

# Iowa Adult and Juvenile Drug Court Extended Recidivism Outcomes

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## Executive Summary

Over the past decade, the Iowa Division of Criminal and Juvenile Justice (CJJJ), located in the Department of Human Rights, has been engaged in several outcome and process evaluations of Iowa's adult and juvenile drug courts. Since 2001 CJJJ has engaged in two studies of adult drug courts and two studies of juvenile drug courts. These earlier studies found that adult drug courts had positive impacts on recidivism, particularly for felony offenders and female offenders. The juvenile studies did not demonstrate significant impact on recidivism.

The purpose of this research is to complete a longitudinal study of drug court participants and comparison groups from the above cohorts to address the following questions:

- Do adult drug court participants continue to have lower rates of recidivism over time?
- What is the adult recidivism rate for juvenile drug court participants?

In addition, the following questions will be explored:

- Are there differences in the highest level of new conviction?
- Are there differences in the type of new convictions?
- Are there differences in the number of new convictions?
- Are there differences in cumulative recidivism over time?
- Are there differences in recidivism by offender background or model?

It should be clearly understood that this longitudinal study looks at outcomes for adult and juvenile drug courts as they functioned in the past. The outcomes identified in this study apply to those participants and matched comparison groups. Any generalization to current operations would only be valid to the extent that the courts are being operated in substantially the same manner. Any modifications in design, staffing, or participant selection could alter the long-term outcomes for offenders.

The findings for the adult drug court confirm the earlier studies.

- Females drug court participants tend to have lower recidivism rates than male participants.
- Non-white drug court participants do not have better long-term outcomes than the comparison groups.
- Judge model drug courts tend to be more effective than community panel courts.
- Drug court participants who graduate tend to have lower recidivism over time than do non-graduates.
- Of those offenders who did recidivate, the highest percentages of offenses were non-person and drug-related offenses. There was not much difference between participants

and the comparison groups except for the pilot cohort. That cohort had a larger percentage of violent offenses than the other three cohorts.

- Drug court participants who did not graduate had a higher percentage of violent offense convictions, and had a higher cumulative recidivism rate than did the graduates.

The findings for the juvenile drug court also confirm the earlier studies, suggesting that participation in drug courts does not improve outcomes into adulthood.

- Participants tended to have poorer long-term outcomes than the comparison groups.
- The cohort with the lowest recidivism was the consent decree cohort.
- The difference between white and minority participants is not as marked as that of adult drug court participants, although white participants did have lower recidivism rates.
- Long-term recidivism rates do not vary significantly by drug court model.
- Non-graduates have higher felony recidivism rates than do graduates and the three comparison cohorts.

## Introduction

Over the past decade, the Iowa Division of Criminal and Juvenile Justice, located in the Department of Human Rights, has been engaged in several outcome and process evaluations of Iowa's adult and juvenile drug courts.

In a 2001 study of the Polk County adult drug court, evaluators found this particular drug court to be successful with felony participants, probationers with pending charges, and female clients.<sup>1</sup> A 2001 process evaluation of the Polk County juvenile drug court described the court and its components, the drug court team, related community resources, and the juvenile offenders.<sup>2</sup> A later outcomes evaluation (2006) of the same court yielded a participant recidivism rate of 67.4% with lower rates for successful graduates.<sup>3</sup> A 2009 statewide evaluation of the six adult and three juvenile drug courts in operation during CY2003 found successful adult drug court participants were far less likely to recidivate after program admission and took longer to commit a new felony offense than the other groups. However, juvenile drug courts were not found to reduce new offenses. No significant differences were found in cumulative recidivism or in the proportion of felonies as the most serious new offense among the groups.<sup>4</sup>

The purpose of this research is to do a longitudinal study of drug court participants and comparison groups from the above cohorts to address the following questions:

- Do adult drug court participants continue to have lower rates of recidivism over time?
- What is the adult recidivism rate for juvenile drug court participants?

In addition, the following questions will be explored:

- Are there differences in the highest level of new conviction?
- Are there differences in the type of new convictions?
- Are there differences in the number of new convictions?
- Are there differences in cumulative recidivism over time?
- Are there differences in recidivism by offender background or model?

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<sup>1</sup> Stageberg, P. (2001). *Final report on the Polk county adult drug court*. Retrieved June 22, 2011, from the Criminal and Juvenile Justice Planning Web site:

[http://www.state.ia.us/government/dhr/cjip/images/pdf/01\\_pub/DrugCourt.pdf](http://www.state.ia.us/government/dhr/cjip/images/pdf/01_pub/DrugCourt.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Huff, D. (2001). *An assessment of the Polk county juvenile drug court*. Retrieved June 22, 2011, from the Criminal and Juvenile Justice Planning Web site:

[http://www.humanrights.iowa.gov/cjip/images/pdf/02\\_pub/JuvDrugCourt.pdf](http://www.humanrights.iowa.gov/cjip/images/pdf/02_pub/JuvDrugCourt.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Criminal and Juvenile Justice Planning (2006). *Completion and recidivism rates of Polk county juvenile drug court participants*. Des Moines, IA.

<sup>4</sup> Cook, M. D., & Watson, L. (2009). *Statewide Process and Comparative Outcomes Study of 2003 Iowa Adult and Juvenile Drug Courts*. Retrieved June 22, 2011 from the Criminal and Juvenile Justice Planning Web site:

[www.humanrights.iowa.gov/cjip/images/pdf/DrugCourtReport\\_AdultandJuvenile.pdf](http://www.humanrights.iowa.gov/cjip/images/pdf/DrugCourtReport_AdultandJuvenile.pdf)

## **Methods**

The current study is a follow-up of the three previous drug court outcomes studies conducted by CJJP to determine if the recidivism results found previously continue to hold true over time for the adult samples and to explore recidivism findings as juvenile participants moved into adulthood (Stageberg, 2001; Criminal and Juvenile Justice Planning, 2006; Cook & Watson, 2009). For the purposes of this study, recidivism was defined for the adult sample as a new conviction; for the juvenile sample, a conviction as a result of being waived from juvenile to criminal court and/or a conviction as an adult.

Only new convictions that resulted from arrests during the study period were included. Simple misdemeanors, scheduled and nonscheduled traffic violations, probation or parole violations with no other new charge, and violations of city, local, or county ordinances were not included. In addition, only out-of-state records with disposition data were included. It should be noted that many of the out-of-state criminal history records gathered from the Interstate Identification Index (III) did not provide a disposition for an arrest, so out-of-state recidivism rates may be conservative. Study participants receiving and successfully completing a deferred judgment with no other indictable misdemeanor or felony convictions would not be considered a recidivist. Conviction data were believed to be the fairest indication of further justice system involvement. Convictions were coded as to the specific offense, offense type, and the offense class.

### **Data Sources and Analysis**

The earlier study databases were utilized for program and offender specific data. Updated recidivism and criminal justice data were accessed from the Iowa Courts Information System (ICIS), the Iowa Computerized Criminal History system (CCH), and the Iowa Corrections Offender Network (ICON) that are contained in the Iowa Justice Data Warehouse (JDW). In addition, the Interstate Identification Index (III) was accessed to capture out-of-state arrests and convictions.

Simple bivariate analyses, including cross-tabulation tables and chi-square tests were used to explore relationships between the recidivism indicators and factors such as offender background and court model. Difference between groups (e.g., program completers vs. non-completers and program participants vs. comparison group members) were assessed in the same manner.

### **Adult Samples and Procedures**

The adult samples for this study include the participant and comparison samples from the 2001 (124 drug court, 188 referred, and 124 pilot groups) and 2009 (162 drug court, 145 referred, and 148 probationer) studies. The drug court and the referred samples from the 2001 and 2009 studies were combined to form the drug court and referred groups. Five offenders were excluded because they were participants in both studies. This yielded a study size of 286 for the drug court, 327 for the referred, 148 for the probationer, and 123 for the pilot groups. The category of race was dichotomized by white and nonwhite; due to the small number of Hispanics participating, ethnicity was not examined.

