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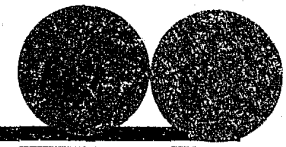

National Institute of Justice

Research Report

Drug Control Strategies in San Diego: Impact on the Offender

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145946

Drug Control Strategies in San Diego: Impact on the Offender

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A Final Summary Report Presented to the National Institute of Justice
April 1994

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs

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This project was supported under award number 87–IJ–CS–0034, awarded to the Criminal Justice Research Division, San Diego Association of Governments, San Diego, California, by the National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position of the U.S. Department of Justice.

NCJ 145946

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals supported this research and contributed to the analysis.

We are grateful to our NIJ monitor, Dr. Bernard A. Gropper, for his interest, guidance, and infinite patience. We appreciate Chief Bob Burgreen for providing us the approval to access the records necessary to carry out this study. Then Lieutenant (now Captain) Dan Berglund was extremely helpful in the beginning of our study, as was Lt. John Welter, in describing the focus of their divisions. Lt. Greg Clark also offered insightful information throughout the project. We are appreciative of the officers in the Narcotics Section (including CAT officers) and those in the Special Enforcement Division who patiently answered endless questions and were supportive of the ride-alongs of SANDAG staff. Our resident statistician/demographer, Dr. Jeff Tayman, is worthy of note for his assistance on the logit analysis. June Ariano is much appreciated for her data entry efforts. All SANDAG Criminal Justice staff deserve special recognition for their perseverance:

Darlanne Hoctor
Roni Melton
Donna Allnutt
Melissa Brown
Ami Caldwell
Corina Draper
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ABSTRACT

Drug-abusing offenders present a significant challenge to law enforcement in light of the balancing act police agencies must perform to simultaneously prevent crime, protect the community, and enforce the law with competing resources. In the early 1980s, the emphasis in drug control was on major dealers and drug kingpins. In recent years, the focus has shifted back to the streets in an effort to rid communities of the lower-level users and dealers who have taken control of neighborhoods.

The San Diego Police Department, with jurisdiction over the sixth largest city in the country, developed several approaches to the drug problem. Evidence of the drug problem is apparent from the results of the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program. The DUF program that tests arrestees for drug use in over 20 cities showed 80% or more of the San Diego offenders positive for drugs during the time this research was conducted. The strategies of the police department differed with respect to targets, drug type, and tactics used to identify and arrest individuals involved in drug use and sales.

The focus of this research was to delineate the strategies as operationalized in three approaches, describe the drug targets, and determine the consequences for offenders with respect to arrests, convictions, and sentences. A related objective was to examine a Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA)-funded approach that targeted crack cocaine. The research procedures included the case tracking of 1,432 arrests made by three divisions, compiling such information as sociodemographic features of offenders, type and level of arrest charge, drug and property seizures, strategies employed (traffic stop, buy/bust, search warrants), charges filed, and dispositions. Surveys of narcotics officers explored their opinions about strategies, descriptions of distinct levels of dealers, and perceptions of impediments to effective drug control. Interviews took place with 123 drug offenders arrested by the divisions. Questions centered on drug-use patterns and drug market dynamics. Study results indicated that the multi-faceted approach of the police department, using both uniformed and plainclothes officers, provided the means to target specific types of drug violators and hold a proportion of them accountable through consequences. The buy/bust tactic was the most likely to result in arrests, convictions, and sentences to state prison; but the volume of drugs seized was greater with the use of search warrants. Offenders, more so than officers, thought more emphasis should be placed on drug treatment and education.

Officers cited jail crowding as the most significant factor impeding their efforts to send a message to offenders. The study confirmed that nearly half of the misdemeanor arrests were still pending due to failures to appear for court hearings. While an integrated approach is needed to reduce drug abuse, the need for enforcement remains. This research may be helpful to police administrators and policymakers in determining how best to allocate resources toward what populations and what results can be reasonably expected by using specific strategies. The research suggests areas for future study, including costs compared to consequences and citizens' perceptions of drug control tactics and strategies.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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- San Diego Narcotics Officer, 1990

INTRODUCTION

Drug-abusing offenders have a significant impact on the criminal justice system both in terms of their illegal drug use and the commission of crimes while under the influence and in need of money to buy drugs. More devastating is the violence that occurs as a result of drug sales and turf battles.

Since the mid-1980s, federal funds have been allocated to state and local governments for the purpose of developing crime and drug control strategies. Although the programs are many, their impact on drugs or the criminal justice system is generally unknown. In the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, Congress recognized the need to assess the success or effectiveness of these programs and required an evaluation component for programs funded through formula grants or discretionary funds (Criminal Justice Statistics Association, 1990). This research is an assessment of drug control programs in San Diego, California, including a crack abatement approach funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

CURRENT DRUG-CONTROL EFFORTS

In response to the crack epidemic and increased proliferation of other drugs in communities throughout the country, the mid-1980s revealed the initiation of a wide array of law enforcement tactics and programs initiated as drug control efforts. The efforts have taken many forms, including the following (National Institute of Justice, 1992).

- Development of multi-jurisdictional task forces
- Crackdowns, or focused suppression activities, in defined geographical areas for time-certain periods

- Enforcement and social service programs within public housing developments

- Increased use of asset seizure and forfeiture activities and enforcement of drug abatement laws

- Operationalizing the concepts of problem-oriented policing and community-oriented policing

- Expanding the technological expertise of police agencies through computer programs that track drug market conditions compared to crime patterns.

The goals of these efforts are as varied as the approaches, but generally seek the following outcomes (National Institute of Justice, 1992):

- Reduce crime
- Disrupt drug markets
- Reduce availability of drugs
- Decrease drug use
- Improve quality of life in impacted communities
- Increase use of informal social controls
- Empower citizens to take back their neighborhoods.

The impacts or results of all these efforts are not yet known for several reasons. In some cases, programs are in various stages, from just developing to fully operational. In others, the evaluation results are not yet known. In still others, the results are mixed, such as with crackdown programs (Sherman 1990; Hayeslip and Weisel 1992). Hayeslip and Weisel concluded that "on the one hand, certain police drug enforcement strategies appear to have a favorable impact on crime and drug abuse, yet in other studies, these impacts have not been identified as being likely outcomes of enforcement actions."

The San Diego Police Department employs many of the recommendations cited by Craig Uchida, et al. (1991), in the research of strategies to reduce drug sales in Oakland, California, and Birmingham, Alabama, including:

- Locating police substations in areas with high drug trafficking

- A strong commitment to community policing that includes door-to-door contacts in areas where high levels of crime and drug activity occur.

This research was not expected to determine the impact of drug control strategies in specific neighborhoods or assess the perception of safety of citizens or their capacity for self defense. This study did not address the impact of enforcement efforts on the drug market or on patterns of use, except as viewed by a sample of offenders. Much of the recent and ongoing research is focused on these issues.

Larry Sherman (1990) characterized and summarized some examples of police crackdowns. He notes that most include various forms of police presence, sanctions, and publicity. He concludes that residual deterrence (perceived risk of apprehension) may be a more realistic goal than trying to sustain deterrence over time. The key to success, according to Sherman, may be rotating patrol priorities and plans rather than sustained efforts in the same locations.

In Lynn, Massachusetts, a six-agent task force using visible arrests, traditional undercover operations, and execution of search warrants, showed dramatic results in the amount and visibility of open street dealing of heroin, increased demand for treatment, and reduction in street crime. The researchers, Kleiman and Smith (1989), concluded that the success was due to the task force efforts to close down the open-air market, and increase the risk of buying and selling the drug, thereby increasing "search time" of users. This not only reduced their consumption, but led to many entering treatment and also reducing criminal activity. In Lawrence, Massachusetts, results were more mixed when the task force experience was replicated. Overall trafficking was not reduced nor were property crimes, despite some users reporting heroin was more difficult to find. Explanations offered for the differences from the Lynn experience included a more dispersed heroin market, less citizen support, a diversion of police attention to the cocaine trade, and more emphasis on search warrants (Kleinman and Smith, 1989).

Another example of street-level enforcement is New York City's Operation Pressure Point I, a crackdown supported with massive police presence beginning in 1984. Researchers reported that the operation had dramatic impacts on drug markets, crime, and neighborhood welfare (National Institute of Justice, 1990). The $12 million per year costs, however, were substantial, and questions remain relative to displacement effects to other parts of the city. Neighborhood pressure made it difficult to withdraw the police presence and led, in part, to an approach called TNT, or Tactical Narcotics Teams. This involves focused neighborhood crackdowns in areas where residents have agreed to join police in combatting drug abuse. All 117 TNT officers work in plainclothes with high arrest volume and community awareness. The Vera Institute of Justice is measuring TNT's value in making drugs less available and upgrading the community. An important feature of this research is the measurement of citizens' perceptions about crime and satisfaction with police

services. Preliminary assessments (1991) suggest that TNT officers made many arrests, but the drug traffickers were quickly replaced by others. Specific drug market areas were disrupted, for a time, which had positive effects on visible street trafficking. A significant feature of the research lies in examining how neighborhoods are affected by the drug market's adaptation to law enforcement activity (National Institute of Justice, 1991).

Emphasis on individual neighborhoods is a recent emerging theme in law enforcement. It is associated with the need to simultaneously serve the goals of neighborhood protection, crime control, and drug abuse control. Targeting high-level dealers is both important and attractive. At the same time, this strategy requires long, intensive investigations and may not address the immediate impacts on residents. Local agencies have neither the resources nor authority to target drug distribution networks (National Institute of Justice, 1990). Similar to other large metropolitan police departments, the San Diego Police Department developed different drug control strategies for addressing different neighborhood problems and levels of dealers and users.

The focus of this research is quite narrow in that it describes three approaches to drug control within one police department and compares the targets, strategies, and outcomes of the efforts in terms of consequences to the offender, such as arrests and convictions.

RESEARCH FOCUS

This study examined two such strategies, one involving uniformed patrol officers and another using undercover or plainclothes officers. A specialized crack-abatement program was developed within the undercover Narcotics Section with funds from the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA). In this research project, activities and outcomes were compared for the uniformed approach, the Special Enforcement Division (SED), the Narcotics Section (NS), and the Crack Abatement Team (CAT). The divisions differed with respect to types of offenders targeted and strategies used to identify and arrest them.

The research objectives were to identify effective strategies that led to consequences for offenders, including arrest and conviction, to develop a profile of the targeted offenders, and to describe drug market dynamics. A corresponding objective was to determine if an emphasis on crack control had the expected effects.

This research attempted to answer questions about drug enforcement raised by Mark Kleiman (1987).

- What techniques were used toward which drugs?
- At what population were techniques aimed?
- To which problem were techniques addressed?
- What results could be reasonably expected by applying that technique to that drug and to those users?

The focus of this research differs from other studies of drug control programs in that it did not measure the before and after impacts of such efforts in a specific area within a specific time frame as Craig Uchida, Brian Forst, and Sampson Annan (1991) did in Oakland, California, and Birmingham, Alabama. It did not focus on ***one*** drug such as Kleiman's research in Massachusetts and Santa Cruz, California (1987 and 1989). Additionally, this research did not explore the community perceptions of safety following intensive drug control efforts as is being done by the Vera Institute with respect to the TNT (Tactical Narcotics Team) program in New York City. Rather, it compared the consequences of different strategies with respect to offender accountability and seizures by police.

The research approach included the tracking of 1,432 drug arrests from initial arrest to final disposition. Review of case files provided the opportunity for identifying strategies and tactics as well as compiling relevant data on arrestees. Other research efforts included surveys of officers in the three divisions and interviews with 123 offenders arrested by the drug control divisions. Surveys of officers asked their opinions regarding the drug market, drug-related training, techniques used to identify drug dealers and users, and opinions about factors that hinder efforts to be effective. The interviews with the offenders covered some similar topics as the officer surveys. In addition, arrestees were asked detailed questions about their drug-procuring, using, and dealing behavior.

Since the three divisions accounted for approximately 40% of all felony drug arrests in the San Diego Police Department, the outcomes of their efforts are of interest when developing drug control strategies beyond routine patrol. Other police departments grappling with the drug problem with limited resources may find the study results of interest when deploying staff to target drug offenders.

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AREA

The City of San Diego is the sixth largest in the country, with a population just over 1.1 million, according to the 1990 U.S. Census. It has been suggested that its geographical location, bordered on the south by Mexico and

on the west by the Pacific Ocean, contributes to wide availability of a number of drugs through smuggling opportunities. In the east, the terrain is rural and mountainous, facilitating the development of clandestine drug labs. A young adult population, associated with a number of colleges and universities, as well as a significant military presence, and a temperate climate that attracts transients, contribute to a high demand for drugs.

To meet this significant challenge, the police department employed a variety of drug control strategies incorporating prevention, enforcement, and community involvement approaches. This study focused on three enforcement approaches operational in 1989:

(1) **Special Enforcement Division (SED).** This group of over 100 uniformed officers was highly visible in communities where drug use and sales were quite apparent. The focus of SED was gangs and their involvement in drugs.

(2) **Narcotics Section (NS).** This division operates as the department's response to street-level narcotics sales throughout the City. Officers are in plainclothes and respond to citizen complaints with the use of informants, controlled buys, buy/bust tactics, and search warrants. The number of personnel during the course of this study varied from 22 to 29.

(3) **Crack Abatement Team (CAT).** This Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) funded approach functioned within the Narcotics Section. The five-member team targeted mid-level crack dealers utilizing informants, conducting controlled buys, buy/busts, and executing search warrants.

STUDY RESULTS

Targets, Strategies, and Consequences

The three divisions utilized many of the tactics described by Conners and Nugent (1990), including directed patrol, executing warrants, arresting users and dealers for other offenses, traffic enforcement, surveillance and arrest, informant buys, undercover police buys, buy/busts, reverse stings and crackhouse raids.

As might be expected, the officers in plainclothes divisions were more likely to conduct buy/busts, use informants, and execute search warrants (see matrix on page 9). These efforts were more likely than those of SED officers to lead to felony arrests; seizures of drugs, money, and weapons; and convictions. In contrast, the uniformed officers with high visibility more frequently used the tactics of observation and patrol/traffic stops. These findings from the case

tracking study were reiterated in the officer surveys. Plainclothes officers were also far more likely than the Special Enforcement Division (SED) officers to have had training in 12 different drug-related areas. Less than 50% of the SED officers surveyed indicated that they had received training in 10 of the identified areas.

Offenders targeted for arrest were consistent with each division's objectives. The CAT team expected to arrest crack dealers, and 74% of their arrests were in fact for felony drug sales. Seventy-six percent (76%) of their seizures involved crack and, in just over half of their cases, currency was seized as well. About 4 out of 10 arrests made by SED officers were misdemeanor drug violations, again reflective of their "on-the-street" observations of low level users and sellers.

Just over 40% of the SED arrests resulted in *no* drugs seized. With respect to average grams seized, the SED officers had the highest average grams of heroin among their arrests. Heroin users and sellers were visible on the streets in specific areas of San Diego, where SED officers patrolled frequently.

Drug arrests by the three drug control divisions accounted for just over 40% of all drug arrests occurring in the San Diego Police Department during the time period studied. Of the total arrests by these divisions, 72% resulted in complaints filed and 72% of the filings led to conviction.

Prosecution and conviction rates for the three drug control divisions were higher than comparable figures for the entire City as well as all of San Diego County. The strategies used by the undercover divisions resulted in more convictions and prosecutions than the efforts of the uniformed SED officers. These findings were corroborated through logit analysis which indicated that the factors that contributed most to successful prosecution were the highest charge and the strategy employed. Felony drug violators and those arrested through the buy/bust strategy were more likely to have charges filed that resulted in conviction. These arrests also resulted in more custody sentences, including prison, and offenders arrested by the plainclothes divisions were more likely to have had property seized.

Case analysis showed that filing and conviction rates were lower for cases involving search warrants, although the volume of drugs seized was greater. Lower conviction rates may also have been associated with misdemeanor arrests that were rejected due to procedures concerning search and seizure laws. Lower rates also suggest that each case should be evaluated to determine if a buy/bust will provide the desired results, or if more time-consuming and costly investigative strategies are needed, such as developing informants and sufficient evidence to support search warrants. These efforts

must be weighed against the relative level of dealer, the potential for successful prosecution, and the time and costs required to carry out the investigation.

MATRIX

EFFORTS AND EFFECTS OF ARRESTS BY DRUG DIVISIONS, SAN DIEGO POLICE DEPARTMENT 1989

	CAT	Narcotics Section	SED
Most Frequently	• Officer buy	• Search warrant	• Observation
stop	• Buy/bust	• Officer buy	• Patrol/traffic
Used Strategies	• Search warrant	• Informant buy	• Consent
search			
	• Informant buy	• Observation	
Target Arrests			
% Felony drug sales	74%	55%	32%
% Misdemeanor drug possession	5%	30%	42%
Cases with Seizures			
Drugs			
Crack	76%	21%	43%
Methamphetamine	3%	19%	11%
Heroin	3%	19%	9%
Currency	52%	46%	21%
Weapons	22%	20%	9%
Offender Consequences			
• Pretrial custody	31%	26%	19%
• Complaints filed	81%	79%	74%
• Convictions (% of filings)	90%	74%	61%
• State prison sentence	24%	16%	17%

NOTE: Only majority categories were selected so percentages do not equal 100%.

Profile of Drug Offenders

The case tracking study allowed a descriptive profile of those individuals arrested. Salient characteristics of the sample of 1,432 included the following, based on data obtained from police records.

- The majority were male (82%).
- Most were ethnic minorities (77%).
- Over half were under age 30.
- Nearly three-quarters were not employed.
- Over two-thirds were identified as narcotics users (67%).
- Just 12% were known or suspected gang members.
- Over half had prior convictions (51%), and over one-third (35%) had previously been convicted on drug charges.

Drug Market Dynamics

During the time period that arrest cases were tracked, the research team also reviewed arrest logs of the police department to determine potential candidates for interviews. A convenience sample of 123 arrestees was interviewed in custody at the central jail. Most (95%) had been arrested for felony drug violations, 62% involved drug sales, and 58% were as a result of a "buy" or buy/bust.

The majority of those interviewed (74%) considered themselves regular drug users, described as using once a week or more. Illegal drugs used most often in the previous 30 days were marijuana and cocaine, including crack. By their own admissions, a high percentage also claimed to be poly-drug users. About 40% stated that they had received illegal income in the previous month.

Of the 123 arrestees interviewed, 38 admitted to selling drugs on a regular basis. Most sold to more than 10 people and their supply generally lasted less than one day. Eleven of the sellers reported monthly illegal income of $4,000 or more, and three admitted that they were part of a group that dealt drugs, and that they worked for someone.

Offenders were asked a number of questions about procuring their drugs. Most offenders traveled less than one mile to get their drugs, had bought in the past two days, and over half went to the same location each time. These admissions imply easy availability of drugs and regular use, based on frequency of buying and source. Methamphetamine users and cocaine users were more likely than heroin users to have bought drugs from a private residence and from a friend. Over two-thirds of the heroin users indicated that their drug connection was a dealer rather than a friend or drug buddy. This

may be consistent with Reuter and Haga's (1989) findings about high-level drug markets in which they reported that the distribution of heroin involves a very different type of trafficking organization: it is distributed more clandestinely, and involves a narrower organization. Over half of all users stated they could always get their drugs, suggesting wide availability. The percentage of those who had difficulty getting drugs ranged from 19% of the heroin users to 47% of the methamphetamine users.

Respondents' statements about the price paid for specific quantities suggest that those interviewed were likely to be low-level dealers/users. Most thought prices had remained stable over the past six months, although 38% thought the price of crack had increased. Of note is the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) report (1991) regarding increased drug trafficking in San Diego between 1989 and 1990. In this time period, the price of a kilo of cocaine went from $12,000 to $15,000 to $19,000 to $30,000, according to the DEA report on the worldwide cocaine situation.

More than one-third of all users said they would quit using if the price increased. Heroin users were more likely than others to state that they would pay the price to keep using.

Reducing Drug Use. When asked what it would take for them to stop using drugs, the most typical response was the "will and/or willingness to quit" (20%), followed by those who said they could quit any time (14%). Over one-third (36%) said the reduction of stress and relaxed feelings were the best things about using drugs. Referring to the worst things about using drugs, the most frequent response was going to jail (46%), followed by getting arrested (43%). These responses may well have been associated with the fact that interviews took place soon after arrest, in the jail! Poor health consequences were noted by 31% as the worst thing about drugs.

Impediments to Effective Drug Control

When asked which drug market factors are most likely to be affected by police, availability was ranked number one by officers surveyed. Officers ranked price and purity as least likely.

The inability to sanction offenders was a problem affecting drug control efforts, according to over 90% of the officers surveyed. With several years of serious crowding in the jails, San Diego has been under court orders to limit the jail population. Consequently, only arrestees who commit very serious crimes are detained prior to court hearings. The concept of swift and certain sanctions is not operational for most offenders in San Diego. This situation sends the wrong message to offenders, according to officers. (In May 1992, the City of San Diego opened a privately-operated jail for misdemeanor offenders.)

Other factors that impede drug control efforts in drug control divisions are staff turnover and shortages due to reallocation, transfers, and promotions. In the Narcotics Section, this is a significant problem and has negative impacts on division continuity, experience, and training. Over three-quarters (78%) of those surveyed cited staff shortages as a barrier to their efforts. Another problem perceived by officers was the charging policy of the District Attorney with respect to filing charges in drug arrests. Due to understaffing, the prosecutor frequently must prioritize cases to be filed. If an arrest involves a small amount of contraband, the prosecutor may decide not to charge the offender or reduce the case to a lesser charge. Over half of those surveyed (64%) felt these practices hindered their arrest efforts. Other impediments cited by officers were lack of information-sharing within the police department (48%), lack of in-house cooperation (33%), shortage of equipment (33%), and insufficient "buy" money (26%).

Offenders Versus Officers

Police officers tended to see justice system efforts as deterrents to drug use, whereas offenders opted for drug treatment and education. Both officers and offenders perceived peer pressure and "being around people who use drugs" as key contributors to drug use. A significant proportion of offenders mentioned being abused as a child as a reason that people turn to drugs.

Reducing Drug Abuse

Modifying punishment, including mandatory jail time, was the response by 42% of the officers when asked the single most important thing that could reduce drug abuse. Officers elaborated by saying punishment must be more restrictive so that offenders perceive a strong message from the justice system. Just over a quarter (28%) felt that the demand for drugs can be reduced through early education. Other solutions were associated with social attitudes and economic changes such as better job opportunities.

Measuring Effectiveness

When asked how they know if their drug control efforts are effective, nearly half of the officers identified "decreased activity," defined as reduced visibility of users and sellers. Officers commented: "Selling on street corners is not as frequent" and "Locations move from point to point as people run from police." While this indicator was mentioned most often, this type of information is least likely to be analyzed in an objective manner with quantitative measures. With the development of the Drug Market Analysis (DMA) program in San Diego, a computerized means to analyze drug activity by location, perhaps this information can be compiled and compared to officers' perceptions.

About one of five officers (22%) reported that citizens provided direct feedback on police efforts. A decline in citizen complaints would be an indicator of effectiveness.

Many urban areas are experiencing crowded jails and overburdened prosecutors, yet there may be features unique to San Diego that create added challenges to drug control enforcement efforts. Several indicators of drug abuse suggest that the San Diego area has not only high rates of drug use, but a "cafeteria" type selection of drugs from which to choose. There are some factors that contribute to both high prevalence and polydrug use. First, proximity to the busiest international border in the world provides an avenue for drug trafficking. The Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program data show San Diego to have one of the highest rates of heroin use among the 24 DUF sites. Usage in San Diego is primarily limited to black tar heroin transported from Mexico.

In recent years, the San Diego area has been a primary producer, distributor, and user of another drug: methamphetamines. Outlaw motorcycle gangs have been associated with the processing and trafficking of this drug. A main ingredient, ephedrine, has been strictly regulated by California legislation. However, it is still being manufactured in clandestine labs in Mexico as well as rural areas of California, including San Diego County. The rural, sometimes isolated, terrain in the eastern area of San Diego also expands opportunities for production of marijuana.

Another factor associated with wide availability of several drugs in San Diego is the increase in gang-related drug involvement. Law enforcement officials have attributed the rise in crack cocaine distribution and use to Los Angeles gang members migrating to San Diego. The gang situation is not unique to San Diego, but when coupled with the proximity to the border and the geographical topography, it contributes to a variety of drugs in plentiful supply.

On the demand side is a large population subset under age 30 (due to military presence and several colleges and universities) and a year-round pleasant climate that attracts transients and other non-residents with no roots or jobs.

Many of the obstacles facing law enforcement with respect to drug control efforts are similar across jurisdictions. Many cities have limited resources, crowded jails, a burgeoning justice system, and drug-involved gang members. The challenges for San Diego law enforcement may be greater when combined with features relative to geography and population that, in combination with the others, make San Diego somewhat unique. The need to target specific types of users and sellers based on drug market dynamics becomes more complex when different drugs are involved.

The features identified in San Diego fit nicely with those factors impacting drug enforcement noted by Conners and Nugent (1990):

- Mobility (indoor/outdoor)
- User characteristics
- Environmental
- Community attitudes
- Gang involvement.

CONCLUSIONS

This study of drug control strategies in the San Diego Police Department suggests that the three divisions targeted types of drug users and dealers consistent with administrative expectations. The case tracking revealed definite patterns with respect to target, strategy used, and consequences. For example, SED officers arrested more misdemeanor drug violators than other divisions. This approach, according to Kleiman and Smith (1989), has the potential for restoring quality of life to residents, since efforts are focused on visible drug use and dealing. Nearly half of the cases were still pending two years after arrest due to failures to appear (FTAs). Jail crowding also contributes to this situation. While intensive and visible efforts can enhance citizens' feelings of safety, this condition may be shortlived and may reflect temporary displacement of drug activity to another area.

The Narcotics Section responded to all areas of the city and its arrests appear to reflect low to mid-level dealers and users. The strategies used by the undercover divisions (NS and CAT) were more likely to result in filings and convictions, which are the pay-offs for specialized training. While the buy/bust tactic yielded the smallest amount of drugs per case, it was the technique most likely to result in filings and convictions. Conversely, use of search warrants, with and without "buys," netted the largest amounts of crack and marijuana. This corresponds to the focus on sellers compared to users. Yet the search warrant strategy was proportionately less likely to result in conviction. These findings support the value of individual case evaluation prior to implementation of specific strategies. For example, if a buy/bust will yield the desired result, then the time-consuming process for obtaining or executing a search warrant may not be necessary. A focused response on specific level of dealer and type of drug may yield more convictions, longer prison sentences, and more seizures of drugs and weapons. The value of such an approach must be measured within the context of drug control goals as well as the costs. Costs must be examined also in terms of what police efforts will be curtailed due to a specialized task force.

Successful prosecution of cases with search warrants is affected by the reliability of the information received, availability of informants to testify, the

procedures followed by police, and the nature of the evidence gathered. Arrests made based on observation and traffic or patrol stops require probable cause for the contact and subsequent search for drugs. Arrests made by SED were more likely than other arrests to be rejected by the prosecutor based on issues of search and seizure. Also, in observation of drug deals, the officers must be able to establish that a drug transaction took place and/or tie the drugs seized to the person arrested. These factors are considered by the prosecutor when determining if charges will be filed.

The San Diego Police Department demonstrated a comprehensive approach to narcotics control that takes into account the target, the drug, and the strategy. Since this study was undertaken, the SED group was disbanded, the CAT project ended, and the narcotics section gained more staff. As Kleiman (1989) has noted, a police department's success in confronting the drug problem depends more on the community's capacity for self-defense than on the police effort. Drug enforcement is most effective when such activities can be assumed by the community after police actions. This is the essence of community-oriented policing and a corresponding approach, problem-oriented policing. During the course of this research, the San Diego Police Department began an intensive program oriented toward communities. This approach, coupled with varied drug control efforts, as exemplified by the three divisions, may well be the key to reduction of drug-related crime in San Diego.

This research attempted, as Kleiman (1991) suggested in his paper Modeling Drug Markets, to illuminate the relationships between the choices of techniques and application of resources on the one hand, and likely results on the other. This focus was specific: effects of enforcement activity and consequences to drug users/sellers. Other questions yet to be answered, include:

1. What are the costs, in monetary terms, of differential police efforts compared to outcomes?

2. What changes occur in reported crimes in areas targeted for intensive enforcement activity? To what extent does displacement occur?

3. What are citizens' perceptions of safety and opinions of police effectiveness before and after police efforts?

4. To what extent do police efforts help and/or hinder a community's capacity for self-defense?

What is apparent from the literature, and known by police administrators for some time, is that the police alone cannot control the drug problem, but must involve the community. Operationalizing that concept and then measuring the impact are the topics of much of the current research. Ultimately, drug enforcement may be as much a political struggle to get neighborhoods to

oppose drug use in small, informal ways as it is a technical law enforcement problem that can be solved by more resources and sophisticated investigations (Kleiman, 1991). Reuter, et al. (1988) put it succinctly: "Local drug policy is not a monolithic entity. It involves many dimensions and must be tailored to the specific problems of the area."

RECOMMENDATIONS

Other urban police departments attempting to manage the drug problem with limited resources may wish to consider the recommendations offered through this research.

- The benefits of a multi-faceted approach to different levels of users and dealers must be weighed carefully with respect to target, strategy, and outcome. As long as there are different levels of drug dealers and users, police agencies must respond to this diversity.

- Mid-level managers in narcotics divisions should develop mechanisms to weigh relative benefits and disadvantages of specific tactics and strategies prior to implementation of time-consuming and costly investigations. Factors to consider might include immediate impact to neighborhoods (e.g., reduced crime and displacement of crime, increased feelings of safety), and risks to offender (e.g., jail custody, charges filed, likelihood of assets seized).

- While rotation of patrol officers into narcotics divisions may provide an in-house training capability, it can also disrupt continuity of investigations, as can promotions and transfers out of narcotics divisions. To the extent possible and with sensitivity to potential corruption, officers should be retained in their assignments for specific time periods (i.e., two years) to avoid turnover and staff shortages.

- Steps should be taken to coordinate information-sharing and joint investigations within the department's drug control divisions. Study results indicate that this was done somewhat, but not extensively. In San Diego, the implementation of the Drug Market Analysis program may contribute to increased sharing of information.

- To isolate the true effects of drug control efforts, standard measures should be developed and used before and after specific efforts. Suggested measures might include citizen complaints, arrests, crimes, citizen surveys, and drug availability as described by informants. Police departments that have operationalized community-oriented policing and have drug-market analysis capabilities are well-positioned to develop assessment measures.

- Through drug arrestees and other informants, drug-market analysis by drug type should be further explored to link appropriate strategies to appropriate targets.

- To increase the potential for prosecution, training should be enhanced regarding execution of search warrants, evidence gathering, and search and seizure procedures.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

A U.P.S. agent smelled a strong coffee odor in a package being shipped from Washington to San Diego. Agent contacted police and over two pounds of marijuana were found in the package. Package was shipped to San Diego and police were contacted. Officer dressed up like U.P.S., delivered package, obtained search warrant and went back to serve warrant. Package was found plus other drugs and packaging materials.

- Arrest Report, 1989

According to the National Drug Control Strategy, federal spending on drug control programs has increased 700% since 1991, to a requested total of $12 billion in fiscal year 1992. The association of drug use and crime is well-documented in the research literature and reiterated daily by criminal justice administrators and police officers on the street. In recent years, law enforcement emphasis has shifted from the "Mr. Big" high-level dealers, who require long, intensive, and expensive investigations, to street-level, retail dealers and users in selected communities (National Institute of Justice, 1990). Many such programs have been implemented, but their impact on drug use and sales, offender accountability, and the justice system is not widely known. In the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, Congress recognized the need to assess the effectiveness of these programs and required an evaluation component for programs funded through formula grants or discretionary funds (Criminal Justice Statistics Association, 1990).

RESEARCH FOCUS

This study of drug control strategies in the San Diego Police Department assessed a Bureau of Justice Assistance-funded program focused on crack-cocaine through the Crack Abatement Team (CAT) approach. The CAT strategy was compared to other strategies within the department with respect to consequences for drug offender (e.g., arrests, convictions, incarceration, etc.). This first chapter describes the City of San Diego, drug control strategies used by the police department, and the research objectives.

CITY OF SAN DIEGO PROFILE

The City of San Diego incorporates 330 square miles, making it larger in area than New York City. San Diego's boundaries range from the San Pasqual Valley in the north, to the border of Mexico on the south, the Pacific Ocean on the west, and the foothills on the east.

Almost half of San Diego County's 2.5 million residents reside in the City of San Diego. With a population of over 1.1 million, San Diego is the 6th largest city in the United States. In the last decade, San Diego has gained 235,382 people, an increase of 27%.

Following statewide trends, San Diego is becoming more ethnically diverse. The 1990 U.S. Census reveals that 21% of the residents are Hispanic. Whites make up 67%, Asians 12%, and blacks 9%. Asians and Hispanics have grown the fastest of any ethnic groups in the last ten years. The Asian population has more than doubled, increasing from 57,203 in 1980 to 130,945 in 1990, representing a 129% growth rate. Hispanics rose from 130,346 in 1980 to 229,519 in 1990, a jump of 76%.

San Diego employs over 641,000 people in a variety of different industries. The top employment industries are services, government/military, retail trade, and manufacturing. The military has a distinct presence in the County, employing over 61,000 people in the City of San Diego alone.

A temperate year-round climate, as well as 70 miles of sea coast, make San Diego County a prime tourist attraction. These features, as well as the proximity to the busiest international border in the world and easy access by land and sea, may also be associated with high rates of drug use among subgroups of the population, in particular, criminal offenders.

The Drug Problem

Since 1980, the San Diego area has experienced significant increases in virtually all indicators of drug use, including drug seizures, drug arrests, treatment admissions, emergency room episodes, and deaths related to drug use. (See for example, Multiple Indicators of Drug Use: Utilization for Planning and Policy Making, Pennell, et al., 1990.) Crime rates in this period (1980-1990) generally rose as well, dropping in 1984, and again in 1990. In the City of San Diego, arrests for drug violations increased over 100% in a ten-year period.

