A Justice Research Institute Report

Winnipeg Drug Treatment Court Program Evaluation For Calendar Year 2015

Michael Weinrath, PhD Calum Smee, BA, Honours

Department of Criminal Justice University of Winnipeg March 2016

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1. Executive Summary

Overview

The Winnipeg Drug Treatment Court (WDTC) has completed just over ten years of client service (January 2006 – January 2016). This report provides an evaluation of quantitative program outcomes over that span, including: success in accessing the target population, graduation rates, discharge rates, court outcomes and recidivism rates. The study uses quantitative data from official records such as client files, court records, criminal history and corrections data. This year we are able to summarize quantitative data from 296 clients who are currently enrolled or who had attended over the past nine years. We update client profile information and provide recidivism/outcome data for 288 cases, up from 262 last year.

The staff generally use a detailed "stages of change" phase program that is applied through group and individual counselling. Staff also refer clients actively to community agencies and advocate on their behalf for services. The program takes a "therapeutic justice" approach; clients attend court weekly and, based on performance, can receive encouragement and incentives or admonishments and punishments from the presiding judge and court team. The WDTC apply principles of "harm reduction" in exercising considerable discretion to deal with client problems such as missed appointments, group sessions or failed urinalysis tests. Program goals centre on improving client knowledge of addictions, providing information on community resources, helping clients manage their addiction and improving client life skills. An overall goal is to reduce harms associated with drug use and addiction. The program was governed by an Executive Steering Committee comprised of representatives from criminal justice, addictions treatment and human services agencies. The WDTC now comes directly under oversight of Manitoba Justice.

The WDTC over the past ten years has been mostly federally funded, with in-kind contributions from the province of Manitoba. The program started taking clients in January 2006. Over the course of the first year the program developed a staffing model of one manager, three counsellors, one administrative assistant and one case manager. In 2011 they added a housing support worker through Human Skills and Development federal funding, and a transition house. The position and residence funding was terminated at the end of 2013.

The 2015-16 program year has seen the drug court adopt a new treatment service model with greater distinctions between treatment and case management/supervision functions. The treatment program model is now comprised of a program manager, one case manager, one support worker/admin and two therapists. Traditional services (, court appearances, incentives, sanctions, curfew, drug testing) are provided by case management. The therapist roles, which are provided by the Addictions Foundation of Manitoba, are now more distinct and give treatment services solely through individual and group therapy. The Addictions Foundation of Manitoba will also provide functional treatment support through a manager/consultant on treatment services.

The federal and provincial governments now have a three year funding agreement in place from April 1, 2015 to March 31, 2018. After not being able to take any new admissions for a time during the transition in 2015 to the new treatment service model, six new cases were admitted to the DTC in the latter portion of 2015.

This is the ninth evaluation conducted by researchers from the University of Winnipeg. As the research was not funded this year, we present only quantitative results, no interview data is available, nor have we summarized procedural justice data as we have in the past.

Methods

We accessed official records compiled originally by WDTC staff in paper files and automated data bases and make use of comparative offender data provided by Manitoba Corrections. The two primary data bases are COMS and CCAIN.

Findings – Client Profile

We saw few changes in the drug court client profile this year, not surprising as we only had six new cases admitted in 2015.

- Drug court cases average 30 years of age (range from 18-64), three out of five admissions are male, 46% are Indigenous and 52% Caucasian, fairly similar to last year. The proportion of First Nations or Métis clients increased significantly over the first three years of WDTC operation, but has not changed much the past four years.
- Around 70% of admissions are single and unemployed upon entering the program.
- Education levels are consistent; about 56% of cases with grade eleven or more.
- Drug trafficking (or possession for the purpose) is the typical client charge (58%), up a bit, followed by break-ins (13%) and a bit surprisingly, robberies (9%).
- 81% of participants have a criminal history, down 4% from 2013. About 31% have a record for violence. These convictions are typically for minor assaults or are old crimes.
- Most drug court cases are *high risk/needs* on the community corrections Primary Risk Assessment and Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (59%), but *low risk* on the provincial inmate Institutional Security Assessment (84%).
- The primary drug of choice cocaine (60%) is popular at a rate similar to past years, but its prominence declined from the choice of 76% of clients five years ago. Crystal methamphetamine remains the second most common drug of choice (16%) and cannabis is the third highest (10%). Other drugs of choice include opioids, hallucinogens, amphetamines and ecstasy.

