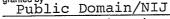
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DRUG USE AT ARREST AS A PREDICTOR OF BEHAVIOR ON PROBATION FINAL REPORT

BY

138850

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July 15, 1990

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ABSTRACT

Information from records maintained by the New York City and State Departments of Probation was added to an existing data base containing urinalysis test results and case information for a cohort of men arrested and processed in Manhattan Central Booking in 1984. Analyses of persons assigned to probation indicated that persons who tested positive for multiple drugs at arrest and who had no prior arrests were more likely to have multiple rearrests than persons who tested negative. A followup study of a sample of the probationers three years later indicated substantial continuity of drug use and a greater prevalence of cocaine use. Probationers were unlikely to have informed their probation officers of their drug problems or a need for treatment. Without urine testing, probationers' drug abuse tends to go unaddressed by the criminal justice system.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

By

Eric D. Wish

Rationale for study

There is a critical need for information about the behavior of drug abusing probationers. The increased risk of pretrial flight and rearrest that has been found in arrestees who use hard drugs (Smith et al. 1989; Toborg et al. 1989; Wish et al. 1988) suggests that probationers who abuse drugs like heroin and cocaine will also be at high risk for recidivism and violation of their conditions of probation. And yet, many probation departments across the country fail to systematically identify and monitor drug use in probationers. Research documenting the high crime rates of drug abusing offenders (Wish and Johnson 1986) suggests that current policies that overlook drug abuse in probationers result in higher rates of crime and failure on probation.

In New York State, as in other States, there is only anecdotal information available about the extent of drug use in probationers. One exception is our study of probationers in the New York City Intensive Supervision Probation Program (ISP) in Brooklyn in 1986 (Wish et al. 1986). Not only were a majority of the probationers found to be using illicit drugs, but the study showed that without employing urine tests, probation officers seriously underestimated drug use in the persons they were supervising.

For example, there were six times as many probationers positive by urinalysis for cocaine, than their probation officers had estimated were current users of the drug. Information is needed that will inform administrators of the potential value of systematic drug testing for probationers. New information about about drug use, associated crime and treatment needs in probationers is also needed to enable probation departments to assess the potential value of drug testing programs for producing better outcomes for drug abusing probationers. The next section provides further details about the relationship of drug use to crime and the role of urinalysis for identifying drug users.

The link between drug use and crime.

In the past ten years, research has documented an extensive association between drug use and crime (Gandossy et al. 1980; McGlothlin 1979; Wish and Johnson 1986). Researchers have been so struck by the high crime rates found in drug abusing offenders (usually users of heroin and/or cocaine) that they have frequently coined labels to describe the phenomenon. Criminal addicts have been called, "persons chronically involved in income generating crime," (McGlothlin 1979); "violent predators," (Chaiken and Chaiken 1982); "criminal repeaters," (Johnson 1981), "hypercriminal active addicts," (Ball 1982) and "active criminals," (Wish 1982).

The research that has prompted these conclusions was based on a diversity of populations using different methods. A study that conducted interviews with addicts known to the police in Baltimore found that persons self-reported committing six times more crimes during periods of frequent use of heroin than during

2

periods of infrequent use (Ball et al. 1981). A strong association has been found between a high cost heroin habit and rate of serious offending in a study employing self-administered questionnaires completed by incarcerated persons in Michigan, Texas and California (Chaiken and Chaiken 1982) and in interviews with criminals on the streets of Harlem (Johnson et al. 1986). And a study using arrest records and urinalysis test results from arrestees in Washington, D.C. (Wish et al. 1981) found that persons who tested positive for drugs at arrest (morphine and/or the stimulant, phenmetrezine) had rearrest rates that were twice as high as those for persons who tested negative at arrest.

These studies, taken as a whole, demonstrate an intimate association between drug abuse and crime in the offender population. The hypothesis that drug abusing probationers would commit more crime on probation and be more likely to violate probation is a logical extension of this prior research.

Detection of drug use by urinalysis.

In order to intervene with drug abusing offenders it is first necessary to identify those who are using illicit drugs. Although one can obtain valid information about recent drug use in interviews conducted in a nonthreatening context, it has been repeatedly shown that offenders will underreport recent drug use when asked about them while they are being detained or monitored by the criminal justice system (Wish et al. 1980; Wish 1988; Wish et al. 1987; Wish et al. 1988; Wish and Gropper 1990).

Data from the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program have repeatedly shown that even in the anonymous DUF research interviews, arrestees greatly underreport their recent drug use.

Typically two to four times as many arrestees are detected by the urine tests to have used drugs than admit to recent drug use in the interviews (DUF Annual Report 1988). And our earlier research conducted with probationers monitored by the ISP program in Brooklyn showed that in the absence of urine tests, probation officers were unlikely to know who in their case loads were abusing drugs. We can assume that drug use would be even more likely to go undetected in persons supervised in the regular probation program in New York City where staff/client case loads often exceed 200 to 1. (The ISP case load is kept to about 25 to 1.) In addition to looking at how drug use at arrest related to probation outcome, the present study afforded an opportunity to determine how likely drug use would be addressed in persons supervised by the regular probation program in New York City.

The arrestee urine testing cohort

This report describes a research project that builds upon our study of drug use as a predictor of pretrial misconduct in arrestees in Manhattan (Wish et al. 1988; Smith et al. 1989). In that study a cohort of 6,406 males arrested in Manhattan in a six month period in 1984 were interviewed in Manhattan Central Booking, shortly after arrest. Over 4,800 voluntary urine specimens were also obtained at that time from 84% of the interviewed arrestees. The results showed that 56% of the sample tested positive for one or more of four drugs (cocaine, PCP, opiates or methadone). Cocaine was the most prevalent drug, found in 42%. Extensive criminal record and case processing information was obtained for each sample member from several criminal justice agencies and merged with the tests results and

interview information. Details of the sample selection and data collection appear in Wish et al. 1988.

Research questions and relevance to policy

The project described in this report was designed to obtain probation case records for those arrestees from the original sample of arrestees subsequently placed on probation and to conduct follow-up interviews (and to obtain urine specimens) with a small subsample of 200 active probationers. The resulting combined data base of interview and record information would span the time period from arrest through probation and could be used to examine the relationship of drug use at arrest to probation process and outcome.

A primary intent of the project was to determine whether drug using probationers have worse probation outcomes than nonusers and to determine how the probation system intervened in their drug abuse problems. We wanted to know whether the probation officers were aware of their probationers' drug use and whether they offered users treatment services.

We realized that our analytic task was difficult. We were planning to use a single urine test at arrest to predict behavior on probation that could have occurred months later. Still, we felt that our findings might provide some indication of whether persons using drugs at arrest might have a higher risk of rearrest on probation or revocation.

There are a growing number of pretrial testing programs (Wish and Gropper 1990) and our results might suggest whether the information from a urine test of a specimen obtained at arrest might be useful to a judge (along with other information) to

establish conditions of probation. Furthermore, if drug use at arrest were associated with behavior on probation, some judges might be stimulated to begin testing probationers at the presentence investigation stage or at assignment to probation.

Format of the report

During the course of this research, Eric Wish, the Director of the project, left NDRI in New York City in order to become a Visiting Fellow at NIJ. While the data collection and construction of the data base had been completed before he left, the analyses and preparation of the report had not begun. As a result, several colleagues at NDRI, Bruce Johnson, Stephen Magura and Mary Cuadrado, at the Director's request and direction, prepared the analyses contained in this report and wrote the first drafts of all but the introduction and the concluding chapter.

Chapter 2 looks at the relationship between drug use at arrest and behavior on probation for all of the arrestee cohort who had a subsequent record of probation. Chapters 3,4 and 5 present the results of the follow-up study of persons assigned to probation in Manhattan. Chapter 6 summarizes our findings and discusses their implications for policy.

Chapter 2

DRUGUSE AT ARREST AS A PREDICTOR OF REARREST AND PROBATION OUTCOME

By

Stephen Magura and Eric Wish

Introduction

Prior analyses of our data base indicated that the number of drugs that an arrestee tested positive for at arrest was related to both risk of failure-to-appear and rearrest during the pretrial period (Smith et al. 1989 ; Wish et al. 1988). Persons found by urinalysis to be using two or more of four drugs (opiates, cocaine, PCP or methadone) had a greater risk of pretrial misconduct than persons detected to be using one drug or no drugs. Given the strong association between multiple illicit drug use and criminal activity reported in the research literature (Wish and Johnson 1986), these findings were not unexpected.

The additional question remained, however, whether drug use at arrest might also be predictive of how persons behaved if they were later sentenced to and released on probation. The answer to this question would have important implications for future policy. A number of jurisdictions have adopted pretrial urine testing programs to help the judge to make decisions regarding the arrestee's pretrial release conditions (Wish and Gropper 1990). If drug tests administered at arrest were also predictive of the arrestee's subsequent behavior on probation, pretrial testing programs might want to make test results available to the judge to inform sentencing decisions. (However, some pretrial testing programs might be statutorily prohibited from sharing their results with

probation agencies.) Persons who tested positive for drugs at arrest could then be assigned to special programs that include more supervision, urine testing, and referral to treatment programs. Drug testing at assignment to probation would probably provide probation officers with an important ability to focus sooner on their probationers' drug problems, given the difficulty for probation officers to identify which of their probationers are current drug users, in the absence of drug testing (Wish et al. 1986). An established relationship between drug use and behavior on probation might also enable jurisdictions lacking feedback from local pretrial testing programs or lacking probation testing programs to initiate new programs for testing persons assigned to probation.

Our study of a large cohort of males arrested and processed in Manhattan Central Booking in 1984 provided an invaluable opportunity to examine the relationship between drug use at arrest and subsequent behavior on probation. Our original data base already included information about each person's prior and subsequent criminal record, drug test results at arrest, and index case disposition (See Wish et al. 1988 for a description of the data base). To examine questions regarding subsequent behavior during probation, we needed only to add relevant information from records maintained by the New York City and New York State probation agencies.

This chapter examines the question of whether persons detected to be using drugs near the time of arrest and later sentenced to probation had worse outcomes than persons not detected to be using drugs. While these analyses can provide some indication of the relationship between drug use and behavior on probation, one should expect to find only minimal associations from our analyses. This is because the term of probation might start (and extend) many weeks or months after the arrest, depending upon the highly variable time between arrest and sentencing.

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Some persons using drugs at arrest might have reduced their use of drugs by the time they were placed on probation and some persons could have initiated or increase their drug use sometime after arrest. Both of these events would attenuate the relationship that we find between drug use at arrest and behavior on probation. While our analyses can indicate whether results from a drug test at arrest may suggest persons at higher risk for misbehavior during probation, a more exact test of the relationship of drug use to behavior on probation would require measurement of drug use just before or during the actual period of probation.

Data used in analyses

The data were derived from several sources. Interviews and urine specimens were obtained by NDRI staff stationed in Manhattan Central Booking. Arrest information, index case processing and disposition and subsequent arrests were obtained from the New York City Criminal Justice Agency, the local pretrial release agency. Subsequent arrests were obtained from New York City Police Department records for the period from the 1984 index arrest through August 31, 1985, an average period of about one year. The New York City and State probation agencies provided information about rearrests through June 30, 1986 and about revocation and reincarceration through December 31, 1985. A description of the arrestee sample may be found in Smith et al. 1989 and Wish et al. 1988).

Limitations

This project enjoyed the complete cooperation of both probation agencies. However, while we were able to obtain the requested computerized records for our sample members, we found that much of the information we needed was missing or not coded in the records. A review of the records of the New York City probation agency conducted by the Comptroller of New York (Goldin 1989) concluded that probation officers did a poor job of record keeping. Because of difficulties with the data, we were unable to determine whether the term or terms of probation of a particular arrestee resulted directly from the person's original index arrest or from another case. Our findings therefore must be viewed as suggestive of whether drug use at arrest was related to behavior on a term of probation that began at some time subsequent to the arrest, but not necessarily as a result of that arrest.

