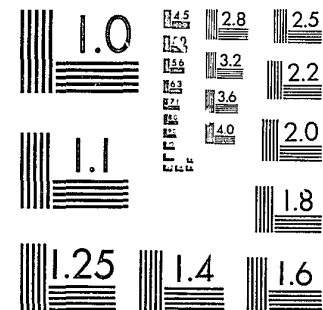


National Criminal Justice Reference Service



This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504.

Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U. S. Department of Justice.

National Institute of Justice
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20531

4/11/83



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts ^{CR- Sent} 3-16-83

Office of Commissioner of Probation

211 New Court House, Boston 02108

Research Report

DRUGS IN MASSACHUSETTS:
CONVICTIONS, SENTENCES AND RECIDIVISM
AMONG CLASS "A" AND CLASS "D" DEFENDANTS

JOSEPH P. FOLEY
COMMISSIONER

Prepared by:

Marjorie E. Brown
Director of Research

J. Peter Cordella
Research Assistant

Rita Richmond
Research Assistant

Copy Preparation:

Judy Cannon
Management Information
Division

NCJRS

JUL 10 1982

CONVICTIONS

86643

ABSTRACT

The relationship between drugs and street crime has been of considerable concern. This research focused on two specific classes of drug defendants: those charged with Class A (primarily heroin related) drug offenses. Inasmuch as these two drug classes may represent the extremes in seriousness among drug offenses, the objective was to measure the criminal sanctions imposed, review the incidence of involvement in crimes which were not drug related, and assess the subsequent arraignment and conviction rates for offenders in these two drug categories.

The data suggests that persons charge with Class A drug crimes are older than those charged with Class D drug offenses. Females appear to be over-represented in the Class A category, perhaps due to less systemic "chivalry" for this apparently more serious drug crime. Class A defendants were found to have a higher percentage of prior drug convictions for all other types of crimes. The conviction rates for Class A and Class D drug crimes were similiar, suggesting that findings of guilt are based on the evidence presented, and not on the severity of the offense. The data indicate that class A defendants were about twice as likely as Class D defendants to be arraigned on a subsequent drug crime within two years. The rate of arraignments for all other types of crimes was also higher among the Class A defendants. The rate of subsequent convictions was also higher among the Class A population. The swiftness of justice was also measured, with the assumption that the shorter the time between arraignment and disposition, the stronger the deterrent. The data idicate that cases involving Class A defendants took longer to reach a final outcome. The inference of these findings is that the longer the time to disposition, the greater the likelihood of subsequent arraignments and convictions.

U.S. Department of Justice 86643
National Institute of Justice

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been granted by
Massachusetts/Commissioner
of Probation

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the copyright owner.

I. INTRODUCTION

The effectiveness of legal sanctions against drug offenders has been a long-debated issue. Those who argue that drug abuse is primarily a medical problem espouse lenient sanctions with treatment available for the addiction. Others who conclude that drug use and crime go hand-in-hand propose more severe criminal sanctions.

As sentencing codes for drug offenders are debated, the question inevitably arises as to whether all drug offenders should be subjected to the same criminal penalties, or whether offenders convicted for different drug crimes pose varying degrees of risk to the community. Both extremes -- drug treatment programs versus mandatory sentences -- have been advocated.

In this study, the criminal histories of two classes of drug defendants were examined: people charged with Class A drug crimes (largely heroin-related) and those charged with Class D drug crimes (marijuana-related). The objective of the research was to assess the effectiveness of criminal sanctions for these two drug categories, by following 617 cases for two years after the date of arraignment for the qualifying drug crime.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The relationship between drug use and street crime has been the focus of extensive study. Unfortunately such studies have yielded contradictory evidence and interpretations. Research on the link between drug use and crime has spanned more than fifty years but to date no consensus or conclusive data have been produced. Most of the research has been based on either of two hypotheses:

1. addiction per se leads the user into a life of crime or
2. drug use is merely an additional element in a pattern of deviant behavior

Consequently, research findings have resulted in the development of two distinct theories. Either researchers have concluded that the criminal histories of their subjects preceded any evidence of drug use which suggests that the addict should be viewed primarily as a criminal, or alternatively the addiction preceded any criminal activity which conversely suggests that the limited availability and consequently the high cost of drugs forces an addict into a criminal career. The adoption of either hypothesis has a profound effect on public policy concerning the treatment of offenders who are also drug users. A review of legislation relating to sentencing of such offenders shows a schizophrenic pattern alternating between mandatory sentences and treatment supervision. Recently a third theory has emerged which concludes that drug use and street crime may not be related at all but may both be the result of other unknown variables (Inciardi 1980). According to Inciardi such variables may produce a complex set of factors that may dominate the social environment of both the user and the street criminal.

A broader and more pressing question facing researchers is the amount of criminal activity that involves individuals who are either under the influence of drugs during the commission of a crime or are regular users during their period of criminality. William Barton in his study of 10,400 inmates in state correctional facilities across the nation attempted to establish a definitive percentage regarding drug related criminal behavior. Barton initially found that 61% of all inmates had used drugs at some time during their lives. The study further identified nearly 25% of the inmates as being regular users at the time of their present offense. Among those convicted of drug offenses six out of ten were using drugs on a daily basis. This group was further analyzed in an effort to detect differences in regular drug use between those convicted on possession charges and those convicted on nonpossession charges. The difference between the two groups was not significant, with 61% of those convicted of possession being regular users and 57% of those convicted for nonpossession being regular users.

In an attempt to address the question of whether criminal activity by drug users was designed to support their drug habit, Braxton separated criminal activity into two categories: crimes against property and crimes against the person (with the inference being that drug users would be more highly represented in property category). This portion of the study concludes that a greater percentage of inmates convicted of property crimes had ever used drugs (61%) than inmates who had committed violent crimes (56%). This comparison becomes more significant when inmates convicted of robbery are excluded from the

violent crime category (the inference being that robbery is primarily a property crime). With robbery excluded, the study showed that 41% of those convicted of violent crimes ever used drugs while 57% of those convicted of violent offenses claimed to have never used drugs. The reverse was true for the crime of robbery with seven out of ten having ever used drugs.

When Braxton extended his definition of drug use to include alcohol, he found that six out of ten inmates had been under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time they committed their present offense. When alcohol was excluded from the definition the number slipped to four in ten. At least preliminarily, Braxton's results suggest that criminal activity (specifically criminal activity related to property) is closely linked to drug use, either because of regular use or intoxication at the time of the offense.