In the San Diego Police Department's annual report for 1989, the impact of crime and its association to drugs was highlighted by department analysis estimating that patrol officers expended 58% of their time on activities related to drugs. In fiscal year 1989, $64.4 million of the departmentwide budget was designated for drug control efforts (Drummy, 1989). Specific factors affecting

the ability of the department to respond effectively to the drug problem were cited:

- Increased proliferation of hard-core gang members from Los Angeles interested in obtaining a piece of the drug market, as evidenced by 171 drive-by shootings in 1988 and 1989
- Overcrowded jails that forced officers to issue citations rather than book and retain arrestees
- Over 600,000 outstanding warrants
- A ratio of 1.68 officers per 1,000, ranking tenth among the 10 largest cities in the country
- One of the highest proportions of drug use among arrestees in more than 20 cities in the country.

The previous item is perhaps the most compelling reflection of drug use among criminal offenders, based on the Drug Use Forecasting program, or DUF, as it is commonly known. Since 1987, San Diego has been a participant in the DUF program, sponsored jointly by the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the National Institute of Justice. From 1988 through mid-1991, quarterly results of urine testing have shown an average of 80% of male arrestees positive for drug use. Over half of those arrested revealed use of drugs other than marijuana. The City of San Diego is responsible for over half of all arrestees booked into local detention facilities.

Widespread drug use among offenders and the factors contributing to both high demand and supply create a significant challenge to local law enforcement.

San Diego Police Department Drug Control Strategy (1988-1991)

A goal of the San Diego Police Department is "to effectively employ various strategies in a coordinated effort to reduce the distribution, sales, and use of narcotics and the suppression of associated gang activities within the City of San Diego" (Guaderrama, 1990). This statement was written in August 1990, two years after this research began. It is reflective of the changes that have taken place since the inception of this study and demonstrates the dynamic arena in which drug control operations function, as well as the need to revise research approaches accordingly.

Initially (October 1988), this study proposed to assess the impact of three divisions with diverse methods for addressing the drug problem. These included:

WECAN (Walking Enforcement Campaign Against Narcotics). Created in January 1987, the 42 uniformed officers in this division offered a highly

visible presence in communities in which street-level drug sales and use were known to be high. Aggressive enforcement was characterized by officers out of patrol cars, walking the streets, and making arrests when appropriate. Officers responded to requests by station commands and provided intensive enforcement on a time-limited basis, moving to other communities as the need arose.

The Narcotics Section. This plainclothes division operates as the department's response to street-level narcotics sales. The primary avenues of enforcement are through utilization of informants, search warrants, and controlled buys. During the course of this study, the number of personnel in the narcotics section ranged from 22 to 29. As part of an integrated law enforcement effort at the international border, the Narcotics Section also has three detectives assigned to "Operation Alliance."

CAT (Crack Abatement Team). This program operates within the Narcotics Section, but it differs from the above approaches in terms of target offenders, drug focus, and emphasis on prosecution. Funded in 1987 with a Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) grant ($1.3 million over 3 years), the CAT team was designed to put intense pressure on mid-level crack cocaine producers, distributors, and dealers. The five-member CAT team focus is gang-related crack transactions, and investigations may be long-term; utilizing informants, controlled buys, and search warrants.

In March 1989, the police department restructured its drug control strategy based on considerable increases in gang-related drug/crime activity. The WECAN officers returned to their patrol cars and became the Special Enforcement Unit (SEU), consolidated with several other divisions under the Special Enforcement Division (SED) comprised of 111 sworn personnel. This change reflects a major effort to reduce gang and drug-related violence. The other divisions within SED include:

Gang Unit
School Task Force
Tactical Motorcycle Unit
Special Response Team (SWAT)

These changes did not impact the research effort because the case tracking did not begin until after the formation of the Special Enforcement Division. However, our research focus shifted, somewhat, to a greater emphasis on gang-related drug activity. Rather than targeting gang members to control drug sales, the focus of SED changed to gang violence and drugs became a vehicle to contact, disburse, and arrest gang members. Also, with the SED including both uniformed officers and plainclothes officers (Gang Unit), the distinctions between the three divisions became somewhat blurred.

The strategy matrix on page 28 provides an overview of the strategies discussed above.

OTHER DRUG CONTROL EFFORTS

Isolating the impact of specific drug control strategies is a difficult task, given the changing dynamics of the drug market, the effects of public policy, available resources, and the variety of programs operating. Although this research was able to identify arrests made by specific divisions, the extent to which other drug-focused efforts, both in and out of the San Diego Police Department, might have assisted the target divisions is not known. These other efforts are described below and can be categorized as enforcement, education, and community involvement. They are demonstrative of the police department's intense commitment to reducing the supply of, and demand for, drugs. (The material below was excerpted from police department correspondence [Guaderrama, 1990]).

Enforcement

Narcotics Task Force. The San Diego Integrated Narcotics Task Force (NTF) was formed in 1973 and operates in tandem with the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). The focus of NTF is major drug trafficking and investigation of illicit drug labs. Officers assigned to NTF are cross-deputized, allowing them to enforce state and federal drug laws. Countywide, there are over 60 sworn personnel in NTF, representing municipal police agencies. The San Diego Police Department has 24 personnel assigned to NTF.

Drug Abatement. A drug abatement detective, in coordination with the City Attorney's Office and the Housing Commission, offers a nontraditional approach for addressing the "drug house" through civil action. Upon identification through citizen complaints, public nuisance laws are used to hold property owners accountable for illegal activity occurring on their property. A series of graduated sanctions are utilized for noncompliance, including restraining orders, injunctions, fines, and closure of the property. The results of this approach were assessed by the Institute for Law and Justice.

Jurisdictions Unified for Drug Gang Enforcement (JUDGE). Funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), this is a cooperative effort among police agencies, the probation department, and the prosecutor. The objective of the program is to reduce drug sales and use among gang members by targeting probationers with gang and drug affiliation. The SANDAG Criminal Justice Research Division, with NIJ funds, is evaluating the effectiveness of this multi-agency task force approach.

Police Air Support Unit. This unit became fully operational in 1978. With six full-time pilots, the unit's primary responsibility is support to investigative

divisions. In recent years, the Air Support Unit has played a role in major methamphetamine and organized crime/narcotics cases and provided surveillance support for narcotics purchases by undercover officers.

Drug Market Analysis. The City of San Diego is one of five urban departments funded by the National Institute of Justice to develop an operational drug market analysis (DMA) system. Computers are being used to collect and analyze information from citizen calls, suspect information, and intelligence data to track market areas. Reports on the movement of dealers and markets will be available to police officers virtually overnight. The system will later be used to evaluate experimental drug control approaches.

Table 1

DRUG CONTROL STRATEGY MATRIX
SAN DIEGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

	Special Enforcement Division (SED)	Narcotics Section	Crack Abatement Team (CAT)
Inputs	• Undercover and uniformed staff (111) • Gang Unit* • Special Enforcement Unit (SEU)* • School Task Force • Tactical Motors • Special Response Team	• Plainclothes detectives (29) • Investigations fund and special equipment	• Plainclothes detectives (5) • Investigations fund, including "buy" money and special equipment
Target Population	• Emphasis on gang members who use and traffic drugs	• Low to mid-level street dealers of narcotics and dangerous drugs, including cocaine	• Mid-level and gang-affiliated producers and dealers, with specific emphasis on crack cocaine • Offenders with prior drug convictions
Objectives	• Suppress gang narcotics activity through high visibility of uniformed patrol and undercover gang-control staff • Reduce drive-by shootings and other gang violence • Provide residents with feeling of security	• Apprehension of mid and street-level dealers • Harassment of street-level dealers • Disruption of street sales in target areas on short-term basis • Send message to drug dealers that drug sales will not be tolerated	• Suppress mid-level crack cocaine producers, distributors, and dealers • Emphasis on gang-related cocaine transactions • Prosecution of arrests involving crack

**These two divisions combined are the primary components of SED.*

Table 1 (Cont'd.)

DRUG CONTROL STRATEGY MATRIX
SAN DIEGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

	Special Enforcement Division (SED)	Narcotics Section	Crack Abatement Team (CAT)
Sources of Information	• Observation • Area precinct captains • Community groups • Patrol • Outside agencies	• Observation • Citizen complaints • Precinct commands • SED officers • Informants • Coordinated intelligence • Outside agencies	• Observation • Informants • Citizen complaints • Coordinated intelligence • Outside agencies
Strategies	• Saturation in targeted areas through patrol and traffic stops • Community education and involvement • Street sweeps in areas with visible gang-related activity	• Controlled buys • Buy/busts • Search warrants	• Controlled buys • Buy/busts • Search warrants
Activities	• Discuss gang-related crime/drug problems with residents • Observe blatant drug sales • Arrest suspects involved in drug sales and use, with focus on gang members	• Utilize informants • Investigate citizen complaints • Conduct undercover operations such as surveillance, sweeps, buy/busts • Arrest suspected mid-level drug dealers and users • Seize assets of drug dealers • Vigorously prosecute drug dealers	• Activities similar to Narcotics Section, with emphasis on crack

Education

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE). This program, using 21 unarmed, uniformed police officers, provides a structured curriculum focusing on drug resistance social skills for all elementary students in the City of San Diego. Future plans call for expansion of the DARE program to the junior high schools.

School Task Force. Enforcement of school-related laws on or near high school campuses is the focus of this task force. The officers conduct drug prevention and enforcement presentations to classrooms. According to department reports, 40% of the School Task Force activities are drug and gang-related.

Police Athletic League (PAL). This is a joint project between the San Diego Police and Probation Departments. Using volunteers from law enforcement, probation, and the community, the program provides athletic, educational, and recreational activities to youth. Drug and gang intervention efforts are a central part of the program.

Community Involvement

Problem-Oriented Policing. In 1987, San Diego, along with other urban cities in the country, received funds from the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) to operationalize the concepts of Problem-Oriented Policing (POP). Supported by both theory and practice, the POP program expands the community-oriented policing approach developed in the early 1970s. The tenets of the program are fairly basic: the more a patrol officer knows about the community, the more effective the response. Linking crime problems to community problems, (e.g., broken windows, poor street lighting, abandoned property, etc.), can assist in bringing the community and the police together to mutually solve problems. In July of 1989, the POP program was expanded to all divisions. The impact of Problem-Oriented Policing was examined by the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) and the Institute for Social Analysis, with assistance by SANDAG staff.

CAT GRANT OBJECTIVES

One element of this research study was to assess the extent to which CAT detectives met the objectives of the BJA-funded grant. The CAT division consists of four detectives and a sergeant who focus on crack enforcement. The grant also funds a police investigative aide and a word processing operator. Total funding over a three-year period was $1.3 million.

Under the grant, the CAT officers were to target street and mid-level crack dealers and gang-related drug offenders in three target areas: Southeast San Diego; Central; and the beach areas, including Ocean Beach and Mission Beach.

The goal of the project was "the arrest and prosecution of mid-level crack cocaine producers, distributors, and dealers; a reduction in the street-level availability of crack cocaine; and a resultant decrease in crack-related violence" (Grant Application, 1987). The grant proposal describes the anticipated project impact as follows: an increase in the likelihood of prosecution and jail or prison sentences; coordinated intelligence information regarding mid-level and gang-affiliated crack cocaine producers, distributors, and dealers; development of a team with expertise in crack enforcement and training opportunities for other officers; and establishment of community support of crack enforcement efforts. The expected results listed are as follows: increased citizen complaints regarding drug activity; a reduction in crack-related shootings and violence; increased arrests, drug seizures, and asset seizures; increased community and media support; and increased successful prosecutions.

The proposed strategies used to accomplish these results included:

- Gathering intelligence information
- Use of informants, including paid informants
- Controlled buys by officers and informants
- Buy/busts
- Search warrants
- Surveillance
- Street sweeps
- Case enhancement through contacting witnesses, developing evidence, and responding to prosecutor requests.

To the extent possible, this research examined the efforts of CAT in addressing targeted offenders, utilizing proposed strategies, and prosecuting cases, but the focus of this study was the three divisions.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Specific research objectives and corresponding questions were the following:

Objective: Provide detailed information on the techniques used to identify and arrest drug dealers and users.

- What kinds of activities are required to implement specific strategies?

- What types of information must be available to officers prior to initiating a particular strategy?

- On what bases are "targeting" decisions made (e.g., citizen complaints, informants, other law enforcement agencies, political necessity)?

Objective: Determine which strategies are most effective with respect to consequences for drug dealers, particularly crack cocaine dealers.

- What are the results of different strategies in terms of complaints filed, convictions, sentences, and drug and asset seizures?

- How do efforts of other agencies/divisions impact the activities and results of implementation of strategies?

- What are offender opinions regarding consequences?

Objective: Profile the factors that characterize street and mid-level dealers and users and delineate by type of drug.

- What are the sociodemographic characteristics of individuals arrested for selling/using drugs?

- How do they compare by type of drug involvement at arrest?

- In what other types of crimes do drug offenders become involved?

- How do arrestees perceive their drug involvement, the drug market, and the response by the justice system?

Objective: Identify factors that both impede and enhance the effectiveness of enforcement strategies.

- What changes have occurred with respect to prevalence, price, and purity?

- How does the San Diego experience compare to other urban areas in which similar research has been conducted?

- Are there factors unique to San Diego that impact effectiveness?

Objective: Propose recommendations concerning effective use of law enforcement strategies to address distribution and use of drugs, particularly crack cocaine.

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY

Chapter 2
METHODOLOGY

Crack Abatement Team officers were going to investigate a specific complaint of drug sales at a local laundromat. When defendant was walking out of laundromat with another male officer, she told him about rock in her purse. She consented to a search. Drugs were found, which she said belonged to her companion and she had no idea that the "sock" contained drugs.

- Arrest Report, 1989

To address the research objectives, data were collected on the drug enforcement activities of two San Diego Police Department operational divisions: (1) the Special Enforcement Division (SED), which includes gang unit detectives, the uniformed special enforcement unit (SEU), the special response team of SWAT, and the tactical motorcycle squad; ***and*** (2) the Narcotics Section, which consists of undercover detectives. The Crack Abatement Team (CAT) is within the Narcotics Section. For purposes of this research, CAT was considered a separate operational division to allow an evaluation of this BJA-funded grant project. The target group for CAT, as initially proposed, is mid-level crack dealers in specific target areas of the City, whereas other Narcotics Section officers respond to all types of street-level drug activity throughout the City. In this report, references to Narcotics Section activities exclude CAT officers, unless otherwise noted. The SED focus is gangs and drugs, and activities include: gathering gang intelligence information; investigating gang-related crimes; and providing uniformed, high-visibility patrols of areas where gangs congregate.

The following approaches were used to obtain information on drug-related enforcement efforts of these police divisions:

- Collection of data on enforcement activities from monthly reports prepared by SED, the Narcotics Section, and CAT

- Tracking of 1,432 felony and misdemeanor drug arrests made by these divisions

- Interviews with a sub-sample of 123 offenders arrested for drug charges

- Surveys of officers assigned to these divisions.

The study period for intensive review of division activities was from June 1 through November 30, 1989. The methods employed are described in this section, including: the purpose; issues addressed; sample selection procedures; data sources; measures; and analysis procedures.

Monthly Reports

Each of the police divisions prepares monthly reports on enforcement activities, including: arrests; search warrants executed; amount and type of drugs seized; and property seized, such as weapons and automobiles. One purpose of compiling information from these monthly reports was to provide an overview of each division's activities. Other aspects of the study are based on samples of specific types of cases (arrests involving at least one drug charge). Another purpose was to assess the representativeness of the sample of cases selected for case tracking and offender interviews. Inconsistencies in the monthly reports affect the reliability and validity of the data. The primary source of inconsistencies is double-counting of activities by two divisions. Researchers tallied the number of arrests from division logs and compared the figures with the monthly reports. This clarified the source of the problem. However, an accurate figure for total arrests by each division could not be determined without extensive data collection which controlled for duplicate entries of arrests.

Another limitation of the monthly reports was that data were not compiled in the same way for all divisions. For example, one division categorized arrests by felony and misdemeanor, but not drug charges. Two other divisions provided data on drug charges, but one was based on highest charge and the other was based on total number of charges for arrestees. Similar inconsistencies were noted for categories of drugs seized.

For these reasons, the information from the monthly reports was not used. Instead, citywide drug arrest data were used to assess the relationship of these specialized divisions to departmentwide activities. The citywide data include adult and juvenile felony and misdemeanor drug arrests by month for 1988, 1989, and 1990.

Case Tracking

The most extensive data collection effort was the tracking of 1,432 drug arrests made by the three divisions during the six-month study period (June 1 to November 30, 1989). The case tracking study included sociodemographic data, circumstances of arrests, information on case processing from arrest to final disposition, and criminal history. The purpose of the case tracking study was to identify targets of enforcement efforts, techniques or strategies used, and consequences to offenders which resulted from the activities of the three divisions.

The case tracking data address two research objectives:

Objective: Provide detailed information on the techniques used to identify and arrest drug dealers and users.

Objective: Determine which strategies are most effective with respect to consequences for drug dealers, particularly crack cocaine dealers.

In addition, the case tracking data are combined with offender interview data to provide a profile of drug users and dealers arrested by the three police divisions.

Sample Selection. To be selected for the case tracking study, an arrest had to involve at least one drug charge, such as possession for use or sales. The sources for arrest incidents were arrest logs prepared by each division. All drug arrests made by the Narcotics Section, CAT, and the SED gang detail during the study period were included in the sample. A 50% sample was selected from other SED divisions by choosing from the log every second person arrested for a drug charge. Duplicate arrests that occurred on more than one log were eliminated during data collection. The primary arresting division was determined based on the role of the officers in initiating a case or investigation and making the arrest(s).

Criminal history data on prior convictions for drug and other offenses were collected on a sub-sample of cases. Because of the relatively small number of CAT cases, criminal history data were obtained for every person arrested by CAT officers in the case tracking sample. Data were collected for approximately one-third of the Narcotics Section and SED arrests (every third person in the sample) and all the arrestees who participated in interviews. If a person appeared more than once in the sample for different arrests, the criminal history data were coded on the most recent arrest to include all prior convictions.

The procedures for selecting interview respondents from persons arrested by the divisions are described in another section. In some cases, those interviewed were not initially included in the case tracking sample, but were added to provide a complete set of data on everyone participating in interviews, including criminal history.

The data can be analyzed based on individual arrests ***and*** related cases. All CAT and Narcotics Section arrests and SED felony arrests related to a single case were identified using the same case identification number. A case was defined as one or more arrests occurring on the same date at the same location and time for a related incident. Selected information, such as police strategies and drug seizures, were combined and coded on the key arrest tracking form. In most instances, the key arrest was the person with the highest, most serious drug charge. Misdemeanor arrests made by SED were not identified as part of a case because they were listed on a separate log.

A total of 946 cases were included in the sample, with 1,432 individual arrests for drug charges. By division, the breakdown of arrests is as follows:

CAT	168
Narcotics	735
SED	529

The sample represents approximately 14% of all of the San Diego Police Department drug arrests during the study period, and over 40% of the felony drug arrests.

Sources and Data Elements. The arrest reports and supplementary narrative information, including search warrants, provided detailed data regarding: the arrest; sociodemographic characteristics of the arrestee; the source of information leading to the initial investigation; strategies used, such as observation, buy/bust, and search warrant; seizures; and law enforcement disposition. Data on initial custody in jail after arrest were obtained from the Sheriff's automated Inmate Booking Information System and jail files. Prosecutor and court disposition information was accessed through the District and City Attorneys' automated systems and court case files. Criminal history data were obtained from the State of California's automated and manual criminal history files. Gang affiliation was confirmed using the Marshal's system which contains documented gang members. The criteria for classification of gang members are consistent with the State Department of Justice guidelines.

The data elements are presented in Table 2 and identified as defendant or case-based information. A copy of the case tracking form is included in Appendix A.

Analysis. The analysis related to the first two objectives is based, in part, on a comparison of the three police divisions in terms of targets of enforcement efforts, strategies employed, and outcomes for defendants. It was expected that the types of strategies would vary by division because they target different types of drug activity (e.g., mid-level dealers, low-level street dealers, users). The undercover officers in the Narcotics Section and CAT would be more likely to use controlled buys or sales, surveillance, search warrants, and body wires, whereas the uniformed SED officers would rely more on observation of drug activities and sweeps. The initial analysis provides a comparison of division strategies to evaluate this assumption and develop categories of strategies for subsequent phases of the analysis. The coding of strategies on the case tracking form included the following variables:

- search warrant
- officer buy/sell
- informant buy/sell
- number of buys
- buy/bust
- number of sells
- police decoy (suspect approaches officer to sell drugs)
- observation of drug activity
- consent search (person, structure, or vehicle)
- sweep
- surveillance
- wiretap/taped conversation
- execution of arrest warrant
- patrol/traffic stop for non-drug offense
- probation/parole search (fourth amendment waivers)
- reverse sting
- other.

Table 2

CASE TRACKING STUDY DATA ELEMENTS

Defendant-Based Data	
• Police divisions involved • Date of arrest • Beat • Highest arrest charge • Other arrest charges • Custody status at arrest • Police disposition • Race/ethnicity • Gender • Age/date of birth • Place of birth • City of residence • Occupation • Employment status • Identified narcotics user • Citizenship • Number of arrests in sample • Arresting officer	• Officer I.D. • Gang membership • Initial custody days • Jail release decision • Prosecutor disposition • Prosecutor reason for not filing case • Highest complaint charge • Other complaint charges • Number of defendants • Type of defense • Final disposition • Highest conviction charge • Other conviction charges • Sentence • Time ordered • Date of final court action • Number of FTA bench warrants • Criminal history
Case-Based Data	
• Location of arrest/offense • Strategies used by police • Grams seized by type of drug • Property seized • Currency seized • Weapons seized • Buy money recovered	

The three divisions, types of strategies, and characteristics of targeted suspects are considered the independent variables. The nominal and interval level measures of dependent variables include:

- level and type of arrest, complaint, and conviction charges (proportion)
- characteristics of arrests (e.g., percent sales versus use)
- proportion of arrests involving assistance from other divisions and outside agencies
- proportion of arrests in which person is booked into jail
- average number of initial days in pretrial custody
- average drug seizures per case, by type of drug (grams)
- average number of arrests per case
- proportion of cases with property seized, by type of property
- proportion of cases with weapons seized, by type
- proportion of arrests resulting in complaints filed
- prosecutor reasons for not filing cases (proportion)
- proportion of arrests resulting in conviction
- proportion of cases with jail or prison time ordered
- average days from arrest to court case disposition.

The analysis included a description of the activities of the three police divisions during the study period, bivariate and multi-variate analyses of the relationship between independent and dependent variables, and a logit regression analysis to determine which independent variables account for variation in case outcomes.

The analysis also addressed the relationship between drug use and sales and other types of criminal activity, such as robbery, burglary, and assault. The measures include additional charges for non-drug offenses at the time of arrest and prior history of other types of criminal activity.

Additionally, arrest and offense locations were mapped to determine if the CAT officers focused on the target areas identified in the grant proposal. Also, for the CAT project, the level and type of dealer were assessed to determine if the officers in fact targeted mid-level crack dealers during the study period, as specified in the grant proposal.

Cost. Initially, the research design included a cost-effectiveness comparison of the three police divisions using measures such as average cost for case investigations and average number of arrests and convictions per unit of cost or time. Data on time expended per case were not available for Narcotics Section, CAT, or gang detectives. Also, budget and expenditure data available from the department do not represent actual costs for each division during the study period because costs for officers assigned temporarily to other divisions

are not reflected. During a portion of the study period, an officer from the Narcotics Section was temporarily assigned to a homicide task force, but his hours were included in Narcotics Section expenditures. Also, patrol officers were temporarily assigned to the Narcotics Section to provide training and undercover officers who were relatively unknown to suspects. Hours for these patrol officers were billed to the Patrol Division. Time and costs associated with these temporary assignments could not be determined.

Offender Interviews

Offender interviews were conducted to increase our understanding of the types of offenders arrested by the three police divisions, obtain information on the dynamics of the drug market, and learn about perceived risks from the point of view of the user and dealer. The data collected from the interviews were combined with case tracking data and used to address the following research objective:

Objective: Profile the factors that characterize street and mid-level dealers and users and delineate by type of drug.

Sample Selection. The arrestees were selected based on an availability sampling method during the six-month study period. Two to three days a week, the police department watch commander's log of arrests for the previous 24 hours was reviewed to develop a list of persons arrested for at least one drug charge by SED, Narcotics Section, and CAT. The interviewers contacted arrestees who were still in custody at the men's Central Detention Facility and conducted interviews. A total of 123 arrestees were interviewed. The sample does not include arrestees released before the interviewers arrived at the jail. These were usually misdemeanor offenders who were not required to post bail and could be cited and released by jail personnel.

Women were not included in the interview sample because of logistical problems in completing the interviews. The women's facility is a considerable distance from the research site, and the women were likely to be released before an interviewer could reach the facility to conduct the interview. Women represented 18% of the case tracking sample.

The interviews were voluntary, and respondents were asked to sign a consent form indicating their understanding that the information provided was confidential.

Data Elements. In general, the questions on the interview related to characteristics of arrestees; drug use history; drug dealing history; criminal history; and opinions regarding drug use, sales, enforcement efforts, and

perceived risks of being caught. The data elements are listed in Table 3. A copy of the interview is included in Appendix C.

Analysis. The analysis of the data from offender interviews is primarily descriptive and provides a profile of those arrested by the three police divisions.

Table 3

OFFENDER INTERVIEW DATA ELEMENTS

Sociodemographics	Drug Use by Type	Drug Market	Opinions	Criminal History
• Gender • Race/ethnicity • Age • Education • Marital status • Employment • Income	• Ever tried • Age at first use • When last used • Method of using cocaine • Drugs used most/frequency	• Location of purchases/sales • Cost of drugs purchased/sold • Amount purchased/sold • Changes in prices • Negotiate prices • When last purchased/sold • Same seller/buyer • How long supply lasts • Ever not able to get drugs • Relationship of seller/buyer • What if price goes up • Areas of city drugs sold • Frequency of drug sales • Number sold to regularly • Changes in drug sales • Which drugs sold most	• Best things re: use/sales • Worst things re: use/sales • Risks related to use/sales • Reasons people take drugs • Effect of police strategies • Will arrest change use/sales • Changes in level of police efforts	• Current/prior arrests and convictions by type

Note: Many topic areas were suggested by Mark Kleiman (1989) and Bruce Johnson (NDRI, Inc.).

Officer Surveys

During January of 1989 and 1991, surveys were conducted of officers assigned to the police divisions being studied. The purpose of the surveys was to gather information on the San Diego drug market and police efforts to address the following research objectives.

Objective: Provide detailed information on the techniques used to identify and arrest drug dealers and users.

Objective: Identify factors that both impede and enhance the effectiveness of enforcement strategies.

The surveys were distributed by research staff and completed during squad conferences or staff meetings. The survey respondents included all officers present during that time frame (e.g., not on vacation or on sick leave).

The first officer survey yielded 91 responses (about 62% of the total number of officers). The following topics were addressed:

- officer assignment/rank
- length of time in assignment/with police department
- training received
- sources of information regarding drug activity
- strategies employed/frequency of use
- enforcement targets
- effective strategies for specific targeted drug users/sellers
- dynamics of the drug market
- areas where drug arrests are most likely to occur
- characteristics of crack dealers and users
- impact of enforcement efforts
- factors that impede or enhance drug control efforts
- opinions regarding reasons for drug use
- factors associated with stopping or reducing drug use
- coordination with other agencies.

The second survey focused on changes in the drug market, division strategies, enforcement targets, and indicators of police effectiveness. A total of 62 follow-up surveys were completed (about 43% of all officers in the three divisions).

Copies of both surveys are included in Appendix B.

Analysis. The bivariate analyses of the surveys includes a description of the responses for each police division to assess differences in approach and compare responses over time to determine if changes have occurred in enforcement strategies and the drug market. Where appropriate, survey responses are compared to case tracking results to further explain strategies and case outcomes.

POLICE STRATEGIES

This section describes strategies used by the drug enforcement officers. This discussion provides the context for assessing study results related to police activities.

Search Warrant. A warrant is issued by the court allowing police to search a specific location for drugs, stolen property, or other evidence. This category includes telephonic search warrants. For the divisions being studied, search warrants are usually issued based on evidence from a reliable informant regarding illegal activity. Frequently, officers conduct controlled drug buys to gather additional evidence to support the search warrant. Also, controlled buys are often conducted just prior to serving the search warrant to confirm that drug activity is still occurring at the location.

Officer Buy. An undercover police officer buys drugs from a suspect, while under surveillance by other officers. This strategy may involve the use of a body wire.

Officer Sell. An undercover police officer sells drugs to a suspect, with other officers providing surveillance. This strategy was only used once in the cases reviewed, with a federal officer posing as a drug dealer.

Informant Buy. While under surveillance by police, an informant is used to buy drugs from a suspect. This approach is used when police believe that the suspect is more likely to trust the informant than a stranger. Body wires may be used in conjunction with this strategy.

Buy/Bust. A drug buy is made by an undercover officer or informant followed immediately by an arrest for drug sales.

Taped Conversation. Police sometimes tape conversations of suspects to gather evidence using a concealed tape recorder. In study cases, taping usually occurred while suspects were sitting in the back of a police vehicle.

Wiretap. Police obtain a warrant and wiretap a suspect's phone to obtain information regarding drug activity.

Police Decoy. An undercover police officer patrols on foot or in an unmarked car in an area known for drug activity and waits for a suspect to approach with an offer to sell drugs. Generally, a sale is completed and the offender is arrested immediately.

Observation. Police observe drug-related violations during routine patrol and enforcement activities. This strategy is often used in arrests for under the influence of drugs based on observation of symptoms of drug use, observation of drugs during a patrol or traffic stop, and observation of a drug deal in progress.

Surveillance. Police observe suspects ***for a period of time*** to detect or confirm illegal activity. Surveillance is used to gather evidence to support a search warrant, to determine appropriate enforcement strategies or tactics, and as part of a buy or sell strategy.

Consent Search. Police respond to complaints or observe drug activity and request permission to search a residence, vehicle, or person without a search warrant. Consent searches often occur in conjunction with patrol and traffic stops and routine observation of drug activity.

Sweep. A number of uniformed officers go to an area where there is drug activity; observe; contact suspects; and arrest drug dealers, buyers, and persons under the influence of a controlled substance.

Arrest Warrant Executed. If a suspect cannot be arrested (e.g., location is unknown), police can request an arrest warrant that will be executed when the person is contacted. For purposes of this study, an arrest warrant was counted as a strategy only when an arrest occurred.

Patrol or Traffic Stop. An officer stops a suspect for a non-drug-related activity and makes a drug arrest, usually based on observation, a "pat down" for weapons, or a consent search of the vehicle.

Probation/Parole Search. If a suspect is on probation or parole with a waiver of 4th amendment rights regarding search and seizure, officers can conduct a probation or parole search without a warrant. Often the probation or parole officer is called to assist with the search, but this is not necessary.

Reverse Sting. During the execution of a search warrant, police officers sometimes intercept phone calls and set up drug buys resulting in additional arrests. Also, officers arrest persons who come to the door to buy drugs. During the study, San Diego officers were not involved in long-term undercover sting operations related to drugs.

Developing Sources of Information. Sources of information are integral elements of police enforcement strategies, related to gathering intelligence information. The three primary sources identified include citizens, confidential informants, and officers in other divisions or agencies.

Data Collection Limitations

Data compiled on police strategies were limited to information available in arrest reports and search warrants. In some cases, detectives may not have reported information on incidental strategies, such as observation. Also, detectives are protective of confidential informants, and data on use of informants were not always available unless informant information was used to support a search warrant. Also, the term "informant," when used in the context of a search warrant, referred to a citizen or an offender who provided information related to activity at a specific address or location. Therefore, data could not be obtained based on the more traditional police definition of a confidential informant. According to San Diego Police Department guidelines, a confidential informant is a person who provides information with the expectation of receiving a reward, including monetary rewards and consideration of the informant's assistance in the processing of a pending criminal case. These types of informants are handled differently than citizen informants. Confidential informants are considered a resource of law enforcement that must be developed and maintained in a professional manner and supervised to ensure that information on criminal activity is forthcoming on a continuous basis.

In Chapter 3, results of offender interviews are presented. The next chapter presents a discussion of tactics and strategies used by the three police divisions. The final chapter describes the case tracking results with respect to consequences for offenders. For purposes of this study, asset seizure was viewed as a consequence for drug dealers, rather than as enforcement strategy. Therefore, asset seizures are discussed in the last chapter.

CHAPTER 3
DRUG MARKETS IN SAN DIEGO

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DRUG MARKETS IN SAN DIEGO

In an area with numerous citizen complaints about drug activity, two undercover officers with marked $20 bills were approached by suspects. Suspects initiated conversation and after an exchange, officer said he was looking for "2-0." Defendant said, "No, you look like cops," and walked away. Defendant came back to officer and asked to see his identification. The officer said he only had money as identification. Finally defendant agreed to deal but only with one of the officers. He sold the officer $20 of rock, the officer gave the signal, and other officers busted him.

- Arrest Report, 1989

This chapter describes drug markets in San Diego based on the perceptions of individuals arrested for drug charges as well as the observations of police officers in drug control divisions.

INTERVIEWS WITH ARRESTEES

In order to describe the street-level drug users and explore the perceptions and opinions of those arrested by the drug control divisions, personal interviews were conducted with persons booked into the jail. These interviews are similar to a convenience sample. Two to three times per week, from June 1989 to November 1989, San Diego Police Department arrest logs were reviewed to identify persons arrested by the three divisions during the previous 24 hours. Interviewers went to the jail, determined if the subjects were still in custody, and requested that those available be brought to the interview area. A limitation of our approach is that our interview sample likely is weighted toward arrestees who were unable to post bail and may not be representative of the total arrestees in the study.

The objective and the corresponding questions addressed in this section were the following:

Objective: Profile the factors that characterize street and mid-level dealers and users and delineate by type of drug.

- What are the sociodemographic characteristics of individuals arrested for selling/using drugs?
- How do they compare by type of drug involved at time of arrest?
- In what other types of crimes do drug offenders become involved?
- How do arrestees perceive their drug involvement, the drug market, and the response by the justice system?

