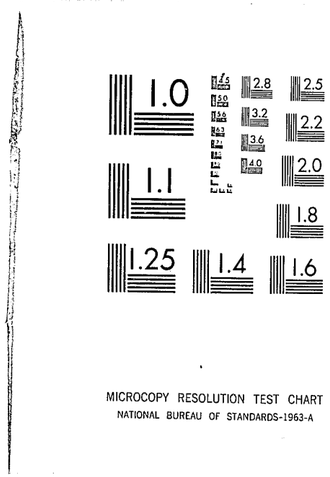

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

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

DATE FILMED

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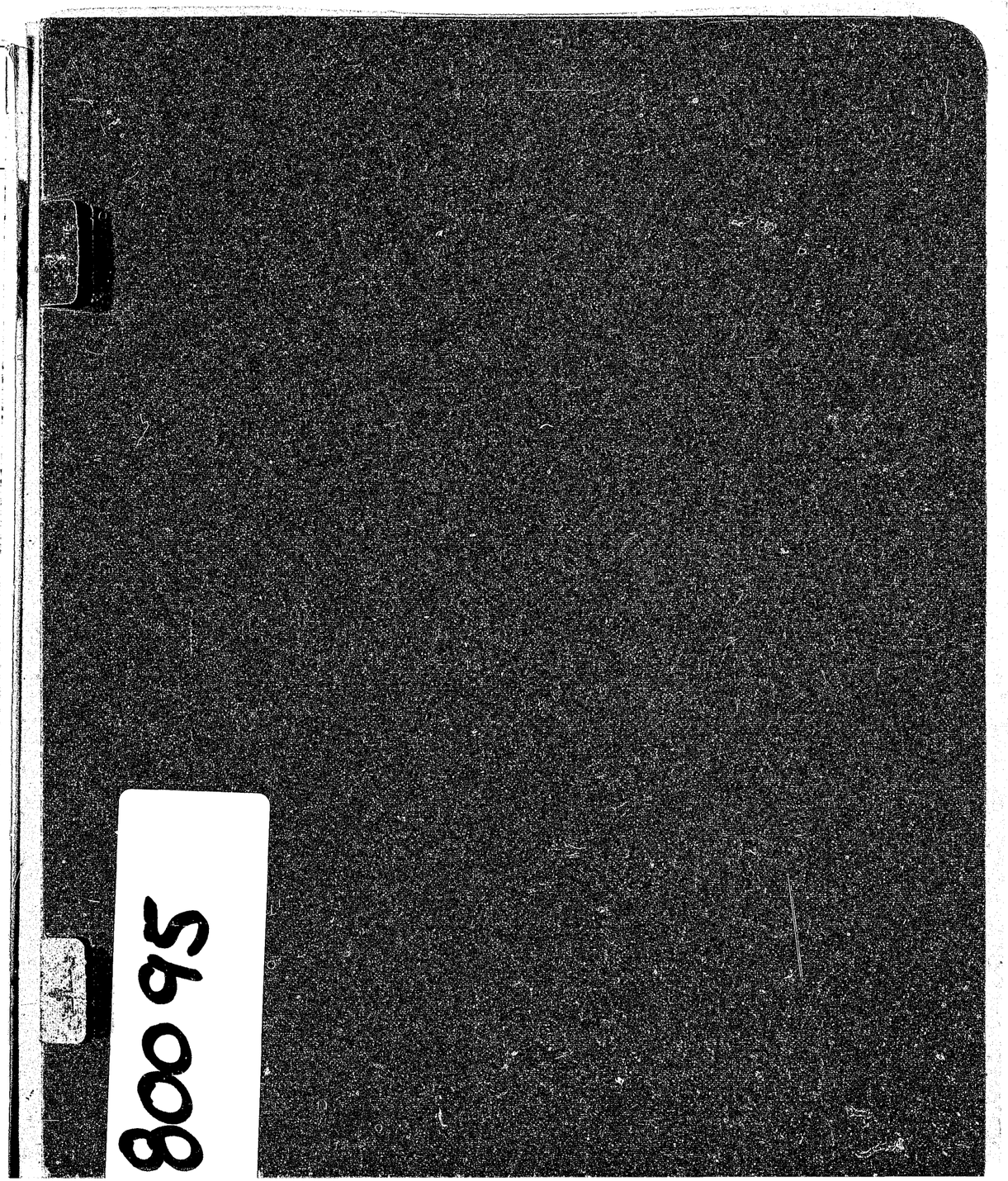

