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THE INCAPACITATION EFFECTS OF INCARCERATING DRUG OFFENDERS

May 4, 1992

Final Report

Submitted

to

National Institute of Justice Drugs, Alcohol, and Crime Program

by

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# The Incapacitation Effects of Incarcerating Drug Offenders

## INTRODUCTION

The growing public concern about the spread of illicit drug use has spawned a variety of efforts to increase the severity of sentences imposed on convicted drug offenders. In Pennsylvania, for example, the state's Sentencing Commission increased the recommended minimum terms for those offenders whom judges sentence to prison under the state's sentencing guidelines. In recognition that the guidelines permit sentences other than prison, the State Legislature has enacted mandatory-minimum terms that require judges to impose prison terms on convicted drug offenders. Such initiatives are not unique to Pennsylvania and similar efforts have been implemented in many other jurisdictions to assure harsher incarceration sentences for convicted drug offenders.

Aside from concerns about reducing drug using behavior, these increases in sanctions are also motivated by related concerns about reducing the predatory crimes—especially robbery and burglary—so often associated with drug use. A recent review of a large body of research by a Panel of the National Research Council concluded that drug use was not only associated with higher participation rates in predatory crime (i.e., larger numbers of offenders), but also that the frequency of predatory crimes by these participants varied with their levels of drug use (Blumstein et al., 1986).

These findings have been interpreted to mean that crime

control policies directed at <u>drug offenders</u> will be especially effective in reducing predatory crimes. Such policies, however, ignore the potential complexity of the relationships among drug use, drug trafficking, and predatory crimes. In particular, rather than serving as an indicator of high levels of predatory crime, <u>drug trafficking</u> may represent an <u>alternative</u> to predatory crime for many drug users.

The principal hypothesis examined in this research is that drug-involved offenders may be partitioned into three main types: "dealers" who traffic in drugs, "street junkies" who also sell small quantities of drugs to support their own drug habits, and "predatory" offenders who also use drugs. Street junkies and dealers are the offenders typically targeted for increased sanctions imposed for drug offenses. Because of the economic gains and supply of drugs for personal use that these offenders derive from drug trafficking, however, they may in fact be characterized by lower involvement in predatory crimes. Thus, the drug traffickers, who are targeted for more severe sentences, may well be more benign than drug-using predatory offenders, for whom drug use is an indicator of higher than average rates of predatory offending.

The research reported here examines differences in criminalcareer parameters which determine the potential incapacitative effects of alternative sentencing policies directed at druginvolved offenders. Incapacitation is only effective in preventing crimes if the incarcerated offender takes his crimes off the street with him. For drug offenses, which are characterized by an extensive illegal labor market, drug sellers who are incarcerated are likely to be quickly replaced, with very It is also little reduction in drug trafficking offenses. anticipated that, because of their economic gains from drug trafficking, convicted drug offenders will be characterized by lower involvement in predatory crimes. Thus, incarceration of drug offenders is expected to have little effect in reducing predatory crimes. By contrast, from the perspective of incapacitation, an alternative policy that invokes drug use as an aggravating factor to increase the sentences imposed on drug using predatory offenders is likely to be far more effective, especially in reducing predatory crimes.

#### DATA

Within a sample of arrestees three main types of offenders can be distinguished based on offense charged at a target arrest:

(1) drug offenders<sup>1</sup>, (2) predators<sup>2</sup>, and (3) all others. The first two groups are the focus of the current research. Each of these offender groups is distinguished as drug users or nonusers

<sup>1.</sup> The charge information in the data is not sufficiently detailed to distinguish between big dealers and street junkies. Using drug test results at arrest, however, we will be able to distinguish between drug users and nonusers at the time of their arrest on drug charges.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>. Predatory offenders include persons charged with robbery or burglary. Both offenses involve theft of property, as well as a threat to personal safety for victims during confrontations with the offender. This is always the case for robbery and for burglary, it occurs especially during burglary of occupied dwellings.

based on the results of a urine drug screen administered following the target arrest. Their arrest histories are then examined, both retrospectively and prospectively, to estimate frequency of detected criminal activity in drug off anses and in predatory offenses.

Longitudinal arrest data are used that link together previous and subsequent arrests for the same person to form an individual arrest history. Each arrest includes information on the date of arrest, the drug test result, the charges filed, time served in pretrial detention, disposition date, disposition type, and sentence length imposed. Certain background information for each arrestee is also provided, especially date of birth, race, sex, and self-reported drug use.

The data come from the computerized case files for all adult arrestees maintained by the Pretrial Services Agency (PSA) of Washington, D.C.. The sample analyzed here has been specifically designed to focus on persons charged with drug offenses and those charged with the predatory offenses of robbery and burglary. The sample of arrestees was drawn from adults arrested on any charge in the District of Columbia (DC) during the one-year period from July 1, 1985 to June 30, 1986. This sampling target provides data on offending over an extended time period, including prior record information on adult arrests dating back to a first arrest in 1947 for one offender along with a five year follow-up through the end of data collection in August of 1990.

The data are a stratified sample designed to maximize the

number of predatory offenders available for analysis, as well as providing a reasonable representation of demographic groups other than black males, who represented 73% of the total population of adult arrestees in Washington D.C. during the sampling period. Table 1 presents the sampling weights and final sample size. In addition to oversampling whites and females, arrestees with urine tests following their 1985-86 target arrest were oversampled in order to increase the yield of offenders who will have urine test results which can be used to characterize their drug use.

Only black males charged with predatory offenses, are found in sufficient numbers in the population of arrestees to support sampling from these offenders. The full populations of predatory offenders in the other demographic groups are included in the analysis. The final sample includes 883 persons drawn from a population of about 10,550 arrestees who were charged with drug or predatory offenses in the 1985-86 sampling year. White females are clearly too few in number to support any analysis of their predatory offending, other than the obvious fact of their very limited involvement in these offense types, at least in Washington, D.C..

Tables X and Y in the Appendix compare attributes of sample members to those estimated for the full population. Selected highlights appear in Table 2. As a direct result of the stratified sampling design, the sample and population differ mainly in their demographic makeup. The full arrestee population of offenders charged with drug or predatory offenses consists

predominantly of black males: 94% blacks and 87% males. The sample, by contrast, is 67% black and 64% males.

The sample and population of arrestees are remarkably similar with respect to their levels of involvement in prior and subsequent arrests, despite the increased representation of females and whites in the sample. This may reflect an important filtering role that charged offense plays in identifying more homogeneous subgroups of offenders. In this case, the sample was explicitly limited to arrestees charged with predatory or drug offenses. Offenders within these offense types appear to differ less in their past and future offending across factors like demographic groups than does a general population sample.<sup>3</sup>

The sample and population differ mainly in drug offending, with the sample displaying lower levels of involvement in these offenses in both their prior and subsequent offending. This may seem odd, in view of the fact that the sample was selected to

This is in marked contrast to the pattern observed in a general arrestee sample where differences in demographic composition in a stratified sample are associated with more substantial differences in offending patterns. In a companion study to this one (Cohen, 1992) that relies on a stratified random sample of arrestees who were not selected on the basis of crime type, criminal involvement differs more substantially between the sample and the population of arrestees.

Arrest Activity Since March, 1984	Total Sample	Weighted Population
% Any Arrests	100.0	100.0
% Violent Arrests	18.2	24.6
<pre>% Predatory Arrests</pre>	11.9	17.4
% Drug Arrests	57.6	67.2
% Property Arrests	32.7	34.8

include drug offenders. It was also designed, however, to oversample predatory offenders, and this may be a preliminary indication of a limited overlap between these two offender groups. Another indication is the fact that only 19 of the 883 offenders jointly qualified for inclusion in the sample because they had more than one arrest in the sampling year and these included both predatory and drug charges.

The sample and population also differ somewhat with regard to levels of drug use reflected in the results from urine drug screens administered following the sampled arrest in 1985-86. The sample exhibits higher levels of involvement in depressant drugs and lower levels of involvement in stimulant drugs. Depressant drug use is especially characteristic of female arrestees in the District of Columbia. Black or white females arrested for predatory or drug offenses were twice as likely (at 45%) to test positive for depressant drugs as were similarly arrested black males in 1985-86. Compared to male arrestees, females are also twice as likely to use combinations of both stimulant and depressant drugs.

#### DISTINGUISHING AMONG DRUG USERS AND NONUSERS

Offenders are characterized in terms of both drug use (drug users or nonusers) and offender type (predators or drug offenders) based on the attributes of the target arrest in 1985-86. Arrestees who test positive for any of the tested drugs (opiates, methadone, cocaine, PCP, or amphetamines) are labeled

drug users; all others are labeled nonusers. Among users, arrestees who test positive only for opiates or methadone will be labeled depressant drug users; those who test positive only for cocaine, amphetamines, or PCP will be labeled stimulant drug users. An additional category of dual users includes all arerestees who test positive for both stimulants and depressants on the same arrest.

For the purposes of this analysis drug offenders include all arrestees charged with a "drug offense". It is impossible to distinguish between those charged with possession, use, manufacture or sales based on the charge alone. The results of the drug screen at arrest, however, permit distinguishing between "drug users" and "nonusers" among drug offenders. Those drug offenders who are identified as nonusers at arrest are

<sup>4.</sup> Naturally, the sample of "nonusers" will include some individuals who use illicit drugs that are not included in the urine screen (e.g., marijuana). This is a limitation imposed by the character of the urine screening protocol that is used, but is not serious because the current protocol focuses on the more serious illicit drugs in common usage in the District of Columbia.

Furthermore, the urine test results will involve a certain amount of error. Some drug users will avoid detection (false negatives) because of low detection rates for the drug they use (e.g., the test will most reliably detect use of cocaine only within the past 48 hours), or because of the low frequency with which they use the drug (e.g., regular use of cocaine once a week is more likely to be missed on a single urine test). Other arrestees may erroneously test positive (false positives) because of errors in the testing technology or its application.

Because of these errors in the attribution of drug use based on the urine test alone, the results of the research will most accurately reflect the relationship between <u>urine test results</u> and offending rates. Exploring the extent of such a relationship is not without value, however, since any operational use of drug use information in sentencing decisions will most likely have to rely on similar test results.

particularly interesting candidates as drug dealers.