Experience with the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program, in which newly-booked arrestees voluntarily participate in interviews about their drug use and submit urine specimens for drug testing, has shown that most arrestees are amenable to discussing their individual histories of drug use and criminal activity. However, the validity of their responses has not been subject to rigorous scrutiny. The DUF data, for San Diego as well as the other participating DUF cities, have demonstrated underreporting of drug use when compared with actual drug results (National Institute of Justice, 1990). Differences are associated with types of drugs. For example, marijuana users are more likely than cocaine users to report recent drug use. Distorted responses, either underreporting or overreporting, are not surprising given the illicit nature of drug use. This concern has its theoretical foundation in social desirability theory (Edwards, 1957), which posits that the more stigmatized a behavior, the stronger the tendency to deny having engaged in it. Harrell's (1985) summary of self-reported drug use research states that most of the research literature concludes that addicts are willing to reveal the facts of their drug use and arrest record, although recall of detailed information does appear to pose threats to validity for some drug use items. Since the interview sample in this study was part of the larger case tracking study, it was possible to compare some responses, such as criminal history, with official records. To reduce validity threats, these additional steps were taken, as recommended by Harrell (1985).

- First, anonymity and confidentiality were assured with a consent form signed by the participants.
- Second, rapport was established with the use of skilled interviewers who had experience interviewing individuals booked into jail, either in the Pretrial Services Agency, or through the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program.

Interview questions were developed with suggestions by Mark Kleiman and Bruce Johnson.

A total of 123 adult males were interviewed at the central jail. The majority (95%) were arrested for felony drug violations as primary charges (Table 4). More than half (57%) were arrested for felony narcotics, a category that

includes both heroin and cocaine. The next most frequent primary charge was for dangerous drugs. These invariably involved amphetamines or methamphetamine. More than half of the arrests (62%) were for sales and 58% were the result of a "buy" or buy/bust (not shown). Of the 123 arrests, the Special Enforcement Division (SED) was the primary arresting division in 61%.

Table 4

PRIMARY ARREST CHARGE
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

Type of Arrest	Percentage of Respondents
• Felony narcotics sales	33%
• Felony dangerous drugs sales	15%
• Felony other sales	14%
• Felony narcotics possession	24%
• Felony dangerous drug possession	9%
• Misdemeanor drug	4%
• Other felony	1%
TOTAL	**123**

The case tracking of over 1,400 cases included the offenders interviewed in the jail. The case tracking results suggest that these drug violators may have been more involved in drug use and sales than their interview data suggest. Specific findings based on review of cases include (not shown):

- Of the 123 arrestees, 76% had complaints filed by the prosecutor.
- Of the 94 with complaints filed, 85% were convicted or pled guilty.
- Of those convicted (80%), 23% were sentenced to state prison. Over half (56%) received local jail time along with probation.
- In 54 of the arrests, currency was seized by police. Fifteen (15) individuals had $500 or more at the time of their arrest.
- With respect to seizures of five different drugs (cocaine powder, crack, heroin, methamphetamine, and marijuana), forty percent (40%) involved over 100 grams seized.
- Criminal history records revealed about one-quarter of the arrestees had prior convictions, with about half involving drug violations.

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Arrestees Interviewed

Nearly half (47%) of those arrestees interviewed were between the ages of 18 and 24 years, and just over a quarter (28%) were age 25 to 31. Only 7% were age 39 or more (Table 5).

Table 5

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ARRESTEES OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

n = 123

• **Age**	
18 - 24	47%
25 - 31	28%
32 - 38	18%
39 and over	7%
• **Ethnicity**	
White	15%
Black	47%
Hispanic	37%
• **Education**	
Less than grade 12	53%
High school graduate	33%
Some college	14%
Unknown	1%
• **Marital Status**	
Not married	69%
Married or living with someone	30%
Unknown	1%
• **Employment**	
Employed full time or part time	53%
Not employed	47%
Deal drugs	22%
Other illegal	5%
Other	20%

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Of those interviewed 47% were black and 37% were Hispanic. Over half of the arrestees had not finished high school (53%). One-third (33%) had completed high school and 14% said they had attended college. Most were not married (69%).

When asked what they were mainly doing in the previous month, 53% said they had been working. Most who were working had part-time jobs. Examples of job descriptions included construction, truck driver, maintenance, carpenter, and machine operator. About one out of five of those interviewed said they spent most of their time dealing drugs. Another 5% said they engaged in other types of illegal activity, including panhandling and theft.

Drug Use Patterns

Seventy-four percent (74%) of the 123 interviewed considered themselves to be regular users of drugs, described as use once a week or more. Twenty percent (20%) stated they used drugs once a month or less (not shown).

Using the questions developed for the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program, arrestees were asked if they had ever tried specific drugs, their age at first use, and if they had used in the past 30 days (Table 6). Proportionately, the results are similar to drug use patterns revealed by DUF participants.

Table 6

SELF REPORTED DRUG USE
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

	Percent Ever Tried (n = 123)	Median Age at First Use	Number of Respondents	Percent Used in Last 30 Days
• Alcohol	96%	15	118	83%
• Marijuana	96%	15	118	78%
• Heroin	23%	20	28	61%
• Cocaine	63%	20	78	49%
• Crack	41%	24	50	56%
• Methamphetamine	43%	20	53	46%
• PCP	29%	19	36	14%

Almost all (96%) of the respondents stated they had tried alcohol or marijuana. Median age at first use was 15 for both substances. Over half (63%) reported having tried cocaine at a median age of 20 for age at first use. Crack use came at a later age, with a median of 24, among the 41% stating they had tried it. Methamphetamine use was noted by nearly half (43%) of the offenders with a median age of 20. Less than one-third (29%) indicated the use of PCP, with a median age of 19. Admitted use in the 30 days prior to the interview ranged from 14% of the PCP users to 83% of those who had tried alcohol. Over 48% of the users of marijuana, heroin, cocaine, and crack stated that they had used in the previous 30 days. Of the cocaine users (78), the most frequent response associated with the preferred method for using cocaine was snorting, as stated by 41%. Only 15% said they preferred smoking crack.

Table 7

PREFERRED METHOD FOR USING COCAINE
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

(n = 78)

Method	Percent
• Snort cocaine	41%
• Smoke crack	15%
• Smoke cocaine	13%
• Inject cocaine with heroin (speedball)	9%
• Freebase	9%
• Inject cocaine only	7%
• Other	5%

NOTE: Percentages do not equal 100 due to rounding.

When asked which drug they used most often during the last 30 days, 26% reported alcohol and 32% reported marijuana was used most frequently (Table 8). Combining users of cocaine (17%) and crack (10%) showed 27% using cocaine. Nine percent (9%) indicated methamphetamine and 5% identified heroin as the drug used most frequently.

Table 8

DRUG USED MOST FREQUENTLY
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

(n = 116)

Drug	Percent
• Alcohol	26%
• Marijuana	32%
• Cocaine	17%
• Crack	10%
• Methamphetamine	9%
• Heroin	5%
• PCP	2%

NOTE: Percentages do not equal 100 due to rounding.

Those who reported recent drug use tended to be poly-drug users based on their own admissions. The drug used most frequently was compared to other drugs also used. For example, 65% or more of all arrestees who identified their primary drug to be ***other*** than marijuana ***also*** claimed marijuana use (Table 9). More than one-third (38%) of the crystal meth users also reported recent cocaine use, as did 65% of the heroin users. Over half of those who named marijuana or heroin as their primary drug stated that they had used more than ten days in the previous 30 days (not shown). Comparative data for DUF sites have shown San Diego arrestees with the highest rates of multi-drug use (National Institute of Justice, 1990).

Table 9

DRUG USE IN LAST 30 DAYS, BY PRIMARY DRUG
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

	PRIMARY DRUG				
	Marijuana	**Heroin**	**Cocaine**	**Crack**	**Crystal Meth**
	n = 92	n = 17	n = 38	n = 28	n = 24
• Marijuana	100%	65%	71%	68%	83%
• Heroin	12%	100%	29%	21%	21%
• Cocaine	29%	65%	100%	43%	38%
• Crack	21%	6%	32%	100%	25%
• Crystal Meth	22%	29%	24%	21%	100%

Respondents were asked how much money they had received in the past month, through both legal and illegal means. Over half (60%) reported no money received illegally. Of those who admitted to receiving illegal income (a total of 49), 55% said the amount was $1,000 or less (Table 10). Eleven (11) individuals reported illegal income exceeding $4,000 per month, with four stating monthly sums in the amounts of $16,000, $20,000, $50,000, and $100,000 each month. Those in the higher income brackets were admitted drug dealers.

None of those reporting legal income received over $4,000 per month. About one out of five (22%) stated that they received no legal income. Over one-third (36%) had monthly income up to $500. Thirty (30) respondents' income fell in the $501 - $1,000 range, and 22 in the $1,001 - $4,000 range.

Table 10

LEGAL AND ILLEGAL INCOME RECEIVED IN PREVIOUS MONTH OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

Dollar Amount	Legally Obtained	Illegally Obtained
	Number of Respondents	
Zero	27	72
$100 or less	5	6
$101 - 500	39	10
$501 - 1,000	30	11
$1,001 - 4,000	22	11
$4,001 - 8,000	0	5
$8,001 - 10,000	0	2
$16,000	0	1
$20,000	0	1
$50,000	0	1
$100,000	0	1
TOTAL	**123**	**121**

Drug Market Dynamics

To explore how drug users obtain their drugs, the arrestees were asked a number of questions concerning the logistics of obtaining drugs and the associated costs. The findings are described with respect to the drugs reportedly used in the previous 30 days. The numbers within some categories are small, nevertheless, they reveal interesting differences, based on type of drug (Table 11). PCP was not included in this section because only five people were PCP users in the last 30 days.

Distance to Get Drugs. Excluding crystal meth, about three-quarters reported having to travel less than one mile to get their drugs. Over half went to the same location each time, regardless of the preferred drug.

Location of Drugs. Users of crystal methamphetamine were proportionately more likely than users of other drugs to get their drugs from a private residence (67% vs 25% of the heroin users). An outside area such as the street or park was frequented by 75% of the heroin users.

Time of Purchase. At least one-third or more of all users reported that they had bought drugs within the last two days. Over 65% of all the users interviewed stated that they had bought their drugs within six days prior to the interview.

Drug Source. Crystal users were the most likely to have obtained drugs from the same person from whom they previously purchased (72%). The majority of cocaine and crack users (68% and 73%, respectively) bought from a different person. Marijuana and heroin users were more evenly split but more than half had bought from a different person.

Users of heroin were least likely to report that their drug connection was a friend (13%). Most (69%) indicated the individual was a dealer rather than a friend or drug buddy. In contrast, over half of the meth users and just under half of the cocaine users got their drugs from a friend (52% and 47%, respectively).

Time Supply Lasts. Over half of the heroin, cocaine, and crack users said their drug supply lasts 12 hours or less, which is indicative of their pattern of use. Only 29% of the crystal users and 27% of those who use marijuana gave this time frame.

Availability. Over half of all users said they are always able to get their drugs, suggesting wide availability. The percentage of those who have had difficulty getting drugs ranged from 19% of the heroin users to 47% of the crystal users.

Price and Quantity. Tables 12 through 15 describe offender responses about the price paid for specific quantities, whether the price was negotiated, and perceptions about changes in price over the previous six months. Generally, the responses concerning price and quantities for all drug types suggest low-level street users rather than mid- or high-level dealers. This is not surprising since 61% of those interviewed were arrested by SED.

Table 11

BEHAVIOR ASSOCIATED WITH USING AND OBTAINING DRUGS OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

(Multiple responses possible)

Question	Drug Type				
	Marijuana	Heroin	Cocaine	Crack	Crystal Meth
• **How far do you usually have to go to get ___ ?**					
- Nowhere	17%	11%	21%	10%	39%
- Less than 1 mile	61%	61%	54%	73%	27%
- 1 to 3 miles	13%	17%	13%	10%	23%
- 3^+ miles	7%	6%	10%	3%	8%
TOTAL	**92**	**18**	**39**	**30**	**26**
• **Is it usually the same location?**					
- Yes	62%	75%	55%	54%	67%
- No	36%	25%	45%	46%	33%
TOTAL	**77**	**16**	**31**	**26**	**18**
• **Type of location**					
- Private residence	38%	25%	36%	50%	67%
- Public building	5%	0	0	0	0
- Outside area (street/park)	56%	75%	61%	46%	33%
- Other	1%	0	3%	4%	0
TOTAL	**77**	**16**	**31**	**26**	**18**
• **When did you last buy the drugs?**					
- Less than 2 days ago	45%	50%	43%	62%	33%
- 2-6 days ago	31%	19%	30%	23%	33%
- 1-2 weeks ago	15%	13%	10%	4%	11%
- 2 weeks or more	7%	13%	17%	8%	11%
- Don't know	3%	6%	0	4%	11%
TOTAL	**75**	**16**	**30**	**26**	**18**

Table 11 (Cont'd.)

BEHAVIOR ASSOCIATED WITH USING AND OBTAINING DRUGS OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

(Multiple responses possible)

Question	Drug Type				
	Marijuana	Heroin	Cocaine	Crack	Crystal Meth
• **Did you get the drugs from same person as before?**					
- Yes	39%	38%	32%	27%	72%
- No	55%	56%	68%	73%	28%
TOTAL	**77**	**16**	**31**	**26**	**18**
• **Was the person you got your drugs from a ....**					
- friend	42%	13%	47%	32%	52%
- drug buddy	10%	13%	5%	18%	16%
- dealer	47%	69%	42%	46%	28%
- other	1%	6%	5%	4%	4%
TOTAL	**89**	**16**	**38**	**28**	**25**
• **How long does supply last (until you need more)?**					
- 12 hours or less	27%	63%	55%	73%	29%
- 13-47 hours	21%	13%	23%	8%	24%
- 2-3 days	25%	19%	10%	12%	24%
- 4-7 days	17%	0	10%	4%	12%
- 7 days or more	7%	6%	3%	4%	6%
TOTAL	**75**	**16**	**31**	**26**	**17**
• **Are you ever not able to get ___ ?**					
- Yes	43%	19%	32%	39%	47%
- No	56%	81%	68%	62%	53%
TOTAL	**73**	**16**	**31**	**26**	**17**

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Marijuana. Over two-thirds of the marijuana users paid $10.00 or less (68%) and 34 users received from 1-10 "joints" for their money. Six people said they paid nothing because they got it from a friend or as a benefit of dealing/selling (not shown). Four (4) individuals paid from $60 to $100 for an ounce or more (6%)(not shown). Most marijuana users did not negotiate the price (78%) and felt that the price had remained the same (79%) over the past six months.

Heroin. More than half (60%) of the heroin users paid $15 or less for their heroin use, based on their last buy. Only one user did not pay anything (not shown). Twenty percent (20%) reported paying from $70 to $100 (not shown). Only one person reported having bought more than an ounce. Over 85% did not negotiate the price and 94% felt that the price had remained stable.

Cocaine. Over 70% of reported cocaine users paid $20 or less for either powder or rock. Five users did not pay for their drugs (not shown). One person paid $15,000 for a kilo which he converted to $50 packages for sale (not shown). Thirty-five percent (35%) received less than an ounce of cocaine, and only 2 users claimed that they had gotten more than an ounce. Most users did not negotiate the price (68% for powder users and 72% for rock users). Those who did negotiate stated it was because of the amount, quality, or some kind of trade-off with the seller. Fifty percent (50%) or more thought the price of powder and rock cocaine had stayed the same, and about one-third felt that it was higher than six months before (32% for powder and 38% for rock).

Methamphetamine (crystal). Only four users stated that they paid nothing for their supply. Either they got it from friends or "skimmed" off the top when they bought drugs for the purpose of selling. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the meth users spent $15 or less. The majority (81%) thought the price had not changed and few (24%) negotiated the price of methamphetamine.

Table 12

COST OF *MARIJUANA*
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

Amount	$5 or Less	$6 - $10	More than $10
Less than an ounce	N/A	N/A	2
One ounce or more	N/A	N/A	3
1-5 joints	19	8	2
6-10 joints	N/A	7	5
11 or more joints	N/A	1	8
Nickel	9	N/A	1
Dime	N/A	4	N/A
Quarter	N/A	N/A	2

	Percent of Respondents
• **In your last buy, did you negotiate the price?**	
- Yes	22%
- No	78%
TOTAL	**73**
• **In the last six months, has the price gotten .... ?**	
- higher	19%
- lower	1%
- remained the same	79%
TOTAL	**72**

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 13

COST OF *HEROIN*
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

Amount	$10 or Less	$11 - $15	More than $15
Less than an ounce	N/A	N/A	3
More than an ounce	N/A	1	N/A
1-2 balloons	N/A	4	1
Dime	1	N/A	N/A
Other (hits/fixes)	3	N/A	2

	Percent of Respondents
• **In your last buy, did you negotiate the price?**	
- Yes	13%
- No	87%
TOTAL	**15**
• **In the last six months, has the price gotten .... ?**	
- higher	0
- lower	6%
- remained the same	94%
TOTAL	**16**

Table 14

COST OF *COCAINE*
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

Amount	$10 or Less	$11 - $20	More than $20
Less than an ounce	4	6	8
More than an ounce	N/A	N/A	2
Small/medium rock	8	10	N/A
Large rock	N/A	N/A	1
More than 5 rocks	N/A	N/A	2
Other	6	4	1

NOTE: Numbers are based on responses for purchases of powder and rock cocaine.

	Percent of Respondents
• **In your last buy, did you negotiate the price of cocaine?**	
- Yes	32%
- No	68%
TOTAL	**31**
• **In the last six months, has the price of cocaine gotten .... ?**	
- higher	32%
- lower	7%
- remained the same	61%
TOTAL	**31**
• **In your last buy, did you negotiate the price of crack?**	
- Yes	28%
- No	72%
TOTAL	**25**
• **In the last six months, has the price of crack gotten .... ?**	
- higher	38%
- lower	12%
- remained the same	50%
TOTAL	**26**

Table 15

COST OF *METHAMPHETAMINE (CRYSTAL)*
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

Amount	$10 or Less	$11 - $15	More than $15
Less than an ounce	N/A	3	5
Quarter	1	1	1
1-3 lines	N/A	1	N/A
Other (hits, etc.)	1	1	1

	Percent of Respondents
• **In your last buy, did you negotiate the price?**	
- Yes	24%
- No	76%
TOTAL	**17**
• **In the last six months, has the price gotten .... ?**	
- higher	13%
- lower	6%
- remained the same	81%
TOTAL	**16**

Consistent with the price information about the last buy was the overall response to estimated cost per week for drugs (Table 16). More than half of all offenders (53%) stated they paid $50 or less for their drugs, and 8% paid nothing. Given the use patterns indicated earlier, this suggests that weekly costs were grossly underestimated. On the other hand, since many offenders admitted to selling or acting in a "middleman" position, and thus not having to pay or paying less, the cost figures may be a reflection of actual cost rather than what the cost could have been if they had to pay the regular or going rate. Eleven percent (11%) reported paying from $51 - $100 per week. Three percent (3%) paid more than $1,000.

Table 16

COST PER WEEK FOR DRUGS
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

Cost	Percent of Respondents
Zero (0)	8%
$50 or less	53%
$51 - $100	11%
$101 - $500	19%
$501 - $1,000	5%
More than $1,000	3%
TOTAL	**115**

Expected Behavior If Price Gets Higher

When asked what they would do if the price goes up a lot, most users said they would quit or use less (Table 17), although several in each category stated they would pay the price and/or keep using. The highest percentage that would pay the price and keep using was for heroin users (38%), a finding associated with the addictive nature of heroin.

Table 17

EXPECTED DRUG USE IF PRICE CHANGES, BY DRUG
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

- **Question: If the price goes up a lot, what will you do?** (Multiple responses)

	Number of Respondents				
	Marijuana	**Heroin**	**Cocaine**	**Crack**	**Crystal**
• Use less	7%	6%	10%	19%	11%
• Switch to another drug	1%	0	3%	4%	0
• Will quit	56%	38%	58%	46%	39%
• Will pay price	19%	38%	10%	19%	11%
• Keep using	9%	13%	10%	8%	6%
• Hustle/steal	1%	0	3%	4%	11%
• Never buys	5%	6%	6%	4%	28%
TOTAL	**75**	**16**	**31**	**26**	**18**

Reducing Offender Use

Personal willingness to stop using drugs was the response by 20% of the respondents when asked what it would take for them to stop using (Table 18). Others suggested that they could quit anytime (14%), and that getting arrested and going to jail would help them reduce use (12%), as would getting a job/having money (12%).

Table 18

REDUCING DRUG USE
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

- **What would it take for you to stop using drugs?** (Multiple responses)

	Percent of Respondents
The will and/or willingness to quit	20%
Can quit any time	14%
Getting arrested/jail	12%
Getting a job/having money	12%
Finding a good woman/family	11%
Treatment program	9%
Other	8%
Nothing	6%
Move out of area	7%
Remove source of drugs	7%

Consequences of Drug Use

Offenders were asked what were the best and worst things about using drugs (Table 19). Reduction of stress and relaxation were cited by 36% of the offenders as the best features about using. One-third (33%) commented that the high feels good. Other responses by 11% or less included "nothing," escape from reality, increases awareness, and kills appetite.

With respect to the worst things about drug use, the most frequent response (46%) was going to jail, followed by getting arrested (43%). About one-third cited poor health, how it "messes people up," and the addictive quality of

drugs. Additional responses included the high price of drugs, side effects, danger (i.e., risk of getting shot), risk of bad stuff, AIDS, and psychological problems associated with drug abuse.

Table 19

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT DRUG USE
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

(n = 123)

- **What is the best thing about using drugs?** (Multiple responses)

	Percent of Respondents
• Relaxing, reduces stress	36%
• Getting high feels good	33%
• Nothing	11%
• Escape from reality	10%
• Have more energy	7%
• Makes you more aware	3%
• Kills appetite	1%

- **What is the worst thing about using drugs?** (Multiple responses)

	Percent of Respondents
• Going to jail	46%
• Getting arrested	43%
• Messes people up	34%
• Addictive	31%
• Leads to poor health	31%
• High price of drugs	24%
• Side effects of use	24%
• Danger (risk of getting hurt, shot, etc.)	18%
• Risk of getting bad stuff	14%
• Risk of AIDS	14%
• Creates psychological problems	7%

Criminal History

Arrestees were asked about their previous arrests and convictions. Of the 123 persons interviewed, 89% reported having been arrested before (not shown). Of these, 45% had been arrested four or more times. Seventy-two percent (72%) of all arrests were for being under the influence. Just over half of all arrests (109) resulted in convictions (51%), according to offenders interviewed. Review of actual criminal history records showed that 12% of the 123 had felony convictions for drug sales, 11% had convictions for drug possession, and 23% had been convicted of misdemeanor drug violations.

Drug Sellers

Thirty-eight (38) of the arrestees admitted to selling drugs. That number is likely a conservative figure, based on the 62% who had charges of drug sales. Many drug users also sell drugs, in part, to procure their own supply. Again, the number is small, but responses are still of interest when viewed from the seller's point of view.

For example, when asked the best thing about selling drugs, 80% stated that the money and/or the drugs was/were the best reason(s) to sell drugs. Other reasons were related to feelings of prestige and power (not shown).

Responses about selling behavior did not differ substantively by types of drugs sold (Table 20). Most sellers said they sold on a daily basis. Sales took place within three days of their being arrested and drugs were available within a mile of the offender's residence. All of the crack sellers stated that they sold to over 10 people on a regular basis (more than once a week). Responses by sellers of other drugs were more varied with respect to number of customers. Most sellers said their supply of drugs lasts less than one day.

Sellers of crack and methamphetamine were more likely than others to say they would increase the price of the drugs they sell if they have to pay more.

Table 20

FREQUENCY OF DRUG SALES
OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

	Marijuana n = 10	Heroin n = 4	Cocaine n = 11	Crack n = 10	Crystal n = 7
• **How often sell .... ?**					
Daily	5	3	6	5	5
1-3 days/week	5	1	4	4	2
4-6 days/week	0	0	1	1	0
• **Last sale was ....**					
Last 23 hours	2	1	3	2	2
1-3 days ago	7	3	6	6	4
4-6 days ago	0	0	2	0	0
1 week or more	1	0	0	2	1
• **To get the drugs, do you usually travel .... ?**					
Nowhere	0	1	2	3	2
Less than a mile	6	2	6	4	3
1-3 miles	3	1	1	3	1
More than 4 miles	1	0	2	0	1
• **Do you sell to .... ?**					
5 people or less	5	1	3	0	1
6-10 people	1	2	3	0	2
Over 10 people	4	1	5	8	3
• **How long does supply last?**					
Less than 1 day	6	2	9	6	3
1-3 days	0	1	2	2	2
1 week or more	3	1	0	1	1

Table 21

EXPECTED DRUG SALES IF PRICE CHANGES BY DRUG OFFENDER INTERVIEWS 1989

Question: If the price goes up a lot, what will you do?

	Marijuana	Heroin	Cocaine	Crack	Crystal Meth
• Buy less	1	1	2	0	0
• Stop selling	3	1	2	2	0
• Increase sale price	2	1	5	7	5
• Other	3	2	2	3	3
TOTAL	**9**	**4**	**11**	**9**	**6**

NOTE: Numbers are based on multiple responses.

Mid-Level Dealers

Eleven (11) arrestees reported monthly illegal income of $4,000 or more, totaling $310,000 for an average of about $28,000 per month. Dealing drugs was the primary source of income for these arrestees. Other findings from the interviews include:

- Eight (8) of the eleven primarily sold cocaine, with 5 emphasizing crack. One (1) sold methamphetamine and 2 sold primarily heroin (not shown).
- Six of the 11 stated that they sold drugs to more than 10 people on a regular basis.
- Only three admitted to working for someone or being a member of a group that deals drugs. The three "stated" that they perform (or have performed) the following drug dealing activities:
  - selling face-to-face to customers
  - street support roles such as lookout, runner, holder, and guard
  - indoor support roles, including cutting, cooking, and packaging

- management roles, such as supervisor of other sellers, accountant, crew boss, and money launderer.

- Seven of the 11 had served time in local jail or prison.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CRACK DEALERS AND USERS

In the surveys of police officers, respondents were asked to describe the characteristics of crack dealers and users and to differentiate them from dealers and users of other drugs.

Users

Fifty-seven (57) officers offered descriptions of crack users. Nearly half (49%) noted high volume use and loss of control as typical of crack users. These terms were further described as "desperate, consumed by need for crack," "volatile, do anything to get it," and "very hyper, strung out, and unpredictable." Ten (10) officers described crack users as mostly black, males and females. Several respondents stated that crack users are generally in poor health, don't care about themselves, and have low self-esteem.

Dealers

Of the 66 officers who responded to this question, 30% characterized crack dealers as violent. Additional responses were primarily associated with drug-dealing behavior:

- Mostly black gang members (13)
- High roller attitude (flashy cars and clothes) (10)
- Need/want money - all that matters (7)
- Deal openly on street (14)
  - don't care if it's illegal
  - don't worry about jail
  - more bold
- Have more weapons (3)
- Mostly black (5)
- Can get rid of drug quickly (2)
- Deal in high volume (1)
- Paranoid (2)

- Very mobile (1)
- Mostly non-users (2)
- More organized (5)
  - sophisticated, have lookouts
  - know about police tactics
  - equipment (beepers, cellular phones)
  - well protected by lower-level dealers
- Deal in evening (1).

OBSERVATIONS OF POLICE OFFICERS

The purposes of the officer surveys were to obtain opinions about drug market dynamics, targets for drug control, the drug control strategies used, and factors that impede their efforts. This part of the research addressed this objective:

Objective: Identify factors that both impede and enhance the effectiveness of enforcement strategies.

- What changes have occurred with respect to prevalence, price, and purity?
- Are there factors unique to San Diego that impact effectiveness? (This question is addressed in Chapter 5.)

SURVEY PROCEDURES

The first round of surveys was completed in January 1989, when the WECAN (Walking Enforcement Campaign Against Narcotics) Division was still operational. (The change to the Special Enforcement Division took place in March 1989.)

All three divisions were surveyed at line-up or briefing. Surveys took place on two days to account for officers being absent. Ninety-one (91) officers participated in 1989, with about two-thirds being WECAN uniformed officers. The other officers represented the Narcotics Section, which included the six members of the CAT (Crack Abatement Team) division. In 1991, 62 officers completed surveys.

By January 1991, WECAN had been part of an overall division called SED (Special Enforcement Division) for nearly two years. A major change was that the citywide walking patrols stopped in March 1989. An important shift in targets also took place with far greater emphasis on gang-related drug crimes. The SED combined the Special Enforcement Unit (SEU - formerly

WECAN) with the Gang Unit, Tactical Motorcycle Units, Special Response Team (SRT), and the School Task Force. The focus was on gang violence; and drugs became a vehicle to contact, disburse, and arrest gang members. With the exception of the gang detectives and SRT officers, the uniformed SED officers still promoted visibility in neighborhoods.

SURVEY RESULTS

Drug Prevalence

In both surveys, crack was viewed as the most prevalent drug based on rankings by officers (Table 22). On a scale from 1 to 7, with 1 being most prevalent, the mean score for crack was 2.2 in 1991, and 2.0 in 1989. In 1989, methamphetamine received the next highest ranking, 2.6. However, in 1991, cocaine was ranked second (3.0), but followed closely by methamphetamine (3.1). Rankings of other drugs (heroin, PCP, marijuana, LSD) remained unchanged in both time periods. There were no differences in rankings among divisions. The officer responses were consistent with the case tracking data that showed crack, cocaine powder, and methamphetamine the drugs most likely to be seized at arrest. Marijuana was seized in 27% of the cases.

Table 22

PREVALENCE RANKING OF DRUGS IN SAN DIEGO OFFICER SURVEYS, 1989 AND 1991

	1989	1991
	Mean Rank	
• Crack	2.0	2.2
• Cocaine	3.2	3.0
• Methamphetamine	2.6	3.1
• Marijuana	3.3	3.3
• Heroin	4.3	4.3
• PCP	5.3	5.4
• LSD	6.9	6.9
TOTAL	**91**	**62**

(1=Most Prevalent, 7=Least Prevalent)

Police Impact on Drug Market Factors

Based on a ranking scale, the availability of drugs was the factor perceived by officers as the one most likely to be affected by their efforts. Purity of drugs was ranked least likely to be affected by police, with a mean rank of 3.7 on a scale from 1 (most likely) to 4 (least likely). The factors of demand and price received scores of 2.2 and 2.7, respectively.

Table 23

DRUG MARKET FACTORS MOST LIKELY TO BE AFFECTED BY SPECIAL ENFORCEMENT OFFICER SURVEYS 1989

n = 91

	Mean Rank
• Availability	1.4
• Demand	2.2
• Price	2.7
• Purity	3.7

(1=Most Likely, 4=Least Likely)

Drug Market Dynamics

In the 1991 officer survey, respondents gave opinions about changes in the availability, price, and purity of several drugs compared to one year earlier (Tables 24 and 25 Differences between the divisions were negligible, so responses were combined.

Heroin. Over three-quarters (77%) of the officers stated that heroin was just as available in 1991, as in 1990, a higher percentage than for any other drug. And most (84%) thought the price of heroin was about the same, as well as the purity (71%). Twenty-seven percent (27%) reported the purity to be lower. The National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee Report (NNICC), released annually, describes drug production data. The 1989 report concluded that availability of heroin would increase due to greater production, less eradication, and well-established trafficking organizations (Office of National Drug Control Strategy, 1990). As an indicator of use, individuals participating in the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program showed heroin use ranging from 15% to 22% in 1990 and 1991.

Crack. About one in five officers surveyed felt that crack was less available in 1991, although more than half (57%) stated that there was no change in availability. Twenty-three percent (23%) thought there was more crack on the streets in 1991. Most (76%) reported no change in the price of crack or in the purity (68%), although about one-third (32%) said crack purity was lower in 1991.

Cocaine. Opinions about the availability of cocaine were similar to those of crack, with most officers (64%) stating that availability was about the same. Forty-three percent (43%) of the officers thought cocaine purity was lower in 1991, and 29% reported cocaine prices to be higher. This is consistent with the Mid-Year 1990 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR) which suggested decreasing cocaine purity and increasing prices since 1989 (Office of National Drug Control Policy, 1990). The Epidemiology Work Group paper reported similar trends for San Diego (National Institute of Drug Abuse, 1990). Cocaine use reported by male arrestees in January 1991 declined slightly from October 1989 (from 45% positive to 41% positive)(Ibid.).

Amphetamine. Most officers (70%) indicated no change in availability of methamphetamine, although 30% thought it was more plentiful. Over three-quarters said price and purity were about the same compared to a year ago (78% and 76%, respectively). The NNICC report stated that methamphetamine use remained high in the West and Southwest despite increased seizures of clandestine labs (ONDCP, 1990). The DUF data in January 1991 showed male amphetamine use to have changed little from 1990.

Marijuana. Although 24% of those surveyed indicated that marijuana was more available in 1991, the majority (69%) felt availability was unchanged. Over half (57%) stated that the price of marijuana was about the same, but over one-third (34%) thought it had increased. With respect to purity, 85% stated it was the same. The DUF results suggested higher marijuana use in January 1991, with 38% of the males positive compared to 29% in October 1990 (Ibid.).

Table 24

OPINIONS ABOUT AVAILABILITY OF DRUGS
OFFICER SURVEYS 1991

- **Compared to a year ago, are these drugs more or less available?**

	Heroin	Crack	Cocaine (powder)	Amphetamine	Marijuana
• More available	13%	23%	21%	30%	24%
• Less available	9%	20%	15%	0%	7%
• Just as available	77%	57%	64%	70%	69%

Table 25

OPINIONS ABOUT STREET-LEVEL PRICE AND PURITY OF DRUGS OFFICER SURVEYS 1991

- **Compared to one year ago, is the street-level price/purity higher, lower or about the same?**

	Heroin		Crack		Cocaine (powder)		Amphetamine		Marijuana	
	Price	**Purity**	**Price**	**Purity**	**Price**	**Purity**	**Price**	**Purity**	**Price**	**Purity**
• Higher	12%	2%	16%	0	29%	0	14%	4%	34%	4%
• Lower	4%	27%	7%	32%	8%	43%	8%	20%	9%	11%
• About the same	84%	71%	76%	68%	63%	57%	78%	76%	57%	85%

Reasons Why People Take Drugs

Police officers and offenders were asked the importance of a number of factors for contributing to why people take drugs. The top three factors noted by offenders were drug-using friends (73% of respondents), being raised in a bad neighborhood (61%), and peer pressure (60%). For police officers, most frequently favored factors included drug-using friends (87%), no parental supervision (83%), and peer pressure (73%). Reasons of lesser importance, according to offenders, included low IQ (33%), bad schools (33%), and psychological problems (39%). Similarly, a lower proportion of officers stated the importance of low IQ (26%) and bad schools (17%) as reasons why people take drugs. Least important to officers, based on lower percentage of respondents, was being abused as a child (13%). This factor was viewed as very important by 45% of the arrestees and showed the most divergence between police officers and arrestees.