Findings – Graduates and Discharged Cases

- Of 288 cases who had been through the WDTC from January 2006- December 2015, 94 clients graduated, a proportion of 32.6%. Thus about one in three admissions makes it through the rigorous WDTC program.
- Compared to discharged cases, graduates are more likely to be Caucasian, divorced/separated, better educated, employed upon admission to drug court. These differences are generally small, in the range of 10% or less.
- Larger effects are observed for criminal histories, records of violence, or higher ISA or PRA risk/needs scores.
- We tracked the court outcomes for 175 of 194 discharged and opted out cases, and found little change from last year:
 - o 13% receive federal terms of two years);
 - o 38% are sentenced to provincial terms of six months to two years;
 - o 19% receive terms of less than six months, and;
 - o 29% are granted either a conditional sentence or probation.

It is difficult to precisely assess the severity of dispositions because of presentence credits. In some cases, drug court clients may have received some credit by a judge for their time in the WDTC program, their time in custody prior to entering the drug court, or remand time after being breached for non-compliance and arrested.

Findings – Recidivism Outcomes

Although program numbers are relatively small and some follow-up periods are short, the WDTC graduate success rate still must be considered a most positive outcome. This year we had data available on 94 graduates and 194 discharged/opted out cases. All subjects were followed up after they entered the program and, in the case of graduates, for the 24 month period following graduation. New predatory convictions are as follows:

- The WDTC recidivism rate using <u>convictions</u> for new predatory or drug crimes (new charges are not presented) was 10.6%, the lowest yet (Table 5).
- This compares favourably to Manitoba re-offence rates for offenders on probation (28%), conditional sentences (32%) or readmitted provincial custody (66%).
- 38.7% of discharged cases/opted out were convicted of a new drug or predatory crimes, down from last year (Table 5).
- Using all 288 cases (graduated, discharged, opted out) recidivism for convictions tallied 29.5%, down 1% from last year.

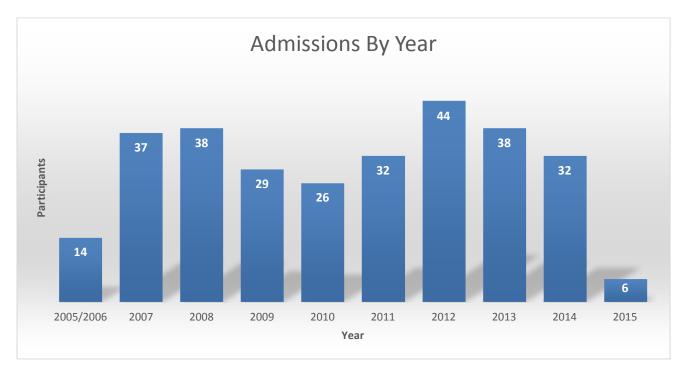
Recidivism rate comparisons must be made with caution because the follow-up periods are, on average, longer for Manitoba Corrections cases. In addition, the drug court is a special population of drug addicted offenders, while Manitoba Corrections tracks all offenders assigned community dispositions or provincial custody. Regardless, re-offence findings are quite favourable for the WDTC.

1. Profile of WDTC Clients

1.1 Admissions and Graduates

Admissions have ranged from 14 in 2005/2006, to a previous high of 44 three years ago. This year the WDTC had 6 admissions to the program (Figure 1). As discussed earlier, the program did not admit any new clients from May 1, 2014, until near the end of 2015.