<u>Results</u>

Our prior analyses had shown that an arrestee's prior number of arrests as well as the number of drugs for which he tested positive was related to subsequent arrests (Smith et al. 1989). Age, ethnicity, employment at index arrest and arrest charge were not statistically significant predictors of rearrests. In our analyses of the relationship of drug use to behavior on probation we therefore controlled for prior arrest history. We found that 322 (7%) of the 4,642 arrestees in our sample were sentenced to probation as as result of their index case arrest (49% of the sample were acquitted or discharged). Table 1 shows the likelihood of rearrest according to the drug test at arrest, while controlling for prior arrest history. For those with no prior arrests, drug use was associated with rearrest. Twenty-four percent of the drug negative probationers were rearrested in the subsequent year, compared with 30% of the probationers positive for one drug and 41% of those positive for 2+ drugs. Most of these differences can be accounted for by differences in the likelihood of multiple rearrests. Persons positive for multiple drugs were two and one half times more likely to have been rearrested two or more times.

Differences were much smaller among persons who had a prior arrest history. Regardless of drug use at arrest, the majority of these persons were subsequently rearrested. Drug use at arrest was only slightly related to a greater likelihood of multiple rearrests, and with these small cell sizes, the differences were not statistically significant.

The relationship between drug use at arrest and recidivism in the small number of persons whose index arrest resulted in a term of probation is strikingly similar to the relationship found in the entire sample of arrestees. Regardless of index case outcome, 23% of the arrestees positive for multiple drugs and with no prior arrests were rearrested 2+ times, compared with 11% of those who were negative for drugs. Arrestees with one or more prior arrests all tended to be rearrested, regardless of drug use. Information about an arrestee's drug use, thus, may be more useful in discriminating risk of rearrest in those persons who would appear to be the lowest risk defendants.

The number of persons placed on probation as a result of their index case arrest was quite small. We found, however, that more than 800 of our sample members were eventually placed on probation even though it was not necessarily the result of their index case arrest. The next set of analyses examine probation outcomes for those in the arrest cohort who received a term of probation at anytime between their index arrest in 1984 and June 30, 1986. This term or probation may have stemmed from either the index arrest or from another arrest that occurred up through June 30, 1986. If we found more than one term of probation during this period, we chose to analyze the first term that occurred after the index arrest. In this way we attempted to minimize the time interval between the urine test at index arrest and the probation term. In analyzing rearrests, we counted the number of arrests that occurred after the date

that each person's term of probation began.

Table 2 shows the demographic and background characteristics of persons who had at least one term of probation after the index arrest. The information comes from the booking slip or the research interview held in central booking shortly after the index arrest. The majority were under age 26, black, and not employed in full-time jobs at the time of arrest. Two thirds were arrested for a the sale or possession of drugs or for a property crime. For about one half, the index arrest was their first arrest.

Urine test results were available for 696 of these persons (82%). Of these, 46% tested negative at arrest (the same percentage of D- cases in the total arrestee cohort), 35% were positive for one drug and 19% were positive for multiple drugs. We examined two outcomes for each of these person's probation term: rearrests (through June 1986) and probation revocation or reincarceration (through December 1986). None of the background variables in Table 2 were associated with these outcomes.

Regardless of their prior arrest history or their use of drugs at the index arrest, almost two-thirds of these probationers (60% to 74%) still had open probation cases. (Many of these persons may have been recently placed on probation.) Among persons whose cases had been closed drug use was associated with an increased likelihood of probation failure (revocation or reincarceration) only for persons with a prior arrest history at the time of their index arrest. Thus, for those whose probation terms were already ended, 85% of those who were positive for 2+ drugs at the index arrest had been revoked or incarcerated, compared with 55% of those who had been negative for drugs at arrest. A similar, but nonsignificant trend, was found for persons with no pre-index arrests.

We again found that drug use at the index arrest was associated with risk of rearrest, primarily for persons with no pre-index arrests. Thus, 40% of such persons who had tested positive for 2+ drugs were rearrested, compared with 31% of those who tested negative. (This relationship was not statistically significant. The association between drug use and rearrest found in the larger sample of probationers is smaller than that reported in Table 1 for the persons sentenced to probation as a result of their index arrest. This would be expected for two reasons. First, the time interval between the urine test and the probation at the index arrests, as opposed to a subsequent arrest. Second, one could argue that persons who were placed on probation after a post-index rearrest really should be grouped in our analysis with the persons who had one or more pre-index arrests.) Regardless of drug use at the index arrest, about one half of the persons with one or more pre-index arrests were rearrested.

Discussion

We have attempted to determine whether probationers who tested positive for drugs at their index arrest were more likely to be rearrested or to have their probation terms revoked. We analyzed two subsets of our arrestee cohort; persons sentenced to probation as a result of their index arrest, and persons placed on probation anytime subsequent to the index arrest. We found that persons who tested positive for multiple drugs at arrest and who had no pre-index arrests tended to have a greater likelihood of having subsequent (post-index case) arrests. The relationship was strongest for persons sentenced to probation as a result of their index arrest--multiple drug users were two and one half times more likely to have multiple rearrests than were persons who tested negative for all drugs at arrest. This stronger association makes sense, given that the time interval between the urine test and the probation term should be closer in the persons sentenced to probation for their index arrest, rather than for a subsequent arrest. Drug use at arrest was unrelated to risk of rearrest in persons who had had a pre-index arrest. These persons tend to be more likely to be rearrested, regardless of whether they used drugs at the index arrest.

Because most probationers were still on probation, we had only a small number of persons with whom to analyze probation outcome. Still, we found that among persons with a closed term of probation and one or more pre-index arrests, multiple drug use was associated with a higher risk (85%) of revocation.

The fact that any association was found between a single drug test result at arrest and rearrest or probation outcome that may have occurred a year later suggests a strong relationship between drug use and these behaviors. A more precise test of these relationships will require urine testing to occur more closely in time to the term of probation.

TABLE 1

Rearrests in Persons Sentenced to Probation As a Result of Their Index Arrest, By Drug Use at Arrest and Prior Arrests (N= 322 male arrestees)

		<u>No Prior Arrests</u> Number of drugs at arrest		<u>1+ Prior Arrests</u> Number of drugs at arrest		
	<u>0</u>	1	2+	<u>0</u>	1 2+	
Number of post-index case arrests:						
0 1 2+	77 12 <u>12*</u> 100%	70 17 <u>13*</u> 100%	59 11 <u>30*</u> 100%	36 30 <u>34</u> 100%	37 37 26 22 <u>37 41</u> 100% 100%	
(N)	(111)	(53)	(27)	(50)	(49) (32)	

*Chi Sq. = 5.88, p<.05

TABLE 2

BACKGROUNDCHARACTERISTICSOFARRESTEESSENTENCEDTOPROBATION (N=844 males arrested in 1984)

Age at arrest	20
16-17	20
18-20	24
21-25	17
26-30	<u>19</u>
31+	100%
Ethnicity	56
Black	10
White	32
Hispanic	_2
Other	100%
Employment	42
Unemployed	31
Employed f-t	9
Employed p-t	14
In school	<u>4</u>
Other	100%
Index arrest charge	32
Violent/person	22
Drug-related	<u>46</u>
Property/other	100%
Pre-index arrests	49
0	26
1	<u>25</u>
2+	100%

TABLE 3

PROBATION REVOCATION AND REARRESTS, BY DRUG TEST RESULT AT THE INDEX ARREST AND PRE-INDEX ARRESTS

(N= 696 males placed on probation anytime after the index arrest)

	No Prior Arrests			1+ Prior Arrests			
	Number of drugs at arrest		Number of drugs at arrest				
	Q	1	<u>2+</u>		<u>0</u>	1	<u>2+</u>
Caseclosed:	31%	35%	26%		38%	39%	40%
(N)	(184)	(110)	(46)		(134)	(137)	(85)
% of closed cases							
revoked/incarcerated:	42%	54%	50%		55%	* 63%	*85%*
(N)	(57)	(39)	(12)		(51)	(54)	(34)
% rearrested	31%	36%	40%		51%	53%	55%
(N)	(174)	(102)	(45)		(127)	(126)	(73)

*Chi Sq. =8.55, p<.05

CHAPTER3

FOLLOWUPSTUDYOFPROBATIONERS: METHODOLOGY

By

Bruce Johnson and Eric Wish

One task of this project was to select a sample of 200 probationers who were placed on probation and to followup their behavior on probation. This chapter describes the search of official records to uncover the probation experience of URANUS (URANUS was the NDRI code name for the study of urine testing of arrestees in Manhattan on which this report is based.) subjects, describes difficulties encountered in selecting a sample and locating subjects for interviews. In addition, we describe the demographic characteristics, drug use at the 1984 Index Arrest, and criminal justice records of URANUS probationers who provided completed interviews with subgroups of probationers and nonprobationers who were not interviewed.

I. Sources of Information about URANUS Subjects on Probation.

The original intent of this followup study was to develop a well defined sample of URANUS subjects who had been placed on probation for their index arrest in 1984 (i.e., persons who had been interviewed and who had been convicted and placed upon probation for this index arrest). All relevant data (e.g., presentence reports, level of supervision, probation outcome) would be obtained for each subject from the New York City Department of Probation (henceforth NYCDP) and New York State

Department of Probation (henceforth NYSDP), which would be matched with data on arrests and dispositional information from the Criminal Justice Agency data base, and with the New York State "rap sheet" data on arrests and convictions prior and subsequent to the 1984 index arrest.

While considerable information was obtained from these data sources, much anticipated data was not available in the NYCDP and records. While URANUS subjects who had one or more sentences of probation during the period of 1984-6 could be ascertained, the precise conviction(s) and date(s) of probation intake and completion could not be consistently documented in official records or case folders at NYCDP or NYSDP.

For many URANUS subjects, it was not always possible to determine that they had been convicted and sentenced to probation for their 1984 index crime, had actually reported for probation, and were in active probation status in Manhattan at the time of the followup study in 1987. Several URANUS subjects had been on probation before or after their 1984 index arrest, and such probation terms may have been extended by the 1984 index arrest or subsequent arrests. Because of these complexities, the following analyses initially focus upon all URANUS subjects who could be matched (by New York State Identification [NYSID] Number) by the NYCDP as having been on probation at some time during the period January 1, 1983 to the completion of interviewing in September, 1987.

In order to conduct the followup study of probationers (described below), NDRI submitted a computer tape containing the NYSID numbers of all URANUS subjects [N=5,997] to the NYCDP and NYSDP, which returned a tape of all persons who had a matching NYSID number that had been on probation during the period 1-1-1983 to 1-30-87). This tape also included a field which indicated whether the probationer's case was "open" or "closed" (see definitions below) as of January 31, 1987.

II. Flow of Probation Cases

Of the 5,415 URANUS subjects¹ with a completed 1984 interview schedule of self-reported drug use (and regardless of whether they provide a urine specimen or not), 16 percent (N=849) were matched by NYCDP or NYSDP as having been on probation at some time during an approximately five year (1983-87) period. These URANUS-probation subjects were classified into three subgroups, and those not on probation during this followup period were added as a comparison group. These four subgroups are defined as follows:

1. URANUS subjects never on probation during this period. (N=4,566)

2. URANUS subjects on probation at some time after their 1984 index arrest, but whose case was "closed" as of January 31, 1987. (N=280).

3. URANUS subjects with an "open" term of probation on January 31, 1987, but assigned to a probation office outside of Manhattan (N=237).

4. URANUS subjects with an "open" term of probation and assigned to a Manhattan probation office (N=332). This group was selected for the intensive followup study as described below.

Comparisons of URANUS probationers and nonprobationers.

Tables 3.1 to 3.3 provide comparisons of these four groups of URANUS subjects, both probationers and those never on probation during the three year period. While some differences are highlighted below, one central conclusion is evident: All probationer groups and the nonprobationers have very similar demographic characteristics, selfreported drug use and urine test results at the 1984 Index Arrest, and relatively similar arrest histories both before and after the 1984 index arrest.

¹Throughout the remainder of this report, the term "URANUS subjects" refers only to persons who provided a complete self-report interview schedule in 1984. The subjects who refused to be interviewed in 1984 (N=582) have been excluded from all following analyses.

Manhattan probationers (N=332) (from which the followup study was drawn--see below) had very similar demographic characteristics (age, ethnicity, marital status, employment, education) to other subgroups, but were slightly more likely to be single or in school (Table 3.1). Likewise, Manhattan probationers had self-reported drug use patterns and urine test results (in 1984) virtually identical to other probationers and nonprobationers (Table 3.2). Among URANUS subjects reporting any lifetime cocaine use, 36 percent of the nonprobationers reported injecting cocaine and heroin ("speedballing") compared with less than 28 percent of any probation group. Active Manhattan probationers were somewhat more likely (35% vs. less than 23%) than other subgroups to test positive for two or more drugs in 1984 (Table 3.2).

