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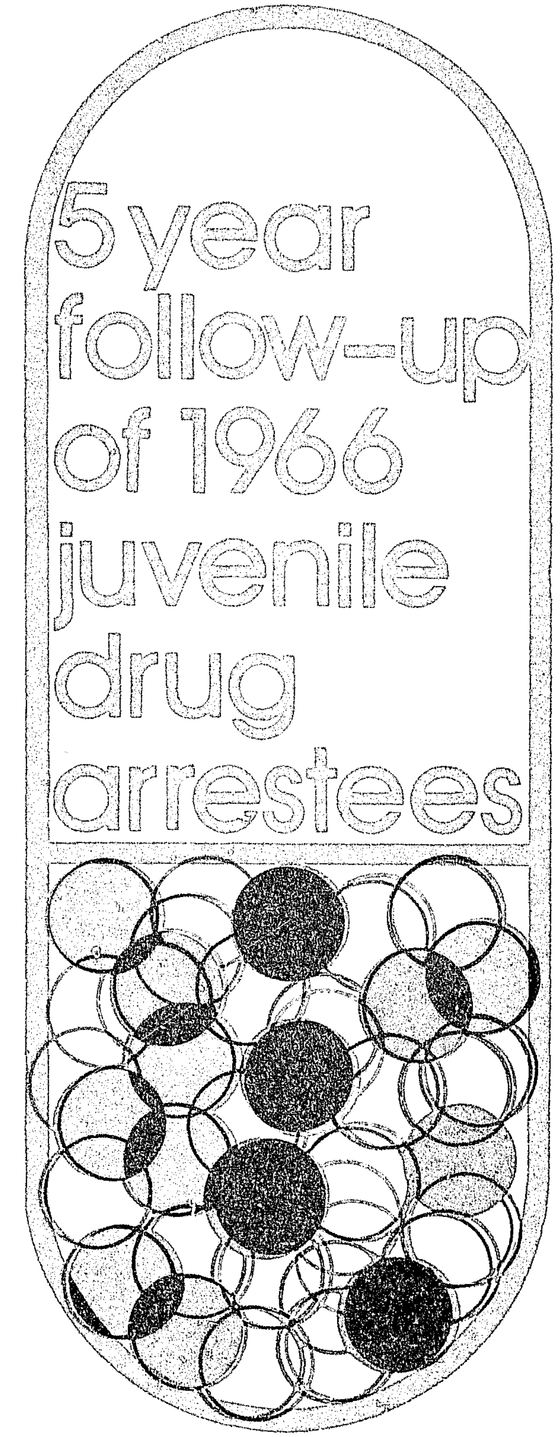

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FIVE YEAR FOLLOW-UP OF 1966 JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTEES

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FOREWORD

The contributions of many official agencies in meeting demands for information on relatively ancient cases are acknowledged. Hardest hit by Bureau requests were the Los Angeles Police Department and Sheriff's Office and the San Francisco Probation Department.

Five-Year Follow-up of 1966 Juvenile Drug Arrestees

Introduction

Several years ago, the Bureau of Criminal Statistics produced a study of adult drug offenders who were arrested in 1960. ("Follow-up Study of 1960 Adult Drug Offenders," Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Sacramento, 1968) This project produced many worthwhile findings, but was beset by a major difficulty - that of determining drug usage.

Adult offenders are generally experienced users and typically have experimented with a great variety of non-prescription as well as proscribed substances. Some are multiple users (methamphetamine to get high, heroin to descend); some combine different modalities (possession of one drug, sale of another). Thus, it is possible for a subject to be arrested under the influence of one compound while he also uses another. Similarly, the user of one drug could be arrested for the sale of another.

In the case of adults, such habit patterns have formed and solidified. A large number of false positives would be theoretically expected from a study of adults. Juveniles on the other hand, being in the formative stage of drug behavior, should not confound drug usage as much as adults. Also, it should be possible to observe the development of usage patterns, as well as the association of other kinds of criminality with various types of drugs.

With these considerations in mind, it was decided to base a five-year study on juvenile offenders whose initial drug arrest occurred in 1966. The year 1966 was selected, first because it marked w' ıt might be considered one of the beginning years of the upsurge in juvenile arrests; and second because sufficient time had elapsed for official case records to accumulate.

Figure I illustrates one of the characteristics of 1966 as a transition year from a low to an extremely high volume of arrests. The decline in arrests in recent years may or may not represent a decrease in use. Enforcement policies have changed in some jurisdictions; programs to divert youthful offenders from the criminal justice process have been instituted in many localities. Further, since 1970 drug arrest data have been derived from summary reports. Police statistical systems usually involve the categorizing cases involving multiple charges by the most serious offense. Thus, one specifying murder and possession of marijuana would be reported as murder only. Many instances of drug law violations are lost through this practice. Accordingly, a deceleration in the arrest rate from 1970 on, because of the adoption of summary reporting, would be anticipated.

From Figure II it might be deduced that the ethnic character of the juvenile arrestee population underwent a decided change about 1964; the predominantly minority elements began to be swamped by the influx of white offenders. This trend was well under way in 1966. After 1969, when arrest information came from summary reports, vital statistics relating to offenders were no longer available.

Figure I

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS IN CALIFORNIA 1960-1971
(Individual reporting through 1969; police summary reporting thereafter)

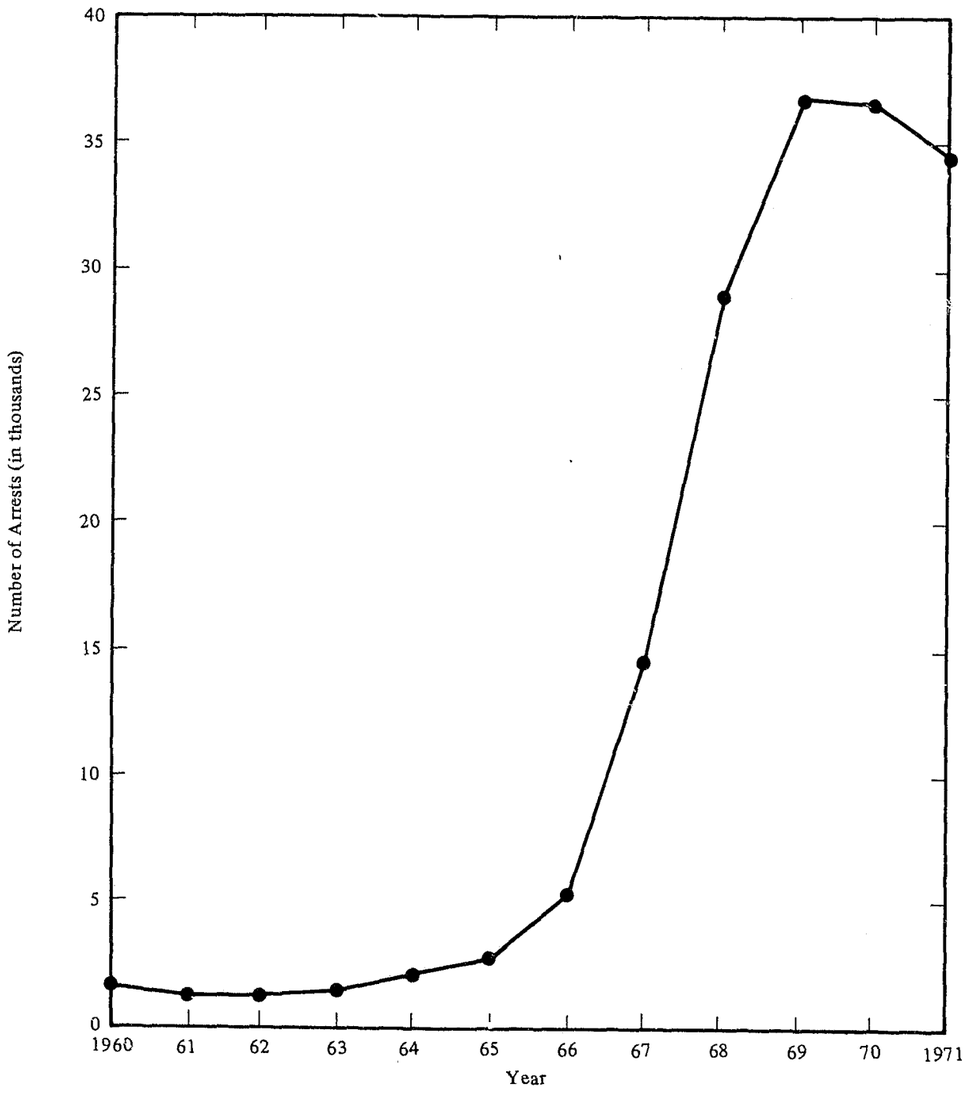


Figure II

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF JUVENILE ARRESTEES
AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL 1961-1967