Figure 1: Admissions by Year



The overall graduate rate this year was fairly consistent with recent trends: 32% in 2015, 32.4% in 2014, 31.7% in 2013 and about 33% in 2012 (Figure 2). The proportion of clients completing the program is still likely best described as one in three.

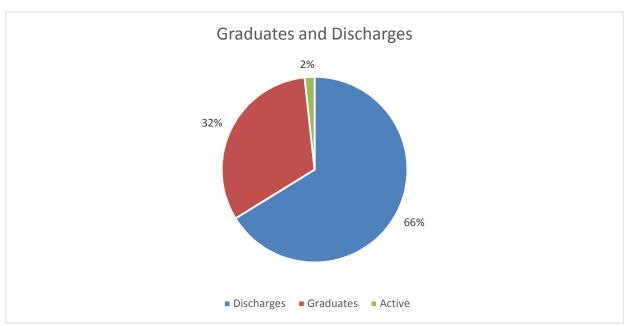


Figure 2: Graduates and Discharges

N = 296

1.2 Demographics, Drug Use, Legal History, and Risk Profile of Clients

Over half of the program clientele is male (61.15%). There has been only one transgendered client that has participated in the WDTC (Table 1). Since inception, the average age of WDTC clients has been about 30 years old; this remains the case this year. The age range of 18-64 is consistent with last year's findings. About four fifths (81.76%) of the clientele have been below the age of 36 upon entering the WDTC. The number of

participants that are of Indigenous heritage was stable: from 45.6% last year to 45.9% this year. The number of Caucasian individuals participating in the WDTC program remained fairly consistent with last year (51.6% - 51.4%). Over two-thirds (72.3%) of the subjects who enter the WDTC program are single. Around one-fifth (20.2%) of the WDTC clientele is in a common law relationship. Around 42.7% of WDTC participants have grade 10 or less, but 13.2% have undertaken at least some post-secondary training. Less than a third of the WDTC clientele are employed, a student or retired upon entering the program (29.1%), which is consistent with the previous year's findings.

As depicted in Table 2, over half (58.1%) of the WDTC clientele are referred to the program based on drug offences, followed by break and enter (12.5%). Other notable categories include; robbery (9.1%), assault (7.1%) and theft over and under \$1000 (8.0%). There continues to be a willingness of the WDTC to take on violent offenders, as they comprised 31.1% of all admission. Breach of probation or recognizance was most often the second most serious charge (26.7%); this was followed by drug offenses (18.2%) and theft under (15.5%). The second most serious charge findings were consistent with last year's evaluation. In comparison to last year, clients with previous convictions for violence held steady at just under one third (31.4% in 2014; to 31.1%).

Utilizing risk assessment allows us to determine whether or not the drug court is successfully reaching its high risk/needs target population, while taking care not to endanger the community. The clients in the WDTC ideally will be higher risk compared

to less serious offenders on probation. However, it is preferable that they are not cases that would be considered high risk in a prison setting.

The risk data collected reaffirms that the drug court appears to be reaching its target population. The majority of clients were classified as high risk (59.3%) according to the community corrections Primary Risk Assessment and Level of Service/Case Management Inventory; rankings are similar to last year. The instruments classified 30.3% of the clients as medium risk and only 10.4% as low risk. Similarly, the data collected from the prison based risk assessment provides evidence that cases are not too high risk for the community. Over 4/5th (83.7%) of the clientele ranked low on the Institutional Security Assessment. The remaining 16.4% of drug court clients ranked medium on the ISA, and there continues to be no cases ranked high-risk.

Based on current offences, prior criminal histories and risk profiles one can safely conclude that the individuals involved in the WDTC would be strong candidates for imprisonment if they were not accepted in the program. The majority of the client population poses a manageable risk to the community.

¹ We appreciate that the PRA and LS/CMI are different instruments, but we combined the Highest and High categories of the LS/CMI and collapsed with the PRA for presentation purposes. Run separately, the results are similar – mostly high risk cases are admitted to the drug court.