FELONY SENTENCING PRACTICES IN IOWA

1974-April, 1979

An Analysis of Sentencing Disparities
Among Major Counties and Rural Areas
in the State's Eight Judicial Districts

Prepared for
the Sentencing Disparity Study Committee
of the Iowa Judicial Council
by the STATISTICAL ANALYSIS CENTER
Office For Planning and Programming
State of Iowa

September, 1980

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INTRODUCTION

This document serves to summarize the findings of a statistical study of recent felony sentencing practices in Iowa undertaken by the Statistical Analysis Center (SAC) as input to deliberations of the Sentencing Disparity Study Committee of the Iowa Judicial Council.

The study was focused on the question or whether or not there is "significant" disparity among the major counties and large rural areas of Iowa in the rate of commitment of convicted felons. A case file covering 14,393 sentences imposed during the five-year period 1974-1978 was utilized by the SAC to compute commitment rates for eighteen selected counties and remaining rural areas in the state's eight judicial districts. These rates were then "corrected" so as to apply to a single body of sentenced offenders with fixed characteristics. This procedure was judged necessary since there is substantial variation across Iowa in the types of offenders sentenced, with higher percentages of violent and repeat offenders in the more populous areas.

The final product of the study consists of a ranking of the eighteen counties/areas according to these "corrected" commitment rates, which has allowed the committee to pinpoint precisely the extent of overall disparity among the chosen jurisdictions. Further refinement allows - in addition - a close look at the nature of this disparity as it arises within six selected sentencing offense categories.

STUDY RESULTS

The following is a listing of the eighteen counties and rural areas of Iowa on which this study of sentencing variation was focused, with the number of sentences imposed in each county/area indicated to the left.[1]

SENTENCES	COUNTY/AREA
1,336	Black Hawk/Dubuque
637	Rural-First JD
775	Cerro Gordo/Webster/Story
315	Marshall
1,155	Rural-Second JD
505	Woodbury
741	Rural-Third JD
417	Pottawattamie
434	Rural-Fourth JD
2,158	Polk
1,153	Rural-Fifth JD
1,440	Linn/Johnson
415	Rural-Sixth JD
747	Scott
445	Muscatine/Clinton
-	Rural-Seventh JD[2]
683	Wapello/Lee/Des Moines
685	Rural-Eighth JD
14,393	Statewide

The table on the following page, which essentially "sums up" the results of this study, gives two rankings of the eighteen counties/areas listed above. The ranking to the left side of the page is based on actual observed felony commitment rates, and thus reflects "a first impression" of the extent of sentencing disparity across the state. Because an unknown portion of the variation in these rates is due to variation in the characteristics of the offenders sentenced (more violent/repeat offenders in some counties/areas), it is necessary to "correct" these rates so that they apply to a single body of offenders with fixed characteristics. The rankings to the right side of the page are according to just such a set of "corrected" commitment rates. The ranking on the right, and the observable variations in the corrected rates, may be used as the basis for reaching conclusions concerning sentencing disparity in Iowa, as it is reflected in discrepancies in overall felony commitment rates.

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[1] These numbers reflect the total numbers of sentences imposed.

