

# Just Deserts

## What Happens To Minnesota's Serious Offenders?

U.S. Department of Justice  
National Institute of Justice

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ACQUISITIONS

# INTRODUCTION

This report summarizes one year of data on what happens to adults arrested for serious crimes (felonies) in Minnesota. The year to be examined is from July 1, 1980 to June 30, 1981—the state fiscal year 1981. In addition to giving a broad picture of what is happening in the criminal justice system, this report also looks at several issues that are of special importance to criminal justice in Minnesota.

One major concern is that criminal defendants are not treated differently simply because of their race. In this report we describe certain apparent differences in the handling of White, Black, and Indian defendants and then investigate whether the differences in treatment reflect active discrimination or circumstances surrounding their crimes.

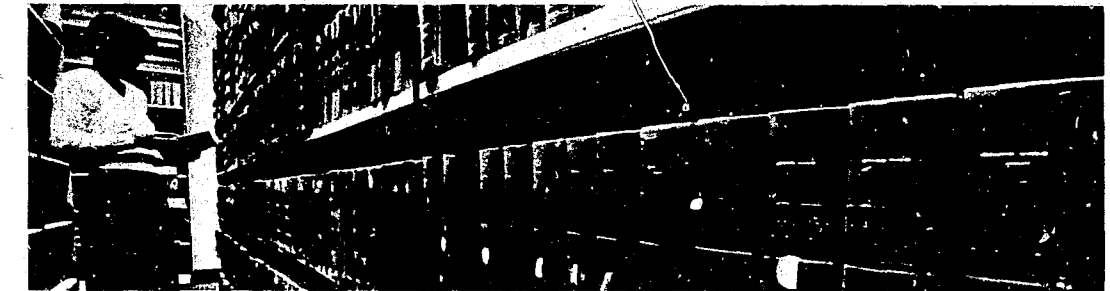
Another set of issues center on the likelihood that convicted persons receive sentences to jail, prison, or that involve no incarceration. An understanding of decisions on incarceration is especially crucial in that many of the jails and prisons in the state are at capacity. The Community Corrections Act, under which many counties participate, was intended to keep less serious criminals in their communities where costs might be less than in the state prison and rehabilitation more effective. Data here will give evidence as to whether community corrections is achieving some of its goals.

As we review the sentences that convicted persons receive, we shall also be able to assess the extent of plea bargaining (or charge bargaining), that is, the frequency with which defendants' charges are lessened in severity from arrest to conviction. Plea bargaining is a measure of the discretion that prosecutors have and it also bears on the effectiveness of attempts by the legislature to mandate specific punishments for specific crimes. In 1981, for example, the legislature substantially increased the penalties for those convicted of using a gun in the commission of a violent crime. Although our data mostly precedes the effective date of the law change, we shall present statistics on what happened to those convicted of violent gun crimes. These statistics can then be a baseline to judge in following years the extent to which the mandate of the legislature is being carried out in practice. As we shall see, the fate of criminals who use guns is closely connected with questions of race and the use of incarceration in sentencing decisions.



# THE DATA AND ITS LIMITATIONS

The statistical data upon which this report is based is the culmination of several years of development of the state's criminal justice computer information systems. Criminal justice data is collected on reported crimes and arrests by police and sheriffs' offices throughout the state. The crime and arrest data is forwarded to the State Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA) in St. Paul. If an arrested adult is charged with a felony or gross misdemeanor a second trail of data is begun on that person. It begins with the



prosecutor's filing of a complaint form and includes data on all subsequent and significant appearances in criminal district court (the felony court in Minnesota), including sentencing. Court data is collected through the clerks of court and processed by the State Judicial Information System (SJIS) maintained by the Office of the Supreme Court Administrator (St. Paul). Data on juvenile delinquents is also collected through the court system but is kept separately from adult criminal data.

Arrest data and court data are merged and become part of the Computerized Criminal History (CCH) file, which is maintained under the authority of the BCA. Data for this report was extracted from the CCH file with the permission of the BCA and in accordance with Federal guidelines. All personal identification was removed from the data before analysis so that confidentiality of individual criminal history records was preserved. Thus, the purpose of the data analyzed here is to bring to the public and government bodies a statistical overview of the processing of criminal defendants without sacrifice to the confidentiality of police and court records.

This data will be maintained by the Criminal Justice Program, Office of Local Government, as a resource for criminal justice in Minnesota. Copies of the data have also been provided to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Department of

Justice, Washington, D.C. so that a national profile of the processing of criminal defendants might be produced. As funding permits, reports of this nature will continue to be produced in future years.

The data used for this analysis has several limitations. Foremost among these is that it contains no information on the criminal histories of defendants. Yet criminal history is one of the most decisive factors affecting sentencing under the state's sentencing guidelines. The lack of criminal history data thus restricts us to some degree in the kinds of analysis possible. Nevertheless, we shall demonstrate that the data offers many opportunities for analysis that are little effected by this limitation.

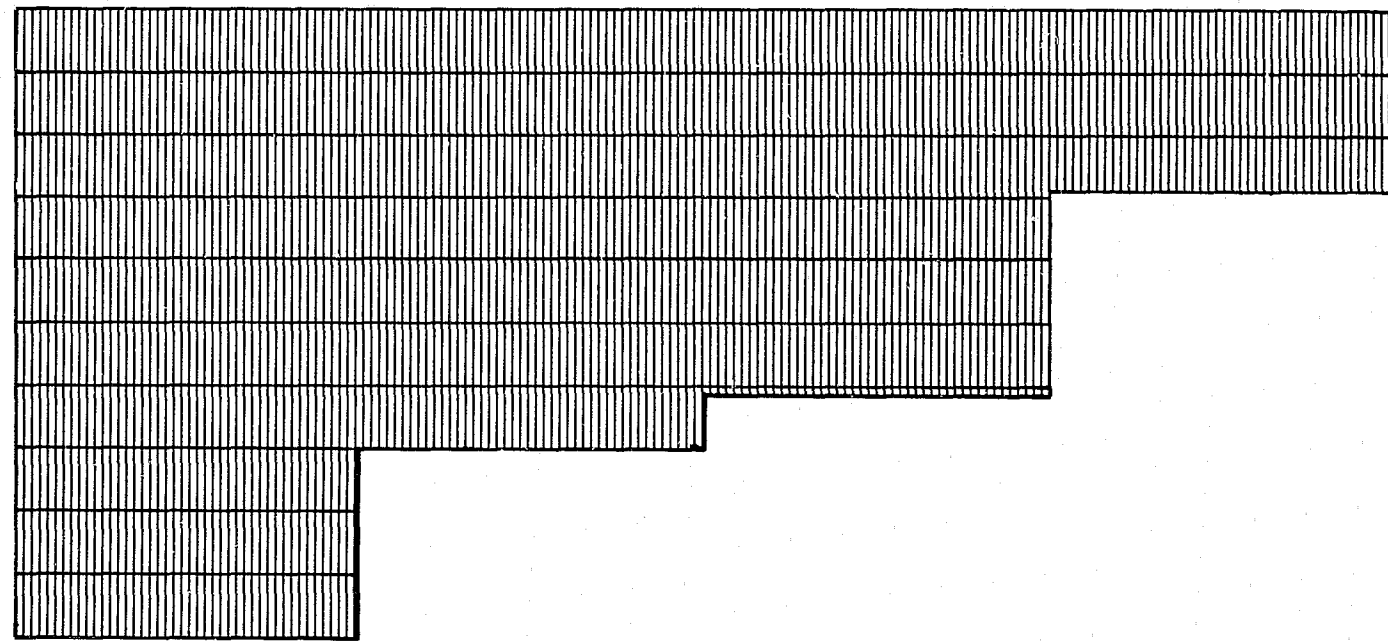
A second drawback is the timeliness of the data. Because the volume of data being collected is so great it is not possible to have an up to the minute

knowledge of the state of criminal justice. Here we have chosen to use the (1981) state fiscal year as the standard because it was the most recent year of data available when this research program was begun. Furthermore, we have adopted the rule of including for that year only cases that were disposed of during the year. That is, the data set is based on a "dispositional year"; it may include cases that began with an arrest in that year or a preceding year. (A method of standardizing a year is necessary so that one year can be compared with another.)

A third limitation in the data is that if a person is arrested or convicted two (or more) times in a year, each incident will be counted as a separate case. That is, strictly speaking, the data has to do with cases not with individuals.

# MOST LIKELY PATH FOR ADULTS ARRESTED FOR SERIOUS CRIMES

## ADULT FELONY



**ARRESTS**  
11,805

**ADJUDICATED**  
8,230  
70% arrests

**CONVICTED**  
7,178  
61% arrests  
87% adjudicated

**NO INCARCERATION**  
3,382  
29% of arrests  
47% of convictions

# AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROCESSING OF CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS

In this section of the report we present statistics on what happens to persons arrested for felonies. Because of the complexity of the data, most of it is shown in the form of flowcharts that detail first the number arrested for specific crime types and then the number (and percentage) who remain in the criminal justice system at each stage of processing. Generally a portion of those arrested will not be prosecuted, a portion of those prosecuted will not be convicted, and so forth.

The flowcharts also show the numbers of those convicted who were sentenced to prison, jail, or not incarcerated. We have chosen to isolate the incarceration aspect of the sentencing in order to present the most important aspect of the sentence at the risk of losing some additional information on whether a fine or other condition of sentencing might have been imposed in addition to the level of incarceration.

The flowcharts also show the numbers of people who were convicted on the same charges as at arrest, on a different felony, or on a non-felony. (This data is presented only in the charts found in the appendix.) When a person was charged with more than one crime initially, only the most serious charge was considered. Thus conviction on a charge different from the charge of arrest will usually mean that the charge was reduced in seriousness at some time between arrest and conviction. In part, the reduction in charge may be the result of circumstances surrounding the crime, or in part, plea bargaining. The reduction of a felony to a non-felony at conviction strongly suggests plea bargaining in that had the prosecutor not charged a felony, the case would not have been in district court and thus not in this data.

In 1981 a total of about 11,800 adults entered the criminal justice system with felony arrests (page opposite). (A felony is a crime for which one might be sentenced to more than one year in prison.) Of this number 70% were brought to court and 30% were released without prosecution. Of those prosecuted 87% (7,178) were convicted and sentenced.

Almost half of those convicted received sentences that required no incarceration, compared to 42% who had to serve time in jail and 11% who were committed to a state prison. Of those arrested for felonies and later convicted, 20% were convicted of crimes that are not felonies. The percentage of non-felony

convictions was 26% among those who were not sentenced to jail or prison; this seems to indicate a connection between charge reduction or plea bargaining and the imposition of the least severe sentences.

We also observe that the number of persons acquitted of crimes was very small, amounting to less than 1% of the cases brought to court. About 3% of adjudicated defendants received "other" dispositions; these might be instances, for example, where a treatment program is required of the defendant but no formal disposition put on record.

Because the processing of defendants depends mainly on the type of crime charged, we shall next examine several of the major crimes, starting with the violent crimes against persons.

## Violent Crimes.

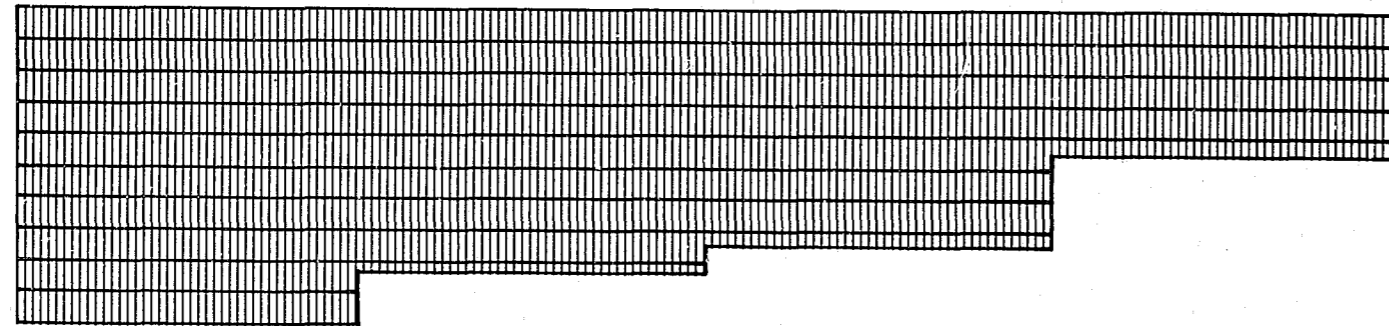
The violent crimes include murder, rape (or sexual assault), robbery, and aggravated assault. (If an assault involves no serious injury it is classified as a "simple" assault, which is not a felony and not considered a serious crime.) Each of the violent crimes, as with other crimes, has in the law grades of seriousness, which call for varying degrees of punishment. For our purposes here we lump together all crimes of a single general type; differences in the degree of seriousness account in part, however, for differences in sentencing. Statistics for murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault are shown in the graphs here. As one might expect, and as sentencing guidelines specify, those convicted of violent crimes generally receive harsher sentences than those convicted of property or other crimes.

