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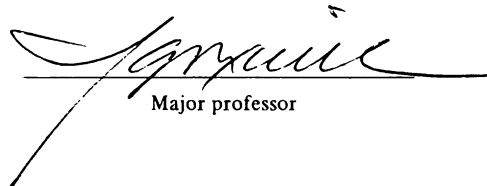
FACTORS RELATED TO PROBATION RECIDIVISM AMONG PROBATIONERS
WITH DRUG PROBLEM IN MICHIGAN

presented by

Byongook Moon

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

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Major professor

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**FACTORS RELATED TO PROBATION RECIDIVISM AMONG
PROBATIONERS WITH DRUG PROBLEM IN MICHIGAN**

By

Byongook Moon

A THESIS

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

FACTORS RELATED TO PROBATION RECIDIVISM AMONG PROBATIONERS WITH DRUG PROBLEM IN MICHIGAN

By

Byongook Moon

While several studies have shown the association between drug use and recidivism, few studies have specifically examined the mechanism by which drug users violate and recidivate when compared to non-drug users on probation.

Therefore, the focus of this study is to compare drug users to non-drug users on probation in relationship to; a) the individual traits; b) the probation conditions imposed; c) the predictors of probation violations; and d) the predictors of recidivism.

Significant differences in the individual traits were found between drug users and non-drug users. Drug users were more likely to be single, to have lower level of education, to be unemployed at the time of offense, to have alcohol history, and to have previous criminal records. In the predictors of violation, some conditions such as drug testing and alcohol treatment were significantly related to violations for both drug users and non-drug users. For predictors of revocation, the study found that probationers who committed more violations were more likely to fail their probation whether they were drug users or not. This finding suggests that probation conditions may facilitate opportunities for probationers to violate and recidivate whether they use drug or not.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Introduction	1
Purpose of the Study	9
Relevance	9
II. METHODOLOGY	11
Research Questions	11
Sample	11
Description of Measures	12
Independent Variable	12
Dependent Variable	13
Analytic Technique	14
III. RESULTS	15
Characteristics of Probationers	15
Conditions of Probation Imposed on Drug Users and Non-drug Users	18
The Predictors of Conditions Imposed on Probationers	21
Factors Influencing Violations	25
Factors Influencing Violations for Drug Users and Non-drug Users	29
Factors Influencing Revocations	33
VI. DISCUSSION	38
References	42

List of Tables

Table	Page
1.1 Characteristics of Probationers with Drug Problem and Non-drug Problem	17
1.2 Conditions Imposed on Drug Users and Non-drug Users	20
1.3 Characteristics of Probationers Regressed on the Number of Conditions	22
1.4 Predictors of Violations Using OLS Regression for the Entire Sample	27
1.5 Predictors of Violations for Drug Users and Non-drug User Using OLS Regression	31
1.6 Predictors of Successful Discharge Using Logistic Regression	35

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In 1995, more than 1.5 million persons were incarcerated in the nation's jails and prisons and these populations are increasing (BJS, 1995). As a way to alleviate overcrowding in prison and jails, probation has been used as the most common sentencing alternative (Petersilia, 1997). In the last decade, increasing numbers of offenders have been sentenced to probation. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (1996) reported that almost 60 percent of all convicted offenders were supervised on probation.

Despite its rapid use and popularity, probation has been criticized for high rates of recidivism (Petersilia, 1997). The Rand (1985) study found that approximately 65 percent of probationers were arrested before their probation period expired. Langan and Cuniff (1992) found that among 79,000 felony probationers in state courts in 32 U.S. counties, 43 percent were rearrested for a felony within three years of sentencing (Geerken & Hayes, 1993). Some researchers have argued that high recidivism rates are likely to threaten the public's safety and may have the unexpected effect of increasing the problem of prison and jail overcrowding (Irish 1989; Petersilia, 1985; Benedict & Corzine, 1997). Recent budget limitations and increased caseloads per probation officer make it almost impossible for probation officers to supervise probationers carefully. However, even in this situation, more serious offenders had been continuously sentenced to probation to make enough space in prisons and jails for habitual offenders (Petersilia, 1997).

Recidivism studies have found many factors that influence a probationer's

likelihood of violating probation conditions (Morgan, 1993). These factors have ranged from the probationer's age, prior criminal records, employment history, and several others (Morgan, 1993). Most consistent among factors that had been identified as precursors of recidivism had been the offenders' history of drug use (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982; Turner, Petersilia, and Deschenes, 1992). Specifically, drug use had been found in many studies to be predictive of recidivism among probationers and parolees. In Pritchard's (1979) review of studies on the relationship between drug use and recidivism, pre-prison drug use was found to be positively related to criminal recidivism in all nine studies that investigated this factor. Similarly, Gottfredson (1967) noted that drug use had been consistently useful in identifying subgroups having a higher probability of recidivism among convicted offenders generally (Bradshaw, 1987). Researches have shown that offenders have extensively used illegal drugs and there have been extensive illegal behaviors among users of all types of illegal drugs (Bradshaw, 1987). Studies have also shown that offenders who have used illicit drugs prior to arrest are at high risk of failing to appear in court (McBride & McCoy, 1993).

In explaining the relationship between drugs and crime, researchers have generally referred to two main rationales. One is the pharmacological effects of drugs, which reduce inhibitions against aggression or other criminal activities (McGlothlin, 1979). The other often cited rational is economic motivation (Goldstein, 1992). Using drugs continuously is very expensive, often leading the drug addicts to commit crime to obtain money to sustain their expensive habits.

The pharmacological effects suggest that some individuals may become excitable and irrational and may commit crime as a result of short or long-term drug

use (McGlothlin, 1979). There are illegal drugs that have often been perceived as producing aggressive and violent behaviors. These have been the hallucinogenic drugs such as stimulants, barbiturates, LSD, PCP, and amphetamines and aggressive and violent behavior have been seen as possible effects of these drugs. Some evidence shows that the hallucinogenic drugs may so strongly affect perceptions. As a result, aggressive and violent behaviors may occur (McBride and Swartz, 1990).

Barbiturates appear most likely to lead to violence. Tinklenberg et al., examined incarcerated delinquents and found that a barbiturate was identified as the single substance most likely to enhance assaultiveness. Also, Collins and other researchers (1982) studied self-reported of aggravated assaults and robberies by nearly 8,000 drug treatment program and found that the highest proportions of persons committing aggravated assaults or robberies were those who identified their primary drug problem as barbiturate use.

The irritability associated with withdrawal experienced from using heroin may lead to violence. Goldstein (1979) examined heroin-using prostitutes and found that they often linked robbing and/or assaulting clients with the withdrawal experience. These women reported that they preferred to talk a “trick” out of clients’ money, but if they were experiencing withdrawal symptoms, they might attack the client, take his money, purchase sufficient heroin to “get straight”. A similar process has been reported with regard to cocaine. Cocaine users characterize being high on cocaine as a positive experience but the cocaine “crash”, which is withdrawal symptom, has been described as a period of anxiety and depression in which external stimuli may be reacted to in a violent fashion.