Table 1: Demographics Profile of WDTC Clients

GENDER			LIVING ARRANGEMENTS		
Male	18 1	61.15%	Married	8	2.74%
Female	11 4	38.51%	Common-Law	59	20.21%
Transgendered	1	0.34%	Single	211	72.26%
Total	29 6	100%	Divorced/Separated	14	4.8%
			Total	292	100.01%
			Missing	4	
AGE			EDUCATION		
Mean	29.7	SD = 8.373	Grades 5-8	31	10.76%
Range	18-64		Grades 9-10	92	31.94%
18-25	110	37.16%	Grades 11-12	127	44.09%
26-36	132	44.6%	Post-Secondary	34	11.81%
37 & up	54	18.24%	University Grad	4	1.4%
Total	296	100%	Total	288	100%
			Missing	8	
ETHNICITY			EMPLOYMENT		
Caucasian	149	51.38%	Employed, part time, student, retired	85	29.11%
Metis	58	20.0%	Unemployed	207	70.89%
First Nations	61	21.03%	Total	292	100%
Non status	14	4.83%	Missing	4	
Black	3	1.03%			
Asian	5	1.72%			
Total	290	99.99%*			
Missing	6				
*Totals may not add to 100% d	ue to rou	nding.			

Table 2: Drug, Legal, and Risk Profile of WDTC Clients

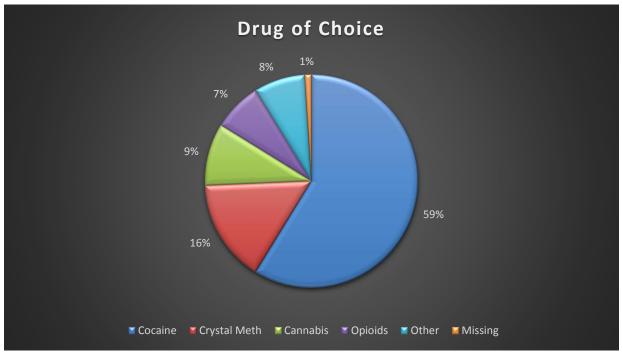
Moder deployed day and			GEGOVE MOST SERVICES	NT 1 D	O.E.
MOST SERIOUS CHARGE			SECOND MOST SERIOUS		
Trafficking/Poss Purpose	172	58.10%	Breach Probation/Recogniz	e 79	26.69%
Break & Enter	37	12.50%	Drug Offens	e 54	18.24%
Robbery	27	9.12%	Theft Unde	r 46	15.54%
Assault	21	7.10%	Break and Ente	r 14	4.73%
Theft Under	17	5.74%	Possession of Weapon	n 14	4.73%
Fraud	11	3.72%	Frau	1 13	4.39%
Theft Over	7	2.3%	Theft Unde	r 12	4.05%
Breach Probation/Recognizance	1	0.34%	Possession of Stolen Propert	y 14	4.73%
Poss. Weapon	1	0.34%	Assaul	t 4	1.35%
Communicating	1	0.34%	Mischie	f 3	1.01
Prostitution					
Possession of Stolen Property	1	0.34%	Robber	y 3	1.01%
Total	296	100%	Communicating Prostitution	n 1	0.34%
			Arso	n 1	0.34%
			Non	e 38	12.84%
			Tota	1 296	100%*
PRIOR CRIMINAL HISTO	RY		HISTORY OF VIOLENCE		
Yes	239	80.74%	Yes	92	31.08%
No	57	19.45%	No 2	04	68.92%
Total	296	100%	Total 2	96	100%
INSTITUTIONAL SECU	RITY		PRA/LSCMI**		
ASSESMENT					
Low	220	83.70%	Low	23	10.41%
Med	43	16.35%	Med	57	30.32%
Total	263	100%	High 1	31	59.28%
Missing	33		Total 2	21	100.01%
			Missing	75	
*Totals may not add to 100% due to **Adjustments have been made to th			ne categories for presentation purposes.		