The majority of participants in all the adult cohorts were white males. The drug court group had the largest percentage of females and smallest percentage of non-white participants compared to the other groups. Just over 38% of participants in the drug court group were female compared to just less than 30% for the referred group, 25% for the probationer group and 18% for the pilot group. The percentage of non-white participants in the study groups ranged from between 14.7% to 26.0%. See Table 1 below.

Table 1. Sex and Race of Participants, by Group

Group	Sex				Race				Total	
	Female		Male		White		Non-White		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Drug Court	110	38.5%	176	61.5%	244	85.3%	42	14.7%	286	100%
Referred	97	29.7%	230	70.3%	260	79.5%	67	20.5%	327	100%
Probationer	37	25.5%	108	74.5%	123	84.8%	22	15.2%	145	100%
Pilot	22	17.9%	101	82.1%	91	74.0%	32	26.0%	123	100%

Age at time of admission into the study shows a similar distribution across groups. The pilot group had a slightly larger percentage of participants under the age of 40 years compared to the other groups. See Table 2 below for details.

Table 2. Age of Participants, by Group

Group	Age								Total	
	18-29		30-39		40-49		50+		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Drug Court	121	42.3%	115	40.2%	43	15.0%	7	2.4%	286	100%
Referred	140	42.8%	118	36.1%	61	18.7%	8	2.4%	327	100%
Probationer	77	53.1%	35	24.1%	28	19.3%	5	3.4%	145	100%
Pilot	55	44.7%	54	43.9%	11	8.9%	3	2.4%	123	100%

The judge model had a slightly larger percentage of females compared to the community panel model (38.5% versus 29.7%). In addition, the judge model had a slightly smaller percentage of non-white participants compared to the community panel model (14.7% versus 20.5%). (See Table 3.) Little difference was observed in age distribution of participants between the models. See Table 4 for more information.

Table 3. Sex and Race of Drug Court Participants, by Model

Group	Sex				Race				Total	
	Female		Male		White		Non-White		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Judge	90	38.5%	125	61.5%	179	85.3%	36	14.7%	215	100%
Community Panel	20	29.7%	51	70.3%	65	79.5%	6	20.5%	71	100%



Table 4. Age of Drug Court Participants, by Model

Group	Age								Total	
	18-29		30-39		40-49		50+		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Judge	86	40.0%	92	42.8%	33	15.3%	4	1.9%	215	100%
Community Panel	35	49.3%	23	32.4%	10	14.1%	3	4.2%	71	100%

During the defined tracking time 17 adult participants died and one was deported. End dates for these 18 individuals were adjusted to the date of death or deportation. A total of 36 adult participants died during the course of the evaluation and two were deported. Death records of participants were verified through an on-line search of the Social Security Death Index (SSDI). The SSDI does not include death records for everyone, so some deaths may have been missed. Common reasons cited for exclusion from the search included 1)the death was not reported to the Social Security Administration ,2) the person did not participate in the Social Security program, 3) survivor death benefits were (are) being paid to dependents or spouse, and 4)a recent death may not be indexed yet. The mean age at death was 46.3 years.

Table 5. Number of Deaths, Discharge Status and by Group

Group	n
Drug Court Graduates	1
Drug Court Non-Graduates	6
Referred	14
Probationer	1
Pilot	14

Tracking time for the adult samples was calculated by using the drug court entry date for drug court participants, referral date for the referred group, and probation start date for the probationer and pilot groups. Ten offenders were incarcerated at the time of study entry. Start dates for these offenders were changed to their release date. December 31, 2010 was assigned as the cut-off date for participants in the 2009 study, yielding a mean tracking time of 7.3 years. In order to provide a comparable tracking time for participants in the 2001 study, December 31, 2004 was assigned as the cut-off date for drug court and referred groups and June 30, 2001 for pilot group. Recidivism that occurred during the tracking time was used for in the adult recidivism tables presented in this report.

At-risk time was calculated by subtracting the study start date from the assigned study end minus time in prison or violator program. Jail time was not included because no comprehensive repository exists. Mean at-risk time was 6 years. Time at-risk was used to calculate cumulative recidivism.

## Juvenile Samples and Procedures

The juvenile drug court samples for this study included the participant and comparison samples from the 2006 (129 juvenile drug court participants and 125 consent decree comparison sample) and 2009 (105 juvenile drug court participants, 104 matched comparison, and 52 referred comparison) studies. Three study participants died before age 18 and were excluded from the study. Because there was some overlap between the 2006 and 2009 juvenile samples in one of the sites, the number of study participants in the present study was reduced to 193 juvenile drug court participants, 124 consent decree comparisons, 99 matched comparisons, and 52 referred comparisons.

The 2006 participant sample was comprised of all Polk County Juvenile Drug Court participants between 1999 and 2004. The 2006 consent decree comparison group was comprised of juveniles who received a consent decree in Polk County Juvenile Court between 3/1/2001 and 8/10/2004. Regarding the 2009 participant sample, there were slight variations across the three sites included in the 2009 study: all participants during CY2003 for Polk County Juvenile Court; all participants at some point during CY2003 (e.g., started prior to CY2003 and continuing into CY2003) for the Marshall County Juvenile Drug Court; and participants during the last calendar year of 2002, all of CY2003, and the first quarter of CY2004 for the Woodbury County Juvenile Drug Court.

The drug court cohort (participants) had the lowest percentage of non-white juveniles at 11.4%, while the referred comparison group had the highest percentage of non-white juveniles. Females were nearly equally represented in the four groups, with the lowest percentage in the referred group (17.4%).

Table 6. Race of Participants by Groups

Group	White		Non-White		Total
	n	%	n	%	
Consent Decree Comparison	97	78.2	27	21.8	124
Matched Comparison	83	83.8	16	16.2	99
Participant	171	88.6	22	11.4	193
Referred Comparison	35	67.3	17	32.7	52
Total	386	82.5	82	17.5	468

For the juvenile portion of this study, race and ethnicity were combined and coded as White/non-Hispanic or Non-white/Hispanic.

Table 7. Sex of Participants by Groups

Group	Male		Female		Total
	n	%	n	%	
Consent Decree Comparison	97	78.2	27	21.8	124
Matched Comparison	80	80.0	19	20.0	99
Participant	152	78.7	41	21.3	193
Referred Comparison	43	82.6	9	17.4	52
Total	372	79.4	96	20.6	468

Two models of drug courts were included in the 2009 study. The largest percentage of juveniles was served in the judge model as that was the only model included in the earlier research. Graduation rates varied significantly between the two models, with 40.9% of community panel participants graduating compared to 71.6% of participants in the judge model courts. The 2009 study did not find significant differences between the models in terms of the demographics of the participants, so further analysis of this issue was not done for this study.

Table 8. Participants by Drug Court Model

Group	n	%
Community Panel	66	34.2
Judge Model	127	65.8
Total	193	100.0

Table 9. Graduation by Model

	Graduated		Did Not Graduate		Total
	n	%	n	%	
Community Panel	27	40.9%	39	59.1%	66
Judge	91	71.6%	36	28.4%	127
Total	118	61.1%	75	38.9%	193

The study tracking start date for the juvenile portion of the evaluation was defined as either the individual's eighteenth birthday or the offense date for a conviction as a result of being waived from juvenile to adult court, whichever occurred first. The study tracking end date for most study participants was December 31, 2010. Earlier tracking end dates were assigned for study participants with death after age 18 (n=7) or deportation (n=3). Time at risk was calculated by subtracting the study start date from the study end date minus time in prison or violator program. This yielded a median tracking period of just under 6.5 years or 2,345 days. Median tracking days by group were 2,389 days (participant), 2,297 days (consent decree), 2,311 days (matched comparison) and 2,483 days (referred comparison). However, the number of participants who were tracked longer than 5 years dropped significantly. Therefore, for some statistics, a 5-year follow-up period was used (primarily cumulative recidivism).

## Adult Recidivism Results

### Recidivism, Offender Demographics and Model

In general, females had lower recidivism rates than males, irrespective of cohort. The exception was within the pilot group, where a higher percentage of females recidivated. Females in the drug court cohort had the lowest recidivism rate at 57.3%. For males, there was little difference among the drug court, referred, and probationer cohorts, with recidivism rates of about 69%. However, there was a much higher recidivism rate for the pilot cohort, similar to that of females (Table 10).