[2] Offenders sentenced in Cedar and Jackson counties in the Seventh Judicial District were deleted from the study due to data constraints first noted by one of the committee

FELONY COMMITMENT RATES
BY SENTENCING COUNTY/AREA
STATE OF IOWA, 1974-1978
OBSERVED VERSUS CORRECTED RATES

OBSERVED RATES		CORRECTED RATES	
41.5%	Scott	41.3%	Marshall
38.6%	Pottawattamie	36.3%	Scott
36.2%	Marshall	32.0%	Pottawattamie
31.0%	Muscatine/Clinton	31.9%	Muscatine/Clinton
27.1%	Polk	29.3%	Cerro Gordo/Webster/Story
25.9%	Wapello/Lee/Des Moines	28.7%	Rural-Third JD
24.5%	Cerro Gordo/Webster/Story	27.5%	Rural-Fourth JD
24.5%	Black Hawk/Dubuque	26.5%	Rural-Eighth JD
22.9%	Rural-Eighth JD	25.8%	Rural-Second JD
21.2%	Rural-Third JD	25.1%	Wapello/Lee/Des Moines
21.0%	Rural-Second JD	24.8%	Rural-Fifth JD
20.7%	Rural-Fourth JD	23.0%	Linn/Johnson
20.5%	Linn/Johnson	22.8%	Black Hawk/Dubuque
20.4%	Woodbury	22.5%	Polk
20.2%	Rural-Fifth JD	19.4%	Woodbury
10.8%	Rural-Sixth JD	17.5%	Rural-Sixth JD
9.9%	Rural-First JD	14.6%	Rural-First JD

The above rates are the actual observed rates of commitment in each of the given sentencing counties/areas. They may not be directly compared to ascertain sentencing disparity, since observed differences may reflect differences in sentenced offenders (in part).

The above rates are the observed rates to the left side of the page "corrected" to apply uniformly to the same (or a single) body of sentenced offenders. Thus, observed differences above are not due to offender differences, and thus the above rates may be compared directly to ascertain sentencing disparity.

"CORRECTED" FELONY COMMITMENT RATES
BY SENTENCING COUNTY/AREA
STATE OF IOWA, 1974-1978

ALL OFFENSES	FORCIBLE FELONIES	OTHER AGT. PERSONS	DRUG-LAW VIOLATIONS	BURGLARY/ M. V. THEFT	LARCENY/ STOLEN PROP.	BAD CHECKS/ FORGERY/EMBEZZ.
41.3% Marsh.	96.4% Marsh.	64.3% Marsh.	78.2% Marsh.	44.9% Mus/Cli	28.6% Scott	34.8% Marsh.
36.3% Scott	83.6% Scott	57.3% Rural-2	78.2% Pottaw.	44.5% Marsh.	23.3% Rural-8	23.2% Rural-4
32.0% Pottaw.	83.6% W/L/DSM	51.0% Linn/Jo	56.4% Rural-3	40.4% Scott	22.7% Mus/Cli	19.6% Rural-3
31.9% Mus/Cli	81.0% Linn/Jo	49.8% CG/W/S	48.8% Scott	36.7% Pottaw.	20.0% Rural-3	19.2% Rural-8
29.3% CG/W/S	78.1% Rural-3	45.6% Rural-1	45.8% Polk	28.6% Rural-8	19.6% Marsh.	18.3% Scott
28.7% Rural-3	73.8% Rural-4	44.1% Scott	44.0% CG/W/S	28.3% Rural-2	19.3% Rural-4	18.2% Rural-2
27.5% Rural-4	71.2% Pottaw.	37.8% Mus/Cli	43.6% Rural-5	28.2% CG/W/S	16.4% Pottaw.	15.5% Linn/Jo
26.5% Rural-8	69.8% Rural-8	36.9% Polk	42.1% Linn/Jo	27.7% Rural-3	16.2% Rural-5	13.9% CG/W/S
25.8% Rural-2	68.4% Polk	35.9% Rural-4	41.5% BH/Dub	27.5% Rural-5	14.0% CG/W/S	13.3% BH/Dub
25.1% W/L/DSM	68.2% Mus/Cli	33.8% Rural-5	38.9% Mus/Cli	26.4% Rural-6	11.5% W/L/DSM	12.4% Rural-5
24.8% Rural-5	65.8% CG/W/S	32.6% Rural-8	29.7% Rural-2	25.9% Rural-4	11.5% Rural-2	12.0% Polk
23.0% Linn/Jo	64.9% Rural-2	30.7% Wood.	25.4% Rural-6	25.3% W/L/DSM	11.4% BH/Dub	9.0% Mus/Cli
22.8% BH/Dub	64.7% Rural-5	27.7% Rural-3	23.5% Rural-8	25.2% BH/Dub	9.9% Polk	8.8% W/L/DSM
22.5% Polk	64.6% Wood.	27.0% Rural-6	20.0% W/L/DSM	20.3% Polk	9.6% Linn/Jo	8.1% Rural-6
19.4% Wood.	63.7% BH/Dub	25.2% W/L/DSM	19.6% Rural-4	18.8% Linn/Jo	9.3% Rural-1	7.1% Pottaw.
17.5% Rural-6	57.5 Rural-6	23.4% Pottaw.	13.5% Rural-1	17.8% Wood.	8.6% Wood.	6.6% Wood.
14.6% Rural-1	46.4% Rural-1	19.9% BH/Dub.	13.3% Wood.	11.3% Rural-1	5.2% Rural-6	6.3% Rural-1

