

# **Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts**

**A Special Report from  
The Bulletin of Cannabis Reform**

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# Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

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## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

### Executive Summary

In 2006 there were 9,124 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in Massachusetts. Of these, or 86% were for possession (7,857), the rest were for sales (1,267). Marijuana arrests have been increasing over the last several years, for example arrests averaged 8,986 during the preceding three years.

Marijuana arrests in the United States increased 3% annually from 1994 to 2005. In Massachusetts marijuana arrests decreased by 3.5% per year during this same period.

From 1992 to 2006, the criminal justice system doubled its share of marijuana-related referrals for drug treatment services from 26.89% in 1992 to 52.28% in 2006. With the sole exception of 2002, the percentage referred by the criminal justice system has increased every year.

Marijuana use is more widely used in New England than in the rest of the United States. The prevalence of monthly marijuana use in New England is 33% higher than in the United States as a whole. Despite this relative popularity the total number of annual users of marijuana in Massachusetts has declined from 2003 to 2006, from 832,000 to 696,000 or from 15.45% to 12.91% of the population over age 12.

Marijuana arrests disproportionately affect young males. Over 60% of all marijuana possession arrests are males between the ages of 15 and 24. Including females in this age range, people between the ages of 15 and 24 comprise 70% of all marijuana possession arrests. The arrest rate for males age 15 to 19 is 1,371.38 per 100,000. The arrest rate for males age 20 to 24 is 1,005.95. Males age 15 to 19 comprised 7.22% of the male population in Massachusetts in 2006, but this age group accounts for 40.42% of all males arrested for

marijuana possession.

Young adults aged 18 to 25 make up 39.16% of monthly marijuana users. Young adults ages 18 to 34 account for 52.34% of marijuana possession arrests. Adults 26 and older account for 50.12% of marijuana users. Adults 25 and older account for 27.89% of marijuana arrests.

A similar disparity exists with respect to race. Blacks account for 6.89% of the population in Massachusetts but account for 23% of marijuana possession arrests. The prevalence of marijuana use among blacks nationwide is 17% to 20% greater than among whites, but this does not account for their disproportionate share of marijuana possession arrests. The arrest rate for marijuana possession for whites in Massachusetts is 115.92 while the arrest rate for marijuana possession for blacks is 441.11.

The greatest marijuana possession arrest rate for blacks in Massachusetts is in Franklin County; the arrest rate for whites in Franklin is 150.52 but for blacks it is 10 times greater, 1,032.25 per 100,000. In Bristol County the arrest rate for marijuana possession for blacks is 772.34, in Barnstable 746.67, and in Berkshire 677.12. In every county in the state the arrest rate for blacks is significantly greater than for whites. For many of the counties in Massachusetts, the smaller the size of the black population the greater the arrest rate for blacks for marijuana possession.

Thirty-two local police agencies account for 60% of all the marijuana arrests in Massachusetts, including 6 State Police agencies and 2 University police stations. The five leading agencies providing the most marijuana arrests in the state are Boston (1,757), New Bedford (392), the State Police in Essex County (324), Springfield (246) and Worcester (241).

## **Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts**

The total expense for the criminal justice system in Massachusetts in 2005 is \$3.4 billion. Estimates of the cost of marijuana offenses (both possession and sales) in Massachusetts range from \$55.1 to \$213.6 million.

Marijuana law enforcement diverts law enforcement resources from protecting the public from violent and property related crimes. During 2006 Massachusetts police were able to clear 49.1% of murders, 29.3% of rapes, 22.9% of robberies, 45% of assaults, 9.9% of burglaries, 12.5% of larcenies, 8.9% of motor vehicle thefts, and 22.8% of these 7 crimes combined.



## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

### Preface

Arrests for criminal offenses have costs and benefits.

An arrest for a criminal offense is a very serious event with far-reaching implications for both society and the individual arrested. An arrest is part of a larger process of seeking justice. A crime was committed, an investigation was conducted, a defendant was implicated and brought to justice, and having been arrested the defendant will be subjected to a trial and if found guilty of the offense sentenced and punished. An arrest requires the utilization of public resources, both in terms of the law enforcement resources deployed in making the arrest as well as the additional resources required in its aftermath. Expenses include the administrative and practical matters of processing the individual, keeping them in custody or providing for their supervision prior to trial, preparing their prosecution, conducting a trial, and if the individual is convicted providing for their incarceration.

Arrests for marijuana-related offenses usually fall into two categories, possession and sales. Within each category another distinction regarding the amount of marijuana involved is often utilized to evaluate the seriousness of the offense and both the degree of sanction and the level of public expense required to satisfy the responsibilities of the criminal justice system. Indeed many jurisdictions have official and unofficial policies designed to mitigate the potential costs of marijuana arrests. These policies include reclassification of possession of small amounts of marijuana from criminal to civil offenses in which a court summons and/or a civil fine is substituted for a criminal arrest. Another popular remedy is the adoption of lenient sentencing policies for first offenders or for offenses involving amounts of marijuana consistent with personal use rather than for

sales or distribution. Nonetheless, arrests for marijuana, like arrests for any other offense, result in the expenditure of limited and often over-burdened resources of the criminal justice system. While marijuana arrests in general may be considered a lower priority than for example, violent crime, specific marijuana arrests result in specific cost expenditures.

The benefits of marijuana arrests are generally thought to be found in their impact or influence on the use of marijuana, particularly its use by teenagers. There are several potential justifications for classifying marijuana use as a crime and an evaluation of the theoretical basis for these is beyond the scope of this report. These justifications generally involve issues of punishment, treatment, and deterrence. While the first, punishment, is a question of community values the latter two, treatment and deterrence, are subject to verification. In the jargon of policy analysis punishment is a policy output which can be measured, however that measurement does not indicate whether or not the policy was successful or not. Treatment and deterrence, though, are examples of policy outcomes, which can be measured and used to evaluate the effectiveness of the policy approach.

Analysis of marijuana arrest trends is important because it provides an indication of the costs involved with the public policy of attempting to prohibit or control marijuana use through the use of criminal sanctions. These costs fall into two categories, social and personal. The social costs tend to be fiscal and reflect the expenditures of the criminal justice system to enforce marijuana laws as well as the tax revenue lost to society by decision to forego regulation of marijuana-related commerce. The personal costs include the stigma of arrest, loss of time and income due to incarceration, and the costs of retaining an attorney for defense against

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

criminal charges. However one of the most significant, and lasting, personal costs of an arrest for a marijuana-related offense is the impact of a criminal record on future employment. Analysis of arrest data provides an indication of how these costs are distributed throughout society and to what extent, if any, enforcement disproportionately affects different social groups in terms of age, sex, or racial characteristics.

The benefits of marijuana arrests can also be evaluated, in part, by examination of data on treatment admissions involving marijuana use and review of survey data on the prevalence and population levels of marijuana use and changes in these data over time.

Finally, the more specific costs of marijuana arrests can be evaluated with respect to overall expenditures and other performance indicators for the criminal justice system, specifically the ability of police to make arrests for violent crimes, otherwise referred to as clearance rates.

### Introduction

In Massachusetts there were 9,124 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in 2006. Of these, 7,857 or 86% were for possession, the remaining 1,267 were for sales. Marijuana arrests have been increasing over the last several years, for example arrests averaged 8,986 during the preceding three years.

Arrest rates in this report are presented in a standardized format of the number of arrests per 100,000 population. When referring to a particular demographic category arrest rates refer to arrests per 100,000 population of that category, otherwise they refer to the general population. This convention provides for easy comparison of arrests in jurisdictions with different populations or among demographic groups of different size. The

arrest rate for marijuana offenses in Massachusetts is 155.97, and for marijuana possession the arrest rate was 134.31. However the arrest rate, particularly for possession, was much higher among young males and among blacks. For example the arrest rate for males age 15 to 19 was 1,371.38 and for males age 20 to 24 the rate was 1005.95. The marijuana possession arrest rate for whites in Massachusetts in 2006 was 115.92 while for blacks the rate was 441.11.

Nationally, despite record arrest levels the extent of marijuana use in the United States has remained unchanged over the last six years. (See Appendix 1 for comparison of national marijuana arrests and monthly marijuana use from 1990 to 2007.) Since 2002 the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) has indicated that there have been 25 million annual users of marijuana in the United States. In 2006 marijuana was used in the last year by 10.4% of the population aged 12 and older in the United States, and in the last month by 6.1% of this population. In Massachusetts 12.9% of this overall age group used marijuana in the last year and 8.0% of this group used marijuana in the last month.

Suffolk County led the state in marijuana possession arrests at 1,602 followed by Worcester, Bristol, Middlesex, and Essex. These five counties combined account for 65% of the possession arrests in the state. The possession arrest rate was greatest in Suffolk at 243.33. Arrest rates for possession among males age 15 to 19 were greatest in Suffolk County at 2,344.82, and the leading county for arrest rates of blacks was Franklin, at 1032.25.

Among local police agencies Boston produced the greatest number of possession arrests, followed by New Bedford, State Police: Essex County, State Police: Hampden County, and Springfield. These five agencies combined account for 32% of the possession

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 1. Marijuana in Massachusetts (2006)**

