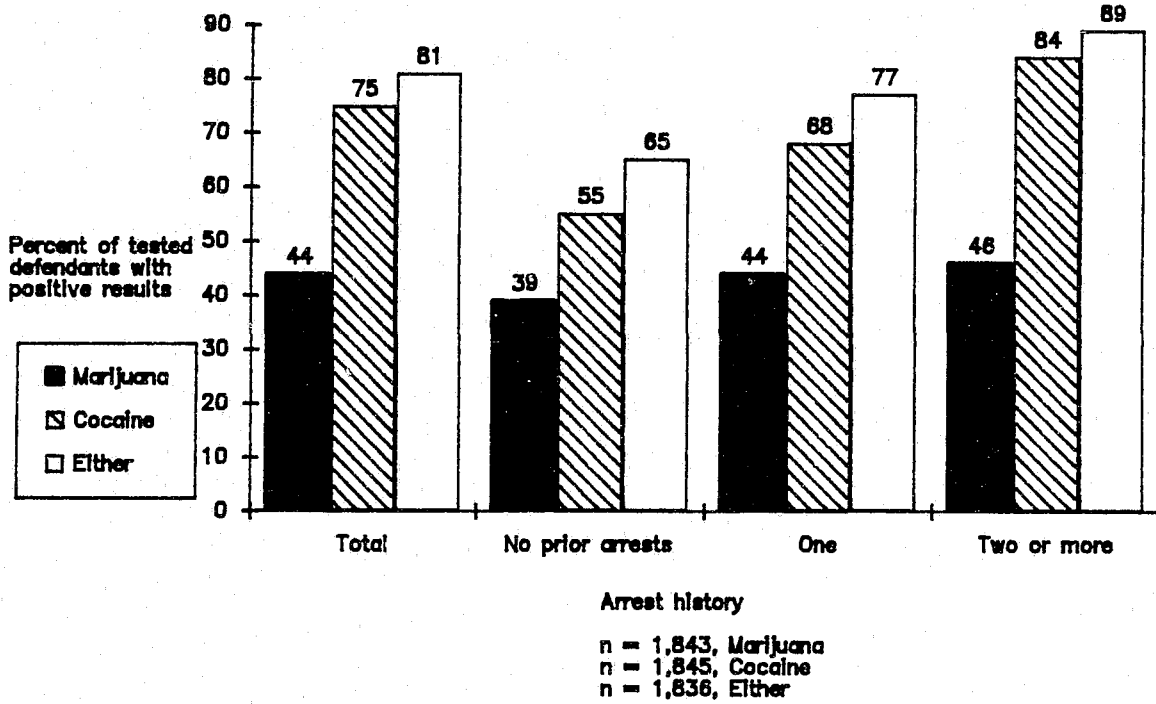
Figure 6.20   Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit
Court, June to July, 1987, by prior drug arrests

Percent of tested
defendants with
positive results

■ Marijuana
◩ Cocaine
□ Either

Total   None   One   Two or more

Prior drug arrests

n = 1,843, Marijuana
n = 1,845, Cocaine
n = 1,836, Either
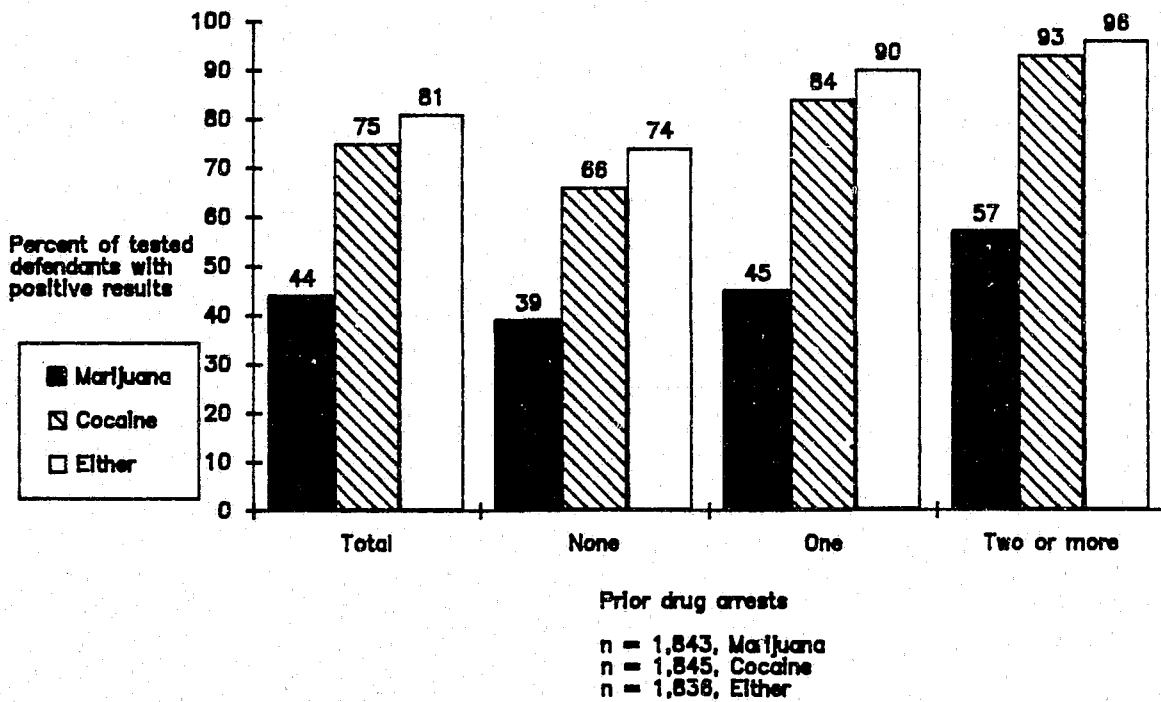
Figure 6.17 Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit Court, June to July 1987, by severity of charges (guidelines)

Percent of tested defendants with positive results

Severity of charges (guidelines)

n = 1,846, Marijuana
n = 1,848, Cocaine
n = 1,839, Either
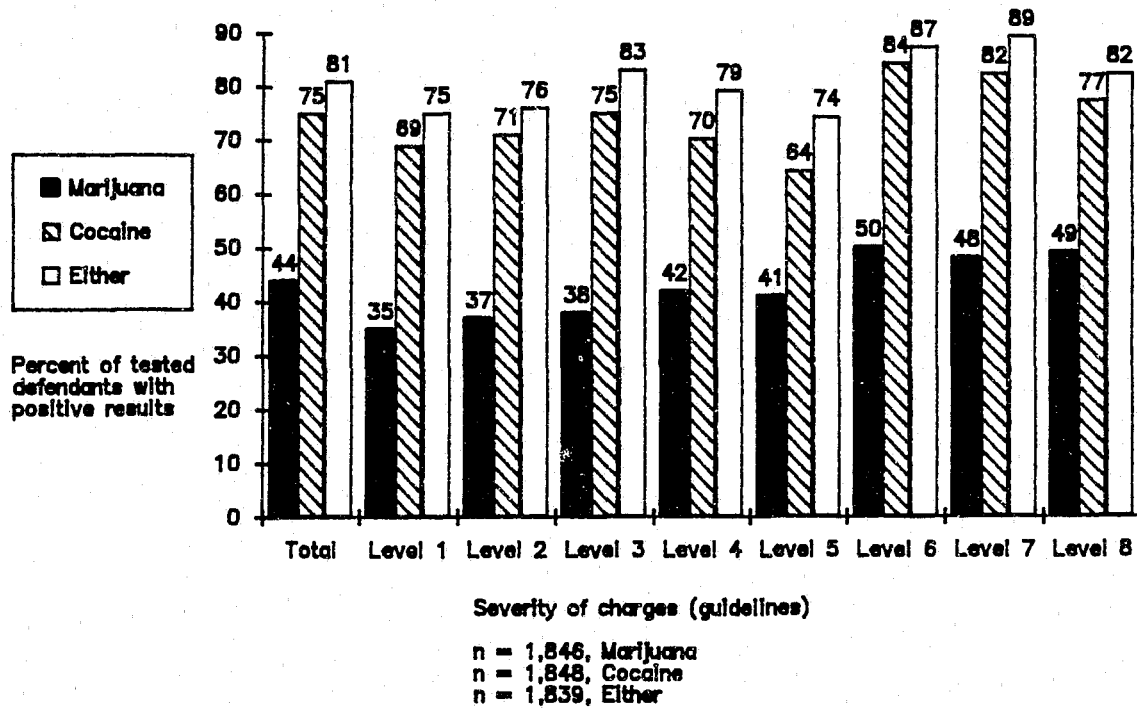
Figure 6.18 Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade County Circuit Court, June to July, 1987, by drug charges

Percent of tested defendants with positive results

Drug charges

n = 1,757, Marijuana
n = 1,760, Cocaine
n = 1,751, Either
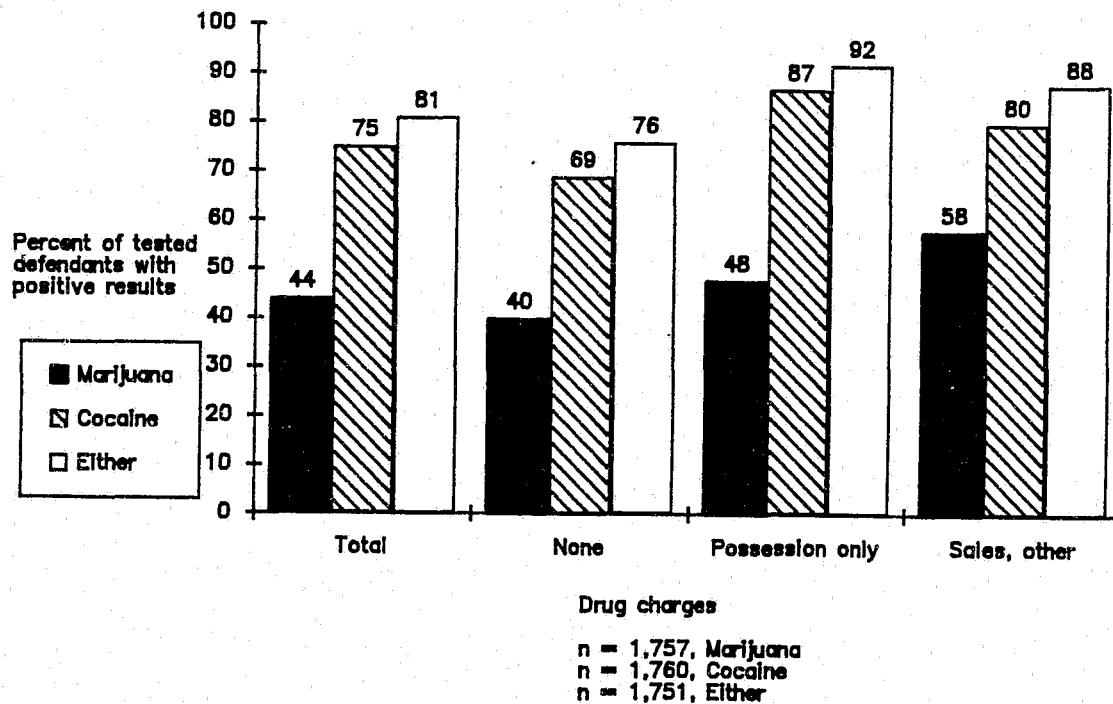
The Development of a Descriptive Typology of Drug Use Among Defendants

In this section we have described some of the characteristics of defendants and their cases associated with positive drug tests at the entry stage to the criminal process. Given our aim of describing the role of drug-related criminal cases, development of a descriptive classification of defendants according to the likelihood of testing positively for drug use making use of more than one piece of information simultaneously can serve two purposes: First, the drug-use component of "drug-related" criminal cases is the part which usually cannot be measured. (To study the role of cases involving drug charges, the task is simple: we merely focus on defendants criminal charges and compare those with and without drug charges.) Thus, development of groupings of defendants very likely or unlikely to be current drug abusers is a way of improvising measurement of the drug use problem.

Second, and this is closely related to the first purpose, such a classification can serve as a stand-in for drug testing. If we can identify patterns of defendant attributes strongly related to the probability of positive drug test results, we can develop a model or typology of drug using defendants--without having to resort to drug testing. In fact, if we were to estimate the role of drug-abusing defendants among cases undergoing processing in courts in other locations that do not have drug testing information available, we would have a way of estimating--using our drug abuse typology--the likely numbers of defendants who are active drug abusers.

Although, as we have noted, a number of techniques of multivariate statistical analysis could be employed to model the prevalence of drug use among our sample of Dade defendants collected in the summer of 1987, we once again employ predictive attribute analysis to illustrate the development of a descriptive classification or typology--this time of drug abuse among felony defendants. Figure 6.21 depicts the successive partitioning of the defendant sample based on defendant or case attributes related to positive drug tests for cocaine.

The objective of a successful PAA would be to produce a number of categories of defendants that differ from one another in their probabilities of testing positively for drug abuse and from the base rate of the overall sample (75 percent of all defendants tested positively). If we cannot produce a classification of categories with

positive rates much different than the base rate, then we are not offering information about the extent and nature of drug abuse among defendants beyond what knowledge of the base rate already contributes.

In this dendogram, the defendant's history of prior arrests enters as the defendant attribute most highly associated with testing positively for cocaine. Partitioning the sample on this attribute results in two groups with differing rates of positive tests for cocaine: defendants with no prior arrests (of whom 55 percent tested positively) and defendants with prior arrests (of whom 82 percent tested positively.)

In a second step, each of these groups can be subdivided further to produce a total of four defendant subgroups. Each group is not divided on the basis of the same attribute, however. Among defendants with no prior arrests, whether defendants reported cocaine use within the past year or not splits the original group so that defendants in one group (those with no prior arrests and no self-reported recent cocaine use) show a lower positive test rate (53 percent) and defendants in the second group (those with no prior arrests and with self-reported cocaine abuse) have much higher positive test rates (87 percent). But, among defendants with prior arrests, the next variable to enter is the presence or absence of assault charges in the current case. Eighty-five percent of defendants with prior arrests and no current assault charges tested positively compared to 62 percent of defendants with prior arrests who had assault charges.

Of the four defendant groupings produced so far in the PAA, one cannot be further subdivided based on any attribute meeting the selection requirements (see cell IV),[36] the group of defendants with no prior arrests and self-reported cocaine use within the past year. Each of the three remaining categories do subdivide--but on the basis of different defendant attributes. Cell III defendants are split using the variable noting whether or not weapons charges were among the defendants' current charges. This results in two groups with divergent rates of positive testing. Defendants having prior arrests and no assault charges in the current cases are divided further on the basis

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[36] Recall from the discussion of PAA in the earlier chapters that partitioning can be stopped when defendants attributes do not show a sufficient level of association (a Somer's d of .15) or would not result in a sufficient number of cases to be reliable.

Figure 6.21   Predictive attribute analysis of prevalence of cocaine use among
Dade County felony defendants, June thru July, 1987
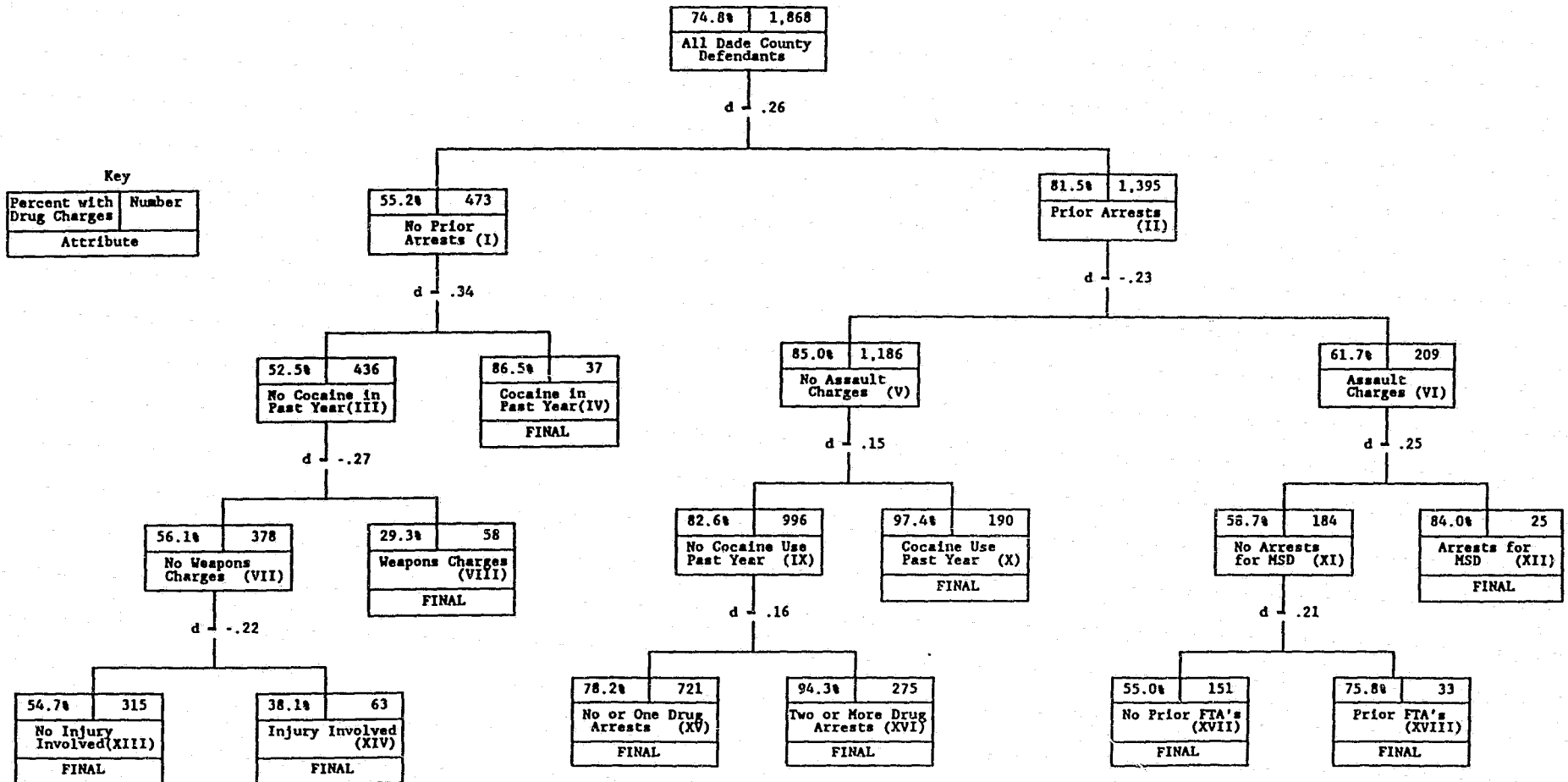
Table 6.3   Classes of 1987 Dade felony defendants using predictive attribute analysis, by drug test results (percentage positive for cocaine)

Class	Defining attributes	N	Percent testing positively
1 (VIII)	No prior arrests; no self-reported cocaine use past year; weapons charges	(58)	29.3
2 (XIV)	No prior arrests; no reported cocaine use past year; no weapons charges; charges involving injury to victim	(63)	38.1
3 (XIII)	No prior arrests; no reported cocaine use past year; no weapons charges; no charges involving injury	(315)	54.7
4 (XVII)	Prior arrests; assault charges; no prior (MSD) drug arrests no prior FTAs	(151)	55.0
5 (XVIII)	Prior arrests; assault charges; no prior (MSD) drug arrests; prior FTAs	(33)	75.8
6 (XV)	Prior arrests; no assault charges; no reported cocaine use; n or one prior drug arrest	(721)	78.2
7 (XII)	Prior arrests; assault charges; prior (MSD) drug arrests	(25)	84.0
8 (IV)	No prior arrests; reported cocaine use past year	(37)	86.5
9 (XVI)	Prior arrests; no assault charges, no reported cocaine use past year; two or more drug arrests	(275)	94.3
10 (X)	Prior arrests; no assault charges; reported cocaine use past year	(190)	97.4
All 1987 defendants	Base rate	(1,868)	74.8

135

of self-reported cocaine use, while defendants with prior arrests having assault charges are further split on the basis of prior arrests for manufacture, sale or delivery of controlled substances.

As Figure 6.21 shows, partitioning of the 1987 sample of Dade felony defendants was carried on until no additional attributes of defendants or their cases could show strong enough relationships to meet the criteria for selection. The final classification of defendants, summarized in Table 6.3, produced ten groupings of defendants varying widely in the likelihood of positive tests for cocaine. Defendants in Class 1 (having no prior arrests, no self-reported cocaine use within the last year, and having weapons charges), for example, tested positively least often, in 29 percent of the cases--a level half that of the sample base rate for positive tests. At the other extreme, defendants in Class 10 (having prior arrests, having no current assault charges and reporting cocaine use within the last year) showed a positive rate of 97 percent.

Once again, we offer this classification in a descriptive sense, pending validation on other samples in other locations. However, several observations can be made concerning this analysis. First, the development of a descriptive classification was reasonably successful: a large number of defendant groups was identified with widely varying rates of drug use. Second, a mix of current charge, defendant background (self-reported drug use) and prior criminal history information came into play. Interestingly, and contrary to the conventional wisdom, lower rather than higher rates of positive tests were associated with weapons charges, charges alleging injury to a victim and assault. In line with popular assumption, presence of prior arrests and/or prior arrests for drug crimes were associated with higher rates of positive tests.

Finally, the PAA results illustrate the effects of interactions between attributes--that is, that different characteristics came into play at different times among different subgroups of defendants. Thus, rather than searching for one, two or more correlates of current drug abuse, this analysis demonstrates that for different groups of defendants, different factors might serve to distinguish lower from higher use subgroups.

II. The Relationship Between Drug Use and Bail/Pretrial Decisions and Outcomes Among Dade Felony Defendants

Traditionally--in Dade County and other large jurisdictions--information describing defendants' drug abuse habits has not been made systematically available, particularly not in a reliable form. The Dade County pretrial services program, like its counterparts elsewhere, would try to collect information relating to possible drug abuse problems during its pre-bond hearing interview. Sometimes, a defendant's drug abuse problems would be made evident to pretrial services workers through the defendant's own admission or from obvious physical signs. (Roughly one-fifth of the 1987 Dade felony defendants studied admitted to current drug use.) In these instances, the pretrial services program would recommend to the bail judge that the defendants participate in a drug treatment program as a condition of release. But even self-reported drug use was not necessarily reliable information upon which the judge could act.

Our earlier research was conducted to address the question of whether more specific, accurate and objective information relating to defendant drug use--through drug testing--would be an important tool for judges weighing concerns about public safety and defendant flight at the bail stage.   Because drug testing was being proposed to assist courts in making more informed pretrial release decisions, the purpose of the drug testing research in Dade County was to study the character and magnitude of drug abuse among incoming felony defendants and to determine what implications were raised for the operation of the court process, particularly at the bail stage.

Figure 6.22 compares the assignment of nonfinancial release, release within two days of the bond hearing and release within 90 days of defendants testing negatively and defendants testing positively for drug use at the time of booking. Although unaware of the test results, judges were assigning somewhat more restrictive decisions to drug-using defendants at the bail stage. Slightly larger proportions of defendants testing negatively for drug use were assigned nonfinancial release and obtained pretrial release, both immediately and over the longer term. That is, slightly larger proportions of defendants assigned financial bail and defendants not gaining release tested positively for drug use than their nonfinancial bail and released counterparts.

Figure 6.22 Selected measures of pretrial release of Dade felony defendants, by drug test results (cocaine only)

Percent of entering felony defendants

Drug test results (for cocaine)

n = 1,862, Nonfinancial vs. financial release
n = 1,847, Release

■ Nonfinancial release   ▨ Released within 2 days   □ Released within 90 days
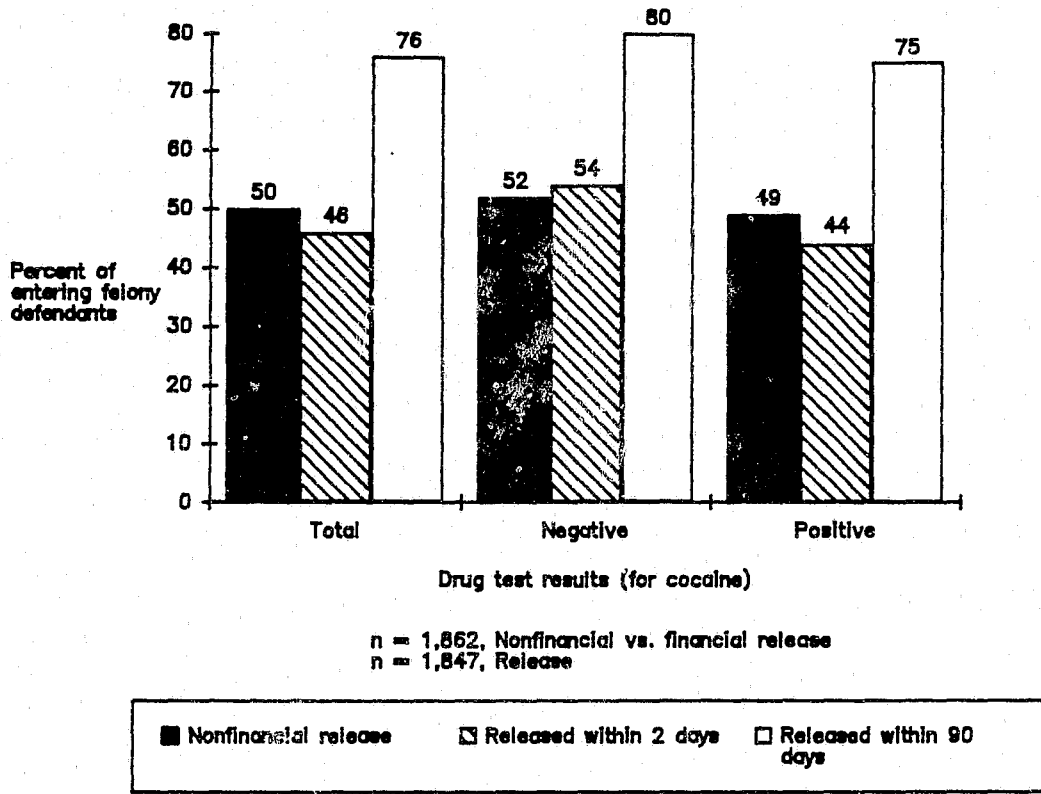
Figure 6.23 Misconduct (flight/crime) among felony defendants released in Dade County, June to July, 1987, by drug test results

Percent of released felony defendants

■ FTA
▨ Rearrest
□ Serious rearrest
▨ FTA/rearrest

Drug test results

n = 1,760, FTA
n = 1,730, rearrest
n = 1,691, serious rearrest
n = 1,730, FTA/rearrest
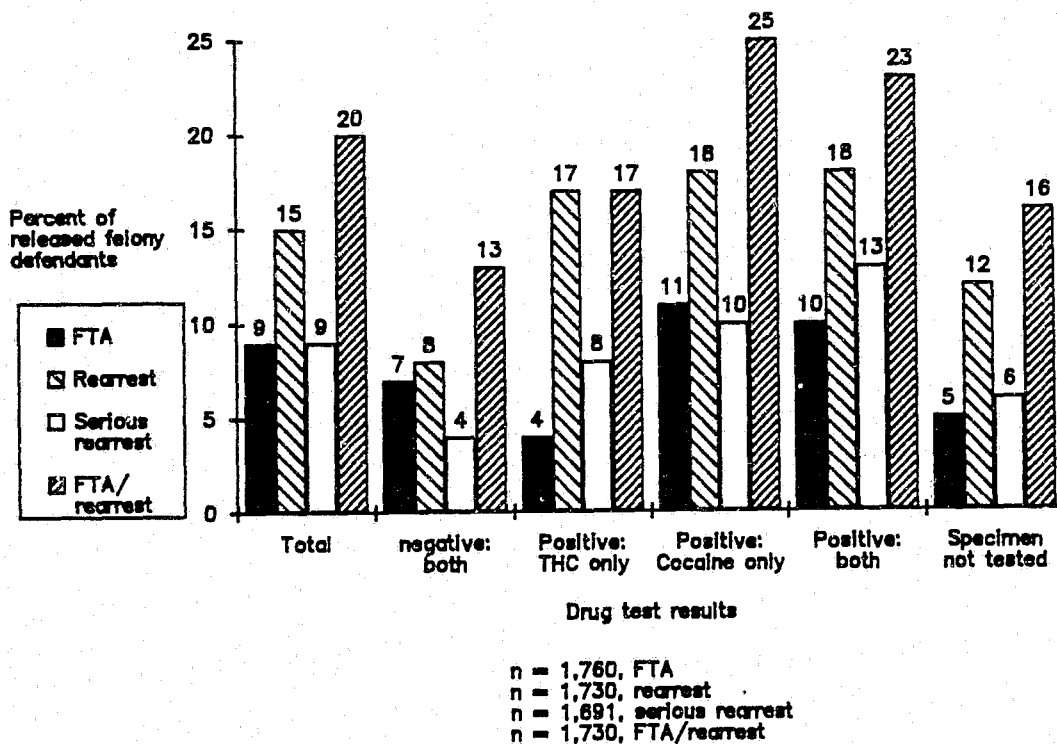
Figure 6.24 Effectiveness of trial release (FTA, rearrest) among
1987 Dade felony defendants, by drug test results
(cocaine only)
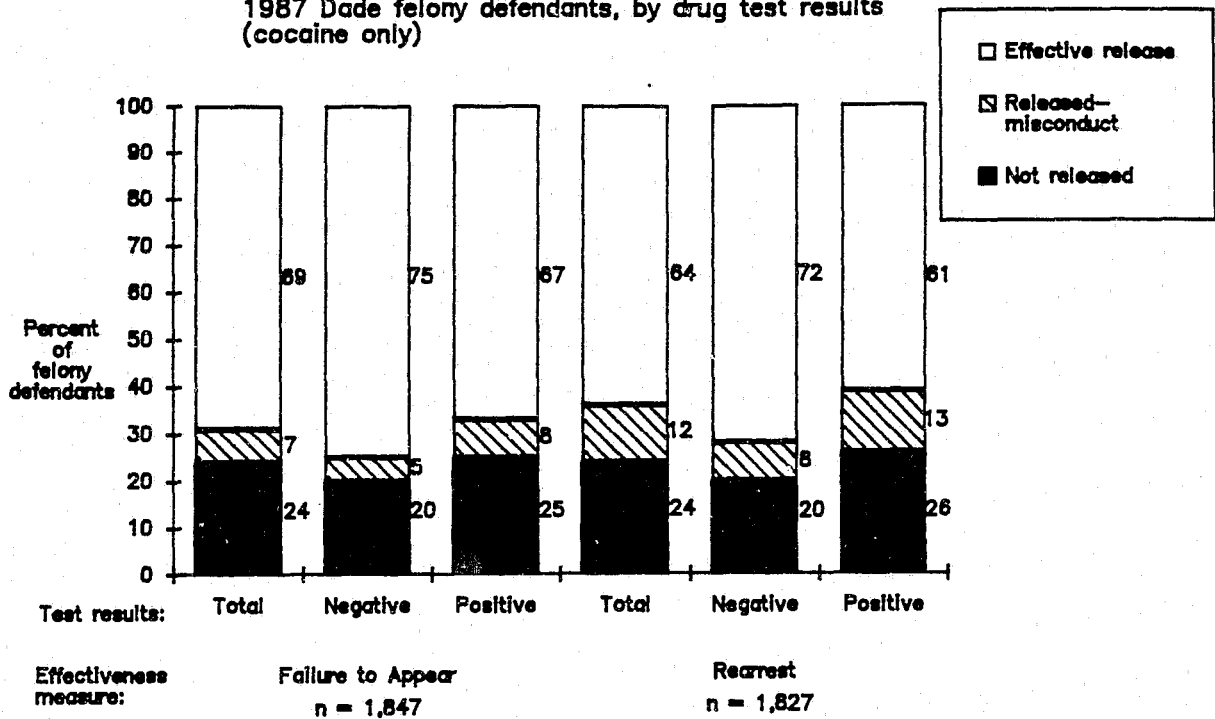
Table6.4   Correlations between drug test results and pretrial release outcomes among
entering felony defendants in Dade County, June-July, 1987

	Pretrial release outcomes							
Drug test results	Failure to appear		Rearrest		Serious rearrest		FTA or rearrest	
	Number	Phi[a]	Number	Phi[a]	Number	Phi[a]	Number	Phi[a]
Marijuana								
No or yes	1,400	NS	1,380	NS	1,348	.08(.01)	1,380	NS
Cocaine								
No or yes	1,399	.06(.02)	1,379	.10(.00)	1,347	.10(.00)	1,379	.11(.00)
Either positive								
No or yes	1,395	NS	1,375	.11(.00)	1,343	.10(.00)	1,375	.10(.00)
Both positive								
No or yes	1,395	NS	1,375	NS	1,343	.08(.00)	1,375	NS

[a] NS indicates chi-square not significant at .05.

Misconduct among Released Defendants

One of the principal questions addressed by the earlier study (Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland, 1988) was whether knowledge of drug use habits contributed importantly to the prediction of likely failure-to-appear and/or crime by defendants during pretrial release.

Differences in misconduct rates did exist between defendants testing negatively for drug use and those testing positively (at the simple, bivariate level of analysis). Using the statistic phi (which has a range of from 0 to plus or minus 1.0), Table 6.4 summarizes the strength of the association between testing positively and engaging in misconduct during pretrial release. The results show that the relationship is either non-significant or very weak using a variety of measures. The power of the drug-misconduct relationship was further undermined when controls--such as prior criminal history, criminal charge, etc.--were taken into account. (See Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland, 1988.) The conclusion of that analysis was that knowledge of drug use did not contribute a "predictor" of defendant performance during pretrial release of comparative strength.

The Comparative Effectiveness of Pretrial Release between Drug and Non-Drug Users

We have previously defined effectiveness of pretrial release decisions according to the following formula: 100 percent of defendants minus the percent detained minus the percent released who engage in misconduct (failing to appear, being rearrested or both). Figure 6.24 shows that bail decisions were somewhat less effective in the cases of drug-using defendants due to the slightly greater use of detention and the slightly higher misconduct rates recorded by them during pretrial release.

II. The Role of Drug Using Defendants in the Criminal Process

Figure 6.25a shows practically no difference in the early disposition rates of defendants cases based on negative and positive results, nor in efficiency of disposition. Figure 6.25b shows that the cohort of defendants continuing in processing beyond 90 days included0 a somewhat greater proportion of drug users than was found in the original cohort (79 versus 75 percent, using cocaine only).

Figure 6.25a The effeciency of early disposition of criminal cases (completion
              within 90 days vs. completion excluding dropped/dismissed),
              among Dade County felony defendants, June to July 1987, by drug
              test results (for cocaine only)

Drug test results (cocaine only)

n = 1,841
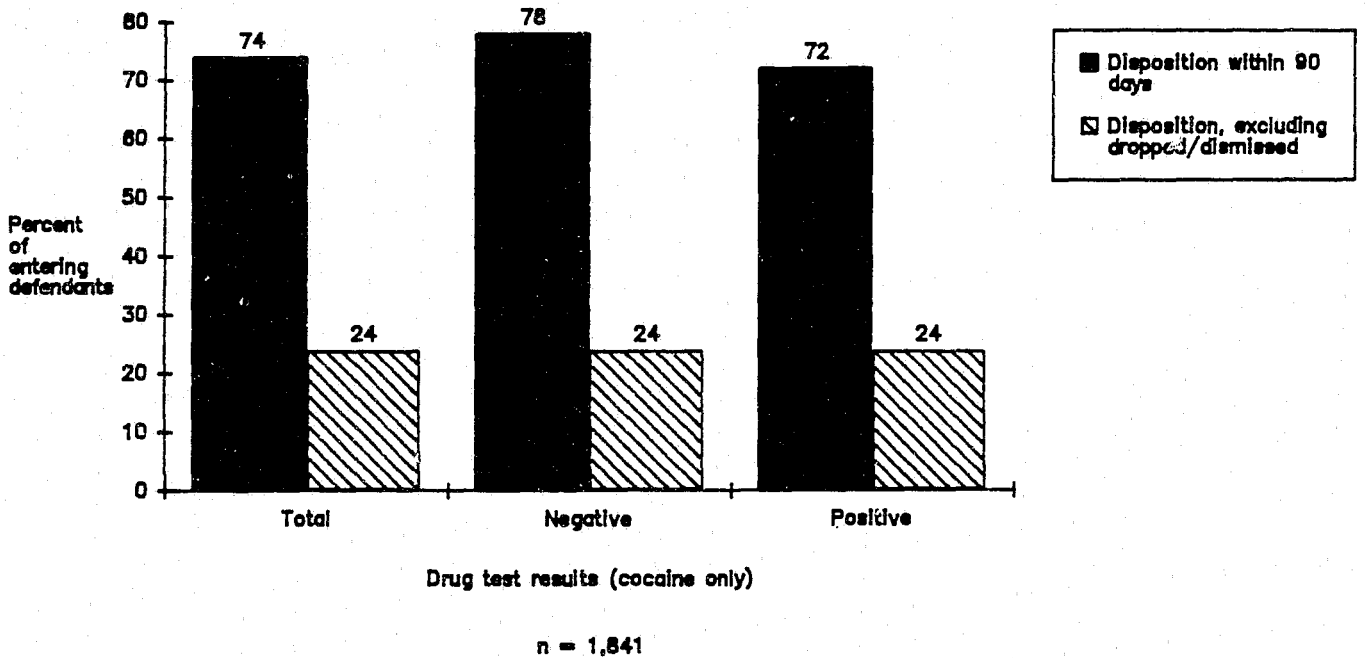
Figure 6.25b The composition of criminal caseloads not disposed within 90 days among
              Dade County felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by drug test results

Stage of criminal process

n = 1,841
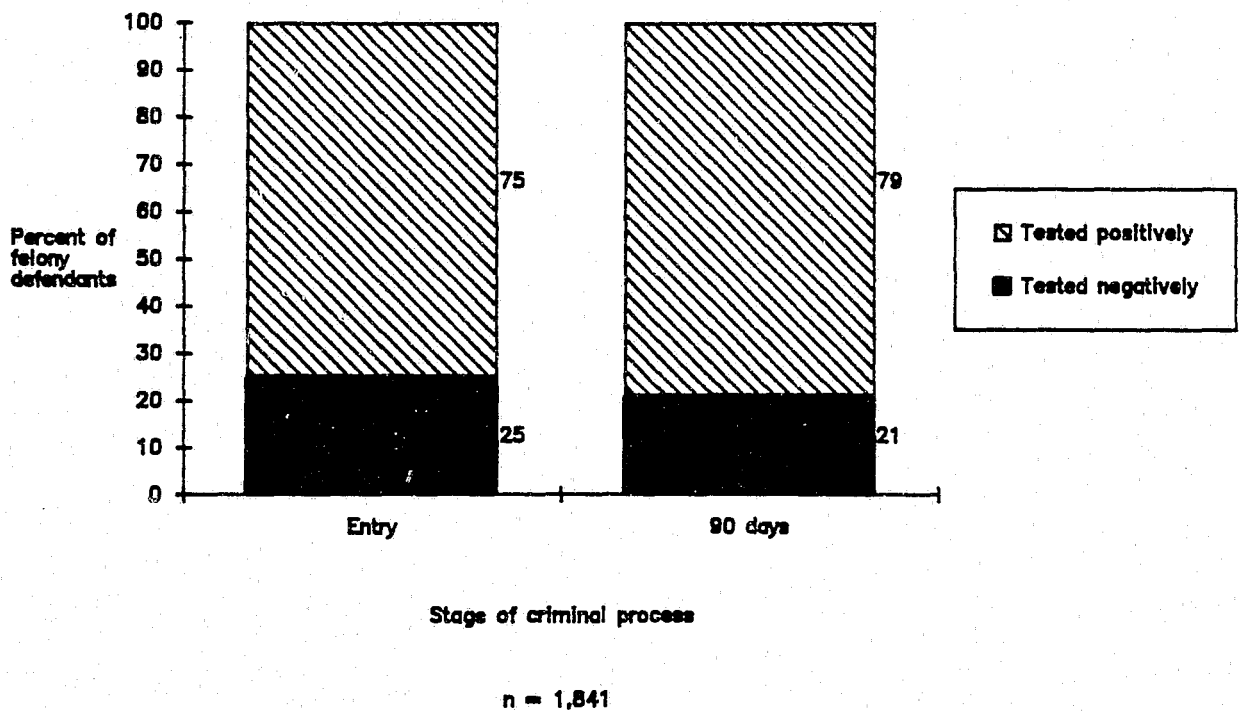
Figure 6.26 displays the progress of the cases of drug and non-drug-using defendants through the early stages of the judicial process using the sequential decision model discussed above. (Recall that drug use here has been narrowed to testing positively for cocaine.)

Dropped/Dismissed Charges (Stage1): Cases were completed through dropped or dismissed charges at roughly the same rate among drug using (48 percent) and non-drug using (54 percent) defendants.

Diversion (Stage 2): Among defendants whose cases had not been dropped or dismissed within 90 days, the use of diversion--which was relatively infrequent overall--was twice the rate among non-drug using (21 percent) as among drug-using (10 percent) defendants.

Early Guilty Pleas (Stage 3): Among cases not dropped and not diverted from the judicial process in the early period, drug using and non-drug using defendants pleaded guilty at approximately the same rate (14 and 15 percent respectively).

Early Trial Outcomes (Stage 4): Approximately the same proportions of drug-using and non-drug using defendants had their charges disposed of through trial within the first 90 days of processing (31 and 30 percent respectively) among cases not disposed through earlier means.

It is not surprising, of course, that notable differences in the processing of cases between the two groups of defendants--those testing positively for drug use and those testing negatively--were not found because officials were not aware of the test results. The test results were available only subsequently to the research staff and were used only for analytic purposes. When differences were found, however, they cannot be explained by the defendant's drug use but must be explained by some other attributes, such as criminal charge, that officials were aware of.

Figure 6.26 Adjudication within 90 days of felony cases entering Circuit Court in Dade County, June - July, 1987, by drug test results

Defendants

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
Negative	344	100.0
Positive	1082	100.0
	Cocaine	
Negative	463	100.0
Positive	1373	100.0

I Dropped/Dismissed ———→

No

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	164	47.7
	355	32.1
	Cocaine	
	212	45.8
	713	51.9

Yes

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	180	52.3
	727	67.9
	Cocaine	
	251	54.2
	660	48.1

II   Diverted ———→

No

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	129	78.7
	273	76.9
	Cocaine	
	167	78.8
	641	89.9

Yes

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	35	21.3
	82	23.1
	Cocaine	
	45	21.2
	72	10.1

III Guilty Plea ———→

No

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	116	89.9
	183	67.0
	Cocaine	
	149	89.2
	553	86.3

Yes

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	13	10.1
	90	33.3
	Cocaine	
	18	15.1
	88	13.7

IV Early Trial ———→

No

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	82	70.7
	374	67.6
	Cocaine	
	105	70.5
	383	69.3

(Pending at 90 days)

Yes

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	34	29.3
	179	32.4
	Cocaine	
	44	29.5
	170	30.7

V   Convicted ———→

No

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	6	17.6
	11	6.1
	Cocaine	
	7	15.9
	10	5.9

(Acquitted)

Yes

	THC or Coke	
	N	%
	28	82.4
	168	93.9
	Cocaine	
	37	84.1
	160	94.1

VI [Sentenced]

THE OVERLAP BETWEEN DRUG USE AND DRUG CHARGES AMONG THE DADE COUNTY
FELONY DEFENDANTS: A FULLER MEASURE OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL CASES

In this section, we combine analysis of drug use and of charges involving drug offenses among entering

felony defendants in Dade County to ask whether these two measures of "drug-related" criminal cases can help us

measure better the impact of drugs on the judicial process. To do this, we group felony defendants into the four

following groups

I) defendants whose charges did not include drug offenses and who tested negatively for drugs of abuse;

II) defendants whose charges did not include drug offenses but who tested positively;

III) defendants charged with drug offenses who tested negatively; and

IV) defendants charged with drug offenses who tested positively.

Defined in this fashion, Figure 6.27 displays the distribution of drug-related criminal cases among Dade

felony defendants. Fully 80 percent of the defendants entering the criminal process in Circuit Court during the

study period in 1987 had "drug-related" criminal cases according to this definition. Only one-fifth (20 percent)

neither tested positively nor were charged with a drug related offense (group I). Almost half (44 percent) of

defendants fell into the second--and largest--category (group II), persons who were not charged with drug offenses

but who tested positively. The smallest group (group III), including only one in twenty defendants (5 percent),

consisted of defendants charged with drug offenses but who did not test positively. Finally, roughly three-tenths (31

percent) of the Dade felony defendants in the 1987 sample consisted of defendants who were charged with drug

offenses and who tested positively for drug use (group IV). Figure 6.27b subdivides categories III and IV further on

the basis of the seriousness of the drug charges (felony three or less versus felony two or higher drug charges).

Category III defendants appear to be almost equally split between defendants having less and more serious charges.

Category IV, in contrast, is predominantly composed of defendants with the more serious drug charges.

Figure 6.27a Distribution of drug—related criminal cases among Dade County felony
defendants, June to July, 1987

Drug—related criminal cases

n = 1,861
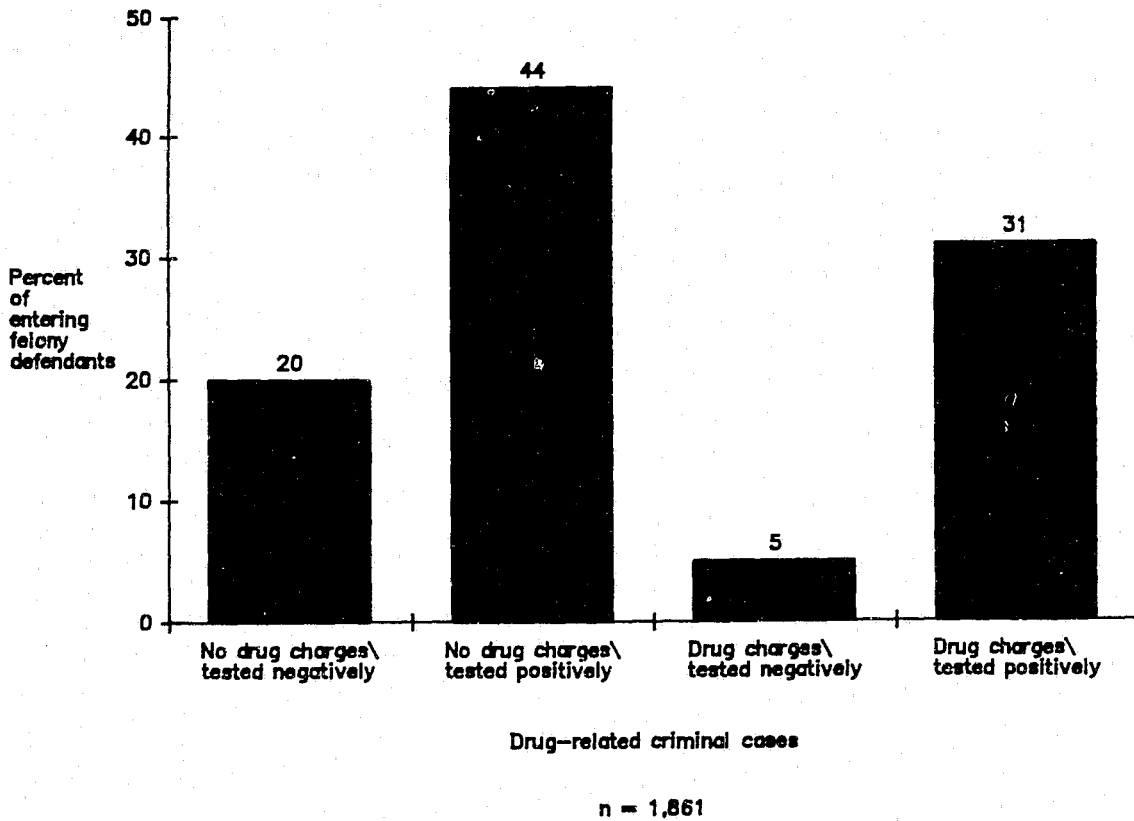
Figure 6.27b Distribution of drug—related criminal cases among Dade felony defendants,
June to July, 1987, by severity of drug charges
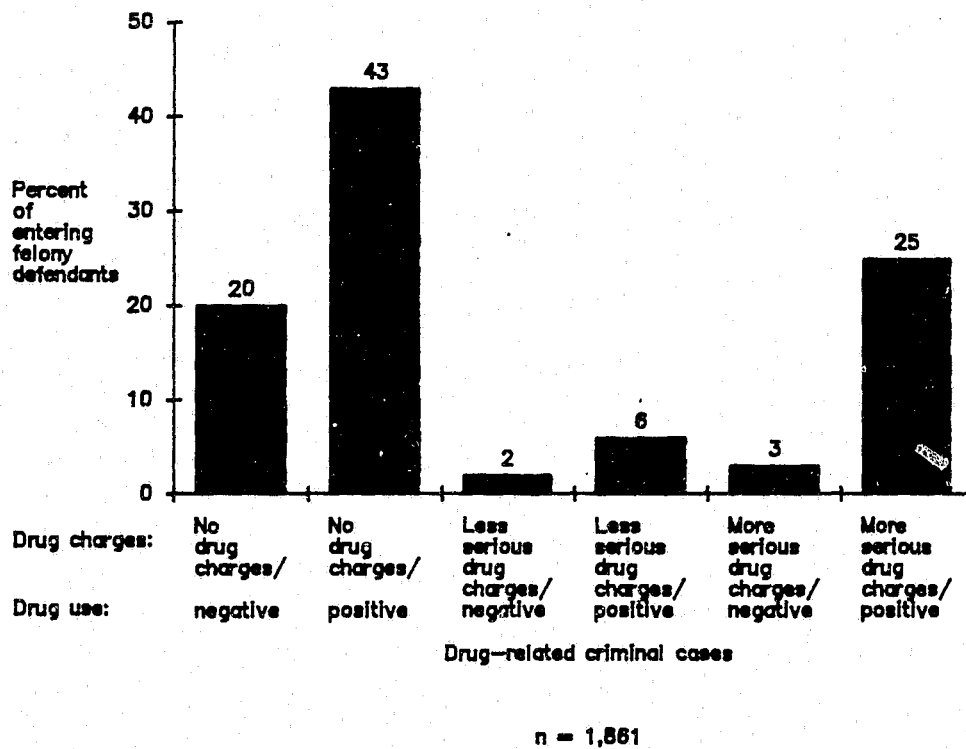
Drug—related criminal cases

n = 1,861

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
In each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

I. Characteristics of Drug-related Criminal Cases

Few demographic factors appeared to be more than slightly related to the distribution of defendants among drug-related categories: the exceptions were defendant age and race. (See Figures 6.28 and 6.29.) Defendants 20 years of age and under were over-represented in the category I (defendants with no drug charges and negative drug test results) when compared to their share of the overall sample. Defendants between the ages of 26 and 30 were under-represented in category I; the 40 and over age group was under-represented in category IV..

White defendants were over-represented in category I and slightly under-represented in the other categories of drug-charges and drug use, particularly category IV. In contrast, black defendants were under-represented in category I and over-represented in the other drug charge/drug use categories. The proportion of hispanic/ other defendants did not vary by drug-related crime category.

In comparison, a number of strong relationships were found between the companion charges associated with defendants' cases and the comprehensive drug-related case variable. (See Figures 6.30a and b.) Whether a defendant's overall charges involved index-level offenses or not was strongly related to the drug-related cases categorization. Roughly four-tenths (40 percent) of defendants in category I had index-level criminal charges. Roughly three-tenths (31 percent) of category II defendants had index level offenses. Almost no defendants in categories III and IV had index level charges overall.

The presence of companion charges involving burglary was also related to the drug-related case classification. Almost no burglary charges were found among defendants charged with drug offenses, whether drug use was detected or not (categories III and IV). Although burglary charges were present among category I defendants at roughly the level (19 percent) found in the sample overall (22 percent), defendants in the second category (II) had associated burglary charges at roughly twice the expected rate (40 percent). As Figure 6.30b shows, a very similar pattern was found when examining the relationship between the comprehensive drug-related case measure and companion theft charges.

Figure 6.28 The distribution of drug—related criminal cases among
Dade County felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by
age

Drug—related criminal cases

n = 1,829

☐ 20 years and under   ☐ 21 to 25 years   ▨ 26 to 30 years

▨ 31 to 40 years   ■ Over 40 years
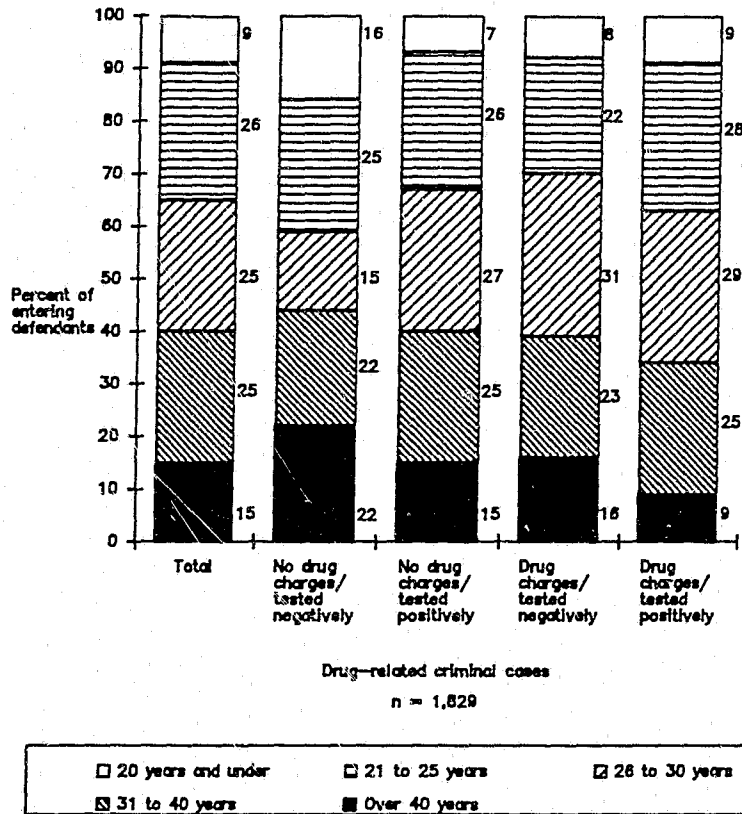
Figure 6.29 The distribution of drug—related criminal cases among Dade County
felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by race/ethnicity

Drug—related criminal cases

n = 1,836
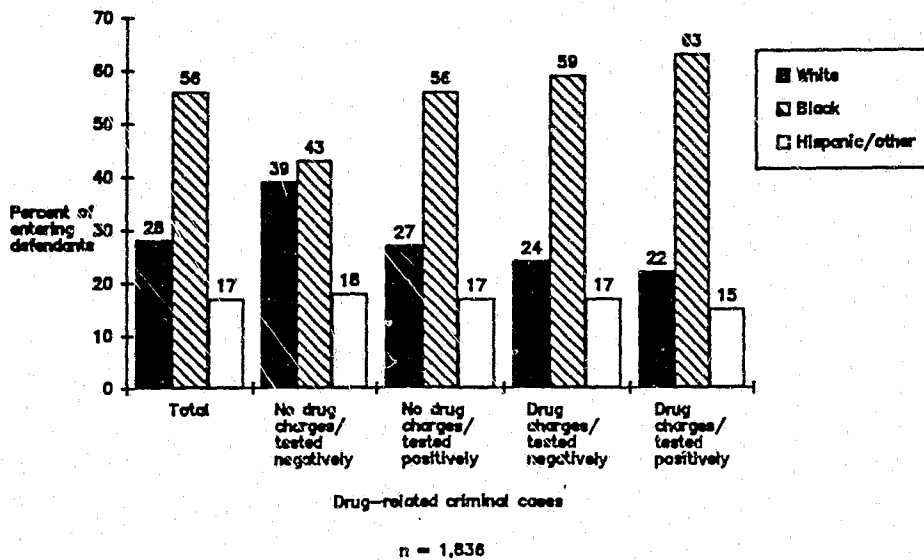
Figure 6.30a   The distribution of drug—related criminal cases among Dade County
               felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by selected charges

Drug—related criminal cases

n = 1,861
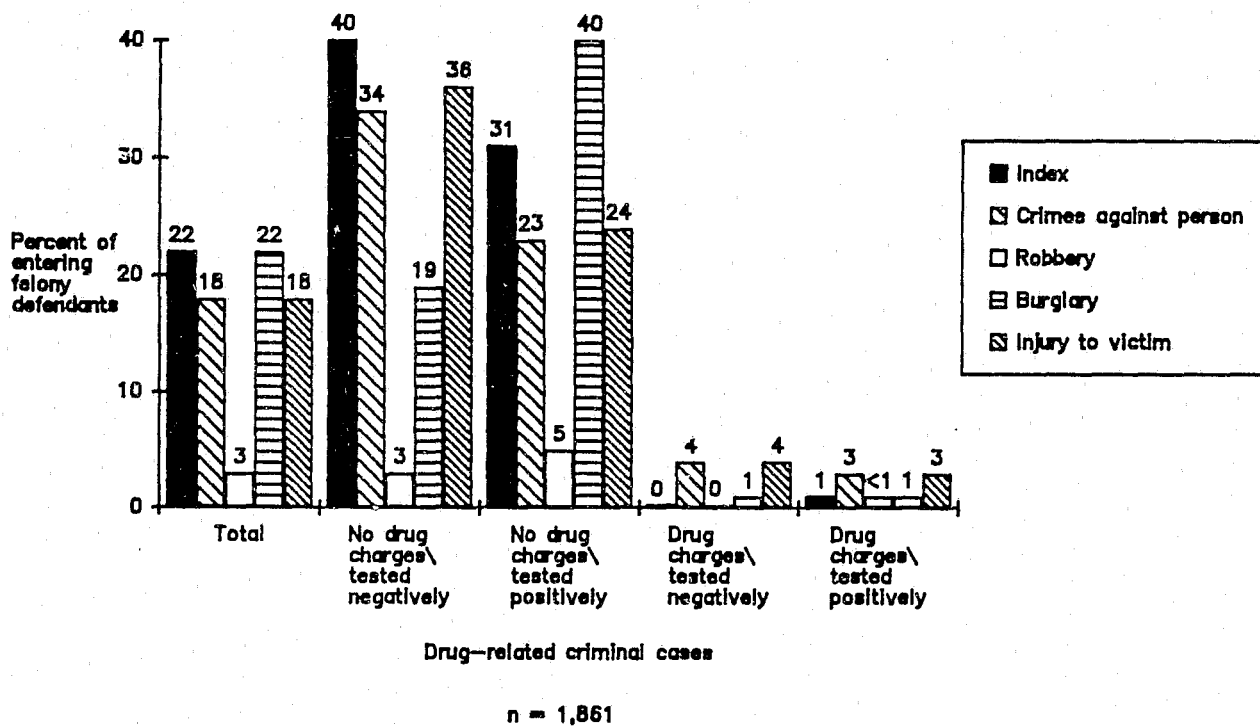
Figure 6.30b   The distribution of drug related criminal cases among Dade County
               felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by selected charges

Drug—related criminal cases

n = 1,861
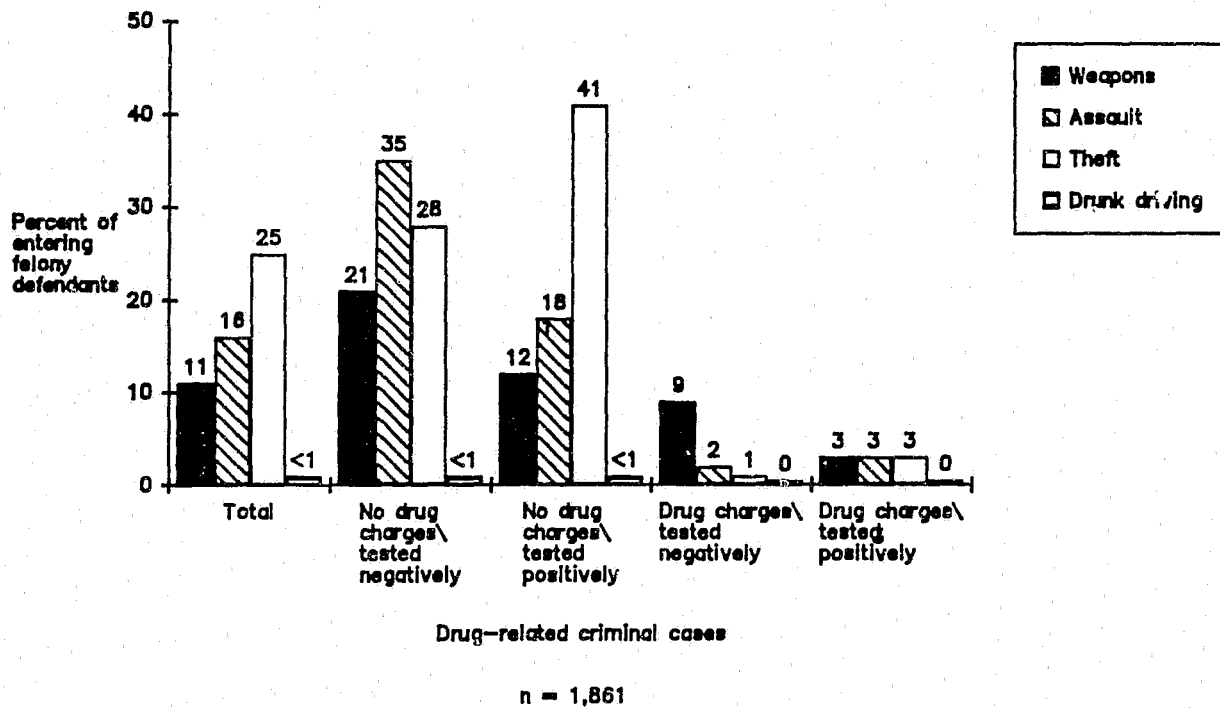
Weapons charges were found to be companion charges at roughly the expected overall sample rate (11 percent) in three of the four drug-related case categories. But defendants in category I had weapons offenses as companion charges at roughly twice the expected rate (21 percent).

Whether or not victim injury was involved with associated charges was also related to the drug-related case measure. Defendants in categories III and IV--consisting of defendants with drug charges with or without testing positively for drug use--rarely (at 4 and 3 percent respectively) showed victim injury to be involved with companion charges. Defendants in category II showed slightly higher proportions (24 percent) with injury-related companion charges than the overall rate (18 percent). Defendants in category I , however, displayed companion charges involving injury to a victim at twice the expected rate (36 percent). Almost identical findings characterize the relationship between the drug-related case measure and the presence of assault charges. No relationship was found between driving-while-intoxicated charges and the drug-related case measure.

Finally, classification of defendants according to the drug-related case measure was found to be strongly related to defendants prior criminal record. Table B6.5A and Figures 6.31 and 6.32 show a consistent pattern: defendants with no drug use--with or without drug charges--seem to have less extensive criminal histories. Defendants with drug use and with no drug charges (group II) seem to have the most extensive criminal records, particularly when the measures are arrests generally, arrests within the last three years, arrests for serious property crimes, convictions generally, felony convictions, and convictions for serious property offenses. An exception is found when prior arrests and convictions for drug offenses are considered; in those instances group IV defendants show the most extensive prior histories.

Figure 6.31 The distribution of drug-related criminal cases among Dade County felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by recent prior arrests (last 3 years)

Percent of entering defendants

Legend:
- No recent arrests
- One
- Two or more

Total: 33, 17, 51
No drug charges\ tested negatively: 50, 18, 31
No drug charges\ tested positively: 23, 15, 63
Drug charges\ tested negatively: 52, 26, 22
Drug charges\ tested positively: 32, 17, 51

Drug-related criminal cases

n = 1,850
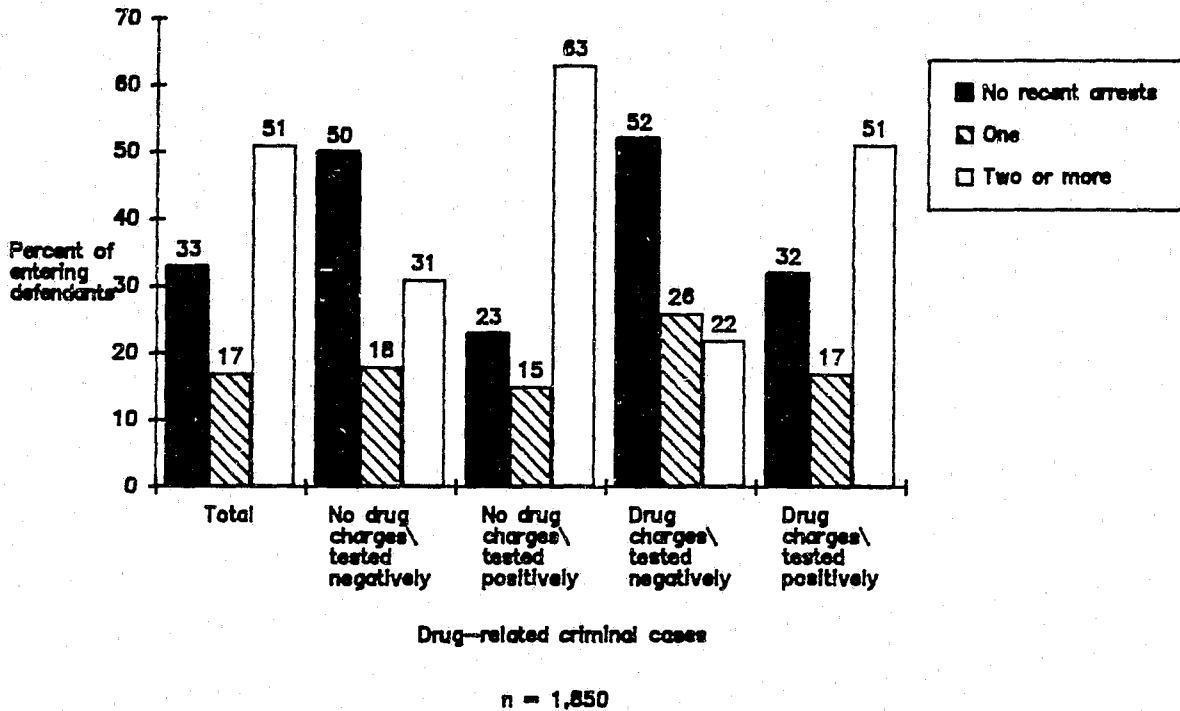
Figure 6.32 The distribution of drug-related criminal cases among Dade County felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by history of felony convictions

Percent of entering defendants

Legend:
- No felony convictions
- One
- Two or more

Total: 68, 8, 24
No drug charges/ tested negatively: 86, 4, 10
No drug charges/ tested positively: 60, 9, 31
Drug charges/ tested negatively: 82, 6, 12
Drug charges/ tested positively: 65, 8, 27

Drug-related criminal cases

n = 1,849
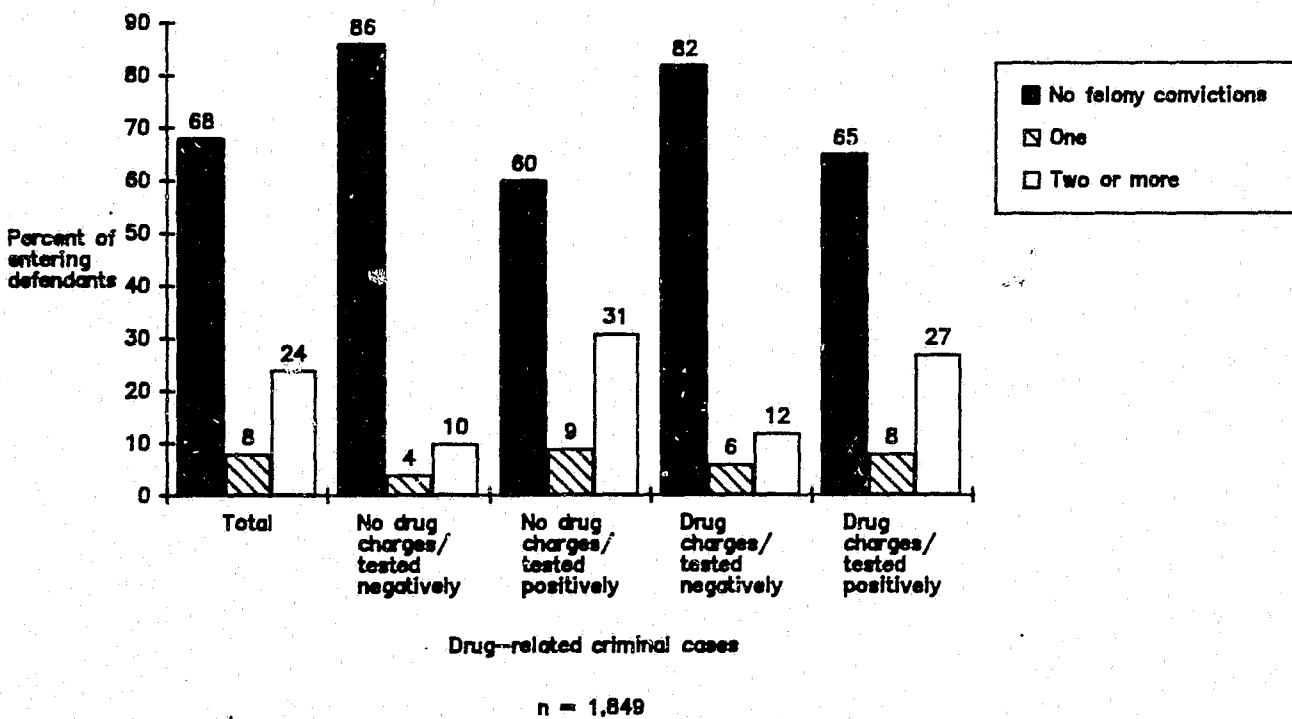
II. The Relationship Between Drug-Related Criminal Cases and Bail/Pretrial Decisions and Outcomes Among Dade Felony Defendants

As in earlier sections, this part of the chapter examines how defendants in drug-related criminal cases progressed through the judicial process. As court officials were not aware of the results of drug testing at the various decision stages, the question posited here is not how this kind of information influenced judges, but whether classification of drug-related criminal cases serves to differentiate categories of defendants processed by the judicial system. Our earlier discussion of defendant drug abuse noted that, to the extent that differences based on drug test results were found, other factors related to drug use--not drug use itself--must have been influencing the decisionmaking process.

In considering the use of financial versus nonfinancial bail options, we find an interesting difference (see Figure 6.33): while defendants in three of the four categories received nonfinancial release in roughly similar proportions (slightly over half of the cases), defendants in the second category (group II, with no drug charges but positive test results) received nonfinancial release less frequently (43 percent of the time). Because judges could not have known about the drug use, other factors related to drug use must have caused their different treatment at the bail stage. This same effect resulted in defendants in this category gaining pretrial release at slightly lower rates than other kinds of defendants.

Misconduct among Released Defendants

Figure 6.34 shows that these defendant groupings also result in differing misconduct rates during pretrial release. These differences are mainly explained by the fact that defendants with positive drug tests failed to appear in court and were rearrested somewhat more frequently that defendants with negative tests.

The Comparative Effectiveness of Pretrial Release between Drug and Non-Drug Users

Figure 6.35 displays the effectiveness of pretrial release based on the drug-related case categorization. This figure helps point to the comparative effectiveness of bail decisionmaking when these four drug-related groupings of defendants are employed. We can conclude that depending upon the focus of the effectiveness

Figure 6.33 Selected measures of pretrial release of Dade County felony
defendants, June to July, 1987, by drug—related criminal cases

Drug—related criminal cases
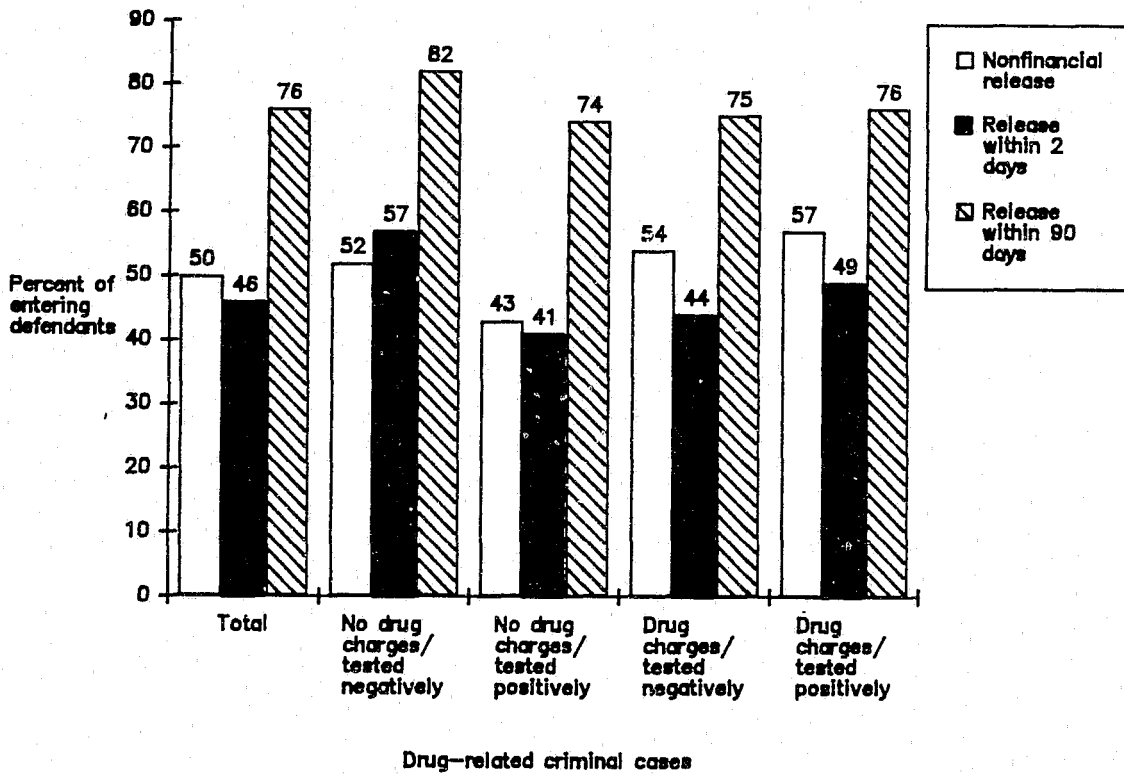
n = 1,855, nonfinancial release [Chi — sq = 28.69, DF = 3, significance = .00]
n = 1,841, two day and ninety day release

Figure 6.34 Defendant misconduct (FTA, rearrest) among released Dade County felony
defendants, June to July, 1987, by drug—related criminal cases

Drug—related criminal cases
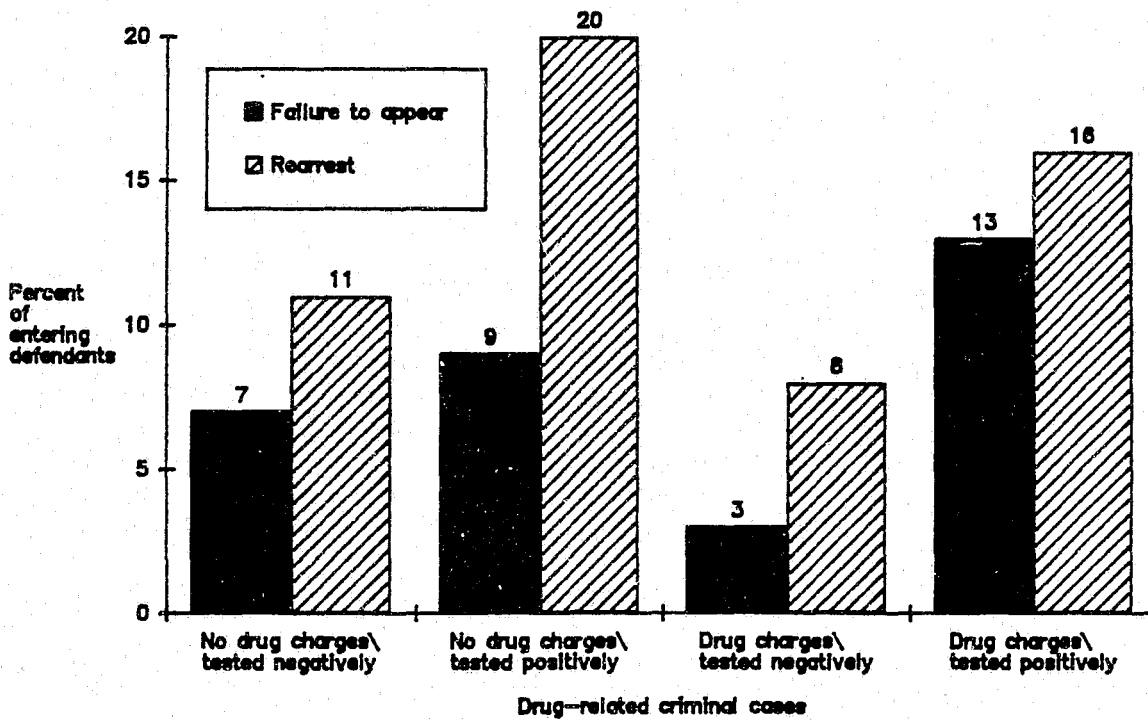
n = 1,401, FTA [Chi — sq = 11.46, DF = 3, significance = .01]
n = 1,381, rearrest [Chi — sq = 16.43, DF = 3, significance = .00]

Figure 6.35 The effectivness of pretrial release among Dade County felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by drug-related criminal cases

n = 1,841, FTA
n = 1,821, Rearrest

☐ Effective pretrial release   ☒ Release— misconduct   ■ Not released
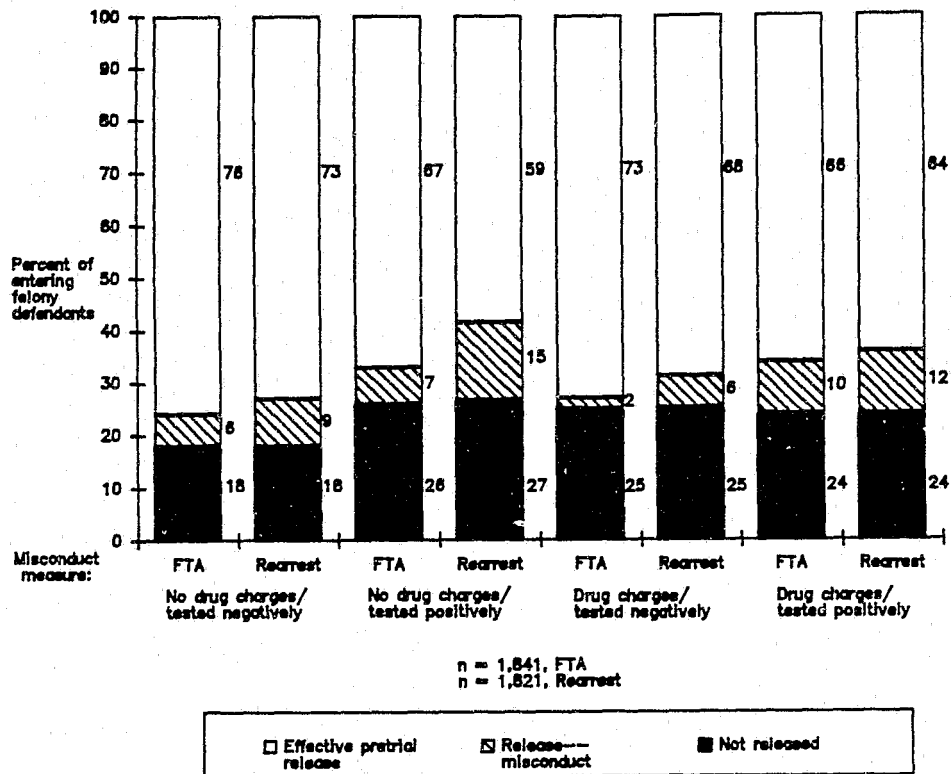
Figure 6.36 The efficiency of early disposition of criminal cases (completion within 90 days vs. completion excluding dropped/dismissed) among Dade County felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by drug-related criminal cases

Drug-related criminal cases

n = 1,836

■ Disposition within 90 days   ☒ Disposition excluding dropped/dismissed
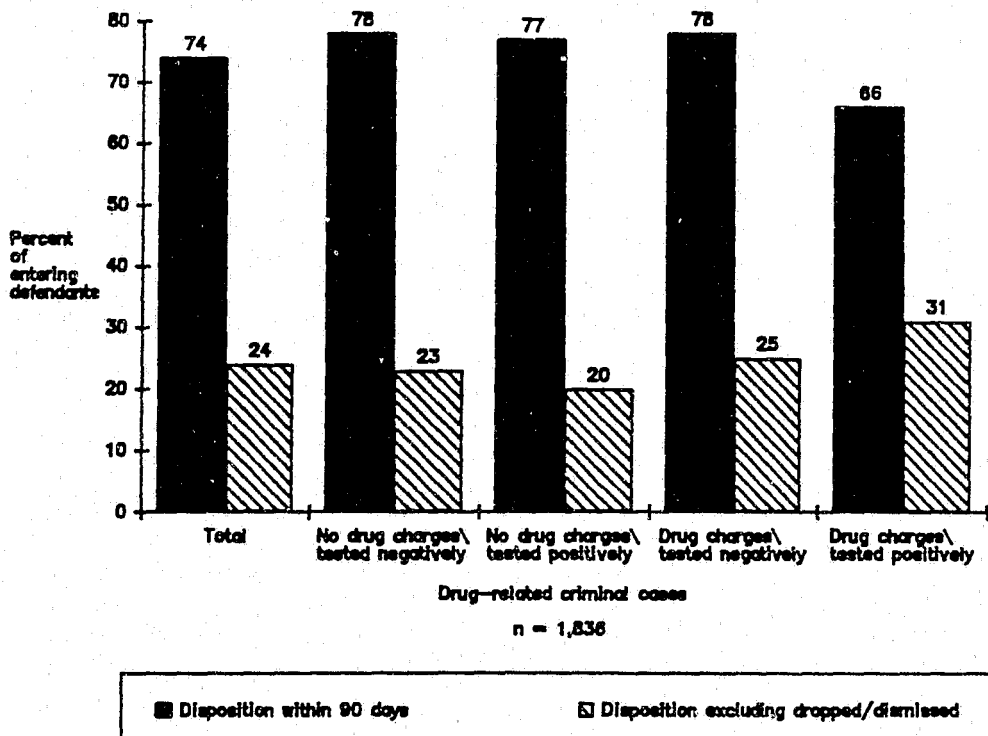
analysis, the judicial process does produce different results depending on these drug-related categories. When the question is the effectiveness of pretrial release from the perspective of failure-to-appear in court, it is mainly the use or non-use of drugs that makes the difference: the system is somewhat more effective (produces greater release and fewer errors) among group I and group III defendants.

When the focus is public safety as measured by rearrests of defendants during pretrial release, the drug-related case measure differentiates well the system's effectiveness among groupings of defendants: The least effective practices are found among defendants in group II, while the most effective are associated with group I. The "ineffectiveness" of group II pretrial release appears to be explained both by a comparatively high use of pretrial detention and high rate of release error (i.e., of rearrest)--the highest of the four groups. A similar pattern is found when misconduct is measured as rearrests for serious crimes.

II. The Role of Drug Using Defendants in the Criminal Process

In this section, we consider whether the drug-related case categorization of defendants helps pinpoint different treatment by the judicial decision process of different kinds of defendants. Interestingly Figure 6.36 shows that the cases of defendant in the first three groups were completed within the first 90 days of processing at roughly the same rate (from 77 to 78 percent); however, category IV defendants, those with drug charges and with positive tests for drug use had cases completed early at a notably lower rate (66 percent). Interestingly, when the dropped/dismissed cases are excluded to measure "efficient" early disposition, it is found that category IV defendants are handled most efficiently.

Figure 6.37 displays the progress of the cases of drug and non-drug-using defendants through the early stages of the judicial process using the sequential decision model discussed above.

Figure 6.37 Adjudication within 90 days of felony cases entering Circuit Court in
Dade County, June - July, 1987, by drug-related criminal cases

```
                              Defendants
                            ┌──────────────┐
Non-drug charge/negative    │  N        %  │
Non-drug charge/positive    │ 367   100.0  │
    Drug charge/negative    │ 805   100.0  │
    Drug charge/positive    │  96   100.0  │
                            │ 568   100.0  │
                            └──────────────┘
                                   │                          No
                                   ▼                    ┌──────────────┐
                    I Dropped/Dismissed ──────────────▶ │  N        %  │
                                                        │ 167    45.5  │
                                                        │ 346    43.0  │
                                                        │  45    46.9  │
                                                        │ 367    64.6  │
                                   Yes                  └──────────────┘
                            ┌──────────────┐                   │                      No
                            │  N        %  │                   ▼                ┌──────────────┐
                            │ 200    54.5  │    II  Diverted ──────────────────▶│  N        %  │
                            │ 459    57.0  │                                    │ 130    77.8  │
                            │  51    53.1  │                                    │ 315    91.0  │
                            │ 201    35.4  │                                    │  37    82.2  │
                            └──────────────┘                                    │ 326    88.8  │
                                                   Yes                          └──────────────┘
                                            ┌──────────────┐                         │                  No
                                            │  N        %  │                         ▼            ┌──────────────┐
                                            │  37    22.2  │   III Guilty Plea ─────────────────▶ │  N        %  │
                                            │  31     9.0  │                                      │ 117    90.0  │
                                            │   8    17.8  │                                      │ 273    86.7  │
                                            │  41    11.2  │                                      │  32    86.5  │
                                            └──────────────┘                                      │ 280    85.9  │
                                                                   Yes                            └──────────────┘
                                                            ┌──────────────┐                           │            No
                                                            │  N        %  │                           ▼       ┌──────────────┐
                                                            │  13    10.0  │   IV  Early Trial ──────────────▶ │  N        %  │
                                                            │  42    13.3  │                                   │  83    70.9  │
                                                            │   5    1?.5  │                                   │ 189    69.2  │
                                                            │  46    14.1  │                                   │  22    68.8  │
                                                            └──────────────┘                                   │ 194    69.3  │
                                                                                                               └──────────────┘
                                                                   Yes                                         (Pending at
                                                            ┌──────────────┐                                       90 days)
                                                            │  N        %  │
                                                            │  34    29.1  │
                                                            │  84    30.8  │
                                                            │  10    31.2  │
                                                            │  86    30.7  │
                                                            └──────────────┘
                                                                                                            No
                                                                   Yes                               ┌──────────────┐
                                                            ┌──────────────┐                         │  N        %  │
                                                            │  N        %  │   V  Convicted ────────▶ │   5    14.7  │
                                                     V  Convicted           │                         │   7     8.3  │
                                                                            │                         │   2    20.0  │
                                                                            │                         │   3     3.5  │
                                                                            └──────────────┘
                                                                                                     (Acquitted)
                                                                   Yes
                                                            ┌──────────────┐
                                                            │  N        %  │
                                                            │  29    85.3  │
                                                            │  77    91.7  │
                                                            │   8    80.0  │
                                                            │  83    96.5  │
                                                            └──────────────┘
                                                                   │
                                                                   ▼
                                                            IV  [Sentenced]
```

Dropped/Dismissed Charges (Stage 1): Figure 6.37 shows first the difference we have already described, that while over half of defendants in categories I, II and III had their cases dropped or discharged within the early stage of processing, far fewer, roughly one-third, of category IV defendants had their cases so resolved.

Diversion (Stage 2): A difference in decisionmaking is found when the use of diversion is considered for defendants not having their cases dropped. Defendants in categories I and III, having in common their negative tests for drug use, received diversion proportionately twice as often as their counterparts in groups II and IV, who tested positively for drug use. Although this different treatment is dramatic, it cannot be "explained" by drug use because, of course, that information was not available to the relevant officials.

Early Guilty Pleas (Stage 3): Among defendants surviving in the process to this decision stage, no important differences in disposition through guilty pleas was discerned: from 10 to 14 percent pleaded guilty.

Early Trials (Stage 4): Thus, not surprisingly, roughly similar proportions of continuing defendants in each of the groups had their cases disposed of through early trials (from 29 to 31 percent).

Figure 6.38 compares the distribution of drug-related criminal cases in the criminal caseload at the point of entry and the 90 day stage. The main difference in the make-up of the caseload as it moves beyond 90 days for trial is that the proportion of category IV defendants--those testing positively and charged with drug offenses--has grown from 31 percent to 40 percent, as the other categories have decreased slightly.

Figure 6.38 The composition of criminal caseloads not disposed within 90 days among
Dade County felony defendants, June to July, 1987, by drug—related criminal
cases

Stage of criminal process
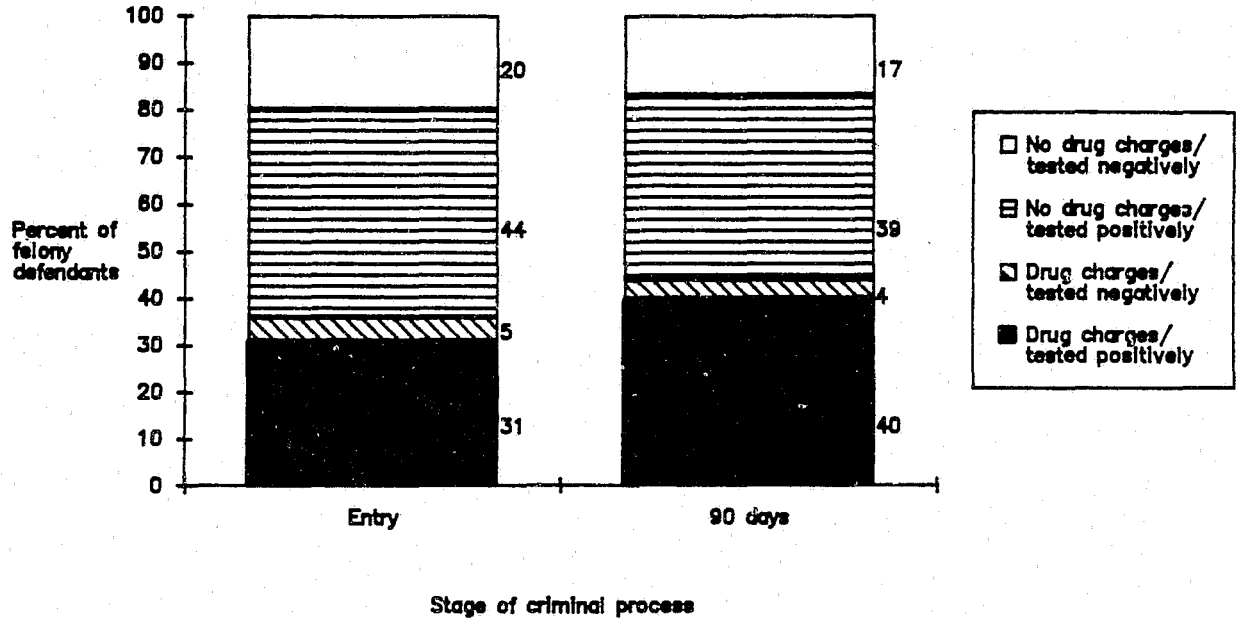
n = 1,836

Chapter Seven

THE IMPACT OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL CASES: CONCLUSION

Drug-related Criminal Cases in Boston, Dade County and Maricopa County

The aim of this research has been to add knowledge concerning the impact of drug-related crime on criminal justice. Because of this breadth problem area, of course, our inquiry has a narrower focus relating to the judicial process and its implications for institutional crowding and for public safety. Our inquiry is limited as well by the difficulties that characterize the measurement of drug-related crime (see Chapter One).

The study is limited in a practical manner by the nature of the data we employ. Although the focus is on the description of actual, very recent criminal caseloads, we are describing populations the contents of which are determined by outside forces including but not limited to the incidence of crime. We cannot measure the impact of new legislation redefining crimes and penalties, for example, or newly implemented law enforcement policies or prosecutorial practices that may play an important part in shaping the substance of the courts' workloads. Thus, we cannot infer characteristics of the phenomenon of drug-related crime in society as well as we can consider the role it may play within the criminal justice process. Therefore, we keep in mind the "internal" locus of the inquiry and describe the role of the drug-related caseload within the larger caseload of defendants facing adjudication of criminal charges and discuss its implications.

We analyze data based on large cohorts of defendants moving through five diverse courts in three locations, including Boston, Massachusetts, Dade County Florida, and Maricopa County, Arizona, as well as samples of local jail populations, from 1984, 1985 and 1987. The caseloads processed by these courts range from strictly misdemeanor (County Court in Dade County), to mostly misdemeanor but some felony (Boston Municipal Court), to strictly felony (Dade County Circuit Court, Suffolk County Superior Court, Maricopa County Superior Court). We believe that they provide useful illustrations of the experiences of large urban court systems facing the challenges of drug-related criminal cases.

The analyses we have presented in this report were organized to reflect and integrate three perspectives for measuring the "drug-relatedness" of the criminal caseload. The first analysis examined the role of drug cases (defendants charged with drug offenses), differentiating between drug offenses of greater and lesser seriousness and comparing the dispositions of defendants with drug charges to those of defendants without drug charges. The point of this comparative analysis was to learn whether the drug case represents a "different kind of case" to the courts, or whether it is viewed (and processed) as merely one of many kinds of criminal cases handled by major courts.

In the second analysis, the aim was to identify the part played by drug using defendants within the caseload processed by the courts. This component of the research focused on a large sample of Dade County, Florida, felony defendants whose drug use was measured by means of booking-stage drug testing. In this section, we asked whether the drug using defendant was distinguishable from the non-drug using defendant and, as well, whether the drug user represented a special kind of defendant to the courts in their adjudicatory processes.

Because of the unique Dade County data, we could consider drug use and drug charges together in a more complete framework for evaluating the impact of "drug-related" criminal cases in a third part of the analysis.

SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following summarizes some of the key findings from the research to date.

The Prevalence of Drug-related Criminal Cases

Defendants with drug charges accounted for a notable proportion of the entering criminal caseloads in each of the courts, ranging from a low of 10 percent of the misdemeanor defendants in County Court in Dade County to a high of 26 percent of the felony defendants entering Circuit Court in Dade County. (In our subsequent study of 1987 felony defendants in Dade County, this had grown to 34 percent.) The local jails in each location held between

9 and 25 percent of detainees on drug offense charges. If not for any other reason, the findings demonstrate that drug cases had an important impact because of their volume.

The kind of substances associated with drug cases processed by the courts varied by the jurisdiction and the seriousness of the charges. In the limited jurisdiction courts (handling mostly misdemeanor cases) in Boston and Dade County, for example, marijuana was most often involved. In the felony courts in Boston and Dade County, cases were more often cocaine-related. Marijuana, not cocaine was the dominant drug among the charges of Maricopa County felony defendants, however.

Drug use was measured using a large sample of Dade County felony defendants entering the criminal process during June and July of 1987, whose urine was submitted to testing at the booking stage. Certainly the prevalence of drug use among arrested persons can be expected to vary from city to city in the United States; nonetheless, the findings in Dade County were dramatic: more than 80 percent of defendants tested positively for either marijuana or cocaine. (Other drugs were tested for but found only very rarely.) Seventy-five percent tested positively for cocaine alone. However defined, drug use among persons entering the criminal process was clearly widespread.

Matrix Defining Drug-related Cases

	No Drug Use	Drug Use
No Drug Charge	I	II
Drug Charge	III	IV

When drug charges and drug use among defendants were considered together to classify the 1987 Dade felony sample, we found the numbers of drug-related cases to be overwhelming: only one in five defendants entering Circuit Court was not classifiable as "drug-related," that is, was neither charged with a drug crime nor shown to be an active drug user at the time of arrest (category I). Two-fifths of defendants fell into the second--and largest--category of defendants, those testing positively for cocaine but not facing charges for drug offenses (category II). Another large category of defendants (more than three-tenths) was accounted for by those who tested positively for drugs and had drug charges (category IV). Only a very small number (about 5 percent) had drug charges without also testing positively for drug use (category III).

The Characteristics of Drug-related Criminal Cases

In each of our analyses we were asking whether persons in drug-related cases were distinguishable from persons not involved in drug-related cases. Most difficult to differentiate were persons charged with drug crimes when compared to persons not charged with drug crimes. Generally, clear demographic patterns differentiating drug and non-drug defendants did not emerge within or across jurisdictions. Drug cases were generally a homogeneous category of cases showing little overlap with other kinds of criminal matters; they were not accompanied with charges for crimes of violence, crimes against the person, or crimes involving weapons. Minor exceptions were the findings that weapons charges were found disproportionately among defendants in Dade County facing misdemeanor-level drug charges and that drunken driving companion charges were found disproportionately among the charges of felony drug defendants in Dade County and in Suffolk County Superior Court.

Self-reported drug abuse information, available in the Boston Municipal Court and Dade County Circuit Court data was related to the presence of drug charges and to their seriousness; defendants admitting to drug abuse in their pre-bail interviews were more likely to be charged with drug offenses, and to be charged with more serious drug charges, than defendants who did not.

When the defendants' prior criminal history was examined, the conventional wisdom that defendants in drug cases are more serious, repetitive offenders was not supported. The only exception was that persons charged in drug cases were more likely than other kinds of defendants to have histories of arrests and convictions for prior drug offenses.

When we developed a typology of defendants based on the relative likelihood of drug use, a greater variety of information was helpful in separating criminal defendants into categories with different rates of positive tests. The final classification of defendants depended on the kind criminal charges facing the defendant, prior criminal history, and self-reported drug use. A finding that runs contrary to the conventional lore is that drug use was not associated with crimes of violence or injury to victims of such crimes in this sample of Dade felony defendants. Further research should help determine whether this finding is generally true or tied to this particular sample of defendants.

The four categories of defendants defined by the drug-related criminal case matrix above were distinguishable by criminal charge and prior criminal history attributes. For example, category I defendants--having no drug charges and no drug use--showed the highest proportions of index-level, weapons-related and victim-injury companion charges. Category II defendants (testing positively for drugs but having no drug charges) ranked second to category I defendants in the presence of index-level companion charges and charges involving victim injury, but stood apart in the comparatively high proportions having companion charges involving burglary and theft. They also had extensive prior criminal histories. Category III defendants (with drug charges and no drug use) were distinguished by the lack of companion charge and prior criminal history attributes. Finally, category IV defendants (testing positively for drug use and having drug charges) were distinguished primarily by their more extensive criminal histories.

The Disposition of Criminal Charges

Differences were found in the kinds of dispositions made at various stages of the judicial process, some were unexpected. In the Boston Municipal Court, Suffolk County Superior Court and Circuit Court in Dade County, the use of nonfinancial bail options (ROR) varied by the seriousness of drug charges. Defendants charged in drug crimes of lesser seriousness received nonfinancial release more often and defendants charged with more serious drug crimes received nonfinancial release less often than defendants without drug charges. In Maricopa County, drug defendants were given nonfinancial release more often than non-drug defendants, regardless of the seriousness of the drug charges.

More importantly, drug defendants obtained pretrial release more frequently than non-drug defendants regardless of the seriousness of charges and of the site. Interestingly, in Dade County the greatest increase in pretrial release between 2 days after bond hearing and 90 days was found among defendants charged with the most serious drug crimes. Among Boston Municipal Court and Maricopa County Superior Court defendants, the predominant means of gaining pretrial release for drug-charged defendants was nonfinancial release. Among Suffolk County Superior Court and Dade County defendants, drug defendants more commonly gained release through financial means.

In each of the jail populations studied, defendants held on drug charges in pretrial detention were held on notably higher bails than other detainees. In two of the three jails, drug detainees had longer average stays than non-drug detainees; in Boston, they had shorter average stays.

Failure-to-appear in court (FTA) during pretrial release was lower among drug defendants--regardless of the seriousness of the drug charges--than among non-drug defendants in four of the five courts studied. It was no worse than for non-drug defendants in the fifth. (The picture changed for the 1987 Dade defendants: the highest FTA rates were recorded among the most seriously charged drug defendants.) Rearrest for subsequent crimes was generally lower as well among drug defendants, with the exception of Maricopa County defendants with the most

serious drug charges. Those defendants generated higher rearrest rates than either the less seriously charged drug defendants or the non-drug defendants.

When considering the "effectiveness" of pretrial release, which takes into account pretrial detention as well as defendant misconduct (see our discussion in Chapter Five), the rather striking general finding is that courts are generally more effective when it comes to pretrial release decisionmaking involving defendants having drug charges. Even in their decisions concerning the most seriously charged defendants, the courts were at least no less effective than in the decisions for other kinds of defendants.

Generally, the cases of defendants involving drug charges were completed about as quickly (or as slowly) as the cases of defendants without drug charges--with the exception of Circuit Court in Dade County. The efficiency of early disposition (defined as the percentage of cases completed within 90 days minus the percentage completed through dropping or dismissals) of drug cases, however, was greater among drug cases in the misdemeanor courts of Boston and Dade County, about the same in Suffolk County Superior Court and Maricopa County Superior Court, and was noticeably poorer in Circuit Court in Dade County.

Our analyses compared the dispositions of the courts' caseloads using a sequential conceptualization of decision stages, including the decision to drop or dismiss charges, to divert, to accept a guilty plea or to try cases. (See, e.g., Figures 5.13 through 5.16.) As a rule, there were very few differences in the dispositions made by the courts between drug and non-drug categories of defendants. it appears that only very slight differences can be noted in each of the courts--with several exceptions. In the BMC, the more serious the drug charges, the lower was the "dropout" rate within the initial 90 days. In Dade County Court, defendants in drug cases were 7 times less likely to have their charged dropped than their non-drug charged counterparts. In Circuit Court, the cases involving the more serious drug charges had a higher rate of dropout. (This finding was reversed by the time of the 1987 study of Dade felony defendants.)

Although diversion was a rare option in all of the courts, in Dade County it was used most often among the more seriously charged drug defendants.

Generally, persons charged with the more serious drug crimes and persons not charged with drug crimes disposed of their cases through guilty pleas in similar numbers. Defendants charged with the less serious drug charges showed the highest rates of guilty pleas across courts.

Reinforcing the general conclusion that drug cases are not treated much differently by the courts in their adjudication than other kinds of cases is the finding that the make-up of the much shrunken caseload "surviving" for processing (trial) beyond 90 days did not differ from its make-up at the point of entry.

Although we did see differences among the courts generally in the rate of convictions produced among the entering defendant caseloads, the differences in conviction rates between defendants charged with and not charged with drug offenses were not great--with two exceptions. In the Boston Municipal Court, a larger proportion of defendants charged with the less serious (possession variety) drug offenses were convicted than other categories of defendants. In Circuit Court in Dade County, the less seriously charged group of drug defendants were convicted less frequently than others.

Although we find some slight differences in conviction rates and in sentences when drug-charged and non-drug charged groups of defendants are contrasted at a gross level, we do not see a consistent theme emerge. In Maricopa County, for example, persons convicted of non-drug offenses were more likely to receive incarcerative sentences and longer incarcerative sentences than persons convicted of other kinds of crimes. In Dade County, misdemeanor drug offenders received incarcerative sanctions notably more often than other kinds of defendants, but for very short terms (averaging about 1 month). In the other courts differences in sentencing were not noted.

We also traced and compared the dispositions of cases of drug using and non-drug-using defendants. Of course, the point of the that analysis was different in that the judges were not privy to the drug test results of the defendants passing before them. The aim was, rather, to identify the kinds of decisions received by these categories of defendants to help determine the role played by the drug using criminal case in processing in the courts.

Quite logically, not a great many differences were found. Interestingly, however, defendants testing positively were less often given nonfinancial release and less often secured pretrial release than non-drug using defendants. Pretrial release was less effective in the cases of drug using defendants than in the cases of non-drug using defendants, because of the higher rates of detention and greater misconduct rates. (Very slight relationships between drug use and defendant misconduct during pretrial release did not withstand controls for other factors in multivariate analysis (see Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland, 1988).)

These findings from the bail stage suggest that without having access to drug testing information for the felony defendants appearing before them at bond hearing, the Dade County judges were identifying drug using defendants for more restrictive treatment prior to trial. The implication is that the judges were reacting to other defendant attributes, such as criminal charge or prior history, that were closely related to drug use.

Analysis of the dispositions of the 1987 Dade felony defendants using the framework of the drug-charge/drug use classification also showed some differences. For example, category II defendants less often received pretrial release than defendants in the other categories. Category II defendants also seemed to produce the greatest rates of rearrests during pretrial release, although category IV defendants generated the highest rates of FTAs. Consequently, the effectiveness of pretrial release decisions varied depending upon the drug-related criminal case category.

Some differences were also noted in the processing outcomes of criminal cases using this framework. Category IV defendants--with drug charges and drug positive tests--had cases completed early at a notably lower rate (66 percent) than defendants in the other categories. Interestingly, when the dropped/dismissed cases are excluded to measure "efficient" early disposition, it is found that category IV defendants are handled most efficiently.

Defendants in categories I and III, having in common their negative tests for drug use, received diversion twice as often as their counterparts in groups II and IV, who tested positively for drug use. Although this different treatment is dramatic, it cannot be "explained" by drug use because, of course, that information was not available to the relevant officials. It does, however, indicate that in Circuit Court in 1987, diversion was not aimed selectively as drug using defendants as might have been supposed

As the criminal caseload moves beyond the 90-day mark, its make-up using the drug-related case framework had changed somewhat. The proportion of defendants falling into category IV, defendants with drug charges and positive drug tests, had increased compared to the caseload at the entry point and the proportions falling into the other categories had decreased slightly.