Some differences among these four subgroups are evident, however, in criminal justice system contacts, specifically for the dispositions and sentences for the 1984 Index Arrest (Table 3.3). Manhattan probationers were slightly less likely to have any prior arrests (45 percent vs. 34-42 percent) than other subgroups, and least likely to have three or more prior arrests (18 percent vs. over 23 percent). But during a period of almost three years, however, Manhattan probationers accumulated almost as many rearrests as the other subgroups. At the 1984 Index Arrest, persons who were Manhattan probationers in 1987 had the highest proportion (91 percent) charged with felonies, but probation subgroup was not related to most serious charge.

Not surprisingly, dispositions of the 1984 index arrest did vary by the probation subgroup in 1987. Three-quarters of URANUS subjects with any probation experience (1984-87) were found guilty of the 1984 Index arrest, versus 61 percent of those never on probation during this period. Manhattan probationers were the most likely (34 vs. 29 percent) to found guilty at the Supreme Court level rather than at the criminal court level

(40 vs. 48-50 percent).

Among URANUS subjects found guilty for their 1984 Index Crime in the Criminal Court, only about two-fifths were given a probation sentence, while one quarter to one half were jailed, and about one quarter received fines, "time served," or other sentences. Among URANUS subjects found guilty for their 1984 Index Crime in the Supreme Court, however, the vast majority of probationers (with an open case in 1987) were given a probation sentence for their 1984 Index Crime, only a few were sentenced to prison. By contrast, virtually all persons without any probation term 1983-7 and convicted in Supreme Court were sent to State prison.

In comparison with probationers with open cases in 1987, those lacking any probation status (1984-87) were more likely at their 1984 index arrest to be ACD or on warrant status at the adjudication stage, but more likely to go to jail if convicted in Criminal Court, and typically went to prison if convicted in the Supreme Court.

Nevertheless, the 1987 Manhattan probationers appear very similar on all major characteristics to probationers who have completed their term or to probationers in other boroughs. While probationers in other boroughs were not studied, the findings reported below for 1987 Manhattan probationers are likely to provide an accurate guide to the probation outcomes of all other probationers.

Table 3.1 about here

Demographic comparisons of Four URANUS subgroups

Table 3.2 about here

1984 Drug use patterns of Four URANUS subgroups

Table 3.3 about here

Criminal Justice Contacts and 1984 Index Arrest Disposition of Four URANUS subgroups

III. Subgroup of Probationers Selected for Followup Study

For the purposes of the followup study of probationers, only persons who met all of the following conditions were included; they were: a) URANUS subjects with a completed self-report interview in 1984, b) reported to have an "open" probation case on Jan. 31, 1987 (according to the NYCDP and NYSDP tape), c) and assigned to a Manhattan probation office (but not to other boroughs).

For the 332 probationers who met these criteria, NDRI staff made efforts to learn the whereabouts and outcomes of such persons. In May 1987, NDRI staff contacted Manhattan probation officers for their cooperation. All Probation Officers (PO) were sent a short form for each of the 332 subjects asking them to indicate if the case was still "open" or "closed" and if so why. POs or supervisors were contacted on up to three occasions for information about the status of specific clients on this list. Information from these forms and subsequent conversations with supervisors provide the classifications given in Figure 3.1 for closed and unavailable cases.

Definitions of Open, Closed, and Unavailable Cases

At any given time period, the NYCDP classifies their cases as "open"

or "closed;" NDRI staff also classified some cases as "unavailable" for followup. A case was considered "open" if the sentenced person had been through probation "intake," had an assigned probation officer (PO), and was expected to report on some regular basis. A case was "closed" if the offender had been discharged (completed probation--a generally successful outcome), or had been returned to custody (jail or prison) or had a violation of probation (a warrant issued for his arrest), or was closed for administrative reasons (transferred to another probation office-jurisdiction or other miscellaneous reasons). A case was classified as "unavailable" when the probationer had been assigned to a special unit of probation officers who seek persons with warrants or when the probationer was unknown to the PO to whom the offender was supposedly assigned or where the offender's address-phone was unknown in case records.

NDRI staff made every effort to convert "closed" or "unavailable" cases into "open" cases. For example, a PO might report a case as "closed" because the offender had been returned to custody; NDRI staff would attempt to locate the person in jail or prison. If the person was located, the case was reclassified as "open," but remained "closed" if the person could not be found in jail-prison.

Figure 3.1 about here Schematic diagram of flow of cases.

Figure 3.1 shows results of NDRI followup efforts (May through September 1987) to classify all URANUS-probationers. Only the 332 URANUS-probationers who were classified as having "open" cases (on the NYCDP tape as of 1-30-87) and assigned to Manhattan were followed. Their

followup status as of 9-30-87 shows that 38 percent of the cases were open, 39 percent were closed, and 23 percent were unavailable for the followup study because of insufficient or conflicting information.

Only about an eighth (n=16) of the "closed" cases had been discharged or terminated by approved NYCDP procedures, while over half (n=72) were clearly failures. Most of the latter (n=57) had violated conditions of probation and had warrants issued for their arrest. The POs stated that 8 probationers were absconders for whom a warrant would be issued soon. The PO indicated that 7 persons were in custody, but no evidence of their having been jailed or imprisoned could be located in City or State Corrections records. About a third (41) had been "closed" for administrative reasons, such as transfer to another non-Manhattan probation office or non-NYC jurisdiction, miscellaneous reasons (e.g. dying of AIDS in hospital), or closed with no reason given.

Approximately a quarter (N=76) of the 332 Manhattan probationers had cases that seemed to be open (i.e. not closed), but were not available for followup. Most of the latter cases were assigned to a special unit responsible for locating and returning to custody those probationers with outstanding warrants. Eight probationers had no known address, and were on the lowest level of probation status (they simply called on an irregular basis, once a month). In 10 cases, the supervisors had assigned a case to a PO officer who claimed to have never received the case folder nor seen the person.

This left 127 URANUS-probationers in Manhattan whose case was clearly "open" and who were possibly available for inclusion in the followup study. A variety of efforts were undertaken to locate and speak to these 127 persons. Letters were sent to their last known address, phone calls were made, staff waited in probation offices, friends and relatives were contacted where information was available, and records of

jails and state prisons were searched.

Somewhat over a quarter (N=34) of these "open" cases could not be located. Letters were returned and phone numbers were wrong for 18 cases. In 16 cases, letters were not returned or phone calls reached a relative-friend, but staff were not able to speak with the potential subject.

Contacted subjects were told that they would be paid \$20 for the confidential interview. After the interview, persons were offered an additional \$5 for providing a urine specimen. Of the 93 persons to whom NDRI staff spoke, 11 refused to cooperate further or to give their informed consent. All 82 persons who consented to participate provided usable interview schedules which are analyzed in the next chapter. Fourteen interviews were conducted in jail (7) and prison (7); no urine specimens were requested from these inmates. Among the 68 subjects who were at liberty in the community (and interviewed at probation offices or NDRI offices), 85 percent provided urine specimens. The interview completion rate was 65 percent (82-127) of all open cases which were available for interview and 90 percent (82-93) of those contacted.

Comparison of Followup Subjects Interviewed and Those Not

As described above, NDRI followup efforts in the summer of 1987 resulted in 82 completed interviews from among 332 URANUS subjects who were listed (on 1-31-87) as having "open" probation cases in Manhattan. Thus, 250 persons were not interviewed (for reasons described above).

Despite our inability to interview many Manhattan probationers, however, probationers with followup interviews (N=82) were virtually identical to the 250 not interviewed in their demographic and employment characteristics (Table 3.4), self-reported drug use and urine test results at the 1984 index arrest (Table 3.5), and criminal justice contacts (Table 3.6). Noninterviewed probationers, however, were slightly more likely (5-8 percentage points) to report heroin use, dependency, and need for treatment at the 1984 index arrest (Table 3.5).

Table 3.4 about here

Demographic comparisons of Interviewed vs. noninterviewed probationers.

Table 3.5 about here

1984 Drug Use patterns of Interviewed vs. noninterviewed probationers.

Table 3.6 about here

Criminal Justice Contacts and Disposition of 1984 Index Arrest of Interviewed vs. noninterviewed probationers.

Comparison of Interviewed Probationers with Nonrespondents and Refusals

NDRI staff made efforts to locate and interview several probationers, but could not do so for 45 persons for whom relatively good location information had been obtained. Interviewed probationers (N=82) were quite similar in their self-reported drug use patterns at the 1984 index arrest to those who did not respond to repeated contact attempts (N=34), and persons who refused (N=11) to provide informed consent (Table 3.7). Those not responding in summer 1987, however, were less

likely to have self-reported cocaine use, and dependency on cocaine in 1984 (but they were equally likely to have provided urine specimens positive for cocaine at the 1984 index arrest than were interviewed probationers (Table 3.7). Overall, the 1984 urine tests found higher proportions of interviewed probationers interviewed in 1987 were positive for 2 or more drugs than was true for probationers not responding and refusals. Nevertheless, the interviewed probationers were quite similar to nonresponding and refusals. If anything, the 1987 interviewed Manhattan probationers were somewhat more drug involved in 1984 than their nonresponding or refusing counterparts.

Table 3.7 about here

1984 Drug Use patterns of Interviewed vs. refusals and nonrespondents.

In conclusion, while there were many reasons why persons listed as having "open" probation cases in Manhattan were not successfully interviewed, the 82 subjects who completed interviews appear to be very similar (in their demographic characteristics, drug use-urine test results at 1984 Index Arrest, and criminal justice contacts) to all other subgroups, including: those contacted who refused to be interviewed, those who could not be contacted face-to-face, other Manhattan probationers whose cases were "closed" or administratively handled, persons with "open" probation cases in other boroughs, probationers whose cases had been terminated by 1-31-87, and even URANUS subjects who were never on probation.

TABLE 3-1

Characteristics of Uranus Subjects in 1984: Comparison of Those Not on Probation, with Closed Case, and on Probation as of 1/31/87

			tion case at son arrest: Status	
Characteristics a at 1984 <u>i</u>	No probation after 1984 <u>ndex arrest</u> (N=4566)	Case closed: <u>term_over</u> (N=280)	Open case not_Manhattan (N=237)	Open case <u>in_Manhattan</u> (N=332)
Age:	%	%	%	%
16-17 years old	5	26	17	19
18-20 years old	13	19	25	19
21-25 years old	26	23	27	22
26-30 years old	22	15	16	17
31-35 years old	14	9	6	11
36-40 years old	9	5	4	6
41+ years old	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	5	6
Education:	100%	100%	100%	100%
Less than high schoo	ol 55	64	55	59
High school / GED	29	23	30	27
College	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>Marital_Status:</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%
Single, never marrie	d 61	71	67	74
Married	17	14	17	11
Divorced/separated	11	7	8	8
Common law	10	8	8	7
Widow	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	0	0
<u>Ethnicity:</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%
Black	56	56	60	54
White	11	9	11	10
Hispanic	32	32	28	35
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Job 1002	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 3-1 Continued

Open probation	case at	sometir	ne after
1984 index arre	est: Sta	tus on	1/31/87

Characteristics at 1984 index arrest	No probation after 1984 <u>index arrest</u> (N=4566)	Case closed: <u>term_over</u> (N=280)	Open case <u>not_Manhattan</u> (N=237)	Open case <u>in Manhattan</u> (N=332)
Employment:	%	%	%	%
Unemployed Employed f/p time Odd jobs only Mainly in School	47 43 4 <u>6</u> 100%	41 38 6 <u>15</u> 100%	39 46 4 <u>11</u> 100%	46 36 2 <u>16</u> 100%

+Less than 1 percent

Job 1002

TABLE 3-2

Self-Reported Drug Use at 1984 Index Arrest: Comparison of Persons Not on Probation, with Closed Case, and on Probation as of 1/31/87

Open probation case at sometime after

		<u>1984 index</u>	arrest: Status	on_1/31/87
Drug use measures in 1984	No Probation after 1984 <u>index arrest</u> (N=4566)	Case closed: <u>term_over</u> (N=280)	Open case: <u>not_Manhattan</u> (N=237)	Open case: <u>in_Manhattan</u> (N=332)
Ever Used:	%	%	%	%
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	40 28 18 10	38 22 11 14	35 16 9 9	42 21 15 13
Ever Dependent:				
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	12 21 11 2	9 13 6 1	6 10 5 1	11 16 10 2
Now Dependent:				
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	8 11 6 1	6 7 3 *	3 4 3 0	6 9 6 *
<u>Used last 48 hour</u> before arrest:	<u>15</u>			
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	19 13 2 3	18 9 1 2	12 8 1 3	20 11 2 2