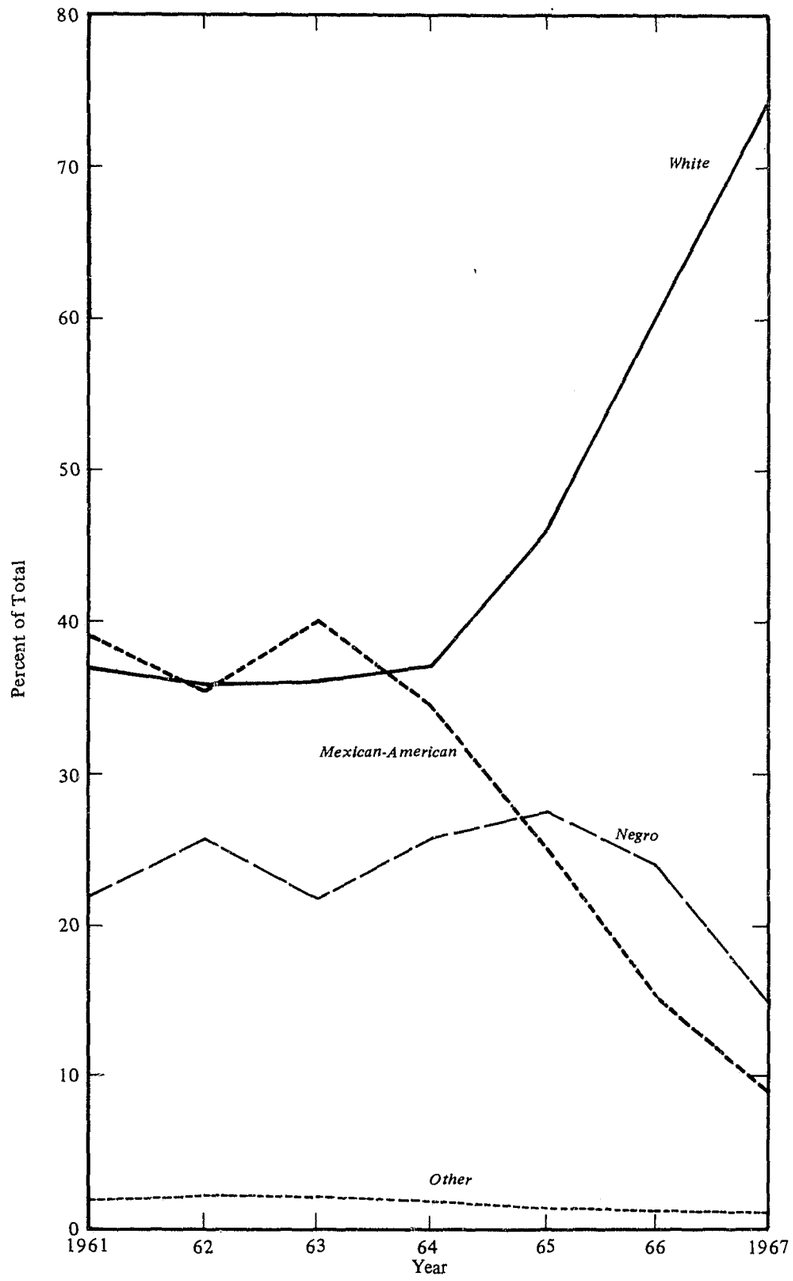


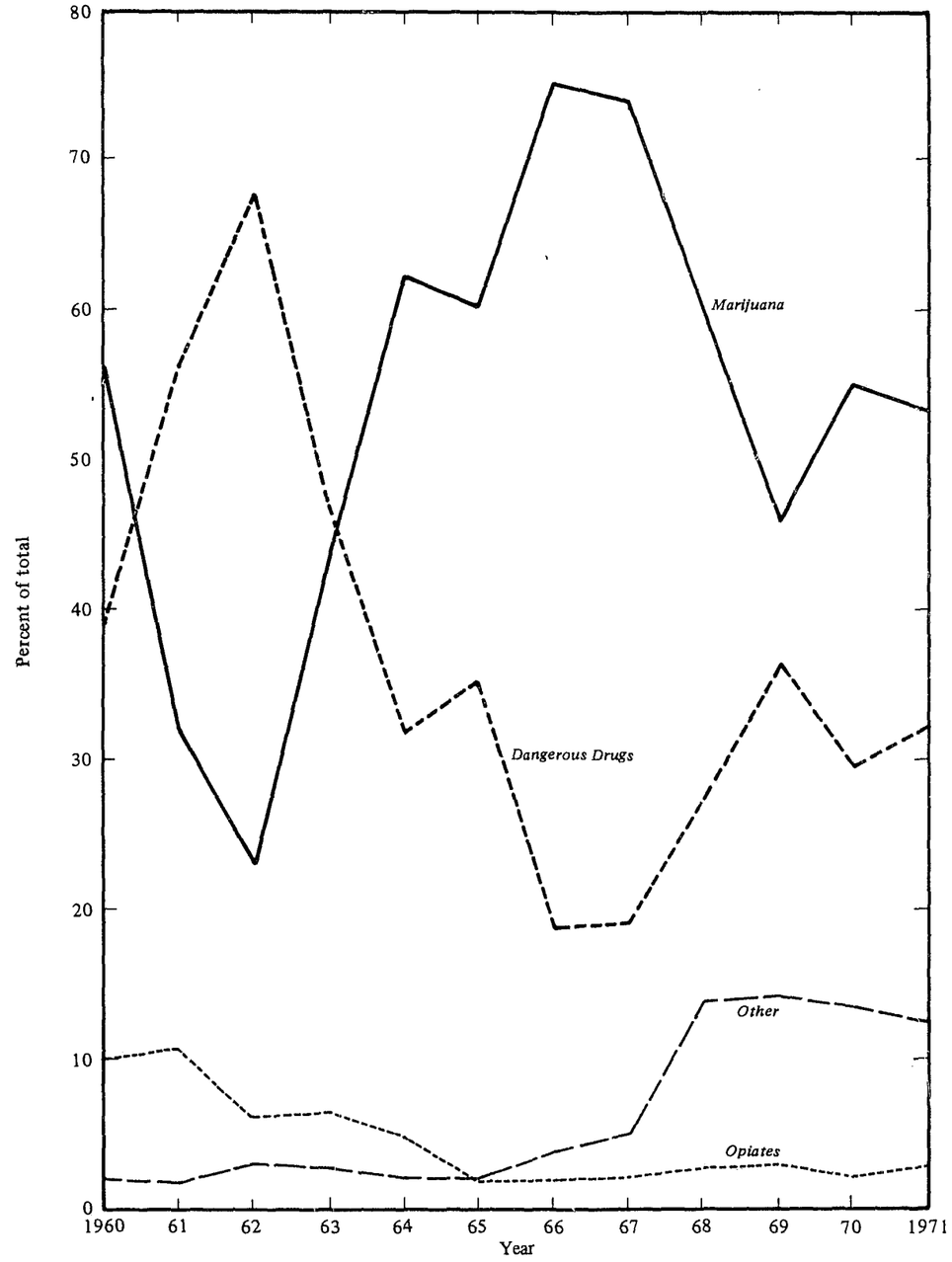
Figure III shows a remarkably consistent reciprocal relationship between marijuana and dangerous drug offenses. It would be difficult to view any year in this pattern as typical. Perhaps the best statement would be that 1966 represented the climax of the middle 60's drug use code. Marijuana was at its zenith and dangerous drugs at their nadir. If this relationship is an actual feature of the drug scene, a recrudescence of marijuana law violations may be expected.

Opiate offenses seem to be at a uniform nominal level. "Other" offenses rose sharply after the use of summary statistics was adopted. The difference is traceable to varying policies in classifying offenses. Under the preceding individual reporting plan, visiting a place where marijuana is used would probably have been classified as a marijuana offense. Under the summary system it could have been assigned to "other."

As in previous Bureau research projects, unknown items are omitted from the tabular material, thus producing some variation in the totals. Percentages are not computed on numerical bases smaller than 10.

Figure III

DRUG OFFENSES AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL
AMONG JUVENILE ARRESTEES 1960-1971



SUMMARY

The principal findings of this five year follow-up of 1966 juvenile drug arrestees are:

1. The subjects of the study were all juveniles first arrested on drug charges in 1966. This sample is probably not completely typical of all juvenile drug users.

2. The sample consisted of 2,832 persons, 1,333 of whom (47.1 percent) had never been arrested on any count; and 1,499 (52.9 percent) who had not been previously arrested on drug charges, but who had records of non-drug criminality.

3. The two sub-samples were nearly equivalent in median age, but the prior record group contained smaller proportions of extremely young and larger proportions of older subjects than did the no prior group.

4. The ethnic make-up of the prior record sub-sample featured a relative shortage of whites and an excess of Negroes as compared to the no prior grouping.

5. No significant difference in the male-female ratio was detectable between the two study groups.

6. The no prior record contingent, as compared with those having records, exhibits a relatively high arrest rate for dangerous drug offenses and a low apparent use of marijuana. This is particularly true of the younger members of the group. With increasing age marijuana arrests become more prominent. The prior record sub-sample is distinguished by a consistent preference for marijuana.

7. Those without previous criminal activities and females seemingly are treated with greater judicial leniency than the more experienced offenders.

8. Subjects originally sentenced to prison or CYA manifest a high recidivism rate. Those granted probation, sent to juvenile hall and the like show more desirable post-arrest outcomes. This effect, however, may also be ascribed to an efficient risk selection process by the courts and probation authorities.

9. With regard to drug rearrests, those with prior records have accumulated the highest average numbers. This is true of non-drug rearrests, except that the average for initial marijuana arrestees is higher for no prior subjects than for their more sophisticated counterparts.

10. Under all circumstances the rearrest rate of opiate offenders is highest, closely followed by that of dangerous drug violators.

11. There are much longer intervals between the rearrests of the no prior subjects than between those with more criminal antecedents.

12. It is conjectured that juvenile careers begin with dangerous drugs. The typical five-year pattern of drug law violations shows a high proportion of dangerous drug arrests. After a rise in marijuana arrests, the cohort divides. A small fraction remains with marijuana, a somewhat similar splinter group transfers to opiates and a larger portion to dangerous drugs.