Consequently, researchers are faced with the dilemma of accurately measuring whether legal pressures and or treatment of the dependence are more effective in reducing drug use and subsequently reducing criminal activity. Harford, Ungerer and Kinsella in their study on "Effects of Legal Pressure on Prognosis for Treatment of Drug Dependence" examined three distinct hypothesis in an effort to measure the correlation between legal pressures and the reduction of drug abuse and its accompanying criminality. In their extensive review of the literature they found that studies validating their two initial hypothesis (1) that legal restrictions against unprescribed drug use is the most potent form of primary prevention or (2) that treatment for addiction reduces the criminal activities of drug abusers) were both scarce or inconclusive. Major emphasis of the study focused on the hypothesis that legal pressure on addicts facilitates their treatment for addiction. This hypothesis was originally tested by Looney & Metcalf (1974) in their study of internal and external pressures toward treatment. Looney & Metcalf concluded that internal pressure is ineffective unless accompanied by some form of external pressure. Harford, Ungerer & Kinsella in their study of 404 (of 1,083 applicants) persons admitted to a Drug Dependence Unit for treatment, discovered that although individuals under pressure from requirements of parole or probation were more likely to apply and be admitted, their chances for completion of the treatment program were less than those individual's under no legal pressures. The study further concluded that older clients were also a greater risk in treatment programs, with older clients on probation posing the greatest risk. Internal motivation, according to Harford, Ungerer & Kinsella, was much more important than external pressures in the successful completion of treatment programs. The study speculated in its conclusion that involuntary participation in such programs reduces internal motivation thereby reducing an individual's chances for successful completion.

The importance of such findings is magnified when juxtaposed with the hypothesis that treatment reduces the criminal activities of drug users. Several studies have demonstrated that criminal activity of individuals in drug treatment programs is reduced while they are treatment (Nash 1974, Amsel 1974 & Spiegel 1974). Such studies have failed however, to accurately measure the extent to which treatment is responsible for the reduction. Other studies have indicated that the link between drug treatment and a decrease in criminal activity is inconclusive (Vorenberg 1973, Gould 1974).

Heroin and Crime

The most wide ranging of the studies done on relationship between drug treatment and crime reduction was performed by Robert Dupont. In his study, "Heroin Addiction Treatment and Crime Reduction", Dupont examines the impact of the nation's largest city-operated heroin treatment program (Washington D.C.) and its effect on the overall crime rate of the city. Initially Dupont uncovered evidence that indicated that those who stayed in the program longer than six months were much less likely to be involved in criminal activity. Those individuals who stayed with the program had an arrest rate of 2.8 percent per month while those who did not successfully complete the program had an arrest rate of 5.7 percent per patient month. More startling was Dupont's observation that during the first full year of the treatment program's operation the city of Washington saw a 5.2 percent decrease in its crime rate, the first drop in its crime rate in fourteen years. The drop in the crime rate was evident in all categories of crime with the greatest decrease occurring in property crimes. Although no direct correlation can be established such findings lend additional credibility to the hypothesis that (at least in the case of heroin use) drug use may be related to an individual's propensity to engage in other criminal activity in order to support a drug habit.

It should also be mentioned that other studies have produced contrary evidence that indicates that a significant proportion of addicts do not commit property crimes most of the time which seems to suggest that crime is not always the commonly used instrument for raising revenue to support a drug habit (Chambers 1973, Schut 1972). Schut found that nearly 40 percent of his sample of male heroin addicts in Philadelphia derived their primary means of support from legal employment or a dependant status. Chambers found an even higher percentage among white female addicts where more than 65 percent supported themselves by other than illegal means, the percentage of those individual heroin addicts who derive their primary means of support from criminal activity seems to be almost exclusively dependent on their socioeconomic position ((Plair & Jackson 1970). Plair & Jackson, in their study of black heroin addicts in Washington, discovered that 80 percent of their sample group engaged in criminal activity to support their drug addiction. Such a range (from a low of 30% to a high of 80%) of criminal activity would seem to establish socioeconomic status as the primary determinant of whether an individual addicted to heroin would involve in criminal activity.

It must also be noted that much of the criminal involvement of heroin addicts centered around the manufacture, transportation or sale of drugs (Inciardi & Chambers 1972, Nash 1968, Plair & Jackson 1970). Once again such studies established socioeconomic position as the key determinant of the percentage of population involved in drug offenses as a means of support. Inciardi and Chambers reported that more than 50 percent of their population of female offenders identified themselves as drug sellers (by far the largest percentage of criminal activity within the group). In his examination of middle and low income male addicts, Nash found that 41 percent were involved in the sale of drugs as their primary means of support. Conversely, Plair & Jackson found that only 12 percent of their sample of lower income black males were involved in drug selling while more than 60 percent were involved in shoplifting, theft or robbery.

Inciardi drew his conclusions on the link between heroin use and crime from a sociometric study of 356 active heroin users in the Miami area. The results of Inciardi's study were both contradictory and inconclusive. His analysis showed that the median age of their first criminal activity (15.1) predates the median age of their first abuse of drugs (15.2). However, Inciardi found that when alcohol intoxication was included in the categories of substance abuse that a clear progression developed from alcohol, to crime, to drug abuse, to arrest and finally to heroin use. The results clearly show that the median age of the first criminal activity is considerably before the median age for heroin use. Inciardi concludes that research attempting to measure a simple cause and effect relationship may be inappropriate. The overall conclusions of the study suggests that drug use (more specifically heroin use) and criminal activities may be the result of a complex series of environmental and socioeconomics factors.

Despite the inability of Inciardi's study to establish a correlational link between heroin use and crime, his data reveals that 356 individuals studied were responsible for more than 118,000 crimes. Although the vast majority were victimless crimes, (e.g. drug possession, prostitution, gambling, etc.) the respondents were responsible for some 27,000 serious crimes. Inciardi found that of 118,000 crimes only 286 resulted in an arrest (a ratio of 1 arrest for every 413 crimes committed). The ratio of arrest to serious crime committed was 1 arrest for every 292 serious crimes committed.