Studies that have examined the effects of amphetamine use have consistently

concluded that regular amphetamine use produces paranoia delusions that produce violence. Ellinwood (1971) examined thirteen offenders who had committed homicides while under the influence of amphetamines. He found that the use of amphetamine led to paranoid thought patterns and delusions, consequently to commit murder. Asnis and Smith (1978) also examined the effect of amphetamines on producing violence among amphetamine users who had committed homicides. They found that the development of delusional paranoia and social isolation might result in extreme violence. Studies have shown that individuals who are narcotic addicts and heavy cocaine users are also frequently involved in criminal activities (Harrison & Gfroerer, 1992). Research has shown that narcotic addicts commit crimes more often during periods of elevated narcotic use. Though the impact of hallucinogenic drugs and amphetamines is an important factor of the drug-violence relationship, many experts agree that such violence and criminal behaviors are usually more dependent on other factors such as personality, environment, culture than drug itself. Further, the violence did not appear to be a systematic, reflexive result induced directly by the drug, but rather a very idiosyncratic and complex response that seemed to occur in particular individuals at unpredictable time (Burns & Lerner, 1976; McBride & Swartz, 1990).

Another explanation for the association between drug use and crime is the economic motivation due to the high cost of illicit drugs (Harrison & Gfroerer, 1992). Economic motivation model suggests that drug users engage in economically oriented crime in order to support drug habits (Goldstein, 1992). There are very few legitimate ways in which most drug addicts can afford to buy illegal drugs. Faced with the high cost of drug use above what the drug users can afford legitimately, drug users are

forced to become involved in criminal activities such as robberies, shoplifting, and prostitution as a means of supporting their drug habit.

Several self-report studies found the types and frequency of crimes committed primarily to buy drugs (McGlothlin, Anglin, and Wilson, 1978). Ball et al., interviewed 243 Baltimore heroin addicts arrested or identified between 1952 and 1971. One of their main findings was that heroin addicts commit a staggering amount of crime, and that the impact of illegal drug use on criminality was pervasive and long-lasting. They were also convinced that criminality not only coincided with heroin use, but that the need to purchase drugs was actually the cause of some crime (Jarvis & Parker, 1989;175). Johnson et al (1983)., interviewed 201 street opiate users in East Harlem (Jarvis & parker, 1989). The interviews questioned drug users' previous day's income from crime and legitimate sources, drug purchased, sold, or distributed, and any involvement with methadone or other forms of treatment. The study found most of their subjects derived most of their income from crime and that the level of drug consumption was related to the nature and seriousness of the drug addicts' criminality.

One of the ways to understand the effect of economic motivation of drug users on crime is to examine the types of crimes committed by drug users and non-drug users. Eckerman, Bates, Rachell, and Poole (1971) examined 1,889 arrestees from 6 metropolitan cities and found that types of crimes committed by drug users were different from those committed by non-drug users; non-drug users were more likely to be arrested for crimes against the person than drug users; drug users were more often charged with property crime than were non-drug users. Researches show that most heroin addicts do not commit violent acquisitive crimes if nonviolent alternatives

exist (Goldstein, 1992). Research has shown that income from property crime escalates with increasing narcotic use and non-property crime does not covary with levels of narcotic use (McGlothlin, 1979; Harrison and Gfroerer, 1992). Especially, researches have consistently found that criminal acts increases following drug use, and that arrests for drug offenses and property offenses decline with decreasing drug use (Dembo and Getreu, 1993). This suggests that the association between crime and drug is attributable to economic motivations which support drug users commit property crimes to support drug addictions (Harrison and Gfroerer, 1992).

Petersilia, Greenwood, and Lavin (1978) analyzed 49 incarcerated male who were convicted for armed robberies in California. These robbers committed a total of 855 robberies. More than 50 percent of the robbers reported regular use of drugs and almost 60 percent of them reported that they were under the influence of drugs while committing crimes. The most frequently cited reason for committing crimes was to obtain money to buy drugs. Harlow (1991) interviewed jail inmates and reported that 13 percent among them interviewed acknowledged that they committed current offenses to secure money to buy illegal drugs (Walters, 1998). Longitudinal studies conducted in California, and Great Britain tend to confirm that heroin use corresponded with periods of increased economically oriented crime (Walters, 1998).

Other explanation often mentioned for relationship between drug use and crime is that in response to the widespread increase in the use of drugs during the 1980s, criminal justice system has responded with an unprecedented emphasis on apprehending drug dealers and users in record numbers. New laws increased the likelihood and length of incarceration for offenders charged with drug offense (Fagan, 1994). Drug offenders have also received harsher treatment at all stages of case

processing compared with non-drug offenders. In New York City, drug offenders have a higher probability of felony charges at arrest, are less likely to make bail, and are more likely to be held in pretrial detention without bail (Fagan, 1994). The result was unprecedented increases in the rates of arrest, incarceration, and legal supervision of drug users (Longshore, Anglin, and Hser, 1994). Arrests for drug offenders increased by more than 125% during the 1980s. As a result, drug cases in court increased by 56% between 1983 and 1987 in a sample of 26 cities nationwide. Also, drug offenders have inundated community corrections. Not only the number of offenders on probation and paroles reached record level, but also officers in the field of community correction think that the composition of caseloads has become more serious, particularly with respect to drug involvement (Turner, Petersilia, and Deschenes, 1994).

Over the years, special conditions such as alcohol/drug test and substance abuse treatment have been increasingly imposed on many of probationers who use drugs (Petersilia, 1997). With the public's more punitive mood, the availability of inexpensive drug test, and many probationers with substance abuse problems, the number of conditions imposed have increased (Petersilia, 1997). The public and the criminal justice system believe that harsher conditions will prevent probationers from committing crimes and produce higher compliance levels for probationers. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (1997) examined the first national survey of adults on probation under the supervision of State and local agencies. It found that almost all probationers (99%) had one or more conditions to their sentence required by the court. Among such conditions imposed on probationers were supervision fees, employment, boot camp, electronic monitoring, mandatory drug testing, and substance abuse

treatment. Almost half of probationers had more than 5 conditions. Also, it found that almost 41 percent of adults on probation got drug or alcohol treatments as a sentencing condition and 32 percent of probationers were subjected to mandatory drug testing.

But interestingly, studies focusing on conditions to probation have found that their imposition may lead to frequent violation of conditions and higher recidivism rates among probationers (Langan & Cuniff, 1992). Several studies found that more stringent conditions of probation may increase the chances of failure. Langan and Cuniff (1992) examined felons on probation and found that 55 percent of those probationers had some special condition such as drug testing and many probationers failed to follow their conditions of probation. Langan (1994) also found that almost 50 percent of probationers simply did not comply with the conditions of probation, and only 50 percent of known violators went to jail or prison for non-compliance. In 1997, Sims and Jones examined 2,850 North Carolina felony probationers and found that a total of 26 percent of felony probationers were revoked because of technical violations such as testing positive for drugs and only 13 percent of probationers were terminated because of new crimes. Further evaluation on felony probation shows that the more stringently programs enforce their punitive conditions, the more they are likely to exacerbate prison overcrowding (Tonry and Hamilton, 1995). It concluded that stringently requiring conditions of probation might not be having the desired effects of reducing recidivism rates and decreasing prison overcrowding.