The Implications of Drug-Related Crime for the Courts

However measured, the role played by drug-related criminal cases in the court caseloads appears to be great. Using the classification that combines drug-use and drug charges to produce four categories of drug-related criminal cases, the challenge posed by their volume alone looks formidable: most cases can be classified as drug-related.

The nature of the problems facing the courts, of course, is greatly determined by the policy orientation they choose to adopt. If, for example, courts took the point of view that the main relevance of drug-relatedness to their responsibilities was to adjudicate cases in which charges for drug crimes have been alleged, they could set aside the information potentially available regarding drug use among defendants as irrelevant and try to cope with the largely volume-related problems the drug caseload poses for the courts. If, on the other hand, courts believed that because

drug use contributed to crime or that drug use was an evil to be curtailed, then the drug habits of a large majority (in the case of Dade County, at least) of defendants would have to be addressed in some way. Such a point of view would require rather radical revision of policies to intercede in the drug using patterns of criminal defendants, involving innovation of treatment, supervision, monitoring and diversionary programs, for example.

The Implications of Drug-Related Crime for Public Safety

In Volume II of our series, we present the results of the empirical analyses of recidivism in drug-related cases based on follow-ups of Maricopa County and Dade County defendants designed to assess the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload. Two kinds of findings in the current study, however, have a bearing on questions about the risks of crime posed by defendants in drug-related criminal cases, findings relating to the prior criminal history attributes of defendants in drug-related cases, and their performance during pretrial release.

Despite commonly held assumptions, defendants charged with drug crimes were not remarkable in their prior histories of arrests or convictions in the courts we examined. The exception was that defendants charged with drug crimes more often had prior records for drug crimes. Rather than pointing to more extensive generalized prior histories, the repeated criminality of drug defendants seemed to be more specialized, drug defendants were experienced mainly at being drug defendants.

To the extent that these repetitions involve possession charges, and hence mainly drug users, one might argue that there are greater implications for the public health than for public safety. To the extent that repeat drug offending is accounted for by sale and distribution of drugs, the public safety implications might be quite different, for one could argue that the distribution of drugs stimulates other kinds of criminal activity. We know that in the felony courts we studied, at least, the majority of drug charges were of the more serious variety.

When we turn from drug cases and the repetition of drug crimes to drug use as measured by testing, the implications the very large numbers of drug using defendants have for public safety are more unsettling, given that

the majority of defendants in our Dade study were drug using. There is a relationship between testing positively for drug use and prior criminal history: the more extensive the criminal history, the greater the likelihood that a defendant is an active drug abuser. What is uncertain--and is the subject of research--is whether a relationship between current drug abuse and future criminality stands up or whether drug use is really short-hand for criminal history and little more (or whether drug use and criminality are both engendered by other similar factors.)

An important application of this question occurs at the pretrial release stage, at which point courts would like to know whether the relationship (slight in this study) between testing positively at the bail stage and engaging in crime or flight during pretrial release is fundamental and causal or superficial and spurious. Again, the policy implications depend on the interpretation of the relationship between drug use and future criminality. If drug use during pretrial release leads to crime, then curtailing drug use through a program of supervision and monitoring makes sense in attempting to minimize the threat to public safety posed by released defendants. But, if the relationship is spurious--if drug use is really a stand-in for prior criminal history, for example, than any focus on drug use would not be expected to translate into reduced risk to the public. We will discuss these and related issues in our next report.

The Implications of Drug-Related Crime for Institutional Crowding

There are also implications for institutional crowding in our findings. Given that each of the states and each of the cities involved in the study have been experiencing long-term jail and prison overcrowding crises, these data suggest that drug-related cases play a sizeable part in the make-up of institutional populations. At the bail stage, in one site drug cases are treated more restrictively--are more often detained--but not in others. In fact, generally, drug case defendants perform at, or better than, the level of other defendants during pretrial release. Careful further analysis would be useful to determine whether more drug defendants could be released more effectively, thus relieving strain on the jail populations, or more drug defendants ought to be confined, with serious implications for institutions. Already, persons testing positively for drugs are more often held in Dade County compared to those testing negatively according to our data--and this is without drug test results being common

knowledge. If courts did more drug testing and became more fully aware of the level of drug use among entering defendants, one effect might be to add to the already crowded levels of jail populations.

There are similar implications of the data for prison populations: in Maricopa County felony drug offenders are less often sentenced to incarceration and for shorter terms; in Dade County felonies, the opposite is true. Dade misdemeanor drug defendants are given incarcerative sentences frequently, but of short duration. Clearly a preference for a particular policy will have an impact on prison populations.

A more in-depth analysis could shed light on the potential for alternatives to incarceration or intermediate sanctions that are not currently being employed. In our two studies of Dade felony defendants we noted different uses of diversion. The most recent data showed that drug using defendants were not being diverted. Very recently, the courts in Dade County have implemented a diversion program that aims at diverting large numbers of drug offenders from formal processing by providing them with a treatment alternative. Should this program succeed, fewer drug users will have been confined, first at the jail awaiting trial and, second, in prison upon conviction.

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Appendix A
Penalties for Drug Offenses in State Laws

Table A1.1   State Control Substance Acts: comparing incarceration and fine
              penalties for use offenses, Schedule I and Schedule II drugs.

	Penalty for First Offense	
State	Max-Min Range[1]	Fine
Alaska	90 days	$1,000
Colorado	1-4	$1,000-$100,000
Delaware	0-5	$ 500-$ 3,000
Idaho	0-90 days	$ 300
Indiana	0-180 days	$1,000
Michigan	0-1	$1,000-$ 2,000
Nebraska	3 months	$ 500
Nevada6	1-6	$5,000
New Jersey	Driver's license suspended up to 2 years	
Oklahoma	0-1	$2,500
Wyoming	0-90 days	$ 100

[1]Maximum and minimum range in years unless otherwise specified.

Source: Compiled from data in Criminal Justice Association, A Guide to State
Controlled Substances Acts Washington, D.C. Bureau of Justice Assistance (1988)

Table A1.2   State Control Substance Acts: comparing incarceration and fine
              penalties for possession of Schedule I and Schedule II drugs.[1]

Jurisdiction	Penalty for First Offense Max-Min Range[2]	Fine
Federal	0-1	$1,000-$5,000
Alabama*	1-10	$ 5,000
Alaska	0-5	$ 50,000
Arizona	2-5	$ 1,000-$150,000
Arkansas	2-5	$ 10,000
California*#	16mo-3yr	$ 20,000
Colorado*#	4-16	$ 3,000-$750,000
Connecticut	0-7	$ 1,000-$ 50,000
Delaware*#	0-5	$ 3,000
D.C.	0-1	$ 1,000
Florida*	0-5	$ 5,000
Georgia*#	2-15	$150,000-$500,000
Hawaii*#	0-5	$ 5,000
Idaho	0-3	$ 5,000
Illinois*#	1-3	$ 15,000
Indiana	2-5	$ 10,000
Iowa	0-1	$ 1,000
Kansas	1-20	$ 10,000
Kentucky	1-5	$ 3,000-$ 5,000
Louisiana*#	0-10	$ 5,000
Maine#	0-1	$ 1,000
Maryland#	0-4	$ 25,000
Massachusetts#	0-1	$ 1,000
Michigan*	0-4	$ 2,000
Minnesota*#	0-5	$ 10,000
Mississippi	0-3	$ 1,000-$ 30,000
Missouri	6mo-20yrs	$ 5,000
Montana	0-5	$ 50,000
Nebraska	0-5	$ 10,000
Nevada	1-6	$ 5,000
New Hampshire*#	0-7	$ 1,000-$ 5,000
New Jersey	0-7	$ 15,000
New Mexico#	0-18mo	$ 5,000
New York#	0-1	$ 1,000
North Carolina*#	0-5	$ 5,000
North Dakota	0-5	$ 5,000
Ohio	0-6	$ 1,000
Oklahoma*#	2-10	-
Oregon	0-10	$100,000
Pennsylvania#	0-1	$ 5,000
Rhode Island	0-3	$ 5,000
South Carolina#	0-2	$ 5,000
South Dakota#	0-5	$ 5,000
Tennessee*#	0-1	$ 1,000
Texas*	2-life	$ 10,000-$100,000
Utah	0-6mo	$ 299
Vermont	0-1	$ 1,000
Virginia	1-10	$ 1,000
Washington*	0-5	$ 10,000
West Virginia	90days-6mo	$ 1,000
Wisconsin*#	0-1	$ 5,000
Wyoming	0-90days	$ 100

*Enhanced penalties for varying amounts.
#Enhanced penalties for specific drugs.

[1]Penalties apply to first possession offense. Not all states arrange controlled
substances into Schedule I and II drugs (for example, Maine employs W, X, Y and
Z groups) and, for those which do, definition of these categories can vary by
state.

[2]Maximum and minimum range in years unless otherwise specified.

Source: Compiled from data in Criminal Justice Association, A Guide to State
Controlled Substances Acts Washington, D.C. Bureau of Justice Assistance (1988)

Table A13   State Control Substance Acts: comparing incarceration and fine
          penalties for manufacturing, delivery, sale of Schedule I and
          Schedule II drugs.[1]

Jurisdiction	Penalty for First Offense Max-Min[2]	Fine
Federal	0-20	$1 million
Alabama	2-20	$ 10,000
Alaska	0-20	$ 50,000
Arizona	4-14	$ 1,000-$150,000
Arkansas*	10-40	$ 25,000-$250,000
California*#	2-5	$ 20,000
Colorado*#	4-16	$ 3,000-$750,000
Connecticut	0-7	$ 25,000-$ 50,000
Delaware*#	0-30	$ 5,000-$100,000
D.C.	20mo-15	$ 50,000-$100,000
Florida*	0-30	$ 5,000-$ 10,000
Georgia*#	5-30	$150,000-$500,000
Hawaii*#	0-20	$ 10,000
Idaho	0-life	$ 15,000-$ 25,000
Illinois*#	2-7	$150,000-$200,000
Indiana	10-30	$ 10,000
Iowa	2-10	$ 1,000-$ 5,000
Kansas	1-20	$ 10,000
Kentucky	1-10	$ 3,000-$ 10,000
Louisiana*#	0-30	$ 15,000
Maine#	0-10	$ 2,500-$ 10,000
Maryland#	0-20	$ 15,000-$ 25,000
Massachusetts#	10	$ 1,000-$ 10,000
Michigan*	0-life	$ 25,000
Minnesota*#	0-20	$ 30,000-$ 60,000
Mississippi	0-30	$ 1,000-$1 million
Missouri	5-life	$ 5,000
Montana	1-life	$ 50,000
Nebraska	0-50	$ 25,000
Nevada	1-life	$ 20,000
New Hampshire*#	0-10	$125,000
New Jersey	0-life	$ 25,000
New Mexico#	0-9	$ 5,000-$ 10,000
New York#	0-7	$ 5,000
North Carolina*#	0-10	$ 50,000-$250,000
North Dakota	0-20	$ 10,000
Ohio	3-15	$ 7,500
Oklahoma*#	2-20	$ 5,000-$ 20,000
Oregon	0-20	$ 10,000-$100,000
Pennsylvania#	0-15	$ 15,000-$250,000
Rhode Island	0-life	$500,000
South Carolina#	0-5	$ 5,000-$ 25,000
South Dakota#	30days-10	$ 10,000
Tennessee*#	4-15	$ 15,000-$ 18,000
Texas*	2-life	$ 20,000-$250,000
Utah	1-15	$ 10,000-$ 15,000
Vermont	0-5	$ 10,000
Virginia	5-40	$100,000
Washington*	0-10	$ 10,000-$ 25,000
West Virginia	1-15	$ 15,000-$ 25,000
Wisconsin*#	0-15	$ 15,000-$ 25,000
Wyoming	0-20	$ 10,000-$ 25,000

*Enhanced penalties for varying amounts.
#Enhanced penalties for specific drugs.

[1]Penalties apply to first offense. Not all states arrange controlled substances
into Schedule I and II drugs (for example, Maine employs W, X, Y and Z groups)
and, for those which do, definition of these categories can vary by state.

[2]Maximum and minimum range in years unless otherwise specified.

Source: Compiled from data in Criminal Justice Association, A Guide to State
Controlled Substances Acts Washington, D.C. Bureau of Justice Assistance (1988)

Appendix B
Supplemental Tables

Table B4.1   Ratio of selected charges among cases with drug charges to cases without drug charges, 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges,[a] by court

	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Superior Court	Dade County Court	Dade County Circuit Court	Dade Combined	Maricopa County Superior Court
Robbery Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	2.50	0.10[b]	n/a[c]	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	0.40
Percent of non-drug cases	5.10	28.40	n/a	5.40	2.60	5.10
Ratio	0.49	0.00		0.02	0.04	0.08
Percent of less serious drug cases	0.30	0.10[b]	n/a	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	0.10[b]
Percent of non-drug cases	5.10	28.40	n/a	5.40	2.60	5.10
Ratio	0.06	0.00		0.02	0.04	0.02
Percent of more serious drug cases	0.10	0.10[b]	n/a	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	0.60
Percent of non-drug cases	5.10	28.40	n/a	5.40	2.60	5.10
Ratio	0.02	0.00		0.02	0.04	0.12
Burglary Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.50	0.10[b]	n/a	1.00	0.80	2.70
Percent of non-drug cases	5.20	2.30	n/a	16.90	8.20	19.30
Ratio	0.29	0.04		0.06	0.10	0.14
Percent of less serious drug cases	1.40	0.10[b]	n/a	2.40	1.10	3.20
Percent of non-drug cases	5.20	2.30	n/a	16.90	8.20	19.30
Ratio	0.23	0.04		0.14	0.13	0.17
Percent of more serious drug cases	1.70	0.10[b]	n/a	0.70	0.70	2.50
Percent of non-drug cases	5.20	2.30	n/a	16.90	8.20	19.30
Ratio	0.33	0.04		0.04	0.09	0.13

Table B4.1   Ratio of selected charges among cases with drug charges to cases without drug charges, 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges,[a] by court (cont'd)

	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Superior Court	Dade County Court	Dade County Circuit Court	Dade Combined	Maricopa County Superior Court
Charges Involving Injury						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	0.40	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	2.60	1.90	0.80
Percent of non-drug cases	4.20	9.20	2.20	23.20	12.40	6.00
Ratio	0.10	0.01	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.13
Percent of less serious drug cases	0.50	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	4.80	0.02	0.10[b]
Percent of non-drug cases	4.20	9.20	2.20	23.20	12.40	6.00
Ratio	0.12	0.01	0.05	0.21	0.00	0.02
Percent of more serious drug cases	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	n/a	1.80	1.80	1.20
Percent of non-drug cases	4.20	9.20	n/a	23.20	12.40	6.00
Ratio	0.02	0.01	n/a	0.08	0.15	0.02
Weapons Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.12	0.10[b]	6.40	10.70	9.70	1.80
Percent of non-drug cases	11.50	42.10	2.50	33.90	17.80	9.50
Ratio	0.10	0.00	2.56	0.32	0.54	0.19
Percent of less serious drug cases	1.10	0.10[b]	6.40	12.60	9.60	0.10[b]
Percent of non-drug cases	11.50	42.10	2.50	33.90	17.80	9.50
Ratio	0.09	0.00	2.56	0.37	0.54	0.01
Percent of more serious drug cases	1.20	0.10[b]	n/a	9.90	9.90	2.80
Percent of non-drug cases	11.50	42.10	n/a	33.90	17.80	9.50
Ratio	0.10	0.00	n/a	0.29	0.56	0.29

Table B4.1   Ratio of selected charges among cases with drug charges to cases without drug charges, 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges,[a] by court (cont'd)

	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Superior Court	Dade County Court	Dade County Circuit Court	Dade Combined	Maricopa County Superior Court
Assault Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.24	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	1.80	1.40	4.70
Percent of non-drug cases	9.70	25.30	0.70	6.40	3.50	25.80
Ratio	0.13	0.00	0.14	0.28	0.40	0.18
Percent of less serious drug cases	1.20	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	6.00	2.80	0.10[b]
Percent of non-drug cases	9.70	25.30	0.70	6.40	3.50	25.80
Ratio	0.12	0.00	0.14	0.94	0.80	0.00
Percent of more serious drug cases	1.20	0.10[b]	n/a	0.40	0.40	7.10
Percent of non-drug cases	9.70	25.30	n/a	6.40	3.50	25.80
Ratio	0.12	0.00	n/a	0.06	0.11	0.28
Theft Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.62	0.10[b]	2.10	4.10	3.60	3.70
Percent of non-drug cases	22.60	14.20	11.70	31.60	21.40	21.50
Ratio	0.07	0.01	0.18	0.13	0.17	0.17
Percent of less serious drug cases	2.00	0.10[b]	2.10	8.40	5.10	3.20
Percent of non-drug cases	22.60	14.20	11.70	31.60	21.40	21.50
Ratio	0.09	0.01	0.18	0.27	0.24	0.15
Percent of more serious drug cases	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	n/a	2.50	2.50	4.00
Percent of non-drug cases	22.60	14.20	n/a	31.60	21.40	21.50
Ratio	0.00	0.01	n/a	0.08	0.17	0.19

Table B4.1   Ratio of selected charges among cases with drug charges to cases without drug charges, 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges,[a] by court (cont'd)

	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Superior Court	Dade County Court	Dade County Circuit Court	Dade Combined	Maricopa County Superior Court
Drunken Driving						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.12	4.20	0.10[b]	1.00	0.80	4.30
Percent of non-drug cases	4.10	2.70	1.30	1.20	1.30	10.90
Ratio	0.27	1.50	0.08	0.83	0.62	0.39
Percent of less serious drug cases	1.40	20.00	0.10[b]	1.80	0.85	11.40
Percent of non-drug cases	4.10	2.70	1.30	1.20	1.30	10.90
Ratio	0.34	7.41	0.08	1.50	0.65	1.05
Percent of more serious drug cases	0.10[b]	3.70	n/a	0.70	0.70	0.90
Percent of non-drug cases	4.10	2.70	n/a	1.20	1.30	10.90
Ratio	0.02	1.37	n/a	0.58	0.54	0.08

[a]See text for definitions of "seriousness" of drug charges. Because they differ by site, they should not be taken as comparable across sites.

[b]Actual value was (0.00); (0.10) was used to compute ratio.

[c]No cases in category for computation of ratio.

Table B4.1   Ratio of selected charges among cases with drug charges to cases without drug charges, 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges,[a] by court

	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Superior Court	Dade County Court	Dade County Circuit Court	Dade Combined	Maricopa County Superior Court
Robbery Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	2.50	0.10[b]	n/a[c]	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	0.40
Percent of non-drug cases	5.10	28.40	n/a	5.40	2.60	5.10
Ratio	0.49	0.00		0.02	0.04	0.08
Percent of less serious drug cases	0.30	0.10[b]	n/a	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	0.10[b]
Percent of non-drug cases	5.10	28.40	n/a	5.40	2.60	5.10
Ratio	0.06	0.00		0.02	0.04	0.02
Percent of more serious drug cases	0.10	0.10[b]	n/a	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	0.60
Percent of non-drug cases	5.10	28.40	n/a	5.40	2.60	5.10
Ratio	0.02	0.00		0.02	0.04	0.12
Burglary Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.50	0.10[b]	n/a	1.00	0.80	2.70
Percent of non-drug cases	5.20	2.30	n/a	16.90	8.20	19.30
Ratio	0.29	0.04		0.06	0.10	0.14
Percent of less serious drug cases	1.40	0.10[b]	n/a	2.40	1.10	3.20
Percent of non-drug cases	5.20	2.30	n/a	16.90	8.20	19.30
Ratio	0.23	0.04		0.14	0.13	0.17
Percent of more serious drug cases	1.70	0.10[b]	n/a	0.70	0.70	2.50
Percent of non-drug cases	5.20	2.30	n/a	16.90	8.20	19.30
Ratio	0.33	0.04		0.04	0.09	0.13

Table B4.1   Ratio of selected charges among cases with drug charges to cases without drug charges, 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges,[a] by court (cont'd)

	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Superior Court	Dade County Court	Dade County Circuit Court	Dade Combined	Maricopa County Superior Court
Charges Involving Injury						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	0.40	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	2.60	1.90	0.80
Percent of non-drug cases	4.20	9.20	2.20	23.20	12.40	6.00
Ratio	0.10	0.01	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.13
Percent of less serious drug cases	0.50	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	4.80	0.02	0.10[b]
Percent of non-drug cases	4.20	9.20	2.20	23.20	12.40	6.00
Ratio	0.12	0.01	0.05	0.21	0.00	0.02
Percent of more serious drug cases	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	n/a	1.80	1.80	1.20
Percent of non-drug cases	4.20	9.20	n/a	23.20	12.40	6.00
Ratio	0.02	0.01	n/a	0.08	0.15	0.02
Weapons Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.12	0.10[b]	6.40	10.70	9.70	1.80
Percent of non-drug cases	11.50	42.10	2.50	33.90	17.80	9.50
Ratio	0.10	0.00	2.56	0.32	0.54	0.19
Percent of less serious drug cases	1.10	0.10[b]	6.40	12.60	9.60	0.10[b]
Percent of non-drug cases	11.50	42.10	2.50	33.90	17.80	9.50
Ratio	0.09	0.00	2.56	0.37	0.54	0.01
Percent of more serious drug cases	1.20	0.10[b]	n/a	9.90	9.90	2.80
Percent of non-drug cases	11.50	42.10	n/a	33.90	17.80	9.50
Ratio	0.10	0.00	n/a	0.29	0.56	0.29

Table B4.1   Ratio of selected charges among cases with drug charges to cases without drug charges, 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges,[a] by court (cont'd)

	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Superior Court	Dade County Court	Dade County Circuit Court	Dade Combined	Maricopa County Superior Court
Assault Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.24	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	1.80	1.40	4.70
Percent of non-drug cases	9.70	25.30	0.70	6.40	3.50	25.80
Ratio	0.13	0.00	0.14	0.28	0.40	0.18
Percent of less serious drug cases	1.20	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	6.00	2.80	0.10[b]
Percent of non-drug cases	9.70	25.30	0.70	6.40	3.50	25.80
Ratio	0.12	0.00	0.14	0.94	0.80	0.00
Percent of more serious drug cases	1.20	0.10[b]	n/a	0.40	0.40	7.10
Percent of non-drug cases	9.70	25.30	n/a	6.40	3.50	25.80
Ratio	0.12	0.00	n/a	0.06	0.11	0.28
Theft Charges						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.62	0.10[b]	2.10	4.10	3.60	3.70
Percent of non-drug cases	22.60	14.20	11.70	31.60	21.40	21.50
Ratio	0.07	0.01	0.18	0.13	0.17	0.17
Percent of less serious drug cases	2.00	0.10[b]	2.10	8.40	5.10	3.20
Percent of non-drug cases	22.60	14.20	11.70	31.60	21.40	21.50
Ratio	0.09	0.01	0.18	0.27	0.24	0.15
Percent of more serious drug cases	0.10[b]	0.10[b]	n/a	2.50	2.50	4.00
Percent of non-drug cases	22.60	14.20	n/a	31.60	21.40	21.50
Ratio	0.00	0.01	n/a	0.08	0.17	0.19

Table B4.1　Ratio of selected charges among cases with drug charges to cases without drug charges, 1984 defendants, by seriousness of drug charges,[a] by court (cont'd)

	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Superior Court	Dade County Court	Dade County Circuit Court	Dade Combined	Maricopa County Superior Court
Drunken Driving						
(Number of cases)	(4,554)	(356)	(1,977)	(2,308)	(4,285)	(2,232)
Percent of drug charge cases	1.12	4.20	0.10[b]	1.00	0.80	4.30
Percent of non-drug cases	4.10	2.70	1.30	1.20	1.30	10.90
Ratio	0.27	1.50	0.08	0.83	0.62	0.39
Percent of less serious drug cases	1.40	20.00	0.10[b]	1.80	0.85	11.40
Percent of non-drug cases	4.10	2.70	1.30	1.20	1.30	10.90
Ratio	0.34	7.41	0.08	1.50	0.65	1.05
Percent of more serious drug cases	0.10[b]	3.70	n/a	0.70	0.70	0.90
Percent of non-drug cases	4.10	2.70	n/a	1.20	1.30	10.90
Ratio	0.02	1.37	n/a	0.58	0.54	0.08

[a]See text for definitions of "seriousness" of drug charges. Because they differ by site, they should not be taken as comparable across sites.
[b]Actual value was (0.00); (0.10) was used to compute ratio.
[c]No cases in category for computation of ratio.

Table B4.2 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selected demographic attributes, by court

Demographic attributes	Boston Municipal Court								Suffolk County Superior Court							
	Total		No drug charges		Possession		Sales/manufacture		Total		No drug charges		Possession		Sales/manufacture	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Age																
Total	4,353	100.0	3,577	100.0	615	100.0	161	100.0	321	100.0	242	100.0	5	100.0	74	100.0
20 & under	987	22.7	812	22.7	138	22.4	38	23.3	62	19.3	54	22.3	0	0	8	10.8
21-25	1,525	35.0	1,254	35.0	224	36.4	48	30.0	82	25.5	66	27.3	1	20.0	15	20.3
26-30	912	20.9	759	21.2	121	19.8	32	19.8	59	18.4	39	16.1	2	40.0	18	24.3
31-40	637	14.6	487	13.6	118	19.1	32	19.8	73	22.7	51	21.1	2	40.0	20	27.0
over 40	292	6.7	266	7.4	14	2.3	12	7.2	45	14.0	32	13.2	0	0	13	17.6
Race/ethnicity																
Total	4,380	100.0	3,593	100.0	624	100.0	164	100.0	296	100.0	225	100.0	5	100.0	66	100.0
White	1,911	43.6	1,563	43.5	294	47.1	55	33.5	140	47.3	108	48.0	5	10.0	27	40.9
Black	2,050	46.8	1,684	46.9	286	45.9	80	48.8	113	38.2	105	46.7	0	0	8	12.1
Hispanic	275	6.3	232	6.4	29	4.6	14	8.8	36	12.2	6	2.7	0	0	30	45.5
Other	144	3.3	115	3.2	14	2.3	14	8.8	7	2.4	6	2.7	0	0	1	1.5
Gender																
Total	4,554	100.0	3,753	100.0	635	100.0	167	100.0	346	100.0	260	100.0	5	100.0	81	100.0
Male	3,257	71.5	2,531	67.4	571	89.8	155	93.1	313	90.5	238	91.5	3	60.0	72	88.9
Female	1,298	28.5	122	32.6	65	10.2	12	6.9	33	9.5	22	8.5	2	40.0	9	11.1
Employment																
Total	4,554	100.0	3,753	100.0	635	100.0	167	100.0	348	100.0	261	100.0	5	100.0	82	100.0
Not employed	2,913	64.0	2,502	66.7	317	49.9	93	56.1	218	62.6	161	61.7	4	80.0	53	64.6
Employed	1,641	36.0	1,250	33.3	318	50.1	73	43.9	130	37.4	100	38.3	1	20.0	29	35.4
Marital status																
Total	4,554	100.0	3,753	100.0	635	100.0	167	100.0	348	100.0	261	100.0	5	100.0	82	100.0
Not married	3,874	85.1	3,206	85.4	539	84.8	129	77.5	247	71.0	191	73.2	3	60.0	53	64.6
Married	681	14.9	547	14.6	96	15.2	38	22.5	101	29.0	70	26.8	2	40.0	29	35.4
Address in area																
Total	4,554	100.0	3,753	100.0	635	100.0	167	100.0	348	100.0	261	100.0	5	100.0	82	100.0
No	184	4.0	161	4.3	20	3.2	3	1.7	35	10.1	20	7.7	0	0	15	18.3
Yes	4,370	96.0	392	95.7	615	96.8	164	98.3	313	89.9	241	92.3	5	100.0	67	81.7

Table B4.2 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial process during study periods in 1984,by seriousness of drug charges, by selected demographic attributes, by court (cont'd)

Demographic attributes	Boston Municipal Court								Suffolk County Superior Court							
	Total		No drug charges		Possession		Sales/manufacture		Total		No drug charges		Possession		Sales/manufacture	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Phone																
Total	4,554	100.0	3,753	100.0	635	100.0	167	100.0	348	100.0	261	100.0	5	100.0	82	100.0
No	2,930	64.3	2,442	65.1	373	58.7	116	69.3	155	44.5	107	41.0	4	80.0	44	53.7
Yes	1,624	35.7	1,311	34.9	262	41.3	51	30.7	193	55.5	154	59.0	1	20.0	38	46.3
Mental health problems																
Total	4,554	100.0	3,753	100.0	635	100.0	167	100.0	348	100.0	261	100.0	5	100.0	82	100.0
No	4,407	96.8	3,617	96.2	625	98.5	164	98.3	334	96.0	248	95.0	5	100.0	81	98.8
Yes	148	3.2	135	3.6	10	1.5	3	1.7	14	4.0	13	5.0	0	0	1	1.2
Self-reported substance abuse																
Total	4,454	100.0	3,753	100.0	635	100.0	167	100.0	348	100.0	261	100.0	5	100.0	82	100.0
No	3,917	86.0	3,341	89.0	470	74.0	105	63.0	290	83.3	216	82.8	5	100.0	69	84.1
Yes	638	14.0	411	11.0	165	26.0	62	37.0	58	16.7	45	17.2	0	0	13	15.9
Self-reproted alcohol abuse																
Total	4,554	100.0	3,753	100.0	635	100.0	167	100.0	348	100.0	261	100.0	5	100.0	82	100.0
No	4,263	93.6	3,505	93.4	605	95.3	152	91.3	319	91.7	237	90.8	5	100.0	77	93.9
Yes	292	6.4	247	6.6	30	4.7	14	8.7	29	8.3	24	9.2	0	0	5	6.1

Table B4.2 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selected demographic attributes, by court (cont'd)

			Dade County and Circuit Court (combined)							
Demographic attributes	Total		No drug charges		Misdem. drug chgs		Felony 3 drug chgs		Felony 2 or 1 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Age										
Total	4,268	100.0	3,477	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	436	100.0
20 & under	588	13.8	476	13.7	41	17.9	15	12.2	56	12.8
21-25	1,060	24.8	854	24.6	54	23.9	42	32.9	110	25.2
26-30	1,008	23.6	838	24.1	62	27.3	20	15.9	88	20.2
31-40	1,001	23.5	789	22.7	53	23.5	37	29.3	122	28.0
over 40	610	14.3	520	15.0	17	7.3	12	9.8	60	18.3
Race/ethnicity										
Total	4,271	100.0	3,477	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
White	1,054	24.7	810	23.3	96	42.1	37	29.3	111	25.4
Black	1,590	37.2	1,312	37.7	55	24.2	57	45.1	166	37.7
Hispanic	1,411	33.0	1,161	33.4	65	28.2	26	20.7	158	35.9
Other	216	5.1	194	5.6	11	4.9	6	4.9	5	1.1
Gender										
Total	4,285	100.0	3,492	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
Male	3,478	81.2	2,795	80.1	198	87.0	114	90.2	371	84.5
Female	807	18.8	697	19.9	30	13.0	12	9.8	68	15.5
Employment										
Total	4,285	100.0	3,492	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
Not employed	779	18.2	660	18.9	25	10.9	20	15.9	74	16.9
Employed	3,506	81.8	2,832	81.1	202	89.1	107	84.1	365	83.1
Marital status										
Total	4,285	100.0	3,492	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
Not married	3,889	90.8	3,190	91.3	221	97.3	107	84.1	371	84.5
Married	396	9.2	302	8.6	6	2.7	20	15.9	68	15.5
Address in area										
Total	4,285	100.0	3,492	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
No	325	7.5	254	7.3	15	6.7	19	14.6	37	8.5
Yes	3,960	92.4	3,238	92.7	212	93.3	108	85.4	402	91.5
Phone										
Total	4,285	100.0	3,492	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
No	2,418	56.4	2,027	58.1	120	53.0	54	42.7	217	49.3
Yes	1,867	43.6	1.465	41.9	107	47.0	73	57.3	223	50.7
Mental health problems										
Total	4,285	100.0	3,492	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
No	4,234	98.8	3,442	98.6	226	99.3	127	100.0	439	100.0
Yes	51	1.2	50	1.4	2	0.7	0	0	0	0
Self-reported substance abuse										
Total	4,285	100.0	3,492	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
No	3,889	90.8	3,197	94.5	221	97.3	108	85.4	364	82.7
Yes	396	9.2	295	8.5	6	2.7	19	14.6	76	17.3
Self-reproted alcohol abuse										
Total	4,285	100.0	3,492	100.0	227	100.0	127	100.0	439	100.0
No	4,038	94.2	3,288	94.2	227	98.6	127	100.0	399	90.8
Yes	247	5.8	204	5.8	3	1.4	0	0	40	9.2

Table B4.2 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering thejudicial process
during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selected
demographic attributes, by court (cont'd)

	Maricopa County Superior Court							
Demographic	Total		No drug charges		≤Felony 6 drug chgs		≥Felony 5 drug chgs	
attributes	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Age								
Total	2,229	100.0	1,745	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
20 & under	481	21.6	391	22.4	25	15.8	65	19.9
21-25	632	28.4	477	27.3	58	36.7	97	29.8
26-30	449	20.1	322	18.5	42	26.6	85	26.1
31-40	461	20.7	369	21.1	31	19.6	61	18.7
over 40	206	9.2	186	10.7	2	1.3	18	5.5
Race/ethnicity								
Total	2,219	100.0	1,737	100.0	156	100.0	326	100.0
White	1,222	55.1	972	56.0	83	53.2	167	51.2
Black	333	15.0	267	15.4	25	16.0	41	12.6
Hispanic	574	25.9	426	24.5	40	25.6	108	33.1
Other	90	4.1	72	4.1	8	5.1	10	3.1
Gender								
Total	2,226	100.0	1,742	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
Male	1,946	87.4	1,525	87.5	145	91.8	276	84.7
Female	280	12.6	217	12.5	13	8.2	50	15.3
Employment								
Total	2,167	100.0	1,689	100.0	155	100.0	323	100.0
Not employed	865	39.9	697	41.3	40	25.8	128	39.6
Employed	1,302	60.1	992	58.7	115	74.2	195	60.4
Marital status								
Total	2,229	100.0	1,745	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
Not married	1,318	59.1	1,012	58.0	107	67.7	199	61.0
Married	911	40.9	733	42.0	51	32.3	127	39.0
Address in area								
Total	2,229	100.0	1,745	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
No	179	8.0	151	8.7	12	7.6	16	4.9
Yes	2,050	92.0	1,594	91.3	146	92.4	310	95.1
Phone								
Total	2,229	100.0	1,745	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
No	1,133	50.8	914	52.4	75	47.5	144	44.2
Yes	1,096	49.2	831	47.6	83	52.5	182	55.8
Mental health problems								
Total	2,229	100.0	1,745	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
No	2,169	97.3	1,689	96.8	157	99.4	323	99.1
Yes	60	2.7	56	3.2	1	0.6	3	0.9
Self-reported substance abuse								
Total	2,229	100.0	1,745	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
No	1,989	89.2	1,563	89.6	140	88.6	286	87.7
Yes	240	10.8	182	10.4	18	11.4	40	12.3
Self-reproted alcohol abuse								
Total	2,229	100.0	1,745	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
No	2,091	93.8	1,622	93.0	151	95.6	318	97.5
Yes	138	6.2	123	7.0	7	4.4	8	2.5

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the
judicial process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug
charges, by selected prior criminal history attributes, by court

Criminal history attributes	Boston Municipal Court							
	Total		No drug charges		Possess.		Sales/manuf.	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior arrests								
Total	4,080	100.0	3,340	100.0	581	100.0	149	100.0
None	1,667	40.9	1.340	40.0	266	45.8	62	41.3
One	816	20.0	639	19.1	136	23.4	41	27.8
Two or more	1,596	39.1	1,370	40.9	179	30.9	46	31.0
Recent prior arrests								
Total	3,658	100.0	3,021	100.0	515	100.0	122	100.0
None	1,966	53.7	1,574	52.1	313	60.8	79	64.6
One	479	13.1	389	12.9	78	15.2	12	9.4
Two or more	1,213	33.2	1,058	35.0	123	24.0	32	26.0
Prior arrests, serious personal								
Total	3,618	100.0	2.990	100.0	509	100.0	119	100.0
None	2,867	79.2	2,355	78.8	415	81.6	96	80.7
One	312	8.6	267	8.9	40	7.8	7	4.8
Two or more	440	12.1	368	12.3	54	10.6	17	14.5
Prior arrests property								
Total	3,610	100.0	2,982	100.0	509	100.0	119	100.0
None	3,281	90.9	2,703	90.7	470	92.4	108	90.3
One	172	4.8	152	5.1	12	2.3	9	7.3
Two or more	157	4.4	127	4.3	27	5.3	3	2.4
Prior arrests, drug charges								
Total	3,612	100.0	2,981	100.0	509	100.0	122	100.0
None	2,863	79.3	2,381	79.9	395	77.6	88	71.7
One	271	7.5	224	7.5	36	7.0	12	9.4
Two or more	478	13.2	376	12.6	78	15.4	23	18.9
Prior arrests, weapons								
Total	3,614	100.0	2,986	100.0	509	100.0	119	100.0
None	2,961	81.9	2,435	81.5	433	85.0	93	78.2
One	298	8.2	249	8.3	41	8.0	9	7.3
Two or more	356	9.8	303	10.1	36	7.0	17	14.5
Prior convictions								
Total	3,733	100.0	3,090	100.0	518	100.0	125	100.0
None	2,105	56.4	1,679	54.3	350	67.6	76	60.8
One	366	9.8	312	10.1	37	7.1	17	13.8
Two or more	1,262	33.8	1,099	35.6	131	25.3	32	25.4
Prior convictions, felony								
Total	3,610	100.0	2,982	100.0	509	100.0	119	100.0
None	2,964	72.1	2,437	81.7	428	84.1	99	83.1
One	248	6.9	201	6.7	39	7.6	9	7.3
Two or more	398	11.0	344	11.5	42	8.3	12	9.7
Prior convictions, misdemeanor								
Total	3,620	100.0	2,992	100.0	509	100.0	119	100.0
None	2,133	58.9	1,705	57.0	353	69.3	76	63.7
One	268	7.4	222	7.4	25	4.9	20	16.9
Two or more	1,219	33.7	1,065	35.6	131	25.8	23	19.3
Prior convictions, serious personal								
Total	3,610	100.0	2,982	100.0	509	100.0	119	100.0
None	3,213	89.0	2,638	88.5	464	91.1	111	92.7
One	205	5.7	181	6.1	21	4.2	3	2.4
Two or more	193	5.2	163	5.5	24	4.7	6	4.8
Prior convictions, property								
Total	3,610	100.0	2,978	100.0	512	100.0	119	100.0
None	3,380	93.7	2,788	93.6	479	93.6	114	95.3
One	143	4.0	113	3.8	24	4.7	6	4.8
Two or more	86	2.4	78	2.6	9	1.7	0	0
Prior convictions, drug charges								
Total	3,606	100.0	2,978	100.0	509	100.0	119	100.0
None	3,106	86.1	2,590	87.0	417	82.0	99	83.1
One	234	6.5	165	5.5	55	10.8	14	12.1
Two or more	266	7.4	223	7.5	37	7.2	6	4.8
Prior convictions, weapons								
Total	3,613	100.0	2,985	100.0	509	100.0	119	100.0
None	3,225	89.3	2,639	88.4	475	93.4	111	92.7
One	206	5.7	190	6.4	13	2.5	3	2.4
Two or more	183	5.1	156	5.2	21	4.2	6	4.8

Table B4.3 The Distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selected prior criminal history attributes, by court

Criminal history attributes	Boston Municipal Court							
	Total		No drug charges		Possess.		Sales/manuf.	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior FTAs								
Total	3,646	100.0	3,070	100.0	509	100.0	120	100.0
None	2,272	62.3	1,824	60.5	363	71.4	85	70.4
One	339	9.3	305	10.1	21	4.2	13	10.4
Two or more	1,035	28.4	888	29.4	124	24.4	23	19.2
Outstanding warrants								
Total	3,661	100.01	3,022	100.0	516	100.0	123	100.0
None	3,001	82.0	2,439	80.7	456	88.4	106	85.9
One	374	10.2	332	11.0	31	6.0	12	9.4
Two or more	286	7.8	251	8.3	29	5.6	6	4.7
On probation or parole								
Total	3,667	100.0	3,020	100.0	518	100.0	129	100.0
No	3,097	84.5	2,523	83.5	457	88.3	118	91.0
Yes	569	15.5	497	16.5	61	11.7	12	9.0
On previous pretrial release								
Total	3,712	100.0	3,048	100.0	529	100.0	135	100.0
No	3,303	89.0	2,695	88.4	493	93.3	115	85.0
Yes	408	11.0	353	11.6	36	6.7	20	15.0
On previous pretrial release, felony								
Total	3,715	100.0	3,048	100.0	529	100.0	138	100.0
No	3,631	97.8	2,982	97.8	518	97.8	132	95.8
Yes	83	2.2	66	2.2	12	2.2	6	4.2

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial
process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by
selected prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Total		No drug charges		Misdem. drug chgs		Felony 3 drug chgs		Felony 2 or 1 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior arrests										
Total	1,945	100.0	1,756	100.0	181	100.0	n/a	100.0	n/a	100.0
None	706	36.3	622	35.4	84	44.7	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	261	13.4	237	13.5	24	12.8	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	978	50.3	898	5.1	80	42.6	n/a	0	n/a	0
Recent prior arrests										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	838	43.0	738	41.9	100	53.2	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	321	16.5	297	16.9	24	12.8	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	790	40.5	726	41.2	64	34.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior arrests, serious personal										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,624	83.3	1,456	82.7	168	89.4	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	209	10.7	196	11.2	12	6.4	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	116	6.0	108	6.2	8	4.3	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior arrests property										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,616	82.9	1,464	83.1	152	80.9	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	176	9.1	160	9.1	16	8.5	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	156	8.0	136	7.7	20	10.6	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior arrests, drug charges										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,432	73.5	1,291	73.3	140	74.5	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	213	10.9	205	11.6	8	4.3	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	305	15.6	265	15.0	40	21.3	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior arrests, weapons										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,688	86.6	1,532	87.0	156	83.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	201	10.3	712	9.8	28	14.9	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	60	3.1	56	3.2	4	2.1	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior convictions										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	930	47.7	822	46.7	108	57.4	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	225	11.5	217	12.3	8	4.3	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	794	40.7	722	41.0	72	38.3	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior convictions, felony										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,636	84.0	1,472	83.6	164	87.2	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	84	4.3	84	4.8	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	229	11.7	205	11.6	24	12.8	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior convictions, misdemeanor										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	982	50.4	866	49.2	116	61.7	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	249	12.8	241	13.7	8	4.3	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	718	36.8	654	37.1	64	34.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior convictions, serious personal										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,857	95.3	1,676	95.2	180	95.7	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	68	3.5	60	3.4	8	4.3	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	24	1.2	24	1.4	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior convictions, property										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,841	94.4	1,668	94.8	172	91.5	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	56	2.9	44	2.5	12	6.4	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	52	2.7	48	2.7	4	2.1	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior convictions, drug charges										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,584	81.3	1,436	81.5	148	78.7	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	176	9.1	160	9.1	16	8.5	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	188	9.7	164	9.3	24	12.8	n/a	0	n/a	0

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial
process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by
selected prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Total		No drug charges		Misdem. drug chgs		Felony 3 drug chgs		Felony 2 or 1 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior convictions, weapons										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,841	94.4	1,672	95.0	168	89.4	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	92	4.7	72	4.1	20	10.6	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	16	0.8	16	0.9	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Prior FTAs, felony										
Total	1,845	100.0	1,676	100.0	168	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,740	94.3	1,580	94.3	160	95.2	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	76	4.1	68	4.1	8	4.8	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	28	1.6	28	1.6	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Outstanding warrants										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
None	1,720	88.3	1,548	87.9	172	91.5	n/a	0	n/a	0
One	164	8.4	160	9.1	4	2.1	n/a	0	n/a	0
Two or more	64	3.3	52	3.0	12	6.4	n/a	0	n/a	0
On probation or parole										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
No	1,917	98.4	1,728	98.2	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Yes	32	1.6	32	1.8	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	0
On previous pretrial release										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
No	1,937	99.4	1,748	99.3	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Yes	12	0.6	12	0.7	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	0
On previous pretrial release, felony										
Total	1,949	100.0	1,760	100.0	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
No	1,941	99.6	1,752	99.5	188	100.0	n/a	0	n/a	0
Yes	8	0.4	8	0.5	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	0

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial
process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by
selected prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Dade County Circuit Court									
	Total		No drug charges		Misdem. drug chgs		Felony 3 drug chgs		Felony 2 or 1 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior arrests										
Total	2,266	100.0	1,678	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	905	39.9	636	37.9	12	34.8	54	45.5	203	46.8
One	364	16.0	278	16.6	5	13.0	22	18.2	59	13.6
Two or more	998	44.0	764	45.5	19	52.2	43	36.4	172	39.6
Recent prior arrests										
Total	2,266	100.0	1,678	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,088	48.0	772	46.0	15	43.5	60	50.6	240	55.4
One	404	17.8	303	18.1	8	21.7	26	22.1	67	15.4
Two or more	775	34.2	603	35.9	12	34.8	32	27.3	127	29.3
Prior arrests, serious personal										
Total	2,266	100.0	1,678	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,822	80.4	1,318	78.5	28	78.3	104	87.0	373	86.1
One	278	12.3	227	13.5	3	8.7	12	10.4	36	8.2
Two or more	166	7.3	133	7.9	5	13.0	3	2.6	25	5.7
Prior arrests property										
Total	2,268	100.0	1,680	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,830	80.7	1,315	78.3	31	87.0	105	88.3	379	87.5
One	238	10.5	192	11.4	3	8.7	8	6.5	36	8.2
Two or more	200	8.8	173	10.3	2	4.3	6	5.2	19	4.3
Prior arrests, drug charges										
Total	2,268	100.0	1,680	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,657	73.1	1,253	74.6	20	56.5	79	66.2	305	70.4
One	312	13.8	227	13.5	6	17.4	23	19.5	56	12.9
Two or more	299	13.2	200	11.9	9	26.1	17	14.3	73	16.8
Prior arrests, weapons										
Total	2,268	100.0	1,680	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,853	81.7	1,361	81.0	28	78.3	101	84.4	364	83.9
One	311	13.7	243	14.5	6	17.4	14	11.7	48	11.1
Two or more	104	4.6	76	4.5	2	4.3	5	3.9	22	5.0
Prior convictions										
Total	2,260	100.0	1,672	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,303	57.6	931	55.7	17	47.8	73	61.0	282	65.0
One	254	11.2	187	11.2	5	13.0	11	9.1	51	11.8
Two or more	704	31.1	554	33.1	14	39.1	36	29.9	101	23.2
Prior convictions, felony										
Total	2,266	100.0	1,680	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	432	100.0
None	1,805	79.7	1,316	78.4	29	82.6	94	79.2	365	84.6
One	111	4.9	85	5.1	3	8.7	8	6.5	15	3.6
Two or more	350	15.4	278	16.6	3	8.7	17	14.3	51	11.8
Prior convictions, misdemeanor										
Total	2,260	100.0	1,672	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,443	63.9	1,036	62.0	19	52.2	76	63.6	312	72.1
One	283	12.5	203	12.1	8	21.7	17	14.3	56	12.9
Two or more	534	23.6	433	25.9	9	26.1	26	22.1	65	15.0
Prior convictions, serious personal										
Total	2,268	100.0	1,680	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	2,161	95.3	1,586	94.4	34	95.7	114	96.1	427	98.6
One	80	3.5	68	4.1	2	4.3	5	3.9	6	1.4
Two or more	26	10.2	26	1.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prior convictions, property										
Total	2,268	100.0	1,680	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	2,085	92.0	1,516	90.2	36	100.0	113	94.8	421	97.1
One	102	4.5	90	5.3	0	0	3	2.6	9	2.1
Two or more	80	3.5	74	4.4	0	0	3	2.6	3	0.7
Prior convictions, drug charges										
Total	2,266	100.0	1,678	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,926	85.0	1,428	85.1	28	78.3	97	81.8	373	86.1
One	189	8.3	150	8.9	2	4.3	11	9.1	26	6.1
Two or more	152	6.7	101	6.0	6	17.4	11	9.1	34	7.9

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selected prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Total		No drug charges		Misdem. drug chgs		Felony 3 drug chgs		Felony 2 or 1 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior convictions. weapons										
Total	2,265	100.0	1,678	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	432	100.0
None	2,121	93.6	1,572	93.6	34	95.7	108	90.9	407	94.3
One	113	5.0	87	5.2	0	0	9	7.8	17	3.9
Two or more	31	1.4	20	1.2	2	4.3	2	1.3	8	1.8
Prior FTAs. felony										
Total	2,256	100.0	1,669	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	432	100.0
None	1,960	86.9	1,440	86.3	29	82.6	108	90.9	382	88.5
One	206	9.1	161	9.6	6	17.4	9	7.8	29	6.8
Two or more	90	3.9	68	4.1	0	0	2	1.3	20	4.7
Outstanding warrants										
Total	2,280	100.0	1,688	100.0	37	100.0	121	100.0	435	100.0
None	2,005	87.9	1,487	88.1	29	79.2	104	85.9	385	88.6
One	227	10.0	167	9.9	8	20.0	14	11.5	39	8.9
Two or more	48	2.1	34	2.0	0	0	3	2.6	11	2.5
On probation or parole										
Total	2,268	100.0	1,680	100.0	36	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
No	2,121	93.5	1,567	93.3	36	100.0	105	88.3	413	95.4
Yes	147	6.5	113	6.7	0	0	14	11.7	20	4.6
On previous pretrial release										
Total	2,274	100.0	1,682	100.0	37	100.0	122	100.0	433	100.0
No	2,239	98.4	1,654	98.3	37	100.0	121	98.7	427	98.6
Yes	36	1.6	28	1.7	0	0	2	1.3	6	1.4
On previous pretrial release. felony										
Total	2,274	100.0	1,682	100.0	37	100.0	122	100.0	433	100.0
No	2,246	98.8	1,660	98.7	37	100.0	121	98.7	429	98.9
Yes	28	1.2	22	1.3	0	0	2	1.3	5	1.1

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial
process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selec
prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Dade County - County and Circuit Court

Criminal history attributes	Total		No drug charges		Misdem. drug chgs		Felony 3 drug chgs		Felony 2 or 1 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior arrests										
Total	4,211	100.0	3,435	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,611	38.2	1,257	36.6	97	43.1	54	45.5	203	46.8
One	624	14.8	515	15.0	29	12.8	22	18.2	59	13.6
Two or more	1,976	46.9	1,662	48.4	99	44.1	43	36.4	172	39.6
Recent prior arrests										
Total	4,215	100.0	3,439	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	1,926	45.7	1,510	43.9	116	51.6	60	50.6	240	55.4
One	725	17.2	600	17.4	32	14.2	26	22.1	67	15.4
Two or more	1,565	37.1	1,329	38.7	77	34.2	32	27.3	127	29.3
Prior arrests, serious personal										
Total	4,215	100.0	3,439	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	3,446	81.8	2,774	80.7	196	87.6	104	87.0	373	86.1
One	487	11.6	424	12.3	15	6.8	12	10.4	36	8.2
Two or more	282	6.7	241	7.0	13	5.7	3	2.6	25	5.7
Prior arrests property										
Total	4,217	100.0	3,440	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	3,446	81.7	2,779	80.0	183	81.8	105	88.3	379	87.5
One	415	9.8	352	10.2	19	8.5	8	6.5	36	8.2
Two or more	356	8.4	310	9.0	22	9.6	6	5.2	19	4.3
Prior arrests, drug charges										
Total	4,217	100.0	3,440	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	3,088	73.2	2,544	74.0	160	71.6	79	66.2	305	70.4
One	525	12.5	432	12.6	14	6.3	23	19.5	56	12.9
Two or more	603	14.3	464	13.5	49	22.0	17	14.3	73	16.8
Prior arrests, weapons										
Total	4,217	100.0	3,440	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	3,542	85.0	2,893	84.1	184	82.2	101	84.4	364	83.9
One	511	12.1	415	12.1	34	15.3	14	11.7	48	11.1
Two or more	164	3.9	132	3.8	6	2.5	5	3.9	22	5.0
Prior convictions										
Total	4,209	100.0	3,433	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	2,233	53.1	1,753	51.1	125	55.9	73	61.0	282	65.0
One	478	11.4	404	11.8	13	5.7	11	9.1	51	11.8
Two or more	1,498	35.6	1,276	37.2	86	38.4	36	29.9	101	23.2
Prior convictions, felony										
Total	4,215	100.0	3,439	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	432	100.0
None	3,441	81.6	2,788	81.0	194	86.5	94	79.2	365	84.6
One	196	4.6	169	4.9	3	1.4	8	6.5	15	3.6
Two or more	578	13.7	483	14.0	27	12.1	17	14.3	51	11.8
Prior convictions, misdemeanor										
Total	4,209	100.0	3,433	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	2,426	57.6	1,903	55.4	135	60.2	76	63.6	312	72.1
One	532	12.6	443	12.9	16	7.0	17	14.3	56	12.9
Two or more	1,352	29.7	1,087	31.7	73	32.8	26	22.1	65	15.0
Prior convictions, serious personal										
Total	4,217	100.0	3,440	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	4,018	95.3	3,262	94.8	214	95.7	114	96.1	427	98.6
One	149	3.5	128	3.7	10	4.3	5	3.9	6	1.4
Two or more	50	1.2	50	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prior convictions, property										
Total	4,217	100.0	3,440	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	3,926	93.1	3,184	92.6	208	92.8	113	94.8	421	97.1
One	158	3.8	134	3.9	12	5.4	3	2.6	9	2.1
Two or more	133	3.1	122	3.6	4	1.8	3	2.6	3	0.7
Prior convictions, drug charges										
Total	4,215	100.0	3,439	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
None	3,510	83.3	2,863	83.3	176	78.6	97	81.8	373	86.1
One	365	8.7	310	9.0	18	7.8	11	9.1	26	6.1
Two or more	340	8.1	265	7.7	30	13.5	11	9.1	34	7.9

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial
process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selec
prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Total		No drug charges		Misdem. drug chgs		Felony 3 drug chgs		Felony 2 or 1 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior convictions, weapons										
Total	4,214	100.0	3,439	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	432	100.0
None	3,962	94.0	3,244	93.3	202	90.4	108	90.9	407	94.3
One	205	4.9	159	4.6	20	8.9	9	7.8	17	3.9
Two or more	47	1.1	36	1.1	2	0.7	2	1.3	8	1.8
Prior FTAs										
Total	4,100	100.0	3,345	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	432	100.0
None	3,700	90.3	3,020	90.3	190	93.0	109	90.9	382	88.5
One	282	6.9	229	6.8	14	7.0	9	7.8	29	6.8
Two or more	118	2.9	96	2.8	0	0	2	1.3	20	4.7
Outstanding warrants										
Total	4,229	100.0	3,448	100.0	226	100.0	121	100.0	435	100.0
None	3,725	88.1	3,035	88.0	202	89.5	104	85.9	385	88.6
One	392	9.3	327	9.5	12	5.2	14	11.5	39	8.9
Two or more	112	2.7	86	2.5	12	5.3	3	2.6	11	2.5
On probation or parole										
Total	4,217	100.0	3,440	100.0	224	100.0	119	100.0	433	100.0
No	4,038	95.8	3,295	95.8	224	100.0	105	88.3	413	95.4
Yes	179	4.2	145	4.2	0	0	14	11.7	20	4.6
On previous pretrial release										
Total	4,223	100.0	3,442	100.0	226	100.0	122	100.0	433	100.0
No	4,175	98.9	3,402	98.8	226	100.0	121	98.7	427	98.6
Yes	48	1.1	50	1.2	0	0	2	1.3	6	1.4
On previous pretrial release, felony										
Total	4,223	100.0	3,442	100.0	226	100.0	122	100.0	433	100.0
No	4,187	99.2	3,412	99.1	226	100.0	121	98.7	429	98.9
Yes	36	0.8	30	0.9	0	0	2	1.3	5	1.1

Dade County - County and Circuit Court

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selected prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Total		No drug charges		≤Felony 6 drug chgs		≥Felony 5 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior arrests								
Total	2,225	100.0	1,742	100.0	157	100.0	326	100.0
None	896	40.3	707	40.6	54	34.4	135	41.4
One	474	21.3	371	21.3	33	21.0	70	21.5
Two or more	855	38.4	664	38.1	70	44.6	121	37.1
Recent prior arrests								
Total	2,175	100.0	1,702	100.0	152	100.0	321	100.0
None	1,091	50.2	849	49.9	72	47.4	170	53.0
One	494	22.7	398	23.4	27	17.8	69	21.5
Two or more	590	27.1	455	26.7	53	34.9	82	25.5
Prior arrests, serious personal								
Total	2,214	100.0	1,734	100.0	157	100.0	323	100.0
None	1,818	82.1	1,411	81.4	132	84.1	275	85.1
One	265	12.0	215	12.4	15	9.6	35	10.8
Two or more	131	5.9	108	6.2	10	6.4	13	4.0
Prior arrests property								
Total	2,211	100.0	1,732	100.0	156	100.0	323	100.0
None	1,847	83.5	1,440	83.1	131	84.0	276	85.4
One	237	10.7	191	11.0	16	10.3	30	9.3
Two or more	127	5.7	101	5.8	9	5.8	17	5.3
Prior arrests, drug charges								
Total	2,212	100.0	1,732	100.0	156	100.0	324	100.0
None	1,522	68.8	1,245	71.9	83	53.2	914	59.9
One	412	18.6	302	17.4	40	25.6	70	21.6
Two or more	278	12.6	185	10.7	33	21.2	60	18.5
Prior arrests, weapons								
Total	2,207	100.0	1,728	100.0	156	100.0	323	100.0
None	2,070	93.8	1,614	93.4	149	95.5	307	95.0
One	103	4.7	84	4.9	5	3.2	14	4.3
Two or more	34	1.5	30	1.7	2	1.3	2	0.6
Prior convictions								
Total	2,194	100.0	1,714	100.0	156	100.0	324	100.0
None	1,149	52.4	909	53.0	70	44.9	170	52.2
One	444	20.2	343	20.0	32	20.5	69	21.3
Two or more	601	27.4	462	27.0	54	34.6	85	26.2
Prior convictions, felony								
Total	2,142	100.0	1,671	100.0	153	100.0	318	100.0
None	1,477	69.0	1,160	69.4	104	68.0	213	67.0
One	331	15.5	259	15.5	19	.12.4	53	16.7
Two or more	334	15.6	252	15.1	30	19.6	52	16.4
Prior convictions, misdemeanor								
Total	2,121	100.0	1,652	100.0	152	100.0	317	100.0
None	1,549	73.0	1,220	73.8	94	61.8	235	74.1
One	346	16.3	254	15.4	35	23.0	57	18.0
Two or more	226	10.7	178	10.8	23	15.1	25	7.9
Prior convictions, serious personal								
Total	2,211	100.0	1,733	100.0	156	100.0	322	100.0
None	1,985	89.8	1,545	89.2	144	92.3	296	91.9
One	167	7.6	137	7.9	10	6.4	20	6.2
Two or more	59	2.7	51	2.9	2	1.3	6	1.9
Prior convictions, property								
Total	2,211	100.0	1,732	100.0	157	100.0	322	100.0
None	1,960	88.6	1,527	88.2	141	89.8	292	90.7
One	182	8.2	145	8.4	12	7.6	25	7.8
Two or more	69	3.1	60	3.5	4	2.5	5	1.6
Prior convictions, drug charges								
Total	2,194	100.0	1,716	100.0	155	100.0	323	100.0
None	1,708	77.8	1,372	80.0	100	64.5	236	73.1
One	305	13.9	217	12.6	32	20.6	56	17.3
Two or more	181	8.2	127	7.4	23	14.8	31	9.6

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selected prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Maricopa County Superior Court							
	Total		No drug charges		≤Felony 6 drug chgs		≥Felony 5 drug chgs	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior convictions, weapons								
Total	2,211	100.0	1,731	100.0	157	100.0	323	100.0
None	2,136	96.6	1,668	96.4	155	98.7	313	96.9
One	68	3.1	57	3.3	2	1.3	9	2.8
Two or more	7	0.3	6	0.3	0	0	1	0.3
Prior FTAs								
Total	2,213	100.0	1,733	100.0	155	100.0	325	100.0
None	1,924	86.9	1,491	86.0	133	85.8	300	92.3
One	206	9.3	168	9.7	15	9.7	23	7.1
Two or more	83	3.8	74	4.3	7	4.5	2	0.6
Outstanding warrants								
Total	2,221	100.0	1,737	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
None	1,831	82.4	1,409	81.1	135	85.4	287	88.0
One	304	13.7	255	14.7	19	12.0	30	9.2
Two or more	86	3.9	73	4.2	4	2.5	9	2.8
On probation or parole								
Total	2,221	100.0	1,737	100.0	158	100.0	326	100.0
No	1,887	84.9	1,479	85.0	133	84.2	275	84.6
Yes	334	15.1	260	15.0	25	15.8	49	15.4
On previous pretrial release								
Total	2,210	100.0	1.730	100.0	156	100.0	324	100.0
No	2,017	91.3	1,580	91.3	142	91.0	295	91.0
Yes	193	8.7	150	8.7	14	9.0	29	9.0
On previous pretrial release, felony								
Total	2,210	100.0	1.730	100.0	156	100.0	324	100.0
No	2,091	94.6	1,640	94.8	148	94.9	303	93.5
Yes	119	5.4	90	5.2	8	5.1	21	6.5

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by selected prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Suffolk County Superior Court

Criminal history attributes	Total N	P	No drug charges N	P	Possess. N	P	Sales/manuf. N	P
Prior arrests								
Total	319	100.0	241	100.0	5	100.0	73	100.0
None	62	19.4	46	19.1	0	0	16	21.9
One	51	16.0	37	15.4	1	20.0	13	17.8
Two or more	206	64.6	158	65.6	4	80.0	44	60.3
Recent prior arrests								
Total	348	100.0	261	100.0	5	100.0	82	100.0
None	88	25.3	62	23.8	1	20.0	25	30.5
One	72	20.7	50	19.2	3	60.0	19	23.2
Two or more	188	54.0	149	57.1	1	20.0	38	46.3
Prior arrests, serious personal								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	154	48.5	100	42.4	3	60.0	54	72.9
One	38	12.2	29	12.3	0	0	9	12.9
Two or more	119	38.3	107	45.3	2	40.0	10	14.3
Prior arrests property								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	241	77.5	172	72.9	5	100.0	64	91.4
One	41	13.2	39	16.5	0	0	2	2.9
Two or more	29	9.3	25	10.6	0	0	4	5.7
Prior arrests, drug charges								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	183	58.8	152	64.4	3	60.0	28	40.0
One	49	15.8	42	17.8	0	0	7	10.0
Two or more	79	25.4	42	17.8	2	40.0	35	50.0
Prior arrests, weapons								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	169	54.3	117	49.6	2	40.0	50	71.4
One	35	11.3	23	9.7	2	40.0	10	14.3
Two or more	107	34.4	96	40.7	1	20.0	10	14.3
Prior convictions								
Total	314	100.0	237	100.0	5	100.0	72	100.0
None	115	36.6	82	34.6	1	20.0	32	44.4
One	31	9.9	24	10.1	0	0	7	9.7
Two or more	168	53.5	131	55.3	4	80.0	33	45.8
Prior convictions, felony								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	200	64.3	138	58.5	3	60.0	59	84.3
One	34	10.9	29	12.3	0	0	5	7.1
Two or more	77	24.8	69	29.2	2	40.0	6	8.6
Prior convictions, misdemeanor								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	132	42.4	98	41.5	2	40.0	32	45.7
One	28	9.0	22	9.3	1	20.0	5	7.1
Two or more	151	48.6	116	49.2	2	40.0	33	47.1
Prior convictions, serious personal								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	211	67.8	148	62.7	3	60.0	60	85.7
One	39	12.5	33	14.0	0	0	6	8.6
Two or more	61	19.6	55	23.3	2	40.0	4	5.7
Prior convictions, property								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	266	85.5	196	83.1	5	100.0	65	92.9
One	25	8.0	24	10.2	0	0	1	1.4
Two or more	20	6.4	16	6.8	0	0	4	5.7
Prior convictions, drug charges								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	239	76.8	188	79.7	5	100.0	46	65.7
One	30	9.6	21	8.9	0	0	9	12.9
Two or more	42	13.5	27	11.4	0	0	15	21.4

Table B4.3 The distribution of drug charges among defendants entering the judicial
process during study periods in 1984, by seriousness of drug charges, by
selected prior criminal history attributes, by court (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Suffolk County Superior Court							
	Total		No drug charges		Possess		Sales/manuf.	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior convictions, weapons								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	215	69.1	152	64.4	2	50.0	71	87.1
One	38	12.2	33	14.0	2	40.0	3	4.3
Two or more	58	18.6	51	21.6	1	20.0	6	8.6
Prior FTAs								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	171	55.0	132	55.9	5	1.0	34	48.6
One	42	13.5	28	11.9	0	0	14	20.0
Two or more	98	31.5	76	32.2	0	0	22	31.4
Outstanding warrants								
Total	311	100.0	236	100.0	5	100.0	70	100.0
None	248	79.7	189	80.1	5	100.0	54	77.1
One	33	10.6	25	10.6	0	0	8	11.4
Two or more	30	9.6	22	9.3	0	0	8	11.4
On probation or parole								
Total	300	100.0	227	100.0	5	100.0	68	100.0
No	225	85.0	185	81.5	4	80.0	66	97.1
Yes	45	15.0	42	18.5	1	20.0	2	2.9
On previous pretrial release								
Total	294	100.0	222	100.0	5	100.0	67	100.0
No	245	93.3	188	84.7	4	80.0	53	79.1
Yes	49	16.7	34	15.3	1	20.0	14	20.9
On previous pretrial release, felony								
Total	294	100.0	222	100.0	5	100.0	67	100.0
No	267	90.8	198	89.2	4	80.0	65	97.0
Yes	27	9.2	24	10.8	1	20.0	2	3.0

Table B5.1   Pretrial release and detention among 1984 sample defendants, by drug charges, by court

Pretrial release measures	Boston Municipal Court						Suffolk County Superior Court					
	Total		No drug charges		Drug charges		Total		No drug charges		Drug charges	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Nonfinancial vs financial release												
Total	4,423	100.0	3,644	100.0	779	100.0	328	100.0	237	100.0	91	100.0
Nonfinancial	3,130	70.8	2,563	70.3	567	72.8	149	45.4	120	50.6	29	31.9
Financial	1,293	29.2	1,081	29.7	212	27.2	179	54.6	117	49.4	62	68.1
Bail/bond (ROR as $0)												
Median ($)	4,414	$0	3,638	$0	776	$0	326	$300	235	$0	91	$500
Released within 2 days												
Total	4,580	100.0	3,761	100.0	818	100.0	356	100.0	261	100.0	95	100.0
Not released	667	14.6	578	15.4	89	10.9	140	39.3	110	42.1	30	31.6
Released	3,913	85.4	3,184	84.6	729	89.1	216	60.7	151	57.9	65	68.4
Released within 90 days												
Total	4,580	100.0	3,761	100.0	818	100.0	356	100.0	261	100.0	95	100.0
Not released	263	5.7	227	6.0	35	4.3	101	28.4	81	31.0	20	21.1
Released	4,318	94.3	3,534	94.0	784	95.7	255	71.6	180	69.0	75	78.9
Means of release												
Total	4,105	100.0	3,354	100.0	752	100.0	248	100.0	175	100.0	73	100.0
Paid own bond	799	19.5	653	19.5	147	19.5	67	27.0	33	18.9	34	46.6
Surety release	290	7.1	248	7.4	41	5.5	36	14.5	28	16.0	8	11.0
Third party	15	0.4	9	0.3	6	0.8	1	0.4	1	0.6	0	0
OR	3,002	73.1	2,444	72.9	558	74.2	139	56.0	109	62.3	30	41.1
Other							5	2.0	4	2.3	1	1.4

Table B5.1   Pretrial release and detention among 1984 sample defendants, by drug charges, by court (cont'd)

Pretrial release measures	Dade County Court						Dade County Circuit Court					
	Total		No drug charges		Drug charges		Total		No drug charges		Drug charges	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Nonfinancial vs financial release												
Total	970	100.0	838	100.0	132	100.0	1,776	100.0	1,299	100.0	476	100.0
Nonfinancial	614	63.2	521	62.2	92	69.7	1,219	68.6	924	71.1	295	62.0
Financial	357	36.8	317	37.8	40	30.3	557	31.4	376	28.9	181	38.0
Bail/bond (ROR as $0)												
Median ($)	970	$0	838	$0	132	$0	1,774	$0	1,299	$0	475	$0
Released within 2 days												
Total	1,977	100.0	1,788	100.0	188	100.0	2,308	100.0	1,703	100.0	605	100.0
Not released	742	37.5	682	38.1	60	31.9	787	34.1	605	35.5	183	30.2
Released	1,235	62.5	1,107	61.9	128	68.1	1,521	65.9	1,098	64.5	422	69.8
Released within 90 days												
Total	1,973	100.0	1,784	100.0	188	100.0	2,294	100.0	1,691	100.0	603	100.0
Not released	682	34.6	630	35.3	52	27.7	438	19.1	354	21.0	84	13.8
Released	1,291	65.4	1,155	64.7	136	72.3	1,856	80.9	1,337	79.0	520	86.2
Means of release												
Total	1,299	100.0	1,159	100.0	140	100.0	1,957	100.0	1,422	100.0	535	100.0
Paid own bond	148	11.1	144	12.5	4	2.9	153	7.8	107	7.5	46	8.7
Surety release	72	5.6	60	5.2	12	8.6	532	27.2	354	24.9	178	33.2
Third party	36	2.8	32	2.8	4	2.9	359	18.3	206	14.5	153	28.6
PTS adm order							34	1.7	28	2.0	6	1.2
PTS low risk	12	0.9	12	1.0			487	24.9	401	28.2	87	16.2
PTS supervised							101	5.1	87	6.1	14	2.6
Other	1,031	79.3	910	78.5	120	85.7	291	14.9	240	16.9	51	9.5

Table B5.1   Pretrial release and detention among 1984 sample defendants, by drug
charges, by court (cont'd)

Pretrial release measures	Maricopa County Superior Court					
	Total		No drug charges		Drug charges	
	N	P	N	P	N	P
Nonfinancial vs financial release						
Total	2,188	100.0	1,709	100.0	479	100.0
Nonfinancial	892	40.8	649	38.0	243	50.7
Financial	1,296	59.2	1,060	62.0	236	49.3
Bail/bond (ROR as $0)						
Median ($)	2,179	$685	1,703	$822	476	$0
Released within 2 days						
Total	2,207	100.0	1,727	100.0	480	100.0
Not released	1,180	53.5	992	57.4	188	39.2
Released	1,027	46.5	735	42.6	292	60.8
Released within 90 days						
Total	2,207	100.0	1,727	100.0	480	100.0
Not released	1,008	45.7	851	49.3	157	32.7
Released	1,199	54.3	876	50.7	323	67.3
Means of release						
Total	1,202	100.0	877	100.0	325	100.0
Paid own bond	78	6.5	48	5.5	30	9.2
Surety release	100	8.3	73	8.3	27	8.3
Third party	199	16.6	164	18.7	35	10.8
OR	789	65.6	564	64.3	225	69.2
Other	36	3.0	28	3.2	8	2.5

Table B5.2 Defendant misconduct during pretrial release among 1984 sample defendants, by drug charges, by court

| Defendant misconduct | Boston Municipal Court | | | | | | Suffolk County Superior Court | | | | | |
| | Total | | No drug charges | | Drug charges | | Total | | No drug charges | | Drug charges | |
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Failure of appear, of released												
Total	4,318	100.0	3,534	100.0	784	100.0	265	100.0	190	100.0	75	100.0
No	3,397	78.7	2,740	77.5	657	83.9	255	96.2	183	96.3	72	96.0
Yes	921	21.3	794	22.5	126	16.1	10	3.8	7	3.7	3	4.0
Rearrest, of released												
Total	915	100.0	714	100.0	200	100.0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
No	785	85.8	600	84.0	185	92.3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Yes	129	14.2	114	16.0	15	7.7	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rearrest on serious offenses, of released												
Total	915	100.0	714	100.0	200	100.0	249	100.0	176	100.0	73	100.0
No	903	98.7	706	98.9	197	98.1	249	100.0	176	100.0	73	100.0
Yes	12	1.3	9	1.1	4	1.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Failure (FTA or rearrest), of released												
Total	915	100.0	611	100.0	304	100.0	100	100.0	78	100.0	22	100.0
No	714	78.1	468	76.7	246	81.0	98	98.0	76	97.4	0	100.0
Yes	200	21.9	143	23.3	58	19.0	2	2.0	2	2.6	0	0

Table B5.2   Defendant misconduct during pretrial release among 1984 sample defendants, by drug charges, by court

Defendant misconduct	Dade County Court						Dade County Circuit Court					
	Total		No drug charges		Drug charges		Total		No drug charges		Drug charges	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Failure of appear, of released												
Total	1,283	100.0	1,147	100.0	136	100.0	1,839	100.0	1,323	100.0	516	100.0
No	886	69.0	778	68.0	108	79.0	1,640	89.0	1,166	88.0	473	92.0
Yes	397	31.0	369	32.0	28	21.0	200	11.0	156	12.0	43	8.0
Rearrest, of released												
Total	1,259	100.0	1,126	100.0	132	100.0	1,819	100.0	1,312	100.0	507	100.0
No	1,091	87.0	962	85.0	128	97.0	1,706	94.0	1,216	93.0	490	97.0
Yes	168	13.0	164	15.0	4	3.0	113	6.0	96	7.0	17	3.0
Rearrest on serious offenses, of released												
Total	1,291	100.0	1,144	100.0	136	100.0	1,861	100.0	1,340	100.0	521	100.0
No	1,275	98.8	1,139	1.4	0	0	1,824	98.0	1,306	97.5	518	99.4
Yes	16	1.2	16	1.4	0	0	37	2.0	34	2.5	3	0.6
Failure (FTA or rearrest), of released												
Total	1,291	100.0	1,144	100.0	136	100.0	1,856	100.0	1,337	100.0	519	100.0
No	802	62.0	698	60.0	104	93.0	1,573	85.0	1,111	83.0	463	89.0
Yes	489	38.0	457	40.0	32	3.0	283	15.0	226	17.0	57	11.0

Table B5.2   Defendant misconduct during pretrial release among 1984 sample
defendants, by drug charges, by court (cont'd)

Defendant misconduct	Maricopa County Superior Court					
	Total		No drug charges		Drug charges	
	N	P	N	P	N	P
Failure of appear, of released						
Total	1,205	100.0	879	100.0	327	100.0
No	1,111	92.2	802	91.3	309	94.5
Yes	94	7.8	76	8.7	18	5.5
Rearrest, of released						
Total	1,204	100.0	877	100.0	327	100.0
No	1,068	88.7	785	89.5	283	86.5
Yes	136	11.3	92	10.5	44	13.5
Rearrest on serious offenses, of released						
Total	1,204	100.0	877	100.0	327	100.0
No	1,171	97.3	849	96.8	322	95.5
Yes	33	2.7	28	3.2	5	1.5
Failure (FTA or rearrest), of released						
Total	1,211	100.0	883	100.0	328	100.0
No	1,004	82.9	732	82.9	272	82.9
Yes	207	17.1	151	17.1	56	17.1

Table B6.2   Pretrial release and detention among Dade County Felony defendants, by drug charges, by study period (1984 v. 1987)

| Pretrial release measures | 1984 Felony Defendants | | | | | | 1987 Felony Defendants | | | | | |
| | Total | | No drug charges | | Drug charges | | Total | | No drug charges | | Drug charges | |
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Nonfinancial vs financial release												
Total	1,776	100.0	1,299	100.0	476	100.0	2,546	100.0	1,681	100.0	865	100.0
Nonfinancial	1,219	68.6	924	71.1	295	62.0	1,199	47.1	722	43.0	477	55.1
Financial	557	31.4	376	28.9	181	38.0	1,347	52.9	959	57.0	388	44.9
Bail/bond (ROR as $0)												
Median ($)	1,774	$0	1,299	$0	475	$0	2,543	$1,000	1,677	$1,500	850	0
Released within 2 days												
Total	2,308	100.0	1,703	100.0	605	100.0	2,529	100.0	1,672	100.0	857	100.0
Not released	787	34.1	605	35.5	183	30.2	1,416	56.0	960	57.4	456	53.2
Released	1,521	65.9	1,098	64.5	422	69.8	1,113	44.0	712	42.6	401	46.8
Released within 90 days												
Total	2,294	100.0	1.691	100.0	603	100.0	2,529	100.0	1,672	100.0	857	100.0
Not released	438	19.1	354	21.0	84	13.8	657	26.0	455	27.2	202	23.6
Released	1,856	80.9	1,337	79.0	520	86.2	1,872	74.0	1,217	72.8	655	76.4
Means of release												
Total	1,957	100.0	1,422	100.0	535	100.0	1,842	100.0	1,194	100.0	648	100.0
Paid own bond	153	7.8	107	7.5	46	8.7	141	7.7	101	8.5	40	6.2
Surety release	532	27.2	354	24.9	178	33.2	352	19.1	243	20.4	109	16.8
Third party	359	18.3	206	14.5	153	28.6	96	5.2	68	5.7	28	4.3
PTS adm order	34	1.7	28	2.0	6	1.2	314	17.0	170	14.2	144	22.2
PTS low risk	487	24.9	401	28.2	87	16.2	449	24.4	345	28.9	104	16.0
PTS supervised	101	5.1	87	6.1	14	2.6	207	11.2	108	9.0	99	15.3
Other	291	14.9	240	16.9	51	9.5	283	15.4	159	13.3	124	19.1

Table B6.5 Drug related cases among entering felony defendants in Dade County, June-July 1987, by prior criminal history attributes

Criminal history attributes	Total		No drug chgs./neg.		No drug chgs./pos.		Drg chgs. test neg.		Drg chgs. test pos.	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior arrests										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	459	24.8	161	43.6	130	16.0	45	47.4	123	21.5
One	250	13.5	61	16.5	88	10.8	19	20.0	82	14.3
Two or more	1,141	61.7	147	39.8	595	73.2	31	32.6	368	64.2
Recent prior arrests										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	603	32.6	186	50.4	184	22.6	49	51.6	184	32.1
One	309	16.7	67	18.2	119	14.6	25	26.3	98	17.1
Two or more	938	50.7	116	31.4	510	62.7	21	22.1	291	50.8
Prior arrests, serious personal										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,298	70.2	290	78.6	511	62.9	79	83.2	418	72.9
One	321	17.4	45	12.2	171	21.0	9	9.5	96	16.8
Two or more	231	12.5	34	9.2	131	16.1	7	7.4	59	10.3
Prior arrests property										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,128	61.0	287	77.8	377	46.4	77	81.1	387	67.5
One	287	15.5	40	10.8	160	19.7	6	6.3	81	14.1
Two or more	435	23.5	42	11.4	276	33.9	12	12.6	105	18.3
Prior arrests, drug charges										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,123	60.7	310	84.0	458	56.3	72	75.8	283	49.4
One	344	18.6	42	11.4	188	23.1	13	13.7	101	17.6
Two or more	383	20.7	17	4.6	167	20.5	10	10.5	189	33.0
Prior arrests, drug possession										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,145	61.9	313	84.8	467	57.4	72	75.8	293	51.1
One	379	20.5	41	11.1	209	25.7	14	14.7	115	20.1
Two or more	326	17.6	15	4.1	137	16.9	9	9.5	165	28.8
Prior arrests, drug manufacture-sale-distribution										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,643	88.8	360	97.6	731	89.9	91	95.8	461	80.5
One	148	8.0	8	2.2	55	6.8	1	1.1	84	14.7
Two or more	59	3.2	1	0.3	27	3.3	3	3.2	28	4.9
Prior arrests, weapons										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,467	79.3	316	85.6	618	76.0	84	88.4	449	78.4
One	266	14.4	34	9.2	136	16.7	8	8.4	88	15.4
Two or more	117	6.3	19	5.1	59	7.3	3	3.2	36	6.3
Prior convictions										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	883	47.7	253	68.6	807	37.8	71	74.7	252	44.0
One	209	11.3	33	8.9	98	12.1	7	7.4	71	12.4
Two or more	758	41.0	83	22.5	408	50.2	17	17.9	250	43.6
Prior convictions, felony										
Total	1,849	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	572	100.0
None	1,261	68.2	319	86.4	490	60.3	78	82.1	374	65.4
One	141	7.6	15	4.1	74	9.2	6	6.3	45	7.9
Two or more	447	24.2	35	9.5	248	30.5	11	11.6	153	26.7
Prior convictions, misdemeanor										
Total	1,849	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	572	100.0
None	1,010	54.6	268	72.6	361	44.4	74	77.9	307	53.7
One	261	14.1	39	10.6	131	16.1	8	8.4	83	14.5
Two or more	578	31.3	62	16.8	321	39.5	13	13.7	182	31.8
Prior convictions, serious personal										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,683	91.0	348	94.3	719	88.4	91	95.8	525	91.6
One	123	6.6	18	4.9	66	8.1	3	3.2	36	6.3
Two or more	44	2.4	3	0.8	28	3.4	1	1.1	12	2.1
Prior convictions, property										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,519	82.1	346	93.8	590	72.6	86	90.5	497	86.7
One	139	7.5	11	3.0	94	11.6	3	3.2	31	5.4
Two or more	192	10.4	12	3.3	129	15.9	6	6.3	45	7.9

Table B6.5   Drug related cases among entering felony defendants in Dade County,
              June-July 1987, by prior criminal history attributes (cont'd)

Criminal history attributes	Drug charges and cocaine use									
	Total		No drug chgs./neg.		No drug chgs./pos.		Drg chgs test neg.		Drg chgs test pos.	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Prior convictions, drug charges										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,496	80.9	350	94.9	640	78.7	88	92.6	418	72.9
One	174	9.4	13	3.5	96	11.8	3	3.2	62	10.8
Two or more	180	9.7	6	1.6	77	9.5	4	4.2	93	16.2
Prior convictions, drug possession										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,519	82.1	350	94.9	657	80.8	88	92.6	424	74.0
One	192	10.4	15	4.1	97	11.9	3	3.2	77	13.4
Two or more	139	7.5	4	1.1	59	7.3	4	4.2	72	12.6
Prior convictions, manufacture-sale-distribution										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,751	94.6	365	98.9	769	94.6	92	96.8	525	91.6
One	74	4.0	4	1.1	33	4.1	2	2.1	35	6.1
Two or more	25	1.4	0	0	11	1.4	1	1.1	13	2.3
Prior convictions, weapons										
Total	1,850	100.0	369	100.0	813	100.0	95	100.0	573	100.0
None	1,700	91.9	348	94.3	737	90.7	91	95.8	524	91.4
One	116	6.3	16	4.3	64	7.9	2	2.1	34	5.9
Two or more	34	1.8	5	1.4	12	1.5	2	2.1	15	2.6
Prior FTAs										
Total	1,861	100.0	373	100.0	816	100.0	96	100.0	576	100.0
No	1,540	82.8	347	93.0	636	77.9	89	92.7	468	81.3
Yes	321	17.2	26	7.0	180	22.1	7	7.3	108	18.8
Outstanding warrants										
Total	1,846	100.0	368	100.0	811	100.0	95	100.0	572	100.0
None	1,460	79.1	331	89.9	595	73.4	88	92.6	446	78.0
One	119	6.4	13	3.5	61	7.5	2	2.1	43	7.5
Two or more	267	14.5	24	6.5	155	19.1	5	5.3	83	14.5
On probation or parole										
Total	1,342	100.0	205	100.0	651	100.0	49	100.0	437	100.0
No	1,205	89.8	188	91.7	574	88.2	46	93.9	397	90.8
Yes	137	10.2	17	8.3	77	11.8	3	6.1	40	9.2
On previous pretrial release										
Total	1,772	100.0	348	100.0	780	100.0	92	100.0	552	100.0
No	1,348	76.1	296	85.1	554	71.0	74	80.4	424	76.8
Yes	424	23.9	52	14.9	226	29.0	18	19.6	128	23.2
On previous pretrial release, felony										
Total	1,772	100.0	348	100.0	780	100.0	92	100.0	552	100.0
No	1,537	86.7	326	93.7	658	84.4	84	91.3	469	85.0
Yes	235	13.3	22	6.3	122	15.6	8	8.7	83	15.0

Appendix C
Supplemental Multivariate Tables

Table C4.4   Multivariate modeling of drug charges among Dade County felony defendants, 1984:
             regression and logit results

Dependent variable:	Total n:	Number with Drug charges:
Drug charges vs. no drug charges	2,308	605

Regression analysis: Logit analysis:
    Independent variables:
        Non-Index charges
        No Theft charges
        No Weapons involved
        No Assault charges
        History of cocaine abuse
        No Injury to victim
    Results:
        r^2 = .39 p = .00   Not Successful
        (Missing = 0)

Index offense entering last:
        No Theft charges
        No Weapons involved
        No Injury to victim
        No Assault charges
        History of cocaine abuse
        r^2 = .26 p = .00   Not Successful
        Non-Index charges
    Results:
        r^2 = .39 p = .00   Not Successful
        (Missing = 0)

Table C4.5   Multivariate modeling of drug charges among Maricopa County felony defendants, 1984: regression and logit results

Dependent variable:	Total n:	Number with Drug charges:
Drug charges vs. no drug charges	2,232	487

Regression analysis: Logit analysis:
    Independent variables:
        Non-Index charges
        No Theft charges
        No Driving while intoxicated
        Prior arrests on drug charges
        History of marijuana abuse
    Results:
        r^2 = .25 p = .00   Not Successful
        (Missing=17)

Index offense entering last:
        No Theft charges
        History of marijuana abuse
        No Driving while intoxicated charges
        Prior arrests on drug charges
        r^2 = .08 p = .00   Not Successful
        Non-Index charges
    Results:
        r^2 = .25 p = .00   Not Successful
        (Missing=17)

Table C4.6   Multivariate modeling of drug charges among Boston Municipal Court defendants, 1984: regression and logit results

Dependent variable:	Total n:	Number with Drug charges:
Drug charges v. no drug charges	4,580	818

Regression analysis: **Logit analysis:**
  Independent variables:
    History of marijuana abuse
    No Theft charges
    Non-Index charges
    Male defendant
    No Driving under the influence
    No Prior convictions
    History of substance abuse
  Results:
    $r^2 = .22$ $p = .00$ Not Successful
    (Missing = 0)

Table C6.1   Multivariate modeling of drug charges among Dade County felony defendants, 1987: regression and logit results

Dependent variable:*	Total n:	Number with Drug charges:
Drug charges vs. no drug charges	2,566	867

Regression analysis:	Logit analysis:
Independent variables:	Variables in final model:
Non-Index charges	Non-Index charges
No Theft charges	No Theft charges
No Burglary charges	No Burglary charges
No Injury to victim	No Injury to victim
No Assault charges	No Assault charges
	Two or more prior drug arrests
Results:	
r^2 = .45 p = .00	Goodness-of-fit Chi-sq = 42.80
(Missing = 9)	DF = 44 P value = .523

Table C6.3   Multivariate modeling of cocaine use among Dade County felony defendants, 1987:
              regression and logit results

Dependent variable:	Total n:	Number testing positive:
Cocaine use vs. no cocaine use	1870	867

Regression analysis: Logit analysis:

Independent variables:

Two or more prior arrests	Two or more prior arrests
No assault charges	Current drug charges
Cocaine abuse within the past year	Two or more recent prior arrests
Two or more prior drug arrests	Two or more prior felony convictions
No weapons invovled	No person victims
Any prior convictions	Any prior felony FTA's
Marital status single	Marital status single
Two or more outstanding warrants	
Marijuana abuse within the past year	
Non-Index charges	

Results:

r^2 = .16 p = .00   Goodness-of-fit Chi-sq = 182.76
(Missing = 9)   DF = 212 P value = .928

VOLUME II

ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL CASES ON PUBLIC SAFETY:
DRUG-RELATED RECIDIVISM

by

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The Project to Assess the Impact of Drug-Related Criminal Cases
on the Judicial Process, Jail Overcrowding and Public Safety

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Chapter One

**ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL CASES ON PUBLIC SAFETY:
THE AIMS AND DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH**

Overview of the Research

As issues involving drugs and crime have been moving increasingly to center stage in public policy debate, localities, states and the Federal jurisdiction have been proposing and enacting a wide variety of initiatives aimed at the drug-crime dilemma. Underlying these efforts, of course, has been the rationale that the growth in the availability, use and trafficking of illegal drugs feeds society's "drug problem" which in turn seriously exacerbates the "crime problem." In contrast to the growing mainstream of research and policy development aimed at the impact of the drug problem on the crime problem, the current research has as its principal objective investigation of the impact of the drug-crime problem on government's ability to cope with crime.

As the strain of responding to drug-related crime and processing drug-related criminal cases reaches crisis proportions in the various components of the criminal process, it has become clear that the burden is perceived to be systemic. One of the worst aspects of the impact of the drug-crime phenomenon is the additional burden it places on the already seriously strained judicial process with its endemic delay, overcrowding and resource difficulties. Thus, though not perhaps being viewed as the original source of these difficulties in criminal justice, the drug-crime phenomenon is increasingly perceived to be the "straw that breaks the camel's back," the catalyst that moves the system from a state of great strain to one of unmanageable crisis.

Although placed within the broad parameters of the effect of drug-related crime on criminal justice, this research focuses more narrowly on the impact of the drug-related criminal caseload on the criminal process, public safety and crowding. Its goals are modest and practical, to contribute knowledge of the impact of these kinds of cases on the criminal justice system. Our approach is to make use of data collected in three large urban jurisdictions to serve as the basis of what might best be characterized as three empirical case studies. As we examine the role of drug-related criminal cases within the entering caseloads in five courts in three cities--Miami (Dade County), Boston and Phoenix (Maricopa County), our purposes are twofold: to describe the actual contours of the drug-crime contribution to caseload, crowding and public safety, and, to offer an informed discussion of the implications of the impact of drug-related crime for the future of criminal justice policy.

We have organized the presentation of our investigation into a series of related monographs. The first monograph (Volume I: Assessing the Impact of Drug-Related Criminal Cases on the Judicial Process, Crowding and Public Safety) described the data which serve as the foundation of our descriptive analysis and developed a working definition of drug-related criminal cases. That definition includes two perspectives central to our analyses, defendants with cases involving charges relating to drug offenses and defendants who have been shown to be active drug abusers. Using an unique data set, we are able to examine the overlap between these two versions of "drug-related" cases moving through the system, one based on criminal charges and the other on drug use.

Volume I characterizes entering defendants using both perspectives of "drug-related" criminal cases and charts their role within and movement through the criminal process. The analysis is comparative at each stage, asking in what ways drug-related cases differ from cases that are not drug related in the criminal caseload. Although the analysis best addresses questions about the role of drug-related criminal cases in the criminal process, it treats the implications of drug-related crime for public safety in its study of pretrial crime, and for institutional crowding in its analyses of the comparative use of pretrial detention and incarcerative sentences.

In this report, we examine the extent to which the drug-relatedness of cases entering the judicial system is related to subsequent official contacts (arrests) during follow-up periods. Our perspective is from the vantage point of the criminal process: rather than merely wishing to know about the etiology of reoffending, we are responding to the perception not only that drug-related criminal cases make up a large part of the volume of the incoming caseload for the courts and related agencies, but also that they make up a large part of the continuing court caseload, a component that is repeatedly reprocessed with few productive results.

To determine the relationship between drug-related crime and subsequent contact with the court system, our analyses make use of two four-year follow-up studies of the 1984 defendant samples described in Volume I (of Maricopa County and Dade County defendants) and one 18 month follow-up of the 1987 Dade felony defendants (a sample for whom drug test results were obtained). The question addressed in Volume II is quite straightforward: Do persons involved in drug-related crime present a greater risk to public safety than other kinds of persons processed by the court system?

The Design of the Research

Like the research reported in Volume I, this investigation builds on three large and comprehensive data bases describing defendant cohorts entering the court systems in major urban jurisdictions, two in 1984 (2,232 felony defendants entering Maricopa County Superior Court, 1,985 felony and misdemeanor defendants in County and Circuit Courts in Dade County[1]) and one in 1987 (2,556 felony defendants in Dade County Circuit Court[2]). (The reader is urged to consult the description of sampling in Volume I for full details of the samples and their limitations.) To examine the implications of the drug-relatedness of entering criminal cases on their later "recidivism," we conducted follow-up studies of randomly selected subsamples of about 1,000 defendants from each of the defendant cohorts.[3] We charted the subsequent criminal histories of the 1984 defendants in Dade County and Maricopa County for a period of four years and followed the official contacts of the 1987 Dade County felony defendants for a period of 18 months using official court files.

The data collected for the 1987 sample of Dade County felony defendants differed from the other samples because of the availability of drug testing information from voluntary drug tests conducted at the time of entry into the judicial process in 1987.[4] Thus, in addition to the criminal charge, prior history and self-reported measures of drug-relatedness normally available, the 1987 sample's unique value is that it allows us to address more fully the impact of defendant drug-relatedness on later official contacts through a reliable measure of drug use. Measures of defendant drug use through drug testing was then, and still is, rarely available on a systematic basis in most jurisdictions in the United States. Taken together, these comparatively exhaustive data describing large cohorts of defendants and their cases entering the courts in 1984 and 1987 offered a special opportunity to characterize the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload.

[1] The Maricopa County sample consisted of all felony defendants entering processing in Superior Court during June and July of 1984. The 1984 Dade County sample was a stratified disproportionate sample producing weighted estimates of about 4,210 misdemeanor and felony cases entering the criminal courts Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays from April to October, 1984.
[2] The 1987 sample consisted of all felony defendants entering the courts during June and July of 1987. See Volume I and Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland (1988) for a discussion of exclusions and days missed.
[3] The unweighted 1984 Dade County subsample of about 1,000 defendants produces weighted estimates for approximately 2,010 defendants. Random subsamples were employed for follow-up data collection due to resource constraints.
[4] For a description of the drug testing methodology, see Goldkamp et al. (1988), Goldkamp et al. (1990), and Volume I of this series. It should be noted that the drug testing was voluntary and for research purposes only. As a result, drug tests were not obtained for all defendants, but rather about 77 percent of them. When drug test results are used in this report, then, the sample size is commensurately reduced.

Determining the Impact of Drug-related Criminal Cases on Public Safety
Defining and Measuring "Drug-relatedness"

As an initial inquiry into the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload, our investigation is exploratory in nature. This is because the problem posed by this research is broad-based and, despite conventional wisdom perhaps, faces both definitional problems and a number of untested assumptions. A first definitional problem is how to measure the concept of "drug-related" criminal caseload. What officials and policy makers may mean by "drug-related" and what we can measure using available data are not necessarily the same.

We can conceive of at least four categories of "drug-related" meanings: cases defined as drug-related because they involve explicit drug charges; cases in which defendants have records of prior drug arrests or convictions; cases in which defendant drug use was involved in the alleged offenses; and cases in which other crimes were alleged but drugs were "involved." This last category is, of course, the most difficult to measure. Such "drug involvement" is often alluded to, but it is very difficult to ascertain--it is harder still to measure objectively. Each or all of these meanings may define aspects of criminal cases as they enter the system. We can measure the first three fairly well with our data, singly or, as we will explain in later chapters, in combination.

Depending on the definition of drug-relatedness we adopt, or the particular aspect that serves as our focus, the implications for public safety concerns may be quite different. For persons who are alleged to have committed minor crimes but who use drugs, the policy concerns--and future public safety implications--might be quite different from the implications for persons who sell drugs, have prior convictions for drug and other crimes, who use drugs and who commit serious crimes related to the business of drugs. Thus, in this investigation we ask whether and to what extent the presence or absence of drug-related aspects of defendants and/or their cases help to project or "predict" patterns of subsequent offending.

Measuring the "Public Safety" Implications of the Drug-related Caseload

Just as definition of drug-relatedness may involve several aspects separately or jointly, the focus on public safety can be multifaceted. Later drug-related crimes can be generated by defendants who earlier may or may not have had drug-related attributes and form an important ingredient in assessing the public safety implications of the drug-related caseload. Within the larger framework of "recidivism," we can examine the kinds and patterns of

rearrests produced by the cohort defendants during the follow-up periods, comparing the role of subsequent drug crimes with other kinds of crimes, for example. This comparative analysis would focus on whether cohort defendants are rearrested for certain kinds of subsequent crimes, but also on how often they are rearrested and the likelihood of repetitive (and similar) rearrests. This kind of public safety focus on the generation of drug versus other crime is, in a sense, an analysis of one dependent among other dependent variables--this while comparing three rather different defendant cohorts.

Defendants who at an earlier stage possessed drug-related attributes may or may not commit later crimes which may or may not be drug related. Thus, another approach to identifying the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload is to ask specifically what drug-related attributes of entering defendants or their cases can tell us about future offending. In this instance, we are testing the assumption that these attributes recorded at the entry into the caseload cohort--current drug charges, prior history of drug crimes and drug use--help predict the kind, frequency and/or timing of defendants' future criminal behavior. And, indeed, there have been recent studies finding that the self-reported drug use of defendants helped predict self-reported rates of criminal offending (see e.g., Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982; Greenwood and Abrahamse, 1982; Blumstein et al., 1986), as well as many earlier studies of officially recorded recidivism in which self-reported drug use was employed as a predictor (see Gottfredson, 1964; Gottfredson, Wilkins and Hoffman, 1978). There have been no studies to date of cohorts of criminal caseloads followed over time, certainly not cross-jurisdictional studies of the implications of the drug-relatedness of criminal caseloads.

In short, this report will focus on aspects of drug-relatedness that are easily measured within the constraints of the data from Maricopa and Dade County and will examine their relationship to subsequent official contacts by cohort defendants, looked at in a variety of ways. Most simply, in these limited ways we are asking whether the conventional wisdom held about the importance of drug-relatedness within the criminal caseload are borne out by the data describing future offending.

In this report, then, we describe the relationship between the drug-relatedness of defendants and their cases and later crime from the point of view of the criminal process. In a subsequent report, we broaden the inquiry to ask whether, compared to other kinds of information usually available in official (court) archival data, drug-relatedness is an important indication of risk of future offending.

Chapter Two

THE PREVALENCE AND NATURE OF "RECIDIVISM" AND DRUG CRIME

IN THE THREE DEFENDANT COHORTS

A Note about the Measure of "Recidivism" Employed in This Study

The measure of crime among defendant cohorts in Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, and Dade County (Miami), Florida, during the follow-up periods is limited to the configuration of charges associated with arrests and convictions subsequent to the defendants' involvements in the entry stage 1984 and 1987 arrests. In this report we focus primarily on arrests because the configuration of charges lodged at the arrest stage allows us to examine a richer variety of (at least "alleged") criminal behavior than convictions for crimes committed during the follow-up period. An additional disadvantage of relying on offense information as gleaned from conviction data is the sometimes lengthy periods that elapse between arrest and adjudication, resulting in lag times that would have made it difficult to obtain much re-offending data within the follow-up study periods that were employed (and which were dictated by resource practicalities).

Although the data analyzed in this study provide a unique opportunity to examine the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseloads in two urban jurisdictions and three time periods, they suffer the traditional limitations of other recidivism studies that rely on official records. Basically, these limitations involve questions about the reliability of official records and the validity of arrests or official contacts as a measure of actual criminal activity. We certainly acknowledge those limitations and point to another in our data at this stage. Although we have fairly thorough arrest data for each of the defendant cohorts through the follow-up periods, we were not able to obtain information describing periods of confinement for the sample defendants who were convicted and sentenced, given resource and time constraints. Certainly, interpretations of data without this information can be misleading, for example, resulting in assumptions that individuals were arrest free who may in fact have been confined for large portions of the follow-up study. Thus, in a subsequent phase we would adjust the findings we report here on the basis of time-at-risk data.

These limitations notwithstanding, we would argue that for the purposes of the current research, these data are in fact quite useful. Implicitly at least, we are inquiring about the public safety implications of the dispositional

decisions made by the courts with respect to the drug-related criminal caseload. Admittedly, like "recidivism" studies, the criminal process deals only with some unknown fraction of all persons committing crimes--and in many ways arrests provide a poor measure of criminal activity. However, our focus purposely is on the characteristics and implications of the known fraction, those coming into the courts for adjudication of criminal charges and those later returning again, and in some cases, again. Thus, in an important sense, the data we employ are very appropriate for the study of risk of reoffending as measured through rearrest--and for assessing the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload.

In this chapter, we begin the discussion of the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseloads by describing the overall reoffending behavior of cohort defendants with a special emphasis on drug crime. It is against this overall picture of reoffending that we compare categories of defendants with drug-related attributes in the next chapter.

The Prevalence of Recidivism in the Three Defendant Cohorts

Perhaps the most dramatic initial finding is the very high level of subsequent rearrests recorded by defendants in each of the cohorts studied. (See Figure 2.1.) A majority of defendants across sites were rearrested at least once.[5] The jurisdictions differed in the frequency of rearrests among the defendant cohorts during the follow-up period: only six percent of the 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants recorded more than five arrests during the four year follow-up; 19 percent of the 1984 Dade County misdemeanor and felony sample recorded that many rearrests. Remarkably, 17 percent of the 1987 Dade County felony sample generated more than five rearrests within only an 18-month follow-up period.

Figure 2.2 displays the rates of rearrests by the kinds of crimes with which defendants were charged during the follow-up periods. Several striking similarities across cohorts can be noted. Regardless of the sample, about one-fifth of defendants were rearrested for index-level offenses,[6] nearly one-fifth were rearrested for serious crimes

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[5] Approximately 70 percent of the rearrested 1984 Dade cohort defendants were convicted for at least one crime during the follow-up period; 78 percent of the 1987 Dade felony defendants were convicted at least once during the 18 month follow-up. Conviction data were not available for the Maricopa County Superior Court felony defendants.
[6] In this study we use the FBI measure of index offenses as a means for comparing the seriousness of charges across sites. We eliminate from the FBI measure arrests for auto theft and larceny, however.