ABBREVIATIONS

Marsh.	-	Marshall
Pottaw.	-	Pottawattamie
Mus/Cli	-	Muscatine/Clinton
CG/W/S	-	Cerro Gordo/Webster/Story
W/L/DSM	-	Wapello/Lee/Des Moines
Linn/Jo	-	Linn/Johnson
BH/Dub	-	Black Hawk/Dubuque
Wood.	-	Woodbury

The table on page 4 provides rankings of counties/areas by corrected rates for six selected offense categories, and thus allows the reader to focus in on some of the particulars of sentencing disparity in Iowa. This second table indicates that the sentencing disparity phenomenon, as measured by the "spread" or variation in corrected commitment rates along the vertical dimension, is common to each of the six offense categories, although it is stronger in some than in others.

> The Sentencing Disparity Study Committee has found that disparity in rates of felony commitment in Iowa does exist and that it is significant, i.e., persons convicted of specific types of crimes are substantially more, or less, likely to be imprisoned, depending on where, and by whom, the sentence is imposed.

Although the committee is not directly concerned, via the nature of its charge, with identifying specific jurisdictions maintaining either abnormally harsh or abnormally lenient sentencing practices, it felt obliged to consider more closely the sentencing patterns within individual counties/areas to better understand the nature of existing disparity. Accordingly, much detailed information on sentencing results within the 18 counties/areas was examined, including commitment rates for various combinations of sentencing offense category and prior commitment record. Any or all of these data are available upon request to the Statistical Analysis Center.

The table on page 9 gives an overview of sentencing practices within individual counties/areas in terms of the ranking of each county/area - by corrected commitment rate - for each of the six offense categories. The table thus shows the extent to which sentencing severity is consistent across offense categories. Note that in some cases, e.g., Marshall, Scott, Rural-Fifth JD, Woodbury, and Rural-Sixth JD, rankings across the six categories are highly consistent and indicate general tendencies toward either higher, medium, or lower rates of commitment. In other cases, e.g., Pottawattamie, Muscatine/Clinton, Rural-Fourth JD, Rural-Eighth JD, Rural-Second JD, and Linn/Johnson, one sees considerable inconsistency in rankings, indicating atypical tendencies toward harsher or more lenient sentencing for various types of crimes. For example, judges

sentencing in Linn and Johnson Counties tend to impose atypically harsh sentences on offenders convicted of burglary, motor vehicle theft, larceny, or stolen property offenses.