**The most likely case outcome for murder and robbery convictions is imprisonment for more than one year.** The percentage of convicted murderers receiving prison sentences is 62%; for convicted robbers it is 50%. These are the only crimes, however, for which prison is the most likely sentence. **For sexual assault cases the probability of a prison sentence is equal to the probability of a jail sentence—both 36%. For aggravated assault cases a prison sentence was a 16% probability upon conviction.**

Although violent crimes received the most severe punishments on the average, the data also shows that a substantial percentage of those convicted serve no time at all in jail or prison: 29% for sexual assault; 18% for robbery; and 44% for aggravated assault. These statistics are partly accounted for by the reduction in charges from arrest to conviction. For example, among those arrested for rape who eventually were sentenced without incarceration, 29% were convicted of a non-felony crime and 14% were convicted of a less serious felony than rape. In the case of aggravated assault 36% of those convicted were actually convicted on non-felony crimes.

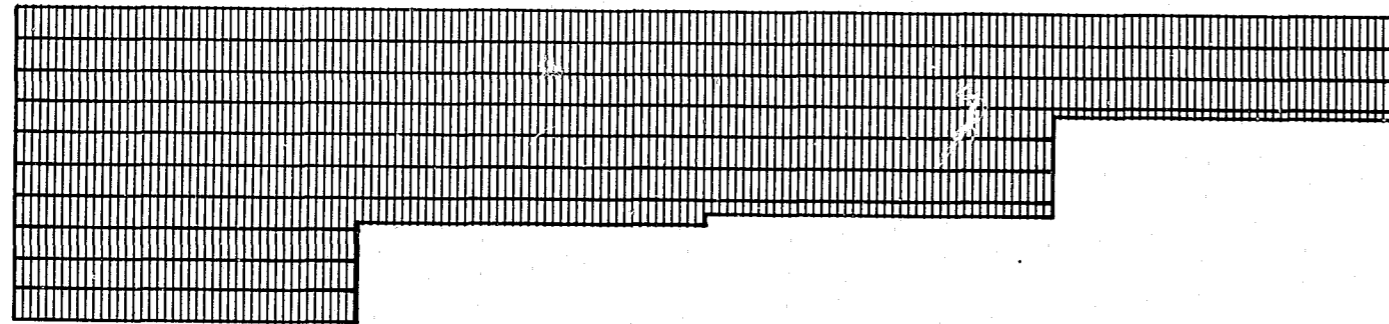
# MOST LIKELY PATH FOR OFFENDERS OF VIOLENT CRIME

## MURDER



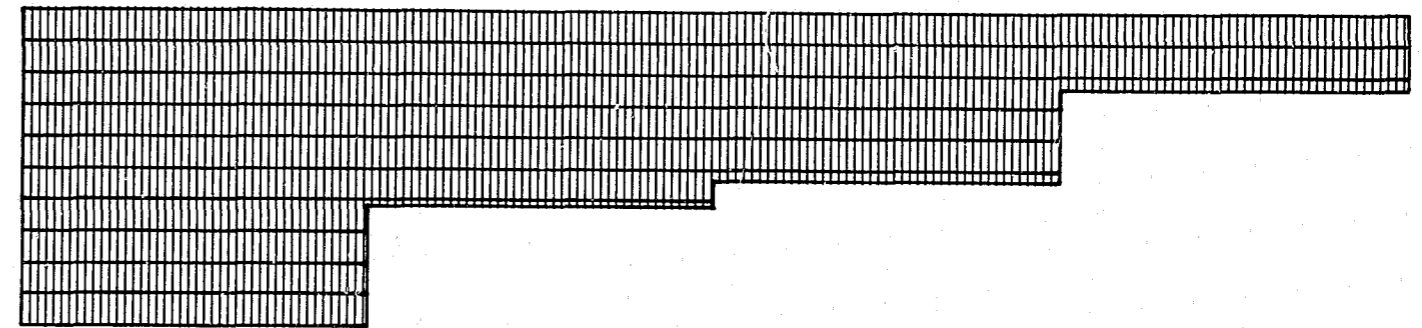
<b>ARRESTS</b> 87 100%	<b>ADJUDICATED</b> 72 83% of arrests	<b>CONVICTED</b> 64 74% of arrests 89% of adjudicated	<b>PRISON</b> more than one year 40 46% of arrests 62% of convictions
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## ROBBERY



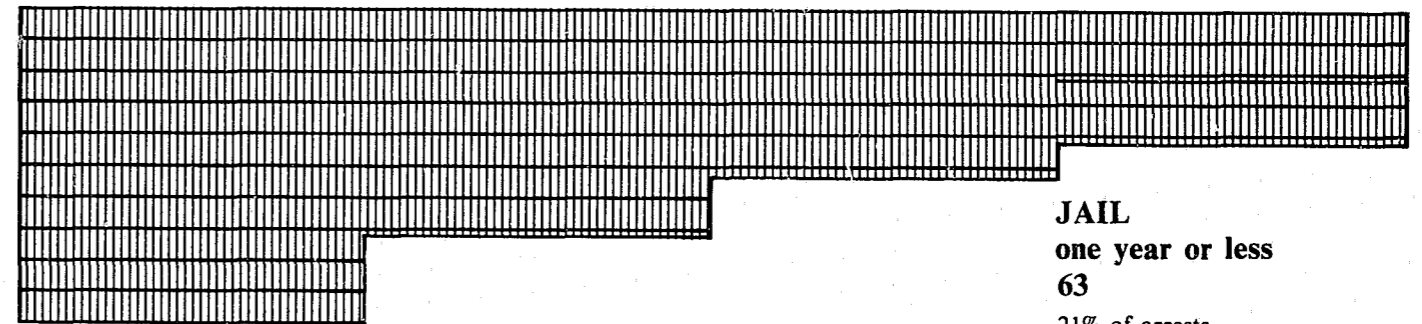
<b>ARRESTS</b> 596	<b>ADJUDICATED</b> 405 68% of arrests	<b>CONVICTED</b> 373 64% of arrests 92% of adjudicated	<b>PRISON</b> more than one year 189 32% of arrests 50% of convictions
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## AGGRAVATED ASSAULT



<b>ARRESTS</b> 1,059	<b>ADJUDICATED</b> 645 61% of arrests	<b>CONVICTED</b> 566 53% of arrests 88% of adjudicated	<b>NO INCARCERATION</b> 248 23% of arrests 44% of convictions
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## SEXUAL ASSAULT



<b>ARRESTS</b> 298	<b>ADJUDICATED</b> 211 71% of arrests	<b>CONVICTED</b> 177 53% of arrests 84% of adjudicated	<b>JAIL</b> one year or less 63 21% of arrests 36% of convictions
			<b>PRISON</b> more than one year 63 21% of arrests 36% of convictions

### Property Crimes.

The most likely outcome of a burglary arrest was conviction with time served in jail. About 49% of convicted burglars received jail sentences compared to 39% who were not incarcerated and 12% who went to prison. **The number of persons sentenced to jail for burglary (705) is the highest for any single crime type.** Thus burglary is one of the main factors affecting jail population, especially among felony convictions.

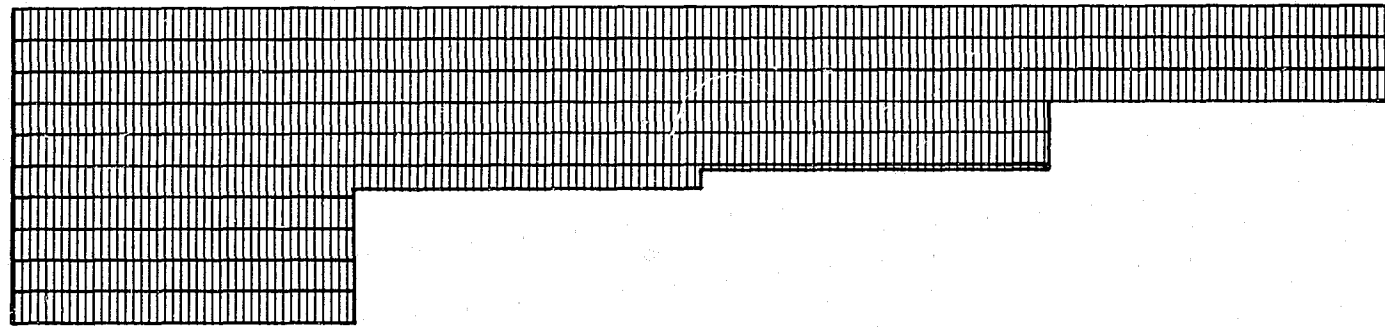
For the less serious crime of larceny (or felony theft), the degree of punishment is correspondingly reduced from that of burglary.

**The most likely outcome of a larceny arrest is no incarceration (53%).** Only 5% of these defendants went to prison upon conviction.

For both arson and car theft the most likely outcome is a jail sentence, and a prison sentence the least likely outcome. About half of drug offenders (53%) receive no incarceration while 43% go to jail. The number of persons going to jail for drug crimes is relatively large compared to the other crimes (at 348 in 1981), which indicates the special demands on jails for treatment of persons with drug-related problems.

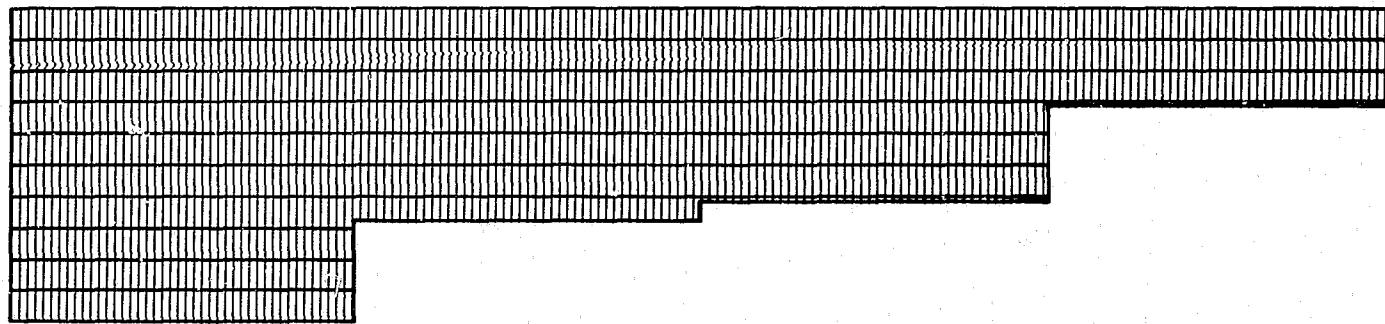
## MOST LIKELY PATH FOR OFFENDERS OF PROPERTY CRIME