13. With regard to drug law violations, it appears that the two sub-samples had become much the same in offense and ethnic characteristics by the time the fifth rearrest was recorded. The survivors in the two sub-samples may represent the hard-core drug devotees. There is reason to believe that the sample elements primarily dedicated to non-drug criminality drop out of the drug arrest scene.

14. In an incidental study of homicides among the sample subjects, it was found that violent deaths occur in abnormal numbers.

15. Much doubt is cast on the original hypothesis that those with prior records and those without come from basically different population strata.

DISCUSSION

Scope of Investigation

The possibility of examining drug usage throughout the general population is negligible. Law violations in most cases are carried on surreptitiously and only those which surface are amenable to statistical measurement. The undetected cases must be estimated by subjective or non-rigorous methods.

Accounts in popular media make plain the widespread extent of drug consumption. Newspaper and magazine articles over the past few years have described parties at which various kinds of drugs were served to the guests instead of drinks. Accounts of rock and roll festivals describe the free use of drugs by the spectators. Numerous questionnaire surveys have reported usage factors ranging from 15 to 80 percent in certain segments of the population, mostly grade school through university level students.

It is easy to surmise that in the higher strata of the socio-economic scale the chance that social use would come to the attention of law enforcement agencies is small. A search warrant is required for entry into a residence, and if a probable cause for believing a law violation is being committed cannot be demonstrated, a warrant will not be issued. Hence, persons who are not routinely subject to police scrutiny and who conduct their activities with some circumspection enjoy a substantial probability of successfully violating drug laws.

On the other hand, inexperienced or imprudent practitioners expose themselves to enforcement action, with a consequent high risk of apprehension. Also, those whose way of life involves breaches of public order are natural objects of suspicion. They are likely to be scrutinized more closely than those without official records. Further, members of what is called the street culture are enmeshed in financial and interpersonal relationships which may breed enmity. In such cases the motives of revenge or punishment may lead to betrayals by informants.

The subject matter of this study is drawn from the latter groups - those who have been arrested. This mass of data therefore represents one facet of a largely incommensurable social problem. Any conclusions or inferences drawn from this material cannot be generalized to the problem as a whole.

Methodology

As stated earlier, the choice of juveniles was made in the belief that their offenses would be more reliable indicators of usage than those of adults. Further, the charged, rather than the convicted offense was employed on the grounds that plea bargaining and related practices might distort the latter data. This consideration is offset somewhat by booking practices peculiar to some police departments. All in all, though, it was felt that the gains from using the charged offense would outweigh the disadvantages.

The 1966 first-drug-arrest cohort contained two major groups of subjects - those with a prior record of non-drug arrests and those with an unblemished past. Their criminal careers were gathered from the files of the Bureau of Identification and some collateral sources for the years 1966-1971. The period of exposure thus comprised a minimum of five years.

The hypothesis which will be tested herein by conventional statistical techniques is that the two basic groups are drawn from different populations and that their respective distinguishing characteristics persist throughout the five years covered by the study.

Demographic Characteristics

When erroneously coded and unidentifiable records were eliminated, there remained 1,499 cases with prior criminal records and 1,333 with none.

These cases were distributed with respect to age as follows:

Age	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,498	100.0	1,333	100.0
0-13	11	0.7	30	2.2
14	38	2.5	61	4.6
15	187	12.5	162	12.2
16	325	21.7	364	27.3
17	594	39.7	516	38.7
18	343	22.9	200	15.0

(The 18-year-olds are those who were 17 at the time of arrest but who passed their 18th birthday sometime during 1966.)

The median ages of the two groups - 16.8 for the prior record group and 16.6 for the other do not differ greatly. But it is evident from inspection of the two distributions that their structures are quite distinct. The prior record sample is weighted toward the high end of the age scale, while the no priors cluster more heavily in the early teen years. This observation is confirmed by a chi-square test, which establishes that the differences are significant beyond the .001 level of probability. Such a result virtually rules out chance as determinant of significance.

Ethnic differences are tabulated as follows:

Ethnic group	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,499	100.0	1,333	100.0
White	843	56.2	842	63.2
Mexican-American	242	16.2	273	20.5
Negro	394	26.3	204	15.3
Other	20	1.3	14	1.0

Here again a chi-square test yields a determination of significance beyond the .001 level. The no prior sample is seen to be made up of greater proportions of white and Mexican-American offenders and a markedly smaller proportion of Negroes.

The sex characteristic in the two samples is displayed below.

Sex	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,499	100.0	1,333	100.0
Male	1,244	83.0	1,088	81.6
Female	255	17.0	245	18.4

The chi-square test shows a difference significant at the .20 level. In other terms, the odds in this case are only 4 to 1 that the difference is meaningful; in the cases of race and age, the odds were 999 to 1. The .05 level (odds of 19-1) is the usually accepted criterion of significance.

The minor differences in the sexual composition of the two samples may therefore be presumed to be non-significant. This result is not unexpected - approximately the same male-female ratio can be observed in other areas, of which vehicular accidents is perhaps the most conspicuous.

These exercises rather firmly establish differences in the age and ethnic make-up of the two groups. These disparities may imply the presence of a cohort in the pre-1964 tradition (see Figure II) upon which the newer wave of juvenile offenders was superimposed.

Offense Characteristics

Comparison of the totals in Tables 1 and 1-A reveals large imbalances in the incidence of marijuana and dangerous drug arrests. These differences are significant at the .001 level of probability. The prior record cohort is distinguished by a relatively high marijuana frequency and a correspondingly low proportion of dangerous drugs. Assuming that the no prior group is less experienced in drug practices, this configuration could be explained by the fact that dangerous drugs are easier for beginning users to obtain than marijuana. Many are available in family medicine cabinets.

This conjecture is supported by the following table showing the relationship of possession offenses of the two drug types for the age groups 14-18. The numbers of subjects in the 0-13 classes are too small to be indicative.

	With prior record						Without prior record					
	Possession		Marijuana		Dangerous drugs		Possession		Marijuana		Dangerous drugs	
Age	Total	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total ..	1,314	100.0	1,097	83.5	217	16.5	1,144	100.0	886	77.4	258	22.6
14	35	100.0	30	85.7	5	14.3	50	100.0	27	54.0	23	46.0
15	166	100.0	128	77.1	38	22.9	145	100.0	103	71.0	42	29.0
16	296	100.0	244	82.4	52	17.6	332	100.0	253	76.2	79	23.8
17	512	100.0	434	84.8	78	15.2	448	100.0	357	79.7	91	20.3
18	305	100.0	261	85.6	44	14.4	169	100.0	146	86.4	23	13.6

It is apparent that the prior record contingent is in a condition of relative stability, except for an unexplained anomaly in the 15-year-old class. The marijuana percentages for the 14- and 18-year-old groups are virtually identical, as are those for dangerous drugs.

Those without prior record, on the other hand, show a continuous increase in marijuana offenses - from 54 to 86 percent - and a drop in dangerous drugs from 46 to 14 percent.

If the assumption that the no prior group contains merely less seasoned violators than those with records is correct, then it is possible to trace a progression from the use of dangerous drugs to marijuana. Once this reasoning is accepted, it would be logical to predict that non-drug criminality would increase with apparent marijuana habituation. For the prior record group, where marijuana offenses outweigh dangerous drugs, the criminal status presumably existed before drug use became pronounced enough to result in an arrest.

This being the case, it would be possible to infer that drug use cannot be considered an invariable cause of crime but is more often a concomitant of other illicit activities. This point will be examined in later sections of the report.

Returning to Tables 1 and 1-A, a test of the difference in the other offense category in the two tables - 5.0 vs. 3.4 - yields a finding of significance at about the 0.1 level. This finding might imply more lenient treatment of the first offenders without prior records. In other words, authorities could be inclined to reduce charges in borderline cases for arrestees with no history of anti-social activities.

A more detailed scrutiny of the two tables (1-1-A) indicates that the arrests of whites and Mexican-Americans on marijuana charges are consistently higher in the prior record tabulation than in the no prior in comparison with total drug law violations. Negroes, on the other hand, show almost identical percentages in both tables. As would be expected, dangerous drug proportions are higher in the no prior record grouping.

The number of opiate offenders is so small that no clear-cut tendencies are visible. It appears that addiction is approximately twice as high in the prior record group as in the no prior, but the low frequencies vitiate tests of significance.

Post-1966 juvenile cohorts contain higher proportions of opiate arrests, but such offenses apparently are more common in adult stages of drug use.

Tables 2 and 2-A detail arrests with respect to sex. The intergroup marijuana relationship noted in the previous discussion is also evident in this connection, with one major exception. The females in the no prior sample show an uncharacteristically low percentage of marijuana arrests, and a correspondingly high proportion of dangerous drug offenses. This relationship is in a more expected form in the prior record group tabulation.

The percentage composition of the "other" category in both samples strongly favors the female component. This is in line with the supposition advanced earlier as to possible leniency, which would probably be more likely accorded to female offenders than to males.

Dispositions

The original design of the study contained a plan to follow the subjects according to the disposition of the initial arrests. It was hoped that this phase of the study would make possible an evaluation of various methods of dealing with juvenile drug law violators. For example, would those placed on probation accumulate fewer subsequent arrests than those sent to CYA?

Unfortunately, there was one outstanding obstacle to the realization of this plan. When the data were processed in 1966-67 the volume of work precluded extensive follow-up procedures. The dispositions of juvenile cases in some instances were not reported to the Bureau, and in others on an irregular basis.

Hence, when the deadline for EDP processing approached, there was a large backlog of pending cases.