Obviously, efforts to deal with drug crime with harsh punishment have been increased (Fagan, 1994). Arrests, prosecutions, convictions, prison sentences, and parole revocations of drug offenders all have increased sharply in a short time (Goerdt

& Martin, 1989; Fagan, 1994). But the politics of dealing with drug cases increased the likelihood that drug offenders will be incarcerated, regardless of their criminal histories or the comparative risks they posed to public safety (Belenko et al., 1991).

Purpose of the Study

While several studies have shown the association between drug use and recidivism, few studies have specifically focused on the mechanism by which drug users recidivate when compared to non-drug users. The focus of this study, therefore, is in comparing the recidivism of probationers who regularly used drugs and those who didn't. Specifically, these two groups will be compared in terms of; a) their rates and patterns of probation violations; b) the probation conditions imposed; and, c) the predictors of recidivism between these two groups. By comparing the patterns and predictors of recidivism between drug users and non-drug users, we are better able to delineate those factors that may be specifically unique to drug users and the reasons for their higher likelihood of recidivism that had been identified in previous research.

Relevance

The United State has been confronted with an epidemic of illicit drug use and drug related crimes (MacKenzie, 1994). The tremendous increasing number of drug-involved offenders has presented enormous problems such as drug-related crimes, drug use by youth, and prison overcrowding for the criminal justice system (Wish, 1992). As a result, the criminal justice system has struggled to search for the effective ways to reduce the rate of drug use and drug-related crimes. Since "get tough" era, there had been less emphasis on treatment and an increased emphasis on the use of

prison to deter drug use and drug crimes (Mackenzie and Uchida, 1994). Since then, law and policy have increasingly relied on sanctions to deter drug use and drug selling (Fagan, 1994; Mackenzie and Uchida, 1994).

Although there have been numerous studies about probation, few have specifically examined recidivism of probationers with drug problems, the effectiveness of conditions commonly imposed on drug users such as drug testing and drug treatment, and their effects on recidivism of probationers. By clarifying these issues, the present study seeks to inform policy makers on the specific links between probation conditions imposed on drug users and recidivism.

Chapter II

METHODOLOGY

The study uses a combination of quantitative research techniques to look at drug users who are on probation, using a sample of probationers in Michigan. Following is a discussion of the research question and the related hypotheses.

Research Questions

Based on the theories and research evidence discussed above, the research questions the study seeks to answer are: 1) what are characteristics of probationers with drug problem compared to non-drug probationers? 2) what are types of conditions imposed on probationers with drug problem compared those with no drug problem? 3) which factors are related to probation violation for drug users compared to non-drug users? 4) which factors are related to probation recidivism for drug users compared to non-drug users?

Sample

The data was collected by Dr. Sheila Maxwell and Dr. Timothy Bynum from the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University with collaboration of the Michigan Department of Corrections. The Department of Corrections in Michigan provided access to files and databases to collect information about each probationer included in the sample.

The sample of 1,500 probationers was randomly selected from the population of 4,021 probationers who were sentenced to probation in February and March of

1996 in Michigan. But due to expected missing files, 200 additional probationers were sampled. A total of 126 cases could not be located. In many cases, the files were simply not in the offices they were supposed to be, in others, probationers originally sentenced in one county would move and their probation file would be transferred to a different county. Therefore, the total number of cases collected is 1,574 and it represents almost 40 percent of the total number of offenders sentenced to probation for these months. This sample size will provide an adequate number of cases for analysis. Also the lapse of 3 years was given to assess recidivism rates of probationers.

Description of Measures

This section provides detailed descriptions of the data elements used in this research.

Independent Variables

Drug use of probationers is obtained from a dichotomous variable (yes-no) that indicated the drug use of the probationer. Also, variables such as age, gender, race, marital status, education level, employment history, juvenile records, the numbers of misdemeanor and felony convictions, and type of offense of probationers with drug problems are used as control variables. Age was computed using the probationers' date of birth available. Race distinguishes among Caucasian, African-American, Hispanics, and Asians. Due to the overall low frequencies of Asian and Hispanics among the probationers in the state of Michigan, these race categories were recoded into a new category as "other races". Marital status was dichotomized into

married and not married. Education level was coded including categories for up to 11th grade, 12th grade / GED, some college or more. Employment history is obtained from dichotomous variable (yes-no), which indicated the employment status of the offender at the time of arrest. Information of offenders' prior offenses is obtained and coded as prior felony convictions, prior misdemeanor convictions, and previous juvenile records. Type of current offense is coded in three categories including nonassaultive, drug, and assaultive offenses.

The specific conditions imposed on drug users are analyzed to examine their overall effect on violations of probation and recidivism. These conditions include punitive conditions such as alcohol and drug testing, electronic monitoring, fines, and community services. Treatment conditions such as alcohol and substance abuse treatment, vocational/employment requirements are also included. These conditions imposed on probationers with drug problem are all coded into dichotomous (yes-no) variables.

Dependent Variables

In this study, probation recidivism was analyzed using probationer's discharge type. Recidivism was conceived as the probationers' failure to successfully complete their probation terms. Recidivism took place when one of the following discharge types was present: jail pending violation, revocation, discharge without improvement, and jail. Probation discharge type was recoded into a dichotomous variable where only two outcomes for this dependent variable were "failure" as "0" and "successful" as "1". Also, number of violation up to eight was used as dependent variable.

Analytic Technique

Chi-square test is used to address the question 1, that is, “what are characteristics of probationers with drug problem compared to non-drug using probationers?” Specifically, this study will consider gender, race, age, alcohol abuse, employment status, marital status, and highest grade completed.

Chi-square test is also used to address the question 2, that is, “what are types of conditions imposed on probationers with drug problem compared those with no drug problem?” Chi-square tests are used to identify significant differences in probation orders imposed on between drug users and non-drug users.

OLS is used to address the question 3, that is, “what factors are related to probation violation for drug users compared to non-drug users?” OLS regression tests are used to identify statistically significant factors of violation for drug users compared to non-drug users.

The logistic regression models are used to address the question 4, that is, “what factors are related to probation recidivism for drug users compared to non-drug users?” Because the logistic regression model is the most reasonable statistical tool given the binary nature of the dependent variable used in the study, which is probationers’ discharge type.

Chapter III

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the study. It presents information on the characteristics of probationers and the effects of these characteristics on probation outcomes. Also, it presents information on the types of conditions imposed on drug users and their impact on violations and the outcome of discharge. This chapter includes results of bivariate examinations, OLS regression, as well as multivariate models using logistic regression.