Predatory offenders include all those offenders charged with robbery or burglary at the target arrest. These acquisitive crimes are selected for special attention because they involve both pursuit of economic gain and a perceived threat to personal safety for victims. The category of violent crimes includes homicide, rape, and assault, both aggravated and simple. Other less serious crimes for economic gain (including larceny, auto theft, fraud, and forgery) are identified as property crimes. We are interested in whether predators—especially <u>drug using predators</u>—are characterized both by more serious offense types and by higher frequencies of offending than are <u>drug offenders</u>.

The target arrest in 1985-86 may be viewed as the arrest for which an incarceration decision is to be made for the offender. We are interested in the extent to which drug use information combined with offense type charged at that arrest usefully distinguishes among offenders who pose a greater risk of future offending in predatory and drug offenses.

Retrospective data on past detected offending (i.e., those offenses that resulted in arrest) are used to examine the extent to which the characterization at the target arrest alone accurately distinguishes offenders in terms of their past arrest records (e.g., do drug-using predatory offenders defined at the target arrest in fact have more past predatory offenses than do other offender types). Prospective data after the target arrest are used to examine the value of current drug use information,

combined with current charge, in distinguishing offending for the different offender types.

#### DRUG TEST EXPERIENCES

Drug use or not is determined on the basis of the EMIT drug screen administered to arrestees in the District of Columbia. Even though urine testing is routinely carried out among arrestees processed through the central lockup in Washington, D.C., almost half of all arrestees in the analysis sample (and a similar fraction of the base population) did not complete a urine test on their arrest during the sampling period. This relatively high prevalence of untested arrests raises concerns about the factors that distinguish between tested and untested arrestees.

A substantial portion of tested offenders are drug users (Figure 1). At 73% testing positive among drug offenders and 58% positive among predatory offenders, stimulant drugs— especially cocaine in either its crystal or powder varieties—are the predominant drugs of choice. Indeed, substantial majorities of depressant drug users also use stimulants—73% among drug offenders who use depressant drugs, and 67% among predatory offenders. As mentioned above, this dual drug use pattern is especially characteristic of female arrestees.

To the extent that administration of the drug screen is not random, but is instead related to factors associated with drug use or criminal activity, this raises concern about selection biases that could affect the estimated relationship between drug use and offending within the subsample of tested arrestees. If, for example, those non-users who are nevertheless tested for drugs are tested precisely because they potentially pose a greater risk of continued offending while on pretrial release, this could diminish differences in offending levels observed between the users and non-users who are tested, and perhaps understate the relationship found among arrestees more generally.

While affecting the accuracy of estimates of the magnitude of effects, such selection bias is not likely to invalidate statistically significant effects that are found in the data. Instead, the likely direction of bias toward underestimates would increase confidence in the significance of any differences that are observed in the tested samples. The bias toward an underestimate, however, does increase the risk of missing an actual effect that may exist in the larger population of arrestees.

Statistical techniques are available for controlling for potential selection bias, but these rely on adequately representing both the selection and offending processes, and in particular on being able to identify at least some key variables that affect selection for testing but not offending. When selection for testing and offending are so closely related, as they are likely to be in the current analysis, controlling for selection biases hinges crucially on finding an adequate set of factors that are exogenous to offending. One such class of variables that has been used with some success in other analyses

are system capacity constraints (Nagin, 1979). Such constraints can reasonably be assumed to affect how many drug screens are administered, while only affecting individual offending indirectly through increases or decreases in monitoring of defendants that may result. Obtaining data on capacity constraints, especially over the reasonably long time period represented in this data, proved infeasible.

While it is not possible to employ the most rigorous statistical controls, it is possible to alleviate concern about selection bias by doing some diagnostic analysis in an effort to assess the likelihood and potential magnitudes of whatever biases may exist. This approach begins by examining the means of certain potentially biasing characteristics in the two populations. If the means do not reflect the anticipated bias, then one can have greater confidence that selection bias effects are not seriously distorting the results.

Data comparing the means of the tested and untested samples on a number of attributes are presented in Table 3. The two subsamples differ in some respects likely to affect the risk of future offenses: tested arrestees are more likely to have been unemployed and under parole or probation supervision at the time of the target arrest, and they are more likely to have prior records of property and drug arrests, both offenses that recur with high frequency. These prior experiences may operate to increase testing risk because the offender is known to agents of the criminal justice system, and in particular may be known to be

a drug user.

The tested and untested samples also differ in certain procedural respects that are linked directly to the way pretrial release cases are handled. Drug testing is a routine part of processing cases through the central lockup, as is reflected in the much higher percentage of tested cases who were in the jail when they were administered the pretrial interview and the related higher percentage of cases charged with a felony. Also, having the test results, often leads to various conditions that are imposed as part of pretrial release. These might include participation in drug treatment, abstinence from drug use, and monitoring drug use through continued testing while the defendant is released.

A further multivariate examination of the potential nature of selection bias estimated which factors among the variables available in the data appeared to contribute to the decision to administer the drug test. Using a probit model with testing or not as the dependent variable, a variety of candidate determinants that might affect that decision were explored. The results of that analysis are presented in Table 4. From that table, the primary factors affecting testing are seen to be nature of the current charge (charged with a felony), criminal status (on probation or parole), and the demographic variables of age and race, with younger offenders and black offenders more likely to be tested.

Another factor potentially affecting the decision to test an

arrestee--that is not included in Table 4, and that is potentially being reflected in the demographic variables--is information about the crime type of the current charge, particularly violent and predatory crimes which disproportionately involve blacks, and drug offenses which disproportionately involve younger arrestees. As indicated in Table 5, the likelihood of completed urine screens varies with the charged offense, being highest for drug and violent offenses, and followed closely by predatory offenses.

Another factor that one would anticipate affecting the testing decision is the number of prior arrests. This candidate variable is examined in Table 6, which displays the risk of incurring a first urine test on successive arrests as a function of the number of prior arrests. The table demonstrates that there is no clear relationship between the risk of a test and the number of prior arrests. Instead, this risk—or hazard rate—is quite stationary both on successive arrests within individual histories, and across offenders who differ in the total number of arrests in their histories.

Many of the factors associated with the administration of urine drug screens also are likely to be related to a higher risk of future offending, which increases the risk of selection bias. In particular, analyses that rely only on the tested subsample are likely to underestimate the relationship between drug use and offending levels among all arrestees, and results that fail to detect such effects must be interpreted cautiously. As will be

reported in the following sections, however, strong sets of effects are observed in the analyses of the various indicators of offending, in which a broad array of variables are found to be significant and meaningfully related to the different dimensions of offending. These results provide some basis for reducing concern about selection bias as an important problem in the present analysis.

OFFENDING PATTERNS OF PREDATORY AND DRUG OFFENDERS: DRUG USERS AND NON-USERS

## Participation in Arrest Activity

The straightforward examination of participation in offending is through the proportion of offenders who have at least one arrest for an offense among users and non-users. These results (for drug use of any type) are displayed in Figure 2 for previous and subsequent arrests in different offense types. It is clear in Figure 2a that with regard to prior arrest activity, drug users were more likely to have been involved in all the offenses, except for drugs. The high level of involvement in arrests for drug offenses by non-users is somewhat unexpected. These non-using drug offenders represent offenders who may have been arrested for drug trafficking charges.

These results confirm and extend earlier findings of disproportionately high criminal involvement by drug users, not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The predatory or drug arrest that was the basis for sampling the offender is not included among either prior or subsequent arrests.

only in property, but also in violent and predatory offenses. However, the large differences in participation between users and non-users that is observed in prior criminal records do not persist following the 1985-86 target arrest (Figure 2b). Except for drug offenses, where users exceed non-users in percent ever arrested, participation by users and non-users is roughly equal in violent, predatory, and property offenses. The same patterns in prior and subsequent periods are also observed when users and non-users of depressant or stimulant drugs are compared.

Users and non-users differ in other respects that may be associated with differential participation in arrest activity, notably charged offense type, race and sex. Differences between persons charged with predatory or drug offenses are of special interest. This, therefore, requires some multivariate analysis to separate the drug effect from these other effects. The full multivariate probit analysis for participation in predatory offenses is presented in Appendix Table Z. The direction and significance of effects for arrests in the four offense types are summarized in Table 7.

Time at Risk Many of the included variables are significant for prior arrests. Observed time free was included to control for the increased likelihood that an arrest will be observed as time at risk increases. The time at risk variable is indeed highly significant, but negative in sign. This variable is probably reflecting the reverse effect of arrests during the prior period in reducing the available time at risk.

Demographic Factors The demographic variables of race and sex are usually powerful discriminators of differential involvement in offending, with blacks and males displaying significantly higher levels of offending than whites and females, especially in violent and predatory offenses. In the present analysis, these factors are only weakly related to participation in arrests during either the prior or subsequent periods. The failure to find these basic effects might be taken as an indication of selection bias problems. At least in the prior period, this is not very likely, in view of the many other effects that are detected.

It appears that the real source of null findings for race and sex is the extremely limited variation in these variables within the population of arrestees, who are 95% black and 87% male among the tested arrestees in Washington, D.C.. Unweighted probit estimates on sample data—which are more evenly distributed across the race and sex groups—display the customary relationships of participation with these variables.

Age of the offender at the time of the 1985-86 arrest has a significant effect in the prior period for all offense types. Participation in arrests for the individual offense types

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In an effort to further diagnose the absence of demographic effects, the model was also re-estimated leaving out drug use and the dummy variable reflecting whether the 1985-86 arrest was for a predatory offense or not. Either of these factors might underly the race and sex differences that are typically observed. Excluding these variables did not result in significant demographics effects, and considerably reduced the adequacy of the model fit to the data. (The likelihood ratio statistic comparing the two alternative models is significant at the .001 level or better.)

increases, at a decreasing rate, throughout the prior period. No similar significant age effectis found during the follow-up period. The positive age effect throughout the late twenties runs counter to the typical pattern of decreasing participation which generally begins in the early adult years. By construction, however, the current sample of arrestees all had at least one arrest—the one in 1985—86 that led to their being included in the sample—and so participation must continue at least through the sampled arrest. Participation should then follow the more typical pattern of decline with age during the follow-up period. While the coefficient of age at the sampled arrest is indeed always negative in the subsequent period, it nevers reaches statistical significance.