Job 1002

TABLE 3-2 Continued

Open probation case at sometime after 1984 index arrest: Status on 1/31/87

Self-reported drug use measures in 1984	No Probation after 1984 <u>index arrest</u> (N=4566)	Case closed: <u>term_over</u> (N=280)	Open case: <u>not_Manhattan</u> (N=237)	Open case: in Manhattan (N=332)
Ever in treatment:	21%	14%	10%	19%
Need treatment nNov	<u>w:</u> 21%	18%	11%	17%
If used cocaine, (N	:) (1754)	(99)	(79)	(132)
Percent ever injected	<u>l:</u>			
Cocaine Cocaine + Heroin	9 36	11 20	3 23	4 27
Urine test results:				
Negative	45	45	52	42
Positive: (Any drug)	55	55	48	58
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	42 21 8 12	41 16 6 12	33 13 4 12	45 18 8 16
Number of Drugs Positive:				
0 1 2 or More	45 33 _22 100%	46 37 _ <u>17</u> 100%	52 37 _ <u>11</u> 100%	42 33 <u>35</u> 100%

*Less than 1 percent

Job 1002



TABLE 3-3

Criminal Justice Contacts and Outcomes of 1984 Index Arrest: Comparison of Persons Not on Probation, with Closed Cases, and with Active Probation as of 1/31/87

		1984 index arrest: Status on 1/31/87			
Relative to 1984 index arrest	No Probation after 1984 <u>index arrest</u> (N=4566)	Case closed: <u>term over</u> (N=280)	Open case: <u>not Manhattan</u> (N=237)	Open case: <u>in Manhattan</u> (N=332)	
<u>Number of prior</u> arrests:	%	%	%	%	
0 1 2 3 or More	42 17 11 <u>30</u> 100%	34 26 12 <u>28</u> 100%	38 25 13 <u>24</u> 100%	45 21 15 <u>18</u> 99%+	
Number of rearrests after 1984 index arrest to Nov. 1987					
0 1 2 or More	42 15 <u>43</u> 100%	20 13 _ <u>67</u> 100%	22 17 <u>61</u> 100%	28 16 <u>56</u> 100%	
Charge type:					
Felony Misdemeanor	77 _23 100%	85 <u>15</u> 100%	83 <u>17</u> 100%	91 9 100%	

Open probation case at sometime after

TABLE 3-3 Continued

Open probation case at sometime after 1984 index arrest: Status on 1/31/87

	No Probation after 1984 <u>index arrest</u> (N=4566)	Case closed: <u>term over</u> (N=280)	Open case: <u>not Manhattan</u> (N=237)	Open case: <u>in Manhattan</u> (N=332)
<u>Charge type</u> <u>most serious charge</u> ot 1984 index errort				
at 1984 index arrest: Possession of drugs	13	40	Ó L	47
Sale of drugs	7	13 9	8	17
Poss. stolen property		10	11	8
	9 2	2		10
Forgery	7		4	3
Burglary Murdor/Monoloughton		10 •	6	8
Murder/Manslaughter		4 7	10	1
Larceny	13	17	18	12
Robbery	13	19	19	15
Weapons Stolen Credit Cards	3	3	5	8
Criminal mischief			3	n an
	2	2	2	. 1
Gambling Sexual assault	3		0	an a
	2 3		1	1
Public order		1	1	2
Assault	11	8	6	8
Fare beating Fraud	2		3	-
			2	0
Other offenses	<u>6</u> 100%	_ <u>4</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u> 5</u> 100%
Disposition of				
<u>1984 index</u>				
arrest:				
Criminal Court				
Warrant	6	3	3	1
Pending	1		0	1
Guilty	49	48	50	40
ACQ, Dismissed	28	16	12	16
Supreme Court				
Warrant	1	0		1
Pending	- e 1	0	1	1
Guilty	12	29	29	34
ACQ, Dismissed	_2	4	5	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%
		JOr		
		34		

TABLE 3-3 Continued

Open probation case at sometime after 1984 index arrest: Status on 1/31/87

	No Probation after 1984 <u>index arrest</u> (N=4566)	Case closed: <u>term over</u> (N≃280)	Open case: <u>not Manhattan</u> (N=237) (Open case: <u>in Manhattan</u> (N=332)
Sentence for 1984 index arrest (among those quilty): In criminal court				
Time served	15	4	3	9
Jail	57	35	31	27
Probation	*	43	38	39
Fine	1	0	1	2
Other	_27	_19	27	_23
	100%	100%	100%	100%
In supreme court				
Time Served	4	0	0	0
Prison	92	27	7	4
Probation	*	59	90	84
Fine	0	0	0	0
Other	7	14	3	11
	100%	100%	100%	<u> </u>
		/•		10070

*Less than 1 percent Job 1002

TABLE 3-4

Demographic Comparison of Noninterviewed with Interviewed Manhattan Probationers Followed-up in 1987

Age at index arrest:	Noninterviewed <u>Probationers</u> (N=250) <u>%</u>	Interviewed <u>Probationers</u> (N=82) <u>%</u>
16-17 years old	19	18
18-20 years old	17	27
21-25 years old	23	21
26-30 years old	17	17
31-35 years old	11	8
36-40 years old	5	7
41+ years old	<u>8</u>	
Education Level:	100%	100%
Less than high schoo	60	57
High school / GED	26	31
College	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Marital Status:</u>	100%	100%
Single, never married	72	77
Married	12	9
Divorced/separated	10	5
Common law	6	9
Widow	0	<u>0</u>
<u>Ethnicity:</u>	100%+	100%
Black	51	61
White	11	7
Hispanic	37	28
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
Employment:	100%	100%
Unemployed Employed full/part tim Odd jobs only Mainly in school	47 e 36 2 <u>15</u> 100%	40 39 1 _ <u>20</u> 100%

Job 1002

TABLE 3-5

At 1984 Index Arrest	Noninterviewed <u>Probationer</u> (N=250)	Interviewed <u>Probationers</u> (N=82)
Ever used:	26	<u>%</u>
Cocaine	42	43
Heroin	23	16
Methadone	17	11
PCP	14	10
Ever dependent:		
Cocaine	12	10
Heroin	17	12
Methadone	10	10
PCP	2	1
Now dependent:		
Cocaine	6	7
Heroin	10	5
Methadone	6	7
PCP	*	0
<u>Ever in treatment:</u>	20%	18%
Need treatment nov	<u>v:</u> 19%	11%
Ever injected: N = Cocaine Cocaine and Hero	(97) 1 in 12	(35) 2 8
	an manager a	-

Drug Use (in 1984) of Interviewed and Noninterviewed Probationers Followed-up in 1987

t i

TABLE 3-5 Continued

Used last 48 hrs before arrest:Cocaine1922Heroin136Methadone21PCP22Urine test results:22Negative4144Postive:4144			(N=82)
before arrest:Cocaine1922Heroin136Methadone21PCP22Urine test results:2Negative4144			
Heroin136Methadone21PCP22Urine test results:4144			
Heroin136Methadone21PCP22Urine test results:41Negative4144	caine	19	22
Methadone21PCP22Urine test results:41Negative41			
PCP22Urine_test_results:Negative4144	ethadone		
Negative 41 44			
Negative 41 44			
	ine test results:		
Postive:	gative	41	44
	stive		
Cocaine 44 47		AA	47
Cocaine 44 47 Heroin 20 11			
PCP 16 15		-	
			CI
Number of drug	mber of drug		
Postive:			
0 41 45	0	41	45
1 34 29	.1	34	_
2 or More	2 or More	_25	
100% 100%+		100%	

*Less than 1 percent

Job 1002

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TABLE 3-6 Criminal Background of Noninterviewed and Interviewed Follow-up Probationers

	Noninterview Probationer (N=250) %		Interviewed <u>Probationers</u> (N=82) %
Charge type:	•••		~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
Felony Misdemeanor <u>Most serious charge</u> at 1984 index arrest			95 <u>5</u> 100%
Possession of drugs Sale of drugs Poss. stolen property Forgery Burglary Murder/Manslaughte Larceny Robbery Weapons Stolen Credit Cards Criminal mischief Gambling Sexual assault Public order Assault Fare beating Fraud Other offenses	3 9		$ \begin{array}{c} 21\\ 10\\ 7\\ 1\\ 8\\ 21\\ 10\\ 0\\ 2\\ 1\\ 0\\ 10\\ 10\\ 1\\ 0\\ -0\\ 100\% \end{array} $
Disposition of 1984 Criminal court Warrant Pending Guilty ACQ,Dismissed Job 1002	1 1 40 17	39	0 0 38 15

TABLE 3-6 Continued

	Noninterviewed <u>Probationer</u> (N=250) <u>%</u>	Interviewed <u>Probationers</u> (N=82) <u>%</u>
Supreme court Warrant Pending Guilty ACQ, Dismissed	2 1 33 <u>5</u> 100%	0 1 40 <u>6</u> 100%
<u>Number of arrests</u> prior to 1984 index arrest		
0 1 2 3+	45 21 16 <u>18</u> 100%	45 23 11 <u>21</u> 100%
Number of rearrests after 1984 index ar to Nov 1987 0 1 2 or More		22 17 <u>61</u> 100%

*Less than 1 percent

TABLE 3-7

Comparison of Interviewed Probationers with Nonrespondents and Refusals (Among Manhattan Probationers) At Followup in 1987

At 1984 index arrest	Attempted contact but never responded (N=34)		Contacted and <u>refused</u> (N=11)
	%	%	%
Ever used:			
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	34 20 17 11	43 16 11 10	46 9 9 0
Ever dependent:			
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	0 14 11 3	10 12 10 2	9 9 9 0
Now dependent:			
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	0 11 6 3	7 5 7 0	9 9 9 0
Ever in treatment:	20%	18%	9%
Need treatment nov	<u>v:</u> 12%	11%	9%
(Among cocaine use		(35)	(5)
<u>Ever injected drugs</u> Cocaine Cocaine + Heroin	0 9 41	2 9	0 9

TABLE 3-7 Continued

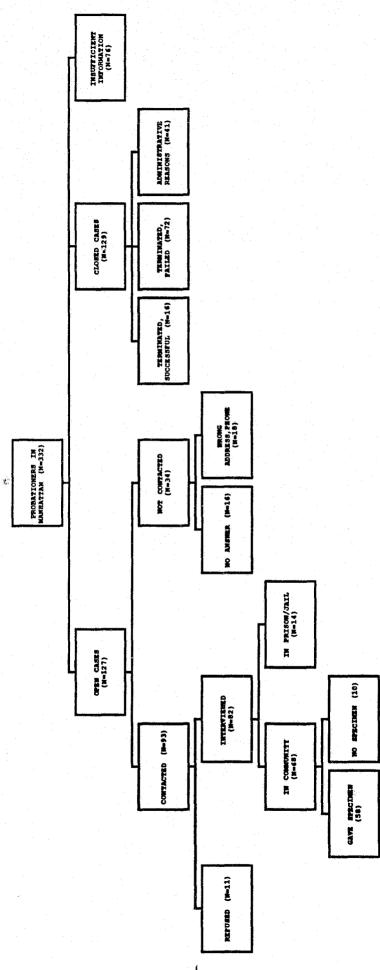
At 1984 Index Arrest	Attempted contact but never responded (N=34)	Contacted and interviewed (N=82)	Contacted and <u>refused</u> (N=11)
<u>Used last 48 hrs</u> before arrest:			
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	17 14 6 3	22 6 1 2	27 9 0 0
<u>Urine test results:</u>			
Negative Postive: Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	48 52 45 14 7 7	44 56 47 11 10 15	66 34 33 11 0 0
Number of Drug Postive:			
0 1 2 or More	48 38 <u>14</u> 100	45 29 <u>26</u> 100	67 22 <u>11</u> 100

TABLE 3-8

Self-Reported Drug Use in 1984: Comparison of Interviewed Follow-up Probationers, By Whether A Specimen Was Provided in 1987 Follow-up

Drug Charge at Index Arrest:	Provided Specimen (N=58) % 30	<u>No Specimen</u> (N=10) % 40
Ever Used:		
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	43 21 14 9	40 0 0 20
Ever Dependent:		
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	12 16 12 2	0 0 0 0
Now Dependent:		
Cocaine Heroin Methadone PCP	9 7 9 0	0 0 0 0
Ever in Treatment:	24	0
Need Treatment Now:	16	0
Ever Injected Drugs: (Among cocaine users) N	= (25)	(4)
Cocaine Cocaine + Heroin	3 11	0 0

*Excludes 14 subjects interviewed at correctional facilities, where we did not ask for a specimen.