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Figure 3 illustrates that WDTC clients' first drug of choice is cocaine (59%). The second and third most common first drug of choice are crystal methamphetamine (16.0%) and cannabis (9%). Figure 4 outlines the second most popular drugs of choice: cannabis (40%), cocaine (18%) and alcohol (15%), among osthers. Drug choice findings are consistent with previous evaluations.

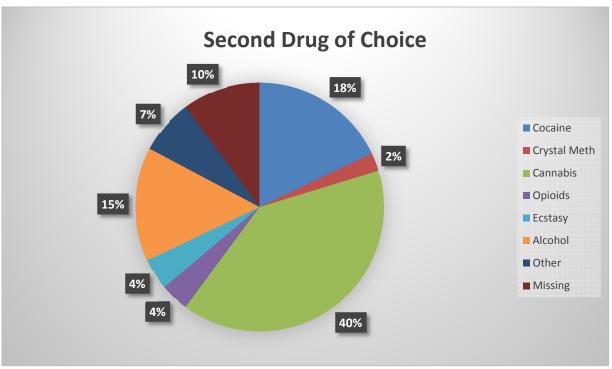
In summary, there have been no striking shifts in demographic or risk trends amongst the WDTC admissions. The program tends to engage a relatively young, single male population; however, female admissions are substantial. The two largest ethnic groups are Caucasian and Indigenous peoples, and the majority of admissions are unemployed but high school or better education. Most admissions are primarily addicted to either cocaine or crystal methamphetamine. Criminal charges are most often for trafficking followed by robbery, making DTC clients strong candidates for incarceration; however, their risk profiles indicate that they pose only a moderate threat to the community.

Figure 3: Drug of Choice



N= 293 Missing N=3

Figure 4: Second Drug of Choice



N= 292, Not Applicable =26, Missing =4

2. Outcomes

2.1 Comparison of Graduates with Discharged Cases

The average age for a graduated case is essentially the same as a discharged case (about 30 years). This finding is similar to last year's evaluation, and indicates that age is not generally associated with success or failure in the WDTC. In previous years, females appeared to do a bit better than males, but failure rates have now evened out. An ethnic trend observed in the previous evaluation, that Caucasians are more likely to graduate compared to other ethnicities, remains true in this year's evaluation. There have only been a few Black or Asian clients and as a result their data should be interpreted cautiously.

Similar to last year's evaluation, it was found that clients who are either separated or divorced show a slightly greater likelihood of succeeding in the program (+5.6%). In contrast, those in common law relationships are the least likely to graduate (-7.2%). The results are similar to last year. However, caution should be taken due to the fact that we still have a very small sample of clients who entered the program married, and we have not used a tool to assess the quality or strength of the couple's relationship. The differences between married and common-law may be overstated.

Consistent with previous years, more education has a positive correlation with success in the program. Clients that have a grade 11-12 education, some form of postsecondary education or a university degree are much more likely to graduate as compared to clients with a grade 5-10 education (Table 3). Clients that are employed

upon admission to the WDTC are also more likely to succeed. These results are not surprising, as it is reasonable to assume that better educated individuals with a stable work history will have more pro-social ties, stronger support systems and crucial life skills that help them successfully navigate the drug court program requirements.

The results displayed in Table 4 show that criminal history, a history of violence, and high risk scores on the PRA and ISA are all correlated with discharge in the WDTC, consistent with previous evaluations. As one may expect, criminal history prior to entrance to the program is correlated with being unsuccessful in the program; this result is in agreement with last year's evaluation. Having a history of violence is also moderately correlated with being unsuccessful in the WDTC (-16.4%). Those clients with a high rank on the PRA and LS/CMI are 44.4% less likely to graduate, this finding is similar to last year's evaluation (-47.7 % in 2014). Looking at the ISA, 94.4% of graduates are ranked low-risk, while only 5.5% graduates are medium risk. It should be noted that 10.2% of the ISA and 24.6% of the PRA as well as LS/CMI scores are missing from the data, suggesting some caution be taken in weighing these findings.