Other Controls Two additional control variables are included in the multivariate model. Representation by a private attorney at the 1985-86 arraignment was included primarily as a proxy for an offender's economic resources, with the expectation that involvement in offending would be lower for those offenders who are financially better off.<sup>7</sup>

Private attorney representation rarely emerges as significant, but when it does--primarily for property and drug offenses--it has an unexpected positive sign, increasing the probability of any past or future arrests for these offense

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In addition to attorneys privately retained by defendants, private attorney representation included court appointed attorneys to whom the defendant was obligated to make full or reduced payments for services.

types. This result makes sense in the context of property and drug offending that is part of a continuing criminal enterprise, in which access to an attorney represents a reasonably prudent "business" decision.

A marital status variable, "never married" or not, is included as a partial indicator of life style and the absence of personal constraints on the offender's behavior. It was expected that this variable would have a positive sign, increasing the likelihood of participation, especially during the prior period.

In fact, this variable is never significant in the prior period, and is negative and significant in the follow-up period for participation in arrests for violent, predatory and drug offenses. This result is anomolous, and difficult to interpret. It is worth noting, however, that the estimated coefficients for the "never married" variable seem to be closely linked to the age variables. Dropping age from the model generally drives the effects of marriage to insignificance. There is undoubtedly an association between "never married" status and age with never married offenders also tending to be younger at the time of the 1985-86 arrest.

Predatory Offense in 1985-86 One of the main hypotheses of the current research is that predatory offenders, and especially drug-using predators, will display heavy involvement in serious offenses, with a high proportion participating in prior and subsequent predatory and violent offenses, and being arrested for these offenses at higher rates than are drug offenders. This

effect is broadly confirmed. As indicated in Table 8, and graphically displayed in Figure 3, predators in 1985 are usually at least three (3) times more likely than drug offenders to participate in predatory or violent arrests during both the prior and subsequent periods. This effect is reversed for drug offenses, with predatory offenders less likely than drug offenders to sustain prior or subsequent drug arrests.

The probability of arrests for predatory or violent offenses by drug offenders is reasonably low at under .10 compared to probabilities in the range .30 to .45 for prior or subsequent arrests for violent and predatory offenses for offenders who were charged with a predatory offense in 1985-86. Drug offenders in 1985-86, by contrast, have much higher probabilities (.46 and above) of prior and subsequent arrests for drug offenses. Predatory and violent offending appears to be reasonably distinct from drug offending. Offenders in each offense type display strong tendencies to sustain offending within the same offense type as their 1985-86 arrest and low tendencies to switch between these offense types. Predatory and drug offenders, however, are indistinguishable in their participation in property arrests in both the prior and subsequent periods.

<u>Drug Use</u> The relationship of drug use to predatory and violent offending is also presented in Table 8, which reports the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The 1985-86 arrest that led to sampling the offender is not included among prior or subsequent arrests. Thus, the sampled arrest is not a factor in the elevated levels of prior or subsequent involvement in the same offense type.

impact of drug use on the expected probability of prior and subsequent arrests for different offense types. Drug-using predators are twice as likely as non-using predators to be arrested for violent or predatory crimes during the prior period. The relative impact of drug use is slightly larger (at 3-to-1) for predatory or violent offending by drug offenders. The effects in the prior period also differ somewhat with drug type, with use of stimulant drugs in 1985-86 associated with past arrests for predatory and property offenses and use of depressant drugs associated with past arrests for violent offenses.

The effects of drug use in the subsequent period are limited to arrests for drug and property offenses. The multivariate model confirms the general patterns evident in Figures 2 and 3: lack of variation in subsequent participation rates with drug use status in 1985-86, but considerable variation with type of offense charged in 1985-86.

Thus, drug use status at an arrest is not helpful in distinguishing among offenders with different likelihoods of subsequent arrests for violent or predatory offenses. Its value prospectively is limited primarily to distinguishing offenders in terms of their likelihoods of subsequent arrests for drug offenses. Furthermore, offenders currently charged with drug offenses have a relatively low likelihood of subsequent arrests for predatory or violent offenses when compared to persons currently charged with predatory offenses.

# Frequency of Offending Among Participants

The frequency of offending has been estimated for each "active offender" (i.e., those arrestees who have at least one arrest for an offense type) by estimating the ratio of the number of arrests to the time the offender is active and at risk for offending. This estimate excludes time served (when the offender is not "at risk" for offending) and time before the first arrest or after the last arrest (when being "active" is in doubt). Separate frequency estimates are developed for the prior and subsequent periods around the 1985-86 sampled arrest.

The cumulative distribution of these individual estimates for predatory offenses is displayed in Figures 4 and 5 by showing the quintile values of frequency for drug users and non-users among predatory and drug offenders in 1985-86. (At the 40th percentile, for example, 40% of active offenders have frequency rates below the charted value and 60% have higher frequency rates.) The four subpopulations differ in the frequencies with which they accumulate arrests. Both before and after the 1985-86 arrest, drug-using predators display the highest frequency rates of the four subgroups. In the period prior to the 1985-86 arrest, drug users among predatory and drug offenders exhibit the highest arrest frequencies in predatory offenses, while after the 1985-86 arrest, predators—whether users or not—accumulate arests at the highest rates. The differences among the subpopulations are magnified in the higher quintiles.

Of course, the graphical analysis shown in Figures 4 and 5

does not control for other factors that may distinguish users from non-users. For that purpose, a multivariate analysis is required. The full results of that Ordinary Least Squares analysis on frequencies of arrest in predatory offenses are shown in Appendix Table ZA, where the dependent variable is predatory arrest frequency for those who have at least arrest for a predatory arrest. The results for similar analyses of arrest frequencies in all offense types are summarized in Table 9.

The results in Table 9 indicate varying effects of drug use on arrest frequencies over crime types and between the pre- and post-periods. In the prior period drug-using predatory offenders accumulate arrests for these offenses at higher rates than do non-users. By contrast, non-users among drug offenders have higher arrest frequencies than do using drug offenders. The latter effect may reflect an emphasis on arresting dealers and de-emphasis on use and possession offenses.

The effect for prior predatory offending is associated with depressant drugs: predatory offenders who use depressant drugs were arrested at higher rates for predatory offenses than were non-using predatory offenders. For drug offenders, the effect in the prior period is associated with use of stimulant drugs: drug offenders who use stimulant drugs previously were arrested for drug offenses at lower rates than non-using drug offenders. This is consistent with the upsurge in trafficking and use of stimulant drugs, especially crack cocaine, that occurred in the mid-1980's. Lower prior arrest frequencies for drug offenses

among stimulant-using drug offenders in 1985-86 are consistent with the emergence of new drug markets and new drug users in stimulant drugs, rather than a shift to stimulants by previous depressant users and dealers.

Drug use effects in the subsequent period are associated with higher frequencies in property and drug offenses. Drug users and non-users are indistinguishable in their arrest frequencies for predatory and violent offenses.

The effects of the other variables are consistent with prior research. Race and sex have no effect on arrest frequencies of active offenders, 10 and never married offenders have higher subsequent arrest frequencies. A significant negative effect of age is detected for prior arrest frequencies in all but property arrests. This age effect, however, is likely to be an artifact of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> If there had been a shift from depressants to stimulants among previous drug users and dealers, then after controlling for age, stimulant users in 1985-86 would be expected to show evidence of prior drug arrests. Such a pattern is not observed in the data.

<sup>10</sup> It is also possible that the absence of race and sex effects in arrest frequencies is associated with the same lack of variation in these variables among the population of arrestees in Washington, D.C. that was discussed earlier in relation to participation. In the case of arrest frequencies, however, similar null results with regard to race and sex are available in other research.

the way age is measured in the current data. 11

As was found in the analysis of participation rates, access to a private attorney for the 1985-86 arrest also has a significant positive effect on subsequent arrest frequencies for property and drug offenses. A significant positive effect is also found for frequencies in predatory offenses. These effects with respect to frequency are compatible with the earlier explanation of positive effects on participation in terms of a possibly greater likelihood to retain private counsel by offenders in continuing criminal enterprises.

# Termination Analysis

The analysis of termination is carried out by examining the

The decline in arrest frequencies with age is contrary to other research that finds no systematic effect of age on frequency rates of active offenders (e.g, Blumstein and Cohen, 1979; Cohen, 1986; Blumstein et al, 1986; Blumstein et al., 1988). This reflects differences in the way age is measured.

In the present analysis, the age variable reflects the offender's age at the time of the sampled arrest in 1985-86. Older offenders at the sampled arrest will have a longer prior period in which to qualify as active offenders through the accumulation of at least one arrest for an offense type, while younger offenders at the sampled arrest have a shorter prior period back to age 18 in which to qualify.

It is well established that the length of the observation period will affect measured frequency rates, with an increasing bias toward higher frequency offenders in shorter observation periods. As the observation period increases in length, by contrast, offenders with lower frequency rates are more likely to enter the sample through a qualifying arrest.

This bias associated with varying lengths of observation periods is confounded with measured age effects in the current estimates. The fact that no age effects are observed in the post-period, where the length of the observation period is fixed from the 1985-86 arrest to August 1990, provides further support for the likelihood of a measurement artifact in the prior period.

magnitude of the "end-gap" prior to the end of the observation period in each individual offender's career. The end-gap is defined as the fraction of total time at risk that is represented by the time following the final arrest observed in the data. This end-gap is an indicator of the likelihood of termination following that final arrest, with a large end-gap suggesting that termination was indeed likely before the end of the observation period, and a short end-gap suggesting that it is more likely that the offender continued to remain criminally active throughout the observation period.

Figure 6 displays the average end-gap fraction for drug users and non-users among predatory and drug offenders in 1985-86. The association with drug use is different for predatory and drug offenders. Drug users among predators, especially depressant users, are characterized by a larger end-gap, suggesting a somewhat greater termination rate for the users. Among drug offenders, the differences between users and non-users are smaller and in the opposite direction, with drug users displaying shorter end-gaps, and thus a lower likelihood of termination.