4

Figure 3.1

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Followup Sample

CHAPTER4

Continuity and Change in Drug Use Patterns Among Probationers

By

Bruce Johnson and Eric D. Wish

A primary focus of this research is upon the drug use patterns of probationers. This chapter presents findings about their self-reports of drug use and their urine test results by comparing data collected at two separate times, in 1984 and in 1987.

During the three intervening years, however, this research (Wish, Brady, Cuadrado, 1984, 1986; Wish, Cuadrado, Martorana, 1986; Wish 1987) has documented extensive changes in patterns of drug use among arrestees in New York City. In particular, cocaine use and crack use has approximately doubled among arrestees. Among Manhattan arrestees, about 40 percent in 1984 but almost 80 percent in 1986 were positive for cocaine via urinalysis. Such increases in cocaine use are likely to impact upon drug use patterns of probationers, a fact documented below.

In the following analyses, data from the 82 subjects who were interviewed in 1987 are included. As described earlier, however, 14 of these subjects were interviewed in prison-jail and were not asked for urine samples. Among probationers at liberty at interview (68 subjects), several did not provide specimens in either 1987 or 1984. Thus, the number of subjects varies in each table.

Continuity in Employment

The probationers interviewed in 1987 showed slight improvement in

their employment when compared with their situation in 1984 (Table 4.1). About 60 percent those with some employment or in school in 1984 reported full time jobs in 1987. Even among those unemployed in 1984, almost half reported full time employment in 1987. Relatively few employed persons in 1984 were unemployed in 1987. But the general improvement in employment documented here for these 68 subjects at liberty in 1987 may not have been experienced by the many probationers whom we were unable to contact for interviews nor by the 14 subjects who were in jail at the time of interview in 1987.

Lifetime Use of Specific Drug(s)

To measure consistency of self-reported drug use, probationers were asked to report whether they had used specific drug(s) in their lifetime both in 1984 and 1987. [Self-reports by 14 probationers in jail at interview are included only in Table 4.2.]

Over 90 percent of persons reporting lifetime use of heroin or cocaine in 1984 also reported such use in 1987. Among those denying (in 1984) lifetime use of heroin, PCP, and methadone, only a quarter or less apparently initiated the use of each substances by 1987. Among probationers denying lifetime cocaine use in 1984, almost half (45 percent) reported cocaine use by 1987. Apparently a much larger proportion of these probationers initiated cocaine use than initiated heroin or other drug use.

Overall, considerable continuity is evident in probationer selfreports of lifetime use of specific drugs, although a very sizable proportion of 1984 cocaine nonusers reported cocaine use by 1987. These results are consistent with other research showing a marked increase in recent cocaine use in persons arrested in New York City since 1984 (Wish 1987).

Self-Reports of Drug Use 24-48 hrs. Prior to Interview

Subjects were also asked, in both 1984 and 1987, to report their use of specific drugs in the 24-48 hours prior to interview (Table 4.3). These data suggest relatively low levels of recent use of all substances except methadone. That is, three-quarters or more of probationers who reported recent heroin or cocaine use in 1984 denied very recent use of these drugs in 1987. The vast majority of subjects who denied very recent use in 1984 continued to deny recent use in 1987.

The number of drugs reported to have been used recently in 1984 was strongly related to the number of drugs used recently in 1987. Relatively low proportion (20 percent) of probationers who reported zero drugs recently used in 1984 reported very recent drug use of one or more drugs in 1987. Among those who reported very recent use of two or more drugs in 1984, 87 percent reported very recent use of one or more drugs in 1987.

Urinalysis Results

A primary emphasis of this analysis, is to explore the use of EMIT urinalysis results as a means of checking self-reported use of drugs. Of the 82 interviewed probationers, 14 were located in jail or prison and not asked for urine specimens, 10 chose not to provide a specimen in 1987, and 6 had not provided a specimen in 1984. Thus, only 52 subjects provided urine specimens in both 1984 and 1987. It is likely that the probationers who provided urine specimens in both years may be somewhat more conventional (and possibly less heavy drug users) than probationers returned to jail-prison and those who refused to provide specimens in either 1984 or 1987. In short, the concordance of urine test results presented in Table 4.4 are apt to be conservative and understate concordance of drug use between 1984 and 1987.

Despite the passage of three years and the fact they were at liberty in 1987, over two thirds of probationers who were positive in 1984 for heroin, cocaine, and methadone were also positive for these same drugs in 1987. Half of probationers positive for two or more drugs in 1984 were positive for two or more drugs in 1987, and all were positive for at least one drug. Three quarters of those positive for one drug in 1984 were also positive in 1987, usually for one drug.

Over 90 percent of those who were drug negative in 1984 were also drug negative in 1987 for heroin, PCP, and methadone. Of those negative for cocaine in 1984, however, over half were positive for cocaine in 1987.

The central finding from these urine test results among 52 subjects demonstrates remarkable continuity among those who were drug positive in 1984. Among those who were drug negative in 1984, however, the majority became drug positive, primarily cocaine, at interview in 1987 while on probation.

The one encouraging finding is evidence of a decline in PCP use by users of that drug. Almost all subjects who reported lifetime use of PCP in 1984 also reported lifetime use in 1987 (Table 4.2), but none of those who reported very recent PCP in 1984 did so in 1987. Likewise, among the 8 subjects whose urines were positive for PCP in 1984, only one (12 percent) was positive for PCP in 1987. This decline in PCP use among individual probationers is also reflected in trends towards lower levels of PCP use among arrestees in 1986-7 (Wish 1987).

Self-Reported Drug Use and Urinalysis Results

How closely do self-reports of drug use correspond to urinalysis results, both in 1984 and 1987? The results in Table 4.5 show that

persons who admit to recent use of drugs are very likely to provide positive specimens for those drugs in both years. Likewise, among persons who denied very recent use of heroin, PCP, and methadone, almost all were drug negative in both years.

The major discrepancies involved cocaine. Approximately a third of subjects who denied cocaine use in 1984 provided a cocaine positive urine at the index arrest. This percentage increased to nearly 60 percent in 1987. In short, among these probationers at liberty and who provided urine specimens in both 1984 & 1987, denial of cocaine use was greater in 1987 than three years earlier. But cocaine appears to be the only substance of the four substance for which such denial was common. Similar findings of concealment of cocaine use have been found in the cities participating in the national DUF program (NIJ DUF Annual Report 1988).

Summary

This analysis of the concordance of self-reported drug use and urinalysis results among probationers shows very striking continuity and consistency at two different points in time, three years apart, especially for heroin and methadone. That is, in both 1984 and 1987, those who reported very recent use generally tested positive, and those who denied very recent use were typically negative, for heroin and methadone. PCP use by these probationers appeared to have declined considerably between 1984 and 1987, although the number of subjects with any use was very small.

The major change evident in these data involved cocaine. Relatively large proportions of these subjects probably were not cocaine users in 1984 when arrested for the crime which brought them into the URANUS study. Approximately half of such "noncocaine" users apparently initiated cocaine use by 1987 and provided cocaine positive urines in that year. The end result is that very few probationers in 1987 in Manhattan are likely to be true nonusers of cocaine -- a finding which is also true for most arrestees (NIJ DUF Annual Report 1988: Wish 1990). Moreover, the proportion who are very recent cocaine users may be as high or even higher among probationers who were returned to incarceration (interviewed in jail, but no specimens were obtained), and among probationers who did not give urine specimens in either 1984 or 1987.

Table 4.1

Employment in 1984 and 1987

	Unemployed	1984 Employed Full Time	Employed Part Time	In School
1987	(N=27)	(N=25)	(N=5)	(N=11)
Unemployed	44%	16%	40%	18%
Employed Full Time	45%	60%	60%	64%
Employed Part Time	11%	16%	0	18%
In School	0	8%	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4.2

Self Reported Lifetime Use of Specific Drugs in 1987 As a Function of Lifetime Use of 1984

Lifetime Lies of Drug in 1097	Lifetime Use of Drug in 1984		
Lifetime Use of Drug in 1987	No		Yes
Heroin	(N=69)	Heroin	(N=13)
No Yes	80% 20%		8% 92%
	100%		100%
Cocaine	(N=47)	Cocaine	(N=35)
No Yes	55% 45%		6% 94%
	100%		100%
DOD	(N=74)	PCP	(N=8)
PCP No Yes	76% 24%		25% 75%
	100%		100%
Methadone*	(N=73)	Methadon	e* (N=9)
No Yes	88% 12%		33% 67%
	100%		100%

*includes legal and illegal methadone. Note: The 82 subjects included here include 14 persons interviewed at jail in 1987.

TABLE 4.3

SELF- REPORTED USE IN PAST 24-48 HOURS OF SPECIFIC DRUGS IN 1984 AND 1987

1987 Drug Used 24-48 Hours Before Interview	No		Yes
Heroin	(N=63)	Heroin	(N=5)
No Yes	92% 8%		80% 20%
	100%		100%
Cocaine	(N=53)	Cocaine	(N=15)
No Yes	89% 11%		73% 27%
	100%		100%
РСР	(N=66)	РСР	(N=2)
No Yes	100% 0		100% 0
	100%		100%
Methadone*	(N=63)	Methador	ne* (N=5)
No Yes	92% 8%		20% 80%
	100%		100%

1984 Drug Used 24-48 Hours Before Interview

Number of Drugs Reported in 24-48 Hours Before Arrest in 1984

Number of Drugs Reported in 24-48 Hours Before Arrest in 1987 None One Two or More (N=10) (N=50) (N=8) None 84% 50% 13% One 12% 75% 40% Two or more 4% 10% 12% 100% 100% 100%

*includes legal and illegal methadone.

Table 4.4

Urinalysis Results for Specific Drugs in 1984 and 1987

Urine Test Results for Specific Drug in 1984

t Results for Drug in 1987	Negative	Positive
Opiates	(N=45)	Opiates (N=7)
Negative Positive	89% 11%	29% 71%
	100%	100%
Cocaine	(N=25)	Cocaine (N=27)
Negative Positive	44% 56%	26% 74%
	100%	100%
PCP	(N=44)	PCP (N=8)
Negative Positive	98% 2%	88% 12%
	100%	100%
Methadone*	(N=46)	Methadone* (N=6)
Negative Positive	91% 9%	33% 67%
	100%	100%

Number Drugs Detected 1984

Number of Drugs Detected 1987	None (N=20)	One (N=16)	Two or More (N=16)
None One Two or More	45% 40% 15%	25% 63% 12%	50% 50%
	100%	100%	100%

*includes legal and illegal methadone.

TABLE 4.5

Concordance Between Self-Reported Drug Use and Urine Test Results for Specific Drugs in 1984 and 1987

Self Reported Drug Use in 24-48 Hours Before Arrest

Line Trees Describe		1984		1987
Urine Test Results in the Same Year	No	Yes	No	Yes
		Heroin		Heroin
Opiates	(N=50)	(N=2)	(N=52	
Negative Positive	88% 12%	50% 50%	879 139	
	100%	100%	1004	76 100%
		Cocaine		Cocaine
Cooping	(N=40)	(N=12)	(N=4	
Cocaine Negative Positive	63% 37%	0 100%	429 589	
	100%	100%	1004	76 100%
		PCP		PCP
	(N=50)	(N=2)	(N=5	
PCP	• • •			
Negative Positive	88% 12%	0 100%	969 49	
	100%	100%	100	70
		Methadone		Methadone
	(N=47)	(N=5)	(N=4	
Methadone		•		-
Negative Positive	98% 2%	0 100%	98° 2'	
	100%	100%	10	0% 100%
	Number of Drug in 198	s Reported 4	Number of Dr in 19	ugs Reported 87
Urine Test				
Results	None One (N=37) (N=10	Two or More)) (N=5)	None One (N=38) (N=10	Two or More 5) (N=4)
None	54% 0	0	37% 0	0
One	30% 50%	0	53% 509	% 0
Two or More	16% 50%	100%	10% 50	% 100%
	100% 100%	100%	100% 100	0% 100%

CHAPTER5

Urine Test Results and Subsequent Behavior on Probation BY

Bruce Johnson and Eric D. Wish

A major purpose of this research was to ascertain whether urine tests at arrest in 1984 were associated with criminal outcomes while on probation and the types of services sought and needed by drug using probationers. Specifically, among probationers interviewed in 1987, we wished to learn whether the number and types of arrests after the 1984 index arrest varied according to the number of drugs detected at this earlier time.