All Rates per 100,000

Marijuana Arrests				Monthly Marijuana Use (2005-2006)			
Total Marijuana Arrests	9,124			<u>All Ages</u>	<u>Age 12 to 17</u>	<u>Age 18 to 25</u>	<u>Age 26 Plus</u>
Average 2003 - 2005	8,986			Pop. 429,000	46,000	168,000	215,000
Possession Arrest Rate	134.31			Pct. 7.96%	8.96%	24.15%	5.15%
Average 2003 - 2005	117.69						
Possession Rate: Selected Demographics				Annual Marijuana Use (2005-2006)			
Males Age 15 to 19	1,371.38			<u>All Ages</u>	<u>Age 12 to 17</u>	<u>Age 18 to 25</u>	<u>Age 26 Plus</u>
Males Age 20 to 24	1,005.95			Pop. 696,000	83,000	265,000	348,000
Whites	115.92			Pct. 12.91%	16.27%	38.14%	8.31%
Blacks	441.11						
Leading Counties							
Possession Arrests	Possession Arrest Rate		Arrest Rate: Males 15 to 19		Arrest Rate: Blacks		
Suffolk	1,602	Suffolk	243	Suffolk	2,345	Franklin	1,032
Worcester	951	Hampshire	192	Barnstable	1,903	Bristol	772
Bristol	947	Bristol	174	Hampshire	1,749	Barnstable	747
Middlesex	825	Franklin	157	Bristol	1,632	Berkshire	677
Essex	773	Hampden	155	Franklin	1,596	Suffolk	618
Leading Local Agencies							
Possession Arrests	Possession Arrest Rate		Arrest Pct: Males 15-19 (>24 arrests)		Arrest Pct: Blacks (>24 arrests)		
Boston	1,392	SP: Hampden County	9,292	Univ Of MA: Amherst	81%	Boston	69%
New Bedford	333	Spencer	617	Northeastern University	79%	Brockton	67%
SP: Essex County	311	Wareham	611	Dudley	66%	Springfield	49%
SP: Hampden County	193	Dudley	515	SP: Barnstable County	65%	New Bedford	28%
Springfield	184	Abington	462	Brockton	56%	Worcester	25%
*SP: State Police							
Other Arrests				Marijuana Arrests			
All	147,453	Pct of All Arrests		Pct of All Arrests			6.19%
Drug	21,203	14.37%		Pct of Drug Arrests			43.03%
2005 Criminal Justice Expenditures (\$1000s)				Crimes Cleared by Arrest (Pct)			
Total Justice System	\$3,450,625			Murder	49.08%	Burglary	9.90%
Police Protection	\$1,571,230			Rape	29.33%	Larceny	12.46%
Judiciary and Legal	\$842,575			Robbery	22.95%	Vehicle Theft	8.93%
Corrections	\$1,036,820			Assault	45.04%	All Above	22.74%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

arrests in the state. The possession arrest rate was greatest in State Police: Hampden at 9,292.25, followed by Spencer (616.52) and Wareham (611.46). Males 15 to 19 accounted for 81.2% of arrests by the police agency at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, the highest percentage in the state, followed by 79.4% in Northeastern University and 66.1% in Dudley. Blacks accounted for 68.9% in Boston, followed by 67% in Brockton and 48.9% in Springfield.

In 2006 there were a total of 147,453 arrests in Massachusetts, for all crimes, and 21,203 arrests for all drug related offenses. Drug arrests accounted for 14.4% of all arrests. Marijuana related offenses accounted for 43% of all drug arrests and 6.2% of arrests overall.

According to the data collected by the US Bureau of Justice Statistics Massachusetts spent \$3.4 billion on criminal justice expenses in 2005, the last year for which such data is available. This figure is for both state and local criminal justice expenses combined, and includes \$1.6 billion on police protection, \$842 million on judicial and legal expenses, and \$1 billion for corrections. Drug arrests in general and marijuana arrests in particular account for a significant proportion of the overall criminal justice budget. Estimates of the cost of marijuana offenses (both possession and sales) in Massachusetts range from \$43 to \$213.6 million.

However another way to assess the impact of marijuana arrests is to consider the overall performance of law enforcement in terms of public safety. While levels of arrests are frequently used to indicate levels of violent or property crime it may be more useful to look at clearance percentages to evaluate the allocation of police resources. These figures compare arrests with the number of offenses reported to police, in other words, how many crimes were solved in terms of being cleared by arrest. Marijuana law enforcement diverts

law enforcement resources from protecting the public from violent and property related crimes. During 2006 Massachusetts police were able to clear 49.1% of murders, 29.3% of rapes, 22.9% of robberies, 45% of assaults, 9.9% of burglaries, 12.5% of larcenies, 8.9% of motor vehicle thefts, and 22.8% of these 7 crimes combined.

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

### Part 1. Overall Arrest Trends

There were 9,124 arrests for marijuana offenses in Massachusetts reported to the federal Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR) for 2006, producing an arrest rate of 155.97 per 100,000 population in the state.

Marijuana arrests are lower in Massachusetts than in the United States in terms of both rate and trend. Nationally the arrest rate for marijuana in 2006 was 277.10 per 100,000, and the arrest for marijuana has been increasing steadily since 1990. The arrest rate for marijuana in Massachusetts is 44% lower than the national rate, but nonetheless has been increasing annually since 2002. (See Table 2.) Prior to 2002, though, the arrest rate for marijuana offenses in Massachusetts has been declining annually from a peak at 190.96 in 1995 to its 2001 level of 157.46.

Marijuana arrests account for 6.19% of all arrests in Massachusetts. The greatest source of criminal arrests in the state, as in most states, is a category defined as “All Other Non-Traffic Offenses,” which accounted for 34,515 (23.41%) of the total 147,453 arrests reported in 2006. After that marijuana arrests comprise the 6<sup>th</sup> largest source of arrests in the state, following Other Assaults, Other Drug Offenses, Larceny, Driving Under the Influence, and Aggravated Assault. (See Figure 1 and Table 3.) These top 6 offenses account for roughly half of arrests in Massachusetts, and drug offenses (including marijuana) account for 14.4% of all arrests. After marijuana the most numerous offenses are Disorderly Conduct, Drunk in Public, and Liquor violations. In terms of sanctions, equity, and efficiency the key question regarding the status of marijuana offenses under the law is whether it should be treated in a fashion similar to crimes such as Larceny and Aggravated Assault or crimes such as Disorderly Conduct and Liquor violations.

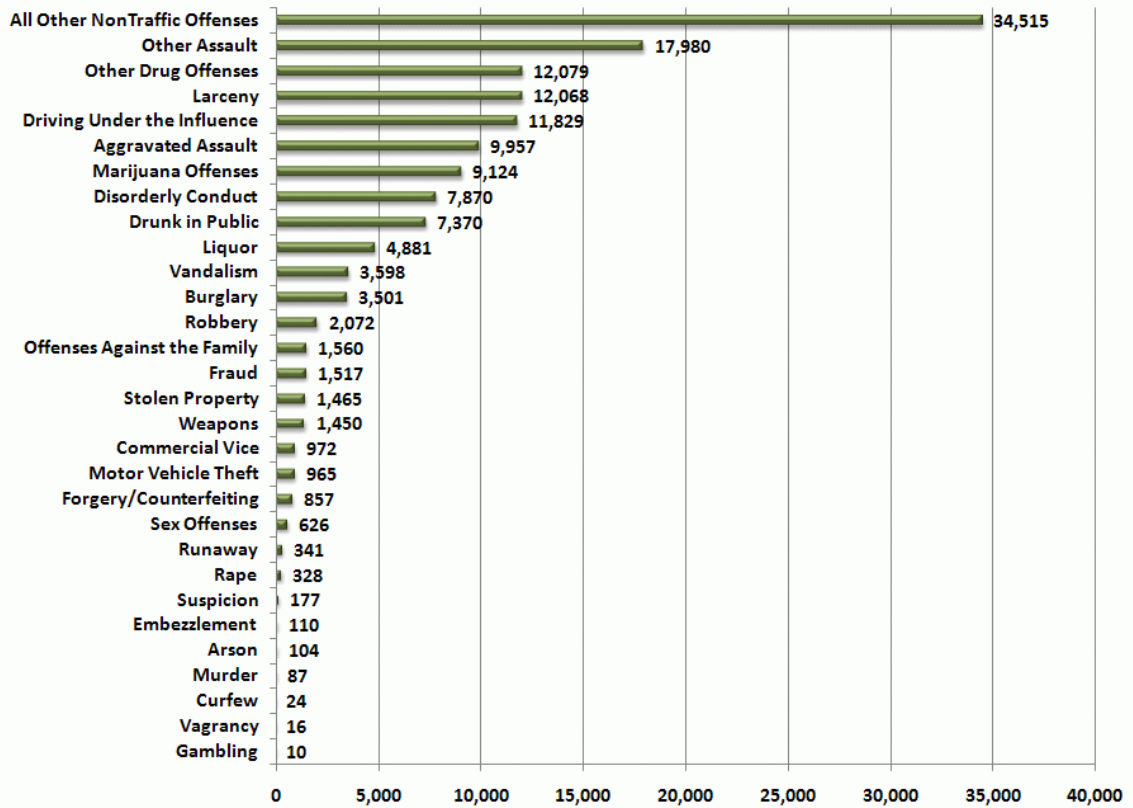
Nationally marijuana arrests significantly

**Table 2. Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts and the United States (1990—2006)**

Year	Massachusetts		United States	
	Arrests	Rate	Arrests	Rate
2006	9,124	155.97	829,630	277.10
2005	9,583	149.76	786,550	265.27
2004	8,440	131.54	771,600	262.77
2003	8,936	138.90	755,200	259.70
2002	8,986	139.80	697,100	241.94
2001	10,045	157.46	723,600	253.69
2000	10,340	162.86	734,500	260.26
1999	10,136	164.15	704,800	252.35
1998	10,364	168.60	682,900	247.32
1997	11,202	183.10	695,200	254.73
1996	11,035	181.14	641,600	237.92
1995	11,599	190.96	589,000	220.97
1994	9,250	153.12	481,100	182.63
1993	5,954	99.04	380,700	146.28
1992	5,238	87.33	342,300	133.25
1991	4,527	75.50	287,900	113.57
1990	4,891	81.29	326,900	130.69

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Figure 1. Massachusetts Criminal Arrests (2006)**



**Table 3. Massachusetts Criminal Arrests (2006)**

Crime	Number	Per Cent	Crime	Number	Per Cent
Aggravated Assault	9,957	6.75%	Marijuana Offenses	9,124	6.19%
All Other Non-Traffic Offenses	34,515	23.41%	Motor Vehicle Theft	965	0.65%
Arson	104	0.07%	Murder	87	0.06%
Burglary	3,501	2.37%	Offenses Against the Family	1,560	1.06%
Commercial Vice	972	0.66%	Other Assault	17,980	12.19%
Curfew	24	0.02%	Other Drug Offenses	12,079	8.19%
Disorderly Conduct	7,870	5.34%	Rape	328	0.22%
Driving Under the Influence	11,829	8.02%	Robbery	2,072	1.41%
Drunk in Public	7,370	5.00%	Runaway	341	0.23%
Embezzlement	110	0.07%	Sex Offenses	626	0.42%
Forgery/Counterfeiting	857	0.58%	Stolen Property	1,465	0.99%
Fraud	1,517	1.03%	Suspicion	177	0.12%
Gambling	10	0.01%	Vagrancy	16	0.01%
Larceny	12,068	8.18%	Vandalism	3,598	2.44%
Liquor	4,881	3.31%	Weapons	1,450	0.98%
			Grand Total	147,453	

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

increased during the 1990s, from 326,900 nationally in 1990 to 734,500 in 2000, an increase of 125%. During this period marijuana arrests in Massachusetts grew in a similar fashion from 1990 to 1995, from 4,891 to 11,599, but then arrests leveled off and began a steady decline. While marijuana arrests in the United States increased 3% annually from 1994 to 2005 in Massachusetts marijuana arrests decreased by 3.5% per year. (See Figure 2.) While the marijuana arrest rate in the United States increased 2% annually from 1994 to 2005 in Massachusetts the arrest rate for marijuana decreased by 4% per year. (See Figure 3.)