Again, this simple analysis is too aggregate, and a multivariate analysis is needed to isolate the effects of the different factors that could contribute to differences in end-gap. Distinct age differences in type of drug used, with older offenders more likely among depressant users and younger offenders among stimulant users, may be a factor in the apparent opposite effects of drug use among predators and drug offenders

in 1985-86. The results of that multivariate analysis are reported in Table 10.

Several factors emerge as related to end-gaps, which are shorter--indicating a lower likelihood of termination from offending--for black offenders, for younger offenders, and for those using drugs. The apparent opposite positive association of depressant drugs with termination evident in Figure 6 is not confirmed. Once age is controlled, which has a strong positive association with end-gaps, and thus with the likelihood of termination, the positive effect of drug use previously observed among predators disppears. The effect of drug use in lowering end-gaps, is consistent with drug use as an aggravating factor in criminal careers.

The role of drug use in lowering end-gaps (sustaining active offending careers) is detected only for depressant drugs. 12 To some extent, this may reflect the longer persistence in nuisance offenses among depressant users, notably prostitution and property offenses among female offenders, although gender is not a significant factor in any of the analyses in Table 10.

## SUMMARY

In this paper, we have examined the influence of drug use on three key aspects of offenders' criminal careers: participation, frequency of offending, and termination rate. It should be

The coefficient also reaches statistical significance for combined use of both stimulant and depressant drugs. This category, however, is dominated by depressant drug users.

emphasized that the measurement of a "drug-use effect" involves a comparison of drug-users and non-users among arrestees, and the analysis explicitly compares offending by arrestees charged with either predatory or drug offenses. This analysis relies on urinalysis as a positive indication of drug use, in contrast to earlier studies which rely on self-reports for that indication.

We have seen that among persons arrested for predatory or drug offenses, and compared to non-using arrestees, drug use is generally associated with worse offending in the form of greater participation in arrests, higher arrest frequencies among participants, and a lower likelihood of termination. We have also seen some important effects attributable to the type of drug used. On the one hand, stimulant drugs are associated with prior and subsequent participation in predatory offenses, and with future participation and arrest frequencies for drug offenses. Use of depressant drugs, on the other hand, is associated with shorter end-gaps and a corresponding lower likelihood of terminating offending careers.

Drug use in 1985-86 was associated with <u>prior</u> records of elevated participation and arrest frequencies in violent and predatory offenses, but was <u>unrelated to subsequent</u> offending in these offense types. Contrary to expectation, then, drug use apparently does not serve as an aggravating factor for future offending by predatory offenders. Users and non-users were essentially indistinguishable in their future levels of these offenses. Current drug use, however, is related to subsequently

higher levels of offending in property and drug offenses.

Compared to predatory offenders, drug offenders exhibit significantly lower levels of involvement in the more serious violent and predatory offenses. Such offending in violent and predatory offenses is not only more likely among predatory offenders, it is also more sustained by these offenders, appearing with greater likelihood in both prior and subsequent observation periods.

These results have implications for the formulation of sentencing policies for drug-involved offenders. Policies directed at drug offenders (i.e., persons charged with drug offenses) are not likely to be very effective, in reducing either drug offenses or predatory offenses. While drug offenders do exhibit high levels of future participation in drug offenses, because of extensive illicit drug markets and the benefits to participants (both financial and in drug supplies), incarceration of drug offenders is not likely to significantly reduce drug offenses. In the context of very limited effects of both deterrence and incapacitation, these offenders are very likely to be replaced soon after they are removed from the streets.

Furthermore, compared to persons who are currently charged with predatory offenses, persons charged with drug offenses are significantly less likely to be involved in subsequent predatory or violent crimes, thus limiting the crime reduction effects for predatory crimes achieved by incarcerating drug offenders. The sample of arrestees from Washington, D.C. exhibit very little

overlap between drug offending and predatory or violent offending. In terms of subsequent offending, drug offenders are much less likely than predatory offenders to participate in either violent or predatory offenses, and when they do participate in violent offenses they do so at lower frequencies than predatory offenders.

Aside from their limited benefits in reducing serious crime, currently popular policies of mandatory prison terms for drug offenders, also have profound effects on prison populations. Blanket policies that fail to distinguish between "big dealers" and "street junkies" have the potential of seriously aggravating already overcrowded conditions in most of the nation's prisons, without a corresponding reduction in predatory crime. For retributive reasons, we may wish to maintain stiff prison terms for big dealers. Reducing the numbers of additional inmates, however, requires some attempts to distinguish between the big dealers and the far more numerous street dealers. Thresholds on the amounts of drugs or cash confiscated, as well as the presence of other aggravating charges (especially violent offenses), may help to narrow the application of prison terms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>. Street dealers represent a considerable nuisance and sometimes a threat to safety in many residential neighborhoods, and for this reason there are repeated public outcries to get them off the streets and out of neighborhoods. It is not clear, however, that the best solution is harsh prison terms for the most benign among these offenders. Even without the threat of prison terms, the continual disruption of routine drug trade posed by repeated arrests and stiff fines resulting from drug sweeps may increase the costs of doing business sufficiently to discourage many of these dealers. Establishing civil procedures for imposing fines that are regulatory rather than criminal in nature may also be worthwhile.

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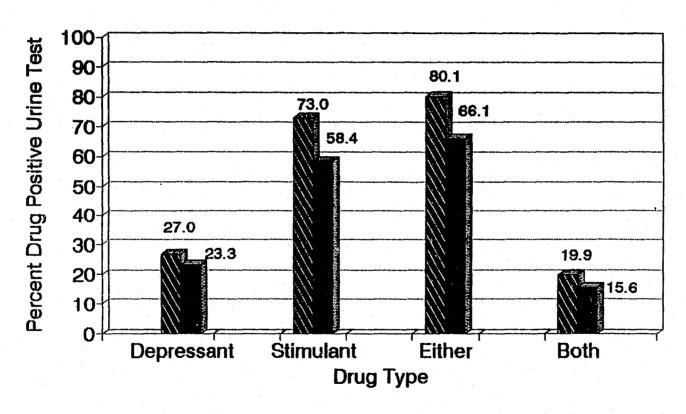
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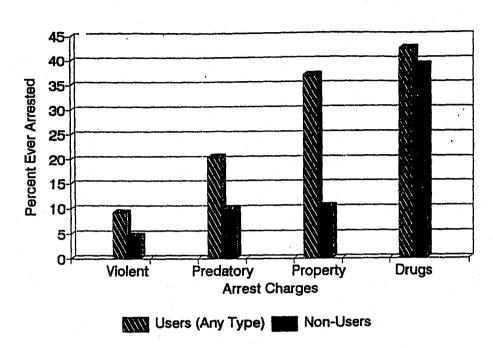
Figure 1 Percent Drug Users Among Tested
Arrestees by Drug Type and Charge



Drug Offenders Predators

Figure 2 Participation in Arrests by Drug Use Status at 1985-86 Arrest

a. Prior Arrest Activity: Percent Ever Previously Arrested



b. Subsequent Arrest Activity: Percent Ever Subsequently Arrested

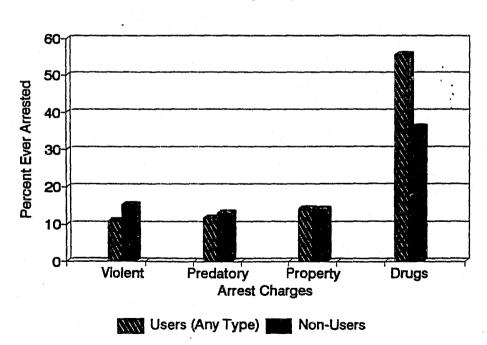
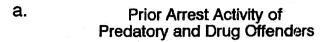
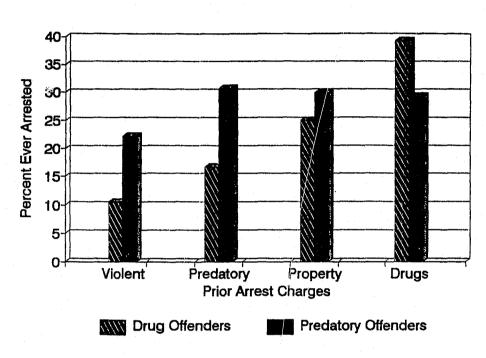


Figure 3 Participation in Arrests by Predator-Drug Offender Status at 1985-86 Arrest





### b. Subsequent Arrest Activity of Predatory and Drug Offenders

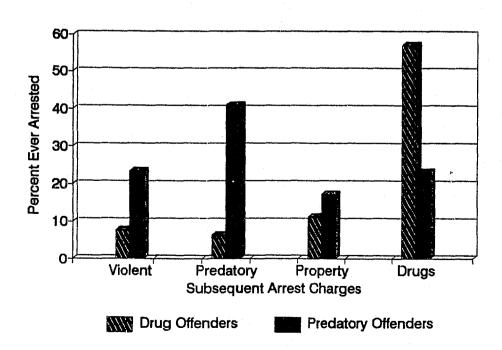
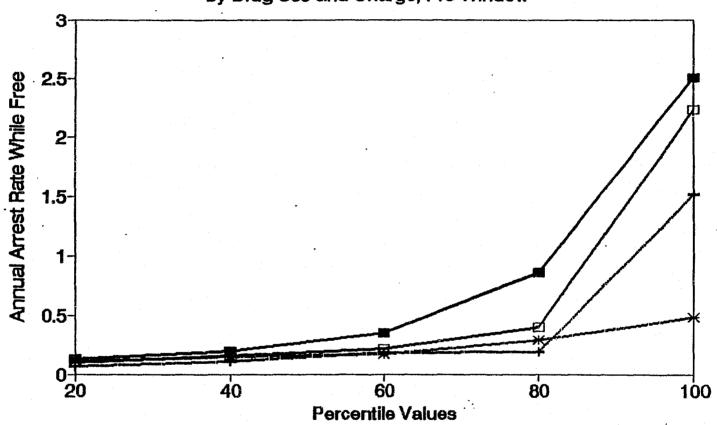


Figure 4 Percentiles of Predatory Arrest Rates by Drug Use and Charge, Pre-Window



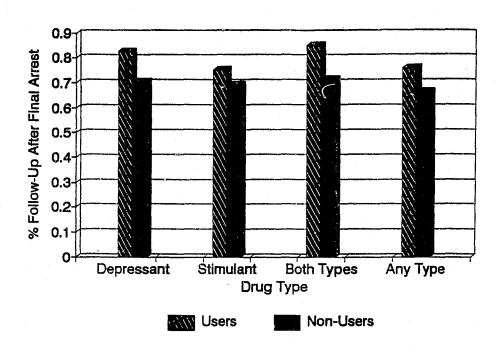
--- Non-User,Drug --- User,Pred --- User,Pred

Figure 5 **Percentiles of Predatory Arrest Rates** by Drug Use and Charge, Post-Window 4.5 Annual Arrest Rate While Free 3.5-3 2.5-2 1.5 0.5 80 60 40 20 100 Percentile Values 
— User, Drug -\*- Non-User, Pred --- User, Pred

Note: The figure is truncated at the 80th percentile for drug using predators. Frequency rates in the upper 20 percent of the distribution are quite high relative to the other subgroups in the figure. The offenders with the five highest frequency rates average 96 arrests per year free. Even excluding an extremely high frequency of 365, the remaining four offenders accumulate arrests for predatory offenses at a rate of 28.9 arrests per year free.