Table 26

REASONS WHY PEOPLE TAKE DRUGS
SAN DIEGO OFFICER SURVEYS AND OFFENDER INTERVIEWS
1989/1991

	Arrestees	Officers
	(Percent stating very important)	
• Being raised in a bad neighborhood	61%	52%
• No parental supervision	57%	83%
• Delinquent history	52%	46%
• School dropout	45%	48%
• Broken home	40%	34%
• Low IQ	33%	26%
• Psychological problems	39%	30%
• Abused as child	45%	13%
• Bad schools	33%	17%
• Excitement	41%	29%
• Pleasure	41%	34%
• Poor self esteem	48%	55%
• Drug-using friends	73%	87%
• Peer pressure	60%	73%

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In-custody interviews with drug offenders arrested by the specialized divisions suggest that the majority were admitted drug users who had little or no difficulty procuring illicit drugs. A proportion of the users also sold drugs. Four dealers stated they had received in excess of $16,000 in the previous month. Users of methamphetamine were most likely to have obtained their drugs from the same person. Both heroin and cocaine users generally procured their drugs from different people and also were more likely to get them from public areas such as on the street. Dollar amounts spent on drugs suggest that most were low level users and sellers. Most felt price had not changed compared to the previous six months.

The best thing about using drugs, according to 36% of the respondents, was the relaxation they feel and the reduction of stress. One-third commented that the high "feels good." Getting arrested and going to jail were the most frequent responses in reference to the worst things about using drugs.

The offender interviews provide a perspective from actual users and dealers. The interviews serve to corroborate the characterization of offenders revealed in the case tracking and allow an exploratory description of their drug-procuring and using behavior. Coupled with controlled studies in target areas before and after police efforts, this technique could provide a supplementary measure of changes in drug market dynamics. Although the numbers are small, it appears that drugs are quite prevalent in the communities frequented by the offenders. Also, interview results suggest that the procurement of specific drugs differs with respect to degree of privacy of transaction and familiarity with seller. These findings suggest the need for distinct police strategies.

For example, heroin is generally obtained in an open setting, like the street. Users may or may not know the seller. In contrast, transactions involving methamphetamines are more likely to take place in a private residence between individuals who are friends or "drug buddies."

Narcotics officers' perceptions of the prevalence of specific drugs were remarkably consistent with offenders' observations. Cocaine and methamphetamine were cited as the most prevalent drugs in 1989 when the divisions' cases were studied. Officers surveyed stated that the availability of drugs was the drug market feature most likely to be affected by their efforts. Price and purity were factors least likely to be affected by police activities.

Over three-quarters of the officers (77%) in 1991 reported that heroin was just as available as it was the previous year. This percentage was higher than for any other drug. Other sources confirmed that heroin availability would likely increase during the same period.

Over half the officers stated that cocaine availability was unchanged, yet many felt that the purity had dropped and the price had increased. An international drug status report suggested similar findings. Most officers saw no change in methamphetamine availability and 30% thought it was more plentiful. A nationwide report concurred, stating that use remained high despite lab closures.

Both police officers and offenders were asked to rate the relative importance of a number of factors or reasons why people take drugs. The highest proportion of both officers and offenders selected the factor of "drug-using" friends as a very important contributor to drug use. The factors ranked next for police were "no parental supervision" (83%) and "peer pressure" (73%). For offenders, the comparable items were "being raised in a bad neighborhood" (61%) and "peer pressure" (60%). The most divergence between police and offenders occurred with the factor of "being abused as a child." Nearly half the offenders (45%) perceived this as very important compared to only 13% of the officers who felt the same.

CHAPTER 4
POLICE STRATEGIES FOR IDENTIFICATION OF DRUG DEALERS AND USERS

Chapter 4
POLICE STRATEGIES FOR IDENTIFICATION OF DRUG DEALERS AND USERS

Due to numerous complaints of heavy narcotics activity, officers were working (SED, NS, and CAT) in buy/bust programs. Officer drove up to a curb, defendant approached car, sold some rock cocaine to officer, and other officer moved in to arrest defendant. Money and drugs were found on defendant.

- Arrest Report, 1989

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses study results related to drug enforcement strategies employed by three San Diego Police Department divisions: Crack Abatement Team (CAT); Narcotics Section; and Special Enforcement Division (SED). The following research objective and questions are addressed:

Objective: Provide detailed information on the techniques used to identify and arrest drug dealers and users.

Questions:

- What kinds of activities are required to implement specific strategies?
- What types of information must be available to officers prior to initiating specific strategies?
- On what bases are "targeting" decisions made?

Discussion

In their paper, Kleiman and Smith (1989) pose these questions: "How much effort should be put into drug enforcement? How should enforcement be divided among high level retailers and drug users?"

Faced with growing drug-related violence and mounting public concern, police departments across the country are devising new approaches for combating drug trafficking. The San Diego Police Department, like others, has combined

traditional approaches with innovative efforts for targeting different levels of users and dealers. The matrix below illustrates the strategies discussed by Hayeslip (1989), which are also used in San Diego. Innovative efforts incorporate the use of asset seizures, increased involvement by the community, and evaluation of target areas by police officers.

Table 27

LAW ENFORCEMENT DRUG CONTROL STRATEGIES

	Traditional	Innovative
• **Drug User**	• Possession arrest	• Reverse sting • Street enforcement • Asset seizure
• **Dealer**	• Possession arrest • Undercover surveillance • Buy/bust	• Street enforcement • Crack enforcement • Asset seizure • Citizen-oriented policing

Procedures

The data to address the research objective were collected by tracking 1,432 arrests made during a six-month period (June 1 to November 30, 1989) by three enforcement divisions at the San Diego Police Department and surveying officers assigned to these divisions. The purpose of the case tracking study was to identify targets of enforcement efforts, techniques or strategies used, and the consequences to offenders which resulted from the activities of these officers. The data collected include: sociodemographic information on arrestees, circumstances of arrests, information on case processing from arrest to final disposition, and criminal history. The 1,432 arrests were made during 946 investigations. Some of the data were collected for cases and not individuals, such as source of information that led to the investigation, strategies used, and amount of drugs and assets seized.

Sampling. The sample for the case tracking study consisted of arrests with at least one drug charge, such as possession for use or sales. All drug arrests made by CAT, the Narcotics Section, and the SED gang detail during the study period were included in the sample. A 50% sample was selected from other SED division arrests. The three drug enforcement divisions often work together on investigations; therefore, a primary division was designated based on the role of the officers in initiating cases and making the arrest(s).

The case tracking sample represents 14% of all the San Diego Police Department's drug arrests during the study period. The arrest data presented in Table 28 for the sample and the entire department are based on highest charge at arrest. While all sample cases had a drug charge, in some instances a non-drug related felony or misdemeanor offense was the highest charge. With regard to specific types of drug charges, the sample cases account for 39% of the arrests for felony sales, 11% of the felony possession arrests, 32% of the other felony drug arrests, and 8% of the misdemeanor drug arrests. These proportions reflect the primary activities of the divisions studied. The focus of CAT and the Narcotics Section is street and mid-level drug sales, while SED emphasizes gang-related drug activity. The misdemeanor and other felony drug arrests are often made by patrol officers during the course of routine patrol activities; therefore, the proportions in the sample are relatively small.

Table 28

SAN DIEGO POLICE DEPARTMENT DRUG ARRESTS AND SAMPLE CASES JUNE 1 - NOVEMBER 30, 1989

Arrest Charge	Sample Cases	Total Arrests*	Sample %
• Felony Drug Sales	697	1,803	39%
• Felony Drug Possession	255	2,388	11%
• Other Felony Drug Offense	9	28	32%
• Misdemeanor Drug Offense	442	5,822	8%
• Other Felony Drug Offense	9	28	32%
• Other Felony Offense	27	--	--
• Other Misdemeanor Offense	2	--	--
TOTAL	**1,432**	**10,041**	**14%**

**Source for department-wide arrests is the Automated Regional Justice Information System (ARJIS)*

Officer Surveys. During January of 1989 and 1991, surveys were conducted of officers assigned to the police divisions being studied. The purpose of the surveys was to gather information on the San Diego drug market and police efforts to identify and arrest drug dealers and users. A total of 91 officers completed the first interview, and 62 responded to the follow-up interview.

STRATEGIES USED

The strategies used vary by police division. As mentioned previously, CAT and Narcotics Section officers work undercover, whereas most SED officers, with the exception of gang detectives, are involved in high visibility, uniformed patrol. Table 29 presents the proportion of *cases* in which each strategy was used, by police division, based on the case tracking study.

Table 29

STRATEGIES USED, BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Search warrant	39%	40%	1%	21%
• Officer buy or sell	50%	32%	2%	20%
• Informant buy	34%	28%	0	15%
• Body wire	7%	5%	0	3%
• Buy/bust	41%	24%	2%	16%
• Officer decoy	29%	18%	2%	11%
• Observation	9%	27%	76%	49%
• Consent search	7%	10%	13%	11%
• Sweep	1%	1%	<1%	<1%
• Surveillance	15%	10%	16%	13%
• Taped conversation	0	1%	2%	1%
• Arrest warrant executed	0	1%	0	1%
• Patrol/traffic stop	2%	4%	26%	14%
• Probation/parole assistance	4%	4%	3%	4%
• Reverse sting	1%	5%	0	2%
• All other	2%	4%	4%	4%
TOTAL[1]	**107**	**362**	**447**	**916**

[1] *Totals exclude cases with incomplete information.*

NOTE: Percentages based on multiple responses.

In over one-fifth of the cases, undercover officers in CAT and the Narcotics Section used officer drug buys, informant buys, buy/busts, and search warrants. CAT officers were more likely than other undercover officers to use officer and informant buys, buy/busts, and officer decoys. Half the CAT cases involved officer buys (50%) compared to about one-third of the Narcotics Section cases (32%). The difference was not as great for informant buys: 34% of the CAT cases and 28% of Narcotics Section cases. With regard to police decoys, CAT officers used this strategy in 29% of the cases reviewed in comparison to 18% of the other Narcotics Section cases. The use

of search warrants was about the same (four out of ten cases). Narcotics Section officers noted observation more often than the CAT detectives (27% of the arrest cases compared to 9%).

Figures for surveillance may seem relatively low for CAT and Narcotics Section (15% and 10% of the cases, respectively). This category was not coded separately for controlled buy strategies, because surveillance is part of the strategy. Therefore, surveillance was used much more often than is reflected by these figures.

The strategies used by CAT detectives are consistent with the strategies proposed in the grant, with the exception of the limited use of sweeps (1% of the cases). The use of sweeps may not have been detected by coders in all cases by reviewing police files, because it was difficult to tie together events related to a general operation based on individual arrest reports.

As expected, the strategies used most often by the predominantly uniformed SED officers were observation (76%) and patrol or traffic stops (26%). Officer buys and buy/busts were only used in 2% of these cases. SED never used informant buys, body wires, arrest warrants, or reverse sting operations. The primary function of this division is to suppress gang, and associated drug-related activity, through high visibility patrol and undercover gang control investigations.

Some strategies were used very seldom by all divisions: body wires, sweeps, taped conversations, arrest warrants, probation and parole searches, and reverse stings.

Assistance From Other Divisions

Another aspect of drug control enforcement relates to coordination with other divisions within the police department and outside agencies. Overall, the case tracking data indicate that CAT officers were assisted by other divisions or agencies in 61% of their arrests, compared to 31% for Narcotics Section and 6% for SED (Table 30). The figures for assistance between CAT and Narcotics Section may not actually reflect the level of coordination, since officers sometimes did not differentiate CAT from the rest of the Narcotics Section in arrest reports.

CAT officers utilized personnel from other areas of the police department in over half the arrests. In particular, CAT was assisted by SED in 40% of the arrests, followed by the Patrol Division (14%), other Narcotics Section officers (8%), and other divisions (1%). Narcotics Section officers were the most likely to work with outside agencies (15% of their arrests).

Patrol officers are temporarily assigned to the Narcotics Section to assist in undercover operations. These officers receive training on drug enforcement strategies during this time period which can be utilized when they return to the Patrol Division. For purposes of this study, these patrol officers were considered as part of the Narcotics Section during their temporary assignment.

Table 30

ASSISTING DIVISIONS, BY PRIMARY ARREST DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

Assisting Divisions	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division
• Crack Abatement Team	N/A	0	1%
• Narcotics Section	8%	N/A	0
• Special Enforcement Division	40%	13%	N/A
• Narcotics Task Force	0	1%	<1%
• Patrol division	14%	14%	1%
• Other division	1%	2%	0
• Outside agency	4%	15%	3%
• No assisting division	39%	69%	94%
TOTAL	**168**	**735**	**529**

NOTE: Percentage based on multiple responses.

Officer Surveys

Police officers were asked to estimate how often specific strategies were used by their respective divisions. The question was asked in both the 1989 and 1991 surveys. Results for all Narcotics Section officers, including the CAT officers, are combined. As might be expected, the officers in the Narcotics Section are more likely to utilize undercover operations. About three-quarters of the Narcotics Section officers surveyed in 1989 and 1991 identified use of the following strategies three or more times per week: developing informants; controlled buys; search warrants; and responding to citizen complaints (Table 31). The surveys also indicate that Narcotics Section officers use surveillance and body wires more often than SED. In contrast, SED officers were more likely to cite the use of intelligence gathering on gang-involved drug suspects, visible saturation of target areas, street sweeps, and observation during routine patrol as techniques used three or more times per week.

The responses for SED show a greater emphasis on gangs in 1991, which is consistent with the shift in direction in March of 1989 from a walking patrol to a specialized gang enforcement division.

Table 31

FREQUENCY OF DRUG CONTROL STRATEGIES, BY DIVISION OFFICER SURVEYS, 1989 AND 1991

	Narcotics Section		Special Enforcement Division	
	(Percent of Respondents)			
Strategies Used 3 or More Times Per Week	1989	1991	1989	1991
• Intelligence gathering on gang-involved drug suspects	35%	18%	69%	84%
• Visible saturation of target areas	22%	36%	57%	74%
• Utilizing informants	96%	91%	42%	42%
• Informing and educating residents about drugs and crime	4%	14%	20%	27%
• Conducting controlled buys (more than 1 buy)	78%	86%	8%	6%
• One time buy/bust	9%	10%	0	0
• Serving search warrants	78%	77%	2%	0
• Street sweeps	4%	14%	38%	51%
• Responding to citizen complaints	74%	82%	28%	47%
• Wiretaps	0	0	0	0
• Surveillance	52%	59%	34%	26%
• Sell/bust	9%	19%	2%	0
• Use of body wires	48%	73%	6%	0
• Arrest after observation on routine patrol	9%	9%	48%	51%
• Searching financial records	0	0	5%	0
TOTAL	**22**	**22**	**67**	**38**

Officer estimates of the use of some strategies appear to be somewhat higher than is shown in the case tracking study, for example, street sweeps, surveillance, serving search warrants, and controlled buys. As mentioned previously, street sweeps and surveillance may be underestimated in the case tracking data. For other strategies, such as search warrants and controlled buys, it may be that these activities do not always result in an arrest. Also, in the case of the Narcotics Section, the strategies may be employed as part of on-going, long-term, investigations.

Training. Another measure of the emphasis and strategies of undercover Narcotics Section and SED officers is the type of training received. Officers were asked to indicate the types of training they received with regard to drug control efforts. Training was categorized in three ways: 'on-the-job', advanced-officer training, and training received from an outside agency. Over 70% of the officers in both the Narcotics Section and SED stated that their drug enforcement training in twelve distinct areas was received 'on-the-job.' Some differences were noted between the divisions with respect to specialized training, including advanced-officer training and outside training (not shown).

As might be expected, the Narcotics Section undercover officers were more likely to have received training in undercover techniques (79% versus 34% of the SED officers), use and handling of informants (83% versus 36%), surveillance techniques (79% versus 31%), and drug concealment activities (75% versus 40%). For each type of training listed, over 50% of the narcotics officers had received special instruction. In contrast, there were only four areas in which over 50% of the SED officers stated that training had been received. These areas included symptoms of drug use, drug identification, drug laws, and search and seizure laws (Table 32). These types of training are most consistent with SED's emphasis on high visibility street enforcement.

Table 32

SPECIALIZED TRAINING RECEIVED BY POLICE OFFICERS, BY DIVISION OFFICER SURVEYS 1989

Types of Training	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent of Total
	Percent of Respondents		
• Symptoms of drug use	88%	81%	82%
• Drug identification	79%	69%	71%
• Drug laws	71%	67%	68%
• Search and seizure laws	75%	57%	62%
• Undercover techniques	79%	34%	46%
• Use and handling of informants	83%	36%	48%
• Surveillance techniques	79%	31%	44%
• Gathering and utilizing intelligence	71%	40%	48%
• Evidence handling	58%	39%	44%
• Drug concealment techniques	75%	40%	49%
• Firearms identification	54%	43%	46%
• Securing search warrants	63%	31%	40%
TOTAL	**24**	**67**	**91**

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Table 33 presents data from the case tracking study on the initial source of information that led to initiation of investigations and arrests of suspects. The data show the differences between the primarily uniformed operations of SED and the undercover officers. Most information for SED drug-related arrests was initially obtained from officers (72%). Officer information includes officers within the division, from other divisions of San Diego Police Department, or from outside agencies. The data for CAT and Narcotics Section show a greater use of citizen complaint information and informants. Over one-third of the CAT information was from citizens (35%), compared to 25% for the other Narcotics Section officers. This shows the emphasis placed by CAT officers on developing community resources for information, as specified in the grant proposal. About half the CAT and Narcotics Section arrests were made based on informant information. As pointed out previously, the informant category includes confidential informants developed by officers and citizens who provided information regarding drug activity at a specific address. The Narcotics Section relied more on information from other officers (29%), compared to the CAT division (20%).

Table 33

INITIAL SOURCE OF INFORMATION, BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Citizen	35%	25%	20%	23%
• Informant	48%	50%	11%	30%
• Officer	20%	29%	72%	50%
• Other	0	4%	1%	2%
TOTAL[1]	**103**	**338**	**445**	**886**

[1] *Totals exclude cases with incomplete information.*

NOTE: Percentages based on multiple responses.

Officer Surveys

Officers were asked what types of information they used to determine areas of the community for targeting drug control efforts (Table 34). In the 1989 and 1991 surveys, most SED officers indicated the Gang Unit within SED as a primary source of information, in addition to citizen complaints, patrol

officers, and informants. The data from the case tracking study do not reflect an extensive use of citizen complaints and informants by SED in cases resulting in drug-related arrests.

All Narcotics Section officers mentioned citizen complaints as an information source in both surveys. Over 90% also noted the Patrol Division and informants as sources. Less than half the narcotics officers indicated the Gang Unit as a source. SED officers were much more likely to use information from crime analysts, compared to the Narcotics Section (44% compared to 14% in 1991).

Table 34

SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED TO IDENTIFY AREAS FOR DRUG CONTROL EFFORTS OFFICER SURVEYS, 1989 AND 1991

Sources of Information	Narcotics Section		Special Enforcement Division	
	Percent of Respondents			
	1989	1991	1989	1991
• Citizen complaints	100%	100%	82%	87%
• Patrol division	96%	91%	76%	82%
• Informants	96%	100%	72%	69%
• Gang unit	42%	32%	91%	95%
• Other narcotics divisions	63%	55%	52%	38%
• Crime Analysis Unit	17%	14%	37%	44%

TARGETING ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS

The Narcotics Section lieutenant provided the following definitions used to describe the level of dealer targeted.

Low-level dealers sell small amounts of drugs to users and friends and often conduct sales on the street.

Mid-level dealers mainly deal to people who will sell to users, and they have several people to whom they sell. The mid-level dealer is one step removed from the street seller/user.

High-level dealers have many people working for them, supplying and distributing drugs. These dealers may also be involved in importing drugs.

The Narcotics Section officers consider these factors in identifying level of dealer, rather than set amounts of drugs sold.

The expressed targets for the divisions being studied include the level of dealer, and in some cases, other characteristics of offenders and/or specific areas of the City. The targets for the three divisions are as follows:

CAT

- Mid-level and gang-affiliated producers, distributors, and dealers, with an emphasis on crack
- Southeast San Diego, central, and the beach areas.

Narcotics Section

- Low to mid-level street dealers of narcotics and dangerous drugs.

SED

- Gang members
- Gang-involved low-level street drug sellers and users.

The information on targets was obtained from the CAT grant proposal and a Police Department memo describing drug enforcement efforts (Guardarrama, 1990).

For purposes of the study, the level of dealer could not be measured directly because this information was not provided on case reports. Therefore, indirect measures are used to compare the targets of the three divisions, such as type of drug, gang involvement of suspects, and amount of drugs seized.

Officer Surveys

Data from officer surveys provide a more detailed picture of how department policies regarding enforcement targets were operationalized. The data suggest that enforcement efforts focused on the targets identified by the department. The officers indicated that gang-involved drug offenders were the primary target of SED; 97% in the 1989 and 1991 surveys (Table 35). For the Narcotics Section, primary drug-control targets were low-level street sellers and non-gang involved mid-level producers, distributors, and dealers, followed by low-level street users, according to officers surveyed. Proportionately, more officers in the Narcotics Section compared to SED officers reported a focus on high-level traffickers, yet the percentage in both years was less than 20%. In San Diego County, the Narcotics Task Force generally targets the higher level traffickers.

Differences within divisions over the two time periods may be associated with turnover in personnel leading to differing opinions regarding targets.

Table 35

PRIMARY DRUG CONTROL TARGETS, BY DIVISION OFFICER SURVEYS, 1989 AND 1991

Targets	Narcotics Section		Special Enforcement Division	
	1989	1991	1989	1991
• Low-level street users	54%	73%	36%	46%
• Low-level street sellers	92%	100%	55%	59%
• Gang-involved drug offenders	63%	45%	97%	97%
• Mid-level producers, distributors, and dealers (non-gang)	88%	95%	15%	13%
• High-level traffickers (organized crime)	13%	18%	4%	3%
TOTAL	**24**	**22**	**67**	**39**

NOTE: Multiple responses possible

Types of Arrests

A key issue in comparing the targets for the three divisions is the nature of the drug arrest. Table 36 presents the highest charge for each person arrested of a total of 1,432 arrests in the sample. All arrests included a drug charge, although it may not have been the highest, or most serious charge, based on the sentence allowed by state statute. Drug sales is always a felony offense, whereas possession of drugs can be a misdemeanor or felony. Other drug offenses are related to being under the influence, possession of drug paraphernalia, and prescription drug violations.

It was expected that the undercover officers would arrest more drug dealers, based on their target population. Study results show that this is the case. Almost three-quarters of the CAT drug arrests were for sales (74%) as were 55% of the Narcotics Section's arrests. In comparison, about one-third of SED drug-related arrests involved sales (32%). The data show that CAT officers were focusing primarily on drug dealers, as specified in the grant proposal.

The types of drug sales arrests varied by division. Almost all the sales arrests made by CAT were for narcotics, which included crack cocaine. Drug sales arrests by other divisions were also predominantly for narcotics, but included a higher proportion of arrests for other drugs, such as methamphetamine and marijuana.

All divisions arrested individuals for possession of drugs, including felony and misdemeanor offenses. Over 20% of the arrests by CAT and SED officers involved felony drug possession, compared to 13% for the Narcotics Section. SED and Narcotics Section officers were more likely to make arrests for other misdemeanor drug law violations, such as being under the influence, than the CAT officers (over 25% compared to 3%). Again, these differences reflect the emphasis of CAT officers on arresting drug dealers.

Average Number of Arrest Charges. Those arrested by CAT had an average of 1.4 arrest charges, compared to 1.7 for Narcotics Section and 1.8 for SED. Over two-thirds of the arrests made by CAT involved only one arrest charge, compared to about half those arrested by the other divisions (data not shown). This finding is related to the high percentage of CAT arrests made as a result of buy/bust.

Prior History. In developing targets for drug enforcement, information is obtained by police to confirm drug involvement. Prior convictions are one measure of the extent to which suspects are involved in drug sales and use (Table 37). Data were collected on prior history for a sub-sample of the case tracking arrests (635, or 44%).

The data show that about half of those arrested by the three divisions during the study period had prior convictions for any offense (51%), and 35% had prior drug convictions. Those arrested by SED had the highest proportion with prior drug convictions (42%). SED provides street enforcement; therefore, targets of their efforts may be more vulnerable to arrest.

About one in three of those arrested by CAT and the Narcotics Section had previous drug convictions, with only about one in ten for felony drug sales. However, arrest charges and drug seizures in study cases suggest that the focus of these undercover operations was drug dealers. Whether or not they had long-term drug-dealing careers cannot be confirmed from their criminal history records.

Table 36

HIGHEST ARREST CHARGE, BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• **Felony**				
Sales				
Narcotics	72%	28%	22%	31%
Dangerous drugs	1%	14%	6%	9%
Other drugs	1%	13%	4%	8%
Total Sales	74%	55%	32%	49%
Possession				
Narcotics	17%	5%	18%	11%
Dangerous drugs	1%	5%	6%	5%
Other drugs	2%	2%	<1%	2%
Total Possessions	21%	13%	24%	18%
Other drug violations	N/A	1%	N/A	1%
Other felonies	N/A	2%	2%	2%
• **Misdemeanor**				
Drug possession	2%	4%	5%	4%
Other drug violations	3%	26%	37%	27%
Other misdemeanors	N/A	N/A	<1%	<1%
TOTAL	**168**	**735**	**529**	**1,432**

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 37

CRIMINAL HISTORY, BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• **Total Prior Drug Convictions**	33%	27%	42%	35%
Prior drug sale convictions				
Felony	9%	10%	11%	10%
Misdemeanor	0	<1%	0	<1%
Prior drug possession convictions				
Felony	14%	11%	16%	13%
Misdemeanor	1%	5%	5%	4%
• **Prior Non-Drug Convictions**	45%	36%	47%	42%
• **Total Prior Convictions**	56%	43%	57%	51%
TOTAL	**129**	**249**	**257**	**635**

NOTE: Totals are based on multiple responses.

Strategies Used. Another way of assessing targeting and enforcement efforts is to compare types of arrests made using specific strategies. Table 38 shows the highest arrest charges for the following major categories of drug enforcement strategies, regardless of the division:

- Search warrants executed without drug buys
- Search warrants with controlled buys
- Buy/busts
- Patrol and traffic stops
- Observation as the primary strategy
- Other.

Overall, the buy/bust strategy resulted in the highest percentage of arrests for felony drug sales (94%). For other strategies, the proportion of arrests for felony drug sales ranged from 24% for observation to 52% for search warrants

without controlled buys, and 57% for search warrants executed based on evidence from controlled buys. Strategies involving drug buys were most likely to result in arrests for the sale of narcotics.

Observation is a strategy that is often used to detect drug use and possession, rather than sales. The data show that over half the arrests based on observation were for other misdemeanor drug violations that primarily involved being under the influence. It is more difficult to develop a prosecutable case for drug sales based solely on observation than it is for a buy/bust where an officer or informant is involved in the buy and other officers observe the transaction.

Search warrants often result in a higher number of persons arrested per case, with those not involved in the sale of drugs charged with being under the influence or being in a place where drugs are being used. This may account for the lower percentage of arrests for drug sales using search warrants. In a buy/bust, there is generally only one seller arrested and no other suspects present.

Over one-third of the patrol and traffic stops resulted in arrests for drug sales (35%). These arrests include possession of drugs in a quantity that is sufficient to justify the presumption that the drugs are to be sold. This strategy was only coded if the traffic or patrol stop was for a non-drug related violation; therefore, the arrests did not involve drug transactions. The next highest categories of drug arrests using this strategy were felony possession (28%) and other misdemeanor drug law violations, such as being under the influence (28%).

Search warrants without controlled buys were used more than other strategies to focus on dangerous drug sales and possession, which included methamphetamine. This finding may be associated with the extensive manufacture of methamphetamine in San Diego, and enforcement efforts directed toward closing labs, as well as the sale of this drug. Search warrants without buys are also used when a reliable informant provides information that drugs are at a specific location and in cases involving marijuana growers.

It is interesting to note that those arrested through observation and buy/busts were more likely to have prior drug arrests (49% and 42%, respectively), compared to other strategies, which ranged from 15% of those arrested based on a controlled buy and search warrant to 32% of the arrests after patrol and traffic stops (data not shown). It may be that those arrested on the street through observation and buy/busts are more vulnerable to repeated drug arrests than dealers who operate out of residences and businesses.

Sources of Information. The source of information varied, based on the strategy employed. Information for search warrants generally came from informants: 97% of the search warrants with buys and 61% of the search warrants in which controlled buys were not used. Buy/busts were most often based on information from citizens (70%), and patrol/traffic stops and observation were generally based on officer information (82% and 65%, respectively). (Data not shown in tables.)

Table 38

HIGHEST ARREST CHARGE, BY STRATEGY USED
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Search Warrant Without Buys	Search Warrant With Buys	Buy/Busts	Patrol or Traffic Stop	Observation	Other	Total
• **Felony Arrests**							
Sales							
Narcotics	26%	43%	65%	21%	13%	24%	31%
Dangerous drugs	13%	9%	9%	7%	7%	14%	9%
Other drugs	14%	6%	20%	6%	3%	8%	8%
Total Sales	52%	57%	94%	35%	24%	46%	49%
Possession							
Narcotics	3%	12%	3%	18%	16%	9%	11%
Dangerous drugs	15%	2%	0	10%	3%	8%	5%
Other drugs	5%	2%	<1%	0	0	5%	2%
Total Possessions	23%	16%	4%	28%	19%	22%	18%
Other drug violations	0	0	0	0	<1%	3%	1%
Other felony violations	3%	2%	<1%	5%	1%	2%	2%
• **Misdemeanor Arrests**							
Possession	5%	2%	1%	4%	5%	6%	4%
Other drug violations	17%	23%	1%	28%	51%	21%	27%
Other misdemeanor violations	0	0	0	0	<1%	<1%	<1%
TOTAL	**88**	**336**	**210**	**163**	**391**	**244**	**1,432**

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

DRUG SEIZURES

Types of Drugs Seized

The type and amount of drugs seized are other indicators of whether the divisions target the types of offenders specified by the department. Data on drug seizures reflect cases, not arrests. The type of drug and amount seized are based on laboratory test results.

Drugs were seized in about two-thirds of the cases reviewed (Table 39). Undercover officers were more likely to seize drugs than SED officers. Four of five CAT cases involved cocaine seizures: 76% for crack and 5% for cocaine powder. The data on arrest charges and drug seizures indicate that CAT officers were targeting crack dealers as proposed in the grant. Other divisions were less likely to seize crack: 14% of the Narcotics Section cases and 25% of SED cases. Narcotics Section officers had a higher percentage of cases with seizures of cocaine than the other two divisions (16% compared to 7% or less). The Narcotics Section officers were also more likely to seize crystal methamphetamine (22%), marijuana (36%), and heroin (15%). Narcotics Section officers made the only seizures of LSD and ephedrine, a controlled substance used to produce crystal methamphetamine.

SED seizures of crack (25% of the cases) are probably associated with targeting black gang members who traffic in this drug. SED seized most of the PCP, which is used predominantly by Hispanics in Central San Diego where SED patrols.

Table 39

PROPORTION OF CASES WITH DRUGS SEIZED BY TYPE OF DRUG AND ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Crack	76%	14%	25%	26%
• Cocaine	5%	16%	7%	10%
• Methamphetamine	3%	22%	5%	12%
• Meth oil	0	2%	<1%	1%
• PCP	0	1%	9%	5%
• Marijuana	21%	36%	22%	27%
• Heroin/black tar	3%	15%	6%	9%
• LSD	0	2%	0	1%
• Ephedrine	0	1%	0	<1%
• Other drugs	2%	7%	2%	4%
• No drugs seized	13%	23%	43%	32%
TOTAL	**110**	**379**	**457**	**946**

NOTE: Percentages based on multiple responses.

Amount of Drugs Seized

Table 40 presents the average grams seized of specific types of drugs for each division. The average is based on the cases with drug seizures for each type of drug. The table includes the drugs seized most often: crack, cocaine powder, crystal methamphetamine, heroin, and marijuana.

In most cases, the average amount seized is higher for the undercover officers in CAT and the Narcotics Section, compared to SED (i.e., crack, cocaine powder, methamphetamine, and marijuana). This finding is associated with the strategies employed and the offenders targeted. Undercover officers use controlled buys which are designed to arrest drug sellers, who would be more likely to have larger amounts of drugs in their possession than drug users. Also, higher amounts of drugs are likely to be seized as a result of search warrants used by undercover officers, compared to arrests made by SED based on observation of street activity and traffic and patrol stops.

Almost one-quarter of the crack seizures made by the CAT officers were for 10 grams or more (23%), compared to about 5% for Narcotics Section and SED. Twenty-eight percent (28%) of the CAT arrests involved one-quarter gram or less, while about 36% of the arrests for the other two divisions

involved this amount (data not shown). This finding suggests that CAT officers may have arrested higher-level crack dealers than other divisions.

For heroin, SED officers had the highest average amount seized compared to the other divisions. Heroin users and dealers are often visible on the streets in Central San Diego, which is patrolled by SED officers. Prior to the SED changing their target population to gang members, SED officers targeted heroin users and dealers in this area.

The amounts of drugs seized by type of strategy, regardless of enforcement division, are presented in Table 41. Search warrants executed, both with and without controlled buys, net the largest quantities of crack and marijuana. Search warrants are often used to target drug sellers, who would be likely to have larger quantities of drugs. Also, as mentioned previously, search warrants are used with marijuana growers, which may account for relatively large seizures on average for this drug.