### ARSON



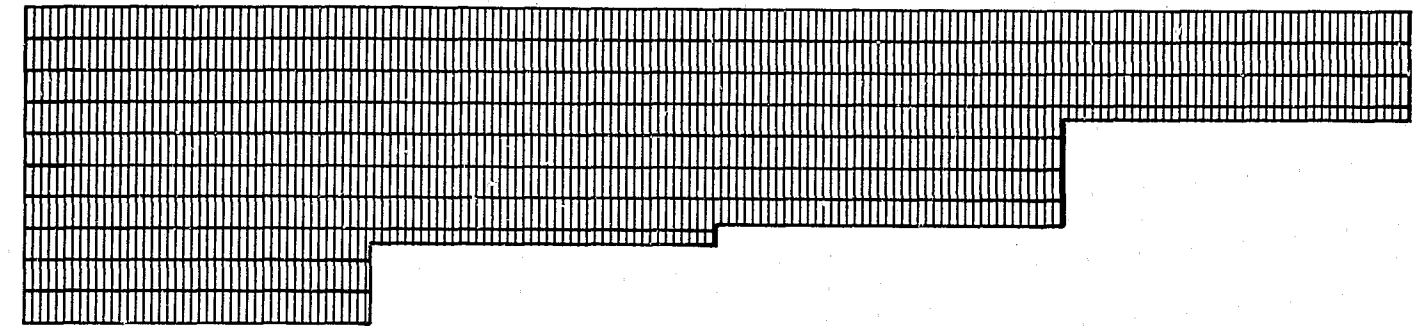
**ARRESTS** 79  
**ADJUDICATED** 58  
 73% of arrests  
**CONVICTED** 51  
 65% of arrests  
 91% of adjudicated  
**JAIL** one year or less 24  
 30% of arrests  
 47% of convictions

### MOTOR VEHICLE THEFTS



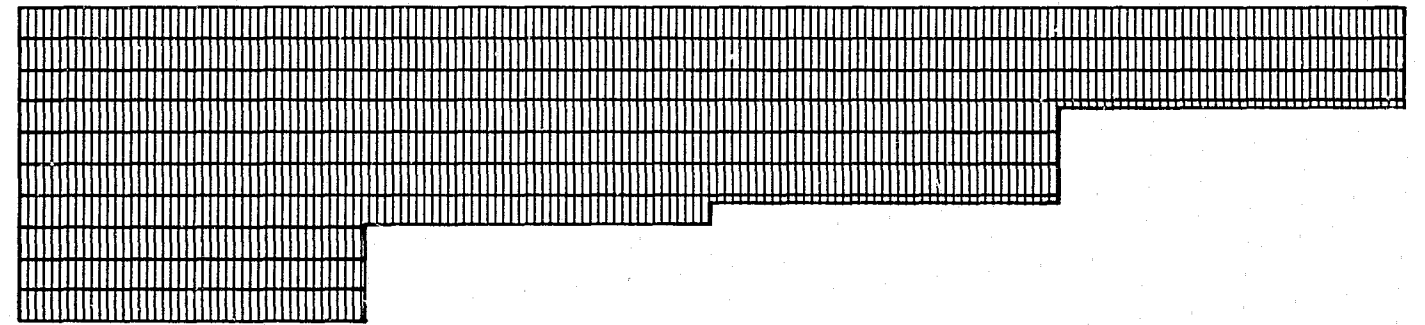
**ARRESTS** 654  
**ADJUDICATED** 436  
 67% of arrests  
**CONVICTED** 396  
 61% of arrests  
 91% of adjudicated  
**JAIL** one year or less 209  
 31% of arrests  
 53% of convictions

### BURGLARY



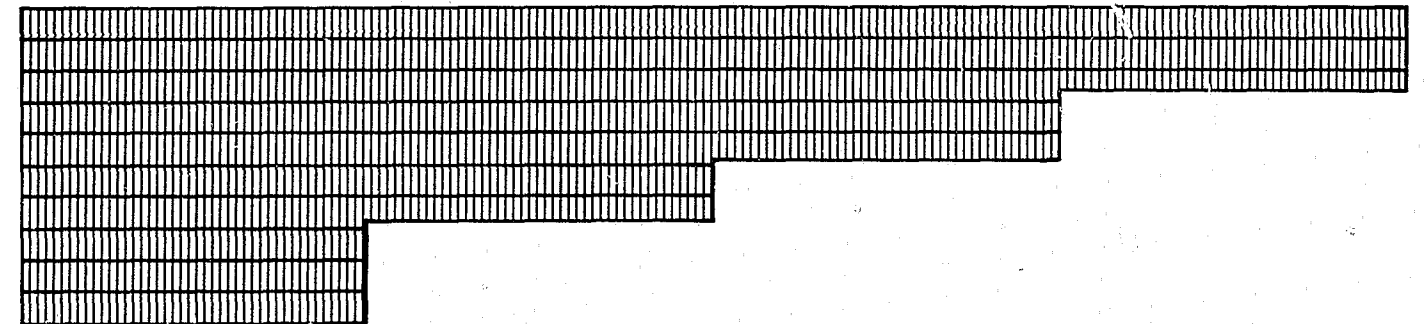
**ARRESTS** 2080  
**ADJUDICATED** 1540  
 74% of arrests  
**CONVICTED** 1431  
 69% of arrests  
 93% of adjudicated  
**JAIL** one year or less 705  
 34% of arrests  
 49% of convictions

### FELONY THEFT

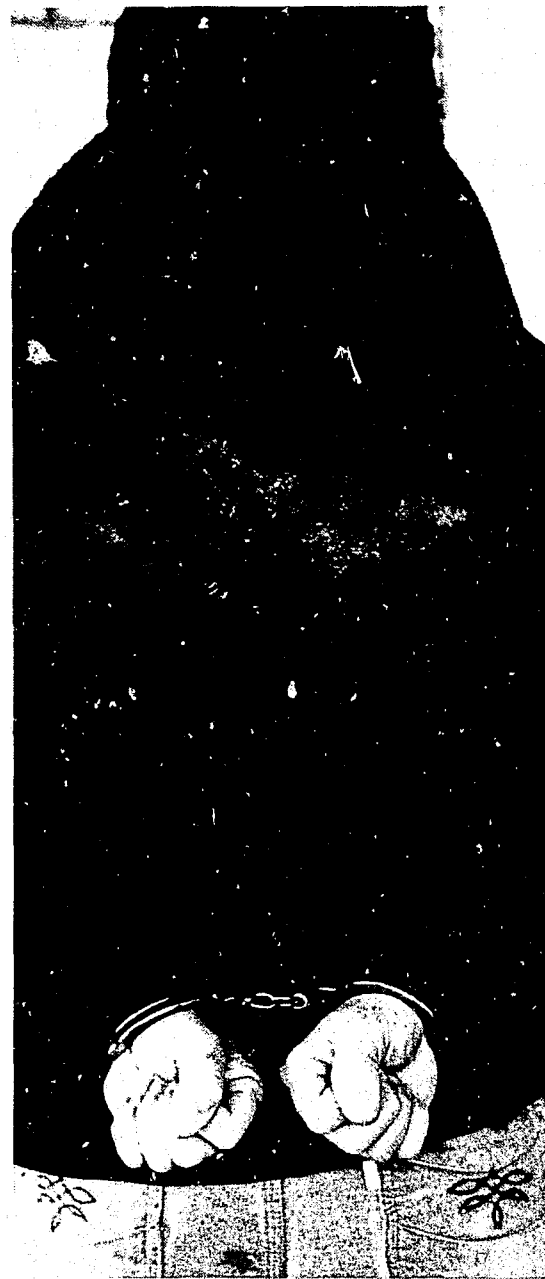


**ARRESTS** 1912  
**ADJUDICATED** 1313  
 69% of arrests  
**CONVICTED** 1172  
 61% of arrests  
 89% of adjudicated  
**NO INCARCERATION** 621  
 32% of arrests  
 53% of convictions

### DRUG CRIMES



**ARRESTS** 1652  
**ADJUDICATED** 1122  
 68% of arrests  
**CONVICTED** 803  
 49% of arrests  
 72% of adjudicated  
**NO INCARCERATION** 427  
 26% of arrests  
 53% of convictions



## SPECIAL ANALYSES

One of the purposes of this report is to demonstrate the value of a criminal statistics database for answering important questions about criminal justice in Minnesota. In the past most research on criminal justice has required that special research projects be set up to deal with topics of interest; these research projects have been costly and time consuming. **Although this database cannot duplicate the thoroughness of an in-depth research effort, it can provide information on major questions at a small fraction of the cost, and by maintaining the database on an interactive computer system, we are able to get answers to ad hoc inquiries almost immediately.** Here we shall demonstrate what can be done by looking at several perennial issues in criminal justice.

### Race and Gun Use in Case Outcomes for Violent Crimes.

Because persons of minority races are seen in the criminal justice system in numbers greater than their proportion of the general population would suggest, the issue of discrimination is always present. We shall consider first the processing of cases for each of the major races (White, Black, and Indian) for the violent crimes (except murder). These crimes are the most likely to result in prison sentences and so are of special interest in the question of discrimination. (We exclude murder because of its high visibility and mandated sentences.)

In Figures 11, 12, and 13 (in appendix) are flowcharts for the outcomes of violent crime cases by race. Several features stand out at once:

**Blacks arrested for violent crimes were much less likely to be prosecuted than Whites or Indians.** Only half (49%) of Blacks arrested went to court, while for Whites and Indians the percentages are 70% and 68% respectively. Two interpretations are possible (perhaps more), and either or both may be valid. It may be that it is more difficult to prosecute cases against Blacks because of difficulties in obtaining evidence, witnesses, and so forth. Poor relations between the Black community and the police would tend to decrease the likelihood of prosecution. On the other hand, police may be arresting many Blacks without sufficient evidence for prosecution or at inflated charges, that is, at felony levels instead of misdemeanor levels. Which of these interpretations is correct we cannot determine, but here the statistics identify an area where a significant concern exists.

**Convicted Blacks were more likely to go to prison (43%) and less likely to spend no time**

**in incarceration (23%), than Whites.** Whites were more likely to get jail sentences (36%), while only 28% went to prison and 35% received no incarceration. Indians, after conviction, fit the pattern of Blacks more closely than Whites: 42% to prison, 34% to jail, 26% no incarceration.

Related to the differences in case outcome by race was the degree of charge reduction among the different races. Only 15% of convicted Blacks had their arrest charges reduced to non-felonies at conviction; this compares to 27% for Whites and 21% for Indians.

Although the patterns of case outcome show significant differences across the races, this does not immediately imply that discrimination is involved. Case outcome also depends heavily on criminal history records and the circumstances of the crimes. Further examination of the statistics does indeed show that much of the differences in race is accounted for by whether a gun was used in the crime.

In Figures 14, 15, and 16 (in appendix) we show flowcharts for each race for those who were arrested for violent crimes where guns were used by the assailant. Note first that of 1,260 whites arrested for violent crimes, 415 (33%) had used a gun. For Blacks, however, gun usage was much higher; it involved 224 of 465 (48%) defendants; and for Indians 42 of 177 (24%). That is, Blacks were the most likely to use a gun in a violent crime, while Indians were the least likely.

Among those convicted of violent gun crimes racial differences diminish. For Whites 44% of those convicted received prison sentences compared to 54% for Blacks and 52% for Indians. **So it is possible to conclude that because Blacks are significantly more likely to use guns than Whites, the apparent differences seen above in sentencing for violent crimes are largely the result of heavier sanctions being imposed on gun using criminals.** This factor does not explain the sentencing of Indians, however, who were even less likely than Whites to use guns.

We can also infer from the high involvement of Blacks in gun crimes that the criminal histories of recidivists would more likely show a record of gun usage, and this factor would also account for some of the differences in sentencing between Blacks and Whites. It may be that Indians also have generally more serious criminal records than Whites, but we cannot say from this data. **In all, it is harder to rule out the possibility of discrimination against Indians than it is for Blacks, in the prosecution of violent crimes.**

As we turn to the next section of the report we shall look at the question of racial discrimination using a different method of statistical analysis.

## Factors Affecting the Incarceration of Convicted Felons.

In this analysis our focus is on the type of sentence: no incarceration, jail, or prison. We use a statistical method, discriminant analysis, which allows us to examine simultaneously the effect of several factors on how a convicted defendant is sentenced. Factors included are: the race (White or minority), age, and sex of the defendant, the severity of the crime (where we rank the crimes numerically in order of seriousness according to Federal guidelines), whether a gun was used, whether the county where the crime was committed participates in the Community Corrections Act, whether the crime was committed in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties, and whether the county jail was filled to capacity on average during the year.

Because a number of jails in the state are operating at virtually full levels, it is important to investigate, if possible, what sentencing factors may be causing heavy jail usage. Furthermore, the state has invested heavily in community corrections in the anticipation that local communities would take on a greater share of the burden, so inclusion of this factor allows a partial analysis of the impact of community corrections on sentencing decisions.