Figure 6 Average Time Free After Final Arrest as % Total Time Free

**Predators** 



**Drug Offenders** 

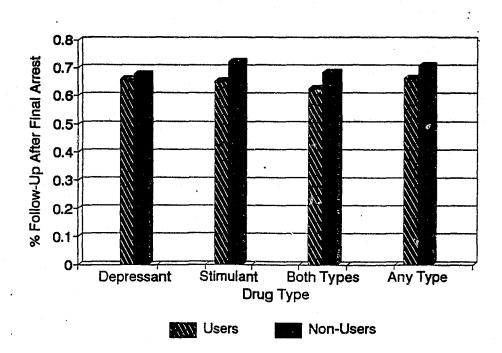


TABLE 1
Sampling Probabilities (p) and Final Sample Size (n) of Arrestees by Demographic Group

	Tested p	Not Tested p	Predator n	Drugs n
Black Males				
Base Sample	.025	.025		
Extra Predators	.150	.150		
Subsample			167	178
White Males				
Base Sample	.450	.225		
Extra Predators	1.000	1.000		
Subsample			63	159
Black Females				
Base Sample	.150	.150		
Extra Predators	1.000	1.000		
Subsample			99	146
White Females				
Base Sample	.425	.225		
Extra Predators	1.000	1,000		
Subsample			13	58
Sample Total			342	541

TABLE 2
Attributes of Arrestee Sample and
Corresponding Population of Arrestees

	Total Sample	Weighted Population
Sample Size	883	10,550
BACKGROUND ATTRIBUTES		
AT 1985-86 ARREST:		
Percent Black	66.9	93.6
Percent Male	64.3	87.0
Age at Arrest	28.6	28.3
% Never Married	67.1	70.3
% Married Now	16.4	14.7
% Live with Family	69.3	72.2
% Unemployed	30.2	28.1
% Parole/Probation	22.9	21.9
STATUS 1985-86 ARREST:		
% Predatory Arrest	38.7	18.6
% in Jail at Pretrial Interview	81.4	78.2
% Charged Felony	54.9	49.2
% Pretrial Release	87.8	87.9
% Conditional Release	64.1	57.7
% Case Disposed Early	4.4	7.4
% Private Attorney	28.9	26.7
URINANALYSIS:		
% Tested	54.7	52.6
% Positive for:		32.0
Stimulants	60.0	70.3
Depressants	30.6	26.3
Any of Above	72.3	77.5
Both of Above	18.4	19.1
Avg # Drug Types	0.61	0.63
PRIOR ARREST ACTIVITY:		
% Any Prior Arrests	67.0	67.3
% Violence Arrests	11.0	12.8
% Predator Arrests	16.8	19.3
% Drug Arrests	31.5	37.3
% Property Arrests	27.1	25.9
SUBSEQUENT ARREST		
ACTIVITY:		
% Any Future Arrests	59.7	68.6
% Violence Arrests	10.1	10.6
% Predatory Arrests	10.7	12.9
% Drug Arrests	36.0	50.7
% Property Arrests	12.5	12.3

<sup>\*</sup> The sample is stratified by offender race and sex, and by the number of prior arrests and urine testing experience at the time of arrest in 1985-86. In addition, persons charged with predatory arrests are oversampled.

TABLE 3
Attributes of Offenders Arrested for Predatory or Drug
Offenses in Washington, D.C. Between July 1, 1985 and June 30, 1986

	Total Population	EMIT Drug Screen No Test	at Arrest Tested
Sample Size	883	400	483
BACKGROUND ATTRIBUTES			
AT 1985-86 ARREST:			
Percent Black	93.6	92.1	95.0
Percent Male	87.0	87.3	86.8
Age at Arrest	28.2	28.4	28.1
% Never Married	70.3	68.8	71.6
% Married Now	14.7	15.5	14.0
% Live with Family	72.2	69.0	74.6
% Unemployed	28.1	24.4	31.1
% Parole/Probation	21.9	17.6	25.9
STATUS 1985-86 ARREST:			
<pre>% in Jail at Pretrial Interview</pre>	78.2	54.1	98.3
% Charged Felony	49.2	37.1	59.3
 % Pretrial Release	87.9	88.7	87.3
% Conditional Release	57.7	33.4	78.1
% Case Disposed Early	7.4	8.3	6.2
% Private Attorney	26.7	23.3	29.7
URINANALYSIS:			
% Tested	52.6	0.0	100.0
% Positive for:	32.0		100.0
Stimulants	70.3	0.0	70.3
Depressants	26.3	0.0	26.3
Any of Above	77.5	0.0	77.5
Both of Above	19.1	0.0	19.1
Avg # Drug Types	0.63	0.00	1.21
PRIOR ARREST ACTIVITY			
% Any Arrests	67.3	62.8	71.4
% Violent Arrests	12.8	17.8	8.3
<pre>% Predatory Arrests</pre>	19.3	20.7	18.0
% Drug Arrests	37.3	32.5	41.7
% Property Arrests	25.9	20.3	31.0
Months Since Age 18	122.9	125.0	121.1
Months Since 1st Arrest		55.5	59.5
Months Free Since 1st	37.0		J
Arrest	48.2	45.0	51.1

TABLE 3 (Continued)

Attributes of Offenders Arrested for Predatory or Drug
Offenses in Washington, D.C. Between July 1, 1985 and June 30, 1986

Tot Popul	al ation		rug Scre Test	en at Arrest Tested
SUBSEQUENT ARREST				
ACTIVITY				
% Any Arrests	68.6	$\epsilon$	59.6	67.8
% Violent Arrests	10.6		9.2	11.9
<pre>% Predatory Arrests</pre>	12.9		L3.7	12.1
% Drug Arrests	50.7	9	50.2	51.1
% Property Arrests	12.3	1	10.3	14.1
Months After 1985-86 Arrest	56.2	ξ	56.1	56.3
Months to Final Arrest	20.2		20.6	10.0
by 1990	20.2		20.6	19.9
Months Free to Final Arrest	16.2		17.1	15.3

<sup>4</sup> The table presents values for the weighted population of all arrestees that met the sampling criteria.

<sup>\*</sup> The sample is stratified by offender race and sex, and by the number of prior arrests and urine testing experience at the arrest in the in the 1985-86 sampling period.

TABLE 4 Factors Affecting Whether Arrestee Completes Urine Analysis<sup>i</sup>

Independent Variables	Coefficients
Intercept	.10793 <sup>NS</sup>
Black	.23592*
Male	09371 <sup>NS</sup>
Age In Sampling Period	<b></b> 01663***
Never Married	00414 <sup>NS</sup>
Private Attorney at Arraignment	.10677 <sup>NS</sup>
Felony Charges	.34759***
Parole/Probation Status at Arrest	.26573**
(Total n)	(1297)
Log Likelihood	867.4061
Restricted Log Likelihood (0 Slopes)	897.2726
$\mathbf{x}^{\mathbf{z}}$	59.733***
Correct % Among Predicted Tested (Predicted n)	58.9% (433)
Total Correct Predictions	54.1%

Note: The significance levels of coefficients are:

<sup>\* .05</sup> 

<sup>.01</sup> 

<sup>\*\*\* .001</sup> 

i A probit model is estimated on the dependent variable "tested" or not using LIMDEP software for personal computers.

Table 5. Proportion of Arrests Involving Completed Urine Drug Screens by Offense Charged at Arrest<sup>a</sup>

Offense Type	Percent Tested <sup>b</sup>	<del></del>
Violent	38.4	
Predatory	34.9	
Drugs	40.2	
Weapons	25.1	
Property	20.8	
Damage	33.3	
Public Order	31.6	
Other	12.3	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Multiple charges within a single arrest are assigned according to the priority of charges identified in the table. Thus an arrest containing both a violent and property offense, for example, is counted only once in the table as a violent offense.

b The tested percent reported here applies to all arrests in the arrest history. It is lower than the tested fraction reported in Table 2 because arrests occurring prior to the start of regular EMIT testing in March 1984 are included in the total.