Within the drug court cohort, those offenders who graduated had lower recidivism rates than did those who did not graduate. The difference was most pronounced for females. Nearly 61% of females who graduated did not recidivate during the study period. While male graduates had lower recidivism than did non-graduates, 55.2% of male graduates recidivated during the study period (Table 11).

Table 10. Recidivism, by Group and Sex

Group	Female						Male					
	New Convict		No Convict		Total		New Convict		No Convict		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Drug Court	63	57.3%	47	42.7%	110	100%	122	69.3%	54	30.7%	176	100%
Referred	58	59.8%	39	40.2%	97	100%	158	68.7%	72	31.3%	230	100%
Probationer	25	67.6%	12	32.4%	37	100%	75	69.4%	33	30.6%	108	100%
Pilot	20	90.9%	2	9.1%	22	100%	90	89.1%	11	10.9%	101	100%

Table 11. Recidivism, by Drug Court Discharge Status and Sex

Group	Female						Male					
	New Convict		No Convict		Total		New Convict		No Convict		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
DC Grad	20	39.2%	31	60.8%	51	100%	48	55.2%	39	44.8%	87	100%
DC Non-Grad	43	72.9%	16	27.1%	59	100%	74	83.1%	15	16.9%	89	100%

Non-white members of all four cohorts had higher recidivism rates than did their white counterparts. Of particular note is the 90.5% recidivism rate for non-white drug court participants. White participants in drug courts had a recidivism percentage of 60.2%. The highest recidivism percentages for both racial groupings were for the pilot group at 86.8% for whites and 96.9% for non-whites (Table 12).

Graduating from drug court did not improve the outcomes for the non-white offenders, who had a 100% recidivism rate. For whites, graduation resulted in lower recidivism, 45.3% compared to 76.7% for non-graduates (Table 13).

Table 12. Recidivism, by Group and Race

Group	White						Non-White					
	New Convict		No Convict		Total		New Convict		No Convict		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Drug Court	147	60.2%	97	39.8%	244	100%	38	90.5%	4	9.5%	42	100%
Referred	168	64.6%	92	35.4%	260	100%	48	71.6%	19	28.4%	67	100%
Probationer	81	65.9%	42	34.1%	123	100%	19	86.4%	3	13.6%	22	100%
Pilot	79	86.8%	12	13.2%	91	100%	31	96.9%	1	3.1%	32	100%

Table 13. Recidivism, by Drug Court Discharge Status and Race

Group	White						Non-White					
	New Convict		No Convict		Total		New Convict		No Convict		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
DC Grad	58	45.3%	70	54.7%	128	100%	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100%
DC Non-Grad	89	76.7%	27	23.3%	116	100%	28	87.5%	4	12.5%	32	100%

### Most Serious New Conviction

An examination of the most serious new conviction shows the drug court group had a smaller percentage of new felony conviction (36.4%) compared to the referred (39.1%) and pilot (48.0%) groups but a slightly higher percentage than the probationer group (32.4%). The drug court group also had a smaller percentage of those with a new misdemeanor conviction (28.3%) compared to the probationer (36.5%) and pilot (41.5%) groups, but a slightly higher percentage than the referred group (26.9%). In addition, the drug court group had the highest percentage without a new conviction. Just over 35% of those in the drug court had no new conviction compared to just under 34% of the referred group, 31% of the probationer group, and just over 10% of the pilot group (Table 14).

Table 14. Most Serious New Conviction, by Group

Group	Felony		Misdemeanor		No New Conviction		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Drug Court	104	36.4%	81	28.3%	101	35.3%	286	100%
Referred	128	39.1%	88	26.9%	111	33.9%	327	100%
Probationer	47	32.4%	53	36.5%	45	31.0%	145	100%
Pilot	59	48.0%	51	41.5%	13	10.6%	123	100%

A dramatic difference was noted in the most serious new conviction between drug court graduates and those who did not graduate. Less than 25% of the drug court graduates had a new felony conviction compared to just over 47% of non-graduates. In addition, a smaller percentage of drug court graduates

had misdemeanor convictions compared to the non-graduates. Over half of the drug court graduates had no new convictions, compared to about 21% of the non-graduates.

Table 15. Most Serious New Conviction, by Drug Court Discharge Status

Group	Felony		Misdemeanor		None		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Graduate	34	24.6%	34	24.7%	70	50.7%	138	100%
Non-Grad	70	47.3%	47	31.7%	31	20.9%	148	100%

### Recidivism Type

An analysis was done of the offense types for offenders who recidivated. The categories used were Alcohol/OWI, Drug, Violent (offenses against persons), and Non-Person (e.g. property, public order). As an offender could have had multiple convictions and in different offense types, the analysis does not represent a unique number of offenders among the categories.

Overall, alcohol/OWI offenses comprised the smallest category except for the probationers. Their lowest percentage was for violent offenses. All groups had convictions over 50% for drug offenses. The largest category was for non-person offenses for all groups (Table 16).

Table 16. Type of New Convictions, by Group

Group	Alcohol/OWI		Drug		Violent		Non-Person	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Drug Court (n=185)	41	22.1%	96	51.8%	52	28.1%	131	70.8%
Referred (n=216)	27	12.5%	121	56.0%	61	28.2%	139	64.3%
Probationer (n=100)	22	22.0%	58	58.0%	20	20.0%	64	64.0%
Pilot (n=110)	21	19.0%	58	52.7%	44	40.0%	81	73.6%

\*Subject may appear in more than one category

The distribution among offense types for graduates versus non-graduates was similar to that seen in the study cohorts above, with the highest percentage of offenses falling into the non-person category. However, non-graduates had a much higher percentage of convictions for violent offenses (33.3% compared to 19.1%). Graduates had a higher percentage of drug convictions than did non-graduates (54.4% compared to 50.4%). The high percentage of drug and OWI convictions among the drug court graduates suggests that graduates who fail tend to continue having issues with substance abuse.

Table 17. Type of New Convictions, by Drug Court Discharge Status

Group	Alcohol/OWI		Drug		Violent		Non-Person	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
DC Grad (n=68)	17	25.0%	37	54.4%	13	19.1%	43	63.2%
DC Non-Grad (n=117)	24	20.5%	59	50.4%	39	33.3%	88	75.2%

Subject may appear in more than one category

### Number of New Convictions

The number of new convictions per participant ranged from 0 to 23. Because of this wide range, the number of convictions per offender was collapsed into four categories: 0, 1 to 2, 3 to 5, and 6 or more. The data show the study groups had similar percentages across categories with the exception of the pilot group. The drug court group had a smaller percentage of those in the 1 to 2 conviction category (31.8%) compared to the referred (34.3%), probationer (37.9%), and pilot (34.1%) groups. The drug court group also had a slightly smaller percentage of those in the 3 to 5 conviction category. Interestingly, the drug court group had a slightly higher percentage of those in the 6 or more category excluding the pilot group. See Table 18 for further information.

Table 18. Number of New Convictions, by Group

Group	0		1-2		3-5		6+		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Drug Court	101	35.3%	91	31.8%	60	21.0%	34	11.9%	286	100%
Referred	111	33.9%	112	34.3%	74	22.6%	30	9.2%	327	100%
Probationer	45	31.0%	55	37.9%	32	22.1%	13	9.0%	145	100%
Pilot	13	10.6%	42	34.1%	38	30.9%	30	24.4%	123	100%

A comparison of the number of new convictions per drug court participant shows large differences between graduates and non-graduates. Over half of drug court graduates did not have a new offense compared to just over 20% of the non-graduates. In addition, drug court graduates had nearly half the rate of those in the 3 to 5 convictions category and just under a fifth in the 6 or more new convictions category compared to the non-graduates (Table 19).