Marijuana and Crime

As inconclusive and contradictory as the evidence on the link between heroin addiction and crime may appear, it is far more clear and direct than the link between marijuana use and crime. Edward Bloomquist (1971) in his examination of marijuana use in the United States concluded: "that from information available it seems impractical to link marijuana use with crime". Erich Goode (1971, 1978) contends that no major study exists that links marijuana use and crime. In his analysis of the relationship between legal sanctions and the use of marijuana, John Kaplan (1971) argues that because no link between marijuana use and crime has ever existed, legal sanctions imposed on individuals have the effect of labeling them as drug users. Such labels according to Kaplan tend to prevent individuals from seeking any type of treatment which may ultimately precipitate the one behavior that sanctions are designed to prevent, namely the use of other types of drugs. On the question of whether marijuana use itself leads the use of other drugs, Kaplan states, that no clinical, psychological or sociological study has been able to identify that link.

Because the research evidence indicates a possible correlation between heroin use and crime while failing to show any evidence of correlation between marijuana and crime, it becomes increasing more important to monitor the differences in conviction rates and sentencing between these two classes of drugs. The information available in central file of the Office of the Commissioner of Probation provides any opportunity to examine the differences in legal treatment each group of individuals receives.

III. METHOD

SAMPLE POPULATION

This study of Class A and Class D defendants in Massachusetts included all defendants arraigned statewide for a Class A or Class D drug crime during four sample weeks in 1979.

The Class A sample originally included 56 defendants, compared to 792 Class D defendants. Because of defaults, incomplete criminal history information and reduced charges, the sample was reduced to 45 Class A and 572 Class D defendants. Therefore, the records of 617 drug defendants were included in the study.

SOURCE OF DATA

Data were collected from court appearance records which were submitted to the Probation Central File at the Office of the Commissioner of Probation in Boston. Massachusetts is unique in that all court appearance records are centrally filed in the Probation Central File, which contains over six million records dating back to 1924.

Court appearance records are submitted to the Probation Central File by statewide probation offices every day, with information about new arraignments, that status of continued cases and dispositional information. These records reflect criminal and delinquency cases heard statewide on the previous day. Therefore, the Massachusetts Probation Central File provides a complete data base of criminal/delinquency information.

DEFINITIONS

In this report, the term conviction includes adult and juvenile cases for which there is a formal finding of guilt (such as incarceration in a state or county correctional facility, commitment to the Department of Youth Services, suspended sentence or formal probation), as well as cases which were continued without a finding with probation supervision, cases which were filed or fined. The term Class A drugs include heroin, named opiates and opiate derivatives. The term Class D drugs includes marijuana and certain barbitals.

Data on subsequent offenses was gathered by following each drug defendant's case for a period of two years after the arraignment date for the qualifying drug offense in 1979. Recidivism, therefore, was defined as a subsequent conviction within two years after the date of arraignment.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In order to correctly interpret the data in this study, it is important to note the following limitations:

1. The extent to which the defendants in the study used or abused drugs is not known. Thus, the findings pertain to drug defendants, not necessarily to addicts or to users.
2. The sample population, originally defined through court records, may include individuals especially prone to involvement with the legal system. For example, individuals known to have histories of crime or drug abuse may be targets of police surveillance.
3. The sample population includes only drug defendants formally arraigned in Massachusetts courts. The sample does not include those arraigned in federal courts, those admitted directly to drug treatment programs, or those admitted to hospital crisis centers.
4. The Class A sample is small and a larger population might have produced substantial shifts in the findings. However, the Class A sample population was drawn from the same time period as the Class D sample and included all defendants arraigned statewide. The population, therefore, while admittedly small is probably a reliable barometer of class A defendants.

IV. RESEARCH FINDINGS

AGE AT ARRAIGNMENT

Because of the possibility that both classes of drug use and criminality may be linked to a progression of severity (Inciardi 1980), it is essential to examine the differences between the age at arraignment (and median age) for class D and class A. Upon initial inspection, the data seem to clearly support the hypothesis that those charged with heroin offenses are older than those charged with marijuana offenses. The median age for all class A offenses (possession, possession with intent to distribute and distribution) was 27.7 years while the median age for all class D offenses was 20.8 years. The frequency distribution of the age at arraignment reveals that while only 17.7% of the class A sample falls within the lowest two ranges (13-16 yrs. & 17-20 yrs.), that 62.6% of the class D sample falls within the same ranges. The percentages are reversed when the highest two ranges (25-30 yrs. & 31 + yrs.) are examined. More than 58% of the class A sample is contained within these ranges while only 19.3% of the class D sample falls within the same ranges. A closer analysis of the age at arraignment data (ie. by type of drug offense -- possession, possession with intent to distribute and distribution) reveals an even greater disparity between the two samples; for example, in 17-20 year old range only 16.7% of the class A sample was arraigned on possession charges. Conversely 83% of the class D sample that fell within that range were arraigned on possession charges. As the age of the defendants increased the data reveal a shift in the pattern of arraignments (especially within the Class A sample). In the 25-30 year age range for the class A sample, 57% were charged with possession which represents more than a 40% increase in possession charges over 17-20 year age range. On the other hand, the percentage of those charged with possession in class D sample remained consistent for all age ranges.

These trends seem to only be significant and consistent when comparing the raw frequency data of the various age ranges. Because the majority of class D defendants fall within the lowest two age ranges while the majority of the class A defendants are located in the highest two age ranges, it can be preliminarily argued that a progression from marijuana to heroin use may exist for those who do eventually use heroin. However an inspection of the data on possession would seem to contradict the supplemental hypothesis that

heroin users are then more likely to be involved in criminal activity (e.g. possession with intent to distribute and distribution) in order to support their drug use. The link between criminal activity and class A & class D drug arraignments will be analyzed further at a later point in this report.