The highest average seizures of methamphetamine were obtained through patrol and traffic stops and observation. Patrol and traffic stops also netted relatively high amounts of heroin and marijuana.

Of all the strategies, buy/busts yielded the smallest amount of drugs, per case. This strategy involves one transaction of amounts generally consistent with those purchased by drug users. This finding suggests that the buy/bust may be used most often to arrest low-level, or street dealers. However, cocaine arrests made with buy/busts yielded somewhat higher amounts, on the average (1.8 grams of crack and 2.8 grams of cocaine powder, compared to less than a gram for methamphetamine and heroin). This may be associated with the amount of buy money made available to CAT officers through the grant, allowing larger purchases using buy/busts to target mid-level dealers. Also, differences may be due to consumption patterns of different drugs.

Table 40

AVERAGE GRAMS SEIZED BY CASE, BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Total	No. of Cases
• Crack	13.8	15.8	4.8	10.3	240
• Cocaine	5.6	7.6	2.9	5.9	96
• Methamphetamine	1.5	32.8	2.8	26.1	104
• Heroin	0.9	5.8	6.4	5.8	84
• Marijuana	13.8	246.9	5.3	137.1	236

Table 41

AVERAGE GRAMS SEIZED BY CASE, BY PRIMARY STRATEGY USED
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Search Warrant Without Buys	Search Warrant With Buys	Buy/ Busts	Patrol or Traffic Stop	Obser-vation	Other	Total	No. of Cases
• Crack cocaine	57.5	29.1	1.8	2.0	2.0	15.4	10.3	240
• Cocaine	8.1	3.6	2.8	6.2	4.6	12.8	5.9	96
• Methamphetamine	15.8	24.1	0.5	36.1	38.7	24.6	26.1	104
• Heroin	1.5	1.9	0.2	21.6	7.0	14.1	5.8	84
• Marijuana	1512.9	39.2	4.7	33.1	9.5	28.6	137.1	236

CHARACTERISTICS ARRESTEES

Information was collected on a number of characteristics of arrestees, including gender, ethnicity, age, citizenship, employment status, occupation, narcotics use noted by the arresting officer, and gang membership. These characteristics are compared for arrests made by the three divisions during the study period (Table 42).

Gender

Most of the drug-related arrests for all divisions involved males; however, undercover operations resulted in a higher percentage of women arrested (26% and 22% for undercover divisions, compared to 11% for SED). This finding may be related to strategies employed. Search warrants, in general, yield a higher number of arrests per case, due to arrests for under the influence and being in a place where narcotics are being used. Since the search warrants are often for residences, the presence of women may be more common than would be the case in street arrests made by SED.

Ethnicity

Almost all arrests by the CAT division involved minorities: 20% Hispanic and 75% black. This is related to the composition of the population in two of the primary target areas specified in the grant proposal: Southeast and Central San Diego. In addition, crack cocaine is used predominantly in black communities, which accounts for the relatively high proportion of black arrestees.

SED arrests were also predominantly minorities, but with a higher percentage of Hispanics than the CAT arrests (40% compared to 20%). Over half the SED arrests involved black suspects. The high percentage of minority arrestees is explained by the fact that SED targets gang members, and most of the known gang members in San Diego are Hispanic or black.

The Narcotics Section arrested the highest percentage of Whites (39% of the arrests in the sample). These officers were more likely to seize methamphetamine, which are used by whites. Forty-four percent (44%) of the Narcotics Section arrestees were Hispanic and 17% were black.

Age

The age composition of arrestees for all divisions was similar, with the majority between 18 and 29 years of age (55% for CAT, 57% for Narcotics Section, and 66% for SED). Both CAT and Narcotics Section arrestees were more likely than SED arrestees to be over 30. Three percent (3%) of the total sample arrests were juveniles, with the highest percentage for CAT arrestees (7%).

Citizenship

San Diego Police Department officers do not generally indicate on arrest reports whether or not a person is an undocumented person from another country, although there is a box on the form for this purpose. In collecting data from arrest reports, data were compiled on factors that would suggest that a person was in the United States illegally. If an individual listed a foreign place of birth, ***and two or more*** of the following items were also noted, the person was considered a possible undocumented alien:

- age 25 or less
- no address/transient
- not employed/service job
- interpreter needed
- no identification
- admits illegal entry
- undocumented person box checked.

Resident alien was only coded if there was evidence that a person had a green card or other permit to be in the United States.

The data indicated that about one-quarter of those arrested for drug charges by the three divisions may have been in the United States illegally, with a higher percentage for those arrested by the Narcotics Section (31%). According to police, undocumented persons have been used by drug dealers to carry drugs across the border and to sell drugs after they have entered the United States.

Employment and Occupation

Most of those arrested did not have employment listed on either the arrest report or jail booking sheet (74%). The proportion unemployed was highest for those arrested by CAT officers (81%), which may be associated with a high percentage of drug dealers among the arrestees. Seventy-three percent (73%) of the arrests made by Narcotics Section and SED involved suspects who were apparently unemployed.

Occupation is listed on the arrest and booking records, regardless of employment status. The most common occupations for all those arrested were construction workers, drivers, and material handlers (38%). This finding was fairly consistent across divisions, ranging from 36% for CAT to 41% for SED.

Narcotics User

The arrest report has an item for officers to check, indicating whether or not the suspect is a narcotics user. The data show that most of those arrested for drug offenses by Narcotics Section and SED were suspected narcotics users (70% and 73%, respectively). However, a much smaller percentage of the CAT arrests were listed as narcotics users (39%), again reflecting the high proportion of arrests for drug sales by CAT officers.

Gang Member

Arrest reports include information on gang involvement of suspects. In all cases in which gang membership was indicated by the arresting officer, an arrestee's gang affiliation was checked against police records of documented gang members. Only 5% of the total sample of arrestees were confirmed gang members. The highest percentage was for SED (10%), with an additional 15% suspected of gang membership. A total of 25% of the SED arrestees

involved in gangs seems relatively low for a division that targets gang members specifically.

CAT arrests were more likely to include gang members than Narcotics Section arrests, which is related to the involvement of gangs in the distribution and sale of crack cocaine, the focus of CAT officers.

Table 42

CHARACTERISTICS OF SAN DIEGO DRUG ARRESTEE POPULATION BY ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
Sex (n = 1,432)				
• Male	74%	78%	89%	82%
• Female	26%	22%	11%	18%
Ethnicity (n = 1,427)				
• White	4%	39%	8%	23%
• Hispanic	20%	44%	40%	39%
• Black	75%	17%	51%	37%
• Asian	N/A	<1%	1%	<1%
• Other	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
Age (n = 1,432)				
• 13 thru 17	7%	2%	3%	3%
• 18 and 19	13%	10%	15%	12%
• 20 thru 24	24%	23%	29%	25%
• 25 thru 29	18%	24%	22%	23%
• 30 thru 34	17%	18%	19%	18%
• 35 and over	21%	22%	13%	19%
Citizenship (n = 1,386)				
• United States	80%	69%	81%	75%
• Undocumented person	19%	31%	18%	25%
• Legal resident	1%	<1%	1%	1%
Employed (n = 1,300)				
• Yes	19%	27%	27%	26%
• No	81%	73%	73%	74%
Occupation (n = 1,025)				
• Professional and technical	3%	3%	1%	2%
• Sales and administrative support	13%	9%	7%	8%
• Service jobs	18%	14%	14%	15%
• Landscaping and farm workers	5%	6%	6%	6%
• Craftsmen and machine operators	17%	26%	24%	24%
• Construction workers, drivers and material handlers	36%	37%	41%	38%
• Students	8%	3%	6%	4%
• Other	1%	1%	1%	1%
Narcotics User (n = 1,289)				
• Yes	39%	70%	73%	67%
• No	61%	30%	27%	33%
Gang Member (n = 1,414)				
• Yes	6%	1%	10%	5%
• No	87%	99%	75%	88%
• Suspected	7%	1%	15%	7%

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

LOCATION OF ARRESTS AND SEIZURES

The San Diego Police Department is divided into seven area commands, each headed by a Captain. The three drug enforcement divisions studied are centralized and operate throughout the City. Table 43 shows the location of arrests in the sample for each division, by area command. The maps in Figures 1 to 7 plot drug arrests and seizures throughout the City to provide a more graphic view of enforcement efforts. The areas outlined on the map indicate the CAT target areas. The data do not include arrests and seizures made by patrol officers and detectives assigned to the area commands.

The CAT grant proposal lists three target areas for enforcement efforts: Southeast San Diego, Central San Diego, and two beach areas which are in the Western and Northern area commands. The proposal also indicates that officers would target other areas as necessary. The data show that CAT officer arrests did occur primarily in the target areas; however, a very limited number of arrests were made in the beach areas (Table 43 and Figure 1). Most CAT arrests were in Southeast San Diego (47%), followed by the Eastern area command (39%). In May 1989, three beats from Southeast were transferred to the Eastern area command, and these three beats were in the original target areas designated in the CAT grant proposal in 1987. Therefore, the CAT arrests in the Eastern area were within the target areas identified as Southeast at the time the grant was written. Thirteen percent (13%) of the CAT arrests were in the Central area.

Arrests for the other undercover officers in the Narcotics Section also occurred primarily within the CAT target areas, in part because these areas have a high concentration of drug activity (Table 43 and Figure 2). However, these officers did make arrests in other areas of the City, including the Northern, Northeastern, and Southern areas.

The SED arrests were concentrated in the Eastern, Southeastern, and Central areas of the City where most of the gang activity occurs, accounting for 97% of their drug-related arrests (Table 43 and Figure 3).

Drug Seizures. Figures 4 through 7 show the location of drug seizures made by the three divisions for cocaine, heroin/black tar, methamphetamine, and marijuana. Cocaine seizures were concentrated within the CAT target areas, regardless of the division making the arrest (Figure 4). This is partially associated with the involvement of black gangs in the distribution of this drug in Southeast San Diego.

Heroin and black tar were more likely to be seized in Central San Diego. According to police, use of this drug is higher among Hispanics, which account for the majority of the population in this area (Figure 5).

Methamphetamine was seized throughout the City (Figure 6). Police suggest that this drug is more often used by whites. The concentration of seizures was low in Central and Southeast San Diego, which have predominantly Hispanic and black populations.

Marijuana seizures also occurred throughout the City, but there were more seizures in the Central area of the City compared to methamphetamine (Figure 7).

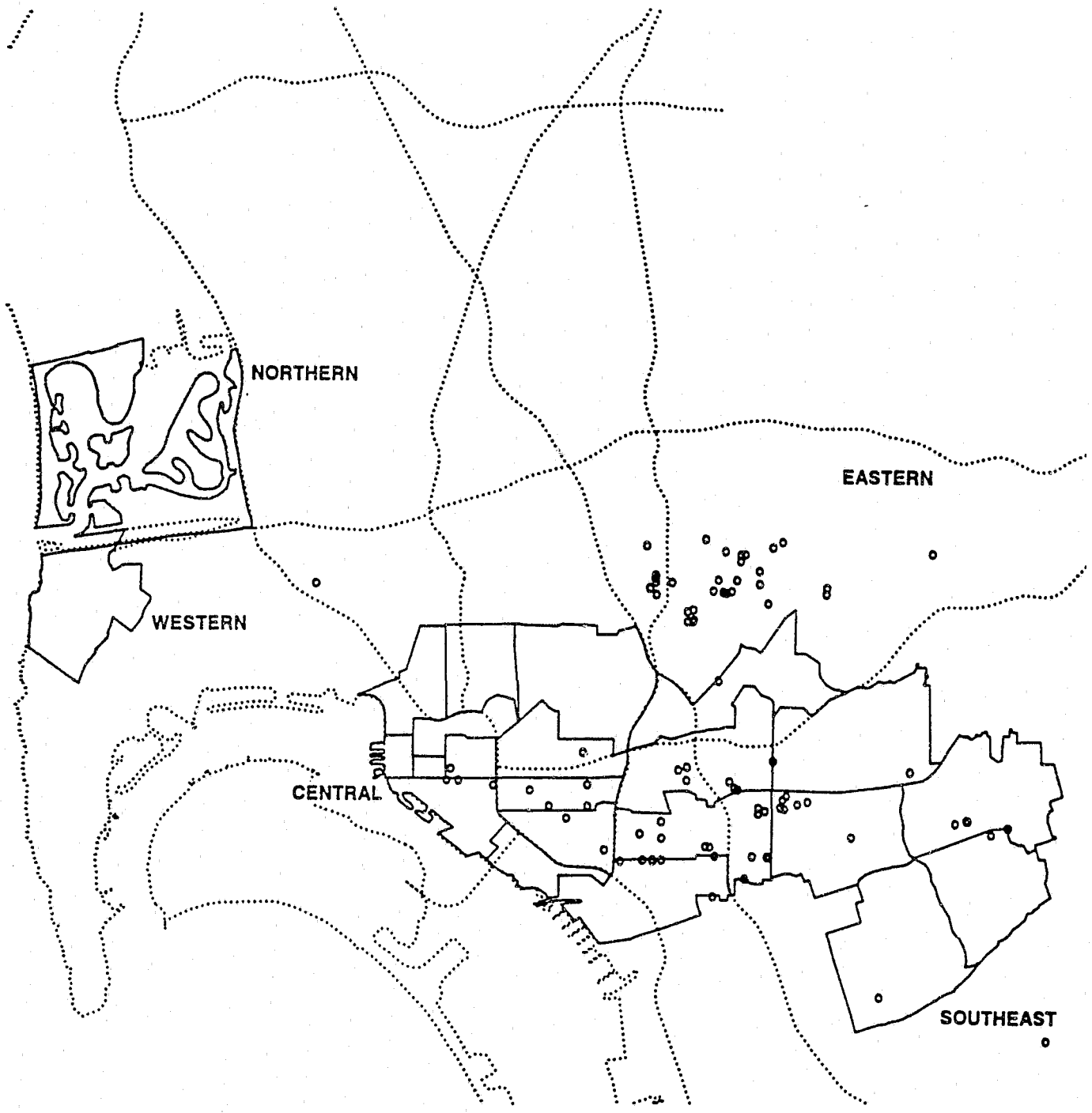
Table 43

PERCENT OF TOTAL ARRESTS, BY AREA COMMAND AND ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Northern	0	11%	1%	6%
• Northeastern	0	3%	0	1%
• Eastern	39%	20%	24%	24%
• Southeast	47%	10%	25%	20%
• Central	13%	42%	48%	41%
• Western	1%	8%	1%	5%
• Southern	0	2%	<1%	1%
• Other jurisdictions	0	3%	0	2%
TOTAL[1]	**165**	**734**	**529**	**1,428**

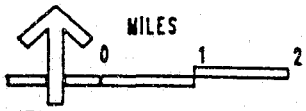
[1] *Totals exclude incomplete arrestee tracking forms.*

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

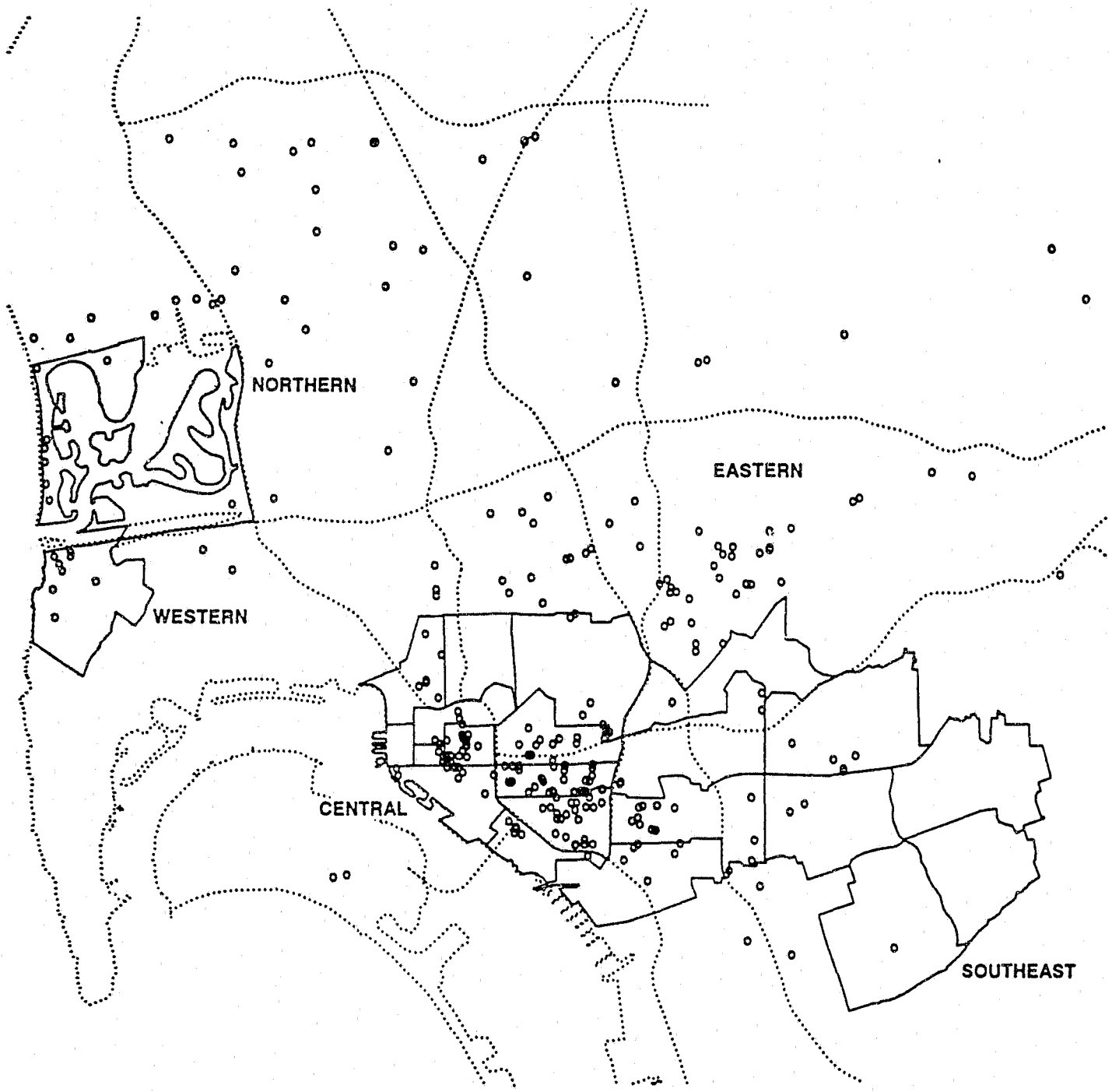


DRUG ARRESTS, CRACK ABATEMENT TEAM

San Diego City, June - November, 1989

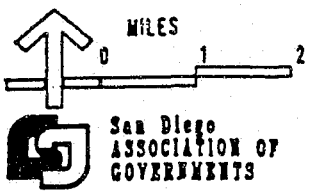


San Diego ASSOCIATION OF GOVERNMENTS

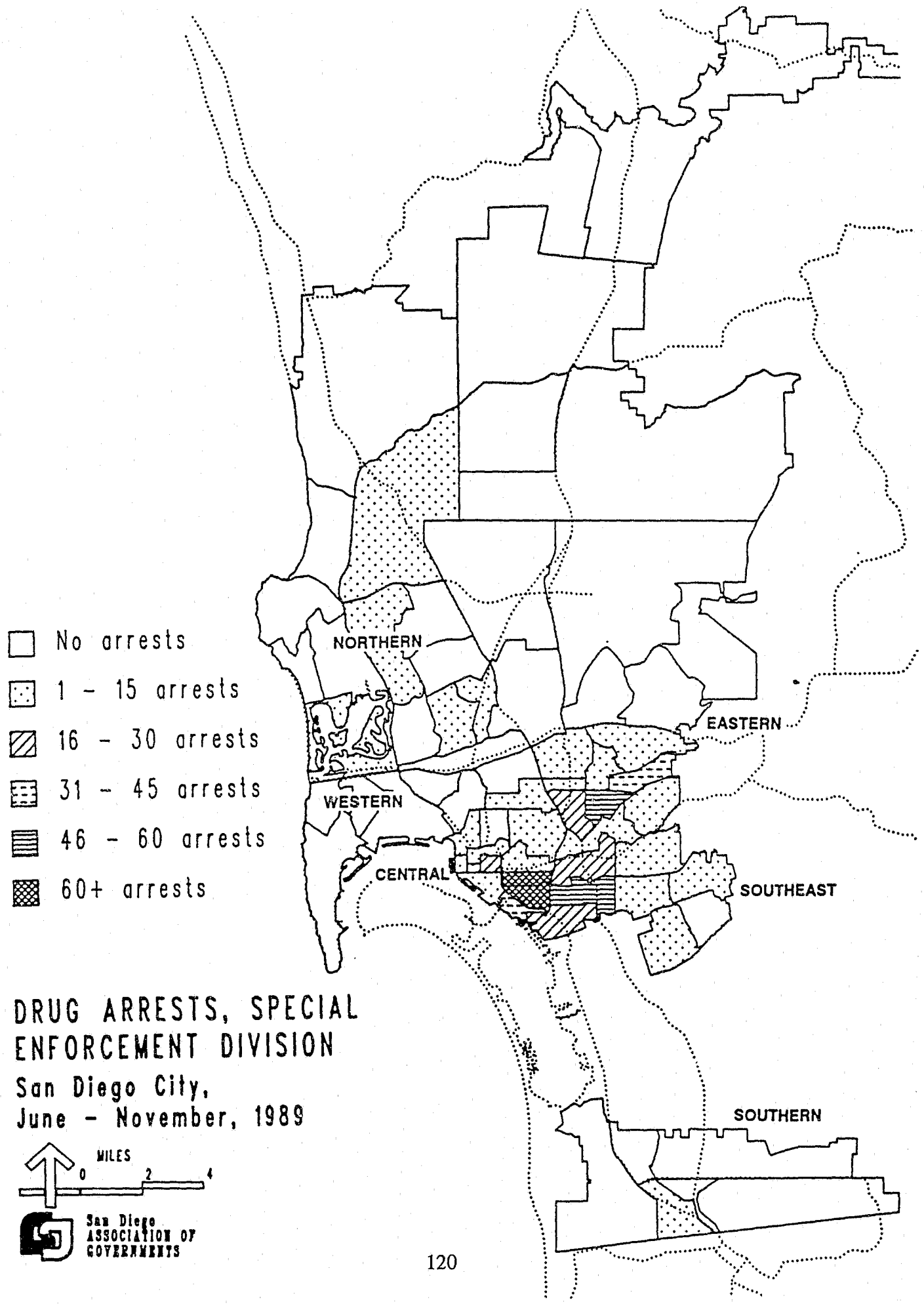


DRUG ARRESTS, NARCOTICS SECTION

San Diego City, June - November, 1989

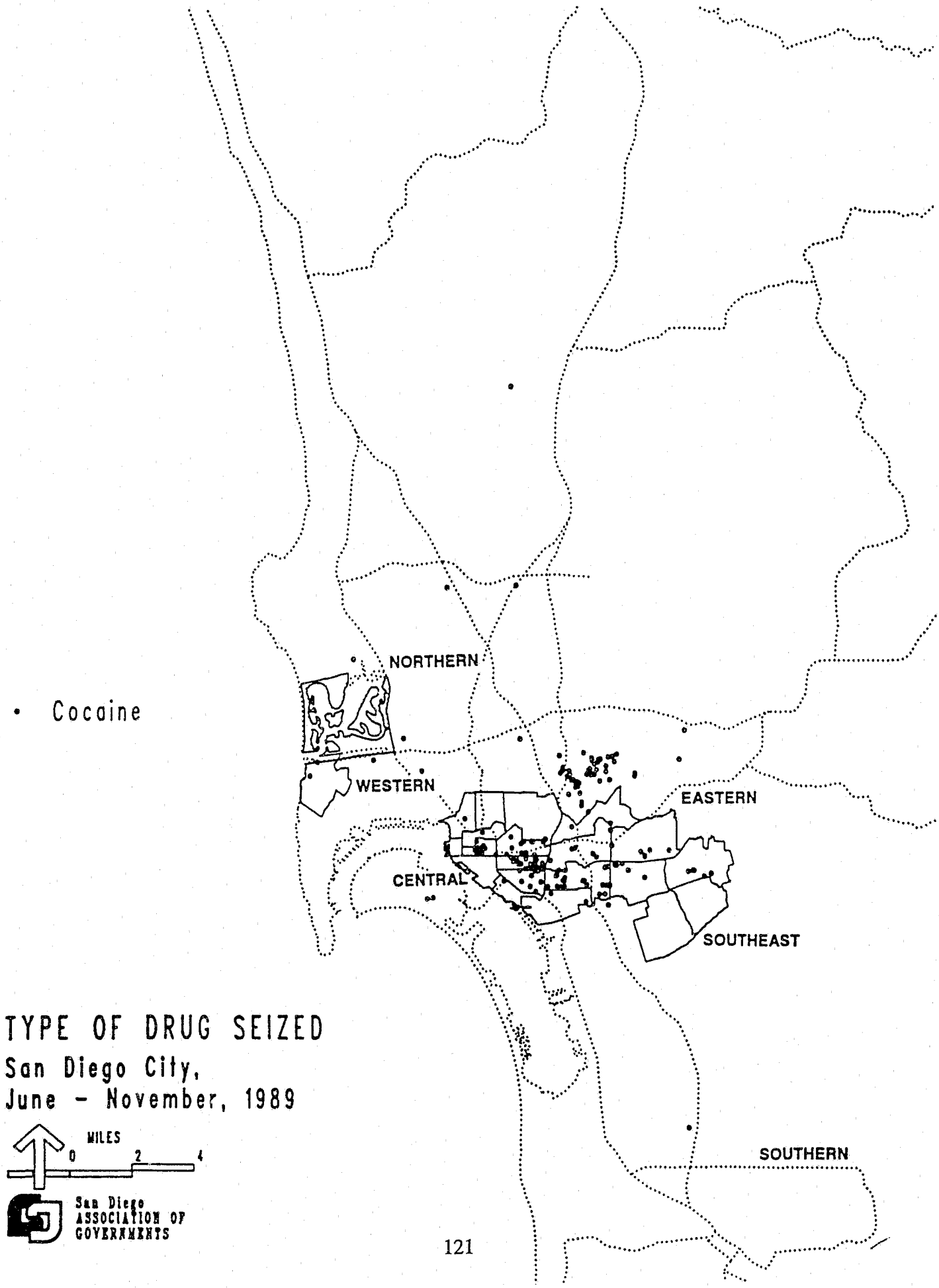


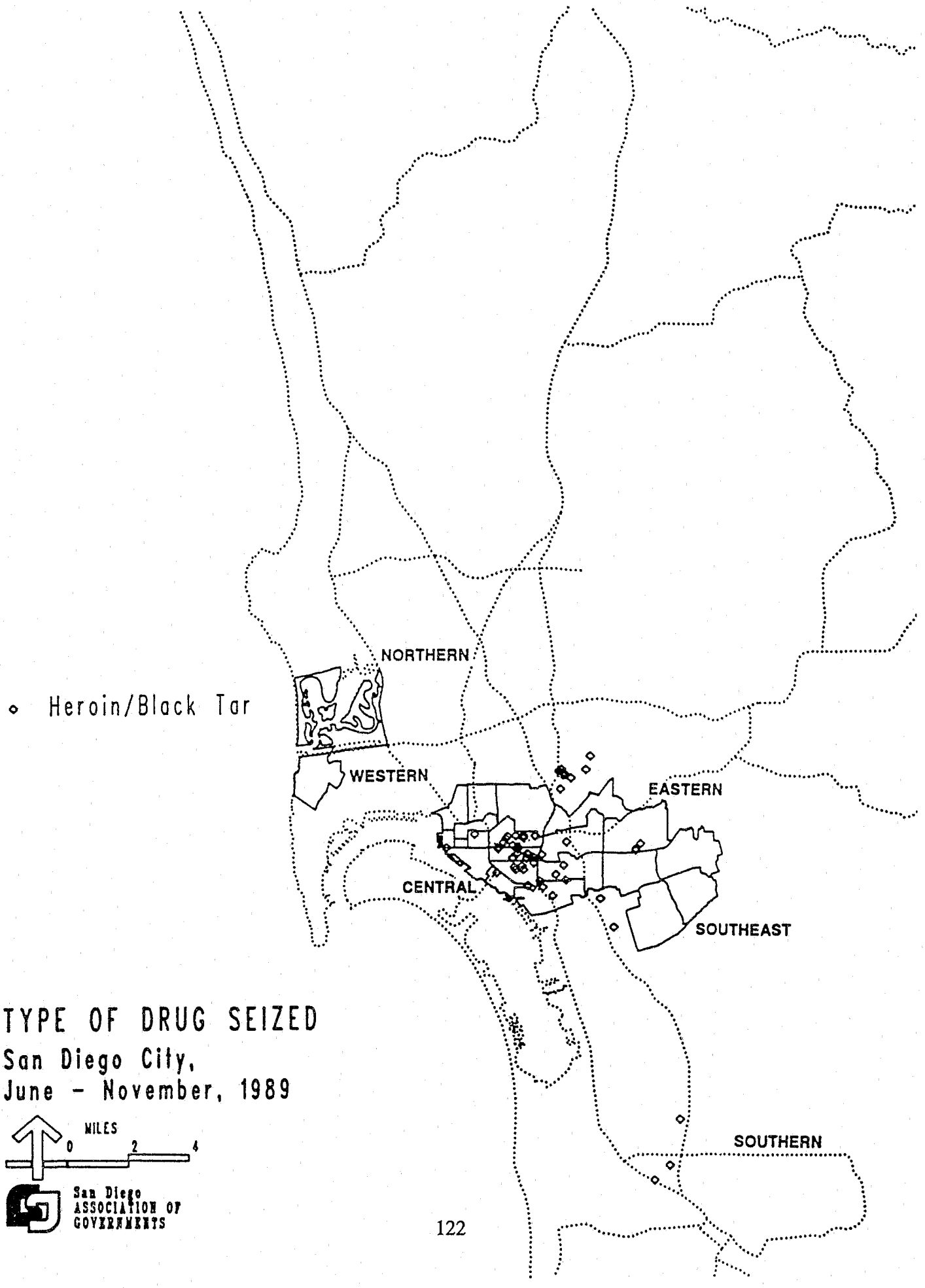
San Diego ASSOCIATION OF GOVERNMENTS



DRUG ARRESTS, SPECIAL ENFORCEMENT DIVISION

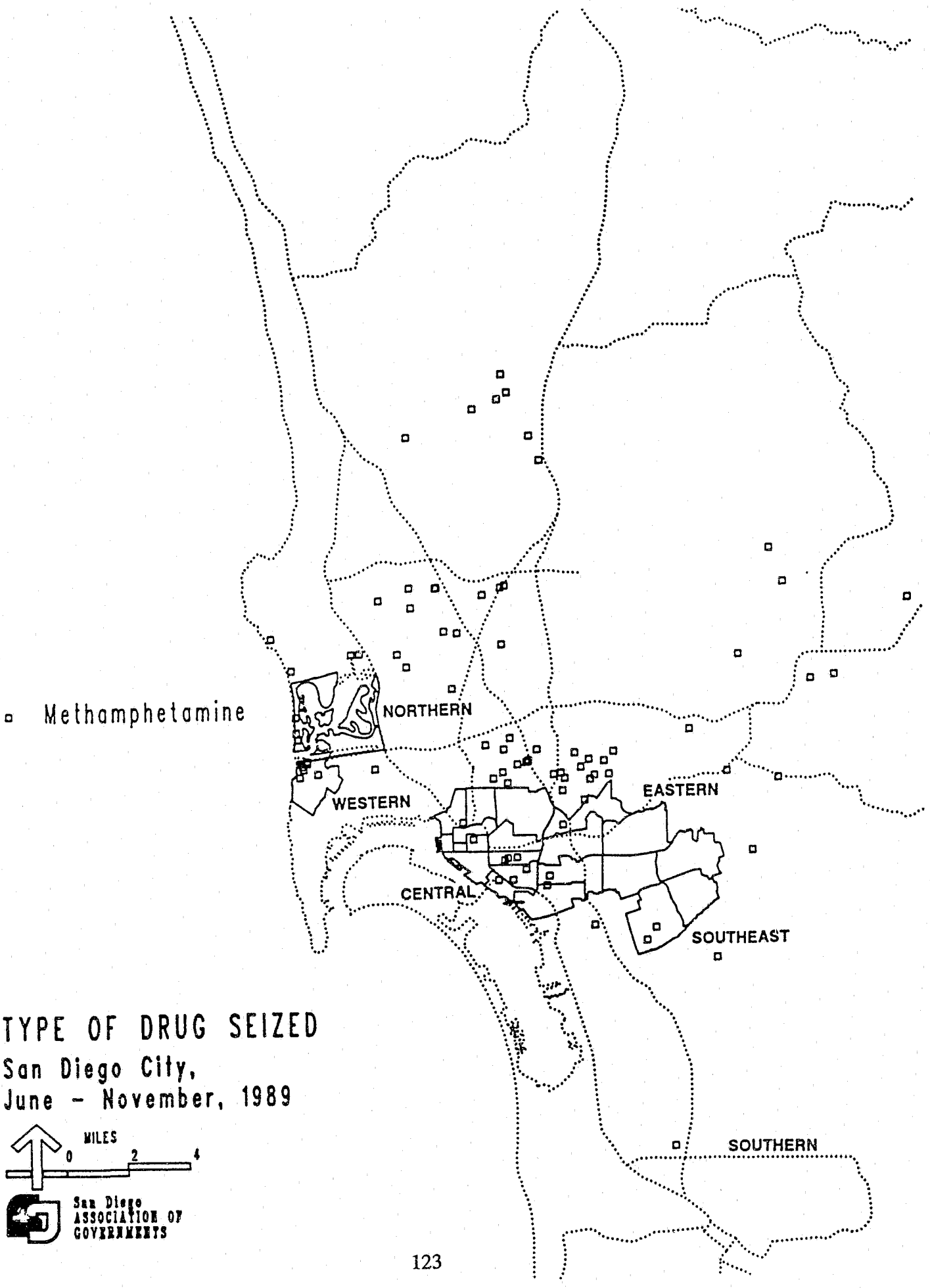
San Diego City,
June - November, 1989


• Cocaine
NORTHERN
WESTERN
EASTERN
CENTRAL
SOUTHEAST
SOUTHERN
TYPE OF DRUG SEIZED
San Diego City,
June - November, 1989
MILES
0
2
4
San Diego
ASSOCIATION OF
GOVERNMENTS



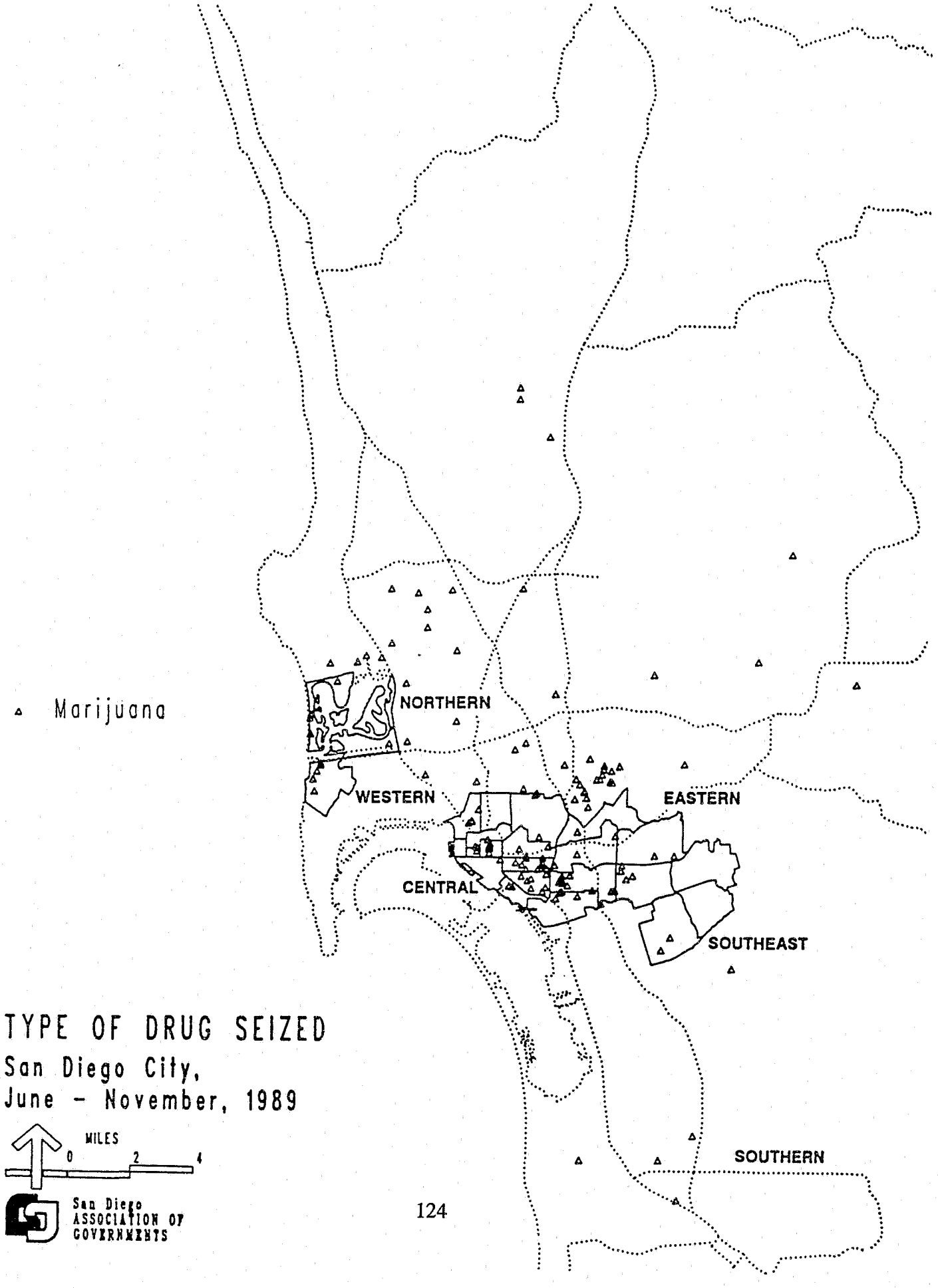
TYPE OF DRUG SEIZED

San Diego City, June - November, 1989



TYPE OF DRUG SEIZED

San Diego City, June - November, 1989


Marijuana
NORTHERN
WESTERN
EASTERN
CENTRAL
SOUTHEAST
SOUTHERN
TYPE OF DRUG SEIZED
San Diego City,
June - November, 1989
MILES
0
2
4
San Diego
ASSOCIATION OF
GOVERNMENTS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Study results confirm that CAT, Narcotics Section, and SED focus on distinct enforcement targets. Consistent with the grant proposal, CAT officers targeted higher level crack cocaine dealers than the other divisions using undercover strategies. They also focused on two of the three target areas specified in the grant: Southeast and Central San Diego. Narcotics Section officers had a broader target group, including all types of street and mid-level sales activity throughout the City. However, their emphasis was also on arresting drug dealers. Initial information for investigations was usually provided by citizens and informants for both undercover divisions.