We have restricted the analysis to those counties that have jails approved for 1 year incarceration. There are 27 such counties, of which 14 were under the Community Corrections Act. Most of the population of the state is in these 27 counties.

The method of discriminant analysis answers the research question of what factors best predict whether a convicted person will receive one of two alternatives. In the first instance we analyze the alternatives no incarceration or jail; in the second instance we analyze the jail or prison decision. We further breakdown the analysis by crime type so that we consider in turn all felonies, violent crimes only, and then the property crimes of burglary, larceny, and auto theft taken together.

First, concerning the no incarceration or jail decision we find that the sex of the defendant is the most important factor, generally, in determining whether the offender goes to jail or not. Males are more likely to go to jail than females, other things equal. For all classes of crimes, the severity factor also predicts fairly well—the more serious the crime, the more likely is a jail sentence. The results also indicate a small but statistically significant effect of race, with minorities somewhat more likely to go to jail than Whites; this applies to all categories of crimes. There is also a slight tendency for younger offenders to receive sentences of jail. Community corrections counties also show a higher likelihood of jail sentences.

All of these factors together, however, only explain or predict correctly in 56% to 59% of the cases whether a convicted defendant will go to jail or not be confined. In other words, in almost half of the sentences where jail or no incarceration is the issue, other (unknown) factors are determining what happens. These factors might include criminal history, the employment status of the defendant, or circumstances of the crimes. Discretion or lack of consistency in the prosecution of defendants may also be involved.

On the question of whether a convicted defendant goes to jail or prison, we obtain similar results. Females are less likely to go to prison, other things equal. Those who commit more serious crimes are more likely to go to prison. **The use of a gun in a crime is the strongest single factor in predicting commitment to a state prison**, which reinforces the previous analysis of gun crimes. We also find that older criminals, perhaps because of longer criminal records, are somewhat more likely to go to prison. **The least significant factors are race—with minorities slightly more likely to be sentenced to prison than jail—and participation in community corrections, which also predisposes toward a prison sentence.** If we look at the property crimes alone, however, we do not find any significant factors other than the relative severity of the crime in predicting jail or prison sentences.

Again the overall prediction success rate is not very high, at about 60%, which indicates that other unaccounted for factors are also heavily involved in the jail or prison decision. The exception is for violent crimes where the gun factor boosts the successful prediction rate to 77%.

Notable by its absence as a strong explanatory factor is participation in community corrections. **Indeed community corrections seems to have a slight influence in the opposite direction than intended: namely, resulting in more offenders being confined than fewer, and more commitments to state institutions.** A similar observation was made in a recent study of the effectiveness of community corrections: "The CCA appears to increase the severity of community sanctions. In general there is a decrease in the use of probation and an increase in probation with a condition of jail."<sup>1</sup> The evaluation also reported that it was not clearly proven that the CCA had increased the number of offenders retained in the community (as opposed to prison).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minnesota Community Corrections Act Evaluation-Appropriateness of Sanctions," Minnesota Department of Corrections, January 1981, p 23.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.—"Retaining Offenders in the Community," pp. 19-23.

That the analysis here validates findings of the Community Corrections Act evaluation demonstrates how well the criminal justice database can perform. Moreover, this shows the possibility of future monitoring of the Community Corrections Act at low cost by using the statistical database to watch for significant changes in sentencing patterns.

The analysis does not give a complete answer to why certain jails are overcrowded, but we can observe that the fact of overcrowding itself does not seem to bear on sentencing decisions. **More striking is the simple fact that among felony defendants nearly four times as many are being incarcerated in jail than in prison.** And the fact that even larger numbers of felony defendants receive no incarceration implies that small changes in the decisions about who goes to jail and who does not can have a substantial impact on jail population. In other words, there is a great "reservoir" of potential candidates for jail, and one can imagine that local variations in sentencing practices can easily produce jail overcrowding.

Although the state has made conditions for prison sentences very specific in the sentencing guidelines, no comparable guidelines exist to govern the sentencing of felons to jail. Yet we have seen that jails are much more commonly used to hold convicted felons than prisons. **These observations suggest that if uniformity and consistency in sentencing is a goal for all felony cases—not just when a prison sentence is at issue—then the legislature ought to consider the feasibility of guidelines for jail incarceration.** Such a change in public policy might benefit jails in that they could better estimate the demands for jail capacity and services.

This analysis also points out potential directions of change in the use of jails and prisons. As treatment of men and women becomes more uniform in the criminal justice system, one can expect to see an increase in the numbers of women in correctional facilities. The recent (1981) change in legislation mandating prison sentences for those who use guns in violent crimes has an even greater potential for increasing prison population. Had such a law been in effect in the period of our data analysis, up to 200 additional persons might have been given prison sentences. Whether such an increase will now come about remains to be seen; given the extent of discretion in the processing of criminal defendants it is by no means certain what the practical result of the legislative mandate will be. We plan to examine this issue in the future when another year's criminal justice statistics becomes available for analysis.





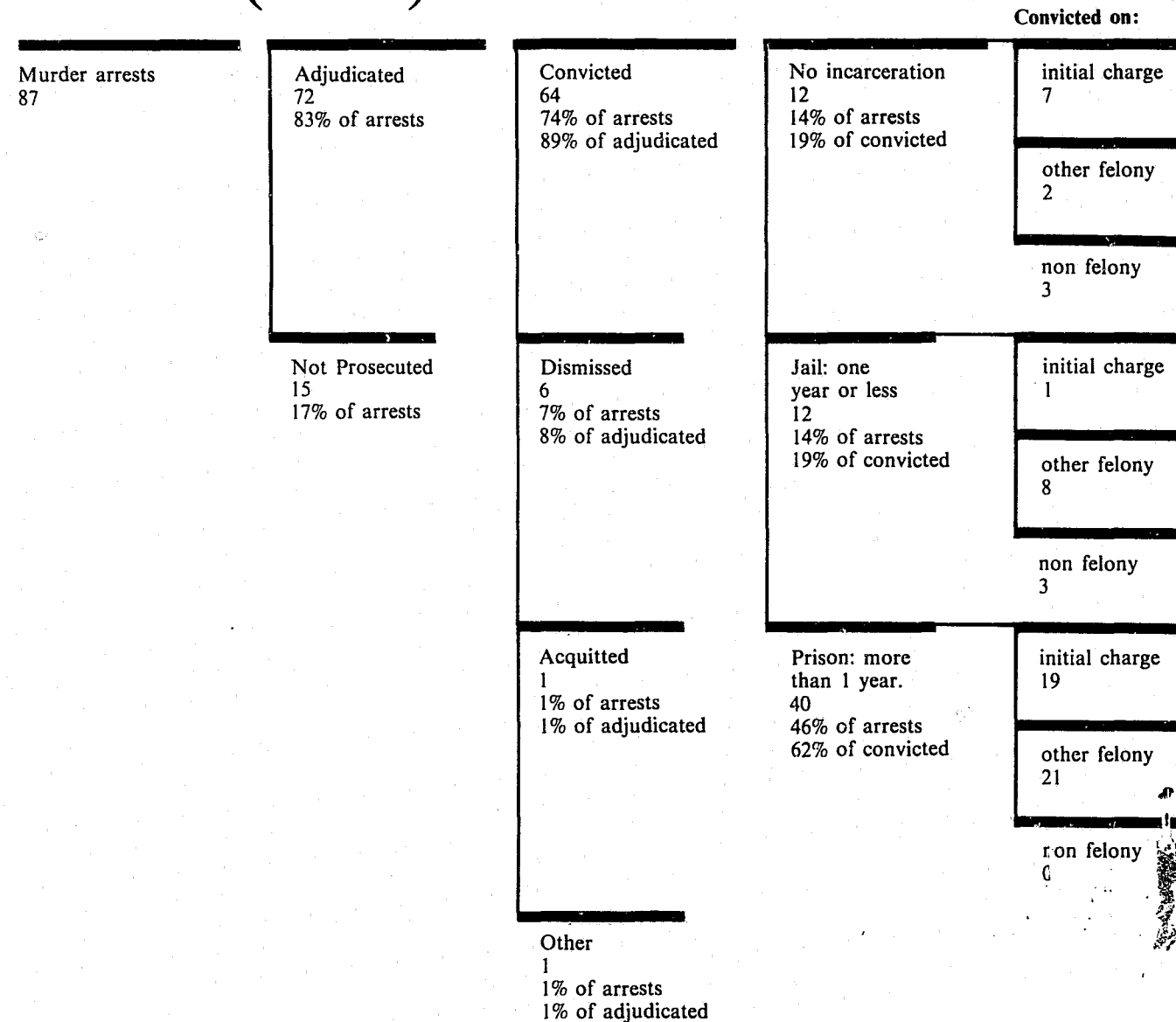
# Processing of adult felony defendants (1981)

1  
FIGURE

<b>Adult felony arrests</b> 11,805	<b>Adjudicated</b> 8,230 70% of arrests	<b>Convicted</b> 7178 61% of arrests 87% of adjudicated	<b>No incarceration</b> 3382 29% of arrests 47% of convicted	<b>Convicted on:</b>	
				initial charge 2137	other felony 374
<b>Not prosecuted</b> 3575 30% of arrests	<b>Dismissed</b> 727 6% of arrests 9% of adjudicated	<b>Acquitted</b> 86 1% of arrests 1% of adjudicated	<b>Jail: one year or less</b> 2981 25% of arrests 42% of convicted	<b>Convicted on:</b>	
				initial charge 1896	other felony 533
<b>Other</b> 239 2% of arrests 3% of adjudicated	<b>Prison: more than 1 year</b> 815 7% of arrests 11% of convicted	<b>Other</b> 239 2% of arrests 3% of adjudicated	<b>Prison: more than 1 year</b> 815 7% of arrests 11% of convicted	<b>Convicted on:</b>	
				initial charge 545	other felony 263
			<b>non-felony</b> 7		

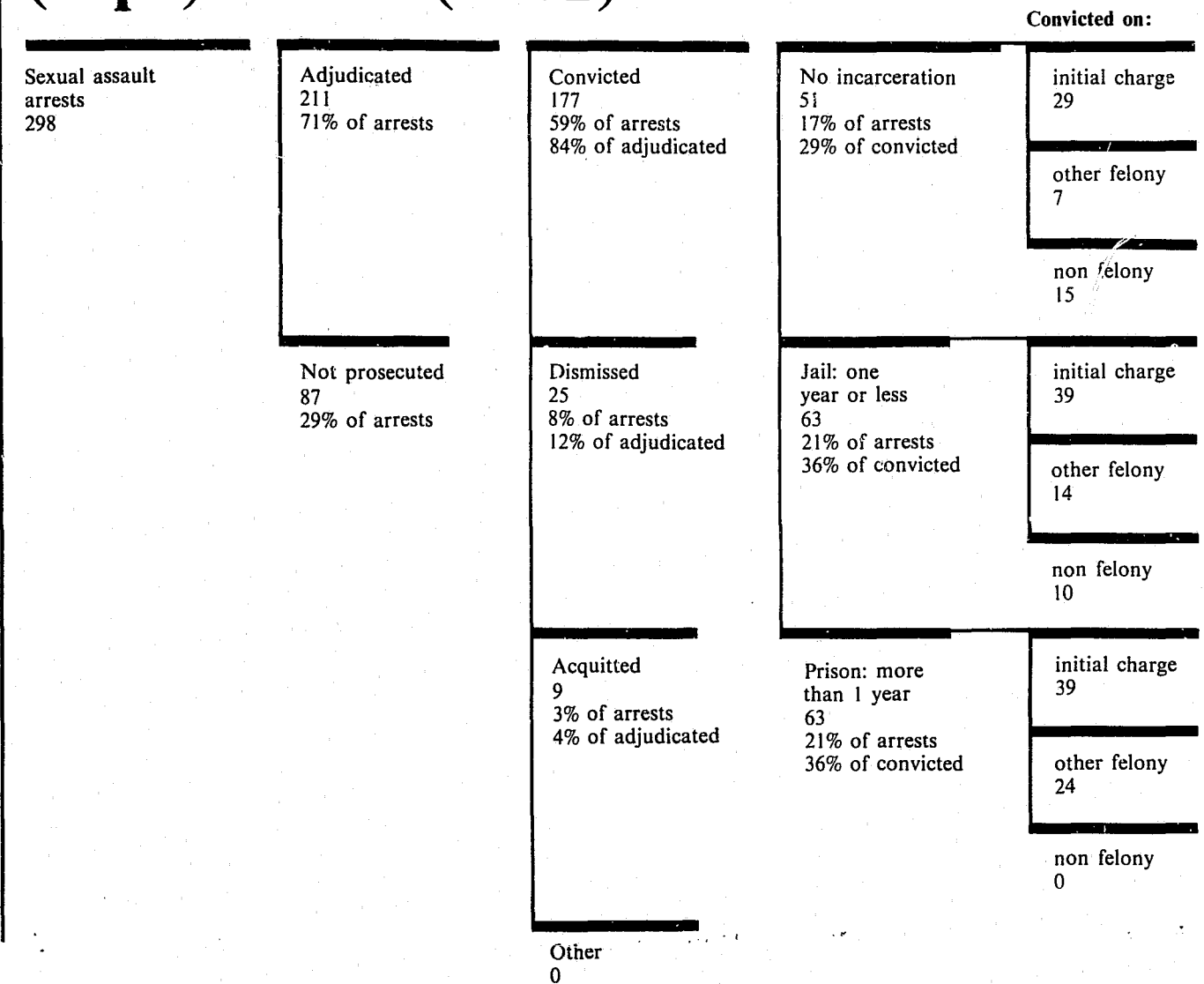
## Processing of adult murder arrests (1981).