While it was not specifically the charge of the Sentencing Disparity Study Committee to identify the reasons behind - or the sources of - sentencing disparity, there was considerable discussion of some such factors and the nature of their impact on the use of imprisonment as a sentencing option. The following is a summary of selected considerations of this type:

1) Public attitudes toward crime and criminal justice. Specifically, the public provides greater support for community sentencing alternatives in some areas than in others. It is recognized that community tolerance of crime and criminals is not a constant, and does affect the administration of justice - including sentencing practices.

2) Geography. Aside from differences in public attitude across rural, suburban and urban areas, there are differences affecting the ability of correctional officials to deal effectively with convicted offenders in a community setting. The proximity of rehabilitative/reintegrative resources, including community residential treatment facilities, and added difficulties in supervision, can make effective case management in a rural area more difficult.

   On the other hand, an urban environment typically provides greater opportunities for continued criminal activity, including greater exposure to existing criminal elements.

3) Prosecutorial Practices. It is well known that wide variation exists in charging, plea negotiations, and other prosecutorial practices across the state, and that this has a definite effect on the outcome of the sentencing process. In counties where charges are more often reduced, dropped or dismissed, there are correspondingly fewer convicted felons for whom non-prison sentencing alternatives may be imposed. In addition, plea bargaining in many cases ties the hands of the sentencing judge by narrowing the range of available sentences. Prosecutorial emphasis on the conviction and incarceration of

4) Police Attitudes. In some areas of the state, there is greater interest and concern among law enforcement authorities with the ultimate outcome of cases, and in some situations considerable pressure may be placed on prosecutors and judges to remove certain people from the community.

5) Caseload Variations. Clearly counties with fewer resources available to meet existing caseloads must make sacrifices that can effect the outcome of sentencing decisions. This can be particularly visible in terms of the reliance on plea negotiations.

The above are a sampling of some of the considerations that can lead to apparent sentencing disparity such as that identified by the study committee. This is not to say, however, that existing wide disparities are due in any great measure to these or other similar considerations.

It seems likely that observed variations are due in large part to true differences in sentencing philosophy, and to differing perceptions among judges as to which offenders deserve imprisonment or pose a threat to the public safety.

Explicitly, further studies by SAC suggest that in some areas, e.g., in the Second, Fourth and Seventh Judicial Districts, certain classes of recidivism - prone property offenders are imprisoned at higher than average rates, while in other areas such offenders most often receive probation. This is one possible explanation of the extent of sentencing disparity for offense categories such as burglary/motor vehicle theft and larceny/stolen property.

RANKING OF SENTENCING COUNTIES/AREAS
BY MAGNITUDE OF CORRECTED FELONY COMMITMENT RATE
STATE OF IOWA, 1974-1978
(Low rank equates to high commitment rate.)

SENTENCING COUNTY/AREA	ALL OFFENSES	FORCIBLE FELONIES	OTHER AGT. PERSONS	DRUG-LAW VIOLATIONS	BURGLARY/ M.V. THEFT	LARCENY/ STOLEN PROP.	BAD CHECKS/ FORGERY/EMBEZZ.
Marshall	1	1	1	1	2	5	1
Scott	2	2	6	4	3	1	5
Pottawattamie	3	7	16	2	4	7	15
Muscatine/Clinton	4	10	7	10	1	3	12
Cerro Gordo/Webster/Story	5	11	4	6	7	9	8
Rural-Third JD	6	5	13	3	8	4	3
Rural-Fourth JD	7	6	9	15	11	6	2
Rural-Eighth JD	8	8	11	13	5	2	4
Rural-Second JD	9	12	2	11	6	11	6
Wapello/Lee/Des Moines	10	3	15	14	12	10	13
Rural-Fifth JD	11	13	10	7	9	8	10
Linn/Johnson	12	4	3	8	15	14	7
Black Hawk/Dubuque	13	15	17	9	13	12	9
Polk	14	9	8	5	14	13	11
Woodbury	15	14	12	17	16	16	16
Rural-Sixth JD	16	16	14	12	10	17	14
Rural-First JD	17	17	5	16	17	15	17

DEFERRED SENTENCING IN OMVUI CASES

In addition to its stated charge of examining felony sentencing practices in Iowa, the Sentencing Disparity Study Committee was asked by the Iowa Department of Public Safety to examine variation across the state in the use of deferred sentences in OMVUI cases.