In contrast, SED provided primarily uniformed, high visibility patrol in areas with a high level of drug and gang activity. The focus was on street-level activity, with information leading to arrests usually initiated by officers. Despite the fact that SED's primary target was gangs, only 25% of the arrests involved documented gang members.

The undercover detectives in CAT and the Narcotics Section were most likely to use officer and informant drug buys and search warrants, whereas SED officer arrests were primarily based on observation and patrol or traffic stops. The CAT detectives utilized officers from other areas of the department more than other divisions; however, the Narcotics Section coordinated more frequently with outside agencies.

The buy/bust strategy resulted in the highest percentage of arrests for felony drug sales (94%), compared to just over half the arrests based on search warrants without controlled buys and search warrants executed based on evidence from drug buys (52% and 57%, respectively). Observation and patrol or traffic stops more often resulted in drug possession and use charges.

Because buy/busts involve a single transaction, the average amount of drugs seized per case was low. Search warrants, which generally target dealers and manufacturers, tended to yield higher quantities of drugs per case, particularly cocaine.

The data support a multi-faceted approach to drug enforcement, given that each division and specific strategies result in arrests of different levels and types of dealers. In addition, the CAT officers demonstrated that coordination with other divisions can occur, which may have enhanced their effectiveness in arresting crack cocaine dealers.

The following chapter assesses the impact of the three divisions in terms of consequences for those arrested. Enforcement strategies are most effective when they result in successful prosecution and appropriate sanctions for those involved in drug activity. These efforts, in turn, are expected to improve the quality of life for community residents. This impact was not addressed in this research.

CHAPTER 5
CONSEQUENCES OF DRUG ENFORCEMENT FOR OFFENDERS

Chapter 5
CONSEQUENCES OF DRUG ENFORCEMENT FOR OFFENDERS

By holding accountable those who buy, sell, or use drugs, we will eventually succeed in making drugs less desirable and harder to obtain.

- (National Drug Control Strategy, 1990)

INTRODUCTION

One way to measure the effectiveness of police drug enforcement efforts is to assess the consequences for the drug users and dealers arrested, including pretrial custody time, charges filed, court disposition, sentence imposed, and assets seized. Several of the objectives of the CAT grant relate to increasing consequences for crack cocaine dealers.

This chapter discusses the following research objective and research questions:

Objective: Determine which strategies are most effective with respect to consequences for drug dealers and users.

- What are the results of different strategies in terms of complaints filed, convictions, sentences, and asset seizures?

- What are offender opinions regarding risks and consequences for drug use and sales?

PROCEDURES

The data compiled to address these issues are based, in part, on the case tracking study of 1,432 San Diego Police Department arrests and the surveys of officers in three drug enforcement divisions described in the previous chapter. In addition, results from offender interviews are used to assess perceptions regarding the risks and consequences associated with drug use and sales. A sample of 123 arrestees was selected for interviews from all drug arrests made by the three divisions during the study period (June through November 1989) using an availability sample of those booked into jail. The

interview questions which address the objective relate to risks associated with drug use and sales and the effectiveness of police strategies.

POLICE DISPOSITION

A number of actions taken by police after arrest can affect the potential consequences for drug users and sellers. First, the arrest charges affect pretrial custody decisions and the ultimate sentence that can be imposed. Second, in misdemeanor arrests, the police have some discretion regarding booking of defendants after arrest. In San Diego County, jail overcrowding has restricted misdemeanor bookings, but misdemeanor drug arrestees can be booked into jail. Third, the police decide whether or not charges will be requested from the prosecuting attorney.

Initial Custody Decision

In California, adult felony arrestees are booked into jail after arrest. In misdemeanor cases, an adult can be booked if one of a number of criteria specified by state statute is met, including inability to care for oneself, the nature of the crime, and lack of identification.

Of the 1,386 adults in the arrest sample, 1,253 were booked into jail at the time of arrest (90%). Table 44 presents the results of the initial custody decision for these defendants. Those booked into jail by CAT and Narcotics Section officers were more likely to remain in custody throughout the adjudication process (31% and 26%, respectively, compared to 19% for SED), which is associated with the nature of the arrest charges. As discussed in the previous chapter, the CAT and Narcotics Section defendants were more likely to be arrested for felony drug offenses, including drug sales, than individuals arrested by SED. In California, a judge can order that a person charged with a drug offense prove that bail was not obtained through illegal activity, which often makes it more difficult for drug dealers to be released prior to trial.

Almost half the SED arrestees were released with no bail imposed by the court (on their own recognizance) compared to about one-third of the CAT and Narcotics Section defendants. However, when combining those released after posting bail and the own-recognizance releases, the percentages for the three divisions were similar, ranging from 54% (CAT) to 58% (Narcotics Section and SED).

Three percent (3%) of the adults booked by the three divisions were released to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) prior to trial, with the highest percentage for those booked by the Narcotics Section (4%). Undocumented persons identified by INS generally remain in custody because a hold is placed on their release pending adjudication of state charges.

Five percent (5%) of the SED defendants were transferred to state prison, compared to 1% for undercover officer arrests. This category includes defendants with parole violations who were returned to the State Department of Corrections for processing prior to, or in lieu of, prosecution for new charges.

The figures for detention-only arrests, in which police decided to release someone from jail prior to requesting charges from the prosecutor, accounted for 9% of those booked. The figure was highest for SED (11%).

Data on custody status after arrest were not compiled for the 46 juveniles in the sample.

Disposition of Arrests

Table 45 shows the police disposition of charges in adult and juvenile arrests in the study sample. The processing of adult and juvenile cases differs significantly. The differences will be explained as the data are presented for each stage in the criminal justice process.

The police have the following options with regard to arrest charges in adult cases: requesting that the prosecutor file a complaint with the court, releasing the arrestee without requesting charges, and turning the case over to another law enforcement agency for further processing. To measure the full impact of enforcement strategies, pending cases with arrest warrants issued were also tracked. In these cases, the prosecutor issued a warrant for the arrest of an individual based on evidence in the case. A portion of the arrest warrants issued in study cases were actually executed. Eleven (11) arrest warrants were still outstanding when data collection was terminated.

About nine of ten adult arrests made by the three divisions resulted in a complaint requested by police. The percentages were similar for all divisions, ranging from 87% for SED to 91% for CAT. Ten (10) Narcotics Section cases had outstanding arrest warrants, as did one (1) of the SED cases. In some instances, cases are dropped because they do not meet the District Attorney's criteria for filing specific charges (e.g., amount of drug seized), or the substance seized was not an illegal drug. Also, officers may use an arrestee as an informant in another case in exchange for dropping charges.

With regard to juveniles, police can refer a youth to probation with a request that a petition be filed with the juvenile court, or the case can be handled informally by the arresting agency through diversion to a local program or closing the case. The number of juvenile arrests in the sample is small (46); therefore, the discussion of study findings does not include comparisons between the three divisions. Overall, 83% of the juveniles had a petition requested and 17% were handled informally.

Table 44

INITIAL CUSTODY DECISION[1], BY ARRESTING DIVISION ADULT SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Released				
No complaint filed	5%	3%	7%	4%
No bail	30%	35%	47%	39%
Bailed out	24%	23%	11%	19%
Detention only	8%	8%	11%	9%
To immigration	1%	4%	1%	3%
• Remained in custody	31%	26%	19%	24%
• Transferred to prison	1%	1%	5%	2%
• Other	1%	<1%	0	<1%
TOTAL	**153**	**646**	**454**	**1,253**

[1] *Totals based only on arrestees initially taken into custody.*

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 45

LAW ENFORCEMENT DISPOSITION, BY ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• **Adult**				
Released	9%	8%	13%	10%
Referred to another agency	0	<1%	0	<1%
Complaint requested	91%	90%	87%	89%
Pending/arrest warrant issued	0	1%	<1%	1%
Total Adults	157	716	513	1,386
• **Juvenile**				
Petition requested	82%	74%	94%	83%
Informal	18%	26%	6%	17%
Total Juveniles	11	19	16	46
TOTAL	**168**	**735**	**529**	**1,432**

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

PROSECUTOR DISPOSITION

The prosecutor decides whether or not criminal charges will be filed with the court. In the City of San Diego, adult felony arrests are referred to the District Attorney and adult misdemeanor arrests are handled by the City Attorney. Juvenile cases are first referred to the Probation Department. The District Attorney determines if charges will be filed with juvenile court.

Over three quarters (77%) of the adult arrests referred to the prosecutor by the three divisions had charges filed (Table 46). Arrests made by the undercover divisions resulted in higher filing rates than SED (81% and 79% for CAT and Narcotics Section compared to 74% for SED). Data were compiled on the reasons cases were rejected by the prosecutor (Table 47). This information was available for 116 of 279 cases rejected. The most common reason for rejection in CAT and Narcotics Section cases related to evidentiary problems (59% and 45%, respectively), followed by questionable search and seizure (24%). Evidentiary problems would include substances seized which were not drugs and drug seizures below the minimum amount required by the District Attorney for filing a case. Search and seizure problems for undercover operations involve executing search warrants and conducting consent searches.

Nine percent (9%) of the rejections were for discretionary reasons, with a higher percentage for Narcotics Section than other divisions (13%). These cases include instances where charges were dropped for an informant who provided information on other drug dealers.

For SED, the most frequent reasons for not filing charges were questionable search and seizure (30%) and charges dropped with further processing on a probation or parole violation in another case (30%). Questionable searches for SED officers may be related to lack of probable cause to search a vehicle or person. This division generally does not initiate search warrants. San Diego County has a revocation court which processes probation and parole violations, often in lieu of prosecuting the offender for new charges. This approach often results in imposition of a custody sentence for the probation or parole violation, without the delays and expense associated with prosecution for the new offense.

Table 46

PROSECUTOR DISPOSITION[1], BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• **Adult**				
Complaint filed	81%	79%	74%	77%
Complaint rejected	19%	21%	26%	23%
Total Adults	143	645	446	1,234
• **Juvenile**				
Petition filed	89%	73%	80%	79%
Informal probation	11%	0	0	3%
Closed/transferred	0	20%	20%	15%
Remanded to adult court	0	7%	0	3%
Total Juveniles	9	15	15	39
TOTAL	**152**	**660**	**461**	**1,273**

[1] *Totals exclude those released by law enforcement.*

Table 47

PROSECUTOR REJECTIONS*, BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

Considerations	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Victim/witness	0	5%	3%	3%
• Evidentiary	59%	45%	21%	34%
• Discretionary	0	13%	8%	9%
• Questionable search and seizure	24%	24%	30%	27%
• Due process	12%	5%	8%	8%
• Parole	6%	8%	30%	19%
TOTAL	**17**	**38**	**61**	**116**

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.
**Includes only rejections for which reasons were provided.*

Juveniles

About four of five juvenile arrests referred to Probation resulted in petitions filed with juvenile court (79%). One youth received informal probation (six-month probation authorized by the probation officer), and one juvenile was remanded to adult court for processing of criminal charges. The remainder of the juvenile cases (6) were closed after initial review and counseling by a probation officer.

Charges Filed

The charges filed by the prosecutor for each division reflect the types of arrests. About four of five CAT defendants (81%) were charged with drug sales; 71% for narcotics sales, which includes cocaine. The proportions of charges for drug sales for other divisions were lower, with 57% of the Narcotics Section defendants and 33% of the SED defendants charged with sales. Thirty percent (30%) of the Narcotics Section cases involved narcotics sales.

SED defendants were most likely to be charged with misdemeanor offenses (49%). The Narcotics Section also had a relatively high number of misdemeanor cases compared to CAT (28% versus 3%).

Table 48
HIGHEST CHARGE FILED, BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

• Felony	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
Sales				
Narcotics	71%	30%	20%	32%
Dangerous drugs	0	11%	9%	9%
Other drugs	10%	15%	4%	11%
Total Sales	81%	57%	33%	51%
Possession				
Narcotics	13%	4%	9%	7%
Dangerous drugs	3%	5%	7%	6%
Other drugs	0	3%	<1%	2%
Total Possessions	16%	12%	17%	14%
Other drug violations	0	1%	0	1%
Other felonies	0	2%	1%	1%
• **Misdemeanor**				
Drug possession	1%	5%	8%	6%
Other drug violations	2%	23%	39%	26%
Other misdemeanors	0	0	2%	1%
TOTAL	**124**	**521**	**342**	**987**

COURT DISPOSITION

Another measure of the consequences of drug enforcement efforts is the conviction rate of those cases filed with the court (Table 49). Of all adult drug cases filed by the three divisions, 72% resulted in conviction. The highest conviction rate in adult cases was for CAT defendants (90%), compared to 74% of the Narcotics Section and 61% of the SED cases. A small percentage of the cases was dismissed in lieu of further processing on probation or parole violations (1%). Almost one in five cases was pending at the time data were collected (18%), with the highest percentages for Narcotics Section (17%) and SED (24%). These divisions have a higher proportion of misdemeanor arrests, which are more likely to have failures to appear in court after release from custody or misdemeanor citation in the field.

Conviction rates are affected by prosecutor screening of cases as well as the evidence compiled by police and the type of offense. The prosecutor filing rates were more consistent for the three divisions than conviction rates, which ranged from 74% for SED to 81% for CAT. The effects of the nature of the charges and strategies employed by police on convictions rates are discussed further in subsequent sections.

For juveniles, 76% of the 34 cases with petitions filed resulted in a true finding, 18% were dismissed or transferred, and 6% were pending.

Table 49
FINAL DISPOSITION, BY ARRESTING DIVISION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• **Adult**				
Guilty[1]	90%	74%	61%	72%
Acquitted/dismissed	5%	8%	13%	9%
Dismissed/probation violation	0	1%	<1%	<1%
Dismissed/parole violation	0	<1%	2%	1%
Pending/FTA	5%	17%	24%	18%
Total Adults	116	507	330	953
• **Juvenile**				
True finding	63%	71%	92%	76%
Dismissed/transferred	38%	14%	8%	18%
Pending	0	14%	0	6%
Total Juveniles	8	14	12	34
TOTAL	**124**	**521**	**342**	**987**

[1] *Includes convicted, pled guilty and drug diversion.*
NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Dispositions by Complaint Charges

Table 50 presents the proportion of defendants found guilty for specific complaint charges by arresting division. At least eight of ten felony complaints resulted in conviction, regardless of the felony charge. For felony drug sales, the highest conviction rate was for complaints filed in CAT arrests (90%), followed by Narcotics Section (88%), and SED (86%). With regard to felony possession charges, SED had a higher conviction rate than the other divisions (90%, compared to 85% for CAT and 81% for Narcotics Section).

Misdemeanor complaints had relatively low conviction rates. This finding is associated with pending cases resulting from failures to appear in court. Overall, 42% of the misdemeanor complaint charges were pending at the time data collection was completed. Consequently, a high proportion of the misdemeanor cases are not being adjudicated, and these offenders are not receiving consequences, either for drug activity or failure to appear in court. With overcrowded jails, failures to appear have become a chronic, systemwide problem which is beyond the control of the police.

Sentencing

Table 51 presents the sentences imposed for those convicted. For the adults, the most common sentence was jail as a condition of probation (68%), with the proportions for each division ranging from 63% for SED to 71% for the Narcotics Section. CAT adult arrestees were most likely to be sentenced to prison (24%), which is associated with the nature of the charges in these cases (i.e., predominantly felony drug sales).

For juveniles, the sentences were diverse, with the highest percentage of 26 cases with true findings resulting in a probation term (46%), followed by placement in a county-operated locked facility (27%). One juvenile was placed in a state facility, operated by the California Youth Authority.

The length of time ordered to probation, local custody, and state institutions is another way of assessing consequences for adults and juveniles (Table 52). The SED defendants tended to receive longer probation terms than the defendants arrested by undercover divisions, with 26% given 4 years or more. Of those sentenced to local jails, the CAT defendants received slightly longer sentences, with 62% ordered to serve over four months, compared to 54% of the SED and Narcotics Section defendants. The prison terms were similar, with over 90% in the range of one to five years.

Table 50

GUILTY DISPOSITION FOR HIGHEST CHARGE FILED, BY ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• **Felony**				
Sales				
Narcotics	90%	87%	80%	86%
Dangerous drugs	0	84%	93%	87%
Other drugs	92%	91%	100%	89%
Total Sales	90%	88%	86%	88%
Total possessions	85%	81%	90%	85%
Other felonies	0	93%	100%	95%
• **Misdemeanor**				
Drug violations	50%	43%	35%	39%
Other misdemeanors	0	0	57%	57%
TOTAL	**124**	**521**	**342**	**987**

Table 51

SENTENCE, BY ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• **Adult**				
Probation	3%	3%	3%	3%
Jail	0	4%	7%	4%
Probation/jail	70%	71%	63%	68%
Prison	24%	16%	17%	18%
Pending/other	3%	6%	10%	7%
Total Adults	96	311	168	575
• **Juvenile**				
California Youth Authority	0	10%	0	4%
Out of home custody	0	0	9%	4%
Locked facility	20%	30%	27%	27%
Probation only	40%	30%	64%	46%
Other[1]	40%	30%	0	19%
Total Juveniles	5	10	11	26
TOTAL	**101**	**321**	**179**	**601**

[1] *Includes juveniles awaiting transfer to Mexico and pending cases.*

Table 52

TIME ORDERED FOR SENTENCED DEFENDANTS, BY ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Probation (Years)				
1 Year or Less	1%	3%	1%	2%
1 1/2 - 3	85%	88%	73%	83%
4 - 5	13%	9%	24%	14%
5 or More	0%	0%	2%	<1%
TOTAL	**75**	**238**	**120**	**433**
• Local Custody (Days)				
1 - 30	13%	11%	11%	12%
31 - 60	0%	2%	2%	2%
61 - 120	25%	32%	33%	31%
121+	62%	54%	54%	56%
TOTAL	**68**	**235**	**122**	**425**
• State Institutions (Years)				
1 Year or Less	0%	2%	0%	1%
1 - 5	96%	94%	100%	96%
More Than 5 Years	4%	2%	0%	2%
Unknown	0%	2%	0%	1%
TOTAL	**23**	**51**	**29**	**103**

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

ATTRITION RATES

To assess the overall impact of drug enforcement efforts on arrestees, Table 53 shows the attrition rates for each stage in the criminal justice process, with all percentages based on total arrests for each division. This provides a more complete picture of the proportion of arrestees who actually received consequences, in terms of conviction and sentence imposed, and the points in the system where cases were dropped. The data include both adults and juveniles. Despite the differences in case processing, the adult and juvenile cases have similarities in terms of actions taken at each stage.

The proportion of total adult and juvenile arrests with charges requested was the same for CAT and Narcotics Section arrests (90%). SED requested charges in a slightly lower percentage of arrests (87%).

The differences between the divisions increase at the prosecutor and court disposition stages. Almost three quarters of the CAT arrests resulted in a case filed with the court (74%), followed by Narcotics Section (71%) and SED (65%). CAT arrests also had the highest percentage resulting in conviction (adults) or true finding (juveniles); 65% compared to 53% for Narcotics Section and 40% for SED. These findings are consistent with CAT grant objectives related to improving prosecution and conviction rates.

The consequences for CAT arrestees were greater in terms of sentence, also, with 55% incarcerated, compared to 40% for Narcotics Section, and 28% for SED. CAT cases had the highest percentage sent to prison (14%), which is, in part, related to the seriousness of initial arrest charges.

Table 53

JUSTICE SYSTEM ATTRITION RATES, BY ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• **Arrests**	168	735	529	1,432
Law Enforcement				
Released	10%	9%	13%	10%
Charges requested	90%	90%	87%	89%
Prosecutor				
Arrest warrant pending	0	1%	<1%	1%
Charges filed	74%	71%	65%	69%
Charges not filed	17%	19%	22%	20%
Court				
Guilty[1]	65%	53%	40%	50%
Acquitted/dismissed	5%	6%	8%	7%
Dismissed/probation violation	0	<1%	<1%	<1%
Dismissed/parole violation	0	<1%	1%	<1%
Pending/other	4%	12%	15%	12%
• **Sentence**				
Probation	3%	2%	2%	2%
Jail	0	2%	2%	2%
Probation/jail	40%	30%	20%	27%
Prison	14%	7%	5%	7%
Other state institution	1%	1%	1%	1%
Other[2]	3%	3%	3%	3%
Failure to appear	74%	71%	65%	69%

[1] *Includes convicted, pled guilty and drug diversion.*
[2] *Includes pending cases, juveniles awaiting transfer to Mexico and other.*

NOTE: All percentages are based on arrests.

Comparison with City and Countywide Dispositions

Offender-Based Transaction Statistics (OBTS), compiled by the State Bureau of Criminal Statistics, provide information on felony arrest dispositions. Table 54 compares City of San Diego and countywide OBTS data on drug cases to sample case dispositions to assess the filing and conviction rates for the divisions being studied. The OBTS figures include arrests made by patrol officers and detectives.

The OBTS data place the results from the study sample in perspective. In general, drug cases have lower conviction rates than other types of felony cases. Overall, in 1989, 61% of the felony defendants in San Diego County were convicted, compared to 54% of the defendants charged with drug offenses (not shown).

The specialized divisions being studied showed a higher proportion of cases proceeding through the system at all stages (i.e., complaints requested, charges filed, and convictions), compared to figures for the city and county (Table 54). The highest conviction rates were for CAT and Narcotics Section (70% and 71%, respectively), but the figure for SED (57%) was also higher than the city and county rates. These findings suggest that the specialized training, skills, and strategies used by CAT, Narcotics Section, and SED are more likely to result in successful prosecution of drug cases, compared to other police operations.

Table 54

JUSTICE SYSTEM ATTRITION RATES SAMPLE, TOTAL POLICE DEPARTMENT, AND COUNTYWIDE FELONY DRUG ARREST DISPOSITIONS, 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	SDPD	Countywide
• Arrests	155	477	289	4,257	8,312
• Charges requested	93%	96%	91%	80%	89%
• Charges filed	79%	84%	73%	67%	73%
• Convicted	70%	71%	57%	53%	54%

NOTE: All percentages are based on arrests, excluding pending cases.

SOURCE: SANDAG, Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Offender-Based Transaction Statistics.

Dispositions For Specific Strategies

The case dispositions are also related to the strategies employed. Table 55 shows attrition rates, based on number of arrests for each of the strategies used, regardless of the division. At the police level, charges were most likely to be requested as a result of buy/busts (96% of the arrests in that category) and search warrants without buys (93%). Complaint requests for other strategies ranged from 86% of patrol and traffic stops to 89% of the cases involving observation as the major strategy.

Significant differences appear in the prosecutor filing rates, with 90% of the arrests based on buy/busts resulting in charges filed with the court, followed by search warrants with buys (69%) and patrol or traffic stops (68%). The lowest filing rate was for arrests based on observation (61%). As mentioned previously, the buy/bust involves one officer or informant buying drugs, while being observed by other officers. The arrest occurs immediately following the buy, and the drugs and marked buy money are seized. Therefore, this type of case is likely to have more concrete evidence than other strategies. Successful prosecution of cases with search warrants is affected by the reliability of the information received, availability of informants to testify, the procedures followed by police, and the nature of the evidence gathered. Arrests made based on observation and traffic or patrol stops require probable cause for the contact and subsequent search for drugs. Also, in observation of drug deals, the officers must be able to establish that a drug transaction took place and/or tie the drugs seized to the person arrested. These factors are considered by the prosecutor when determining if charges will be filed.

Conviction Rates. The figures for conviction rates show similar trends, with 81% of those arrested through a buy/bust actually convicted. Only two other strategies had conviction rates of over 50%; search warrants executed with and without controlled buys. The lowest rate was for cases based on officer observation (32% convicted).

Sentence. In terms of sentencing, the highest prison commitment rate was for buy/busts (15%), in part, because most of these cases involved felony drug charges at time of arrest. This strategy also resulted in the highest percentage sentenced to jail as a condition of probation (53%).

Time to Disposition. Another measure of the justice system response is the swiftness in imposing sanctions. The data show that the average time from arrest to final disposition was similar for arrests made by Narcotics Section and SED officers (127 days and 125 days, respectively). However, CAT arrests were processed through the justice system somewhat faster (106 days, on the average). (Data not shown.)

Table 55

JUSTICE SYSTEM ATTRITION RATES, BY PRIMARY STRATEGY USED SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Search Warrant Without Buys	Search Warrant With Buys	Buy/Busts	Patrol or Traffic Stops	Observation	Other	Total
• **Arrests**	88	336	210	163	391	244	1,432
Released	7%	13%	4%	14%	11%	11%	10%
Charges requested	93%	88%	96%	86%	89%	89%	90%
Charges filed	66%	69%	90%	68%	61%	65%	69%
Charges not filed	24%	18%	7%	18%	27%	23%	20%
• **Disposition**							
Guilty[1]	55%	52%	81%	45%	32%	48%	50%
Acquitted/dismissed	5%	7%	3%	8%	1%	6%	6%
Dismissed/probation violation	0	0	0	0	1%	0	<1%
Dismissed/parole violation	0	<1%	0	1%	1%	0	<1%
Pending	7%	10%	5%	14%	18%	11%	12%
• **Sentence**							
Probation	1%	1%	3%	1%	3%	2%	2%
Jail	0	1%	1%	4%	2%	1%	2%
Probation/jail	19%	34%	53%	21%	15%	24%	27%
Prison	9%	3%	15%	7%	3%	11%	7%
Other state institution	1%	0	1%	0	<1%	2%	1%
Diversion	20%	8%	4%	9%	5%	7%	8%
Other[2]	3%	4%	3%	2%	3%	2%	3%

[1] *Includes convicted, pled guilty and drug diversion.*

[2] *Includes pending cases, juveniles awaiting transfer to Mexico and other.*

NOTE: All percentages are based on arrests.

Logit Regression Analysis

To examine the extent to which specific variables contributed to successful prosecution in sample drug cases, a logit regression analysis was performed. The justification for using this statistical model is provided in Appendix D.

The effects of four variables were assessed for two decision points in the criminal justice process; the prosecutor decision regarding filing of charges and the court disposition. The independent variables in the logit models include the:

- Division making the arrest (undercover/SED)
- Strategy employed (search warrant, buy/bust, other)
- Highest arrest or complaint charge (felony sales, other felony, misdemeanor)
- Age of the defendant (adults under 30 and 30 and over).

Other independent variables were considered that could influence the case dispositions, such as offender characteristics and prior history. Some variables were skewed, with small numbers in one category, such as women and white arrestees. The small numbers, or zero (0) expected values in some cells, would have affected the accuracy of the results of the logit regression analysis. Also, criminal history was only collected on a subsample of cases. Inclusion of this variable in the logit models would have reduced the entire sample size at each stage in the process considerably. Despite these limitations, the independent variables included in the model reflect the primary focus of this study: the effectiveness of specific strategies in providing consequences for drug offenders.

Table 56 shows the categories of the two dependent variables used in the analysis: prosecutor disposition and court disposition. The dependent variables are dichotomous, with zero (0) indicating that the case was filed or the defendant was convicted and one (1) indicating a prosecutor rejection or a dismissal or acquittal by the court. Juvenile cases were excluded because the factors related to decisions by the prosecutor and the courts may have differed from adult cases and the sample size is small (there were only 46 juveniles in the sample). Also, only cases reaching final disposition were included.

Table 56

DEFINITIONS OF THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES USED IN THE LOGIT MODELS

Not Filed	Filed	Categories Not Used
Prosecutor Disposition		
• Complaint rejected	• Complaint filed	• Arrest warrants not executed
• Not filed in lieu of return to prison	• Complaint filed and dismissed for other considerations	• Juveniles
Court Disposition		
Not Guilty	**Guilty**	**Categories Not Used**
• Acquitted	• Guilty plea	• Pending
• Dismissed	• Convicted	• Other
	• Drug diversion	• Juveniles

First the models, or combination of variables, that best explain the variation in the dependent variables were determined. At both decision points, the logit model which best explained the variation in outcomes included the strategy employed by police and the highest charge. The tables used in analyzing the different models are included in the Appendix.

The models with the greatest explanatory power were examined in greater detail, by comparing the effect parameters, standard errors, observed odds ratios, and significance of the effect of specific categories of strategies and charges on the outcomes (Tables 57 and 58).

Prosecutor Disposition. As mentioned previously, the dependent variable for prosecutor disposition is dichotomous, with zero (0) indicating that a complaint was filed and one (1) indicating that the complaint was rejected. The selected model for prosecutor disposition includes the constant term and the main effects of strategy and highest arrest charge (Table 57). The arrestee's age and the division making the arrest have no effect on the decision to file charges.

The data show that both the police strategy and the charge had a significant impact on the prosecutor decision to file a complaint with the court. The strategy had the greatest effect in increasing the chances of charges being filed. The odds of filing a complaint for arrests using the buy/bust strategy were the highest (about 14 to 1). The search warrant and other strategies actually had a significant effect in **reducing** the likelihood of charges being filed, with odds of about 3 to 1.

The highest arrest charge also influenced the outcome at the prosecutor level, with felony drug sale charges more likely to be filed than other charges. A misdemeanor charge significantly reduced the chances that a complaint would be filed.

These findings suggest the importance of the evidence available to support prosecution. With a buy/bust, the officer or informant makes the buy, other officers provide surveillance, and the drugs and marked money are confiscated at the time of the arrest. Also, informants involved in buy/busts are generally willing to testify in court. In addition, almost all buy/bust arrests were for felony drug sales. Search warrants can result in questionable evidence (e.g., drugs seized cannot be tied to arrestee), and also the person providing the information to support the search warrant may not want to be identified and appear in court.