2  
FIGURE



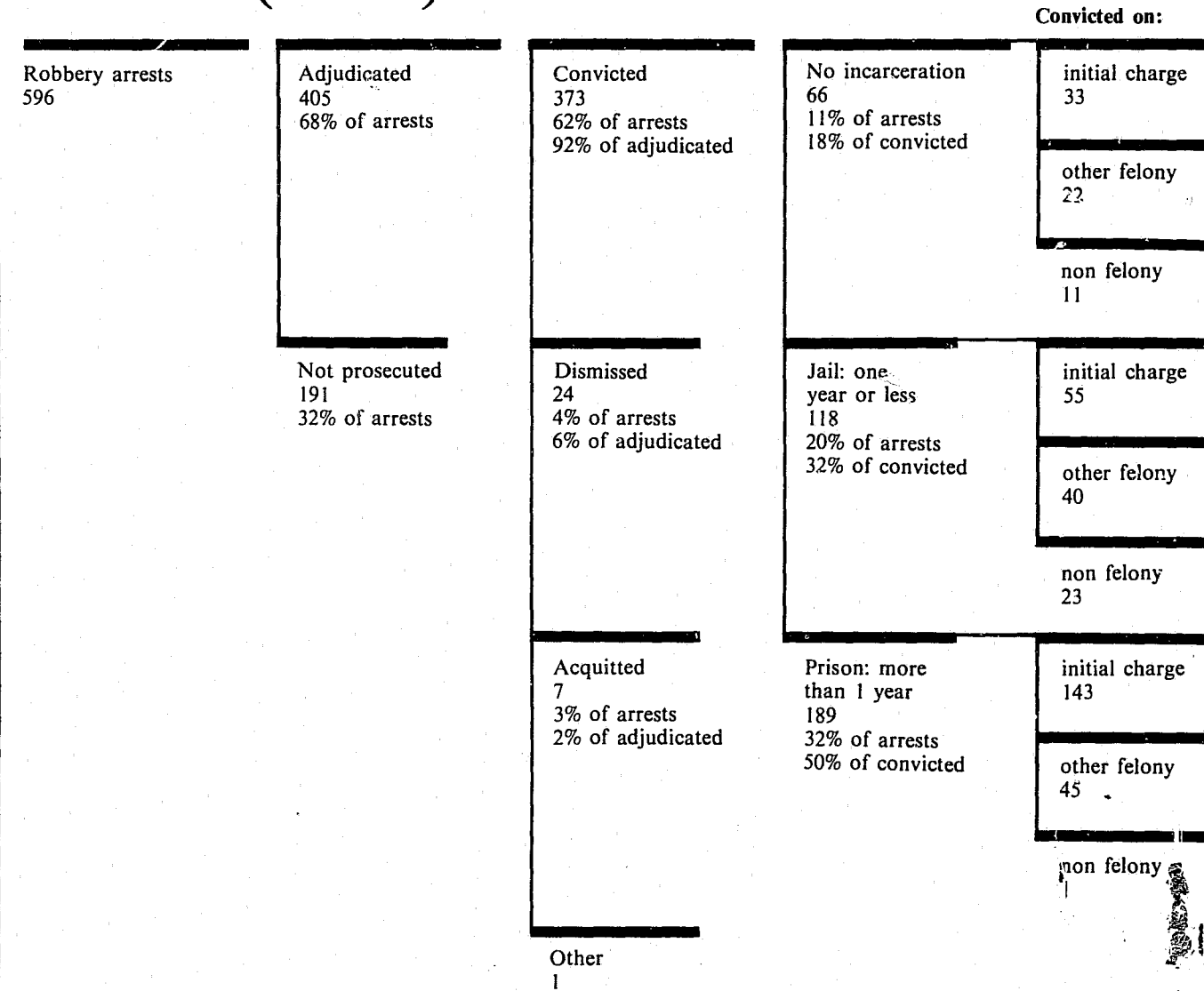
## Processing of adult sexual assault (rape) arrests (1981).

3  
FIGURE



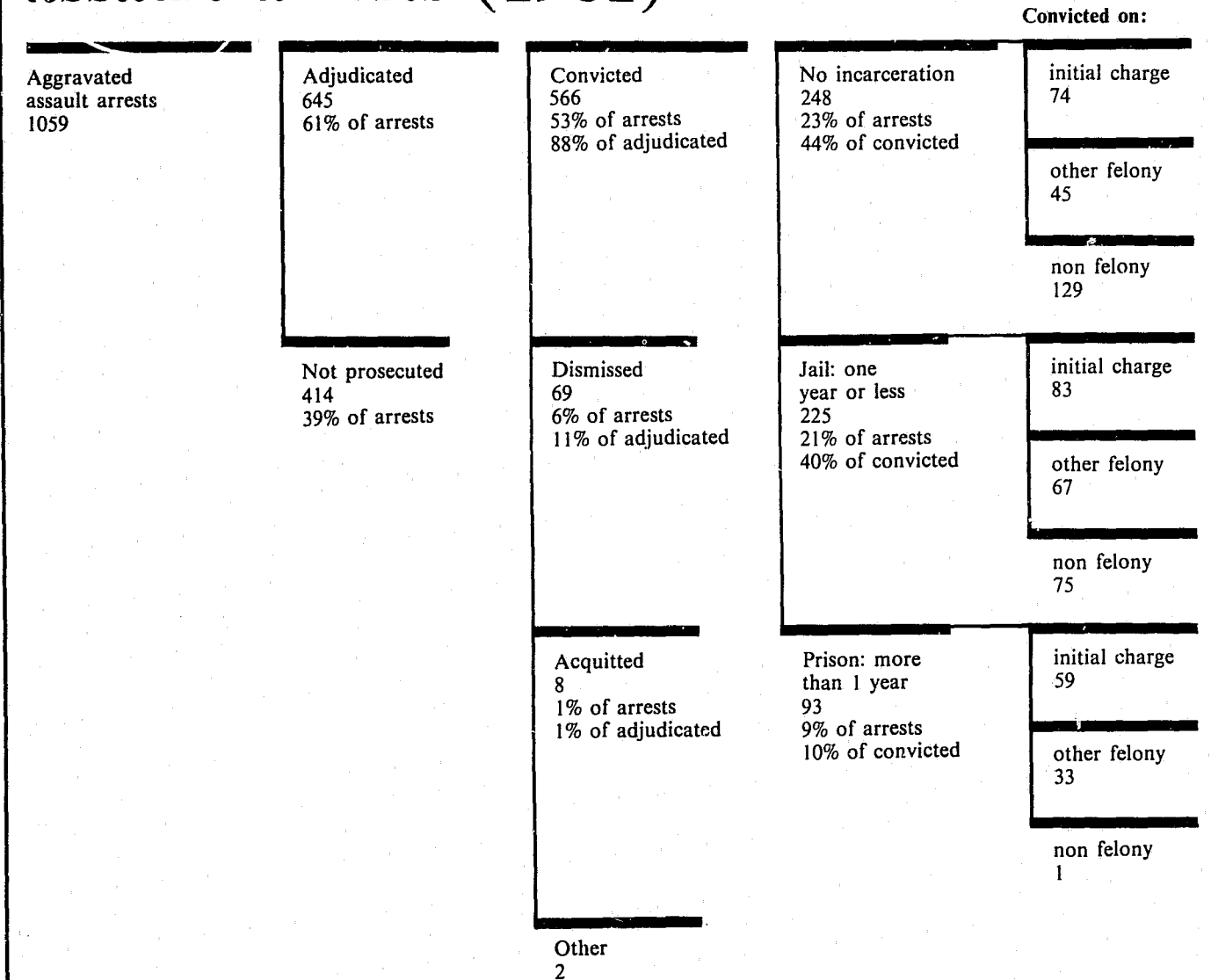
## Processing of adult robbery arrests (1981).

4  
FIGURE



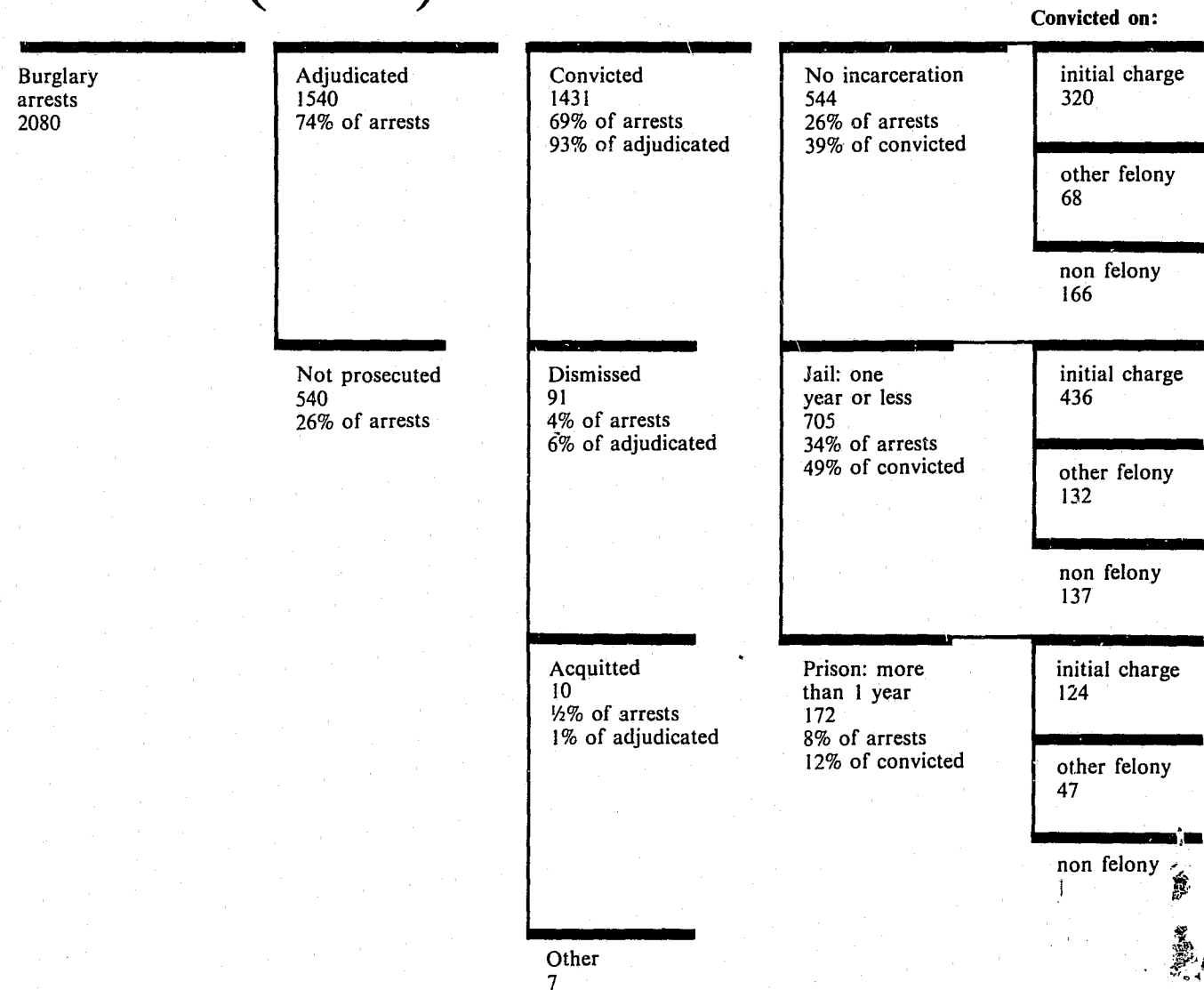
## Processing of adult aggravated assault arrests (1981).