Probation officers are expected (among their many other responsibilities) to assist or "encourage" probationers in gaining access or referring them to needed drug and alcohol treatment services. That is, were the most drug-involved offenders in 1984 more likely to be known as drug users by probation officers and to receive assistance or referrals to drug treatment?

In this chapter, the primary independent variable is urinalysis results obtained at the 1984 index arrest. These analyses are limited to the 72 subjects who were interviewed at followup in summer 1987 and who had provided a urine specimen at their 1984 index arrest¹. As mentioned in the last chapter, the results may be conservative since many of the most serious offenders were not included in this study by absconding, lost to followup, or refusal to be interviewed.

¹While 82 subjects provided usable interviews in 1987, 10 probationers had not provided urine specimens in 1984, and have been excluded from the analyses which follow.

I. Criminal Justice Contacts by Urine Test Results in 1984.

At The 1984 Index Arrest

All subjects in this followup study had been arrested in 1984 and 72 of them provided a urine specimen which was analyzed at that time. Almost all probationers were charged with felonies at their 1984 index arrests (Table 5.1). Among subjects positive for two or more drugs in 1984, over half had two or more prior arrests compared with a quarter of the other persons positive for none or one drug. In comparison with persons with a negative urinalysis, those positive for one drug were more likely to be charged with robbery and drug sales, while those positive for two drugs were primarily charged with drug possession. Those positive for two or more drugs were most likely to have their 1984 index arrest acquitted or dismissed, guilty dispositions most often occurred in criminal court, and they were least likely to receive a probation sentence. (Table 5.1)

(Table 5.1 about here)

After 1984

Over half of these subjects were rearrested within a year to year and a half after their 1984 index arrest (arrests to 1987 were not obtained). In comparison with those with one or no drug detected, about twice as many subjects positive for two or more drugs had two or more rearrests by 8-31-85; these were primarily misdemeanor arrests (Table 5.2). The latter group was most likely to be arrested for drug possession, drug sales, and assault. Several subjects had periods of incarceration, mainly local jail time, both before and after the 1984 Index Arrest (Table 5.2). In the year and a half period beforehand, a quarter of those positive for two or more drugs had jail time, typically less than 30 days, while other subjects were less often jailed. Probably because more pled guilty in criminal court (Table 5.1), subjects positive for two or more drugs were less likely to have jail time during the pretrial period than those positive for one or zero drugs. The 1984 urinalysis results were not associated with the incarceration time after dispositive for 2+ drugs at the 1984 Index arrest (Table 5.2). In short, while subjects positive for 2+ drugs at the 1984 Index arrest had somewhat more arrests beforehand and afterwards, they were not more likely to be incarcerated or jailed for longer time periods than subjects positive for one or no drugs.

(Table 5.2 about here)

Probation History

The subjects in our followup study were asked to report on their prior probation histories and current contacts with probation officers in 1987 (Table 5.3). While subjects who were positive for two or more drugs in 1984 were somewhat more likely (50 vs. 40 percent) to have had any previous probation experience, they were over twice as likely to have had two prior probation sentences as those positive for one drug or zero drugs in 1984. Regardless of number of drugs detected in 1984, virtually all subjects were arrested during their last probation term or for their last arrest (Table 5.3).

Subjects positive for 2+ drugs at 1984 index arrest were most

likely (81 percent) to have the same probation officer this term and a third reported to their officer twice a month or more frequently. Subjects positive for only one drug in 1984 were not different than those with zero drugs detected in their probation histories. In short, urinalysis test results in 1984 are only weakly associated with probation histories of these followup subjects.

(Table 5.3 about here)

II. Probationer Needs and Assistance from Probation Officer

What do these probationers need or perceive themselves as needing? How are such needs related to their drug use? Our followup subjects were asked which of a variety of social services, including drug and alcohol treatment, they needed help with and whether their probation officer had assisted them in meeting those needs.

Their 1984 urinalysis results were quite strongly related to perceived needs for services and gaining assistance from probation officer. (Table 5.4) In comparison with subjects negative for all drugs, those with 2+ drugs detected in 1984 were more likely to need employment (37 vs. 63 percent), counseling (19 vs. 68 percent), legal aid (12 vs. 32 percent), drug treatment (9 vs. 32 percent), and alcohol treatment (3 vs. 10 percent).

(Table 5.4 about here)

Subject reports of assistance from probation officers was substantial, and linked to drug use in 1984. In comparison with subjects with zero drugs, those with 2+ drugs detected in 1984 were more likely to report assistance from probation officer in employment (16 vs. 32 percent), counseling (25 vs. 42 percent), legal aid (6 vs. 16 percent), and drug treatment (12 vs. 21 percent). Subjects with only one drug detected in 1984 were most likely to report assistance from probation officers in the areas of employment and education.

Evidence in the previous chapter (Table 4.4-bottom) suggests that 84 percent of these subjects were positive for one or more drugs at either their 1984 index arrest or at our followup interview. Yet the vast majority of subjects perceived that their probation officer did not think they had a drug problem (Table 5.4). Only a fifth of subjects positive for two or more drugs at 1984 Index Arrest perceived that their probation officer thought they had a drug problem, and only 6 percent asked their probation officer for help in entering drug treatment.

In short, important discrepancies exist between the subject's self-reported needs and assistance provided by probation officer. In the particularly important area of drug use, considerable evidence of concealment is evident. That is, among subjects positive for two or more drugs at 1984 index arrest, all tested positive (who provided urines) in 1987 (Table 4.4). Yet only a fifth perceived their probation officer as aware, and only 6 percent requested help in entering treatment. Such concealment should not surprising since many probation officer would be likely to revoke probation and send the subject to jail if they were to learn of his continued abuse (primarily of cocaine and heroin).

Involvements in Various Forms of Drug-Alcoho! Treatments

Given that a very substantial majority of the followup subjects, and probably most probationers in New York City, have extensive and ongoing drug use-abuse histories, this section explores their participation in specific forms of drug treatment, and the role of legal pressure. Subjects positive for two or more drugs at the 1984 index arrest were considerably more likely to have past or current treatment than subjects with zero drugs or even one drug detected in 1984 (Table 5.5). The probation officer may not have known about such treatment, especially in the past.

Specifically, about two-fifths of subjects positive for two or more drugs at the 1984 Index Arrest had been in methadone maintenance or drug detoxification versus less than 10 percent among other subjects. Methadone maintenance was the only drug modality in which several probationers were currently active. Court orders to enter drug treatment were rare as was probation officer assistance in entering treatment. While several subjects reported alcohol related treatments, current enrollment was generally low; Alcoholics Anonymous was very rarely attended by these probationer subjects.

(Table 5.5 about here)

Cocaine and Preferred Method of Administration

Given the widespread use of cocaine by 1987, our interview schedule asked persons who self-reported cocaine use about their preferred method of consumption. Among subjects positive for two or more drugs at the 1984 Index Arrest, 44 percent preferred snorting, 22 percent preferred crack, and 17 percent preferred speedballs (injecting a mixture of heroin and cocaine). Among persons who were drug negative at the 1984 index arrest, but became cocaine users by 1987, over half preferred shorting it, while 38 percent preferred crack, and only 5 percent preferred speedballs.

(Table 5.6 about here)

Summary

While the vast majority of these probationers appear to be quite extensively involved with drugs, both by self-report and as detected by urinalysis (Chapter 4), and while many (but much lower proportions) report needing drug treatment, and while many have prior drug treatment histories, very few probationer are currently enrolled in any type of treatment and fewer are referred to treatment by the courts or probation officers.

On the other hand, urinalysis results at the 1984 Index Arrest are not consistently associated with criminal justice contacts or outcomes. Among the subjects in this followup study, those positive for 2+ drugs have more prior and subsequent arrests than those positive for one or zero drugs, but they were less likely to be convicted and sentenced to probation at the 1984 Index arrest, and had amounts of jail time similar to that of nonusers.

62-

Criminal Justice Measures at 1984 Index Arrest by Urinalysis Results in 1984

	Numbe	r of Drugs Positive i	<u>n 1984</u>
Number of Arrests	<u>None</u> (N=32)	<u>One</u> (N=21)	Two or More (N=19)
Before 1984			
None One Two or More	53% 22% 25%	29% 43% 28%	42% 5% 53%
	100%	100%	100%
1984 Index Arrest was a:			
Misdemeanor Felony	3% 97%	5% 95%	5% 95%
	100%	100%	100%
Charge at 1984 Index Arrest			
Murder Robbery Assault Burglary Larceny Stolen Property Forgery Drug Sale Drug Possession Gambling Weapons Fare Beat	3% 19% 9% 9% 3% 0% 13% 0% 16% 0%	$\begin{array}{c} 0\% \\ 33\% \\ 0\% \\ 0\% \\ 10\% \\ 14\% \\ 0\% \\ 19\% \\ 14\% \\ 5\% \\ 5\% \\ 5\% \\ 0\% \\ \hline 100\% \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0\% \\ 5\% \\ 5\% \\ 11\% \\ 6\% \\ 5\% \\ 5\% \\ 0\% \\ 42\% \\ 5\% \\ 11\% \\ 5\% \\ \hline 100\% \end{array}$
Disposition of 1984 Index Case			
Criminal Court Guilty Acquitted/Dismissed	35% 16%	40% 10%	58% 26%
Supreme Court Pending Guilty Acquitted/Dismissed	0% 40% 9%	5% 40% 5%	0% 16% 0%
	100%	100%	100%
Percent sentenced to Probation in Criminal or Supreme Court:	53%	48%	26%

Criminal Justice OutcomeMeasures During Followup Period by Urinalysis Results in 1984 Number of Drugs Positive in 1984

After 1984 Index Arrests	<u>None</u> (N=32)	<u>One</u> (N=21)	Two or More (N=19)
to August 31, 1985			
Number of Arrests			
None One Two or More	41% 38% 21%	43% 29% 28%	21% 26% 53%
	100%	100%	100%
Charge at Arrest *			
Drug Possession Drug Sale Assault Burglary Criminal Mischief Larceny Robbery Stolen Property Weapons <u>Number of Misdemear</u> <u>Arrests</u> None	53%	14% 9% 0% 5% 10% 14% 5% 10% 5%	32% 26% 22% 0% 11% 10% 10% 16% 16%
One Two or More	32% 15%	17% 16%	33% 27%
Number of Felony Arr	100%	100%	100%
None One Two or More	26% 53% 21%	25% 42% 33%	20% 47% 33%
	100%	100%	100%

* Each separate arrest is counted once; sum may exceed 100 percent.

	<u>None</u> (N=32)	<u>One</u> (N=21)	Two or More (N=19)
Incarcerations from January 1, 1983 and September 4, 1985			
Days incarcerated 1/183 to Day of 1984 Index Arrest			
None 1-30 Days 31-90 Days 91-365 Days	87% 10% 0% 3%	95% 5% 0% 0%	74% 21% 5% 0%
	100%	100%	100%
Days incarcerated from 1984 Index Arrest to Its Disposition			
None 1-30 Days 31-90 Days 91-365 Days	68% 26% 3% 3% 100%	62% 33% 0% 5% 100%	79% 21% 0% 0% 100%
Days incarcerated from Disposition to 8/4/85 None 1-30 Days 31-90 Days 91-365 Days	68% 13% 6% 13%	71% 19% 0% 10%	68% 11% 11% 10%
	100%	100%	100%

Number of Drugs Positive in 1984

Probation History as of 1987 By Number of Drugs Positive in 1984 Number of Drugs Positive in 1984

(N=32) (N=21) (N=19) $(N=19)$ $(N=10)$ $(N=10$	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	
Frequency of Reporting to the PO:	
Once a week13%-11%Twice a month21%	
Once a month 87% 81% 63% Less than once a	
month - 19% 5% 100% 100% 100%	
Arrested During this Last Term of Probation:	
No-5%-Yes66%47%63%On probation now due to	
last arrest 34% 48% 37%	
100% 100% 100%	
Had Same PO thisTerm:*NoneOneTwo or M(N=25)(N=18)(N=16)	
No48%44%19%Yes52%56%81%	
*14 inmates not asked.	