Table 19. Number of New Convictions, by Drug Court Discharge Status

Group	0		1-2		3-5		6+		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
DC Grad	70	50.7%	43	31.2%	20	14.5%	5	3.6%	138	100%
DC Non-Grad	31	20.9%	48	32.4%	40	27.0%	29	19.6%	148	100%

The number of new felony convictions per participant ranged from 0 to 21. The range was also collapsed into three categories: 0, 1, 2, and 3 or more. The data show the drug court participants had a smaller percentage of those with one new felony conviction (18.2%) compared to the referred (22.9%) and pilot (27.6%) groups and a slightly larger percentage than the probationer group (14.5%). The drug court group also had a slightly smaller percentage of those with two new felony convictions. Interestingly, the drug court group had the largest percentage of those in the three or more new felony convictions category.

Table 20. Number of New Felony Convictions, by Group

Group	0		1		2		3+		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Drug Court	182	63.6%	52	18.2%	25	8.7%	27	9.4%	286	100%
Referred	199	60.9%	75	22.9%	33	10.1%	20	6.1%	327	100%
Probationer	98	67.6%	21	14.5%	16	11.0%	10	6.9%	145	100%
Pilot	64	52.0%	34	27.6%	14	11.4%	11	8.9%	123	100%

A comparison of the number of felony convictions per drug court participants shows large differences between graduates and non-graduates across all categories. Drug court graduates had nearly half the rate of new felony convictions in all categories compared to the non-graduates with the exception of those without a new felony conviction. The percentage of drug court graduates without a new conviction was just over 75% compared to just over 50% for the non-graduates.

Table 21. Number of New Felony Convictions, by Drug Court Discharge Status

Group	0		1		2		3+		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
DC Grad	104	75.4%	16	11.6%	9	6.5%	9	6.5%	138	100%
DC Non-Grad	78	52.7%	36	24.3%	16	10.8%	18	12.2%	148	100%

### Cumulative Recidivism

As shown in Figure 1, the reconviction rate for drug court participants was lower than all the other groups through the sixth year. At the end of the second year the cumulative recidivism rate for the drug court group was 35.0%, compared to 45.4% for the referred, 49.0% for the probationer and 67.5% for the pilot groups. At the end of the third year, the drug court group begins to converge with the referred and probationer groups. At this point the recidivism rate for drug court participants was 48.6% compared to 52.9% for the referred, 57.9% for the probationer, and 78.0% for the pilot groups. At the end of the tracking time the cumulative recidivism rate for the drug court group was 62.6%, compared to 61.0% for the referred, 68.5% for the probationer and 88.6% for the pilot groups.



Figure 1. Cumulative Recidivism, by Group

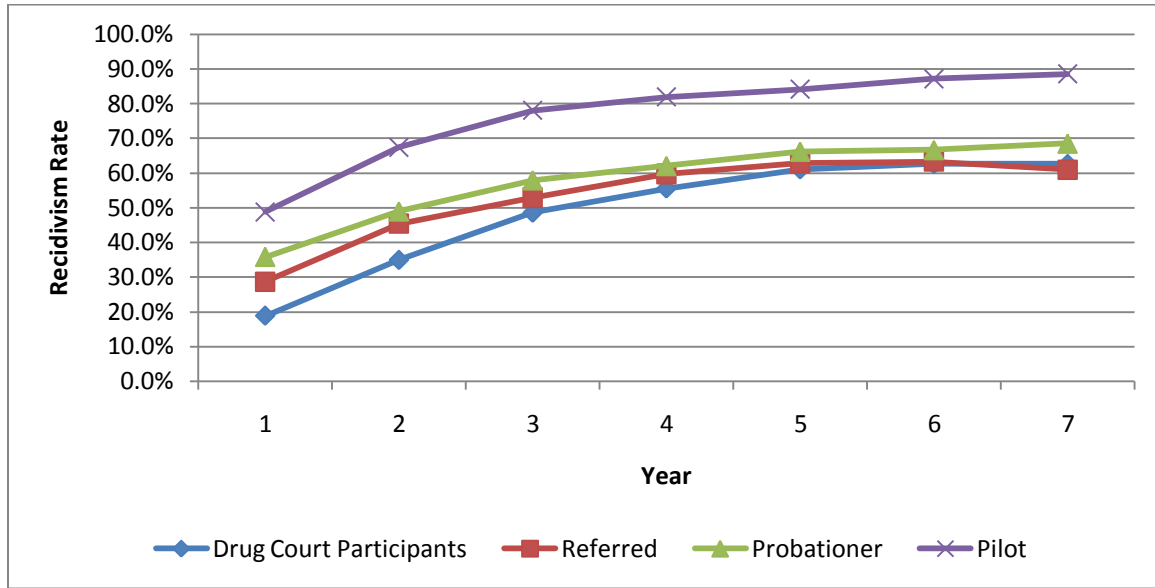
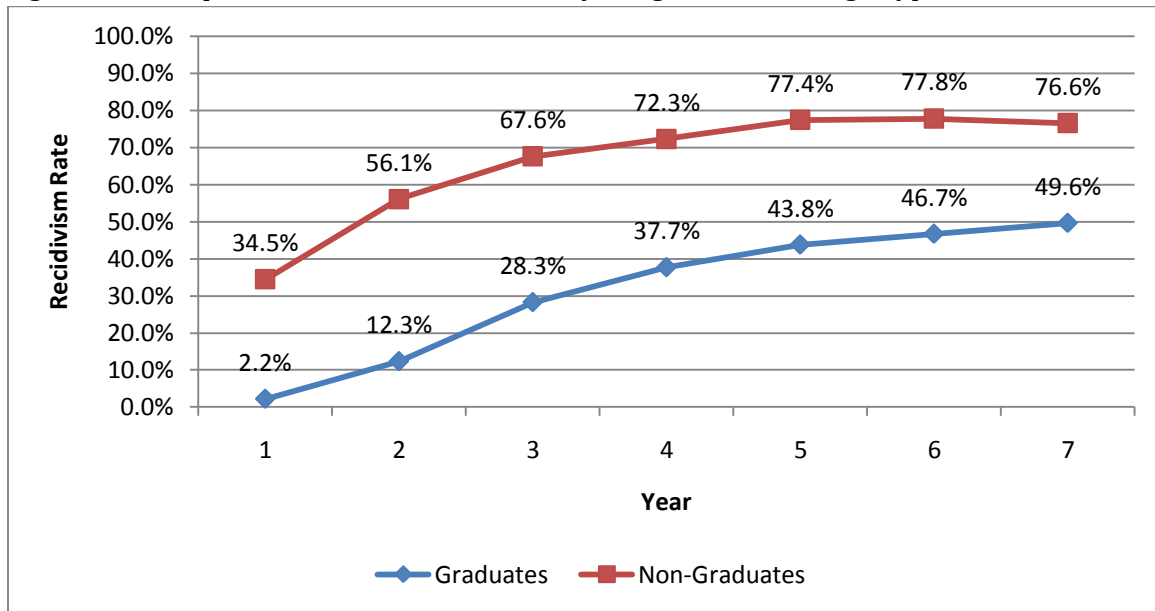