5  
FIGURE



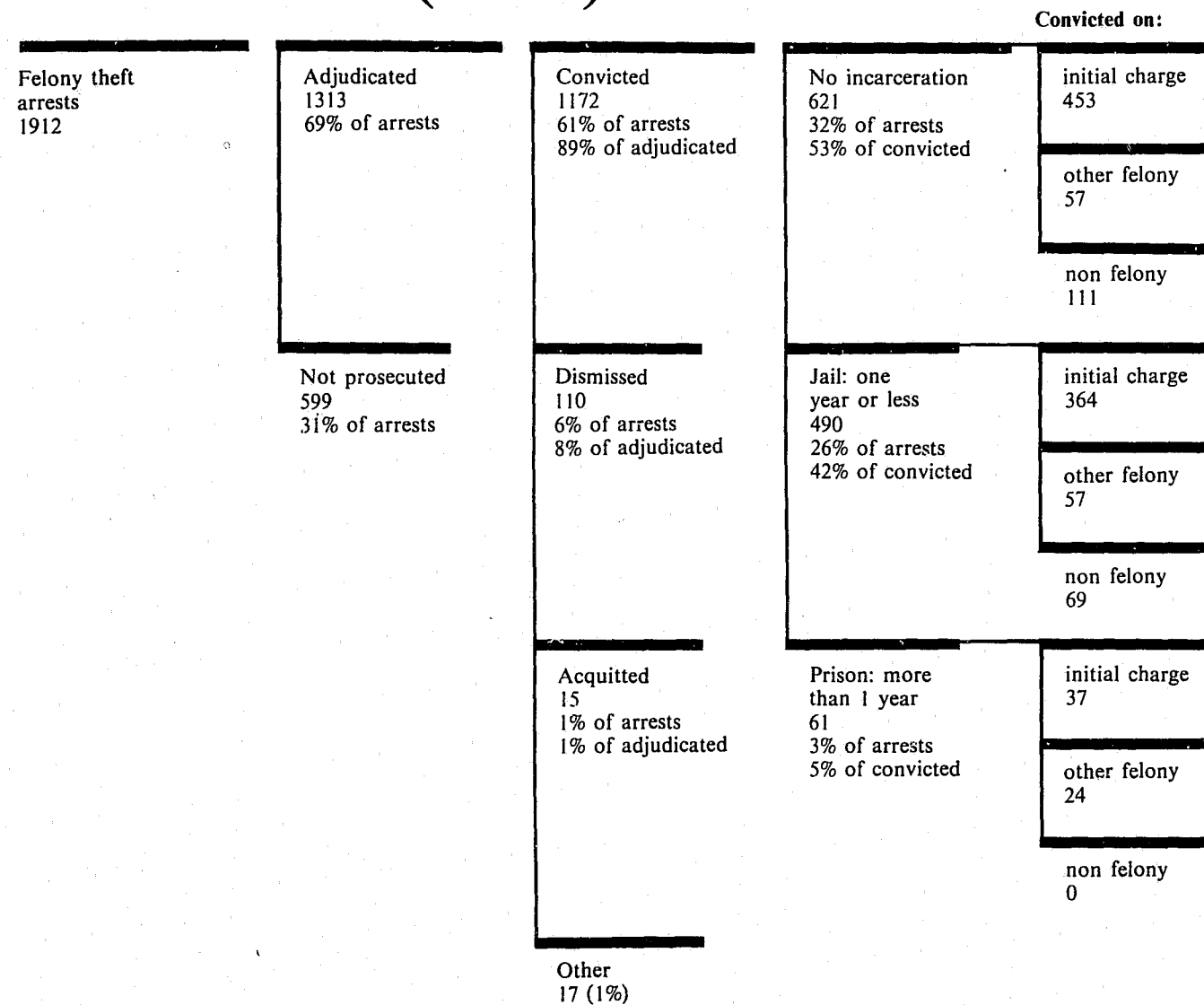
# Processing of adult burglary arrests (1981).

6  
FIGURE



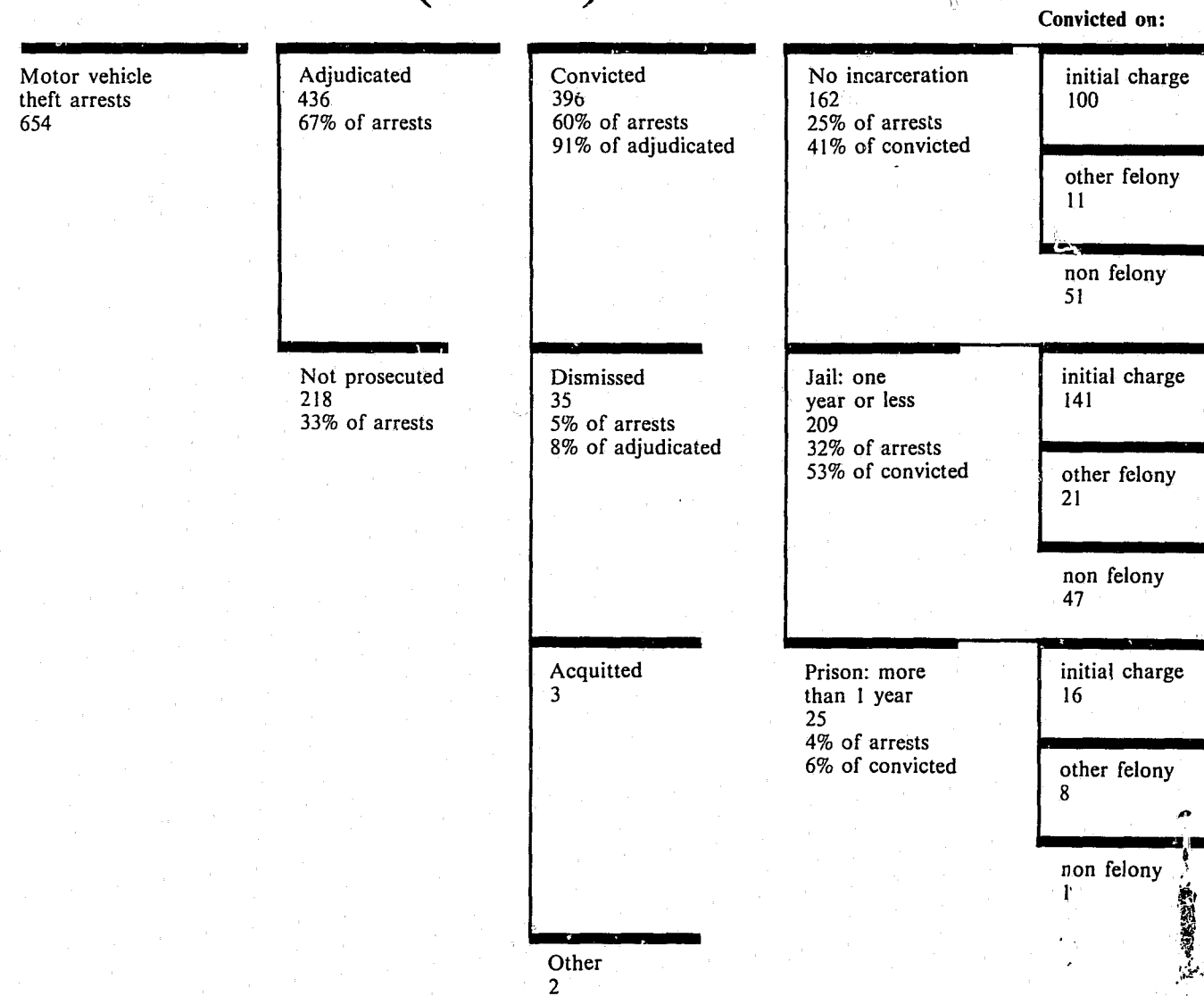
# Processing of adult felony theft arrests (1981).

7  
FIGURE



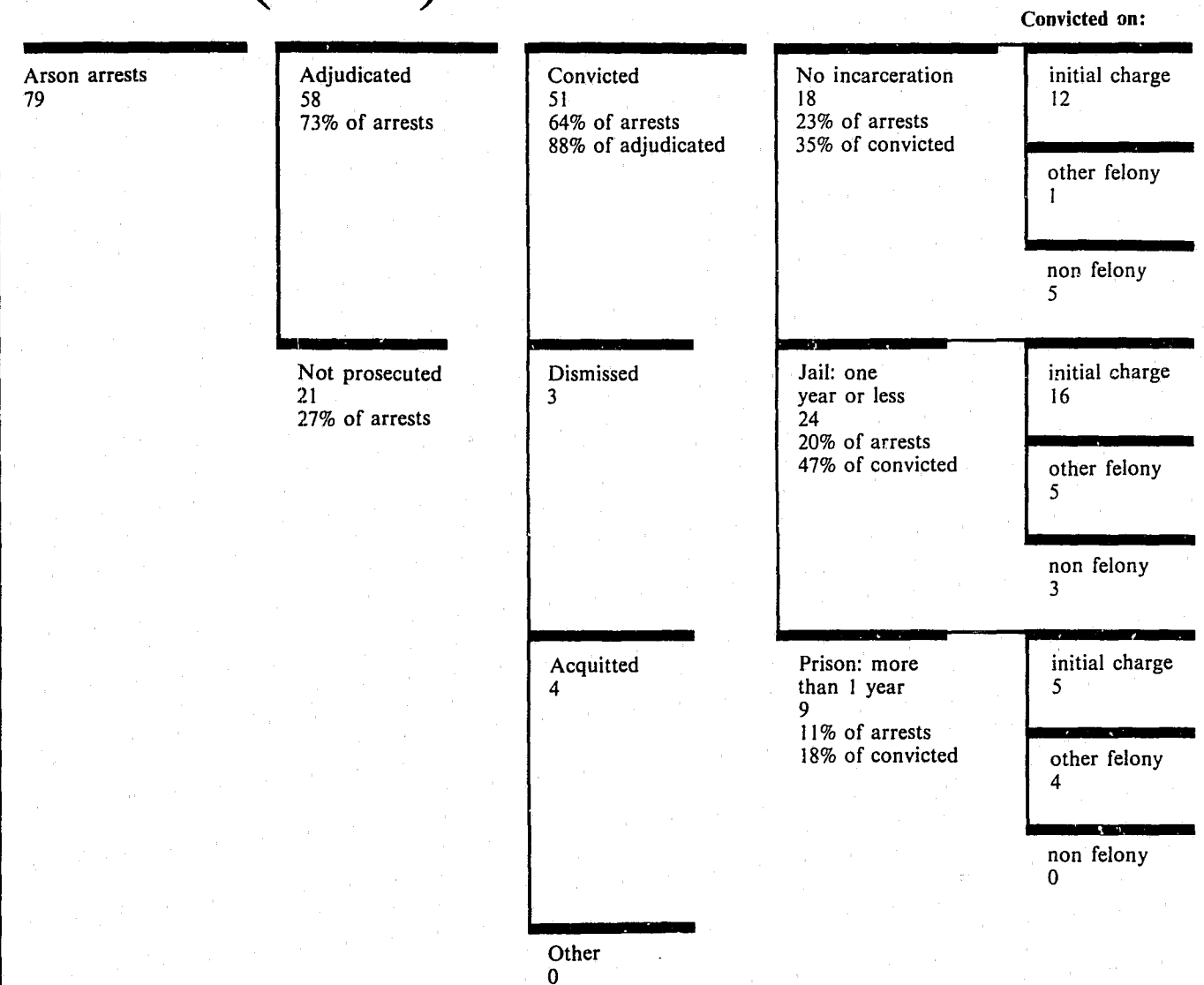
## Processing of adult motor vehicle theft arrests (1981).