If nominal efforts to determine the dispositions in these cases were unsuccessful, it was assumed that the case had resulted in a release, dismissal or acquittal. When the present study was undertaken, it was decided to test the validity of this assumption. A 30 percent sample of these classes of disposition was taken and checked with the field agencies who had made the arrests originally.

The returns from this sub-survey overturn the assumption that the defendants whose dispositions were unknown were freed. Tables 3 and 3-A show the dispositions that were originally recorded.

It will be noted that 1,080 of 1,499, or 72 percent, in the prior record group had ascertainable dispositions vs. 585 of 1,333, or 44 percent, in the no prior sample. The reason for this is probably that many of the prior group, being known offenders, had been fingerprinted. New material relating to them would therefore have a high likelihood of being forwarded to the Bureau of Identification.

There remained 1,167 cases in the entire cohort which had been originally classified as releases or dismissals. Thirty percent of these, or 345, were selected for a special investigation to determine the validity of the initial coding. Appoximately 60 percent of these (208) yielded definite information as to the outcome of the original case. After the 1966 arrest, 70 were sent to juvenile hall or were referred to probation. Twenty were known to have been assigned to probation or parole, 17 were undergoing pre-filing investigations and 101, or 48.6 percent, were set at liberty.

Thus, the classification "released or dismissed" cannot be taken at face value except in the prior record group, where tangible data were available. Comparison of subsequent criminal careers with the initial handling of the cases then is possible only among the more sophisticated violators.

The following analysis is based solely on Table 4. First, a chi-square test was made between the categories freed (released or dismissed) and "other juvenile court adjudication" (petition filed, made ward of court, committed to foster home, etc.). As would be suspected, the test showed that the two categories differ radically, beyond the .001 percent level of probability. (In fact, all of the chi-square tests performed in this particular analysis exceed the .001 level.) To be able to make more detailed judgments, the items in the tables which showed the largest chi-square values were analyzed individually.

Tests of the significance of the difference between two proportions in the other adjudication and freed categories are tabulated as follows:

Subsequent event	Difference		
	Not significant	Significantly higher	Level of significance
Felony probation	-		-
Prison, CYA		Other adjudication	1.0 percent
No conviction, bail forfeited		Freed	0.1 percent
No subsequent arrest		Other adjudication	0.1 percent

These findings appear to mean that the subjects accorded severer judicial handling had fewer subsequent arrests, although incarceration may have reduced their exposure to enforcement action. Those who were freed, presumably having originally committed venial offenses, manifested a better record vis-a-vis the no conviction or bail forfeited outcome.

A comparable analysis of the other adjudication and prison or CYA variables shows the following:

Subsequent event	Difference	
	Significantly higher	Level of significance
Felony probation	Other adjudication	0.1 percent
Prison, CYA	Prison, CYA	0.1 percent
Misdemeanor probation	Other adjudication	0.1 percent
No conviction, bail forfeited	Other adjudication	0.1 percent
No subsequent arrest	Other adjudication	5.0 percent

It is clear from this presentation and from Table 4 that subjects originally sentenced to prison or CYA have a very high recidivism rate. About 68 percent of those initially incarcerated are again incarcerated, as compared to 23 percent of those in the other adjudication category.

Conversely, those originally given lighter sentences appear to exhibit less serious criminality later.

Finally, the prison or CYA subjects are compared with those whose initial disposition was release or dismissal:

Subsequent event	Difference		
	Not significant	Significantly higher	Level of significance
Felony probation		Freed	.01 percent
Prison, CYA		Prison, CYA	.01 percent
Misdemeanor probation		Freed	.01 percent
No conviction, bail forfeited		Freed	.01 percent
No subsequent arrest	-		-

These results are consistent with previous findings except for the rather strange outcome in regard to subsequent arrests.

To summarize, cases originally handled through "other" juvenile court procedures ostensibly lead to fewer subsequent arrests than do penal commitments or releases and dismissals. Initial prison sentences seemingly produce more prison commitments. Initial "other" adjudications are usually followed by relatively mild judicial outcomes - probation, no conviction, bail forfeited or no subsequent arrests.

It is possible, however, to interpret the data differently. If the courts and probation departments are successful in evaluating the criminal potential of individual offenders, then the punishment presumably would fit the crime. In this case the subsequent criminal careers would not be the results of differential court treatment, but of the nature of the defendants themselves. The function of the juvenile criminal justice apparatus would have been merely that of properly grading the offenders according to the likelihood of recidivism and of applying the appropriate remedy. Thus, those whose criminal proclivities were sufficiently strong would have gone to prison or CYA regardless of the type of original disposition; those who were not to be arrested again would have escaped arrest under any circumstances, and so on.

Rearrests

The data collection plan of the survey entailed coding by offense the first five arrests following the initial arrest. The arrests in excess of five (which turned out to be more numerous than expected) cannot be differentiated by offense, nor can the exact number be determined. An arbitrary average of seven was decided upon, which is applied uniformly in the various computations which follow.

The tables which detail the progress of the criminal careers of the offenders show the first five arrests by offense. The 5+ arrests enter only into the estimate of the average number of arrests.

The plan of the next section is to tabulate drug and non-drug rearrests of the two basic study groups according to the original charged offense.

DRUG REARRESTS OF INITIAL MARIJUANA ARRESTEES

Number of rearrests	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number of subjects	Total rearrests	Number of subjects	Total rearrests
Total	1,179	2,316	965	1,574
0	428	0	380	0
1	225	225	218	218
2	156	312	126	252
3	134	402	83	249
4	61	244	55	220
5	46	230	43	215
5+ (x7)	129	903	60	420

The mean of the prior record group is 1.96 rearrests; of the no prior 1.63. Of the former, 36.3 percent had no rearrests; of the latter, 39.4 percent.

DRUG REARRESTS OF INITIAL OPIATE ARRESTEES

Number of rearrests	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number of subjects	Total rearrests	Number of subjects	Total rearrests
Total	30	80	21	38
0	11	0	8	0
1	4	4	5	5
2	3	6	2	4
3	1	3	2	6
4	2	8	1	4
5	2	10	1	5
5+ (x7)	7	49	2	14

Mean = 2.67 Mean = 1.81

Percent 0 rearrests = 36.7

DRUG REARRESTS OF INITIAL DANGEROUS DRUG ARRESTEES

Number of rearrests	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number of subjects	Total rearrests	Number of subjects	Total rearrests
Total	237	510	279	467
0	79	0	105	0
1	47	47	67	67
2	28	56	29	58
3	26	78	31	93
4	16	64	16	64
5	11	55	16	80
5+ (x7)	30	210	15	105
	Mean = 2.15 Percent 0 rearrests = 33.3		Mean = 1.67 Percent 0 rearrests = 37.6	

DRUG REARRESTS OF INITIAL "OTHER" ARRESTEES

Number of rearrests	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number of subjects	Total rearrests	Number of subjects	Total rearrests
Total	51	79	67	87
0	20	0	22	0
1	9	9	20	20
2	7	14	12	24
3	8	24	10	30
4	5	20	2	8
5	1	5	1	5
5+ (x7)	1	7	0	0
	Mean = 1.55 Percent 0 rearrests = 39.2		Mean = 1.30 Percent 0 rearrests = 32.8	

In both the experienced and inexperienced offender groups, the initial opiate arrestees have the highest average number of rearrests.

Similar data for non-drug offenses are presented below.

NON-DRUG REARRESTS OF INITIAL MARIJUANA ARRESTEES

Number of rearrests	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number of subjects	Total rearrests	Number of subjects	Total rearrests
Total	1,179	3,118	965	2,755
0	392	0	163	0
1	161	161	213	213
2	125	250	163	326
3	96	288	105	315
4	94	376	76	304
5	67	335	59	295
5+ (x7)	244	1,708	186	1,302
	Mean = 2.64 Percent 0 rearrests = 33.2		Mean = 2.85 Percent 0 rearrests = 16.9	

NON-DRUG REARRESTS OF INITIAL OPIATE ARRESTEES

Number of rearrests	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number of subjects	Total rearrests	Number of subjects	Total rearrests
Total	30	97	21	60
0	8	0	4	0
1	3	3	5	5
2	1	2	5	10
3	6	18	1	3
4	2	8	-	-
5	2	10	-	-
5+ (x7)	8	56	6	42
	Mean = 3.23 Percent 0 rearrests = 26.7		Mean = 2.86	

NON-DRUG REARRESTS OF INITIAL DANGEROUS DRUG ARRESTEES

Number of rearrests	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number of subjects	Total rearrests	Number of subjects	Total rearrests
Total	237	823	279	779
0	55	0	48	0
1	23	23	64	64
2	25	50	44	88
3	19	57	32	96
4	22	88	20	80
5	23	115	23	115
5+ (x7)	70	490	48	336
	Mean = 3.47		Mean = 2.79	
	Percent 0 rearrests = 23.2		Percent 0 rearrests = 17.2	

NON-DRUG REARRESTS OF INITIAL "OTHER" DRUG ARRESTEES

Number of rearrests	With prior record		Without prior record	
	Number of subjects	Total rearrests	Number of subjects	Total rearrests
Total	51	121	67	142
0	19	0	17	0
1	9	9	16	16
2	3	6	14	28
3	4	12	6	18
4	2	8	4	16
5	6	30	3	15
5+ (x7)	8	56	7	49
	Mean = 2.37		Mean = 2.12	
	Percent 0 rearrests = 37.3		Percent 0 rearrests = 25.4	

With the exception of the miscellaneous ("other") drug and non-drug, and opiate rearrests, all of these means of the two sub-samples are significantly different. All are meaningfully higher in the with prior record sub-cohort except for the non-drug rearrests of those initially apprehended for marijuana offenses. Here the reverse is true - the no prior mean significantly exceeds that of the prior record aggregation.