Table 2 WDTC Graduate and Discharge Client Comparison on Demographic Data

		Graduated	Discharged	Difference	Comments
Total Grad	d &				
Discharge	d				Just over 2/3 of WDTC clients are discharged
	N	94	194	100	discharged
		32.6%	67.4%		
Age					
	Mean	30.3	29.6	0.7	Almost no difference in average age
	Mean	(SD = 9.75)	(SD=7.74)	0.7	
C 1		(3D =9.73)	(3D=7.74)		
Gender					
	Male	62.8%	60.8%	2.0%	Almost no difference between genders,
	Female	37.23%	38.7%	-1.4%	gap much closer than last year
	Transgendered	0.0%	0.5%	-0.5%	
Ethnicity					
					Caucasian participants have a greater
	Caucasian	58.1%	49.0%	9.1%	likelihood of graduating as compared
	First Nations	15.1%	23.4%	-8.4%	to other ethnicities.
	Métis	20.4%	19.8%	0.6%	
	Non-Status	4.3%	4.7%	-0.4%	
	Black	0.0%	1.6%	-1.6%	
	Asian	2.2%	1.6%	0.6%	
Marital St	atus				
	Married	6.5%	1.0%	5.5%	Clients in a common law relationship
	Common-Law	15.2%	22.4%	-7.2%	are slightly less likely to graduate.
	Single	69.6%	73.4%	-3.9%	1
	Sep/Divorced	8.7%	3.1%	5.6%	
	Missing	2	2		
1					
Education					
	Grades 5-10	36.3%	46.9%	-10.6%	More education has a positive effect on
	Grades 3-10 Grades 11-12	44.0%	43.7%	0.3%	success in the WDTC
	Post-Secondary	19.8%	9.5%	10.3%	
				10.5%	
	Missing	4	4		
E1	4				
Employme	ent				
	Employed,	37.0%	25.0%	11.9%	There is a positive correlation
	Student, Retired	63.0%	75.0%	12.00/	between graduation and employment
	Unemployed			-12.0%	
	Missing	2	2		

Table 3: Graduates and Discharged Client Comparisons on Legal/Risk Data

		Graduated	Discharged	Difference	Comments
Criminal History					
	Yes	68.1%	88.7%	-20.6%	Criminal History is
	No	31.9%	11.3%		linked to being less
					successful in the
					WDTC program
History of Violenc		20.204	25.504	16.407	
	Yes	20.2%	36.6%	-16.4%	A History of
	No	79.8%	63.4%		Violence is
					associated with less
					success in the
					WDTC program
PRA and LS/CMI		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
	Low	20.6%	5.6%	14.7%	A medium and
	Medium	50.0%	20.3%	29.7%	lower risk score
	High	29.7%	74.1%	-44.4%	means a greater
	Missing	75			likelihood in
T T	•				graduation
Institutional Secur	rity				C :
Assessment		0.4.404	5 0.40/	15.207	Consistent with past
	Low	94.4%	79.1%	15.3%	reports, having a
	Medium	5.6%	20.9%		low ISA means a
	High	0.0%	0.0%		greater chance of
	Missing	22	7		graduation

2.2 Re-offence and Discharge

Re-offence numbers for graduates of the WDTC are still quite low (Table 5). At the end of 2015, only 10.6% of all graduates had reoffended and been convicted of a new predatory crime. The rate was similar to last year's evaluation and was down significantly from 16.4% in the 2012 evaluation. Important to note is that within the categories of reoffence, administrative breaches were not counted; we record only predatory or drug crimes for Table 5.2

For discharged and cases who opted out, we observe that under a third (30.5%) are convicted of new crimes. While a lower recidivism percentage is preferable, the fact that even offenders who leave the drug court do not reoffend reaffirms the notion the program is not putting the public at undue risk.