TABLE:1 Age at arraignment

----C L A S S "A"-----					----C L A S S "D"-----			
Age Group	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss w/i	Dist.	Total
16-16 yrs.	2 11.8% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0	0 0.0% 0	2 4.4% 100.0%	87 19.3% 81.3%	17 16.7% 15.9%	3 15.0% 2.8%	107 18.7% 100.0%
17-20 yrs.	1 5.9% 16.7%	4 18.2% 66.7%	1 16.7% 16.7%	6 13.3% 100.1%	195 43.3% 83.0%	37 21.5% 13.6%	8 40.0% 3.4%	235 41.1% 100.0%
21-24 yrs.	4 23.5% 36.4%	4 16.2% 36.4%	3 50.0% 27.3%	11 24.4% 100.1%	92 20.4% 76.7%	25 24.5% 20.8%	3 15.0% 2.5%	120 20.9% 100.0%
25-30 yrs	8 47.1% 57.1%	6 27.3% 42.9%	0 0 0	14 31.1% 100.0%	49 10.9% 71.0%	18 17.7% 26.1%	2 10.0% 2.9%	69 12.1% 100.0%
31+	2 11.8% 16.7%	8 36.4% 66.7%	2 33.3% 16.7%	12 26.7% 100.1%	27 6.0% 65.9%	10 9.8% 24.4%	4 20.0% 9.7%	41 7.2% 100.0%
Total	17 100.1% 37.8%	22 100.1% 48.9%	6 100.0% 13.3%	45 99.9% 100.0%	450 99.9% 78.7%	102 100.0% 17.8%	20 100.0% 3.5%	572 100.0% 100.0%

note: range of ages Class A -- 16-53
range of ages Class D -- 13-53

TABLE 2: Average Age at Arraignment

Class A, Possession	24.7 years	Class D, Possession	20.4 years
Class A, Poss. w/intent ..	30.4 years	Class D, Poss. w/intent ..	21.9 years
Class A, Distribution	26.2 years	Class D, Distribution	23.1 years
Class A, Total	27.7 years	Class D, Total	20.8 years

SEX OF THE DEFENDANTS

For some time now a debate has existed within criminal justice research, as to what is the true representation of female within the offender population. Many researchers have contended that females are underrepresented in the official crime statistics because of a paternal attitudes in the criminal justice system (police, prosecutors, judges, etc.)

Arraignment data on the sex of the offender provides a striking comparison between the percentage of females arraigned for class D and class A substances. Only 6.8 percent of all those arraigned for class D offenses were female. The figure of 6.8 percent is quite consistent with the female representation in other crime categories. Conversely, the percentage of females arraigned on class A charges was 20 percent. Such a difference would seem to support the hypothesis that the more serious the offense, the more likely the official statistics will reflect the true representation of females in the offender population. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that more discretion is available with less serious offenses which allows the police, prosecutors and judges to direct females from the stigma and vigors of the criminal justice system. The more serious the offense is, the less discretion available which would then produce higher rates of female offenders in the official statistics. At least preliminarily, the arraignment data seem to support such a hypothesis.

TABLE 3: Sex of Defendants

Sex of Defendants	----C L A S S "A"-----				----C L A S S "D"-----			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total
Male	14 82.4% 38.9%	17 77.3% 47.2%	5 83.3% 13.9%	36 80.0% 100.0%	424 94.2% 79.6%	90 88.2% 16.8%	19 95.0% 3.6%	533 93.2% 100.0%
Female	3 17.6% 33.3%	5 22.7% 55.6%	1 16.7% 11.1%	9 20.0% 100.0%	26 5.8% 66.7%	12 11.8% 30.8%	1 5.0% 2.6%	39 6.8% 100.1%
Total	17 100.0% 37.8%	22 100.0% 48.9%	6 100.0% 13.3%	45 100.0% 100.0%	450 100.0% 78.7%	102 100.0% 17.8%	20 100.0% 3.5%	572 100.0% 100.0%

PRIOR CONVICTIONS

The underlying assumption behind any discussion of prior convictions of drug defendants is that class A defendants are more likely to have one or more prior convictions, both for drug offenses and other criminal activity. When confining the analysis to prior drug convictions, the OCP data reveal that 82 percent of the class D defendants had no prior drug convictions while the rate of no prior drug convictions rate for class A defendants was 38 percent. Of those defendants with one or two prior drug convictions, the OCP data shows that more than 30 percent of the class A defendants had either one or two convictions which compares to 9.8 percent for the class D defendants. An overview of the prior drug conviction rates at least initially reinforces the hypothesis that other types of drug use precede heroin use, while many marijuana users never progressed beyond the use of marijuana.

The analysis of prior convictions, excluding prior drug convictions, produces similar, although more complex results. Again there is a significantly larger percentage of class D defendants with no prior record (60.1%) than class A defendants with no prior record (28.9%). However, potentially the most significant analysis, involves the comparison of prior conviction rates between non-drug and drug offenses. For class D defendants the percentage of the population with prior drug convictions was 17.7 while the percentage for other convictions was 39.9. The same trend was present in the figures for class A offenders with 62.2 having been convicted of prior drug offenses while 71.1 had prior convictions for other offenses. A number of hypothesis dealing with the link between drug use and crime appear to be contradicted by these results while other hypothesis appear to given additional credibility by such findings.

The lower conviction rate for drug offenses may be an indication of a lower priority placed on such offenses by the criminal justice because of their perceived lack of seriousness or their victimless nature. The rather high rate of drug involvement calls into question the assumption that criminal activity committed in order to support drug use is primarily reserved for more serious drug use (namely heroin). The data seems to strongly support Inciardi's hypothesis that drug use and criminality may not be related in a simple cause and effect relationship, but rather may be the result of a complex set of factors that dominate the social environment of both the drug user and the street criminal. The answer to this question may be found in further socio-economic research on drug use and criminality (Plair & Jackson).

TABLE 4: Number of Prior Drug Convictions

KEY: Frequency
Column %
Row%

Number of Prior-Drug	----C L A S S "A" ----				----C L A S S "D" ----			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss w/i	Dist.	Total
0	7 41.2% 41.2%	8 36.4% 47.1%	2 33.3% 11.8%	17 37.8% 100.1%	368 81.6% 77.9%	85 83.3% 18.1%	19 95.0% 4.0%	471 82.3% 100.0%
1	2 11.8% 28.6%	4 18.2% 57.1%	1 16.7% 14.3%	7 15.6% 100.0%	39 8.7% 84.8%	7 6.9% 15.2%	0 0.0% 0.0%	46 8.0% 100.0%
2	3 17.6% 42.9%	2 9.1% 28.6%	2 33.3% 28.6%	7 15.6% 100.1%	9 2.0% 90.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 5.0% 10.0%	10 1.8% 100.0%
3	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 4.5% 50.0%	1 16.7% 50.0%	2 4.4% 100.0%	5 1.1% 62.5%	3 2.9% 37.5%	0 0.0% 0.0%	8 1.4% 100.0%
4	2 11.8% 50.0%	2 9.1% 50.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	4 8.9% 100.0%	5 1.1% 83.3%	1 1.0% 16.7%	0 0.0% 0.0%	6 1.1% 100.0%
5	3 17.6% 75.0%	1 4.5% 25.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	4 8.9% 100.0%	1 0.2% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 0.2% 100.0%
6	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 4.5% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 2.2% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%
7	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 1.0% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 0.2% 100.0%
10	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 4.5% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 2.2% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%
17	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 4.5% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 2.2% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%
Unknown	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 4.5% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 2.2% 100.0%	24 5.3% 82.8%	5 4.9% 17.2%	0 0.0% 0.0%	29 5.1% 100.0%
Total	17 100.0% 37.8%	22 99.5% 48.9%	6 100.0% 13.3%	45 100.0% 100.0%	450 100% 78.7%	102 100.0% 17.8%	20 100.0% 3.5%	572 100.1% 100.0%