Turning now from intergroup to intragroup comparisons, it was found that in the prior record cohort the mean of opiate rearrests is significantly higher than that of dangerous drugs or of marijuana. In other words, marijuana offenders have the lowest rearrest potential, followed by opiate and dangerous drugs.

In the no prior group none of the means of the three offense types differed significantly from the others.

With respect to the repetition of non-drug offenses, the subjects with prior records yielded means which were significantly different vis-a-vis marijuana and opiates; vis-a-vis marijuana and dangerous drugs and non-significant with regard to dangerous drugs and opiates.

The non-prior record group comparisons failed to develop meaningful differences among the three basic offense groups.

In summarizing these findings, the "other" category may be neglected, as a catchall for trivial and technical offenses. It was suggested earlier that those without records may represent a phylogenetic phase of drug offenders rather than a group with distinctly different attributes, who were arrested by coincidence along with a group of hardened violators. How do the rearrest data affect this supposition?

We may conclude from the equivalence of the drug rearrest means of the no priors that drug usage in these subjects is undifferentiated. They are apparently as likely to be involved with one drug as another.

In the prior record grouping, however, the other side of the coin is shown. All of the permutations of the three offense types yield significant differences. Drug preferences have evidently taken definite form. Those originally arrested on marijuana charges evince the lowest recidivism liability. Opiate offenders are the highest with dangerous drug devotees occupying the middle position.

A somewhat similar configuration marks the non-drug rearrest data. The fact that in the no prior record means are more or less identical seems to indicate that criminal career patterns are in the formative stage.

Among the more experienced offenders, on the other hand, a pattern seems to have been established with the initial marijuana arrestees manifesting the lowest rearrest potential as compared to a coalition of dangerous drug and opiate offenders. This picture is consistent with the assumption of a continuum of offenders rather than discrete groups.

In a later section qualitative aspects of the question will be examined, in contrast to the quantitative analysis pursued thus far. If differences between the inexperienced and experienced violators are only fortuitous, strong similarities in the offense patterns would be expected.

Intervals between Arrests

Tables 7 and 7-A depict the time in months from the first drug arrest to the next drug arrest and to the first non-drug arrest. A collocation of the prior and no prior record distributions show such large differences as to make formal testing superfluous.

It is evident that the prior record sub-sample tends to commit both drug and non-drug offenses sooner after the initial arrest than does its companion group. For example, 17.0 percent of the prior record subjects were arrested on drug charges within six months vs. 6.5 percent of the no prior. In the 37-72 month class only 15.7 of the prior record arrestees are found, as compared to 36.7 in the no prior cohort.

This relationship holds generally within each offense classification. These findings conduce to the belief that the careers of the newcomers are in a fairly early developmental stage while those with established records are in a comparatively advanced stage of criminality.

Progression

Tables 5 through 6-A show the sequence of the first five rearrests of the study subjects by offense. The term "rearrests" was adapted in the interest of brevity - "instances of recidivism" would be more exact. When the data were originally gathered from source documents, drug and non-drug arrests were recorded separately. Thus the sequence is correct for these two segments of the criminal career but not for the whole.

When the survey was planned, the maximum number of arrests which might be found could not be estimated. It was arbitrarily decided that the first five would be recorded serially by offense. The excess over five was simply tallied without regard to offense. Hence, the numbers shown in Tables 5 - 6-A cannot be reconciled with those in the previous rearrest tabulations. The focus in this section of the report, however, is on the shape of any recidivism in the study material.

The first impression gained from Tables 5 and 5-A is that substantial attrition in the number of subjects has taken place between the first and fifth arrests. This could be ascribed to a number of factors such as military service, moving out of the state, lengthy jail or prison sentences, or changes in the life styles of the subjects. Assuming that the influences making for a reduction in sample size are uniformly distributed, the beginning and ending offense percentages could be legitimately compared to show the apparent course of drug use over a five year period.

For the moment, only the marijuana and dangerous drug sections will be discussed. In both Table 5 and 5-A it is evident that in the intitial marijuana arrest class, that rearrests on the score of marijuana show a decided relative decrease. Conversely, opiate and dangerous drug rearrest proportions rise.

Initial dangerous drug arrest data likewise manifest a drop in the relative incidence of marijuana offenses, with only nominal increases in opiates. In both sub-samples, however, the beginning proportion of dangerous drug rearrests is strongly augmented. In the no prior record group the percentage rises from 31 to 42 and in the prior record aggregation from 32 to 66.

The inference here seems to be that opiates to a moderate extent and dangerous drugs to a great extent draw subjects from the original marijuana offenders. It could also be inferred that the two addictive drugs (considering only the heavy use of barbiturates in the dangerous drug class) do not lose their original devotees at the same rate as does marijuana.

These points are illustrated in a different way in the following table, which was constructed by reassembling the elements of Tables 5 and 5-A. All of the fifth rearrests for marijuana, for example, are combined, as are those for opiates, dangerous drugs and other drug offenses. These are contrasted with the original arrest classes from Tables 1 and 1-A.

SUBJECTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Offense	Original arrest		Fifth rearrest	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,499	100.0	227	100.0
Marijuana	1,180	78.7	49	21.6
Opiates	31	2.1	49	21.6
Dangerous drugs	237	15.8	120	52.8
Other	51	3.4	9	4.0

SUBJECTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Offense	Original arrest		Fifth rearrest	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,333	100.0	138	100.0
Marijuana	966	72.5	33	23.9
Opiates	21	1.5	32	23.2
Dangerous drugs	279	21.0	61	44.2
Other	67	5.0	12	8.7

Testing the proportions of the two fifth rearrest columns shows no significant difference between the marijuana and opiate classes. The difference in the dangerous drug proportions is almost significant at the 5 percent level (Z = 1.61; required for significance, 1.64). The other drug offense classes are definitely distinct (Z = 1.88).

It may be fair to conclude that the two study groups grew to be very similar with respect to the major drug law violations. The only visible vestige of the relative innocence of the no prior group is in the other drug offense class.

It will be remembered that highly significant differences were found originally in the ethnic composition of the two sub-samples (Tables 1 and 1-A). A special tabulation was prepared to ascertain whether these differences persisted over time.

The fifth drug rearrest data with respect to ethnic makeup among subjects with a prior record are as follows:

Ethnic group	Original arrest		Fifth rearrest	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,499	100.0	227	100.0
White	843	56.2	134	59.0
Mexican-American ..	242	16.2	46	20.3
Negro	394	26.3	42	18.5
Other	20	1.3	5	2.2

A chi-square test based on this table reveals differences between the two distributions significant virtually at the 2 percent level (chi-square = 9.197; required for significance, 9.837). The largest component of the difference is the relative deficiency of Negroes in the fifth rearrest distribution.

The same process applied to those without a prior record gives these results:

Ethnic group	Original arrest		Fifth rearrest	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,333	100.0	138	100.0
White	842	63.2	94	68.1
Mexican-American ..	273	20.5	24	17.4
Negro	204	15.3	18	13.0
Other	14	1.0	2	1.5

These two distributions cannot be distinguished statistically (chi-square = 1.465; required for significance at the 5 percent level, 5.991).

Finally the fifth rearrest distributions are compared:

Ethnic group	Subjects with prior arrests		Subjects with no prior arrests	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	227	100.0	138	100.0
White	134	59.0	94	68.1
Mexican-American ..	46	20.3	24	17.4
Negro	42	18.5	18	13.0
Other	5	2.2	2	1.5

The differences between these sets of data barely escape being significant at the 5 percent level (chi-square = 5.064; required for significance, 5.991). This finding reinforces that derived from testing the original and fifth rearrest offense distributions.

With regard to drug law violations, we may presume that the two sub-samples, originally quite different in offense and ethnic attributes, became much the same with the passage of time. The no prior group retained its initial conformation to a great extent. The prior record group changed its structure decidedly in the course of five rearrests. The principal cause of the change seems to have been withdrawal of a substantial segment of its Negro component from exposure to drug arrest.

If this conclusion is true, a proportional increase in non-drug arrests among Negroes would be anticipated. Since the original arrests of all the subjects were for drug offenses, it is necessary to compare the first and fifth rearrests for non-drug crimes.

Ethnic group	First rearrest		Fifth rearrest	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,024	100.0	429	100.0
White	495	48.3	173	40.4
Mexican-American ..	187	18.3	82	19.1
Negro	329	32.1	170	39.6
Other	13	1.3	4	0.9

Statistical testing of the tabular items confirms the inference drawn earlier. Between the first and fifth rearrests the proportion of whites decreased significantly (Z = 2.78). Mexican-American representation remained approximately constant (Z = 0.36).

The train of circumstances by which the prior and no prior sub-cohorts reached statistical parity is apparently somewhat as follows:

At the time of the first drug arrest the prior group contained a comparatively high shortage of whites and a low Negro component. During the five years of the study the balance shifted in that the white proportion rose and the Negro declined. At the same time the percentage of Negroes involved in non-drug crimes increased, inducing the belief that the attention of this ethnic group shifted from drugs to other forms of crime. It is also possible that their drug use continued but was swamped by other activities. In the case of arrests with multiple charges, only the most serious would be recorded. In many such instances drug offenses would not surface.