TABLE 6 Risk of First Urine Test on Successive Arrests (Percent Tested Among Previously Untested)

	Arestees with Exactly N Arrests for N=				
Arrest Number	1 (n=593)	2 (n=222)	3 (n=145)	4 (n=115)	
		·		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
1	.457	.383	.497	.452	
2	-	.445	.452	.476	
3			.425	.424	
4	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			.421	

TABLE 7
Factors Associated with Participation in Offending (Arrest)
Among Offenders Arrested for Predatory or Drug Offenses
in Washington, D.C. During 1985-86

Variables	Offense Type: <sup>b</sup> Predatory	Violent	Drugs	Property
a. Ever Arrested or Not for Of	fense Prior to 1985-8	36 Arrest:		
Constant	*** 	-***	ale de de	₩\$ *
Observed Time Free in Pre-Period(mos.)	_***		***	**
Race (Black = 1)				+*
Sex (Male = 1)	+*			
Age at Arrest in 1985-8	6 +***	+***	+***	+***
Age Squared	-**	*	***** ■■■	**
Drug Use <sup>c</sup>	*,***d	+*,**c		+***d
Predatory(1) or Drug(0) Offense in 1985-86	+***	+***	_*	
Private Attorney at 1989 86 Arraignment	5-		+*	
Never Married at 1985-80 Arrest	6			
b. Ever Arrested or Not for Of	fense Subsequent to 1	985-86 Arres	rt:	
Constant			++	
Observed Time Free in Post-Period (mos).		_***	_***	
Race (Black = 1)			++,*	
Sex (Male = 1)				
Age at Arrest in 1985-8	6	•		
Age Squared				
Drug Use			+*,**f	<b>+</b> +,*g
Predatory(1) or Drug(0) Offense in 1985-86	+***	<b>+</b> *	1/4 1/4 1/4 0.0000	
Private Attorney at Arraignment 1985-86	_+		+*	+*,**
Never Married at 1985-80 Arrest	6 _	***	**	

# TABLE 7(Continued) Factors Associated with Participation in Offending (Arrest) Among Offenders Arrested for Predatory or Drug Offenses in Washington, D.C. During 1985-869

<sup>a</sup> The table reports the results of PROBIT model estimates for the dependent variable. Only the signs and significance levels are reported. Variables that were not significant are left blank.

PROBIT models for dependent variable "ever arrested" or "not" for an offense type were estimated on a personal computer using the LIMDEP software available from Econometrics Software in Bellport, N.Y.

- b The "predatory" offenses are robbery or burglary, both offenses that involve theft of property, as well as risk to the personal safety of victims during encounters with the offender. Violent offenses include homicide and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, and assault (aggravated or simple). Drug offenses include charges for the sale, manufacture, distribution, use, or possession of illegal and controlled substances. The property offenses include larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, stolen property, fraud, forgery, and embezzlement.
- <sup>c</sup> Drug use is measured by drug positive EMIT urine screens at the time of the 1985-86 arrest, and distinguishes between stimulants (cocaine, amphetamine, and PCP) and depressants (opiates or methadone). Users of either type or both types are also considered.
- d Drug use was only significant for <u>stimulant</u> use and for a variable counting the number of different drug types found in urine screen. Results were also significant for a variable measuring use of <u>either</u> stimulants of depressants, but this category is dominated by stimulant users.
- <sup>e</sup> Drug use was only significant for use of <u>either</u> stimulants or depressants and for a variable counting the number of different drug types found in urine screen.
- f Drug use was not significant for depressant drugs or for the variable counting the number of different drug types found in urine screen.
- <sup>9</sup> Drug use was significant for depressant drugs, use of <u>both</u> stimulants and depressants (a category that is dominated by depressant users), and a variable counting the number of different drug types found in urine screen.

TABLE 8

Past and Future Criminal Involvement in Arrests by Drug Use Status and Charge at 1985-86 Arrest: Probability of at Least One Arrest for an Offense Type<sup>a</sup>

Drug Use Ar	ny Type	Number	of Drug	Types
No	Yes	0	1	2

a. Previous Arrests Predatory Offenses (Pop'n Proportion = .18):

Drug Offender	. 04	.14
Predator	.22	.44

.07	.11	.15
.30	.37	.46

b. Previous Arrests Violent Offenses (Pop'n Proportion = .08):

Drug Offender	.02	.06
Predator	.16	.35

.02	.03	.07
.19	.28	.41

c. Previous Arrests Property Offenses (Pop'n Proportion = .31):

.	12	.40	

	T	T
.19	.31	.45

d. Subsequent Arrests Drug Offenses (Pop'n Proportion = .51):

Drug Offender	.46	. 59
Predator	.11	.18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The probability is estimated from the probit coefficients applied to the mean values of variables not displayed explicitly in the table.

## TABLE 8 (Continued) Past and Future Criminal Involvement by Drug Use Status and Charge at 1985-86 Arrest: Probability of at Least

One Arrest for an Offense Type

Drug Offender Predator

e. Previous Arrests Drug Offenses (Pop'n Proportion = .42):

	T
.49	.36
	İ

f. Subsequent Arrests Predatory Offenses (Pop'n Proportion = .12):

.05	.35
1	,

g. Subsequent Arrests Violent Offenses (Pop'n Proportion = .12):

.10	.20
<u> </u>	

TABLE 9

Factors Associated with Frequency of Arrests by Offenders Arrested for Predatory or Drug Offenses in Washington, D.C. During 1985-86°

		<del></del>		
Variables	Offense Type:b Predatory	Violent	Drugs	Property
a. Arrests per Year Free by Of 1985-86 Arrest:	fenders Arrested at L	east Once for	the Offens	e Type Prior to
Constant	+*		+***	<b>+</b> +
Race (Black = 1)				
Sex (Male = 1)				_*
Age at Arrest in 1985-8	6 -*c	_+d	************************************	
Age Squared	++c	++d	+***	
Drug Use	+**,*c		**d	
Predatory(1) or Drug(0) Offense in 1985-86				
Private Attorney at 198	5-			
Never Married at 1985-8 Arrest	6			
(nobs)	(71)	(39)	(144)	(119)
Weighted Pop'n Statistics: Mean Frequency (annual)	.546	.516	.637	.846
Proportion Predators Among Actives	59.2	69.2	20.7	36.7

TABLE 9

Factors Associated with Frequency of Arrests by Offenders Arrested for Predatory or Drug Offenses in Washington, D.C. During 1985-86°

	<del></del>			
	Offense Type:b			
***************		***	D	<b>-</b>
Variables	Predatory	Alorent	Drugs	Property

b. Arrests per Year Free by Offenders Arrested at Least Once for the Offense Type Subsequent to 1985-86 Arrest:

Constant				
Race (Black = 1)				
Sex (Male = 1)				
Age at Arrest in 1985-86				
Age Squared			+*	
Drug Use				+*
Predatory(1) or Drug(0) Offense in 1985-86			+***	+***
Private Attorney at Arraignment 1985-86	+**		+***	+*
Never Married at 1985-86 Arrest	++	+*c		+*d
(nobs)	(41)	(48)	(151)	(57)
Weighted Pop'n Statistics Mean Frequency (annual)	4.300 <sup>e</sup>	2.532	2.206	1.998
<pre>% Predators Among Actives</pre>	82.5	60.4	19.2	41.4

#### TABLE 9

Factors Associated with Frequency of Arrests by Offenders Arrested for Predatory or Drug Offenses in Washington, D.C. During 1985-86<sup>a</sup>

- <sup>a</sup> The table reports the coefficient estimates obtained from OLS regressions on individual-level estimates of the number arrests per year an offender was free and active. The analysis is weighted to reflect the distribution in the total population of qualifying arrestees. Time served is excluded from time at risk, as is time before the first arrest or after the final arrest in an individual's criminal record. Variables that did not reach significance at a minimum level of .10 are left blank.
- b The predatory offenses are robbery or burglary, both offenses that involve theft of property, as well as risk to the personal safety of victims during encounters with the offender. Violent offenses include homicide and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, and assault (aggravated or simple). Drug offenses include charges for the sale, manufacture, distribution, use, or possession of illegal and controlled substances. The property offenses include larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, stolen property, fraud, forgery, and embezzlement.
- c Significant when use of <u>depressant</u> drugs is included in the estimated model.
- d Significant when use of <u>stimulant</u> drugs is included in the estimated model.
- $^{\rm e}$  One outlier with an extremely high frequency of 365.004 predatory arrests per year free is excluded from the analysis. When this case is included in the analysis, no significant effects are observed and the adjusted  $R^2$  reduces essentially to zero.

TABLE 10
Factors Associated with Termination of Offending<sup>a</sup>

Independent Variables	Any Type	Depressant	Stimulant	Both Types	Number of Drug Types
(nobs)	(419)	(419)	(419)	(419)	(419)
Intercept	.54830 <sup>+</sup>	.50768***	.55597***	.48772***	.54795***
Race (Black=1)	12981 <sup>+</sup>	13986*	12486 <sup>+</sup>	12735 <sup>+</sup>	12502 <sup>+</sup>
Sex (Male=1)	.00197 <sup>NS</sup>	01049 <sup>NS</sup>	.00224 <sup>NS</sup>	01132 <sup>NS</sup>	00151 <sup>NS</sup>
Age of Arrest in 1985-86	.00829***	.01073***	.00816***	.01106***	.00898***
Drug Use	01943 <sup>NS</sup>	08690*	02695 <sup>NS</sup>	12319**	02617 <sup>NS</sup>
Predatory Arrest in 1985-86	.05682 <sup>NS</sup>	.05467 <sup>NS</sup>	.05409 <sup>NS</sup>	.04859 <sup>NS</sup>	.04896 <sup>NS</sup>
Private Attorney at Arraignment	01439 <sup>NS</sup>	01922 <sup>NS</sup>	01481 <sup>NS</sup>	02085 <sup>NS</sup>	01499 <sup>NS</sup>
Never Married	.04018 <sup>NS</sup>	.04880 <sup>NS</sup>	03888 <sup>NS</sup>	.05143 <sup>NS</sup>	.04136 <sup>NS</sup>
Adj R <sup>2</sup>	.023	.033	.024	.041	.027

Note: The significance levels of coefficients are:
+ .10; \* .05; \*\* .01; \*\*\* .001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> OLS coefficients are estimated for the proportion of total time free after the 1985-86 arrest that follows the final arrest observed by the end of observation in August 1990. The analysis is based on attributes of arrestees—including drug use status—who were charged with predatory or drug offenses in the sampling window, and is weighted to reflect the distribution in the total population of qualifying arrestees.

b Drug use is measured for the different drug types identified in each column.