Characteristics of Probationers

Table 1.1 presents baseline information on the probationers sampled for this study, subdivided by drug use. The probationers in the sample were predominantly male (80%), the majority were White (54%), most were single (68%), and a little over half had up to a 12th grade or some college education (52%). Almost half of probationers (51%) were employed at the time of offense and one third (31%) had a history of alcohol abuse. Regarding criminal history, most of probationers had no previous juvenile record (82%), 46 percent had previous misdemeanor records, and 24 percent had previous felony records.

As shown in Table 1.1, some characteristics are vastly different between drug users and non-drug users. Marital status, highest grade completed, employment status, alcohol abuse, offense category, prior juvenile record, prior misdemeanor record, and previous felony record were significantly related to probationers' drug use.

The measure of marital status indicated that 71 percent of drug users were single compared to 66 percent of non-drug users. The contingency table for highest grade completed showed that a little over 90 percent of drug users had less than 12th or GED. Only 8 percent of drug users had some college experience compared to 16 percent of non-drug users. Employment status at the time of offense showed that 46 percent of drug users were employed compared to 55 percent of non-drug users. The contingency table for alcohol abuse showed that probationers using drugs were more likely to have histories of alcohol abuse. Almost half of probationers using drugs had alcohol abuse history compared to only 21 percent of those who had no drug problems. Regarding offense category, drug users committed more drug offenses compared to non-drug using probationers. Forty two percent of drug users committed drug offense compared to 13 percent of those probationers with non-drug abuse history. More than 60 percent of non-drug using probationers committed non-assaultive offenses while less than half of drug using probationers committed non-assaultive offenses. When examining previous juvenile record, it was found that those probationers with drug abuse history were more likely to have juvenile record than those with no drug abuse history. Twenty two percent of drug users had juvenile records compared to 15 percent of non-drug users. Table 1.1 also shows that more than 50 percent of those probationers with drug abuse history had previous misdemeanor records while only 39 percent of those with no drug abuse history had previous misdemeanor records.

Table 1.1 also shows that those probationers with a drug abuse history were more likely to have previous felony record than those with no drug abuse history. Thirty two percent of those probationers with drug abuse history had one or more

Table 1.1 - Characteristics of Probationers with Drug Problem and Non-drug Problem

	Non-drug Users		Drug Users		Total		
	%	N	%	N	%	N	
Sex							
Male	78	687	82	549	80	1236	
Female	22	191	19	125	20	316	
Race							
White	56	487	53	355	54	842	
Black	41	362	45	305	43	667	
Other	3	29	2	14	3	43	
Marital Status							*
Single	66	581	71	474	68	1055	
Married	16	144	11	75	14	219	
Divorced/separated/widowed	17	152	18	122	18	274	
Age							
Mean	30		30		30		
Median	27		29		28		
Highest Grade Completed							***
Up to 11th grade	46	404	51	340	48	744	
12th grade/GED	38	337	41	272	40	609	
Some college or more	16	136	8	54	12	190	
Employment History							***
No	45	387	54	359	49	746	
Yes	55	477	46	303	51	780	
Alcohol Abuse							***
No	79	692	56	375	69	1067	
Yes	21	186	44	299	31	485	
Offense Category							
Non-assaultive	66	576	45	304	57	880	***
Drug	13	113	42	286	26	399	
Assaultive	22	189	13	84	18	273	
Previous Juvenile Record							***
No	85	732	78	514	82	1246	
Yes	15	127	22	146	18	273	
Previous Misdemeanor Record							***
No	61	520	45	299	54	819	
Yes	39	338	55	362	46	700	
Previous Felony Record							***
No	82	720	68	460	76	1180	
Yes	18	157	32	214	24	371	

Notes: * = p<.05 ** = p<.01 *** = p<.001

previous felony history compared to 18 percent of those with no drug abuse history.

In summary, it seems that there are some differences of characteristics between drug users and non-drug users. Probationers with drug problem were more likely to be single, to have lower level of education, to be unemployed at the time of offense, to have alcohol abuse history, and to be charged with non-assaultive crimes. Regarding previous crime records, drug users were more likely to have previous involvement with the criminal justice system.

Conditions of Probation Imposed on Drug Users and Non-drug Users

Having shown the general characteristics of probationers, according to drug use, the next contingency tables examine conditions imposed on drug users and non-drug users. As previously mentioned, studies focusing on the effect of conditions on probation revocation have found that their imposition may lead to frequent violation of conditions and higher recidivism rates among probationers. More restrictive conditions may increase the likelihood of failure. This section examines conditions imposed on drug users and non-drug users. The overall effects of conditions imposed on drug user and non-drug users on violation and revocation will be discussed in the next sections.

Table 1.2 presents information on the conditions imposed on the probationers, subdivided by drug use. The most frequently imposed condition of probation for the total sample was drug testing (59%), followed by alcohol testing (48%), vocational/employment requirement (65%), and supervision fee (79%).

In order to assess how many conditions were imposed on all probationers as well as on drug users compared to non-drug users, number of conditions were

grouped into 5 categories, as shown in table 1-2. The data indicated that probationers could be imposed a total of twenty conditions. Two-thirds of the probationers in the total sample were ordered to 3 to 6 conditions and 23 percent were ordered to 7 or more conditions.

Table 1.2 shows that there are differences in conditions imposed between drug users and non-drug users. The bivariate analysis of the conditions imposed on drug users and non-drug users indicated that alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug testing, alcohol testing, educational requirement, restitution, other treatment, community service, and numbers of conditions were significantly related to probationers' drug abuse history. These relationships were all significant at $p < .05$ level. The results also indicated that those probationers with a drug abuse history were more likely to be ordered such conditions as alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug testing, alcohol testing, educational requirement, restitution, other treatment, and community service. Drug users were also ordered more conditions than were non-drug users.

Table 1-2 shows that 27 percent of drug users got alcohol treatment compared to 16 percent of non-drug users. The test indicated that half of drug users were ordered drug treatment while only 13 percent of non-drug users were ordered. Regarding drug testing, almost 85 percent of probationers with a drug abuse history were ordered drug tests compared to 40 percent of those probationers with no drug abuse history. When examining alcohol tests, 62 percent of drug users were ordered alcohol testing compared to 37 percent of non-drug users. Unlike other variables, non-drug users were more likely to receive restitution than drug users. Only 31 percent of drug users were ordered restitution compared to 42 percent of those with no