Since 2002 marijuana arrests have accounted for an increasing proportion of all arrests in Massachusetts, growing from 5.61% of all

arrests in 2002 to 6.19% of all arrests in 2006. During this recent period the arrest rate for marijuana has increased from 139.80 to 155.97, an increase of 11.6%.

The majority of marijuana arrests are for possession. 7,857 arrests for possession in 2006 account for 86% of marijuana arrests. In 2002 there were 7,626 arrests for possession, an arrest rate of 118.64. In 2006 the arrest rate for possession in Massachusetts was 134.31, an increase of 13.2%. During this period the arrest rate for marijuana sales remained essentially the same, for example the rate was 21.16 in 2002 and 21.66 in 2006. (See Table 4.)

In 1990 there were 12,733 arrests for all drug offenses in Massachusetts, and marijuana accounted for 38.41% of this total. By 2000

**Table 4. Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts (1990—2006)**

Year	Marijuana Arrests									
	All Arrests	Drug Arrests	Total Arrests	Poss.	Sales	Pct of All Arrests	Pct of Drug Arrests	Total Rate	Poss. Rate	Sales Rate
2006	147,453	21,203	9,124	7,857	1,267	6.19%	43.03%	155.97	134.31	21.66
2005	158,738	22,155	9,583	7,860	1,723	6.04%	43.25%	149.76	122.84	26.93
2004	148,203	19,280	8,440	7,073	1,367	5.69%	43.78%	131.54	110.23	21.30
2003	156,656	19,196	8,936	7,721	1,215	5.70%	46.55%	138.90	120.01	18.89
2002	160,173	19,902	8,986	7,626	1,360	5.61%	45.15%	139.80	118.64	21.16
2001	163,311	20,430	10,045	8,721	1,324	6.15%	49.17%	157.46	136.71	20.75
2000	160,342	20,521	10,340	8,975	1,365	6.45%	50.39%	162.86	141.36	21.50
1999	163,946	20,041	10,136	8,785	1,351	6.18%	50.58%	164.15	142.27	21.88
1998	178,276	23,453	10,364	8,678	1,686	5.81%	44.19%	168.60	141.17	27.43
1997	190,509	26,887	11,202	9,441	1,761	5.88%	41.66%	183.10	154.32	28.78
1996	183,186	25,148	11,035	9,334	1,701	6.02%	43.88%	181.14	153.22	27.92
1995	193,951	28,089	11,599	9,234	2,365	5.98%	41.29%	190.96	152.03	38.94
1994	185,546	24,690	9,250	7,238	2,012	4.99%	37.46%	153.12	119.81	33.31
1993	158,343	19,681	5,954	4,527	1,427	3.76%	30.25%	99.04	75.30	23.74
1992	148,189	17,699	5,238	4,110	1,128	3.53%	29.59%	87.33	68.52	18.81
1991	141,201	16,835	4,527	3,590	937	3.21%	26.89%	75.50	59.87	15.63
1990	122,997	12,733	4,891	4,130	761	3.98%	38.41%	81.29	68.65	12.65

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

Figure 2. Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts and the United States (1990—2006)

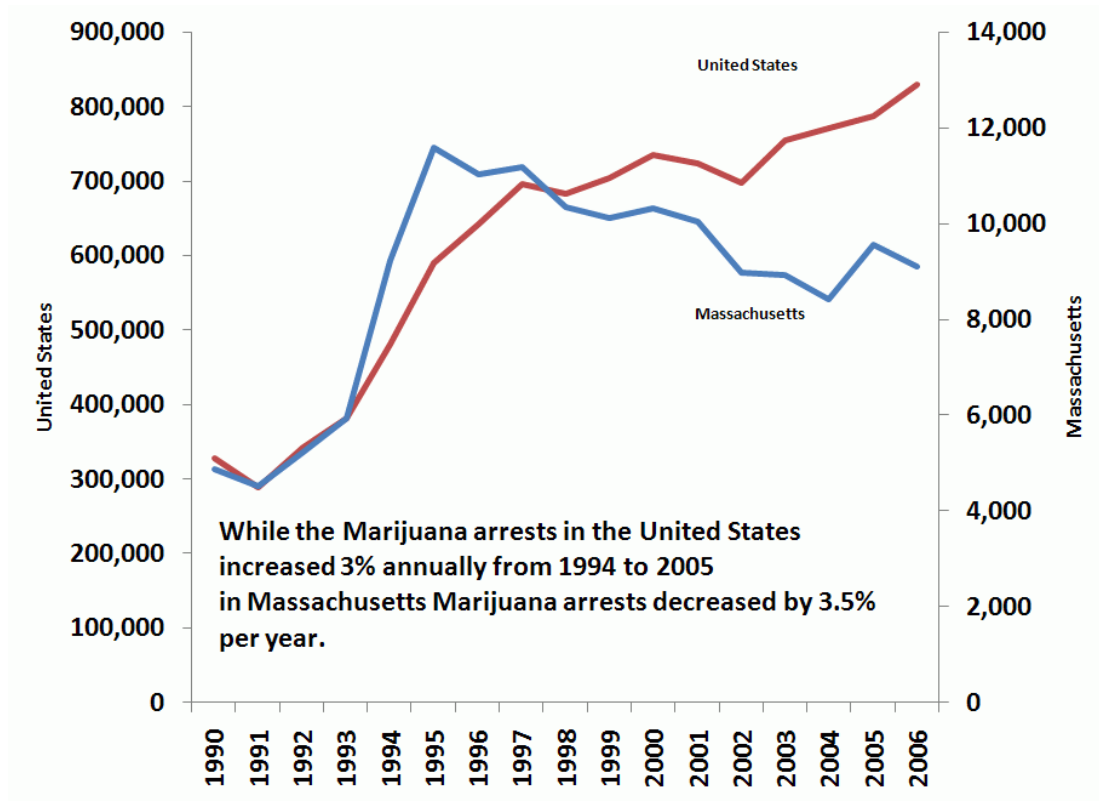
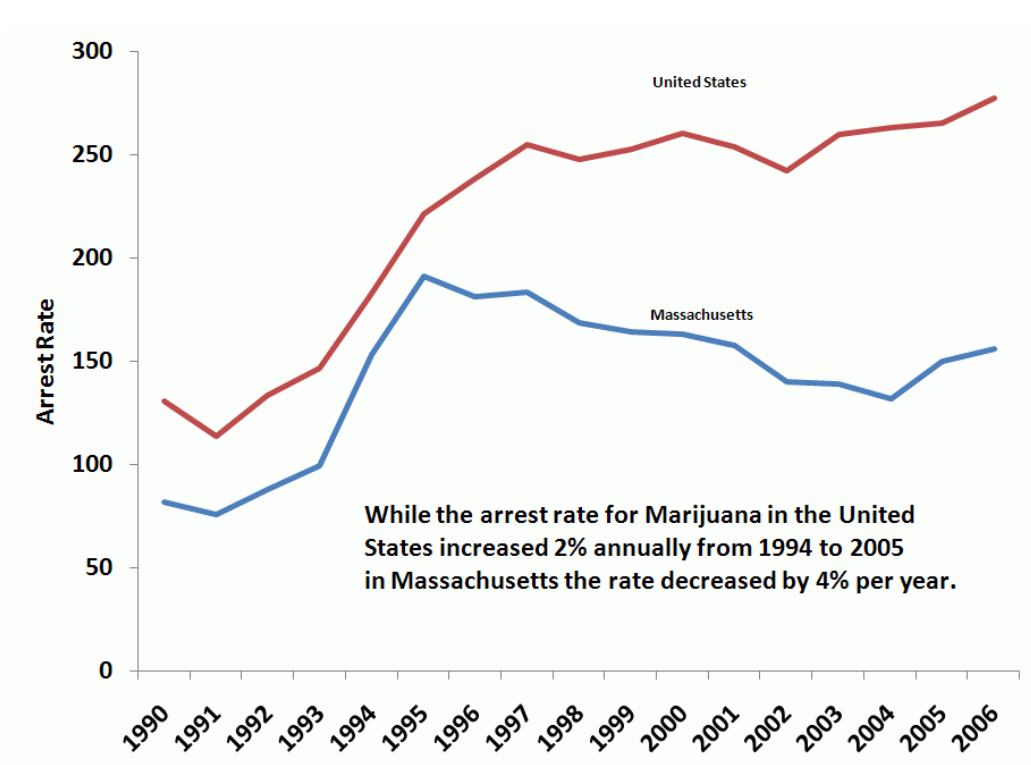


Figure 3. Marijuana Arrest Rates in Massachusetts and the United States (1990—2006)





## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

the number of drug arrests had increased in the state to 20,251, with marijuana accounting for 50.39% of the total. Over the last several years marijuana arrests have accounted for a smaller share of all drug arrests, 43% in 2006 in which there were 21,203 drug arrests overall.

### Part 2. Marijuana and Other Drug Use in Massachusetts

Increases in the number of marijuana arrests over the last 15 years have placed a strain on the delivery of drug treatment services, as an increasing percentage of those admissions have originated in the criminal justice system. As the criminal justice system seeks to manage the costs associated with marijuana arrests, they increasingly refer individuals to treatment as an alternative to incarceration.

Federal survey data from the Treatment Episode Data Set (TEDS) indicates the number of treatment admissions in Massachusetts in which marijuana was the primary drug of abuse and the source of the referral to the treatment facility. From 1992 to 2006, the percentage of treatment admissions for marijuana referred by the criminal justice system has nearly doubled, from 26.89% in 1992 to 52.28% in 2006. With the sole exception of 2002, the percentage referred by the criminal justice system has risen each year.

Marijuana treatment admissions peaked at 4,430 in 1997 in Massachusetts, the most during the period from 1992 to 2006. The number of admissions declined from 1997 to 2002, and has been increasing annually since then to 3,724 in 2006. (See Table 5.) The percentage of referrals from the criminal justice system, though, has increased from 40.06% in 2003 to 42.28% in 2006. The TEDS data does not indicate the crimes committed by the referred individuals; however the number of referrals from 2000 to 2005 is equal

**Table 5. Massachusetts Marijuana Treatment Admissions Referred by the Criminal Justice System (1992 - 2006)**

Year	All Adm.	Adm. w/ Source	CJS Referrals	CJS Pct
2006	3,724	3,724	1,947	52.28%
2005	3,372	3,372	1,682	49.88%
2004	3,144	3,144	1,451	46.15%
2003	2,329	2,328	1,034	44.42%
2002	2,107	2,107	844	40.06%
2001	3,299	3,299	1,556	47.17%
2000	4,000	4,000	1,767	44.17%
1999	4,266	4,265	1,877	44.01%
1998	4,308	4,307	1,874	43.51%
1997	4,430	4,430	1,861	42.01%
1996	4,314	4,314	1,612	37.37%
1995	3,717	3,717	1,340	36.05%
1994	2,985	2,985	996	33.37%
1993	2,478	2,478	684	27.60%
1992	2,042	2,042	549	26.89%

to 15.26% of the marijuana arrests for those years.