Figure 2.1   Percentage of cohort defendants rearrested during follow-up periods, by cohort, by number of rearrests

Number of rearrests during follow-up

☐ Maricopa County
n = 1145

■ Dade County, 1984
n = 2010

▨ Dade County, 1987
n = 998

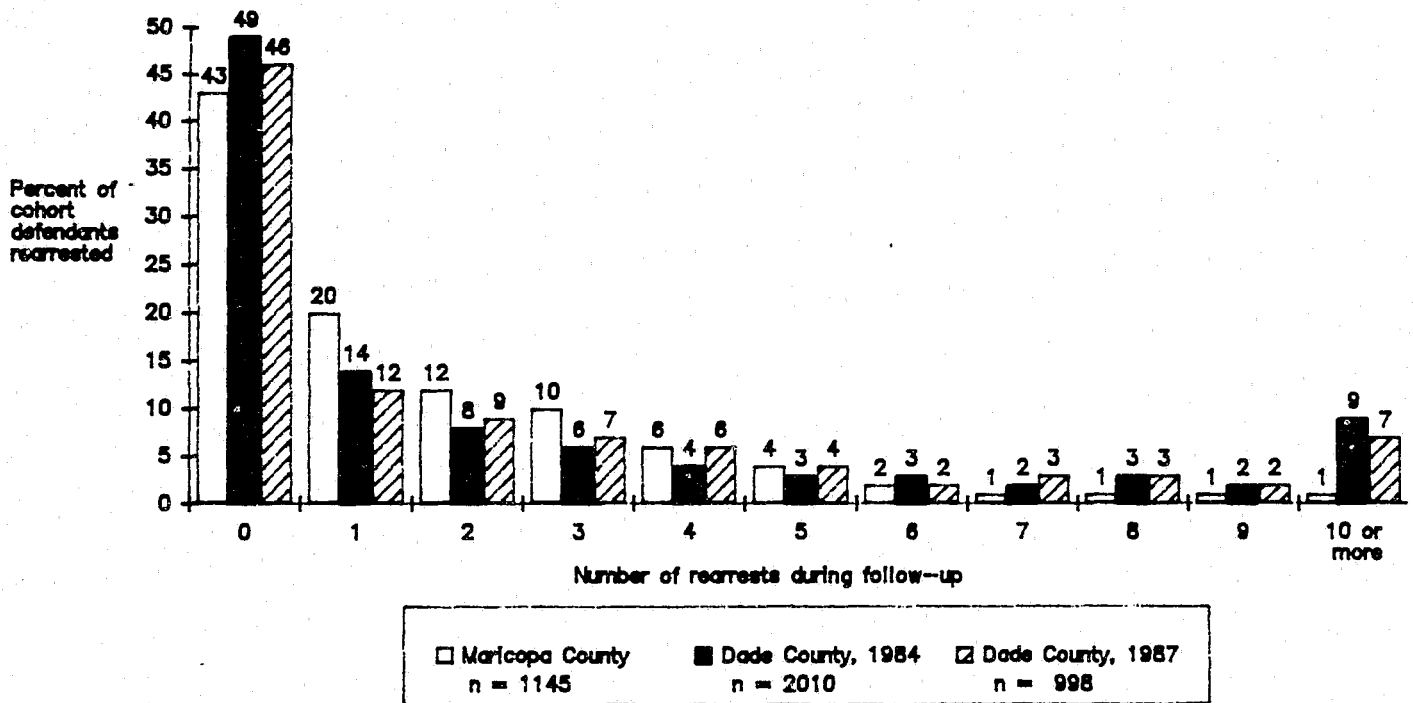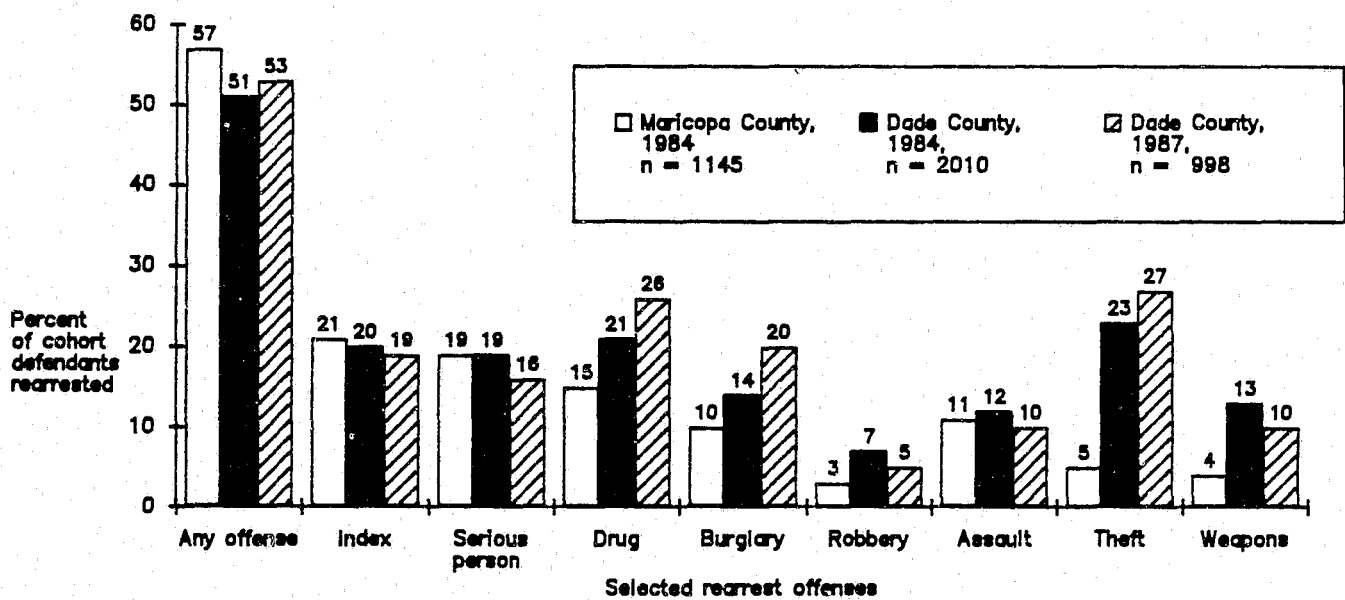**Figure 2.2**   Percentage of cohort defendants rearrested for selected kinds of offenses during follow-up periods, by cohort

☐ Maricopa County,
1984
n = 1145

■ Dade County,
1984,
n = 2010

▨ Dade County,
1987,
n = 998

Selected rearrest offenses

against the person,[7] roughly one-tenth were rearrested for offenses involving assault, and less than one in ten were rearrested for robberies. The cohorts differed in other ways, however. The Dade cohorts were distinguished by higher rates of theft, weapons, burglary and drug crime rearrests. The 1987 Dade felony cohort showed the highest rates of rearrests for drug (26 percent), burglary (20 percent) and theft (27 percent) offenses (which are striking accomplishments given the comparatively short follow-up period, 18 months versus the four years involved in the other cohorts).

Figure 2.3 presents the kinds of offenses for which defendants were most frequently rearrested when only defendants having rearrests are counted. While the findings parallel those just described, the relative frequency of rearrests for drug crimes, burglary, theft and weapons offenses in the two Dade County samples stands out, particularly for the 1987 felony defendants. Among both Dade County cohorts, only theft rearrests were more common than drug rearrests. Nearly half of the Dade defendants were rearrested for drug crimes (the bulk of which were of the possession not the sales/distribution variety,[8] see Figure 2.4), more than half were rearrested for theft, and more than one-third were rearrested for burglary during the short 18 month follow-up period. Although a large proportion of the 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants (26 percent) were rearrested for drug offenses at least once during the four-year follow-up, index-level offenses generally and serious crimes against the person were somewhat more common.

In the Dade County cohort data we were able to rank the seriousness of defendants' charges using the penal code's felony/misdemeanor grading of crimes. (The Maricopa data did not include this information in a sufficient number of cases to permit meaningful analysis.) Figure 2.5 shows the distribution of the felony/misdemeanor rankings of the most serious offenses with which rearrested persons were charged in the two Dade samples. In both cohorts, sizeable numbers of defendants were rearrested for serious crimes: about 57 percent of the rearrested 1984 defendants were charged with crimes of felony 2 seriousness or greater; 70 percent of the 1987 Dade sample had rearrests of that level of severity.

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[7] We include as serious crimes against the person assaults, kidnapping, rape, robbery, manslaughter, murder and arson with personal harm.
[8] For a discussion of the non-comparability of measures of drug offenses and their severity in criminal codes, see Volume I.

Figure 2.3   Percentage of rearrested cohort defendants rearrested for selected kinds
             of offenses during follow—up periods, by cohort

Index   Serious   Drug   Burglary   Robbery   Assault   Theft   Weapon
        Person

Kind of Offense

Percent of
rearrested
defendants

☐ Maricopa County,   ■ Dade County,   ▨ Dade County,
  1984,   1984,   1987,
  n = 655   n = 1033   n = 532
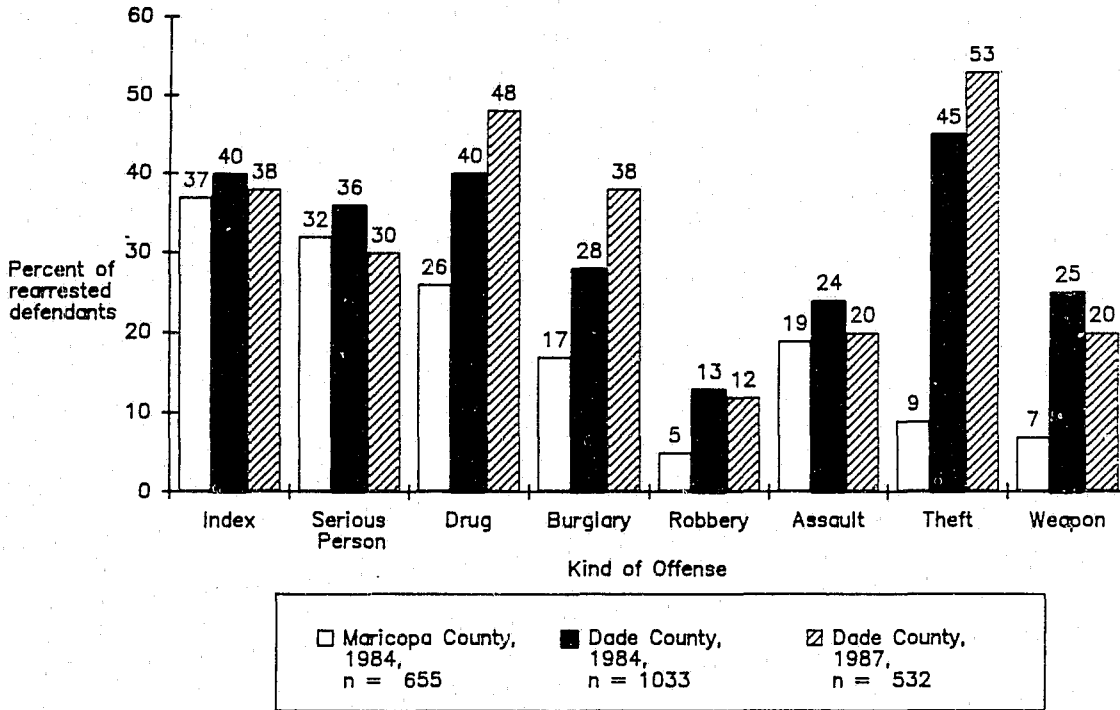
Figure 2.4   Kind of drug offenses among defendants rearrested for drug crimes during
             follow—up, by cohort

Possession   Sale/dist.   Both

Seriousness of Drug Charge

Percent of
defendants
with drug
rearrests

☐ Maricopa County,   ■ Dade County,   ▨ Dade County,
  1984,   1984,   1987,
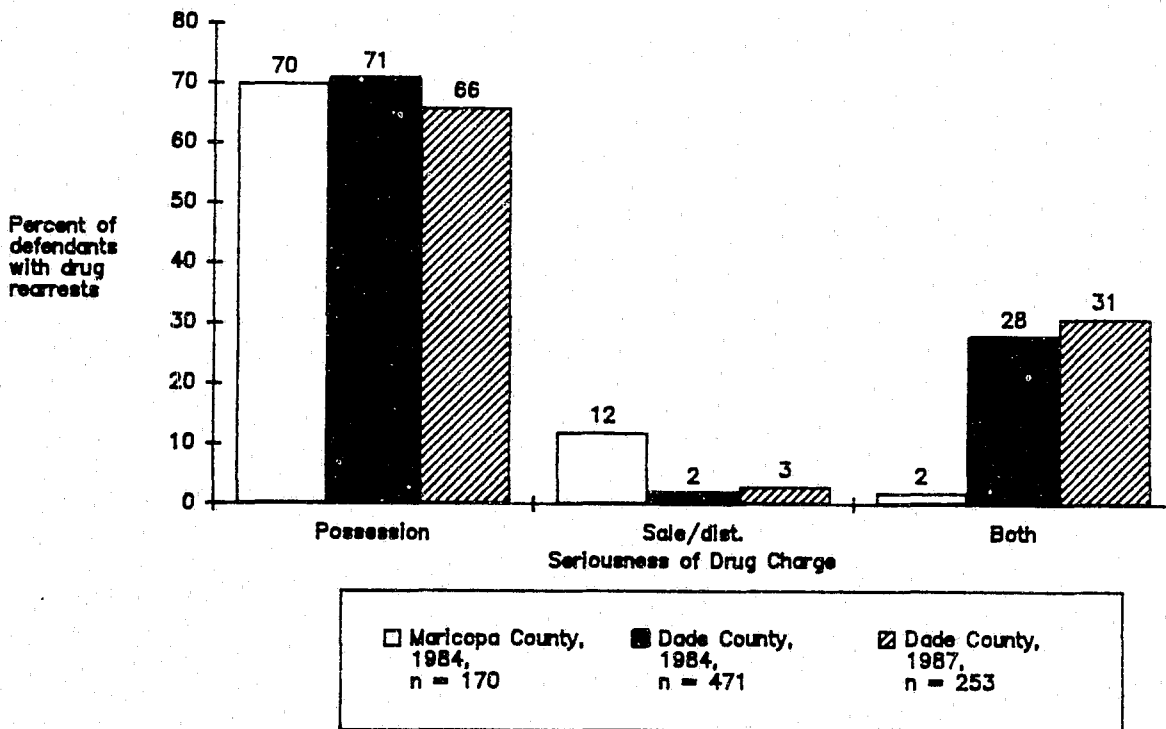 n = 170   n = 471   n = 253

Figure 2.5 Comparison of the severity of rearrests in the two Dade County cohorts based on felony/misdemeanor grading of the most serious rearrest offense
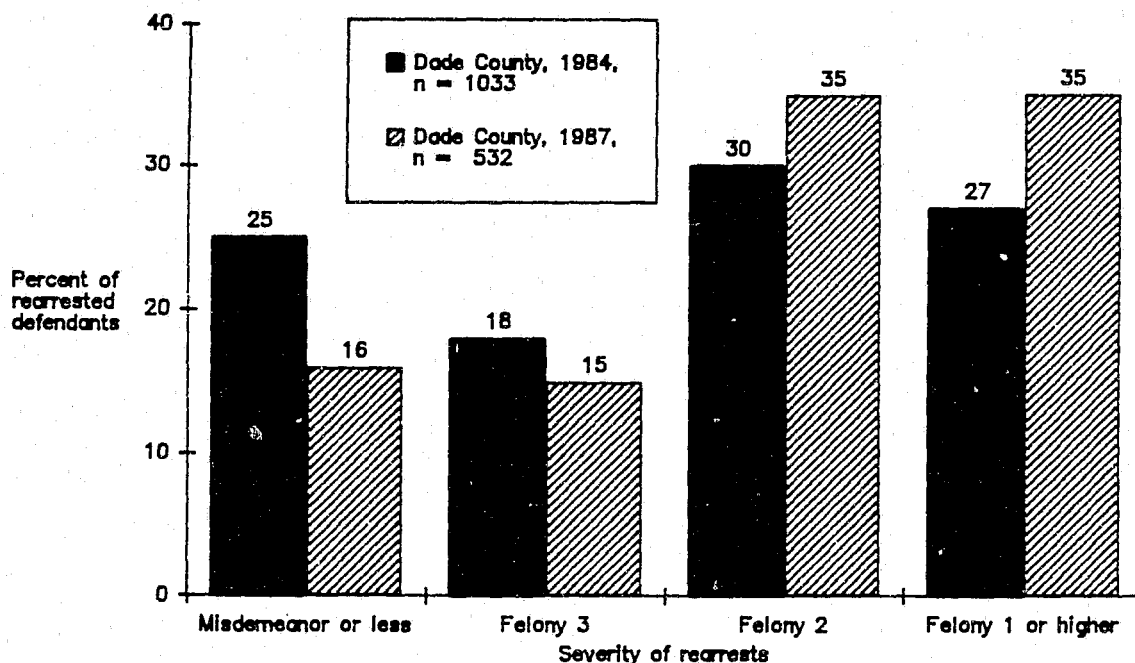

Table 2.1 Total number of rearrests and rearrests per 100 defendants, by selected rearrest offenses, by cohort

Kind of Rearrest Offense	Cohort					
	Maricopa 1984 (n = 1,145)		Dade 1984 (= 2,010)		Dade 1987 (n = 998)	
	Total rearrests	Per 100	Total rearrests	Per 100	Total rearrests	Per 100
Total (any rearrest)	(1805)	157.6	(6830)	339.8	(2643)	264.8
Index offenses	(404)	35.3	(799)	39.8	(372)	37.3
Serious Person	(313)	27.3	(650)	32.3	(247)	24.7
Robbery	(41)	3.6	(210)	10.4	(93)	9.3
Weapons	(53)	4.6	(339)	16.9	(143)	14.3
Assault	(177)	15.5	(343)	17.1	(134)	13.4
Burglary	(175)	15.3	(636)	31.6	(477)	47.8
Theft	(69)	6.0	(1446)	71.9	(690)	69.1
Drugs (any)	(306)	26.7	(793)	39.4	(426)	42.7
Drugs - sale/dist.	(78)	6.8	(190)	9.4	(109)	10.9
Drugs - possession	(259)	22.6	(784)	39.0	(417)	41.8

Table 2.1 compares the rearrests generated by the three defendant cohorts in a different way, by calculating a number of rearrests per 100 defendants by selected categories of offenses. This table shows first that regardless of the site or time period each defendant cohort generated a large number of rearrests per 100. In Maricopa, which showed the lowest overall rate per 100, 100 defendants could be expected to generate 158 arrests. The 1984 misdemeanor/felony cohort in Dade County generated more than twice that rate (340 per 100 defendants), while the 1987 Dade felony cohort was not far behind with 265 rearrests generated per 100 defendants (in a much shorter follow-up period).

Among Maricopa County felony defendants, the highest number of rearrests per 100 defendants was generated in the index offenses (35 per 100), although drug and serious person crime rates per 100 were almost as high. In contrast, the highest rates per 100 defendants in both Dade County cohorts were found in the theft category (at 72 and 69 per 100 in the 1984 and 1987 cohorts respectively). The number of burglary, index-level and drug rearrests per 100 defendants in the two Dade cohorts were similar at a second highest level, however.

Maricopa County defendants generated a roughly similar number of rearrests per 100 defendants for index-level crimes (35, 40 and 37 per 100 respectively), and for serious crimes against the person (27 versus 31 and 25 per 100 defendants) as the two Dade County cohorts. During their much shorter 18 month follow-up period, the 1987 Dade felony defendants produced the highest number of rearrests for (any) drug crimes per 100 defendants (43 compared to 35 among the 1984 Dade defendants and 27 among the 1984 Maricopa defendants). In each site, however, the number of arrests for drug sales/distribution were comparably low (7 in Maricopa, 9 in the 1984 Dade County sample and 11 in the 1987 Dade County sample). The 1987 Dade County felony defendants recorded the highest rate of rearrests per 100 for drug possession offenses at 42.

The Probabilities of Rearrest Given a Previous Arrest

One way to investigate the impact of drug related cases on subsequent arrest was to determine whether the kinds of offenses for which persons were initially arrested were related to the probability of subsequent contacts with the criminal justice system. Table 2.2 shows the probability of having subsequent rearrests, given a previous arrest for defendants in each of the cohorts. Stated differently, the table shows the probability that persons having one arrest will have at least a second, that persons having a second will have at least a third, and so forth.

Table 2.2   Given an arrest/rearrest, the probability of a subsequent rearrest, by kind of offense, by cohort

Arrest/ Rearrest	Any rearrest			Index charges			Serious person		
	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987
Arrest to rearrest	0.572	0.499	0.533	0.369	0.397	0.383	0.183	0.185	0.158
Rearrest 1 to 2	0.647	0.731	0.776	0.341	0.441	0.397	0.330	0.371	0.316
Rearrest 2 to 3	0.672	0.791	0.794	0.777	0.807	0.824	0.386	0.423	0.380
Rearrest 3 to 4	0.586	0.816	0.774	0.959	0.945	0.941	0.333	0.400	0.316
Rearrest 4 to 5	0.611	0.849	0.771	0.985	0.969	0.986	---	0.250	---
Rearrest 5 to 6	0.549	0.863	0.806	0.998	0.994	0.991	---	---	---
Rearrest 6 to 7	0.571	0.818	0.867	---	0.997	0.994	---	---	---
Rearrest 7 to 8	0.656	0.894	0.810	---	---	0.998	---	---	---
Rearrest 8 to 9	---	0.809	0.743	---	0.995	0.996	---	---	---
Rearrest 9 to 10	---	0.849	0.783	---	---	---	---	---	---
Over 10 arrests	---	---	---	0.997	0.996	---	---	---	---

Arrest/ Rearrest	Robbery			Weapons			Assault		
	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987
Arrest to rearrest 1	0.049	0.131	0.115	0.042	0.126	0.104	0.191	0.236	0.201
Rearrest 1 to 2	0.224	0.313	0.278	0.082	0.267	0.231	0.319	0.271	0.194
Rearrest 2 to 3	0.964	0.923	0.960	---	0.114	0.375	0.853	0.845	0.856
Rearrest 3 to 4	0.997	0.988	0.984	---	---	---	0.989	0.981	0.987
Rearrest 4 to 5	---	0.996	0.996	---	---	---	0.995	0.996	---
Rearrest 5 to 6	---	---	0.998	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 6 to 7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.998	---
Rearrest 7 to 8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 8 to 9	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 9 to 10	---	0.999	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Over 10 arrests	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Table 2.2   Given an arrest/rearrest, the probability of a subsequent rearrest, by kind of offense, by cohort (cont'd)

Arrest/ Rearrest	Maricopa 1984	Burglary Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Theft Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Drugs Dade 1984	Dade 1987
Arrest to rearrest	0.168	0.278	0.383	0.085	0.446	0.526	0.147	0.198	0.251
Rearrest 1 to 2	0.190	0.457	0.499	0.176	0.578	0.542	0.441	0.384	0.391
Rearrest 2 to 3	0.889	0.867	0.864	0.932	0.865	0.788	0.453	0.468	0.454
Rearrest 3 to 4	0.994	0.976	0.939	0.998	0.932	0.919	0.471	0.446	0.267
Rearrest 4 to 5	0.997	0.986	0.970	0.998	0.947	0.953	---	0.364	0.167
Rearrest 5 to 6	---	0.984	0.978	---	0.986	0.978	---	---	---
Rearrest 6 to 7	---	0.997	0.996	---	0.986	0.983	---	---	---
Rearrest 7 to 8	---	0.996	0.998	---	0.988	0.991	---	---	---
Rearrest 8 to 9	---	0.999	---	---	0.990	0.994	---	---	---
Rearrest 9 to 10	---	0.999	0.989	---	0.994	0.996	---	---	---
Over 10 arrests	0.997	0.950	0.994	---	0.980	0.992	---	---	---

Arrest/ Rearrest	Maricopa 1984	Drug Possession Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Drug Sale/Dist. Dade 1984	Dade 1987
Arrest to rearrest	0.129	0.195	0.247	0.044	0.058	0.085
Rearrest 1 to 2	0.403	0.388	0.377	0.545	0.281	0.188
Rearrest 2 to 3	0.400	0.439	0.419	0.222	0.265	---
Rearrest 3 to 4	0.542	0.377	0.282	---	---	---
Rearrest 4 to 5	---	0.462	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 5 to 6	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 6 to 7	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 7 to 8	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 8 to 9	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 9 to 10	---	---	---	---	---	---
Over 10 arrests	---	---	---	---	---	---

For example, the probability of a first rearrest for any kind of offense subsequent to the initial cohort arrest is given at the top of the first column and is simply the baseline percent of defendants in each cohort having at least one rearrests during the follow-up. Interestingly, once defendants had been rearrested one time, the chances that they would go on to be arrested at least one more time increased in each location, slightly (from .57 to .65) in Maricopa County, dramatically in both Dade cohorts (from .50 to .73 among the 1984 defendants, from .53. to .78 among the 1987 defendants). The chances for a next rearrest stayed consistently higher among the Dade County defendants for every successive rearrest, peaking among the 1984 cohort among defendant having seven arrests. Their chances for an eighth arrest were nearly 9 out of 10 (.89). The probability of a next arrest among Maricopa County defendants never exceeded .67, which was the probability that a defendant having two arrests would go on to a third rearrest.

More interesting for the purposes of this inquiry, however, are the probabilities for successive rearrests for particular kinds of offenses. Of course, the chances of being rearrested a subsequent time for a particular crime are much lower than are the chances of being rearrested for any kind of crime.[9] Table 2.2 shows, for example, that persons who have been arrested twice for the broad category of index crimes have increasingly greater odds that they will be rearrested for a subsequent index offense. The same seems to be true of persons having two arrests for burglary, assault, robbery and theft.

In each cohort, the odds for subsequent rearrest for drug offenses do not seem to increase so dramatically, peaking among Maricopa defendants at .54 for those with three drug possession arrests having a fourth. The probability of a next rearrest for a drug sales/distribution offense is fairly low in each jurisdiction. The limited number of repeat drug offenses, however, might lead to the interpretation that drug offenders are rapidly being taken out of circulation and not being permitted an opportunity for a subsequent drug arrest. An alternative explanation is that drug offenders are eclectic in their repeat crime choices, often being rearrested for other kinds of crimes, particularly property offenses.

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[9] As we noted above, these chances of subsequent rearrest among cohort defendants may be greatly affected by periods of confinement (persons convicted and sentenced for incarcerative terms during the follow-up period have less time at risk and fewer opportunities to be rearrested for new crimes than persons who were not confined).

Patterns of Rearrests Over Time Among Cohort Defendants

The probability that a person arrested once will go on to be arrested at least a second time is a generalized indication of the likelihood of multiple offending over time. The probabilities naturally increase because relatively few persons fall into the repetitive offending categories; for those that do, the chances grow that a next arrest will occur--limited mainly by the length of the follow-up period and time spent not incarcerated. That probability is a generalized measure because it does not summarize the chances that one or more rearrests for similar offenses will occur during the follow-up period. We learn from Table 2.2 that once persons have several rearrests, they are particularly likely to have another.

Another way to consider the public safety implications of the drug-related caseload is to determine the extent to which persons are rearrested for the same kinds of offenses in sequence. Thus, Table A2.3 shows the extent to which sample defendants were rearrested for offenses which were homogeneous and sequential (specialized). Were persons charged with drug crimes at one stage, for example, likely to be charged with drug crimes at the next stage. Defendants who "specialize" should show large proportions committing the same offense in sequence, at stage one and stage two and at stage three, etc.

This is a more precise measure, therefore, than the preceding probability which asks what proportion of persons with one arrest (or two, etc.) for a specific offense will have a next one regardless of the order of its occurrence. Under the more general measure, a person with many subsequent arrests is likely to have a second and a third drug offense, for example, although in the sequential pattern of offending drug arrests may occur every third or fourth offense. A specialist might be expected to be arrested for drug offenses sequentially, a generalist or opportunistic offender might be expected to cover a variety of offenses, some more than once, over time.

Tables A2.3 through A2.10 and selected Figures 2.6 through 2.11 summarize the data that allow for analysis of the relative repetitiveness of selected offenses over all rearrests. (The type of offenses selected were constrained by the numbers of defendants rearrested for them.) Table A2.3 focuses on the probable "next" event given a particular stage rearrest and asks whether the defendant will most likely a) not be rearrested, b) be rearrested but

for a different crime, or c) be arrested for the same crime as previously, specializing.[10] It is important to note that the table asks a "new" question of persons rearrested at each stage: of all persons with this kind of arrest, what were the next outcomes?

Thus, since more people are rearrested for a specific crime at a particular level of rearrest than were arrested at the preceding stage for the same crime, the question is asked of all persons with the particular charge, not just the sequential offenders with the charge. For example, in Maricopa County 69 persons were rearrested for an index-level offense who were originally arrested for an index offense. But 131 persons with a rearrest were charged with an index level offense, 69 of these were repeating the same crime in sequence.

Table A2.3 produces three main findings that seem to apply across sites and across offense categories. The first finding is that the most likely next outcome for sample defendants at a given arrest stage (from the initial arrest to the seventh rearrest) is not repeating for the same offense. Rather, the chances are either that defendant will not be rearrested again or that he/she will be rearrested for some offense, but not the same offense. The second general finding, therefore, is that persons who are next rearrested for the same offense are usually a small minority. A third finding is that, after having been rearrested once, the chances that defendants will next not be rearrested decline and the chances that defendants will be rearrested for a different offense increase.

To illustrate, we begin with a rather broad offense category, persons charged with index-level offenses.[11] (Of course, the broader the definition of the offense category, the more likely that a similar next rearrest can occur.) Only 17 percent of persons initially arrested for an index-level offense in Maricopa County Superior Court were next rearrested for an index offense. Although at the different stages the percentage changes, ranging from a low of 15 percent (persons going from a sixth rearrest to a seventh) to a high of 31 percent (persons going from a fifth rearrest to a sixth), in no case was the modal probability for the next event a rearrest for an index-level offense. The majority of offenders charged with an index-level offense in Maricopa were not rearrested for index offenses at the next stage. Either they were not rearrested at all or they were rearrested but for a crime of a different variety.

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[10] Note that this table could have been construct even more narrowly to determine the prevalence of "specialists" (offenders who are arrested for the same crimes in strings of rearrests. If that had been the approach, the table would have run out of cases very quickly.

[11] We adopt a modified definition of "index-level" offense which drops larceny and auto theft from the index crimes listed by the FBI.

Interestingly, reflecting the high rates of recidivism among these samples, after the first rearrest stage, the modal category is rearrest for a different offense, not no-rearrest. The same finding applies to the Dade 1984 and 1987 samples as well.

When the focus of Table A2.3 shifts to arrests for offenses involving serious crimes against the person, much the same findings are noted. Even given the breadth of the offense category--many crimes qualify as crimes against the person--a small minority of initial rearrests result in a next rearrest for serious crimes against the person. In Maricopa County, the modal outcome after an arrest for serious crimes against the person is always no rearrest at all. Among the 1984 and 1987 Dade County samples, the modal next outcome was rearrest but for a different kind of offense.

Regardless of the site, a next rearrest for the same offense was always a low probability occurence-- particularly for robbery, weapons, burglary and assault offenses. Though still a minority of cases, the chances of a similar repeat offense at the next stage increased notably among Dade County defendants. Roughly 40 percent of persons arrested for theft offenses were arrested again and for theft offenses as the next event in 1984 and 1987. This was not true of Maricopa County defendants. Finally, the same was generally true as well for persons charged with drug offenses. With one exception, only a minority of persons charged with drug offenses at one stage were rearrested and rearrested for a drug offense. The exception is found among the 1984 sample of Dade County defendants, 56 percent (a majority) of defendants with a second rearrest for drug crimes had a third rearrest for drug crimes.

Together, these analyses have several public safety implications for the drug-related criminal caseload. Overall, roughly half of cohort defendants are not rearrested within the cohort period.[12] Once defendants are rearrested, the chances for a subsequent rearrest appears to increase, although the rate of the increase varied by site and sample. Compared to other specific offense categories, the chances for a subsequent rearrest for drug offenses increased only modestly. Two conclusions are possible: a) drug offenders are not so likely as other offenders to be rearrested a number of times for the same offense; b) drug offenders are disproportionately incapacitated and are prevented from having time at-risk during the follow-up period. Although this latter interpretation may be a good

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[12] With these data, we cannot be certain to what extent this rate may be accounted for by the incarceration of cohort defendants during the bulk of the follow-up period.
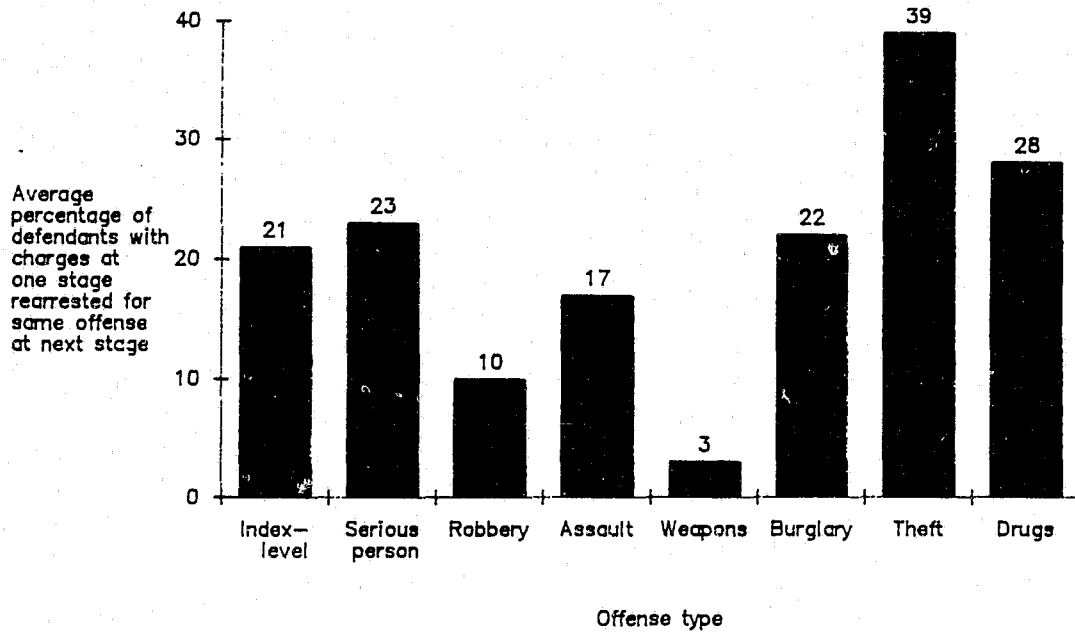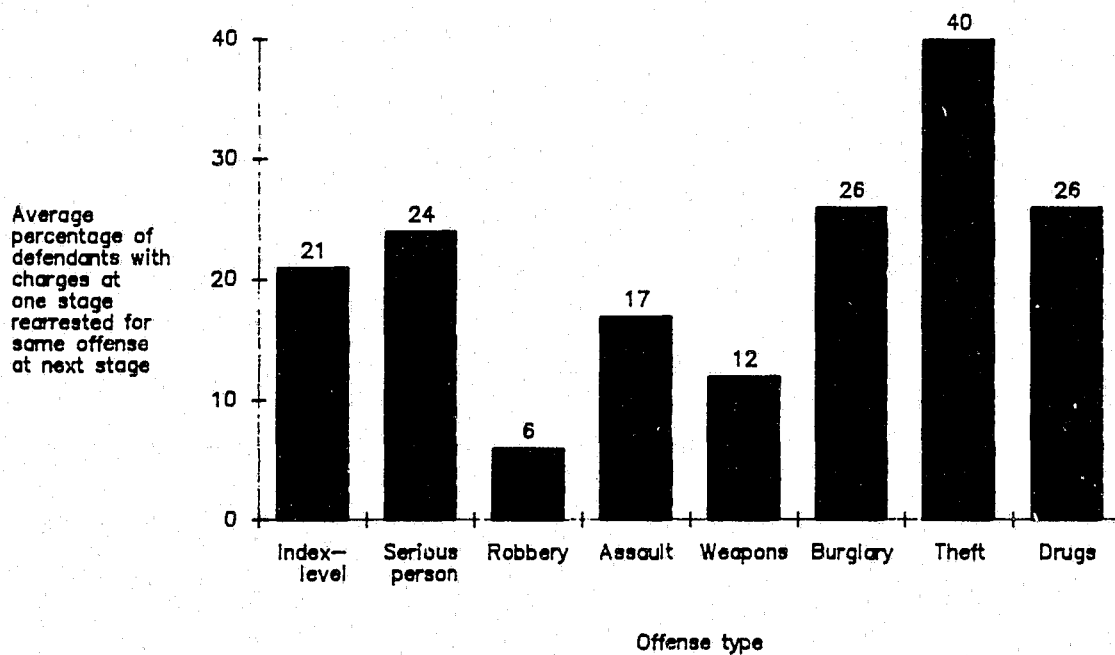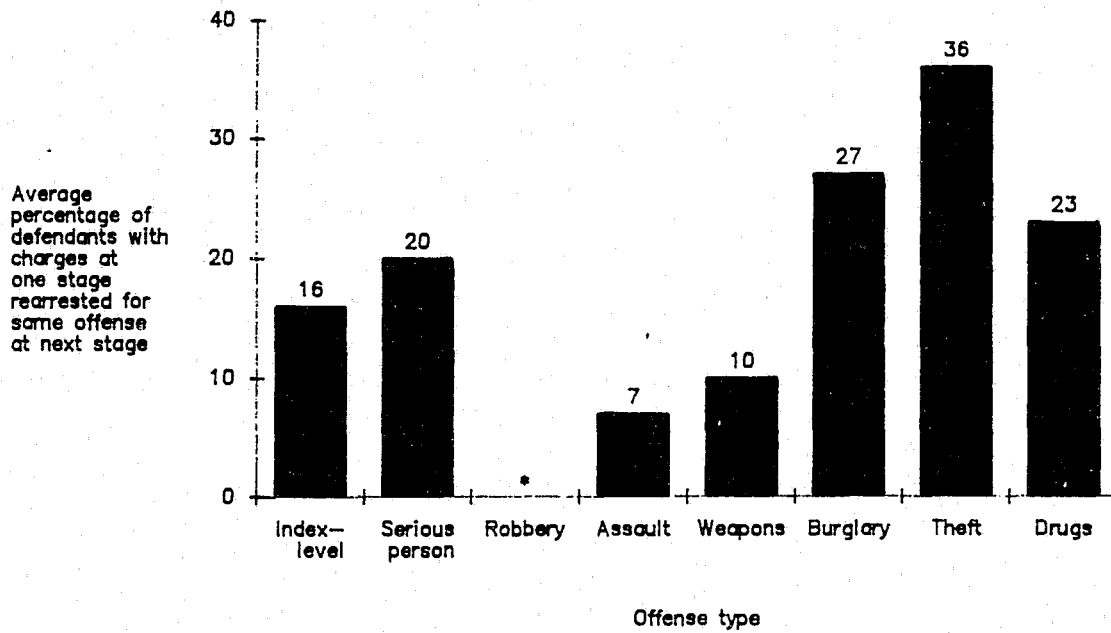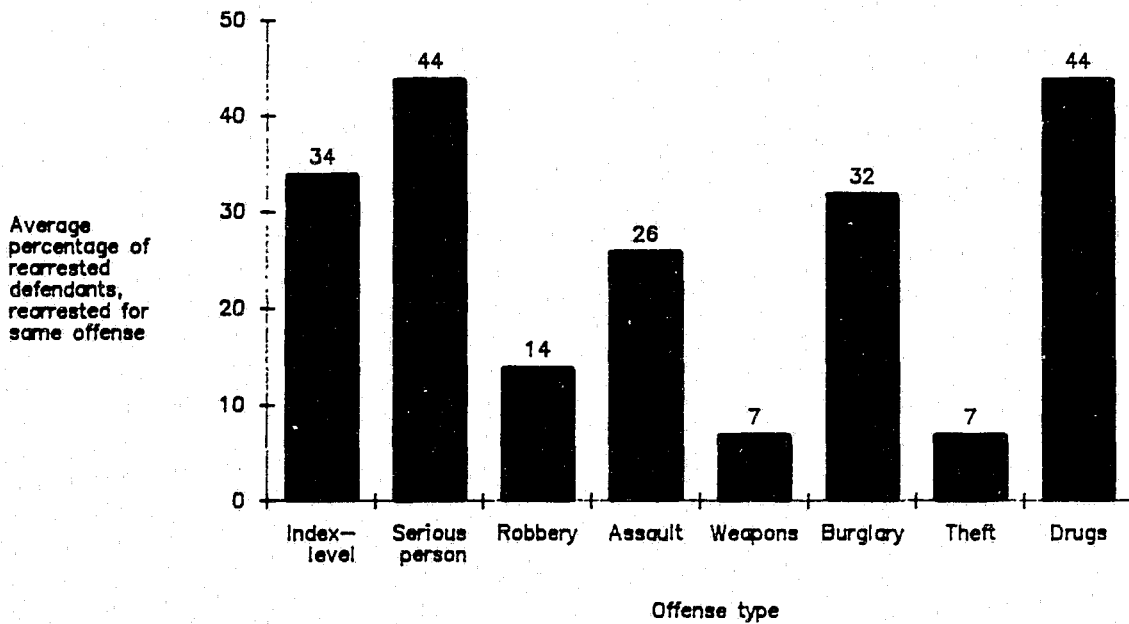
Figure 2.6   The average percentage of defendants arrested at one stage for any offense,
                    rearrested for the same offense at next stage, by offense type, among 1984
                    Maricopa County felony defendants during 4 year follow—up

Average
percentage of
defendants with
charges at
one stage
rearrested for
same offense
at next stage

Offense type

Figure 2.7   The average percentage of defendants arrested at one stage for any offense,
                    rearrested for the same offense at next stage, by offense type, among 1984
                    Dade County defendants during 4 year follow—up

Average
percentage of
defendants with
charges at
one stage
rearrested for
same offense
at next stage

Offense type

Figure 2.8   The average percentage of defendants arrested at one stage for any offense,
                  rearrested for same offense at next stage, by offense type, among 1987
                  Dade County felony defendants during 18 month follow—up

Average
percentage of
defendants with
charges at
one stage
rearrested for
same offense
at next stage

* Insufficient number of cases

Figure 2.9   Of defendants rearrested at the next stage, percentage with rearrest for
                  same offense as last offense, by offense type, among 1984
                  Maricopa County felony defendants

Average
percentage of
rearrested
defendants,
rearrested for
same offense

[Note: This excludes from anaylsis defendants not rearrested]

Figure 2.10   Of defendants rearrested at the next stage, percentage with rearrest for
              same offense as last offense, by offense type, among 1984
              Dade County defendants

Average
percentage of
rearrested
defendants,
rearrested for
same offense
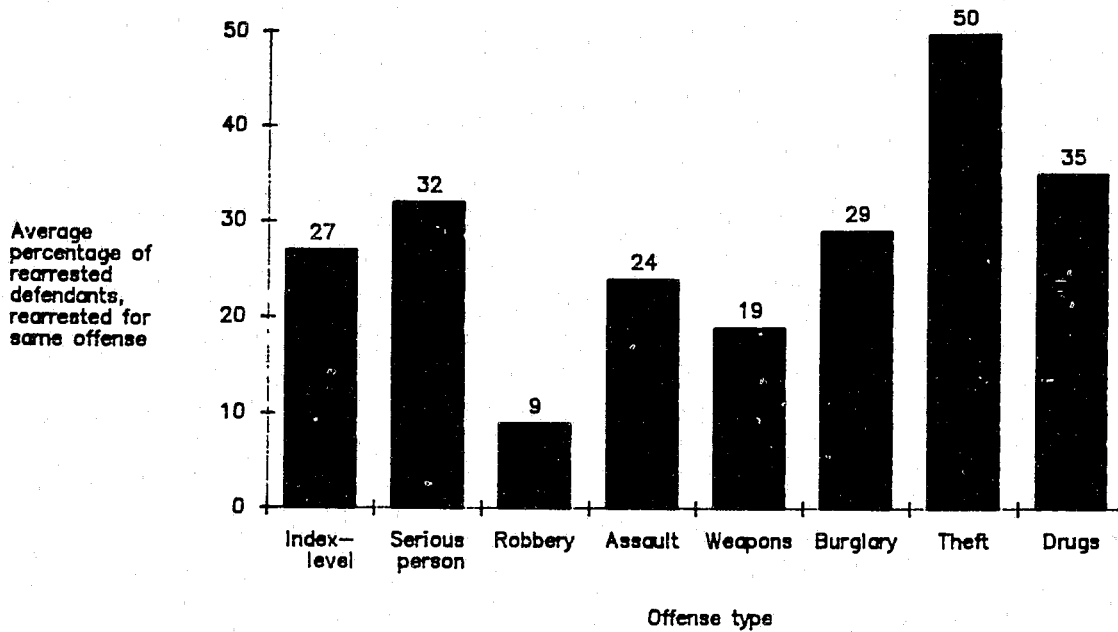
Offense type

[Note: This excludes from analysis defendants not rearrested]

Figure 2.11   Of defendants rearrested at the next stage, percentage with rearrest for
              same offense as last offense, by offense type, among 1987
              Dade County felony defendants

Average
percentage of
rearrested
defendants,
rearrested for
same offense

* Insufficient number of cases

Offense type
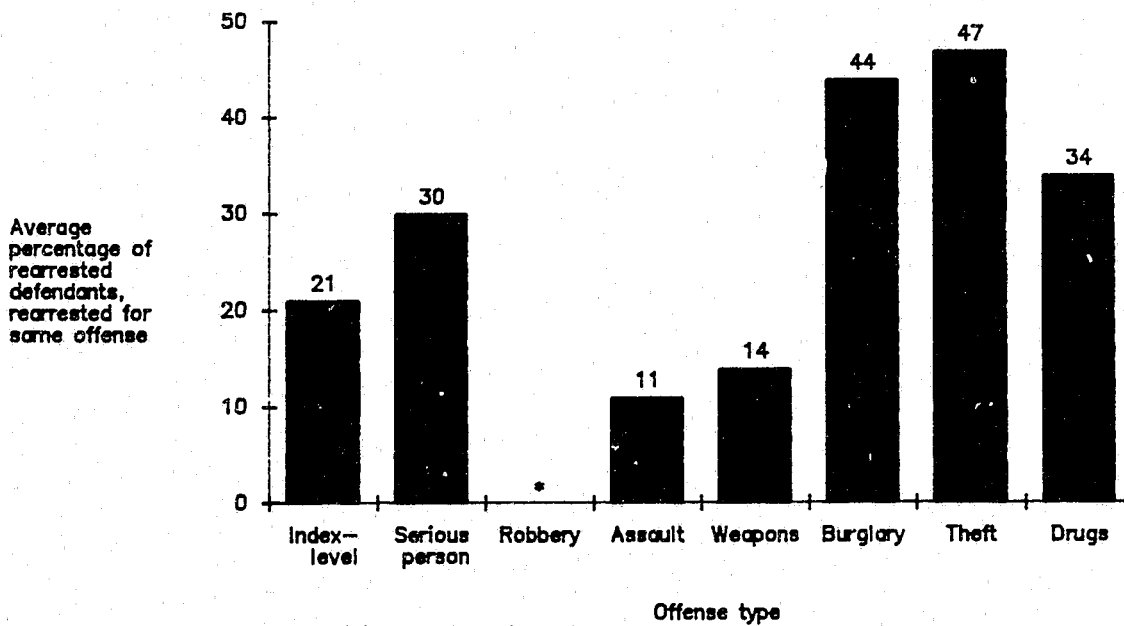
[Note: This excludes from analysis defendants not rearrested]

explanation for the lower probabilities that persons arrested for drug sales will be rearrested again for drug sales, it is unlikely to explain the moderate rearrest probabilities of persons arrested for possession.

Next, from Table A2.3, we found that a small number of sample defendants overall repeated specific offenses from one event to the next. Although as the number of rearrests increased, the probability that a next rearrest would follow grew as well, the chances that the next rearrest would be for the same offense usually remained small. Exceptions were found among those charged with theft, robbery or drug offenses.

When we examined only those defendants rearrested at each stage, large proportions of the rearrests were accounted for by rearrests for the same offense. In this category, persons with initial drug charges seemed to stand out.

Time From Arrest to First Rearrest

Conceivably, the public safety could be as affected by the timing of rearrests for particular kinds of crimes as by the kind and number of rearrests. For example, the fact that a certain proportion of defendants are many months later rearrested for burglary may pose a different kind of concern for a jurisdiction from the fact that drug crime or theft rearrests occur very soon after the initial court event among cohort defendants. Do persons rearrested for drug crimes differ from persons rearrested for other kinds of crimes in how quickly they appear to reoffend (or, at least, are rearrested)?

Figure 2.12 compares the timing of first rearrests for any kind of offense during the follow-up periods in the three jurisdictions. Note that although roughly similar proportions of defendants are ultimately rearrested in each of the sites by the end of the follow-up periods, the 1987 Dade felony defendants, who, as we have just mentioned, distinguished themselves by high rates of drug and theft crime rearrests, also distinguish themselves by earlier and sharply increasing rates of rearrest throughout the follow-up period. (Again, we should point out that what makes this especially remarkable is the fact--partially obscured by this collapsed figure--that the follow-up period for the 1987 defendants was 18 months as contrasted with four year follow-ups for the other two cohorts.)

Figures 2.13a through 2.15b show the timing of rearrests for a selected number of offenses in each of the cohorts during the follow-up periods. (The cumulative line graphs reach a common point at the end of the follow-up period indicating that 100 percent of the rearrests of each kind have occurred.) A first finding is that the slope of the line is very roughly similar regardless of the offense-type examined. That is, the rate of first rearrest depend

Figure 2.13a   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Maricopa County defendants rearrested during
                 follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offenses
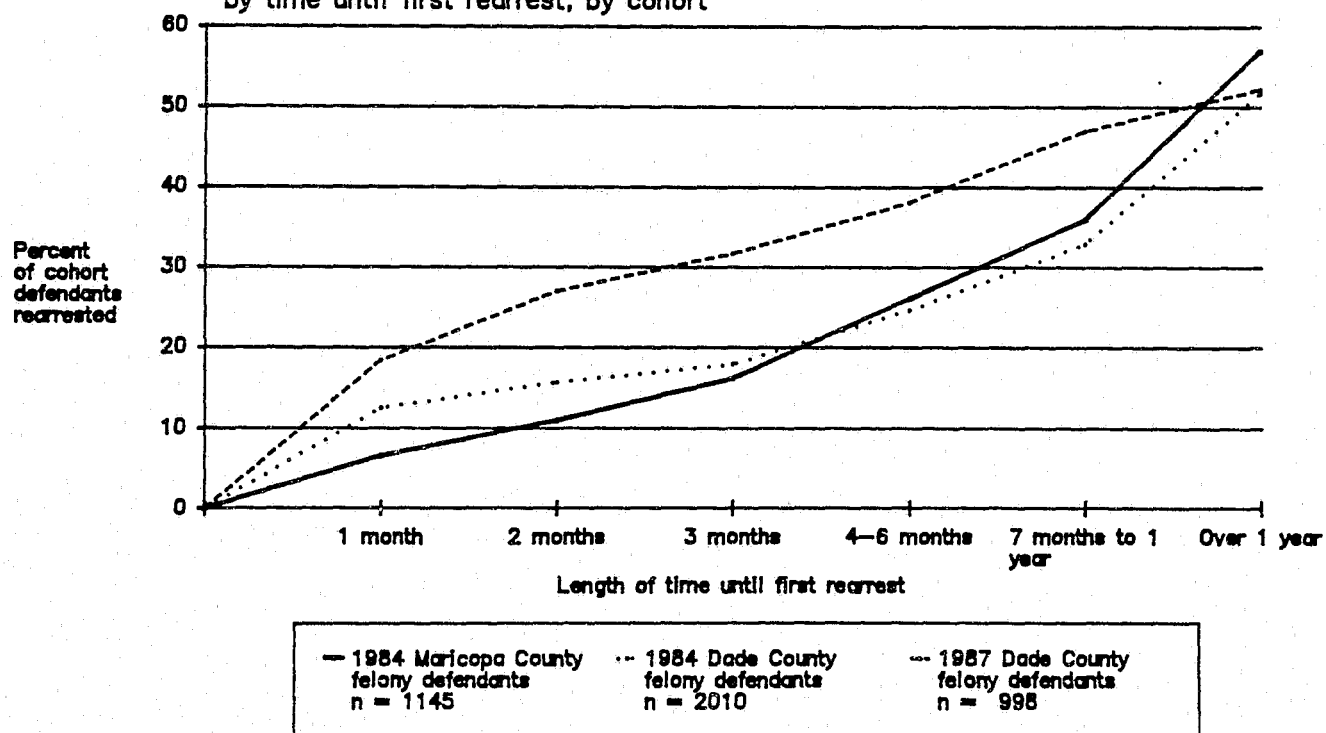

Figure 2.13b   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Maricopa County defendants rearrested during
                 follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Figure 2.14a   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Figure 2.14b   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Figure 2.15a   Cumulative percentages of 1987 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up
                period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense
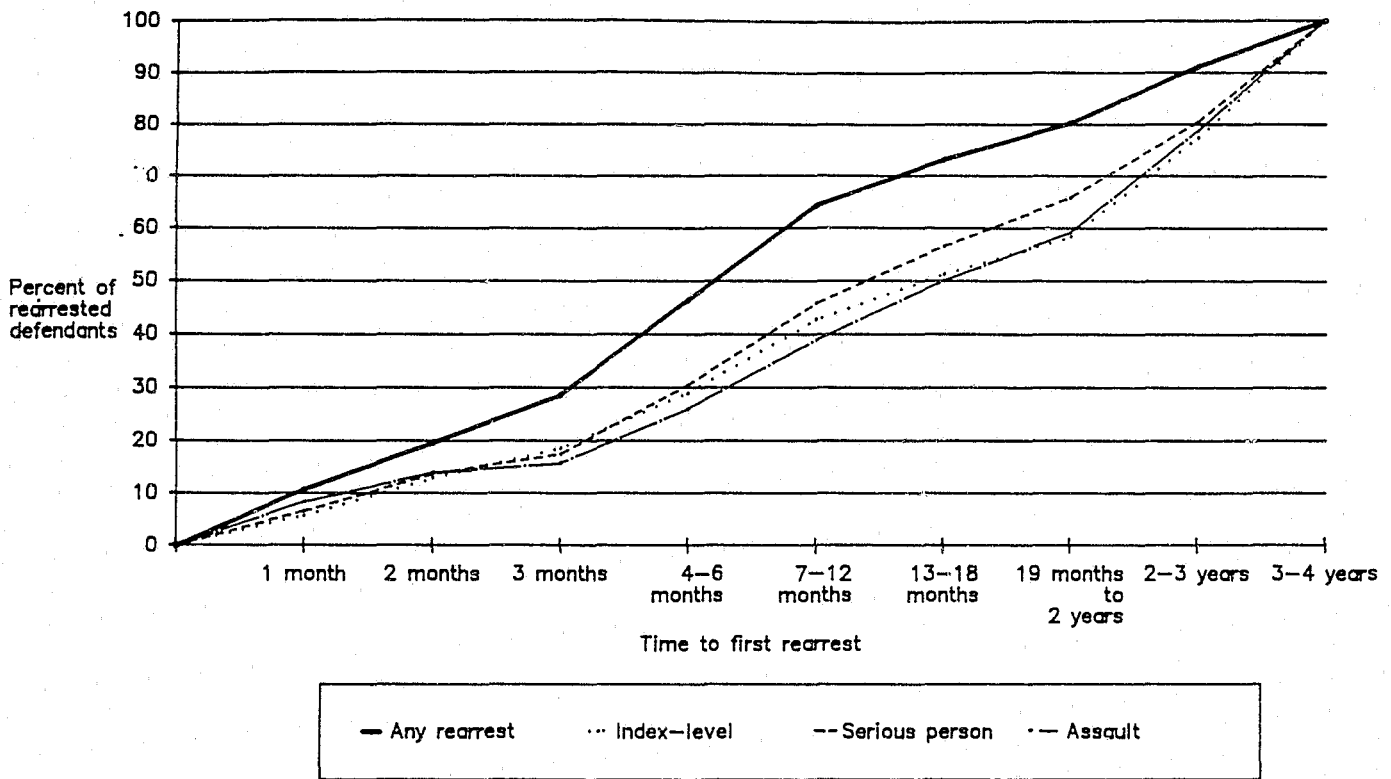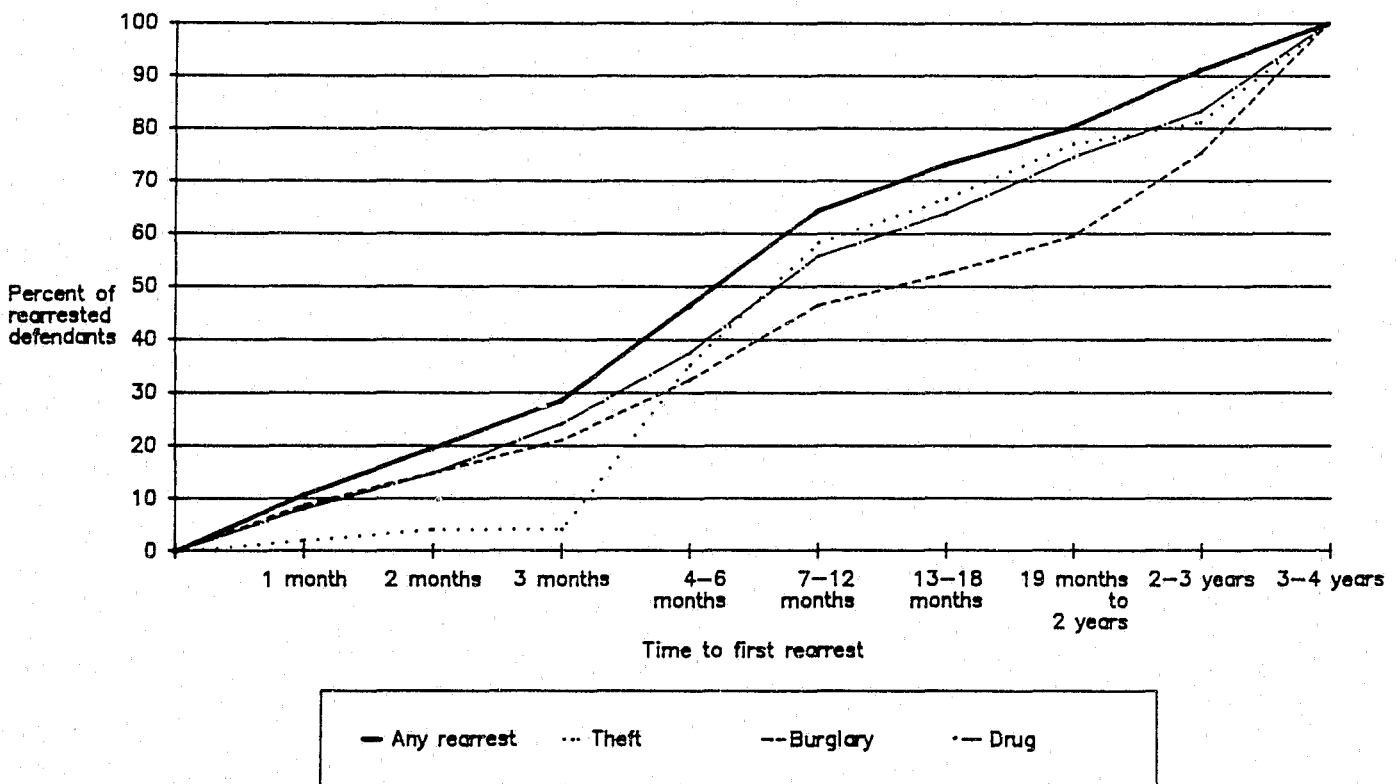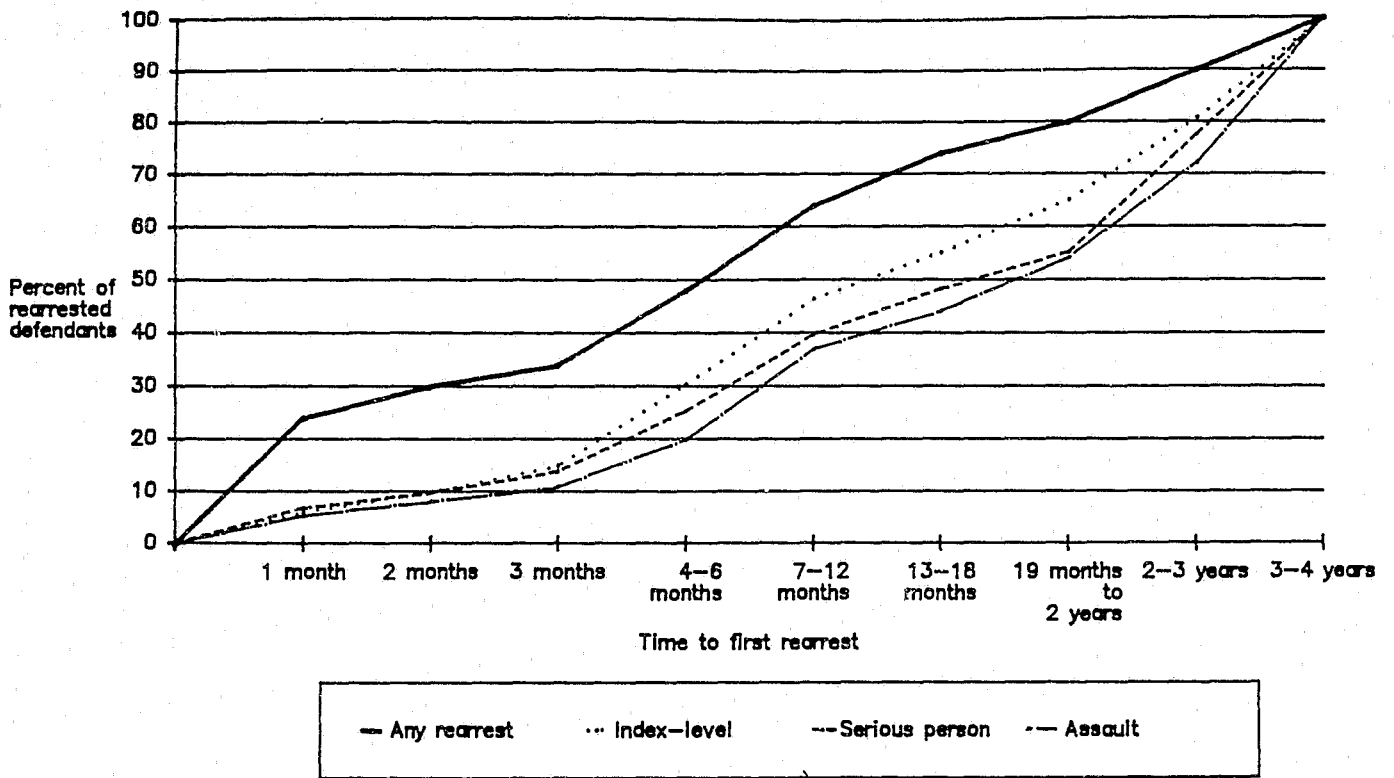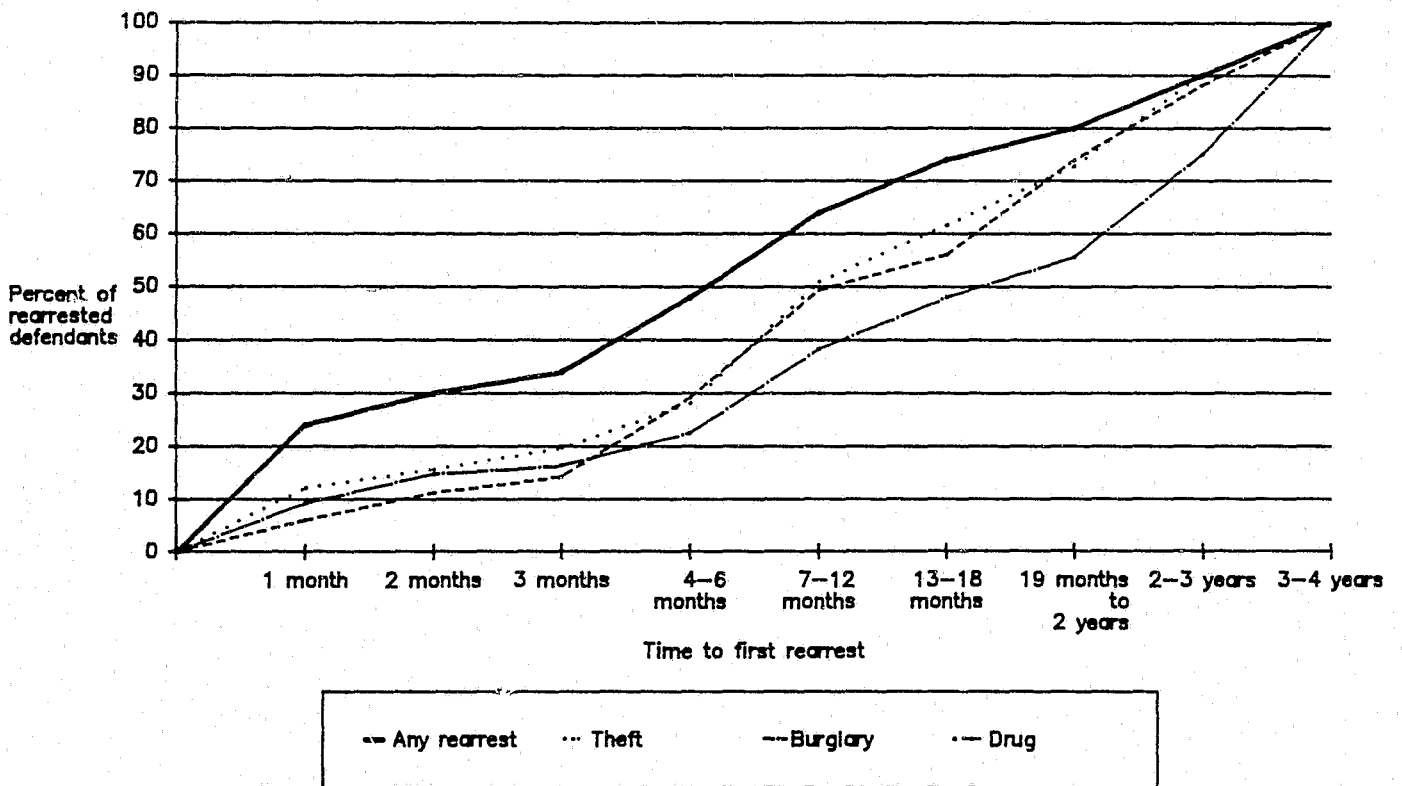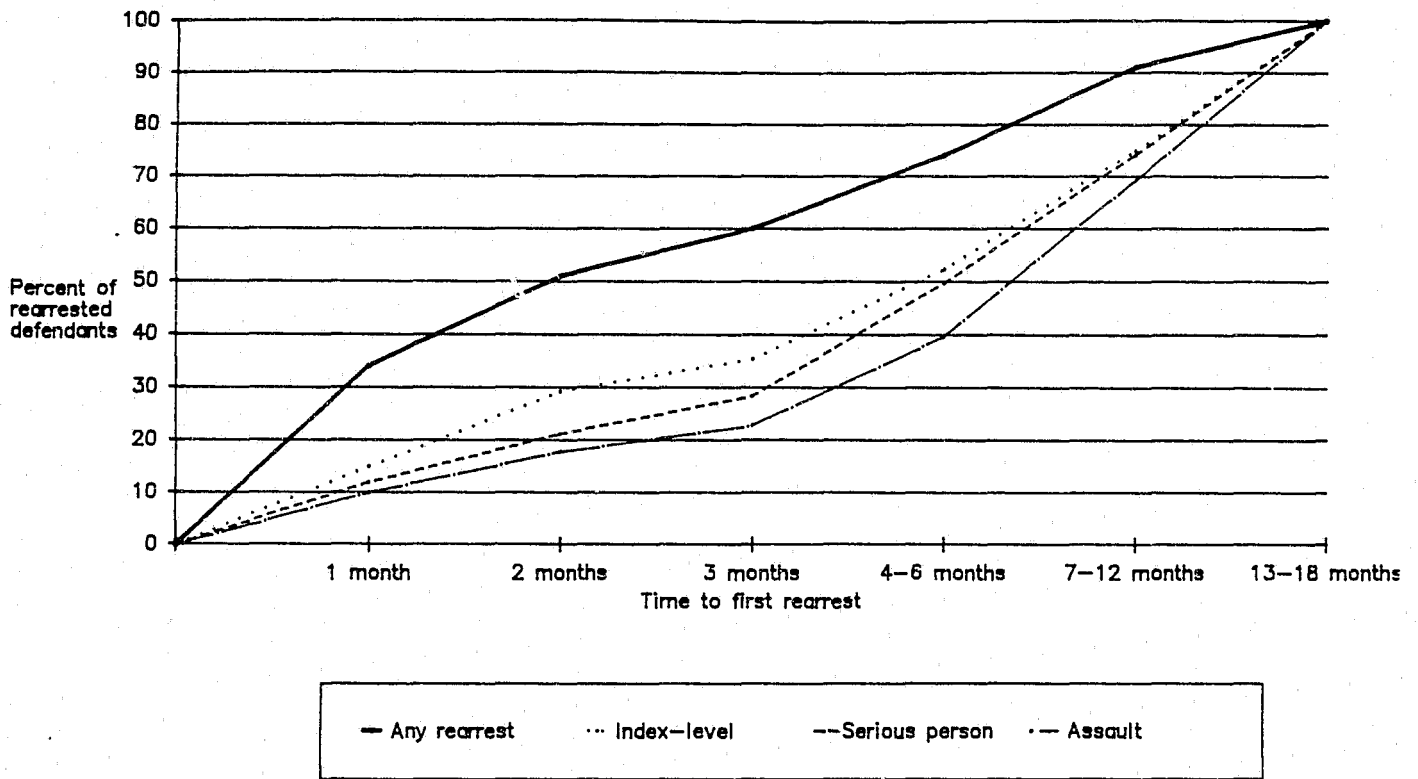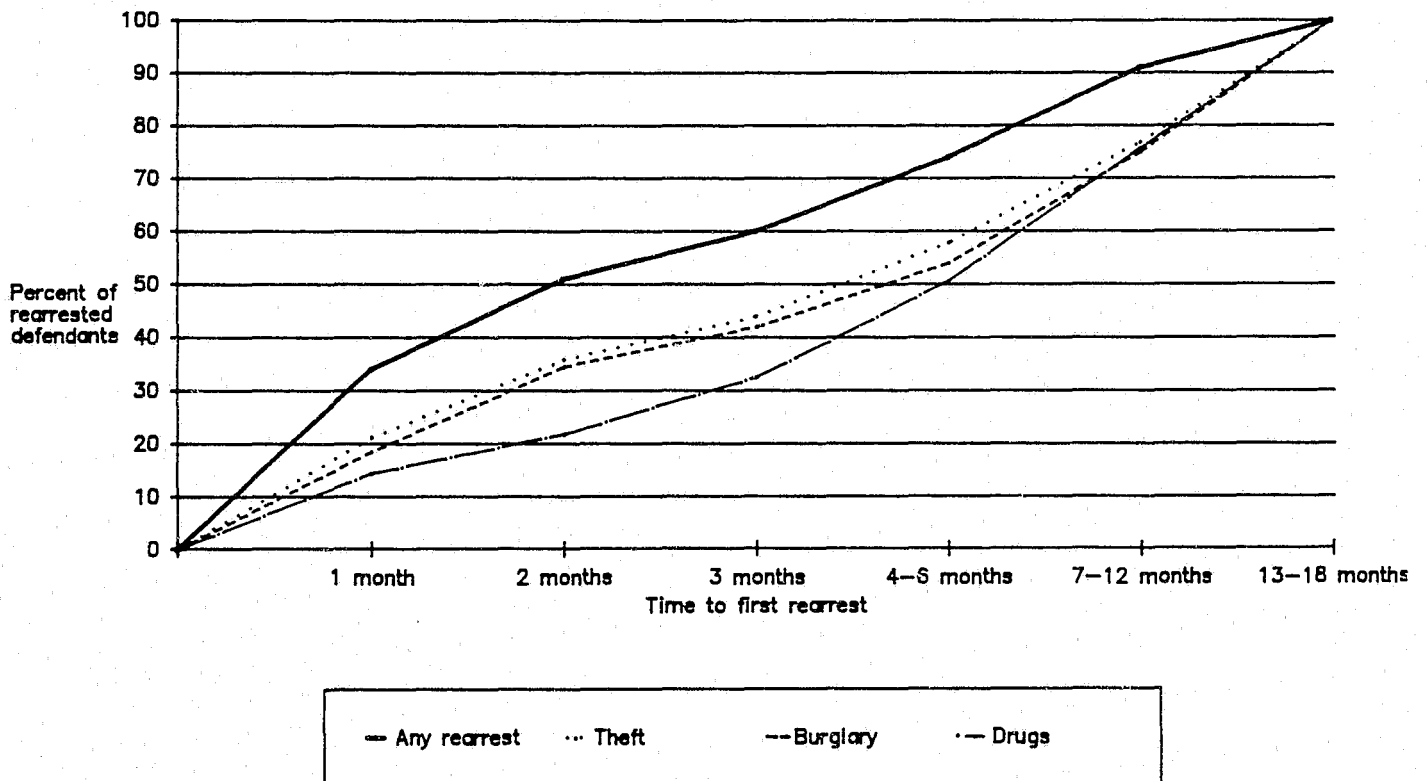

Figure 2.15b   Cumulative percentages of 1987 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up
                period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Chapter Three

**USING DRUG-RELATED ATTRIBUTES OF CRIMINAL CASES TO PREDICT LATER REARRESTS:
CLASSIFICATION OF THE COHORT DEFENDANTS ON THE BASIS OF DRUG CHARGES AND PRIOR
ARRESTS**

In Chapter Two of this report we considered the comparative role of drug-crime (rearrests) among the overall crime produced by the three defendant cohorts in the Maricopa County and Dade County sites. Most simply summarized, we noted its sizeable contribution in the subsequent offending produced by the cohort defendants and its differences with other kinds of rearrests in repetitiveness and timing. (We also reported that these themes played out differently in each cohort sample, preventing the formulation of simple interpretations.) In this chapter we begin to address the more commonly held assumption that drug related attributes of "current" criminal cases/defendants are closely tied to the risk of future offending. Beginning in this chapter and continuing into the next, we organize our approach to testing this assumption by making use of two-measures of "drug-relatedness" to classify cohort defendants. In this chapter, we employ an eight category classification resulting from knowledge of defendants' current charges (involving drug charges or not) and prior arrest histories (involving none, arrests for other crimes only, arrests for drug crimes only, arrests for other and drug crimes) to differentiate defendants and their cases on the basis of drug-relatedness upon entry into the respective cohorts. In the next chapter, we add knowledge of defendant drug use from drug tests to develop a somewhat more complex drug-related classification of the 1987 Dade County defendants.[13]

A Two-Criteria Classification of Drug-relatedness Based on Drug Charges and Prior Arrests

Especially in the early stages of criminal proceedings, courts mainly are aware of the defendants criminal charges (whether they include drug charges or not) and prior criminal records (whether they include prior arrests or convictions for drug offenses). Courts may be made aware of defendant's self-reported drug use from pretrial services interviews conducted before the bail stage, although this information is often incomplete and unreliable. (Defendants often do not choose to divulge information about their use of illicit drugs and/or do not remember details over a period of time accurately. Pretrial services interviewers, where they exist, often do not believe the responses they obtain and sometimes do not bother to question the defendant thoroughly about drug use history.)

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[13] In a subsequent report, we weigh the usefulness of drug-related attributes of defendants' cases against other available information in developing a risk classification of subsequent rearrest.

In the rare jurisdiction that systematically drug-tests incoming arrestees, drug test results can offer another dimension for measuring the drug relatedness (drug use) of criminal cases--as we will show in Chapter Four.

A first conceptualization of drug-relatedness, one that we can measure in our data, merely classifies defendants on the basis of the presence of current drug charges and prior arrests for drug crimes. This is a reasonable first approach to classifying defendants on the basis of drug-relatedness because in many courts this information would be available. We could have chosen to use a current charge versus prior conviction matrix instead of one based on prior arrests; however, because of the loss of information about the nature of the alleged initial offense that may occur as cases move from charging to adjudication, we decided that arrests would provide a more inclusive measure of prior official contacts for drug crimes.

Using these two criteria, Figures 3.1 through 3.3 illustrate the progressive subdivision of cohort defendants into eight drug-related groupings, moving from "All Defendants" through the drug-charge and prior drug arrest partitions to the right-most column. The distributions of defendants according to this classification of drug-relatedness in the Maricopa County Superior Court felony cohort and in the 1984 misdemeanor/felony cohort from Dade County are remarkably similar. In both cohorts the largest groups in the classification were defendants with no drug charges and no prior arrests of any kind (31 percent of each cohort), followed by defendants with no drug charges and prior arrests for other but not drug offenses (24 percent of the Maricopa defendants and 31 percent of the 1984 Dade County defendants). The third largest grouping in the two cohorts consisted of defendants with no current (cohort-entry) drug charges and prior arrests for drug and other offenses (13 percent and 18 percent respectively). The next largest grouping in both sites consisted of defendants with current drug charges and no prior arrests of any kind.

This configuration of drug-related groupings did not resemble the classification of the 1987 Dade County felony defendants. (See Figure 3.3.) The eight-category column compares exactly with the classification described in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 for the other two cohorts. Using only current charge and prior history information, the largest group (27 percent) of 1987 Dade defendants consists of defendants with no drug charges and prior arrests for other (not drug) offenses. (Notice that only half the proportion of the 1987 defendants fell into the category with no drug charges and no prior arrests compared to the other cohorts.) The second largest category (22 percent) included defendants with no drug charges and with prior arrests for drug and other offenses. Because more 1987 defendants

Figure 3.1   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
               1984 Maricopa County felony defendants

                    DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

% of Total	Number
Attribute	

30.5%	353
No Priors	

Group 1

24.5%	284
Other Only	

Group 2

77.9%	901
No Drug Charges	

9.3%	108
Drugs Only	

Group 3

13.4%	155
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

100.0%	1157
All Defendants	

9.2%	106
No Priors	

Group 5

4.3%	50
Other Only	

Group 6

22.1%	256
Drug Charges	

4.5%	52
Drugs Only	

Group 7

4.2%	48
Drugs and Other	

Group 8

Figure 3.2   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
              1984 Dade County felony defendants

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

% of Total	Number
Attribute	

30.5%	624
No Priors	

Group 1

30.5%	624
Other Only	

Group 2

82.4%	1705
No Drug Charges	

3.0%	61
Drugs Only	

Group 3

18.4%	381
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

100.0%	2073
All Defendants	

7.1%	147
No Priors	

Group 5

4.6%	96
Other Only	

Group 6

17.6%	365
Drug Charges	

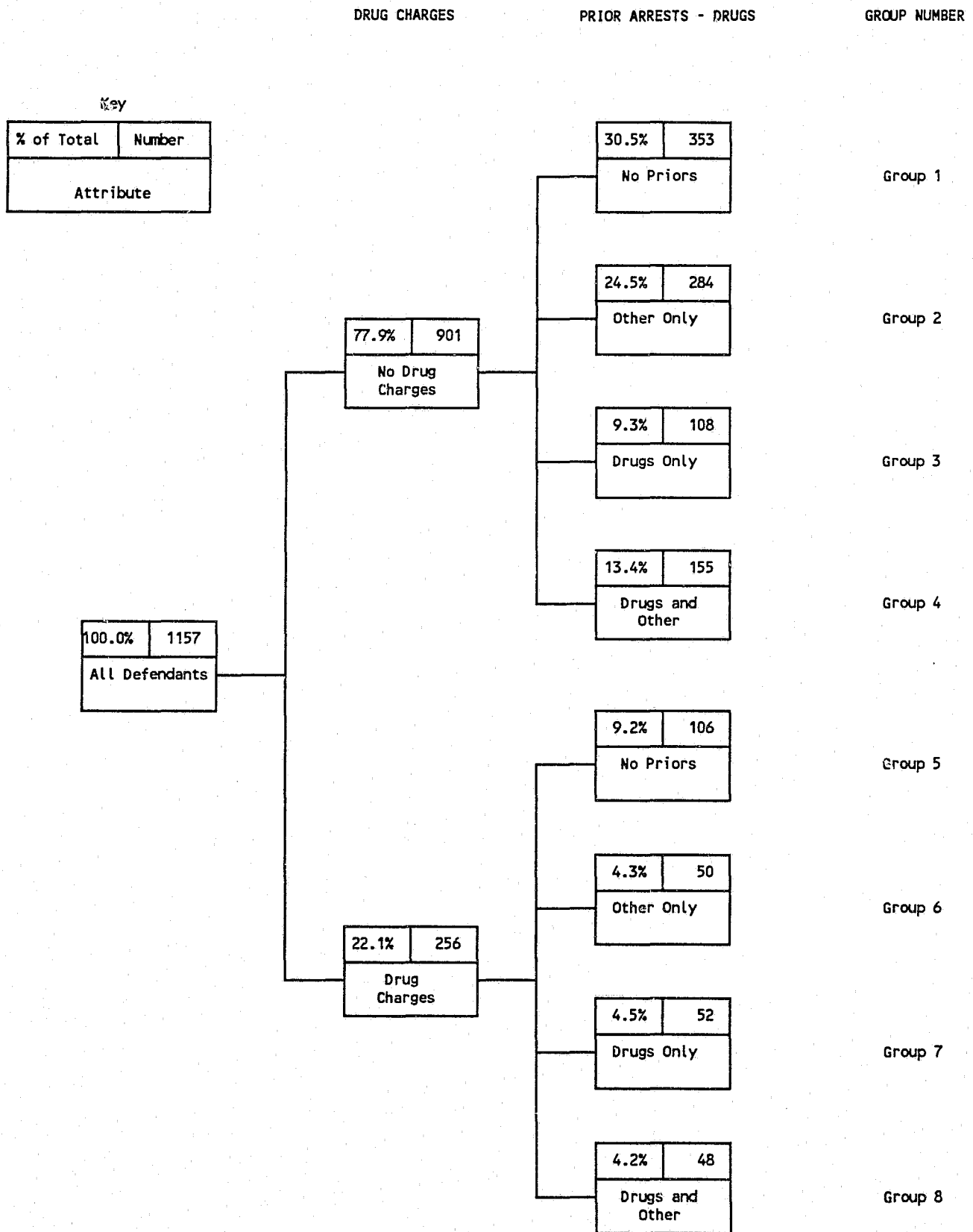| 1.0%	21
Drugs Only	

Group 7

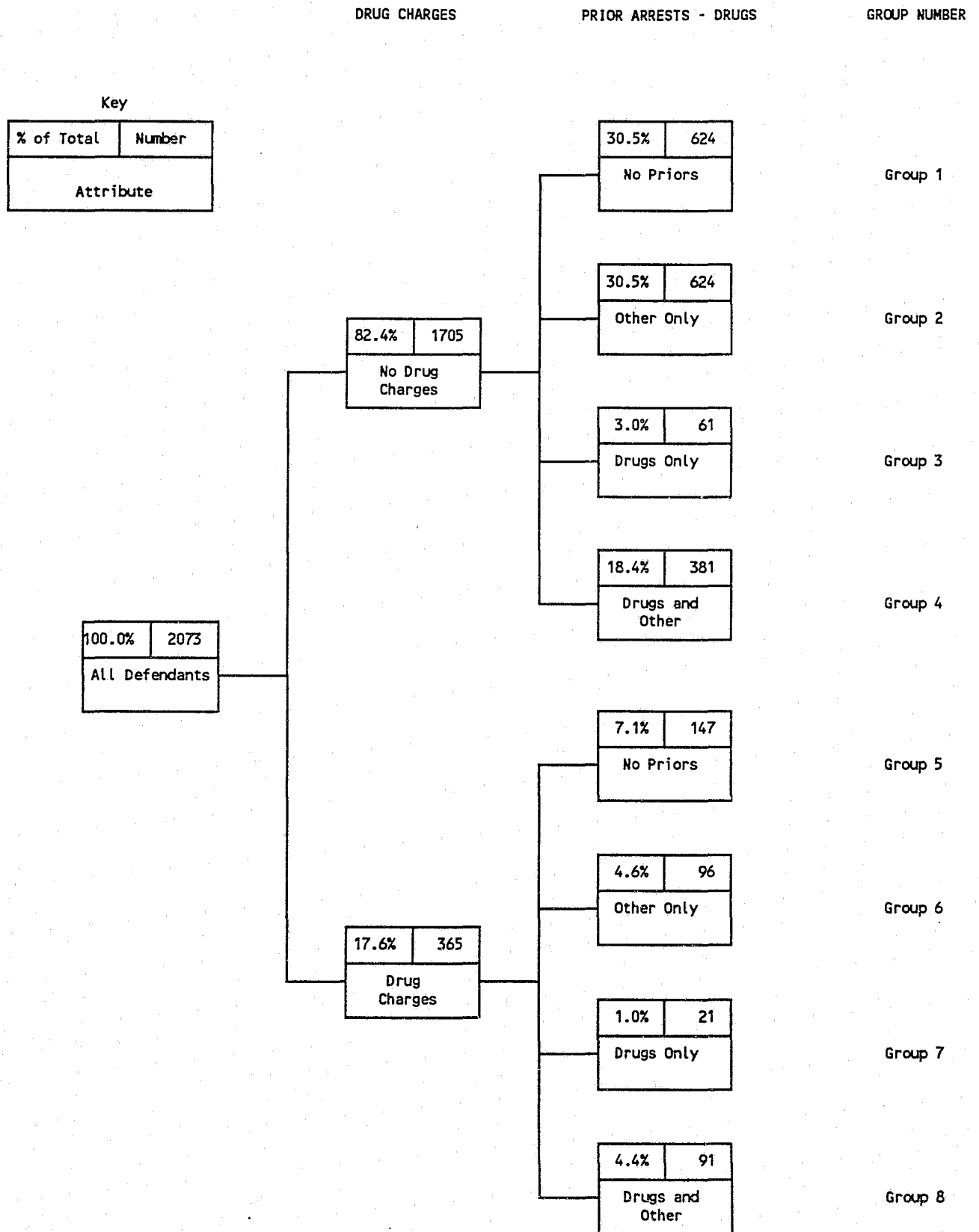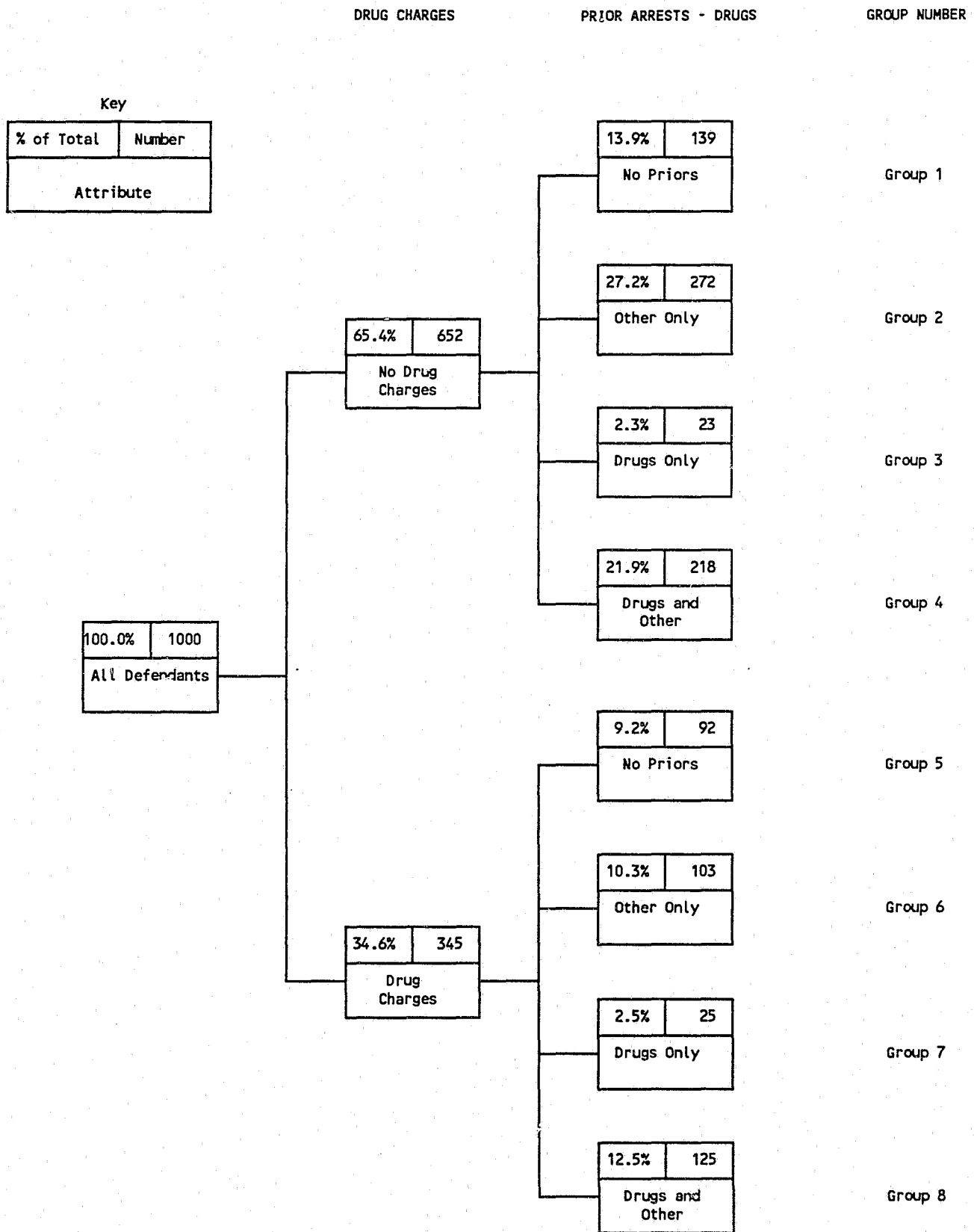| 4.4%	91
Drugs and Other	

Group 8

Figure 3.3   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

% of Total	Number
Attribute	

13.9%	139
No Priors	

Group 1

27.2%	272
Other Only	

Group 2

65.4%	652
No Drug Charges	

2.3%	23
Drugs Only	

Group 3

21.9%	218
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

100.0%	1000
All Defendants	

9.2%	92
No Priors	

Group 5

10.3%	103
Other Only	

Group 6

34.6%	345
Drug Charges	

2.5%	25
Drugs Only	

Group 7

12.5%	125
Drugs and Other	

Group 8

had drug charges, more also were distributed among the derivative drug-related groupings. About 13 percent fell into the group having drug charges and prior arrests for drug and other offenses; 10 percent had drug charges and prior arrests for other (not drug) offenses.

Using the eight group classification produced by considering defendants current charges (no, yes) and prior arrests (none, for other offenses only, for drug offenses only, for other and drug offenses), 39 percent of the 1984 Dade cohort and 44 percent of the 1984 Maricopa cohort were classifiable as "drug-related" in some fashion. Fifty-nine percent of the 1987 Dade cohort was drug-related. Figures 3.4 through 3.6 and Table 3.1 illustrate the use of this classification as a tool for analyzing variation in later rearrests among cohort defendants.

Rearrests for Any Offenses

Figures 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 show the overall or base rate for rearrest in each of the cohorts in the left-most box ("All Defendants") which serves as a point of comparison with the rearrest rates for each of the drug-related subcategories of defendants produced by the classification. Interestingly, dividing the sample merely on the basis of drug charges does not differentiate defendants on the basis of later rearrests in any of the sites very well. Further subdivision into prior arrest-related subgroupings does, however.

In each of the sites, the charge/priors drug-related classification produces categories of defendants showing a range of rates of later rearrest, from much lower than the relevant base rates to much higher. (See Table 3.1.) Also, remarkably there is some general correspondence across sites in the relative ranking of defendant categories according to probability of rearrest. For example, defendants in group 1 (no drug charges/no prior arrests) and defendants in group 5 (drug charges/no prior arrests) show the lowest rates of later rearrest in each of the sites. Similarly, defendants in groups 4 (no drug charges/prior arrests for drug and other offenses) and 8 (drug charges and prior arrests for drug and other offenses) rank highest in rearrests in each of the sites. The least "recidivistic" group of any site was group 1 of the 1987 Dade felony defendants (no drug charges/no prior arrests). The most rearrests were recorded among 1984 Maricopa felony defendants in group 8 (drug charges/prior arrests for drug and other offenses).

Rearrest for Index-level Offenses

Table 3.2 presents the findings using this drug-related framework analyzing rearrests among defendant cohorts for index-level offenses specifically. (Recall that our use of "index" drops auto theft and larceny from the

Figure 3.4   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
               1984 Maricopa County felony defendants by rearrest during 4-year follow-up

                              DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

```
         Key
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│ % of Base│Base Number│
├──────────┴───────────┤
│      Attribute        │
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  42.4%   │    349    │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│      No Priors        │        Group 1
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  64.1%   │    281    │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│     Other Only        │        Group 2
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  56.6%   │    892    │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│      No Drug          │
│      Charges          │
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  58.3%   │    108    │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│     Drugs Only        │        Group 3
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  74.0%   │    154    │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│     Drugs and         │        Group 4
│      Other            │
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  57.2%   │   1145    │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│   All Defendants      │
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  45.2%   │    104    │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│     No Priors         │        Group 5
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  60.0%   │    50     │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│     Other Only        │        Group 6
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  59.3%   │    253    │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│      Drug             │
│      Charges          │
└──────────────────────┘
```

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  62.7%   │    51     │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│     Drugs Only        │        Group 7
└──────────────────────┘
```

[Note: Percentages refer to percentage of defendants in category
        rearrested. Number refers to total number of defendants
        falling into given category.]