To this end, the Statistical Analysis Center acquired information in raw form on FY1980 OMVUI dispositions in counties submitting data to the Governor's Highway Safety Office. Such counties include: Black Hawk, Cerro Gordo, Des Moines, Dubuque, Johnson, Linn, Pottawattamie, Scott, and Woodbury.

The following is a summary of this information, as compiled by SAC:

COUNTY	GUILTY	% RECEIVING DEFERRED SENTENCE
Linn	1107	66.5%
Polk	1674	57.4%
Dubuque	379	30.3%
Woodbury	439	23.9%
Scott	428	19.2%
Pottawattamie	617	17.8%
Black Hawk	183	3.8%
Des Moines	97	2.1%
Johnson	328	1.5%
Cerro Gordo	158	1.3%

There was no argument among members of the committee as to whether or not there is significant disparity among the above-named counties in the rate at which deferred sentences are granted in OMVUI cases. In addition, the SAC could find no differences in the offenders processed in the different counties that would account for variation in the use of deferred sentences.

> The Sentencing Disparity Study Committee has found that significant and substantial differences exist among the larger counties in Iowa in the use of the deferred sentencing option in OMVUI cases.

In addition to the above, SAC has had access to data on adults granted probation in Iowa during 1977-1979, and specifically with regard to whether or not the individual was granted a deferred or a suspended sentence. The following is a summary of available information of this type for persons guilty of OMVUI-1st offense in the rural areas of seven of the eight judicial districts:

JUDICIAL DISTRICT (rural area)	GRANTED PROBATION	% RECEIVING DEFERRED SENTENCE
Fifth	418	78.5%
Eighth	198	71.2%
Sixth	132	50.0%
First	337	31.8%
Third	167	23.9%
Second	266	20.7%
Fourth	265	15.1%

The data above provides evidence of disparity in the use of deferred sentencing in OMVUI cases in the rural areas as well as in the major counties of the state.

BASIC STUDY PARAMETERS

STUDY POPULATION. 14,393 adults sentenced for felonies in Iowa during the five-year period 1974-1978. Complete data, as required for statistical analysis, was available for 13,733 cases. The data base covers the population of adults committed to state prisons, or granted deferred or suspended sentences, for felonies during the given period.

STUDY GOAL. To isolate the extent of true differences in felony commitment rates among the major counties and remaining (rural) areas in the state's eight judicial districts, i.e., differences not due to variation in the types of offenders sentenced. Ultimately, study results should allow a conclusion as to whether or not "significant" disparity exists among sentencing counties/areas in Iowa.

METHODOLOGY. The specific steps employed to address the question of sentencing disparity - within the confines of the data available - were as follows:

A. Based on a preliminary review of sentencing results, it was determined that the following classification or grouping of counties would provide the most viable base for studying the sentencing disparity phenomenon in Iowa:

First Judicial District
1) Black Hawk/Dubuque
2) Other (rural) counties

Second Judicial District
3) Cerro Gordo/Webster/Story
4) Marshall
5) Other (rural) counties

Third Judicial District
6) Woodbury
7) Other (rural) counties

Fourth Judicial District
8) Pottawattamie
9) Other (rural) counties

Fifth Judicial District
10) Polk
11) Other (rural) counties

Sixth Judicial District
12) Linn/Johnson
13) Other (rural) counties

Seventh Judicial District
14) Scott
15) Muscatine/Clinton
16) Other (rural) counties

Eighth Judicial District
17) Wapello/Lee/Des Moines
18) Other (rural) counties

In cases where larger counties are grouped, such as Cerro Gordo, Webster, and Story in the Second Judicial District, the given counties were seen to have similar (or near equal) felony commitment rates.