Table 57

LOGIT MODEL PARAMETER ESTIMATES AND OBSERVED ODDS RATIOS PROSECUTOR DISPOSITION

n = 1,234

Independent Variable	Effect Parameter	Standard Error	Observed Odds Ratio[1]
• Constant	1.4958*	.1156	3.42
• Strategy			
Buy/bust	.6956*	.2079	13.85
Search warrant	-.3093*	.1333	3.53
Other	-.3865*	.1294	2.65
• Arrest charge			
Felony sales	.4878*	.1094	6.52
Other felony	.1013	.1179	3.51
Misdemeanor	-.5891*	.0982	1.73

Entropy = .066
Concentration = .067
**Significant at a = .10*
[1] *Filed to Not Filed*

Court Disposition. The logit model for court disposition provides similar results. The dependent variable for the court decision is dichotomous, with zero (0) indicating convicted and one (1) indicating not convicted. The selected model for court disposition includes the constant term and the main effects of the strategy used and the highest charge on the complaint filed by the prosecutor. The defendant's age and the division responsible for the arrest had no effect on the conviction rate.

Based on the effect parameter, the most significant overall effect on the finding of guilt or innocence was the level of the charge, with defendants charged with felony offenses more often convicted. Those charged with misdemeanor offenses were significantly less likely to be convicted (Table 58).

The strategy employed also had a significant effect on the case outcome at the court level, with those arrested using the buy/bust more often convicted (a ratio of 33 to 1). The effect of using search warrants was not significant at the court level; however, a misdemeanor charge significantly decreased the chances of conviction.

Once again, the data show the impact of the strategy used to gather evidence and the charges filed. Misdemeanor charges include being under the influence, possession of small quantities of marijuana, and being in a place where drugs are being used. If drug test results are not positive, or if knowledge of drug activity cannot be proven, some misdemeanor charges may not be filed, or may be dismissed by the court.

Table 58

LOGIT MODEL PARAMETER ESTIMATES AND OBSERVED ODDS RATIOS COURT DISPOSITION

n = 783

Independent Variable	Effect Parameter	Standard Error	Observed Odds Ratio[1]
• Constant	2.2708*	.1918	6.83
• Strategy			
Buy/bust	.7216*	.3302	32.80
Search warrant	-.1654	.2177	9.04
Other	-.5562*	.2193	4.25
• Complaint charge			
Felony sales	.5402*	.1839	15.14
Other felony	.5244*	.2193	11.08
Misdemeanor	-1.0646*	.1648	2.10

Entropy = .134
Concentration = .115
**Significant at a = .10*
[1] *Convicted to Not Convicted*

OTHER CONSEQUENCES

Other consequences of police enforcement, particularly for drug dealers, include seizure of drugs, assets, and money. Drug seizures were discussed in the previous chapter. To the extent possible, data were collected on the types of property seized from those arrested and the amount of currency seized for sample cases. Data on the value of property, asset forfeitures, and the amount of property returned to owners were not available for these cases. However, the data provide comparisons of the extent to which property and money are seized by the three divisions (Table 59).

As expected, the undercover operations resulted in a higher percentage of cases with property or money seized (about two-thirds of all cases). Search warrants executed by these divisions provide an opportunity to seize property not available in street enforcement. Less than 50% of the SED cases had property seized.

About half the CAT and Narcotics Section cases had currency seized, compared to 21% for SED. The average amount of currency seized per case was also higher for the undercover divisions ($719 for CAT, $1,044 for Narcotics Section, and $370 for SED, not shown). Larger amounts of cash may be associated with higher level drug dealers. The strategy which resulted in the highest average dollar amount seized was search warrants with no drug buys ($2,547).

Vehicles were seized in 3% of all the sample cases, with a slightly higher percentage for SED (4%). SED is more likely to use patrol and traffic stops as a strategy, so it is not surprising that their cases had more vehicle seizures.

Table 59

PROPORTION OF CASES WITH PROPERTY SEIZED, BY ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Currency	52%	46%	21%	35%
• Vehicles	1%	3%	4%	3%
• Weapons	22%	20%	9%	15%
• Other property[1]	35%	45%	26%	35%
• No property seized	35%	34%	54%	44%
TOTAL	**110**	**379**	**457**	**946**

[1] *Other includes such property as dealer and user drug paraphernalia, jewelry, and electronic equipment.*

NOTE: Percentages based on multiple responses.

Weapons

Weapon seizures are of particular interest, in terms of public safety as well as asset seizures. The media has portrayed drug dealers and gang members as having a greater number and more sophisticated weapons in recent years (e.g., assault weapons). Sample data show that 15% of the cases involved seizure of weapons, with a greater percentage seized by undercover officers (about one in five cases). The types of weapons were predominantly pistols, revolvers, rifles, shotguns, and other types of weapons, not automatic weapons (Table 60). CAT officers had the highest percentage of automatic weapons seized (3% of all cases).

Table 60

PROPORTION OF CASES WITH WEAPONS SEIZED, BY ARRESTING DIVISION SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

	Crack Abatement Team	Narcotics Section	Special Enforcement Division	Percent Of Total
• Pistols/revolvers	16%	15%	4%	10%
• Rifles/shotguns	5%	7%	1%	4%
• Automatics	3%	1%	<1%	1%
• Other weapons[1]	3%	7%	5%	6%
• No weapons seized	78%	80%	91%	85%
TOTAL	**110**	**379**	**457**	**946**

[1] *Other weapons include knives, billy clubs and brass knuckles.*

NOTE: Percentages based on multiple responses.

OPINIONS REGARDING EFFECTIVE POLICE STRATEGIES

The officers in the three divisions and the offenders participating in interviews were asked questions regarding the effectiveness of drug enforcement. Arrestees were also asked about perceived risks associated with drug activity, in relation to police enforcement activities.

Police officers responded to questions regarding the most effective strategies for different levels of drug users and dealers. Table 61 suggests that traditional tactics, such as arrests on routine patrol, education of the community, and street sweeps were perceived as most effective for low-level users. With respect to the street-level dealer, the strategies identified by the highest percentage of officers were the one-time buy/bust, visible saturation, and response to citizen complaints. For medium to high-level dealers, more sophisticated techniques were seen as effective, including wiretaps, review of financial records, search warrants, body wires, and use of informants.

There may be distinct differences between the perceived effectiveness of strategies in making arrests, and the extent to which arrests result in prosecution and conviction. The case tracking study shows that, of all strategies, the buy/bust is most likely to result in conviction and prison commitment.

Table 61

EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES BY TYPE OF USER/DEALER OFFICER SURVEYS, 1989

	Low-Level User	Street Seller	Mid-Level Dealer	High-Level Traffickers
• Intelligence gathering on gangs	10%	38%	43%	9%
• Visible saturation	45%	50%	5%	0
• Use of informants	15%	18%	54%	13%
• Educate community	57%	36%	5%	2%
• Controlled buys	14%	44%	42%	0
• Search warrants	9%	20%	64%	7%
• Respond to citizen complaints	38%	48%	14%	0
• Wiretaps	0	1%	22%	77%
• Surveillance	12%	28%	50%	10%
• Sell/bust	38%	35%	25%	2%
• Review financial records	0	2%	28%	70%
• One-time buy/bust	24%	62%	12%	2%
• Arrests on routine patrol	60%	38%	1%	0
• Street sweeps	52%	44%	5%	0
• Body wires	5%	19%	53%	23%

Arrestees were asked to rate perceived importance of specific police strategies in reducing or stopping drug use and sales (Table 62). Overall, the findings show mixed reactions to the police strategies listed, which may be associated with the fact that the respondents were the targets of enforcement efforts. The least importance was placed on increasing police and the information available through informants (50% or more of the 121 respondents rated these factors as not important). A point of interest is that, regardless of the drug type, those arrested as a result of a search warrant were more likely to have bought their drugs from a friend/drug buddy than those arrested through other means (e.g., buy/bust, traffic stop). In many cases, it can be presumed that the drug "buddy" was, in fact, the informant that led to the search warrant! (Not shown.) About one-third of the respondents felt that buy/busts, search warrants, and walking patrols are not important, with a similar proportion saying these efforts are very important. Forty-one percent (41%) felt that asset seizures are very important, with the same percentage indicating they are not important.

Table 62

IMPORTANCE OF POLICE EFFORTS TO REDUCE OR STOP DRUG USE AND SALES OFFENDER INTERVIEWS, 1989

(n = 121)

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
• More police	50%	19%	31%
• More informants	54%	16%	30%
• More buy/busts	34%	30%	35%
• More search warrants	37%	23%	40%
• More walking patrols	31%	30%	39%
• More asset seizures	41%	18%	41%

NOTE: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

A follow-up question suggests that part of the reason for ambivalence regarding police strategies may be that offenders think the emphasis of efforts to reduce drug use and sales should be directed at mandatory treatment (55% stating very important), increasing drug treatment programs (59%), and increasing drug education (71%). The proportion that felt that justice system responses are very important was significantly lower (Table 63). These offenders placed greater importance on reducing demand for drugs through prevention, education, and treatment, rather than enforcement. The responses

suggest that arrest and conviction play a lesser role than the possibility of jail time.

The emphasis of police reflects their law enforcement role. Sixty-percent (60%) of the police officers surveyed felt that increasing chances of arrests would reduce drug use and sales, compared to 26% of the offenders. Similar differences are noted with regard to the importance placed on increasing chances of conviction and jail time. Less than half the police and offenders indicated that mandatory drug testing at arrest was very important. Only about one-quarter of the officers felt that mandatory drug treatment and more treatment programs were very important, compared to over half the offenders. Education was given greater importance by the police, but not the level of importance suggested by offenders (46% versus 71%).

Table 63

IMPORTANCE OF EFFORTS TO REDUCE OR STOP DRUG USE AND SALES OFFICER AND OFFENDER RESPONSES, 1989

Factor	Officers	Offenders
	(% stating very important)	
• Increase chance of arrest	60%	26%
• Increase chance of conviction	76%	28%
• Increase chance of jail time	84%	39%
• Mandatory urine test at arrest	40%	30%
• Increase jail time when convicted	85%	36%
• Mandatory drug treatment	26%	55%
• More drug treatment programs	27%	59%
• More drug education	46%	71%

PERCEPTIONS REGARDING RISKS

Offenders were also asked questions regarding perceived risk of arrest related to drug use and sales. Of 100 individuals involved in drug use, on the average, offenders indicated that 44 would be arrested (data not shown). The median suggests that half the respondents felt that 35 or less would be arrested. The perceived risk of arrest for drug sales was somewhat lower. On the average, offenders suggested that 37 of 100 drug sellers would be arrested, with half stating that 20 or fewer per 100 would be arrested. The data suggest that the arrestees felt that the chances of ***not*** being arrested were better than even, despite the fact that these individuals had just been arrested for a drug

charge. The perception of risk among those involved in drug activities who have not been arrested recently may be even lower.

Offender perceptions of risk were further explored by the strategy used to effect the arrests. Overall, the likelihood of being processed through the justice system was perceived as decreasing as sanctions become more severe. This was true regardless of the strategy. For example, 59% of those arrested in a buy/bust situation felt that less than 30 people out of 100 would be arrested for possession or being under the influence of drugs; and 81% fell in the "less than 30" category with respect to the ratio of the 100 arrests that might result in jail time. When the question referred to drug sales, the probability of risk was perceived as far less. Seventy percent (70%) of those contacted through a buy/bust felt that less than 30 of 100 people would end up getting arrested. Almost all (95%) said that less than 30 of 100 arrests would result in jail time.

Regardless of strategy or level of sanction, the probability for risks involving sales was viewed as less in most instances when compared to the risks relative to being under the influence. This may be based on a simple notion that there are more users than dealers/sellers. Or it could be associated with a belief that drug sales involve more surreptitious behavior and individuals are less visible or less likely to be known to police.

For both possession and drug sales arrests, the probability of risk at all levels was perceived much higher by those arrested through patrol/traffic stops and observation than offenders caught by search warrants and buy/busts. It is unclear why this is so. Possibly, the offenders perceive greater likelihood of complex legal issues that may result in no charges filed, such as potential for entrapment or illegal search.

Table 64

PERCEPTIONS OF RISK BY ARREST STRATEGIES OFFENDER INTERVIEWS, 1989

- **Question: Of 100 people, how many might be arrested; of 100 arrests, how many might result in conviction; etc. ...?**

	Search Warrant	Buy/Bust	Patrol/ Traffic Stops	Observation
Risks for Possession				
Arrest				
Less than 30	51%	59%	36%	40%
More than 30	49%	41%	64%	60%
Conviction				
Less than 30	66%	67%	57%	57%
More than 30	34%	33%	43%	43%
Jail Time				
Less than 30	86%	81%	79%	74%
More than 30	14%	19%	21%	26%
Risks for Drug Sales				
Arrest				
Less than 30	48%	70%	57%	56%
More than 30	52%	30%	43%	44%
Conviction				
Less than 30	65%	85%	64%	71%
More than 30	35%	15%	36%	29%
Jail Time				
Less than 30	83%	95%	71%	80%
More than 30	17%	5%	29%	20%

FACTORS THAT IMPEDE DRUG CONTROL EFFORTS

In 1989, officers were asked to identify factors that hamped their efforts to control drug use and sales (Table 65). The factor noted by over 92% of the officers was jail crowding. For several years, San Diego County detention facilities have been overcrowded and, as a result, are under court orders to reduce the jail population. Consequently, only arrestees who commit serious crimes are retained prior to court hearings. The ability to provide swift and certain sanctions is severely restricted. This situation sends the wrong message to drug users and sellers, according to officers.

Shortages in personnel have impeded drug control efforts as stated by 78% of the officers. This is particularly noticed in the Narcotics Section. Since it is relatively small (less than 25), staff turnover through transfers and promotions has a strong impact on division continuity, experience, and training.

Sixty-four percent (64%) of the officers cited charging policies of the District Attorney as a factor that has adversely affected their drug control activities. The District Attorney, along with other components of the justice system, is overburdened, which affects priorities for cases to be filed. If a drug arrest does not meet the District Attorney's policies regarding sufficient amounts of drugs, the case may be reduced to a lesser charge or not be filed at all. This has become frustrating for police.

Other factors that impeded police efforts were associated with perceptions of police department circumstances, including a lack of information sharing within divisions/units (48%), lack of in-house cooperation (33%), shortage of equipment (33%), insufficient "buy" money (26%), and duplication of efforts (26%).

Table 65

FACTORS THAT IMPEDE DRUG CONTROL REDUCTION OFFICER SURVEYS 1989

	Percent of Respondents
• Jail crowding	92%
• Staff shortages	78%
• D.A. charging policies	64%
• Lack of information sharing within divisions	48%
• Lack of in-house cooperation	33%
• Equipment shortage	33%
• Insufficient "buy" money	26%
• Duplication of efforts	26%
TOTAL	**91**

Reducing Drug Abuse

Responding to an open-ended question that asked officers the single most important thing that could reduce drug abuse, 42% of the officers identified the need to change laws and policies regarding punishment (Table 66). This response also included reference to jail crowding and the inability to "send a message to the offender" because of insufficient jail space. Several officers stated that drug sales should result in mandatory punishment. The general feeling expressed in this response category was that users and dealers perceive that nothing will happen to them and the system must be more restrictive. In the past several years, the California legislature has enacted many statutes that have increased penalties for drug-related convictions. However, jail and state prison crowding often effect actual custody decisions. Just over one-quarter of the officers (28%) stated that the demand for drugs must be reduced through early education efforts and 5% noted that the source for drugs must be addressed. Other responses were associated with the need for social change in basic values and attitudes associated with self esteem, changes in economic conditions, and the need for available, affordable treatment.

Table 66

SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR TO REDUCE DRUG ABUSE OFFICER SURVEYS 1989

• Modify punishment	42%
• Reduce demand through early education	28%
• Reduce source	5%
• Other	25%
TOTAL	**91**

Measuring Effectiveness of Police Efforts

Thirty-seven (37) officers in 1991 responded to these questions: "What is the most important indicator of police effectiveness in reducing drug use and sales?" "How do you know if you are being effective?" (Table 67). Nearly half of the officers (46%) identified "decreased activity" or reduced visibility of sellers and users as a means to measure their efforts. Comments included:

- "There is less dealing on the street."
- "Locations move from point to point as people run from police."
- "Sellers are forced to sell out of houses. Selling on street corners is not as frequent."

It is of interest that this type of information was most likely to be mentioned by officers, yet it is not an indicator that can be analyzed in an objective fashion with quantitative measures. With San Diego's participation in the Drug Market Analysis project sponsored by the National Institute of Justice (1990), this information may be compiled to compare with officers' perceptions.

About one out of five officers (22%) stated that input from citizens provided a means to understand how they were doing. This included direct feedback and a decline in the number of citizen complaints. Sixteen percent (16%), or six officers, cited declines in serious crimes, information from suspects and informants, and changes in price, purity, or availability of drugs as indicators of police effectiveness. Informants advise police when sellers are being more cautious about whom they sell to and when it is more difficult to obtain drugs. Officers feel their efforts are effective when there is a decline in offenses such as assaults, robberies, and drive-by shootings. The impact, though, is usually temporary, according to officers. Increases in the price of drugs and declines in purity are signs that drugs are not as available.

Table 67

INDICATORS OF EFFECTIVENESS OF DRUG CONTROL EFFORTS OFFICER SURVEYS 1991

Question: What is the most important indicator of police effectiveness in reducing drug use and sales?

Indicators	Percent of Respondents (multiple responses)
• Decreased activity/less visibility of users and sellers/change in locations	46%
• Citizen response: Feedback and/or decline in complaints	22%
• Change in serious crimes (assault, robbery, shootings)	16%
• Informants and suspects inform police that drug activity is down	16%
• Changes in price/purity/availability	16%
• Increase in number of arrests	11%
TOTAL	**37**

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Overall, 69% of the study cases resulted in charges filed and 50% of the defendants were convicted. The data show that prosecution and conviction rates for the three specialized divisions, CAT, Narcotics Section, and SED, were higher than the figures for the entire City and the County. In addition, the undercover detective divisions prosecuted and convicted a higher percentage of arrestees than the primarily uniformed SED divisions, due to the strategies employed and the drug offenders targeted. The logit regression models indicate that the factors that contributed to successful prosecution in the study cases were the highest charge and the strategy employed. Felony drug offenders and those arrested through the buy/bust strategy were more likely to have charges filed which resulted in conviction. These arrests also resulted in more custody sentences, including prison.

In terms of other consequences for offenders, the undercover CAT and Narcotics Section officers also seized property in a higher proportion of cases, which is related to the more extensive use of search warrants. Also, drug seizures were generally larger quantities in cases involving search warrants.

In survey responses, police officers elaborated on the use of specific strategies for types of drug users and dealers. They suggested that street enforcement efforts, such as routine patrol and sweeps, are most appropriate for low-level users. For street dealers, they felt that the buy/bust is also effective. With medium to high-level dealers, more sophisticated techniques were seen as effective, including wiretaps, review of financial records, search warrants, body wires, and the use of informants.

With regard to the CAT grant objectives, the data confirm that CAT officers targeted crack dealers, and that they were more successful than Narcotics Section officers in filing charges and obtaining convictions in their cases. Also, property seizure rates were somewhat higher.

In conclusion, the undercover operations resulted in greater consequences for those arrested. However, a relatively high percentage of cases were dropped by the police and prosecutor. This may be partly associated with dropping charges for informants who assist in other cases, but it is also related to the covert nature of drug activity and the types of strategies employed. The filing and conviction rates were lower for cases involving search warrants. These are cases that generally take considerably longer to investigate than buy/busts and are less likely to result in successful prosecution. This suggests that the type of strategies employed in each case should be evaluated to determine if a buy/bust will provide the desired results, or if more time consuming and costly investigative strategies are needed, such as developing informants and information to support search warrants. Also, training is an important element in drug investigations, including knowledge of drug laws and court decisions regarding police operations, characteristics of drugs and drug offenders, and investigative strategies. Finally, coordination with the prosecutor is essential in both understanding the guidelines used for filing cases and providing the necessary information to support the filing of charges and conviction.

Lack of jail space was a condition perceived by over 90% of the officers as hampering their efforts to control drug use and sales. Crowding in the San Diego jails precludes pretrial custody of most arrestees except the most serious offenders. This situation also contributes to a large number of defendants who do not appear for hearings. Officers felt that offenders are no longer accountable for their actions and thus continue their illegal behavior with little thought of punishment. Other areas that negatively affect police efforts as mentioned by police officers included: shortage of personnel (78%), charging policies of the prosecutor (64%), lack of information-sharing within the police department (48%), and lack of in-house cooperation (33%).

The most frequent officer response to how drug abuse could be reduced was the need to change laws and modify punishment (42%). Again this was

characterized by ensuring offender accountability with some jail time. Early education efforts to reduce the demand for drugs was mentioned by 28% of those surveyed.

Forty-six percent (46%) of the officers surveyed identified "decreased activity" of open drug sales as a measure of their effectiveness. Others noted that a reduction in citizen complaints would signify that they had had a positive impact. Other signs of effective police activity included a reduction in assaults, robberies, and drive-by shootings. Officers admitted that these reductions are usually only temporary and may be an indication that crime is merely being displaced. This research was not expected to measure outcomes with respect to either crimes or drug dealing activity in specific areas. Such a study, with built-in controls, should be carried out when drug control efforts are either intensive or long term in specific target areas. The department's Drug Market Analysis (DMA) project could be of assistance.

Drug enforcement is an important element in combatting drug trafficking, but many experts, including the offenders themselves, suggest that drug enforcement should be only one component of efforts to reduce drug use and sales. Sufficient education and treatment opportunities are needed to reduce the demand for drugs.

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APPENDICES

ADDITIONAL INFO NEEDED
___ Search Warrant ___ Court No
___ Lab Report ___ Other
___ Pending Court Disps ___

CRACK ABATEMENT TEAM
CASE TRACKING FORM
JUNE TO NOVEMBER 1989

Initials ___
___
___

___ Notify Warrant
___ Arrest Warrant

*Key Case Only

NAME ___ (Last / First / Middle)

AKA'S ___

___

___

HT___ WT___ HAIR___ EYE___ POB___

SS# ___ DL# ___

REPORT/CASE NUMBERS

CITATION ___ FBI ___

BOOKING ___ PROSECUTOR ___

SYSTEM ___ MUNI. CRT. ___

CII ___ SUP. CRT. ___

I.D. NUMBER 1 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

ORDER OF ARREST 6 ___ ___

I. ARREST INFORMATION

A. DIVISION
1 Primary
2 Assist in Investigation
3 Assist in Arrest

CAT Team 8 ___
Narc Section (other) ___
WECAN/SEU/SED ___
NTF ___
Patrol ___
Other Unit ___ ___
Outside Agency ___ 14 ___

B. ARREST DATE 15 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

C. BEAT 21 ___ ___ ___

D. HIGHEST CHARGE (BCS Code) 24 ___ ___ ___
___ ___ ___
TYPE OF DRUG

E. OTHER CHARGES (BCS Code)
___ 28 ___ ___ ___
___ ___ ___ ___
___ ___ ___ ___
___ 35 ___ ___ ___

F. STATUS
1 Cited 2 Booked 41 ___
3 Other ___

G. L.E. DISPOSITION ___
1 Released
2 Turned Over ___
3 Complaint Requested
4 Other ___

H. RACE/ETHNICITY ___
1 White 4 Oriental
2 Hispanic 5 Other
3 Black ___
9 Unknown

I. SEX 46 ___
1 Male 2 Female

J. AGE ___ ___

K. DATE OF BIRTH 47 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
Other DOB's ___
___

L. PLACE OF BIRTH 55 ___
1 U.S. 2 Mexico
3 Other ___

M. CITY OF RESIDENCE ___ ___
___

N. OCCUPATION 58 ___ ___
___

O. EMPLOYED 63 ___
1 Yes 2 No

P. NARCOTICS USER 68 ___
1 Yes 2 No

Q. UNDOCUMENTED ALIEN
___ Foreign POB
___ Age 25 or less
___ No address/transient
___ Not emp./service job
___ Interpreter needed
___ No I.D. (INS # ___)
___ Admit
___ U.A. box checked
___ Other ___

R. INDICATORS SUGGEST 80 ___
1 Citizen
2 Undoc. Alien
3 Alien w/Permission
9 Unknown

II. SHERIFF'S JAIL INFORMATION

A. INITIAL CUSTODY (Days) ___ ___ ___
Book Date _____
Release Date _____

B. CUSTODY DECISION ___
1 Released, no bail
2 Bailed Out
3 Bail Denied
4 Did Not Post Bail
5 Other _____

III. PROSECUTOR/COURT INFORMATION

A. PROSECUTOR DISPOSITION ___
1 Complaint Filed
2 Complaint Rejected
3 Referred to City Attorney
4 Other _____
_____

B. REASON FOR REJECT ___ ___
_____
_____
_____

C. HIGHEST COMPLAINT CHARGE ___ ___ ___
(BCS Code)
_____

D. OTHER CHARGES (BCS Code)
_____ ___ ___ ___
_____ ___ ___ ___
_____ ___ ___ ___
_____ ___ ___ ___

E. NO. OF DEFENDANTS ___ ___

F. INDIGENT DEFENSE ___
1 Yes 2 No
3 Not on Screen

G. FINAL DISPOSITION ___
1 Guilty Plea
2 Convicted
3 Acquitted
4 Dismissed
5 FTA/Pending
6 Diversion
7 Other _____

H. HIGHEST CONVICTION CHARGE ___ ___ ___
(BCS Code)
_____

I. OTHER CHARGES (BCS Code)
_____ ___ ___ ___
_____ ___ ___ ___
_____ ___ ___ ___
_____ ___ ___ ___

J. SENTENCE ___
1 Probation
2 Probation/Jail
3 Jail
4 Prison
5 Other State Institution _____
6 FTA/Pending
7 Diversion
8 Other _____

K. TIME ORDERED
Local Custody ___ ___ ___
Probation ___ ___ ___ ___
State Institution ___ ___ ___ ___
Credit Time Served ___ ___ ___

L. DATE OF FINAL
COURT ACTION ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

M. NUMBER OF FTA B/W's ___ ___
(Tracking Case)

IV. CRIMINAL HISTORY

A. FELONY DRUG SALES
Cocaine/Opiates ___ ___
Dangerous Drugs ___ ___
Other _____ ___ ___

B. MISDEMEANOR DRUG SALES ___ ___

C. FELONY DRUG POSSESSION
Cocaine/Opiates ___ ___
Dangerous Drugs ___ ___
Other _____ ___ ___

D. MISDEMEANOR DRUG POSSESSION ___ ___

E. OTHER FELONY DRUG ___ ___

F. OTHER MISDEMEANOR DRUG ___ ___

G. OTHER FELONY ___ ___

H. OTHER MISDEMEANOR ___ ___

ID No. _____

*S. LOCATION OF ARREST (N.S. ONLY)

Number 81 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

Street 87 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

77 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

Type 87 ___ ___ ___

City _____

City Code 91 ___ ___ ___ ___

Zip Code 98 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

Description _____

_____

*T. LOCATION OF OFFENSE (If different from arrest)

Number 100 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

Street 108 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

118 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

Type 128 ___ ___ ___

City _____

City Code 130 ___ ___ ___ ___

Zip Code 134 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

Description _____

_____

U. ARRESTING OFFICER

_____

V. OFFICER I.D. 139 ___ ___ ___ ___

W. GANG MEMBER 143 ___

1 Yes 2 No 3 Suspected

*X. SOURCE OF INFO. 144 ___

1 Citizen 2 Informant 145 ___

3 Officer

4 Other _____

*Y. DATE CASE INITIATED 146 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

*Z. STRATEGIES

1	Search Warrant	152 ___
2	Officer Buy/Sell	___
3	Informant Buy/Sell	___
4	Body wire	___
5	# of Buy(s)	___
6	Buy/bust	___
7	# of Sell(s)/Bust	___
8	Suspect Approach	___
9	Observation	160 ___
10	Consent Search	___
11	Sweep	___
12	Surveillance	___
13	Wiretap	___
14	Arrest Warrant Executed	___
15	Other _____	169 ___

*AA. GRAMS OF DRUGS SEIZED

Rock/Crack Coc.	167 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
Cocaine	174 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
Meth/Amphetamine	181 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
Meth Oil (qts)	188 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
PCP	195 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
Marijuana	202 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
Heroin/Black Tar	209 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
LSD	216 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
Ephedrine	223 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___
Other	230 ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ . ___ ___

_____

Description _____

_____

Property Tag # _____

_____

*BB. TYPE OF ASSETS SEIZED

Currency	237 ___
Vehicles	___
Guns	___
Other _____	___

_____

*CC. CURRENCY SEIZED

241 $ ___ ___ ___ , ___ ___ ___ , ___ ___ ___

*DD. NUMBER OF WEAPONS SEIZED

Automatic weapon	250 ___ ___
Other rifle/shotgun	___ ___
Other pistol/revolver	___ ___
Other weapon	254 ___ ___

_____ _____

_____

*EE. BUY MONEY RECOVERED

259 $ ___ ___ ___ , ___ ___ ___

NOTES - Brief description of case

APPENDIX B

January 1991

DRUG CONTROL STRATEGIES SURVEY

The SANDAG Criminal Justice Research Division is conducting research for the justice department about tactics and strategies to control illicit drug sales and use. As a police officer involved in this effort, your ideas and opinions are important. Please complete the following survey. It is not necessary to sign your name. Your assistance is appreciated.

1. Current assignment (CIRCLE ONE)

   1 Special Enforcement Division
   2 Narcotics Section
   3 CAT (Crack Abatement Team)
   4 Gang Detectives
   5 Other (please describe)_____

2. Time in current assignment:

   __ __ Years __ __ Months

3. Please rank order, from 1 to 8, the following drugs with respect to prevalence in the City of San Diego using number 1 as the most prevalent. (PLEASE PUT A DIFFERENT NUMBER IN EACH SPACE.)

   1 ___ PCP
   2 ___ Cocaine
   3 ___ Heroin
   4 ___ Crack
   5 ___ Methamphetamine
   6 ___ LSD
   7 ___ Marijuana
   8 ___ Other (Please specify)_____

4. Using the frequencies below, please indicate how often your unit conducts the following activities. (PUT ONLY ONE NUMBER IN EACH SPACE.)

1 = daily
2 = 3 to 4 times a week
3 = 1 to 2 times a week
4 = less than once a week
5 = less than once a month
6 = never

1 ___ Intelligence gathering on gang-involved drug suspects
2 ___ Visible saturation of target areas
3 ___ Utilizing informants
4 ___ Informing and educating residents about drugs and crimes
5 ___ Conducting controlled buys (more than 1 buy)
6 ___ Serving search warrants
7 ___ Street sweeps
8 ___ Responding to citizen complaints
9 ___ Wiretaps
10 ___ Surveillance
11 ___ Sell-bust
12 ___ One time buy-bust
13 ___ Use of body wires
14 ___ Arrest after observation on routine patrol
15 ___ Searching financial records
16 ___ Other (please specify) _____

5. Which of the following groups are the *primary* targets of your division? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

1 Low-level street users
2 Low-level street sellers
3 Gang-involved drug offenders
5 Mid-level producers, distributors, and dealers (non-gang)
5 High-level traffickers (organized crime)
6 Other (please specify)_____

6. How are the target areas identified for investigations by your division? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

1 Citizen complaints
2 Informants
3 Patrol division
4 Other narcotics divisions
5 Crime analysis unit
6 Gang Unit
7 Other (please specify)_____

7. Compared to one year ago, is the current street level *price* of the following drugs higher, lower, or about the same?

	Higher	Lower	About the Same
Heroin	____	____	____
Crack	____	____	____
Cocaine (powder)	____	____	____
Methamphetamine	____	____	____
Marijuana	____	____	____

8. Compared to one year ago, is the street level quality *(purity)* of the drugs more pure, less pure, or about the same?

	More Pure	Less Pure	About the Same
Heroin	____	____	____
Crack	____	____	____
Cocaine (powder)	____	____	____
Methamphetamine	____	____	____
Marijuana	____	____	____

9. Compare to one year ago, are the following drugs now more available, less available, or just as available as a year ago?

	More Available	Less Available	Just as Available
Heroin	____	____	____
Crack	____	____	____
Cocaine (powder)	____	____	____
Methamphetamine	____	____	____
Marijuana	____	____	____

10. In your opinion, what is the most important indicator of police effectiveness in reducing drug sales and use? In other words, how do you know if you are being effective?

_____

_____

_____

_____

YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS SURVEY IS MUCH APPRECIATED!

January, 1991

NARCOTICS OFFICERS SURVEY

The SANDAG Criminal Justice Research Division is conducting research for the justice department about tactics and strategies to control illicit drug sales and use. As a police officer involved in this effort, your ideas and opinions are important. Please complete the following survey. It is not necessary to sign your name. Your assistance is appreciated.

1. Current assignment (CIRCLE ONE)

   1 Special Enforcement Division (SED)

   2 Special Response Team (SED)

   3 Street Gang Detective Unit (SED)

   4 Tactical Motorcycle Unit (SED)

   5 Narcotics Section

   6 CAT (Crack Abatement Team)

2. Time in current assignment:

   __ __ Years __ __ Months

3. Previous Assignment (CIRCLE ONE)

   1 Patrol (assignment) _____

   2 Investigations (specify unit)_____

   3 Traffic

   4 Other (specify)_____

4. Time with San Diego Police Department

   1 Less than one year

   2 One year to less than three years

   3 Three to five years

   4 More than five years

5. Rank

1 Lieutenant

2 Sergeant

3 Agent

4 Detective

5 Patrol Officer

6. Please check all types of training you have received relative to your current assignment and whether it was "on-the-job" training or external training. (DO NOT INCLUDE ACADEMY TRAINING.)