#### Appendix Tables

TABLE X
Washington, D.C. Sample of Arrestees Charged With Predatory
Offenses (Robbery or Burglary) or Drug Offenses During 1985-1986\*

	Total			Predators		enders		
	Sample	No Test	Tested	Non-Users	Users	Non-Users	Users	
Sample Size	883	400	483	81	117	53	232	
BACKGROUND ATTRIBUTES AT 1985-86 ARREST:					•			
Percent Black	66.9	64.8	68.7	69.1	82.9	54.7	64.7	
Percent Male	64.3	66.3	62.7	69.1	62.4	69.,8	59.1	
Age at Arrest	28.6	29.0	28.2	28.4	26.5	27.1	29.3	
% Never Married	67.1	64.9	68.7	75.3	70.9	73.6	64.2	
% Married Now	16.4	19.2	14.3	12.3	12.8	13.2	15.9	
% Live with Family	69.3	71.8	67.5	66.2	65.3	56.5	71.4	
% Unemployed	30.2	29.6	30.5	28.4	32.5	19.6	32.8	
<pre>Parole/Probation</pre>	22.9	19.5	25.7	16.0	20.5	26.4	31.5	
STATUS 1985-86 ARREST:								
% Predatory Arrest	38.7	36.0	41.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
% in Jail at Pretrial Interview	81.4	61.1	96.9	98.8	100.0	90.6	96.1	
% Charged Felony	54.9	46.8	61.1	88.9	96.6	45.3	37.1	
% Pretrial Release	87.8	86.4	88.8	88.9	88.0	86.5	89.7	
% Conditional Release	64.1	42.9	80.3	79.0	82.1	61.5	84.1	
% Case Disposed Early	4.4	4.9	3.9	2.5	3.4	5.8	4.3	
% Private Attorney	28.9	24.8	32.3	38.3	45.3	22.6	25.9	
URINANALYSIS:								
% Tested	54.7	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
% Positive for:						₩		
Stimulants	60.0	0.0	60.0	0.0	89.7	0.0	79.7	
Depressants	30.6	0.0	30.6	0.0	27.4	0.0	50.0	
Any of Above	72.3	0.0	72.3	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	
Both of Above	18.4	0.0	18.4	0.0	17.1	0.0	29.7	
Avg # Drug Types	0.61	0.00	1.12	0.00	1.47	0.00	1.59	

TABLE X (Continued)
Washington, D.C. Sample of Arrestees Charged With Predatory
Offenses (Robbery or Burglary) or Drug Offenses During 1985-1986\*

	Total			Predato	ors	Drug Offe		
	Sample	No Test	Tested	Non-Users	Users	Non-Úsers		
PRIOR ARREST ACTIVITY:								· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Any Prior Arrests	67.0	65.3	68.5	50.6	67.5	56.6	78.1	
Violence Arrests	11.0	13.8	8.7	13.6	15.4	0.0	5.6	
Predator Arrests	16.8	17.5	16.1	18.5	26.5	11.3	11.2	
Drug Arrests	31.5	29.5	33.1	13.6	16.2	34.0	48.3	
Property Arrests	27.1	26.8	27.3	22.2	26.5	9.4	33.6	
vg Total Arrests	3.17	3.09	3.24	2.75	2.85	2.04	3.89	
lvg Violent Arrests	0.15	0.20	0.11	0.21	0.18	0.00	0.07	
lvg Predatory Arrests	0.25	0.27	0.24	0.36	0.36	0.11	0.16	
vg Drug Arrests	0.56	0.50	0.61	0.16	0.26	0.55	0.95	
vg Property Arrests	0.53	0.52	0.53	0.48	0.49	0.21	0.64	
Onths Since Age 18	127.1	130.4	123.1	125.1	102.2	109.5	135.9	
Onths Since 1st Arrest	50.2	49.3	51.0	45.4	46.5	31.1	59.8	
rior Months Free	43.3	41.9	44.4	36.9	39.9	29.2	53.0	
SUBSEQUENT ARREST								
Any Future Arrests	59.7	59.5	59.8	45.7	64.1	52.8	64.2	
Violence Arrests	10.1	9.3	10.8	17.3	14.5	5.7	7.8	
Predatory Arrests	10.7	11.5	9.9	13.6	24.8	3.8	2.6	
Drug Arrests	36.0	36.3	35.8	9.9	24.8	37.7	50.0	
Property Arrests	12.5	11.5	13.3	9.9	16.2	13.2	12.9	
vg Total Arrests	1.89	1.86	1.92	1.25	2.03	1.79	2.13	
Avg Violent Arrests	0.15	0.14	0.17	0.26	0.20	0.11	0.13	
Avg Predatory Arrests	0.19	0.20	0.19	0.31	0.44	0.04	0.05	
Avg Drug Arrests	0.80	0.81	0.79	0.19	0.44	1.00	1.12	
Avg Property Arrests	0.25	0.23	0.26	0.17	0.33	0.15	0.28	

TABLE X (Continued)
Washington, D.C. Sample of Arrestees Charged With Predatory
Offenses (Robbery or Burglary) or Drug Offenses During 1985-1986\*

	Total			Predato	ors	Drug Offe	nders	
	Sample	No Test	Tested	Non-Users	Users	Non-Users	Users	
Months Observed	56.3	56.3	56.3	56.9	56.3	57.1	55.9	
Months to Last Arrest	17.1	17.1	17.0	10.4	18.8	14.7	18.9	
Months Free	14.2	14.6	13.8	8.5	15.0	13.7	15.1	

<sup>\*</sup> The sample is stratified by offender race and sex, and by the number of prior arrests and urine testing experience at the time of arrest in 1985-86. In addition, persons charged with predatory offenses are oversampled.

Table Y
Washington, D.C. Weighted Population of Arrestees Charged With
Predatory Offenses (Robbery or Burglary) or Drug Offenses During 1985-86

	Total			Preda	tors	Drug Offenders	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Sample	No Test	Tested	Non-Users	Users	Non-Users	Users
Sample Size	883	400	483	81	117	53	232
BACKGROUND ATTRIBUTES							
AT 1985-86 ARREST:							
Percent Black	93.6	92.1	95.0	92.9	97.0	93.3	95.2
Percent Male	87.0	87.3	86.8	92.9	91.0	90.0	84.6
Age at Arrest	28.3	28.5	28.1	27.1	26.4	26.5	28.9
% Never Married	70.3	68.8	71.6	79.8	79.8	78.7	67.5
% Married Now	14.7	15.5	14.0	9.3	8.4	15.0	15.3
% Live with Family	72.2	69.0	74.6	49.9	73.8	70.8	77.9
% Unemployed	28.1	24.4	31.1	14.6	42.6	23.2	32.4
% Parole/Probation	21.9	17.6	25.9	16.6	35.7	26.4	24.8
STATUS 1985-86 ARREST:							
% Predatory Arrest	18.6	18.6	18.7	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
% in Jail at Pretrial	78.2	54.1	98.3	99.7	100.0	93.0	99.2
Interview							
% Charged Felony	49.2	37.1	59.3	72.0	91.5	59.5	51.9
% Pretrial Release	87.9	88.7	87.3	86.2	86.5	83.9	88.4
<pre>% Conditional Release</pre>	57.7	33.4	78.1	69.6	71.4	60.6	84.4
% Case Disposed Early	7.4	8.8	6.2	11.7	13.9	9.5	3.5
% Private Attorney	26.7	23.3	29.7	26.5	45.6	37.1	25.2
URINANALYSIS:							
% Tested	52.6	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Positive for:		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·					
Stimulants	70.3	0.0	70.3	0.0	88.4	0.0	91.1
Depressants	26.3	0.0	26.3	0.0	35.2	0.0	33.7
Any of Above	77.5	0.0	77.5	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
Both of Above	19.1	0.0	19.1	0.0	26.6	0.0	24.9
Avg # Drug Types	0.63	0.00	1.21	0.00	1.38	0.00	1.59

Table Y (Continued)
Washington, D.C. Weighted Population of Arrestees Charged With
Predatory Offenses (Robbery or Burglary) or Drug Offenses During 1985-86

	Total		Preda	tors	Drug Offenders		
	Sample	No Test	Tested	Non-Users	Users	Non-Users	
PRIOR ARREST ACTIVITY:	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·						
% Any Prior Arrests	67.3	62.8	71.4	62.8	80.4	59.9	73.4
% Violence Arrests	12.8	17.8	8.3	16.0	25.2	0.0	6.3
% Predator Arrests	19.3	20.7	18.0	18.8	46.3	6.4	15.5
% Drug Arrests	37.3	32.5	41.7	25.5	35.1	44.3	43.8
% Property Arrests	25.9	20.3	31.0	22.8	40.0	5.4	36.4
Avg Total Arrests	3.35	3.26	3.43	3.83	4.24	2.36	3.51
Avg Violent Arrests	0.18	0.27	0.09	0.26	0.28	0.00	0.07
Avg Predatory Arrests	0.32	0.34	0.31	0.44	0.75	0.06	0.27
Avg Drug Arrests	0.72	0.62	0.80	0.29	0.53	0.81	0.90
Avg Property Arrests	0.56	0.49	0.61	0.59	0.94	0.20	0.66
Months Since Age 18	122.9	125.0	121.1	109.8	101.0	101.9	130.8
Months Since 1st Arres	st 57.6	55.5	59.5	58.0	60.9	39.6	64.3
Prior Months Free	48.2	45.0	51.1	47.1	52.8	35.0	55.1
SUBSEQUENT ARREST			•				
ACTIVITY:				•			
% Any Future Arrests	68.6	69.6	67.8	66.5	72.5	64.0	68.0
% Violence Arrests	10.6	9.2	11.9	29.6	11.0	9.7	10.9
% Predatory Arrests	12.9	13.7	12.1	33.4	43.5	5.2	5.8
% Drug Arrests	50.7	50.2	51.1	11.9	25.5	45.2	61.3
% Property Arrests	12.3	10.3	14.1	21.4	16.2	11.0	13.8
Avg Total Arrests	2.12	2.09	2.15	2.74	2.29	1.92	2.12
Avg Violent Arrests	0.18	0.15	0.21	0.44	0.17	0.16	0.20
Avg Predatory Arrests	0.24	0.21	0.26	1.50	0.71	0.05	0.11
Avg Drug Arrests	1.13	1.14	1.13	0.24	0.49	1.23	1.31
Avg Property Arrests	0.23	0.24	0.22	0.33	0.26	0.11	0.22

Table Y (Continued)
Washington, D.C. Weighted Population of Arrestees Charged With
Predatory Offenses (Robbery or Burglary) or Drug Offenses During 1985-86

	Total			Predators		Drug Offenders	
	Sample	No Test	Tested	Non-Users	Users	Non-Users	Users
Months Observed	56.2	56.1	56.3	56.9	57.0	57.6	55.8
Months to Last Arrest	20.2	20.6	19.9	19.5	17.5	18.4	20.7
Months Free	16.2	17.1	15.3	16.2	12.3	18.0	15.1

<sup>\*</sup> The sample is stratified by offender race and sex, and by the number of prior arrests and urine testing experience at the time of arrest in 1985-86. In addition, persons charged with predatory offenses are oversampled.