B. Sentencing offense categories were defined as follows based on a preliminary review of sentencing results for individual criminal code categories:

1) Murder/Rape. First or second degree murder, rape and assault to commit rape, and sexual abuse.

2) Robbery. Robbery with or without aggravation, and first or second degree robbery.

3) Other Forcible Felonies. All felony assault, kidnapping, burglary with aggravation or in the first degree, and arson of a dwelling house or in the first degree.

4) Other Crimes Against Persons - Sentence 5+ Years. Manslaughter of all types, going armed with intent, and other crimes against the person with maximum indeterminate sentences of at least five years.

5) Other Crimes Against Persons - Sentence 1-4 Years. Assault with intent to inflict serious - or great bodily - injury, lascivious acts with a child, and other crimes against the person with maximum indeterminate sentences of from one to four years.

6) Drug-Law Violations. Delivery, or possession with intent to deliver, a controlled or counterfeit substance - accommodation and non-accommodation offenses, and other drug-related felonies and aggravated misdemeanors.

7) Burglary/Motor Vehicle Theft. Burglary without aggravation or in the second degree, breaking and entering offenses - including attempts, larceny of a motor vehicle or second-degree theft of motor vehicle, and operating a motor vehicle without the owner's consent.

8) Larceny/Stolen Property. All felony or aggravated misdemeanor larceny, shoplifting, or stolen property offenses.

9) Bad Checks/Forgery/Embezzlement. All felony or aggravated misdemeanor bad check or embezzlement offenses, and forgery, uttering forged instruments, or false use of a financial instrument.

10) Other Offenses Against Property. All felony or aggravated misdemeanor white collar offenses except embezzlement, all felony or aggravated misdemeanor arson (except as above), vandalism, or criminal mischief, and all other felony or aggravated misdemeanor offenses against property.

11) OMVUI - 2nd or 3rd Offense

12) Miscellaneous Offenses. All other felony or aggravated misdemeanor offenses.

Offense categories were grouped as above based on similarity of type and the fact of similar (or near equal) felony commitment rates.

C. Prior commitment record categories were defined as follows:

1) No prior commitment.

2) Juvenile but no prior adult commitment.

3) No juvenile and one prior adult commitment.

4) Juvenile and one prior adult commitment, or two or more prior adult commitments.

This definition accounts for the extent of variation in felony commitment rates based on offenders' prior commitment records.

D. A two-way offender classification system, based on the combination of sentencing offense categories with prior commitment record categories, was adopted. The resulting 48 offender categories (12x4) were judged sufficient to control for the variation in offender types among the eighteen sentencing counties/areas.

E. Actual felony commitment rates were generated for each of the eighteen counties/areas, and the counties/areas were listed (ranked) according to the magnitude of these rates.

F. Since observed variation in commitment rates per E above may have been due in part to legitimate offender differences among jurisdictions, an effort was made to "correct" the observed rates so that they would reflect sentencing of the same (or a single) offender population, rather than the eighteen populations of varying constitution.

G. To accomplish the "correction" mentioned under F above, the complete 13,733-member study population was broken into the 48 categories of the offender classification system, with the number of (statewide) offenders falling in each category carefully recorded.

Next, within each of the 18 sentencing counties/areas, commitment rates for that county/area were generated for each of the 48 offender categories. Thus 18x48=684 commitment rates were computed. This set of rates was taken to reflect actual sentencing practice across the state as it varies from place to place.

It remained to apply these 18 separate "practices" (sets of 48 rates) to a single offender population to arrive at 18 overall rates that could then be compared legitimately, i.e., that would take into account offender differences among sentencing counties/areas. This was accomplished for any given county/area by multiplying (applying) each of the 48 observed rates for the county/area by (to) the corresponding statewide offender count (mentioned above), accumulating (adding) the results, and then dividing by 13,733. The resulting 18 "corrected" rates were then used to again rank the 18 sentencing counties/areas, this time in such a manner that observed differences could be attributed to actual sentencing disparity.