		On-the-Job	Advanced Officer Training (AOT)	Outside Agency Training
1	Symptoms of drug use	____	____	____
2	Drug identification	____	____	____
3	Drug Laws	____	____	____
4	Search & seizure laws	____	____	____
5	Undercover techniques	____	____	____
6	Use and handling of informants	____	____	____
7	Surveillance Techniques	____	____	____
8	Gathering and utilizing intelligence	____	____	____
9	Evidence handling	____	____	____
10	Drug concealment techniques	____	____	____
11	Firearms identification	____	____	____
12	Securing search warrants	____	____	____
13	Other (list)	____	____	____
	_____	____	____	____
	_____	____	____	____
	_____	____	____	____

7. Please rank order, from 1 to 8, the following drugs with respect to prevalence in the City of San Diego using number 1 as the most prevalent. (PLEASE PUT A DIFFERENT NUMBER IN EACH SPACE.)

1 ___ PCP
2 ___ Cocaine
3 ___ Heroin
4 ___ Crack
5 ___ Methamphetamine
6 ___ LSD
7 ___ Marijuana
8 ___ Other (please specify)_____

8. Using the frequencies below, please indicate how often your unit conducts the following activities. (PUT ONLY ONE NUMBER IN EACH SPACE.)

1 = daily
2 = 3 to 4 times a week
3 = 1 to 2 times a week
4 = less than once a week
5 = less than once a month
6 = never

1 ___ Intelligence gathering on gang-involved drug suspects
2 ___ Visible saturation of target areas
3 ___ Utilizing informants
4 ___ Informing and educating residents about drugs and crimes
5 ___ Conducting controlled buys (more than 1 buy)
6 ___ Serving search warrants
7 ___ Street sweeps
8 ___ Responding to citizen complaints
9 ___ Wiretaps
10 ___ Surveillance
11 ___ Sell-bust
12 ___ One time buy-bust
13 ___ Use of body wires
14 ___ Arrest after observation on routine patrol
15 ___ Searching financial records
16 ___ Other (please specify) _____

9. Which strategies do you think are most effective with which types of drug-involved offenders? Place a number next to each strategy that corresponds to type of user/seller.

1 = Low-level drug user
2 = Low-level street seller
3 = Mid-level drug dealer
4 = High-level drug trafficker (organized crime)

1 ___ Intelligence gathering on gang-involved drug suspects
2 ___ Visible saturation of target areas
3 ___ Utilizing informants
4 ___ Informing and educating residents about drugs and crimes
5 ___ Conducting controlled buys (more than 1 buy)
6 ___ Serving search warrants
7 ___ Street sweeps
8 ___ Responding to citizen complaints
9 ___ Wiretaps
10 ___ Surveillance
11 ___ Sell-bust
12 ___ One time buy-bust
13 ___ Use of body wires
14 ___ Arrest after observation on routine patrol
15 ___ Searching financial records
16 ___ Other (please specify) _____

10. Which of the following characteristics of the drug market are <u>most</u> likely to be impacted by <u>your</u> division's activities? Please rank 1 to 4, with number 1 being most important. (PUT A DIFFERENT NUMBER IN EACH SPACE.)

1 ___ Price of drugs
2 ___ Demand for drugs
3 ___ Purity of drugs
4 ___ Availability of drugs

11. Which of the following groups are the primary targets of your division? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

    1 Low-level street users
    2 Low-level street sellers
    3 Gang-involved drug offenders
    4 Mid-level producers, distributors, and dealers (non-gang)
    5 High-level traffickers (organized crime)
    6 Other (please specify)_____

12. How are the target areas identified for investigations by your division? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

    1 Citizen complaints
    2 Informants
    3 Patrol division
    4 Other narcotics divisions
    5 Crime analysis unit
    6 Gang unit
    7 Other (please specify) _____

13. Of the factors listed, which, if any, impact this division's ability to reduce drug-related crime. (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)

    1 Jail crowding
    2 Manpower shortage within division
    3 Lack of cooperation with other in-house divisions/units
    4 Lack of cooperation with narcotics divisions in outside agencies
    5 Equipment shortage
    6 Insufficient sharing of information among different divisions/units
    7 Insufficient "buy" money
    8 Duplication of efforts among divisions/units
    9 D.A. charging of policies concerning drug arrests
    10 Other (specify) _____

14. For those you noted, which (one) is most important in impacting the effectiveness of your division? _____

15. What personal characteristics are unique to crack dealers and users, compared to dealers and users of other drugs?

Dealers: _____

_____

Users: _____

_____

16. Do enforcement strategies differ for crack dealers and users compared to users/dealers of other drugs?

1 Yes 2 No If yes, please explain.

_____

_____

_____

17. Below is a list of factors that some people think are reasons why people take drugs. HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK THEY ARE IN CAUSING PEOPLE TO ABUSE DRUGS?

		Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
1	Being raised in a neighborhood where people use drugs	1	2	3
2	lack of supervision by parents	1	2	3
3	A history of delinquency	1	2	3
4	Dropping out of school	1	2	3
5	Broken homes	1	2	3
6	Low I.Q.	1	2	3

		Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
7	Emotional/psychological problems	1	2	3
8	Being an abused child	1	2	3
9	Bad schools	1	2	3
10	Need for excitement/kicks	1	2	3
11	Desire for pleasure	1	2	3
12	Poor self-esteem	1	2	3
13	Hanging out with people who do drugs	1	2	3
14	Peer pressure	1	2	3
15	Curiosity/experimentation	1	2	3
16	Other (specify) _____	1	2	3

18. How important do you think each of the following factors are in stopping or reducing drug use and sales?

		Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
1	Increased likelihood of arrest	1	2	3
2	Increase likelihood of conviction	1	2	3
3	Increase likelihood of jail time	1	2	3
4	Mandatory urine testing at arrest	1	2	3
5	Increased jail time when convicted	1	2	3
6	Mandatory drug treatment	1	2	3
7	More drug treatment programs	1	2	3
8	More education about the health dangers of drug use	1	2	3
9	Other (please specify) _____ _____ _____	1	2	3

19. Which areas of the city are drug users and sellers most likely to be arrested?

AREAS

Users	Sellers
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

20. In your opinion, what is the single most important thing that could be done to reduce drug abuse?

_____

_____

_____

YOUR COOPERATION IS APPRECIATED.

CAT INTERVIEW 1989

Interviewer Initials _____ Date of Interview _____

Booking Number _____

_____

_____

INTERPRETER 1 Yes 2 No Charges-section and description _____

INTRODUCTION

HI, MY NAME IS _____. I'M DOING RESEARCH FOR THE GOVERNMENT ABOUT DRUGS. I AM NOT PART OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT. WHATEVER YOU TELL ME IS CONFIDENTIAL AND WILL NOT BE SHARED WITH THE POLICE. FIRST, I'D LIKE TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU.

1. Male 1 Female 2

1a. White 1
Black 2
Hispanic 3
Other 4 _____ (specify)

2. HOW OLD ARE YOU? _____

3. WHAT IS THE HIGHEST GRADE YOU COMPLETED IN SCHOOL? (1 - 18; never attended school = 0) _____
If less than grade 12 ask: DID YOU GET A G.E.D.? Yes 1 No 2

4. ARE YOU CURRENTLY:

Married	1	Living with someone	4
Single, never married	2	Widowed	5
Separated, divorced	3		

5. IN THE PAST MONTH, WERE YOU MAINLY?

Unemployed	0	On welfare, SSI, unemployment	6
Employed, full-time	1	Dealing drugs	7
What kind of job? _____		Other illegal activity _____ (specify)	8
Employed part-time	2	Other _____ (specify)	9
In school	3		
In jail or prison	4		
Housewife	5		

6. IN THE PAST MONTH, HOW MUCH MONEY DID YOU RECEIVE FROM ALL LEGAL SOURCES, e.g. wages, food stamps, welfare, net take home?
___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

7. HOW MUCH MONEY DID YOU RECEIVE FROM ILLEGAL SOURCES? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

8. NOW I'M GOING TO READ A LIST OF DRUGS AND I'D LIKE YOU TO TELL ME IF YOU HAVE EVER TRIED THEM: (If yes, ask) HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU FIRST USED? HAVE YOU USED IN THE LAST 30 DAYS?

	Have you ever tried? If Yes = 1 If No = 2	Age at first use	Have you used in the last 30 days? If Yes = 1 If No = 2	If Yes, # of days used in the last 30 days	If No, month/year last used
1. Alcohol					
2. Marijuana					
3. Heroin					
4. Cocaine					
5. Crack					
6. Crystal					
7. PCP					

(If never used, go to question 30.)

9. (If used cocaine) HOW DO YOU USUALLY USE? (circle one)

Snort cocaine	1	Inject cocaine only	5
Freebase cocaine	2	Inject cocaine with heroin (speedball)	6
Smoke cocaine, not crack	3	Other (specify) _____	7
Smoke crack	4		

10. OF THE DRUGS THAT HAVE BEEN MENTIONED, WHICH DO YOU USE MOST? ___ ___ ___ (use numbers from above)

(Ask only if used in the last 30 days. If not, go to question 30).

11. HOW FAR DO YOU USUALLY HAVE TO GO TO GET THE DRUGS YOU HAVE USED IN THE LAST 30 DAYS?	MJ	Heroin	Cocaine	Crack	Crystal	PCP
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

1 = less than 1 mile 2 = 1-3 miles 3 = Nowhere, supplied by friends 4 = more than 3 miles

	MJ	Heroin	Cocaine	Crack	Crystal	PCP
12. DO YOU USUALLY GET THE DRUGS THAT YOU HAVE USED WITHIN THE LAST 30 DAYS FROM THE SAME LOCATION? 1 = Yes 2 = No (EXPLAIN)	____	____	____	____	____	____
12a. WHAT LOCATION? (most often) 1 = Private residence 2 = Public building 3 = Public outside area (park, street corner) 4 = Other ____	____	____	____	____	____	____
13. HOW MUCH DO YOU USUALLY PAY?	____	____	____	____	____	____
13a. IF 0, WHY? ____						
14. FOR WHAT AMOUNT?	____	____	____	____	____	____
15. IN THE LAST 6 MONTHS, HAS THE PRICE GOTTEN HIGHER? 1 = higher 2 = lower 3 = stayed the same	____	____	____	____	____	____
16. WHEN DID YOU LAST BUY THE DRUGS YOU USED IN THE LAST 30 DAYS? 1 = less than 2 hours 2 = 3-47 hours 3 = 2-7 days 4 = 1-2 weeks 5 = more than 2 weeks	____	____	____	____	____	____
17. DID YOU GET YOUR DRUGS FROM THE SAME PERSON AS BEFORE? 1 = Yes 2 = No	____	____	____	____	____	____
18. DID YOU NEGOTIATE THE PRICE? (If yes, explain) 1 = Yes 2 = No Explain ____	____	____	____	____	____	____
19. HOW LONG DOES YOUR SUPPLY LAST BEFORE YOU NEED MORE? 1 = 12 hours or less 2 = 13-47 hours 3 = 2-3 days 4 = 4-7 days 5 = more than 7 days	____	____	____	____	____	____
20. ARE YOU EVER NOT ABLE TO GET THE DRUGS THAT YOU HAVE USED IN THE LAST 30 DAYS? (If yes, explain) 1 = Yes 2 = No Explain ____	____	____	____	____	____	____
21. IS THE PERSON YOU GET YOUR DRUGS FROM A . . . (Read responses) 1 = Friend 2 = Drug buddy (a friend you share drugs with) 3 = Dealer 4 = Other (specify) ____	____	____	____	____	____	____
22. IF THE PRICE GOES UP A LOT, WHAT WILL YOU DO? 1 = Use less 2 = Switch to another drug 3 = Quit using 4 = Never buys/will not affect user 5 = Other (specify) ____	____	____	____	____	____	____

23. IN WHAT AREA(S) OF THE CITY DO YOU GET YOUR DRUGS? ____

24. WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOURSELF AS A REGULAR USER OF DRUGS (once a week or more) OR AN OCCASIONAL RECREATIONAL USER (once a month or less)? ____
1 = Regular 2 = Occasional

25. IN THE LAST MONTH, HOW MUCH MONEY DID YOU SPEND PER WEEK (on the average) FOR DRUGS? $____ ____ ____ ____ ____

26. (If more than legal income, ask) HOW DO YOU GET MONEY TO BUY DRUGS? ____

27. WHAT IS THE BEST THING ABOUT USING DRUGS?

Getting high, feels good	1	Escape from reality	5
Have more energy	2	Other ____	6
Kills appetite	3	____	
Relax, reduce stress	4		

28. WHAT ARE THE WORST THINGS ABOUT USING DRUGS? (Circle all that apply)

Getting arrested	1	Risk of AIDS	7
Going to jail	2	High price of drugs	8
Leads to poor health	3	Side effects	9
Messes people up(can't work, etc.)	4	Addictive	10
Danger, risk of getting hurt, shot, etc.	5	Other	11
Risk of bad stuff	6	(specify) ____	

29. WHAT WOULD IT TAKE FOR YOU TO STOP USING DRUGS? ____

30. IS YOUR CURRENT ARREST FOR?

Under the influence of controlled substance	1
Possession of controlled substance/includes buying	2
Sales of controlled substance	3
Other (describe) ____	4

31. HOW MANY TIMES BEFORE HAVE YOU BEEN ARRESTED? (If 0, go to Q39)	0	1	2	3	4 or more
32. HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU BEEN CONVICTED?	0	1	2	3	4 or more

33 HAVE YOU SERVED TIME IN JAIL OR PRISON?

No	1	Yes, prison	3
Yes, jail	2	Yes, both	4

34. (Other than today) WHAT TYPES OF CRIMES HAVE YOU BEEN ARRESTED FOR? (Circle all that apply)

DUI	1	Person/Violent	4
Drugs	2	Other	5
Property	3		

(If never arrested for drugs, go to question 39)

(If drugs) HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU BEEN ARRESTED FOR:

35. Being under the influence
0 1 2 3 4 5+

36. Sales of drugs
0 1 2 3 4 5+

HOW MANY CONVICTIONS FOR:

37. Being under the influence
0 1 2 3 4 5+

38. Sales of drugs
0 1 2 3 4 5+

39. HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU COMMITTED YOUR FIRST CRIME OF ANY KIND? (Even if you weren't caught) _____

40. WHAT WAS THE CRIME? _____

DRUG SALES

	MJ	Heroin	Cocaine	Crack	Crystal	PCP
41. HOW OFTEN DO YOU SELL THE FOLLOWING DRUGS?	____	____	____	____	____	____
42. WHEN DID YOU LAST SELL?	____	____	____	____	____	____
43. HOW MUCH DID YOU SELL THE FOLLOWING DRUGS FOR?	____	____	____	____	____	____
44. FOR WHAT AMOUNT?	____	____	____	____	____	____
45 HOW FAR DO YOU USUALLY GO TO SELL?	____	____	____	____	____	____
46. ABOUT HOW MANY PEOPLE DO YOU SELL TO ON A REGULAR BASIS (more than once a week)?	____	____	____	____	____	____
47. IN THE LAST 6 MONTHS, HAVE YOU SOLD DRUGS FOR _____ COMPARED TO SIX MONTHS BEFORE?	____	____	____	____	____	____
48 HOW LONG DOES YOUR SUPPLY LAST BEFORE YOU NEED MORE TO SELL?	____	____	____	____	____	____
49. IF THE PRICE GOES UP A LOT, WHAT WILL YOU DO? (Give responses if necessary)	____	____	____	____	____	____
50. IN YOUR LAST SALE, DID YOU NEGOTIATE THE PRICE?	____	____	____	____	____	____

41. HOW OFTEN DO YOU SELL THE FOLLOWING DRUGS?

Never	0 (go to Q53)	2-3 days per week	3
Daily	1	one day per week	4
4-6 days per week	2	1-3 days per month	5

42. WHEN DID YOU LAST SELL?

In the last 23 hrs	0	1-2 weeks	3
1-3 days	1	More than 2 weeks	4
4-6 days	2		

43. HOW MUCH DID YOU SELL THE FOLLOWING DRUGS FOR?

44. FOR WHAT AMOUNT?

45 HOW FAR DO YOU USUALLY GO TO SELL?

Nowhere - sells from house	0	1-3 miles	3
Less than one mile	1	4 or more miles	4

46. ABOUT HOW MANY PEOPLE DO YOU SELL TO ON A REGULAR BASIS (more than once a week)?
5 or less 1 6-10 2 More than 10 3

47. IN THE LAST 6 MONTHS, HAVE YOU SOLD DRUGS FOR _____ COMPARED TO SIX MONTHS BEFORE?
A higher price 1 Lower price 2 The same price 3

48 HOW LONG DOES YOUR SUPPLY LAST BEFORE YOU NEED MORE TO SELL?

Less than 1 day	1	1 week	4
1-3 days	2	More than one week	5
4-6 days	3		

49. IF THE PRICE GOES UP A LOT, WHAT WILL YOU DO? (Give responses if necessary)

Buy less	1	Stop selling	4
Sell to fewer people	2	Other (specify)	5
Switch to another drug	3	_____	

50. IN YOUR LAST SALE, DID YOU NEGOTIATE THE PRICE?
Yes 1 No 2
(If yes, explain) _____

51. WHICH DRUG(S) DO YOU SELL MOST? ____ ____ ____ ____ (use number)

52 IN WHICH AREA(S) OF THE CITY? _____

53. WHAT'S THE BEST THING ABOUT SELLING DRUGS ? (1 response)
Money 1 Get drugs 2 Drugs and Money 3 Other (specify) 4 _____

54. WHAT'S THE WORST THING ABOUT SELLING DRUGS? (1 response)
Getting arrested 1 Being in jail 2 Risk/Danger 3 Other (specify) 4 _____

55. DO YOU THINK THE RISK IS WORTH IT? Yes 1 No 2

56. WHAT WOULD IT TAKE FOR YOU TO STOP SELLING DRUGS? _____

57. IF YOU HAVE EVER WORKED FOR SOMEBODY OR A MEMBER OF A GROUP IN DRUG DEALING, WHAT PART DID YOU PLAY? (Interviewer: Please underline the specific roles subject plays in drug business). DID YOU:

_____ Has never worked for a group.

Definitions of various activities in drug dealing:			
	No	Yes	1. Sell -Sell drugs to customers face-to-face.
	No	Yes	2. Steer Tout or Hawk - Help find customers and transport and money between buyers and sellers.
	No	Yes	3. Street Support Roles - Lookout, runner, holder, guard, servant, for persons who are selling or distributing drugs in public locale.
	No	Yes	4. Indoor Support Roles - Cut, cook up, or package drugs; guard distributors, count money, etc. generally at an indoor location.
	No	Yes	5. Management Roles - Supervise other sellers or function as accountant; act as a crew boss, house connection, lieutenant, or money launderer.
	No	Yes	6. Paraphernalia Distribution (other than needles) - Sell, distribute or rent other items for consuming (e.g. pipes, vials, needles, and other paraphernalia).

58. PLEASE TELL ME ABOUT THE LARGEST GROUP YOU WORKED FOR WHEN DEALING DRUGS.

No	Yes	Did/Does your group have a name?
____mos.	____yrs.	How long has your group existed?
No	Yes	Did/Does your group have a leader or boss?
No	Yes	Did/Does your group have rules?
No	Yes	Did/Does your group have rules of no drug use while selling drugs?
No	Yes	Did/Does your group have its own territory?
No	Yes	Did/Does your group use kids under 18 years old to sell or help in drug dealing?

RISK/BENEFIT

Now, I'd like to get your opinion about how risky you think it is to use and sell drugs. For example:

	ARRESTS FOR: Being under the Influence of Drugs	Sale of Drugs
59. OF 100 PEOPLE, HOW MANY MIGHT BE ARRESTED FOR	_____	_____
60. OF 100 ARRESTS, HOW MANY DO YOU THINK WOULD RESULT IN CONVICTIONS?	_____	_____
61. HOW MANY WOULD RESULT IN JAIL TIME? (of 100 arrests)	_____	_____
62. IF THE RISK OF ARREST WAS DOUBLED, WOULD USE/SALE STILL BE WORTH IT? Yes 1 No 2	_____	_____

63. Now I'm going to read a list of factors that some people think are reasons for why people take drugs. I'd like you to tell me HOW IMPORTANT YOU THINK THEY ARE IN CAUSING PEOPLE TO ABUSE DRUGS. WHAT ABOUT:

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
a. Being raised in a neighborhood where people use drugs	1	2	3
b. Lack of supervision by parents	1	2	3
c. A history of delinquency	1	2	3
d. Dropping out of school	1	2	3
e. Broken homes	1	2	3
f. Low I.Q.	1	2	3
g. Emotional/Psychological problems	1	2	3
h. Being an abused child	1	2	3
i. Bad schools	1	2	3
j. Need for excitement/kicks	1	2	3
k. Desire for pleasure	1	2	3
l. Poor self-esteem	1	2	3
m. Hanging out with people who do drugs	1	2	3
n. Peer pressure	1	2	3
o. Other (specify) _____	1	2	3

64. HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK EACH OF THE FOLLOWING FACTORS ARE IN STOPPING OR REDUCING DRUG USE AND SALES: Think about what might affect you.

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
a. Increase likelihood of arrest	1	2	3
b. Increase likelihood of conviction	1	2	3
c. Increase likelihood of jail time	1	2	3
d. Mandatory urine testing at arrest	1	2	3
e. Increased jail time when convicted	1	2	3
f. Mandatory drug treatment	1	2	3
g. More drug treatment programs	1	2	3
h. More education about the health dangers of drug use	1	2	3
i. What else might reduce drug use? _____ How important?	1	2	3

65. WHAT ABOUT POLICE ACTIONS? HOW IMPORTANT ARE THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS IN STOPPING OR REDUCING DRUG USE? WOULD IT MATTER FOR YOU?

	Not important	Somewhat important	Very important
a. More police on the streets	1	2	3
b. More informants	1	2	3
c. More buy/bust operations	1	2	3
d. More search warrants	1	2	3
e. More walking patrols	1	2	3
f. More seizures of personal property (your car, house)	1	2	3
g. What else could police do? _____ How important?	1	2	3

66. ARE THERE AREAS OF THE CITY WHERE DRUG USE/SALES ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE ARRESTED?
Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3
(specify) _____

67. DO YOU THINK THIS ARREST WILL CHANGE YOUR DRUG USE/SALES ACTIVITY? (Ask only if user/seller)
Yes 1 (How?)
No 2 (Why?)
Don't know 3

68. COMPARED TO THREE MONTHS AGO, DO YOU THINK THERE ARE MORE OR LESS POLICE MAKING DRUG ARRESTS?
More 1
Less 2
About the same 3
Don't know 4
Other 5
_____

69. RATE RESPONDENT RELIABILITY: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 . 9 10
most reliable — not very reliable

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR ANSWERING MY QUESTIONS.

APPENDIX D

LOGIT REGRESSION ANALYSIS

ANALYSIS APPROACH

Multiple regression is a technique that explains how changes in a set of independent variables affect change in a dependent variable. Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression assumes that the dependent variable is continuous and free to take on any value from negative to positive infinity. The dependent variables in this study have only two values, such as being found guilty or not guilty. The problems of using OLS regression techniques with dichotomous dependent variables are well known and have been studied by many researchers (e.g., Goldberger, 1964:248-250; Hanushek and Jackson, 1977:180-187; Aldrich and Nelson, 1984).

A widely used alternative to regression with a dichotomous dependent variable assumes that the relationship between the independent and dichotomous dependent variables follows a logistic curve. This analytic technique is a special case of the general multiple contingency table or log-linear analysis, known as logit analysis. Logit model estimation techniques were selected not only because of the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable, but because most of the independent variables are measured on a nominal scale. Logit models are categorical variable parallels to OLS regression for continuous dependent variables (Goodman, 1972).

The dependent variable is measured as the odds ratio of its expected frequencies. The three-variable case of court disposition (D), citizenship status (C), and offense type (O) is used to illustrate the form and key parameters of the logit model. Court disposition is the dependent variable whose odds (e.g., the ratio of persons not guilty to persons guilty) are a function of citizenship status and offense type. The multiplicative form of the model is:

$$(F_i/F_g) = (\tau^D)^2(\tau^{DC})^2(\tau^{DO})^2(\tau^{DCO})^2 , \quad \text{[Model 1]}$$

where, F = expected frequency;
i = persons found not guilty; and
g = persons found guilty.

The τ (tau) terms represent the effect each variable has on the odds ratio of the dependent variable. The τ in the first term $(\tau^D)^2$ is similar to the grand mean in analysis of variance or the intercept term in a regression equation. It is the baseline odds ratio from which all effects are measured and usually has no

substantive meaning by itself. The second and third terms represent the effects of citizenship and offense type on court disposition. These effects are present if the independent variables are related to the dependent variable. The interaction effect of citizenship and offense type on court disposition is represented by the τ in the last term $(\tau^{DCO})^2$.

In this form of the logit model, the expected odds ratio of the dependent variable is expressed as the product of a series of terms. Aside from the intercept or constant term, the magnitude of an effect (τ) is measured as a departure from 1.00. Effects of 1.00 have no impact on the odds ratio. An effect greater than 1.00 indicates that the odds ratio, for a particular term in the model, is larger than the overall (marginal) odds ratio. Conversely, an effect less than 1.00 shows that the term has an odds ratio lower than the marginal ratio. Although not shown in the equation, a τ parameter is estimated for each category of an independent variable or interaction term. The constraints necessary to estimate τ insure that the product of the τ's across categories of an independent variable equals 1 (Knoke and Burke, 1980:13).

The usual criterion variable analyzed in the logit model is the log of the expected odds ratio (Knoke and Burke, 1980:24)[1]. This additive form of the logit model is derived by taking the natural logarithms of Model 1. This yields:

$$\text{Ln}(F_i/F_g) = \beta^{D} + \beta^{DC} + \beta^{DO} + \beta^{DCO}, \quad \text{[Model 2]}$$

where, $\beta = 2*\text{Ln}(\tau)$.

The β (beta) coefficients are interpreted similarly to the additive coefficients of regression analysis. A positive β shows that the independent variable or interaction term increases the log odds ratio of the dependent variable, while a negative β indicates that the log odds ratio is decreased. A zero β means that the independent variable or interaction term does not affect the log odds ratio of the dependent variable. Like the τ's in the multiplicative model, β's are estimated for each category of an independent variable or interaction term. The constraints needed to estimate β insure that the sum of the β's across categories of an independent variable equals 0.

Expected cell frequencies are generated from the Newton-Raphson iterative proportional fitting algorithm. This iterative routine generates maximum likelihood estimates (MLE) of the expected frequencies. MLE procedures yield estimates with statistical properties of consistency, asymptotic efficiency

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[1]The logit, precisely defined, is 1/2 of the log of the odds ratio. Following Goodman (1972), this study will analyze the log of the odds ratio.

and asymptotic normality[2]. The expected frequencies, for a given model specification, determine the effect parameter estimates (τ's and β's) and their standard errors. The statistical software package used (SPSSx) also generates two measures of association (entropy and concentration) to analyze dispersion in the logit model. Both are proportionate reduction in error measures (PRE) which quantify the magnitude of association between a set of independent variables and the predictor variable. An excellent discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of PRE measures is found in Reynolds (1977:47-58).[3]

To continue the discussion, we refer to Model 2 presented above. This equation represents a saturated model because it not only includes the constant and two main effects on court disposition, but also the interaction effect of citizenship and offense type. In other words, there would be one linearly independent parameter per cell in the contingency table[4]. The expected frequencies in a saturated model are identical to the observed frequencies; therefore, the saturated model fits the data perfectly. This, of course, does not mean that the independent variables are perfectly correlated with the dichotomous dependent variable. It just indicates that the observed frequencies, which could be representing statistical independence, exactly match the expected frequencies. The question is whether a simpler model (i.e., one having fewer parameters) will also yield a satisfactory fit. These simpler models are called unsaturated models. One such model might include the constant and two main effects, but not the interaction effect.

The general approach for determining the most parsimonious logit model which best fits the data involves comparing the expected frequencies,

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[2]So long as the sample is reasonably large and the assumptions required for MLE are met, MLE are unbiased, have the smallest sampling variation and the usual results of normal sampling theory apply (Aldrich and Nelson, 1986:142). These authors suggest at least 25 observations for each coefficient being estimated.

[3]Although these two measures range from 0 to 1, like R^2 in regression, it may be misleading to interpret them in a similar manner (Haberman, 1982). Factors having little to do with the association between the independent and dependent variables, such as marginal variation, can artificially increase or decrease a measure's magnitude. To guard against erroneous conclusions, Reynolds (1977:57) recommends looking at the strength of relationships among qualitative variables using more than a single measure.

[4]An important aspect of the logit model not evident in Model 2 is that the interaction between the independent variables (citizenship and offense type) is present as are all lesser marginals. Terms for these factors are not explicit in the logit equation, but these marginals must be fitted when estimating the expected frequencies (Knoke and Burke, 1980:26).

generated by a particular logit model, with the observed frequencies. The two measures of fit typically employed are the Pearson chi-square statistic and the likelihood-ratio statistic (L^2). L^2 is preferable because (1) the expected frequencies are generated using maximum likelihood procedures; and (2) L^2 can be partitioned into additive components, each providing an independent test for a particular model (Knoke and Burke, 1980:30).

L^2, by definition, equals zero for a saturated model. In an unsaturated model, the larger the L^2 relative to the available df indicates a greater difference between the observed and expected frequencies. If L^2 for a hypothesized model is too large, then a model with additional parameters is needed to fit the observed data. In a hypothesis testing context, an acceptable logit model is one whose cell frequencies do not significantly differ from the observed data (Knoke and Burke, 1980:31). The statistical significance of L^2 is evaluated using the chi-square distribution with degrees of freedom (df) equal to the number of cells in the table minus the number of linearly independent parameters in the model[5].

L^2 is also used to test the significance of the difference between two nested models, under the assumption that the more complicated model fits the data (Zahn and Fein, 1974:24). For example, assume Model B fits the data and that Model A is nested in B. The significance of the contribution of the parameters in B which are not in A is examined by $L^2(A)-L^2(B)$. This statistic is approximately distributed as a chi-square random variable with df equal to df(A)-df(B). If the difference in L^2 is found to be statistically significant, then the parameters which are in B but not A are making an important contribution to the fit and should not be deleted.

L^2 is proportional to the sample size. When sample sizes are very large, parameters with very small effects will be judged as important to the fit of the model. Very often the only model which will be found to fit the data is the saturated model. Moreover, tests of significance are inappropriate when studying a population and not a sample. To overcome these problems, the following statistic is used:

$$R^2 = \frac{(L^2 \text{ baseline model}) - (L^2 \text{ alternative model})}{(L^2 \text{ baseline model})}$$

[5]The approximation of L^2 to the chi-square distribution is satisfactory if the sample size is sufficiently large. A rule of thumb is that if the sample size divided by the number of cells in the table exceeds 5, then this approximation is accurate (Reynolds, 1977:159).

This measure is the ratio of two numbers, both of which are proportional to the number of observations, and its result is less sensitive to the size of the sample or population. The baseline model L^2 serves as the standard against which to judge the improvement in fit of more complex models. It indicates the variability in the observed frequencies not accounted for by factors already in the model. Following Zahn and Fein (1974:33), this study defines the baseline models as containing the constant or intercept term. If the percentage of the baseline L^2 accounted for by the alternative model is high, the alternative is judged to provide a satisfactory fit to the observed frequencies. An acceptable fit, using this criterion, requires the R^2 to indicate at least an 80% reduction of the baseline L^2.

MEASURES OF EXPLAINED VARIATION FOR SELECTED MODELS OF PROSECUTOR DISPOSITIONS
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

Model	L^2	df	PROB	R^2	Entropy	Concen-tration
1 Constant (baseline)	112.1	17	5.E-16		.000	.000
2 [STRATEGY]	67.9	15	.000	39.4	.034	.030
3 [AGE]	110.1	16	4.E-16	1.8	.002	.002
4 [HIARCHG]	38.6	15	.001	65.6	.056	.061
5 [STRATEGY] [AGE]	65.8	14	.001	41.3	.035	.032
6 [STRATEGY] [HIARCHG]	24.7	13	.026	80.0	.066	.068
7 [STRATEGY] [AGE] [HIARCHG]	24.1	12	.020	78.5	.067	.068

MEASURES OF EXPLAINED VARIATION FOR SELECTED MODELS OF PROSECUTOR DISPOSITIONS
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

Model	L^2	df	PROB	R^2	Entropy	Concen-tration
1 Constant (baseline)	79.4	11	2.E-12		.000	.000
2 [UNIT]	74.8	10	5.E-12	5.8	.003	.004
3 [AGE]	77.4	10	2.E-12	2.5	.002	.002
4 [HIARCHG]	5.9	9	.75	92.6	.056	.061
5 [UNIT] [AGE]	72.3	9	5.E-12	8.9	.005	.006
6 [UNIT] [HIARCHG]	5.8	8	.67	53.7	.056	.061
7 [UNIT] [AGE] [HIARCHG]	5.4	7	.62	53.4	.056	.061

MEASURES OF EXPLAINED VARIATION FOR SELECTED MODELS OF COURT DISPOSITION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

Model	L^2	R^2	df	PROB	Entropy	Concentration
1 Constant (baseline)	93.5		17	1.E-12	.000	.000
2 [STRATEGY]	59.7	36.1	15	.000	.056	.038
3 [AGE]	92.0	1.6	16	1.E-12	.002	.002
4 [HICOMPCH]	22.1	76.4	15	.105	.119	.107
5 [STRATEGY] [AGE]	57.7	38.3	14	.000	.060	.041
6 [STRATEGY] [HICOMPCH]	13.7	85.3	13	.393	.133	.114
7 [STRATEGY] [AGE] [HICOMPCH]	13.4	85.7	12	.343	.134	.115

MEASURES OF EXPLAINED VARIATION FOR SELECTED MODELS OF COURT DISPOSITION
SAN DIEGO ARRESTEES, JUNE - NOVEMBER 1989

Model	L^2	df	PROB	R^2	Entropy	Concentration
1 Constant (baseline)	79.1	11	2.E-12		.000	.000
2 [UNIT]	64.9	10	4.E-10	18.0	.024	.019
3 [AGE]	77.6	10	1.E-12	1.9	.002	.002
4 [HICOMPCH]	7.7	9	.57	90.3	.119	.107
5 [UNIT] [AGE]	62.3	9	5.E-10	21.2	.028	.023
6 [UNIT] [HICOMPCH]	4.5	8	.81	94.3	.125	.112
7 [UNIT] [AGE] [HICOMPCH]	4.11	7	.77	94.8	.125	.113

*U.S. G.P.O.:1994-301-177:1