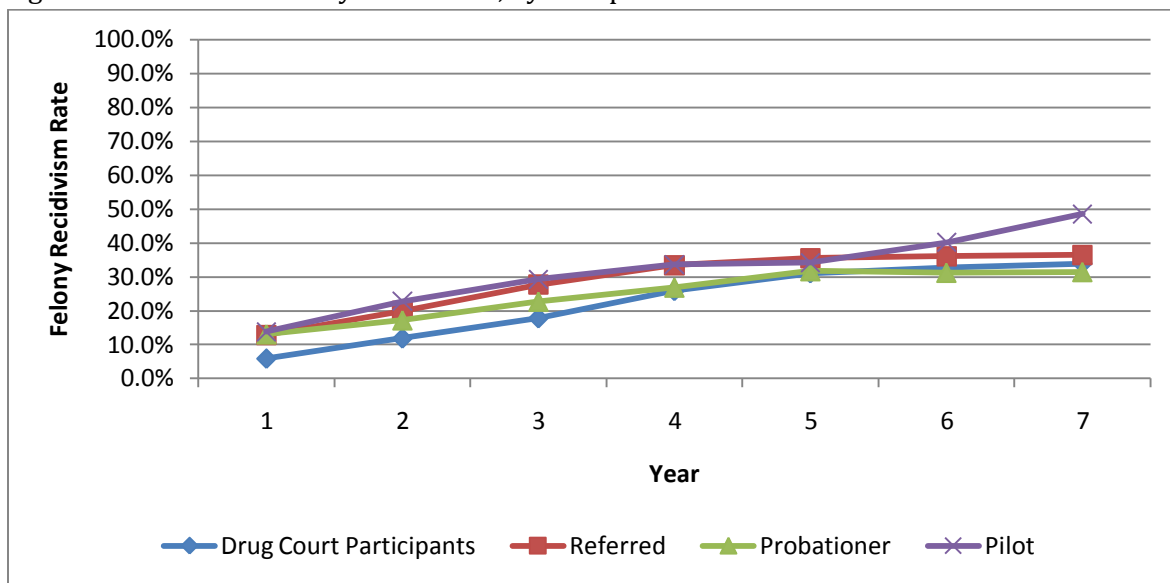
Figure 2 shows that drug court graduates were far less likely to recidivate after drug court admission, particularly during the first year. At the end of the second year, drug court graduates continue to be far less likely to recidivate (12.3%) than those who did not graduate (56.1%). By the end of the fourth year the difference in recidivism percentages are still pronounced with the non-graduates having nearly twice the recidivism rate as the non-grads. This trend continued through the end of the study but begins to narrow somewhat. By the end of the tracking time nearly 77% of the non-graduates were convicted of a new offense compared to less than 50 % of the graduates.

Figure 2. Participant Cumulative Recidivism, by Drug Court Discharge Type



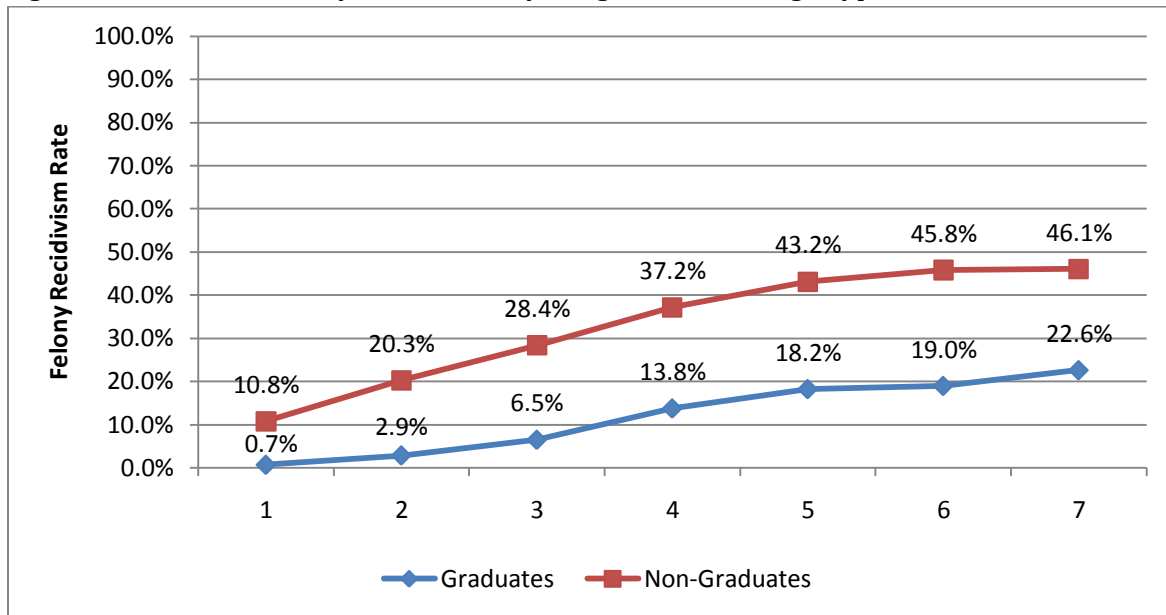
An examination of cumulative felony recidivism shows the recidivism rate for drug court participants was lower than all the other groups through the end of the fifth year. As shown in Figure 3, at the end of the second year the cumulative felony recidivism rate for the drug court group was 11.9%, compared to 19.9% for the referred group, 17.2% for the probationer and 22.8% for the pilot groups. At the end of the fourth year the drug court group begins to converge with the probationer group. At this point the recidivism rate for drug court participants is 25.9% compared to 26.9% for the probationer group and 33.4% for the referred, and 33.6% for the pilot groups. By the end of the tracking time the cumulative felony recidivism rate for the drug court group was 34.0%, compared to 36.4% for the referred group, 31.5% for the probationer and 48.6% for the pilot groups.

Figure 3. Cumulative Felony Recidivism, by Group



A comparison of drug court participants shows drug court graduates were far less likely to be convicted of a new felony after drug court admission. In fact this trend continues throughout the tracking time. As shown in Figure 4, by the end of the second year less than 3% of drug court graduates were convicted of a new felony offense compared to just over 20% of non-graduates. By the end of the fourth year the difference in recidivism percentages widens, with a 23.4 percentage point difference between graduates and non-graduates. This trend continues through the end of the study but narrows slightly in year seven. By the end of the tracking time just over 46% of the non-graduates were convicted of a new felony offense compared to less than 23% of the graduates.

Figure 4. Cumulative Felony Recidivism, by Drug Court Discharge Type



Figures 5 and 6 depict cumulative recidivism and cumulative felony recidivism by drug court design. Offenders who were in community panel drug courts had higher cumulative recidivism than those in judge-based drug courts. In the first year, this difference was 32.5% compared to 13.5%. By the end of the follow-up period, this difference had diminished to ten percentage points, 70% compared to 60%. See Figure 5 for more information.

Differences between the two drug court designs were less marked when considering cumulative felony recidivism. Although the community panel group initially had more felony convictions (12.7% versus 3.7%), by the end of the study period the differences had statistically disappeared (Figure 6).