8  
FIGURE



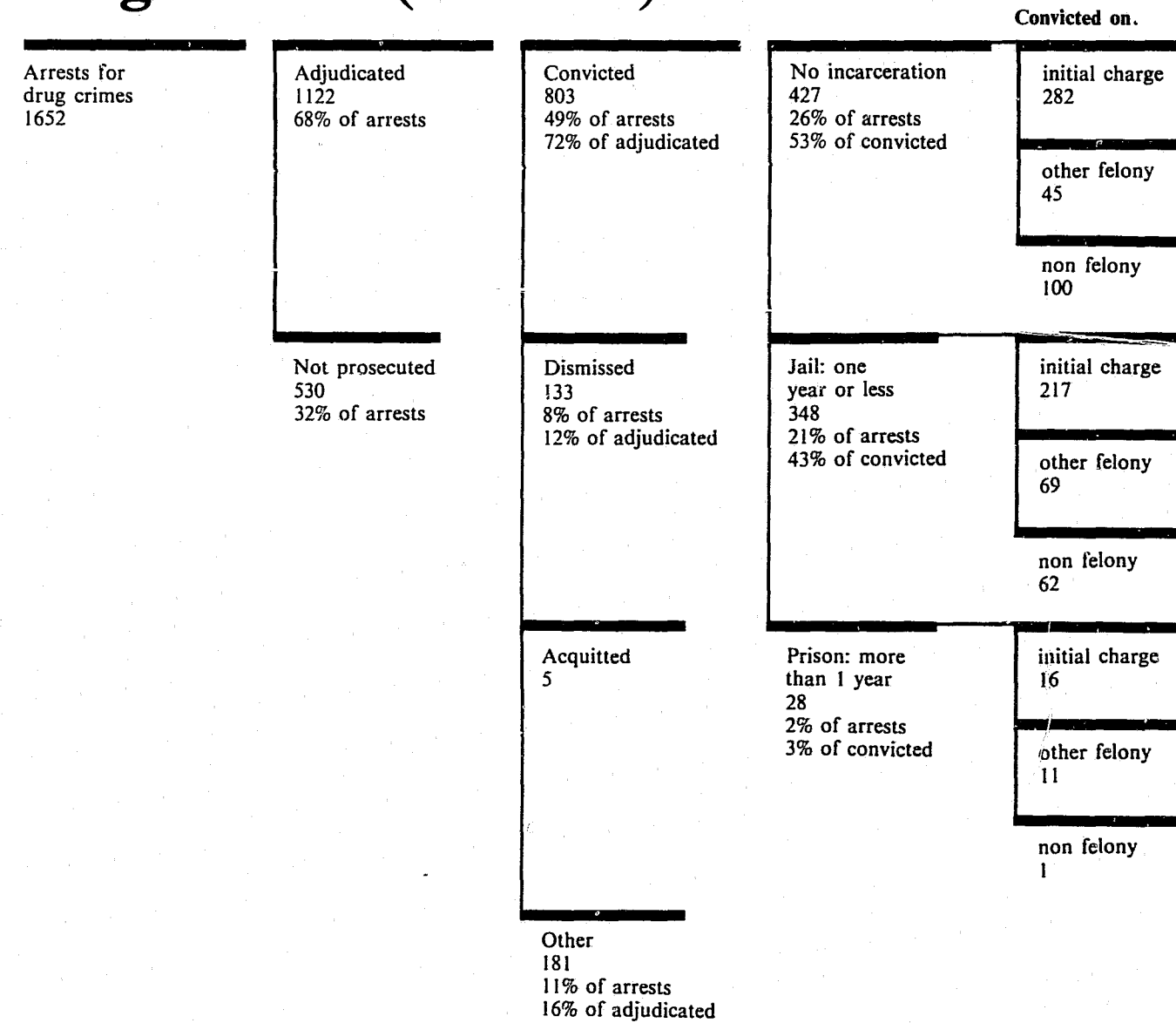
## Processing of adult arson arrests (1981).

9  
FIGURE



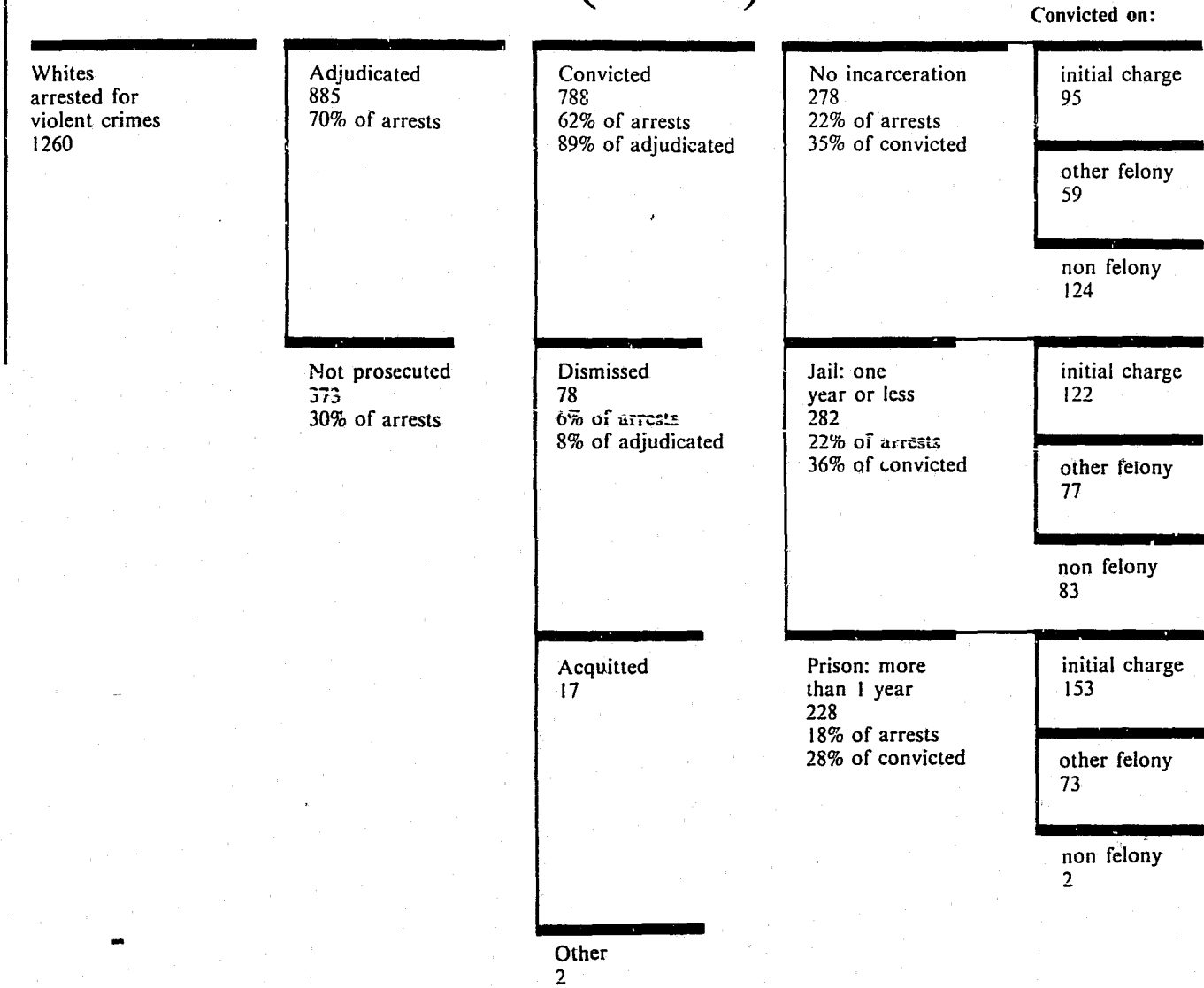
# Processing of adults arrested for drug crimes (felonies)—1981.

10  
FIGURE



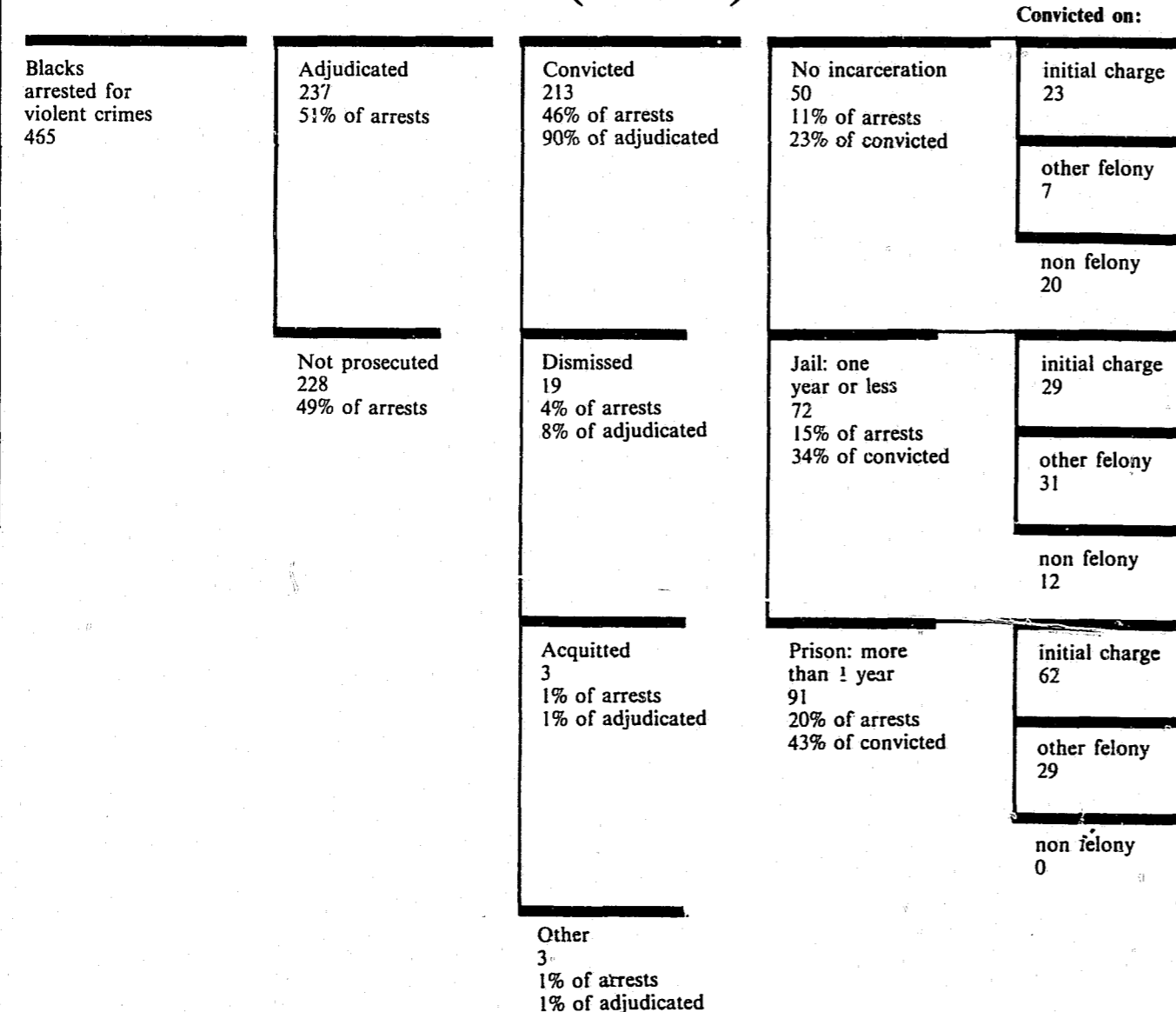
# Processing of White adults arrested for violent crimes (1981).