```
┌──────────┬───────────┐
│  85.4%   │    48     │
├──────────┴───────────┤
│     Drugs and         │        Group 8
│      Other            │
└──────────────────────┘
```
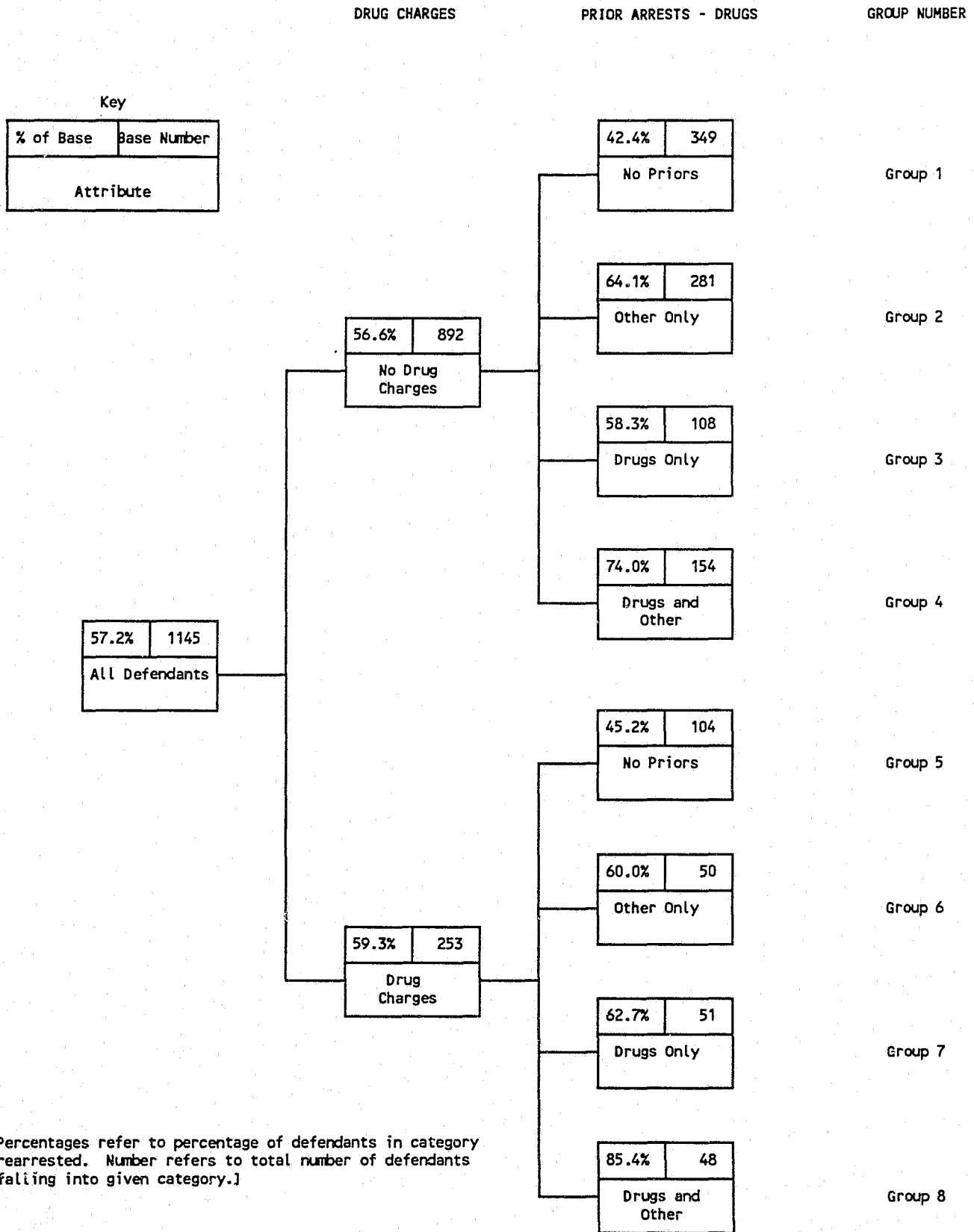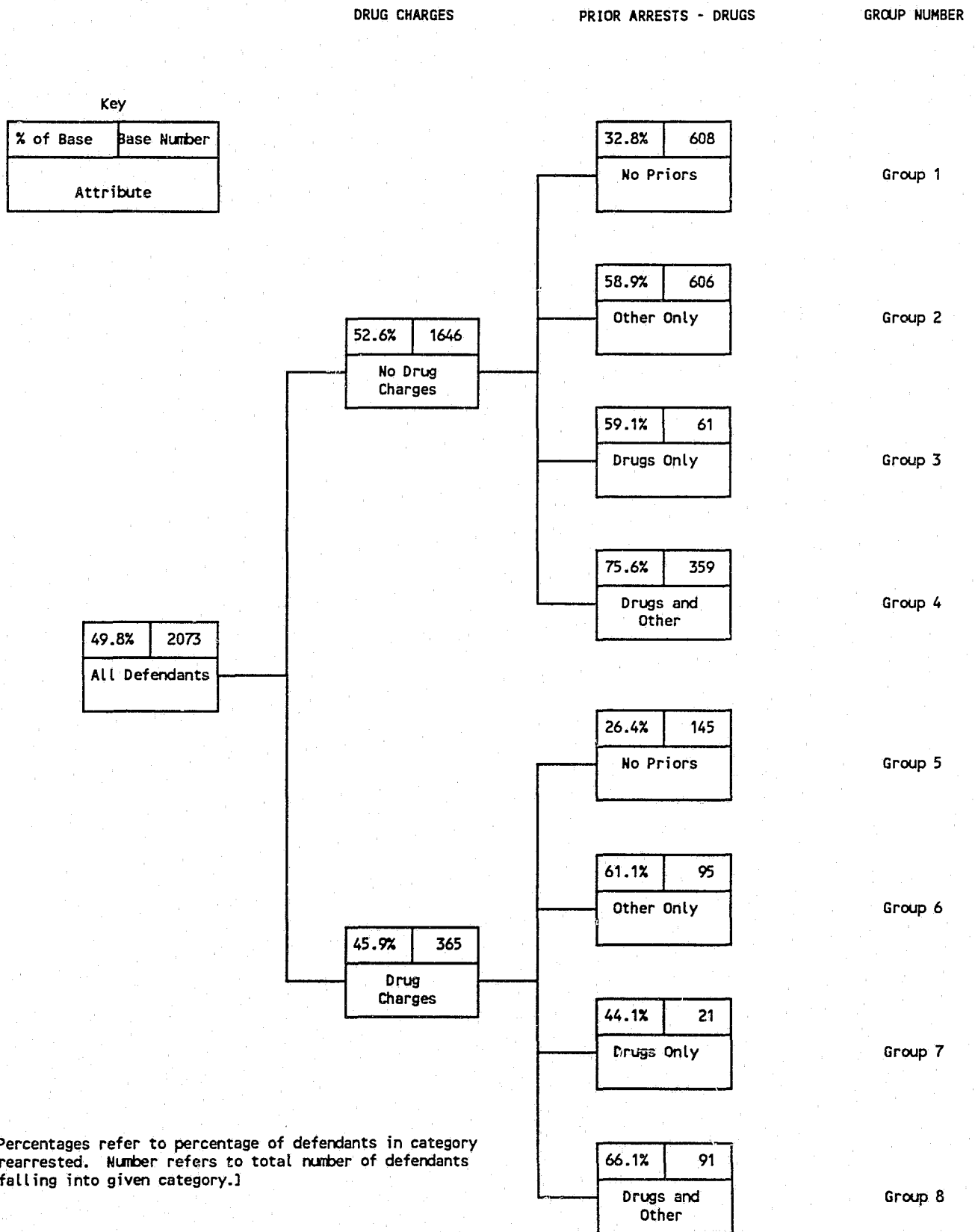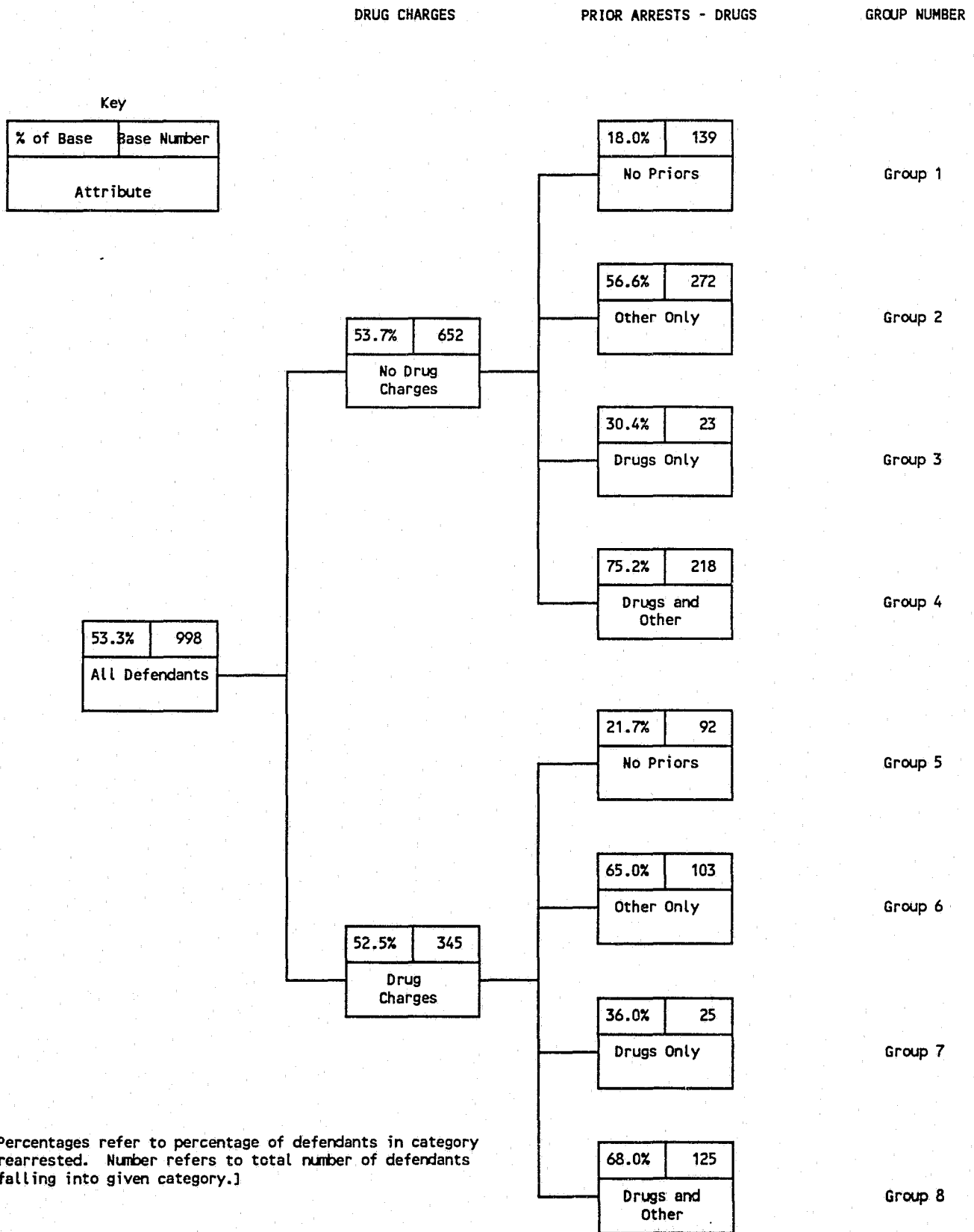
Figure 3.5   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
1984 Dade County felony defendants by rearrest during 4-year follow-up

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

% of Base	Base Number
Attribute	

32.8%	608
No Priors	

Group 1

58.9%	606
Other Only	

Group 2

52.6%	1646
No Drug Charges	

59.1%	61
Drugs Only	

Group 3

75.6%	359
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

49.8%	2073
All Defendants	

26.4%	145
No Priors	

Group 5

61.1%	95
Other Only	

Group 6

45.9%	365
Drug Charges	

44.1%	21
Drugs Only	

Group 7

[Note: Percentages refer to percentage of defendants in category
rearrested. Number refers to total number of defendants
falling into given category.]

66.1%	91
Drugs and Other	

Group 8

Figure 3.6   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
              1987 Dade County felony defendants by rearrest during 18 month follow-up

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

% of Base	Base Number
Attribute	

18.0%	139
No Priors	

Group 1

56.6%	272
Other Only	

Group 2

53.7%	652
No Drug Charges	

30.4%	23
Drugs Only	

Group 3

75.2%	218
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

53.3%	998
All Defendants	

21.7%	92
No Priors	

Group 5

65.0%	103
Other Only	

Group 6

52.5%	345
Drug Charges	

36.0%	25
Drugs Only	

Group 7

[Note: Percentages refer to percentage of defendants in category
rearrested. Number refers to total number of defendants
falling into given category.]

68.0%	125
Drugs and Other	

Group 8

Table 3.1 The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for any offense during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Site					
	Maricopa 1984		Dade 1984		Dade 1987	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	(1145)	57.2	(1986)	49.8	(997)	53.3
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	42.4	(608)	32.8	(139)	18.0
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	64.1	(606)	58.9	(272)	56.6
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	58.3	(61)	59.1	(23)	30.4
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	74.0	(359)	75.6	(218)	75.2
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	45.2	(145)	26.4	(92)	21.7
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	60.0	(95)	61.1	(103)	65.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	62.7	(21)	44.1	(25)	36.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	85.4	(91)	66.1	(125)	68.0

FBI definition of offense seriousness.) In each cohort, defendant subgroups without drug charges show slightly higher rates of later rearrest for index-level offense. However, partitioning of defendants into prior arrest and drug charge subgroups produces eight categories with widely varying rates of rearrest for index crimes.

The effects of the classification of defendants using this approach are not quite as uniform across cohorts as in the analysis of rearrest for any kind of offense above or as successful in producing groups that differ clearly in their rates of rearrest from each other. Among Maricopa defendants, group 2 defendants (no drug charges/other prior arrests) showed the highest rate (29 percent) of index rearrests during the four year follow-up, a rate slightly higher than the cohort base rate of 21 percent. However, in Maricopa, defendants in groups 4, 6, 7, and 8 differed little from defendants in group 2 whose rates of index rearrests ranged from 24 to 26 percent, also slightly higher than the cohort average. The Maricopa classification did produce one group (group 5--defendants with drug charges and no prior arrests) with a much lower than average rate (10 percent) and another (group 1--defendants with no drug charges and no prior arrests) with a slightly lower than average rate (16 percent) of index-level rearrests during the four year follow-up.

Among the 1984 Dade County cohort groups 1 and 5 also showed much lower than base rate index rearrests and group 7 defendants (drug charges/prior drug arrests only) showed no such rearrests at all. Group 4 defendants(no drug charges/drug and other prior arrests) showed the highest rate (35 percent), well above the 20 percent cohort baseline for index rearrests. However, defendants in groups 2, 3, 6, and 8 did not differ notably in their later index reoffending, each showing rates slightly above the cohort average.

In a different variation, the charge/prior arrest classification of defendants applied to the 1987 Dade felony defendants produced four groups with very low index rearrest rates. Defendants in groups 1, 3, 5, and 7 showed only from 3 to 5 percent rearrested for index offenses compared to the cohort average of 20 percent. Like the drug-related classification of 1984 Dade cohort, the classification of the 1987 cohort produced one group, group 4 (no drug charges/drug and other prior arrests), with a much higher than base rate index reoffense rate (38 percent). Three groups (2, 6, 8) showed slightly above average reoffending rates for index offenses.

Despite the cohort to cohort variation in the effects of the drug-related classification, it is fair to say that by combining a few of the charge/prior arrests subcategories in the framework, groups of defendants having low, medium and higher rearrest rates for index offenses could be derived in each site.

Table 3.2   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for index charges during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984		Site Dade 1984		Dade 1987	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	(1145)	21.1	(1986)	20.4	(997)	20.0
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	16.3	(608)	9.3	(139)	3.0
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	29.2	(606)	24.7	(272)	22.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	14.8	(61)	26.8	(23)	4.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	26.0	(359)	35.0	(218)	38.0
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	9.6	(145)	7.0	(92)	5.0
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	26.0	(95)	29.7	(103)	21.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	23.5	(21)	0.0	(25)	4.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	25.0	(91)	24.1	(125)	23.0

Rearrests for Serious Crimes Against the Person

Even fewer defendants were rearrested for serious crimes against the person[14] in each of the cohorts, ranging only from 16 percent of the 1987 Dade felony defendants and 18 percent of the 1984 Dade defendants to 19 percent of the 1984 Maricopa felony defendants. Table 3.3 shows that the charge/prior arrest classification does single out higher and lower serious person rearrest categories in each cohort. In Maricopa County group 5 defendants (drug charges/no prior arrest) are distinguished with a very low rate (8 percent) of serious person rearrests, less than half the cohort base rate. Four groups (1, 3, 7, 8) show similarly "medium" rearrest rates for serious crimes against the person, ranging from 15 to 17 percent. Groups 2 and 6 (at 26 percent) show the highest serious person rearrest rates, nearly 50 percent higher than the base rate. What these higher groups have in common is defendants with other (not drug) prior arrests only.

In contrast, among the 1984 Dade defendants, defendants in group 1 (no drug charges/no prior arrests) with 8 percent and group 7 (drug charges/prior arrests for drug offenses only) with 7 percent showed serious person rearrest rates at less than half the cohort base rate of 18 percent. One group, group 4 defendants (no drug charges/drug and other prior arrests), stood out with the highest serious person rate of 35 percent, nearly twice the cohort base rate. Groups 2, 3 and 6 show similarly slightly higher than average serious person reoffending rates.

The Dade 1987 cohort produces yet another variation in serious person rearrest rates when the charge/prior arrest classification is applied. Like the 1984 Dade sample, the 1987 Dade sample recorded very low rearrest rates for serious crimes against the person among group 1 defendants (4 percent). However, like the Maricopa cohort, the 1987 Dade cohort also showed very low serious person crime rates among defendants in group 5 (2 percent), and group 1 (4 percent) the two groups having in common no prior arrests for any kind of offense. Reasonably low rates (9 and 8 percent respectively) were generated by group 3 and group 7 defendants, having in common prior arrests only for drug offenses. Like the 1984 Dade cohort, the 1987 Dade sample showed the highest serious person arrest rate (27 percent) among group 4 defendants (no drug charges/drug and other prior arrests).

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[14] Serious crimes against the person include assaults, kidnapping, rape, robbery, manslaughter, murder and arson with personal harm.

Table 3.3   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for serious crimes against the person during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984		Site Dade 1984		Dade 1987	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	(1145)	18.5	(1986)	18.4	(997)	15.8
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	14.6	(608)	8.0	(139)	4.3
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	26.3	(606)	22.0	(272)	13.6
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	16.7	(61)	24.3	(23)	8.7
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	21.4	(359)	34.5	(218)	26.6
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	7.7	(145)	13.0	(92)	2.2
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	26.0	(95)	23.9	(103)	21.4
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	15.7	(21)	7.4	(25)	8.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	14.6	(91)	18.0	(125)	22.4

Despite variations across cohorts, the drug-related classification of defendants based on charge/prior arrest criteria does distinguish groups of defendants with lower, medium and higher rates of rearrests for serious crimes against the person.

Rearrests for Robbery Offenses

Table 3.4 uses the charge/prior arrests classification to predict rearrests for robbery offenses during the follow-up periods. The first general finding is the very low numbers of rearrests for this crime category among each defendant cohort--7 and 6 percent of the Dade County 1984 and 1987 samples, and 3 percent of the Maricopa County felony sample. Given this fact, the classification has a difficult time differentiating lower from higher rate offenders when rearrests for robbery are generally so scarce in the samples. Higher rates of robbery rearrest were located among group 4 defendants (no drug charges/arrests for drug and other offenses) in each site, although at worst only 13 percent in the two Dade samples were rearrested for robbery.

Rearrest for Weapons Offenses

Table 3.5 summarizes the relationship between the charge/priors drug-related classification and rearrest for weapons offenses during the follow-up periods. Among Maricopa County defendants who rarely (4 percent of the time) were rearrested for weapons offenses, the classification proved of little value. Among the 1984 Dade County defendants, low, medium and higher rate categories were identified. Defendants in groups 1, 5 and 7 showed lower rates of rearrests for weapons offenses. Defendants in group 4 (no drug charges/drug and other prior arrests) showed the highest rate (25 percent), roughly twice the cohort base rate (13 percent). When applied to the 1987 Dade defendants, the classification did not discriminate the rate of reoffending as well. Four groups (1, 3, 5, 7), however, were identified as having extremely low reoffending rates for weapons offenses (ranging from 0 to 4 percent). Groups 4 and 6 defendants showed the highest rates (at 15 and 16 percent respectively).

Rearrest for Assault Offenses

Table 3.6 displays the results of the analysis when the drug-related classification is applied with a focus on rearrests for assault offenses during the follow-up period. The base rates for assault rearrests were strikingly similar across sites, ranging only from 11 to 12 percent of cohort defendants. Among Maricopa County defendants, assault rearrests did not vary notably according to the drug-related subgroup. Among the 1984 Dade County defendants, the classification was more successful. Group 1 defendants (5 percent) and group 7 defendants (0 percent) show

Table . 3.4   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for robbery during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984 Number	Maricopa 1984 Percent	Site Dade 1984 Number	Dade 1984 Percent	Dade 1987 Number	Dade 1987 Percent
Total	(1145)	2.8	(1986)	6.7	(997)	6.0
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	1.1	(608)	1.4	(139)	1.0
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	5.0	(606)	9.2	(272)	5.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	2.8	(61)	7.6	(23)	4.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	5.2	(359)	12.5	(218)	13.0
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	0.0	(145)	4.9	(92)	1.0
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	6.0	(95)	9.8	(103)	8.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	0.0	(21)	0.0	(25)	0.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	0.0	(91)	5.1	(125)	6.0

Table 3.5   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for weapons offenses during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984 Number	Maricopa 1984 Percent	Dade 1984 Number	Dade 1984 Percent	Dade 1987 Number	Dade 1987 Percent
Total	(1145)	4.3	(1986)	12.6	(997)	10.4
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	2.3	(608)	5.2	(139)	4.3
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	7.8	(606)	14.7	(272)	9.6
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	4.6	(61)	15.2	(23)	0.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	4.5	(359)	24.8	(218)	14.7
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	1.0	(145)	9.8	(92)	4.3
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	4.0	(95)	16.4	(103)	15.5
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	3.9	(21)	7.4	(25)	0.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	4.2	(91)	12.9	(125)	16.0

The table is headed by a "Site" label spanning the three site columns (Maricopa 1984, Dade 1984, Dade 1987).

very low assault rearrest rates. Group 4 defendants were distinguished by a rearrest rate nearly twice as high as the cohort base rate (12 percent). Thus, later assault rearrests seemed tied to persons without drug charges who had prior arrest for drug and other offenses. Among the 1987 Dade cohort, the classification was not quite as successful. Roughly half of the drug-related subgroups showed rates (from 4 to 9 percent) below the cohort average, while the other half showed rates above the average (at from 15 to 17 percent).

Rearrest for Burglary Offenses

Table 3.7 shows first that the three cohorts differed in their base rates for later burglary rearrests, ranging from 10 percent of defendants in the Maricopa County sample, and 14 percent in the 1984 Dade sample to 20 percent in the 1987 Dade sample (which, the reader will recall had the much shorter follow-up period). In the 1984 Dade sample, defendants with drug charges recorded slightly fewer (11 percent) burglary rearrests than defendants without drug charges (15 percent). When the Maricopa defendants are subdivided by criminal charges, the two resulting groups differ little in their subsequent rearrest rates for burglary. In the Dade 1987 cohort, however, the division of defendants into drug-charged and non-drug-charged groups showed a striking difference in later burglary rearrests: 24 percent of defendants with no drug charges compared to 13 percent of defendants with drug charges were later rearrested for burglary at least once.

Among Maricopa County defendants, group 4, group 8 and group 2 defendants showed burglary rearrests at higher than the cohort base rate. (See Table 3.7.) The same finding holds for the 1984 Dade cohort, although with systematically higher rearrest rates for burglary. What these groups had in common were prior arrests for drug and other offenses. In Maricopa, defendant groups 1, 3 and 5 showed much lower than base rate burglary rearrests. In the 1984 Dade sample groups 1, 3, 5, and 7 showed very low rates of burglary rearrest.

Among the 1987 Dade felony defendants, the highest rate (36 percent) was found among group 4 defendants as well, with group 2 defendants earning second position (at 27 percent). Groups 1 and 7 showed very low burglary rates (2 and 0 percent respectively); group 3 and 5 showed low rates (9 and 7 percent respectively).

Rearrest for Theft Offenses

The three cohorts differed as well in the number of rearrests for theft offenses generated during the follow-up period: 5 percent of Maricopa defendants, 23 percent of the 1984 Dade defendants, and 28 percent of the 1987 Dade defendants had theft rearrests. (See Table 3.8.) The charge/prior arrests classification did not distinguish

Table 3.6 The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for assault during follow-up

| Drug-related Classification | Site | | | | | |
| | Maricopa 1984 | | Dade 1984 | | Dade 1987 | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	(1145)	10.9	(1986)	12.1	997	11.0
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	7.7	(608)	5.2	139	4.0
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	15.7	(606)	13.6	272	9.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	10.2	(61)	19.2	23	9.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	9.7	(359)	23.4	218	17
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	7.7	(145)	8.1	92	1.0
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	14.0	(95)	9.8	103	15.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	13.7	(21)	0.0	25	8.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	12.5	(91)	12.9	125	15.0

Table   3.7   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for burglary during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Site					
	Maricopa 1984		Dade 1984		Dade 1987	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	(1145)	9.6	(1986)	14.3	(997)	20.0
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	5.4	(608)	6.0	(139)	2.0
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	14.9	(606)	18.5	(272)	27.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	2.8	(61)	6.6	(23)	9.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	15.6	(359)	26.3	(218)	36.0
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	3.8	(145)	3.2	(92)	7.0
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	10.0	(95)	14.1	(103)	16.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	9.8	(21)	0.0	(25)	0.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	16.7	(91)	24.1	(125)	19.0

well among lower and higher theft rearrest categories among Maricopa felony defendants. In the two Dade cohorts,

division of defendants on the basis of their charges into two groups (with drug charges and without drug charges)

made a slight difference among 1984 defendants (24 percent without drug charges compared to 20 percent with drug

charges were rearrested later for theft charges) and a sharp difference among the 1987 felony defendants (33

percent with drug charges and 19 percent without drug charges were rearrested for theft).

In both Dade cohorts, group 4 defendants (with no drug charges but with drug and other prior arrests)

showed the highest rates of rearrests for theft offenses during the follow-up. Thirty-nine percent of the 1984

defendants and 47 percent of the 1987 defendants in this category were later rearrested for at least one theft offense.

Defendants least likely to be rearrested for theft fell into groups 5 and 7 in both Dade cohorts. Among the 1984

defendants from 5 to 7 percent and among the 1987 defendants for 4 to 9 percent of defendants in these groups

were later rearrested for theft. In fact, at least as regards the Dade samples, the charge/prior arrest classification of

drug relatedness was reasonably successful in differentiating among groups of defendants on the basis of the

probability of rearrests for thefts.

Rearrest for Drug Offenses

However, perhaps the charge/prior arrest classification discriminates among defendants when the focus in

on rearrests for drug crimes, possession and sales/distribution. Tables 3.9 and 3.10 display the relationship between

this drug-related classification and subsequent reoffending for drug offenses. In each of the cohorts, subdivision of

defendants into the initial charge groupings results in categories with notable differences in the likelihood of

subsequent rearrest for drug offenses. In Maricopa County, persons with drug charges were 4 times more likely to

be rearrested later for possession offenses and 6 times more likely to be rearrested for sales/distribution offenses.

In the Dade County 1984 cohort, defendants with drug charges were twice as likely to be rearrested for possession

offenses than defendants without drug charges but only about as likely to be rearrested for sales/distribution

offenses. In the 1987 cohort of felony defendants, defendants with drug charges were nearly twice as likely as

defendants without drug charges to be rearrested for possession and more than twice as likely to be rearrested for

sales/distribution than those without drug charges.

Table 3.8 The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for theft during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984 Number	Maricopa 1984 Percent	Site Dade 1984 Number	Site Dade 1984 Percent	Dade 1987 Number	Dade 1987 Percent
Total	(1145)	4.9	(1986)	22.9	(997)	28.0
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	3.4	(608)	12.2	(139)	9.0
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	7.8	(606)	27.5	(272)	35.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	2.8	(61)	15.6	(23)	13.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	7.1	(359)	38.6	(218)	47.0
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	2.9	(145)	5.3	(92)	9.0
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	0.0	(95)	32.3	(103)	28.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	5.9	(21)	7.4	(25)	4.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	4.2	(91)	35.2	(125)	23.0

Table   3.9   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for possession of drugs during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Site					
	Maricopa 1984		Dade 1984		Dade 1987	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	(1145)	13.0	(1986)	19.6	(997)	24.7
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	5.4	(608)	9.3	(139)	6.5
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	7.8	(606)	19.3	(272)	18.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	8.3	(61)	19.2	(23)	13.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	13.0	(359)	34.3	(218)	29.8
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	22.1	(145)	13.0	(92)	18.5
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	20.0	(95)	36.3	(103)	35.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	41.2	(21)	36.8	(25)	28.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	52.1	(91)	36.2	(125)	48.8

Table   3.10   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for drug sales/distribution during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984		Site Dade 1984		Dade 1987	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	(1145)	4.5	(1986)	5.8	(997)	8.5
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	1.4	(608)	3.2	(139)	2.9
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	2.5	(606)	5.3	(272)	5.9
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	2.8	(61)	9.1	(23)	4.3
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	2.6	(359)	10.7	(218)	5.5
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	12.5	(145)	3.2	(92)	6.5
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	8.0	(95)	8.2	(103)	15.5
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	11.8	(21)	7.4	(25)	12.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	18.8	(91)	11.9	(125)	19.2

In each of the cohorts, defendants in group 8 (drug charges/prior arrests drug and other offenses) showed the greatest rates of rearrest for drug possession offenses (ranging from 36 percent among the 1984 Dade defendants, and 49 percent of the 1987 Dade defendants to 52 percent of in Maricopa). In the Dade 1984 cohort, defendants in groups 4, 6 and 7 showed possession rearrest rates equally high. Among the 1987 Dade defendants, groups 6, 4 and 7 formed a second highest ranking of rearrest for possession. In the Maricopa felony cohort, group 7 defendants were clearly second highest with a 41 percent rearrest rate.

Very unlikely to be rearrested for possession offenses were defendants in group 1 in the Dade 1984 cohort (9 percent), group 1 in the 1987 Dade cohort (7 percent) and in groups 1 (5 percent), 2 and 3 (8 percent) among the Maricopa felony defendants.

Due largely to the lower base rates, Table 3.10 does not show quite the same success in differentiating groups on the basis of likely rearrest for drug sales/distribution. Nevertheless, in Maricopa County, group 8 defendants were rearrested at a rate about 4 times the cohort average for sales/distribution. In the Dade 1984 cohort, groups 4 and 8 defendants were later rearrested for sales/distribution at twice the base rate (6 percent). In the 1987 Dade cohort, group 8 defendants were rearrested at twice the cohort base rate (9 percent) and group 6 defendants were rearrest nearly that often.

The Relationship between the Charge/Prior Arrest Drug Classification and Time Until the First Rearrest

We noted in Chapter Two that *when* reoffending occurs may be as important as *if* reoffending occurs when considering the implications of the drug-related criminal caseload for the public safety. Defendants may differ not only in whether they are rearrested during the follow-up period but also in when a rearrer might occur. Stated another way, the crime control interests of criminal justice would prefer that persons processed by the courts not reoffend at all; however, if a re-offense must occur, it would be desirable from the point of view of public safety to put it off as long as possible. During any given follow-up period, delayed reoffending may translate into reduced offending as well.

Table 3.11 and Figures 3.7 through 3.9 chart the implications of the drug-related charge/prior arrest classification for the timing of reoffending among rearrested cohort defendants. The average (median days) times until first rearrest among the two 1984 cohort defendants differed only slightly--Maricopa (216 days) and Dade (196

Table 3.11 The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by time (median days) until first rearrest during follow-up

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984		Site Dade 1984		Dade 1987	
	Number	Median	Number	Median	Number	Median
Total	(653)	216.0	(1032)	196.0	(530)	60.0
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(148)	235.0	(199)	169.0	(25)	46.0
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(180)	253.0	(357)	207.0	(153)	52.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(61)	204.0	(36)	198.0	(7)	60
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(114)	190.0	(270)	186.0	(163)	48.0
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(47)	216.0	(38)	418.0	(20)	106.5
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(30)	116.5	(58)	337.0	(67)	76.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(32)	176.0	(9)	401	(9)	147
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(41)	139.0	(60)	88.0	(85)	79.0

days). Among the 1987 Dade felony cohort, however, the average time to first rearrest was remarkably shorter, only about 60 days. (The early timing of reoffending in the 1987 Dade sample partially explains the high overall rate of rearrest within a comparatively short follow-up period.) Reoffending 1987 Dade felony defendants were rearrested in less than one-third of the time it took defendants who were rearrested in the other two cohorts.

Figures 3.7, 3.8 and 3.9 show that the first partitioning of defendants according to criminal charges makes a notable difference in the median time until first rearrest. Among the 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants, persons charged with drug offenses took a much shorter time (with a median of 155 days) than persons without drug charges to be rearrested (with a median of 231 days). Among defendants in both Dade County cohorts, the relationship is just the opposite, however. It appears that persons charged with drug offenses who were rearrested were rearrested notably later (with medians of 243 days in 1984 and 81 days in 1987) than persons without such charges (190 and 51 days respectively).

The charge/prior arrest classification does appear to show that the time to the first rearrest varied in each of the cohorts according to the drug relatedness of the criminal cohort. In the Maricopa County cohort, rearrested defendants in group 6 (drug charges/prior arrests other offenses) were the earliest to be rearrested (with a median of 117 days), followed by group 8 defendants (with a median of 139 days). Rearrested defendants in group 2 and 1 took the longest times to be rearrested (with medians of 253 and 235 days respectively).

Among the 1984 Dade defendants who were rearrested, defendants in group 8 (with drug charges/prior arrests for other and drug offenses) were the quickest to be rearrested (with a median of 88 days to first rearrest). The next quickest group of rearrestees, group 1 (with a median of 169 days) required nearly three times as long on average to first rearrest. Group 6 rearrestees required nearly one year (337 days), while groups 5 and 7 averaged over 400 days to the time of first rearrest during the follow-up period.

Among the 1987 Dade felony cohort, and contrary to conventional wisdom perhaps, rearrested defendants in group 1 (no drug charges/no prior arrests) were the quickest to be rearrested (with a median of 46 days to first rearrest), closely followed by group 2 and 4 defendants. Rearrested defendants in group 7 (with drug charges and prior arrests for drug offenses only) seemed to take the longest period of time to rearrest, averaging 147 days.

Figure 3.7   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
              1984 Maricopa County felony defendants by median days to first rearrest

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

Median Days	Rearrested
Attribute	

235.5	148
No Priors	

Group 1

256	180
Other Only	

Group 2

231	503
No Drug Charges	

204	61
Drugs Only	

Group 3

189.5	114
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

216	653
All Defendants	

216	47
No Priors	

Group 5

116.5	30
Other Only	

Group 6

154.5	150
Drug Charges	

175.5	32
Drugs Only	

Group 7

139	41
Drugs and Other	

Group 8
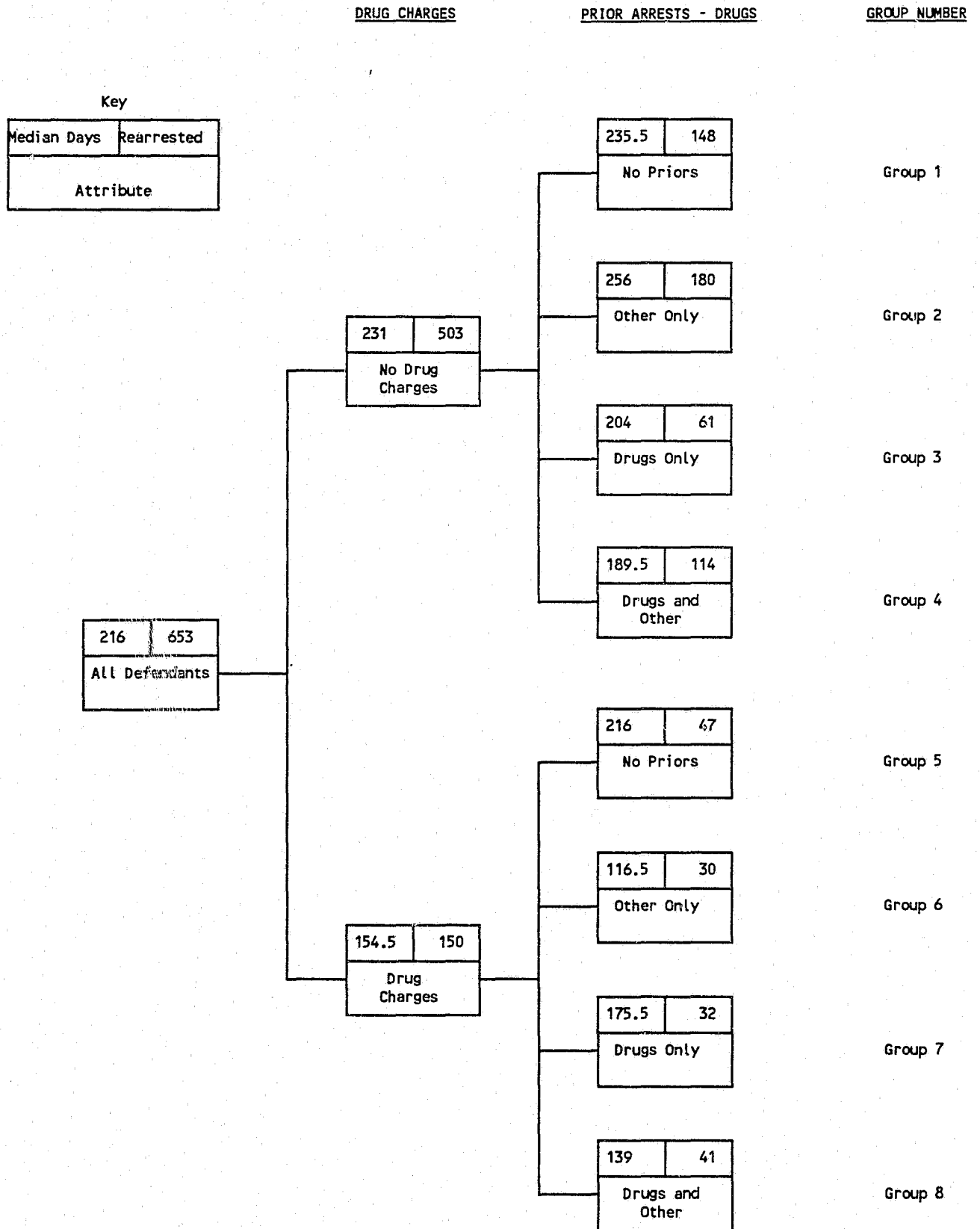
Figure 3.8   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
1984 Dade County felony defendants by median days to first rearrest

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

Median Days	Rearrested
Attribute	

169	199
No Priors	

Group 1

207	357
Other Only	

Group 2

190	864
No Drug Charges	

198	36
Drugs Only	

Group 3

186	270
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

196	1032
All Defendants	

218	38
No Priors	

Group 5

337	58
Other Only	

Group 6

243	167
Drug Charges	

401	9
Drugs Only	

Group 7

88	60
Drugs and Other	

Group 8
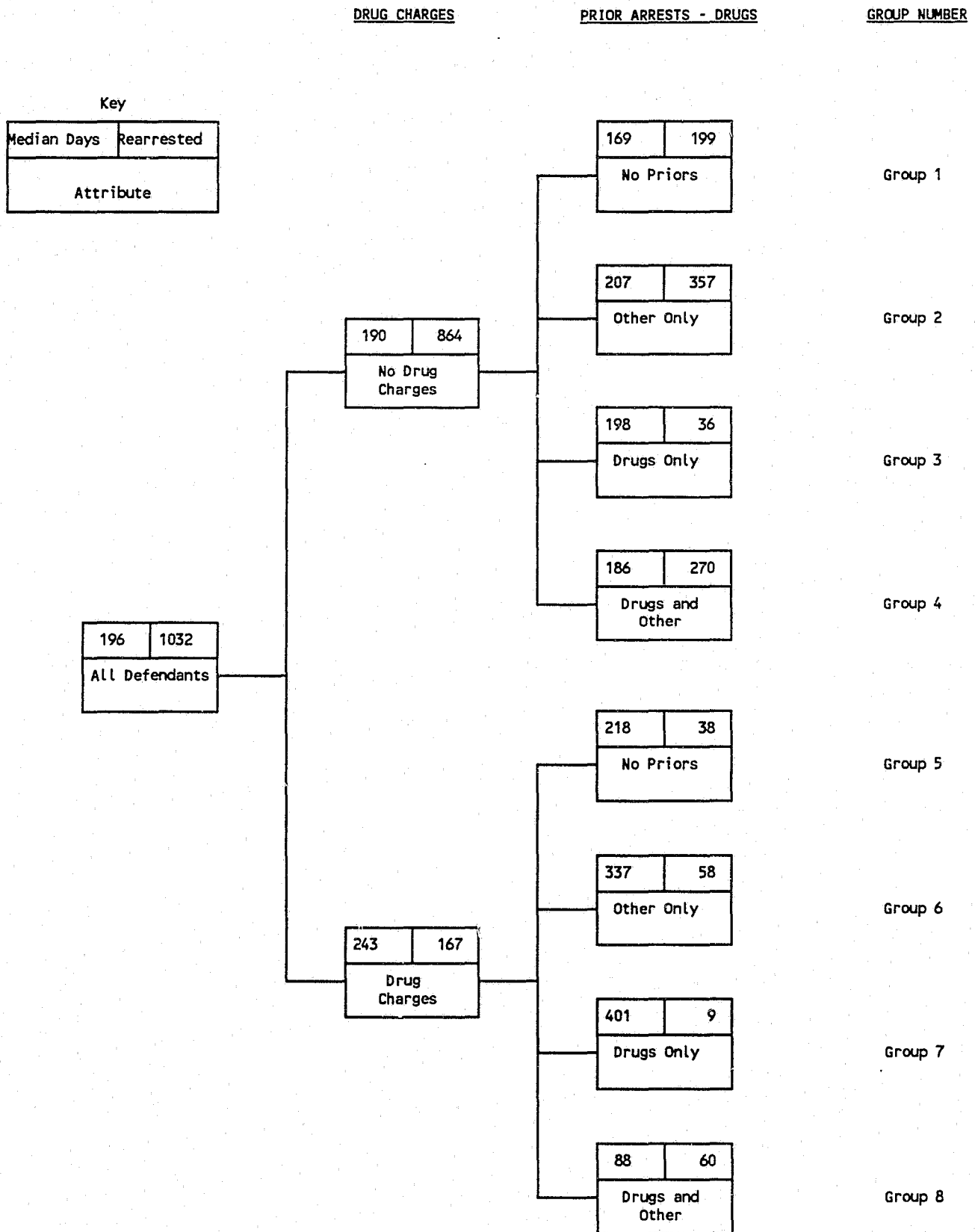
Figure 3.9   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
              1987 Dade County felony defendants by median days to first rearrest

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

Median Days	Rearrested
Attribute	

46	25
No Priors	

Group 1

52	153
Other Only	

Group 2

50.5	348
No Drug Charges	

60	7
Drugs Only	

Group 3

48	163
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

60	530
All Defendants	

106.5	20
No Priors	

Group 5

76	67
Other Only	

Group 6

81	181
Drug Charges	

147	9
Drugs Only	

Group 7

79	85
Drugs and Other	

Group 8
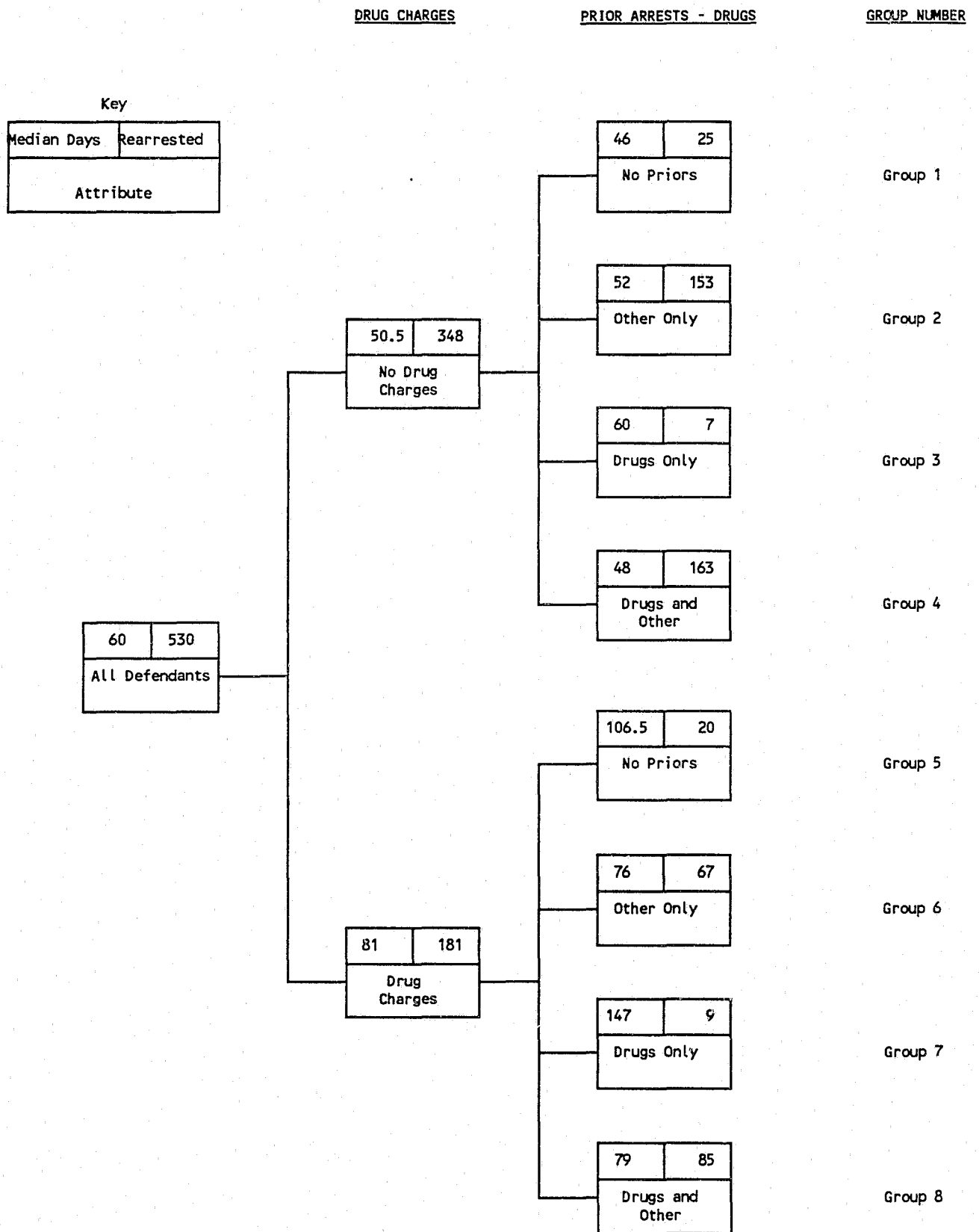
<center>Chapter Four</center>

<center>**THE ADDITION OF DRUG TEST DATA TO THE DRUG-RELATED CLASSIFICATION OF CRIMINAL CASES: DRUG-RELATEDNESS AND LATER REARRESTS AMONG THE 1987 DADE COUNTY FELONY DEFENDANTS**</center>

<u>The Three-Criteria Classification of Later Rearrests</u>

Currently, one of the most common policy assumptions is that drug abuse among persons entering the criminal justice system is an important key to their criminality. Although current charges and prior criminal record are fairly easily accessible to courts, accurate data about defendant drug use has been much more difficult to come by. In some locations, pretrial services interviewers note whether defendants admitted using illegal drugs and/or undergoing treatment for drug abuse problems. Such information may also be obtained, much more belatedly, during presentence investigations. In this part of the inquiry, we make use of booking stage drug test data collected on a voluntary basis from defendants in the 1987 Dade County felony sample to add to the examination of the relationship between drug-relatedness and later public safety concerns.[15]

Thus, in this section we ask whether a slightly more complex classification of drug-relatedness, adding knowledge of defendant drug use as measured through drug test results, proves helpful in differentiating rates of rearrest among cohort defendants during the follow-up period. In showing a simple bivariate relationship between drug use (positive or negative drug tests) and subsequent rearrest of cohort defendants, Figures 4.1 and 4.2 lend some support to the notion that drug use as recorded at the entry stage in the 1987 cohort may be related to later offending.

Thus, by incorporating knowledge of defendant drug use as indicated through drug testing (positive or negative for cocaine) in Figure 4.3, a third dimension is added to the charge/prior arrest classification of the Dade 1987 cohort defendants shown in Chapter Three in Figure 3.3.[16] The distribution of the Dade felony defendants into 16 groups defined by charges, prior arrests and drug test results is exhibited in the right-most column. A first

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[15] At the time of this study, such information measuring defendant drug use just before arrest was rarely available on a systematic basis in the United States (primarily only in the District of Columbia). Urine testing was conducted in Dade County only for research purposes.
[16] We remind the reader that the sample of defendants having drug test information (n=722) is smaller than the total sample (998) because of the voluntariness of testing. Defendants unwilling or unable to provide specimens for testing were under no obligation to do so. We employ drug test results for cocaine because of its prevalence. For a detailed description of the drug testing procedures and results, see Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland (1988).

Figure 4.1   Percentage of 1987 felony defendants in Dade County rearrested during 18 month
              follow—up period, by drug test results

Percent of
1987 felony
defendants
rearrested

Drug test results
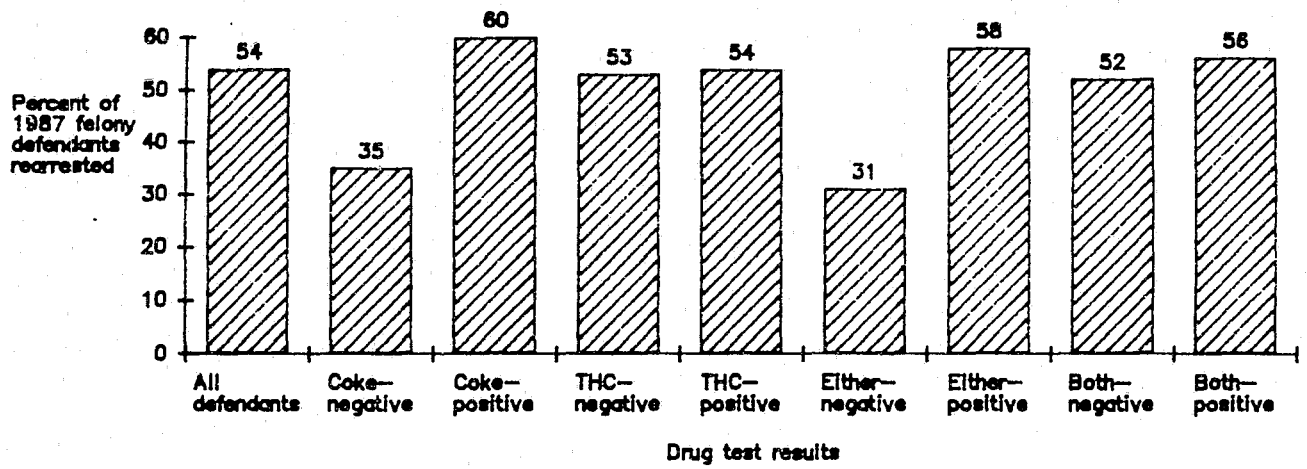
Figure 4.2   Percent of 1987 Dade County felony defendants testing positively for cocaine
              at entry into cohort, by number of rearrests during 18 month follow—up period

Percent of 1987
Dade felony
defendants testing
positively: Cocaine

Number of rearrests during follow—up
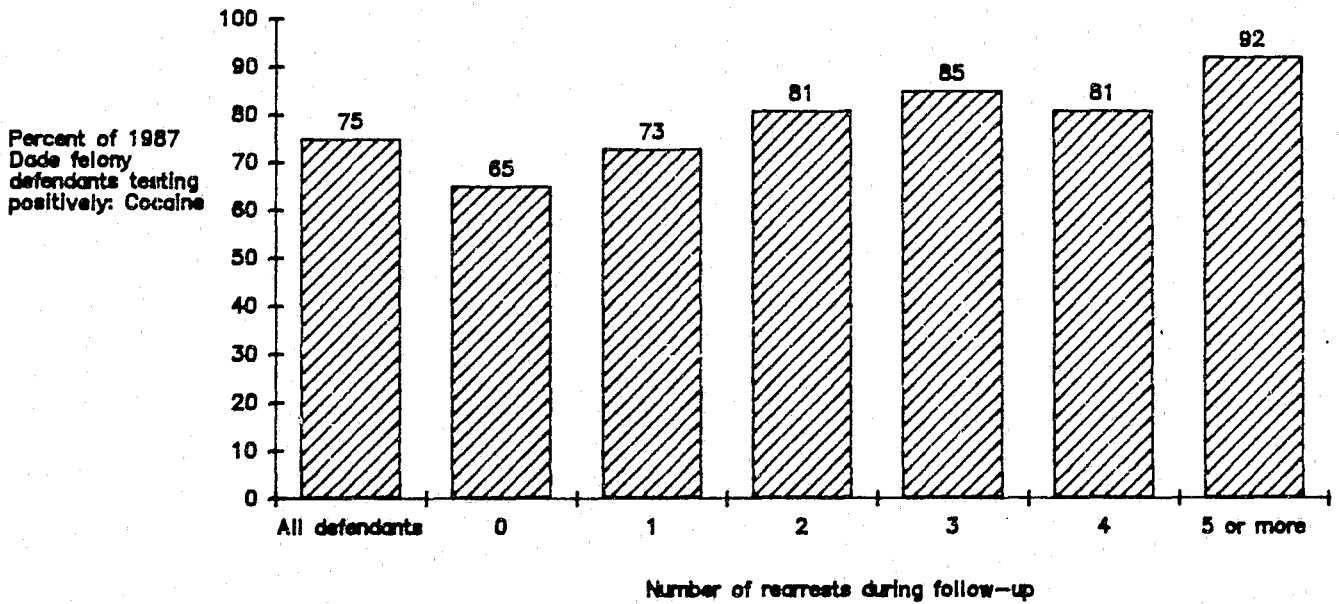
Figure 4.3   Three-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests) drug-related classification of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

	DRUG CHARGES	PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS	DRUG TEST RESULTS	GROUP NUMBER

Key

% to Total	Number
Attribute	

				9.1%	66	
				Negative		Group 1

13.9%	139
No Priors	

6.5%	47
Positive	

Group 2

7.9%	57
Negative	

Group 3

27.2%	272
Other Only	

18.1%	131
Positive	

Group 4

65.4%	652
No Drug Charges	

0.3%	2
Negative	

Group 5

2.3%	23
Drugs Only	

1.7%	12
Positive	

Group 6

2.6%	19
Negative	

Group 7

21.9%	218
Drugs and Other	

19.0%	137
Positive	

Group 8

100.0%	1000
All Defendants	

2.2%	16
Negative	

Group 9

9.2%	92
No Priors	

7.2%	52
Positive	

Group 10

1.5%	11
Negative	

Group 11

10.3%	103
Other Only	

9.3%	67
Positive	

Group 12

34.6%	345
Drug Charges	

0.4%	3
Negative	

Group 13

2.5%	25
Drugs Only	

1.8%	13
Positive	

Group 14

0.8%	6
Negative	

Group 15

12.5%	125
Drugs and Other	

11.5%	83
Positive	

Group 16

finding is that, based on possession of one of the three defining attributes (drug charges, prior drug arrests, positive drug tests), fully 83 percent of the 1987 Dade County felony cohort can be defined as drug-related.

If defendants were evenly distributed across all 16 categories, roughly 6 percent would fall in each drug-related category. Clearly, however, all drug-related types are not equally represented among the Dade felony defendant cohort. The largest single category (19 percent) consists of defendants with no drug charges, having prior arrests for drugs and other offenses, and testing positively for drugs. The second largest defendant category (18 percent) includes defendants with no drug charges, with prior arrests for other (not drug offenses), and testing positively for drugs. The third largest category (12 percent) consisted of defendants with drug charges, with prior arrests for drug and other offenses and testing positively for drugs. Together, these three categories accounted for nearly half of the Dade felony defendants. Of the 16 possible drug-related subcategories, only eight included 3 percent or more of the defendants in the cohort, suggesting that while other categories of defendants existed they were quite rare and were unlikely to have an important impact on later recidivism among defendants in the cohort. (In any event, these eight smallest categories are dropped from the subsequent analyses because of the small numbers of cases. See Table 4.1.) Even though these categories included few defendants in this sample, this does not mean that given a larger sample or a different cohort they might not have proved important in the analysis of later crime.

Examination of the groups that were rare--and that are being dropped from the analysis--is germane to our inquiry into the relationship between the drug relatedness of criminal cases and later offending. A few themes emerge. First, with or without initial drug charges, few defendants fell into the prior arrest-drug offenses only category. (If defendants had prior drug arrests, they usually also had arrests for other kinds of offenses as well.) Thus, further classification of persons with prior drug arrests (only) results in a very small number of cases and accounts for the elimination of four drug-related subgroupings (5, 6, 13, 14). Second, again regardless of the presence of initial drug charges, persons with drug and other priors arrests (a group which included more than one-third of all defendants) almost always showed positive test results. Apparently, having drug and other prior arrests and negative drug test results do not go hand-in-hand. (This explains the elimination of drug-related subcategories 7 and 15.) In addition, very few defendants who had initial drug charges and no prior arrests tested negatively (group 9). Similarly, defendants with drug charges and prior arrests for other (not-drug) offenses also tested

Table 4.1 The "drug-relatedness" of 1987 felony cases in Dade County defined by drug charges, prior drug arrests, and drug test results, by selected measures of rearrest during the 18-month follow-up period

	Offense							
Drug-related Classification	Rearrested		Index Offenses		Serious Person		Robbery	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	(66)	13.6	(66)	0.0	(66)	3.0	(66)	2.0
2. No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(47)	19.1	(47)	6.0	(47)	6.4	(47)	2.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	(57)	43.9	(57)	12.0	(57)	5.3	(57)	2.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(131)	63.4	(131)	27.0	(131)	16.8	(131)	8.0
5. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
6. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
7. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
8. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(137)	75.9	(137)	40.0	(137)	27.0	(137)	14.0
9. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
10. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(52)	25.0	(52)	4.0	(52)	1.9	(52)	0.0
11. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
12. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(67)	62.7	(67)	19.0	(67)	22.4	(67)	8.0
13. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
14. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
15. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
16. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(83)	69.9	(83)	24.0	(83)	21.7	(83)	5.0
Total	(998)	53.3	(998)	20.0	(998)	15.8	(998)	6.0

* Small number of cases (n < 20)

Table 4.1 The "drug-relatedness" of 1987 felony cases in Dade County defined by drug charges, prior drug arrests, and drug test results, by selected measures of rearrest during the 18-month follow-up period (cont'd)

Drug-related Classification	Offense							
	Assault		Weapons		Burglary		Theft	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	(66)	3.0	(66)	3.0	(66)	0.0	(66)	5.0
2. No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(47)	4.0	(47)	6.4	(47)	2.0	(47)	15.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	(57)	9.0	(57)	5.3	(57)	18.0	(57)	19.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(131)	11.0	(131)	9.9	(131)	32.0	(131)	44.0
5. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
6. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
7. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
8. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(137)	20.0	(137)	14.6	(137)	42.0	(137)	47.0
9. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
10. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(52)	2.0	(52)	3.8	(52)	8.0	(52)	10.0
11. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
12. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(67)	16.0	(67)	13.4	(67)	16.0	(67)	25.0
13. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
14. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
15. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
16. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(83)	14.0	(83)	15.7	(83)	22.0	(83)	24.0
Total	(998)	11.0	(998)	10.4	(998)	20.0	(998)	28.0

* Small number of cases (n < 20)

Table 4.1   The "drug-relatedness" of 1987 felony cases in Dade County defined by drug charges, prior drug arrests, and drug test results, by selected measures of rearrest during the 18-month follow-up period (cont'd)

Drug-related Classification	Offense							
	Drugs		Drug possession		Drug sales/dist.		Median days to rearrest	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Median
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests: negative	(66)	3.0	(66)	3.0	(66)	1.5	(9)	34
2. No drug charges/ no prior arrests: positive	(47)	4.3	(47)	4.3	(47)	2.1	(9)	194
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	(57)	8.8	(57)	8.8	(57)	3.5	(25)	188
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(131)	23.7	(131)	22.9	(131)	8.4	(82)	52
5. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(2)	0
6. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	(5)	28
7. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(15)	118
8. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(137)	34.3	(137)	33.6	(137)	5.8	(104)	51
9. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(3)	364
10. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(52)	21.2	(52)	21.2	(52)	9.6	(13)	101
11. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(5)	172
12. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(67)	38.8	(67)	37.3	(67)	19.4	(42)	77
13. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(1)	212
14. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	(6)	83
15. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(3)	26
16. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(83)	50.6	(83)	48.2	(83)	21.7	(58)	61
Total	(998)	25.5	(998)	24.7	(998)	8.5	(382)	60

* Small number of cases (n < 20)

negatively rarely (group 11). Although this could be expected to change in a larger sample or in a sample from a different jurisdiction, a result of this distribution of defendants among the categories of drug relatedness is that categories with defendants testing negatively are rare: only two categories (groups 1 and 3) or about 17 percent of all defendants remaining in the classification tested negatively.

Using the eight remaining categories, Table 4.1 shows that a variety of measures of subsequent rearrests vary notably with the drug-relatedness of criminal cases. One theme is that for all measures of reoffending except later drug crimes group 8 defendants (no drug charges/prior arrests for drug and other crimes/positive drug tests) showed the highest rates of rearrest during the 18-month follow-up period. The offense specific findings are summarized briefly in the following.

Rearrests for Any Offenses

Group 8 defendants (76 percent) are followed closely by group 16, 4 and 12 defendants (from 70 to 63 percent) in showing high rates of rearrest for any kind of offense during the follow-up. The lowest rates are recorded by group 1 defendants (no drug charges/no prior arrests/negative tests), group 2 defendants (same as group 1 but with positive tests) and group 10 defendants (drug charges/no prior arrests/positive tests), ranging from 14 to 25 percent rearrested.

Rearrest for Index-level Offenses

Group 8 defendants again showed the highest rates of rearrest (40 percent), at twice the cohort baseline rate of rearrest for index offenses. Group 1 and group 2 defendants showed very low rearrest rates for index offenses (0 and 6 percent, respectively), while group 3 defendants showed a moderately low rate (12 percent).

Rearrest for Serious Crimes Against the Person

Rearrest for robbery was relatively infrequent for most drug-related categories of defendants. However, Group 8 defendants (14 percent) showed more than double the cohort base rate.

Rearrest for Weapons Offenses

The drug-related classification did not differentiate well among defendants with lower and higher rates of rearrests for weapons crimes. However, group 16, 8 and 12 defendants (16, 15, and 13 percent) showed rates for weapons offense rearrest above the base rate.

Rearrest for Assault Offenses

A roughly similar pattern was found for assault rearrests. Group 8 showed the highest rate, followed by groups 12 and 16.

Rearrest for Burglary Offenses

Group 8 also showed the highest rearrest rate for burglary (42 percent). Group 4 defendants (no drug charges/other prior arrests/positive tests) were close behind with 32 percent rearrested for burglary during the follow-up. Groups 1, 2 and 10--having in common no prior arrests--showed the lowest rates of rearrests for burglary during the follow-up.

Rearrest for Theft Offenses

Group 8 and group 4 defendants once again ranked highest in the area of theft rearrests (44 and 47 percent respectively). Group 1 and group 10 defendants showed the lowest subsequent theft rearrest rates (5 and 10 percent respectively).

Rearrest for Drug Offenses

Table 4.1 shows a different pattern when rearrests for drug crimes are considered using this version of drug-related classification. Group 16 defendants (defendants with drug charges/drug and other arrests/positive tests) were ranked highest, with rates of drug crime rearrests at least twice that of the cohort average (and regardless of the kind of drug crime). Groups 8 and 12 were also highly ranked (with 34 and 37 percent subsequently rearrested) for possession offenses. Groups 1, 2 and 3 were among the lowest ranked, regardless of the kind of drug charge. From 3 to 9 percent were rearrested for drug possession, from 2 to 4 percent for sales/distribution during the 18 month follow-up.

The Three-Criteria Drug-related Classification and Time Until First Rearrest

Figures 4.4 and 4.5 show that, taken separately, having a prior record of arrests for drug crimes and testing positively for drugs was associated with an early and high rate of rearrest (of any kind) during the cohort period. Figure 4.6 shows that having drug charges at entry into the cohort did not appear to be related to such a pattern of rearrests. When taken in combination with defendants' entry stage charges, Table 4.1 (last column) and Figure 4.7 (divided into two parts for easier reading) show that classification of the 1987 Dade County felony defendants using

Figure 4.4   Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested during
              18 month follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by prior record of
              drug arrests in 1987

Percent of
1987 cohort
defendants .
rearrested

Length of time until first arrest

— No prior drug arrests   ·· One prior drug arrest   — Two or more prior
   n = 595   n = 184   drug arrest
                                                          n = 219
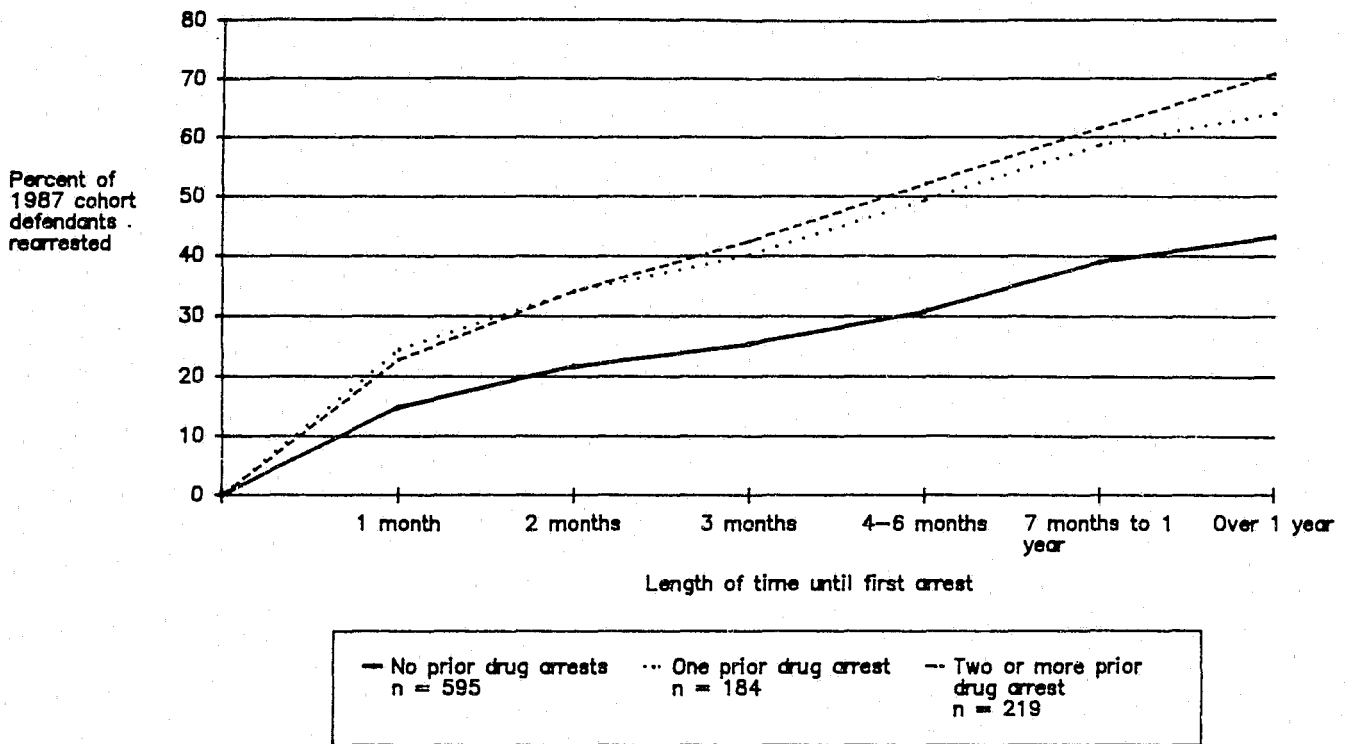
Figure 4.5   Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested during
              18 month follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by 1987 drug test results

Percent of
1987 cohort
defendants
rearrested

Length of time until first arrest

— Negative,   ·· Positive: THC,   — Positive: cocaine,
   n = 127   n = 319   n = 544
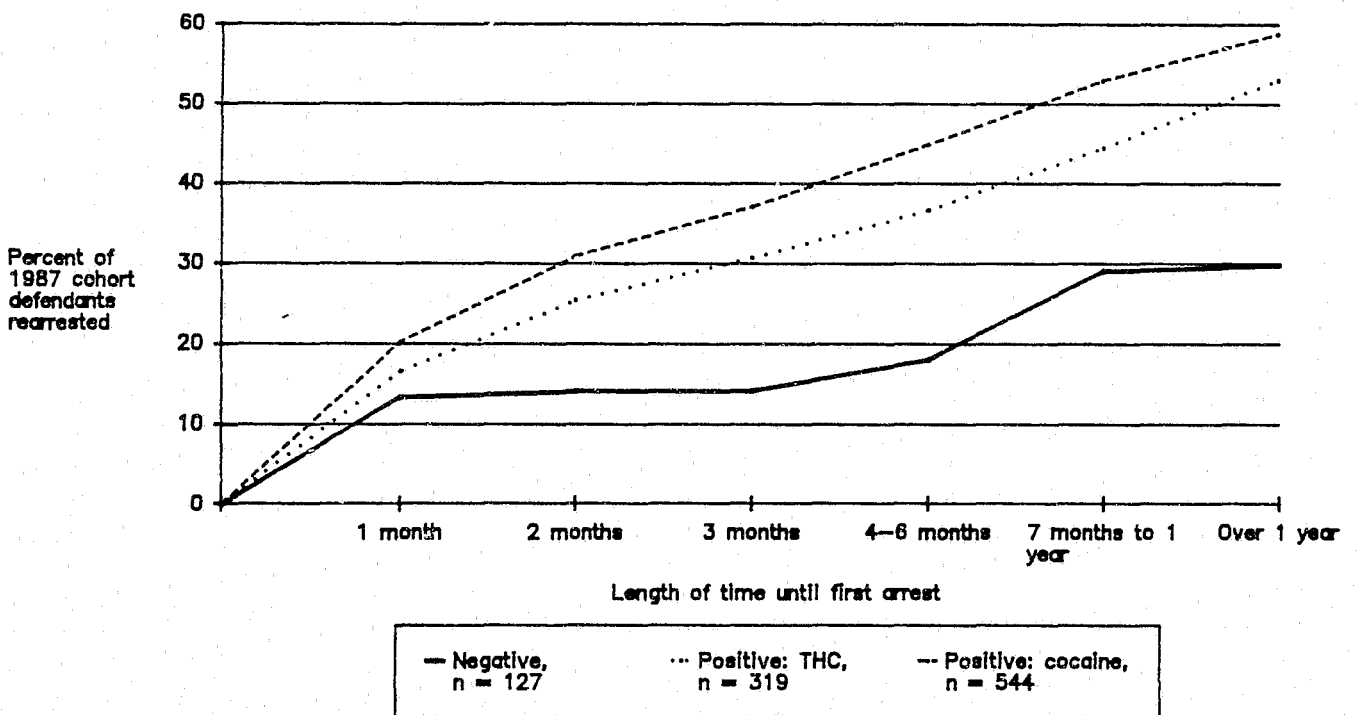
charge, prior arrest and drug test information also works well to differentiate defendant groups according to the median lengths of time from the initial arrest to the first rearrest.

Figure 4.7a shows that contrary to conventional wisdom, for example, of the 10 groups charted, group 1 defendants (with no drug charges, no prior arrests and negative drug tests) start out most quickly being rearrested and maintain a sharply increasing rate to the end of the follow-up period. But, group 8 defendants (with no drug charges, prior arrests for other and drug offenses, positive tests) are quite close behind throughout the period. The slowest rate of reoffending is found among group 2 rearrestees (defendants with no drug charges and no prior arrests but positive drug tests). Their slow rate is maintained until 6 months has passed and then their rate jumps dramatically for the rest of the follow-up period. Group 3 defendants (no drug charges, other arrests only, negative tests) start out at a fair pace, but drop to the slower rate of group 2 defendants and then mirror the group 2 pace fairly closely.

Figures 4.7a and b show the timing of first rearrests cumulatively over the 18 month follow-up, highlighting the "fast-starters" in groups 1, 4, 8, and 16, and the "fast-finishers" in group 10. Interestingly, though, the results do not necessarily follow the dictates of conventional wisdom. In particular, defendants in Group 1--a clearly non-drug-related category--were the quickest to be rearrested, averaging just over one month (34 days) until their first rearrest. Next quickest to be rearrested were defendants in groups 7, 8, 4, and 16 who averaged between 48 and 61 days until first rearrest. At the other extreme were groups 3 (no drug charges/other prior arrests/negative tests) and 2 (no drug charges/no prior arrests/positive tests), averaging more than six months (between 188 and 194 days) until first rearrest.

Figure 4.7a Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested, by time until first rearrest, by drug—related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
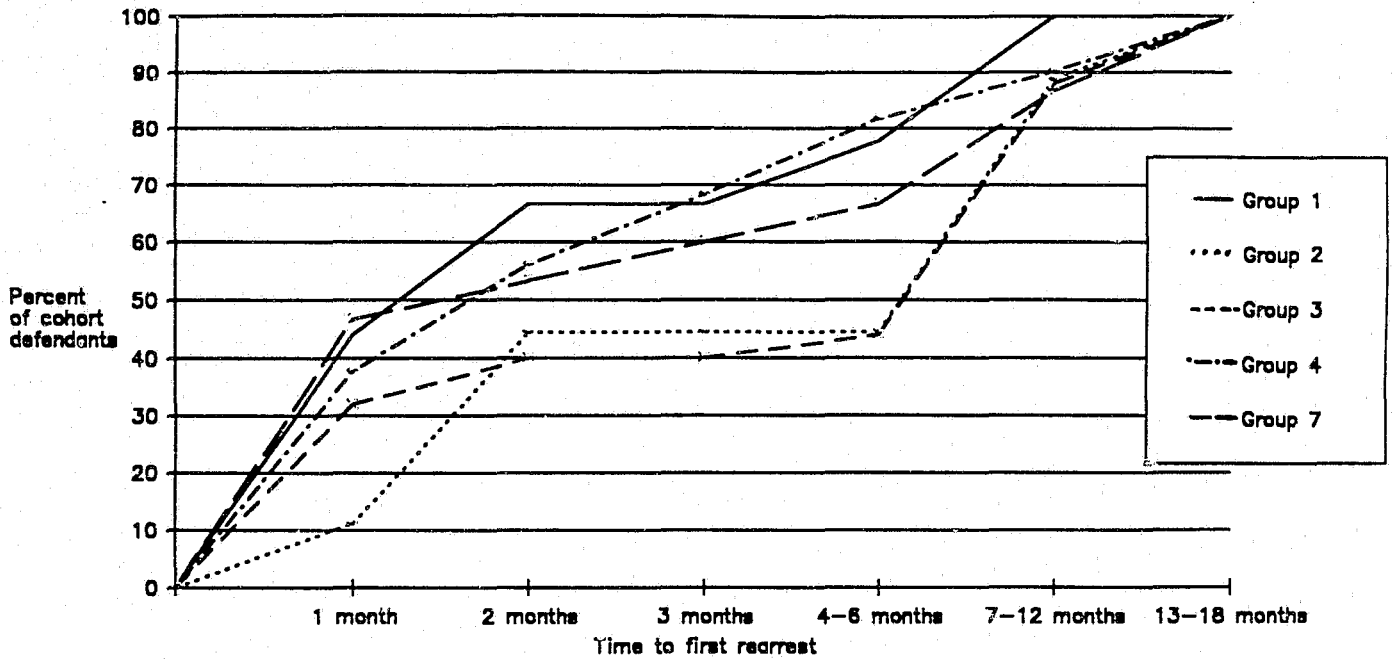
Figure 4.7b Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested, by time until first rearrest, by drug—related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
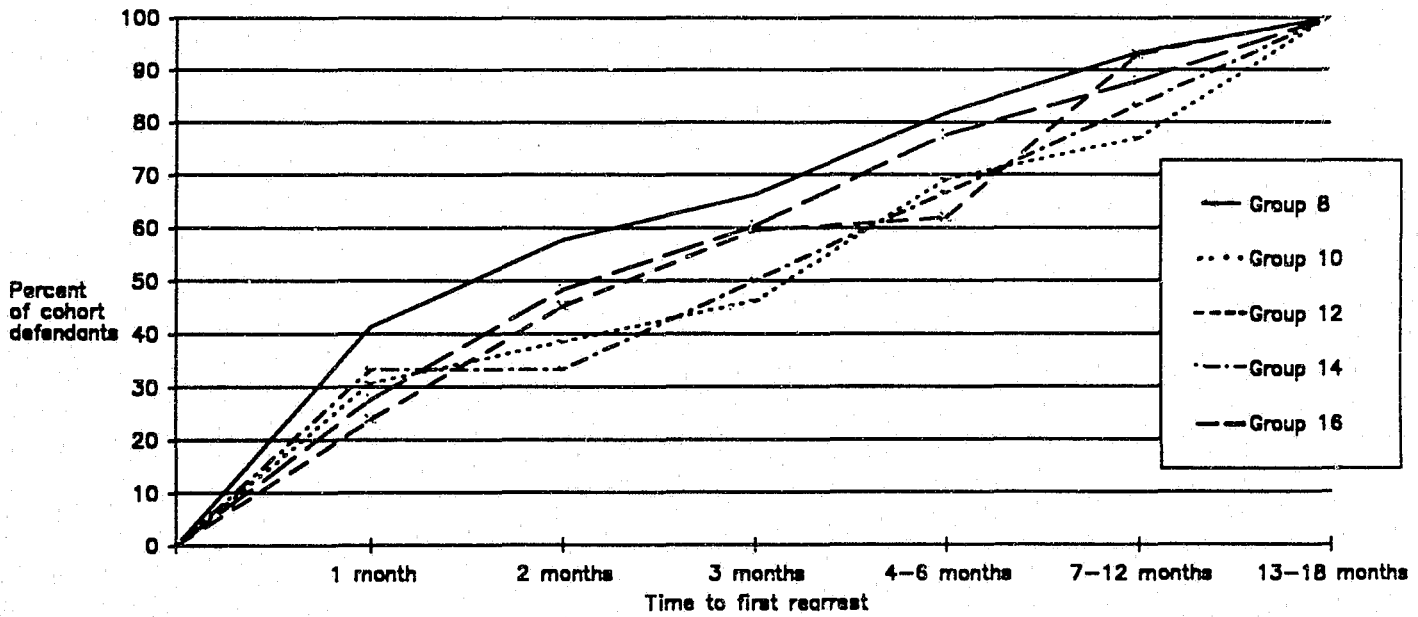
Chapter Five

THE GENERATION OF REARRESTS PER 100 DEFENDANTS AND THE DRUG-RELATEDNESS OF

CRIMINAL CASES

So far, in different ways, we have examined the kind, pattern, timing and relative risk of cohort rearrests during the follow-up periods associated with drug-related subcategories of defendants. Another public safety implication of the drug-related criminal caseload might be the "productivity" or volume associated with defendant subgroups. While the earlier analyses have produced a relative ranking of defendant categories based on the likelihood that they would later be rearrested for certain crimes, conceivably defendants with low probabilities of reoffending could contribute a disproportionate number of offenses when normed to their share of the sample. In this section, we discuss results of analyses of the generation of rearrests two ways. First, we consider whether the volume of rearrests generated per drug related category reflects that expected from knowledge of that categories relative share in the cohort. By comparing the proportion of all crime accounted for by a given drug-related subcategory to that category's share in the sample, a ratio can be calculated showing any disproportionate contributions to the volume of crime generated. Secondly, by calculating a rate per 100 defendants, we can compare the per capita contribution made by each subcategory in each of the cohorts using the drug-related classifications described above.

The Two Criteria (Charge/Prior Arrest) Classification of Drug-Relatedness and the Generation of Rearrests

Generally speaking, comparing the proportion of crime generated with the share of the sample represented by the drug-related subcategory does point to categories that contribute disproportionately to the generation of rearrests in each of the cohorts. The cohorts differ internally in the consistency of groups that account disproportionately for particular kinds of offenses. They also differ in the groups that stand out as their "top producers" when compared to one another.

For example, in the Maricopa County cohort, groups 7 (drug charges, drug arrests) and 8 (drug charges, prior arrests for drug and other offenses) account from 1.4 to 1.7 times the share of (any kind of) rearrests that would be expected from their relative size in the cohort. When particular types of crime are examined, they do not

Figure 5.1   Number of rearrests per 100 defendants by drug-related classification (drug charges, prior arrests), by cohort
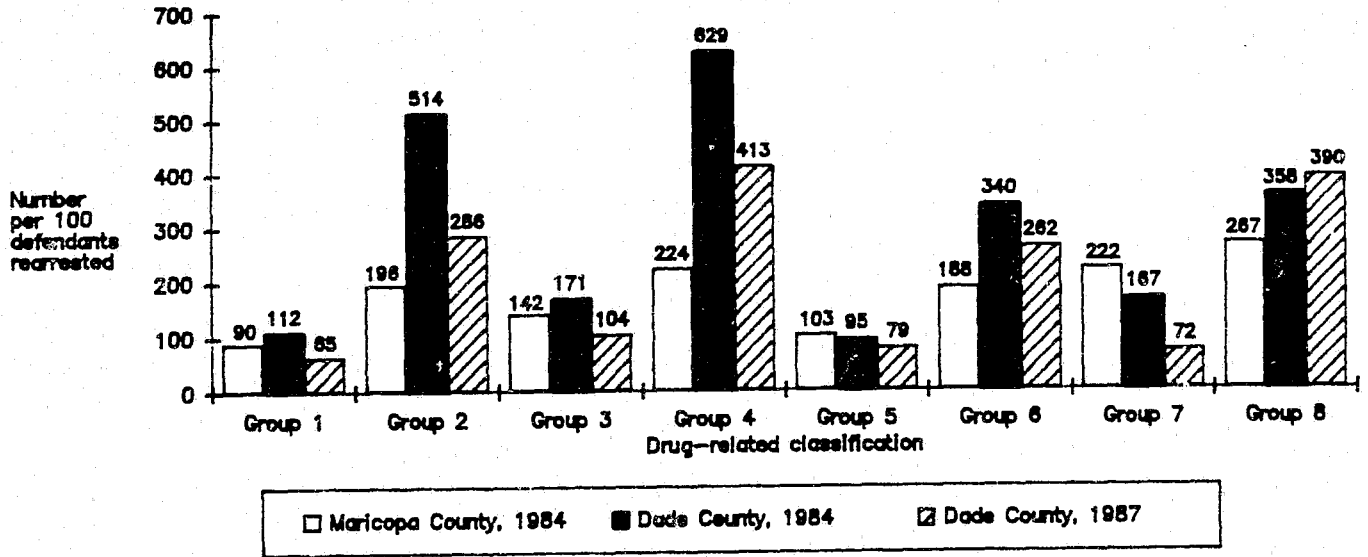
Figure 5.2   Number of index-level rearrests per 100 defendants by drug-related classification (drug charges/prior arrests), by cohort
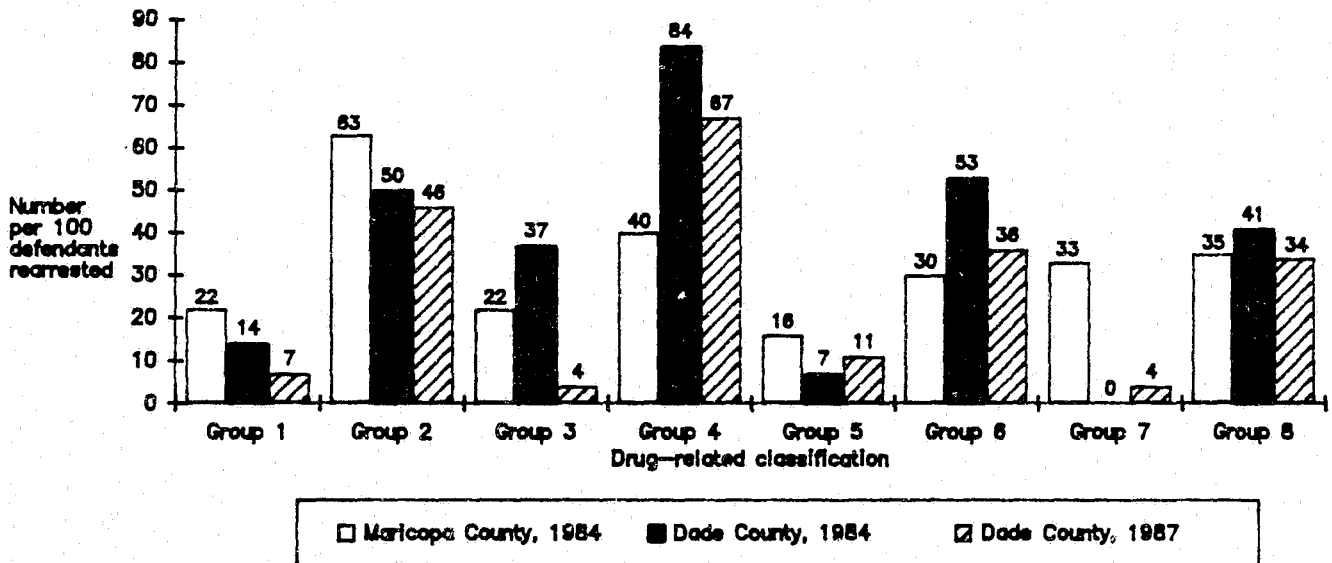
come up except in theft and drugs. Group 8 accounts for 3.1 times its expected share of theft rearrests and 4.4 times its share of drug rearrests. For index crimes, crimes against the person, weapons offenses, assault, robbery and burglary, group 2 defendants (no drug charges, prior arrests only) account disproportionately for rearrests. But robbery rearrests are most disproportionately contributed to by group 4 (no drug charges, prior arrests for other and drug offenses).

Among Dade County 1984 defendants, group 2 (at 1.5 times its expected share) and 4 defendants (at 1.8 times) contributed disproportionately to the overall generation of rearrests. In fact, group 4 defendants contributed disproportionately to every category of rearrest examined. But group 6 defendants disproportionately accounted for robbery rearrests (at 1.7 times their expected share) and burglary rearrests (at 1.5 times their expected share). In contrast, group 7 and 8 defendants stand out in their disproportionate contribution to drug rearrests (at 3.6 and 1.9 times their expected shares).

The 1987 Dade defendants show another variation; groups 4 and 8 are the prime disproportionate contributors to rearrests overall in that cohort (at 1.6 and 1.5 times their expected shares respectively). The role of group 4 is pronounced in every offense category--but particularly robbery (2.3 times) and theft (2.0 times). Group 8 defendants contribute to arrests only slightly disproportionately in all offense categories except burglary and theft where they under-contribute--and drug crimes where they contribute more than double their expected share of rearrests. Group 6 defendants (drug charges, prior arrests for drug crimes only) contribute disproportionately only in the robbery and drug crimes categories of rearrest. Interestingly they contribute to rearrests for sales/distribution offenses at 2.4 times their expected rate.

The themes that emerge across sites are not consistent either. For example, in the area of overall rearrests, the 1984 Maricopa and 1987 Dade group 8 defendants are disproportionate contributors, just as group 4 defendants are in the two Dade cohorts. Group 4 defendants are disproportionate contributors to index, serious person, weapons, burglary and assault offenses in the Dade cohorts, but not in the Maricopa County cohort. Group 4 defendants rank in all three cohorts--and very strongly in Maricopa County and the 1987 Dade County felony samples--in the generation of robbery rearrests. Drug crime rearrests are disproportionately the product of group 6, 7 and 8 defendants across each cohort.

Figure 5.4 Number of drug rearrests per 100 defendants by drug—related classification (drug charges, prior arrests), by cohort

Number per 100 defendants rearrested

□ Maricopa County, 1984	■ Dade County, 1984	▨ Dade County, 1987

Drug—related classification
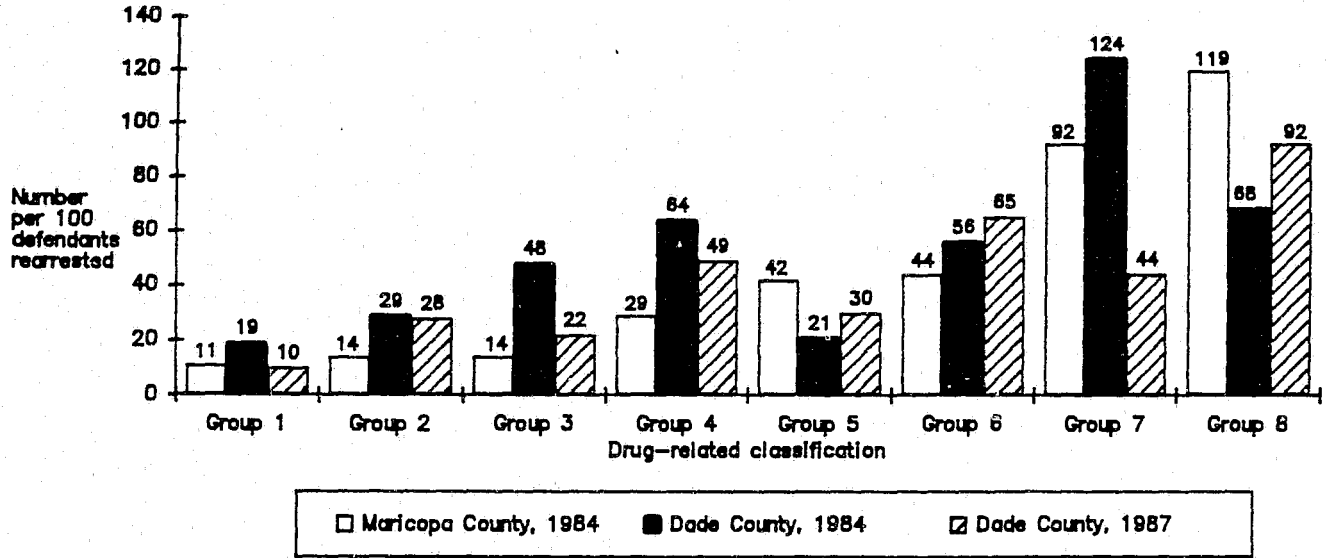
Figure 5.3 Number of burglary rearrests per 100 defendants by two criteria drug—related classification (drug charges, prior arrests), by cohort

Number per 100 defendants rearrested

□ Maricopa County, 1984	■ Dade County, 1984	▨ Dade County, 1987

Drug—related classification
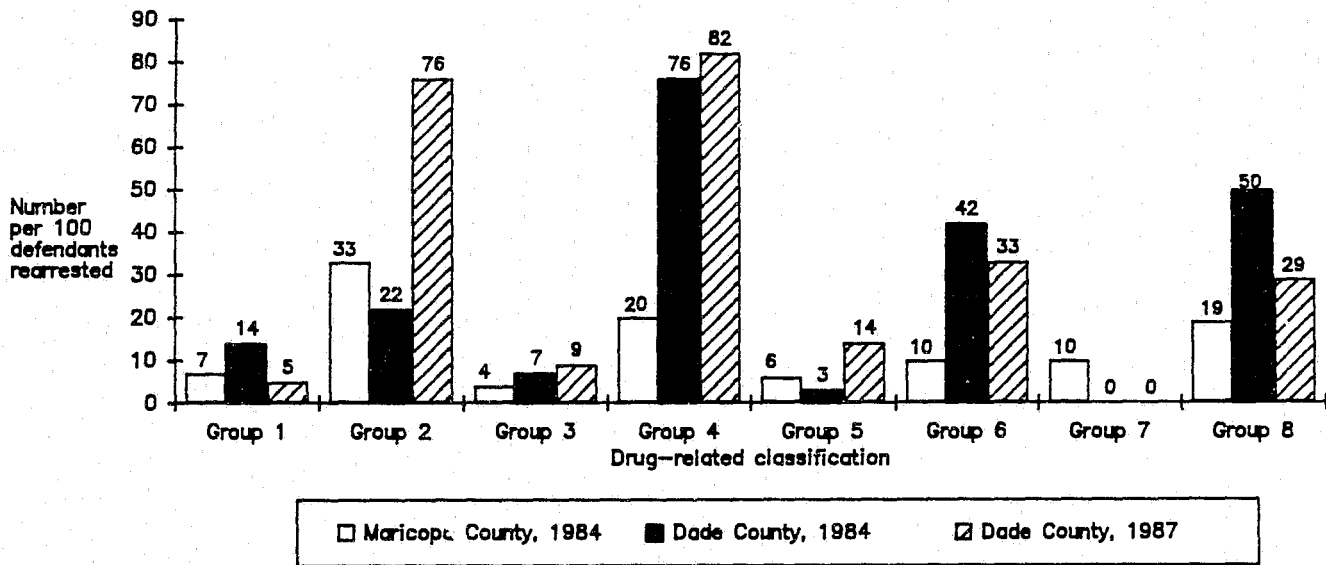
Productivity can also be measured using a per capita framework. Tables A5.1 through A5.3 show the numbers and kinds of arrests generated per 100 defendants by each cohort using the 8-part classification of defendants based on criminal charges and prior arrests. Figure 5.1 depicts graphically how in each cohort the drug-relatedness of the criminal cases is related to the number of rearrests of any kind produced per 100 defendants. Although the cohorts differ in the numbers of rearrests per 100 produced (with the highest categories of Dade defendants generating much higher rates than of Maricopa defendants), they do reveal some rough similarities in the ranking of drug-related subgroups. For example, group 4 and 8 appear among the most "productive" groups of defendants when the total numbers of rearrests per 100 defendants is considered, and group 1 and 5 defendants rank among the least "productive" of drug-related groupings.

Yet, when considering offense categories overall, attempts to find a general rule are made difficult by offense-specific and cohort-to-cohort variations. Figures 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 illustrate this by charting the number of rearrests per 100 defendants for drug-related subgroupings for index-level offenses, burglary and drug offenses. In the production of index-level rearrests, the highest rates per 100 defendants in the two Dade cohorts are found among group 4 defendants. In the Maricopa cohort, however, the highest number of index rearrests per 100 is found among group 2 defendants. A similar pattern is found when looking at the rates per 100 defendants of burglary rearrests. For drug rearrests, the patterns change notably. Among the Maricopa 1984 defendants and the Dade County 1987 defendants, group 8 defendants produce the highest number of drug rearrests per 100 defendants. For 1984 defendants, group 7 defendants produce the most rearrests in this category.

These selected figures and Tables A5.1 through A5.3 show three principal findings: a) the drug-related grouping does distinguish reasonably well between defendant groups producing low, medium, and higher numbers of rearrests per 100 defendants during the follow-up periods (with perhaps the exception of some very low rate crime categories such as robbery or weapons offenses); b) the classification performs (differentiates defendant groups based on rates per 100 defendants) reasonably well across cohorts; c) the relative rankings of groups, however, vary somewhat based on the crime or on the cohort being examined.

Thus, from a public safety perspective, if we were concerned about the total number of rearrests being generated per 100 defendants as their comparative likelihood and kind, the drug charges/prior arrest classification of drug-relatedness would allow us to focus on groups 4 and 8 (defendants with and without drug charges who have

prior arrest for drug and others offenses) as the most "productive" of crimes, depending on the cohort. If we wanted to identify defendants likely to generate the fewest rearrests per 100 defendants, Group 1 or 5 defendants (who have in common no prior arrests) would be the best bet. Although this drug-related classification appears to distinguish well among defendant groups based on their "productivity" of subsequent rearrests, it is not possible to say that the patterns are always the same or that there is a simple rule for interpreting the implications of the drug-crime relationship for assessing risk of rearrest.

The Three Criteria (Charge/Prior Arrest/Drug Test) Classification of Drug-Relatedness and Generation of Rearrests Per 100 Defendants

The three-criteria classification, developed using charge, prior arrests and drug test results for the 1987 Dade County felony cohort, also points to drug-related categories of defendants providing disproportionate contributions to the generation of crime. Group 8 defendants (no drug charges, prior arrests for other and drug offenses, positive tests) contribute 1.7 times their expected share to rearrests overall and roughly 2 times their expected rate to all categories of rearrests, with the exception of drug sales. Group 4 defendants (no drug charges, prior arrests for other offenses only, positive tests) contributed disproportionately to index offenses (at 1.5 times the expected rate) and burglary rearrests (at 2.2 times the expected rate). Group 7 defendants (no drug charges, other and drug prior arrests, negative tests) contributed 1.7 times their expected share to serious persons rearrests and also disproportionately to weapons (at 2.2 times) and assault rearrests (at 1.6 times). Groups 12 (drug charges, arrests for other offenses only, positive tests) and 16 (drug charges, arrests for drug and other offenses, positive tests) made their impact upon drug rearrests particularly. Group 12 contributed to possession rearrests 1.7 times the expected rate and to sales/distribution rearrests at 3.2 times the expected rate. Group 16 produced 2.3 times its expected share of possession rearrests and 2.6 times its share of sales/distribution rearrests.

From a different perspective, Table A5.4 shows the variation in rates of rearrest per 100 defendants associated with this classification of drug-relatedness. Depending on the kind of rearrest being predicted, this three-criteria classification of drug-relatedness also differentiates defendants well based on the rearrests generated per 100. Figures 5.5 through 5.7 depict the relationship between subsequent rearrests per 100 of cohort defendants and classification on the basis of the drug-relatedness of the criminal cases using drug testing information.

Figure 5.5   Number of rearrests per 100 among 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by three-criteria drug-related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
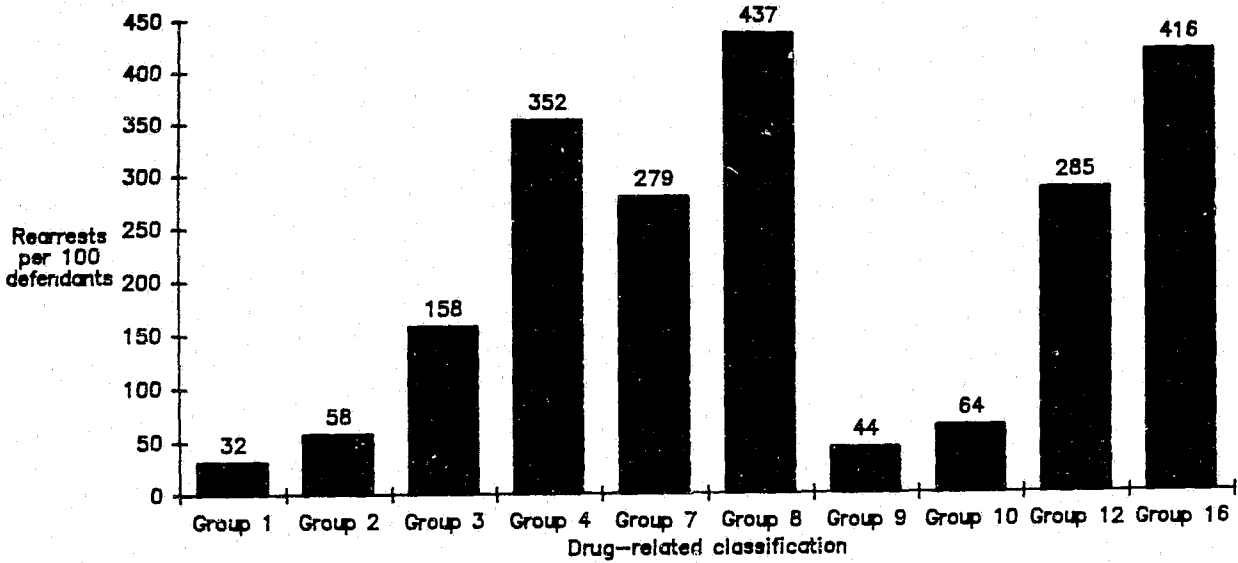
Figure 5.6   Number of rearrests for selected offenses per 100 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by three criteria drug-related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)

When the measure is of the number per 100 of any kind of rearrest among the 1987 defendants, groups 8 and 16 clearly stand out (with 437 and 416 arrests per 100 defendants). The common theme for defendants in these two groups is having prior arrests for other and drug offenses and positive drug test results for cocaine. Group 4 defendants (no drug charges, other arrests, positive tests) were not far behind with 352 rearrests per 100 defendants. In comparison, group 1, 2, 9 and 10 defendants seemed highly unproductive of rearrests during the 18-month follow-up (with rates ranging from 32 per 100 to 64 per 100).

Figure 5.6 shows roughly comparable rankings of drug-related defendant groupings based on the per 100 defendant measure when index, serious person, burglary and theft rearrests are examined. In three of the four offense categories, group 8 defendants generated the highest numbers of rearrests per 100 defendants. For burglary, the highest rate was shown by group 4 defendants. More variation was found among groups showing the lowest rates. Group 9 defendants produced the smallest number of index-level rearrests per 100 defendants. Group 10 defendants generated the lowest number of serious person crime rearrests per 100 defendants. Group 1 defendants were lowest in both burglary and theft rearrests.

Figure 5.7 shows that this version of drug-related classification also reveals a different relationship between drug-related attributes and rearrest when drug crimes are the focus. Group 16 defendants--having drug charges, prior arrests for drug and other offenses, and testing positively for cocaine--were without doubt the most productive of drug possession rearrests per 100 defendants of all groups. Group 12 defendants (drug charges, prior arrests for other offenses, positive) were the most productive of drug sales/distribution rearrests, although group 16 defendants were not far behind.

In short, whichever version of drug-related classification is employed, the "productivity" of rearrests by cohort defendants appeared related to drug-relatedness at this level of analysis.

Figure 5.7   Number of rearrests for drug offenses (possession, sales/distribution) per 100 defendants among 1987 Dade County felony defendants by three criteria drug-related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
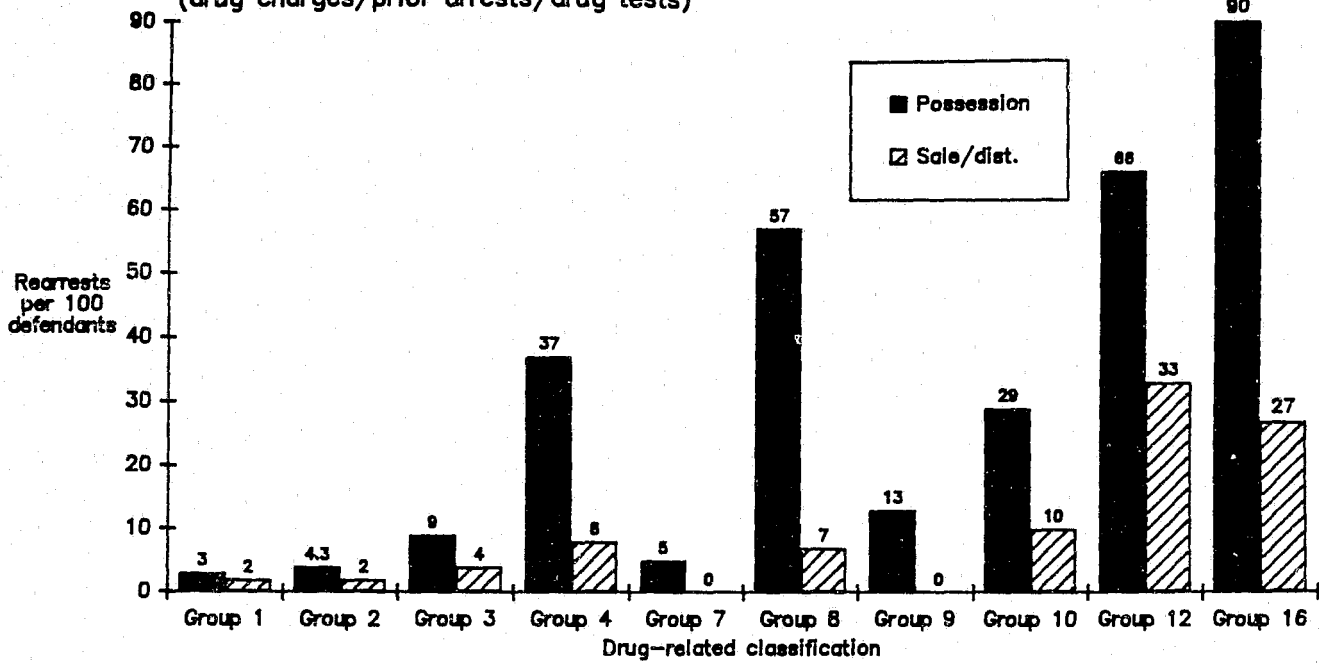
Chapter Six

CONCLUSION: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE DRUG-RELATED CASELOAD FOR PUBLIC SAFETY

The Relationship(s) between Drug-relatedness and Public Safety

In this report we have presented findings from analyses assessing the public safety implications of the drug-related caseload. Although we have addressed the question from a number of perspectives, essentially the task was to determine whether and to what extent--as conventional wisdom assumes--"drug-relatedness" had implications for later reoffending by defendants in our three cohorts (one in Maricopa County and two from Dade County). At the most general level, our findings support the conclusion that at our level of analysis drug-relatedness indeed appeared to be related to subsequent public safety outcomes. This appeared true when we considered the role of drug crime in the overall reoffending of cohort defendants, regardless of defendants or case characteristics (whether drug-related or not) at the stage of entry into the cohort. It also appeared true when we examined the relationship between drug-related defendant/case attributes at the entry stage and the extent, kind, frequency and timing of crime at subsequent stages during the follow-up periods. However, having agreed with the conventional wisdom on the broadest level of generality, our findings show that closer examination of how drug-related attributes relate to later reoffending is not so easily generalized.

The Role of Drug Crimes in Reoffending by Cohort Defendants

As we began analysis of the occurrence of rearrests during the follow-up periods within each of the cohorts, it was clear that the cohorts differed in the amount and kind of rearrests "produced." The two Dade cohorts showed greater percentages of defendants subsequently rearrested and greater numbers per 100 defendants than the Maricopa cohort. (The 1984 and 1987 Dade cohorts generated 340 and 265 rearrests per 100 defendants respectively, compared to 158 per 100 defendants in the Maricopa cohort.) Although there were in a rough sense themes across cohorts in reoffense patterns (e.g., rearrests for serious crimes against the person, for weapons offenses, and for robbery were similarly low), there were important variations by cohort. Maricopa defendants were most often rearrested for index-level crimes. Dade defendants were most often rearrested for theft offenses.

However, rearrests for drug crimes played an important part in the reoffending produced by each of the cohorts: nearly half of rearrests of defendants in the two Dade cohorts involved drug charges (only slightly greater numbers involved theft crimes), about one-fourth of the Maricopa felony defendants were rearrested for drug crimes.

The probability of persons being successively rearrested for drug crimes during the follow-up periods was not as high as for some other offenses. In each cohort, the odds for subsequent rearrest for drug offenses did not seem to increase as dramatically, peaking among Maricopa defendants at .54 for those with three drug possession arrests having a fourth. The probability of a next rearrest for a drug sales/distribution offense was fairly low in each jurisdiction. The limited number of repeat drug offenses might lead to the interpretation that drug offenders are rapidly being taken out of circulation by confinement and not being permitted an opportunity for a subsequent drug arrest. However, a more probable alternative explanation is that drug offenders are eclectic in their repeat crime choices, often being rearrested for other kinds of crimes, particularly property offenses.

The same analysis showed that while persons arrested for drug crimes at one stage seemed to get rearrested for drug crimes at a next stage at a higher than average rate, the pattern of repeat drug arrests did not stand out in comparison with the patterns of repeat arrests for other kinds of crime. Closer examination of these general findings, however, shows how misleading such a generalization may be. Among Maricopa County felony defendants, those charged with drug crimes were nearly three times as likely as defendants overall to be rearrested for drug crimes through the third rearrest, after which the rate fell to only two times as likely or less. Among the Dade 1984 misdemeanor and felony defendant defendants, drug arrestees were at least two times as likely as all defendants to be arrested again for drug crimes until the fourth rearrest, at which point they were even more likely. The 1984 Dade defendants who were rearrested for drug offenses on a fifth arrest were four and a half times as likely to be rearrested for a drug crime at the sixth arrest during the follow-up than defendants with five arrests overall. Among the 1987 Dade County felony cohort, the successive likelihood of arrests for drug crimes remained at a lower more constant level, but still greater than the base rates would suggest. In short, drug crimes played a continuing and noticeable role among the overall rearrests produced by the cohorts overall as well as at each successive stage.

The Timing of Rearrests by Cohort Defendants

An important part of the public safety analysis of rearrests among the cohort defendants focused on the timing of first rearrests for particular crimes. An important question we asked was whether drug crime rearrests occurred more rapidly and/or sooner during the follow-up periods than other kinds of rearrests. The 1987 Dade felony defendants, who distinguished themselves by high rates of drug and theft crime rearrests, also distinguished themselves by earlier and sharply increasing rates of rearrest throughout the follow-up period. Among Maricopa County rearrestees, the timing of drug and theft rearrests appeared to go hand-in-hand. Among the 1984 Dade defendants drug rearrests started out quickly apace with theft rearrests during the follow-up, but then slowed until showing an upsurge toward the end of the follow-up period. Overall in the two Dade cohorts, however, the timing of drug crime rearrests was distinct from the timing of rearrests for other crimes, but distinctly middle-paced.

Drug-relatedness as a Predictor of Later Rearrests: Two Classifications

To establish a framework for evaluating the relationship between drug related attributes of defendants and their cases upon entry into the cohorts and later rearrests, we adopted two measures of drug-relatedness. The first measure of drug-relatedness classified cohort defendants on the basis of two criteria, criminal charges (drug charges, yes or no) and prior arrests (none, other arrests only, drug arrests only, drug and other arrests) and produced 8 categories of defendants for the analysis. The second measure was applicable only to the 1987 Dade County felony cohort because it required measurement of defendant drug use through drug testing. In this measure, each of the 8 categories of the first classification were further subdivided by drug test results, positive or negative (we focused on cocaine only). This produced a 16 category drug-related classification of defendants.

A first implication of using these classifications was that a remarkably large proportion of the defendant cohorts were classifiable as "drug-related." Using the eight group classification, 39 percent of the 1984 Dade cohort, 44 percent of the 1984 Maricopa cohort and 59 percent of the 1987 Dade cohort qualified as drug-related. Based on possession of one of the three attributes (drug charges, prior drug arrests, positive drug tests) defining the 16-part classification, fully 83 percent of the 1987 Dade County felony cohort was defined as drug-related.

When the analysis turned to "prediction" of reoffending among the cohorts on the basis on drug-related attributes, the general notion that the drug-relatedness of current cases has implications for later reoffending was generally supported. Both classifications produced defendant subgroups that differed notably from one another as well as showing a wide range of rearrest rates. The fact that the drug-related classifications were so (generally, not always) useful buttresses the popular assumptions about drug relatedness, at least in a superficial sense. But beneath this level of generality, specific findings are more complex. Using the 8-part classification, it was generally true, for example, that group 8 defendants (with drug charges and prior arrests for other and drug offenses) and group 4 defendants (with no drug charges but with drug and other prior arrests) ranked highest among groups on most rearrest measures--but not always. It is generally true that group 1 defendants (with no drug charges and no prior arrests) were at the other extreme, showing among the lowest rearrest rates--but not always.

Using the 16-part drug-related classification, it was often true that group 8 defendants (with no drug charges, prior arrests for other and drug offenses, and positive drug tests) and group 4 defendants (with no drug charges, other arrests only and positive tests) ranked highest in later public safety outcomes--but not always. A good example of a different pattern involves group 16 defendants (drug charges, prior other and drug arrests, positive tests) who were the most likely to be rearrested for drug crimes. In short, the relative rankings of groups, particularly between the "best" and the "worst," often differed depending on the site and the offense category studied.

The drug related classifications also differentiated cohort defendants well on the basis of the lengths of time between the initial cohort arrest and later rearrests. This good ability to differentiate, however, did not necessarily produce any clear-cut rule of thumb to explain the findings. For example, using the 8-part classification, we found that the group averaging the earliest rearrests during the follow-up was group 6 (drug charges, prior arrests only). Among the 1984 Dade defendants, however, the quickest to reoffend was group 8 (drug charges, prior arrests for drug and other offenses). Among the 1987 Dade defendants, the quickest group was group 3 (no drug charges, prior arrests for drugs only). Using the 16-part classification on the 1987 Dade defendant sample, sharp differences in the timing of reoffending marked drug-related subgroups as well; however, group 1 defendants (no drug charges, no prior arrests, negative tests) showed the earliest pattern of reoffending, contrary to popular assumptions.

As we noted in Chapter Five, the drug-related attributes of defendants--as operationalized in the two- and three-criteria classifications also served to differentiate categories of defendants on the basis of their contribution to the volume of rearrests, whether measured from the perspective of disproportionate contribution to rearrest production or from the perspective of number of rearrests generated per 100 defendants.

A Cautious Assessment: The Evasive "Rule-of-Thumb" Interpretation

In sum, the finding of the utility of drug-related attributes of defendants or their cases at one point in time (for our analysis, the entry into the cohort) in assessing the differential prospects for subsequent offending--or, at least, future rearrests--seems fairly clear. Two problems, however, should be kept in mind. The relationships between drug-related attributes (drug-related classifications of defendants) and later official contacts with criminal justice are not straightforward or universal. The helpfulness of such classifications depends on the public safety outcome being measured (defendants groups ranked differently when the focus was time to first rearrest than when the focus was crimes per 100 defendants, for example). The "rules-of-thumb" were clearer within cohorts than across cohorts. As similar rankings of drug-related defendant subgroups were found across sites, variations were also common and need to be understood. Finally, the question we have asked in this report has purposely been narrowly framed within the ability of our data to address it. We sought to assess the public safety--or later offending--implications of the drug-related criminal caseload; using two simple classificatory frameworks, we have done so. However, a broader issue, to be addressed in the next report, is the comparative usefulness of drug-related attributes of the criminal caseload in assessing future public safety impact. Compared to other kinds of information normally available to courts during the processing of cases, how important is knowledge of the drug-relatedness of criminal cases in assessing the implications for public safety?