Utilizing diagnostic criteria based on the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) a review of nationwide TEDS data indicated that less than half of the admissions where marijuana was the primary substance of abuse met DSM criteria for marijuana dependence. When marijuana was the primary substance of abuse 45% of the admissions met the DSM criteria for marijuana dependence and 30% met the criteria for marijuana abuse. Alcohol dependence was the diagnosis for 15% of these admissions. [1]

Figure 4 compares past month use of alcohol (including binge drinking), tobacco, marijuana and other illegal drugs in

### Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

Massachusetts for various age groups. [Binge drinking is defined as drinking 5 or more drinks on the same occasion or within a few hours.] For the 18 to 25 year old age group marijuana use is the 4<sup>th</sup> largest drug problem, overshadowed by much greater prevalence of alcohol use, binge drinking, and tobacco use.

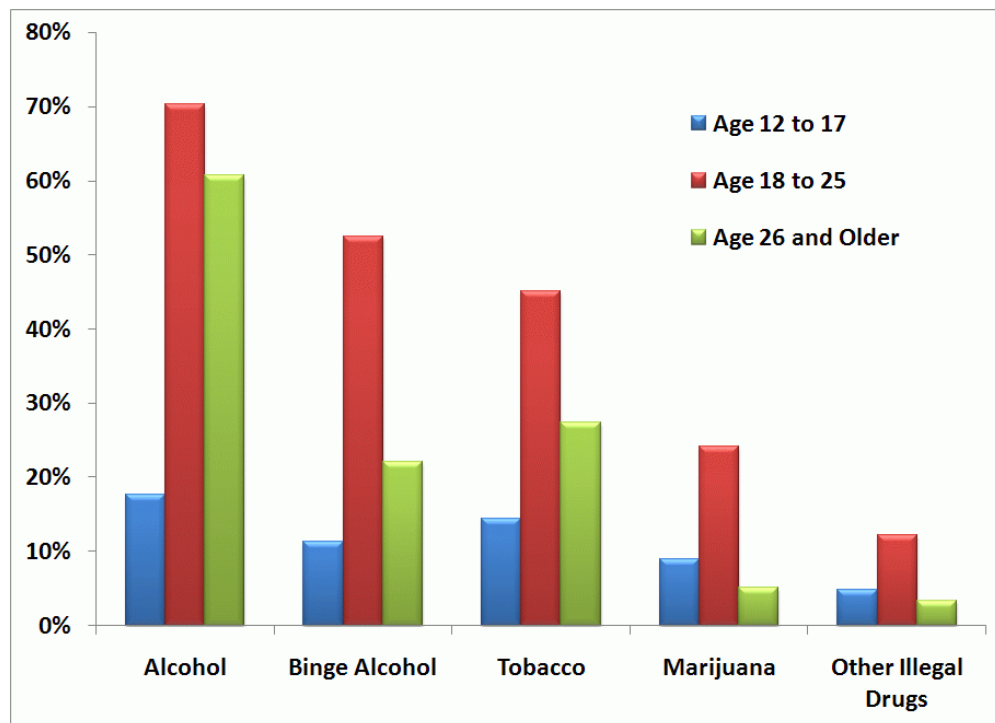
Marijuana use is much more popular in New England than in the rest of the United States. Data from 2005 and 2006 indicates that the prevalence of monthly marijuana use in New England is 33% higher than in the United States as a whole. In the United States 6.1% of the population reports marijuana use during the last month, while in New England 8.1% report prior month use. Annual marijuana use is 27% greater than nationwide, with 10.4% reporting annual use nationwide and 13.2% reporting annual use in New England. Monthly use among 12 to 17 year olds is 34% greater in New England, 49% greater among 18 to 25 year olds, and

29% greater among those aged 26 and older. Annual use is 24% greater among 12 to 17 year olds in New England, 37% greater among the 18 to 25 age group, and 26% greater among those aged 26 and older. The prevalence of marijuana use in Massachusetts is also greater than nationwide in the United States but slightly lower than the prevalence for the New England region. (See Table 6.)

More detailed data on marijuana use by age/sex and racial demographic groups in unavailable for New England. However it is useful to note differences in marijuana usage in these categories nationally when assessing differences in the arrest rates by age/sex and racial categories.

The prevalence of monthly marijuana use among males and females 12 to 17 (in data from 2006) is similar, 6.4% among males and 6.6% among females (3.1% greater). However among males 18 to 25 monthly

**Figure 4. Massachusetts Marijuana, Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use by Age (2006)**



## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

marijuana use is 57% greater; 20% of males in this age group use marijuana on a monthly basis compared to only 12.7% of females this age. Annual marijuana use among males 12 to 17 (13.1%) is also similar to females of the same age group (13.2%). (See Table 7.) However among males 18 to 25 annual marijuana use is 30% greater than among females this age. This report will take a closer look (below) at significant disparities between the arrests rates for males and females, disparities several magnitudes

greater than the differences between male and female marijuana use. Similarly, this report will present data on tremendous disparities in the arrest rates for those in younger age groups compared with older age groups, disparities also of considerable magnitudes greater than can be explained by differences in usage patterns. These disparities are similar to the differences reported above in relation to the comparable arrest rates for whites and blacks.

**Table 6. Marijuana Use in New England (2005-2006)**

	<u>Past Month</u>							
	Age 12 or Older		Age 12-17		Age 18-25		Age 26 or Older	
	<u>Pop</u>	<u>Pct</u>	<u>Pop</u>	<u>Pct</u>	<u>Pop</u>	<u>Pct</u>	<u>Pop</u>	<u>Pct</u>
<b>Massachusetts</b>	429,000	8.0%	46,000	9.0%	168,000	24.2%	215,000	5.2%
<b>New England</b>	973,000	8.1%	105,000	9.0%	375,000	24.8%	492,000	5.3%
<b>United States</b>	14,734,000	6.1%	1,692,000	6.7%	5,415,000	16.6%	7,627,000	4.1%
	<u>Past Year</u>							
	Age 12 or Older		Age 12-17		Age 18-25		Age 26 or Older	
	<u>Pop</u>	<u>Pct</u>	<u>Pop</u>	<u>Pct</u>	<u>Pop</u>	<u>Pct</u>	<u>Pop</u>	<u>Pct</u>
<b>Massachusetts</b>	696,000	12.9%	83,000	16.3%	265,000	38.1%	348,000	8.3%
<b>New England</b>	1,587,000	13.2%	191,000	16.4%	582,000	38.5%	814,000	8.7%
<b>United States</b>	25,364,000	10.4%	3,341,000	13.2%	9,152,000	28.1%	12,870,000	6.9%

**Table 7. Marijuana Use in the United States by Age/Sex and Race (2006)**

	<u>Males Aged 12-17</u>	<u>Females Aged 12-17</u>	<u>Males Aged 18-25</u>	<u>Females Aged 18-25</u>	<u>Otherwise</u>		
<b>Past Month (Pct)</b>	6.4%	6.6%	20.0%	12.7%	4.2%		
<b>Past Month (Pop)</b>	832,469	823,831	3,305,284	2,055,784	7,894,096		
<b>Past Year (Pct)</b>	13.1%	13.2%	31.5%	24.1%	6.9%		
<b>Past Year (Pop)</b>	1,695,929	1,633,925	5,191,118	3,908,911	12,871,192		
	<u>Non-Hispanic White</u>	<u>Non-Hispanic Black/Afr Am</u>	<u>Non-Hispanic Native Am/AK Native</u>	<u>Non-Hispanic Native HI/Other Pac Isl</u>	<u>Non-Hispanic Asian</u>	<u>Non-Hispanic more than one race</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
<b>Past Month (Pct)</b>	6.4%	7.4%	9.4%	6.1%	2.2%	7.4%	4.0%
<b>Past Month (Pop)</b>	10,824,310	2,151,880	118,081	59,716	221,237	190,003	1,346,238
<b>Past Year (Pct)</b>	10.6%	12.3%	14.3%	9.8%	4.6%	14.1%	8.1%
<b>Past Year (Pop)</b>	17,901,016	3,588,123	179,210	96,479	470,718	364,377	2,701,151

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 8. Marijuana, Alcohol, Tobacco and Other Drug Use in Massachusetts (2003—2006)**

Past Year Marijuana - Prevalence					Past Month Alcohol - Prevalence				
	All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older		All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older
<b>2006</b>	12.91%	16.27%	38.14%	8.31%	<b>2006</b>	57.85%	17.58%	70.32%	60.71%
<b>2005</b>	12.53%	16.67%	37.79%	7.93%	<b>2005</b>	59.55%	19.11%	70.60%	62.71%
<b>2004</b>	14.19%	17.99%	38.10%	9.87%	<b>2004</b>	60.99%	21.81%	70.71%	64.21%
<b>2003</b>	15.45%	20.15%	38.19%	11.24%	<b>2003</b>	59.59%	21.04%	68.94%	62.75%
Past Year Marijuana - Population					Past Month Alcohol - Population				
	All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older		All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older
<b>2006</b>	696,000	83,000	265,000	348,000	<b>2006</b>	3,120,000	90,000	488,000	2,542,000
<b>2005</b>	673,000	85,000	256,000	332,000	<b>2005</b>	3,201,000	98,000	478,000	2,625,000
<b>2004</b>	763,000	92,000	258,000	414,000	<b>2004</b>	3,280,000	112,000	478,000	2,690,000
<b>2003</b>	832,000	102,000	257,000	472,000	<b>2003</b>	3,207,000	107,000	464,000	2,637,000
Past Month Marijuana - Prevalence					Past Month Binge Alcohol - Prevalence				
	All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older		All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older
<b>2006</b>	7.96%	8.96%	24.15%	5.15%	<b>2006</b>	25.01%	11.34%	52.44%	22.13%
<b>2005</b>	7.57%	9.49%	24.88%	4.53%	<b>2005</b>	26.15%	12.06%	52.78%	23.56%
<b>2004</b>	8.70%	10.28%	26.13%	5.70%	<b>2004</b>	28.40%	14.18%	53.01%	26.17%
<b>2003</b>	7.80%	10.53%	24.54%	4.79%	<b>2003</b>	27.22%	14.19%	46.98%	25.64%
Past Month Marijuana - Population					Past Month Binge Alcohol - Population				
	All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older		All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older
<b>2006</b>	429,000	46,000	168,000	215,000	<b>2006</b>	1,349,000	58,000	364,000	927,000
<b>2005</b>	407,000	49,000	168,000	190,000	<b>2005</b>	1,405,000	62,000	357,000	986,000
<b>2004</b>	468,000	53,000	177,000	239,000	<b>2004</b>	1,528,000	73,000	359,000	1,097,000
<b>2003</b>	420,000	54,000	165,000	201,000	<b>2003</b>	1,465,000	72,000	316,000	1,077,000
Past Month Other Illegal Drug (Non-Mj.) - Prevalence					Past Month Tobacco - Prevalence				
	All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older		All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older
<b>2006</b>	4.62%	4.87%	12.18%	3.34%	<b>2006</b>	28.42%	14.42%	45.04%	27.37%
<b>2005</b>	3.95%	5.57%	11.67%	2.50%	<b>2005</b>	32.65%	13.95%	49.93%	32.30%
<b>2004</b>	3.57%	5.72%	10.65%	2.17%	<b>2004</b>	26.08%	13.72%	45.51%	24.46%
<b>2003</b>	3.63%	6.40%	10.20%	2.25%	<b>2003</b>	26.09%	14.37%	42.53%	24.88%
Past Month Other Illegal Drug (Non-Mj.) - Population					Past Month Tobacco - Population				
	All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older		All	Age 12 to 17	Age 18 to 25	Age 26 and older
<b>2006</b>	249,000	25,000	85,000	140,000	<b>2006</b>	1,532,000	74,000	312,000	1,146,000
<b>2005</b>	212,000	28,000	79,000	105,000	<b>2005</b>	1,493,000	71,000	316,000	1,106,000
<b>2004</b>	192,000	29,000	72,000	91,000	<b>2004</b>	1,403,000	70,000	308,000	1,025,000
<b>2003</b>	196,000	33,000	69,000	94,000	<b>2003</b>	1,404,000	73,000	286,000	1,045,000