Table 1.2 - Conditions Imposed on Drug Users and Non-drug Users

	Non-drug Users		Drug Users		Total		
	%	N	%	N	%	N	
Alcohol Treatment							***
No	84	736	73	483	79	1219	
Yes	16	136	27	182	21	318	
Drug Treatment							***
No	88	763	51	339	72	1102	
Yes	13	109	49	327	28	436	
Mental Health Treatment							
No	86	746	86	572	86	1318	
Yes	14	126	14	93	14	219	
Drug Testing							***
No	60	524	16	105	41	629	
Yes	40	348	84	562	59	909	
Alcohol Testing							***
No	63	551	38	252	52	803	
Yes	37	321	62	414	48	735	
Educational Requirement							
No	74	642	69	460	72	1102	
Yes	26	229	31	205	28	434	
Vocational/Employment							
No	33	291	36	241	35	532	
Yes	67	581	64	424	65	1005	
Restitution							***
No	58	506	69	456	63	962	
Yes	42	366	31	207	37	573	
Electronic monitoring							
No	88	766	85	565	87	1331	
Yes	12	105	15	101	13	206	
Supervision Fee							
No	22	191	20	132	21	323	
Yes	78	680	80	534	79	1214	
Other Treatment							**
No	84	703	77	488	81	1191	
Yes	16	133	23	145	19	278	
Community Service							**
No	65	564	72	480	68	1044	
Yes	35	308	28	185	32	493	
Number of Conditions							***
No Condition	2	17	2	13	2	30	
1-2 conditions	17	152	7	46	13	198	
3-4 conditions	38	335	23	155	32	490	
5-6 conditions	26	228	37	248	31	476	
7 or more conditions	17	146	32	212	23	358	

Note: * =p<.05, **=<.01, ***=<.001

drug abuse history. Drug users were also more likely to be ordered other forms of treatment than were non-drug users. Twenty three percent of drug users received an other forms of treatment as a condition of probation as compared to 16 percent of non-drug users. Non-drug users were more likely to receive community service as a condition. Thirty five percent of non-drug users were ordered community service compared to 28 percent of drug users. The total number of conditions imposed on probationers was also significantly related to drug abuse history. Drug users were more likely to be ordered more conditions of probation than non-drug users. Only 9 percent of drug users were ordered less than 2 conditions but almost one quarter of non-drug users were ordered less than 2 conditions of probation. Almost 70 percent of drug users were ordered more than 5 conditions compared to 43 percent of non-drug users.

In summary, the results indicate that drug users were more likely to be imposed alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug testing, alcohol testing, and other treatment. Overall, the table also shows that drug users were more likely to be ordered more conditions of probation.

The Predictors of Conditions Imposed on Probationers

After examining the difference of conditions imposed on between drug users and non-drug users showing that drug users were more likely to be ordered more conditions (e.g. alcohol treatment, drug treatment), the following section examines the predictors of conditions imposed on all probationers using OLS regression models (Refer to table 1.3). The bivariate models used above do not statistically control for the effects of multiple variables on conditions, OLS regression models are used to

Table 1.3 - Characteristics of Probationers Regressed on the Number of Conditions

<u>Predictors</u>	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	Total Conditions		Punitive Conditions		Treatment Conditions	
	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e
Age	-0.02	0.01 ***	-0.01	0.00 **	-0.01	0.00 ***
Male	-0.07	0.13	-0.01	0.08	-0.06	0.08
Single	-0.04	0.13	0.03	0.09	-0.07	0.08
White	0.42	0.11 ***	0.16	0.07 *	0.26	0.06 ***
Highest Grade Completed (High School and above)	-0.32	0.10 ***	-0.07	0.07 **	-0.25	0.06 ***
Drugs Use	0.76	0.10 ***	0.41	0.07 ***	0.35	0.07 ***
Alcohols Use	0.99	0.12 ***	0.45	0.08 ***	0.53	0.07 ***
Employed	0.00	0.10	0.11	0.07	-0.11	0.06
Offense Category						
Assultive	-0.31	0.13 *	-0.33	0.09 ***	0.02	0.08
Drugs	0.15	0.12	0.00	0.08	0.17	0.07 *
Non-Assaultive	Reference Category		Reference Category		Reference Category	
Prior Juvenile Record	0.33	0.14	0.18	0.09 *	0.15	0.08
Prior Felony	-0.02	0.12	-0.08	0.08	0.06	0.07
Prior Misdemeanor	0.38	0.11 ***	0.23	0.07 ***	0.15	0.07 *
	R Square = 0.18		R Square = 0.12		R Square = 0.15	

Notes: * = p<.05 ** = p<.01 *** = p<.001

The number of total conditions are twelve. The number of treatment conditions are six which are drug treatment, alcohol treatment, other treatment ordered, mental health treatment, vocational/employment requirements, and educational requirements. Also, the number of punitive conditions are six which are restitution, supervision fees, electronic monitoring, alcohol testing, drug testing, and community service.

examine the effects of probationers' socio-demographic and criminal history on the conditions imposed on probationers, controlling for other variables. This allows a clearer examination of the factors that may contribute to probationers being imposed more conditions, besides having a drug history. The aim is to see whether the imposition of more probation conditions is contingent upon drug use itself, or other characteristics of probationers.

As previously mentioned, probationers could be imposed a total of twelve conditions. In order to better assess the effects of socio-demographic and criminal history on the conditions imposed on probationers, the total conditions were also recoded into two different variables. Six conditions were more related to treatment conditions and these were added as a single variable. The new variable includes such conditions as drug treatment, alcohol treatment, other treatment ordered, mental health treatment, vocational/employment requirements, and educational requirements. The remaining six conditions were more related to punitive conditions and include restitution, supervision fees, electronic monitoring, alcohol testing, drug testing, and community service.

Because there are three dependent variables; which are total conditions, treatment conditions, and punitive conditions are continuous variables, three OLS regression models are used to examine the effect of individual characteristics on conditions. Model A examines the effects of socio-demographic and criminal history on the total number of conditions. Model B tests the relationship between socio-demographic and criminal history on the number of punitive conditions. Model C examines the effects of socio-demographic and criminal history on the number of treatment conditions.

The table 1.3 shows that in the three multivariate models, six predictors are statistically significant. These are age, ethnicity, highest grade completed, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, and prior a misdemeanor record at the $p < .05$ level. Probationers' age was significant in the all three models at the $p < .001$ level. The tendency was for younger probationers to be imposed more conditions, both punitive and treatment. Ethnicity was significant in the three models as well. Caucasian probationers were more likely than non-White to get more conditions whether punitive or treatment conditions. The measure of highest grade completed was also significant in the three models. Probationers with higher levels of education were more likely to get fewer conditions than were those with lower levels of education. Drug abuse and alcohol abuse by probationers were also both significant in three models at the $p < .001$ level. Probationers who had drug and alcohol problems were more likely to get more conditions, both punitive and treatment, than those probationers with no drug and alcohol problems. Assaultive offenses were also significant predictors in models A and B. Probationers who committed assaultive offenses were more likely to be imposed fewer punitive and treatment conditions and fewer punitive conditions. Probationers charged with drug offense were more likely to be ordered treatment conditions than those charged with non-assaultive offenses. When examining the effects of probationers' criminal histories on conditions, prior juvenile record was a significant predictor. That is, probationers with prior juvenile records were more likely to receive more punitive conditions than those probationers with no prior juvenile record. Prior misdemeanor was also significant in all three models. Probationers who had prior misdemeanor record were more likely receive both punitive and treatment conditions.