As to drug use, it is evident that there is a heavy dropout rate, probably from a variety of causes, which could not be explored in this study. However, the progression traced via the beginning and ending groups of subjects is from dangerous drugs to marijuana; from marijuana to opiates or to dangerous drugs. The group diverging to dangerous drugs seems to be percentagewise about twice the size of that taking the path to opiates.

Homicides

In tracing the records of the study principals it was observed that a number were deceased. A natural inquiry was what caused the deaths, and more specifically, were they drug related? In order to make the sample size as large as possible, 1972 data were included.

The table below shows the number of deaths by cause.

SUBJECTS WITH PRIOR RECORD

Initial drug offense	Total	Cause of death				
		Murdered	Justifiable homicide	Accident	Suicide	Natural causes
Total	19	6	1	6	4	2
Marijuana	15	4	1	5	3	2
Dangerous drugs	4	2	-	1	1	-

Drug overdoses figured in about one-third of the fatalities. Two of the five were involved in the accidental deaths of the marijuana subjects and one in the dangerous drug. Three of the six accident victims succumbed in other ways. The same number of overdoses were found among the suicide victims; one victim dispatched himself by other means.

SUBJECTS WITHOUT PRIOR RECORD

Initial drug offense	Total	Cause of death				
		Murdered	Justifiable homicide	Accident	Suicide	Natural causes
Total	7	2	-	4	-	1
Marijuana	5	1	-	4	-	-
Dangerous drugs	2	1	-	-	-	1

Four deaths were ascribed to drug overdoses. All were accidental among initial marijuana arrestees.

Department of Health statistics show accidents as amounting to about 7 percent of all causes of death, suicide about 2 percent, murder about 1 percent and deaths due to legal intervention (justifiable homicide) approximately 0.04 percent. Almost 80 percent are due to natural causes. Although the small number of homicide subjects in the study data preclude firm comparisons, it is obvious that the study deaths depart radically from the normal pattern.

As a corollary of this examination of the victims of homicide, some material on a group of perpetrators was accumulated. There were 16 in the prior record group, ranging in age from 16 through 22. There was only one female in the group. Four were under the influence of drugs at the time of the crime; the state of one subject was unknown. Two of the homicides occurred in conjunction with rapes, one in the course of a robbery and two during gang fights. The circumstances in one case were unknown. Five of the victims were strangers to the perpetrator, seven were acquaintances, one a relative and one of unknown relationship. The number of arrests prior to the commission of the homicide ranged from one to 16. The dispositions consisted of a camp placement, the filing of a juvenile petition, one jail-probation sentence, three dismissals, five prison or CYA sentences and four unknown dispositions.

The no prior record group exhibits certain distinct differences from that just discussed. The age distribution is higher, spanning 18 through 23 years. Four of the nine subjects were female. Two were under the influence of drugs, the condition of one was unknown. Two apparently killed the victims of robberies, one was involved in a fatal gang fight and one killed a person in connection with a dangerous drug offense. The circumstances of one homicide were unknown. The known victims included three strangers and five who were acquaintances of the aggressor. Prior arrests were on a scale of 0-10. One disposition was unknown; the remainder consisted of five releases or dismissals, two commitments to prison or CYA and one to the hospital for mentally disordered sex offenders at Atascadero.

Conclusions

The basic fact that must be reckoned with in drawing inferences from the study material is that over half of the subjects had records of non-drug criminality at the time of their first arrest on drug charges.

This fact, plus the observation that in most respects the group without previous arrests were developing along the same lines as the companion group conduces to the belief that the basic orientation of all of the offenders is toward a criminal life in general, with drugs as an incidental activity.

The alternation between different kinds of drugs apparently begins with dangerous drugs. Purely as a matter of speculation, it is probable that if data were available it would show that the pre-arrest careers of the study subjects included glue sniffing and other forms of delinquency.

At any rate, the initial dangerous drug phase gives way to involvement with marijuana. The five year study span typically includes a near-terminal turn to opiates and dangerous drugs. Since barbiturates in the dangerous drug category and opiates are addictive, this use transfer may be final.

tables

TABLE 1

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Race by Charged Offense

Race	Total	Percent	Marijuana				Opiates				Dangerous drugs							
			Possession		Sale		Possession		Sale		Addiction		Possession		Sale		Other	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,499	100.0	1,104	73.7	76	5.1	14	0.9	3	0.2	14	0.9	222	14.8	15	1.0	51	3.4
White	843	100.0	606	71.9	55	6.5	10	1.2	1	0.1	5	0.6	112	13.3	10	1.2	44	5.2
Mexican-American	242	100.0	178	73.6	5	2.1	3	1.2	2	0.8	7	2.9	41	16.9	4	1.7	2	0.8
Negro	394	100.0	308	78.1	15	3.8	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.3	63	15.9	1	0.3	5	1.3
Other	20	-	12	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 1-A

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Race by Charged Offense

Race	Total	Percent	Marijuana				Opiates				Dangerous drugs							
			Possession		Sale		Possession		Sale		Addiction		Possession		Sale		Other	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,333	100.0	893	67.0	73	5.5	13	1.0	2	0.1	6	0.4	262	19.7	17	1.3	67	5.0
White	842	100.0	536	63.6	52	6.2	10	1.2	2	0.2	2	0.2	179	21.3	14	1.7	47	5.6
Mexican-American	273	100.0	186	68.1	11	4.0	2	0.7	-	-	3	1.1	55	20.2	3	1.1	13	4.8
Negro	204	100.0	159	78.0	9	4.4	1	0.5	-	-	1	0.5	27	13.2	-	-	7	3.4
Other	14	-	12	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 2

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Sex by Charged Offense

Sex	Total	Percent	Marijuana				Opiates				Dangerous drugs							
			Possession		Sale		Possession		Sale		Addiction		Possession		Sale		Other	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,499	100.0	1,105	73.8	75	5.0	14	0.9	3	0.2	14	0.9	222	14.8	15	1.0	51	3.4
Male	1,244	100.0	931	74.8	62	5.0	9	0.7	2	0.2	11	0.9	181	14.5	13	1.1	35	2.8
Female	255	100.0	174	68.2	13	5.1	5	2.0	1	0.4	3	1.2	41	16.0	2	0.8	16	6.3

TABLE 2-A

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Sex by Charged Offense

Sex	Total	Percent	Marijuana				Opiates				Dangerous drugs							
			Possession		Sale		Possession		Sale		Addiction		Possession		Sale		Other	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,333	100.0	893	67.0	73	5.5	13	1.0	2	0.1	6	0.4	262	19.7	17	1.3	67	5.0
Male	1,088	100.0	749	68.8	63	5.8	9	0.8	2	0.2	3	0.3	203	18.7	12	1.1	47	4.3
Female	245	100.0	144	58.8	10	4.1	4	1.6	-	-	3	1.2	59	24.1	5	2.0	20	8.2

TABLE 3

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Juvenile Court Disposition by Charged Offense

Juvenile court disposition	Total	Percent	Marijuana				Opiates				Dangerous drugs							
			Possession		Sale		Possession		Sale		Addiction		Possession		Sale		Other	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.	1,080	100.0	786	100.0	64	100.0	13	-	2	-	12	-	154	100.0	13	-	36	100.0
Juvenile court adjudication . . .	684	63.3	507	64.5	41	64.1	6	-	-	-	5	-	96	62.3	7	-	22	61.1
Released-dismissed .	209	19.3	168	21.4	3	4.7	-	-	-	-	1	-	27	17.5	2	-	8	22.2
Probation-parole . .	18	1.7	15	1.9	2	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-	-	-
California Youth Authority[a]	164	15.2	96	12.2	18	28.1	3	-	2	-	6	-	30	19.5	4	-	5	13.9
Federal prosecution.	5	0.5	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.8

[a]Includes 1 YCA sentence.

TABLE 3-A

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Juvenile Court Disposition by Charged Offense

Juvenile court disposition	Total	Percent	Marijuana				Opiates				Dangerous drugs							
			Possession		Sale		Possession		Sale		Addiction		Possession		Sale		Other	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.	585	100.0	376	100.0	48	100.0	6	-	2	-	3	-	110	100.0	9	-	31	100.0
Juvenile court adjudication . . .	539	92.2	349	92.8	44	91.7	4	-	1	-	2	-	101	91.9	9	-	29	93.6
Released-dismissed .	17	2.9	12	3.2	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.7	-	-	1	3.2
Probation-parole . .	9	1.5	4	1.1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.8	-	-	1	3.2
California Youth Authority.	10	1.7	7	1.8	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.9	-	-	-	-
Federal prosecution.	10	1.7	4	1.1	2	4.2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	2.7	-	-	-	-

TABLE 4

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Subsequent Criminal Record by Original Disposition

Subsequent criminal record	Total		Freed		Other adjudication		Probation or parole		California Youth Authority		Federal prosecution		Unknown	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,499	100.0	209	100.0	684	100.0	18	-	164	100.0	5	-	419	100.0
Misdemeanor - less than 90 day sentence	20	1.3	6	2.9	9	1.3	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.0
Misdemeanor - sentence over 90 days	6	0.4	-	-	4	0.6	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.2
California Rehabilitation Center, state hospital	32	2.1	5	2.4	15	2.2	1	-	5	3.1	-	-	6	1.4
Felony probation	241	16.1	48	23.0	124	18.1	2	-	12	7.3	-	-	55	13.1
Prison, California Youth Authority	365	24.4	28	13.4	155	22.7	9	-	111	67.7	2	-	60	14.3
Misdemeanor probation	196	13.1	40	19.1	109	15.9	4	-	7	4.3	-	-	36	8.6
Fine	72	4.8	13	6.2	48	7.0	-	-	2	1.2	1	-	8	1.9
No conviction, bail forfeited	250	16.7	59	28.2	114	16.7	1	-	10	6.1	1	-	65	15.5
No known arrests	297	19.8	10	4.8	97	14.2	-	-	14	8.5	1	-	175	41.8
Dead	20	1.3	-	-	9	1.3	-	-	2	1.2	-	-	9	2.2