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

The 2006 data also indicates that monthly marijuana use among blacks is 16% greater than among whites, and with respect to annual marijuana use the prevalence of use among blacks is also 16% higher. (See Table 7.) This disparity in usage, while significant, is insufficient to explain why the arrest rates for blacks for marijuana possession in states in Massachusetts is 280% greater than the arrest rate for whites for marijuana possession. (See Table 10.)

Despite the relative popularity of marijuana in Massachusetts compared with the rest of the United States marijuana use the total number of annual users of marijuana in the state has declined from 2003 to 2006, from 832,000 to 696,000 or from 15.45% of the population over 12 to 12.91%. (See Table 8.) The number of monthly users, though, has increased slightly in this period from 420,000 to 429,000. The number of teenage users, though, has declined in each category. The number of annual users age 12 to 17 has declined from 102,000 in 2003 to 83,000 in 2006, a drop from 20.15% to 16.27% of the population. The number of annual monthly users in this age group has dropped from 54,000 to 46,000, a decline from 10.53% to 8.96%.

Nonetheless, drug use by the 18 to 25 year old age group remains a significant public health challenge for the state. In 2006 survey data indicates that 70% of this age group used alcohol in the past month, 52% engaged in binge drinking, 45% used tobacco, 25% used marijuana, and 12% used another illegal drug in the past month. Over 38% of those aged 18 to 25 used marijuana in the past year in 2006. (See Table 8.)

### Part 3. State-Level Marijuana Arrests by Sex, Age, and Race

Males account for 88.7% of marijuana possession arrests in Massachusetts in 2006 and 90.45% of marijuana sales arrests. (See

**Table 9. Massachusetts Marijuana Arrests by Selected Age/Sex Groups (2006)**

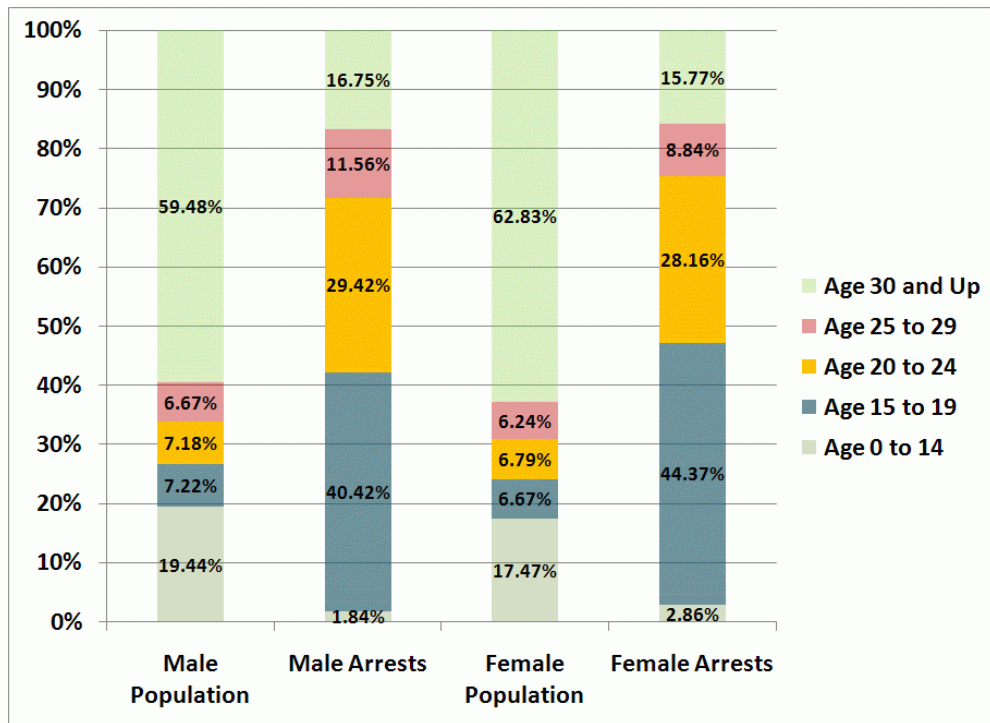
Marijuana Possession			
Sex	Age	Arrest Pct	Arrest Rate
Male	Age 15 to 19	35.76%	1,371.38
	Age 20 to 24	26.03%	1,005.95
	Age 25 to 29	10.23%	424.97
	All Ages	88.47%	245.30
Female	Age 15 to 19	5.12%	199.85
	Age 20 to 24	3.25%	124.60
	Age 25 to 29	1.02%	42.50
	All Ages	11.53%	30.03
Marijuana Sales			
Sex	Age	Arrest Pct	Arrest Rate
Male	Age 15 to 19	36.31%	224.89
	Age 20 to 24	26.68%	166.56
	Age 25 to 29	10.34%	69.36
	All Ages	90.45%	40.51
Female	Age 15 to 19	3.63%	22.91
	Age 20 to 24	2.13%	13.22
	Age 25 to 29	1.34%	9.05
	All Ages	9.55%	4.02

Table 9.) The arrest rate for males for possession in 245.30 compared to an arrest rate of 30.03 for females. The arrest rate for males for marijuana sales is 40.51 compared to an arrest rate for females of 4.02 per 100,000. The most prominent distinction, though, with respect to marijuana arrests rates has to do with age rather than sex.

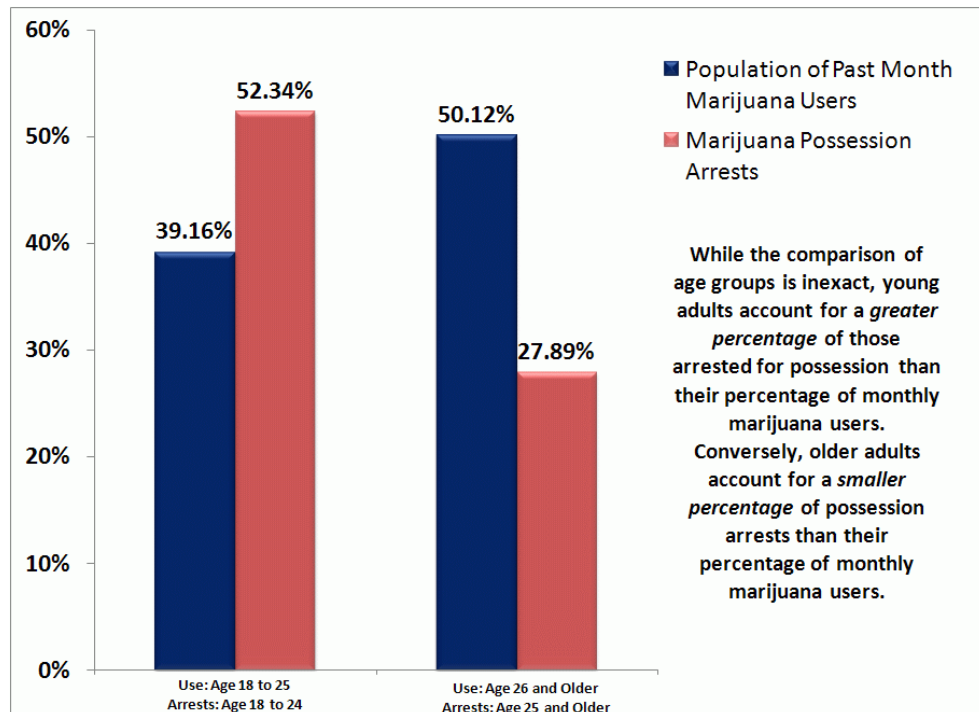
Males aged 15 to 19 comprise 35.75% of all marijuana possession arrests, and males age 20 to 24 account for an additional 26.03%. In other words, over 60% of all marijuana possession arrests are males between the ages of 15 and 24. Including females in this age range, people between the ages of 15 and 24 comprise 70% of all marijuana possession arrests.

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Figure 5. Comparison of Population and Arrest Percentages for Massachusetts Marijuana Possession Arrests, by Sex (2006)**



**Figure 6. Massachusetts Marijuana Use and Possession Arrests, by Age (2006)**



## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

The marijuana possession arrest rate for males aged 15 to 19 is 1,371.38 per 100,000. The same arrest rate for males aged 20 to 24 is 1,005.95. By comparison, the rate for the next 5 year age group, males aged 25 to 29, is a much lower 424.97. While the possession arrest rates for females in these age groups are much lower, the disparity remains similar. Females aged 15 to 19 are arrested for marijuana at the rate of 199.85 per 100,000, for age 20 to 24 the rate is 124.60, while the rate for females aged 25 to 29 is 42.50.

Males aged 15 to 19 comprised 7.22% of the male population in Massachusetts in 2006, but this age group accounts for 40.42% of all males arrested for marijuana possession (and, as indicated above, 35.75% of all marijuana possession arrests.) Males aged 20 to 25 comprise 7.18% of the male population and 29.42% of all males arrested for marijuana possession. (See Figure 5.) Young females are also disproportionately represented in marijuana possession arrests. Females aged 15 to 19 comprised 6.67% of the female population in 2006 but 44.37% of female marijuana possession arrests. Females aged 20 to 24 comprised 6.79% of the female population but accounted for 28.16% of female marijuana possession arrests.