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APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES AND FIGURES

Table A2.3 Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for index-level offenses

Maricopa County, 1984
(n=1157)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Index-level	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	407	35.2	35.2	181	44.5	157	38.6	69	17.0	30.5	6.0
Event 1 to 2	131	11.3	20.0	45	34.4	56	42.7	30	22.9	34.9	2.6
Event 2 to 3	93	8.0	21.9	30	32.3	45	48.4	18	19.4	28.6	1.6
Event 3 to 4	59	5.1	20.7	22	37.3	24	40.7	13	22.0	35.1	1.1
Event 4 to 5	36	3.1	21.6	14	38.9	13	36.1	9	25.0	40.9	0.8
Event 5 to 6	26	2.2	25.5	9	34.6	9	34.6	8	30.8	47.1	0.7
Event 6 to 7	13	1.1	23.2	6	46.2	5	38.5	2	15.4	28.6	0.2
Event 7 to 8 *	9	0.8	28.1	2	22.2	5	55.6	2	22.2	28.6	0.2
Average percent **			23.9		37.5		41.3		20.8	34.0	

Dade County, 1984
(n=2073)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Index-level	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those Rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	378	18.3	18.3	170	44.8	153	40.5	56	14.7	26.8	2.7
Event 1 to 2	182	8.8	17.6	37	20.2	123	67.4	23	12.4	15.6	1.1
Event 2 to 3	116	5.6	15.3	16	14.1	66	56.6	34	29.3	34.0	1.6
Event 3 to 4	97	4.7	16.2	28	28.6	49	51.0	20	20.4	29.0	1.0
Event 4 to 5	62	3.0	12.7	9	13.9	32	52.0	21	34.2	39.6	1.0
Event 5 to 6	43	2.1	10.4	2	3.6	24	56.4	17	40.0	41.5	0.8
Event 6 to 7	46	2.2	13.0	16	34.0	23	49.3	8	16.7	25.8	0.4
Event 7 to 8	39	1.9	13.1	3	8.0	36	92.0	0	---	----	----
Average Percent **			14.6		20.9		58.2		21.0	26.5	

Table A2.3 Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for index-level offenses (cont'd)

Dade County, 1987
(n = 1000)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Index-level	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those Rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	230	23.0	23.0	102	44.3	110	47.8	18	7.8	14.1	1.8
Event 1 to 2	67	6.7	12.6	11	16.4	42	62.7	14	20.9	25.0	1.4
Event 2 to 3	65	6.5	15.7	17	26.2	37	56.9	11	16.9	22.9	1.1
Event 3 to 4	52	5.2	15.8	13	25.0	29	55.8	10	19.2	25.6	1.0
Event 4 to 5	34	3.4	13.3	7	20.6	22	64.7	5	14.7	18.5	0.5
Event 5 to 6	23	2.3	11.7	7	30.4	9	39.1	7	30.4	43.8	0.7
Event 6 to 7	22	2.2	13.8	6	27.3	10	45.5	6	27.3	37.5	0.6
Event 7 to 8	17	1.7	12.3	4	23.5	8	47.1	5	29.4	38.5	0.5
Average percent **			16.1		26.5		57.6		15.9	21.2	

*   Small number of cases (n < 10)
**   Based on events where N is 30 or more

Table A2.4 Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for serious person offenses

Maricopa County, 1984
(n=1157)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Serious Person Offense	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	272	23.5	23.5	140	51.5	73	26.8	59	21.7	44.7	5.1
Event 1 to 2	135	11.7	20.6	58	43.0	49	36.3	28	20.7	36.4	2.4
Event 2 to 3	70	6.1	16.5	31	44.3	23	32.9	16	22.9	41.0	1.4
Event 3 to 4	43	3.7	15.1	21	48.8	10	23.3	12	27.9	54.5	4.7
Event 4 to 5	29	2.5	17.4	12	41.4	10	34.5	7	24.1	41.2	0.6
Event 5 to 6	20	1.7	19.6	9	45.0	6	30.0	5	25.0	45.5	0.4
Event 6 to 7 *	8	0.7	14.3	4	50.0	3	37.5	1	12.5	33.3	0.1
Event 7 to 8 *	6	0.5	18.8	3	50.0	2	33.3	1	16.7	50.0	0.1
Average percent **			18.9		46.9		29.8		23.3	44.2	

Dade County, 1984
(n=2073)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Serious Person Offense	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	218	10.5	10.5	104	47.5	79	36.2	36	16.3	31.3	1.7
Event 1 to 2	141	6.8	13.6	43	30.7	67	47.6	31	21.7	31.6	1.5
Event 2 to 3	98	4.7	13.0	18	18.3	53	53.6	27	28.1	33.8	1.3
Event 3 to 4	86	4.1	14.3	31	36.3	31	36.3	23	27.4	42.6	1.1
Event 4 to 5	68	3.3	13.9	9	13.6	36	52.9	23	33.5	39.0	1.1
Event 5 to 6	49	2.4	11.8	6	12.7	26	53.2	17	34.2	39.5	0.8
Event 6 to 7	45	2.2	12.5	16	35.2	24	54.5	5	10.4	17.2	0.2
Event 7 to 8	34	1.6	11.4	5	13.8	23	67.9	6	18.4	20.7	0.3
Average Percent **			12.6		26.0		50.3		23.8	32.0	

Table   A.2.4   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for serious person offenses (cont'd)

Dade County, 1987
(n = 1000)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Serious Person Offense	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	109	10.9	10.9	57	52.3	43	39.4	9	8.3	17.3	0.9
Event 1 to 2	65	6.5	12.2	13	20.0	35	53.8	17	26.2	32.7	1.7
Event 2 to 3	62	6.2	15.0	17	27.4	29	46.8	16	25.8	35.6	1.6
Event 3 to 4	30	3.0	9.1	12	40.0	12	40.0	6	20.0	33.3	0.6
Event 4 to 5	22	2.2	8.6	8	36.4	11	50.0	3	13.6	21.4	0.3
Event 5 to 6	14	1.4	7.1	3	21.4	9	64.3	2	14.3	18.2	0.2
Event 6 to 7	12	1.2	7.5	5	41.7	7	58.3	0	----	----	----
Event 7 to 8 *	1	0.1	0.7	0	----	1	100.0	0	----	----	----
Average percent **			11.8		34.9		45.0		20.1	29.7	

*   Small number of cases (n < 10)
**   Based on events where N is 30 or more

Table A2.5   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for robbery offenses

Maricopa County, 1984
(n=1157)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Robbery offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	42	3.6	3.6	13	31.0	25	59.5	4	9.5	14.0	0.3
Event 1 to 2	12	1.0	1.8	5	41.7	7	58.3	0	----	----	----
Event 2 to 3 *	9	0.8	2.1	2	22.2	6	66.7	1	11.1	14.3	0.1
Event 3 to 4 *	7	0.6	2.5	4	57.1	3	42.9	0	----	----	----
Event 4 to 5 *	4	0.3	2.4	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	----	----	----
Event 5 to 6 *	5	0.4	4.9	1	20.0	3	60.0	1	20.0	25.0	0.1
Event 6 to 7 *	1	0.1	1.8	1	100.0	0	----	0	----	----	----
Event 7 to 8 *	2	0.2	6.3	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	----	----	----
Average percent **			3.6		31.0		59.5		9.5	14.0	

Dade County, 1984
(n=2073)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Robbery offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	39	1.9	1.9	14	36.0	20	52.0	5	12.0	20.0	0.2
Event 1 to 2	30	1.4	2.9	2	5.2	27	89.6	2	5.2	6.7	0.1
Event 2 to 3	41	2.0	5.4	9	21.1	32	78.9	0	----	----	----
Event 3 to 4 *	0	----	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	----	----
Event 4 to 5	20	1.0	4.2	9	42.4	8	37.9	4	19.7	33.3	0.2
Event 5 to 6	17	0.8	4.0	0	----	9	51.9	8	48.1	47.0	0.4
Event 6 to 7	14	0.7	4.0	7	50.0	6	39.1	2	10.9	25.0	0.1
Event 7 to 8	14	0.7	4.8	3	21.8	11	78.2	0	----	----	----
Average Percent **			3.4		20.8		73.5		5.7	8.9	

Table   A2.5   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for robbery offenses (cont'd)

Dade County, 1987
(n=1000)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Robbery offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	28	2.8	2.8	12	42.9	15	53.6	1	3.6	6.3	0.1
Event 1 to 2	20	2.0	3.8	3	15.0	10	50.0	7	35.0	41.2	0.7
Event 2 to 3	21	2.1	5.1	6	28.6	10	47.6	5	23.8	33.3	0.5
Event 3 to 4 *	9	0.9	2.7	2	22.2	4	44.4	3	33.3	42.9	0.3
Event 4 to 5	13	1.3	5.1	4	30.8	7	53.8	2	15.4	22.2	0.2
Event 5 to 6 *	4	0.4	2.0	2	50.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	50.0	0.1
Event 6 to 7 *	3	0.3	1.9	1	33.3	0	----	2	66.7	100.0	0.2
Event 7 to 8 *	3	0.3	2.2	0	----	2	66.7	1	33.3	33.3	0.1
Average percent **			----		----		----		----	----	

*   Small number of cases (n < 10)
**   Based on events where N is 30 or more

Table A2.6   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for weapons offenses

Maricopa County, 1984
(n = 1157)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Weapons offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	95	8.2	8.2	53	55.8	39	41.1	3	3.2	7.1	0.3
Event 1 to 2	25	2.2	3.8	12	48.0	13	52.0	0	----	----	----
Event 2 to 3 *	9	0.8	2.1	5	55.6	4	44.4	0	----	----	----
Event 3 to 4 *	9	0.8	3.2	5	55.6	3	33.3	1	11.1	25.0	0.1
Event 4 to 5 *	5	0.4	3.0	2	40.0	3	60.0	0	----	----	----
Event 5 to 6 *	1	0.1	1.0	0	----	1	100.0	0	----	----	----
Event 6 to 7 *	0	----	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	----	----
Event 7 to 8 *	1	0.1	3.1	1	100.0	0	----	0	----	----	----
Average percent **			8.2		55.8		41.1		3.2	7.1	

Dade County, 1984
(n = 2073)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Weapons offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	356	17.2	17.2	191	53.5	134	37.7	31	8.8	18.8	1.5
Event 1 to 2	80	3.9	7.7	18	22.4	45	56.8	17	20.8	27.4	0.8
Event 2 to 3	86	4.1	11.4	23	27.4	49	56.8	14	15.8	22.2	0.7
Event 3 to 4	38	1.8	6.3	20	52.4	15	39.4	3	8.2	16.7	0.1
Event 4 to 5	36	1.7	7.2	11	31.3	23	64.4	2	4.4	8.0	0.1
Event 5 to 6	15	0.7	3.6	6	41.7	5	31.3	4	27.0	44.4	0.2
Event 6 to 7	24	1.2	6.8	7	29.1	14	58.2	3	12.7	17.6	0.1
Event 7 to 8 *	4	0.2	1.4	4	100.0	0	----	0	----	----	----
Average Percent **			10.0		37.4		51.0		11.6	18.6	

Table   A2.6   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for weapons offenses (cont'd)

Dade County, 1987
(n = 1000)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Weapons offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	118	11.8	11.8	60	50.8	52	44.1	6	5.1	10.3	0.6
Event 1 to 2	36	3.6	6.8	9	25.0	22	61.1	5	13.9	18.5	0.5
Event 2 to 3	27	2.7	6.5	11	40.7	11	40.7	5	18.5	31.3	0.5
Event 3 to 4	15	1.5	4.6	4	26.7	6	40.0	5	33.3	45.5	0.5
Event 4 to 5	20	2.0	7.8	4	20.0	13	65.0	3	15.0	18.8	0.3
Event 5 to 6	11	1.1	5.6	4	36.4	4	36.4	3	27.3	42.9	0.3
Event 6 to 7	13	1.3	8.2	3	23.1	9	69.2	1	7.7	10.0	0.1
Event 7 to 8 *	4	0.4	2.9	0	----	2	50.0	2	50.0	50.0	0.2
Average percent **			9.3		37.9		52.6		9.5	14.4	

*   Small number of cases (n < 10)
**   Based on events where N is 30 or more

Table A2.7 Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for assault offenses

Maricopa County, 1984
(n = 1157)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Assault offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	246	21.3	21.3	113	45.9	101	41.1	32	13.0	24.1	2.8
Event 1 to 2	65	5.6	9.9	18	27.7	34	52.3	13	20.0	27.7	1.1
Event 2 to 3	43	3.7	10.1	16	37.2	19	44.2	8	18.6	26.9	0.7
Event 3 to 4	26	2.2	9.1	11	42.3	9	34.6	6	23.1	40.0	0.5
Event 4 to 5	19	1.6	11.4	9	47.4	6	31.6	4	21.1	40.0	0.3
Event 5 to 6	13	1.1	12.7	6	46.2	5	38.5	2	15.4	28.6	0.2
Event 6 to 7 *	5	0.4	8.9	3	60.0	2	40.0	0	----	----	----
Event 7 to 8 *	3	0.3	9.4	1	33.3	2	66.7	0	----	----	----
Average percent **			13.8		36.9		45.9		17.2	26.2	

Dade County, 1984
(n = 2073)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Assault offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	67	3.2	3.2	36	53.5	25	37.2	6	9.3	19.4	0.3
Event 1 to 2	92	4.4	8.9	35	37.4	47	50.8	11	11.7	19.0	0.5
Event 2 to 3	44	2.2	5.8	5	10.6	27	62.4	12	26.9	30.8	0.6
Event 3 to 4	43	2.1	7.2	18	41.8	18	41.8	7	16.4	28.0	0.3
Event 4 to 5	40	1.9	8.2	3	7.7	28	70.8	9	21.5	24.3	0.4
Event 5 to 6	15	0.7	3.6	2	10.4	13	89.6	0	----	----	----
Event 6 to 7	20	1.0	5.7	7	34.8	6	30.3	7	34.8	53.8	0.3
Event 7 to 8	14	0.7	4.8	0	----	14	100.0	0	----	----	----
Average Percent **			6.7		30.2		52.6		17.2	24.3	

Table A2.7   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for assault offenses (cont'd)

Dade County, 1987
(n = 1000)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Assault offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	171	17.1	17.1	101	59.1	63	36.8	7	4.1	10.0	0.7
Event 1 to 2	33	3.3	6.2	7	21.2	24	72.7	2	6.1	7.7	0.2
Event 2 to 3	36	3.6	8.7	10	27.8	22	61.1	4	11.1	15.4	0.4
Event 3 to 4	17	1.7	5.2	6	35.3	9	52.9	2	16.7	18.2	0.2
Event 4 to 5	12	1.2	4.7	5	41.7	6	50.0	1	8.3	14.3	0.1
Event 5 to 6 *	8	0.8	4.1	3	37.5	3	37.5	2	25.0	40.0	0.2
Event 6 to 7 *	9	0.9	5.7	3	33.3	6	66.7	0	----	----	----
Event 7 to 8 *	2	0.2	1.4	0	----	2	100.0	0	----	----	----
Average percent **			10.7		36.0		56.9		7.1	11.0	

*   Small number of cases (n < 10)
**   Based on events where N is 30 or more

Table   A2.8   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for burglary offenses

Maricopa County, 1984
(n=1157)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Burglary offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	169	14.6	14.6	71	42.0	69	40.8	29	17.2	29.6	2.5
Event 1 to 2	63	5.4	9.6	18	28.6	29	46.0	16	25.4	35.6	1.4
Event 2 to 3	49	4.2	11.6	12	24.5	23	46.9	14	28.6	37.8	1.2
Event 3 to 4	38	3.3	13.3	14	36.8	18	47.4	6	15.8	25.0	0.5
Event 4 to 5	20	1.7	12.0	7	35.0	10	50.0	3	15.0	23.1	0.3
Event 5 to 6 *	9	0.8	8.8	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.6	71.4	0.4
Event 6 to 7 *	8	0.7	14.3	3	37.5	3	37.5	2	25.0	40.0	0.2
Event 7 to 8 *	4	0.3	12.5	0	----	2	50.0	2	50.0	50.0	
Average percent **			12.3		33.0		45.3		21.8	32.0	

Dade County, 1984
(n=2073)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Burglary offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	153	7.4	7.4	57	37.4	71	46.5	25	16.2	26.0	1.2
Event 1 to 2	110	5.3	10.6	21	19.1	70	63.7	19	17.1	21.3	0.9
Event 2 to 3	71	3.4	9.4	15	20.9	33	47.0	23	32.2	41.1	1.1
Event 3 to 4	71	3.4	11.9	17	23.5	36	50.0	19	26.5	34.5	0.9
Event 4 to 5	50	2.4	10.3	3	6.1	37	73.6	10	20.3	21.3	0.5
Event 5 to 6	27	1.3	6.4	2	5.8	13	50.0	12	44.2	48.0	0.6
Event 6 to 7	36	1.7	9.9	5	13.1	24	66.9	7	10.0	22.6	0.3
Event 7 to 8	20	1.0	6.9	0	----	13	65.2	7	34.8	35.0	0.3
Average Percent **			9.4		18.0		56.8		23.8	28.8	

Table   A2.8   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for burglary offenses (cont'd)

Dade County, 1987
(n=1000)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Burglary offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	214	21.4	21.4	63	29.4	107	50.0	44	20.6	29.1	4.4
Event 1 to 2	77	7.7	14.5	15	19.5	38	49.4	24	31.2	38.7	2.4
Event 2 to 3	71	7.1	17.1	15	21.1	33	46.5	24	32.4	42.1	2.4
Event 3 to 4	65	6.5	19.8	14	21.5	35	53.8	16	24.6	31.4	1.6
Event 4 to 5	41	4.1	16.1	8	19.5	22	53.7	11	26.8	33.3	1.1
Event 5 to 6	40	4.0	20.4	12	30.0	15	37.5	13	32.5	46.4	1.3
Event 6 to 7	30	3.0	18.9	6	20.0	6	20.0	18	60.0	75.0	1.8
Event 7 to 8	42	4.2	30.4	10	23.8	14	33.3	18	42.9	56.3	1.8
Average percent **			19.8		23.1		43.0		27.1	44.0	

*   Small number of cases (n < 10)
**   Based on events where N is 30 or more

Table   A2.9   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for theft offenses

Maricopa County, 1984
(n = 1157)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Theft offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	205	17.7	17.7	89	43.4	108	52.7	8	3.9	6.9	0.7
Event 1 to 2	24	2.1	3.7	7	29.2	16	66.7	1	4.2	5.9	0.1
Event 2 to 3	17	1.5	4.0	2	11.8	11	64.7	4	23.5	26.7	0.3
Event 3 to 4 *	9	0.8	3.2	0	----	7	77.8	2	22.2	22.2	0.2
Event 4 to 5 *	9	0.8	5.4	7	77.8	2	22.2	0	----	----	----
Event 5 to 6 *	6	0.5	5.9	4	66.7	2	33.3	0	----	----	----
Event 6 to 7 *	2	0.2	3.6	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	----	----	----
Event 7 to 8 *	0	----	----	0	----	0	----	0	----	----	----
Average percent **			17.7		43.4		52.7		3.9	6.9	

Dade County, 1984
(n = 2073)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Theft offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	376	18.1	18.1	191	50.8	102	27.1	83	22.1	44.9	4.0
Event 1 to 2	224	10.8	21.7	41	18.3	95	42.3	88	39.4	48.1	4.2
Event 2 to 3	183	8.8	24.3	38	20.7	58	31.7	87	47.6	60.0	4.2
Event 3 to 4	152	7.3	25.5	23	15.4	71	46.4	58	38.1	45.0	2.8
Event 4 to 5	119	5.7	24.2	20	16.7	49	40.9	50	42.4	50.5	2.4
Event 5 to 6	119	5.7	28.7	16	13.3	48	40.6	55	46.1	53.4	2.7
Event 6 to 7	100	4.8	28.1	13	13.2	46	46.1	41	40.6	47.1	2.0
Event 7 to 8	71	3.4	23.9	13	17.9	28	39.3	30	42.8	51.7	1.4
Average Percent **			24.3		20.8		39.3		39.9	50.1	

Table   A2.9   Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for theft offenses   (cont'd)

Dade County, 1987
(n = 1000)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Theft offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to											
next event (1)	235	23.5	23.5	104	44.3	65	27.7	66	28.0	50.4	6.6
Event 1 to 2	142	14.2	26.7	27	19.0	65	45.8	50	35.2	43.5	5.0
Event 2 to 3	103	10.3	24.9	17	16.5	47	45.6	39	37.9	45.3	3.9
Event 3 to 4	85	8.5	25.8	21	24.7	40	47.1	24	28.2	37.5	2.4
Event 4 to 5	60	6.0	23.5	12	20.0	27	45.0	21	35.0	43.8	2.1
Event 5 to 6	62	6.2	31.6	15	24.2	24	38.7	23	37.1	48.9	2.3
Event 6 to 7	46	4.6	28.9	7	15.2	18	39.1	21	45.7	53.8	2.1
Event 7 to 8	36	3.6	26.1	5	13.9	16	44.4	15	41.7	48.4	1.5
Average percent **			26.4		22.2		41.7		36.1	46.5	

*   Small number of cases (n < 10)
**   Based on events where N is 30 or more

Table A2.10 Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for drug offenses

Maricopa County, 1984
(n=1157)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Drug offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	256	22.1	22.1	110	43.0	80	31.3	66	25.8	45.2	5.7
Event 1 to 2	101	8.7	15.4	30	29.7	36	35.6	35	34.7	49.3	3.0
Event 2 to 3	67	5.8	15.8	27	40.3	15	22.4	25	37.3	62.5	2.2
Event 3 to 4	60	5.2	21.1	22	36.7	24	40.0	14	23.3	36.8	1.2
Event 4 to 5	31	2.7	18.6	8	25.8	17	54.8	6	19.4	26.1	0.5
Event 5 to 6	14	1.2	13.7	6	42.9	5	35.7	3	21.4	37.5	0.3
Event 6 to 7	10	0.9	17.9	5	50.0	2	20.0	3	30.0	60.0	0.3
Event 7 to 8 *	7	0.6	21.9	3	42.9	0	----	4	57.1	100.0	0.3
Average percent **			18.6		35.1		36.8		28.1	44.0	

Dade County, 1984
(n=2073)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Drug offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	368	17.7	17.7	200	54.5	66	17.9	101	27.6	60.5	4.9
Event 1 to 2	193	9.3	18.7	54	27.8	102	52.8	37	19.4	26.6	1.8
Event 2 to 3	113	5.5	14.9	16	14.6	33	29.1	63	56.3	65.6	3.0
Event 3 to 4	85	4.1	14.3	17	19.9	47	55.4	21	24.6	30.9	1.0
Event 4 to 5	52	2.5	10.6	16	31.4	18	34.3	18	34.3	50.0	0.9
Event 5 to 6	58	2.8	14.0	16	28.2	15	25.5	27	46.3	64.3	1.3
Event 6 to 7	50	2.4	14.1	2	3.1	36	70.5	13	26.4	26.5	0.6
Event 7 to 8	48	2.3	16.2	7	14.8	38	78.7	3	6.5	7.3	0.1
Average Percent **			15.1		24.3		45.5		30.2	41.5	

Table A2.10 Patterns of rearrests among cohort defendants over time during follow-up periods, by cohort: arrests/rearrests for drug offenses (cont'd)

Dade County, 1987
(n = 1000)
Outcomes at next arrest

Initial arrest to Event: Drug offenses	Persons with these charges at first rearrest			No rearrest		Rearrest: different offense		Rearrest: same offense		% of those rearrested: same offense	Total cohort rearrested: same offense
	Number	% of Cohort	% at this stage	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Percent
Initial arrest to next event (1)	345	34.5	34.5	164	47.5	107	31.0	74	21.4	40.9	7.4
Event 1 to 2	113	11.3	21.2	36	31.9	46	40.7	31	27.4	40.3	3.1
Event 2 to 3	85	8.5	20.5	22	25.9	42	49.4	21	24.7	33.3	2.1
Event 3 to 4	57	5.7	17.3	14	24.6	29	50.9	14	24.6	32.6	1.4
Event 4 to 5	49	4.9	19.2	15	30.6	26	53.1	8	16.3	23.5	0.8
Event 5 to 6	24	2.4	12.2	4	16.7	15	62.5	5	20.8	25.0	0.5
Event 6 to 7	17	1.7	10.7	4	23.5	10	58.8	3	17.6	23.1	0.3
Event 7 to 8	23	2.3	16.7	5	21.7	13	56.5	5	21.7	27.8	0.5
Average percent **			22.5		32.1		45.0		22.9	34.1	

*   Small number of cases (n < 10)
**   Based on events where N is 30 or more

Table A5.1   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior arrests), of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants, by kind of crime

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 1: No drug charges/ no prior arrests			
(n = 349)	Any rearrest	(315)	90.3
	Index-level	(75)	21.5
	Serious person	(73)	20.9
	Robbery	(4)	1.1
	Weapons	(8)	2.3
	Assault	(37)	10.6
	Burglary	(23)	6.6
	Theft	(17)	4.9
	Drug (any)	(37)	10.6
	Drug possession	(30)	8.6
	Drug sale/dist.	(9)	2.6
Group 2: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 281)	Any rearrest	(550)	195.7
	Index-level	(177)	63.0
	Serious person	(116)	41.3
	Robbery	(17)	6.0
	Weapons	(24)	8.5
	Assault	(66)	23.5
	Burglary	(92)	32.7
	Theft	(26)	9.3
	Drug (any)	(40)	14.2
	Drug possession	(32)	11.4
	Drug sale/dist.	(14)	5.0
Group 3: No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only			
(n = 108)	Any rearrest	(153)	141.7
	Index-level	(24)	22.2
	Serious person	(26)	24.1
	Robbery	(4)	3.7
	Weapons	(6)	5.6
	Assault	(16)	14.8
	Burglary	(4)	3.7
	Theft	(3)	2.8
	Drug (any)	(15)	13.9
	Drug possession	(14)	13.0
	Drug sale/dist.	(4)	3.7

Table   A5.1   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior arrests), of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 4: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses			
(n = 154)	Any rearrest	(345)	224.0
	Index-level	(62)	40.3
	Serious person	(49)	31.8
	Robbery	(13)	8.4
	Weapons	(7)	4.5
	Assault	(21)	13.6
	Burglary	(31)	20.1
	Theft	(14)	9.1
	Drug (any)	(44)	28.6
	Drug possession	(38)	24.7
	Drug sale/dist.	(10)	6.5
Group 5: Drug charges/ no prior arrests			
(n = 104)	Any rearrest	(107)	102.9
	Index-level	(17)	16.3
	Serious person	(10)	9.6
	Robbery	(0)	0.0
	Weapons	(1)	1.0
	Assault	(1)	9.6
	Burglary	(6)	5.8
	Theft	(3)	2.9
	Drug (any)	(44)	42.3
	Drug possession	(34)	32.7
	Drug sale/dist.	(18)	17.3
Group 6: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 50)	Any rearrest	(94)	188.0
	Index-level	(15)	30.0
	Serious person	(14)	28.0
	Robbery	(3)	6.0
	Weapons	(2)	4.0
	Assault	(7)	14.0
	Burglary	(5)	10.0
	Theft	(0)	0.0
	Drug (any)	(22)	44.0
	Drug possession	(21)	42.0
	Drug sale/dist.	(5)	10.0

Table   A5.1   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior arrests), of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 7: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 51)	Any rearrest	(113)	221.6
	Index-level	(17)	33.3
	Serious person	(13)	25.5
	Robbery	(0)	0.0
	Weapons	(2)	3.9
	Assault	(12)	23.5
	Burglary	(5)	9.8
	Theft	(4)	7.8
	Drug (any)	(47)	92.2
	Drug possession	(42)	82.4
	Drug sale/dist.	(7)	13.7
Group 8: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses			
(n = 48)	Any rearrest	(128)	266.7
	Index-level	(17)	35.4
	Serious person	(12)	25.0
	Robbery	(0)	0.0
	Weapons	(3)	6.3
	Assault	(8)	16.7
	Burglary	(9)	18.8
	Theft	(2)	4.2
	Drug (any)	(57)	118.8
	Drug possession	(48)	100.0
	Drug sale/dist.	(11)	22.9

Table   A5.2   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior
arrests), of 1984 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 1: No drug charges/ no prior arrests			
(n = 608)	Any rearrest	(683)	112.3
	Index-level	(84)	13.8
	Serious person	(71)	11.7
	Robbery	(11)	1.8
	Weapons	(44)	7.2
	Assault	(38)	6.3
	Burglary	(82)	13.5
	Theft	(129)	21.2
	Drug (any)	(114)	18.8
	Drug possession	(112)	18.4
	Drug sale/dist.	(33)	5.4
Group 2: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 606)	Any rearrest	(3115)	514.0
	Index-level	(303)	50.0
	Serious person	(249)	41.1
	Robbery	(102)	16.8
	Weapons	(121)	20.0
	Assault	(121)	20.0
	Burglary	(200)	33.0
	Theft	(572)	94.4
	Drug (any)	(188)	31.0
	Drug possession	(188)	31.0
	Drug sale/dist.	(44)	7.3
Group 3: No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only			
(n = 61)	Any rearrest	(104)	170.5
	Index-level	(23)	37.1
	Serious person	(22)	36.1
	Robbery	(7)	11.5
	Weapons	(9)	14.8
	Assault	(14)	23.0
	Burglary	(4)	6.6
	Theft	(14)	23.0
	Drug (any)	(29)	47.5
	Drug possession	(29)	47.5
	Drug sale/dist.	(6)	9.8

Table   A5.2   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior arrests), of 1984 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 4: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses			
(n = 359)	Any rearrest	(2258)	629.0
	Index-level	(301)	83.8
	Serious person	(225)	62.7
	Robbery	(62)	17.3
	Weapons	(111)	30.9
	Assault	(130)	36.2
	Burglary	(273)	76.0
	Theft	(567)	157.9
	Drug (any)	(284)	79.1
	Drug possession	(284)	79.1
	Drug sale/dist.	(64)	17.8
Group 5: Drug charges/ no prior arrests			
(n = 145)	Any rearrest	(138)	95.2
	Index-level	(10)	6.9
	Serious person	(25)	17.2
	Robbery(	(7)	4.8
	Weapons	(21)	14.5
	Assault	(14)	9.7
	Burglary	(5)	3.4
	Theft	(35)	24.1
	Drug (any)	(31)	21.4
	Drug possession	(29)	20.0
	Drug sale/dist.	(9)	6.2
Group 6: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 95)	Any rearrest	(323)	340.0
	Index-level	(50)	52.5
	Serious person	(33)	34.7
	Robbery	(17)	17.9
	Weapons	(21)	22.1
	Assault	(9)	9.5
	Burglary	(40)	42.1
	Theft	(85)	89.5
	Drug (any)	(59)	62.1
	Drug possession	(59)	62.1
	Drug sale/dist.	(8)	8.4

Table A5.2   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior arrests), of 1984 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 7: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 21)	Any rearrest	(35)	166.7
	Index-level	(0)	0.0
	Serious person	(2)	9.5
	Robbery	(0)	0.0
	Weapons	(2)	9.5
	Assault	(0)	0.0
	Burglary	(0)	0.0
	Theft	(12)	57.1
	Drug (any)	(26)	123.8
	Drug possession	(26)	123.8
	Drug sale/dist.	(8)	38.1
Group 8: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses			
(n = 91)	Any rearrest	(326)	358.2
	Index-level	(37)	10.7
	Serious person ·	(26)	28.6
	Robbery	(12)	13.2
	Weapons	(15)	16.5
	Assault	(16)	17.6
	Burglary	(45)	49.5
	Theft	(85)	93.4
	Drug (any)	(62)	68.1
	Drug possession	(57)	62.6
	Drug sale/dist.	(18)	19.8

Table   A5.3   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior arrests), of 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 1: No drug charges/ no prior arrests			
(n = 139)	Any rearrest	(90)	64.7
	Index-level	(10)	7.2
	Serious person	(13)	9.3
	Robbery	(6)	4.3
	Weapons	(9)	6.5
	Assault	(7)	5.0
	Burglary	(7)	5.0
	Theft	(17)	12.2
	Drug (any)	(14)	10.1
	Drug possession	(14)	10.1
	Drug sale/dist.	(4)	2.9
Group 2: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 272)	Any rearrest	(779)	286.3
	Index-level	(125)	46.0
	Serious person	(61)	21.3
	Robbery	(20)	7.4
	Weapons	(41)	14.0
	Assault	(34)	12.5
	Burglary	(206)	75.7
	Theft	(232)	85.3
	Drug (any)	(77)	28.3
	Drug possession	(77)	28.3
	Drug sale/dist.	(22)	8.1
Group 3: No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only			
(n = 23)	Any rearrest	(24)	104.3
	Index-level	(1)	4.3
	Serious person	(2)	8.7
	Robbery	(1)	4.3
	Weapons	(0)	0.0
	Assault	(2)	8.7
	Burglary	(2)	8.7
	Theft	(5)	21.7
	Drug (any)	(5)	21.7
	Drug possession	(5)	21.7
	Drug sale/dist.	(2)	8.7

Table   A5.3   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior arrests), of 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 4: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses			
(n = 218)	Any rearrest	(901)	413.3
	Index-level	(145)	66.5
	Serious person	(93)	42.7
	Robbery	(40)	18.3
	Weapons	(42)	19.3
	Assault	(46)	21.1
	Burglary	(179)	82.1
	Theft	(305)	139.9
	Drug (any)	(108)	49.5
	Drug possession	(108)	49.5
	Drug sale/dist.	(18)	8.3
Group 5: Drug charges/ no prior arrests			
(n = 92)	Any rearrest	(73)	79.3
	Index-level	(10)	10.9
	Serious person	(2)	2.2
	Robbery	(1)	1.1
	Weapons	(6)	6.5
	Assault	(1)	1.1
	Burglary	(13)	14.1
	Theft	(18)	20.7
	Drug (any)	(28)	30.4
	Drug possession	(26)	28.3
	Drug sale/dist.	(6)	6.5
Group 6: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 103)	Any rearrest	(270)	262.1
	Index-level	(37)	35.9
	Serious person	(32)	31.1
	Robbery	(13)	12.6
	Weapons	(21)	20.4
	Assault	(16)	15.5
	Burglary	(34)	33.0
	Theft	(62)	60.2
	Drug (any)	(67)	65.0
	Drug possession	(60)	58.3
	Drug sale/dist.	(26)	25.2

Table A5.3   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups (based on charge/prior arrests), of 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 7: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only			
(n = 25)	Any rearrest	(18)	72.0
	Index-level	(1)	4.0
	Serious person	(2)	8.0
	Robbery	(0)	0.0
	Weapons	(0)	0.0
	Assault	(2)	8.0
	Burglary	(0)	0.0
	Theft	(1)	4.0
	Drug (any)	(11)	44.0
	Drug possession	(11)	44.0
	Drug sale/dist.	(3)	12.0
Group 8: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses			
(n = 125)	Any rearrest	(489)	389.6
	Index-level	(43)	34.4
	Serious person	(41)	32.8
	Robbery	(12)	9.6
	Weapons	(24)	19.2
	Assault	(25)	20.0
	Burglary	(36)	28.8
	Theft	(50)	40.0
	Drug (any)	(116)	92.8
	Drug possession	(116)	92.8
	Drug sale/dist.	(28)	22.4

Table A5.4 Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups of 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 1: No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative			
(n = 66)	Any rearrest	(21)	31.8
	Index-level	(0)	---
	Serious person	(4)	6.1
	Robbery	(1)	1.5
	Weapons	(5)	7.6
	Assault	(3)	4.5
	Burglary	(0)	---
	Theft	(4)	6.1
	Drug (any)	(2)	3.0
	Drug possession	(2)	3.0
	Drug sale/dist.	(1)	1.5
Group 2: No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive			
(n = 47)	Any rearrest	(27)	57.5
	Index-level	(8)	17.0
	Serious person	(8)	17.0
	Robbery	(5)	10.6
	Weapons	(3)	6.4
	Assault	(3)	6.4
	Burglary	(1)	2.1
	Theft	(7)	14.9
	Drug (any)	(2)	4.3
	Drug possession	(2)	4.3
	Drug sale/dist.	(1)	2.1
Group 3: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative			
(n = 57)	Any rearrest	(90)	157.9
	Index-level	(11)	19.3
	Serious person	(8)	14.0
	Robbery	(3)	5.3
	Weapons	(4)	7.0
	Assault	(7)	12.3
	Burglary	(12)	21.1
	Theft	(16)	28.1
	Drug (any)	(5)	8.8
	Drug possession	(5)	8.8
	Drug sale/dist.	(2)	3.5

Table A5.4   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups of 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 4: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive			
(n = 131)	Any rearrest	(461)	351.9
	Index-level	(73)	55.7
	Serious person	(34)	26.0
	Robbery	(12)	9.2
	Weapons	(18)	13.7
	Assault	(19)	14.5
	Burglary	(136)	103.8
	Theft	(152)	116.0
	Drug (any)	(51)	38.9
	Drug possession	(51)	38.9
	Drug sale/dist.	(12)	9.2
Group 7: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative			
(n = 19)	Any rearrest	(53)	278.9
	Index-level	(7)	36.8
	Serious person ·	(7)	36.8
	Robbery	(1)	5.3
	Weapons	(5)	26.3
	Assault	(4)	21.1
	Burglary	(5)	26.3
	Theft	(12)	63.2
	Drug (any)	(1)	5.3
	Drug possession	(1)	5.3
	Drug sale/dist.	(0)	---
Group 8: No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive			
(n = 137)	Any rearrest	(599)	437.2
	Index-level	(104)	75.9
	Serious person	(60)	43.8
	Robbery	(27)	19.7
	Weapons	(28)	20.4
	Assault	(32)	23.4
	Burglary	(132)	96.4
	Theft	(191)	139.4
	Drug (any)	(83)	60.6
	Drug possession	(83)	60.6
	Drug sale/dist.	(10)	7.3

Table   A5.4   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups of 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 9: Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative			
(n = 16)	Any rearrest	(7)	43.6
	Index-level	(1)	6.3
	Serious person	(1)	6.3
	Robbery	(1)	6.3
	Weapons	(2)	12.5
	Assault	(0)	---
	Burglary	(0)	---
	Theft	(1)	6.3
	Drug (any)	(2)	12.5
	Drug possession	(2)	12.5
	Drug sale/dist.	(0)	---
Group 10: Drug charges/ no prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive			
(n = 52)	Any rearrest	(33)	63.5
	Index-level	(6)	11.5
	Serious person	(1)	1.9
	Robbery	(0)	---
	Weapons	(2)	3.8
	Assault	(1)	1.9
	Burglary	(9)	17.3
	Theft	(11)	21.2
	Drug (any)	(17)	32.7
	Drug possession	(15)	28.8
	Drug sale/dist.	(5)	9.6
Group 12: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive			
(n = 67)	Any rearrest	(191)	285.1
	Index-level	(25)	37.3
	Serious person	(20)	29.9
	Robbery	(8)	11.9
	Weapons	(12)	17.9
	Assault	(12)	17.9
	Burglary	(24)	35.8
	Theft	(34)	50.7
	Drug (any)	(50)	74.6
	Drug possession	(47)	70.1
	Drug sale/dist.	(22)	32.8

Table   A5.4   Rearrests generated per 100 defendants by drug-related subgroups of 1987 Dade County
felony defendants, by kind of crime (cont'd)

[Note: Drug-related groupings with 15 or fewer cases were dropped from table.]

Drug-related Group	Kind of rearrest	Total number generated	Rate per 100 defendants
Group 16: Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive			
(n = 83)	Any rearrest	(345)	415.7
	Index-level	(29)	34.9
	Serious person	(28)	33.7
	Robbery	(8)	9.6
	Weapons	(17)	15.7
	Assault	(16)	19.3
	Burglary	(26)	31.3
	Theft	(38)	45.8
	Drug (any)	(80)	96.4
	Drug possession	(79)	95.2
	Drug sale/dist.	(22)	26.5

Figure A2.16a   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Maricopa County defendants rearrested during
                 follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offenses

Time to first rearrest

— Any rearrest   ··· Index—level   —Serious person   ·— Assault
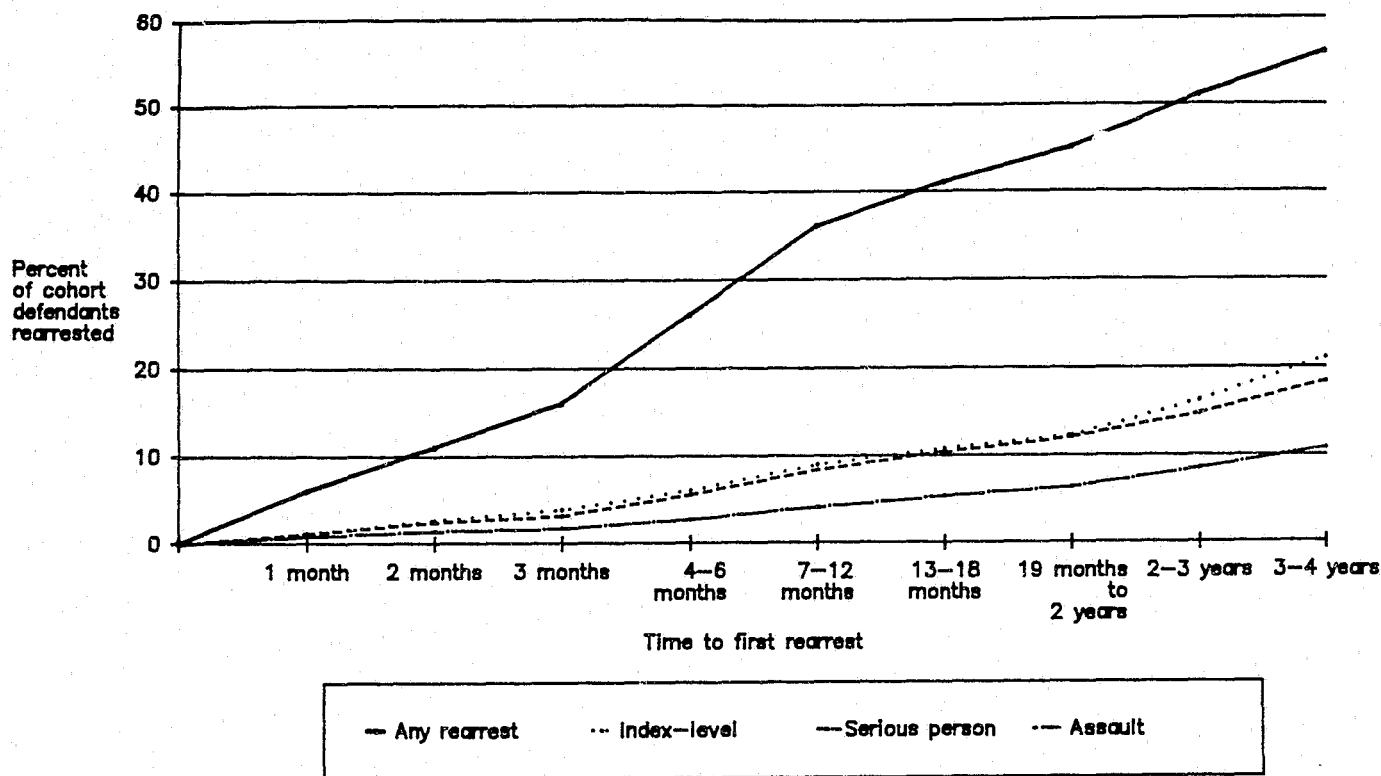
Figure A2.16b   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Maricopa County defendants rearrested during
                 follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Time to first rearrest

— Any rearrest   ··· Theft   —Burglary   ·— Drug
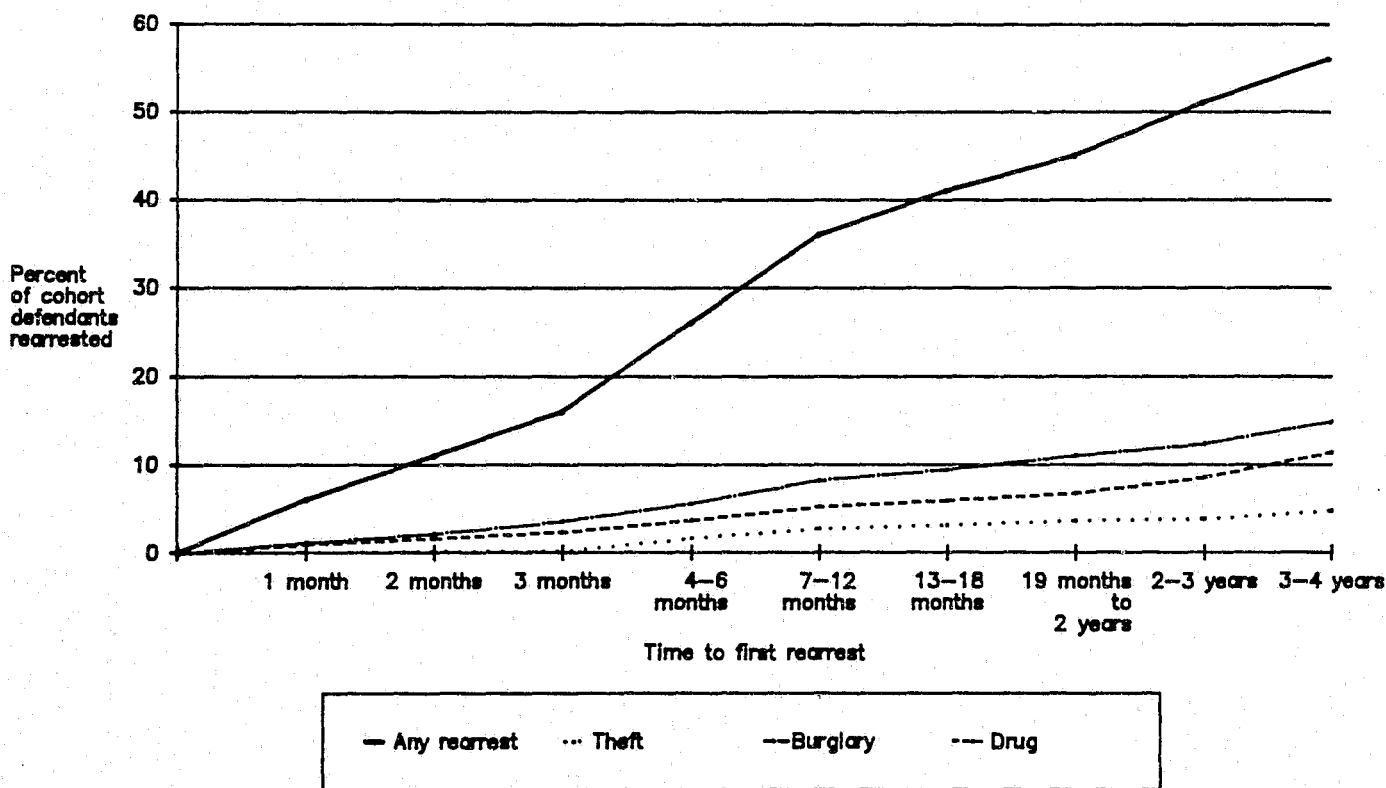
Figure A2.17a   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Time to first rearrest

— Any rearrest   ·· Index-level   —Serious person   ·— Assault
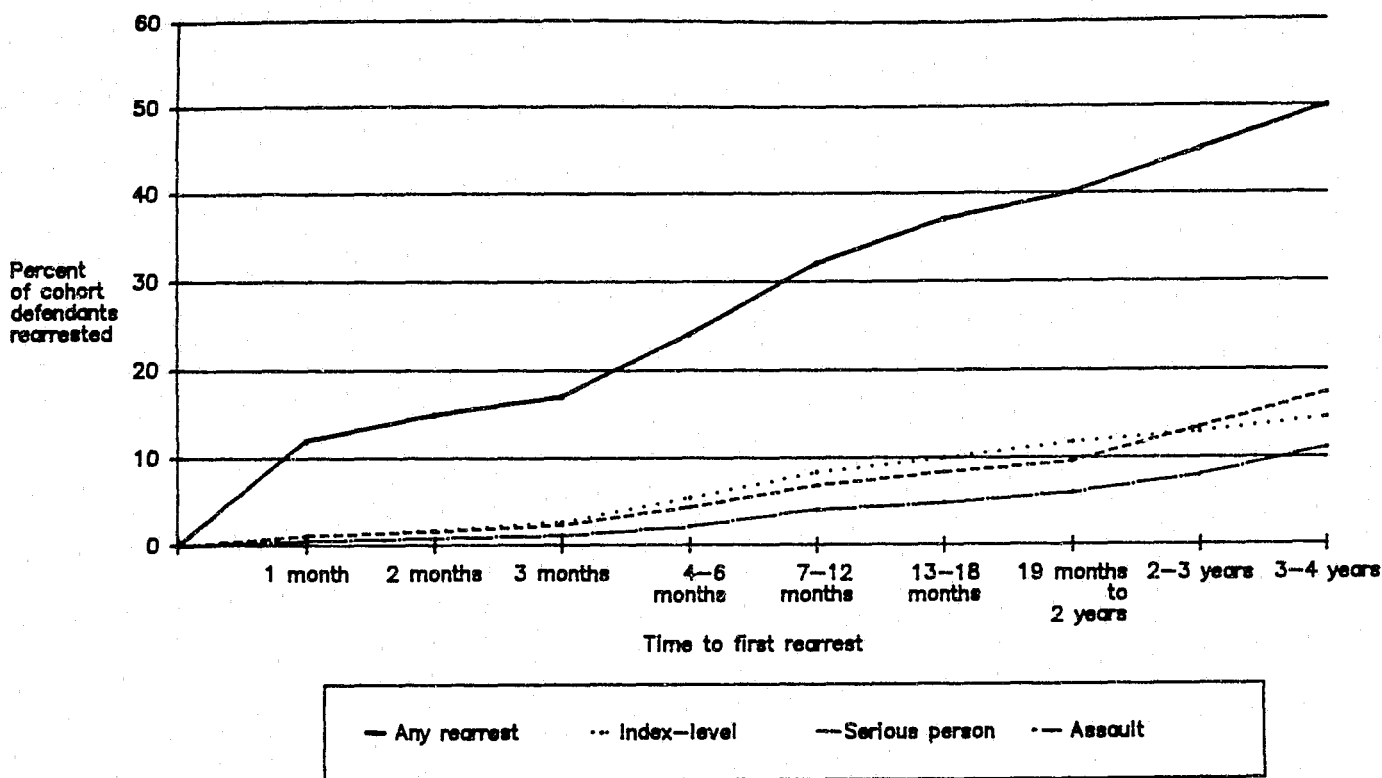
Figure A2.17b   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Time to first rearrest

— Any rearrest   ·· Theft   —Burglary   ·— Drug
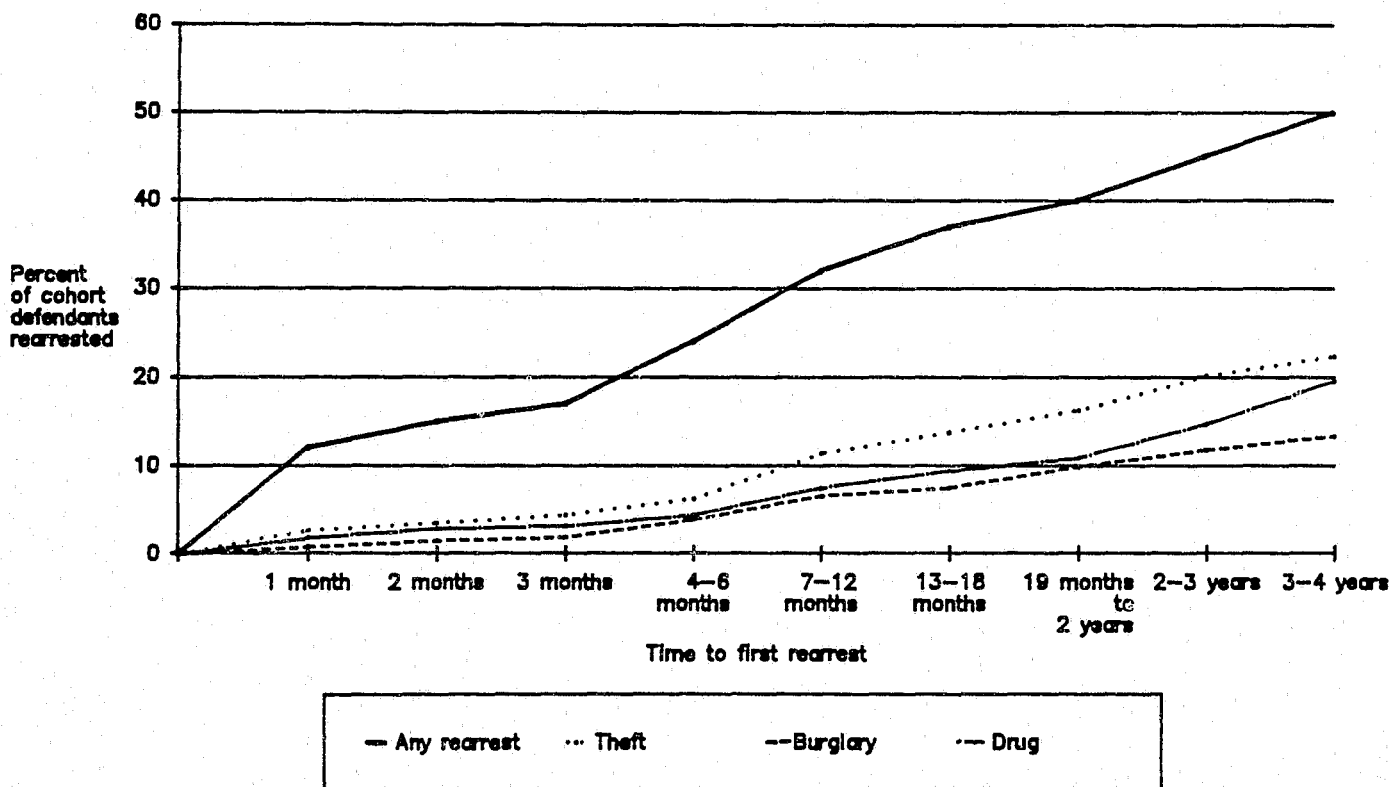
Figure A2.18a   Cumulative percentages of 1987 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow—up
                 period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Percent
of cohort
defendants
rearrested

Time to first rearrest

— Any rearrest   ·· Index—level   ——Serious person   ·— Assault
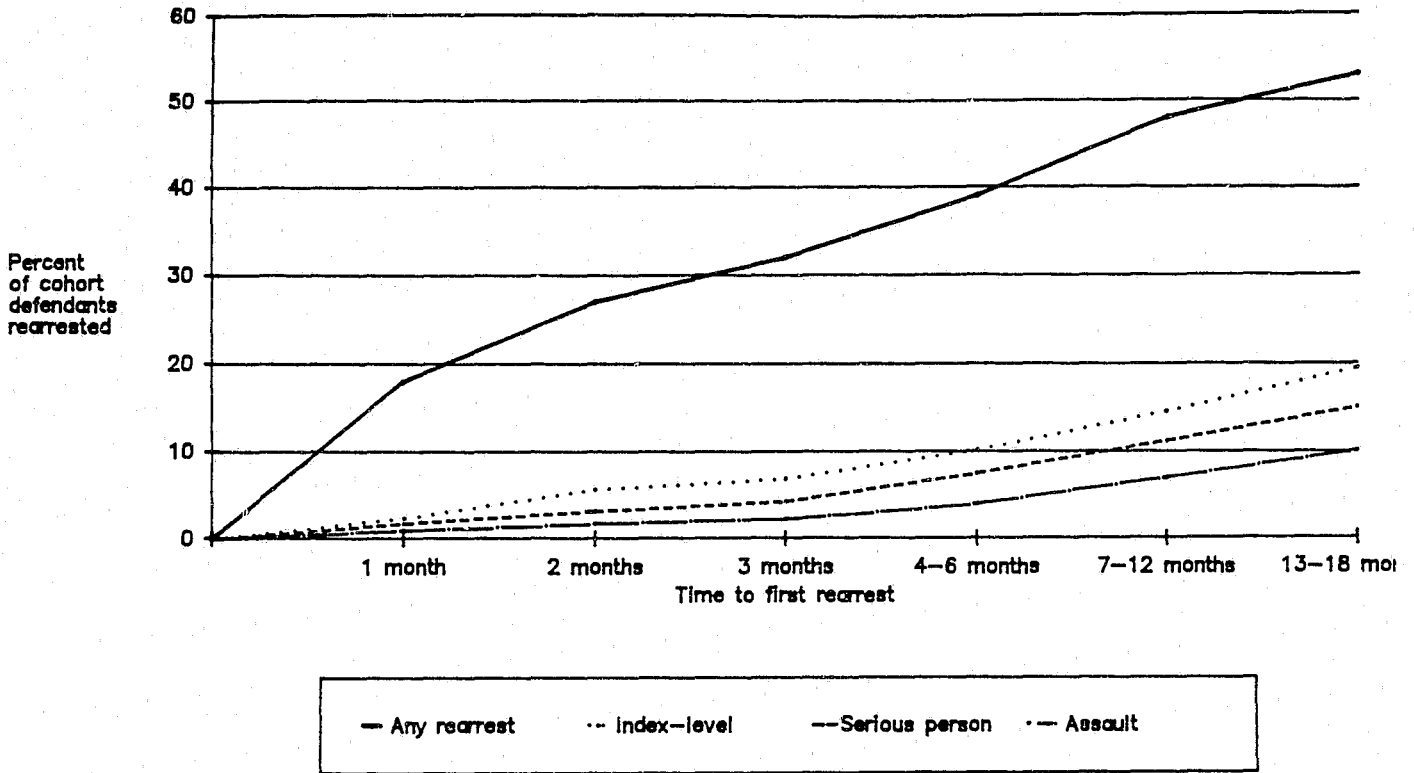
Figure A2.18b   Cumulative percentages of 1987 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow—up
                 period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Percent
of cohort
defendants
rearrested

Time to first rearrest

— Any rearrest   ··· Theft   ——Burglary   ·— Drugs
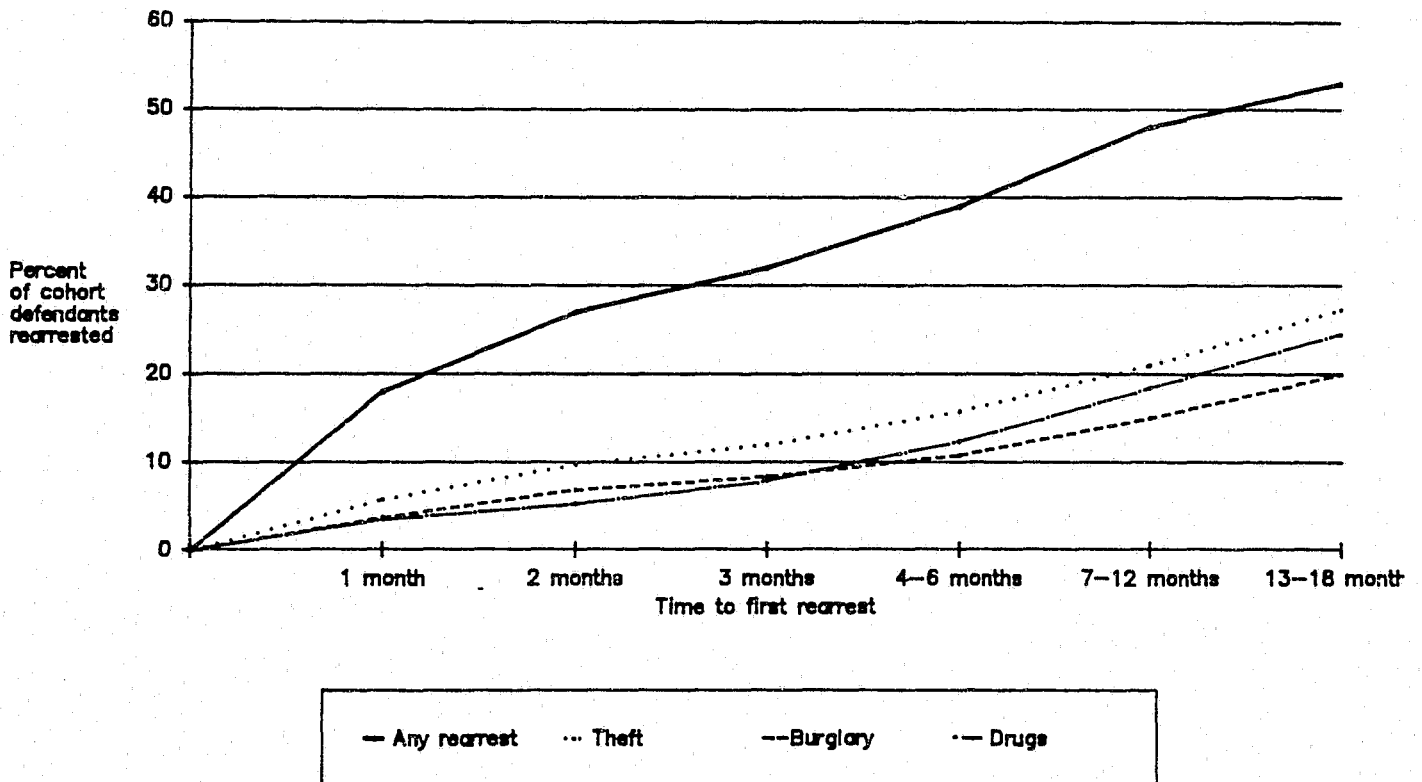
Figure A4.6   Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested during
               18 month follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected initial charges

Percent of
1987 cohort
defendants
rearrested

Length of time until first arrest

— 1987 robbery charges,   ·· 1987 burglary charge,   ——1987 drug charges,   ·— All defendants,
   n = 28   n = 214   n = 345   n = 998

VOLUME III

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The Project to Assess the Impact of Drug-related Criminal Cases
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Chapter One

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

The Purposes of the Inquiry: The Role of Drug-related Cases and Their Implications for Public Safety

Although placed within the broad parameters of the effect of drug-related crime on criminal justice, this research has focused more narrowly on aspects of the impact of the drug-related criminal caseload on the criminal process, public safety and crowding. Its goals were modest and practical, to contribute knowledge of the impact of these kinds of cases on the criminal justice system. Our approach has made use of data collected in three large urban jurisdictions to serve as the basis of what might best be characterized as three empirical case studies. As we examined the role of drug-related criminal cases within the entering caseloads in five courts in three cities--Miami (Dade County), Boston and Phoenix (Maricopa County), our purposes were twofold: to describe the actual contours of the drug-crime contribution to caseload, crowding and public safety concerns, and to offer an empirically grounded discussion of the implications of the impact of drug-related crime to help inform planning of future criminal justice policy. The goals of this project have been modest in that they do not seek to answer all the questions that could be asked in this area, but rather focus on what could be learned from an examination of data describing caseloads in several jurisdictions as illustrations of the issues being faced across the United States. The scope of the project has been determined as well by practical considerations, the need to learn as much as possible within the constraints of available resources and time.

The research described in two earlier reports and summarized in this volume has addressed two primary questions, each forming the basis of a separate study. The first question asks about the part played by drug-related criminal cases in the criminal caseload, how they differ from other cases, how they are handled throughout the adjudicatory process. Because the analyses examine data from two recent periods, 1984 and 1987, the purpose is descriptive, to provide a background picture of how courts have been handling drug-related cases and their impact. The second question centers on the public safety implications of the drug-related caseload. Given the popular and policy assumptions concerning the role of drugs in crime, this investigation charts the later criminal activity of samples of criminal cases in three follow-up studies and, within its means, attempts to identify the relationship of drug-related attributes of cases to later rearrest. In a fundamental sense, the purpose of both components of the empirical research has been descriptive and involved basic questions of classification and prediction.

The results of the two analyses have been presented in-depth in two earlier reports. Because in this report the aim is to summarize these earlier results and discuss their implications for policy, the reader is urged to consult the original reports for greater detail. The first monograph (Volume I: Assessing the Impact of Drug-Related Criminal Cases on the Judicial Process, Crowding and Public Safety) describes the data which served as the foundation of descriptive analyses, develops an initial working definition of drug-related criminal cases, and examines the role played by drug-related cases in the criminal process. The classification of drug-related cases we employed emphasizes two factors: criminal charges for drug offenses (drug crimes) and active drug abuse among defendants (drug use). Volume I characterizes entering defendants focusing on both kinds of "drug-related" criminal cases and charts their role within and movement through the criminal process in the five courts in three sites. The analysis is comparative at each stage, asking in what ways drug-related cases differ from cases that are not drug related in the criminal caseload. Although the analysis best addresses questions about the role of drug-related criminal cases in the criminal process, it treats the implications of drug-related crime for public safety in its study of pretrial crime, and for institutional crowding in its analyses of the comparative use of pretrial detention and incarcerative sentences.

In the second monograph (Volume II: Assessing the Impact of Drug-related Criminal Cases on Public Safety: Drug-related Recidivism), the definition of "drug-relatedness" is expanded to incorporate defendants' prior criminal history regarding drug offenses and drug use and the extent to which the drug-relatedness of cases entering the judicial system is related to subsequent official contacts (arrests) during follow-up periods is studied. The analysis of reoffending is conducted using the frame of reference of the criminal caseload. Thus, rather than wishing to learn, for example, about the etiology of reoffending in itself, our analysis adopts the vantage point of the criminal courts for whom drug-related criminal cases make up not only a large part of the volume of the incoming caseload, but also a large part of the *continuing* court caseload, a component that is repeatedly reprocessed with few productive results. To examine the relationship between drug-related crime and subsequent contact with the court system, we charted the subsequent criminal histories of large samples of 1984 defendants in Dade County and Maricopa County for a period of four years and followed the official contacts of the 1987 Dade County felony defendants for a period of 18 months using official court files. Thus, the question addressed in Volume II is quite straightforward: From the perspective of the criminal caseload, what risk to public safety is presented by persons involved in drug-related criminal cases, compared to persons involved in other kinds of cases processed by the court system?

In one of the data sets the analysis of reoffending benefits from the availability of information on defendant drug use through drug testing. The data collected for the 1987 sample of Dade County felony defendants differed from the other samples because of the addition of defendant drug testing information resulting from voluntary drug tests conducted at the time of their entry into the judicial process in 1987.[1] Thus, in addition to the criminal charge, prior criminal history and self-reported measures of drug-relatedness normally available in the other data, the 1987 sample's unique value is that it allowed us to address more fully the impact of defendant drug-relatedness on later official contacts through a reliable measure of drug use. (Measures of defendant drug use through drug testing were then, and still are, rarely available on a systematic basis in most jurisdictions in the United States.) Taken together, these comparatively exhaustive data describing large cohorts of defendants and their cases entering the courts in 1984 and 1987 offered a special opportunity to characterize the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload.

Background Problems: Drugs, Crime and Criminal Justice

The investigation of the impact of drug-related criminal cases on the judicial process and their later public safety implications is an inquiry that is conducted within a larger framework of drug-crime research and policy debate that is characterized by fundamental substantive problems involving conceptualization, definition and measurement. The development of research and policy to address the drug-crime problem has suffered from confusion in definition (as to what the precise nature of "the problem" and the phenomena being studied are), from uncritical acceptance of overly general assumptions about the relationship between drugs and crime and its control, and from lack of information accurately describing various facets of the drug-crime problem.

Like policy debate, research investigating the drug-crime problem, is faced at a most basic level with problems of definition. Although many discuss the "drug problem" and debate the success of the "war against drugs" and its next initiatives, agreeing on precise definitions of what is meant is not so simple, nor, therefore, is measurement of its characteristics. Thus, a first substantive problem is conceptualization of the "problem." A major source of definitional difficulty lies in the variety of perspectives from which the drug-crime problem can be viewed. From an economic perspective, the illicit drug enterprise represents a wealthy and powerful market, against which the limited resources of

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[1] For a description of the drug testing methodology, see Goldkamp et al. (1988), Goldkamp et al. (1990a), and Volume I of this series. It should be noted that the drug testing was voluntary and for research purposes only. As a result, drug tests were not obtained for all defendants, but rather about 77 percent of them.

government--and in particular of criminal justice--are likely to be ineffective. From a public health perspective, drug abuse is seen as an illness which not only threatens the health of individuals but plays a pivotal role in the transmission of a range of serious diseases from hepatitis to AIDS. Like crime, drugs are also viewed as a symptom of a social health problem, raising questions about opportunity, education and social values in American society, among others.

The alternative conceptualizations of the "problem" carry with them different "languages." Terms employed in discussions of drug abuse and its treatment, for example, may be quite different from those employed within a legal framework when the objective is the elimination of the drug trade--although both perspectives may be seeking reduction in crime. A good illustration of this difficulty is found in the definitions of drug crimes in state laws. Even after efforts to develop model Federal legislation in hopes of encouraging greater consistency of definition of drug offenses and penalties in the states, significant diversity still exists.[2] Moreover, even though we may assume we are speaking about the same substances when describing concerns about illegal substances most threatening to public health, we may have different substances in mind. The substances of concern may change over time. (Government attention, congressional hearings and research in the early 1980s focused on the criminality of heroin addicts. The "War on Drugs" has focused most recently on cocaine.) They may differ greatly by geographic location.

Given alternative approaches to conceptualizing the drug-crime problem, it is not surprising that interpretations of a drug-crime relationship are not universally agreed to. Despite a growing body of research and reviews of the literature (primarily focusing on narcotics), there is no definitive answer regarding the question of causality. The difficulty lies in determining whether (and to what extent) narcotics use leads to crime, is a consequence of crime, or whether both narcotics use and crime are sparked by similar, antecedent forces (i.e., that the relationship between drugs and crime is spurious). And, of course, interpretations of the drug-crime relationship are not merely of academic interest. They have great importance for the development of policy. To the extent that drug use influences persons toward commission of crime, then policy initiatives would need to target drug use because of its catalyzing role, the elimination of which would result in less crime. But if drug use is only a concomitant of crime, then, while it serves as a

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[2] For an excellent review of the controlled substances acts and the organization of drug laws in the states, see Holden, et al. (1988).

good "predictor," it cannot provide a handle for strategies aimed at lowering crime. At a more basic level, a definitional problem affecting this research is the meaning of "drug-related" and how it is measured when dealing with the criminal caseload. (See our discussion of this below.)

Compounding the conceptual and definitional problems and the assumptions flowing from them are problems of data--all of which have a bearing on this research. Contrary to widely held beliefs and despite modern techniques of data collection and processing, the problem of drug abuse and its relationship to crime and criminal justice in this country still prove difficult to measure accurately, certainly in part due to the complexity of the problem and its geographical diffusion. As we attempted to illustrate in our first report, there are many kinds of data used to describe the drug-crime problem in its different facets, ranging from self-reports of drug use among the general population and by offenders, to drug test results of arrestees, to criminal caseload statistics relating to drug cases. (For a recent compendium of data sources relevant to measurement of the drug-crime problem see Collins and Zawitz, 1990). These data are disparate, usually aggregate in nature and often suffer limitations important enough to raise questions about their reliability or generalizability.

The Focus on Drug-related Crime and Its Measurement

The research we summarize in this report examines the part played by drug-related cases in the criminal caseload and studies their implications for public safety. Our findings concerning the role of drug-related criminal cases, of course, must be understood in the larger context of drug-related crime and the difficulties associated with its measurement. Drug-related crime, the larger phenomenon of interest, can most usefully be understood as involving two categories: a) crimes related to the business of drugs; and b) crimes related to the use of drugs.

The first category of drug-related crime includes the various crimes associated with the production and distribution of drugs as well as other crimes associated with the drug enterprise, such as enterprise-related crimes of violence. The second category of drug-related crime focuses on crime not related to the business of drugs, but rather crime committed by persons who use drugs. In this second category, we would like to be able to differentiate between drug users who commit crimes partly or largely because of drugs and drug users who commit crimes for whom drug use

is coincidental and not a motivation toward crime. Full investigation of drug-related crime should include these two components as well as their overlap. However, a characteristic these categories share is our limited ability to measure them accurately.

Crime Related to the Business of Drugs

Of course, accurate data describing the importation into, and the production and/or distribution of illicit drugs within the United States are very limited and generally provide very sketchy estimates of the true extent of drug-related criminal behavior. The difficulty in obtaining estimates of this kind of drug crime from official sources most closely parallels the difficulties associated with the measurement of white collar crime, although the problems with estimating crime associated with the drug enterprise are perhaps worse. Much has been written criticizing the reliability of Uniform Crime Reports "crimes known to the police" statistics in reflecting the "true" level of crime and detailing the extent to which the UCR under-reports "street" crime. (This limitation of police data was a major reason for the development of the National Crime Panel or victimization surveys.) Like some forms of white collar crime, much drug crime, at least crime in the category of "crime related to the business of drugs," would never be reported to law enforcement agencies because of its near invisibility.

Drug violations reported to the police and finding their way into the FBI's UCR--consisting mainly of possession, sale, distribution, manufacture or trafficking--would certainly represent only the "tip of the iceberg" of all such crimes. Far worse, of course, would be reliance on arrests for drug offenses as indicators of this kind of drug-related criminal activity, for all of the reasons long discussed in the literature.[3] Nevertheless, a UCR statistic measuring arrests for "drug abuse violations" provides one of the only indicators of drug-related crime in this category.[4] As difficult as it is to obtain accurate estimates of the incidence of such crimes as sale, manufacture, distribution and trafficking, indicators of the other kinds of crime related to the drug enterprise--involving violence particularly--are nearly impossible to come by. Although we are made aware by the media of drug-related murders, often we are not able to distinguish violence related to the business of drugs from violence by drug users (which falls into the second category of drug-related crime) from "normal" violent crime--unless, of course, an arrest results and drug charges are placed in

[3] One of the principal questions raised about patterns in arrest data, for example, is whether they should be interpreted as measures of criminal activity or law enforcement arrest practices.
[4] F.B.I. data for drug abuse violations are generally classified into "sale/manufacture" and "possession" arrests.

addition to other charges for violent offenses. We may be able to document the incidence of drug-related homicide best, because of the investigatory resources focused on homicides, but even the "drug-relatedness" of many homicides may be difficult to ascertain.

Crime Associated with Drug Use

Crime linked to drug use forms the second part of the focus on the impact of drug-related crime. This kind of crime includes two important subcategories, both also difficult to measure accurately:

a) crimes committed by persons motivated by their drug use (either to support their drug habits or because their drug use encourages criminal behavior in itself); and

b) persons committing crimes who happen to use drugs, but whose drug use plays no role in the commission of crimes.

To estimate the magnitude of this kind of crime generally, we would need to know which persons committing crimes were using drugs. However, even if we were able to obtain these estimates, we would then need to determine the proportion of drug using criminals for whom drug use played no criminogenic role. Because presently this would be nearly impossible, we are left with the task of at least seeking the grosser measure of drug use among persons committing crimes--which would thus provide to an unknown extent an over-estimate of crime associated with the use of drugs. In trying to obtain measures of drug-related crime that is crime by drug users, three kinds of data are available: arrest statistics for drug possession, self-reported data reporting drug use among "criminals" (at least some persons arrested and/or convicted of crimes) and data obtained by means of drug testing. Each of these sources, while offering estimates of the incidence of drug use among the population of persons committing crimes, again, suffers important limitations. Moreover, they are not systematically available.

Arrests for Drug Possession

In our discussion of estimating the extent of crime related to the business of drugs from the UCR arrest data for drug violations, we noted that it largely reflected possession offenses. If we were to infer drug use among persons committing crimes from the FBI measure of arrests for possession (assuming most people possessing drugs to be users of drugs), we would conclude that less than one-tenth (6 percent) of all arrested persons in 1986 were drug users (U.S. Department of Justice, F.B.I., 1988:163,166,167). We would then, of course, still have to debate the question of how

many of these were "merely" drug users who, except for buying, possessing and using drugs (all acts, of course, nevertheless constituting of crimes), were not otherwise involved in crime.

Drug Use Estimated through Self-Report

Perhaps the most common source of data used to estimate the extent of drug use among populations of persons committing crimes is provided by self-reports. Delinquency literature, for example, has often relied on this approach in studying the relationship between drug use, other forms of deviant behavior and delinquency. Studies of recidivism have long included self-reported measures of offender drug abuse as factors related to repeated crime. A number of sources of self-report data are currently available describing drug use among recent populations of arrested or institutionalized youths or adults. (See Collins and Zawitz, 1990.) Inferring a level and kind of crime-related drug-use among persons committing crimes overall from self-reports of confined persons, of course, is hampered by problems of reliability (Do inmates remember accurately? Do they tell the truth about drug use?) and sample bias (To what extent are confined persons like the general population of persons committing crimes but who are not confined?). Thus, just as drug arrest data would lead to an underestimate of the actual number of drug using offenders, self-reported data from institutionalized inmates would quite likely result in an overestimate.

Drug Use Estimated through Drug Testing of Arrestees

Very recently, additional data describing drug use among arrested persons have become available through the introduction of drug testing at the booking stage, first in the District of Columbia (e.g., Carver, 1986; Toborg et al., 1988; Yezer et al., 1988) and then in selected additional pilot sites funded through a Bureau of Justice Assistance program. (See, e.g., Pretrial Services Resource Center, Pretrial Reporter XII/5-6 (1988), XIII/1-2, 1989; Goldkamp et al., 1990a (forthcoming); Gottfredson et al., 1990 (forthcoming).) Although this is a new area for criminal justice in which study and debate continue (see, e.g., Belenko and Mara-Drita, 1988; Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland, 1988; Smith et al., 1989; Rosen and Goldkamp, 1989; Goldkamp et al., 1990b), two results are certain: data regarding the use of drugs among persons entering the criminal process are being made available that have not been previously available; arrest statistics for drug offenses and defendant self-report data greatly understate the amount and kind of drug use, at least in the cities studied so far. The National Institute of Justice's Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) drug testing program collects urine specimens from small samples of arrestees in a number of cities on a quarterly basis to provide a picture of the level and kind of drug use experienced in those cities (see, e.g., U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of

Justice, Research in Action, March, 1990). Although drug testing in the selected localities that have adopted such programs can provide measures of drug use among persons entering the criminal process better than arrest data or self-reports from offenders, like self-reports from inmate surveys, drug testing data cannot estimate the level of drug use among the larger offending population. (All offenders--most of whom are not in custody--may use drugs to a greater or lesser extent than those entering the criminal process.) In addition, the results are usually sample specific, are closely tied to the composition of the samples of arrestees provided in the jurisdictions, and may vary within a jurisdiction over time as well as across jurisdictions. Estimation of the relative numbers of persons using drugs and committing crimes for whom drug use is and is not a motivation or cause, however, is a need that has not yet been met in research.

The Implications of Measurement Problems for Study of the Criminal Caseload

In short, available measures fall short of providing accurate estimates of the level and kinds of drug-related crime. Because criminal caseload data are derivative of arrests (only arrested persons enter the criminal caseload but not all arrested persons do), they offer an even poorer reflection of the actual occurrence of drug-related crime in a locality. However incapable arrest and caseload based data are in estimating the prevalence of drug-related crime, they do measure well the characteristics of persons and cases dealt with by the criminal courts. (In this sense, at the least, growing arrests for drug-related charges translate into growing numbers of drug cases that must be handled by the system.) Although it is important to keep in mind the gap between the characteristics of the criminal caseload and the characteristics of the population of persons committing crimes and/or using drugs, this inquiry focuses precisely on the implications of drug-related cases for the criminal caseload and public safety and therefore makes use of an appropriate and informative set of criminal caseload data.

Chapter Two

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS:
ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL CASES ON THE JUDICIAL PROCESSING
OF CRIMINAL CASES, JAIL CROWDING AND PUBLIC SAFETY

Drug-related Criminal Cases in Boston, Dade County and Maricopa County

The impact of drug-related crime cannot, of course, be neatly divided into an impact on public safety and a separate impact on criminal justice. To an extent, the larger the threat that drug-related crime poses to the public safety, the larger the challenge to the performance of the full range of criminal justice agencies. The relationship between these two kinds of impacts of drug-related crime is, of course, not as simple as "the greater the rate of drug-related crime, the greater the volume of arrests, criminal cases and correctional populations." Some argue, for example, that drug policies--of legislatures, police and prosecutors--account for the impact on criminal justice as much as the level of drug crime itself. The aim of this research has been to add knowledge concerning the impact of drug-related crime on criminal justice--setting aside the important policy question. Because of the breadth of this problem area, of course, our inquiry had a narrower focus relating primarily to the judicial process and its implications for institutional crowding and for public safety.

The study was limited in a practical manner by the nature of the data we employed. Although the focus was on the description of actual, very recent criminal caseloads, we are describing populations the contents of which were determined by outside forces including but not limited to the incidence of crime. We cannot measure the impact of new legislation redefining crimes and penalties, for example, or newly implemented law enforcement policies or prosecutorial practices that may have played an important part in shaping the substance of the courts' workloads. We cannot infer characteristics of the phenomenon of drug-related crime in society as well as we can consider the role it may play within the criminal justice process. Therefore, keeping in mind the "internal" locus of the inquiry, our empirical analysis first described the role of the drug-related caseload within the larger caseload of defendants facing adjudication of criminal charges.

This chapter briefly summarizes findings presented in our first report from the in-depth analyses of data based on large cohorts of defendants moving through five diverse courts in three locations, Boston, Massachusetts, Dade County Florida, and Maricopa County, Arizona, as well as on samples of local jail populations, from 1984, 1985 and 1987. The caseloads processed by these courts ranged from strictly misdemeanor (County Court in Dade County), to

mostly misdemeanor but some felony (Boston Municipal Court), to strictly felony (Dade County Circuit Court, Suffolk County Superior Court, Maricopa County Superior Court). Taken together, they are illustrative of the experiences of large urban court systems facing the challenges of drug-related criminal cases.

The analyses we presented in Volume I were organized to reflect and integrate three perspectives for measuring the "drug-relatedness" of the criminal caseload. The first analysis examined the role of drug cases (defendants charged with drug offenses), differentiating between drug offenses of greater and lesser seriousness[5] and comparing the dispositions of defendants with drug charges to those of defendants without drug charges. The point of this comparative analysis was to learn whether the "drug case" represents a different kind of case to the courts, or whether it is viewed (and processed) as merely one of many kinds of criminal cases handled by major courts. In the second analysis, the aim was to identify the part played by drug using defendants within the caseload processed by the courts. This component of the research focused specifically on a large sample of Dade County, Florida, felony defendants whose drug use was measured by means of booking-stage drug testing. In that section, we asked whether the drug using defendant was distinguishable from the non-drug using defendant and, as well, whether the drug user represented a special kind of defendant to the courts in their adjudicatory dispositions. Because of the unique Dade County felony data, we could consider drug use and drug charges together in a more complete framework for evaluating the impact of "drug-related" criminal cases in a third part of the analysis.

This chapter summarizes some of the key findings from the research described in Volume I. Findings from that volume are reported under three headings--drug cases, drug use, "drug-relatedness" (either or both)--reflecting these three perspectives for each topic discussed. The implications of the findings from this part of the research are discussed more generally in Chapter Five.

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[5] We noted in Volume I that, because the jurisdictions differed in the classification of drug offenses in their criminal codes, there was not a satisfactory categorization of drug crimes that could be adopted across sites. The approach taken was to categorize drug offenses in each site as of greater or lesser seriousness using the respective legal codes. Except in a crude sense, the definitions were not intended to permit comparisons across sites.

The Prevalence of Drug Charges and Drug Use Among Criminal Cases

Drug Charges

Defendants with drug charges accounted for a notable proportion of the entering criminal caseloads in each of the five courts in three locations, ranging from a low of 10 percent of the misdemeanor defendants in County Court in Dade County to a high of 26 percent of the felony defendants entering Circuit Court in Dade County. (In our subsequent study of 1987 felony defendants in Dade County, the proportion of drug cases had grown to 34 percent of the caseload.) The local jails in each location held between 9 and 25 percent of detainees on drug offense charges. *If not for any other reason, these findings demonstrate that drug cases had an important impact because of their volume.* (See Figures 2.1 and 2.2.)

The kind of substances associated with drug cases processed by the courts varied by the jurisdiction and by the seriousness of the charges. In the limited jurisdiction courts (handling mostly misdemeanor cases) in Boston and Dade County, for example, marijuana was most often involved. In the felony courts in Boston and Dade County, cases were more often cocaine-related. Marijuana, not cocaine was the dominant drug among the charges of Maricopa County felony defendants, however.

Drug Use

Drug use was measured using a large sample of Dade County felony defendants entering the criminal process during June and July of 1987, whose urine was submitted to testing at the booking stage. Certainly the prevalence of drug use among arrested persons can be expected to vary from city to city in the United States[6] *nonetheless, the findings in Dade County were dramatic: more than 80 percent of tested defendants showed positive results for either marijuana or cocaine.* (Defendants were tested for a total of seven drugs but were found positive for others only very rarely.) Seventy-five percent tested positively for cocaine alone or in combination. However defined, drug use among persons entering the criminal process was clearly widespread. (See Figure 2.3.)

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[6] See, e.g., the most recent DUF results published by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ Research in Action, March, 1990).

Figure 2.1   Entering criminal cases in three urban jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample periods, by drug offenses

Court:	Boston Municipal Court	Suffolk County Sup. Court	Dade: County Court	Dade: Circuit Court	Dade: Combined	Maricopa: Superior Court
	18	25	10	26	19	22
Caseload:	Mixed/ Misd.	Felony	Misd.	Felony	Mixed	Felony
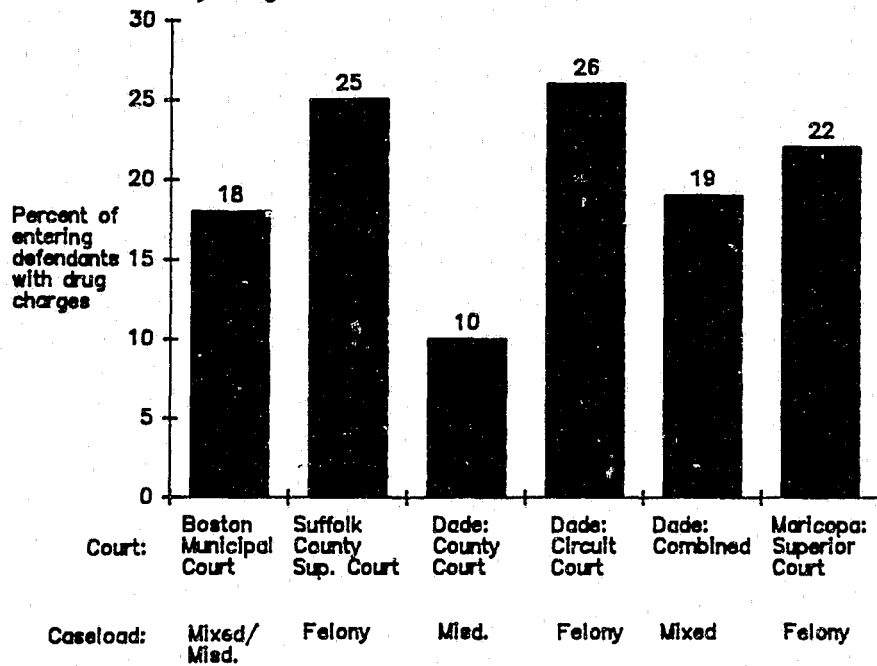
Figure 2.2   Persons held in pretrial detention in three urban jails Suffolk County, Dade County, Maricopa County) on fall 1985 study dates, by drug offense

	Suffolk County (Boston)	Dade County	Maricopa County
	16	25	9

Jail populations

n = 311, Suffolk County
n = 203, Dade County
n = 177, Maricopa County
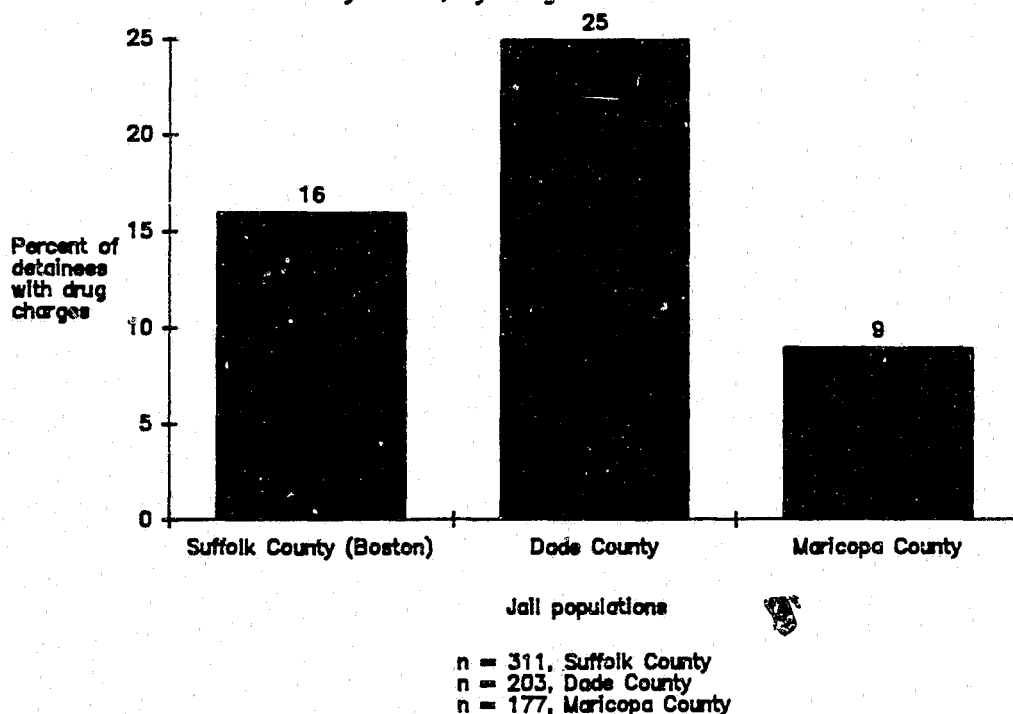
"Drug-related" Criminal Cases (Cases Involving Drug Charges and/or Drug Use)

The descriptive analysis in Volume I adopted the simple working definition of drug-relatedness shown in Figure 2.4 by classifying defendants on the basis of whether they had drug charges and/or tested positively for drug use. When drug charges and drug use among defendants were considered together to classify the 1987 sample of Dade felony defendants, we found the numbers of drug-related cases to be overwhelming: *only one in five defendants entering Circuit Court was not classifiable as "drug-related,"* that is, was neither charged with a drug crime nor shown to be an active drug user at the time of arrest (category I in Figure 2.4). Two-fifths of defendants fell into the second--and largest--category of defendants, those testing positively for cocaine but not facing charges for drug offenses (category II). Another large category of defendants (more than three-tenths) was accounted for by those who tested positively for drugs and had drug charges (category IV). (More than 80 percent of these were charged with the more serious drug charges.) Only a very small number (about 5 percent) had drug charges without also testing positively for drug use (category III).

The Characteristics of Drug-related Criminal Cases

Drug Cases

In each of our analyses we were asking whether persons in drug-related cases were distinguishable from persons not involved in drug-related cases, whether they represented a "different" kind of criminal case from others routinely processed. Most difficult to differentiate were persons charged with drug crimes when compared to persons not charged with drug crimes. *Generally, clear demographic patterns differentiating drug and non-drug defendants did not emerge within or across jurisdictions. When all of the defendants' charges were considered, drug cases were found to be a generally homogeneous category of cases showing little overlap with other kinds of criminal charges; they were not accompanied by charges for crimes of violence, crimes against the person, or crimes involving weapons.* Minor exceptions were the findings that weapons charges were found disproportionately among defendants in Dade County facing misdemeanor-level drug charges and drunken driving companion charges were found disproportionately among the charges of felony drug defendants in Dade County and in Suffolk County Superior Court.

Self-reported drug abuse information, available in the Boston Municipal Court and Dade County Circuit Court data, was related to the presence of drug charges and to their seriousness in one court (the Boston Municipal Court) but not in the other; *in the Boston Municipal Court defendants admitting to drug abuse in their pre-bail interviews were more*

Figure 2.3   Drug test results among felony defendants entering Dade
               County Circuit Court, June—July, 1987

Drug testing results

n = 2,408
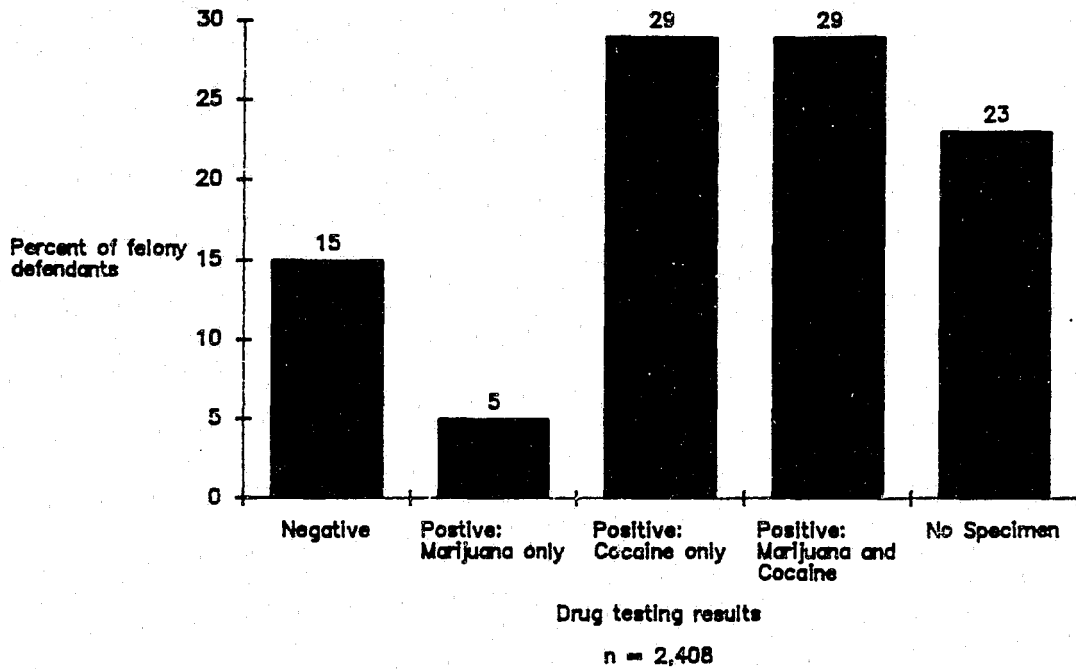
Figure 2.4   Distribution of drug—related criminal cases among Dade County
              felony defendants, June—July, 1987

Drug—related criminal cases

n = 1,861
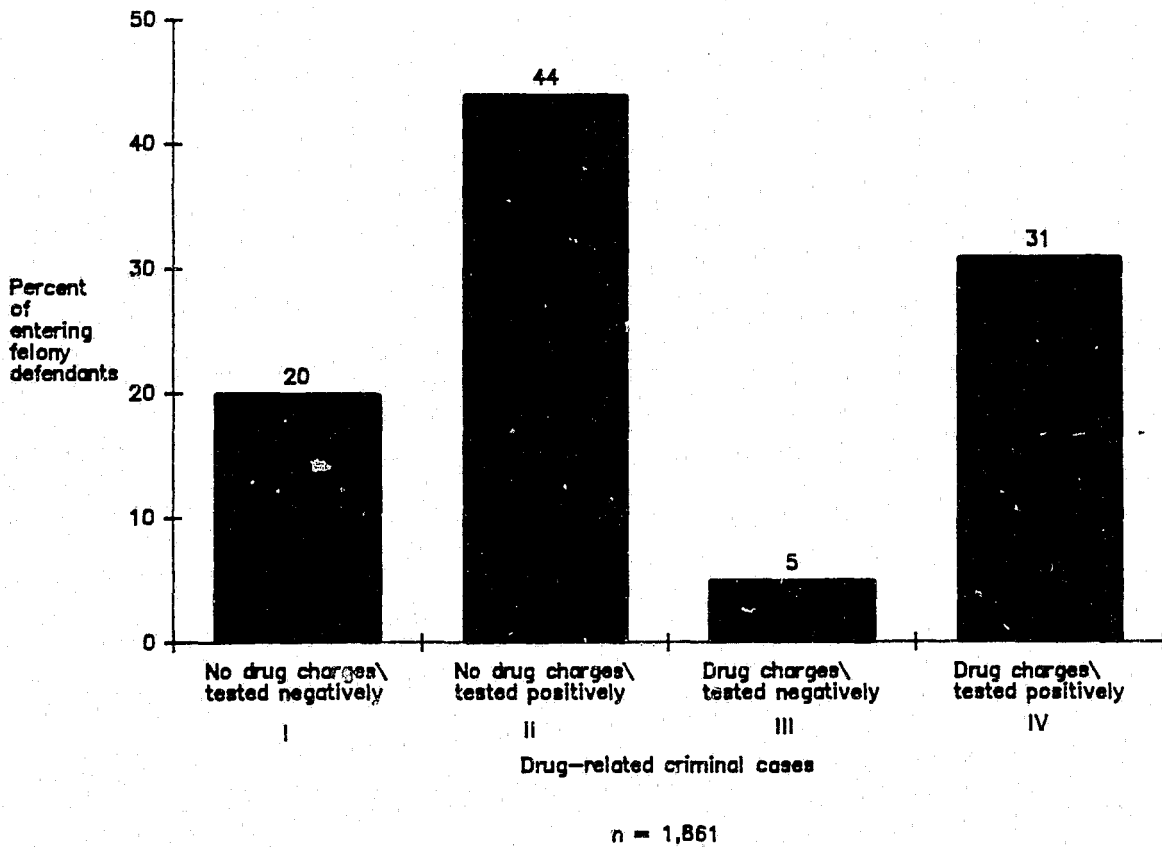
likely to be charged with drug offenses and to be charged with more serious drug charges than defendants who did not. (See Figure 2.5.) *When the defendants' prior criminal history was examined, the conventional wisdom that defendants in drug cases are more serious, repetitive offenders was not supported.* The only exception was that persons charged in drug cases were more likely than other kinds of defendants to have histories of arrests and convictions for prior drug offenses. (See Figure 2.6.)

Drug Use

Compared to the classification of defendants on the basis of drug charges, identifying groups of criminal defendants with differing probabilities of positive tests for drug use was more successful, employing a greater variety of descriptive information. In fact, the factors predictive of risk of flight and crime among released defendants before trial were also useful in predicting positive drug test results. (For a detailed analysis of this question, see Goldkamp et al., 1990.) The final classification of defendants depended on the kind criminal charges facing the defendant, prior criminal history, and self-reported drug use. *A finding that runs contrary to the conventional lore is that drug use was not associated with charges involving crimes of violence or injury to victims of such crimes in the sample of 1987 Dade felony defendants who were drug tested.*

Drug-related Criminal Cases (Drug Charges and/or Drug Use)

The four drug-related categories of defendants (see Figure 2.4) *were distinguishable by criminal charge and prior criminal history attributes.* For example, category I defendants--having no drug charges and no drug use--showed the highest proportions of index-level, weapons-related and victim-injury charges. Category II defendants (testing positively for drugs but having no drug charges) ranked second to category I defendants in the presence of index-level charges and charges involving victim injury, but stood apart in the comparatively high proportions having charges involving burglary and theft. They also had extensive prior criminal histories. Category III defendants (with drug charges and no drug use) were distinguished by the lack of companion charge and prior criminal history attributes. Finally, category IV defendants (testing positively for drug use and having drug charges) were distinguished primarily by their more extensive criminal histories.

Figure 2.5   Distribution of charges among entering 1984 defendants in two
              courts by seriousness of charges, by self-reported substance abuse

Percent of
defendants
reporting
substance
abuse

Legend:
■ Boston Municipal Court
▨ Dade: Circuit Court

No drug charges: 11, 17
Less serious drug charges: 26, 15
More serious drug charges: 37, 17

Seriousness of drug charges

n = 4554, Boston Municipal Court
n = 2308, Dade: Circuit Court
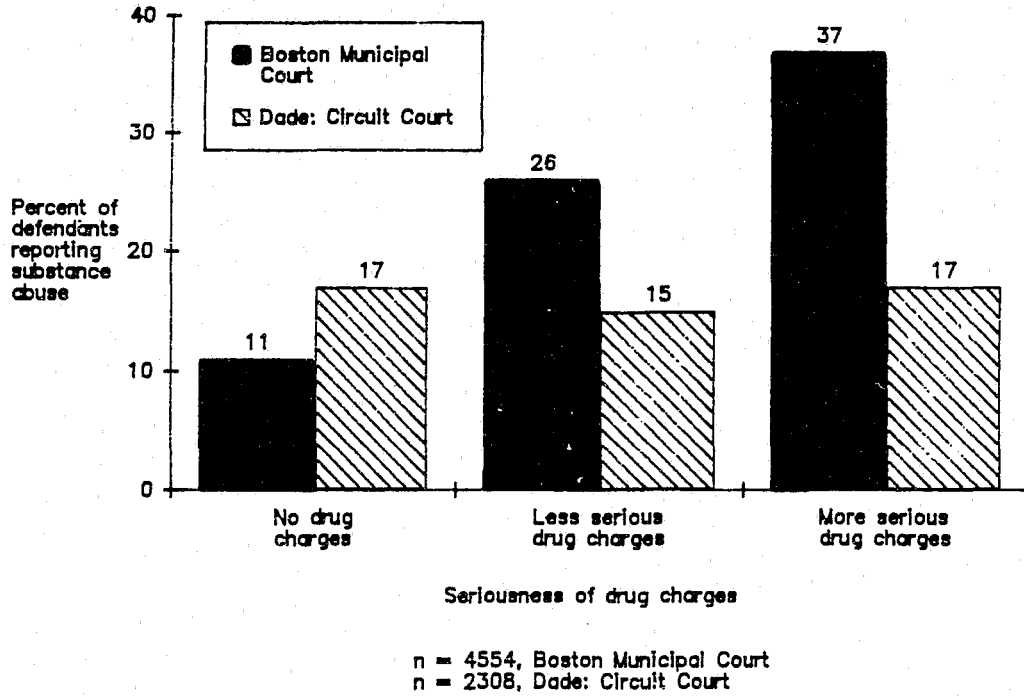
Figure 2.6   The relationship between current drug charges and prior history
              of drug arrests among entering 1984 defendants, by court

Percent of
defendants
with current
drug charges

Legend:
■ Boston Municipal Court
▨ Suffolk County Superior Court
□ Dade (combined)
▨ Maricopa County Superior Court

None: 17, 18, 18, 18
One: 17, 16, 18, 27
Two or more: 22, 48, 23, 34

Prior arrests for drug offenses

n = 3,632, Boston Municipal Court
n =   311, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 4,217, Dade (combined)
n = 2,215, Maricopa County Superior Court
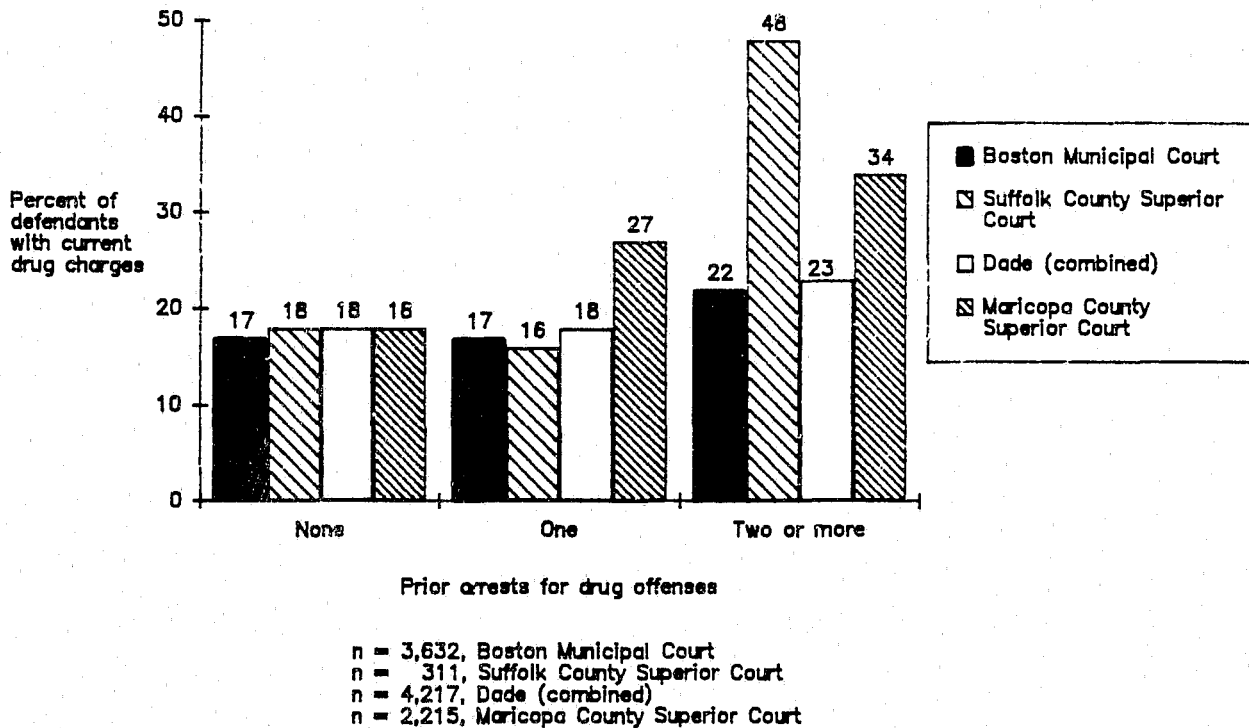
The Disposition of Criminal Charges

Drug Cases

Differences were found in the kinds of dispositions made at various stages of the judicial process; some were unexpected. In the Boston Municipal Court, Suffolk County Superior Court and Circuit Court in Dade County, the use of nonfinancial bail options (ROR) varied by the seriousness of drug charges. Defendants charged in drug crimes of lesser seriousness received nonfinancial release more often and defendants charged with more serious drug crimes received nonfinancial release less often than defendants without drug charges. In Maricopa County, drug defendants were given nonfinancial release more often than non-drug defendants, regardless of the seriousness of the drug charges.

More importantly, drug defendants obtained pretrial release more frequently than non-drug defendants regardless of the seriousness of charges and of the site. (See Figure 2.7.) Interestingly, in Dade County the greatest increase in pretrial release between two days after bond hearing and 90 days was found among defendants charged with the most serious drug crimes. Among Boston Municipal Court and Maricopa County Superior Court defendants, the predominant means of gaining pretrial release for drug-charged defendants was nonfinancial release. Among Suffolk County Superior Court and Dade County defendants, drug defendants more commonly gained release through financial means. In each of the jail populations studied, defendants held on drug charges in pretrial detention were held on notably higher bails than other detainees. *In two of the three jails, drug detainees had longer average stays than non-drug detainees; in Boston, they had shorter average stays.* (See Figure 2.8.)

Failure-to-appear in court (FTA) during pretrial release was lower among drug defendants--regardless of the seriousness of the drug charges--than among non-drug defendants in four of the five courts studied. It was no worse than for non-drug defendants in the fifth. (The picture changed for the 1987 Dade defendants: the highest FTA rates were recorded among the most seriously charged drug defendants.) *Rearrest for subsequent crimes was generally lower as well among drug defendants, with the exception of Maricopa County defendants with the most serious drug charges.* Those defendants generated higher rearrest rates than either the less seriously charged drug defendants or the non-drug defendants. (See Figures 2.9 through 2.11) When considering the "effectiveness" of pretrial release, which takes into account pretrial detention as well as defendant misconduct (see the discussion of the effectiveness of pretrial release in Chapter Five of Volume I), *the rather striking general finding is that courts are generally more effective when it comes to*

Figure 2.7   Pretrial release of entering 1984 defendants, within two days,
              by seriousness of drug charges, by court
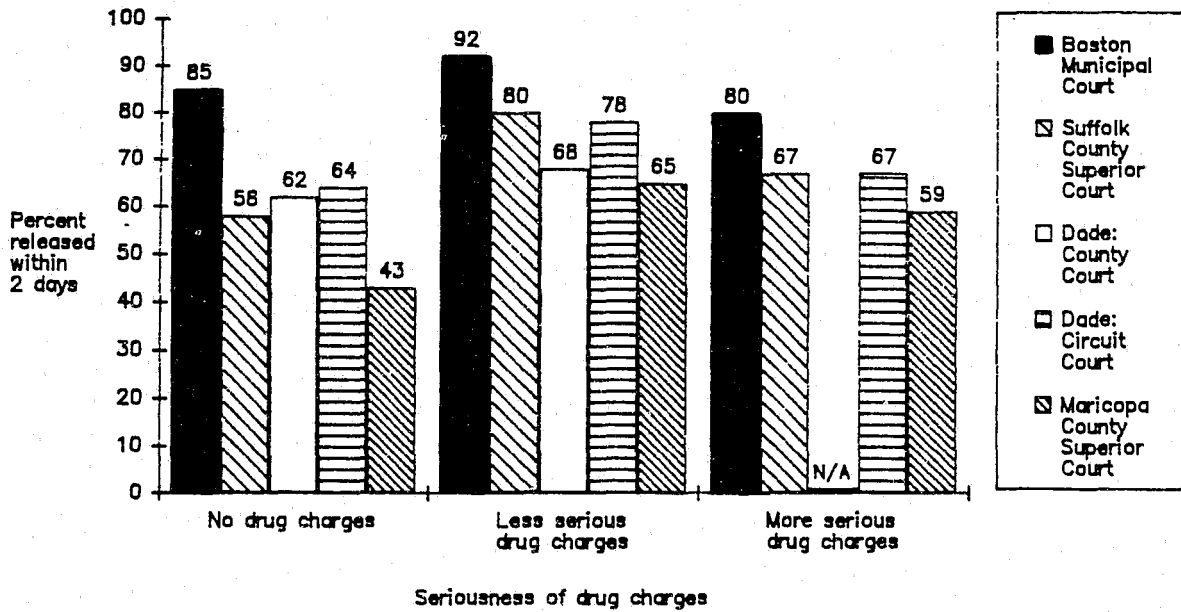
Seriousness of drug charges

n = 4,554, Boston Municipal Court
n =   348, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,977, Dade: County Court
n = 2,308, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,204, Maricopa County Superior Court

[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

Figure 2.8   Length of time in detention on a given day of detainees in three
              urban jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during
              1984 sample periods, by drug charges

Jail populations
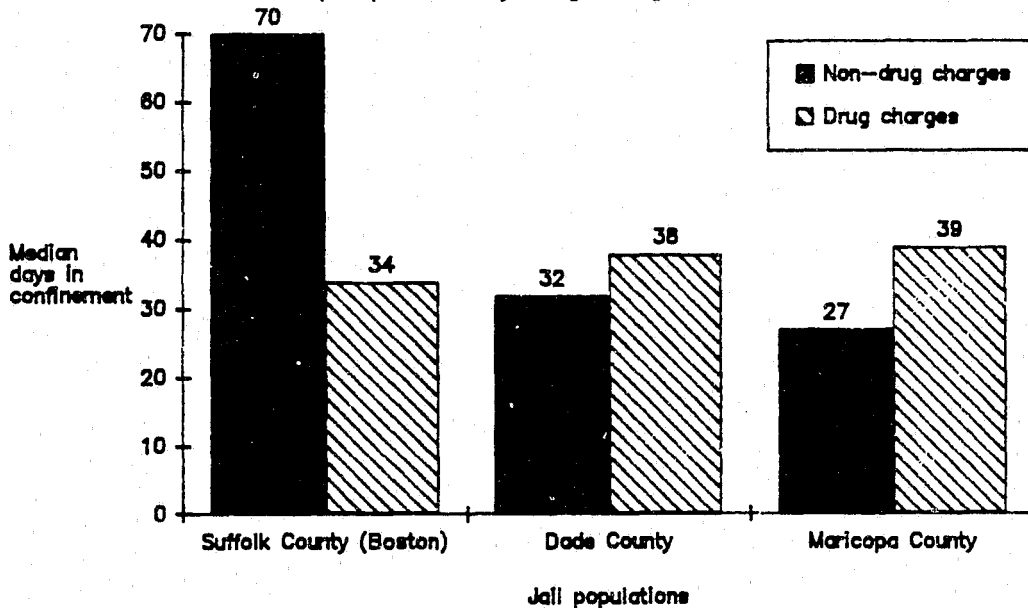
n = 311, Suffolk County
n = 203, Dade County
n = 177, Maricopa County

Figure 2.9   Misconduct (FTA, rearrest) among released Boston Municipal Court
              defendants, April–October, 1984, by seriousness of drug charge

Seriousness of drug charge
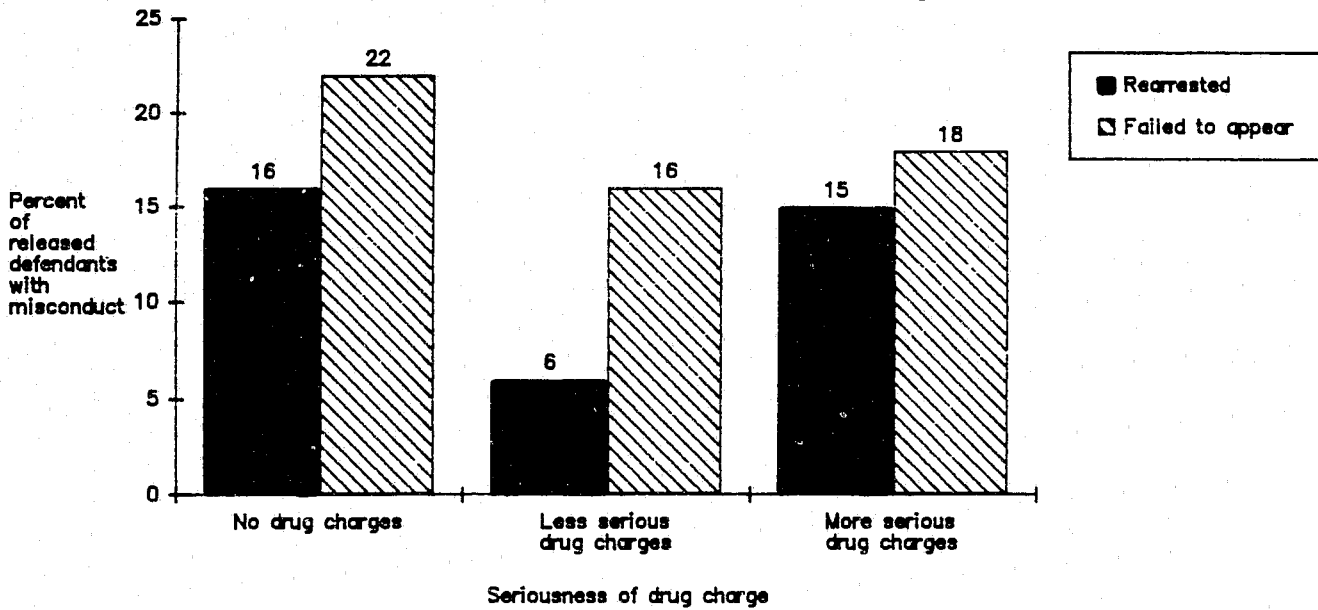
n =   910, rearrest
n = 4,295, FTA

[Note: Rearrest follow-up data were only available for a small,
weighted subsampe of Boston Municipal Court defendants]

Figure 2.10   Misconduct (FTA, rearrest) among released Dade County felony defendants,
              June–September, 1984, by seriousness of drug charge

Seriousness of drug charge
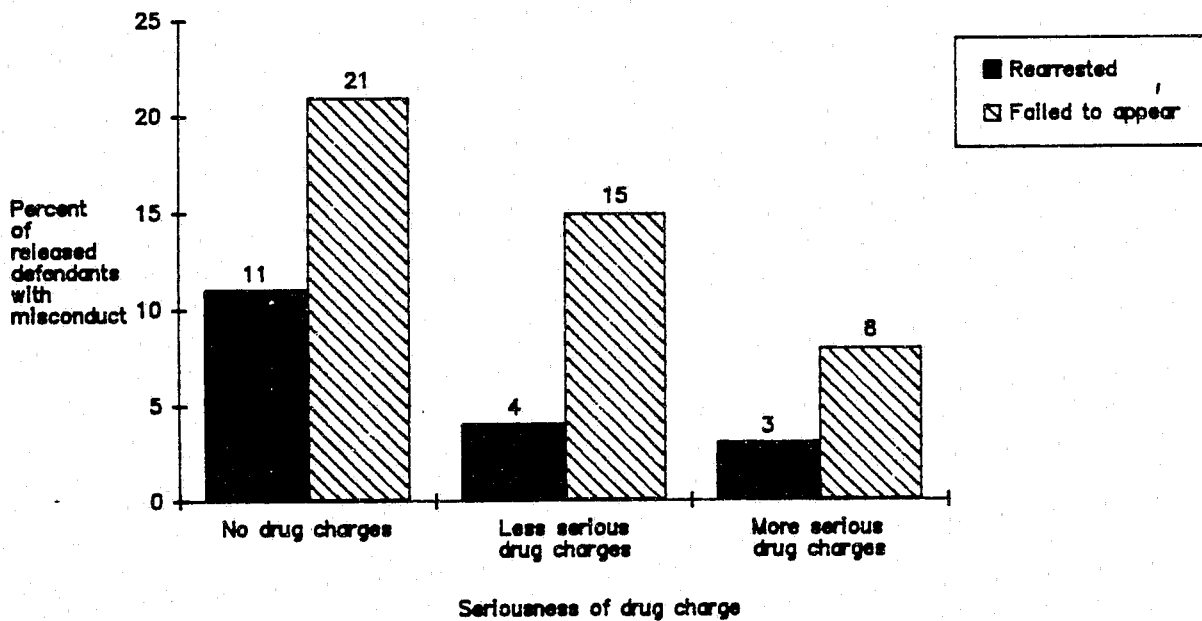
n = 3,078, rearrest
n = 3,123, FTA

Figure 2.11   Misconduct (FTA, rearrest) among released Maricopa County felony
              defendants, June—July, 1984, by seriousness of drug charge

n = 1,202, rearrest
n = 1,203, FTA
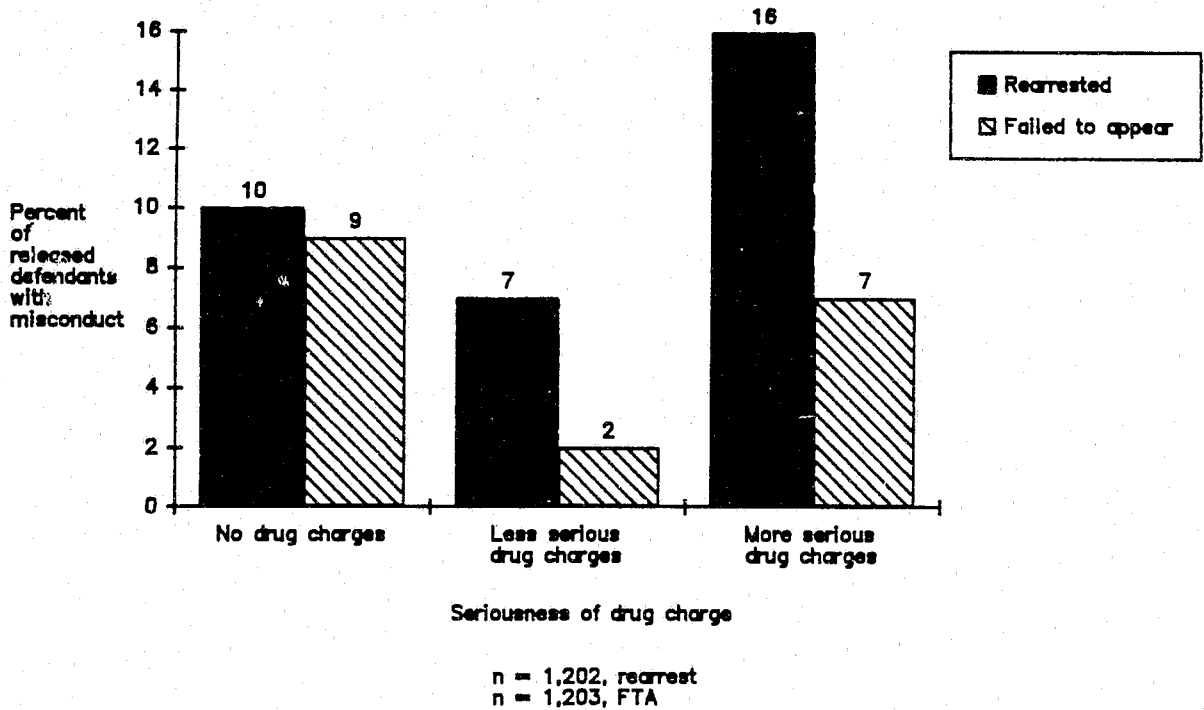
Figure 2.12   The effectivenss of pretrial release (FTA,rearrest) among defendants enterin
                Boston Municipal Court, April—October, 1984, by seriousness of drug charges
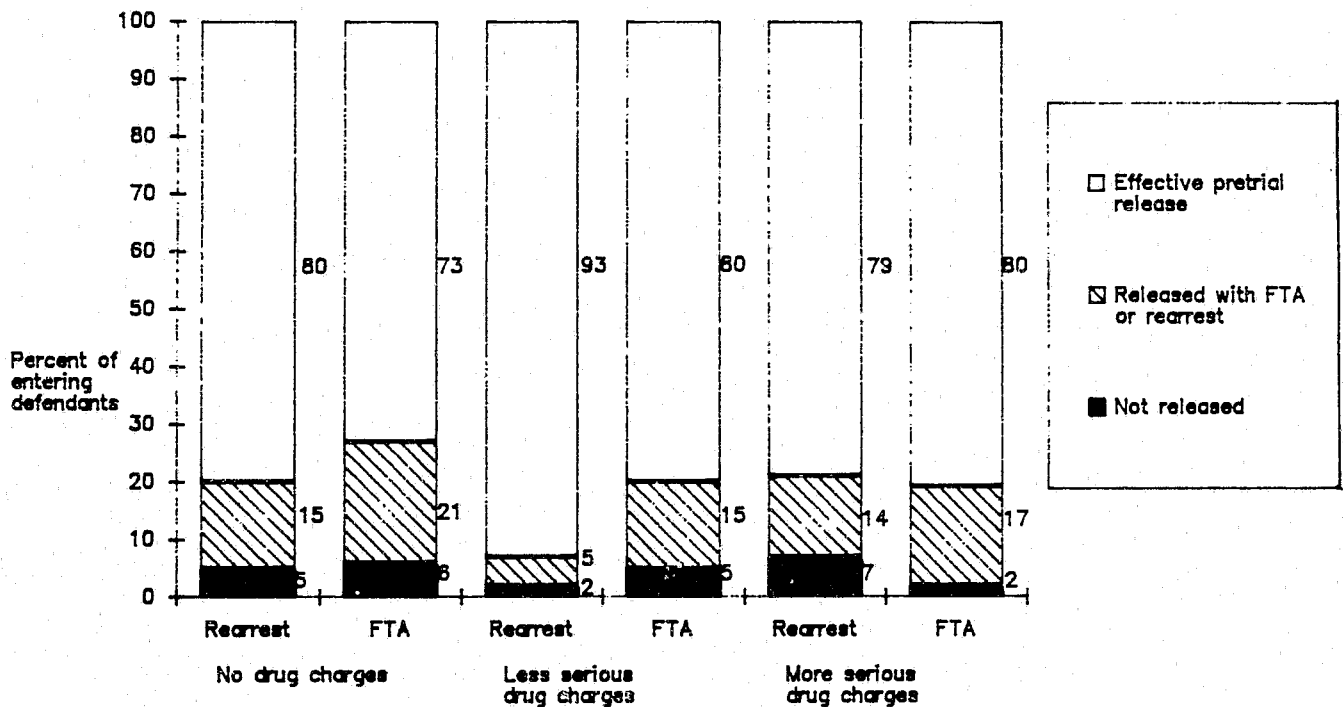
[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent.]

Figure 2.13   The effectiveness of pretrial release (rearrest or FTA) among 1984 felony
              defendants in Dade County Circuit Court, by seriousness of drugcharges
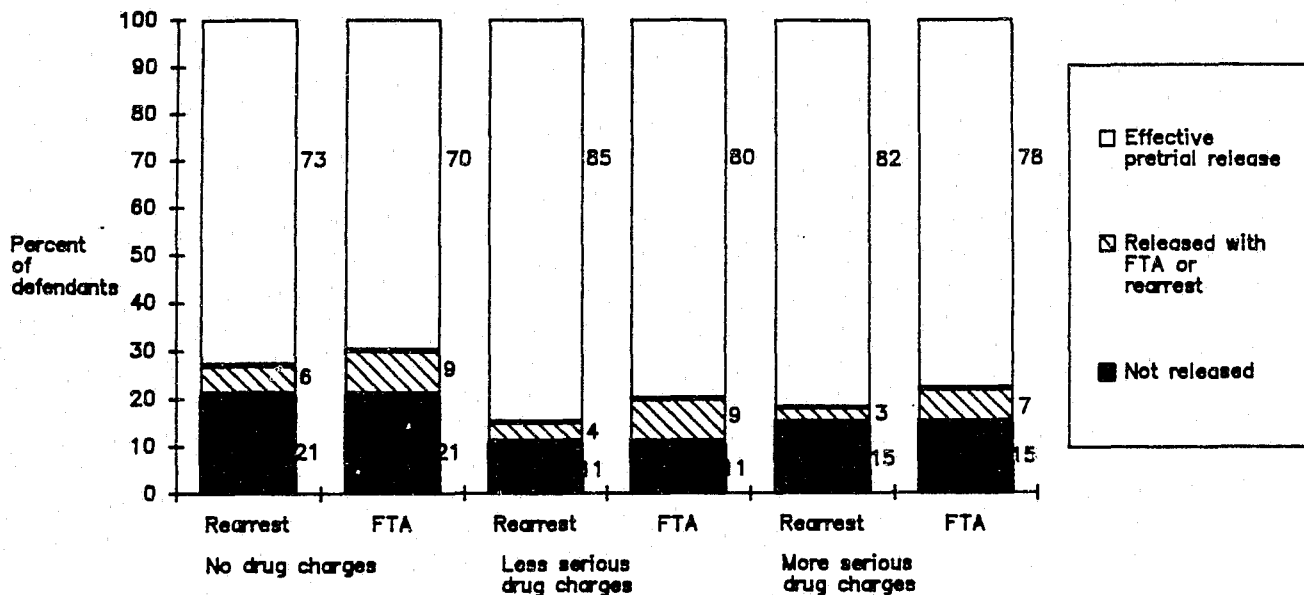
[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent]

Figure 2.14   The effectiveness of pretrial release (rearrest or FTA) among 1984 felony
              defendants in Maricopa County Superior Court, by seriousness of drug charges
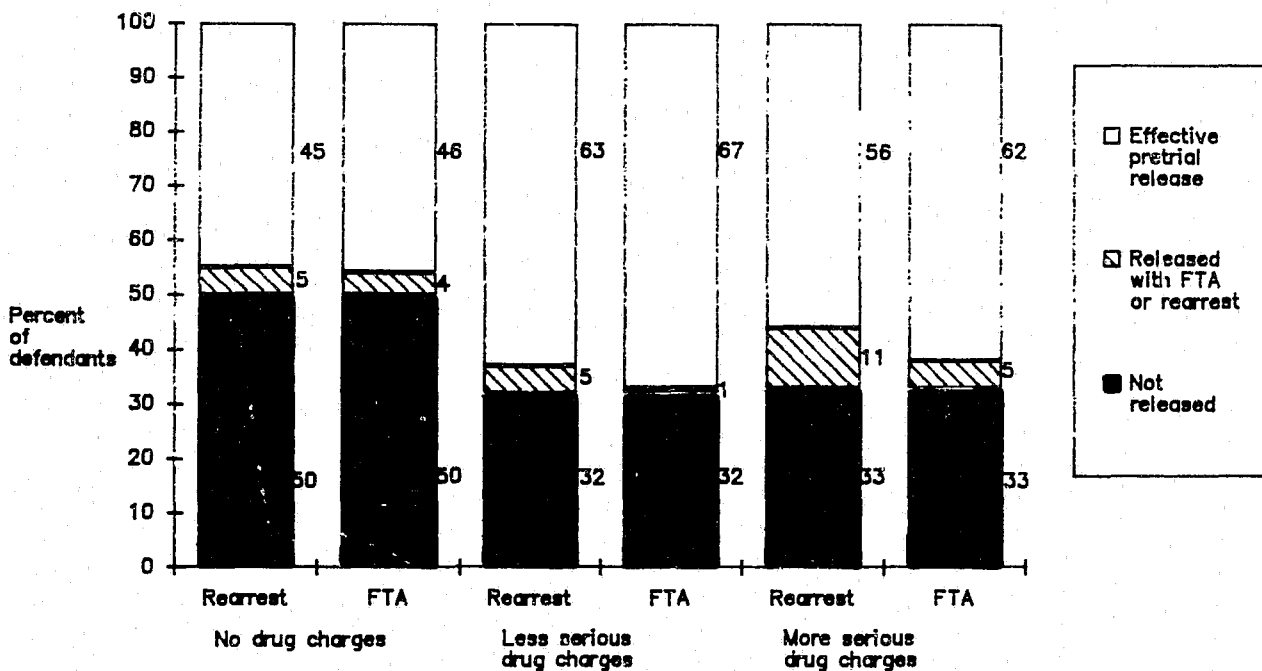
[Note 1: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical
in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

[Note 2: Effective pretrial release is calculated by subtracting the percentage of
defendants not released and released but engaging in misconduct from
100 percent.]

pretrial release decisionmaking involving defendants having drug charges. Even in their decisions concerning the most seriously charged defendants, the courts were at least no less effective than in the decisions for other kinds of defendants. (See Figures 2.12 through 2.14.)