The WDTC re-offence rates continue to compare favourably to recidivism rates for other correctional options: Manitoba probation (28% with a two year follow up) or provincial custody (66% with a two year follow up) tend to have higher re-offence rates. The drug court has been in operation since 2006, indicating that the overall success rate trends have remained extremely positive.

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¹ Category consists of individuals who choose to quit program within 60 days of admission.

² For re-offence, two years is considered a good standard to evaluate program efficacy, because the more time that passes from a program the more likely it is that participant behaviour is affected by other things. After 24 months, program effects are much less likely to have an impact on day to day life, and relapse and re-offence might have more to do with other stressful life events.

Table 4: Client New Convictions (No Administrative Offences)

Graduates			
	Graduated and No Re-offence	84	89.4%
	Graduated and Reoffended	10	10.6%
	Total	94	100.0%
Discharged/Opted Out	Discharged/ont out and No. Do offense	110	61.20/
	Discharged/opt out and No Re-offence Discharged/Opted Out and Reoffended	119 75	61.3% 38.7%
	Total	194	100.0%
Program Totals for Reoff	fence		
	No re-offence, Graduates and Discharges	203	70.5%
	Reoffended Graduates and Discharges	85	29.5%
	Total	288	100%

All re-offences in Table 5 indicate a new conviction (not charge or arrest). Convictions noted in table five are for predatory or drug offences only.

2.3 Sentencing of Graduates and Discharges

A conservative criticism levelled at drug courts is that they may provide too lenient a disposition for offenders, particularly for those who fail in the program. From a justice perspective, those who leave the program should receive consequences for failing to follow-up on the promise to complete treatment, and evaluations should provide evidence of this occurring. Accountability should prevent the drug court program from falling into disrepute. In order to assess this, we tracked the outcomes for discharged and opted out cases that end up returning to the courts to be sentenced on their original charge.

This process ended up being more difficult to assess precisely than we had anticipated, because (consistent with the doctrine of presentence credit for time in custody) clients leaving the program have asked for credit for time spent in the program, as well as credit for remand custody that they may have endured while awaiting final sentencing. Thus, the final sentence for drug court discharges may not be as severe because judges have given them credit for program attendance and days in remand.

Results show that the courts took program-leaving seriously and that they meted out fairly stiff sentences. This year's findings are consistent with last year's: the majority of clients leaving the program receive custody terms when sentenced (Figure 5). Of the 194 cases discharged or opted out of the drug court just under one third (29%) receive a community disposition such as probation, a conditional sentence or a fine. The most common disposition is a sentence of six months or more in provincial jail (37%).

Approximately a fifth (21%) of discharged/opted out clients receive sentences that are shorter than six months and 13% receive a federal term. Sentence outcomes are consistent with last year's. The dispositions were still unknown for 9.8% of the drug court population, the result of outstanding or pending dispositions.

Findings indicate that participants who opt out or abscond from the drug court are likely to end up back in custody, and then receive a further sentence of custody. However, it should be noted that few receive a penitentiary sentence of over two years, suggesting that at least some credit for drug court attendance might be considered. In the end, there is no data available on what crown or defense advocate for and how a judge might weight program attendance. Further, we cannot control for the severity of the original offence(s); some might involve larger amounts of drugs being sold, higher property values or more or less serious violence or injury. We could learn more with an in-depth study of each case, but that is beyond the scope of this evaluation. Case studies of a group of ten referrals might provide some insight into how clients manage in the justice system once they leave the drug court.