* Unknown category includes cases for which prior records were incomplete in Probation Central File.

TABLE 5: Number of Prior Convictions (not including prior drug convictions)

KEY: Frequency
Column %
Row%

Number Priors-other	----C L A S S "A" -----				-----C L A S S "D" -----			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss w/i	Dist.	Total
0	6 35.3% 46.1%	5 22.7% 38.5%	2 33.3% 15.4%	13 28.9% 100.0%	270 60.0% 78.5%	62 60.8% 18.0%	12 60.0% 3.5%	344 60.1% 100.0%
1	2 11.8% 33.3%	4 18.2% 66.7%	0 0.0% 0.0%	6 13.3% 100.0%	34 7.6% 68.0%	13 12.8% 26.0%	3 15.0% 6.0%	50 8.7% 100.0%
2	3 17.6% 33.3%	5 22.7% 55.6%	1 16.7% 11.1%	9 20.0% 100.0%	34 7.4% 85.0%	4 3.9% 10.0%	2 10.0% 5.0%	40 7.0% 100.0%
3	1 5.9% 50.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 16.7% 50.0%	2 4.4% 100.0%	13 2.9% 72.2%	5 4.9% 27.8%	0 0% 0.0%	18 3.1% 100.0%
4	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 4.5% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 2.2% 100.0%	16 3.6% 84.2%	3 2.9% 15.8%	0 0.0% 0.0%	19 3.3% 100.0%
5	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 4.5% 50.0%	1 16.7% 50.0%	2 4.4% 100.0%	13 2.9% 92.9%	1 1.0% 7.1%	0 0.0% 0.0%	14 2.5% 100.0%
6-10	4 23.5% 57.1%	2 9.1% 28.6%	1 16.7% 14.3%	7 15.6% 100.0%	32 7.1% 80.0%	6 5.9% 15.0%	2 10.0% 5%	40 7.0% 100.0%
11+	1 5.9% 25.0%	3 13.6% 75.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	4 8.9% 100.0%	18 4.0% 81.8%	3 2.9% 13.6%	1 5.0% 4.6%	22 3.9% 100.0%
Unknown	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 4.5% 100.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	1 2.2% 100.0%	20 4.4% 80.0%	5 4.9% 20.0%	0 0.0% 0.0%	25 4.4% 100.0%
TOTAL	17 100.0% 37.8%	22 99.8% 48.9%	6 100.1% 13.3%	45 99.9% 100.0%	450 100.1% 78.7%	102 100.0% 17.8%	20 100.0% 3.5%	572 100.0% 100.0%

DISPOSITION AND SENTENCES

The obvious assumption concerning the dispositions and sentences of drug offenders would be that the class D population would have higher percentages in no probable cause, not guilty, dismissed, and filed categories than offenders in class A population. It could also be assumed that of those found guilty, a greater percentage of class A population would be located in the probation, suspended sentence and incarceration categories, while guilty defendants in the class D category would more likely be fined or have their cases continued without a finding. The OCP data seems to support some of these assumptions while contradicting others.

Concerning the dispositions of no probable cause, not guilty, dismissed, and filed, the data shows that 51 percent of the class D population falls within these three categories. Surprisingly 46.7 percent of the class A population is also found within these three categories, thereby calling into question the assumption that an individual is significantly more likely to be found guilty of class A offense than a class D offense. Of those defendants found guilty, the OCP data indicates that they were likely to be sentenced differently depending upon the class of their substance offense. The initial analysis of sentencing patterns indicates a significant difference between class D and class A defendants. The categories of fine and continued without a finding contain 13.3 percent of all the class D defendants while only 2.2 percent of all the class A defendants can be found in these categories.

On the other hand when analyzing harsher sentences (excluding incarceration) , such as probation and suspended sentences, the data shows 30.8 percent of the class D population and 28.9 percent of the class A population are located in these categories. Closer analysis however shows a considerable difference in the use of either sentence, depending on the class of drug offense. Of the class D population, 23.1 percent received probation while only 7.7 percent were given suspended sentences. For those defendants arraigned for class A offenses the reverse was true with only 11.1 percent given probation while 17.8 percent were given suspended sentences. The widest difference in sentencing is found in the category of incarceration where 22.2 percent of all the class A defendants received a sentence of incarceration, only 3 percent of all the class D defendants received a similiar sentence.

When analyzed together, the disposition and sentencing data reveal a consistent and desired pattern of judicial decision making. The criminal justice model is based on the assumption that similiar rates of not guilty, no probable cause, dismissed and filed dispositions will occur in most if not all crime categories because guilt or innocence is supposed to based solely on the evidence and not the severity of the offense.

The OCP data seems to contradict some of recent assertions from criminological theorists and researchers that rates of guilt or innocence are influenced by the seriousness of the offense. The sentencing data of the OCP appear to support another basic assumption, namely that the punishment fit the crime with harsher sentences going to guilty class A offenders than guilty class D offenders.