H. Finally, the above procedure was repeated within six selected general offense categories as follows:

1) Forcible Felonies. Murder/Rape, Robbery, and Other Forcible Felonies, combined.

2) Other Crimes Against Persons. Combination of two categories as given previously.

3) Drug-Law Violations

4) Burglary/Motor Vehicle Theft

5) Larceny/Stolen Property

6) Bad Checks/Forgery/Embezzlement

Thus rankings of sentencing counties/areas according to the magnitude of "corrected" commitment rates was possible within each of the above six offense categories, and - accordingly - judgments could then be made concerning sentencing disparity within each of these categories.

FURTHER NOTE ON STUDY POPULATION Felony sentencing as summarized in this report covers persons sentenced for felonies and aggravated misdemeanors in Iowa from January 1, 1974 through April, 1979, with the following exceptions:

a) Sentencing for drug-law violations covers both accommodation (indictable or serious misdemeanor) and non-accommodation (felony) offenses to reflect more accurately the disposition of charges for delivery, or possession with intent to deliver, a controlled or counterfeit substance. No simple possession charges are reflected in the figures.

b) Persons sentenced for felonies charged during a period of probation, parole, or work release on former sentences are not represented in the figures, i.e., we do not include probation, parole, or work release violators.

Both suspended (jail or prison) sentences and deferred sentences (or judgments) are reflected in the figures. Persons receiving straight fines without probation or incarceration are excluded.

SUMMARY OF RECIDIVISM RESEARCH

The Statistical Analysis Center has done extensive research on the characteristics of offenders which are predictors of the likelihood of recidivism by the offender.

The primary characteristic is the age of the offender. There are higher recidivism rates for young offenders particularly for property crimes and drug related offenses. The higher recidivism rates among young offenders are related to the fact that there are higher arrest rates in the general population among teenagers and the "burnout effect" which results in a reduction in criminal activity with increasing age.

The other major characteristic which affects the rate of recidivism is the prior criminal record. The number of prior arrests, convictions, and incarcerations including juvenile offenses is a fairly accurate predictor of recidivism. However, the number of prior arrests can be combined with age to more accurately predict the rate of recidivism. For example, 18-year-olds with 2-3 lifetime arrests and 19-year-olds with 4-5 lifetime arrests, have much higher recidivism rates than over 30 offenders with 9 or more arrests and 20-29-year-olds with 6-8 lifetime arrests. The relationship between age and number of arrests is shown on the attached chart.

Other factors which also increase the rate of recidivism are age at first arrest, unemployment at arrest, history of drug or alcohol problems, history of narcotics use, completion of less than 10 years of formal education, and lack of a general education degree.

Two profiles of career criminals indicate the interrelationship of these factors. Kristen Williams from the Institute for Law and Social Research offers this profile:

> A young person in his late teens or early twenties who is arrested for robbery or burglary, who has compiled a long criminal history during only a few years on the street, who is unemployed, and who uses drugs.[1]

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[1] Kristen Williams, The Scope and Prediction of Recidivism, Institute for Law and Social Research, Washington, D.C., 1978.

Based on a study begun in 1975, Rand Corporation offers this profile of a career criminal:

> A male who begins committing crimes in his youth, as early as 14, reaches a career peak in his early 20's, and then tapers his activity until 30 when his career typically ends. He is heavily involved with drugs--both as a buyer and user. He is not married. He has been employed occasionally, if at all. And he is motivated to commit crimes not from 'economic duress'—like the less active career criminal--but because of what Rand calls his desire for 'high living.'[2]

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[2] P. Greenwood, Rand Research on Criminal Careers: Progress to Date, The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, 1979.