TABLE 4-A

JUVENILE DRUG ARRESTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Subsequent Criminal Record by Original Disposition

Subsequent criminal record	Total		Freed		Other adjudication		Probation or parole		California Youth Authority		Federal prosecution		Unknown	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,333	100.0	17	-	539	100.0	9	-	10	-	10	-	748	100.0
Misdemeanor - less than 90 day sentence	48	3.6	-	-	25	4.6	-	-	-	-	1	-	22	3.0
Misdemeanor - sentence over 90 days	13	1.0	1	-	5	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	0.9
California Rehabilitation Center, state hospital	43	3.2	-	-	21	3.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	3.0
Felony probation	206	15.5	1	-	84	15.6	2	-	-	-	2	-	117	15.6
Prison, California Youth Authority	211	15.8	4	-	80	14.8	2	-	8	-	1	-	116	15.5
Misdemeanor probation	248	21.3	5	-	122	22.7	1	-	1	-	1	-	154	20.6
Fine	123	9.2	-	-	48	8.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	10.0
Jail-felony conviction	5	0.4	-	-	1	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0.5
No conviction, bail forfeited	344	25.8	4	-	128	23.8	3	-	-	-	3	-	206	27.5
No known arrests	49	3.7	2	-	21	3.9	1	-	1	-	2	-	22	3.0
Dead	7	0.5	-	-	4	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.4

TABLE 5

JUVENILE DRUG REARRESTS OF SUBJECTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

By Subsequent Offense

Initial Marijuana Arrest

Subsequent offense	Total		Rearrests									
			First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	2,086	100.0	756	100.0	528	100.0	377	100.0	250	100.0	175	100.0
Marijuana	908	43.5	437	57.8	224	42.4	135	35.8	70	28.0	42	24.0
Opiates	327	15.7	98	13.0	78	14.8	58	15.4	56	22.4	37	21.1
Dangerous drugs	737	35.3	188	24.8	199	37.7	154	40.8	107	42.8	89	50.9
Other	114	5.5	33	4.4	27	5.1	30	8.0	17	6.8	7	4.0
Initial Opiate Arrest												
Total	64	100.0	17	-	15	-	12	-	11	-	9	-
Marijuana	13	20.3	4	-	4	-	3	-	1	-	1	-
Opiates	35	54.7	10	-	7	-	5	-	8	-	5	-
Dangerous drugs	13	20.3	3	-	2	-	4	-	2	-	2	-
Other	3	4.7	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Initial Dangerous Drug Arrest												
Total	439	100.0	158	100.0	111	100.0	73	100.0	56	100.0	41	100.0
Marijuana	159	36.2	84	53.1	38	34.2	13	17.8	18	32.1	6	14.6
Opiates	58	13.2	18	11.4	14	12.6	12	16.4	7	12.5	7	17.1
Dangerous drugs	203	46.3	51	32.3	53	47.8	42	57.6	30	53.6	27	65.9
Other	19	4.3	5	3.2	6	5.4	6	8.2	1	1.8	1	2.4
Initial Other Drug Offense Arrest												
Total	77	100.0	31	100.0	22	-	15	-	7	-	2	-
Marijuana	25	32.5	14	45.2	6	-	3	-	2	-	-	-
Opiates	12	15.6	5	16.1	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Dangerous drugs	33	42.8	8	25.8	9	-	9	-	5	-	2	-
Other	7	9.1	4	12.9	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 5-A

JUVENILE DRUG REARRESTS OF SUBJECTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

By Subsequent Offense

Initial Marijuana Arrest

Subsequent offense	Total		Rearrests									
			First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.	1,457	100.0	585	100.0	370	100.0	241	100.0	158	100.0	103	100.0
Marijuana.	555	38.1	293	50.1	119	32.2	75	31.1	46	29.1	22	21.4
Opiates.	227	15.6	65	11.1	66	17.8	40	16.6	32	20.2	24	23.3
Dangerous drugs. .	545	37.4	188	32.1	145	39.2	101	41.9	63	39.9	48	46.6
Other.	130	8.9	39	6.7	40	10.8	25	10.4	17	10.8	9	8.7
Initial Opiate Arrest												
Total.	33	100.0	12	-	8	-	6	-	4	-	3	-
Marijuana.	11	33.3	6	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	1	-
Opiates.	10	30.3	1	-	3	-	1	-	3	-	2	-
Dangerous drugs. .	9	27.3	4	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Other.	3	9.1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Initial Dangerous Drug Arrest												
Total.	437	100.0	174	100.0	107	100.0	78	100.0	47	100.0	31	100.0
Marijuana.	138	31.6	70	40.2	22	20.6	27	34.6	10	21.3	9	29.0
Opiates.	72	16.5	32	18.4	13	12.1	11	14.1	10	21.3	6	19.4
Dangerous drugs. .	187	42.8	54	31.0	64	59.8	33	42.3	23	48.9	13	41.9
Other.	40	9.1	18	10.4	8	7.5	7	9.0	4	8.5	3	9.7
Initial Other Drug Offense Arrest												
Total.	87	100.0	45	100.0	25	100.0	13	-	3	-	1	-
Marijuana.	27	31.0	18	40.0	4	16.0	3	-	1	-	1	-
Opiates.	14	16.1	7	15.6	5	20.0	2	-	-	-	-	-
Dangerous drugs. .	32	36.8	17	37.7	12	48.0	3	-	-	-	-	-
Other.	14	16.1	3	6.7	4	16.0	5	-	2	-	-	-

TABLE 6

JUVENILE NON-DRUG REARRESTS OF SUBJECTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

By Subsequent Offense

Subsequent Offense	Total		First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Initial Marijuana Arrest												
Total	2,630	100.0	787	100.0	626	100.0	501	100.0	405	100.0	311	100.0
Homicide	12	0.5	4	0.5	3	0.5	3	0.6	1	0.2	1	0.3
Robbery	237	9.0	55	7.0	58	9.3	45	9.0	40	9.9	39	12.5
Assault	246	9.4	59	7.5	58	9.3	50	10.0	41	10.1	38	12.2
Burglary	442	16.8	128	16.3	104	16.6	87	17.3	75	18.5	48	15.4
Theft	318	12.1	95	12.1	78	12.5	52	10.4	53	13.1	40	12.9
Rape	27	1.0	7	0.9	6	0.9	2	0.4	8	2.0	4	1.3
Other sex	42	1.6	9	1.1	13	2.1	10	2.0	5	1.2	5	1.6
Other property	252	9.6	69	8.8	52	8.3	51	10.2	48	11.9	32	10.3
Other persons	9	0.3	4	0.5	2	0.3	2	0.4	-	-	1	0.3
All other	1,045	39.7	357	45.3	252	40.2	199	39.7	134	33.1	103	33.2
Initial Opiate Arrest												
Total	81	100.0	24	-	17	-	16	-	11	-	13	-
Homicide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robbery	2	2.5	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Assault	8	9.9	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-
Burg ary	15	18.5	5	-	3	-	4	-	1	-	2	-
Theft	7	8.6	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Rape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other sex	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other property	17	21.0	5	-	6	-	1	-	4	-	1	-
Other persons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All other	32	39.5	9	-	7	-	7	-	4	-	5	-

TABLE 6 - Continued

JUVENILE NON-DRUG REARRESTS OF SUBJECTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

By Subsequent Offense

Subsequent Offense	Initial Dangerous Drug Arrest											
	Total		Rearrests									
			First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	682	100.0	182	100.0	159	100.0	134	100.0	114	100.0	93	100.0
Homicide	4	0.6	-	-	2	1.3	1	0.7	-	-	1	1.1
Robbery	72	10.6	14	7.7	10	6.3	17	12.7	17	14.9	14	15.1
Assault	63	9.2	13	7.1	18	11.3	9	6.7	13	11.4	10	10.7
Burglary	118	17.3	27	14.8	34	21.4	28	20.9	13	11.4	16	17.2
Theft	78	11.4	31	17.0	14	8.8	11	8.2	10	8.7	12	12.9
Rape	5	0.7	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.7	2	1.8	1	1.1
Other sex	21	3.1	6	3.3	5	3.1	3	2.2	5	4.4	2	2.2
Other property	63	9.2	15	8.3	13	8.2	12	9.0	13	11.4	10	10.7
Other persons	2	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.8	-	-
All other	256	37.6	75	41.2	63	39.6	52	38.9	39	34.2	27	29.0
	Initial Other Drug Offenses Arrest											
Total	105	100.0	32	100.0	23	-	20	-	16	-	14	-
Homicide	1	1.0	1	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robbery	10	9.5	1	3.1	1	-	4	-	2	-	2	-
Assault	6	5.7	2	6.3	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-
Burglary	17	16.2	4	12.5	17	-	1	-	1	-	4	-
Theft	12	11.4	2	6.3	5	-	3	-	1	-	1	-
Rape	2	1.9	2	6.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other sex	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other property	15	14.3	7	21.8	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	-
Other persons	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
All other	41	39.0	13	40.6	7	-	8	-	7	-	6	-