While marijuana use is more prevalent in these age groups, this does not account for the disproportionate focus of arrests on young people. While the comparison of age groups between marijuana use data and marijuana arrest data is inexact, young adults account for a greater percentage of those arrested for possession than their percentage of monthly marijuana users. Conversely, older adults account for a smaller percentage of possession arrests than their percentage of monthly marijuana users. (See Figure 6.) Young adults aged 18 to 25 comprise 39.16% of monthly marijuana users compared to young adults aged 18 to 34 accounting for 52.34% of marijuana possession arrests.

**Table 10. Massachusetts Marijuana Arrests by Race (2006)**

Marijuana Possession			
	Pop Pct	Arrest Pct	Arrest Rate
All	100.00%	100.00%	132.27
White	86.65%	75.94%	115.92
Black	6.89%	23.00%	441.11
Other	5.08%	1.06%	27.63
Marijuana Sales			
	Pop Pct	Arrest Pct	Arrest Rate
All	100.00%	100.00%	21.35
White	86.65%	59.58%	14.68
Black	6.89%	38.97%	120.72
Other	5.08%	1.44%	6.07

Adults 26 and older account for 50.12% of marijuana users, but adults 25 and older account for 27.89% of marijuana arrests. Marijuana arrests are disproportionately focused on younger marijuana users than on older users.

A similar disparity exists with respect to race. Blacks account for 6.89% of the population in Massachusetts but account for 23% of marijuana possession arrests. The prevalence of marijuana use among blacks nationwide is 17% to 20% greater than among whites, but this does not account for their disproportionate share of all marijuana possession arrests. The arrest rate for

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

marijuana possession for whites in Massachusetts is 115.92 while the arrest rate for marijuana possession for blacks is 441.11. (See Table 10.)

### Part 4. County-Level Trends

Middlesex, Worcester, Essex, and Suffolk are the most populous counties in Massachusetts. They account for 57% of the population, and not surprisingly in 2006 they account for nearly 50% of all arrests, 55% of all drug arrests, and 53% of all marijuana arrests. Suffolk and Worcester lead the state in total arrests, drug arrests, and marijuana arrests. Suffolk County leads the state in marijuana arrests (1,991), marijuana arrest rate (302.42), marijuana possession arrest rate (243.33), and in marijuana arrests as a proportion of all arrests (8.29%). (See Table 11.) A map of marijuana arrest rates by county is presented in Figure 7.

After Suffolk, Hampshire County has the greatest arrest rate for marijuana (215.49), marijuana possession (191.99) and marijuana

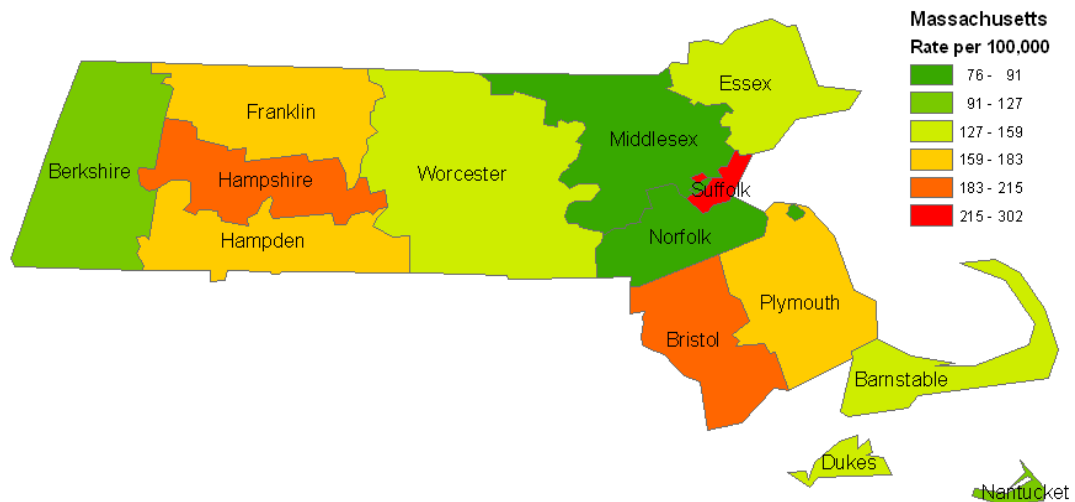
arrests are also the second greatest proportion of all drug arrests (65.51%)

Bristol County has the third greatest number of total arrests, drug arrests, and marijuana arrests. Bristol County is third in the state in marijuana arrest rate (195.61) and marijuana possession arrest rate (174.43). Yet Bristol ranks 10<sup>th</sup> in marijuana arrests as a percentage of all drug arrests at 43.67%.

Marijuana arrests account for the greatest share of all drug arrests in Nantucket, where there were 15 drug arrests reported in 2006 and 13 (86.67%) were for marijuana. Similarly Dukes County reported 33 drug arrests, of which 21 (63.64%) were for marijuana offenses. In Barnstable County marijuana arrests accounted for 56.09% of all drug arrests.

Outside of the Cape and offshore islands marijuana accounted for the greatest share of drug arrests in Hampshire (65.51%) and Essex (60.75%) counties. On contrast, marijuana arrests accounted for the lowest share of all drug arrests in Suffolk (38.48%),

**Figure 7. A Map of Massachusetts Marijuana Arrests Rates by County (2006)**





## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

Hamden (34.94%) and Worcester (33.48%) Counties.

Middlesex, the most populous county, reported the lowest arrest rate for marijuana (76.42) and marijuana possession (68.90) in the state. The next lowest rates were in Norfolk County, where the arrest rate for marijuana was 91.97 and for marijuana possession was 79.60.

The arrest rate for males aged 15 to 19 for marijuana possession was greatest in Suffolk (2,344.82), Barnstable (1,903.41) and Hampshire (1,749.49) Counties. (See Table 13.) This age group accounted for approximately 41% of all possession arrests in Barnstable, Dukes, Hampshire, and Middlesex Counties. (See Table 12.) The greatest arrest rates for females aged 15 to 19 were in Franklin (371.53), Barnstable (370.47), and Hampshire (332.90) Counties.

The arrest rate for males aged 20 to 24 was greatest in Bristol (1,566.23), Suffolk (1,463.08), and Barnstable (1,275.74) Counties. (See Table 12.) This age group accounted for 26% to 29% of all marijuana possession arrests in Bristol, Hampshire, Plymouth, Suffolk, and Worcester Counties. (See Table 13.)

Blacks comprise 24% of the population in Suffolk County, the most in the state, where blacks also accounted for 61.3% of marijuana possession arrests. The marijuana possession arrest rate for whites in Suffolk County was 134.95 per 100,000 residents, but for blacks the arrest rate was 618.49, an arrest over 4.5 times greater. In Suffolk County whites account for 66% of the population but only 36.82% of marijuana possession arrests. (See Table 14.)

**Table 11. Massachusetts Marijuana Arrests by County (2006)**

County	Marijuana Arrests									
	All Arrests	Drug Arrests	Total Arrests	Poss.	Sales	Pct of All Arrests	Pct of Drug Arrests	Total Rate	Poss. Rate	Sales Rate
<b>Barnstable</b>	7,481	649	364	318	46	4.87%	56.09%	159.74	139.55	20.19
<b>Berkshire</b>	3,420	272	127	118	9	3.71%	46.69%	111.81	103.89	7.92
<b>Bristol</b>	18,988	2,432	1,062	947	115	5.59%	43.67%	195.61	174.43	21.18
<b>Dukes</b>	643	33	21	14	7	3.27%	63.64%	146.95	97.96	48.98
<b>Essex</b>	11,532	1,409	856	773	83	7.42%	60.75%	154.59	139.60	14.99
<b>Franklin</b>	2,277	207	114	105	9	5.01%	55.07%	170.67	157.20	13.47
<b>Hampden</b>	15,903	2,384	833	707	126	5.24%	34.94%	183.13	155.43	27.70
<b>Hampshire</b>	4,459	490	321	286	35	7.20%	65.51%	215.49	191.99	23.50
<b>Middlesex</b>	14,689	1,829	915	825	90	6.23%	50.03%	76.42	68.90	7.52
<b>Nantucket</b>	167	15	13	13	0	7.78%	86.67%	127.09	127.09	0.00
<b>Norfolk</b>	8,736	1,341	580	502	78	6.64%	43.25%	91.97	79.60	12.37
<b>Plymouth</b>	12,236	1,635	811	696	115	6.63%	49.60%	175.05	150.23	24.82
<b>Suffolk</b>	24,019	5,174	1,991	1,602	389	8.29%	38.48%	302.42	243.33	59.09
<b>Worcester</b>	22,903	3,333	1,116	951	165	4.87%	33.48%	145.50	123.98	21.51
<b>State-Wide</b>	147,453	21,203	9,124	7,857	1,267	6.19%	43.03%	155.97	134.31	21.66

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 12. Marijuana Possession Arrest Rates in Massachusetts, by County and Selected Age/Sex Groups (2006)**

	Males					Females				
	Age 10 to 14	Age 15 to 19	Age 20 to 24	Age 25 to 29	All Males	Age 10 to 14	Age 15 to 19	Age 20 to 24	Age 25 to 29	All Females
Barnstable	144.17	1,903.41	1,275.74	323.62	258.55	0.00	370.47	101.73	43.33	32.41
Berkshire	86.23	1,041.47	631.96	146.20	177.93	60.15	123.81	178.58	139.01	35.54
Bristol	47.75	1,631.67	1,566.23	646.74	319.08	16.95	272.40	162.01	72.84	39.12
Dukes	0.00	1,279.74	468.96	459.05	185.51	0.00	257.26	0.00	0.00	13.71
Essex	35.89	1,209.68	1,000.97	526.05	243.29	26.66	260.15	207.30	31.10	42.54
Franklin	201.71	1,596.22	1,051.56	274.68	264.26	52.95	371.53	249.96	43.47	55.46
Hampden	103.42	1,462.80	1,063.50	549.73	290.06	12.80	160.05	109.09	66.08	29.66
Hampshire	26.46	1,749.49	937.92	306.62	337.93	27.33	332.90	135.12	56.60	64.23
Middlesex	26.65	881.42	490.46	159.97	126.00	8.36	124.25	52.65	11.32	14.85
Nantucket	0.00	813.88	319.83	428.73	232.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.08
Norfolk	28.65	930.80	657.73	316.99	146.40	4.96	134.21	86.07	25.20	17.70
Plymouth	81.51	1,345.86	1,243.23	486.65	272.16	12.51	249.11	144.43	29.61	34.14
Suffolk	178.55	2,344.82	1,463.08	672.38	463.71	24.39	187.88	128.03	57.95	36.25
Worcester	61.78	1,269.14	1,009.80	360.12	221.03	7.72	184.41	161.13	38.68	30.41