The R square of the models indicates that 18 percent of the observed variability in total conditions can be explained by the independent variables, as well as 12 percent of the observed variability in punitive conditions and 15 percent of the observed variability in treatment conditions. Although the variance explained in these models are fairly small, it is a step toward understanding those factors that influence judicial considerations in determining what conditions to impose on probationers.

In summary, most of the factors that were identified as significant predictors of total conditions were also significant predictors of punitive and treatment conditions. These variables include age, ethnicity, highest grade completed, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, and prior misdemeanor. The tendency was that probationers who were older and had lower level of education were more likely to be ordered more conditions, both punitive and treatment conditions. Probationers who were White, used drugs and alcohol, and had prior misdemeanor records were more likely to be ordered more conditions, both punitive and treatment conditions. Also, the results clearly show that drug users were ordered more punitive conditions as well as treatment conditions, even when other factors, like prior criminal records and demographics are controlled.

Based on these findings, the next section examines the overall effect of probation conditions and other factors on probation violation and revocation.

Factors Influencing Violations

Having discussed the predictors of probation conditions, the following sections examine the results of OLS regression models used to examine the predictors of violations for the entire sample of probationers subdivided by drug use. To better

understand the predictors of violations for drug users and non-drug users, the predictors of violations for the entire sample of probationers are examined first and the next section analyzes the predictors of violations of drug users and non-drug users. OLS regression techniques are used to examine the relationships because the dependent variable is the number of violations that is continuous variable. Also, it is important to mention that all independent variables that were not continuous were dummy variables with only possible outcomes of 0 and 1.

The table 1.4 shows the predictors of violations of the entire sample using two OLS regression models. Model A predicts the likelihood of violations for all probationers. The number of violations was recorded up to eight from the probationers' files. The independent variables are socio-demographic and criminal history of all probationers. Model B also predicts the likelihood of violations for all probationers. Besides the variables of socio-demographic and criminal history, some of conditions such as alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug test, and educational requirement were included in the independent variables to examine what effects these variables have on violations, controlling other variables.

In examining the effects of conditions of probation on violations using OLS regression that were not presented in the study, alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug test, and educational requirement were found to be significantly related to violations of probation conditions. These variables are consistent with what has been found to be important predictors of violations in prior research. Therefore, these four conditions are added to model B in order to assess whether these variables are significantly related to violations, controlling for other variables.

The results show that several variables such as age, ethnicity, highest grade

Table 1.4 - Predictors of Violations Using OLS Regression for the Entire Sample

<u>Predictors</u>	Model A			Model B (includes significant conditions)		
	b	s.e		b	s.e	
Age	-0.03	0.01	**	-0.02	0.01	**
Male	-0.06	0.16		-0.07	0.16	
Single	-0.23	0.17		-0.24	0.17	
White	-0.10	0.14	***	-1.03	0.14	***
Highest Grade Completed (High School and above)	-0.70	0.14	***	-0.64	0.13	***
Abused Drugs	0.46	0.14	***	0.14	0.15	
Abused Alcohols	0.13	0.15		0.00	0.15	
Employed	-0.27	0.13	*	-0.27	0.13	*
Offense Category						
Assultive	-0.19	0.17		-0.16	0.17	
Drugs	-0.09	0.16		-0.24	0.16	
Non-Assaultive	Reference Category			Reference Category		
Prior Juvenile Record	0.26	0.18		0.23	0.18	
Prior Felony	0.30	0.16		0.27	0.16	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.15	0.14		0.06	0.14	
Alcohol Treatment as Condition				0.05	0.02	*
Drug Treatment as Condition				0.21	0.16	
Drug Testing as Condition				0.75	0.15	***
Educational Requirement as Condition				-0.01	0.02	
	R Square = .11			R Square = .13		

Notes: * = p<.05 ** = p<.01 *** = p<.001

completed, and employment at the time of offense were significant in the both models.

Probationers' age was significant in the two models and younger probationers were more likely to commit more violations. The measure of ethnicity was significant in both models. White probationers were more likely to commit fewer violations than were non-White probationers. Highest grade completed was also significant in both models. Probationers with high levels of education committed fewer violations than were those with lower levels of education. Probationers' employment status at the time of offense was significant in the both models. Probationers who were employed were more likely to commit fewer violations than were those probationers who were not employed at the time of offense.

As previously mentioned, model B included four conditions, which are alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug testing, and educational requirement. In this model, alcohol treatment and drug testing were significantly related to violations of probation conditions, controlling for other variables. Probationers who were ordered to alcohol treatment and drug testing were more likely to commit violations.

When four conditions are added in model B, the results indicate that all variables except for drug use, significant in model A were also significantly related to violations in model B. The results suggest that drug abuse is not necessarily a significant predictor of violation of probation when number of conditions such as alcohol treatment and drug testing were combined. It seems that conditions such as drug testing and alcohol treatment create opportunities for probationers to violate their probation orders whether they use drug or not.

The R square of model A indicates that 11 percent of the observed variability

in violation of probation orders were explained by the independent variables. Also, the R square of model B indicates that 13 percent of the observed variability in violation of probation orders were explained by the same independent variables used in the model A and an additional four variables that were alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug test, and educational requirement. The results indicate that even though 2 percent of observed variability in violation of probation orders is explained more when four conditions were added to the independent variables, still the majority percent of variability in violation of probation orders is not explained by the model.

In summary, age, ethnicity, highest grade completed, and employment status were identified as significant predictors of violation of probation conditions in the both models. When four conditions are added in model B, it shows that four significant predictors of violations from model A are also significant in the model B except for drug abuse. It is important to mention that the relationship between drug use and violation of probation disappeared when several conditions such as alcohol treatment and drug testing were added. Thus, the results suggest conditions such as drug testing and alcohol treatment facilitate opportunities for probationers to violate their probation orders whether they use drug or not.

Factors Influencing Violations For Drug Users and Non-drug Users

Having examined some of the factors that influence violations of probation conditions for the entire sample of probationers, the following section examines factors influencing violations of conditions committed by drug users compared to non-drug users. In previous models, although we know which factors were significantly related to probation violation for the entire sample of probationers, we

do not know which factors are significantly related to violation of probation orders for drug users or non-drug users. Because one of the goals of this study is to examine the differences of the predictors of violation between drug users and non-drug users, this section examines predictors of probation violation committed by drug using probationers compared to non-drug using probationers.

The table 1.5 shows the predictors of violations for drug users and non-drug users using two OLS regression models. Model A predicts the likelihood of violations for drug users and model B predicts the likelihood of violations for non-drug users on probation. Independent variables in the both of models are socio-demographic, criminal history variables, and some of conditions imposed on probationers that are alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug testing, and educational requirement.

The table shows that three predictors are statistically significant in both models. These variables are ethnicity, alcohol treatment, and drug testing. There are several variables, which are significant in one model but not significant in other model. The measure of highest grade completed is significant in model A but is not significant in model B. Alcohol abuse, employment status at the time of offense, and educational requirement are significant in model B but not significant in model A.