11  
FIGURE



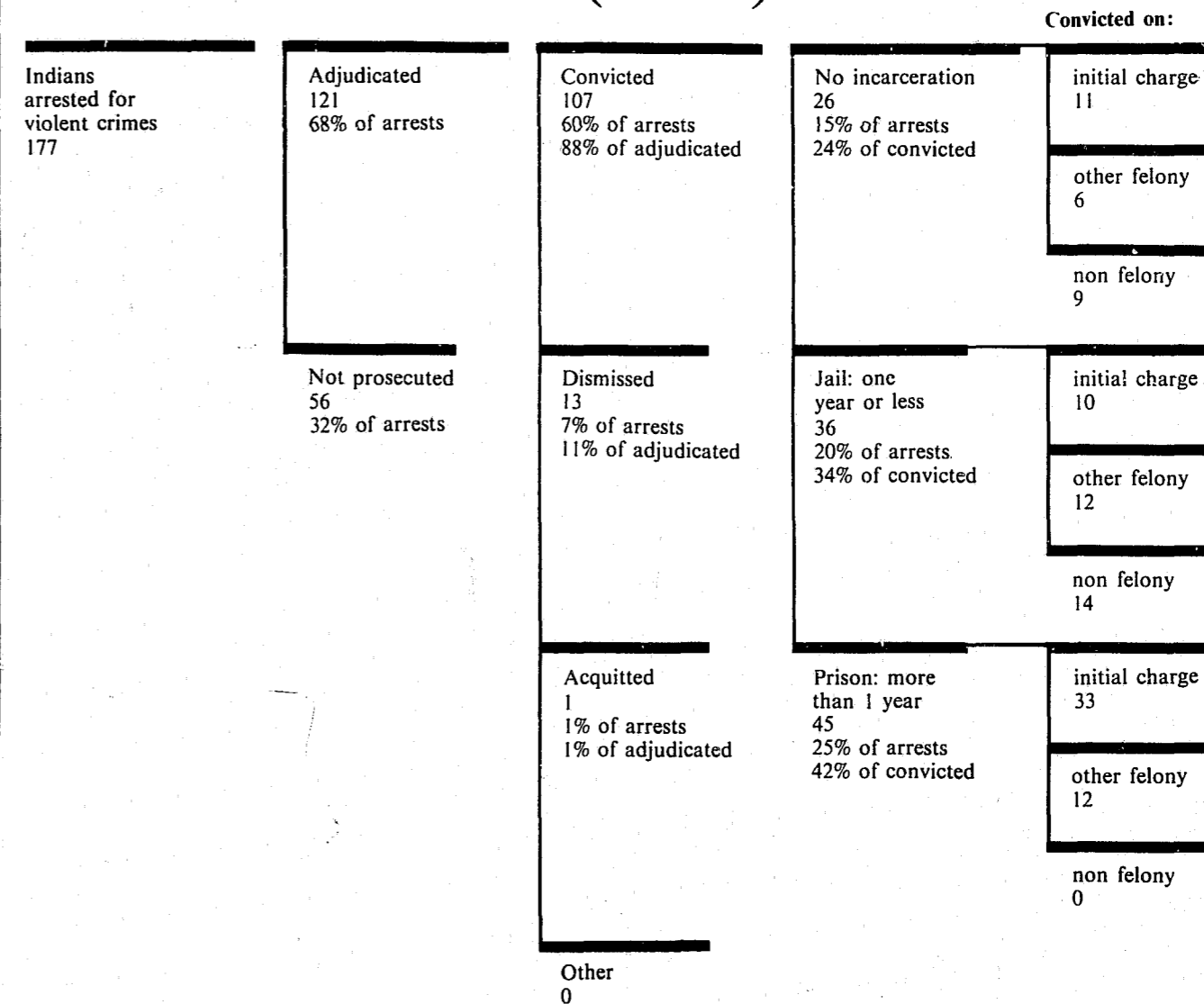
12  
FIGURE

## Processing of Black adults arrested for violent crimes (1981).



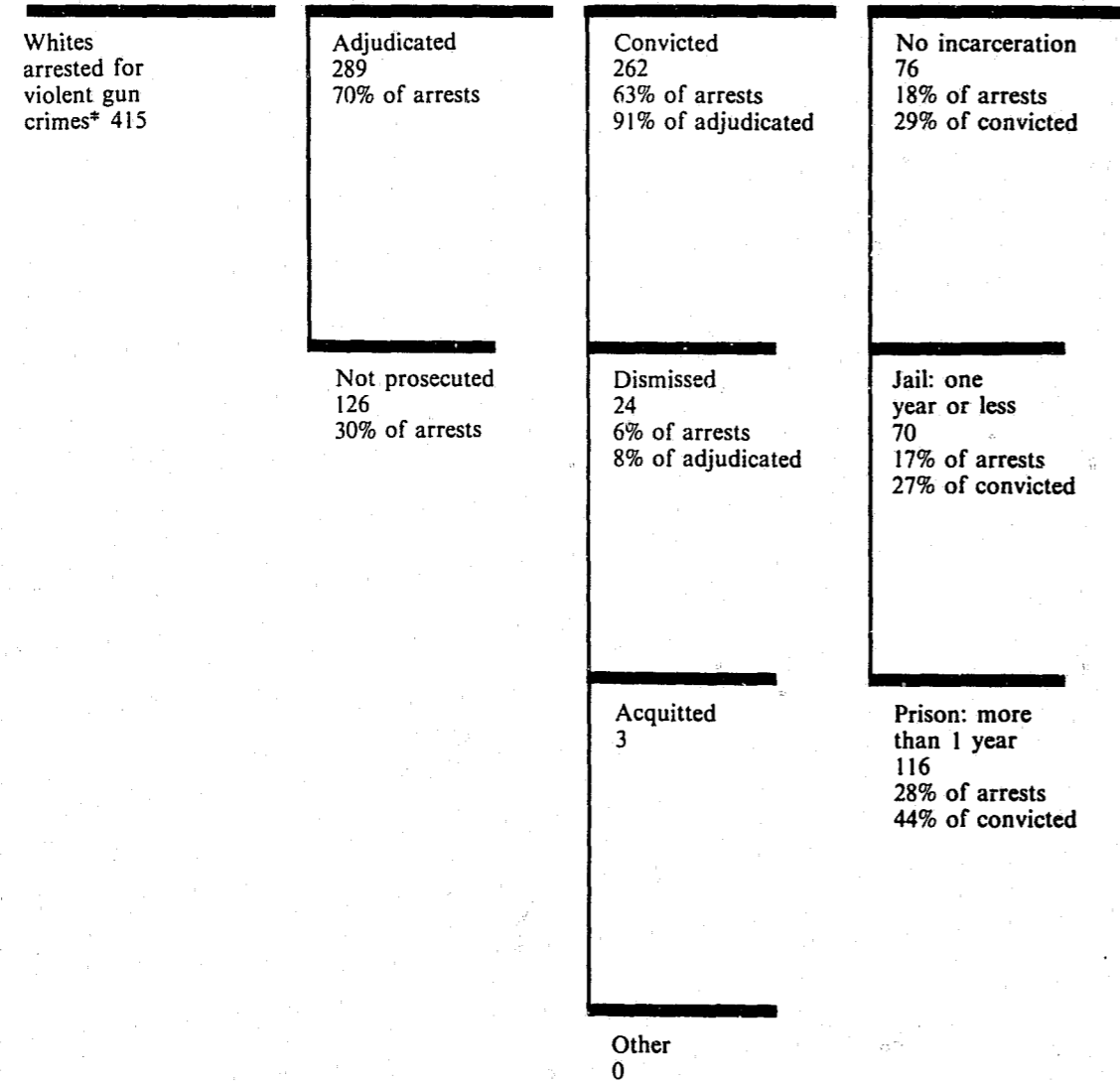
13  
FIGURE

## Processing of Indian adults arrested for violent crimes (1981).



# Processing of White adults arrested for violent gun crimes\* (1981).

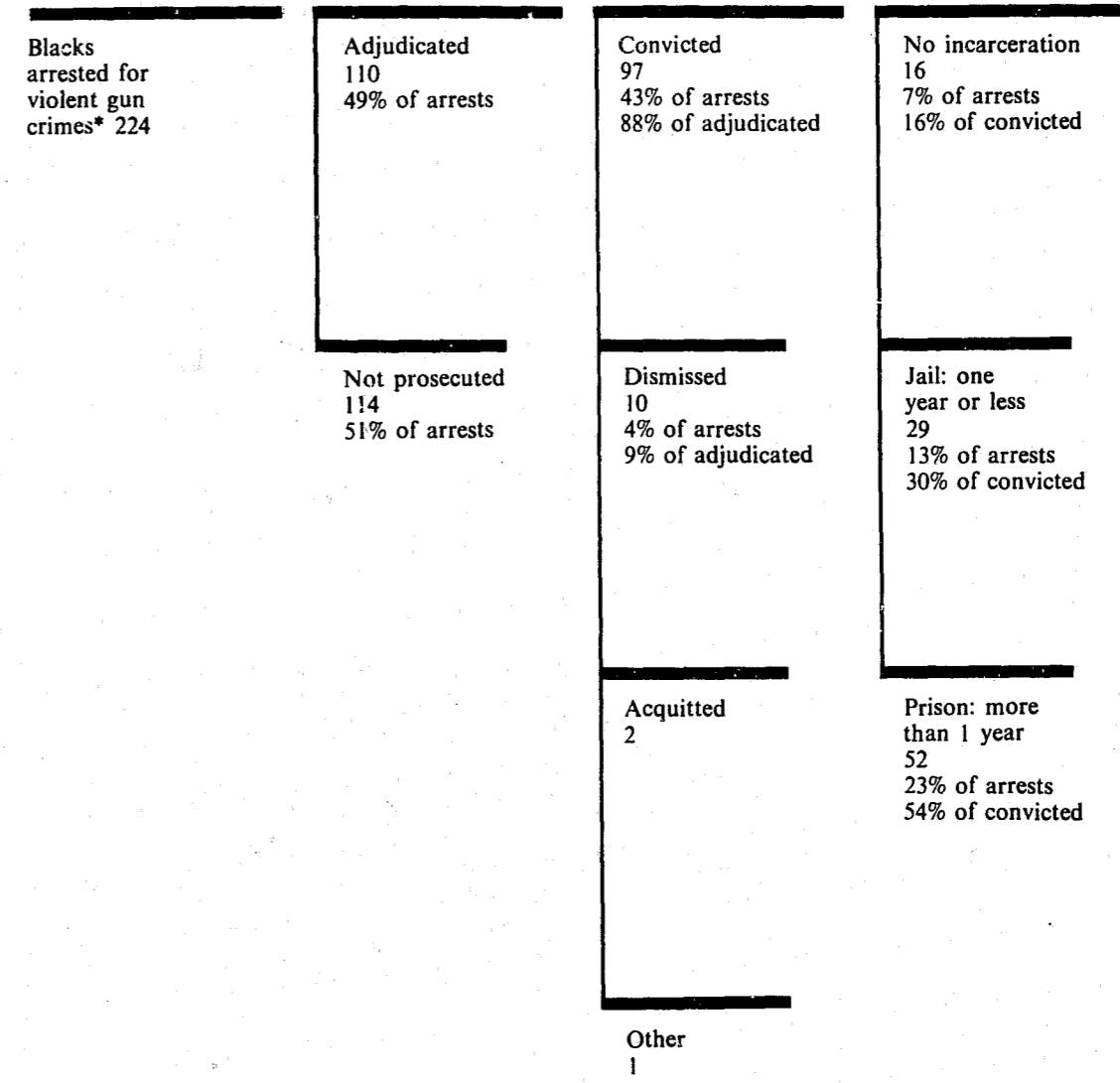
14  
FIGURE



\*except murder

# Processing of Black adults arrested for violent gun crimes\* (1981).

15  
FIGURE



\*except murder



# Processing of Indian adults arrested for violent gun crimes\* (1981).

16  
FIGURE

Indians arrested for violent gun crimes\* 42

Adjudicated  
21  
74% of arrests

Convicted  
29  
69% of arrests  
94% of adjudicated

No incarceration  
7  
17% of arrests  
24% of convicted

Not prosecuted  
11  
26% of arrests

Dismissed  
2

Jail: one year or less  
7  
17% of arrests  
24% of convicted

Acquitted  
0

Prison: more than 1 year  
15  
36% of arrests  
52% of convicted

Other  
0

\*except murder

**END**