TABLE 6: DISPOSITIONS AND SENTENCES -17-

KEY: Frequency
Column %
Row%

Disposition	----C L A S S "A" ----				-----C L A S S "D" -----			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss w/i	Dist.	Total
No Probable Cause	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	9 2% 81.8%	2 2% 18.2%	0 0% 0%	11 1.9% 100%
Not Guilty	2 11.8% 66.6%	1 4.5% 33.3%	0 0% 0%	3 6.7% 99.9%	25 5.6% 55.6%	14 13.7% 31.1%	6 30% 13.3%	45 7.9% 100%
Dismissed	7 41.2% 46.7%	6 27.3% 40%	2 33.3% 13.3%	15 33.3% 100%	189 42% 84.4%	28 27.5% 12.5%	7 35% 3.1%	224 39.2% 100%
Filed	1 5.9% 33.3	2 9.1% 66.6%	0 0% 0%	3 6.7% 99.9%	20 4.4% 87%	3 2.9% 13%	0 0% 0%	23 4% 100%
Fine	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	28 6.2% 90.3%	2 2% 6.5%	1 5% 3.2%	31 5.4% 100%
Continued without finding	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	1 16.7% 100%	1 2.2% 100%	39 8.7% 86.7%	6 5.9% 13.3%	0 0% 0%	45 7.9% 100%
Probation	3 17.6% 60%	2 9.1% 40%	0 0% 0%	5 11.1% 100%	111 24.7% 84.1%	18 17.6% 13.6%	3 15% 2.3%	132 23.1% 100%
Suspended Sentence	3 17.6% 37.5%	5 22.7% 62.5%	0 0% 0%	8 17.8% 100%	22 4.9% 50%	19 18.6% 43.2%	3 15% 6.8%	44 7.7% 100%
Incarcerated	1 5.9% 10%	6 27.3% 60%	3 50% 30%	10 22.2% 100%	7 1.6% 41.2%	10 9.8% 58.8%	0 0% 0%	17 3% 100%
TOTAL	17 100% 37.8%	22 100% 46.9%	6 100% 13.3%	45 100% 100%	450 100.1% 79%	102 100% 18%	20 100% 3%	572 100% 100%

SUBSEQUENT ARRAIGNMENTS

Of special interest is the percentage of individuals who recidivate. Concerning drug defendants, it is especially important to attempt to chart their continued drug use and associated criminal activity. Although the OCP data can only provide information on subsequent arraignments and convictions (rather than subsequent drug use), it is probably an accurate barometer of subsequent (or future) involvement in the criminal justice system. The data reveals that 19.6 percent of class D defendants were arraigned on other drug charges within 2 years. On the other hand nearly 38 percent of the class A defendants had one or more subsequent arraignments within 2 years. Of those arraigned for subsequent offenses, the vast majority for both class D and class A defendants had either one or two subsequent arrests.

When analyzing subsequent arraignments for offenses, excluding drug offenses, the data shows that the percentage of defendants arraigned on subsequent charges (other than drug) was less than 52% for class D and nearly 69% for class A. Once again further analysis of the data reveals a significantly higher arraignment rate for criminal activity rather than drug related activity. This difference could have its cause in either the criminal pattern of the individual or in the structure, attitudes or processing of the criminal justice system. It is an element of the crime/drug analysis that needs to be further explored in order to help further clarify drug/crime relationship.

Table 7: Subsequent Arraignments for Drug Offenses

KEY: Frequency
Column %
Row%

# Subsequent Arr. Drugs	----C L A S S "A"-----				----C L A S S "D"-----			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss w/i	Dist.	Total
0	11 64.7% 39.3%	14 63.6% 50%	3 50.0% 10.7%	28 62.2% 100.0%	370 82.2% 79.1%	81 79.4% 17.3%	17 85.0% 3.6%	468 81.8% 100.0%
1	1 5.9% 14.3%	3 13.6% 42.9%	3 50.0% 42.9%	7 15.6% 100.1%	45 10.0% 78.9%	11 10.8% 19.3%	1 5.0% 1.7%	57 10.0% 100.0%
2	3 17.6% 60.0%	2 9.0% 40.0%	0 0% 0%	5 11.1% 100%	12 2.7% 75.0%	4 3.9% 25.0%	0 0% 0%	16 2.8% 100%
3	0 0% 0%	1 4.6% 100%	0 0% 0%	1 2.22% 100%	5 1.1% 55.6%	3 2.9% 33.3%	1 5.0% 11.1%	9 1.6% 100%
4	0 0% 0%	1 4.6% 100%	0 0% 0%	1 2.22% 100%	5 1.1% 83.3%	1 1.0% 16.7%	0 0% 0%	6 1.0% 100%
5	1 5.9% 100%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	1 2.22% 100%	5 1.1% 100%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	5 .87 100%
6	0 0% 0%	1 4.6% 100%	0 0% 0%	1 2.22% 100%	1 .22% 50.0%	1 1.0% 50.0%	0 0% 0%	2 .35 100%
7	1 5.9% 100%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	1 2.22% 100%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%
8	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	1 .22% 100%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	1 .18 0%
UNKNOWN	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	6 1.3% 75.0%	1 1.0% 12.5%	1 5% 12.5%	8 1.4% 100.0%
TOTAL	17 100.0% 37.8%	22 100.0% 48.9%	6 100.0% 13.3%	45 100% 100%	450 99.9% 78.7%	102 100.0% 17.8%	20 100% 3.5%	572 100.0% 100.0%

Table 8: Subsequent Arraignments for all Other Offenses (excluding Drugs)