For ethnicity, Whites were less likely to violate the conditions of their probation compared to non-Whites in the both models, controlling for many other predictors. The other significant predictors are measures of two probation orders that are alcohol treatment and drug testing in both models. It shows that probationers who had drug problem and were ordered alcohol treatment were more likely to incur violation whereas probationers who had non-drug problem and were ordered alcohol

Table 1.5 - Predictors of Violations for Drug Users and Non-drug Users Using OLS Regression

	Model A			Model B		
	Drug Users			Non-drug Users		
<u>Predictors</u>	b	s.e		b	s.e	
Age	-0.03	0.02		-0.01	0.01	
Male	-0.13	0.26		-0.10	0.21	
Single	-0.37	0.27		-0.12	0.22	
White	-0.60	0.22	**	-1.26	0.17	***
Highest Grade Completed (High School and above)	-0.91	0.22	***	-0.26	0.18	
Abused Alcohols	-0.22	0.21		0.79	0.25	**
Employed	-0.11	0.21		-0.36	0.17	*
Offense Category						
Assultive	0.23	0.31		-0.31	0.20	
Drugs	-0.21	0.22		-0.3	0.26	
Non-Assaultive	Reference Category			Reference Category		
Prior Juvenile Record	-0.05	0.26		0.44	0.23	
Prior Felony	0.29	0.23		0.26	0.22	
Prior Misdemeanor	-0.04	0.21		0.13	0.18	
Alcohol Treatment as Condition	0.06	0.02	*	-1.17	0.3	***
Drug Treatment as Condition	0.35	0.21		0.55	0.30	
Drug Testing as Condition	0.60	0.29	*	0.68	0.19	***
Educational Requirement As Condition	-0.02	0.02		0.61	0.21	**
	R Square = .09			R Square = .19		

Notes: * = p<.05 ** = p<.01 *** = p<.001

treatment were less likely to incur violations, controlling other variables. An order of drug testing predicts the likelihood of violating their conditions of probation whether probationers are drug users or not. Both drug users and non-drug users ordered drug testing were more likely to violate the conditions of their probation. The results suggest that the order itself has an impact on the likelihood of violation of the conditions, independent of the probationers' drug abuse problem.

Highest grade completed predicts the likelihood of violations in model A but not in model B. Among drug users, it shows that the higher the probationer's education, the less likely the probationer will commit a violation. Although education is not significant among non-drug users, it is important to mention that probationers with high level of education are less likely to incur violations than are probationers with lower level of education.

Significant predictors for drug users but not for non-drug users are alcohol abuse, employment status, and educational requirement. Alcohol abuse among non-drug users was a significant predictor of violation. Non-drug users with an alcohol abuse history were more likely to violate the conditions of their probation.

Employment status at the time of offense was a significant predictor of violation among non-drug users. Non-drug users who were employed at the time of offenses were less likely to violate their conditions of probation.

Another variable, which was significant in model B but not in model A, is educational requirement. Probationers given an educational requirement were more likely to violate the conditions of probation.

The R square of model A indicates that 9 percent of the observed variability in violation of probation orders were explained by the independent variables (e.g. age,

sex, marital status, highest grade completed). Also, the R square of model B indicates that 19 percent of the observed variability in violation of probation orders were explained by the same variables used in the model A. These results tell that the independent variables explained only 9 percent of observed variability in probation violation of drug users but explained almost 20 percent of observed variability in probation violation of non-drug users.

In summary, some variables were identified above that were significant predictors of violations in both models. Other variables were not consistent predictors across models. Probationers who were White and were not imposed drug testing were less likely to violate their probation order whether they were drug users or not. Drug using probationers who have high level of education were less likely to violate their probation order and probationers with no-drug problem who were employed and were ordered alcohol treatment were less likely to violate. The results show that alcohol treatment increased the likelihood of violation for probationers with drug problems but decreased the likelihood of violation for those without a drug problem. Drug testing increased the likelihood of violation for drug users as well as non-drug users. Therefore, the results suggest that these conditions should be ordered selectively to achieve the expected goals of reducing probation violations and increasing success rate of probation terms. Otherwise, it is likely that the conditions imposed could create conditions for probationers to violate.

Factors Influencing Revocations

Having examined some of the factors that predict violations of probation conditions, this section examines factors that predict revocations using the logistic

regression technique. The difference between violation and revocation is that violation is incurred by probationers, however probation officers make the choice to revoke. The factors that were significant predictors of violation may or may not be significantly related to revocation. Therefore, this section examines the factors that predict revocation. Logistic regression is the most reasonable statistical technique when the dependent variable is a dichotomous measure, which is probationers' discharge type.

Table 1.6 includes two logistic regression models. Model A predicts the likelihood of a revocation for probationers who had drug problems and model B predicts the likelihood of a revocation for probationers who had non-drug problems in the sample. The independent variables in both models are socio-demographic variables, criminal history, the number of conditions imposed on probationers, drug testing, drug treatment, and number of violations.

Model A indicates that Caucasian probationers are more likely to successfully complete their terms while non-White were more likely to fail. The odds ratio in table 1.6 shows that ethnicity has a large effect. Caucasian probationers were almost twice as likely to be successful, controlling for other variables in the model.

Probationers' employment status at the time of offense was also statistically significant. Drug using probationers who were employed at the time of their current offense were more likely to be successfully discharged. In this case, the odds ratio showed a large effect where probationers who were employed were more than twice as likely to be successfully discharged compared to those who were not employed.

Another variable that was also significantly related to discharge type was prior felony record. Probationers with prior felony convictions were more likely to fail

Table 1.6 - Predictors of Successful Discharge Using Logistic Regression

<u>Predictors</u>	Model A Drug Users			Model B Non-Drug Users		
	b	s.e	odds ratio	b	s.e	Odds Ratio
Age	0.02	0.19	1.02	0.01	0.01	1.01
Male	-0.22	0.32	0.80	-0.41	0.29	0.67
Single	-0.38	0.32	0.68	-0.29	0.30	0.75
White	0.56	0.26	1.74 *	0.41	0.24	1.51
Highest Grade Completed (more than HS, 1)	0.17	0.26	1.20	0.25	0.22	1.29
Abused Alcohol	0.06	0.26	1.06	-0.06	0.29	0.95
Employed	0.87	0.25	2.38 ***	0.54	0.21	1.72 *
Offense Category						
Assaultive	0.10	0.40	1.11	0.16	0.29	1.17
Drugs	0.39	0.25	1.48	0.52	0.33	1.67
Non-Assaultive	Reference Category			Reference Category		
Prior Juvenile Record	0.02	0.31	1.02	-0.44	0.31	0.64
Prior Felony	-0.73	0.28	0.48 **	-0.46	0.28	0.63
Prior Misdemeanor	0.01	0.25	1.01	-0.91	0.25	0.40 ***
Number of Conditions Imposed	-0.04	0.08	0.96	-0.15	0.08	0.86
Drug testing as Condition	-0.09	0.38	0.91	0.51	0.31	1.67
Drug Treatment as Condition	-0.22	0.28	0.80	0.04	0.36	1.04
Number of Violations	-0.50	0.06	0.61 ***	-0.50	0.06	0.60 ***
- 2Log Likelihood	451.83			547.17		
Model Chi-Square	165.15***			197.01***		

Notes: * =p<.05 ** = p<.01 *** =p<.001

probation. Also as expected, the number of violations was a significant factor of predicting revocation. Probationers who commit more violations were more likely to fail their terms.