Figure 5. Cumulative Recidivism, by Drug Court Design

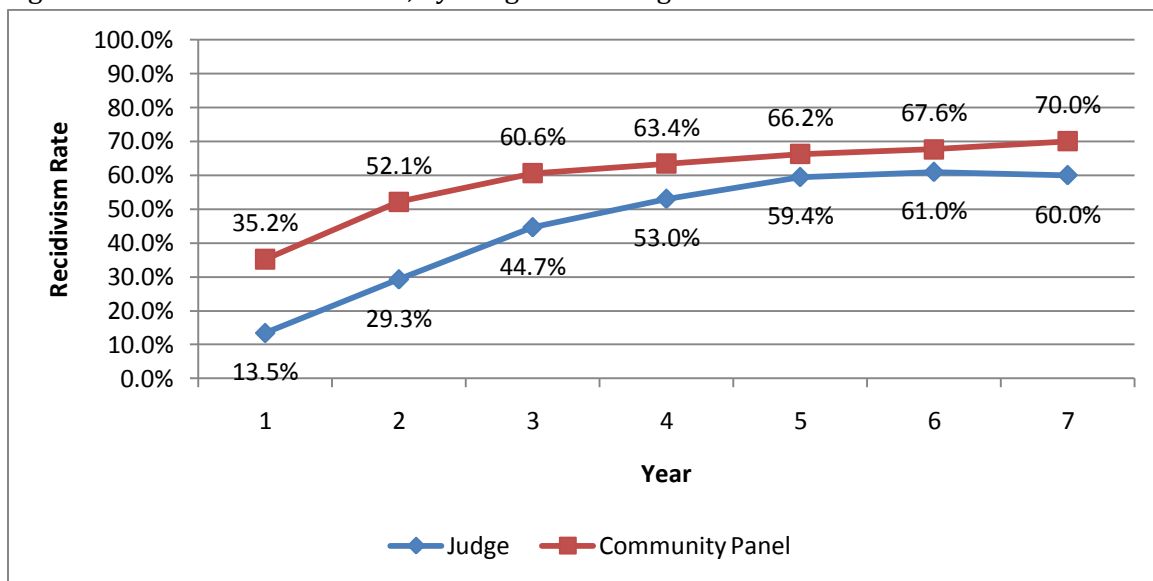
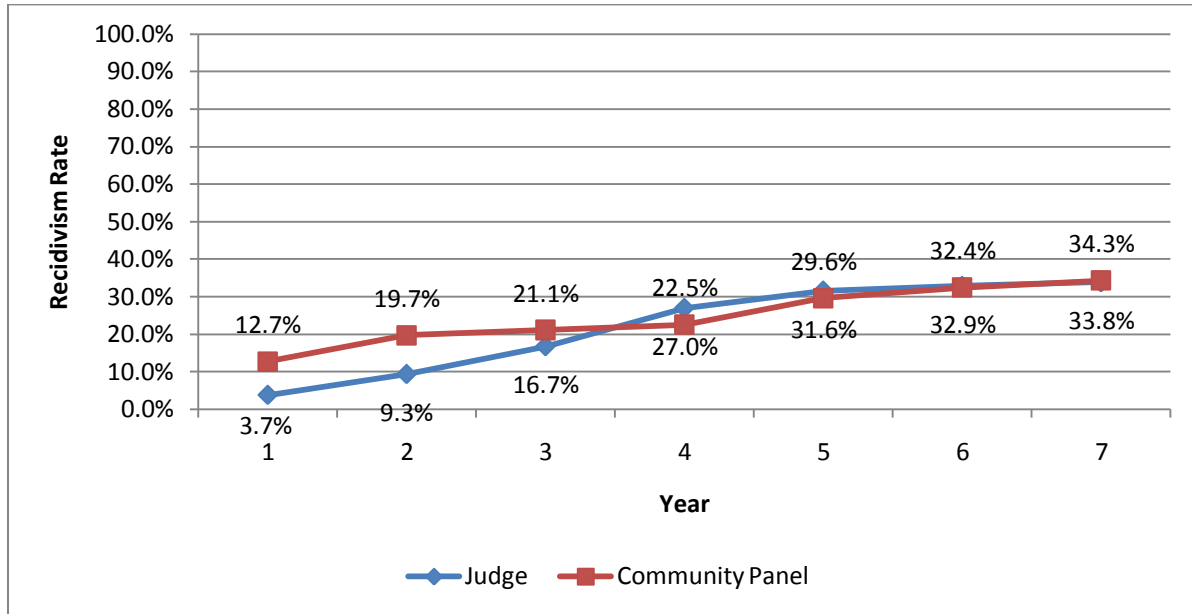


Figure 6. Cumulative Felony Recidivism, by Drug Court Design



## Juvenile Recidivism Results

### Recidivism, Offender Background, and Model

The overall adult recidivism rate was highest for juveniles who participated in juvenile drug court, compared to the three different control groups, with 59.6% of the white participants recidivating at some point, and 77.3% for non-white participants. The groups with the lowest overall recidivism rate were the consent decree whites and non-whites, at 51.5% and 51.9% respectively.

Table 22. Recidivism by Race by Participant Group

Group	White						Non-White					
	New Convict		No Convict		Total		New Convict		No Convict		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Participant	102	59.6%	69	40.4%	171	100%	17	77.3%	5	22.7%	22	100%
Consent Decree	47	48.5%	50	51.5%	97	100%	13	48.1%	14	51.9%	27	100%
Matched	42	50.6%	41	49.4%	83	100%	10	62.5%	6	37.5%	16	100%
Referred	20	57.1%	15	42.9%	35	100%	8	47.1%	9	52.9%	17	100%

As stated earlier, there were two models of drug court that involved juvenile offenders—the community panel and the judge model. Overall recidivism was slightly higher for juveniles who participated in the community panel model, although the difference is not significant.

Table 23. Recidivism by Court Model

	New Convict	%	No Convict	%	Total	%
Community Panel	47	71.2%	19	28.8%	66	100%
Judge	88	69.3%	39	30.7%	127	100%

Overall, recidivism rates were higher for drug court participants who did not graduate from the program, irrespective of court model. Community Panel graduates had lower recidivism rates than the Judge model; however, recidivism was over 50% for graduates and over 80% for non-graduates for both groups (Table 24).

Table 24. Recidivism by Model by Discharge Status

	Community Panel					Judge			
	Graduate		Non-Graduate		Total	Graduate		Non-Graduate	
	n	%	n	%		n	%	n	%
New Conviction	15	55.5%	32	82.0%	47	59	64.8%	29	80.5%
No Conviction	12	44.5%	7	18.0%	19	32	35.2%	7	19.5%
Total	27	100%	39	100%	66	91	100%	36	100%

## Most Serious

The most serious offenses for any cohort were serious misdemeanors, with the next most serious offenses being aggravated misdemeanors. This was not true for the participants in juvenile drug court who did not graduate. The most serious offense class for that sub-group was a D felony, followed by aggravated misdemeanors. Not only did drug court graduates have lower overall recidivism rates than non-graduates, they also tended to be convicted of less serious new offenses. See Tables 25 and 26 for more detail.

Table 25. Most Serious Offense by Group

	None		SRMS		AGMS		FELD		FELC		FELB		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Participant	74	38.3%	41	21.2%	28	14.5%	34	17.6%	13	6.7%	3	1.6%	193	100%
Consent Decree	64	51.6%	27	21.8%	15	12.1%	9	7.3%	8	6.5%	1	.8%	124	100%
Matched	47	47.5%	24	24.2%	14	14.1%	8	8.1%	4	4.0%	2	2.0%	99	100%
Referred	24	46.2%	10	19.2%	7	7.7%	8	15.4%	5	9.6%	1	19.9%	52	100%
Total	209	44.7%	102	21.8%	61	13.0%	59	12.6%	30	6.4%	7	1.5%	468	100%

Table 26. Most Serious Offense by Discharge Status

	None		SRMS		AGMS		FELD		FELC		FELB		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
DC Grad	53	44.9%	30	25.4%	12	10.2%	16	13.6%	5	4.2%	2	1.7%	118	100%
DC Non-grad	21	28.0%	11	14.7%	16	21.3%	18	24.0%	8	10.7%	1	1.3%	75	100%
Total	74	38.3%	41	21.2%	28	14.5%	34	17.6%	13	6.7%	3	1.7%	193	100%

## Recidivism by Offense Type

Comparisons were run for the individuals who recidivated by offense type. Offenders may be counted in more than one offense type, as they may have had multiple convictions. Violent offenses (offenses against persons) represented the lowest percentages. A fair proportion of offenders were convicted of either alcohol/OWI or drug offenses. Non-person (property) offenses also accounted for a large number of convictions.

The consent decree cohort had the lowest percentage of both alcohol/OWI and drug offenses (41.6% and 36.6%) compared to drug court participants (51.2% and 53.7%). Drug court participants also had the highest percentage of convictions for violent offenses at 27.7%. The referred group had the highest percentage for drug offenses (67.8%) and alcohol/OWI (57.1%). The referred group also had the lowest percentage for violent offense (21.4%).

Table 27. Offense Type by Group

	Alcohol/OWI		Drug		Violent		Non-person	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Participant (n=119)	61	51.2%	64	53.7%	33	27.7%	54	45.3%
Consent Decree (n=60)	25	41.6%	22	36.6%	15	25.0%	28	46.6%
Matched (n=52)	23	44.2%	31	59.6%	14	26.9%	20	38.4%
Referred (n=28)	16	57.1%	19	67.8%	6	21.4%	13	46.4%

\*An offender may be represented in more than one Offense Type

Drug court graduates had a high percentage alcohol/OWI offenses (51.3%). Of those who did not graduate, 57.3% of their offenses were drug-related. That group also demonstrated higher percentages of property and violent offenses than did graduates, but lower alcohol/OWI convictions (Table 28).