Assistance Needed by the Probationer in 1987 By Number of Drugs Positive in 1984

	Number of Drugs Positive in 1984			
	<u>None</u> (N=32)	<u>One</u> (N=21)	<u>Two or More</u> (N=19)	
<u>In 1987.</u> <u>Needs help</u> <u>with:</u>				
Employment Education Counseling Legal Aid	37% 41% 19% 12%	57% 52% 14% 14%	63% 47% 68% 32%	
Drug Treatment Alcohol Treatment	9% 3%	5% 5%	32% 10%	
Probation Officer assisted in: Employment Education Counseling Legal Aid Drug Treatment Alcohol Treatment	16% 6% 25% 6% 12% 9%	52% 33% 9% 5% 5%	32% 16% 42% 16% 21% 5%	
<u>Does PO Think</u> <u>You Have A</u> Drug Problem:	None	- <u>One</u>	<u>Two or More</u>	
<u>Drug i rocionii</u>	(N=32)	(N=21)	(N=19)	
No Yes Don't Know	84% 9% 6%	81% 14% 5%	68% 21% 11%	
	100%	100%	100%	
Did you ever ask PO for help in Entering Treatment:				
Yes, Drug No	13% 87%	5% 95%	6% 94%	
	100%	100%	100%	

Drug or Alcohol Treatment as of 1987 By Number of Drugs Positive in 1984

	Number of Drugs Positive in 1984		
	<u>None</u> (N=32)	<u>One</u> (N=21)	Two or More (N=19)
Type of Treatment Attended:			
Methadone Maintenance Therapeutic Community Drug Detoxification Alcohol Detoxification Other Drug/Alc Treatment Alcoholics Anonymous	0 12% 6% 9% 6% 9%	10% 14% 10% 0 19% 0	42% 26% 37% 5% 32% 10%
Now in Treatment:			
Methadone Maintenance Therapeutic Community Drug Detoxification Alcohol Detoxification Other Drug/Alc Treatment Alcoholics Anonymous	3% 0 0 0 6% 3%	0 0 0 10% 0	26% 0 5% 0 11% 0
Entered Treatment on Court Order:			
Methadone Maintenance Therapeutic Community Drug Detoxification Alcohol Detoxification Other Drug/Alc Treatment Alcoholics Anonymous	0 3% 0 6% 0 3%	0 0 0 0 0 0 0	16% 5% 5% 0 5% 0
PO Helped to Enter Program:			
Methadone Maintenance Therapeutic Community Drug Detoxification Alcohol Detoxification Other Drug/Alc Treatment Alcoholics Anonymous	0 6% 0 3% 0 3%	0 0 0 0 0 0	11% 5% 11% 0 5% 0

Preferred Method of Taking Cocaine in 1987 By Number of Drugs Positive in 1984

	Nu	umber of Drugs Positive in 1984		
Preferred Method:	<u>None</u> (N=21)	<u>One</u> (N=11)	Two or More (N=18)	
Snort Freebase	57% -	91% 9%	44% 11%	
Smoke Crack Inject Cocaine Only	38%	-	22% 6%	
Speedball	5%	-	0% 17%	
(cocaine + heroin)	100%	100%	100%	

* Asked only of persons reporting any lifetime use of cocaine.

CHAPTER6

SUMMARY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

By Eric D. Wish

This research project extended a data base consisting of urine test results, interview information and criminal justice agency record information for over 4,800 persons arrested and processed in Manhattan Central Booking in 1984. Information from New York City and State probation agencies about sample members was merged with the data base to enable us to the study of the relationship of drug use at arrest to behavior on probation.

Two levels of analysis were conducted. The first utilized available record information to examine whether the drug test results at arrest were related to rearrest on probation or unsuccessful termination of probation. The second set of analyses focused on a follow-up study of a subsample of the arrestees which probation agency records indicated were currently on probation in Manhattan during 1987.

While both the City and State Probation Agencies were extraordinarily cooperative in providing the researchers with data, many of the data element were incomplete and not current. These circumstances restricted the range of possible analyses and the ultimate size of the sample of probationers whom we could successfully follow-up. Still, the findings from our research agree substantially with trends found in other recent studies of probation and arrestee populations in New York

Drug use at arrest and likelihood of rearrest or revocation

We looked at subsequent arrests after assignment to probation in two ways. First, we looked at the persons assigned to probation as a result of their index arrest. Then we looked at everyone assigned to probation at anytime after their index arrest. As one would expect, relationships between drug use at the index arrest and rearrest on probation were stronger for those persons assigned to probation at their index arrest. The time interval between the drug test at the index arrest and probation terms stemming from a later arrest would presumably be longer and attenuate any relationship we would find between drug use and rearrest. The analyses controlled for the number of preindex case arrests.

We found that persons who tested positive for multiple drugs (typically cocaine and opiates) at arrest and who had no pre-index arrests tended to have a greater risk of subsequent post-index arrests. The relationship was strongest for persons sentenced to probation as a result of their index arrest--multiple drug users were two and one half times more likely to have multiple rearrests than were persons who tested negative for the four drugs tested for. Drug use at arrest was unrelated to risk of rearrest in persons with one or more pre-index arrests. Persons with prior arrests tended to be rearrested, regardless of their drug use at the index arrest.

Because most persons were still on probation at the time we accessed their records, we could only look at termination in a few cases. Still, we found that among persons with a closed term of probation and one or more pre-index case arrests, multiple drug use was associated with a higher risk of revocation (found in 85% of multiple drug users vs. 56% of nonusers).

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The fact that we found any association between a single urine test at the index arrest and behavior on probation months or years later attests, we believe, to the strong nature of the relationships involved. Our findings are consistent with prior research with arrestees in New York City and Washington, D.C. which found that persons who tested positive for multiple drugs at arrest tended to have more pretrial rearrests and failure-to-appear in court (Toborg et al. 1989: Smith et al. 1989; Wish et al. 1988). Furthermore, the research literature is fairly consistent in showing that the more seriously involved drug using offenders are among the most active criminals (Wish and Johnson, 1986; Wish and Gropper 1990).

Our findings therefore offer additional evidence of the potential value of using urine tests at arrest to identify persons currently using illicit drugs. Furthermore, they suggest that test results from pretrial testing programs might be be useful to judges for informing decisions regarding the need for urine monitoring, drug treatment, or assigning other conditions of probation. The fact that the association between drug use at arrest and behavior on probation while in the right direction, was not statistically significant, suggests also that judges or probation agencies may wish to obtain a urine specimen at the time that the defendant is sentenced to or assigned to probation. There is probably an advantage to obtaining new information about the person's recent use of illicit drugs.

Follow-up study of probationers in Manhattan

The second part of our project involved the follow-up and reinterview of a subsample of probationers who were assigned to regular probation in Manhattan. Agency records indicated that 332 persons from our arrestee cohort were currently on probation. However, when we began

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to manually track these persons we found that many of them (129) had closed cases while others were not assigned to Manhattan or were not trackable. After multiple attempts, we were able to interview 90% of the 93 probationers we contacted--68 in the community and 14 in prisons. Most (85%) of the persons interviewed in the community provided a voluntary urine specimen for analysis. Prisoners were not asked to provide a specimen.

Extensive comparisons of the probationers in our sample with interview refusals, and probationers outside of Manhattan showed few differences. It appeared that our 82 interviewees had demographic characteristics, criminal histories and urine tests results at the index arrest that were quite similar to other probationers form our cohort of arrestees.

Our follow-up study of probationers enabled us a unique opportunity to look at issues regarding the subsequent continuation or initiation of drug use in the arrestees. Furthermore, our follow-up study in 1987 occurred after the onset of the cocaine epidemic in New York City. Other research showed that between the time of our arrestee data collection in 1984 and other data collected from arrestees in 1986, cocaine use in arrestees in Manhattan doubled, to over 80% (Wish 1987). It would therefore be expected that we should find substantially more cocaine use in the probationers when we reinterviewed them in 1987 than we had found when they had been arrested and first interviewed in 1984.

This was one of our major findings. Overall 62% of the persons tested positive for any of the four drugs in 1984 and 75% in 1987. Most persons (89%-98%) who had tested negative for opiates, PCP or methadone in 1984 also tested negative for these drugs at follow-up. However, we found that 56% of the persons who tested negative for cocaine at arrest in 1984 tested positive for the drug at follow-up in 1987. In addition, more

than one half (67%-74%) of the persons who tested positive for one of these four drugs, except PCP, in 1984 tested positive for the same drug again three years later. Only 12% of the 8 persons who tested positive for PCP in 1984 tested positive for it again in 1987. This is consistent with other research showing a decline in PCP use in arrestees over this period (Wish 1987).

The continuity of drug use in these persons three years later while on probation is more clearly evident when one counts the number of drugs detected. Every person who tested positive for multiple drugs at arrest in 1984 tested positive for one or more drugs at follow-up. Persons positive for one drug at arrest were only slightly less likely to test positive again (75%). The majority (55%) of even the persons who tested negative at arrest tested positive at follow-up! These findings provide dramatic evidence of the continuation of drug use in persons being supervised on regular probation in New York City in 1987.

Our analyses of the relationship between the urine test results and the probationers' self-reports of recent drug use, were consistent with much of the recent research showing that persons being supervised or detained by the criminal justice system underreport recent drug use (primarily of cocaine) even in confidential research interviews (DUF Annual Report 1988; Wish Toborg and Bellassai 1988; Wish and Gropper 1990; Mieczkowski 1989). In 1984 and in 1987, 46% and 63% respectively, of the persons who denied any recent drug use prior to interview, tested positive for one or more drugs.

Our final set of analyses looked at how the drug test at the index arrest was related to probation process and outcome. Persons positive for multiple drugs at arrest had more prior arrests and were more likely to be charged with possession of drugs (42%). Similar to our analyses reported above, multiple drug users also had more rearrests. In spite of their

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apparent greater arrest activity, persons positive for multiple drugs did not have more incarceration time.

Multiple drug users were not new to probation. A fifth of them had been on probation two or more times prior to their current term. Most (81%) reported that they had been assigned to their current probation officer on a previous term of probation.

While the majority of these probationers were extensively involved with drugs--many had tested positive both at arrest and again on probation three years later--only about one third of the multiple drug users in 1984 (and 5% of those positive for one drug) said they currently needed drug treatment. Only a fifth of the multiple drug users said that their probation officers had assisted them in getting drug treatment. This is not surprising, given that 68% of the multiple drug users said they did not think that their probation officer knew about their drug problem (11% did not know if the PO knew)! Furthermore, 94% of the persons who tested positive for multiple drugs at arrest (and 95% of those positive for one drug) indicated that they had not asked their probation officer for help in entering drug treatment. Thus, few of the multiple drug users indicated that they had been ordered by the court to enter drug treatment or that their probation officer had helped them to enter treatment.

Need for identification and court ordered treatment.

While our follow-up sample was small, the results are consistent with much of the other research that has been conducted with drug using offenders being processed by the criminal justice system (Wish and Gropper 1990). We are presented with a picture of an arrestee population in which most persons are current drug users (DUF Annual Report 1988). Many of these persons test positive for multiple drugs. Their drug use typically goes undetected by the criminal justice system, however. This

is because the criminal justice system tends to rely upon record information or voluntary self-disclosure of recent drug use. Neither of these methods provides a valid indication of the level of current drug use in detainees (Wish and Gropper 1990).

While there is considerable debate regarding the constitutionality of the court's requiring an arrestee to provide a urine specimen, there is much less controversy regarding the imposition of urine testing after conviction, upon release to probation (Wish and Gropper 1990). Our data provide a strong indication of what happens to arrestees in a large city where urine testing of probationers is not routinely conducted. Persons found to be using illicit drugs at arrest are found to be still using them as much as three years later while they are being supervised on probation. Every one of the persons who tested positive at arrest in 1984 for multiple drugs tested positive for at least one drug while on probation in 1987. Furthermore, even though many reported that they had been assigned to their current probation officer on prior terms of probation. they indicated that their probation officers were unlikely to know about their current drug abuse. The probationers we studied did not tell their officers about their drug use and the officers could not detect their drug use without testing. As a result, few probationers are ordered into treatment programs and the drug use and associated crimes continue.