Generally, the cases of defendants involving drug charges were completed about as quickly (or as slowly) as the cases of defendants without drug charges—with the exception of Circuit Court in Dade County. The efficiency of early disposition (defined as the percentage of cases completed within 90 days minus the percentage completed through dropping or dismissals) of drug cases, however, was greater among drug cases in the misdemeanor courts of Boston and Dade County, about the same in Suffolk County Superior Court and Maricopa County Superior Court, and was noticeably poorer in Circuit Court in Dade County. (See Figure 2.15.)

Our analyses compared the dispositions of the courts' caseloads using a sequential conceptualization of decision stages, including the decision to drop or dismiss charges, to divert, to accept a guilty plea or to try cases. *As a rule, there were very few differences in the dispositions made by the courts between drug and non-drug categories of defendants.* it appears that only very slight differences can be noted in each of the courts--with several exceptions. In the BMC, the more serious the drug charges, the lower the "dropout" rate within the initial 90 days. In Dade County Court, defendants in drug cases were 7 times less likely to have their charged dropped than their non-drug charged counterparts. In Circuit Court, the cases involving the more serious drug charges had a higher rate of dropout. (This finding was reversed by the time of the 1987 study of Dade felony defendants.) *Although diversion was a rare option in all of the courts, in Dade County it was used most often among the more seriously charged drug defendants.* Generally, persons charged with the more serious drug crimes and persons not charged with drug crimes disposed of their cases through guilty pleas in similar numbers. *Defendants charged with the less serious drug charges showed the highest rates of guilty pleas across courts.* (See Figure 2.16)

Reinforcing the general conclusion that drug cases are not treated much differently by the courts in their adjudication than other kinds of cases is the finding that *the make-up of the much shrunken caseload "surviving" for processing (trial) beyond 90 days did not differ from make-up of the caseload at the point of entry.* (See Figure 2.17.) *Although we did see differences among the courts generally in the rate of convictions produced among the entering defendant caseloads, the differences in conviction rates between defendants charged with and not charged with drug offenses were not great—with two exceptions.* In the Boston Municipal Court, a larger proportion of defendants charged with the less

Figure 2.15   The efficiency of early disposition of criminal cases (completion within 90 days vs. completion excluding dropped/dismissed), by court, by drug charges

n = 4,554, Boston Municipal Court
n =   354, Suffolk County Superior Court
n = 1,973, Dade: County Court
n = 2,294, Dade: Circuit Court
n = 2,232, Maricopa County Superior Court
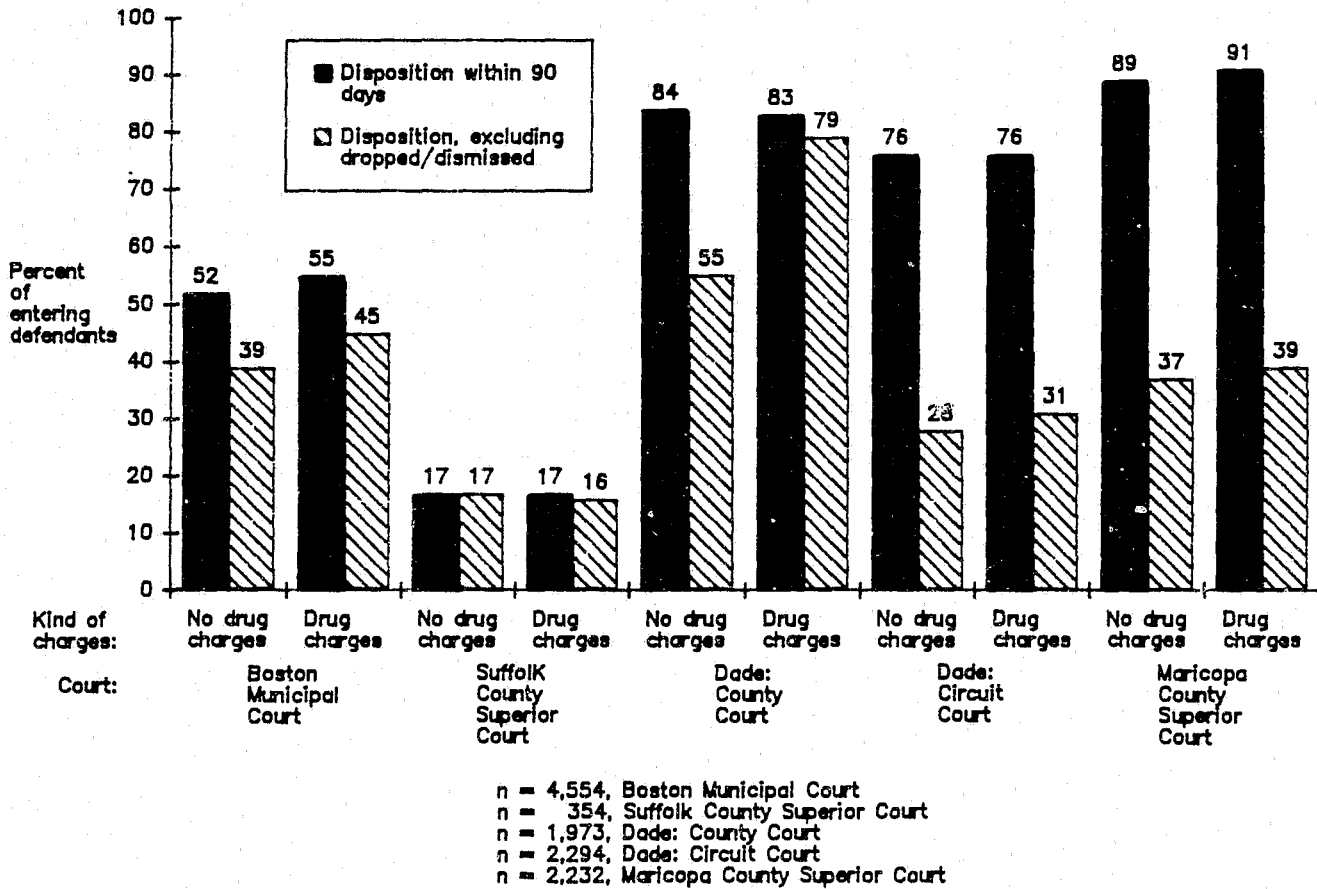
Figure 2.16   Percentage of entering cases pleading guilty within 90 days in three urban jurisdictions (Boston, Dade County, Maricopa County) during 1984 sample periods, by drug charges
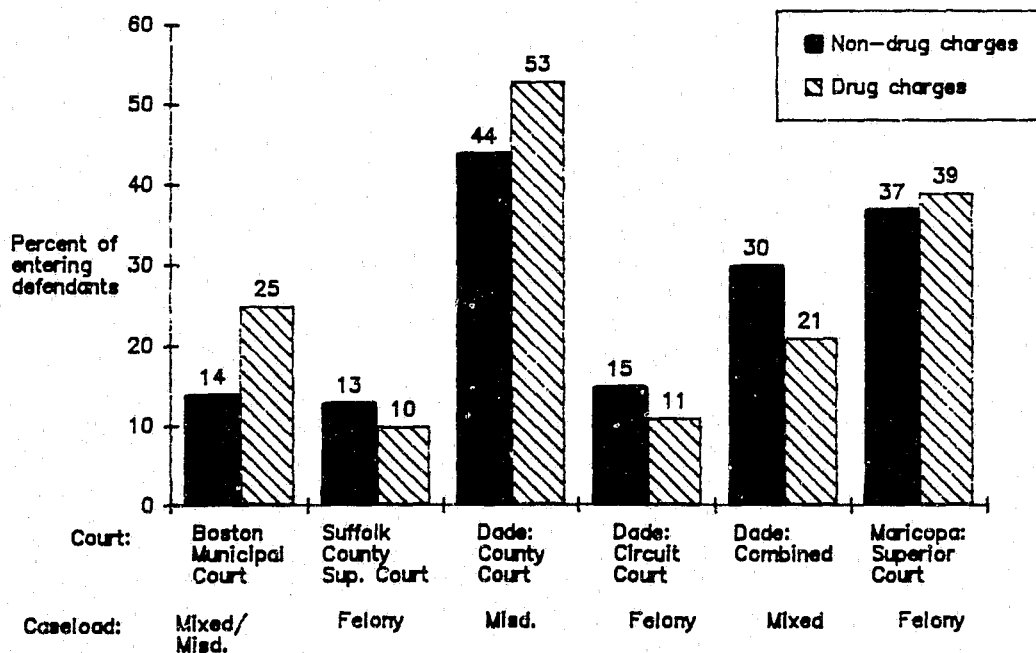
Figure 2.17   The composition of criminal caseloads not disposed within 90 days, by court, by seriousness of drug charges
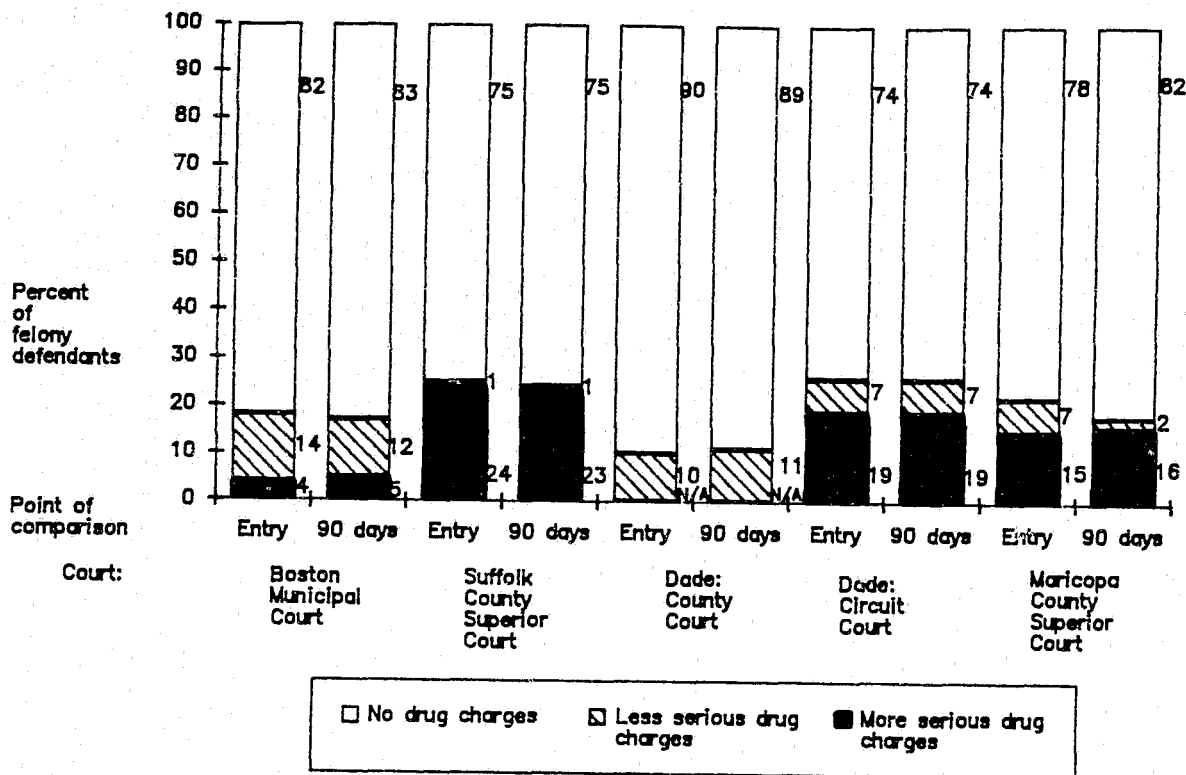
[Note: The classifications of drug charges according to seriousness are not identical in each site and thus are not directly comparable.]

serious (possession variety) drug offenses were convicted than other categories of defendants. In Circuit Court in Dade County, the less seriously charged group of drug defendants were convicted less frequently than others. *Although we find some slight differences in conviction rates and in sentences when drug-charged and non-drug charged groups of defendants are contrasted at a gross level, we do not see a consistent theme emerge.* In Maricopa County, for example, persons convicted of non-drug offenses were more likely to receive incarcerative sentences and longer incarcerative sentences than persons convicted of other kinds of crimes. In Dade County, misdemeanor drug offenders received incarcerative sanctions notably more often than other kinds of defendants, but for very short terms (averaging about 1 month). In the other courts differences in sentencing were not noted.

Drug Use

We also traced and compared the dispositions of cases of drug using and non-drug-using defendants. Of course, the point of the analysis was different in that the judges were not privy to the drug test results of the defendants passing before them. The aim was, rather, to identify the kinds of decisions received by these categories of defendants to help determine the role played by the drug using criminal case in processing in the courts. Quite logically, not a

great many differences were found. Interestingly, however, *defendants testing positively were less often given nonfinancial release and less often secured pretrial release than non-drug using defendants. Pretrial release was less effective in the cases of drug using defendants than in the cases of non-drug using defendants, because of the higher rates of detention and greater misconduct rates.* (For a detailed empirical analysis of the relationship between drug test results and defendant crime and flight during pretrial release, see Goldkamp et al., 1990b.) (See Figure 2.18 and 2.19.) *These findings from the bail stage suggest that without having access to drug testing information for the felony defendants appearing before them at bond hearing, the Dade County judges were identifying drug using defendants for more restrictive treatment prior to trial.* The implication is that the judges were reacting to other defendant attributes, such as criminal charge or prior history, that were closely related to drug use.

Drug-related Criminal Cases (Drug Charges and/or Drug Use)

Analysis of the dispositions of the 1987 Dade felony defendants using the framework of the drug-charge/drug use classification also showed some differences. *For example, category II defendants less often received pretrial release than defendants in the other categories and also seemed to produce the greatest rates of rearrests during pretrial release, although category IV defendants generated the highest rates of FTAs.* Consequently, the effectiveness of pretrial release decisions varied depending upon the drug-related criminal case category. (See Figures 2.20 and 2.21.) Some differences were also noted in the processing outcomes of criminal cases using this framework. *Category IV defendants—with drug charges and drug positive tests—had cases completed early at a notably lower rate (66 percent) than defendants in the other categories. Interestingly, when the dropped/dismissed cases are excluded to measure "efficient" early disposition, it is found that category IV defendants are handled most efficiently.*

Defendants in categories I and III, having in common their negative tests for drug use, received diversion twice as often as their counterparts in groups II and IV, who tested positively for drug use. Although this different treatment is dramatic, it cannot be "explained" by the availability of tests measuring drug use because, of course, that information was not available to the relevant officials. It does, however, indicate that *in Circuit Court in 1987, diversion was not aimed selectively as drug using defendants as might have been supposed.*

As the criminal caseload moved beyond the 90-day mark in Circuit Court, its make-up using the drug-related case framework had changed somewhat. The proportion of defendants falling into category IV, defendants with drug charges and positive drug tests, increased compared to their relative proportion in the caseload at the entry point.

Figure 2.18   Misconduct (flight/crime) among felony defendants released in
               Dade County, June—July, 1987, by drug test results

Percent of
released felony
defendants

■ FTA
◩ Rearrest
□ Serious rearrest
▨ FTA/ rearrest

Total   Negative: Positive: Positive: Positive: Specimen
        both   Marijuana   Cocaine only   both   not tested
                    only
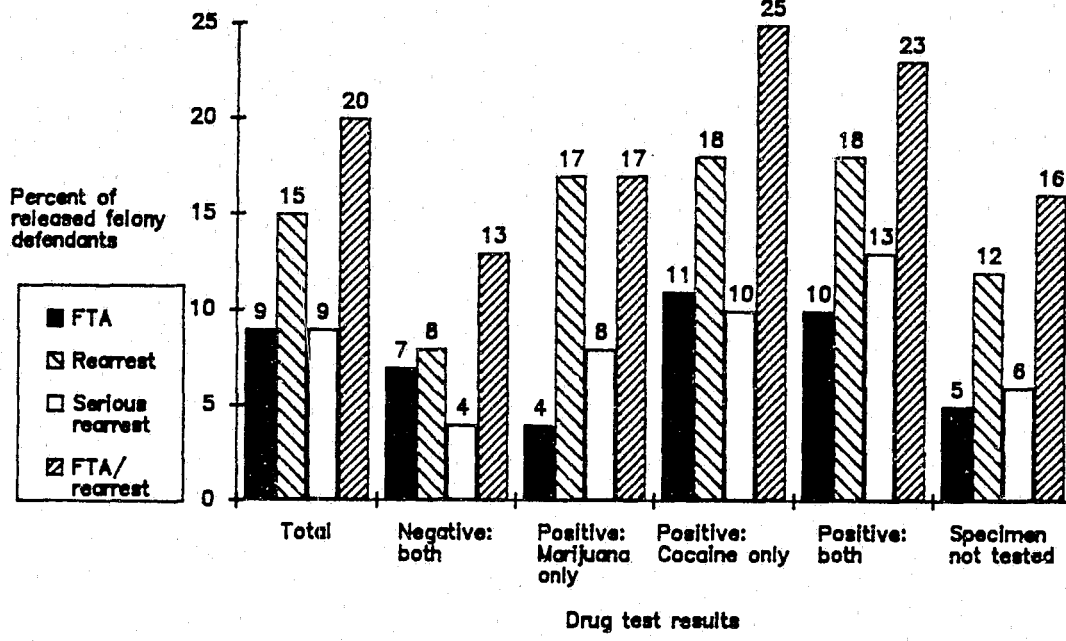
Drug test results

n = 1,760, FTA
n = 1,730, rearrest
n = 1,691, serious rearrest
n = 1,730, FTA/rearrest

Figure 2.19   Effectiveness of pretrial release (FTA, rearrest) among 1987 Dade
              felony defendants, by drug test results (cocaine only)

Percent
of
felony
defendants

Test results: Total   Negative   Positive   Total   Negative   Positive

Effectiveness   Failure to Appear   Rearrest
measure: n = 1,847   n = 1,827
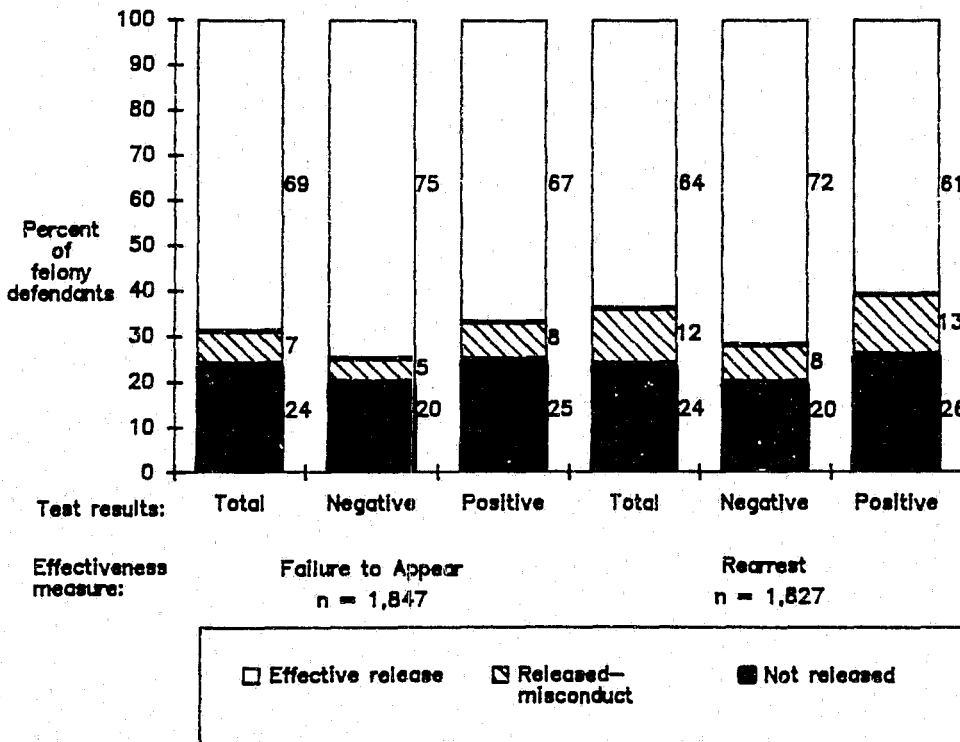
□ Effective release   ◩ Released—   ■ Not released
                          misconduct

Figure 2.20   Selected measures of pretrial release of Dade County felony
             defendants, June–July, 1987, by drug–related criminal cases

Drug related criminal cases
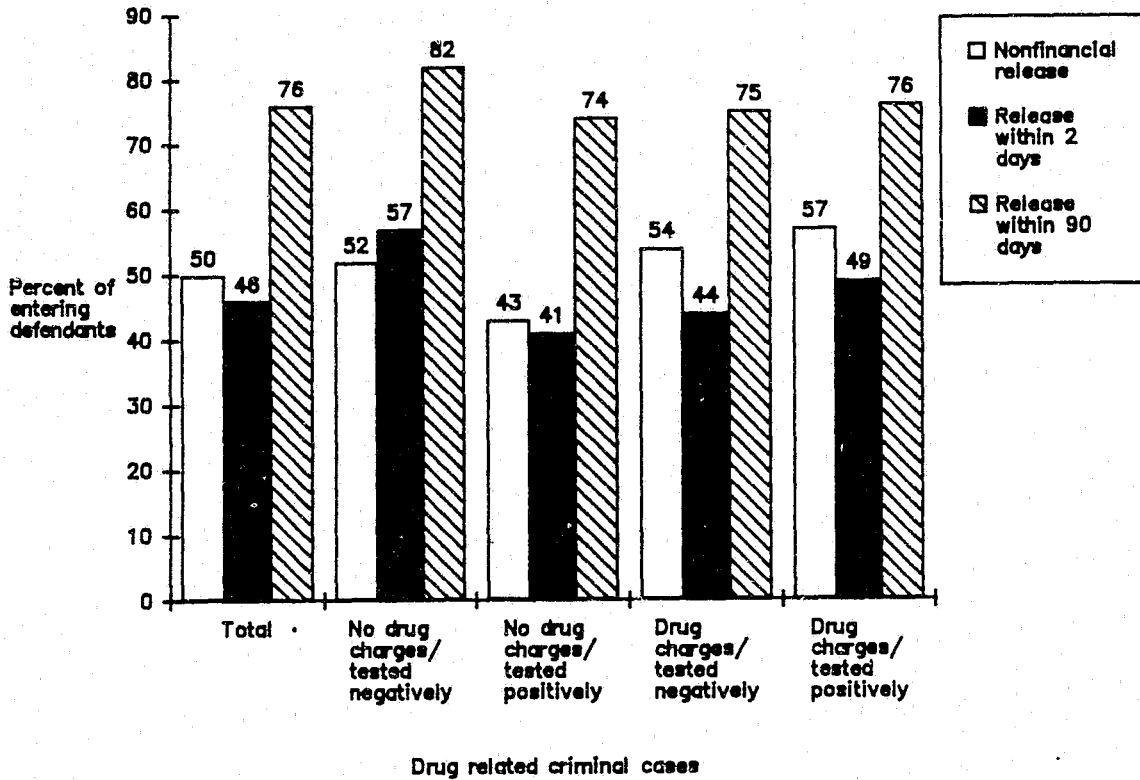
n = 1,855, nonfinancial release [Chi – sq = 28.69, DF = 3, significance = .00]
n = 1,841, two day and ninety day release

Figure 2.21   Defendant misconduct (FTA, rearrest) among released Dade County felony
             defendants, June–July, 1987, by drug–related criminal cases

Drug–related criminal cases
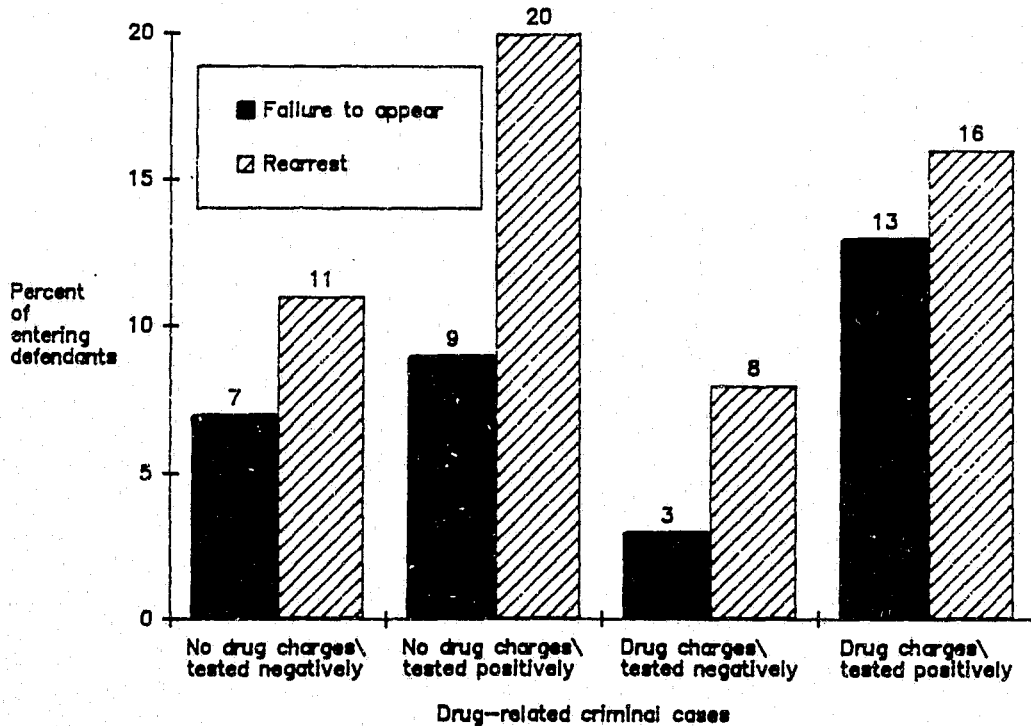
n = 1,401, FTA [Chi – sq = 11.46, DF = 3, significance = .01]
n = 1,381, rearrest [Chi – sq = 16.43, DF = 3, significance = .00]

Chapter Three

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS:
ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL CASES ON PUBLIC SAFETY:
DRUG RELATED RECIDIVISM

In the second major component of the empirical analysis, the task was to assess the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload. In this chapter we synopsize the findings from the in-depth analyses presented in Volume II of the research. (The general implications of the findings are discussed in Chapter Five.) As we explained in Chapter One, the examination of the later official contacts of the defendant cohorts was carried out from the vantage point of the court system, and thus was limited to official data. To examine the implications of the drug-relatedness of entering criminal cases on their later "recidivism," we conducted follow-up studies of randomly selected subsamples of about 1,000 defendants from each of the defendant cohorts.[7] We charted the subsequent criminal histories of the 1984 defendants in Dade County and Maricopa County for a period of four years and followed the official contacts of the 1987 Dade County felony defendants for a period of 18 months using official court files. The data collected for the 1987 sample of Dade County felony defendants differed from the other samples because of the availability of defendant drug testing information from voluntary drug tests conducted at the time of their entry into the judicial process in 1987.[8] Taken together, these comparatively exhaustive data describing large cohorts of defendants and their cases entering the courts in 1984 and 1987 offered a special opportunity to characterize the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload. In this investigation the question addressed was straightforward, assessing the extent to which "drug-relatedness" of defendants' cases (upon entry into the cohorts) was related to patterns of subsequent offending.

Measuring the "Public Safety" Implications of the Drug-related Caseload

Just as definition of drug-relatedness may involve several aspects separately or jointly, the focus on public safety can also be multifaceted. Our approach to the assessment of the subsequent public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload divided the investigation into two components: a) the drug-relatedness of later crimes (or,

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[7] The unweighted 1984 Dade County subsample of about 1,000 defendants produces weighted estimates for approximately 2,010 defendants. Random subsamples were employed for follow-up data collection due to resource constraints. See description of the samples in Volumes I and II and Goldkamp et al., 1988.
[8] For a description of the drug testing methodology, see Goldkamp et al. (1988), Goldkamp et al. (1990b), and Volume I of this series. It should be noted that the drug testing was voluntary and for research purposes only. As a result, drug tests were not obtained for all defendants, but rather about 77 percent of them. When drug test results are used in this report, then, the sample size is commensurately reduced.

more correctly for these data, rearrests) springing from the overall criminal caseload during a follow-up period, and b) the relationship of drug-related attributes of defendants and their cases at the first stage (entry into the cohort) with later crime during the follow-up. Later drug-related crimes, which can be generated by defendants who earlier may or may not have had drug-related attributes, form an important ingredient in assessment of the public safety implication of the drug-related caseload. Within the larger framework of "recidivism," we examined the kinds and patterns of rearrests produced by the cohort defendants during the follow-up periods, identifying the comparative role of subsequent drug crimes in relation to other kinds of crimes, and focusing on whether cohort defendants were rearrested for certain kinds of subsequent crimes, on how often they were rearrested, and on the likelihood of repetitive (and similar) rearrests.

Defendants who at an earlier stage possessed drug-related attributes may or may not commit later crimes which may or may not be drug related. Thus, the second part of our approach to identifying the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload asked specifically what drug-related attributes of entering defendants or their cases could tell us about future offending. In this instance, we were testing the assumption that these attributes recorded at entry into the caseload cohort--current drug charges, prior history of drug crimes and drug use--help predict the kind, frequency and/or timing of defendants' future criminal behavior. There have been no studies to date of cohorts of criminal caseloads followed over time, certainly not cross-jurisdictional studies of the implications of the drug-relatedness of criminal caseloads.

I. THE PREVALENCE AND NATURE OF "RECIDIVISM" AND DRUG CRIME IN THE THREE DEFENDANT COHORTS

The measure of crime among defendant cohorts in Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, and Dade County (Miami), Florida, during the follow-up periods is limited to the configuration of charges associated with arrests and convictions subsequent to the defendants' involvements in the entry stage 1984 and 1987 arrests. In this research, we focus primarily on arrests because the configuration of charges lodged at the arrest stage allows us to examine a richer variety of (at least "alleged") criminal behavior than convictions for crimes committed during the follow-up period.[9]

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[9] Although the data analyzed in this study provide a unique opportunity to examine the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseloads in two urban jurisdictions and three time periods, they suffer the traditional limitations of other recidivism studies that rely on official records. Basically, these limitations involve questions about the reliability of official records and the validity of arrests or official contacts as a measure of actual criminal activity. We certainly acknowledge these limitations and point to another in our data at this stage. Although we have fairly thorough arrest data for each of the defendant cohorts through the follow-up periods, in this phase we were not able to obtain information describing periods of confinement for the sample defendants who were convicted and sentenced, given

Implicitly at least, we are inquiring about the public safety implications of the dispositional decisions made by the courts with respect to the drug-related criminal caseload. Admittedly, like most "recidivism" studies, the criminal process deals only with some unknown fraction of all persons committing crimes--and in many ways arrests provide a poor measure of criminal activity. However, our focus purposely is on the characteristics and implications of the known fraction, those coming into the courts for adjudication of criminal charges and those later returning again, and in some cases, again. Thus, in an important sense, the data we employ are very appropriate for the study of risk of reoffending as measured through rearrest--and for assessing the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload.

The Prevalence of Recidivism in the Three Defendant Cohorts

Perhaps the most dramatic initial finding is the very high level of subsequent rearrests recorded by defendants in each of the cohorts studied. (See Figure 3.1.) A majority of defendants across sites were rearrested at least once.[10] The jurisdictions differed in the frequency of rearrests among the defendant cohorts during the follow-up period: only six percent of the 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants recorded more than five arrests during the four year follow-up; 19 percent of the 1984 Dade County misdemeanor and felony sample recorded that many rearrests. Remarkably, 17 percent of the 1987 Dade felony sample generated more than five rearrests within only an 18-month follow-up period.

Figure 3.2 displays the rates of rearrests by the kinds of crimes with which defendants were charged during the follow-up periods. Several striking similarities across cohorts can be noted. Regardless of the sample, about one-fifth of defendants were rearrested for index-level offenses,[11] nearly one-fifth were rearrested for serious crimes against the person,[12] roughly one-tenth were rearrested for offenses involving assault, and less than one in ten were rearrested for robberies. From 15 to 26 percent were rearrested for drug crime, depending on the sample.

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resource and time constraints. Certainly, interpretations of data without this information can be misleading, for example, resulting in assumptions that individuals were arrest free who may in fact have been confined for large portions of the follow-up study. To ascertain the likely effect of lack of at-risk information on our findings we conducted a mini-study on a 50 percent random sample of the Dade County 1987 defendants for whom we developed at-risk estimates. See Appendix C.

[10] Approximately 70 percent of the rearrested 1984 Dade cohort defendants were convicted for at least one crime during the follow-up period; 78 percent of the 1987 Dade felony defendants were convicted at least once during the 18 month follow-up. Conviction data were not available for the Maricopa County Superior Court felony defendants.

[11] In this study we use the FBI measure of index offenses as a means for comparing the seriousness of charges across sites. We eliminate from the FBI measure arrests for auto theft and larceny, however.

[12] Serious crimes against the person include assaults, kidnapping, rape, robbery, manslaughter, murder and arson with personal harm.

Figure 3.1 Percentage of cohort defendants rearrested during follow-up periods, by cohort, by number of rearrests

Percent of cohort defendants rearrested

Number of rearrests during follow-up

☐ Maricopa County
n = 1145

■ Dade County, 1984
n = 2010

▨ Dade County, 1987
n = 998
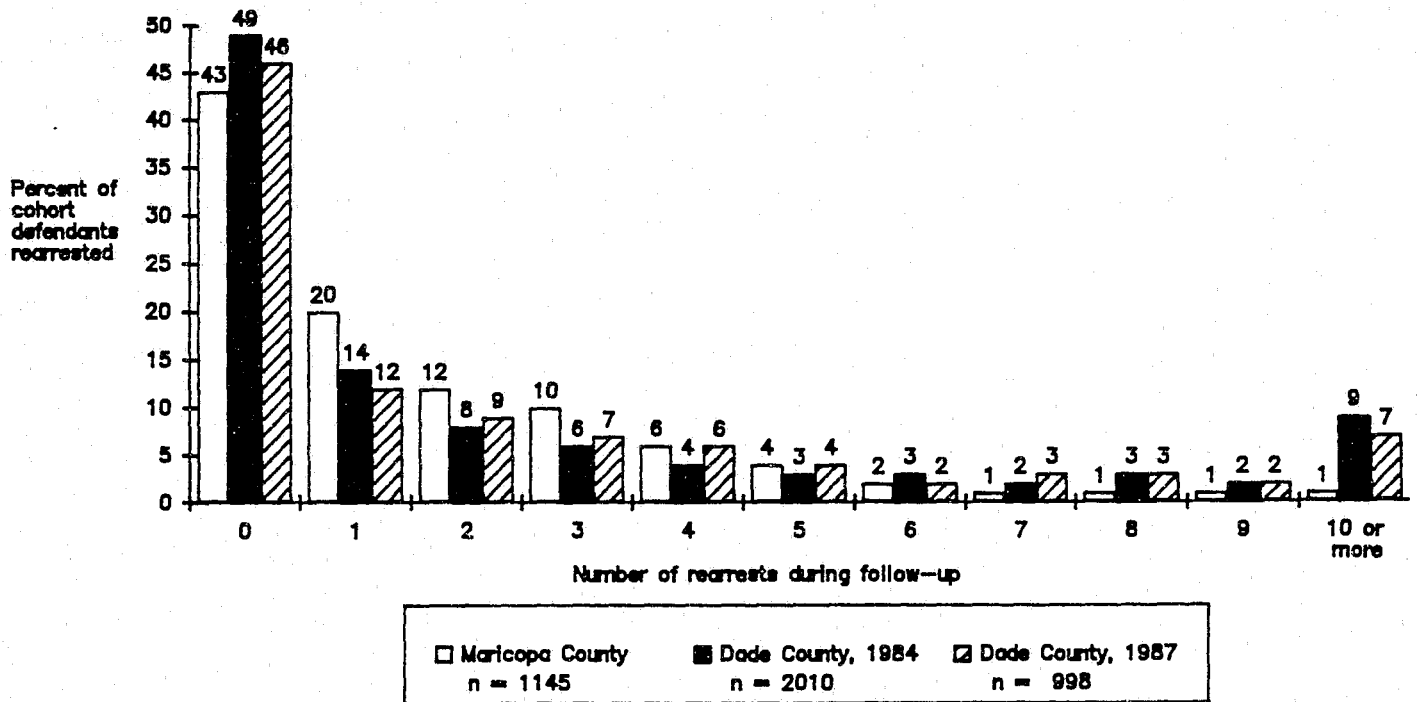
differing F/u periods!

Figure 3.2 Percentage of cohort defendants rearrested for selected kinds of offenses during follow-up periods, by cohort

☐ Maricopa County,
1984
n = 1145

■ Dade County,
1984,
n = 2010

▨ Dade County,
1987,
n = 998

Percent of cohort defendants rearrested

Any offense · Index · Serious person · Drug · Burglary · Robbery · Assault · Theft · Weapons

Selected rearrest offenses
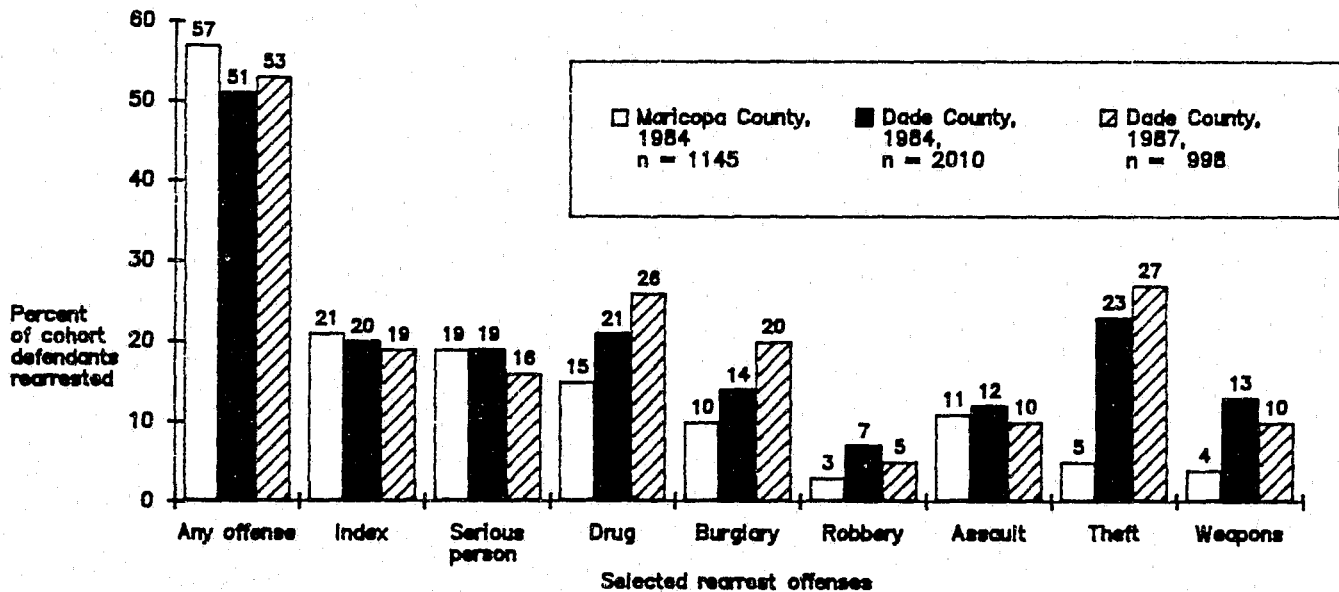
Figure 3.3 presents the kinds of offenses for which defendants were most frequently rearrested when only defendants having rearrests are counted. *While the findings parallel those just described, the relative frequency of rearrests for drug crimes, burglary, theft and weapons offenses in the two Dade County samples stands out, particularly for the 1987 felony defendants.* Among both Dade County cohorts, only theft rearrests were more common than drug rearrests. Nearly half of the Dade defendants were rearrested for drug crimes (the bulk of which were of the possession not the sales/distribution variety,[13] see Figure 3.4), more than half were rearrested for theft, more than one-third were rearrested for burglary during the short 18 month follow-up period. Although a large proportion of the 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants (26 percent) were rearrested for drug offenses at least once during the four-year follow-up, index-level offenses generally and serious crimes against the person were somewhat more common.

Table 3.1 compares the rearrests generated by the three defendant cohorts in a different way, by calculating a number of rearrests per 100 defendants by selected categories of offenses. This table shows first that regardless of the site or time period each defendant cohort generated a large number of rearrests per 100. In Maricopa, which showed the lowest overall rate per 100, 100 defendants could be expected to generate 158 arrests. The 1984 misdemeanor/felony cohort in Dade County generated more than twice that rate (340 per 100 defendants), while the 1987 Dade felony cohort was not far behind with 265 rearrests generated per 100 defendants (in a much shorter follow-up period).

Among Maricopa County felony defendants, the highest number of rearrests per 100 defendants was generated in the index offenses (35 per 100), although drug and serious person crime rates per 100 were almost as high. In contrast, the highest rates per 100 defendants in both Dade County cohorts were found in the theft category (at 72 and 69 per 100 in the 1984 and 1987 cohorts respectively). The number of burglary, index-level and drug rearrests per 100 defendants in the two Dade cohorts were similar at a se⹁ond highest level, however. *During their much shorter 18 month follow-up period, the 1987 Dade felony defendants produced the highest number of rearrests for (any) drug crimes per 100 defendants (43 compared to 39 among the 1984 Dade defendants and 27 among the 1984 Maricopa defendants).* In each site,

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[13] For a discussion of the non-comparability of measures of drug offenses and their severity in criminal codes, see Volume I.

Figure 3.3 Percentage of rearrested cohort defendants rearrested for selected kinds of offenses during follow-up periods, by cohort
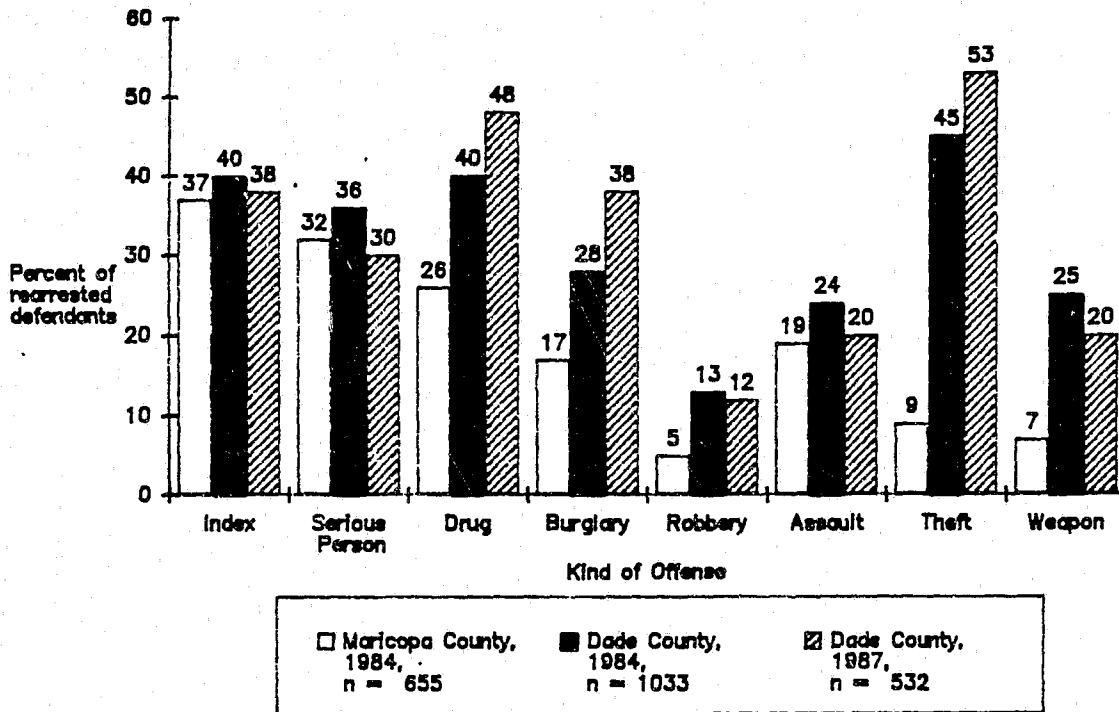
Figure 3.4 Kind of drug offenses among defendants rearrested for drug crimes during follow-up, by cohort
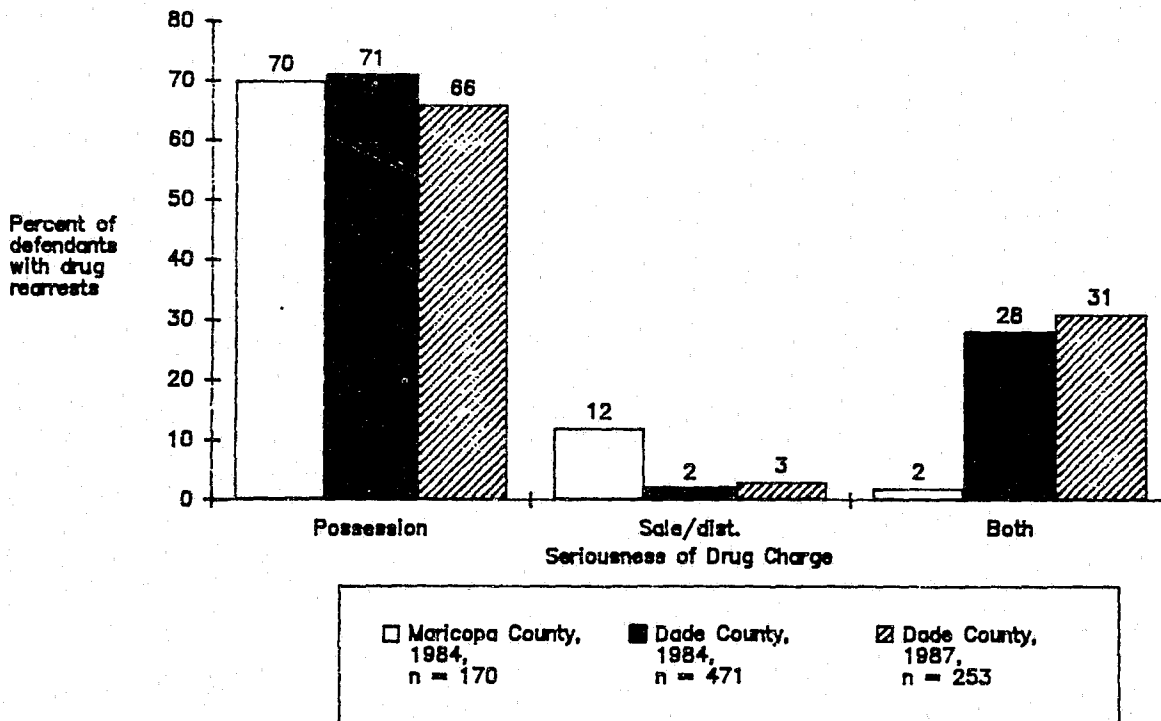
Table   3.1   Total number of rearrests and rearrests per 100 defendants, by selected rearrest offenses, by cohort

Kind of Rearrest Offense	Maricopa 1984 (n = 1,145)		Cohort Dade 1984 (= 2,010)		Dade 1987 (n = 998)	
	Total rearrests	Per 100	Total rearrests	Per 100	Total rearrests	Per 100
Total (any rearrest)	(1805)	157.6	(6830)	339.8	(2643)	264.8
Index offenses	(404)	35.3	(799)	39.8	(372)	37.3
Serious Person	(313)	27.3	(650)	32.3	(247)	24.7
Robbery	(41)	3.6	(210)	10.4	(93)	9.3
Weapons	(53)	4.6	(339)	16.9	(143)	14.3
Assault	(177)	15.5	(343)	17.1	(134)	13.4
Burglary	(175)	15.3	(636)	31.6	(477)	47.8
Theft	(69)	6.0	(1446)	71.9	(690)	69.1
Drugs (any)	(306)	26.7	(793)	39.4	(426)	42.7
Drugs - sale/dist.	(78)	6.8	(190)	9.4	(109)	10.9
Drugs - possession	(259)	22.6	(784)	39.0	(417)	41.8

however, the number of rearrests for drug sales/distribution were comparably low (7 in Maricopa, 9 in the 1984 Dade County sample and 11 in the 1987 Dade County sample). The 1987 Dade County felony defendants recorded the highest rate of rearrests per 100 for drug possession offenses at 42.

The Probabilities of Rearrest Given a Previous Arrest

Once defendants had been rearrested one time, the chances that they would go on to be arrested at least one more time (for any crime) increased in each location, slightly (from .57 to .65) in Maricopa County, dramatically in both Dade cohorts (from .50 to .73 among the 1984 defendants, from .53 to .78 among the 1987 defendants). The chances for a next rearrest stayed consistently higher among the Dade County defendants for every successive rearrest, peaking among the 1984 cohort among defendant having seven arrests. Their chances for an eighth arrest were nearly 9 out of 10 (.89). The probability of a next arrest among Maricopa County defendants never exceeded .67, which was the probability that a defendant having two arrests would go on to a third rearrest.

The chances of being rearrested a subsequent time for a particular crime were, logically, much lower than the chances of being rearrested for any kind of crime.[14] Table 3.2 shows, for example, that persons who have been arrested twice for the broad category of index crimes have increasingly greater odds that they will be rearrested for a subsequent index offense. The same seems to be true of persons having two arrests for burglary, assault, robbery and theft.

In each cohort, the odds for subsequent rearrest for drug offenses do not seem to increase so dramatically, peaking among Maricopa defendants at .54 for those with three drug possession arrests having a fourth. The probability of a next rearrest for a drug sales/distribution offense is fairly low in each jurisdiction. The limited number of repeat drug offenses, however, might lead to the interpretation that drug offenders are rapidly being taken out of circulation and not being permitted an opportunity for a subsequent drug arrest. An alternative explanation is that drug offenders are eclectic in their repeat crime choices, often being rearrested for other kinds of crimes, particularly property offenses.

Patterns of Rearrests Over Time Among Cohort Defendants

A more basic way to consider the public safety implications of the drug-related caseload, however, is to determine the likelihood that there will be a next "event" (rearrest) at all and, if so, the probability that it will involve the same kind of offense. The analysis in Volume II focused on the probable "next" event to be experienced by defendants, given a particular stage rearrest, and asked whether the defendant would next most likely be a) not rearrested, b) rearrested but for a different kind of crime, or c) rearrested for the same crime as previously. Figures 3.5a through 3.5c show the average percentage of next stage events that were rearrests for the same offense as the preceding arrest among defendants in the follow-up cohorts, indicating the extent to which sample defendants were rearrested for offenses which were homogeneous an sequential ("specialized").[15]

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[14] As we noted above, these chances of subsequent rearrest among cohort defendants may be greatly affected by periods of confinement (persons convicted and sentenced for incarcerative terms during the follow-up period have less time at risk and fewer opportunities to be rearrested for new crimes than persons who were not confined).
[15] These figures were constructed in the following fashion. Next outcomes were calculated for all defendants with a given preceding kind of rearrest. For example, we asked "Of all persons arrested for burglary at entry into the cohort, what were the next outcomes?" The possible outcomes were no rearrest, rearrest for an offense other than burglary, rearrest for burglary. We asked this question for each offense type for defendants at each successive arrest stage. Thus, we asked this of all defendants with burglary arrests at their second arrest during the follow-up, of all defendants with burglary arrests at their third rearrest, and so forth. We continued the calculations until there were insufficient cases (less than 30) and then took the average of all the percentages for each of the outcomes for a composite which is portrayed in the figures. For greater detail, see Table A2.3 through A2.10 in Volume II.

Table 3.2   Given an arrest/rearrest, the probability of a subsequent rearrest, by kind of offense, by cohort

Arrest/ Rearrest	Any rearrest			Index charges			Serious person		
	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987
Arrest to rearrest 1	0.572	0.499	0.533	0.369	0.397	0.383	0.183	0.185	0.158
Rearrest 1 to 2	0.647	0.731	0.776	0.341	0.441	0.397	0.330	0.371	0.316
Rearrest 2 to 3	0.672	0.791	0.794	0.777	0.807	0.824	0.386	0.423	0.380
Rearrest 3 to 4	0.586	0.816	0.774	0.959	0.945	0.941	0.333	0.400	0.316
Rearrest 4 to 5	0.611	0.849	0.771	0.985	0.969	0.986	---	0.250	---
Rearrest 5 to 6	0.549	0.863	0.806	0.998	0.994	0.991	---	---	---
Rearrest 6 to 7	0.571	0.818	0.867	---	0.997	0.994	---	---	---
Rearrest 7 to 8	0.656	0.894	0.810	---	---	0.998	---	---	---
Rearrest 8 to 9	---	0.809	0.743	---	0.995	0.996	---	---	---
Rearrest 9 to 10	---	0.849	0.783	---	---	---	---	---	---
Over 10 arrests	---	---	---	0.997	0.996	---	---	---	---

Arrest/ Rearrest	Robbery			Weapons			Assault		
	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Dade 1984	Dade 1987
Arrest to rearrest 1	0.049	0.131	0.115	0.042	0.126	0.104	0.191	0.236	0.201
Rearrest 1 to 2	0.224	0.313	0.278	0.082	0.267	0.231	0.319	0.271	0.194
Rearrest 2 to 3	0.964	0.923	0.960	---	0.114	0.375	0.853	0.845	0.856
Rearrest 3 to 4	0.997	0.988	0.984	---	---	---	0.989	0.981	0.987
Rearrest 4 to 5	---	0.996	0.996	---	---	---	0.995	0.996	---
Rearrest 5 to 6	---	---	0.998	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 6 to 7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.998	---
Rearrest 7 to 8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 8 to 9	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 9 to 10	---	0.999	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Over 10 arrests	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Table 3.2   Given an arrest/rearrest, the probability of a subsequent rearrest, by kind of offense, by cohort (cont'd)

Arrest/ Rearrest	Maricopa 1984	Burglary Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Theft Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Drugs Dade 1984	Dade 1987
Arrest to rearrest 1	0.168	0.278	0.383	0.085	0.446	0.526	0.147	0.198	0.251
Rearrest 1 to 2	0.190	0.457	0.499	0.176	0.578	0.542	0.441	0.384	0.391
Rearrest 2 to 3	0.889	0.867	0.864	0.932	0.865	0.788	0.453	0.468	0.454
Rearrest 3 to 4	0.994	0.976	0.939	0.998	0.932	0.919	0.471	0.446	0.267
Rearrest 4 to 5	0.997	0.986	0.970	0.998	0.947	0.953	---	0.364	0.167
Rearrest 5 to 6	---	0.984	0.978	---	0.986	0.978	---	---	---
Rearrest 6 to 7	---	0.997	0.996	---	0.986	0.983	---	---	---
Rearrest 7 to 8	---	0.996	0.998	---	0.988	0.991	---	---	---
Rearrest 8 to 9	---	0.999	---	---	0.990	0.994	---	---	---
Rearrest 9 to 10	---	0.999	0.989	---	0.994	0.996	---	---	---
Over 10 arrests	0.997	0.950	0.994	---	0.980	0.992	---	---	---

Arrest/ Rearrest	Maricopa 1984	Drug Possession Dade 1984	Dade 1987	Maricopa 1984	Drug Sale/Dist. Dade 1984	Dade 1987
Arrest to rearrest 1	0.129	0.195	0.247	0.044	0.058	0.085
Rearrest 1 to 2	0.403	0.388	0.377	0.545	0.281	0.188
Rearrest 2 to 3	0.400	0.439	0.419	0.222	0.265	---
Rearrest 3 to 4	0.542	0.377	0.282	---	---	---
Rearrest 4 to 5	---	0.462	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 5 to 6	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 6 to 7	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 7 to 8	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 8 to 9	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rearrest 9 to 10	---	---	---	---	---	---
Over 10 arrests	---	---	---	---	---	---

The Volume II analysis of patterns of rearrests produced three main findings that seem to apply across sites and across offense categories. *The first finding is that the most likely next outcome for sample defendants at a given arrest stage (from the initial arrest to the seventh rearrest) is not repeating for the same offense. Rather, the chances are either that defendant will not be rearrested again or that he/she will be rearrested for some offense, but not the same offense. The second general finding, therefore, is that persons who are next rearrested for the same offense are usually a small minority. A third finding is that, after having been rearrested once, the chances that defendants will next not be rearrested decline and the chances that defendants will be rearrested but for a different offense increase.* This was also generally true for persons charged with drug offenses. With one exception, only a minority of persons charged with drug offenses at one stage were rearrested for a drug offense. Subsequently. the exception is found among the 1984 sample of Dade County defendants, 56 percent (a majority) of defendants with a second rearrest for drug crimes had a third rearrest for drug crimes.

When we examined only those defendants rearrested at each stage, comparatively large proportions of defendants originally charged with theft, drug crimes and burglary were rearrested at the next stage for the same kinds of offenses. Of persons rearrested subsequent to a previous arrest for drug crimes at any stage during the follow-up, 44 percent in Maricopa County were rearrested next for drug crimes on the average. Serious person crime arrestees averaged a similar rate of next rearrests for serious person crimes when rearrested. (Figure 3.6a.) Among the 1984 Dade County defendants, of earlier theft arrestees who were rearrested, 50 percent were rearrested for theft offenses again. Of initial drug arrests rearrested at a next stage, an average of 35 percent of next rearrests were for drug crimes. Among the 1987 Dade felony defendants, similarly high next-rearrest averages were found among earlier stage, burglary, theft and drug crime rearrestees.

Time From Arrest to First Rearrest

The analysis in Volume II recognized that public safety can be as affected by the timing of rearrests for particular kinds of crimes as by the kind and number of rearrests. The fact that a certain proportion of defendants are many months later rearrested for burglary may pose a different kind of concern for a jurisdiction from the fact that drug crime or theft rearrests occur very soon after the initial court event among cohort defendants.

Figure 3.5a

The average percentage of defendants arrested at one stage for any offense, rearrested for the same offense at next stage, by offense type, among 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4 year follow—up: average of all stages

Average percentage of defendants with charges at one stage rearrested for same offense at next stage
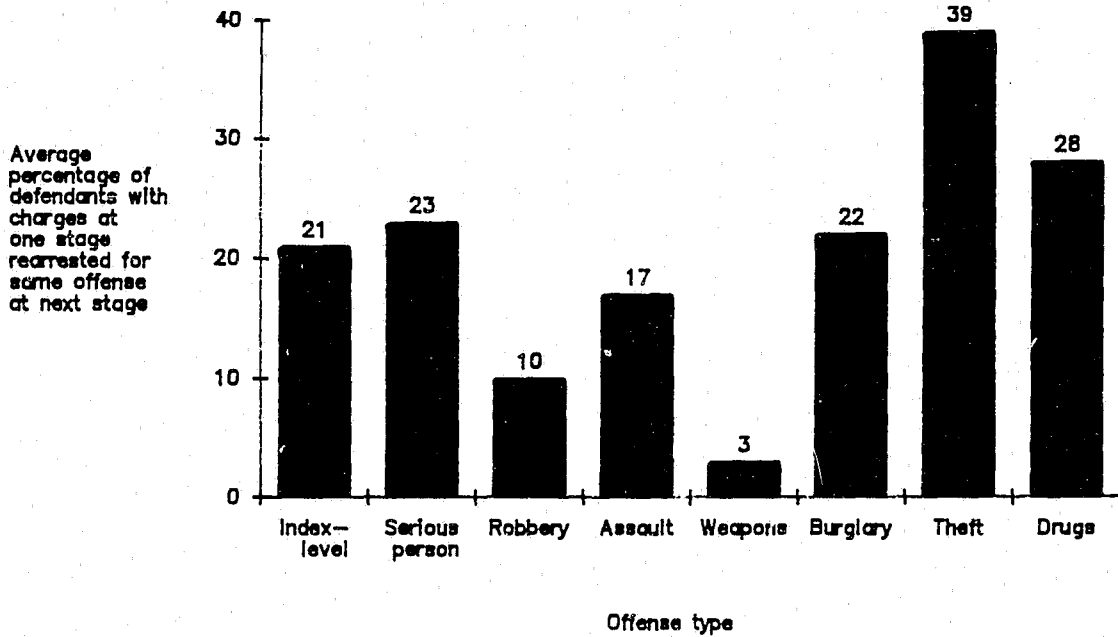
Offense type

Figure 3.5b

The average percentage of defendants arrested at one stage for any offense, rearrested for the same offense at next stage, by offense type, among 1984 Dade County defendants during 4 year follow—up: average of all stages

Average percentage of defendants with charges at one stage rearrested for same offense at next stage
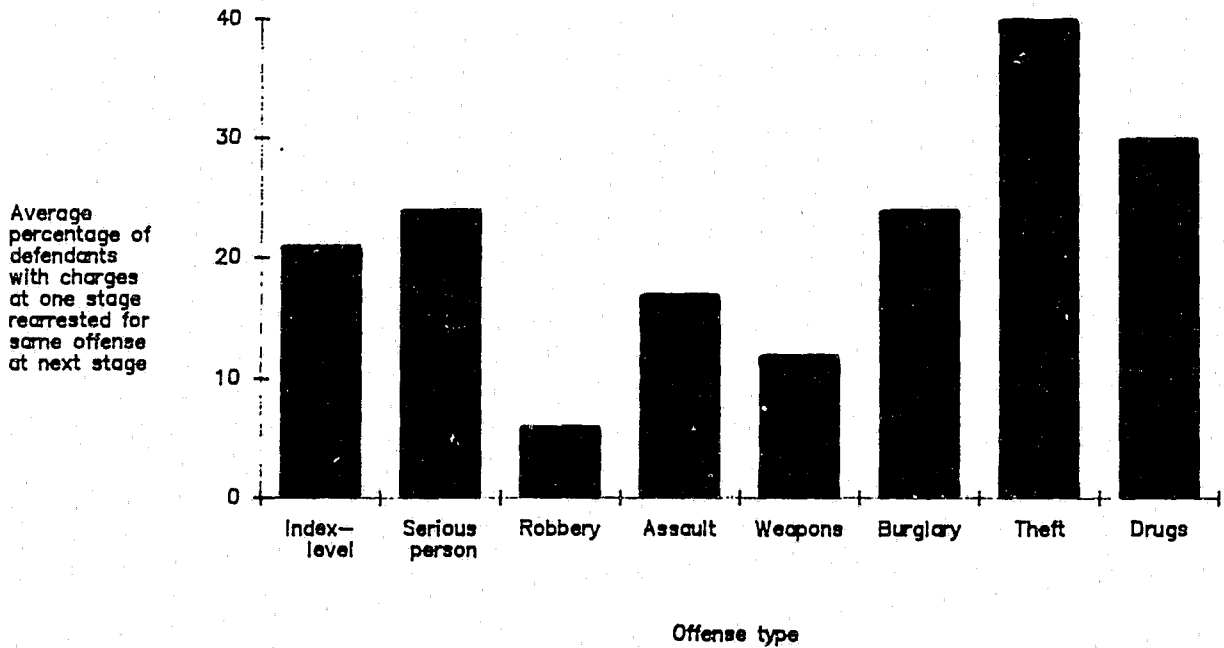
Offense type

Figure 3.5c   The average percentage of defendants arrested at one stage for any offense,
rearrested for same offense at next stage,by offense type, among 1987
Dade County felony defendants during 18 month follow—up: average of all stages

Average
percentage of
defendants with
charges at
one stage
rearrested for
same offense
at next stage

* Insufficient number of cases
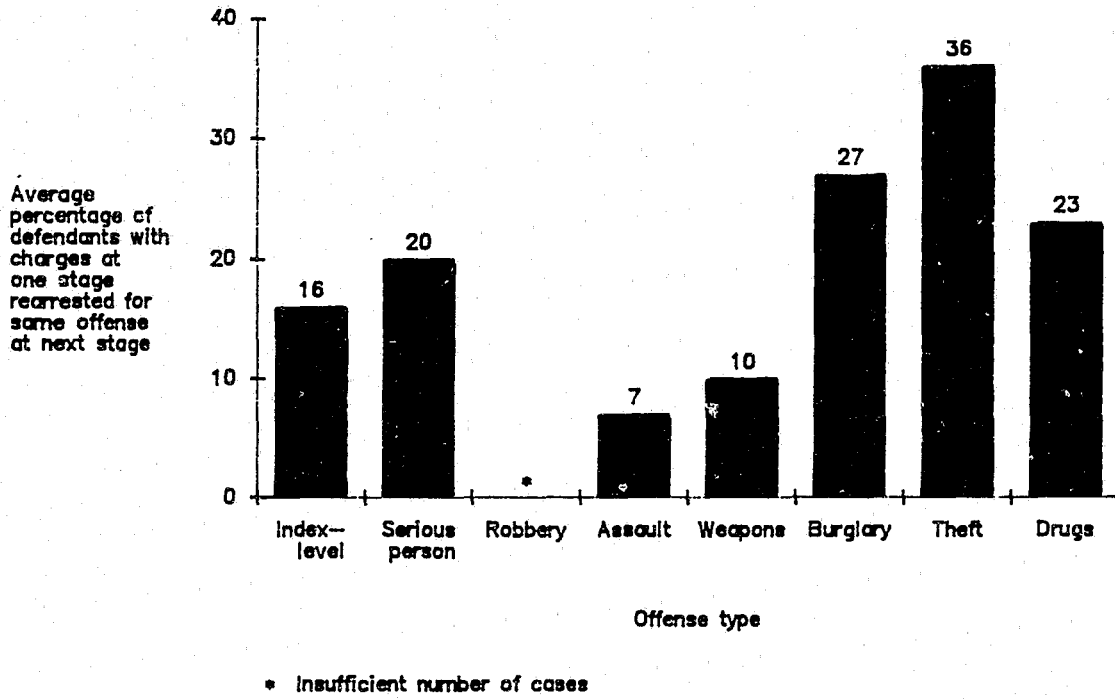
Figure 3.6a   Of defendants rearrested at the next stage, percentage with rearrest for
same offense as last offense, by offense type, among 1984
Maricopa County felony defendants

Average
percentage of
rearrested
defendants,
rearrested for
same offense
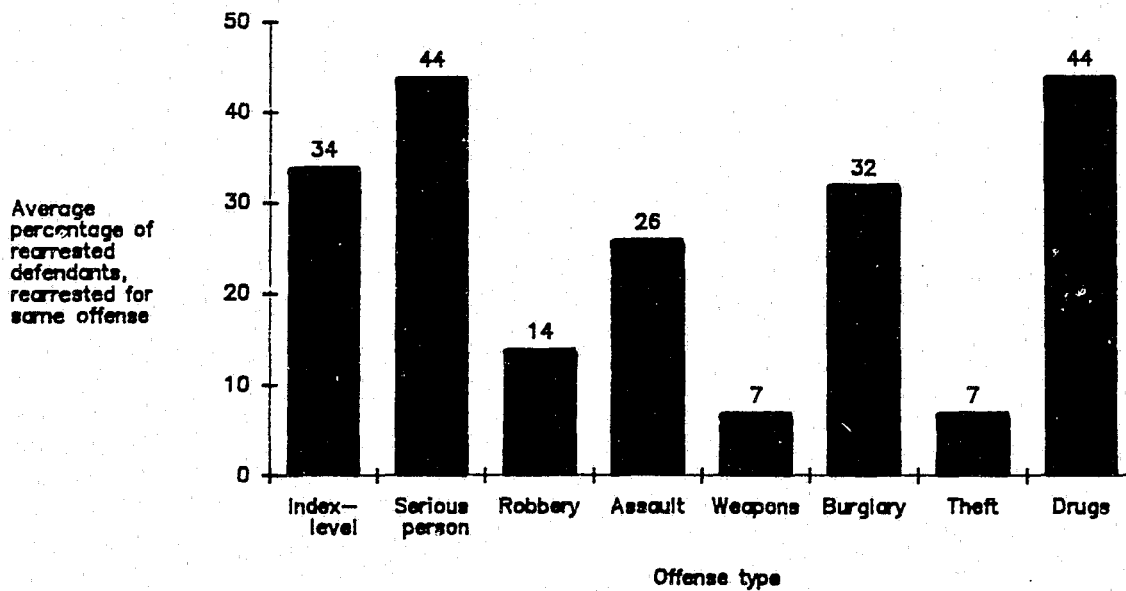
[Note: This excludes from anayisis defendants not rearrested]

Figure 3.6b   Of defendants rearrested at the next stage, percentage with rearrest for
                same offense as last offense, by offense type, among 1984
                Dade County defendants

Average
percentage of
rearrested
defendants,
rearrested for
same offense
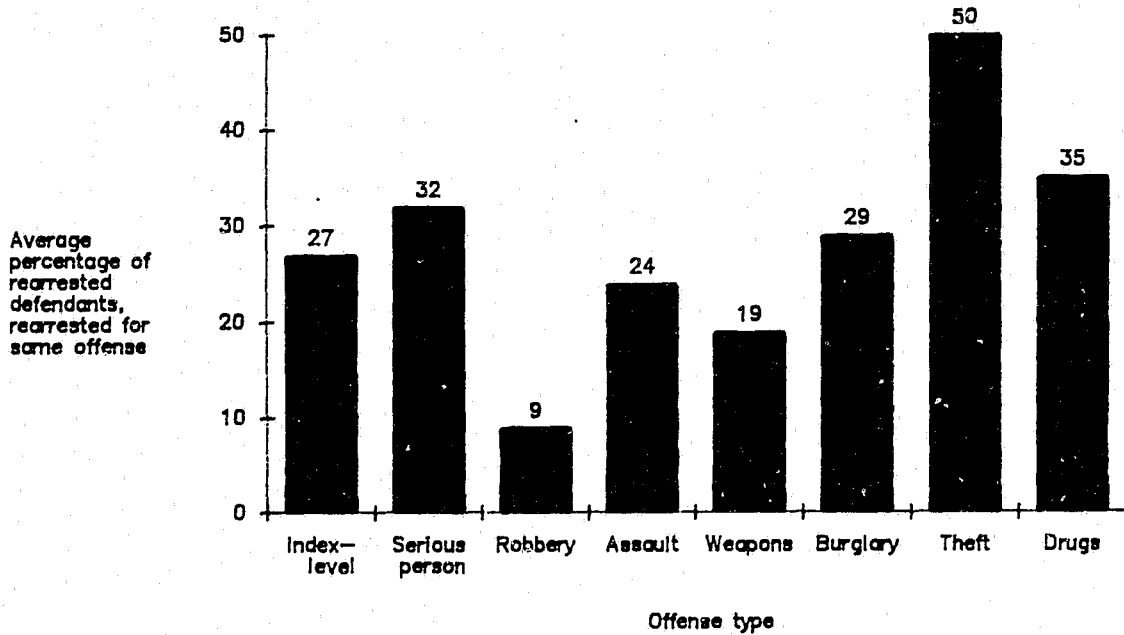
Offense type

[Note: This excludes from analysis defendants not rearrested]

Figure 3.6c   Of defendants rearrested at the next stage, percentage with rearrest for
                same offense as last offense, by offense type, among 1987
                Dade County felony defendants

Average
percentage of
rearrested
defendants,
rearrested for
same offense

Offense type
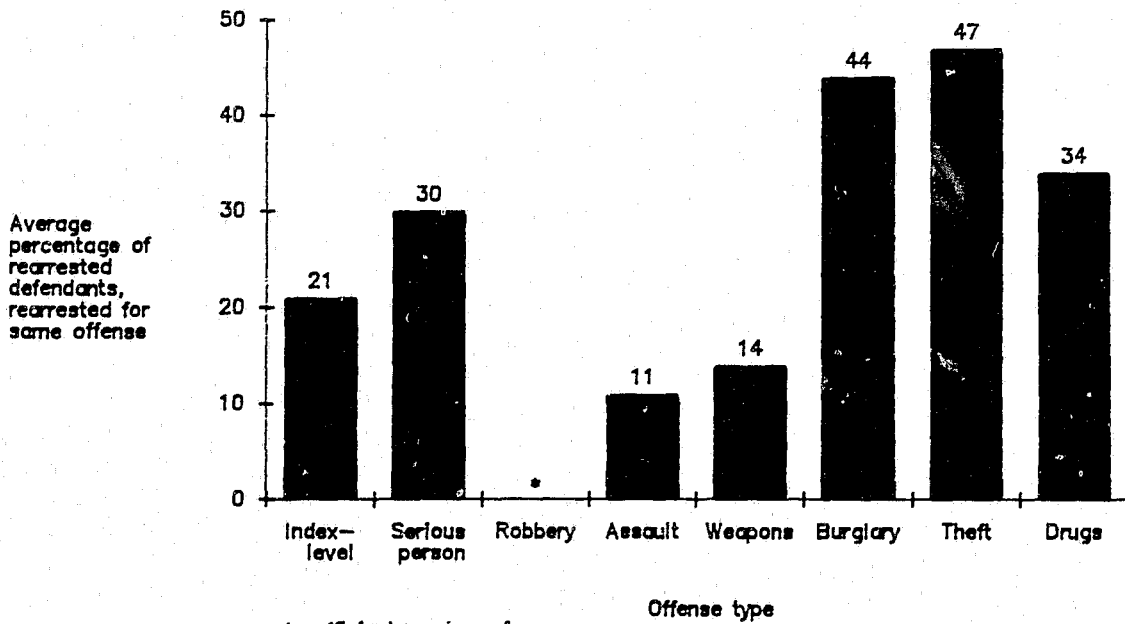
* Insufficient number of cases

[Note: This excludes from analysis defendants not rearrested]

Figure 3.7

Cumulative percentages of all defendants rearrested during follow-up periods, by time until first rearrest, by cohort   45
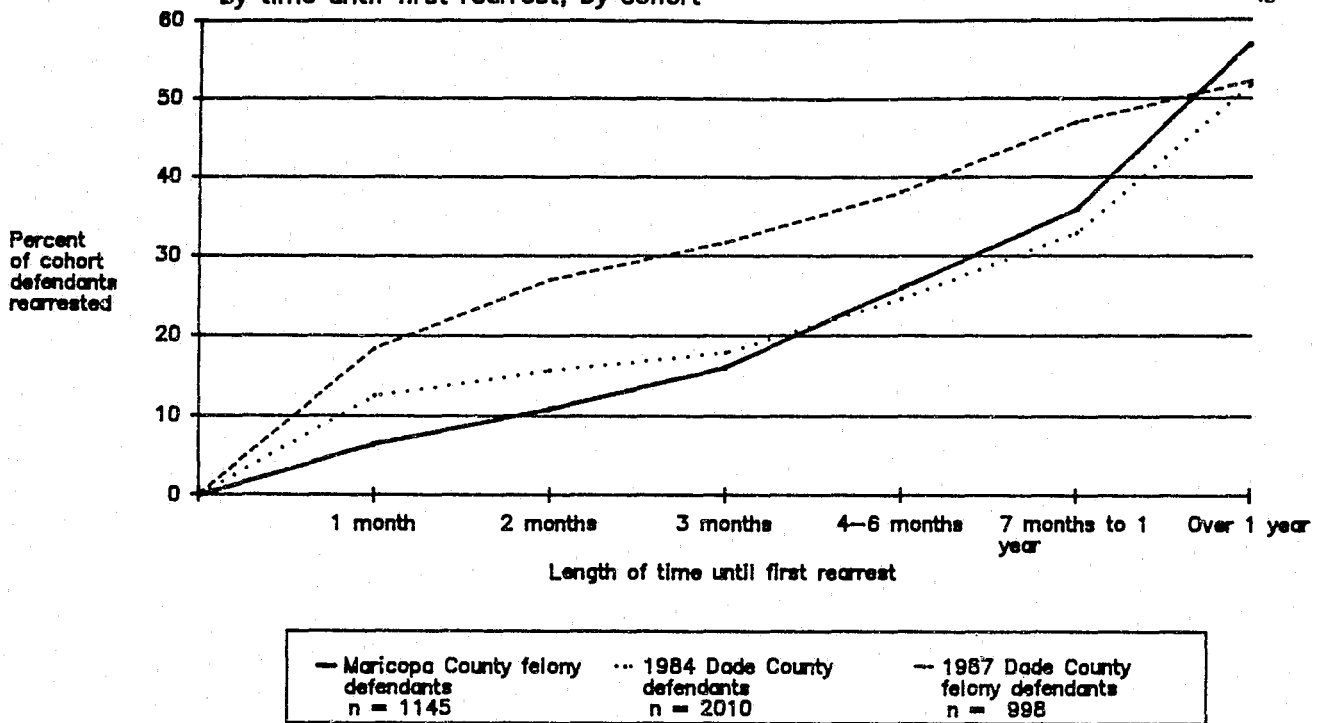
Figure 3.7 compares the timing of first rearrests for any kind of offense during the follow-up periods in the three jurisdictions. Note that although roughly similar proportions of defendants are ultimately rearrested in each of the sites by the end of the follow-up periods, the 1987 Dade felony defendants, who, as we have just mentioned, distinguished themselves by high rates of drug and theft crime rearrests, also distinguish themselves by earlier and sharply increasing rates of rearrest generally throughout the follow-up period. (Again, we should point out that what makes this especially remarkable is the fact--partially obscured by this collapsed figure--that the follow-up period for the 1987 defendants was 18 months as contrasted with four years for the other two cohorts.) Figures 3.8a through 3.10b show the timing of rearrests for a selected number of offenses in each of the cohorts during the follow-up periods. *A first finding is that the slope of the line is very roughly similar regardless of the offense-type examined. That is, the rates of first rearrest depend quite directly on the length of time defendants are at risk.* However, within that general picture, rearrests for different kinds of offenses can be seen to occur at varying rates. Among Maricopa felony defendants the timing of theft and of drug crime rearrests seem to go hand-in-hand, showing an earlier and more rapidly increasing rate--reaching approximately 50 percent rearrested by month five--than rearrests for other kinds of crimes. Among the 1984 Dade County defendants, theft and drug crime rearrests begin at a fast pace compared to other offenses. In

Maricopa County, the timing of first rearrests for drug crimes seemed linked with theft rearrests; in the Dade County cohorts the timing of drug arrests in comparison with the timing of other kinds of rearrest seemed distinctly middle-paced.

II. USING DRUG-RELATED ATTRIBUTES OF CRIMINAL CASES TO PREDICT LATER REARRESTS: CLASSIFICATION OF THE COHORT DEFENDANTS ON THE BASIS OF DRUG CHARGES AND PRIOR ARRESTS

In the second part of the recidivism analysis in Volume II, we addressed the more commonly held assumption that drug related attributes of "current" criminal cases/defendants are closely tied to the risk of future offending. To do this we elaborated on the classification of drug-relatedness employed in the analysis of the role of drug-related criminal cases reported in Chapter Two and Volume I by grouping cohort defendants on the basis of two measures. The first grouped defendants according to an eight category classification based on a two-part current charges indicator (whether involving drug charges or not) and a four-part prior arrest history indicator (whether involving no prior arrests, arrests for other crimes only, arrests for drug crimes only, arrests for other and drug crimes). The second measure created a 16-category classification by adding the additional information of defendant drug use as measured by drug tests in the 1987 sample of Dade County felony defendants.[16]

The Distribution of Defendants When Drug-Relatedness Is Measured on the Basis of Initial Drug Charges and Prior Arrests

Figures 3.11 through 3.13 show how defendants in the three recidivism cohorts were distributed according to the current charge/prior arrests classification of drug-relatedness. In both the Maricopa County and Dade County 1984 cohorts the model (largest) groups in the classification were defendants with no drug charges and no prior arrests of any kind (31 percent of each cohort), followed by defendants with no drug charges and prior arrests for other but not drug offenses (24 percent of the Maricopa defendants and 31 percent of the 1984 Dade County defendants). The third largest grouping in the two cohorts consisted of defendants with no current (cohort-entry) drug charges and prior arrests for drug and other offenses (13 percent and 18 percent respectively). The next largest grouping in both sites consisted of defendants with current drug charges and no prior arrests of any kind.

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[16] In a subsequent report, we weigh the usefulness of drug-related attributes of defendants' cases against other available information in developing a risk classification of subsequent rearrest.

Figure 3.8a   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Maricopa County defendants rearrested during
               follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offenses
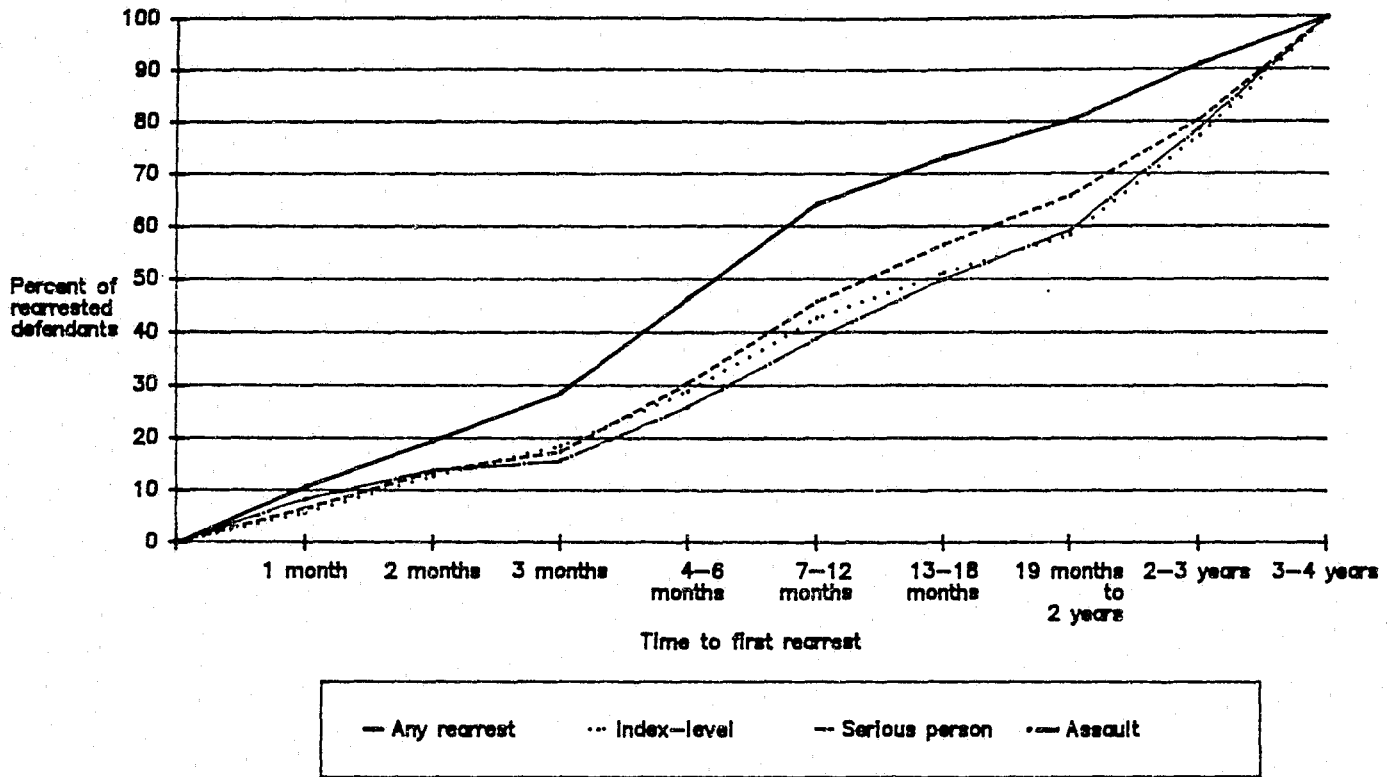
Figure 3.8b   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Maricopa County defendants rearrested during
               follow—up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense
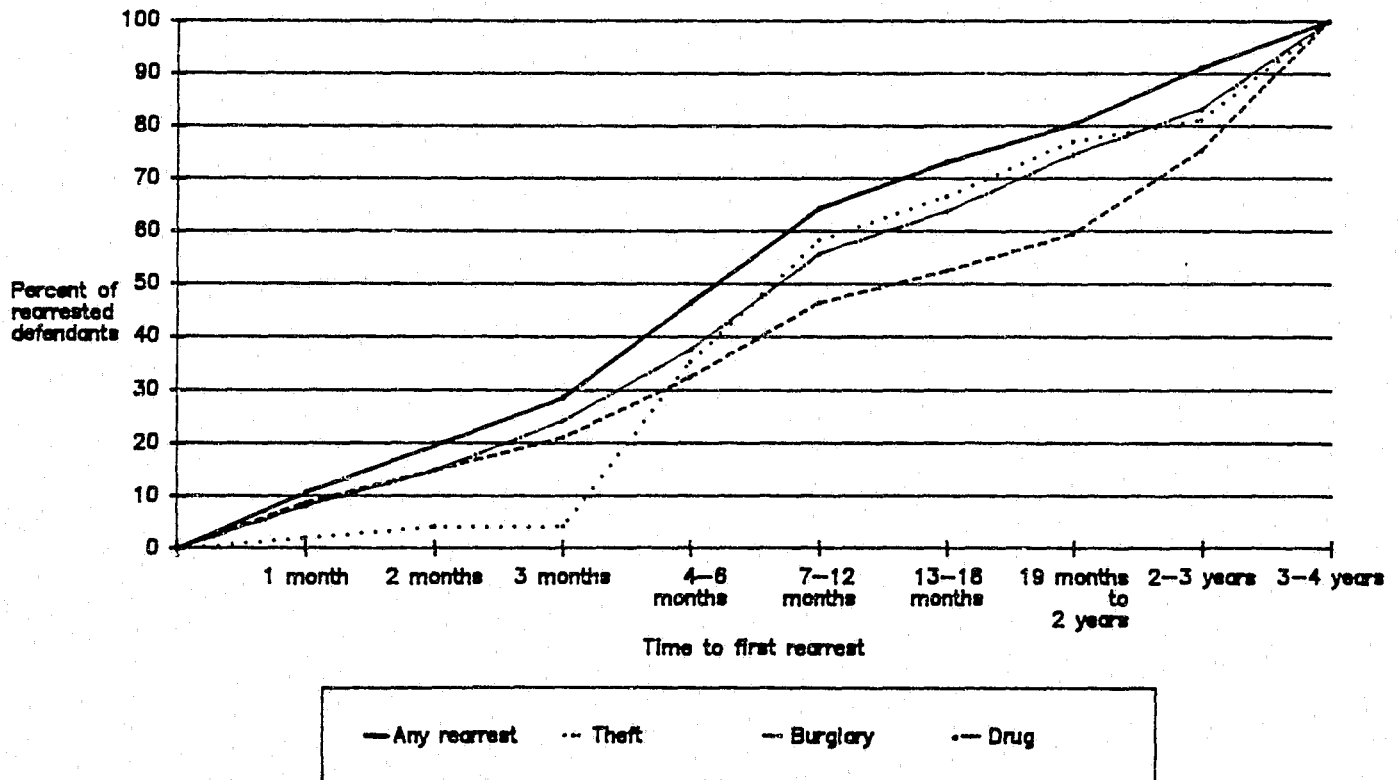
Figure 3.9a   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Legend: — Any rearrest   ·· Index-level   — Serious person   ·— Assault
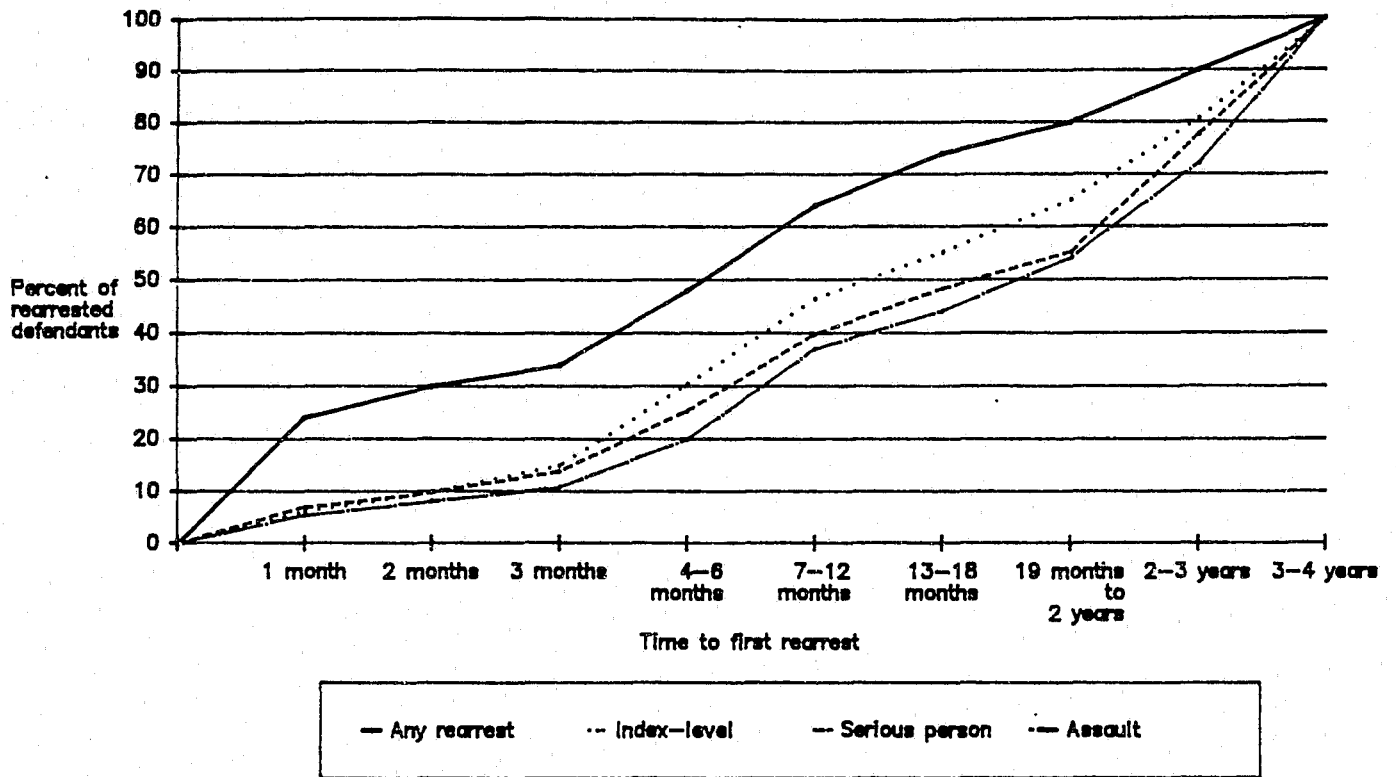
Figure 3.9b   Cumulative percentages of 1984 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Legend: — Any rearrest   ·· Theft   — Burglary   ·—Drug
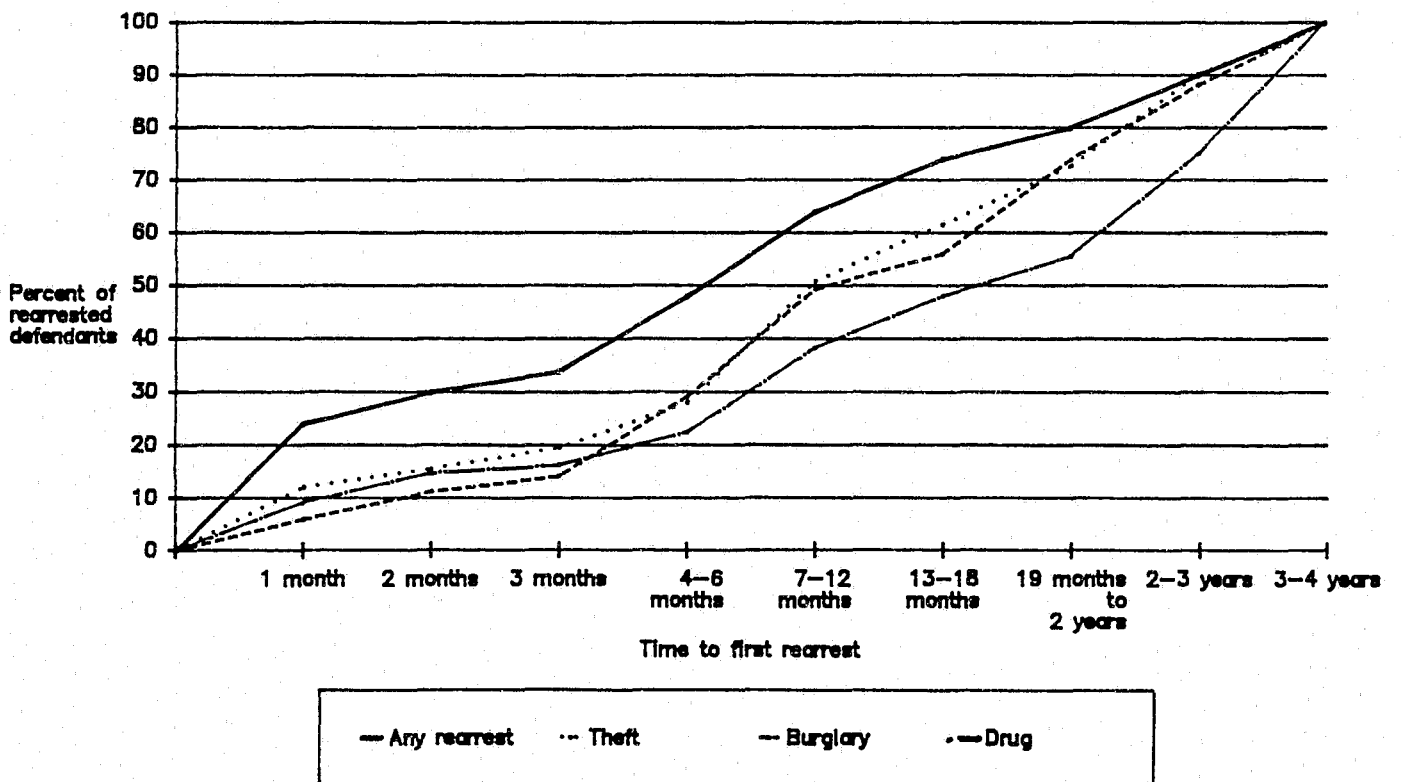
Figure 3.10a Cumulative percentages of 1987 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Percent of rearrested defendants

Time to first rearrest

— Any rearrest   ·· Index—level   — Serious person   ·— Assault
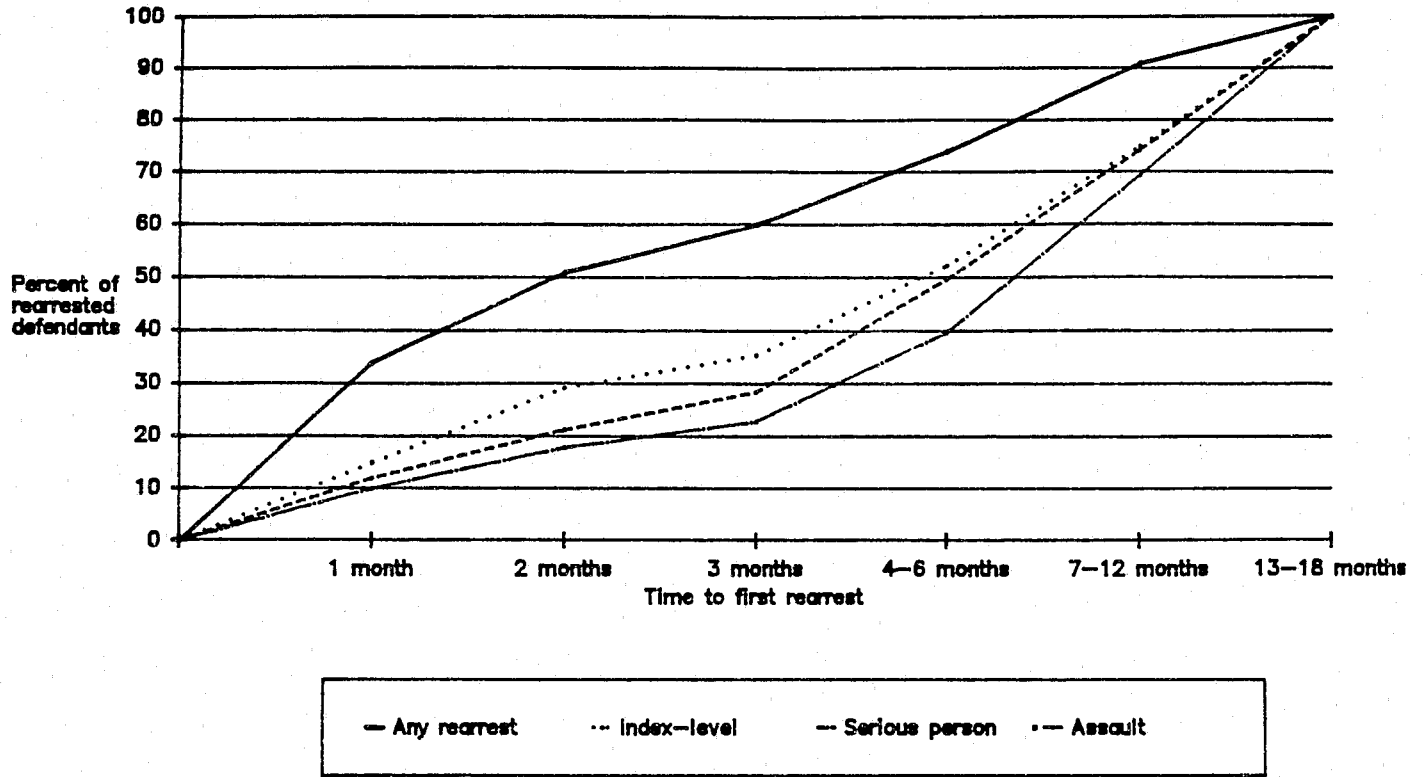
Figure 3.10b Cumulative percentages of 1987 Dade County defendants rearrested during follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by selected offense

Percent of rearrested defendants

Time to first rearrest

— Any rearrest   ·· Theft   — Burglary   ·— Drugs
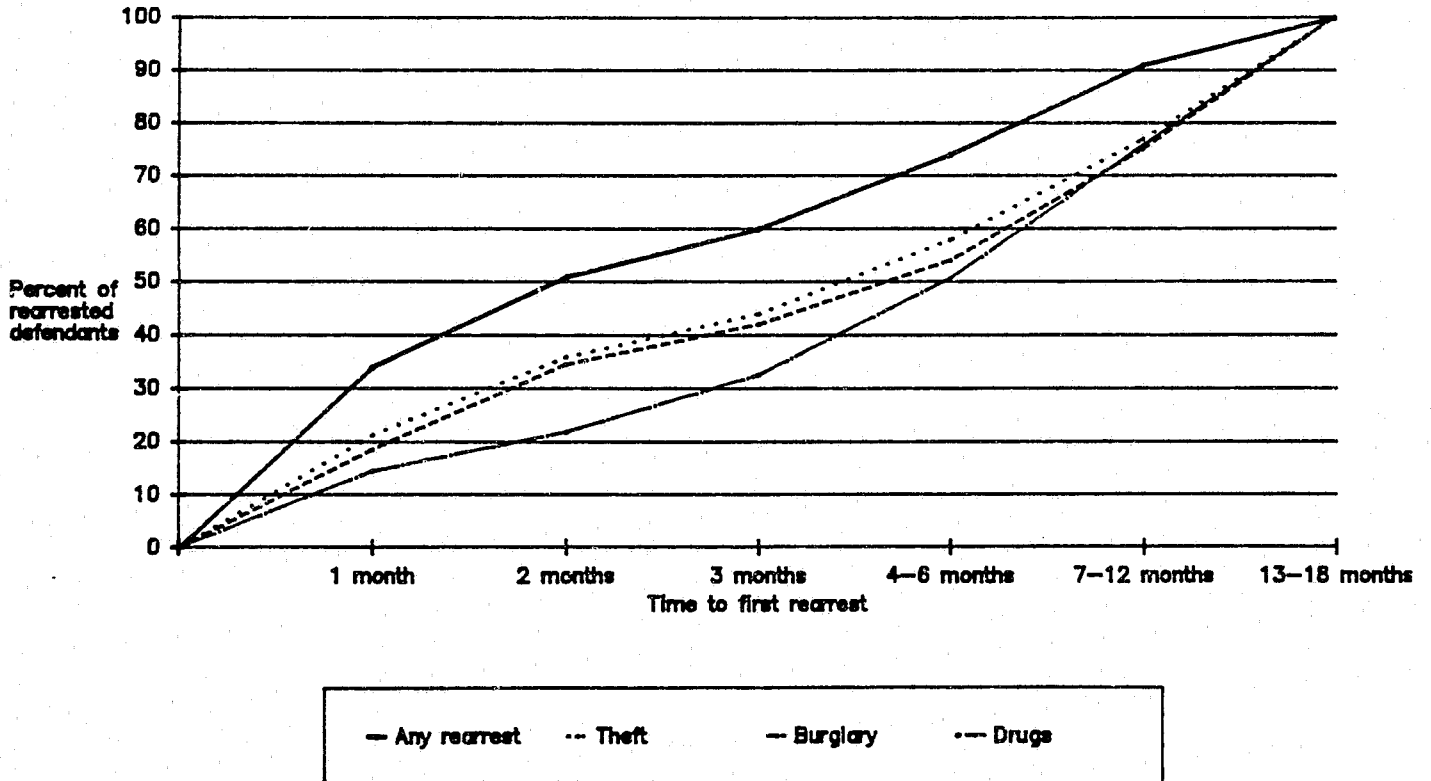
This configuration of drug-related groupings <u>did not</u> resemble the classification of the 1987 Dade County felony defendants. The largest group (27 percent) of 1987 Dade defendants consisted of defendants with no drug charges who had prior arrests for other (not drug) offenses. Only half the proportion of the 1987 defendants fell into the category with no drug charges and no prior arrests compared to the other cohorts. The second largest category (22 percent) included defendants with no drug charges and with prior arrests for drug and other offenses. Because more 1987 defendants had drug charges, more also were distributed among the derivative drug-related groupings. About 13 percent fell into the group having drug charges and prior arrests for drug and other offenses; 10 percent had drug charges and prior arrests for other (not drug) offenses.

Using the eight group classification produced by considering defendants' current charges (no, yes) and prior arrests (none, for other offenses only, for drug offenses only, for other and drug offenses), 39 percent of the 1984 Dade cohort and 44 percent of the 1984 Maricopa cohort were classifiable as "drug-related" in some fashion. Fifty-nine percent of the 1987 Dade cohort was drug-related. In each of the sites, the charge/priors drug-related classification produced categories of defendants showing a range of rates of later rearrest, from much lower than the relevant base rates to much higher. (See Table 3.3.) Also, remarkably there was some general correspondence across sites in the relative ranking of defendant categories according to probability of rearrest. For example, defendants in group 1 (no drug charges/no prior arrests (any kind) and defendants in group 5 (drug charges/no prior arrests) showed the lowest rates of later rearrest in each of the sites. *Similarly, defendants in groups 4 (no drug charges/prior arrests for drug and other offenses) and 8 (drug charges and prior arrests for drug and other offenses) ranked highest in rearrests in each of the sites.* The least "recidivistic" group of any site was group 1 of the 1987 Dade felony defendants (no drug charges/no prior arrests). The most rearrests were recorded among 1984 Maricopa felony defendants in group 8 (drug charges/prior arrests for drug and other offenses). Although this drug-related classification of cohort defendants distinguished relative rearrest probabilities well across the samples when the perspective was any kind of rearrest, data presented in Volume II show that the ability to differentiate and the relative ranking of drug-related categories varied depending on the kind of offense and kind of rearrest offense.

Figure 3.11   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
1984 Maricopa County felony defendants
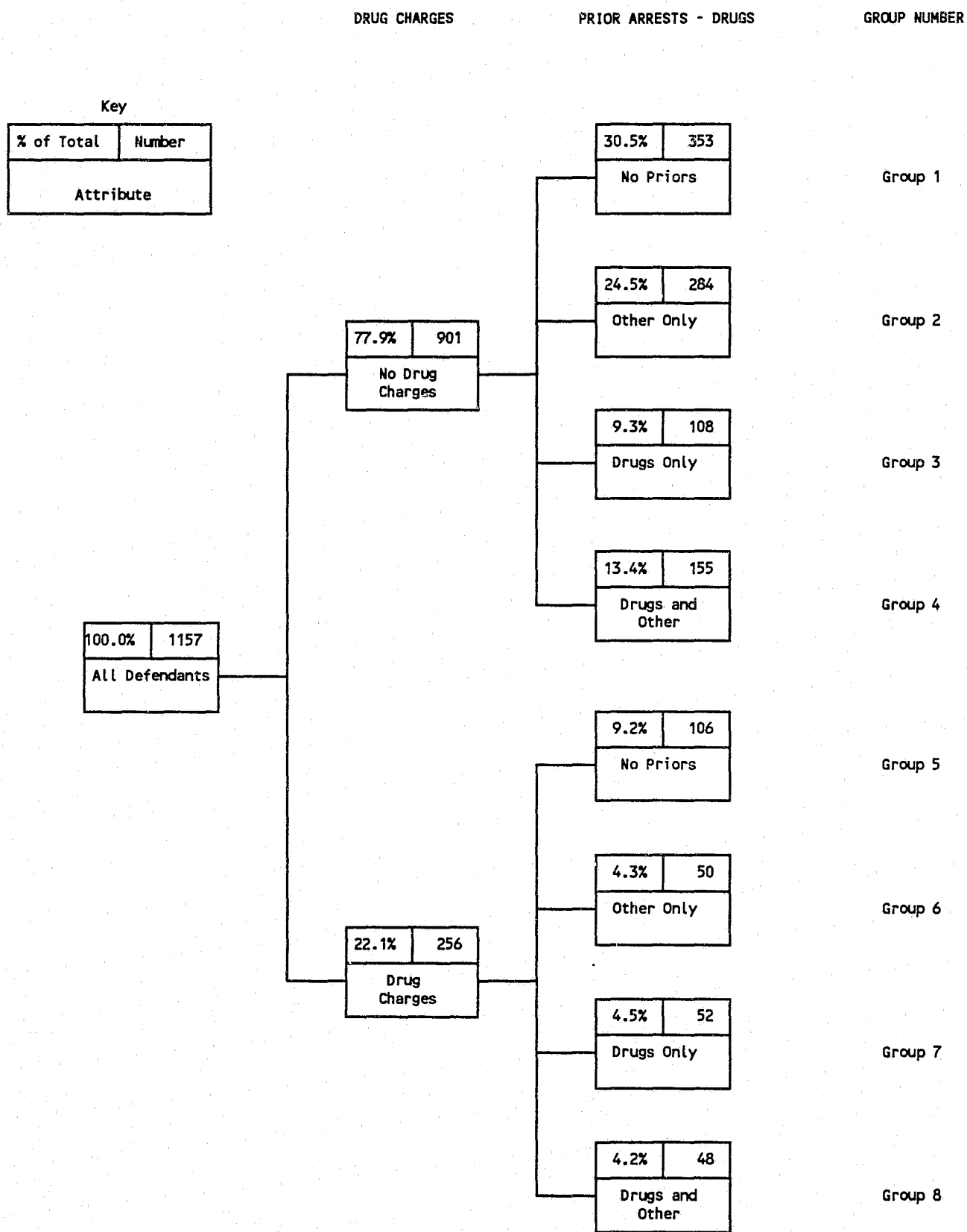
Figure 3.12   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of 1984 Dade County felony defendants
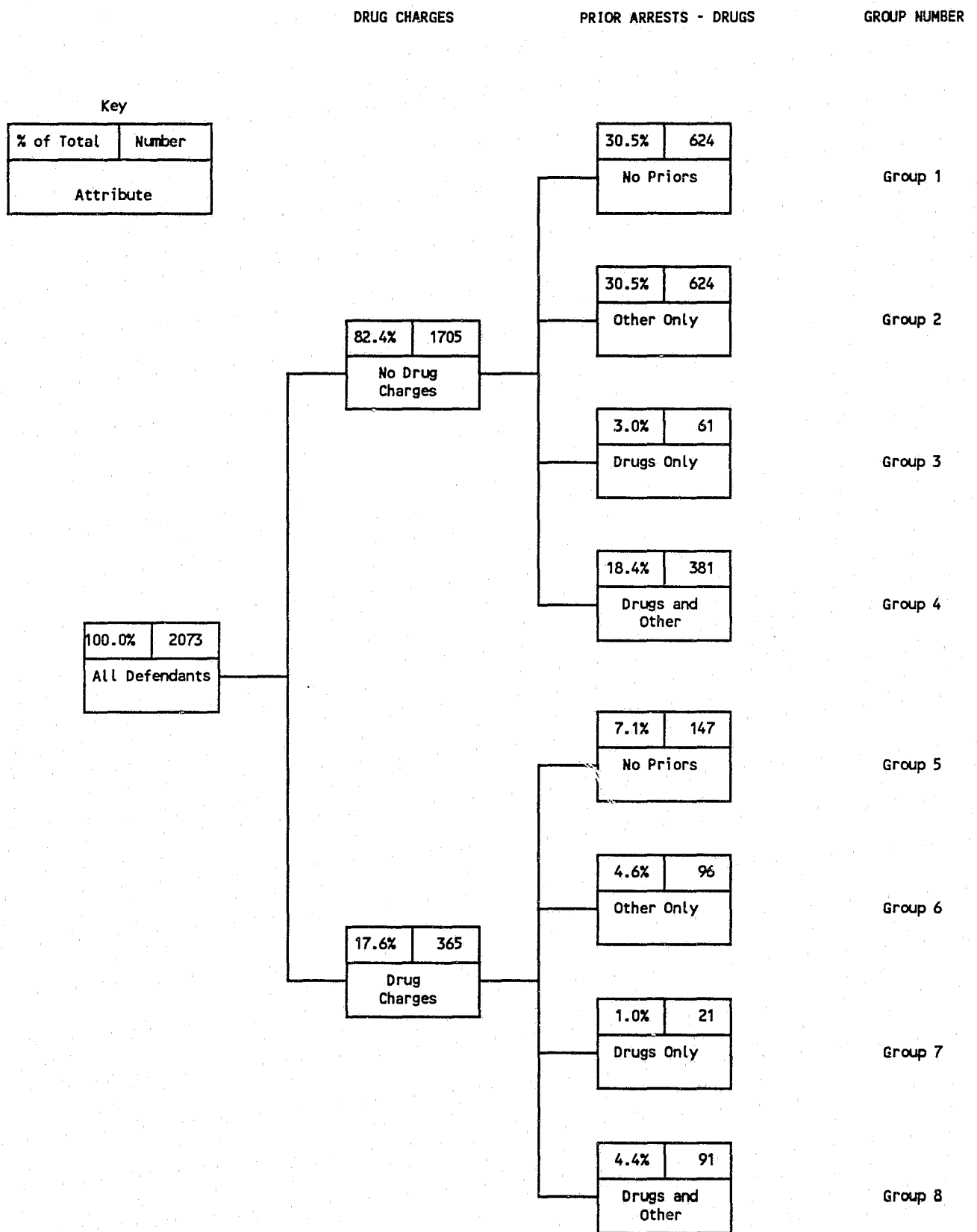
Figure 3.13   Two-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests) drug-related classification of
1987 Dade County felony defendants

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

% of Total	Number
Attribute	

13.9%	139
No Priors	

Group 1

27.2%	272
Other Only	

Group 2

65.4%	652
No Drug Charges	

2.3%	23
Drugs Only	

Group 3

21.9%	218
Drugs and Other	

Group 4

100.0%	1000
All Defendants	

9.2%	92
No Priors	

Group 5

10.3%	103
Other Only	

Group 6

34.6%	345
Drug Charges	

2.5%	25
Drugs Only	

Group 7

12.5%	125
Drugs and Other	
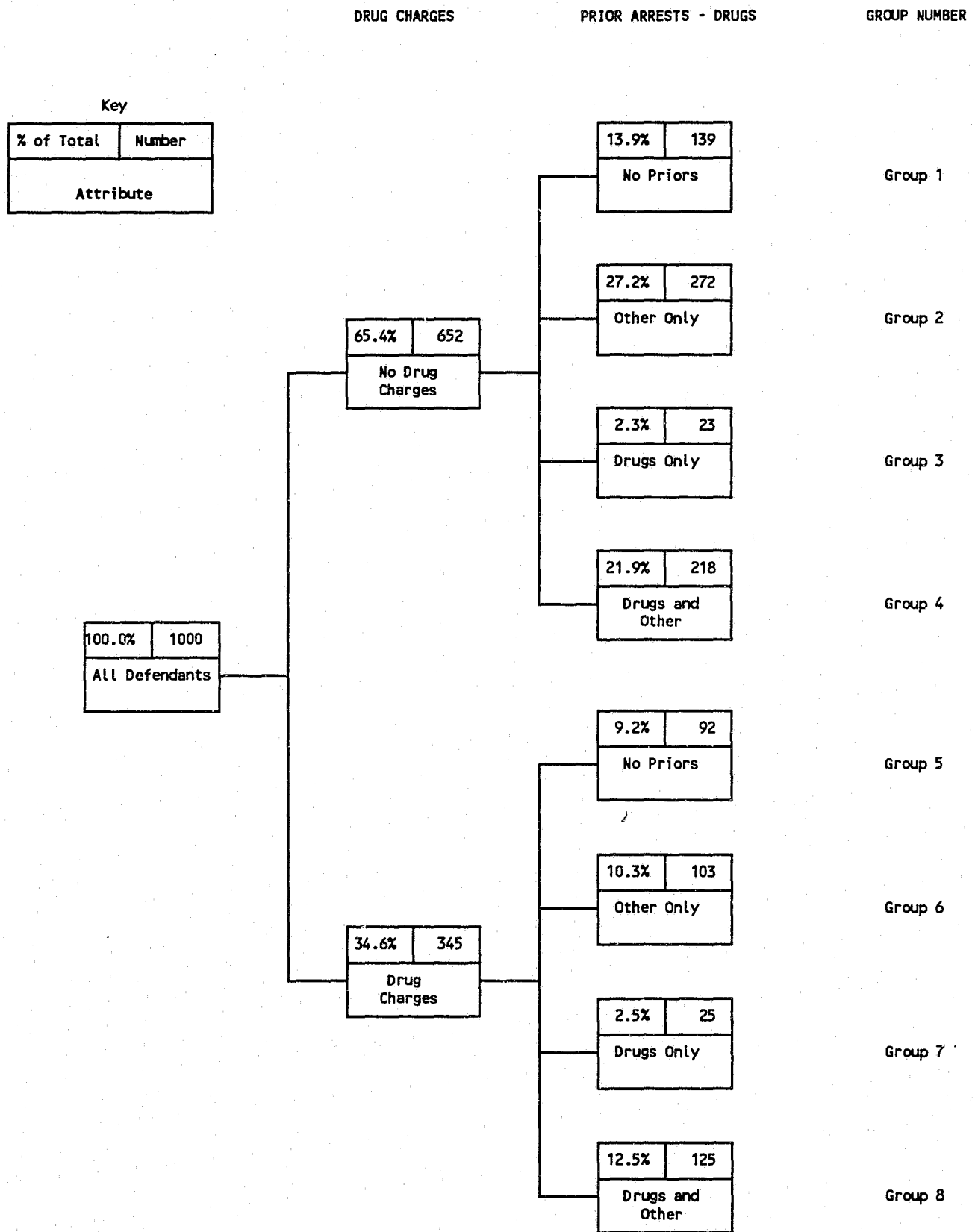
Group 8

For example, partitioning defendants into prior arrest and drug charge subgroups produced eight categories with widely varying rates of subsequent rearrest for index crimes,; however, the results are not quite as uniform across cohorts or as successful in producing groups that differ clearly in their rates of rearrest from each other. Despite the cohort to cohort variation in the effects of the drug-related classification, by combining a few of the charge/prior arrests subcategories in the framework, groups of defendants having low, medium and higher rearrest rates for index offenses could be derived in each site. A similar finding was noted when the focus was on rearrests for serious crimes against the person as a broad category. However, given the greater specificity of the offense category and the relative scarcity of robbery offenses in the cohorts, this classification has a difficult time differentiating lower from higher rate offenders. When the focus was on weapons offenses, among Maricopa County defendants who rarely (4 percent of the time) were rearrested for weapons offenses, the classification proved of little value. Among the 1984 Dade County defendants, low, medium and higher rate categories were identified. Defendants in groups 1, 5 and 7 showed lower rates of rearrests for weapons offenses. Defendants in group 4 (no drug charges/drug and other prior arrests) showed the highest rate (25 percent), roughly twice the cohort base rate (13 percent). When applied to the 1987 Dade defendants, the classification did not discriminate the rate of reoffending as well.

Among Maricopa County defendants, assault rearrests did not vary notably according to the drug-related subgroup. Among the 1984 Dade County defendants, the classification was somewhat more successful. Group 1 defendants (5 percent) and group 7 defendants (0 percent) show very low assault rearrest rates. Group 4 defendants were distinguished by a rearrest rate nearly twice as high as the cohort base rate (12 percent). Thus, later assault rearrests seemed tied to persons without drug charges who had prior arrest for drug and other offenses. Among the 1987 Dade cohort, the classification was not quite as successful.

Among Maricopa County defendants, group 4, group 8 and group 2 defendants showed burglary rearrests at higher than the cohort base rate. The same finding holds for the 1984 Dade cohort, although with systematically higher rearrest rates for burglary. What these groups had in common were prior arrests for drug and other offenses. In Maricopa, defendant groups 1, 3 and 5 showed much lower than base rate burglary rearrests. In the 1984 Dade sample groups 1, 3, 5, and 7 showed very low rates of burglary rearrest. Among the 1987 Dade felony defendants, the highest

Table 3.3   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by rearrrest for any offense during follow-up, by cohort

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984 Number	Maricopa 1984 Percent	Site Dade 1984 Number	Site Dade 1984 Percent	Dade 1987 Number	Dade 1987 Percent
Total (base rate) *Any rearrest*	(1145)	57.2	(1986)	49.8	(997)	53.3
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(349)	42.4 *-Low*	(608)	32.8	(139)	18.0 *- Low*
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(281)	64.1	(606)	58.9	(272)	56.6
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(108)	58.3	(61)	59.1	(23)	30.4
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(154)	74.0 *2*	(359)	75.6 *1*	(218)	75.2 *1*
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(104)	45.2	(145)	26.4 *- Low*	(92)	21.7
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(50)	60.0	(95)	61.1	(103)	65.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(51)	62.7	(21)	44.1	(25)	36.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(48)	85.4 *1*	(91)	66.1 *2*	(125)	68.0 *≥*

rate (36 percent) was found among group 4 defendants as well, with group 2 defendants earning second position (at 27 percent). Groups 1 and 7 showed very low burglary rates (2 and 0 percent respectively); group 3 and 5 showed low rates (9 and 7 percent respectively).

The charge/prior arrests classification did not distinguish well among lower and higher theft rearrest categories among Maricopa felony defendants. In both Dade cohorts the classification did well: group 4 defendants (with no drug charges but with drug and other prior arrests) showed the highest rates of rearrests for theft offenses during the follow-up. Thirty-nine percent of the 1984 defendants and 47 percent of the 1987 defendants in this category were later rearrested for at least one theft offense. Defendants least likely to be rearrested for theft fell into groups 5 and 7 in both Dade cohorts.

In each of the cohorts, defendants in group 8 (drug charges/prior arrests drug and other offenses) showed the greatest rates of rearrest for drug possession offenses (ranging from 36 percent among the 1984 Dade defendants, and 49 percent of the 1987 Dade defendants to 52 percent of in Maricopa). In the Dade 1984 cohort, defendants in groups 4, 6 and 7 showed possession rearrest rates equally high. Very unlikely to be rearrested for possession offenses were defendants in group 1 in the Dade 1984 cohort (9 percent), group 1 in the 1987 Dade cohort (7 percent) and in groups 1 (5 percent), 2 and 3 (8 percent) among the Maricopa felony defendants.

The Charge/Prior Arrest Drug Classification of Cohort Defendants and Time Until First Rearrest

Table 3.4 and (other tables and figures in Volume II) shows that the drug-related charge/prior arrest classification also discriminated well among cohort defendants regarding the timing of reoffending among rearrested cohort defendants as well, although, once again, depending on the site and the rearrest offense measure. *The average (median days) times until first rearrest among the two 1984 cohort defendants differed only slightly--Maricopa (216 days) and Dade (196 days). Among the 1987 Dade felony cohort, however, the average time to first rearrest was remarkably sooner, only about 60 days.* (The early timing of reoffending in the 1987 Dade sample partially explains the high overall rate of rearrest within a comparatively short follow-up period.) *Reoffending 1987 Dade felony defendants were rearrested in less than one-third of the time it took defendants who were rearrested in the other two cohorts.*

Table   3.4   The "drug-relatedness" of criminal cases as defined by current drug charges and prior drug arrests, by time (median days) until first rearrest during follow-up, by cohort

Drug-related Classification	Maricopa 1984		Site Dade 1984		Dade 1987	
	Number	Median	Number	Median	Number	Median
Total (base rate) Day/names	(653)	216.0	(1032)	196.0	(530)	60.0
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests	(148)	235.0	(199)	169.0	(25)	46.0
2. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(180)	253.0	(357)	207.0	(153)	52.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(61)	204.0	(36)	198.0	(7)	60.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(114)	190.0	(270)	186.0	(163)	48.0
5. Drug charges/ no prior arrests	(47)	216.0	(38)	418.0	(20)	106.5
6. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only	(30)	116.5	(58)	337.0	(67)	76.0
7. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only	(32)	176.0	(9)	401.0	(9)	147.0
8. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses	(41)	139.0	(60)	88.0	(85)	79.0

Among the 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants, persons charged with drug offenses took a much shorter time (with a median of 155 days) than persons without drug charges to be rearrested (with a median of 231 days). Among defendants in both Dade County cohorts, the relationship is just the opposite, however. It appears that persons charged with drug offenses who were rearrested were rearrested notably later (with medians of 243 days in 1984 and 81 days in 1987) than persons without such charges (190 and 51 days respectively).

In the Maricopa County cohort, rearrested defendants in group 6 (drug charges/prior arrests other offenses) were the earliest to be rearrested (with a median of 117 days), followed by group 8 defendants (with a median of 139 days). Rearrested defendants in group 2 and 1 took the longest times to be rearrested (with medians of 253 and 235 days respectively).

Among the 1984 Dade defendants who were rearrested, defendants in group 8 (with drug charges/prior arrests for other and drug offenses) were the quickest to be rearrested (with a median of 88 days to first rearrest). The next quickest group of rearrestees, group 1 with a median of 169 days) required nearly three times as long on average to first rearrest. Group 6 rearrestees required nearly one year (337 days), while groups 5 and 7 averaged over 400 days to the time of first rearrest during the follow-up period.

Among the 1987 Dade felony cohort defendants, and contrary to conventional wisdom perhaps, rearrested defendants in group 1 (no drug charges/no prior arrests) were the quickest to be rearrested (with a median of 46 days to first rearrest), closely followed by group 2 and 4 defendants. Rearrested defendants in group 7 (with drug charges and prior arrests for drug offenses only) seemed to take the longest period of time to rearrest, averaging 147 days.

III. A THREE CRITERIA CLASSIFICATION OF DRUG-RELATEDNESS (ADDING DRUG TEST DATA): DRUG-RELATEDNESS AND LATER REARRESTS AMONG THE 1987 DADE FELONY DEFENDANTS

The Three-Criteria (Charges, Prior Arrests, Drug Use) Classification of Later Rearrests

Currently, one of the most common policy assumptions is that drug abuse among persons entering the criminal justice system is an important key to their criminality. Although current charges and prior criminal record are fairly easily accessible to courts, accurate data about defendant drug use has been much more difficult to come by. In this part of the inquiry, we made use of booking stage drug test data collected from defendants in the 1987 Dade County felony

sample to add to the examination of the relationship between drug-relatedness and later public safety concerns.[17] Thus, by incorporating knowledge of defendant drug use (positive or negative for cocaine) in Figure 3.14, a third dimension is added to the charge/prior arrest classification of the Dade 1987 cohort defendants.[18] The distribution of the Dade felony defendants into 16 groups defined by charges, prior arrests and drug test results is exhibited in the right-most column. *A first finding was that, based on possession of one of the three defining attributes (drug charges, prior drug arrests, positive drug tests), fully 83 percent of the 1987 Dade County felony cohort could be defined as drug-related.*

Clearly, all drug-related types were not equally represented in the Dade felony defendant cohort. The largest single category (19 percent) consisted of defendants with no drug charges, having prior arrests for drugs and other offenses, and testing positively for drugs. The second largest defendant category (18 percent) included defendants with no drug charges, with prior arrests for other (not drug offenses), and testing positively for drugs. The third largest category (12 percent) consisted of defendants with drug charges, with prior arrests for drug and other offenses and testing positively for drugs. Together, these three categories accounted for nearly half of the Dade felony defendants. Of the 16 possible drug-related subcategories, only eight included 3 percent or more of the defendants in the cohort, suggesting that while other categories of defendants existed they were quite rare and were unlikely to have an important impact on later recidivism among defendants in the cohort.[19]

Using the eight remaining categories, Table 3.5 shows that a variety of measures of subsequent rearrests varied notably with the drug-relatedness of criminal cases. *One theme was that for all measures of reoffending except later drug crimes, group 8 defendants (no drug charges/prior arrests for drug and other crimes/positive drug tests) showed the highest rates of rearrest during the 18-month follow-up period.* Group 8 defendants (76 percent) were followed closely by group 16, 4 and 12 defendants (from 70 to 63 percent) in showing high rates of rearrest for any kind of offense during the follow-up. The lowest rates are recorded by group 1 defendants (no drug charges/no prior arrests/negative tests),

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[17] At the time of this study, such information measuring defendant drug use just before arrest was rarely available on a systematic basis in the United States (primarily only in the District of Columbia). Urine testing was conducted in Dade County only for research purposes.

[18] We remind the reader that the sample of defendants having drug test information (n = 722) was smaller than the total sample (998) because of the voluntariness of testing. Defendants unwilling or unable to provide specimens for testing were under no obligation to do so. We employed drug test results for cocaine because of its prevalence. For a detailed description of the drug testing procedures and results, see Goldkamp, Gottfredson and Weiland (1990b).

[19] The eight smallest categories were dropped from the subsequent analyses because of the small numbers of cases. Even though these categories included few defendants in this sample, this does not mean that given a larger sample or a different cohort they might not have proved important in the analysis of later crime.

Figure 3.14   Three-criteria (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests) drug-related classification of
1987 Dade County felony defendants

DRUG CHARGES   PRIOR ARRESTS - DRUGS   DRUG TEST RESULTS   GROUP NUMBER

Key

% to Total	Number
Attribute	

9.1%	66
Negative	

Group 1

13.9%	139
No Priors	

6.5%	47
Positive	

Group 2

7.9%	57
Negative	

Group 3

27.2%	272
Other Only	

18.1%	131
Positive	

Group 4

65.4%	652
No Drug Charges	

0.3%	2
Negative	

Group 5

2.3%	23
Drugs Only	

1.7%	12
Positive	

Group 6

2.6%	19
Negative	

Group 7

21.9%	218
Drugs and Other	

19.0%	137
Positive	

Group 8

100.0%	1000
All Defendants	

2.2%	16
Negative	

Group 9

9.2%	92
No Priors	

7.2%	52
Positive	

Group 10

1.5%	11
Negative	

Group 11

10.3%	103
Other Only	

9.3%	67
Positive	

Group 12

34.6%	345
Drug Charges	

0.4%	3
Negative	

Group 13

2.5%	25
Drugs Only	

1.8%	13
Positive	

Group 14

0.8%	6
Negative	

Group 15

12.5%	125
Drugs and Other	

11.5%	83
Positive	

Group 16

Table 3.5   The "drug-relatedness" of 1987 felony cases in Dade County defined by drug charges, prior drug arrests, and drug test results, by selected measures of rearrest during the 18-month follow-up period

Drug-related Classification	Offense							
	Rearrested		Index Offenses		Serious Person		Robbery	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	(66)	13.6	(66)	0.0	(66)	3.0	(66)	2.0
2. No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(47)	19.1	(47)	6.0	(47)	6.4	(47)	2.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	(57)	43.9	(57)	12.0	(57)	5.3	(57)	2.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(131)	63.4	(131)	27.0	(131)	16.8	(131)	8.0
5. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
6. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
7. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
8. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(137)	75.9	(137)	40.0	(137)	27.0	(137)	14.0
9. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
10. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(52)	25.0	(52)	4.0	(52)	1.9	(52)	0.0
11. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
12. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(67)	62.7	(67)	19.0	(67)	22.4	(67)	8.0
13. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
14. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
15. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
16. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(83)	69.9	(83)	24.0	(83)	21.7	(83)	5.0
Total (base rate)	(722)	53.3	(722)	20.0	(722)	15.8	(722)	6.0

* Small number of cases (n < 20)

Table 3.5 The "drug-relatedness" of 1987 felony cases in Dade County defined by drug charges, prior drug arrests, and drug test results, by selected measures of rearrest during the 18-month follow-up period (cont'd)

Drug-related Classification	Offense							
	Assault		Weapons		Burglary		Theft	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	(66)	3.0	(66)	3.0	(66)	0.0	(66)	5.0
2. No drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(47)	4.0	(47)	6.4	(47)	2.0	(47)	15.0
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	(57)	9.0	(57)	5.3	(57)	18.0	(57)	19.0
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(131)	11.0	(131)	9.9	(131)	32.0	(131)	44.0
5. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
6. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
7. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
8. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(137)	20.0	(137)	14.6	(137)	42.0	(137)	47.0
9. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
10. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(52)	2.0	(52)	3.8	(52)	8.0	(52)	10.0
11. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
12. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(67)	16.0	(67)	13.4	(67)	16.0	(67)	25.0
13. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
14. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
15. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	*	----
16. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(83)	14.0	(83)	15.7	(83)	22.0	(83)	24.0
Total (base rate)	(722)	11.0	(722)	10.4	(722)	20.0	(722)	28.0

* Small number of cases (n < 20)

Table 3.5 The "drug-relatedness" of 1987 felony cases in Dade County defined by drug charges, prior drug arrests, and drug test results, by selected measures of rearrest during the 18-month follow-up period (cont'd)

Drug-related Classification	Drugs		Drug possession		Drug sales/dist.		Median days to rearrest	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Median
1. No drug charges/ no prior arrests: negative	(66)	3.0	(66)	3.0	(66)	1.5	(9)	34
2. No drug charges/ no prior arrests: positive	(47)	4.3	(47)	4.3	(47)	2.1	(9)	194
3. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	(57)	8.8	(57)	8.8	(57)	3.5	(25)	188
4. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(131)	23.7	(131)	22.9	(131)	8.4	(82)	52
5. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(2)	0
6. No drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	(5)	28
7. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(15)	118
8. No drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(137)	34.3	(137)	33.6	(137)	5.8	(104)	51
9. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(3)	364
10. Drug charges/ no prior arrests/ positive	(52)	21.2	(52)	21.2	(52)	9.6	(13)	101
11. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(5)	172
12. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other offenses only/ positive	(67)	38.8	(67)	37.3	(67)	19.4	(42)	77
13. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(1)	212
14. Drug charges/ prior arrests: drug offenses only/ positive	*	----	*	----	*	----	(6)	83
15. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ negative	*	----	*	----	*	----	(3)	26
16. Drug charges/ prior arrests: other and drug offenses/ positive	(83)	50.6	(83)	48.2	(83)	21.7	(58)	61
Total (base rate)	(722)	25.5	(722)	24.7	(722)	8.5	(382)	60

* Small number of cases (n < 20)

group 2 defendants (same as group 1 but with positive tests) and group 10 defendants (drug charges/no prior arrests/positive tests), ranging from 14 to 25 percent rearrested. Group 8 defendants showed the highest rates of rearrest (40 percent) for index offenses, at twice the cohort baseline rate, and the highest for serious crimes against the person. Group 1 and group 2 defendants showed very low rearrest rates for index offenses (0 and 6 percent, respectively), while group 3 defendants showed a moderately low rate (12 percent).

The drug-related classification did not differentiate well among defendants with lower and higher rates of rearrests for weapons crimes. However, group 16, 8 and 12 defendants (16, 15, and 13 percent) showed rates for weapons offense rearrests above the base rate A roughly similar pattern was found for assault rearrests. Group 8 showed the highest rate, followed by groups 12 and 16.

Group 8 also showed the highest rearrest rate for burglary (42 percent). Group 4 defendants (no drug charges/other prior arrests/positive tests) were close behind with 32 percent rearrested for burglary during the follow-up. Groups 1, 2 and 10--having in common no prior arrests--showed the lowest rates of rearrests for burglary during the follow-up.

Group 8 and group 4 defendants once again ranked highest in the area of theft rearrests (44 and 47 percent respectively). Group 1 and group 10 defendants showed the lowest subsequent theft rearrest rates (5 and 10 percent respectively).

Table 3.5 shows a different pattern when rearrests for drug crimes are considered using this version of drug-related classification. Group 16 defendants (defendants with drug charges/drug and other arrests/positive tests) were ranked highest, with rates of drug crime rearrests at least twice that of the cohort average (and regardless of the kind of drug crime). Groups 8 and 12 were also highly ranked (with 34 and 37 percent subsequently rearrested) for possession offenses. Groups 1, 2 and 3 were among the lowest ranked, regardless of the kind of drug charge. From 3 to 9 percent were rearrested for drug possession, from 2 to 4 percent for sales/distribution during the 18 month follow-up.

The Three-Criteria Drug-related Classification and Time Until First Rearrest

Figures 3.15 and 3.16 show that, taken separately, having a prior record of arrests for drug crimes and testing positively for drugs was associated with an early and high rate of rearrest (of any kind) during the cohort period. Table 3.5 and Figures 3.17a and b show that classification of defendants using the three drug-related criteria in combination

Figure 3.15   Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested during
18 month follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by prior record of
drug arrests in 1987

Percent of
1987 cohort
defendants
rearrested

Length of time until first arrest

— No prior drug arrests   ··· One prior drug arrest   — Two or more prior drug
   n = 595   n = 184   arrests
                                                               n = 219
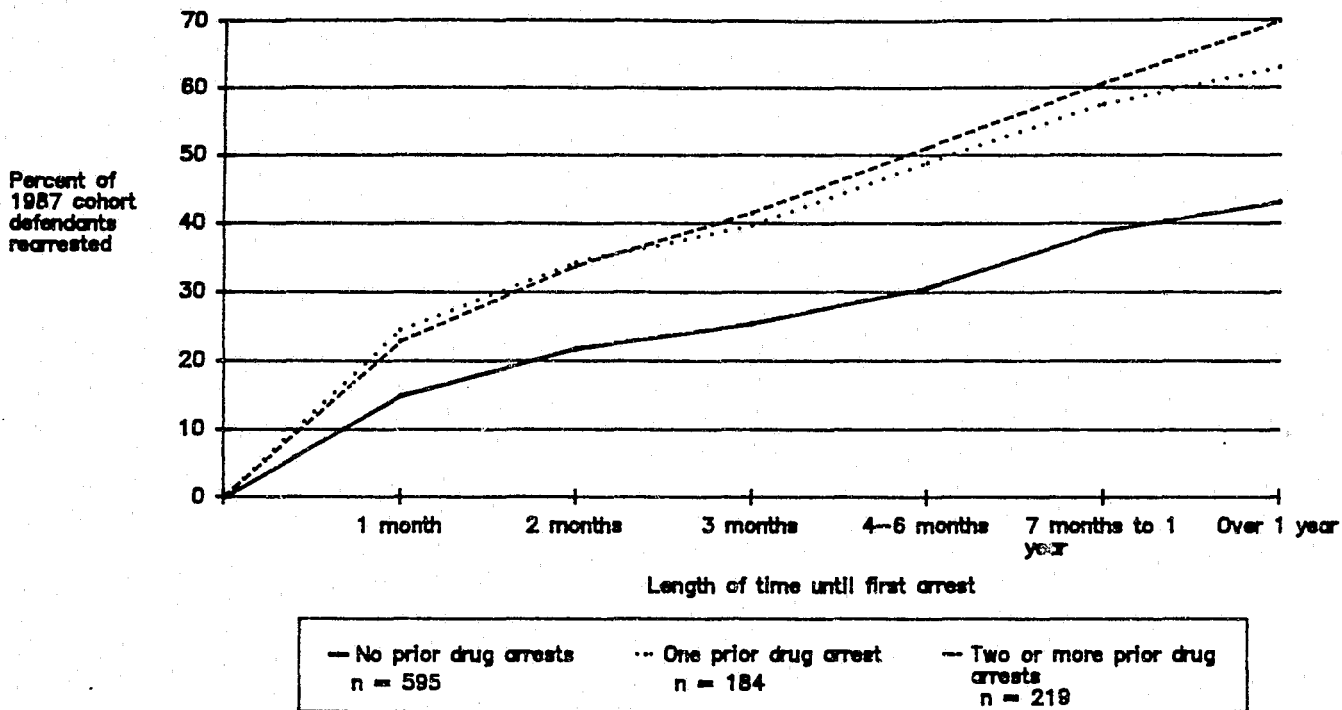
Figure 3.16   Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested during
18 month follow-up period, by time until first rearrest, by 1987 drug test results

Percent of
1987 cohort
defendants
rearrested

Length of time until first arrest

— Negative   ··· Positive: THC   — Positive: cocaine
   n = 127   n = 319   n = 544
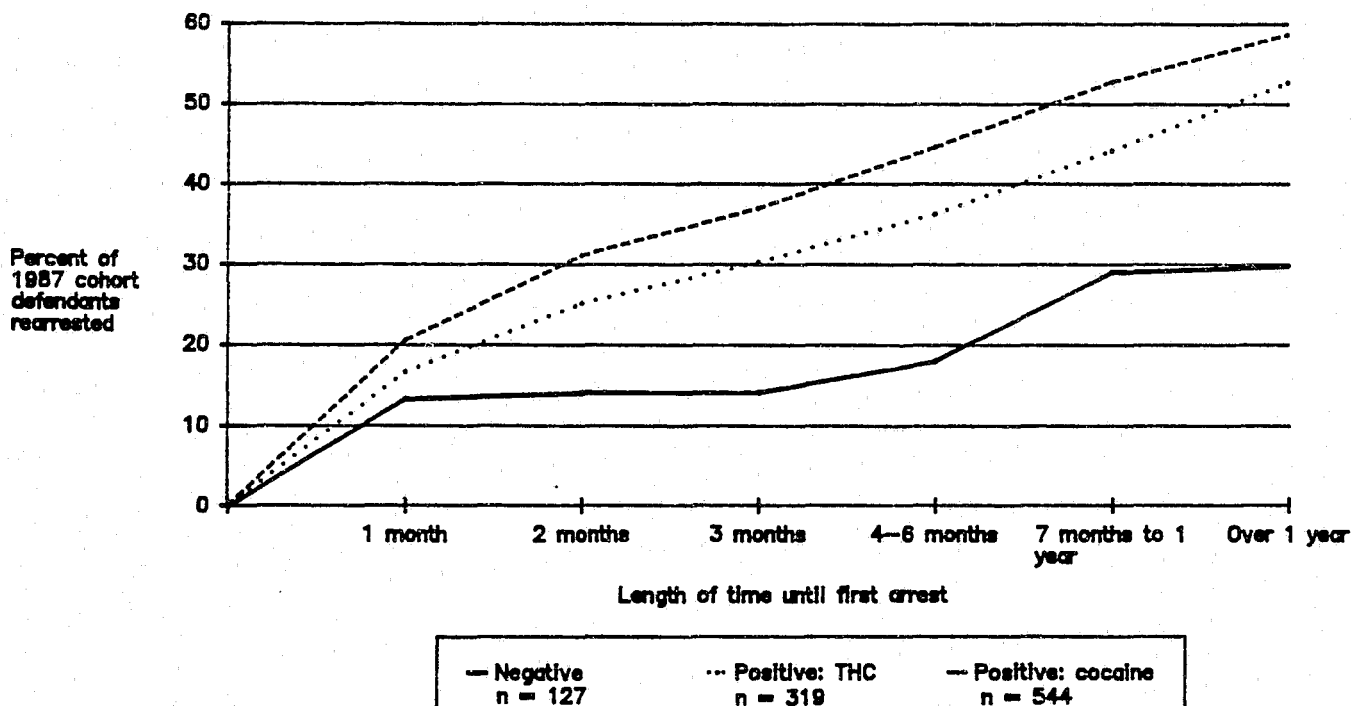
Figure 3.17a Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested, by time until first rearrest, by drug—related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
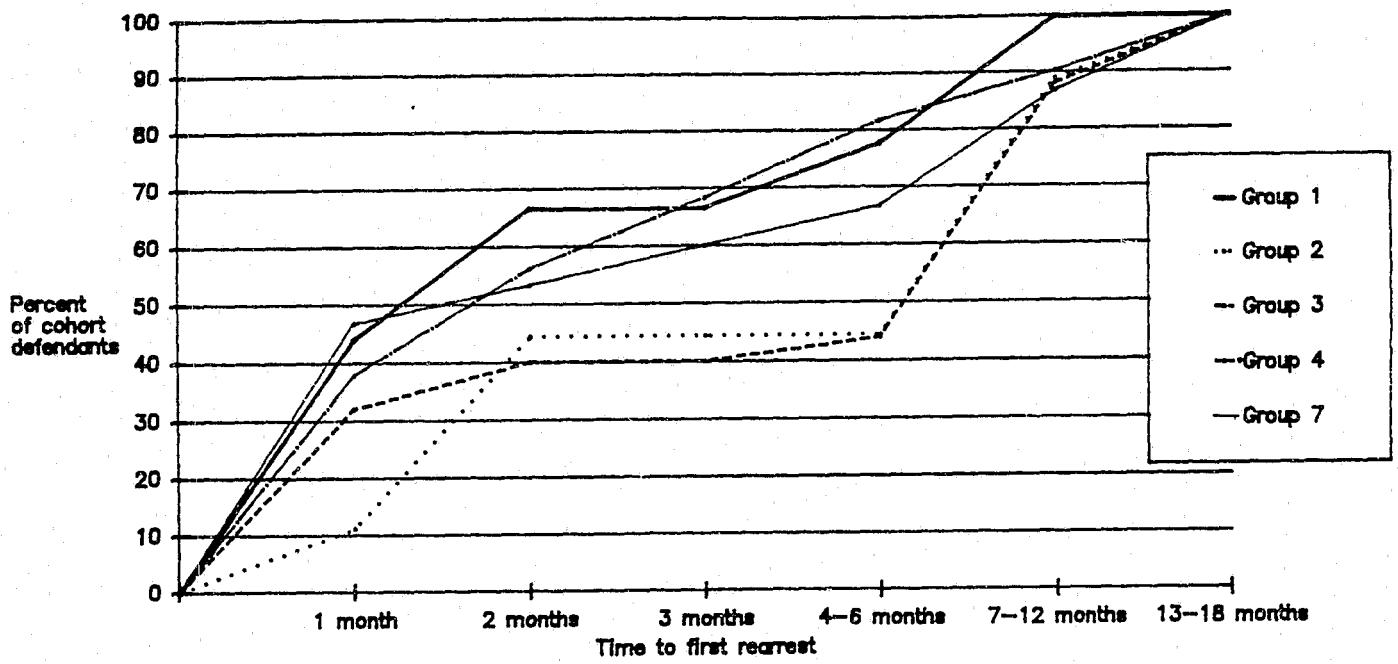
Figure 3.17b Cumulative percentage of 1987 Dade County felony defendants rearrested, by time until first rearrest, by drug—related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
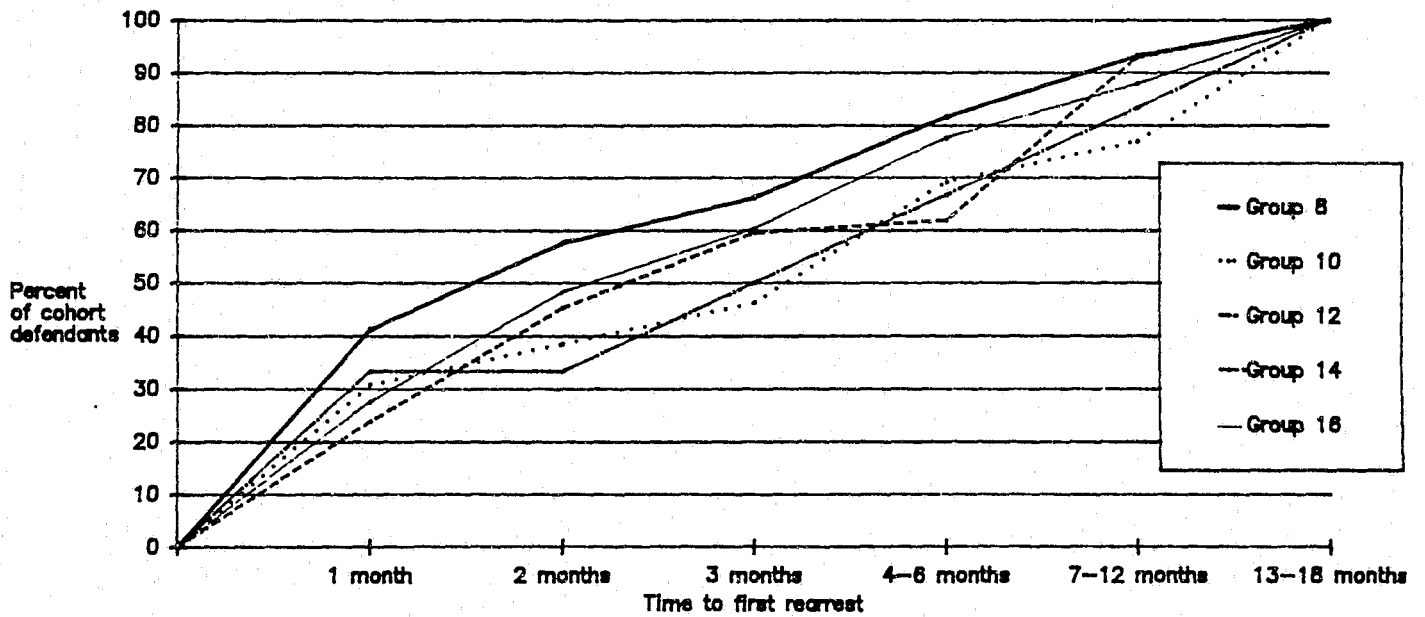
works well to differentiate defendant groups according the median lengths of time from the initial arrest to the first

rearrest. *Contrary to conventional wisdom, for example, of the 10 groups charted, group 1 defendants (with no drug*

charges, no prior arrests and negative drug tests) start out most quickly being rearrested and maintain a sharply increasing

rate to the end of the follow-up period. However, group 8 defendants (with no drug charges, prior arrests for other and

drug offenses, positive tests) are quite close behind throughout the period. The slowest rate of reoffending is found

among group 2 rearrestees (defendants with no drug charges and no prior arrests but positive drug tests).

IV. THE GENERATION OF REARRESTS PER 100 DEFENDANTS AND THE DRUG-RELATEDNESS OF CRIMINAL CASES

The Two Criteria (Charge/Prior Arrest) Classification of Drug-Relatedness and the Generation of Rearrests

Generally speaking, comparison of the proportion of crime generated with the share of the sample represented

by the drug-related subcategory does point to categories that contribute disproportionately to the generation of rearrests

in each of the cohorts. The cohorts differed in the groups that accounted disproportionately for particular kinds of

offenses. They also differed in the groups that stood out as their "top producers" when compared to one another. (See

Volume II for a detailed discussion.)

Productivity can also be measured using a per capita framework. Figures 3.18 and 3.19 show the numbers of

arrests for any offense and for index-level offenses generated per 100 defendants by each cohort using the 8-part

classification of defendants based on criminal charges and prior arrests. Although the cohorts differ in the numbers of

rearrests per 100 produced (with the highest categories of Dade defendants generating much higher rates than of

Maricopa defendants), they do reveal some rough similarities in the ranking of drug-related subgroups. For example,

group 4 and 8 appear among the most "productive" groups of defendants when the total numbers of rearrests per 100

defendants is considered, and group 1 and 5 defendants rank among the least "productive" of drug-related groupings.

Yet, when considering offense categories overall, attempts to find a general rule are made difficult by offense-specific

and cohort-to-cohort variations.

These figures show three principal findings: a) the drug-related grouping distinguished reasonably well between

defendant groups producing low, medium and higher numbers of rearrests per 100 defendants during the follow-up

periods (with perhaps the exception of some very low rate crime categories such as robbery or weapons offenses); b) the

Figure 3.18   Number of rearrests per 100 defendants by drug-related classification
               (drug charges, prior arrests), by cohort

Number per 100 defendants rearrested

Drug-related classification

☐ Maricopa County, 1984   ■ Dade County, 1984   ▨ Dade County, 1987
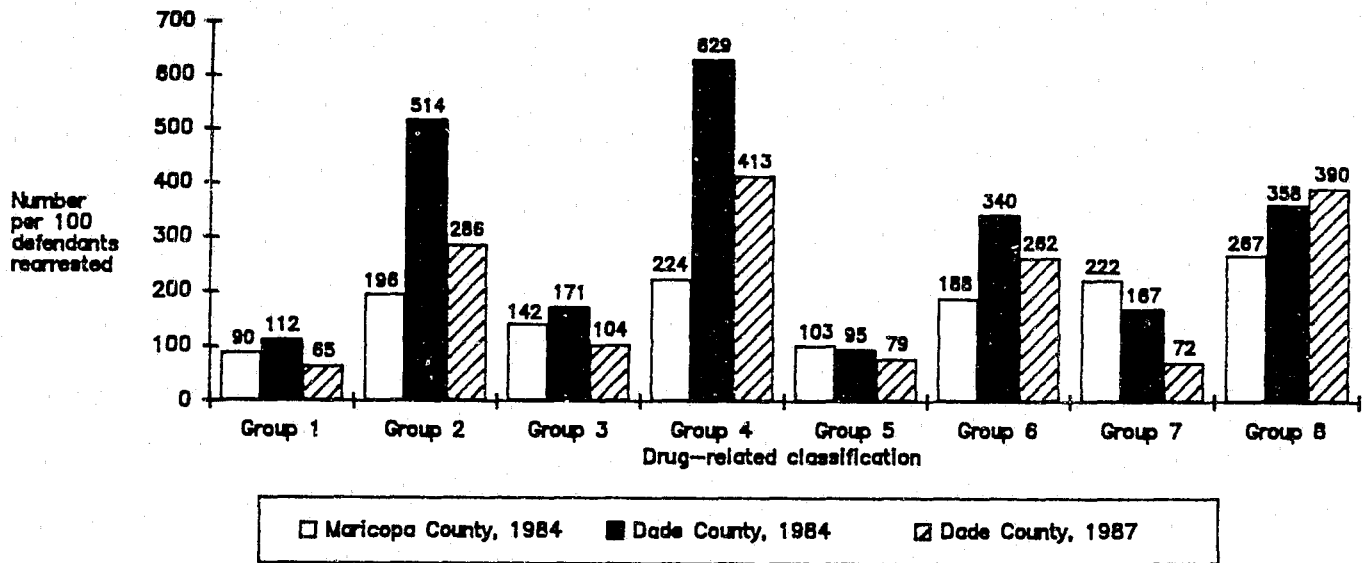
Figure 3.19   Number of index-level rearrests per 100 defendants by drug-related
               classification (drug charges/prior arrests), by cohort

Number per 100 defendants rearrested

Drug-related classification

☐ Maricopa County, 1984   ■ Dade County, 1984   ▨ Dade County, 1987
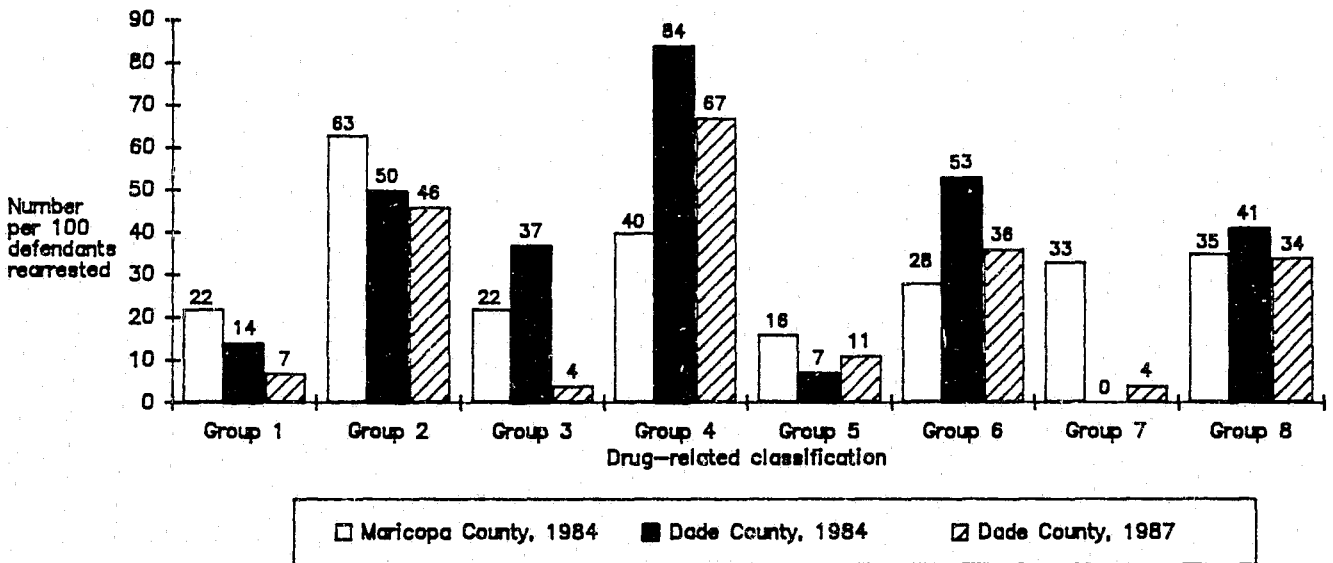
classification performed (differentiated defendant groups based on rates per 100 defendants) reasonably well across cohorts; c) the relative rankings of groups, however, varied somewhat based on the crime or on the cohort being examined.

Thus, from a public safety perspective, if we were concerned about the "productivity" of defendants as well as their comparative likelihood and kind of arrests, the drug charges/prior arrest classification of drug-relatedness would allow us to focus on groups 4 and 8 (defendants with and without drug charges who have prior arrest for drug and others offenses) as the most "productive" of crimes, depending on the cohort. If we wanted to identify defendants likely to generate the fewest rearrests per 100 defendants, Group 1 or 5 defendants (who have in common no prior arrests) would be the best bet. Although this drug-related classification appears to distinguish well among defendant groups based on their numbers of subsequent rearrests, it is not possible to say that the patterns are always the same or that there is a simple rule for interpreting the implications of the drug-crime relationship for assessing risk of rearrest.

The Three Criteria (Charge/Prior Arrest/Drug Test) Classification of Drug-Relatedness and Generation of Rearrests Per 100 Defendants

The three-criteria classification (using charge, prior arrests and drug test results) of the 1987 Dade County felony cohort also pointed to drug-related categories of defendants providing disproportionate contributions to the generation of crime. Group 8 defendants (no drug charges, prior arrests for other and drug offenses, positive tests) contributed 1.7 times their expected share to rearrests overall and roughly 2 times their expected rate to all categories of rearrests, with the exception of drug sales. Group 4 defendants (no drug charges, prior arrests for other offenses only, positive tests) contributed disproportionately to index offenses (at 1.5 times the expected rate) and burglary rearrests (at 2.2 times the expected rate). Group 7 defendants (no drug charges, other and drug prior arrests, negative tests) contributed 1.7 times their expected share to serious persons rearrests and also disproportionately to weapons (at 2.2 times) and assault rearrests (at 1.6 times). Groups 12 (drug charges, arrests for other offenses only, positive tests) and 16 (drug charges, arrests for drug and other offenses, positive tests) made their impact upon drug rearrests particularly. Group 12 contributed to drug possession rearrests 1.7 times the expected rate and to sales/distribution rearrests at 3.2 times the expected rate. Group 16 produced 2.3 times its expected share of possession rearrests and 2.6 times its share of sales/distribution rearrests.

From a different perspective, Figures 3.20 through 3.22 show the variation in rates of rearrest per 100 defendants associated with this classification of drug-relatedness. Depending on the kind of rearrest being predicted, this three-criteria classification of drug-relatedness also differentiates defendants well based on the rearrests generated per 100.

When the measure is of the number per 100 of any kind of rearrest among the 1987 defendants, groups 8 and 16 clearly stand out (with 437 and 416 arrests per 100 defendants). The common theme for defendants in these two groups is having prior arrests for other and drug offenses and positive drug test results for cocaine. Group 4 defendants (no drug charges, other arrests, positive tests) were not far behind with 352 rearrests per 100 defendants. In comparison, group 1, 2, 9 and 10 defendants seemed highly unproductive of rearrests during the 18-month follow-up (with rates ranging from 32 per 100 to 64 per 100).

Figure 3.22 shows a different relationship between drug-related attributes and rearrest when rearrest for drug crimes are the focus. Group 16 defendants--having drug charges, prior arrests for drug and other offenses, and testing positively for cocaine--were without doubt the most productive of drug possession rearrests per 100 defendants of all groups. Group 12 defendants (drug charges, prior arrests for other offenses, positive) were the most productive of drug sales/distribution rearrests, although group 16 defendants were not far behind.

In short, whichever version of drug-related classification is employed, the "productivity" of rearrests by cohort defendants appeared related to drug-relatedness at this level of analysis. If appears that further simplification of the classification will occur by combining categories showing similar rates. The result would be classification with fewer categories.

Figure 3.20 Number of rearrests per 100 among 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by three-criteria drug—related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
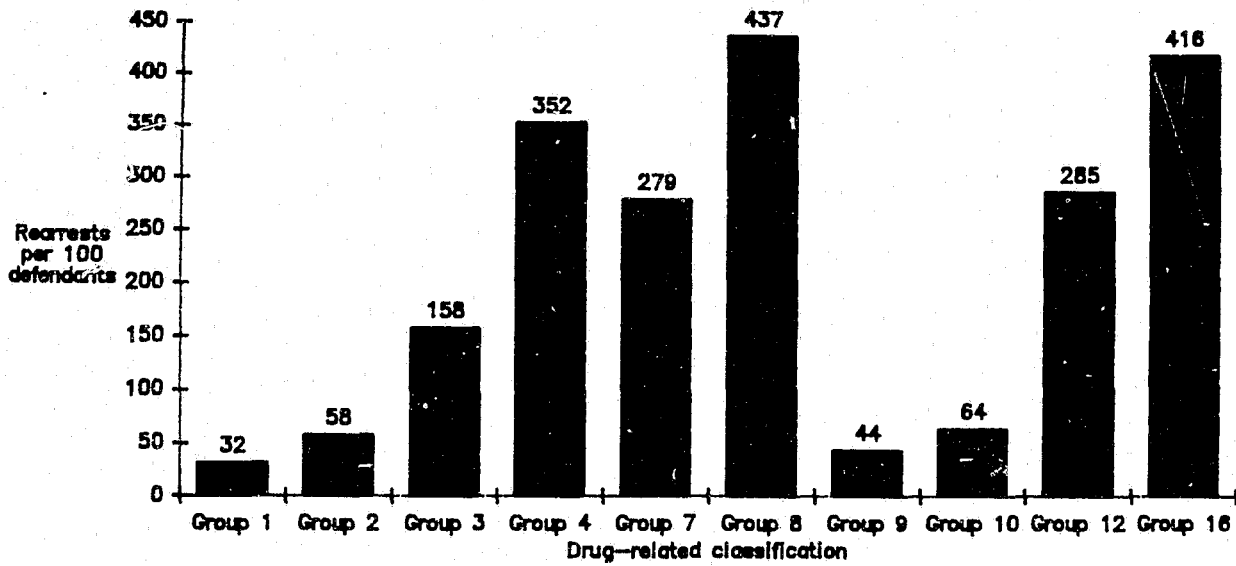
Figure 3.21 Number of rearrests for selected offenses per 100 1987 Dade County felony defendants, by three criteria drug—related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
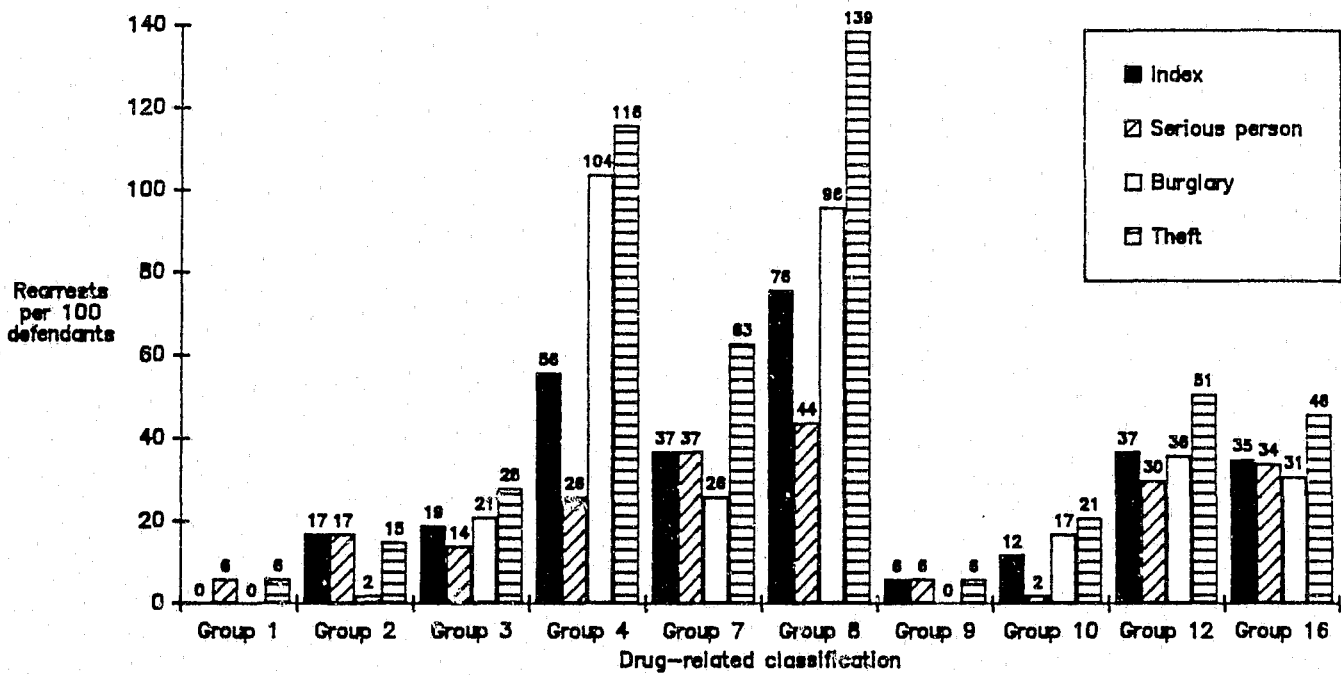
Figure 3.22   Number of rearrests for drug offenses (possession, sales/distribution) per 100 defendants among 1987 Dade County felony defendants by three criteria drug—related classification (drug charges/prior arrests/drug tests)
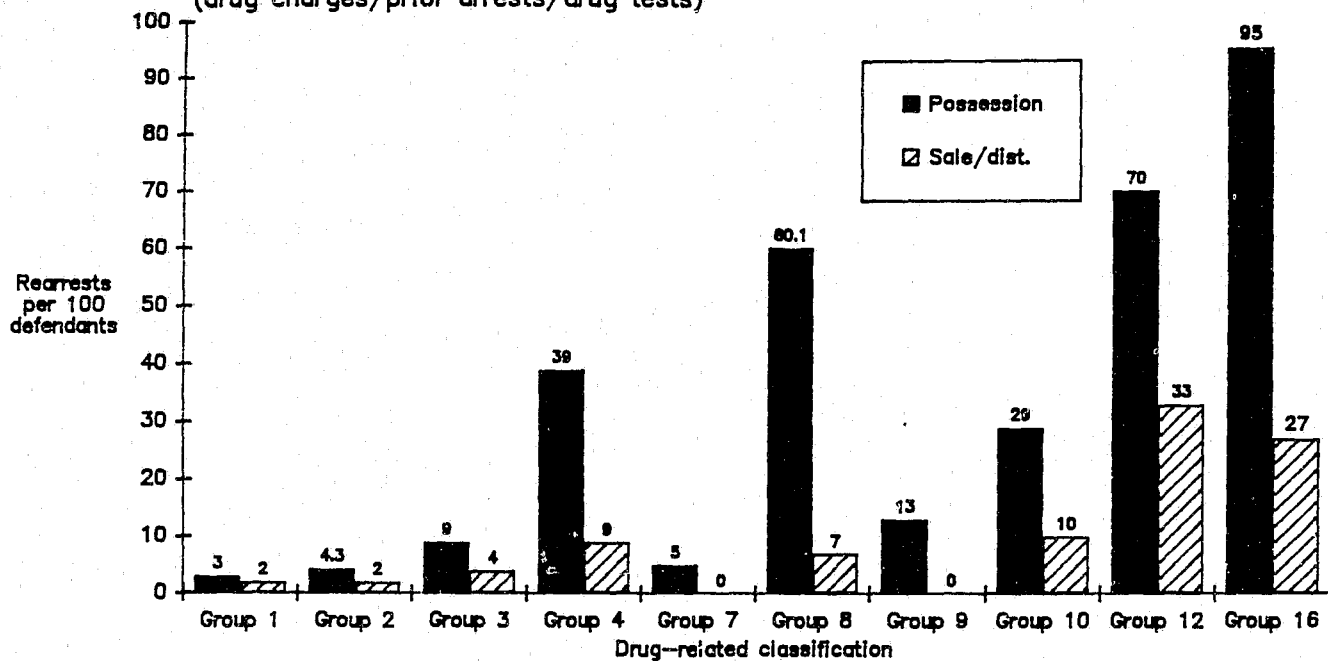
Chapter Four
THE DRUG-RELATEDNESS OF CRIMINAL CASES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC SAFETY:
A MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF REPEATING[20]