Table 28. Offense Type Person by Discharge Status

	Alcohol/OWI		Drug		Violent		Non-person	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
DC Grad (n=74)	38	51.3%	29	39.1%	14	18.9%	22	29.7%
DC Non-grad (n=61)	23	37.7%	35	57.3%	19	31.1%	32	52.4%

\*An offender may be represented in more than one Offense Type

### Number of New Convictions

The number of new convictions was collapsed into four categories: 0, 1-2, 3-5, and 6 or more. The consent decree cohort had the highest percentage of members with no new convictions (51.2%), and the drug court participants had the lowest percentage with no new convictions at 38.3%. The referred group had the highest percentage of 6 or more convictions at 11.5%. Overall, the consent decree group was most likely to have either 1-2 or no convictions during the study period than any other group (Table 29).

When comparing the drug court graduates to non-graduates, only 28.0% of the non-graduates had no new convictions, and 10.7% had 6 or more. The graduates, while having only 44.9% with no new convictions, were more likely to have none or less than 3 convictions than those participants who did not graduate (Table 30).

Table 29. Number New Convictions by Group

	0		1-2		3-5		6 or more		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Participant	74	38.3%	63	32.6%	43	22.3%	13	6.7%	193	100%
Consent Decree	63	51.2%	39	31.7%	16	13.0%	5	4.1%	123	100%
Matched	47	47.5%	27	27.3%	18	18.2%	7	7.1%	99	100%
Referred	24	46.2%	13	25.0%	9	17.3%	6	11.5%	52	100%

Table 30. Number New Convictions by Discharge Type

	0		1-2		3-5		6 or more		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
DC Grad	53	44.9%	42	35.6%	18	15.3%	5	4.2%	118	100%
DC Non-grad	21	28.0%	21	28.0%	25	33.3%	8	10.7%	75	100%

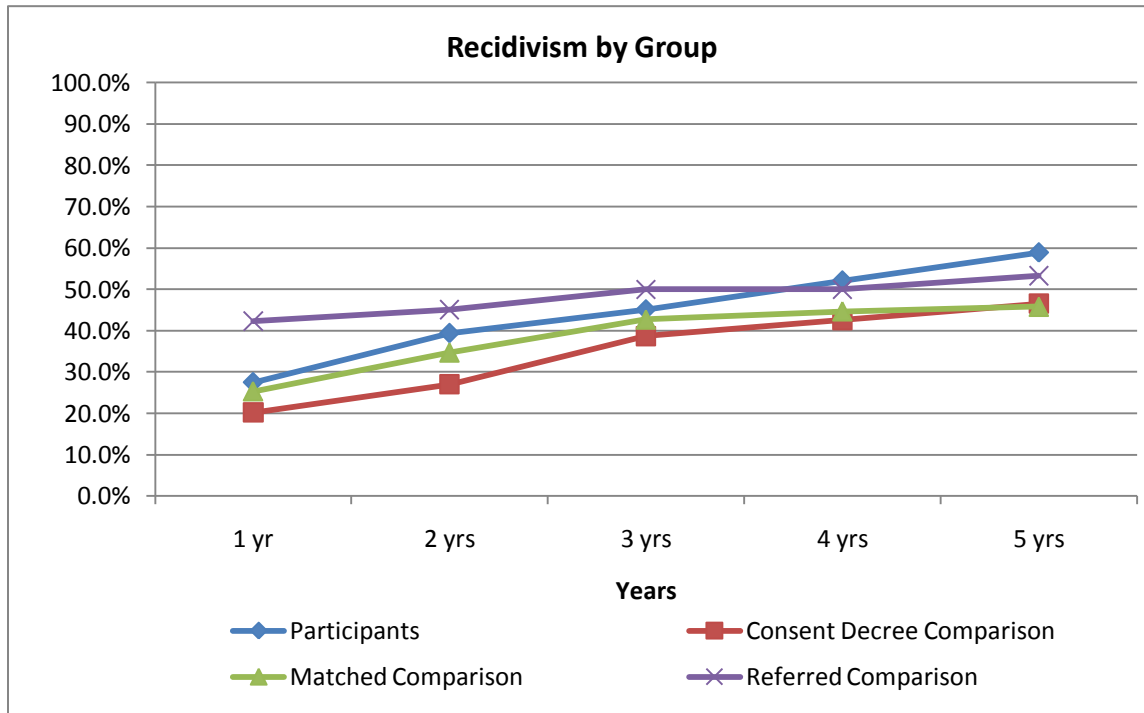
### Cumulative Recidivism

Because of a significantly fewer number of participants who were actually followed for seven years, the results of cumulative recidivism are only being reported for five years in the narrative and figures below.

At the end of the first year, the referred group had the highest recidivism at 42.3%, while the consent decree cohort had the lowest at 20.2%. At the end of the fifth year, the cohort with the highest cumulative recidivism was the participants, 58.9%, followed by the referred group, 53.3%. By the end of the fifth year, the matched comparison and consent decree groups had converged at approximately 46% (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Cumulative Recidivism, by Group



The cumulative recidivism rate after year one was higher for the community panel than for the judge model. The difference between participants in the two designs remained consistent over time; the recidivism rate increased for each group and the community panel cohort continued to have recidivism rates higher than the judge model (Figure 8).

The differences between graduates and non-graduates were more marked. After year one, the recidivism rate for graduates was 19.5% compared to 40.0% for non-graduates. By the end of the fifth year, 70.4% of the non-graduates had recidivated, while the graduates had a 5-year cumulative rate of 51.4%. The higher overall recidivism rate for drug court participants appears to be driven in part by the poorer outcomes for the non-graduates. Figure 9 shows the trend for graduates versus non-graduates.

Figure 8. Cumulative Recidivism, by Design

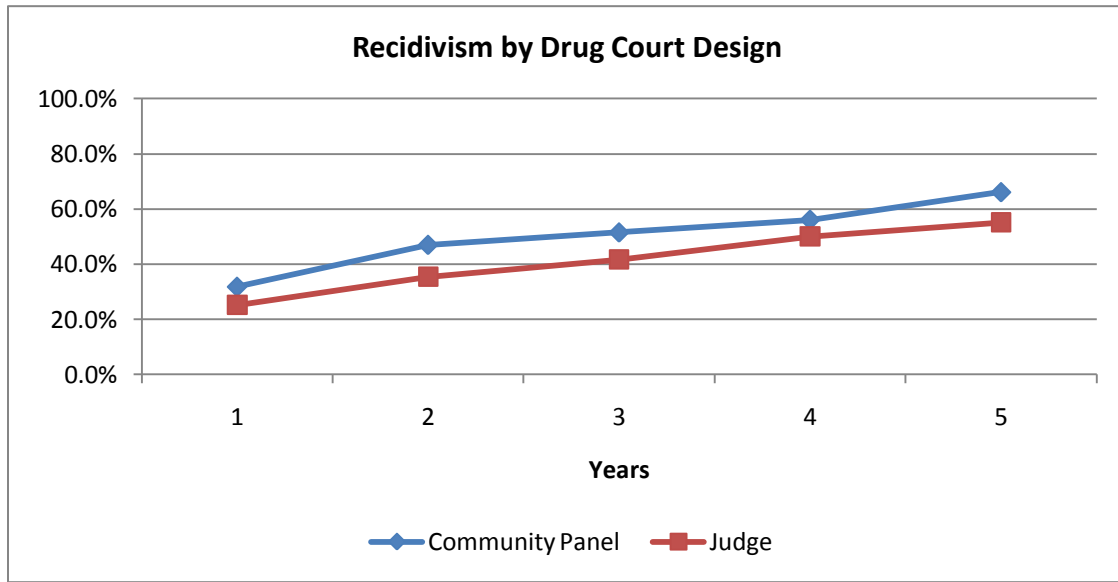
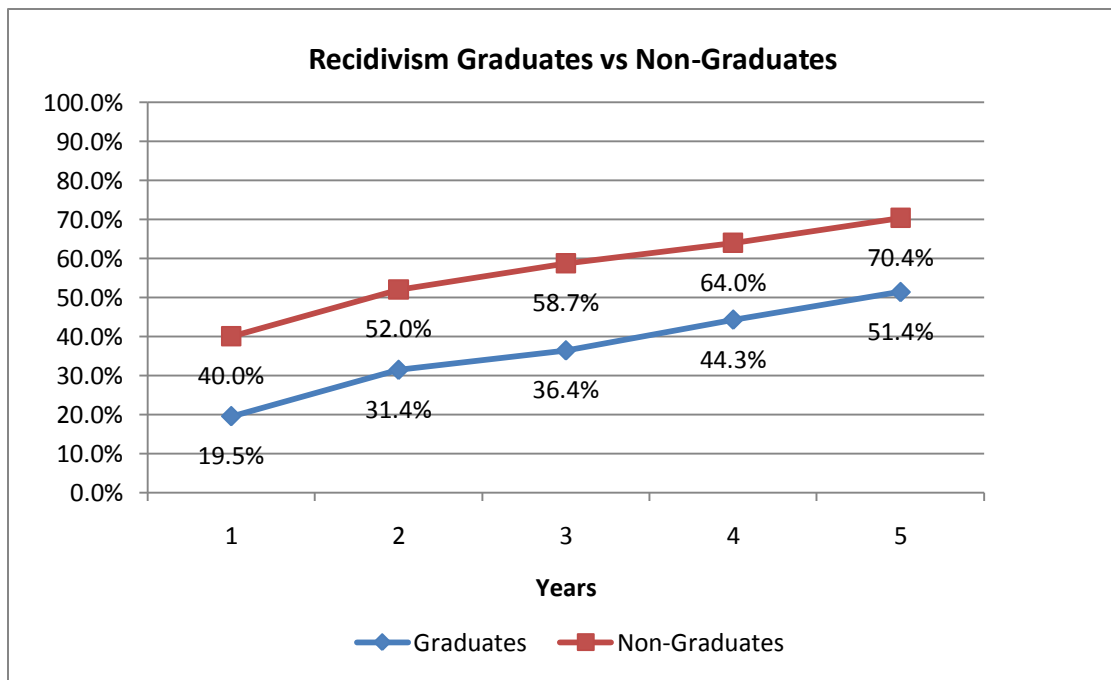