**Table 13. Marijuana Possession Arrest Percentages in Massachusetts, by County and Selected Age/Sex Groups (2006)**

	Males					Females				
	Age 10 to 14	Age 15 to 19	Age 20 to 24	Age 25 to 29	All Males	Age 10 to 14	Age 15 to 19	Age 20 to 24	Age 25 to 29	All Females
Barnstable	2.83%	41.19%	24.53%	6.60%	87.74%	0.00%	7.23%	1.89%	0.94%	12.26%
Berkshire	2.54%	37.29%	22.88%	4.24%	82.20%	1.69%	4.24%	5.93%	4.24%	17.80%
Bristol	0.95%	32.84%	27.56%	12.99%	88.38%	0.32%	5.28%	2.96%	1.48%	11.62%
Dukes	0.00%	42.86%	14.29%	14.29%	92.86%	0.00%	7.14%	0.00%	0.00%	7.14%
Essex	0.91%	30.27%	22.38%	10.87%	84.22%	0.65%	6.34%	4.66%	0.65%	15.78%
Franklin	3.81%	35.24%	24.76%	6.67%	81.90%	0.95%	7.62%	5.71%	0.95%	18.10%
Hampden	2.40%	37.34%	24.89%	11.74%	90.10%	0.28%	3.82%	2.55%	1.41%	9.90%
Hampshire	0.35%	40.91%	29.37%	5.59%	82.17%	0.35%	10.14%	5.24%	1.05%	17.83%
Middlesex	1.21%	41.94%	24.36%	7.39%	88.97%	0.36%	5.82%	2.55%	0.48%	11.03%
Nantucket	0.00%	15.38%	7.69%	15.38%	92.31%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	7.69%
Norfolk	1.20%	37.85%	24.30%	9.76%	88.45%	0.20%	5.38%	3.39%	0.80%	11.55%
Plymouth	2.01%	32.90%	26.44%	9.34%	88.36%	0.29%	5.75%	3.02%	0.57%	11.64%
Suffolk	1.94%	33.52%	28.34%	12.17%	92.32%	0.25%	2.81%	2.50%	1.06%	7.68%
Worcester	1.79%	38.07%	26.92%	9.57%	87.49%	0.21%	5.26%	4.21%	1.05%	12.51%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

In Nantucket blacks account for 9.58% of the population and 38.46% of marijuana possession arrests; the arrest rate for whites is 88.80 while the arrest rate for blacks is 510.05. In Hampden County blacks account for 9.39% of the population and 21.84% of marijuana possession arrests; the arrest rate for whites is 138.21 while for blacks the arrest rate is 360.70. In Plymouth County blacks account for 7.99% of the population and 17.47% of marijuana possession arrests; the arrest rate for whites is 134.92 while the arrest rate for blacks is 321.38. (See Table 14.)

The greatest marijuana possession arrest rate for blacks in Massachusetts in Franklin County; the arrest rate for whites in Franklin is 150.52 but for blacks it is 10 times greater, 1,032.25 per 100,000. In Bristol County the arrest rate for marijuana possession for blacks is 772.34, in Barnstable 746.67, and in Berkshire 677.12. In every county in the state the arrest rate for blacks is significantly greater than for whites. (See Table 14.) For many of the counties in Massachusetts, the smaller the size of the black population the greater the arrest rate for blacks for marijuana

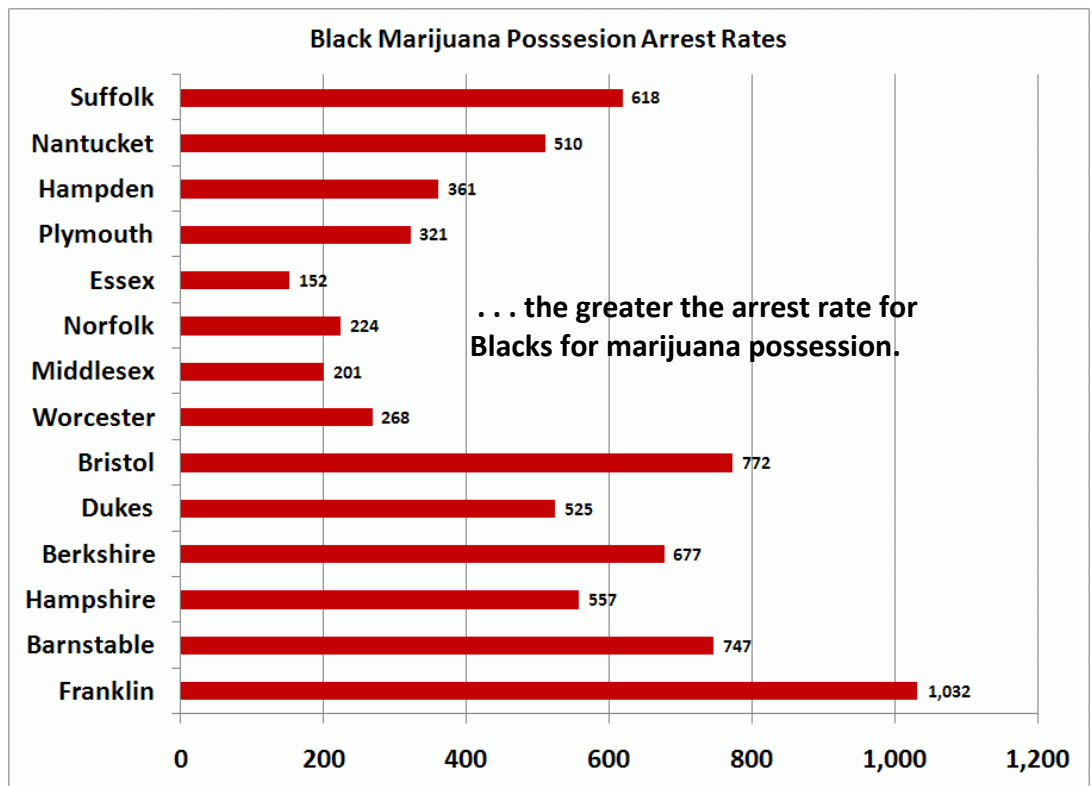
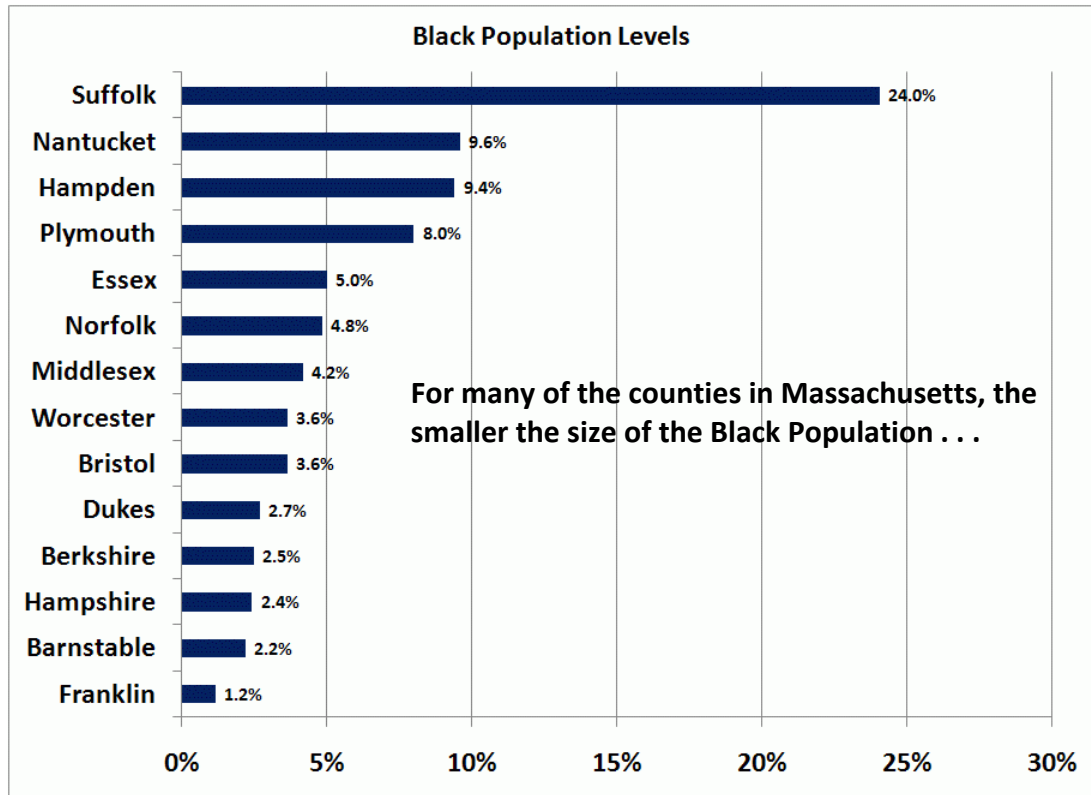
possession. (See Figure 8.) For the 3 counties where blacks are 4 to 5% of the population the average arrest rate per county is 192.18. For the 2 counties where blacks are 3 to 4 % of the population the average arrest rate per county is 520.33, and for the 4 counties where blacks are 2 to 3% of the population the average arrest rate per county is 626.48. In Franklin County, where blacks are 1.16% of the population and 7.69% of possession arrests, the arrest rate for blacks is 1,032.25. By comparison arrest rates for whites for possession range from 66.36 in Middlesex to 190.14 in Hampshire. In Suffolk, where whites are 66.18% of the population the arrest rate for whites is 134.95. In the 6 counties where whites are 80 to 90% of the population the average arrest rate per county for possession for whites is 107.85. In the 7 counties where whites are 90 to 96% of the population the average arrest rate per county for possession for whites is 134.14. The difference in arrest rates for whites and blacks is statistically magnified by the relatively small populations of blacks in many Massachusetts Counties. However this statistical artifact is insufficient to explain