TABLE 6A

JUVENILE NON-DRUG REARRESTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

By Subsequent Offense

Subsequent Offense	Total		First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Initial Marijuana Arrest												
Total	2,387	100.0	806	100.0	589	100.0	426	100.0	321	100.0	245	100.0
Homicide	6	0.2	3	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.2
Robbery	147	6.2	33	4.1	34	5.8	31	7.3	28	8.7	21	8.6
Assault	203	8.5	66	8.2	40	6.8	39	9.1	29	9.0	29	11.8
Burglary	310	13.0	97	12.0	59	10.0	62	14.6	52	16.2	40	16.3
Theft	251	10.5	83	10.3	66	11.2	46	10.8	33	10.3	23	9.4
Forcible rape	18	0.8	4	0.5	4	0.7	3	0.7	5	1.6	2	0.8
Other sex	28	1.2	6	0.7	10	1.7	6	1.4	3	0.9	3	1.2
Other property	280	11.7	85	10.6	80	13.6	43	10.1	43	13.4	29	11.8
Other persons	25	1.0	8	1.0	3	0.5	6	1.4	3	0.9	5	2.1
All other	1,119	46.9	421	52.2	293	49.7	190	44.6	125	39.0	90	36.8
Initial Opiate Arrest												
Total	47	100.0	16	-	11	-	8	-	6	-	6	-
Homicide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robbery	6	12.8	2	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-
Assault	3	6.4	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Burglary	3	6.4	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Theft	4	8.5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Forcible rape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other sex	4	8.5	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Other property	3	6.4	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Other persons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All other	24	51.0	10	-	5	-	3	-	3	-	3	-

TABLE 6A - Continued

JUVENILE NON-DRUG REARRESTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

By Subsequent Offense

Subsequent Offense	Total		First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Initial Dangerous Drug Arrest												
Total	683	100.0	231	100.0	167	100.0	123	100.0	91	100.0	71	100.0
Homicide	4	0.6	1	0.4	-	-	1	0.8	-	-	2	2.8
Robbery	34	5.0	12	5.2	6	3.6	5	4.1	8	8.8	3	4.2
Assault	58	8.5	18	7.8	17	10.2	10	8.1	8	8.8	5	7.0
Burglary	103	15.1	26	11.3	23	13.7	23	18.7	18	19.8	13	18.3
Theft	79	11.6	29	12.5	20	12.0	12	9.8	12	13.2	6	8.5
Forcible rape	3	0.4	-	-	2	1.2	-	-	1	1.1	-	-
Other sex	9	1.3	4	1.7	1	0.6	1	0.8	2	2.2	1	1.4
Other property	66	9.7	20	8.7	17	10.2	16	13.0	6	6.6	7	9.9
Other persons	9	1.3	3	1.3	1	0.6	2	1.6	3	3.3	-	-
All other	318	46.5	118	51.1	80	47.9	53	43.1	33	36.2	34	47.9
Initial Other Drug Offense Arrest												
Total	128	100.0	50	100.0	34	100.0	20	-	14	-	10	-
Homicide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robbery	5	3.9	1	2.0	1	2.9	-	-	2	-	1	-
Assault	8	6.3	3	6.0	1	2.9	2	-	1	-	1	-
Burglary	17	13.3	7	14.0	4	11.8	1	-	3	-	2	-
Theft	14	10.9	6	12.0	4	11.8	1	-	2	-	1	-
Forcible rape	1	0.8	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Other sex	2	1.6	1	2.0	1	2.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other property	14	10.9	3	6.0	5	14.7	4	-	1	-	1	-
Other persons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All other	67	52.3	29	58.0	18	53.0	11	-	5	-	4	-

TABLE 7

JUVENILE DRUG REARRESTS OF SUBJECTS WITH PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Months from First to Second Drug Arrest by Charged Offense

Months from first to second drug arrest	Total	Percent	Marijuana	Percent	Heroin	Percent	Dangerous drugs	Percent	Other	Percent
Total	961	100.0	750	100.0	20	-	160	100.0	31	100.0
0-6	163	17.0	133	17.7	4	-	25	15.6	1	3.2
7-12	216	22.5	167	22.3	5	-	38	23.8	6	19.4
13-18	184	19.1	138	18.4	3	-	32	20.0	11	35.5
19-24	105	10.9	82	10.9	2	-	19	11.9	2	6.4
25-30	76	7.9	59	7.9	1	-	13	8.1	3	9.7
31-36	66	6.9	53	7.1	1	-	9	5.6	3	9.7
37-72	151	15.7	118	15.7	4	-	24	15.0	5	16.1

Months from First Drug to First Non-drug Arrest by Charged Offense

Months from first drug to first non-drug arrest	Total	Percent	Marijuana	Percent	Heroin	Percent	Dangerous drugs	Percent	Other	Percent
Total	1,025	100.0	788	100.0	23	-	182	100.0	32	100.0
0-6	176	17.2	126	16.0	2	-	42	23.1	6	18.8
7-12	196	19.1	150	19.0	6	-	35	19.2	5	15.6
13-18	187	18.3	140	17.7	4	-	36	19.8	7	21.9
19-24	148	14.4	118	15.0	5	-	22	12.1	3	9.4
25-30	93	9.1	74	9.4	1	-	16	8.8	2	6.2
31-36	67	6.5	58	7.4	-	-	7	3.8	2	6.2
37-72	158	15.4	122	15.5	5	-	24	13.2	7	21.9

Subsequent Criminal Record by Charged Offense

Subsequent criminal record	Total	Percent	Marijuana	Percent	Heroin	Percent	Dangerous drugs	Percent	Other	Percent
Total	1,499	100.0	1,180	100.0	31	100.0	237	100.0	51	100.0
Misdemeanor - less than 90 day sentence	20	1.3	14	1.2	-	-	5	2.1	1	2.0
Misdemeanor - sentence over 90 days	6	0.4	4	0.3	-	-	2	0.8	-	-
California Rehabilitation Center, state hospital	32	2.1	22	1.9	1	3.2	7	3.0	2	3.9
Felony probation	241	16.1	192	16.3	4	12.9	39	16.5	6	11.8
Prison, California Youth Authority	365	24.4	261	22.1	17	54.8	78	32.9	9	17.6
Misdemeanor probation	196	13.1	163	13.8	1	3.2	23	9.7	9	17.6
Fine	72	4.8	61	5.2	-	-	8	3.4	3	5.9
No conviction, bail forfeited	250	16.7	205	17.4	2	6.5	33	13.9	10	19.6
No known arrests	297	19.8	242	20.5	6	19.4	38	16.0	11	21.6
Dead	20	1.3	16	1.3	-	-	4	1.7	-	-

TABLE 7-A

JUVENILE DRUG REARRESTS OF SUBJECTS WITH NO PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Months from First to Second Drug Arrest by Charged Offense

Months from first to second drug arrest	Total	Percent	Marijuana	Percent	Heroin	Percent	Dangerous drugs	Percent	Other	Percent
Total	818	100.0	589	100.0	11	-	170	100.0	48	100.0
0-6	53	6.5	37	6.3	1	-	11	6.5	4	8.3
7-12	25	3.1	15	2.6	-	-	10	5.9	-	-
13-18	69	8.4	52	8.8	-	-	16	9.4	1	2.1
19-24	119	14.5	90	15.3	1	-	22	12.9	6	12.5
25-30	142	17.4	109	18.5	3	-	24	14.1	6	12.5
31-36	110	13.4	78	13.2	1	-	20	11.8	11	22.9
37-72	300	36.7	208	35.3	5	-	67	39.4	20	41.7

Months from First Drug to First Non-drug Arrest by Charged Offense

Months from first drug to first non-drug arrest	Total	Percent	Marijuana	Percent	Heroin	Percent	Dangerous drugs	Percent	Other	Percent
Total	1,101	100.0	800	100.0	15	-	235	100.0	51	100.0
0-6	106	9.6	70	8.8	3	-	28	11.9	5	9.8
7-12	135	12.3	91	11.4	6	-	38	16.2	-	-
13-18	153	13.9	125	15.6	-	-	20	8.5	8	15.7
19-24	138	12.5	106	13.2	2	-	25	10.6	5	9.8
25-30	133	12.1	102	12.8	1	-	28	11.9	2	3.9
31-36	112	10.2	82	10.2	1	-	22	9.4	7	13.7
37-72	324	29.4	224	28.0	2	-	74	31.5	24	47.1

Subsequent Criminal Record by Charged Offense

Subsequent criminal record	Total	Percent	Marijuana	Percent	Heroin	Percent	Dangerous drugs	Percent	Other	Percent
Total	1,333	100.0	966	100.0	21	-	279	100.0	67	100.0
Misdemeanor - less than 90 day sentence	48	3.6	31	3.2	1	-	11	4.0	5	7.5
Misdemeanor - sentence over 90 days	13	1.0	11	1.1	-	-	2	0.7	-	-
California Rehabilitation Center, state hospital	43	3.2	37	3.8	-	-	5	1.8	1	1.5
Felony probation	206	15.5	150	15.5	2	-	46	16.5	8	11.9
Prison, California Youth Authority	211	15.8	146	15.1	5	-	50	17.9	10	14.9
Misdemeanor probation	283	21.2	218	22.6	5	-	52	18.6	8	11.9
Fine	123	9.2	100	10.4	2	-	14	5.0	7	10.5
Jail - felony conviction	5	0.4	3	0.3	-	-	1	0.4	1	1.5
No conviction, bail forfeited	344	25.9	226	23.4	5	-	87	31.2	26	38.8
No known arrests	50	3.7	39	4.1	1	-	9	3.2	1	1.5
Dead	7	0.5	5	0.5	-	-	2	0.7	-	-