Figure 9. Cumulative Recidivism, by Discharge Status



Overall, the cumulative recidivism for felonies was low, irrespective of group. At the end of the first year, the range was from 11.8% for the referred group to 6.1% for the consent decree cohort. By the end of the fifth year, the range was from 21.7% for the drug court participants to 12.0% for the matched comparison group. The cumulative felony recidivism rate grew the most for the participant group during a five-year follow-up period (Figure 10).

Within the participant group, there was very little difference between the two drug court models. At the end of one year, the community panel group had a felony conviction rate of 9.1% and the judge cohort was 9.4%. Both design groups increased by the end of the fifth year, with the judge model at 21.2% and the community panel group at 22.6% (Figure 11). These differences were not significant.

Figure 10. Cumulative Felony Convictions by Group

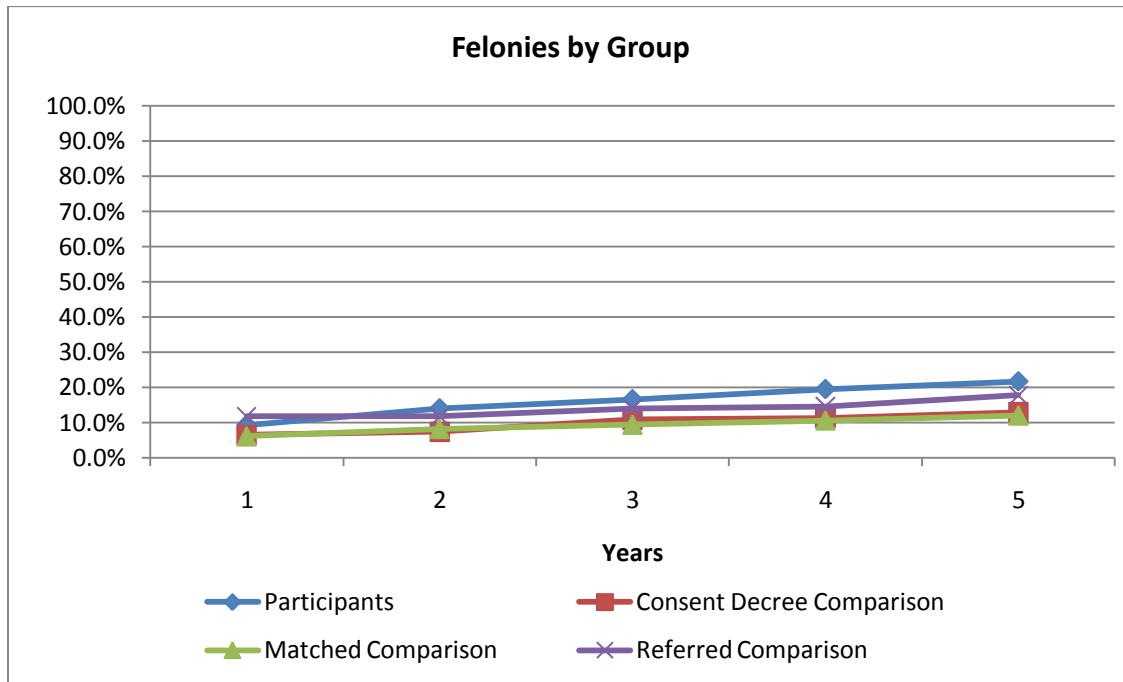
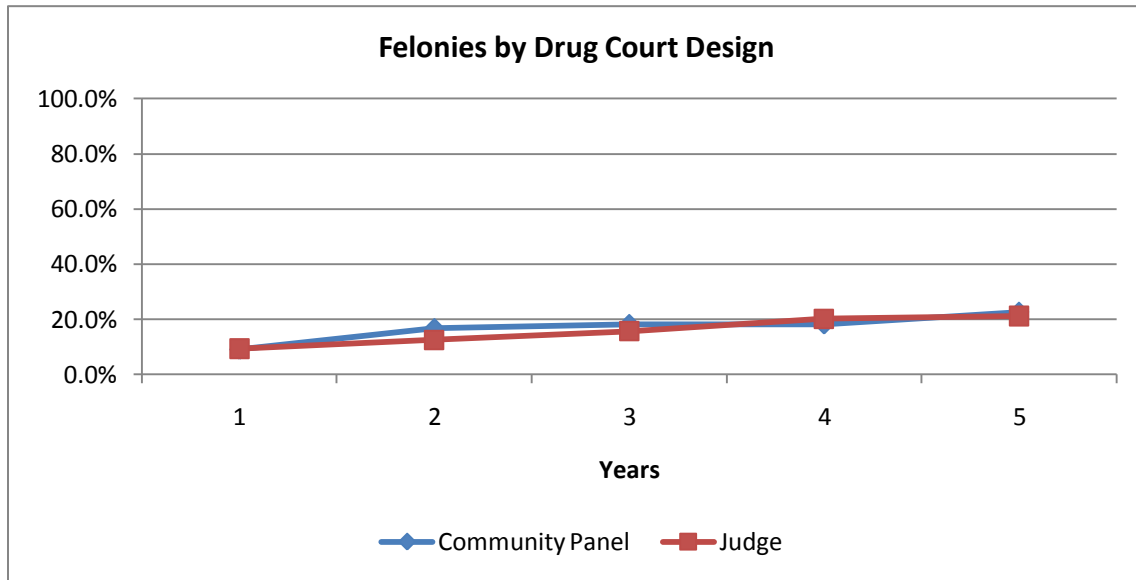


Figure 11. Cumulative Felony Convictions by Design



There was a difference between drug court graduates and non-graduates. At the end of one year, the felony conviction rate for graduates was 7.6%, while that for the non-graduates was 12.0%. At the end of five years, that difference had grown; the graduates had a felony recidivism rate of 16.5% and the non-graduates' rate was 29.6%. In fact, when compared to the three comparison groups, juvenile drug court participants who did not graduate had the highest felony recidivism rate. See Figures 9 and 12 for further information.

Figure 12. Cumulative Felony Convictions by Discharge Status