Our findings therefore corroborate our earlier study of probationers assigned to ISP (Wish et al. 1987) which concluded that without urine testing, probation officers could not effectively identify drug use in their probationers. Our results do provide some hope for the future, however. If a urine test of a specimen obtained at arrest is associated with probation outcomes years later, then tests obtained just before or after assignment to probation could provide even better indicators of risk of rearrest and the need for special conditions. The New York City Comptroller's Office

has reported findings similar to ours regarding the need for greater testing, monitoring and treatment for drug abusing probationers (Goldin 1989). The New York City and New York State Departments of Probation have recently begun to expand the use of urine testing for persons assigned to regular probation programs in New York City.

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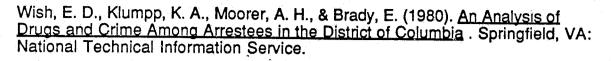
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APPENDIX A

Followup Interview



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5/11/87

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INTERVIEWER: COMPLETE THIS BOX BEFORE BEGINNING INTERVIEW

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A 8_____ INTERVIEWER ____ DATE OF INTERVIEW ____/_/87 MONTH DAY

TIME OF INTERVIEW ____:____

PLACE OF INTERVIEW

ETHNICITY	(Interviewe:	r code wit	hout a	asking)
Black		• • • • • • • • •		••••1
Hispanic.	•••••	•••		2
White		• • • • • • • • •		3
Other (Asi	lan, Eskimo,	American	India	n4

Agreed -1

89

Refused -2

II. BACKGROUND

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1. How old are you? _____ years

•. • • • • • • • • • •

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2. What is the highest grade or educational level you have completed? (H.S. grad = 12; 1 yr college = 13; GED =35)

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3. What is your current marital status?

single, never married1
married
separated, divorced
living common law4
widowed

4. With whom do you now live? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Wife1	
Children	
Alone	
Mother	
Father6 Other relative	
Other (SPECIFY)8	ļ

5. How many children do you have

(NONE, CODE 00)

6. Do you now live in: (READ EACH)

	Apartment house1
	Abandoned building2
	House
	Shelter
	Residential Rx program5
	Hospital, in-treatment
	Hotel
Other	(SPECIFY)8

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7. In the past month have you been mainly employed full or part-time in a legitimate job, or were you mainly in school or prison/jail, or doing something else?

) (1	anemployed emp full-time emp part-time only odd jobs nainly in school in jail or prison	(SKIP (SKIP (SKIP (SKIP (SKIP	TO TO TO TO TO	B1-2 B1-2 8). 8). 8).	2). 2). 	• • •	• • • • • •	•••	• • • • • •	• • • •	• • • • • •	•••	2 3 4 5
	loing somthing else	e (Spe	cify	Y				•		 			

A. IF R UNEMPLOYED F/T OR P/T: Have you applied for a job in the past 6 months?

No.....1 Yes.....2

B1. IF EMPLOYED F/T OR P/T: What type of job do you have?

B2. How much do you earn? \$_

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Letter and an index

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Per day -1 Per week -2 Per month -3

and a second second

8. Do you currently receive any money from welfare, food stamps, social security, disability or unemployment?

No.....1 Yes.....2

A. If yes: How much? \$ Per day -1 Per week -2 Per month -3

A

.9. What is your total income per month. (INTERVIEWER EXPLAIN THAT HE MUST INCLUDE LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE SOURCES)\$

INSTRUCTION TO INTERVIEWER: CHECK THAT ANSWER TO QUESION 9 IS CONSISTENT WITH QUESTIONS 7B2 AND 8A.

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III. CURRENT PROBATION TERM

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it is the second to be and which

1.	When did this term of probation begin?
2.	When will this term end? //// MONTH DAY YEAR
3.	What crime where you convicted for that lead to this term of probation?
4.	Did you serve any time in prison or jail for this conviction?
	No1 Yes2
	If yes, for how long? Days -1 Months-2 Years -3
	Have you seen the same probation officer since you were placed on probation this time?
	No1 Yes2
	If no, how many different POs have seen your case?
6.	How many times have you been on probation before this time?
7.	Code 00 If None How many times do you report to the PO?
	Per month -1 Per week -2 Per six months -3
	Explain

IV. PRIOR CRIME HISTORY

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A Production of a series of

	ow old w											
2. Wh	hat chai	rge w	ere yo	ou ari	reste	d for	at the	e time	? (F	ECORI	VERB.	ATIM)
	· · ·											
. Wh	hat happ	pened	to yo	ou as	a re	sult	of that	case	?			
	<u></u>			<u></u>								
	- 		<u></u>				<u></u>			······	<u></u>	
			••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••									·····
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	•											
. Wh	nen was	the	last (1	nost :	recei	nt) ti	me you	were	arres	sted?		
							MONTH	_/	DAY	/ YE	<u>.</u>	
			• 									
. D:	id this	last	arre	st oc	cur (during	this t	erm c	of pro	obati	on?	
	1	Ye On	S	ation	now		se of			-		

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READ: Now I want to ask you about your involvement with crime, at any time in your life regardless of whether you were arrested for these acts or not.

ACTIVITY

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HOW MANY TIMES
HAVE YOU DONE
THIS?
IF # GREATER
THAN 998
CODE = 998
NONE CODE=00

HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU BEEN ARRESTED FOR THIS? IF # GREATER THAN 998 CODE=998 NONE CODE=00

ورودا العار الأرام أستنا والمستعد ورابات

- 3.Fraud/con; swindle a person, business, or government, like abusing unemployment, welfare SSI or food stamps.
- 4 Destroyed property worth \$50.00 or more.

:

- 5. Threaten someone with a weapon or shot at them, without actually harming them. DO NOT INCLUDE ROBBERIES)
- 6.Hurt someone with a gun or knife or other weapon, beat someone badly.
- 7. Raped someone, including during jail detention.
- 8. Pimping.
- 9.Sold heroin to anyone including friends.
- 3.10.Sold cocaine to anyone including friends.
- 11. Sold methadone to anyone including friends.

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-6-

ACTIVITY

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HOW MANY TIM	ES
HAVE YOU DON	Έ
THIS?	
IF # GREATER	4
THAN 998	
CODE=998	
NONE CODE=00	L

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-72

HOW MANY TIMES
HAVE YOU BEEN
ARRESTED FOR
THIS?
IF # GREATER
THAN 998
CODE=998
NONE CODE=00
THIS? IF # GREATER THAN 998 CODE=998

وبالا المتشارية المراجع

- 12.Sold marijuana to anyone including friends.
- 13.Steering, touting or copping.
- 14.Break into some place
 (house, business)
 in order to steal
 something?
- 15.Rob any <u>businesses;</u> hold up a store, gas station, bank, taxi, or other business, government office, or nonresidential building
- 16.Rob any persons, do any muggings street robberies, purse snatches, or hold-ups in a house or car? (EXCLUDE: business robberies, or hold-up during a burglary, noted above.)
- 17.Steal a car, truck, vehicle, motorcycle.

ACTIVITY

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HOW N	IANY	TIMES
		DONE
THIS	?	
IF #	GRE	ATER
THAN	998	
CODE-	<u>=998</u>	
NONE	CODI	<u> = 00</u>

HOW MANY TIMES
HAVE YOU BEEN
ARRESTED FOR
THIS?
IF # GREATER
<u>THAN 998</u>
CODE=998
NONE CODE=00

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- 18.Thefts; from a cash
 register, or pick
 pockets, or strip
 cars, or take
 something without
 person's knowledge?
 EXCLUDE: SHOPLIFT,
 AUTO THEFT).
- 19.Shoplift something worth more than about \$10.
- 20.Used a stolen credit card or forged something, or pass a bad check?

21.Set fires, arson.

22. If you had to choose, is there a crime you prefer?

No.....1 Yes.....2

If yes, which one

V. NEED ASSESSMENT

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ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS FOR EACH ONE OF THE SERVICES:

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I will now ask you if you have recieved any of the following services or if you need to recieve them:

SERVICE	DO YOU NEED HELP IN THE FOLLOWING AREA?	RECIEVED HELP FROM PO IN THIS AREA	DO YOU NEED ADDITIONAL HELP FROM PO?
 Financial, employment assistance 	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2
2.School, education, GED	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2
3.Counseling	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2
4.Legal assistance	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2
5.Drug treatment	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2
6.Alcohol treatment	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2	No-1 Yes-2

7. Are there any other services that you might need and you would like the Probation Department to help you get?

VI. DRUG HISTORY

14

1. Have you EVER <u>tri</u> (READ DRUG)?	<u>ed IF YES:</u> Age first tried?	<u>IF TRIED</u> : Have you <u>ever felt DEP</u>	IF R EVER FELT DEPENDENT ASK: NOW DEP (hooked) on?
(YES-CIRCLE #)		(hooked) on it?	
Alcohol	1		1
Marijuana	2		
Heroin	3		
Cocaine	4		4
PCP (angel dust)	5		
Street Methadone	6	6	6
Crack	7		
Downers	8	8	
0 Hours over over	intertal iller i		W = 0
2. nave you ever	injected illegal d	rugs? No-1	Yes-2

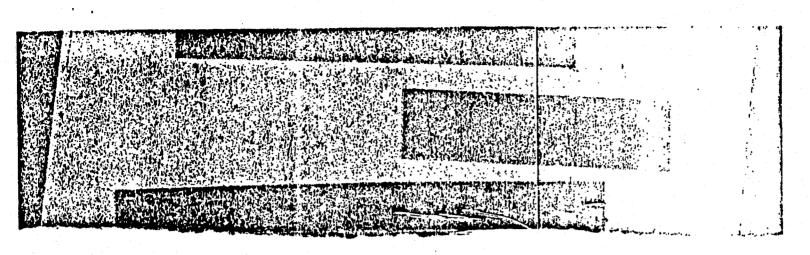
IF YES ASK A AND B

A.Have you ever shared needles (works) with others?

Never	1
Yes, in the past	2
Yes, I still do	

B. Has the AIDS problem caused you to change any of your behavior in the use of drugs or needles? No-1 Yes-2

Explain



4. What is your preferred method for using cocaine? (Circle 1)

J.

Snort cocaine	1
Freebase cocaine	2
Smoke cocaine (crack)	
Inject cocaine only	
Inject cocaine with heroin (speedball)	

VII. TREATMENT

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READ: Now I have some questions regarding treatment.

62

Have you ever bee any of the follow types of treatmen	ing	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Ever in treatment because of court order?	Are you currently in treat.?	Did your PO help you get into treat?	If yes explain
1. Methadone	1	· •	N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	
2. Therapeutic Community	2		N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	
3. Detox for Drugs	3		N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	
4. Detox for Alcohol	4		N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	
5. Alcoholics						
Anonymous	5	<u> </u>	N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	
6. Other drugs or alcohol type	6		N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	N-1 Y-2	
(SPECIFY)						•

VIII PO REFERRAL TO DRUG TREATMENT

1. Does your probation officer think you have a drug problem?

No.....1 Yes.....2 Don't know.....3

Explain

2.Do you need any help right now with getting into a alcohol or drug treatment program?

Al.Have you ever asked you probation officer for help in getting into a alcohol or drug treatment program?

Yes, Alcohol....ASK A2.....1 Yes, Drug....ASK A2.....2 Yes, Drug and alcohol..(ask A2)...3 No,...Skip to Q. 3.....4

A2. What did the PO do? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR WHETHER REFERRED TO TREATMENT, IS WAITING ON LIST, NOTHING WAS DONE OR OTHER.

SKIP TO QUESTION 3

مالكم برفاع سكيت أستكار يتطريك بالكريان والكرام فأغربه

B.Did your probation officer help you to get into your present alcohol and drug treatment program?

No	 	1
Yes	 	2

3. Are drugs or alcohol a problem for you now?

			S		
Explain	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				•
Is there any he regarding drug				the Probat	ion Departmen
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Explain					
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				•	

IX DRUG USE LAST 24-48 HOURS

6.During the last two days (24-48 hours) did you use any: (READ EACH)

and the state of the second and a state of the state of the

Alcohol1	Street methadone6
Marijuana/hash2	Methadone in RX7
Heroin3	Downers (Val, ludes)
Cocaine4	Uppers (speed, diet pills)9
PCP (Angel dust)5	Crack10

Any other drugs for <u>medical</u> or <u>nonmedical</u> use?..(SPECIFY BELOW).....11 Other legal or illegal drugs used:

URINALYSIS INFORMED CONSENT

AFTER EXPLAINING CONFIDENTIALITY AND VOLUNTARY NATURE OF SPECIMEN, PERSON:

Refused1 Couldn't urinate....2

20

*

Provided specimen....3

3.5