KEY: Frequency
Column %
Row%

Number Subs. Arraign. Excl. Drugs	----C L A S S "A" -----				-----C L A S S "D" - - - - -			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss w/i	Dist.	Total
0	2 11.8% 14.3%	10 45.4% 71.4%	2 33.3% 14.3%	14 31.1% 100.0%	216 48.0% 78.0%	54 52.9% 19.5%	7 35.0% 2.5%	277 48.4% 100.0%
1	2 11.8% 50.0%	2 9.1% 50.0%	0 0% 0%	4 8.9% 100.0%	58 12.9% 81.7%	10 9.8% 14.1%	3 15.0% 4.2%	71 12.4% 100%
2	1 5.9% 50.0%	0 0% 0%	1 16.7% 50.0%	2 4.4% 100.0%	44 9.8% 77.2%	11 10.8% 19.3%	2 10.0% 3.5%	57 10.0% 100.0%
3	1 5.9% 33.3%	2 9.1% 66.7%	0 0% 0%	3 6.7% 100.0%	31 6.9% 77.5%	6 5.9% 15.0%	3 15.0% 7.5%	40 7.0% 100.0%
4	4 23.5% 57.1%	2 9.1% 28.6%	1 16.7% 14.3%	7 15.6% 100.0%	18 4.0% 85.7%	3 2.9% 14.3%	0 0% 0%	21 3.7% 100.0%
5	0 0% 0%	2 9.1% 100.0%	0 0% 0%	2 4.4% 100.0%	14 3.1% 82.4%	3 2.9% 17.6%	0 0% 0%	17 3.0% 100.0%
6-10	5 29.4% 55.6%	2 9.1% 22.2%	2 33.3% 22.2%	9 20.0% 100.0%	34 7.6% 73.9%	10 9.8% 21.7%	2 10.0% 4.4%	46 8.0% 100.0%
11-15	1 5.9% 33.3%	2 9.1% 66.7%	0 0% 0%	3 6.7% 100.0%	15 3.3% 78.9%	3 2.9% 15.8%	1 5.0% 5.3%	19 3.3% 100.0%
16 +	1 5.9% 100.0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	1 2.2% 100.0%	14 3.1% 87.5%	1 1.0% 6.3%	1 5.0% 6.3%	16 2.8% 100.1%
Unknown	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	0 0% 0%	6 1.3% 75.0%	1 1.0% 12.5%	1 5.0% 12.5%	8 1.4% 100.0%
Total	17 100.1% 37.8%	22 100.0% 48.9%	6 100.0% 13.3%	45 100.0% 100.0%	450 100.0% 78.7%	102 99.9% 17.8%	20 100.0% 3.5%	572 100.0% 100.0%

SUBSEQUENT CONVICTIONS

While the data on subsequent arraignments indicates the frequency of appearances in court on criminal charges, a more reliable indicator of recidivism is the actual rate of conviction for subsequent offenses. The data, therefore, was analyzed to assess the conviction rate for subsequent drug crimes as well as convictions for all other types of criminal acts.

Among the Class D sample, nearly 89% had no subsequent drug convictions, compared to 78% among the Class A population in the study. Looking at the rate of recidivism among the three drug categories (possession, possession with intent to distribute, and distribution), there were no substantive differences in the rate of recidivism in the Class D population. However, among the Class A group, those charged with possession or distribution had somewhat higher rates of subsequent drug convictions. Nearly 30% of those convicted for possession of Class A had one or more subsequent drug conviction, compared to 33% of those convicted of distribution of a Class A drug, while less than 14% of those convicted of possession with intent to distribute had a subsequent drug conviction.

Taking a broader look at recidivism, by analyzing the subsequent conviction rate for all other types of crimes, about two-thirds (66.8%) of the Class D sample had no subsequent convictions, compared to 51% of the Class A population. Differences were apparent in the three drug categories for both Class A and Class D.

In the Class A group, nearly 80% of those convicted for possession had at least one subsequent criminal conviction, compared to about 36% of those convicted for possession of Class A with intent to distribute and 33% of those convicted for distribution of a class A drug.

Among the Class D population, about 33% of those convicted for possession had one or more subsequent criminal convictions, compared to 29% of those convicted for possession with intent to distribute, and 50% for those convicted of distribution of a class D drug.

The data on subsequent convictions suggests that persons convicted of a Class A drug crime have a somewhat higher probability of subsequent convictions for drug crimes and a substantially higher probability for conviction for all other types of criminal acts. The findings indicate, therefore, that persons convicted for Class A drug crimes may have a greater involvement with diverse types of criminal activity than do persons convicted of Class D drug crimes.

TABLE 9: Subsequent Convictions for Drug Offenses

KEY: Frequency
Column %
Row%

	----C L A S S "A"-----				-----C L A S S "D"-----			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss w/i	Dist.	Total
0	12 70.6%	19 86.3%	4 66.7%	35 77.8%	399 88.7%	90 88.2%	18 90.0%	507 88.6%
	34.3%	54.3%	11.4%	100.0%	78.7%	17.8%	3.5%	100.0%
1	1 5.8%	1 4.6%	2 33.3%	4 8.9%	26 5.8%	11 10.8%	1 5.0%	38 6.6%
	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	100.0%	68.4%	29.0%	2.6%	100.0%
2	2 11.8%	1 4.6%	0 0%	3 6.7%	6 1.3%	0 0%	0 0%	6 1.0%
	66.7%	33.3%	0%	100.0%	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%
3	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	10 2.2%	0 0%	0 0%	10 1.8%
	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%
4	0 0%	1 4.6%	0 0%	1 2.2%	1 .2%	0 0%	0 0%	1 .2%
	0%	100.0%	0%	100.0%	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%
5	2 11.8%	0 0%	0 0%	2 4.4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Unknown	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	8 1.8%	1 1.0%	1 5.0%	10 1.8%
	0%	0%	0%	0%	80.0%	10.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	17 100.0%	22 100.1%	6 100.0%	45 100.0%	450 100.0%	102 100.0%	20 100.0%	572 100.0%
	37.8%	48.9%	13.3%	100.0%	78.7%	17.8%	3.5%	100.0%

Table 10: Subsequent Convictions for all other Offenses (Excluding Drugs)

KEY: Frequency
Column %
Row%

Age Group	----C L A S S "A"-----				-----C L A S S "D"-----			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss w/i	Dist.	Total
0	5 29.4%	14 63.6%	4 66.7%	23 51.1%	299 66.4%	73 71.0%	10 50.0%	382 66.8%
	21.7%	60.9%	17.4%	100.0%	78.3%	19.1%	2.6%	100.0%
1	1 5.9%	1 4.6%	0 0%	2 4.4%	59 13.1%	12 11.8%	5 25.0%	76 13.3%
	50.0%	50.0%	0%	100.0%	77.6%	15.8%	6.6%	100.0%
2	4 23.5%	3 13.6%	0 0%	7 15.6%	29 6.4%	5 4.9%	2 10.0%	36 6.3%
	57.1%	42.9%	0%	100.0%	80.6%	13.9%	5.6%	100.1%
3	4 23.5%	0 0%	0 0%	4 9.0%	15 3.3%	3 2.9%	0 0%	18 3.1%
	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%	83.3%	16.7%	0%	100.0%
4	0 0%	1 4.6%	1 16.7%	2 4.4%	9 2.0%	3 2.9%	1 5.0%	13 2.3%
	0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	69.2%	23.1%	7.7%	100.0%
5	1 5.9%	2 9.0%	1 16.7%	4 9.0%	7 1.6%	0 0%	0 0%	7 1.2%
	25.0%	50.0%	25.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%
6-10	1 5.9%	1 4.6%	0 0%	2 4.4%	19 4.2%	5 4.9%	1 5.0%	25 4.4%
	50.0%	50.0%	0%	100.0%	76.0%	20.0%	4.0%	100.0%
11-15	1 5.9%	0 0%	0 0%	1 2.2%	4 .9%	0 0%	0 0%	4 .7%
	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%
16+	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	4 .9%	0 0%	0 0%	4 .7%
	0%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%
Unknown	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	5 1.1%	1 1.0%	1 5.0%	7 1.2%
	0%	0%	0%	0%	71.4%	14.3%	14.3%	100.0%
TOTAL	17 100.0%	22 100.0%	6 100.1%	45 100.1%	450 99.9%	102 100.0%	20 100.0%	572 100.0%
	37.8%	48.9%	13.3%	100.0%	78.7%	17.8%	3.5%	100.0%