Earlier analyses sought to determine whether the drug-relatedness of criminal defendants and their cases was related to the likelihood of subsequent crime. In those analyses we examined data describing two four-year and one 18-month follow-up studies of defendant cohorts in Maricopa County, Arizona, and Dade County, Florida. At the simpler level of analysis we asked whether knowledge of drug related attributes--used to form two classifications of "drug-relatedness"--had implications for public safety or, more specifically, was helpful in predicting subsequent reoffending among defendants in the three cohorts. Our essentially bivariate findings present in Chapter Three did point to some utility in employing such classifications, although their interpretation did not result in a simple rule-of-thumb. Our conclusions were also qualified, however, because the relationships found between drug-related subgroups of defendants and later reoffending required further testing in multivariate analyses, the purpose of which would be to ask whether these relationships survived or could be explained away once the effects of other factors were taken into account (i.e., once controls were exercised). In this chapter, we summarize the results of in-depth multivariate analyses in which the aim was to determine the extent to which any drug-related characteristics of defendants or their cases known at entry into the respective cohorts in 1984 and 1987 prove to be predictive of subsequent reoffending (rearrests for later crimes). To the extent that drug-related attributes fail to improve the ability to explain or predict later offending, we would conclude that the drug-relatedness of the criminal caseload had little import in estimating public safety implications.

<u>Definition of the Dependent Variables: Three Measures of Rearrest During the Follow-up Periods</u>

As discussions in Volume II pointed out, analysis of the role of drug-relatedness in later offending involves conceptualization of measures of both the phenomenon being investigated, the reoffending dependent variable, and of drug-relatedness, the predictor or independent variables. In Chapter Three (and in Volume II) we defined a variety of measures of crime during the follow-up periods broadly conceived to represent the public safety threats

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[20] The research described in this chapter was conducted by the Crime and Justice Research Institute under Purchase Order No.???? from the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

posed by the caseloads of criminal defendants. In this chapter, for the purposes of clarity we focus on three basic

measures of repeat crime: whether or not cohort defendants were rearrested for any crime, rearrested for index-level

crimes[21], or rearrested for serious crimes against the person during the follow-up periods.[22]

Definition of the Independent Variables: Measures of Drug-relatedness

In our earlier discussions of the role of drug-related criminal cases, we have touched upon the concept of "drug-

relatedness" in a number of ways, including self-reported information about drug abuse habits derived from pretrial

services interviews with defendants at the stage of initial entry into the cohort; and defendants' initial criminal charges

and prior criminal histories (whether involving drug offenses or not). In addition, for the 1987 Dade County felony

defendants, we obtained drug test results from urinalysis conducted at the time of their entry into the cohort.

The relationship between these descriptors (independent variables) representing the drug-relatedness of

defendants and their cases have been discussed singly in Chapter Three. Their combination into simple drug-related

classifications of defendants suggested that important relationships between drug-relatedness and later rearrests of

cohort defendants did exist. In this analysis, we examine the contributions of these measures of drug-related attributes

of defendants to the prediction of later rearrests in a number ways.

The Purpose of the Multivariate Analyses: The Contribution of Drug-related Attributes of Defendants to the Prediction of Rearrests During Follow-up Periods

In this report, we have operationalized the assessment of the public safety implications of drug-related criminal

cases as an empirical examination of the relationship between drug-related characteristics of defendants and their cases

and later reoffending. That is, given the assumptions in criminal justice policy currently, we would expect to find that

defendants with drug-related attributes pose greater public safety threats (show a greater likelihood of reoffending) than

defendants without. The purpose of the multivariate analyses described in this chapter is to move beyond the simple,

bivariate level of analysis presented earlier to test the validity of this hypothesis. Using multivariate analysis we ask to

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[21] Recall that to create a measure of "serious" crime, we modify the UCR definition of index offenses to delete auto theft and larceny.

[22] For the sake of brevity, we confine our analyses to these measures because they are the most basic. If we did not find a predictive role for drug-related attributes in these most basic measures of reoffending, it would be unlikely that more specific analyses would show such relationships. Subsequent analyses will include predictive analyses of specific types of crimes (weapons offenses, assaults, robbery, burglary, theft, drug offenses).

what extent knowledge of the drug-relatedness of criminal cases (variously measured) can improve the ability to predict subsequent rearrest behavior of cohort defendants above and beyond the contributions of existing, non-drug-related information available to the court system. Because of the availability of drug testing data for the 1987 Dade County sample of felony defendants, a sub-theme of these analyses is to determine how measures of drug relatedness normally available (such as self-reports of drug use, criminal charges for drug crimes, prior history of drug offenses) compare in the prediction of later rearrests with measures derived from drug testing.

The Method: The Logic of the Multivariate Analyses

Determining the contribution of drug-related information to the modeling or prediction of reoffending is really a subcategory of the larger question, "Can we predict future offending based on any kind of information at all?" The question about the role of drug-relatedness, asked only after that first question is answered, might best be formulated in the following fashion: "Compared to how well we predict reoffending without knowledge of drug-related characteristics of defendants/cases, how is the ability to predict improved with knowledge of drug-related characteristics?" Using each of the three sample cohorts of defendants entering the criminal process (Maricopa County, 1984; Dade County, 1984; and Dade County, 1987), we employ logit analysis to model or predict reoffending, as represented by the three measures of rearrest, and to identify the relative role of drug-related information. By "modeling" we mean grouping and evaluating "predictor" variables that adequately "fit" or best explain patterns of the rearrests according to statistical procedures. Thus, in the analyses summarized in this chapter, we begin by trying to determine whether we can develop a model based on the kinds of data routinely available to court officials that can predict rearrests according to minimal statistical standards. Depending on the success of that analysis, we next add measures of drug use derived from drug tests to determine whether, controlling for the effects of other variables, drug test results add to the overall statistical ability to "predict" rearrest.

To begin multivariate analysis, we first must screen a large number of descriptors of defendants and their cases to identify variables showing at least a minimum statistical relationship[23] with the dependent variables (rearrests, rearrests for index-level crimes, or rearrests for serious crimes against the person). Thus, from well over 50 variables, depending on the sample and the dependent variable, we may include 20 or so independent variables in the initial multivariate analysis which asks which variables are related to the dependent variable, once the effects of relationships with other variables are controlled. Controlling for the effects of all candidate variables, the logit technique is then used to drop variables selectively that do not add statistically to the ability to predict the dependent variable.[24] When all redundant (unrelated) variables are eliminated, the logit procedure stops.

Using this procedure, then, we seek to learn which variables "survive" the exercise of controls. The remaining variables, taken together, represent a "best fit" of independent variables to the dependent variable. Taken together, they can be said to explain variability in or "predict" outcomes of the reoffending measure. To the extent that models reject measures of drug-relatedness as redundant, we would conclude that drug-related attributes do not contribute to an overall ability to predict subsequent rearrest. To the extent that they do remain in the final models, we would infer that they play a significant role in reoffending and would obtain estimates of their relative contributions by comparing their coefficients with those of other predictor variables in the logit models. Note that we present the multivariate tables in Appendix B for easier reference.

I. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF REARREST AMONG THE 1984 MARICOPA COUNTY FELONY DEFENDANTS

Rearrest (for Any Offense) among Maricopa County Defendants during the Four-Year Follow-up

We begin this process by consideration of rearrests (for any kind of crime) among the 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants whose subsequent visits to the court system were charted for a four-year period. Model I in Table B4.1 shows that the original pool of independent variables (selected because of showing a minimum relationship with rearrest) included 22 variables. The defendants' self-reported drug use did not show a minimum relationship, although

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[23] We included only variables showing a chi-square significant at the .05 level or lower in our initial pool of predictor variables.

[24] Actually, the backwards elimination process removes variables whose absence from the model does not weaken its predictive capacity. In short, it is dropping variables whose relationship becomes non-significant once the effects of the other variables are controlled.

defendants' self-reported alcohol use problems did. Current charges for drug offenses was not minimally related to rearrest during the follow-up period; prior drug arrests and prior drug convictions were.

After successive elimination of redundant predictor variables, Model III in Table B4.1 shows the most parsimonious model predictive of subsequent rearrests.[25] This can be interpreted in the following fashion: taken together, knowledge that a defendant is under 26 years old, resides locally, self-reports alcohol abuse, has a record of prior arrests, a record of arrests for property offenses, and a record of convictions for misdemeanor convictions add to the likelihood of rearrest for any kind of offense during the follow-up period. The coefficients show the relative weight given to individual predictor variables. Note that no drug-related measures survive the exercise of controls to make it into the final model of rearrest over four years.

Table B4.2 starts with the findings developed in Table B4.1 and examines the question of whether the addition of a special measure of prior criminal history (indicating whether a defendant had no prior arrests, arrests for non-drug offenses only, arrests for drug offenses only, or arrests for both kinds of offenses) improves the prediction of rearrest. Model II shows that two measures (prior arrests for non-drug offenses only, prior arrests for drug-offenses only) enter the model, but cause prior misdemeanor conviction to drop out because of non-significance. The model statistics indicate that while this model is acceptable, it provides a weaker model than Model II under Table B4.1. However, given the questions asked in our analyses, it is noteworthy that the model does include a measure of (prior) drug-relatedness, even after the effects of other variables have been taken into account.

Table B4.3 starts with the findings from Model II in Table B4.2 and asks whether variables representing categories of the 8-part drug-charge/drug priors classification[26] described in Chapter Three make a contribution to the prediction of rearrest. Model II in Table B4.3 shows that none of the variables representing the drug charges/prior drug offenses classification survive the exercise of controls to make a contribution to the model predicting rearrest.

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[25] The p-value indicates that this model adequately fits the data.

[26] The 8-part classification was simplified for the multivariate analysis to include six categories, represented by dummy variables in the analysis (defendants having no drug charges/ no prior arrests (0), defendants having no drug charges/prior arrests for non-drug offenses (1), defendants having no drug charges/prior arrests for drug offenses only (3), defendants having no drug charges/ prior arrests for both kinds of offenses (4), defendants having drug charges and no prior arrests (5), all other defendants (6)).

Because drug testing information was not available in Maricopa County, the multivariate analysis of rearrest during the follow-up period ends with these last findings. They suggest, in short, that, with the exception of the variable measuring whether or not the defendant had a record of prior arrests for drug offenses only, the drug-relatedness of defendants and/or their cases did not add to the prediction of rearrest beyond the ability of the other predictor variables. In other words, other kinds of descriptive data of the sort generally available to the courts was more useful in assessing the subsequent threats to public safety likely to be posed by the 1984 felony defendants during the next four years. Interestingly, if the definition of drug use considered in a broader sense to include alcohol, we find that alcohol abuse did play a role in predicting a greater likelihood that defendants would be returning to the courts on later charges during the follow-up period.

Rearrest for Index-level Offenses among Maricopa County Defendants During the Follow-up Period

Based on the rationale that public safety concerns are generally focused on more serious offending, the analyses presented in Tables B4.4 through B4.6 focus on rearrests for more serious crimes, in this case measured as rearrests for index-level offenses only. Predictive analysis of this measure of reoffending among Maricopa County defendants, however, proved much more difficult. Although a number of candidate predictor variables were initially identified to begin the analysis, no combination of variables could be found to form a model meeting minimal statistical standards. We conclude from this that, based on information available in Maricopa County, we were generally unable to model rearrest for index-level offenses well, the addition of drug-related data notwithstanding.

Rearrest for Serious Crimes Against the Person among Maricopa County Defendants

Tables B4.7 through B4.9 focus even more specifically on the modeling of rearrests for serious crimes against the person among Maricopa County defendants during the follow-up period. Table B4.7 begins with 21 candidate variables showing at least a minimum relationship with rearrests for serious crimes against the person. The only drug-related variable to be included at this initial stage is whether the defendant had drug charges at the initial stage. However, subsequent steps in the analysis are unable to produce a model of rearrests for serious crimes

against the person that meets minimum statistical standards. In this area as well, we conclude that prediction of rearrest for serious person crimes is not successful based on available data and, as a result, that drug-related attributes also do not play an important role.

II. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF REARREST AMONG THE 1984 DADE COUNTY DEFENDANTS

Rearrest (for Any Offense) among 1984 Dade County Defendants during the Four-Year Follow-up

Multivariate analysis of rearrest during the four-year follow-up in Dade County was more successful overall than the results reported above for Maricopa County felony defendants. Table B4.10, Model I, shows under that 32 predictor variables passed the screening criterion to be included in the initial multivariate modeling of rearrest for any offense when focusing on the 1984 cohort of Dade County misdemeanor and felony defendants. Measures of current drug charges and prior drug arrests and convictions were included; the measure of self-reported drug abuse was not. The reduced model (Model III) includes nine variables that together adequately fit the rearrest data. In addition to measures of prior arrests and demographics (gender, local residence and employment), three measures of drug charges appear to add to the prediction of rearrest among the 1984 Dade County cohort defendants. (Being charged with drug offenses increases the odds that a defendant will be rearrested during the follow-up.)

In Table B4.11, we add the measure of drug-related prior arrests to the model developed in Table B4.10; however, it makes no contribution to the modeling of rearrest among the 1984 Dade defendants over the next four years. In Table B4.12, we add the variables representing the drug charge/prior drug arrests classification to the Table B4.10 model with similarly unsuccessful results. (The variables are rejected as not making significant contributions to the prediction of rearrest.) We are left then with Model III in Table B4.10 as the best fitting model of rearrest among the 1984 Dade defendants. The presence of drug charges plays a central role in this prediction, even after having taken into account the impact of other variables.

Rearrest for Index-level Offenses among 1984 Dade County Defendants during the Follow-up Period

Tables B4.13 through B4.15 repeat the multivariate approach for rearrests involving index-level offenses among the 1984 Dade defendants. The initial list of potential predictors is reduced to six variables which form an acceptable model of index-rearrests. Drug-related attributes do not survive controls to make it into the reduced model. The addition of prior drug arrest history in Table B4.14 and variables representing the 8-part drug charge/drug priors classification in Table B4.15 do not add to the ability to model index-level rearrests. Thus, we do not find a role for drug-related attributes in the prediction of index-rearrest when other factors are taken into account.

Rearrest for Serious Crimes Against the Person among 1984 Dade County Defendants during the Follow-up

Tables B4.16 through B4.18 summarize the results of logit analyses of rearrest of the 1984 Dade County defendants for serious crimes against the person during the follow-up period. In Table B4.16, the contributions of 26 candidate predictors are considered under Model I. Of these, eight variables survive the exercise of controls to form the best-fitting model (Model III) of rearrest for serious person crimes. Drug-related variables do not play a part in this prediction.

Table B4.17 tests the contribution of the prior drug history measure to Model III from Table B4.16. None of these variables makes a significant contribution to the model. In Table B4.18, however, when variables representing the drug-charge/drug priors classification are added, one (indicating whether defendants have no current drug charges and have priors for drug and non-drug offenses) does add significantly to the final model. The interpretation of this model suggests that--taken together--being less than 40 years old, being male, being black, having weapons, robbery or assault charges, having recent prior arrests, having prior misdemeanor convictions all increase the probability of rearrest for serious person crimes during the follow-up, as does not having drug charges but having an eclectic record of prior arrests (having prior drug and non-drug arrests).

III. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF REARREST AMONG THE 1987 DADE COUNTY FELONY

DEFENDANTS

Analysis of the follow-up data of the 1987 Dade County felony defendants offers the advantage of measures of

drug use derived from drug testing of defendants. Unfortunately, the study of 1987 defendants employed a shorter

follow-up period, 18 months compared to the four-year follow-up used for the two earlier samples. (Interestingly, the

1987 Dade felony defendants recorded proportionately as many rearrests in the shorter period as defendants in the other

samples did in four years.)

Rearrest (for Any Offense) among 1987 Dade County Felony Defendants during the Four-Year Follow-up

In Table B4.19, 32 independent variables were included in the initial logit analysis of rearrests among the 1987

Dade felony defendants. Among these, self-reported drug use and measures of prior arrests and convictions for drug

crimes were entered. Ten variables survived controls to form a reduced model of rearrest (Model III). Although one

drug-related measure, prior arrests for manufacture, sale, delivery, was included, the power of the model was not

sufficient to meet minimum statistical standards. At this stage, therefore, we were not able to construct a model

predictive of rearrest.

Table B4.20 shows the results when the measures for prior drug-related arrests were added to the results

produced in Table B4.19. The variable representing whether defendants had a prior history of drug arrests only added

significantly to the model and, in fact, brought the entire model into significance (Model II).

Next, in Table B4.21, variables representing the classification of drug-relatedness based on drug charges and

drug priors were added to the model from Table B4.20. None made a significant contribution.

Table B4.22 shows that the addition of drug test results to the Table B4.20 model changes the make-up of the

best-fitting model and makes a significant addition to the predictive power of the analysis. Whether or not a defendant

tested positively for either coke or marijuana enters and causes five formerly acceptable variables to drop out (assault

charges, prior arrests for serious person crimes, prior arrests for manufacture, sale delivery of controlled substance, and

prior weapons convictions, and whether or not defendants had prior arrests only for drug offenses).

Model I in Table B4.23 starts with the final model from Table B4.22 including drug test results and adds variables representing the drug-related classification based on drug charges/drug priors/drug test results. Model II shows that when drug test results are included, these variables do not make a significant contribution. In Table B4.24, drug test results are dropped from the same analysis with the result that, without the simple drug test measure, one of the charge/priors/drug test classification variables does make a contribution: persons falling in the category with no drug charges/with prior arrest for non-drug offenses only/with negative drug test results showed a noticeably lower likelihood of subsequent rearrest for any offense during the 18-month follow-up. Overall this model is weaker than the simpler model including drug test results (Table B4.22, Model II).

From these analyses, we conclude that prediction of rearrest without drug test measures among the 1987 Dade County felony defendants during the 18-month follow-up is comparatively weak but that it is strengthened by knowledge of drug test results.

Rearrest for Index-level Offenses among 1987 Dade County Felony Defendants during the Follow-up Period

Beginning with Table B4.25, logit analysis next turns to the question of whether drug-related measures add significantly to the prediction of more serious rearrests, rearrests for index-level offenses, during the 18-month Dade follow-up of 1987 felony defendants. These results point more strongly to a predictive role of drug-related measures, particularly derived from drug testing.

Table B4.25 first considers 28 independent variables showing a relationship with rearrest for index-level offenses. Model III shows that seven variables survive the exercise of controls to form a reduced model of adequate, if not powerful, fit. Four of the variables are measures of prior criminal history, including prior arrests for manufacture, sale, delivery of controlled substances. Being charged with burglary adds to the probability of later arrests for index-level offenses. Finally, being employed reduces the likelihood and being African-American increases the likelihood of index-level rearrests. The findings that race/ethnicity predicts later index-level rearrests even after many controls are exercised is a disturbing finding, although at this point apparently tangential to our focus on the contribution of drug-related measures.

Table B4.26 adds to this model the variables representing the defendants history of drug-related versus other kinds of arrests. One of these measures, indicating whether defendants had prior arrests for drug offenses only, does make an important addition to the other variables (entering as the second most powerful predictor) and strengthens the prediction of index-level rearrest. The interpretation of its contribution, incidentally, is that defendants with prior arrests only for drug crimes will show a notably lower probability of index-level rearrest, other factors controlled.

Table B4.27 adds variables representing the drug-related classification based on drug charges and prior drug-related history to this model. The analysis finds these measures to be unhelpful.

Table B4.28 adds drug test results to Model II of Table B4.25. All of the original variables stay in the model as two drug test measures make a significant contribution: whether defendants tested positively for marijuana (reducing the likelihood of index-level rearrest) and whether defendants tested positively for either cocaine or marijuana (increasing the probability of later rearrest). The fit of this model shows an improvement over previous models.

Table B4.29 asks whether, added to drug-related prior arrests, and drug test results, variables representing the drug-related classification of defendants based on drug charges/prior drug arrests/drug test results would make a significant predictive contribution. In fact, none of them do. The race variable indicating that black defendants were more likely than other defendants to be rearrested for index-level offenses drop does not out of the model. Prior history for manufacture, sales, delivery also drops out, as well as the variables representing prior arrests only for drug offenses and testing positively for marijuana. Testing positively for either marijuana or cocaine stays in the model.

Table B4.30 asks whether prediction of index rearrests would be just as successful if the drug test results are dropped and only the variable measuring prior arrests for drugs only and the charge/priors/tests drug-related classification variables are entered. The results show that this model is adequate, but less powerful than the model produced in Table B4.28.

In sum, the analyses of rearrests for index-level offenses among the Dade felony defendants seem to suggest that a variety of drug-related measures add to the ability to predict, particularly those incorporating drug test results.

Rearrest for Serious Crimes Against the Person among 1987 Dade County Felony Defendants during the Follow-up

Drug-related attributes are found to play a role as well in the prediction of rearrests for serious crimes against the person among the 1987 Dade County felony defendants. Twenty-three independent variables are considered in the

initial logit modeling of serious person rearrests; these are reduced to five variables surviving the exercise of controls in

Model III, Table B4.31. In addition to race (African-Americans show greater likelihoods of later rearrest for serious

crimes against the person), to having a telephone (defendants with phones showed lower probabilities), and to prior

arrests and prior arrests for serious crimes against the person (both indicating higher likelihoods), prior arrest for

manufacture, sales, delivery survives as a predictor.

Table B4.32 adds the variables representing the defendants drug-related prior history of arrests to the analysis,

with the result that they do not make a significant contribution. Table B4.33 adds the variables representing the drug

charge/drug priors classification, again showing little effect. However, when drug test results are added in Table B4.34,

testing positively for either marijuana or cocaine makes a significant contribution to the model. When the variables

represent the drug charge/drug priors/drug test classification are entered in Table B4.35, the drug test variable drops

out, but one of the classification variables enters: whether defendants fell into the group having no drug charges, prior

arrests for non-drug offenses only, and negative test results. The effects of race are not removed from the model this

time, once drug testing variables or their derivatives are entered. This model represents a slight improvement over the

previous version (as is reiterated in Table B4.36).

Again, we conclude that drug-related attributes do contribute to the prediction of rearrest for serious crimes

against the person among the Dade County 1987 felony sample.

IV. SUMMARY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF DRUG-RELATED ATTRIBUTES OF DEFENDANTS AND THEIR CASES IN THE MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF REOFFENDING

Table 4.37 summarizes very generally the findings of the various multivariate analyses of reoffending among the

three defendant cohorts during the follow-up studies. A first finding is that drug-related attributes of some sort played a

role in six of the nine analyses conducted. In the three analyses showing no role for drug-related measures--modeling of

index-level rearrest and rearrest for serious crimes against the person in Maricopa County and of index-level rearrest in

the 1984 Dade County sample--no successful prediction based on any kind of data was produced (no combination of

predictors could be identified to construct a predictive model meeting minimum statistical standards). Second, when

measures deriving from drug-test measures were available (in the 1987 Dade County felony data), those measures

Table 4.37 Summary of the role of drug-related measures in the multivariate analysis of reoffending among Maricopa County (1984) and Dade County (1984, 1987) defendants

Independent Variables	Rearrest Maricopa 1984	Rearrest Dade 1984	Rearrest Dade 1987	Rearrest for index-level offenses Maricopa 1984	Rearrest for index-level offenses Dade 1984	Rearrest for index-level offenses Dade 1987	Rearrest for serious crimes against the person Maricopa 1984	Rearrest for serious crimes against the person Dade 1984	Rearrest for serious crimes against the person Dade 1987
Demographics	X	X	X	NS	X	X	NS	X	X
Charge-related	NS	NS	X	NS	X	X	NS	X	NS
Prior criminal history	X	X	X	NS	X	X	NS	X	X
Drug-related									
Self-reported alcohol abuse	X	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
Drug charges	NS	X	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
Drug priors	X	NS	X	NS	NS	X	NS	NS	X
Drug charge/drug priors	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	X	NS
Drug tests	N/A	N/A	X	N/A	N/A	X	N/A	N/A	X
Drug charge/drug priors/ drug tests	N/A	N/A	NS	N/A	N/A	X	N/A	N/A	X

[Note: X = significant contribution]

improved the ability to predict reoffending, usually when added to measures of prior history of drug-related arrests. Drug-related and, specifically, drug testing measures figured significantly into the modeling of each of the three measures of reoffending over 18-months among the Dade County 1987 felony defendants. Finally, it should be noted that the drug-related measures did not always indicate that defendants with drug-related attributes would show higher likelihoods of reoffending, sometimes they predicted lower probabilities.

V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RISK CLASSIFICATIONS OF COHORT DEFENDANTS BASED ON THE MULTIVARIATE FINDINGS: AN ILLUSTRATION

In considering the public safety implications of the drug-related criminal caseload, we have seen in our analyses that drug-related information often--but not always and not always in the same way--can play a useful predictive role. We have seen in the 1987 sample that drug testing information generally improved the ability to predict later offending. We were able to develop predictive models for the 1984 Dade County defendants, incorporating some drug-related information, but without drug testing data. We cannot say whether better models might have been constructed, had drug test data been available for that sample of defendants. Similarly, we could only guess about the contribution such information might have made in the Maricopa County analyses, where successful models were not possible.

Thus, in finding that drug-related attributes of defendants and/or their cases can play a predictive role--after controlling for the effects of other variables--we have found support for the notion of a relationship between such characteristics and later reoffending. (Note--we still have little to say about the nature of the statistical relationship, whether artifactual or causal.) Beyond the insights these findings provide, the data may be employed more practically to develop classifications of cohort defendants that would array them according to their likelihood of reoffending based on the logit results. We illustrate briefly here how the foregoing analyses can be used to construct six such predictive classifications.

Tables 4.38 through 4.43 illustrate how the 1984 and 1987 Dade County cohort defendants can be "scored" on the attributes included in the final predictive models to place them in groupings ranked in order of the relative likelihood of rearrest they pose. (Risk classifications for the 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants are not presented because of the weakness of the multivariate models.) The weights shown are merely the coefficients from the final logit analyses of

the three kinds of rearrests. By dividing these weights by a constant (e.g., .15) and rounding, a simple point scoring system was derived. The number of points shows the relative emphasis given the various attributes in the risk classification. The bottom of each table shows how the scores are grouped to form classes with higher and lower predicted probabilities of rearrest and the actual numbers of defendants rearrested in each of the groups.

Table 4.38 scores the 1984 Dade County cohort of misdemeanor and felony defendants on the attributes found to be predictive of rearrest (general). Recall from Model III, Table B4.10 that gender, local residence, employment, drug charges and measures of prior arrests and convictions were the variables defining the final predictive model of rearrest over the four-year follow-up period. Comparison of the scores associated with each of the attributes shows that the defendant drug charges weigh most heavily in the scoring scheme. Scoring the 1984 Dade defendants in this fashion allows their classification into three groups, associated with lower, medium and higher likelihoods of rearrest for any offense during the follow-up period. Roughly one in three defendants with scores placing them in risk group 1 were rearrested. One of two of risk group 2 defendants were later rearrested. Three of four defendants scoring them with risk group 3 attributes were rearrested later.

Scoring the 1984 defendants on age, gender, weapons charges, robbery charges, prior arrests and prior misdemeanor convictions as shown in Table 4.39 arrays defendants into three risk groups with differing probabilities of 'rearrest for index-level offenses during the four-year follow-up period. (Note the absence of any drug-related measure.) Defendants falling in risk group 1 could be expected to be rearrested for index-level offenses in about one in 12 cases. Risk group 2 defendants were rearrested at roughly the base rate of all defendants, in one in five cases. Risk group 3 defendants would show a probability of rearrest roughly two times that of group 2 defendants, being rearrested for index crimes in more than two of five cases.

Table 4.40 shows how the same approach results in classification of defendants into four risk groups with probabilities of rearrest for serious crimes against the person ranging from a low (risk group 1) of less than one in ten cases, to one in four cases (risk group 2), one in three cases (risk group 3), to a high of three in five cases (risk group 4). One drug-related measure (showing that defendants have no drug charges and have both drug and non-drug prior arrests) plays a part, albeit modest a modest one, in this classification scheme.

Table 4.38   Classification of 1984 Dade County defendants according to the probability of rearrest

Predictive attribute	Weight	Points
Gender		
Male	0	0
Female	-0.354	-2
Local address		
No	0	0
Yes	0.320	2
Employment		
No	0	0
Yes	-0.211	-1
Drug charges		
None	0	0
One or more	-0.638	-4
Less serious drug charges		
None	0	0
One or more	0.713	5
More serious drug charges		
None	0	0
One or more	0.569	4
Recent prior arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.436	3
Prior serious property arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.311	2
Prior misdemeanor convictions		
None	0	0
One or more	0.500	3
Add points	0.587	4

Risk Group	Rearrest Points	Number of defendants	Percent of defendants	Percent rearrested
1	-3 to 5	805	40.1	31.6
2	6 to 9	519	25.8	50.3
3	10 to 23	686	34.1	75.4
Total	-2 to 14	2010	100.0	51.4

Table   4.39   Classification of 1984 Dade County defendants according to the probability of rearrest for index-level offenses

Predictive attribute	Weight	Points
Age		
Over 40	0	0
40 and under 40	-0.582	4
Sex		
Male	0	0
Female	-0.327	-2
Weapons charges		
None	0	0
One or more	0.235	2
Robbery charges		
None	0	0
One or more	0.526	4
Recent prior arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.448	3
Prior misdemeanor convictions		
None	0	0
One or more	0.483	3
Add points	-1.537	-10

Risk Group	Rearrest Points	Number of defendants	Percent of defendants	Percent rearrested
1	-12 to -9	833	41.4	7.8
2	-8 to -6	690	34.3	19.7
3	-5 to 16	487	24.2	42.7
Total	-16 to 16	2010	100.0	20.4

Among the Dade 1987 defendants, drug test results figure in as the second strongest attribute in the scoring scheme used to classify defendants according to the likelihood of rearrest for any offense during the 18-month follow-up. (See Table 4.41.) These attributes group defendants into five distinct groups with a range of probabilities from very low (8 percent of group 1 defendants would later be rearrested) to very high (85 percent of group 5) defendants would be rearrested.

In Table 4.42 a three-group risk classification is developed based on the results of the earlier logit analysis of rearrest for index-level crimes. The probabilities of future rearrest for index-level crimes ranges from one in ten for defendants scoring in risk group 1, to two in ten for defendants scoring in risk group 2, to more than three in ten for defendants scoring in risk group 3. Of the four drug-related variables which figure into this nine-variable scoring scheme, the most influential is membership into the category of defendants having no drug charges, no prior arrests, and negative drug tests. Defendants with these attributes would earn a large number of negative points on this variable, translating into classification into a risk group with very low odds of rearrest for index-level offenses.

Finally, in Table 4.43 the risk classification developed for rearrest for serious crimes against persons illustrates the differing contributions of drug measures to prediction. In this scheme (in which earning negative points is indicative of greater risk), having a prior record of misdemeanor drug arrests lessens the chances for risk of rearrest. But testing positively, having a prior history of drug priors only and having drug charges increases the risk classification of defendants. (In fact, the largest number of negative points is given for defendants who fall into this category.) Defendants scored in the lowest risk group (1) would be expected to be rearrested for serious crimes against the person very rarely, only 3 percent of the time. Defendants in the highest risk group (4), would be expected to be rearrested for serious person crimes roughly tens times as often.

A Note about the Uses of Predictive Classifications

We have developed risk classifications to illustrate their utility in grouping defendants according to attributes associated with differing probabilities of rearrest during follow-up studies. Although such classifications are useful for a variety of purposes, here our aim was to demonstrate how the multivariate findings may have practical application or interpretation. These classifications show quite easily how important drug-related attributes may or may not be in estimating future public safety outcomes. Because our intent here is illustrative, we skip over discussion of the

Table 4.40   Classification of 1984 Dade County defendants according to the probability of rearrest for serious crimes against the person

Predictive attribute	Weight	Points
Age		
Over 40	0	0
40 and under 40	-0.403	-3
Sex		
Male	0	0
Female	-0.326	-2
Race/ethnicity		
Non-black	0	0
Black	0.177	1
Weapons charges		
None	0	0
One or more	0.292	2
Robbery charges		
None	0	0
One or more	0.579	4
Assault charges		
None	0	0
One or more	0.447	3
Recent prior arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.392	3
Prior misdemeanor covictions		
None	0	0
One or more	0.341	2
No drug charges/drug and other priors		
No	0	0
Yes	0.226	2
Add points	-0.820	-5

Risk Group	Rearrest Points	Number of defendants	Percent of defendants	Percent rearrested
1	-10 to -3	1093	54.4	9.0
2	-2 to 1	537	26.7	23.8
3	2 to 3	326	16.2	34.4
4	4 to 17	56	2.8	61.1
Total	-10 to 17	2010	100.0	18.5

Table   4.41   Classification of 1987 Dade County defendants according to the probability of rearrest

Predictive attribute	Weight	Points
Burglary charges		
No	0	0
Yes	0.357	2
Telephone		
No	0	0
Yes	-0.181	-1
Recent prior arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.701	5
Prior weapons arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.344	2
Prior misdemeanor convictions		
None	0	0
One or more	0.259	2
Outstanding warrants		
None	0	0
One or more	0.365	2
Positive for marijuana or cocaine		
No	0	0
Yes	0.394	3
Add points	0.249	2

Risk Group	Rearrest Points	Number of defendants	Percent of defendants	Percent rearrested
1	1-2	53	7.4	7.5
2	3-5	149	20.8	21.5
3	6-9	157	21.9	48.4
4	10-12	197	27.4	67.0
5	13-18	162	22.5	84.6
Total	0-18	718	100.0	53.1

Table 4.42 Classification of 1987 Dade County defendants according to the probability of rearrest for index-level offenses

Predictive attribute	Weight	Points
Burglary charges		
No	0	0
Yes	0.400	3
Employment		
No	0	0
Yes	-0.274	-2
Recent prior arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.855	6
Prior serious personal arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.379	3
Prior serious property convictions		
None	0	0
One or more	0.289	2
Positive for marijuana or cocaine		
No	0	0
Yes	-0.220	-1
<u>Drug charges/drug priors/drug test measure</u>		
No drug charges/no priors/negative		
No	0	0
Yes	-3.662	-24
No drug charges/other priors/negative		
No	0	0
Yes	-0.578	-4
Other combinations		
No	0	0
Yes	-0.475	-3
Add points	-6.13	-41

Risk Group	Rearrest Points	Number of defendants	Percent of defendants	Percent rearrested
1	-75 to -37	298	41.5	10.1
2	-36	115	16.0	20.0
3	-35 to -27	305	42.5	35.7
Total	-75 to -27	718	100.0	20.1

Table 4.43   Classification of 1987 Dade County felony defendants according to the probability of rearrest
for serious crimes against the person

Predictive attribute	Weight	Points
Race/ethnicity		
Non-black	0	0
Black	0.309	2
Telephone		
No	0	0
Yes	-0.237	-2
Recent prior arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.731	5
Prior serious personal arrests		
None	0	0
One or more	0.424	3
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors		
None	0	0
One or more	0.344	2
Drug charges/drug priors/drug test measure		
No drug charges/other priors/negative		
No	0	0
Yes	-0.710	-5
Add points	-2.54	-17

Risk Group	Rearrest Points	Number of defendants	Percent of defendants	Percent rearrested
1	-24 to -16	325	32.6	3.4
2	-15 to -11	279	28.0	11.5
3	-10 to -9	179	17.9	21.8
4	-8 to -5	215	21.5	34.9
Total	-24 to -5	998	100.0	15.7

limitations of such predictive tools--and some of their problems. We recommend that interested readers consult available literature which discusses some of these issues (see, e.g., Gottfredson and Tonry, 1987). Of particular note, however, is the problem of "extra-legal" attributes in these classifications (race/ethnicity, gender and employment, for example). Because our aim has been descriptive--displaying the best predictive combinations of descriptive variables in our data--we have focused mainly on the basic question of whether or not, or to what extent, drug-related attributes play a role in predicting later rearrest. We are aware of--but largely have not addressed here--the serious questions posed by some of the other variables that in some analyses appear to have played a predictive role. When the purposes of these tools turns from the descriptive to other uses, we caution that the issues raised by the substance of these findings have to be seriously confronted.

Chapter Five

ASSESSING THE ROLE OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMINAL CASES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS
FOR PUBLIC SAFETY: CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this report we characterized the objective of this research as developing three empirical case studies illustrating the role of drug-related criminal cases in the judicial process and their implications for public safety. Making use of and building upon recent data descriptive of the entering criminal caseloads of five courts in three major jurisdictions, this project sought to examine questions about the impact of drug-related cases empirically. The data from Boston, Dade County and Maricopa County described in detail large cohorts of defendants facing adjudication of criminal charges in 1984, during the early days of the War Against Drugs. One large sample represented felony defendants entering the criminal process in Dade County in 1987 as the drug crisis was reaching mid-stage. The rationale for the assessment of drug-related cases sites was that empirical evidence from study of actual court caseloads might help inform debate about future policy strategies as efforts are made to address the impact of drugs on criminal justice processing.

The Implications of the Drug-Related Caseload for the Courts

In our introduction, we noted that investigation of drug-crime phenomena are plagued by a number of problems. Prime among them are questions of definition--of the "drug problem," of "drug-related"--and questions of measurement. We employed several simple, but eminently measurable indicators in our assessment of the role of drug-related cases in the study sites. In the first analysis of the processing of criminal cases, we categorized defendants and their cases as a) involving drug charges or not, b) involving defendants who currently abused drugs or not, and c) or involving either or both as a broader measure of "drug-relatedness." In our second part of the empirical investigation of drug-related recidivism in the defendant cohorts, we elaborated on this framework somewhat using two schemes. We defined "drug-related" as a predictor of later crime in two ways: a) charges (drug charges, yes or no) and prior arrests (none, for other offenses, for drug crimes, for both); and b) charges, priors and drug use (as measured by drug tests of felony defendants at their entry into the cohort in Dade County only). *Using any of the definitions of drug-relatedness, the finding was the same. The challenge posed by volume alone looks formidable; using these criteria, most cases can be classified as drug-related.*

The policy implications that spring from this finding depend on its interpretation. The courts could take the point of view that the main issue raised by the volume of drug-related cases relates to workload and logistical considerations--such as scheduling, staffing, processing speed, disposition and resources. The "better" measure of "drug-relatedness" in this context mainly shows the actual size of the processing tasks the courts have facing them. (Courts usually are aware mainly of the defendants' charges and, sometimes the nature of the defendants prior record. Drug use information is rarely available or only becomes available at the latest stages in the criminal process.) On the other hand, courts could adopt the position that because drug use was so prevalent among persons charged with crimes or because drug use was a social condition that in itself ought to be corrected, then the drug habits of a large majority of defendants would have to be addressed in some way. (The motives for this view could be utilitarian, in the sense that the courts would be interested in reducing the volume and frequency or return visits by persons involved in drug-related crime, or humanitarian, in the sense that the courts would believe that drug use as a social disadvantage ought to be addressed.) The challenges posed by this latter perspective--to do something about drug use--are quite a bit more radical given the need to intercede in the drug using patterns of criminal defendants and would require innovation in the areas of treatment, supervision, monitoring and diversionary programs, to mention a few areas.

Some Implications of the Drug-Related Caseload for Public Safety (Part I)

Although we addressed public safety questions primarily in the analysis of two four-year and one 18-month follow-up data sets, two kinds of findings from the first component of the study, examination of the role of drug-related cases, have a bearing on questions about the risks of crime posed by defendants in drug-related criminal cases: findings relating to the prior criminal history attributes of defendants in drug-related cases and to their performance during pretrial release.

Prior Criminal History of Drug-related Defendants

Despite commonly held assumptions, defendants charged with drug crimes were not remarkable in their prior histories of arrests or convictions in the courts we examined. The exception was that defendants charged with drug crimes more often had prior records for drug crimes. Rather than pointing to more extensive generalized prior histories, the prior criminality of drug defendants seemed to be more homogeneous, it appeared that current drug defendants were experienced mainly at being drug defendants.

To the extent that these histories involved possession charges, and hence mainly drug use, one might argue that there are greater implications for the public health than for public safety and that a notable share of persons who concentrate their social deviance mainly in the procuring, possession and use of drugs are processed by the criminal justice system who might be treated by other (health or treatment) systems instead. To the extent that repeat drug offending is accounted for by sales and distribution of drugs, the public safety implications might be quite different, for one could argue that the distribution of drugs stimulates other kinds of criminal activity. We know that in the felony courts we studied, at least, the majority of drug charges were of the more serious variety.

When we turn from drug cases with prior histories of drug crimes to drug use as measured by testing, the implications of the very large numbers of drug using defendants have for public safety are more unsettling. *There is a relationship between testing positively for drug use and prior criminal history: the more extensive the criminal history, the greater the likelihood that a defendant is an active drug abuser. What is uncertain--and is the focus of the second part of the research we described--is whether a relationship between current drug abuse and future criminality stands up to empirical analysis or whether drug use is really a surrogate measure of criminal history and little more (or whether drug use and criminality are both engendered by other similar factors.)* Thus, the implications of the relationship between drugs and crime is one thing when viewed retrospectively (when we try to understand why prior criminal history precedes current drug use) and another when we try to predict future outcomes (does drug use or drug crime lead to later serious crime?).

An important application of this question occurs at the pretrial release stage, at which point courts would like to know whether the relationship (slight in this study) between testing positively at the bail stage and engaging in crime or flight during pretrial release is fundamental and causal or superficial and spurious. Again, the policy implications depend on the interpretation of the relationship between drug use and future criminality. If drug use during pretrial release leads to crime, then curtailing drug use through a program of supervision and monitoring makes sense in attempting to minimize the threat to public safety posed by released defendants. But if the relationship is spurious, if drug use is really a stand-in measure for prior criminal history, for example, then any focus on drug use would not be expected to translate into reduced risk to the public.

The Implications of the Drug-Related Caseload for Institutional Crowding

There are also implications for institutional crowding in our findings concerning the role of drug-related case. Given that each of the states and each of the cities involved in the study have been experiencing long-term jail and prison overcrowding crises, these data (the defendant cohorts as well as the jail samples) suggest that drug-related cases play a sizeable part in the make-up of institutional populations. At the bail stage, in one site drug cases were treated more restrictively--were more often detained--but not in others. In fact, generally, drug case defendants performed at, or better than, the level of other defendants during pretrial release. Careful further analysis would be useful to determine whether more drug defendants could be released effectively, thus relieving strain on the jail populations, or more drug defendants ought to be tightly controlled, raising serious implications for institutions. Already, persons testing positively for drugs are more often held in Dade County than those testing negatively according to our data--and this is without drug test results being common knowledge. *If courts did more drug testing and became more fully aware of the level of drug use among entering defendants, one effect might be to add to the already crowded levels of jail populations.*

There are similar implications of the data for prison populations: in Maricopa County, felony drug offenders are less often sentenced to incarceration or are sentenced for shorter terms; among Dade County felony defendants, the opposite is true. Dade misdemeanor drug defendants are given incarcerative sentences frequently, but of short duration. Clearly a preference for a particular policy will have an impact on prison populations.

A more in-depth analysis could shed light on the potential for intermediate sanctions that are not currently being employed. In our two studies of Dade felony defendants we noted different uses of diversion. The most recent data had showed that drug using defendants were not being diverted. Very recently, the courts in Dade County have implemented a major diversion program that aims at diverting large numbers of felony drug offenders from formal processing by providing them with a treatment alternative. Should this program succeed, fewer drug users will have been confined, first in jail awaiting trial and, second, in prison upon conviction.

The Public Safety Implications of the Drug-related Caseload (Part II): The Study of Drug-related Recidivism

The findings from the follow-up studies of defendants in three large cohorts in two sites have several public safety implications. Overall, roughly half of cohort defendants were not rearrested within the cohort period. Once defendants were rearrested, the chances for a subsequent rearrest increased, although the rate of the increase varied by

site and sample. Compared to other specific offense categories, the chances for a subsequent rearrest for drug offenses increased only modestly. Two conclusions are possible: a) drug offenders are not so likely as other offenders to be rearrested a number of times for the same offense; b) drug offenders are disproportionately incapacitated and are prevented from having time at-risk during the follow-up period.[27] Although this latter interpretation may be a good explanation for the lower probabilities that persons arrested for drug sales will be rearrested again for drug sales, it is unlikely to explain the moderate rearrest probabilities of persons arrested for possession. (Given the large numbers of rearrests recorded by defendants within the 18-month Dade County follow-up, for example, it appears unlikely that defendants were confined for lengthy periods.)

The development of the simple two and three criteria classifications of "drug-relatedness" demonstrated on a basic level of analysis that in combination knowledge of persons charges (drug or not), prior history (drug, others, drug and others, or not), and drug use (drug test results) could differentiate--could help predict--the likelihood that defendants would be rearrested for crimes during the follow-up periods. Even though these simple two and three variable classifications needed to be tested against other kinds of information about defendants and their cases, in multivariate analysis we found that they were related to subsequent rearrests in each of the follow-up studies.

The examination began with a discussion of the distribution of defendants within the 8-group or 16-group "drug-related" frameworks. It was informative to observe the rates at which the subcategories were "naturally occurring" in the cohorts studied. We already noted above that most defendants were classifiable as "drug-related," on the basis of one or more of these attributes. Given the findings of a relationship to later rearrests, the fact that certain groups were dominant, however, had implications for the generation of later rearrests.

Identification of the groups that occurred rarely--and that had to be dropped from the analysis due to insufficient numbers--turned out also to be germane to our inquiry into the relationship between the drug relatedness of criminal cases and later offending, however. In a sense, the drug-related classification of defendants showed defendants "who hardly ever exist," and, therefore, "types" that could not be responsible for much of the burden on resources or for much later crime (and that should not be the focus of a large amount of resources or concern). A few themes emerged: First, with or without initial drug charges, few defendants fell into the prior arrest-drug-offenses-only category. (If

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[27] With these data, we cannot be certain to what extent this finding may be accounted for by the incarceration of cohort defendants during the bulk of the follow-up period.

defendants had prior drug arrests, they usually also had arrests for other kinds of offenses as well.) Thus, the "pure" drug offender alluded to above (representing "just" a drug problem) seems to be a very rare species, as were other kinds of current offenders who had only prior drug crimes on their records. Second, again regardless of the presence of initial drug charges, persons with drug and other prior arrests (a group which included more than one-third of all defendants) almost always showed positive test results. Apparently, having drug and other prior arrests and negative drug test results do not go hand-in-hand. Or, stated another way, one can practically assume in these data (in this instance from Dade County) that persons with records of prior arrests for both drug and other offenses (as opposed to one or the other) will be current drug users.

In addition, very few defendants who had initial drug charges and no prior arrests tested negatively (group 9). Translation: apparently first time arrestees, when they are arrested for drug offenses, are usually current drug users. Similarly, defendants with drug charges and prior arrests for other (not-drug) offenses also tested negatively rarely (group 11). Although the relative frequency of these drug-related "types" might change in a larger sample or in a sample from a different jurisdiction, one result of this distribution of defendants among the categories of drug relatedness is that categories with defendants testing negatively were rare: only two categories (groups 1 and 3) or about 17 percent of all defendants remaining in the classification tested negatively.

The Relationship(s) between Drug-relatedness and Public Safety

Although we have addressed the question from a number of perspectives, essentially the analytic task in the second component of the research was to determine whether and to what extent--as conventional wisdom assumes-- "drug-relatedness" had implications for later reoffending by defendants in the three cohorts studied (one from Maricopa County and two from Dade County). At the most general level, our findings support the conclusion that drug-relatedness indeed appeared to be related to subsequent public safety outcomes at this level of analysis. This appeared true in a first analysis when we considered the role of drug crime in the overall reoffending of cohort defendants, regardless of defendants or case characteristics (whether drug-related or not) at the stage of entry into the cohort. It also appeared true in the second part of the recidivism study when we examined the relationship between drug-related defendant/case attributes at the entry stage and the extent, kind, frequency and timing of crime at subsequent stages

during the follow-up periods. However, having found some support for the conventional wisdom on the broadest level of generality, closer examination shows that how drug-related attributes relate to later reoffending is not so easily characterized.

The Role of Drug Crimes in Reoffending by Cohort Defendants (Part I)

As we began analysis of the occurrence of rearrests during the follow-up periods within each of the cohorts, it was clear that the cohorts differed in the amount and kind of rearrests "produced." The two Dade cohorts showed greater percentages of defendants subsequently rearrested and greater numbers per 100 defendants than the Maricopa cohort. The 1984 and 1987 Dade cohorts generated 340 and 265 rearrests per 100 defendants respectively, compared to 158 per 100 defendants in the Maricopa cohort.) Although there were in a rough sense themes across cohorts in reoffense patterns (e.g., rearrests for serious crimes against the person, for weapons offenses, for robbery were similarly low), there were important variations by cohort. Maricopa defendants were most often rearrested for index-level crimes. Dade defendants were most often rearrested for theft offenses. However, rearrests for drug crimes played an important part in the reoffending produced by each of the cohorts: nearly half of rearrests of defendants in the two Dade cohorts involved drug charges (only slightly greater numbers involved theft crimes), about one-fourth of the Maricopa felony defendants were rearrested for drug crimes.

The probability of persons being rearrested again for drug crimes during the follow-up periods was not as high as for some other offenses. In each cohort, the odds for subsequent rearrest for drug offenses did not seem to increase as dramatically as for other offenses, peaking among Maricopa defendants at .54 for those with three drug possession arrests having a fourth. The probability of a later rearrest for a drug sales/distribution offense was fairly low in each jurisdiction. Admittedly, this relationship could be an artifact of an "incapacitation effect," that is, that the limited number of repeat drug offenses could be explained by the fact that drug offenders are rapidly being taken out of circulation by confinement and not being permitted an opportunity for a subsequent drug arrest. However, a more probable explanation is that drug offenders are eclectic in their repeat crime choices, often being rearrested for other kinds of crimes, particularly property offenses.

This noted, in each site arrests for drug offenses accounted for a large share of rearrests of defendants, whether at the first, second, third, fourth later rearrest within the follow-up period. In fact, if not the most common, drug rearrests were at least the second most common category of offenses among those rearrested.

Evidence for frequent sequential or "specialized" reoffending was not found in the data we examined among any offense type. The most common next outcome for a defendant during the follow-up period in each of the sites was either no rearrest or a rearrest for a different kind of offense than on the preceding stage. Among those categories showing the highest rates of sequential repeat offending were drug, theft and burglary offenders, however.

The Timing of Rearrests by Cohort Defendants

An important part of the public safety analysis of rearrests among the cohort defendants focused on the timing of first rearrests for particular crimes. Thus, the analysis asked, for example, whether drug crime rearrests occurred sooner during the follow-up periods than other kinds of rearrests. The 1987 Dade felony defendants, who distinguished themselves by high rates of drug and theft crime rearrests, also distinguished themselves by earlier and sharply increasing rates of rearrest throughout the follow-up period. Among Maricopa County rearrestees, the timing of drug and theft rearrests appeared to go hand-in-hand. Among the 1984 Dade defendants drug rearrests started out quickly apace with theft rearrests during the follow-up, but then slowed until showing an upsurge toward the end of the follow-up period. Overall in the two Dade cohorts, however, the timing of drug crime rearrests was distinct from the timing of rearrests for other crimes--but distinctly middle-paced.

Drug-relatedness as a Predictor of Later Rearrests: Two Classifications (Part II)

When the analysis turned to "prediction" of reoffending among the cohorts on the basis on drug-related attributes, the general notion that the drug-relatedness of current cases has implications for later reoffending was generally supported. Both classifications produced defendant subgroups that differed notably from one another as well as showing a wide range of rearrest rates. The fact that the drug-related classifications were so (generally, not always) useful buttresses the popular assumptions about drug relatedness, at least in a superficial sense.

Beneath this level of generality, however, specific findings were more complex. Using the 8-part classification of drug-relatedness, it was generally true, for example, that group 8 defendants (with drug charges and prior arrests for other and drug offenses) and group 4 defendants (with no drug charges but with drug and other prior arrests) ranked

highest among groups on most rearrest measures--but not always. It was generally true that group 1 defendants (with no

drug charges and no prior arrests) were at the other extreme, showing among the lowest rearrest rates--but not always.

Using the 16-part drug-related classification, it was often true that group 8 defendants (with no drug charges,

prior arrests for other and drug offenses, and positive drug tests) and group 4 defendants (with no drug charges, other

arrests only and positive tests) ranked highest in later public safety outcomes--but not always. A good example of a

different pattern involves group 16 defendants (drug charges, prior other and drug arrests, positive tests) who were the

most likely to be rearrested for drug crimes. In short, the relative rankings of groups, particularly between the "best" and

the "worst," often differed depending on the site and the offense category studied.

The drug related classifications also differentiated cohort defendants well on the basis of the lengths of time

between the initial cohort arrest and later rearrests. This good ability to differentiate, however, did not necessarily

produce any clear-cut rule of thumb to explain the findings. For example, using the 8-part classification, we found that

the group averaging the earliest rearrests during the follow-up was group 6 (drug charges, prior arrests only). Among

the 1984 Dade defendants, however, the quickest to reoffend was group 8 (drug charges, prior arrests for drug and other

offenses). Among the 1987 Dade defendants, the quickest group was group 3 (no drug charges, prior arrests for drugs

only). Using the 16-part classification on the 1987 Dade defendant sample, sharp differences in the timing of

reoffending marked drug-related subgroups as well; however, group 1 defendants (no drug charges, no prior arrests,

negative tests) showed the earliest pattern of reoffending, contrary to popular assumptions.

The drug-related attributes of defendants--as operationalized in the two- and three-criteria classifications also

served to differentiate categories of defendants on the basis of their contribution to the volume of rearrests, whether

measured from the perspective of disproportionate contribution to rearrest production or from the perspective of

number of rearrests generated per 100 defendants.

The more rigorous testing of the predictive value of drug-related data reported in Chapter Four showed that

drug-related attributes often played a predictive role, particularly those derived from reliable measures of current drug

use (drug testing), among Miami defendants at least.

A Cautious Assessment: The Evasive "Rule-of-Thumb" Interpretation

In sum, the finding of the utility of drug-related attributes of defendants or their cases at one point in time (for our analysis, the entry into the cohort) in assessing the differential prospects for subsequent offending--or, at least, future rearrests--seems fairly clear. Two problems, however, should be kept in mind. The relationships between drug-related attributes (drug-related classifications of defendants) and later official contacts with criminal justice are not straightforward or universal, as the conventional wisdom might assume. The helpfulness of such classifications depends on the public safety outcome being measured (defendant groups ranked differently when the focus was time to first rearrest than when the focus was crimes per 100 defendants, for example). The "rules-of-thumb" were clearer within cohorts than across cohorts. As similar rankings of drug-related defendant subgroups were found across sites, variations were also common and need to be understood. Finally, the question we have asked in this component of the research has purposely been narrowly framed within the ability of our data to address it. We sought to assess the public safety--or later offending--implications of the drug-related criminal caseload and using a variety of analytic approaches we have done so. However, a broader issue concerns the comparative usefulness of knowledge of drug-related attributes of the criminal caseload in assessing future public safety impact. Compared to other kinds of information normally available to courts during the processing of cases and in other cites, how important is knowledge of the drug-relatedness of criminal cases in assessing the implications for public safety? These preliminary findings suggest they may be moderately important in some instances.

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APPENDIX A

Coding of Variables for Logit Analysis

Table A4.1 Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Maricopa County Data

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Age, less than 26 vs. 26 or over	UNDER26	0 (less than 26)	-1
		1 (26 or over)	1
Age, less than 30 vs. 30 or over	UNDER31	0 (less than 30)	-1
		1 (30 or over)	1
Employment	REMP	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Local address	RADRESS	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Marital status Single vs. other	RMARITL2	0 (single)	-1
		1 (other)	1
Race:			
(1) White/Non-white	WHITE	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) Black/Non-black	BLACK	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) Hispanic/Non-hispanic	HISPANIC	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(4) Native American/ Non-Native American	NATIVEAM	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Sex	SEX	0 (male)	-1
		1 (female)	1
Assault charges	ASSAULT	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Burglary charges	BURGLAR2	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Drug charges, excluding 131205 1	DRUGS3	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
DWI charges	DWI	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Index charges	INDEX	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1

Table A4.1   Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Maricopa County Data (cont'd)

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Robbery charges	ROBBERY2	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Theft charges	THEFT	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Weapons charges	WEAPONS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior arrests	CPRARS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Recent prior arrests	CPRARSRT2	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug arrests	CPRARSDR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious personal	CPRARSPS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious property	CPRARSPP	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior weapons arrests	CPRARSWP	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior convictions	CPRCON	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior felony convictions	CPRECONF	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior misdemeanor convictions	CPRCONM	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug convictions	CPRCONDR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious personal convictions	CPRCONPS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious property convictions	CPRCONPP	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1

Table A4.1 Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Maricopa County Data (cont'd)

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Prior FTA's	CPRFTAS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior pretrial release	RPRTR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
On probation or parole	PROBPAR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Self-reported alcohol abuse	RALCOHOL	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug-related arrests:			
(1) No prior arrests	PRIORAR0	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) Non-drug arrests only	PRIORAR1	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) Drug arrests only	PRIORAR2	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(4) Drug and other arrests	PRIORAR3	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Drug charge/drug priors measures:			
(1) No drug charges, no prior arrests	CLASS1	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) No drug charges, non-drug arrests only	CLASS2	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) No drug charges, drug arrests only	CLASS3	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(4) No drug charges, drug and other arrests	CLASS4	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(5) Drug charges, no prior arrests	CLASS5	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(6) Drug charges, any arrests	CLASS6	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1

Table A4.2 Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Dade County 1984 Data

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Age, 21-25 vs. below 21 or over 25	AGE2125	0 (21 - 25)	-1
		1 (below 21 or over 25)	1
Age, 40 and under vs. over 40	AGEGT40	0 (40 and under)	-1
		1 (over 40)	1
Employment	REMP	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Has telephone	PHONE	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Local address	RADDRESS	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Marital Status Single vs. other	RMARITL2	0 (single)	-1
		1 (other)	1
Race: (1) White/Non-white	WHITE	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) Black/Non-black	BLACK	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) Hispanic/Non-hispanic		0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Sex	SEX	0 (male)	-1
		1 (female)	1
Assault charges	ASSAULT	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Burglary charges	BURGLARY	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Index charges	INDEX	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Injury charges	INJURY	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1

Table A4.2 Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Dade County 1984 Data (cont'd)

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Robbery charges	ROBBERY	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Weapons charges	WEAPONS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Cocaine charges	COKECHG	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Marijuana charges	MJCHG	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Other drug charges	OTHDRCHG	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