Model B indicates that three variables, which are employment status, prior misdemeanor record, and number of violation, were significant predictors of revocation. Ethnicity was a significant predictor for drug users but was not significantly related to discharge type for non-drug users.

Unlike model A where prior felony record was significant, prior misdemeanor record was significantly related to discharge type in model B. It indicates that probationers with prior misdemeanor convictions were more likely to fail probation. Consistent with the model A, number of violations committed by non-drug users was also significantly related to discharge type. It shows that probationers who commit more violations were more likely to fail their probation terms, while holding all other variable. Based on this, it shows that whether probationers had drug problem or not, probationers who commit more violations would be to fail their terms. Also, it shows that whether probationers had drug problem or not, number of prior violations increases the likelihood of a revocation by approximately 60 percent.

In summary, the results indicate that employment status and number of violations are statistically related to the discharge type in both models, controlling for other variables. Ethnicity and prior felony are significant for drug users but these variables are no longer significant for non-drug users. Comparing the predictors of discharge type to the predictors of violations, some differences are appeared. For drug users, highest grade completed, alcohol treatment, and drug testing that were significantly related to violations were no longer significantly related to the type of

discharge. Employment status and prior felony records that were not significantly related to violations were significantly related to the type of discharge for drug users. Interestingly, ethnicity was significantly related to the type of discharge as well as violations for drug users. The results show that White were less likely to incur violations and more likely to be successfully discharged. For non-drug users, the variables of ethnicity, alcohol abuse, alcohol treatment, drug testing, and educational requirement that were significantly related to violations were no longer significantly related to the type of discharge. Prior misdemeanor record that was not significantly related to violations was significantly related to the discharge type. Employment status was significantly related to both the discharge type and violations. The results indicate that probationers with higher level of education were more likely to succeed their probation and less likely to violate the conditions of their probation.

It is also important to mention that the number of violations was a strong predictor of a revocation in both models, controlling for other variables. It shows that probationers who commit more violations were more likely to fail their probation terms whether they were drug users or non-drug users. Therefore, this finding indicates that since number of violations is strong predictor of revocation, it is important to understand which factors are significantly related to violations. The previous section found that conditions such as drug testing and educational requirement were significantly related to violation of conditions.

Chapter VI

DISCUSSION

The criminal justice system has been confronted with the widespread use of illegal drugs and drug-related crimes. The increasing number of drug-involved offenders has presented huge problems like drug-related crimes and prison overcrowding. As a result, the criminal justice system has struggled to search for effective ways to deal with drug-related crimes and overcrowding in prisons and jails. As a way to alleviate overcrowding, probation has been used as the most common form of community supervision in the criminal justice system. Although there have been numerous studies about probation, few have specifically examined the mechanism by which drug users violate and recidivate when compared to non-drug users on probation.

Therefore, the focus of this study was to compare drug users to non-drug users on probation in relationship to; a) the individual traits; b) the probation conditions imposed; c) the predictors of probation violations; and d) the predictors of revocation.

Significant differences were found between drug users and non-drug users. Specifically, the study found that some characteristics of drug users such as marital status, education, employment status, alcohol abuse, offense category, criminal records were significantly different from those of non-drug users. Drug users were more likely to be single, to have lower level of education, to be unemployed at the time of offense, to have alcohol abuse history, and to be charged with non-assaultive crimes. Drug users were also more likely to have previous juvenile, misdemeanor, and felony records.

With regards the differences of probation conditions imposed, the study found that drug users were more likely to be imposed alcohol treatment, drug treatment, drug testing, alcohol testing, and other treatment. Regarding the total number of conditions imposed, the results show that drug users were more likely to be ordered more conditions.

In the predictors of probation violations, the study shows that some factors such as ethnicity, alcohol treatment, drug testing were significantly related to violations for both drug users and non-drug users. Probationers who were non-White and were ordered drug testing were more likely to violate the conditions of their probation. Interestingly, the alcohol treatment condition is a positive predictor of violations for non-drug users but a negative predictor for drug users. Drug users who were ordered alcohol treatment were more likely to violate their conditions of probation while non-drug users who were ordered alcohol treatment were less likely to violate the conditions of their probation. Also, it should be mentioned that drug testing is independently related to probation violation, regardless of probationers' drug abuse history. Because drug testing is frequently ordered, it may be useful to reexamine its effectiveness to deal with drug use by probationers.

For predictors of revocation, this study found that ethnicity, employment status, and prior felony record were significantly related to discharge type in drug users. These findings are consistent with prior researches. Whites were more likely to success their probation than were non-White and drug users who had prior felony record were more likely to fail their probation. Even though ethnicity was not significant in non-drug users, the test also shows that Whites were more likely to successfully complete their probation than were non-White. But it should be

mentioned that this finding does not mean that being non-White in itself is a problem because this study did not control for other factors that are likely associated with ethnicity. Non-drug users who had prior misdemeanor record were more likely to fail their probation. Employment status was significantly related to revocation in both drug users and non-drug users. Probationers who were employed at the time of offense were more likely to be successfully discharged. Also, the number of violations was significantly related to revocation in both models. Probationers who committed more violations were more likely to fail their probation. Therefore, this finding tells that since violations is strong predictor of discharge type, it is important to know which factors are significantly related to violations. This study found that conditions such as drug testing and educational requirement and ethnicity were significantly related to violation of conditions.

Although a few factors considered in revocations were congruent with those that influenced violations, some were not. For example, in the case of drug users, highest grade completed and drug test were significant predictors of violations but not of a revocation. Employment status and prior felony were significantly related to a revocation but not to violations. For non-drug users, ethnicity, alcohol abuse, and drug test were significant predictors of violations but not of a revocation. Prior misdemeanor was predictor of a revocation but not of violations.

The limitation of this study is that because this study examines the factors of probation violation and revocations of drug users and non-drug users, the study did not intend to examine the type of violations nor did it look at probation agents' responses to violations. Because this study found that number of violations are strong predictors of a revocation, further research should consider examining probation

agents' responses to violations and their effects on discharge types. Other limitations of this study is that the data used were originally collected for administrative rather than research purpose and are subject to the short-comings of such information.

Although there are limitations in the study, the results of this study provide important directions for further research, particularly in examining the factors influencing probation violations and responses of probation officers to violations.

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