TABLE Z

Factors Associated with Participation in Predatory Offenses\*

Independent Variables	Any Type	Depressant	Stimulant	Both Types	Number of Drug Types
Pre-1985/86 Sampled Arrest:					
(nobs)	(460)	(460)	(460)	(460)	(460)
Intercept	14.013***	-13.6290***	-15.0080***	-13.2900***	-13.3620**
Prior Time at Risk (mos.)	02610***	02608***	02797***	02539***	025441***
Black	.51953 <sup>NS</sup>	.54981 <sup>NS</sup>	.45819 <sup>NS</sup>	.55492 <sup>NS</sup>	.51905 <sup>NS</sup>
Male	.75431*	.70924*	.72915*	.75273*	.78021*
Age of Arrest in 1985-86	.62105***	.63670***	.68463***	.61587***	.60361***
Age Squared	00436**	00462**	00499**	00451**	00429**
Drug Use	.62643*	05785 <sup>NS</sup>	.70838**	.19172 <sup>NS</sup>	.19908*
Predatory Arrest in 1985-86	.92510***	.82392***	.95746***	.82813***	•90850***
Private Attorney at Arraignment	05708 <sup>NS</sup>	10684 <sup>NS</sup>	07383 <sup>NS</sup>	10662 <sup>NS</sup>	09233 <sup>NS</sup>
Never Married	.15332 <sup>NS</sup>	.14434 <sup>NS</sup>	.15572 <sup>NS</sup>	.10881 <sup>NS</sup>	.10872 <sup>NS</sup>
Log Likelihood	-143.4092	-146.9122	-140.9780	-146.5318	-144.9456

Note: The significance levels of coefficients are:
+ .10; .05; .01; .001

<sup>\*</sup> Probit coefficients are estimated for a zero-one dependent variable reflecting whether an offender is ever arrested for predatory offenses prior to or following the arrest in the 1985-86 sampling window. The analysis is based on attributes of arrestees--including drug use status--who were charged with predatory or drug offenses in the sampling window.

b Drug use is measured for the different drug types identified in each column.

 $\label{eq:TABLE Z (Continued)}$  Factors Associated with Participation in Predatory Offenses  $^a$ 

Independent Variables	Any Type	Depressant	Stimulant	Both Types	Number of Drug Types
Post-Predatory Offenses					
(nobs)	(446)	(446)	(446)	(446)	(446)
Intercept	-1.7400 <sup>NS</sup>	-1.7589 <sup>NS</sup>	-1.7974 <sup>NS</sup>	-1.7792 <sup>NS</sup>	-1.9254 <sup>NS</sup>
Post Time at Risk (mos.)	00696 <sup>NS</sup>	00639 <sup>NS</sup>	00698 <sup>NS</sup>	00633 <sup>NS</sup>	00699 <sup>NS</sup>
Black	.88483 <sup>NS</sup>	.89771 <sup>NS</sup>	.88208 <sup>NS</sup>	.89254 <sup>NS</sup>	.89883 <sup>NS</sup>
Male	.26814 <sup>NS</sup>	.27530 <sup>NS</sup>	.26537 <sup>NS</sup>	.27832 <sup>NS</sup>	.25162 <sup>NS</sup>
Age of Arrest in 1985-86	01912 <sup>NS</sup>	01574 <sup>NS</sup>	01434 <sup>NS</sup>	01450 <sup>NS</sup>	.00023 <sup>NS</sup>
Age Squared	.00022 <sup>NS</sup>	.00015 <sup>NS</sup>	.00015 <sup>NS</sup>	.00013 <sup>NS</sup>	00006 <sup>NS</sup>
Drug Use	.10628 <sup>NS</sup>	.09987 <sup>NS</sup>	.09329 <sup>NS</sup>	.13053 <sup>NS</sup>	02519 <sup>NS</sup>
Predatory Arrest in 1985-86	1.3412***	1.3275***	1.3434***	1.3339***	1.3165***
Private Attorney at Arraignment	40888 <sup>+</sup>	<b></b> 39857 <sup>+</sup>	41167 <sup>+</sup>	40018 <sup>+</sup>	40564 <sup>+</sup>
Never Married	50057*	<b></b> 50267*	49715*	50019*	49838*
Log Likelihood	- 116.5048	-116.5176	- 116.5087	- 116.4767	- 116.5871

Note: The significance levels of coefficients are:
+ .10; \* .05; \*\* .01; \*\*\*\*

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Probit coefficients are estimated for a zero-one dependent variable reflecting whether an offender is ever arrested for predatory offenses prior to or following the arrest in the 1985-86 sampling window. The analysis is based on attributes of arrestees--including drug use status-who were charged with predatory or drug offenses in the sampling window.

b Drug use is measured for the different drug types identified in each column.

TABLE ZA

Factors Associated with Arrest Frequency in Predatory Offenses<sup>a</sup>

Independent Variables	Any Type	Depressant	Stimulant	Both Types	Number of Drug Types
Pre-1985/86 Sampled Arrest:					
(nobs)	(71)	(71)	(71)	(71)	(71)
Intercept	3.9719 <sup>+</sup>	5.2914*	3.7448 <sup>NS</sup>	5.2877*	4.1854*
Black	.23473 <sup>NS</sup>	.23116 <sup>NS</sup>	.21380 <sup>NS</sup>	.21782 <sup>NS</sup>	.17710 <sup>NS</sup>
Male	14693 <sup>NS</sup>	08772 <sup>NS</sup>	18478 <sup>NS</sup>	16470 <sup>NS</sup>	13866 <sup>NS</sup>
Age of Arrest in 1985-86	.19385 <sup>NS</sup>	27287*	17994 <sup>NS</sup>	26253*	21540 <sup>+</sup>
Age Squared	.00239 <sup>NS</sup>	.00343+	.00220 <sup>NS</sup>	.003264+	.00270 <sup>NS</sup>
Drug Use	.13855 <sup>NS</sup>	.47168**	.21494 <sup>NS</sup>	.56352**	.22645*
Predatory Arrest in 1985-86	.08111 <sup>NS</sup>	.11852 <sup>NS</sup>	.08806 <sup>NS</sup>	.12225 <sup>NS</sup>	.17785 <sup>NS</sup>
Private Attorney at Arraignment	.00543 <sup>NS</sup>	15101 <sup>NS</sup>	.03122 <sup>NS</sup>	13689 <sup>NS</sup>	•00455 <sup>NS</sup>
Never Married	15370 <sup>NS</sup>	16470 <sup>NS</sup>	18736 <sup>NS</sup>	26241 <sup>NS</sup>	27434 <sup>NS</sup>
Adj R <sup>2</sup>	.067	.160	.076	.196	.130

Note: The significance levels of coefficients are:

+ .10; \* .05; \*\* .01; \*\*\* .001

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> OLS coefficients are estimated for the frequency rate of arrests per year at risk for those offenders who are ever arrested for predatory offenses prior to or following the arrest in the 1985-86 sampling window. The analysis is based on attributes of arrestees—including drug use status—who were charged with predatory or drug offenses in the sampling window, and is weighted to reflect the distribution in the total population of qualifying arrestees.

b Drug use is measured for the different drug types identified in each column.

TABLE ZA (Continued)

Factors Associated with Arrest Frequency in Predatory Offenses<sup>a</sup>

Independent Variables	Any Type	Depressant	Stimulant	Both Types	Number of Drug Types
Post-1985/86 Sampled Arrest:				-	
(nobs)	(40)	(40)	(40)	(40)	(40)
Intercept	-49.863 <sup>NS</sup>	-39.306 <sup>NS</sup>	-48.493 <sup>NS</sup>	-39.192 <sup>NS</sup>	-47.567 <sup>NS</sup>
Race (Black=1)	3.8190 <sup>NS</sup>	2.1342 <sup>NS</sup>	3.7415 <sup>NS</sup>	.92074 <sup>NS</sup>	3.3155 <sup>NS</sup>
Sex (Male=1)	3.5461 <sup>NS</sup>	3.8859 <sup>NS</sup>	4.6111 <sup>NS</sup>	4.2093 <sup>NS</sup>	4.3217 <sup>NS</sup>
Age of Arrest in 1985-86	1.9871 <sup>NS</sup>	1.2843 <sup>NS</sup>	1.7029 <sup>NS</sup>	1.2975 <sup>NS</sup>	1.5255 <sup>NS</sup>
Age Squared	02256 <sup>NS</sup>	01192 <sup>NS</sup>	01863 <sup>NS</sup>	01222 <sup>NS</sup>	01490 <sup>NS</sup>
Drug Use	- 1.4817 <sup>NS</sup>	4.0612 <sup>NS</sup>	1.7615 <sup>NS</sup>	8.5539+	2.0464 <sup>NS</sup>
Predatory Arrest in 1985-86	4.3281 <sup>NS</sup>	3.9903 <sup>NS</sup>	5.2925 <sup>NS</sup>	3.8132 <sup>NS</sup>	6.0723 <sup>NS</sup>
Private Attorney at Arraignment	13.363**	11.637**	12.140**	9.2682*	11.186*
Never Married	9.4570 <sup>+</sup>	9.1805	9.1382+	10.030*	9.3836
Adj R <sup>2</sup>	.247	.266	.248	.325	.265

Note: The significance levels of coefficients are:
+ .10; \* .05; \*\* .01; \*\*\* .001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> OLS coefficients are estimated for the frequency rate of arrests per year at risk for those offenders who are ever arrested for predatory offenses prior to or following the arrest in the 1985-86 sampling window. The analysis is based on attributes of arrestees—including drug use status—who were charged with predatory or drug offenses in the sampling window, and is weighted to reflect the distribution in the total population of qualifying arrestees.

b Drug use is measured for the different drug types identified in each column.