More serious drug charges	MORSERDR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Less serious drug charges	LESSERDR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior arrests	CPRARS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Recent prior arrests	CPRARSRTE	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug arrests	CPRARDRG	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious personal	CPRARSPS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious property	CPRARSPP	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior weapons arrests	CPRARSWP	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior convictions	CPRCON	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior felony convictions	CPRCONF	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior misdemeanor convictions	CPRCONM	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1

Table   A4.2   Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Dade County 1984 Data (cont'd)

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Prior drug convictions	CPRCONDR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious person convictions	CPRCONPS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious property convictions	CPRCONPP	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior felony FTA's	CPRFTAF	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior misdemeanor FTA's	CPRFTAM	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior felony pretrial release	RRPRPTR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
On probation or parole	PROBPAR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug-related arrests:			
(1) No prior arrests	PRIORAR0	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) Non-drug arrests only	PRIORAR1	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) Drug arrests only	PRIORAR2	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(4) Drug and other arrests	PRIORAR3	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1

Table   A4.2   Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Dade County 1984 Data (cont'd)

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Drug charge/drug priors measures:			
(1) No drug charges, other prior arrests	CLASS1	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) No drug charges, both prior arrests	CLASS2	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) Drug charges, other prior arrests	CLASS3	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(4) Drug charges, both prior arrests	CLASS4	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(5) Other combinations	CLASS5	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1

Table A4.3   Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Dade County 1987 Data

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Employment	REMP	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Has Telephone	RPHONE	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Race:			
(1) White/Non-white	WHITE	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) Black/Non-black	BLACK	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Sex	SEX	0 (male)	-1
		1 (female)	1
Self-reported substance abuse - now	RABUSEN	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Assault charges	ASSAULT	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Burglary charges	BURGLARY	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Injury charges	INJURY	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Weapons charges	WEAPONS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior arrests	CPRARS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Recent prior arrests	RRPARR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious personal	RPSERPER	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious property	RPSERPRO	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug arrests	RPDRGARR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1

Table A4.3 Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Dade County 1987 Data (cont'd)

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Prior drug arrests - possession	RPDRGPOS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanor	RPDRGMSD	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior weapons arrests	DPWEAPOF	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior convictions	RPRCONV	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior felony convictions	RPRFCONV	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior misdemeanor convictions	DPRCONVM	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious person convictions	RPCONPER	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior serious property convictions	RPCONPRO	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug convictions	RPCONDRG	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug convictions - possession	RPCONDGP	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug convictions - misdemeanor	RPCMSDR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior weapons convictions	RPCONWP	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior FTA's	PRFTAS	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Outstanding warrants	RWARR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1

Table A4.3 Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Dade County 1987 Data (cont'd)

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Presently on pretrial release	RPRESPTR	0 (none)	-1
		1 (one or more)	1
Prior drug-related arrests:			
(1) No prior arrests	PRIORARO	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) Non-drug arrests only	PRIORAR1	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) Drug arrests only	PRIORAR2	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(4) Drug and other arrests	PRIORAR3	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Drug charge/drug priors measures:			
(1) No drug charges, other prior arrests	CLASS1	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) No drug charges, both prior arrests	CLASS2	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) Drug charges, other prior arrests	CLASS3	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(4) Drug charges, both prior arrests	CLASS4	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(5) Other combinations	CLASS5	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Positive for cocaine	COKE	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Positive for marijuana	THC	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Positive for either	EITHPOS	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
Positive for both	BOTHPOS	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1

Table   A4.3   Coding of independent variables in logit analysis for Dade County 1987 Data (cont'd)

Variable Label	Variable Name	Values/Names	Coding values for logits
Drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure:			
(1) No drug charges/no priors/ negative	COMB1	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(2) Drug or other charges/no priors/positive	COMB2	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(3) No drug charges/drug or other prior/negative	COMB3	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(4) Drug or other charges/other priors/positive	COMB4	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(5) Drug or other charges/ drug and other priors/positive	COMB5	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1
(6) Other combinations	COMB6	0 (no)	-1
		1 (yes)	1

APPENDIX B

Multivariate Tables for Chapter Four

Table B4.1   Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full Coeff.	Model I Full t-value	Model II Reduced Coeff.	Model II Reduced t-value	Model III Final Coeff.	Model III Final t-value
Age, less than 26						
vs. 26 or over	0.168	(2.387)	0.200	(3.145)	0.197	(3.104)
Sex	-0.175	(-1.846)	----	----	----	----
Race:						
(1) White/Non-white	-0.061	(-0.932)	----	----	----	----
Marital status	-0.100	(-1.414)	----	----	----	----
Local address	0.338	(2.838)	0.311	(2.721)	0.340	(3.006)
Employment	-0.060	(-0.877)	----	----	----	----
Self-reported alcohol abuse	0.335	(2.248)	0.421	(2.967)	0.433	(3.061)
DWI charges	0.224	(1.800)	----	----	----	----
Prior arrests	0.121	(0.790)	0.331	(4.284)	0.311	(4.058)
Recent prior arrests	0.093	(0.828)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious personal	0.200	(1.309)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property	0.462	(2.793)	0.305	(3.045)	0.320	(3.196)
Prior drug arrests	0.037	(0.285)	----	----	----	----
Prior convictions	0.007	(0.044)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony convictions	0.098	(0.764)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.140	(1.221)	0.182	(2.156)	0.199	(2.371)
Prior serious personal convictions	-0.198	(-1.089)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property convictions	-0.245	(-1.274)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions	0.090	(0.609)	----	----	----	----
Prior FTA's	-0.018	(-0.170)	----	----	----	----
Prior pretrial release	0.188	(1.399)	----	----	----	----
On probation or parole	-0.067	(-0.593)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	0.735	(2.402)	0.657	(3.325)	0.656	(3.332)
Log likelihood	-712.448		-723.488		-728.700	
Goodness of fit chi-square	805.205		827.284		28.085	
P value	0.000		0.000		0.354	
DF	644		660		26	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.415		0.421		0.024	
N	1137		1137		1145	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.2   Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected indepedent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 26				
vs. 26 or over	0.206	(3.222)	0.203	(3.176)
Local address	0.345	(3.025)	0.348	(3.059)
Self-reported alcohol abuse	0.423	(2.955)	0.427	(2.986)
Prior arrests	0.000	(0.000)	0.653	(6.331)
Prior serious property	0.279	(2.670)	0.276	(2.640)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.134	(1.533)	----	----
Prior drug-related arrests:				
(1) No prior arrests	-0.307	(-2.945)	----	----
(2) Non-drug arrests only	-0.021	(-0.196)	-0.324	(-3.122)
(3) Drug arrests only	-0.062	(0.000)	-0.352	(-2.905)
(4) Drug and other arrests	0.259	(2.108)	----	----
y intercept	0.708	(3.109)	0.065	(0.273)
Log likelihood	-724.223		-725.403	
Goodness of fit chi-square	66.369		68.729	
P value	0.211		0.181	
DF	58		59	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.055		0.057	
N	1145		1145	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.3 Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected indepedent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/drug prior measures)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 26				
vs. 26 or over	0.202	(3.142)	0.203	(3.176)
Local address	0.346	(3.035)	0.348	(3.059)
Self-reported alcohol abuse	0.456	(3.163)	0.427	(2.986)
Prior arrests	0.864	(3.081)	0.653	(6.331)
Prior serious property	0.271	(2.591)	0.276	(2.640)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
Non-drug arrests only	-0.703	(-2.765)	-0.324	(-3.122)
Drug arrests only	-0.546	(-2.141)	-0.352	(-2.905)
Drug charge/drug priors measures:				
No drug charges, no prior arrests	-0.084	(0.000)	----	----
No drug charges, non-drug arrests only	0.123	(0.509)	----	----
No drug charges, drug arrests only	-0.128	(0.000)	----	----
No drug charges, drug and other arrests	-0.348	(-1.210)	----	----
Drug charges, no prior arrests	0.005	(0.046)	----	----
Drug charges, any arrests	0.008	(0.046)	----	----
y intercept	-0.568	(-0.821)	0.065	(0.273)
Log likelihood	-723.205		-725.403	
Goodness of fit chi-square	51.689		56.085	
P value	0.674		0.654	
DF	57		61	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2=c/(N=c)$)	0.043		0.047	
N	1145		1145	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.4 Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Reduced		Model III Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 26 vs. 26 or over	0.277	(3.262)	0.308	(3.913)	0.316	(4.030)
Sex	-0.189	(-1.438)	----	----	----	----
White/Non-white	1.986	(11.67)	----	----	----	----
Black/Non-black	2.408	(13.21)	0.453	(4.315)	0.477	(4.557)
Hispanic/Non-hispanic	2.176	(12.43)	0.217	(2.430)	0.224	(2.507)
Native American/ Non-Native American	2.438	(0.000)	0.453	(2.729)	0.453	(2.740)
Marital status	-0.941	(-1.067)	----	----	----	----
Employment	-0.754	(-0.929)	----	----	----	----
Robbery charges	0.222	(1.350)	----	----	----	----
Burglary charges	0.314	(3.185)	0.338	(3.529)	0.363	(3.838)
Assault charges	0.312	(3.366)	0.321	(3.562)	0.342	(3.829)
DWI charges	-0.246	(-1.470)	-0.307	(-1.855)	----	----
Prior arrests	0.256	(1.513)	0.230	(2.422)	0.214	(2.262)
Recent prior arrests	-0.064	(-0.507)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious personal	0.155	(1.078)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property	0.063	(0.600)	----	----	----	----
Prior weapons arrests	0.224	(1.361)	----	----	----	----
Prior convictions	-0.090	(-0.620)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.338	(3.075)	0.308	(3.334)	0.302	(3.278)
Prior serious personal convictions	-0.227	(-1.282)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	3.811	(9.685)	-0.374	(-1.360)	-0.070	(-0.316)
Log likelihood	-533.318		-539.538		-542.333	
Goodness of fit chi-square	689.797		702.236		124.797	
P value	0.039		0.035		0.009	
DF	626		636		90	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.377		0.381		0.098	
N	1142		1142		1145	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.5 Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 26				
vs. 26 or over	0.300	(0.079)	0.294	(3.729)
Black/Non-black	0.468	(0.105)	0.476	(4.534)
Hispanic/Non-hispanic	0.218	(0.090)	0.220	(2.459)
Native American/				
Non-Native American	0.449	(0.166)	0.454	(2.740)
Burglary charges	0.351	(0.095)	0.352	(3.704)
Assault charges	0.331	(0.090)	0.325	(3.637)
Prior arrests	0.000	(0.000)	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.335	(0.097)	0.390	(4.799)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
No prior arrests	-0.069	(0.100)	----	----
Non-drug arrests only	0.209	(0.000)	0.218	(2.730)
Drug arrests only	0.008	(0.127)	----	----
Drug and other arrests	0.065	(0.111)	----	----
y intercept	0.082	(0.268)	0.089	(0.407)
Log likelihood	-540.720		-541.249	
Goodness of fit chi-square	183.179		184.239	
P value	0.006		0.007	
DF	138		140	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.138		0.139	
N	1145		1145	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.6 Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/drug prior measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 26				
vs. 26 or over	0.294	(3.706)	0.294	(3.729)
Black/Non-black	0.458	(4.344)	0.476	(4.534)
Hispanic/Non-hispanic	0.214	(2.382)	0.220	(2.459)
Native American/				
Non-Native American	0.449	(2.705)	0.454	(2.740)
Burglary charges	0.355	(3.629)	0.352	(3.704)
Assault charges	0.338	(3.636)	0.325	(3.637)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.328	(3.377)	0.390	(4.799)
Non-drug arrests only	0.099	(0.468)	0.218	(2.730)
Drug charge/drug priors measures:				
No drug charges, no prior				
arrests	0.009	(0.055)	----	----
No drug charges, non-drug				
arrests only	0.167	(0.641)	----	----
No drug charges, drug arrests				
only	-0.029	(0.000)	----	----
No drug charges, drug and				
other arrests	0.116	(0.676)	----	----
Drug charges, no prior				
arrests	-0.096	(-0.429)	----	----
Drug charges, any arrests	0.213	(1.1340	----	----
y intercept	0.219	(0.414)	0.089	(0.407)
Log likelihood	-539.746		-541.249	
Goodness of fit chi-square	244.837		247.844	
P value	0.002		0.003	
DF	184		189	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.176		0.178	
N	1145		1145	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.7 Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Reduced		Model III Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 30						
vs. 30 or over	0.297	(2.936)	0.308	(3.278)	0.311	(3.261)
Sex	-0.230	(-1.624)	----	----	----	----
White/Non-white	1.835	(10.08)	----	----	----	----
Black/Non-black	2.231	(11.40)	0.408	(4.008)	0.348	(3.149)
Hispanic/Non-hispanic	2.049	(10.940	0.238	(2.730)	0.189	(2.063)
Native American/						
Non-Native American	2.170	(0.000)	0.365	(2.723)	----	----
Marital Status	-0.087	(-0.971)	----	----	----	----
Index charges	-0.027	(0.245)	----	----	----	----
Robbery charges	0.263	(1.462)	0.412	(2.966)	0.387	(2.400)
Weapons charges	-0.013	(-0.094)	----	----	----	----
Assault charges	0.369	(3.269)	0.472	(5.451)	0.457	(5.158)
Theft charges	-0.272	(-2.138)	----	----	----	----
Drug charges	-0.142	(-1.219)	----	----	----	----
Prior arrests	0.314	(1.829)	----	----	----	----
Recent prior arrests	-0.117	(-0.906)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious personal	0.500	(3.485)	0.435	(4.695)	0.443	(4.781)
Prior weapons arrests	.247	(1.480)	----	----	----	----
Prior convictions	-0.209	(-1.383)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.224	(1.899)	0.219	(2.523)	0.219	(2.518)
Prior serious personal convictions	-0.227	(-1.300)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	2.972	(7.849)	0.000	----	-0.424	(-2.170)
Log likelihood	-488.867		-497.306		-498.469	
Goodness of fit chi-square	624.032		640.911		106.565	
P value	0.105		0.085		0.018	
DF	581		593		78	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.353		0.359		0.085	
N	1142		1142		1142	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.8   Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 30				
vs. 30 or over	0.312	(3.261)	0.307	(3.218)
Black/Non-black	0.355	(3.196)	0.343	(3.100)
Hispanic/Non-hispanic	0.188	(2.046)	0.183	(1.992)
Robbery charges	0.380	(2.334)	0.368	(2.278)
Assault charges	0.467	(5.200)	0.464	(5.214)
Prior serious personal	0.417	(3.914)	0.377	(3.859)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.245	(2.379)	0.221	(2.544)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
No prior arrests	0.014	(0.000)	----	----
Non-drug arrests only	0.168	(1.427)	0.183	(2.075)
Drug arrests only	0.110	(0.777)	----	----
Drug and other arrests	-0.096	(-0.635)	----	----
y intercept	-0.345	(-1.383)	-0.415	(-2.122)
Log likelihood	-495.472		-496.356	
Goodness of fit chi-square	191.870		193.638	
P value	0.002		0.003	
DF	140		142	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.144		0.145	
N	1142		1142	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.9 Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1984 Maricopa County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent varibales (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/ drug prior measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 30				
vs. 30 or over	0.312	(3.251)	0.307	(3.218)
Black/Non-black	0.351	(3.156)	0.343	(3.100)
Hispanic/Non-hispanic	0.193	(2.087)	0.183	(1.992)
Robbery charges	0.371	(2.269)	0.368	(2.278)
Assault charges	0.445	(4.850)	0.464	(5.214)
Prior serious personal	0.403	(3.849)	0.377	(3.859)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.242	(2.345)	0.221	(2.544)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
Non-drug arrests only	0.356	(1.554)	0.183	(2.075)
Drug charge/drug priors measures:				
No drug charges, no prior arrests	0.118	(0.580)	----	----
No drug charges, non-drug arrests only	-0.134	(-0.425)	----	----
No drug charges, drug arrests only	0.176	(0.751)	----	----
No drug charges, drug and other arrests	0.018	(0.077)		
Drug charges, no prior arrests	-0.103	(0.000)	----	----
Drug charges, any arrests	-0.007	(-0.029)	----	----
y intercept	-0.281	(-0.442)	-0.415	(-2.122)
Log likelihood	-495.004		-496.356	
Goodness of fit chi-square	222.941		225.646	
P value	0.016		0.022	
DF	180		185	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2=c/(N=c)$)	0.163		0.165	
N	1142		1142	

[Note: See Table A4.1 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.10 Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1984 Dade County defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full Coeff.	Model I Full t-value	Model II Reduced Coeff.	Model II Reduced t-value	Model III Final Coeff.	Model III Final t-value
Age, 21-25 vs. other	0.073	(0.832)	----	----	----	----
Sex	-0.372	(-3.446)	-0.354	(-3.447)	-0.354	(-3.447)
Black/Non-black	0.104	(1.308)	----	----	----	----
Marital status	-0.154	(-1.342)	----	----	----	----
Local address	0.316	(1.928)	0.320	(1.990)	0.320	(1.990)
Has telephone	-0.114	(-1.501)	----	----	----	----
Employment	-0.221	(-2.277)	-0.210	(-2.238)	-0.210	(-2.238)
Burglary charges	0.050	(0.3731)	----	----	----	----
Weapons charges	-0.073	(-0.7734)	----	----	----	----
Drug charges	-0.593	(-1.559)	-0.638	(-2.460)	-0.638	(-2.460)
Less serious drug charges	0.645	(2.055)	0.713	(2.380)	0.713	(2.380)
More serious drug charges	0.772	(2.219)	0.569	(2.069)	0.569	(2.069)
Marijuana charges	-0.025	(-0.078)	----	----	----	----
Cocaine charges	-0.287	(0.827)	----	----	----	----
Prior arrests	0.155	(1.047)	----	----	----	----
Recent prior arrests	0.314	(2.414)	0.436	(2.069)	0.436	(2.988)
Prior serious personal	-0.165	(-1.419)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property	0.277	(1.929)	0.311	(4.988)	0.311	(2.792)
Prior drug arrests	0.149	(1.099)	----	----	----	----
Prior weapons arrests	0.030	(0.226)	----	----	----	----
Prior convictions	-0.045	(-0.200)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony convictions	0.044	(0.265)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.400	(2.066)	0.500	(2.792)	0.500	(5.652)
Prior serious person convictions	0.236	(1.075)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property convictions	-0.061	(-0.272)	----	----	----	----
Prior weapons convictions	0.119	(0.572)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions	-0.013	(-0.082)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony FTA's	0.046	(0.211)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor FTA's	0.227	(0.975)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony pretrial release	0.382	(0.674)	----	----	----	----
Prior FTA's	-0.164	(0.633)	----	----	----	----
On probation or parole	-0.084	(-0.464)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	0.995	(1.214)	0.587	(1.585)	0.587	(1.585)
Log likelihood	-550.173		-558.392		-558.392	
Goodness of fit chi-square	792.516		808.954		78.189	
P value	0.000		0.000		0.378	
DF	650		673		75	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.454		0.459		0.076	
N	954		954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.11 Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1984 Dade County defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Sex	-0.336	(-3.252)	-0.354	(-3.447)
Local address	0.286	(1.722)	0.320	(1.990)
Employment	-0.211	(-2.234)	-0.210	(-2.238)
Drugs charges	-0.654	(-2.514)	-0.638	(-2.460)
Less serious drug charges	0.723	(2.403)	0.713	(2.380)
More serious drug charges	0.576	(2.089)	0.569	(2.069)
Recent prior arrests	0.341	(2.723)	0.436	(4.988)
Prior serious property	0.289	(2.555)	0.311	(2.792)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.446	(4.558)	0.500	(5.652)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
No prior arrests	0.257	(0.644)	----	----
Non-drug arrests only	0.359	(0.863)	----	----
Drug arrests only	0.392	(0.902)	----	----
Drug and other arrests	0.479	(1.121)	---	----
y intercept	1.407	(1.499)	0.587	(1.585)
Log likelihood	-557.161		-558.392	
Goodness of fit chi-square	139.375		141.837	
P value	0.271		0.305	
DF	130		134	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.127		0.129	
N	954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.12 Logit modeling of rearrest among 1984 Dade County defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/drug priors measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Sex	-0.337	(-3.252)	-0.354	(3.447)
Local address	0.283	(1.698)	0.320	(1.990)
Employment	-0.201	(-2.122)	-0.210	(-2.238)
Drug charges	-0.641	(-2.146)	0.638	(-2.460)
Less serious drug charges	0.707	(2.309)	0.713	(2.380)
More serious drug charges	0.545	(1.950)	0.569	(2.069)
Recent prior arrests	0.381	(3.254)	0.436	(4.988)
Prior serious property	0.295	(2.581)	0.311	(2.792)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.469	(4.937)	0.500	(5.652)
Drug charge/drug priors measures:				
No drug charges, other prior arrests	0.272	(0.652)	----	----
No drug charges, both prior arrests	0.489	(1.139)	----	----
Drug charges, other prior arrests	0.525	(1.183)	----	----
Drug charges, both priors arrests	0.247	(0.547)	----	----
Other combinations	0.269	(0.675)	----	----
y intercept	1.759	(1.309)	0.587	(1.585)
Log likelihood	-555.403		-558.392	
Goodness of fit chi-square	132.459		138.436	
P value	0.307		0.290	
DF	125		130	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2=c/(N=c)$)	0.122		0.127	
N	954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.13   Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among cohort of 1984 Dade County defeadants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Reduced		Model III Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, 40 and under vs. over 40	-0.582	(-3.572)	-0.582	(-3.682)	-0.582	(-3.682)
Sex	-0.275	(-1.917)	-0.327	(-2.423)	0.327	(-2.423)
Black/Non-black	-0.037	(-0.165)	----	----	----	----
White/Non-white	0.212	(-0.906)	----	----	----	----
Hispanic/Non-hispanic	-0.052	(-0.234)	----	----	----	----
Has Telephone	-0.001	(-0.011)	----	----	----	----
Burglary charges	-0.059	(0.331)	----	----	----	----
Weapons charges	0.207	(1.690)	0.235	(2.352)	0.235	(2.352)
Index charges	0.020	(0.139)	----	----	----	----
Robbery charges	0.524	(2.0340	0.526	(2.384)	0.526	(2.384)
Drug charges	-0.200	(-1.082)	----	----	----	----
More serious drug charges	0.147	(0.672)	----	----	----	----
Prior arrests	-0.013	(-0.062)	----	----	----	----
Recent prior arrests	0.393	(2.297)	0.448	(1.034)	0.448	(4.034)
Prior serious personal	0.044	(0.366)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property	0.126	(0.943)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests	0.106	(0.753)	----	----	----	----
Prior weapons arrests	0.168	(1.224)	----	----	----	----
Prior convictions	-0.161	(-0.606)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony convictions	-0.031	(-0.186)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.593	(2.577)	0.483	(4.674)	0.483	(4.674)
Prior serious person convictions	0.002	(-0.010)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property convictions	-0.098	(-0.482)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions	-0.083	(-0.530)	----	----	----	----
Prior weapons convictions	-0.215	(-1.106)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony FTA's	0.014	(0.100)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor FTA's	0.034	(0.296)	----	----	----	----
On probation or parole	-0.022	(-0.125)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	-1.668	(-3.084)	-1.537	(-5.142)	-1.537	(-5.142)
Log likelihood	-417.653		-422.591		-422.591	
Goodness of fit chi-square	655.152		665.027		23.830	
P value	0.082		0.148		0.780	
DF	606		628		30	
Pseudo R^2 (R^2=c/(N=c))	0.407		0.413		0.024	
N	954		954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.14 Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among cohort of 1984 Dade County defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, 40 and under vs. over 40	-0.588	(-3.705)	-0.582	(-3.682)
Sex	-0.326	(-2.398)	-0.327	(-2.423)
Weapons charges	0.236	(2.332)	0.235	(2.352)
Robbery charges	0.525	(2.371)	0.526	(2.384)
Recent prior arrests	0.439	(2.619)	0.448	(4.034)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.479	(4.164)	0.483	(4.674)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
No prior arrests	0.159	(0.302)	----	----
Non-drug arrests only	0.153	(0.278)	----	----
Drug arrests only	0.072	(0.127)	----	----
Drug and other arrests	0.178	(0.318)	----	----
y intercept	-1.289	(-1.141)	-1.537	(-5.142)
Log likelihood	-422.414		-422.591	
Goodness of fit chi-square	74.497		74.851	
P value	0.429		0.548	
DF	73		77	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.072		0.073	
N	954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.15 Logit modeling of rearrests for index-offenses among cohort of 1984 Dade County defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charges/drug priors measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, 40 and under vs.				
over 40	-0.595	(-3.728)	-0.582	(-3.682)
Sex	-0.327	(-2.392)	-0.327	(-2.423)
Weapons charges	0.229	(2.255)	0.235	(2.352)
Robbery charges	0.499	(2.225)	0.526	(2.384)
Recent prior arrests	0.423	(2.817)	0.448	(4.034)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.477	(4.313)	0.483	(4.674)
Drug charge/drug priors measures:				
No drug charges, other prior arrests	0.133	(0.244)	----	----
No drug charges, both prior arrests	0.273	(0.495)	----	----
Drug charges, other prior arrests	0.368	(0.659)	----	----
Drug charges, both prior arrests	-0.070	(-0.123)	----	----
Other combinations	0.147	(0.280)	----	----
y intercept	-1.056	(-0.635)	-1.537	(-5.142)
Log likelihood	-419.978		-422.591	
Goodness of fit chi-square	101.017		106.242	
P value	0.222		0.223	
DF	91		96	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.096		0.100	
N	954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.16   Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1984 Dade County
defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full Coeff.	t-value	Model II Reduced Coeff.	t-value	Model III Final Coeff.	t-value
Age, 40 and under vs. over 40	-0.376	(-2.477)	-0.376	(-2.554)	-0.376	(-2.554)
Sex	-0.308	(-2.111)	-0.340	(-2.423)	-0.340	(-2.423)
Black/Non-black	0.172	(1.867)	0.177	(1.988)	0.177	(1.988)
Black/Non-black	0.233	(2.040)	0.314	(3.129)	0.314	(3.129)
Index charges	-0.001	(-0.012)	----	----	----	----
Robbery charges	0.536	(2.179)	0.622	(2.833)	0.622	(2.833)
Assault charges	0.336	(1.565)	0.462	(2.471)	0.462	(2.471)
Injury charges	0.154	(1.096)	----	----	----	----
Marijuana charges	0.087	(0.515)	----	----	----	----
Cocaine charges	-0.176	(-1.063)	----	----	----	----
Other drug charges	-0.464	(-0.822)	----	----	----	----
Prior arrests	0.127	(0.644)	----	----	----	----
Recent prior arrests	0.319	(1.946)	0.443	(3.963)	0.443	(3.963)
Prior serious personal	0.128	(1.059)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property	0.039	(0.281)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests	0.114	(0.806)	----	----	----	----
Prior weapons arrests	0.064	(0.522)	----	----	----	----
Prior convictions	-0.190	(-0.738)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony convictions	-0.010	(-0.063)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.433	(1.924)	0.383	(3.639)	0.383	(3.639)
Prior serious person convictions	-0.100	(-0.490)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property convictions	-0.007	(-0.036)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions	0.001	(-0.008)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony FTA's	-0.183	(-1.268)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor FTA's	0.110	(0.941)	----	----	----	----
On probation or parole	0.166	(0.932)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	-1.382	(-1.770)	-0.884	(-2.605)	-0.884	(-2.605)
Log likelihood	-407.390		-413.015		-413.015	
Goodness of fit chi-square	589.700		600.951		81.683	
P value	0.054		0.082		0.228	
DF	536		554		73	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.382		0.386		0.079	
N	954		954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.17 Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1984 Dade County felony defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, 40 and under vs.				
over 40	-0.392	(-2.648)	-0.376	(-2.554)
Sex	-0.327	(-2.317)	-0.340	(-2.423)
Black/Non-black	-0.176	(1.968)	0.177	(1.988)
Weapons charges	0.300	(2.955)	0.314	(3.129)
Robbery charges	0.606	(2.745)	0.622	(2.833)
Assault charges	0.449	(2.386)	0.462	(2.471)
Recent prior arrests	0.343	(2.117)	0.443	(3.963)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.333	(2.892)	0.383	(3.639)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
No prior arrests	0.054	(0.102)	----	----
Non-drug arrests only	0.170	(0.309)	----	----
Drug arrests only	0.133	(0.233)	----	----
Drug and other arrests	0.275	(0.493)	----	----
y intercept	-0.593	(-0.526)	-0.884	(-2.605)
Log likelihood	-412.313		-413.015	
Goodness of fit chi-square	140.688		142.092	
P value	0.420		0.482	
DF	138		142	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.129		0.130	
N	954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.18 Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1984 Dade County defendants during 4-year follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/drug priors measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Age, less than 40				
over 40	-0.400	(-2.682)	-0.403	(-2.708)
Sex	-0.337	(-2.376)	-0.326	(-2.314)
Black/Non-black	0.168	(1.873)	0.177	(1.977)
Weapons charges	0.293	(2.873)	0.292	(2.882)
Robbery charges	0.575	(2.572)	0.579	(2.595)
Assault charges	0.430	(2.272)	0.447	(2.381)
Recent prior arrests	0.364	(2.412)	0.393	(3.413)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.345	(3.066)	0.341	(3.167)
Drug charge/drug priors measures:				
No drug charges, other prior arrests	0.131	(0.240)	----	----
No drug charges, both prior arrests	0.335	(0.606)	0.226	(2.058)
Drug charges, other prior arrests	0.254	(0.452)	----	----
Drug charges, both prior arrests	-0.081	(-0.140)	----	----
Other combinations	0.070	(0.133)	----	----
y intercept	-0.556	(-0.334)	-0.820	(-2.393)
Log likelihood	-409.919		-410.924	
Goodness of fit chi-square	180.703		182.713	
P value	0.176		0.207	
DF	164		168	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N = c)$)	0.159		0.161	
N	954		954	

[Note: See Table A4.2 in Appendix A for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.19 Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full Coeff.	Model I Full t-value	Model II Reduced Coeff.	Model II Reduced t-value	Model III Final Coeff.	Model III Final t-value
Burglary charges	0.202	(2.008)	0.189	(1.908)	0.228	(2.357)
Injury charges	-0.023	(-0.176)	----	----	----	----
Assault charges	-0.219	(-1.555)	-0.232	(2.251)	-0.241	(-2.382)
Sex	-0.036	(-0.308)	----	----		
White/Non-white	-0.151	(-1.692)	-0.133	(-1.512)	----	-----
Age, 26-40 vs. under 26 or over 40	0.009	(0.114)	----	----	----	----
Has telephone	-0.211	(-2.597)	-0.204	(-2.561)	-0.211	(-2.779)
Employment	-0.182	(-2.172)	-0.176	(-2.173)	----	----
Self-reported substance abuse - past year	-0.641	(-1.849)	-0.654	(-1.974)	----	----
Self-reported substance abuse	0.718	(1.994)	0.755	(2.246)	----	----
Self-reported cocaine abuse	0.076	(0.455)	----	----	----	----
Prior arrests	-0.105	(-0.607)	----	----	----	----
Recent prior arrests	0.697	(4.831)	0.607	(6.261)	0.609	(6.509)
Prior serious personal	0.244	(2.376)	0.200	(2.184)	0.216	(2.402)
Prior serious property	0.225	(2.120)	0.150	(1.690)		
Prior drug arrests	0.299	(0.832)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests - possession	-0.298	(-0.831)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.301	(1.654)	0.374	(2.648)	0.286	(2.162)
Prior weapons arrests	0.368	(2.968)	0.361	(2.998)	0.368	(3.110)
Prior convictions	-0.254	(-1.361)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony convictions	0.163	(1.011)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.495	(3.137)	0.297	(3.259)	0.301	(3.626)
Prior serious person convictions	-0.207	(-1.301)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property convictions	-0.179	(-1.193)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions	0.459	(1.000)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions - possession	-0.683	(-1.502)	-0.215	(-1.914)	----	----
Prior drug convictions - misdemeanor	0.029	(0.105)	----	----	----	----
Prior weapons convictions	-0.344	(-1.888)	-0.343	(-1.955)	-0.363	(-2.095)
Prior FTA's	0.281	(1.743)	----	----	----	
Outstanding warrants	0.302	(2.088)	0.458	(4.433)	0.432	(4.280)
Presently on pretrial release	-0.148	(-1.540)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	0.128	(0.350)	0.280	(1.134)	0.337	(1.506)
Log likelihood	-529.900		-535.821		-546.743	
Goodness of fit chi-square	892.98		904.823		678.578	
P value	0.016		0.021		0.007	
DF	805		820		591	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.473		0.477		0.405	
N	994		994		998	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.20 Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.219	(2.258)	0.219	(2.257)
Assault charges	-0.243	(-2.396)	-0.244	(-2.414)
Has telephone	-0.213	(-2.785)	-0.213	(-2.789)
Recent prior arrests	0.639	(4.572)	0.645	(6.752)
Prior serious personal	0.193	(2.101)	0.194	(2.124)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.310	(2.216)	0.321	(2.376)
Prior weapons arrests	0.355	(2.960)	0.359	(3.028)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.260	(2.860)	0.267	(3.133)
Prior weapons convictions	-0.358	(-2.060)	-0.357	(-2.056)
Outstanding warrants	0.425	(4.190)	0.426	(4.208)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
No prior arrests	0.027	(0.1450)	----	----
Non-drug arrests only	0.027	(0.2837)	----	----
Drug arrests only	-0.318	(-1.701)	-0.356	(-2.028)
Drug and other arrests	0.056	*	----	----
y intercept	0.071	(0.2141)	0.009	(0.032)
Log likelihood	-544.545		-544.594	
Goodness of fit chi-square	304.501		304.599	
P value	0.123		0.140	
DF	277		279	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.234		0.234	
N	998		998	

* Did not pass the tolerance test.
[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.21 Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/drug priors measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.242	(2.310)	0.219	(2.257)
Assault charges	-0.217	(-2.009)	-0.244	(-2.414)
Has telephone	-0.224	(-2.918)	-0.213	(-2.789)
Recent prior arrests	0.652	(4.616)	0.645	(6.752)
Prior serious personal	0.184	(1.992)	0.194	(2.124)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.311	(2.188)	0.321	(2.376)
Prior weapons arrests	0.371	(3.071)	0.359	(3.028)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.264	(2.888)	0.267	(3.133)
Prior weapons convictions	-0.374	(-2.147)	-0.357	(-2.056)
Outstanding warrants	0.434	(4.271)	0.426	(4.208)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
Drug arrests only	-0.358	(-1.582)	0.356	(-2.028)
Drug charge/drug priors measures:				
No drug charges, other				
prior arrests	-1.424	(-10.31)	----	----
No drug charges, both				
prior arrests	-1.254	(-8.318)	----	----
Drug charges, other prior				
arrests	-1.143	*	----	----
Drug charges, both prior				
arrests	-1.425	(-9.047)	----	----
Other combinations	-1.328	(-7.073)	----	----
y intercept	-3.893	(-10.22)	0.009	(0.032)
Log likelihood	-540.947		-544.594	
Goodness of fit chi-square	374.081		381.376	
P value	0.080		0.065	
DF	337		341	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.273		0.276	
N	998		998	

* Did not pass the tolerance test.
[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.22   Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month
follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug test results)

Independent Variables	Model I Full Coeff.	Model I Full t-value	Model II Final Coeff.	Model II Final t-value
Burglary charges	0.330	(2.833)	0.357	(1.429)
Assault charges	-0.132	(-1.062)	----	----
Has telephone	-0.182	(-1.999)	-0.181	(0.8344)
Prior arrests	0.667	(6.040)	0.700	(2.015)
Prior serious personal	0.158	(1.432)	----	----
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.343	(2.132)	----	----
Prior weapons arrests	0.308	(2.139)	0.344	(1.410)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.214	(2.086)	0.259	(1.295)
Prior weapons convictions	-0.137	(-0.6426)	----	----
Outstanding warrants	0.356	(2.915)	0.365	(1.441)
Positive for cocaine	0.314	(0.1782)	----	----
Positive for marijuana	0.515	*	----	----
✓Positive for either	0.363	(1.871)	0.394	(1.483)
Positive for both	-0.085	(-0.8302)	----	----
Prior drug-related arrests:				
Drug arrests only	-0.309	(1.454)	----	----
y intercept	0.051	(0.1495)	0.249	(1.283)
Log likelihood	-388.322		-393.324	
Goodness of fit chi-square	300.636		310.641	
P value	0.430		0.384	
DF	297		304	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.295		0.302	
N	718		718	

* Did not pass tolerance test.
[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.23   Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests, drug test results, and drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.365	(3.233)	0.360	(3.212)
Has telephone	-0.181	(-2.023)	-0.185	(-2.074)
Recent prior arrests	0.663	(4.483)	0.700	(6.700)
Prior weapons arrests	0.341	(2.901)	0.348	(3.011)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.229	(2.144)	0.254	(2.621)
Outstanding warrants	0.368	(3.049)	0.368	(3.063)
Positive for either	0.243	(1.299)	0.392	(3.245)
Drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure:				
No drug charges/no priors/ negative	-0.205	(-0.760)	----	----
Drug or other charges/no priors/positive	-0.078	(-0.398)	----	----
No drug charges/drug or other prior/negative	-0.212	(-0.935)	----	----
Drug or other charges/other priors/positive	0.033	(0.000)	----	----
Drug or other charges/ drug and other priors/positive	-0.010	(-0.081)	----	----
Other combinations	-0.076	(-0.473)	----	----
y intercept	-0.092	(-0.199)	0.252	(1.325)
Log likelihood	-392.041		-392.789	
Goodness of fit chi-square	141.188		142.685	
P value	0.184		0.248	
DF	127		132	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2=c/(N=c)$)	0.165		0.166	
N	717		717	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.24 Logit modeling of rearrest among cohort of Dade County 1987 felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.354	(3.146)	0.350	(3.159)
Has telephone	-0.183	(-2.051)	-0.195	(-2.197)
Recent prior arrests	0.660	(4.487)	0.758	(7.171)
Prior weapons arrests	0.323	(2.769)	0.343	(2.983)
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.222	(2.107)	0.266	(2.747)
Outstanding warrants	0.375	(3.106)	0.388	(3.213)
Drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure:				
No drug charges/no priors/ negative	-0.290	(-1.230)	----	----
Drug or other charges/no priors/positive	0.003	(0.017)	----	----
No drug charges/drug or other prior/negative	-0.315	(-1.905)	-0.380	(-2.453)
Drug or other charges/other priors/positive	0.120	(0.000)	----	----
Drug or other charges/ drug and other priors/positive	0.098	(0.812)	----	----
Other combinations	-0.066	(-0.448)	----	----
y intercept	0.042	(0.098)	0.179	(0.825)
Log likelihood	-395.386		-397.570	
Goodness of fit chi-square	124.681		129.051	
P value	0.194		0.192	
DF	112		116	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.147		0.152	
N	722		722	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.25   Logit modeling of rearrest for index offenses among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full Coeff.	t-value	Model II Reduced Coeff.	t-value	Model III Final Coeff.	t-value
Weapons charges	-0.284	(-1.669)	----	----	----	----
Burglary charges	0.334	(3.041)	0.450	(4.719)	0.474	(5.023)
Assault charges	-0.116	(-0.787)	----	----	----	----
Drug charges, more serious	-0.159	(-1.315)	----	----	----	----
Sex	-0.127	(-0.813)	----	----	----	----
White/Non-white	-0.121	(-0.793)	----	----	----	----
Black/Non-black	0.163	(1.273)	0.225	(2.458)	0.226	(2.484)
Has telephone	-0.214	(-2.187)	----	----	----	----
Employment	-0.288	(-2.820)	-0.280	(-2.946)	-0.278	(-2.947)
Self-reported substance abuse	0.229	(2.115)	----	----	----	----
Prior arrests	-0.542	(-1.318)	----	----	----	----
Recent prior arrests	1.189	(3.228)	0.859	(4.952)	0.878	(5.258)
Prior serious personal	0.399	(3.722)	0.389	(4.277)	0.389	(4.348)
Prior serious property	0.158	(1.327)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests	0.184	(0.562)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests - possession	-0.248	(-0.769)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.279	(1.829)	0.281	(2.196)	0.286	(2.289)
Prior weapons arrests	0.076	(0.708)	----	----	----	----
Prior convictions	-0.457	(-2.044)	-0.397	(-2.031)	----	----
Prior felony convictions	-0.064	(-0.392)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.449	(2.427)	0.472	(2.712)	----	----
Prior serious person convictions	0.040	(0.273)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property convictions	0.198	(1.340)	0.306	(2.888)	0.287	(2.960)
Prior drug convictions	0.378	(1.032)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions - possession	-0.195	(-0.536)	----	----	----	----
Prior FTA's	-0.166	(-1.037)	----	----	----	----
Outstanding warrants	0.210	(1.398)	----	----	----	----
Presently on pretrial release	-0.013	(-0.129)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	-1.635	(-4.317)	-1.384	(-6.389)	-1.433	(-6.813)
Log likelihood	-395.749		-407.479		-412.611	
Goodness of fit chi-square	760.010		783.471		88.764	
P value	0.930		0.911		0.088	
DF	819		838		72	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)					0.082	
N	994		994		998	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.26   Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.460	(4.857)	0.460	(4.860)
Black/Non-black	0.229	(2.500)	0.233	(2.553)
Employment	-0.270	(-2.861)	-0.269	(-2.845)
Recent prior arrests	1.204	(3.294)	0.899	(5.372)
Prior serious personal	0.366	(4.004)	0.357	(3.965)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.294	(2.194)	0.312	(2.459)
Prior serious property convictions	0.263	(2.662)	0.261	(2.685)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
No prior arrests	0.386	(0.955)	----	----
Non-drug arrests only	0.055	*	----	----
Drug arrests only	-0.747	(-1.981)	-0.740	(-1.988)
Drug and other arrests	-0.002	(-0.019)	----	----
y intercept	-2.090	(-4.740)	-2.149	(-5.091)
Log likelihood	-408.851		-409.659	
Goodness of fit chi-square	142.364		143.981	
P value	0.337		0.346	
DF	136		138	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.125		0.126	
N	998		998	

* Did not pass the tolerance test.
[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.27 Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/priors measures)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.456	(4.436)	0.459	(4.860)
Black/Non-black	0.227	(2.469)	0.233	(2.553)
Employment	-0.267	(-2.816)	-0.269	(-2.845)
Recent prior arrests	1.208	(3.313)	0.899	(5.372)
Prior serious personal	0.368	(4.010)	0.357	(3.965)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.294	(2.170)	0.312	(2.459)
Prior serious property convictions	0.254	(2.540)	0.261	(2.685)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
Drug arrests only	-1.136	(-2.108)	-0.740	(-1.988)
Drug charge/drug priors measure				
No drug charges, other prior arrests	1.695	(11.36)	----	----
No drug charges, both prior arrests	1.830	(12.82)	----	----
Drug charges, other prior arrests	1.837	(10.66)	----	----
Drug charges, both prior arrests	1.703	*	----	----
Other combination	2.173	(5.164)	----	----
y intercept	2.848	(4.796)	-2.149	(-5.091)
Log likelihood	-407.540		-409.659	
Goodness of fit chi-square	190.231		194.470	
P value	0.304		0.302	
DF	181		185	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.160		0.163	
N	998		998	

* Did not pass the tolerance test.
[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.28   Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among Dade County 1987 felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug test results)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.418	(3.663)	0.418	(3.664)
Black/Non-black	0.213	(1.942)	0.214	(1.964)
Employment	-0.263	(-2.337)	-0.263	(-2.347)
Recent prior arrests	0.916	(4.654)	0.918	(4.667)
Prior serious personal	0.352	(3.242)	0.352	(3.242)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.309	(2.044)	0.310	(2.068)
Prior serious property convictions	0.251	(2.090)	0.252	(2.094)
Positive for cocaine	0.252	(0.000)	----	----
Positive for marijuana	-0.016	(-0.067)	-0.249	(-2.236)
Positive for either	0.371	(1.876)	0.624	(3.148)
Positive for both	-0.229	(-0.912)	----	----
Prior drug-related arrests:				
Drug arrests only	-0.907	(-1.745)	-0.907	(-1.745)
y intercept	-2.835	(-4.750)	-2.838	(-4.760)
Log likelihood	-283.071		-283.075	
Goodness of fit chi-square	179.717		179.725	
P value	0.596		0.616	
DF	185		186	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.200		0.200	
N	718		718	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.29 Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests, drug test results, and drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.423	(3.691)	0.414	(3.627)
Black/Non-black	0.213	(1.938)	0.218	(2.003)
Employment	-0.263	(-2.326)	-0.267	(-2.377)
Recent prior arrests	0.946	(3.078)	0.920	(4.679)
Prior serious personal	0.357	(3.256)	0.358	(3.289)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.289	(1.824)	0.307	(2.048)
Prior serious property convictions	0.241	(1.969)	0.248	(2.059)
Positive for marijuana	-0.256	(-2.212)	-0.255	----
Positive for either	0.615	(1.847)	0.630	(-2.286)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
Drug arrests only	-1.003	(-1.729)	-0.908	(-1.746)
Drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure:				
No drug charges/no priors/ negative	-3.088	(-0.312)	----	----
Drug or other charges/no priors/positive	0.168	(0.000)	----	----
No drug charges/drug or other prior/negative	-0.047	(-0.095)	----	----
Drug or other charges/other priors/positive	-0.063	(-0.164)	----	----
Drug or other charges/ drug and other priors/positive	-0.004	(-0.010)	----	----
Other combinations	0.007	(0.169)	----	----
y intercept	-5.878	(-0.589)	-2.848	(0.058)
Log likelihood	-280.824		-282.511	
Goodness of fit chi-square	239.957		243.330	
P value	0.890		0.902	
DF	268		274	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.251		0.253	
N	717		717	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.30 Logit modeling of rearrest for index-offenses among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests, drug test results, and drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full Coeff.	t-value	Model II Final Coeff.	t-value
Burglary charges	0.435	(3.826)	0.413	(3.714)
Black/Non-black	0.176	(1.633)	----	----
Employment	-0.252	(-2.247)	-0.265	(-2.387)
Recent prior arrests	0.940	(3.065)	0.862	(4.388)
Prior serious personal	0.339	(3.133)	0.345	(3.248)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.266	(1.716)	0.286	(2.441)
Prior serious property convictions	0.251	(2.076)	----	----
Prior drug-related arrests:				
Drug arrests only	-0.737	(-1.325)	-0.894	(-1.728)
Drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure:				
No drug charges/no priors/ negative	-3.379	(-0.340)	-3.546	(-0.356)
Drug or other charges/no priors/positive	0.235	(0.541)	----	----
No drug charges/drug or other prior/negative	-0.372	(0.000)	-0.452	(-2.094)
Drug or other charges/other priors/positive	0.029	(0.129)	----	----
Drug or other charges/ drug and other priors/positive	0.075	(0.331)	----	----
Other combinations	-0.177	(-0.601)	----	----
y intercept	-5.7803	(-0.579)	-6.341	(-0.635)
Log likelihood	-285.350		-289.507	
Goodness of fit chi-square	176.333		184.648	
P value	0.500		0.431	
DF	177		182	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.196		0.204	
N	722		722	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.31   Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables

Independent Variables	Model I Full Coeff.	Model I Full t-value	Model II Reduced Coeff.	Model II Reduced t-value	Model III Final Coeff.	Model III Final t-value
Black/Non-black	0.358	(3.491)	0.351	(3.541)	0.352	(3.545)
Has telephone	-0.231	(-2.295)	-0.193	(-1.995)	-0.192	(-1.988)
Self-reported substance abuse	0.042	(0.275)	----	----	----	----
Positive for cocaine	0.191	(1.039)	----	----	----	----
Prior arrests	-0.142	(-0.429)	----	----	----	----
Recent prior arrests	0.646	(2.401)	0.702	(4.329)	0.707	(4.357)
Prior serious personal	0.417	(3.781)	0.450	(4.702)		
Prior serious property	0.077	(0.626)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests	0.259	(0.827)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug arrests - possession	-0.163	(-0.530)	0.391	(3.154)	0.450	(4.704)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.226	(1.251)	----	----	0.391	3.155
Prior weapons arrests	0.311	(1.870)	----	----	----	----
Prior convictions	-0.023	(-0.143)	----	----	----	----
Prior felony convictions	-0.102	(-0.610)	----	----	----	----
Prior misdemeanor convictions	0.153	(1.276)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious person convictions	0.052	(0.344)	----	----	----	----
Prior serious property convictions	0.009	(0.058)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions	-0.209	(-0.547)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions possession	0.158	(0.423)	----	----	----	----
Prior drug convictions misdemeanor	0.347	(1.352)	----	----	----	----
Prior weapons convictions	-0.158	(-0.912)	----	----	----	----
Outstanding warrants	0.010	(0.094)	----	----	----	----
Presently on pretrial release	0.157	(1.507)	----	----	----	----
y intercept	-1.207	(-3.416)	-1.900	(-9.890)	-1.905	(-9.912)
Log likelihood	-371.529		-379.203		-379.310	
Goodness of fit chi-square	590.106		605.454		15.874	
P value	0.617		0.644		0.777	
DF	601		619		21	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.372		0.378		0.016	
N	995		995		998	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.32 Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1987 Dade Ccounty felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Black/Non-black	0.348	(3.488)	0.352	(3.545)
Has telephone	-0.189	(-1.948)	-0.192	(-1.988)
Recent prior arrests	0.688	(2.585)	0.707	(4.357)
Prior serious personal	0.423	(4.311)	0.450	(4.704)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.368	(2.792)	0.391	(3.155)
Prior drug-related arrests:				
No prior arrests	-0.008	(-0.012)	----	----
Non-drug arrests only	-0.011	(-0.070)	----	----
Drug arrests only	-0.309	*	----	----
Drug and other arrests	0.075	(0.2664)	----	----
y intercept	-2.197	(-5.993)	-1.905	(-9.912)
Log likelihood	-377.994		-379.310	
Goodness of fit chi-square	56.892		59.524	
P value	0.554		0.566	
DF	59		62	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2=c/(N=c)$)	0.054		0.056	
N	998		998	

* Did not pass tolerance test.
[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table   B4.33   Logit mdoeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrests and drug charge/drug priors measure)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Black/Non-black	0.334	(3.340)	0.352	(3.545)
Has telephone	-0.202	(-2.066)	-0.192	(-1.988)
Recent prior arrests	0.581	(2.922)	0.707	(4.357)
Prior serious personal	0.419	(4.262)	0.450	(4.704)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.351	(2.671)	0.391	(3.155)
Drug charge/drug priors measures:				
No drug charges, other prior arrests	-2.730	(-17.47)	----	----
No drug charges, both prior arrests	-2.512	-16.65	----	----
Drug charges, other prior arrests	-2.465	*	----	----
Drug charges, both prior arrests	-2.620	(-15.27)	----	----
Other combinations	-2.806	(-12.23)	----	----
y intercept	-9.732	(-27.08)	-1.905	(-9.912)
Log likelihood	-375.329		-379.310	
Goodness of fit chi-square	90.319		98.281	
P value	0.354		0.258	
DF	86		90	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.083		0.090	
N	998		998	

* Did not pass the tolerance test.
[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.34 Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug test results)

Independent Variables	Model I Full			Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value		Coeff.	t-value
Black/Non-black	0.317	(2.731)		0.319	(2.767)
Has telephone	-0.235	(-2.034)		-0.228	(-1.993)
Recent prior arrests	0.673	(3.704)		0.666	(3.687)
Prior serious personal	0.425	(3.751)		0.425	(3.747)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.365	(2.503)		0.364	(2.521)
Positive for cocaine	-0.047	(-0.201)		----	----
Positive for marijuana	0.044	(0.371)		----	----
Positive for either	0.510	(1.609)		0.491	(2.353)
Positive for both	0.000	(0.000)		----	----
y intercept	-2.226	(0.285)		-2.238	(8.000)
Log likelihood	-271.141			-271.257	
Goodness of fit chi-square	82.755			82.987	
P value	0.141			0.177	
DF	70			72	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.103			0.104	
N	718			718	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.35 Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with prior drug-related arrest, drug test results, and drug charge/drug priors/drug test results)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Black/Non-black	0.308	(2.660)	0.309	(2.676)
Has telephone	-0.236	(-2.034)	-0.237	(-2.058)
Recent prior arrests	0.674	(2.489)	0.731	(4.038)
Prior serious personal	0.414	(3.560)	0.424	(3.713)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.347	(2.289)	0.344	(2.375)
Positive for either	0.248	(0.843)	----	----
Drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure:				
No drug charges/no priors/ negative	0.015	(0.031)	----	----
Drug or other charges/no priors/positive	-0.085	(-0.221)	----	----
No drug charges/drug or other prior/negative	-0.539	(-1.403)	-0.710	(-2.318)
Drug or other charges/other priors/positive	-0.001	(-0.006)	----	----
Drug or other charges/ drug and other priors/positive	-0.005	(0.000)	----	----
Other combinations	-0.070	(-0.330)	----	----
y intercept	-2.664	(-3.420)	-2.548	(-6.859)
Log likelihood	-268.660		-269.448	
Goodness of fit chi-square	86.082		87.659	
P value	0.778		0.843	
DF	97		102	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.107		0.109	
N	717		717	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

Table B4.36   Logit modeling of rearrest for serious crimes against the person among cohort of 1987 Dade County felony defendants during 18-month follow-up: selected independent variables (with drug charge/drug priors/drug test results)

Independent Variables	Model I Full		Model II Final	
	Coeff.	t-value	Coeff.	t-value
Black/Non-black	0.307	(2.650)	0.307	(2.666)
Has telephone	-0.233	(-2.015)	-0.238	(-2.064)
Recent prior arrests	0.670	(2.476)	0.731	(4.041)
Prior serious personal	0.404	(3.489)	0.420	(3.682)
Prior drug arrests - misdemeanors	0.353	(2.330)	0.350	(2.417)
Drug charge/drug priors/drug test measure:				
No drug charges/no priors/ negative	-0.143	(-0.316)	----	----
Drug or other charges/no priors/positive	-0.070	(-0.187)	----	----
No drug charges/drug or other prior/negative	-0.702	(-2.234)	-0.704	(-2.298)
Drug or other charges/other priors/positive	0.027	(0.000)	----	----
Drug or other charges/ drug and other priors/positive	0.018	(0.139)	----	----
Other combinations	-0.131	(-0.669)	----	----
y intercept	-2.783	(-3.997)	-2.548	(-6.859)
Log likelihood	-269.940		270.357	
Goodness of fit chi-square	69.662		70.496	
P value	0.652		0.749	
DF	75		79	
Pseudo R^2 ($R^2 = c/(N=c)$)	0.088		0.089	
N	722		722	

[Note: See Table A4.3 for coding of variables for logit analysis.]

APPENDIX C

The Effects of Incorporating Estimates of At-Risk Time on Analysis of Subsequent Offending

Appendix C

THE EFFECTS OF INCORPORATING ESTIMATES OF TIME AT-RISK INTO ANALYSIS OF SUBSEQUENT OFFENDING[1]

Introduction

In our discussion of analyses of rearrests in Volumes II and III, we pointed out that the data we employed suffered a possibly important limitation, namely, the lack of information accurately summarizing the time defendants were at-risk. Given the data available and limited resources, those earlier analyses sought to examine patterns of rearrests among the defendant cohorts in three sites over the period of the follow-up studies (four years for the 1984 Maricopa County and 1984 Dade County cohorts and 18 months for the 1987 Dade defendants). The concern was that the nature of the relationships found could be affected dramatically by a more detailed knowledge of the time defendants spent incarcerated and free over the duration of the study periods. Quite simply, we might be assuming, for example, that a defendant with no subsequent rearrests over the period of the follow-up posed no public safety threat (was as low risk as one could be), while in fact the defendant may have been in jail and/or prison most of the time. The better explanation for his/her low rate of rearrest, therefore, might actually have been the effect of incapacitation. The defendant was never free to be at-risk for reoffending, quite a different phenomenon than being free and committing no crimes.

Although this possible limitation of the data was important to note, it was not necessarily a major detriment to the preliminary analyses we conducted examining the attributes of reappearing on new arrests in a court's caseload over time. Nevertheless, because of the great interest in the public safety implications of the role of drug-related attributes of defendants and their cases, we conducted a mini-study designed to shed light on the potential impact lack of at-risk information could have had on our findings.

Method

Because we were very limited in the funding we had available to address this question, we had to design a study that could be conducted reasonably quickly and at minimal expense. The approach we chose to adopt was to

randomly sample 50 percent of the defendants studied in the 1987 Dade County felony sample for further data collection. As a result we defined a sample of 492 felony defendants for whom we would gather time at-risk information as well as subsequent offending data (already available) for a 720 day period.

The objective was to determine for what periods during the 720 days defendants were confined either in jail before trial or in prison after sentencing. Data showing when defendants were taken into pretrial custody and when they were released from jail were relatively easy to obtain from the court computer system. Collection of data describing the periods of time sample defendants spent incarcerated as sentenced prisoners in state prisons and local jails posed very great obstacles, however. It would have been necessary to work through the Florida Department of Corrections to track all of the prisoners for all of their offenses. Although this would have been desirable, it would have involved a study well beyond the resources available for this project.

Constructing an Estimate of Time Confined and Time At-Risk

As a next-best approach, we collected accurate sentencing data from the court computer records for all cases of all defendants in our subsample of Dade felony defendants. Then, after discussion with officials in Miami, we decided to estimate the length of times spent by the Dade offenders serving sentences in confinement by selecting a fraction (35 percent) of the total minimum sentence set for each offender in each cases. This estimate suffers in a number of obvious respects. First, we learned that during the period of our follow-up, the actual length of sentences served by Florida inmates depended on such changing factors as institutional crowding and emergency release procedures, legislative revisions of sentencing and the offenders' ability to earn time toward early release. (It is also likely that these factors affected actual incarcerated time differently for different offenses.) Unofficial, estimates varied from as low as 25 percent of the minimum to as high as 45 percent.

In selecting 35 percent of the length of the minimum sentence to confinement as the estimate, we have adopted a relatively crude estimate that could be in error because it is too high or too low in individual cases. Yet, for the purposes of this mini-study and given the project's very real practical constraints, we reasoned that it should permit a reasonable means of assessing the question of the effect of time at-risk on our examination of the relationship between the drug-related attributes of defendants and their later rearrests.

In short, by subtracting the defendants' jail time associated with each rearrest and the estimate of time sentenced to incarceration from the total follow-up period (720 days) we derived estimates of the numbers of days defendants were presumably free to be at-risk for rearrest. Table C1 summarized the estimated days at-risk experienced by persons in the 1987 sample cohort during the period extending 720 days from their arrest in the summer of 1987. Roughly two percent of the 1987 Dade felony defendants had 99 days or less at-risk for rearrest during the follow-up period. Roughly ten percent of the defendants were at-risk for less than half of the 720 days. Eighty-three percent had more than 500 days at-risk. Seventy-three percent had more than 600 days at-risk. While only a handful (about 2 percent) had all 720 days at-risk, 42 percent had 700 or more days at-risk using this method of estimation. (The median time at-risk was 696 days.)

Table C.1   Frequencies of time at-risk, for the 50 percent subsample of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

Days Time at-risk	Number	Percent
Total	496	100.0
0-99	9	1.8
100-199	16	3.2
200-299	13	2.6
300-399	21	4.2
400-499	23	4.6
500-599	50	10.1
600-699	153	30.8
700 and over	211	42.5

Comparing Measures of Reoffending with and without Time At-Risk

Because the point was to compare analogous measures of reoffending, one constrained by time at-risk and the other not, the next task was to construct measures to serve as interval-level variables in bivariate and multivariate analyses. We decided upon measures that would indicate the number of arrests (and/or of a particular kind) recorded by defendants a) per 100 days of follow-up and b) per 100 days at-risk during the follow-up.

The first measure, number of rearrests per 100 days of follow-up, was simply calculated by dividing each defendant's number of rearrests by 720 (days) to get a number-of-rearrests-per-day measure and then to multiply by 100 to reach a number-of-rearrests per 100 days measure. The second measure was quite similar, only substituting in the defendant's actual time at-risk for the 720 in the denominator. Then the number-of-rearrests-per-day at-risk figure was multiplied by 100 to derive number-of-rearrests-per-100-days at-risk. The distributions of these indices are compared in Table C2. The general effect of norming the number of rearrests to the time at-risk seems to be the addition of small numbers of defendants who now are placed in higher offending categories. For example, instead of having less than one percent of the sample defendants showing 4 or more rearrests per 100 days, we find 5 percent showing 4 or more per 100 days at-risk.

The Effect of Time At-Risk on Bivariate Relationships between Drug-related Attributes and Rearrest

Table C3 compares the Pearson's correlation coefficients (r) for relationships between drug-related attributes and rearrest measures when time at-risk is and is not taken into consideration. Overall, we find changes to almost all coefficients when time at-risk is considered; however, the changes are generally very slight and almost never involve a change in the direction of the relationship (in the sign of the coefficient).

The relationship between initially having drug charges and being rearrested later (drug charges usually lowered chances for rearrest) is increased slightly for (any)rearrests, rearrests for index offenses and rearrests for serious person offenses. Decreases are noted in the magnitudes of relationships with theft rearrests and drug crime rearrests. The relationship between prior drug arrests and subsequent arrests is generally decreased slightly (although it was only a slight relationship to begin with). The magnitude of the Pearson's r between a positive cocaine test and later rearrests is either slightly diminished or remains the same when time at-risk is taken into effect. The changes to the relationships with other drug test variables are also slight but not systematic.

In short, we do not at this stage of analysis see very noticeable changes in the relationships in question. This is reassuring in the sense that, at least, we can rule out a dramatic change in the nature of relationships when time at-risk is considered. In some cases, slight though the changes appear to be, they may nevertheless have been enough to change the chances that they would be added in or ruled out of multivariate models of rearrest.

The Effect of Time At-Risk in Multivariate Analysis of the Role of Drug-related Attributes in Rearrest[2]

Tables C4 through C8 examine the impact norming rearrests to time at-risk has in multivariate analysis. Table C4 compares the regression findings for the analysis of rearrests per 100 days and rearrests per 100 days at-risk. Of the six independent or predictor variables that enter into the explanation of variance in the number of rearrests per 100 days ($R^2 = .37$), two are drug-related: testing positively for marijuana (a negative relationship) and testing positively for marijuana or cocaine (a positive relationship). When the dependent variable is instead rearrests per 100 days at-risk, the overall solution changes ($R^2 = .32$) and two variables drop out of the explanatory model. Positive tests for cocaine and marijuana remain in the model, although when added last their contribution is modest (2 percent of the variance).

Table C5 compares the analyses of the number of rearrests for index-level offenses measured with and without taking time at-risk into account. The regression solution for number of index rearrests per 100 days is rather weak ($R^2 = .13$), based on the contributions of six independent variables, including testing positively for cocaine (a positive direct relationship) and for both cocaine and marijuana (an inverse relationship). When the dependent variable is index rearrests per 100 days at-risk, the solution is weaker still ($R^2 = .08$) and four of the six independent variables drop out, including drug tests.[3]

Table C6 shows basically that number of rearrests for crimes against the person are poorly explained using regression analysis no matter which measure is employed. Table C7 summarizes the regression analyses of the measures of numbers of rearrests for theft offenses among the subsample of 1987 Dade County defendants. The solutions are somewhat more powerful (R^2s = .28). In the modeling of theft arrests per 100 days of follow-up, positive tests for marijuana (inverse) and for either marijuana or cocaine (direct) play a modest role. When the dependent variable is theft rearrests per 100 days at-risk, two of the five independent variables drop out, but testing positively remains to play a noticeable role in the solution.

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[2] The size of the subsample is reduced fro m496 to 360 cases when we make use of drug tst variables. This is cecause drug testing among the original full sample of defendants was voluntary and refused y about one-quarter of entering defendants.
[3] Interesting when the dependent variables are transformed into their logarithms, the explanation of variance is improved for both measures; however, self-reported marijuana smoking, not drug test measures enter into the solutions.

Finally, Table C8 shows a relatively poor ability to predict the number of rearrests for drug offenses per 100 days ($R^2 = .10$), although two drug test variables (cocaine and both cocaine and marijuana) and drug charges are among the relatively weak predictors. Using drug rearrests per 100 days at-risk, two variables drop out of the analysis, although positive testing for cocaine remains as a weak predictor.

Conclusion

In this short study we have tried to gauge the impact the addition of at-risk information could have on the analyses we have presented earlier in this report. Although the study was constrained by practicalities of time and expense, we believe that it offers support for the view that time at-risk information would have changed the thrust of the findings we reported only very slightly. Although this adds confidence to interpretation of the findings presented in this report and in Volume II, the slight differences we have seen in results point to the desirability of having time at-risk data available for these kinds of analyses.

Table C.2   Comparing frequencies of arrests per 100 days with frequencies of arrests per 100 days at-risk, by type of rearrest, in the 50 percent subsample of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

Type of rearrest	Per 100 days		Per 100 days at-risk	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Any rearrest				
Total	497	100.0	492	100.0
0	234	47.1	233	47.0
1	207	41.7	163	32.9
2	36	7.2	48	9.7
3	16	3.2	22	4.4
4	4	0.8	14	2.8
5 or more	--	--	12	2.4
Rearrest for index crimes				
Total	495	100.0	491	100.0
0	390	78.5	389	78.4
1	102	20.5	81	16.3
2	3	0.6	14	2.8
3	--	--	4	0.8
4	--	--	3	0.6
Rearrest for serious person crimes				
Total	492	100.0	491	100.0
0	417	83.9	416	84.4
1	80	16.1	71	14.4
2	--	--	4	0.8
Rearrest for theft				
Total	495	100.0	494	100.0
0	361	72.6	360	72.4
1	129	25.9	111	21.4
2	5	1.0	8	1.6
3	--	--	10	2.0
4	--	--	1	0.2
5 or more	--	--	4	0.8
Rearrest for drug offenses				
Total	495	100.0	493	100.0
0	379	76.3	378	75.8
1	115	23.1	108	21.8
2	1	0.2	7	1.4

Table C.3   Bivariate relationships (r) between drug-related attributes and rearrest measures using adjustments for time at-risk

Drug-related Attributes	Any rearrest		Rearrest for Index crimes		Rearrest for serious person crimes		Rearrest for theft		Rearrest for drug offenses	
	r	r (at-risk)	r	r (at-risk)	r	r (at-risk)	r	r (at-risk)	r	r (at-risk)
Initial drug charges, (no or yes)	-0.069	-0.1006	-0.067	-0.097	-0.027	-0.067	-0.138	-0.129	0.191	0.131
	(494)	(493)	(494)	(493)	(494)	(493)	(494)	(493)	(494)	(493)
	N.S.	0.025	N.S.	0.032	N.S.	N.S.	0.002	0.004	0.000	0.004
Prior drug arrests, (no or yes)	-0.085	-0.080	-0.078	-0.063	-0.058	-0.050	-0.063	-0.054	-0.045	-0.052
	(494)	(493)	(494)	(493)	(494)	(493)	(494)	(493)	(494)	(493)
	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Drug test results										
Positive for cocaine	0.191	0.173	0.138	0.089	0.105	0.115	0.159	0.114	0.208	0.202
	(363)	(363)	(363)	(363)	(363)	(363)	(363)	(363)	(363)	(363)
	0.000	0.001	0.009	N.S.	0.045	0.029	0.002	0.029	0.000	0.000
Positive for THC	-0.152	-0.155	-0.083	-0.119	-0.059	-0.011	-0.144	-0.147	-0.025	-0.017
	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)
	0.004	0.003	N.S.	0.024	N.S.	N.S.	0.006	0.005	N.S.	N.S.
Positive for either	0.171	0.140	0.125	0.061	0.136	0.115	0.138	0.085	0.180	0.171
	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)
	0.001	0.008	0.018	N.S.	0.010	0.029	0.009	N.S.	0.001	0.001
Positive for both	-0.121	-0.115	-0.061	-0.090	0.046	-0.001	-0.114	-0.115	0.015	0.026
	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)	(360)
	0.021	0.008	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	0.030	0.029	N.S.	N.S.

Table   C.4   Regression analysis of rearrest for any charge per 100 days and per 100 days at-risk, for the 50 percent subsample of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

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I. Dependant variable: Arrests per 100 days
                                          (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Recent prior arrests	0.0634	0.2947
Initial burglary charge	0.2299	0.0275
On pretrial release at time of initial arrest	0.1754	0.0154
Positive for THC	-0.2122	0.0109
Positive for either THC or cocaine	0.2506	0.0205
Prior arrests on serious person offenses	-0.0302	0.0077
(Constant)	(-0.0108)	

Results
    R^2 = 0.38   Adjusted R^2 = 0.37
    p = 0.000
    (missing = 3)

II. Dependant variable   Arrests per 100 days at-risk
                                          (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Recent prior arrests	0.1438	0.2874
Initial burglary charges	0.3745	0.0157
Positive for THC	-0.4524	0.0113
Positive for either THC or cocaine	0.4474	0.0134
(Constant)	(-0.0552)	

Results
    R^2 = 0.33   Adjusted R^2 = 0.32
    p = 0.000
    (missing = 3)

Table   C.5   Regression analysis of rearrest for index crimes per 100 days and per 100 days at-risk, for the
50 percent subsample of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

I. Dependant variable: Index level arrests per 100 days
                                                (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Recent priro arrests	0.0111	0.0677
Initial burglary charge	0.0562	0.0254
Prior arrests on serious person offenses	0.0244	0.0141
Prior arrests	-0.0051	0.0105
Positive for cocaine	0.0626	0.0105
Positive for THC and cocaine	-0.0435	0.0134
(Constant)	(-0.0079)	

Results
   R^2 = 0.14   Adjusted R^2 = 0.13
   p = 0.000
   (missing = 13)

II. Dependant variable   Index level arrests per 100 days at-risk
                                                (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Recent prior arrests	0.0208	0.0641
Initial burglary charges	0.1387	0.0146
Prior weapons convictions	0.1216	0.0142
(Constant)	(0.0203)	

Results
   R^2 = 0.09   Adjusted R^2 = 0.09
   p = 0.000
   (missing = 13)

Table   C.6   Regression analysis of rearrest for serious person per 100 days and per 100 days at-risk, for the 50 percent subsample of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

I. Dependant variable: Serious person arrests per 100 days
                                                (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Prior serious person arrests	0.0202	0.0591
Age at initial arrest	-0.0014	0.0166
On pretrial release at time of initial arrest	0.0271	0.0118
(Constant)	(0.0619)	

Results
   R^2 = 0.09   Adjusted R^2 = 0.08
   p = 0.000
   (missing = 13)

II. Dependant variable   Serious person arrests per 100 days at-risk
                                                (n = 363)

Independant variables	R^2 change	b
Prior felony convictions	0.0259	0.0436
Employed	-0.0635	0.0115
(Constant)	(0.0752)	

Results
   R^2 = 0.06   Adjusted R^2 = 0.05
   p = 0.000
   (missing = 13)

Table C.7   Regression analysis of rearrest for theft charges per 100 days and per 100 days at-risk, for the 50 percent subsample of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

I. Dependant variable: Theft arrests per 100 days
                                                (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Recent prior arrest	0.0242	0.2440
Initial burglary charges	0.0590	0.0139
Positive for THC	-0.0832	0.0116
Positive for THC or cocaine	0.0859	0.0167
Prior weapons convictions	-0.0492	0.0085
(Constant)	(-0.0203)	

Results
   R^2 = 0.29   Adjusted R^2 = 0.28
   p = 0.000
   (missing = 13)

II. Dependant variable   Theft arrests per 100 days at-risk
                                                (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Recent prior arrests	0.0721	0.2580
Positive for THC or cocaine	-0.1320	0.0133
Initial theft charges	0.1476	0.0112
On pretrial release at time of initial arrest	-0.1432	0.0092
(Constant)	(0.0200)	

Results
   R^2 = 0.29   Adjusted R^2 = 0.28
   p = 0.000
   (missing = 13)

Table   C.8   Regression analysis of rearrest for drug charges per 100 days and per 100 days at-risk, for the 50 percent subsample of 1987 Dade County felony defendants

I. Dependant variable: Drug arrests per 100 days
                                                (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Positive for cocaine	0.0551	0.0424
Initial drug charges	0.0527	0.0270
Recent prior arrests	0.0033	0.0208
Positive for THC or cocaine	-0.0325	0.0124
Prior FTAs	0.0363	0.0112
(Constant)	(-0.0076)	

Results
   R^2 = 0.11   Adjusted R^2 = 0.10
   p = 0.000
   (missing = 13)

II. Dependant variable   Drug arrests per 100 days at-risk
                                                (n = 363)

Independant variables	b	R^2 change
Prior arrests	0.0084	0.0711
Initial drug charges	0.0607	0.0220
Positive for THC or cocaine	0.0539	0.0134
(Constant)	(-0.0210)	

Results
   R^2 = 0.11   Adjusted R^2 = 0.10
   p = 0.000
   (missing = 13)