TIME TO DISPOSITION

The final variable to be analyzed is elapsed time between the arraignment of a case and its final disposition. The importance of this variable is to measure of the swiftness of justice. Historically, it has been assumed that the swifter the disposition and sentence the stronger the deterrent will be. A comparison of the time disposition of class D and class A offenses is based on the hypothesis that the time to disposition is dependant upon the seriousness of the offense, the inference being that the time to disposition for class A offenses will be greater than the time for class D offenses. The OCP data generally confirms such a hypothesis.

While 32 percent of the class D defendants had a disposition within one month, less than 18 percent of the Class A defendants had a disposition within a month. Conversely 20 percent of the class A cases took 13+ months before a disposition was reached. The percentage of class D cases to take 13 months or more was only 7.7% percent. The data shows that major differences in time to disposition were found at the extreme ranges with class D defendants inordinately represented in the one month category and the class A defendants inordinately represented in the 13 plus category. The next logical step for future research concerning time to disposition should be to measure the correlation between time to disposition and probability of subsequent arrests or arraignments, the inference being the longer the time to disposition the greater the likelihood of subsequent arrest and or arraignments.

TABLE 11 : Time to Disposition

KEY: Frequency
Column Percent
Row Percent

Time in Months	CLASS "A"				CLASS "D"			
	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total	Poss.	Poss. w/i	Dist.	Total
1 or less	4 23.5%	3 13.6%	1 16.7%	8 17.8%	145 32.2%	35 34.3%	3 15.0%	183 32.0%
	50.0%	37.5%	12.5%	100.0%	79.2%	19.1%	1.6%	99.9%
2	3 17.6%	5 22.7%	0 0%	8 17.8%	57 12.7%	19 18.6%	3 15.0%	79 13.8%
	37.5%	62.5%	0%	100.0%	72.2%	24.1%	3.8%	100.1%
3	3 17.6%	1 4.5%	1 16.7%	5 11.1%	42 9.3%	9 8.8%	5 25.0%	56 9.8%
	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%	75.0%	16.1%	8.9%	100.0%
4	1 5.9%	1 4.5%	0 0%	2 4.4%	20 4.4%	5 4.8%	1 5.0%	26 4.5%
	50.0%	50.0%	0%	100.0%	76.9%	19.2%	3.8%	99.9%
5	0 0%	2 9.1%	1 16.7%	3 6.7%	12 2.7%	5 4.9%	1 5.0%	18 3.1%
	0%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%	66.7%	27.8%	5.6%	100.1%
6-12	2 11.8%	7 31.8%	1 11.1%	10 22.2%	150 33.3%	14 13.7%	2 10.0%	166 29.0%
	20.0%	70.0%	10.0%	100.0%	90.4%	8.4%	1.2%	100.0%
13 and over	4 23.5%	3 13.6%	2 33.3%	9 20.0%	24 5.3%	15 14.7%	5 25.0%	44 7.7%
	44.4%	33.3%	22.2%	99.9%	54.5%	34.1%	11.4%	100.0%
TOTAL	17 99.9%	22 99.7%	6 100.1%	45 100.0%	450 99.8%	102 100.0%	20 100.0%	572 99.9%
	37.8%	48.9%	13.3%	100.0%	78.7%	17.8%	3.5%	100.0%

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barton, W.I., "Heroin Use and Criminality: Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities", January, 1974, in National Institute on Drug Abuse, Drug Use and Crime: Report of the Panel of Drug Use and Criminal Behavior, National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia: 1976.
- Bloomquist, Edward, M.D., Marijuana: The Second Trip, Glencoe Press: 1971.
- Brown, Marjorie E. and Anne Derrane, Drug Defendants in Massachusetts: A Comparison of Class A and Class D Defendants, Boston, MA : Office of the Commissioner of Probation, April, 1980.
- Chambers, C.D., "Criminal Behavior & Black Narcotics Addicts", Unpublished Manuscript.
- Chambers, C.D. and James Inciardi, "Some Aspects of the Criminal Careers of Female Narcotic Addicts", paper presented at the 34th Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Miami Beach, May 6-8, 1971.
- Chambers, C.D., "Narcotic Addiction and Crime," in Drugs and the Criminal Justice System, C.D. Chambers & James Inciardi, editors, Sage Publications, 1974.
- Dupont, Robert, "Heroin Addiction Treatment and Crime Reduction", American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 128 (7): 856-860, 1972.
- Harford, R., J. Ungerer and K. Kinsella, "Effects of Legal Pressures on the Prognosis for Treatment of Drug Dependence", American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol: 133, 1399-1404.
- Inciardi, James, "Heroin Use and Street Crime", Crime & Delinquency, July, 1979 (335-346).
- Kaplan, John, Marijuana: The New Prohibition, Meridian Books: 1971.
- Nash, G., The Impact of Drug Abuse Treatment Upon Criminality A look at 19 Programs, Upper Montclair, N.J.: Montclair State College, 1973.
- Nash, G., Unpublished material from the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research Study supported by the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission, 1968.
- Nash, G., Unpublished material from the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research Study supported by the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission, 1968.
- Plair, W. and L. Jackson, Narcotic Drug Use and Crime: A Report on Interviews with 50 Addicts Under Treatment, District of Columbia: Department of Corrections.
- Schut, J., T.W. Wolmuth and K. File, "Low Dosage Methadone Maintenance: A Re-Examination", paper presented before the Canadian Society of Chemotherapy, Quebec, July 6-7, 1972.

END