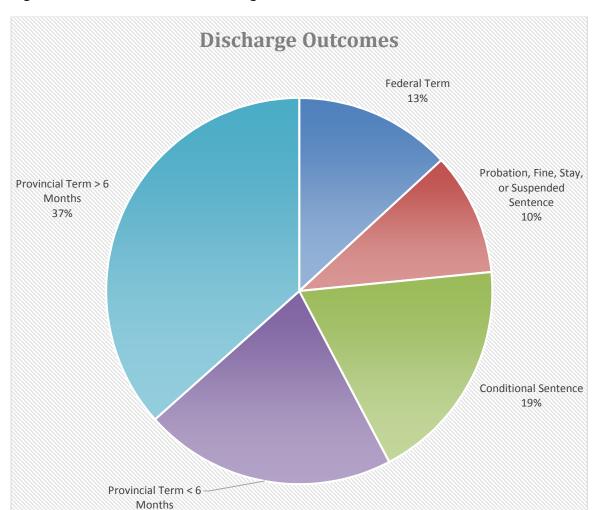


Figure 5: Court Outcomes for Discharged Cases

Dispositions Available = 175, Dispositions Unavailable = 19

21%

2.4 Recidivism by New Offence Type

The following section outlines the recidivism results by offence type for all previous participants in the program (N=288). Generally, we focused on either the first or most serious new charge or conviction in the two-year follow-up window.

Charges

Using charges as a criterion, just over half of clients (51.7%) were arrested for new offences after entering the program (including graduates, discharges and opt outs). Table 6 demonstrated that the bulk of crimes come from the category of administrative breaches (43.9%). The second most prevalent charge among drug court participants was a violent offence (18.9%) ranging from robbery to assault causing bodily harm. Third, 20.3% of participants were charged with a property offence. Additionally, a noteworthy statistic is that only 11.5% of clients were charged with a drug related offence after leaving drug court (Table 6). Finally, 5.4% of new charges fell into the "other" category which consisted of a variety of offences such as prostitution and fraud.

We also categorized charges by severity according to Manitoba Corrections directives (see Appendix). The bulk of offences were found within the 'low' category, which is consistent with the large proportion of administrative breaches. On a positive note only one third (33.8%) of previous participants were charged with a medium or high severity offence (Table 6).

Table 5: Classification of New Charges and Convictions

	IARGE AFTER ENTERIN Admin Offences)	G PRO	OGRAM		CONVICTION AFTER PRO les Admin Offences)	OGRA	M
(Includes	Yes	148	51.4%	(Includ	Yes	117	40.6%
	No	140	48.6%		No	171	59.4%
	Total	288	100.0%		Total	288	100.0%
NEW M	OST SERIOUS CHARGE	ТҮРЕ		NEW I	MOST SERIOUS CONVIC	TION '	TYPE ³
	Administrative Offences	65	43.9%		Administrative Offences	32	27.4%
	Drug Offences	17	11.5%		Drug Offences	17	14.5%
	Property Offences	30	20.3%		Property Offences	40	34.2%
	Violent Offences	28	18.9%		Violent Offences	18	15.4%
	Other	8	5.4%		Other	10	8.6%
	Total	148	100.0%		Total	117	100.1%
	Not Applicable, No Charges	140			Not Applicable, No Convictions	171	
MOST SI	ERIOUS CHARGE RANK			MOST	SERIOUS CONVICTION	RANK	
	Low	98	66.2%		Low	77	65.8%
	Medium	36	24.3%		Medium	34	29.1%
	High	14	9.5%		High	6	5.1%
	Total	148	100.0%		Total	117	100.0
	Not Applicable	140			Not Applicable	171	

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³ Although we are only presenting the most recent and most severe offence, we collect all instances of reoffence for up to two years after the clients discharge date

Convictions

As anticipated the conviction rate was lower than the charge rate for previous participants (-10.8%), as some individuals could have had charges withdrawn, stayed or been found not guilty (Table 6). Over two fifths (40.6%) of clients who participated in the WDTC at one time or another received a conviction within two years of when they left the program. Property offences (34.2%) were the most common types of convictions, followed by administrative breaches (27.4%).

Violent crimes make up a small proportion of new convictions (15.4%). The percentage of new convictions in the category of drug offences was likewise small (14.5%). As for the severity of new offences, just under two thirds (65.8%) of clients were ranked in the 'low' category. Only 5.1% of the recidivist group were convicted of a high severity offence (Table 6).