**Table 14. Massachusetts Marijuana Possession Arrests by County and Race (2006)**

	General Rate	Rate Whites	Arrest Pct Whites	Pop Pct Whites	Rate Blacks	Arrest Pct Blacks	Pop Pct Blacks	Rate Other	Arrest Pct Other	Pop Pct Other Races
Barnstable	138.67	127.72	87.66%	95.17%	746.67	11.71%	2.17%	56.22	0.63%	1.56%
Berkshire	103.89	92.07	83.90%	94.66%	677.12	16.10%	2.47%	0.00	0.00%	1.51%
Bristol	171.85	153.44	83.07%	93.03%	772.34	16.29%	3.63%	53.88	0.64%	2.05%
Dukes	97.96	90.95	85.71%	92.32%	524.74	14.29%	2.67%	0.00	0.00%	3.00%
Essex	135.63	140.92	93.48%	89.97%	152.32	5.59%	4.98%	37.72	0.93%	3.35%
Franklin	155.70	150.52	92.31%	95.49%	1,032.25	7.69%	1.16%	0.00	0.00%	1.85%
Hampden	154.99	138.21	77.59%	87.01%	360.70	21.84%	9.39%	43.30	0.57%	2.03%
Hampshire	191.32	190.14	91.58%	92.15%	557.38	7.02%	2.41%	69.65	1.40%	3.86%
Middlesex	66.56	66.36	85.82%	86.08%	200.67	12.55%	4.16%	12.88	1.63%	8.43%
Nantucket	127.09	88.80	61.54%	88.07%	510.05	38.46%	9.58%	0.00	0.00%	1.21%
Norfolk	78.65	77.90	85.69%	86.51%	223.54	13.71%	4.82%	6.28	0.60%	7.58%
Plymouth	146.99	134.92	81.94%	89.27%	321.38	17.47%	7.99%	57.00	0.59%	1.51%
Suffolk	242.57	134.95	36.82%	66.18%	618.49	61.30%	24.04%	56.03	1.88%	8.13%
Worcester	120.99	120.54	90.95%	91.28%	268.32	8.08%	3.64%	30.53	0.97%	3.84%

### Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

Figure 8. Comparison of Black Population Levels and Black Arrest Rates for Marijuana Possession in Massachusetts Counties, (2006)



## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

clear and significant disparities in arrest rates by race. In Massachusetts (and elsewhere in the United States) blacks are more likely than whites to be arrested for marijuana possession.

As indicated above, differences in the prevalence in marijuana use (at least in national data) are not sufficient to explain differences in arrest rates of whites and blacks. Certainly the popularity of marijuana among young people is a factor in accounting for greater arrest rates for younger age groups, however as indicated above young adults, for example are still disproportionately represented in marijuana possession arrests. The data on marijuana arrests indicates that blacks and the young are more likely to be arrested for marijuana possession than demographic groups such as those comprised of other races and/or older citizens.

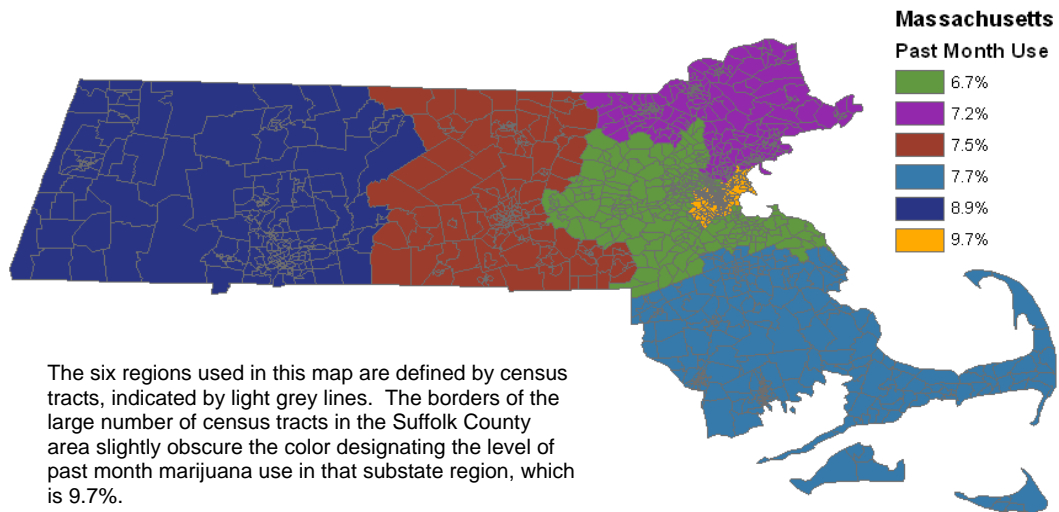
Federal survey data also provides some indication of the prevalence of marijuana use throughout the state. Sub-state regions of the

**Table 15. Past Month Marijuana Use in Massachusetts Substate Regions (2002 - 2004)**

Substate Region	Marijuana Use in Past Month	Perceptions of Great Risk of Smoking Marijuana Once a Month
<b>Boston</b>	9.66%	29.62%
<b>Central</b>	7.51%	29.15%
<b>Metrowest</b>	6.70%	22.91%
<b>Northeast</b>	7.22%	29.42%
<b>Southeast</b>	7.71%	30.10%
<b>Western</b>	8.90%	32.85%

state have been defined by census tracts and grouped into six regions. (See Figure 9.) Comparison of past month marijuana use in these sub-state regions with county-level marijuana possession arrest rates is inexact because the regions do not correspond precisely to county boundaries and the marijuana use data is from 2002 to 2004 while the county level arrest data reported here is from 2006. Nonetheless some relevant patterns emerge.

**Figure 9. Past Month Marijuana Use in Sub-state Regions of Massachusetts (2002—2004)**



## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

Marijuana use in the state is greatest in Boston, where 9.7% of the population reported past month marijuana use. (See Table 15.) Suffolk County had the greatest marijuana arrest rate in 2006. The next greatest prevalence in use was in the Western region of the state, where 8.9% reported past month use. This area also has relatively higher arrest rates in Hampshire, Hampden, and Franklin Counties. The third greatest prevalence of past month marijuana use was in the Southeast, at 7.71%, where Bristol and Plymouth also reported relatively greater arrest rates.

### Part 5. Local Agency Data

Local police agencies make most of the arrests in the United States and bear a substantial share of the cost. The duty of local police is to protect and serve the public, and one of their primary concerns is to both deter criminal behavior and make arrests to clear known offenses, particularly those involving violent and property crime. Clearance rates are calculated by dividing the number of arrests for a particular offense by the number of known or reported offenses. The Uniform Crime Reporting Program provides data on the ability of local police agencies to clear, or solve, murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft offenses.

Local police agencies also make most of the marijuana arrests in Massachusetts and throughout the United States. Marijuana arrests require the allocation of significant criminal justice resources with respect to police protection, legal and judicial procedures, supervision of those arrested and awaiting trial as well as correctional supervision of those convicted for marijuana-related offenses. In terms of public safety one of the most significant costs of marijuana arrests is the diversion of police resources from the clearance of violent and property

crimes. This is not an abstract budgeting issue, but, rather, a matter of allocating police time. A marijuana arrest requires taking an individual into custody, transporting him/her to the police station, completing and filing an arrest report, being available for consultations with local prosecutors, and devoting time, when necessary, for court testimony when such cases are subject to hearings and/or trials. In summary, marijuana arrests take police officers off of the street, away from their patrols, and away from their duties to protect and serve the public. Marijuana arrests reduce the ability of police to deter and, as necessary, clear property and violent crime.

In 2006 marijuana arrests were reported by 279 local police agencies in Massachusetts, including 18 local agencies at colleges or universities and 12 stations of the State Police (SP). The college and university police station accounted for 344 or 3.8% of the marijuana arrests in the state, while the State Police agencies accounted for 1,212 or 13.3% of the total. Otherwise local police agencies accounted for 7,562 or 82.9% of the state's marijuana arrests.

Thirty-two local agencies, though, account for 60% of all the marijuana arrests in Massachusetts, including 6 State Police agencies and 2 University police stations. (See Table 16.) The five leading agencies providing the most marijuana arrests in the state are Boston (1,757), New Bedford (392), the State Police in Essex County (324), Springfield (246) and Worcester (241). The 24 local agencies in this group (excepting the university stations at Northeastern and UMASS-Amherst along with the State Police) account for 4,185 marijuana arrests or 46% of all marijuana arrests in the state. The arrest rates for these 24 agencies vary from 77.10 in Quincy to 772.71 in Spencer. A map indicating the arrest rates in these 24 agencies also provides an indication of where the most

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 16. Thirty-Two Police Agencies Which Account for 60% of Massachusetts Marijuana Arrests**

Local Agency	County	Clearance Pct**	All Drug Arrests	Marijuana Arrests				
				Total	Possession	Arrest Rate	Pct of All Arrests	Pct of Drug Arrests
Boston	Suffolk	21.09%	4,744	1,757	1,392	312.41	8.83%	37.04%
New Bedford	Bristol	41.24%	986	392	333	418.53	8.49%	39.76%
SP: Essex County	Essex	100.00%	467	324	311	n/a	33.51%	69.38%
Springfield	Hampden	10.98%	1,036	246	184	161.16	3.92%	23.75%
Worcester	Worcester	22.34%	897	241	179	136.19	4.38%	26.87%
SP: Hampden County	Hampden	95.57%	492	225	193	n/a	18.64%	45.73%
SP: Bristol County	Bristol	97.87%	352	177	171	n/a	25.25%	50.28%
SP: Middlesex County	Middlesex	81.25%	285	171	164	n/a	17.76%	60.00%
Brockton	Plymouth	18.89%	551	161	103	169.12	3.99%	29.22%
Wareham	Plymouth	42.93%	239	155	131	723.49	8.74%	64.85%
SP: Plymouth County	Plymouth	100.00%	217	124	124	n/a	24.65%	57.14%
Fall River	Bristol	36.59%	385	114	101	123.44	2.12%	29.61%
Northeastern University	Suffolk	17.32%	114	112	107	n/a	16.37%	98.25%
Univ. Of MA: Amherst	Hampshire	14.71%	129	107	85	n/a	17.34%	82.95%
Spencer	Worcester	52.43%	133	94	75	772.71	22.01%	70.68%
Holyoke	Hampden	15.93%	379	83	79	206.48	3.13%	21.90%
SP: Worcester County	Worcester	80.33%	1,099	83	78	n/a	2.85%	7.55%
Abington	Plymouth	29.61%	170	82	76	498.51	13.29%	48.24%
Haverhill	Essex	21.79%	187	77	52	127.05	6.06%	41.18%
Quincy	Norfolk	20.56%	318	70	49	77.10	5.28%	22.01%
Weymouth	Norfolk	31.64%	196	67	67	123.82	5.87%	34.18%
Franklin	Norfolk	67.19%	105	65	61	209.14	14.44%	61.90%
Mansfield	Bristol	22.66%	84	65	59	281.20	7.30%	77.38%
Barnstable	Barnstable	36.42%	125	62	52	128.86	3.63%	49.60%
Amherst	Hampshire	30.78%	82	61	55	178.09	7.08%	74.39%
Framingham	Middlesex	16.76%	196	61	60	93.20	3.42%	31.12%
Dudley	Worcester	75.33%	78	57	56	524.04	15.08%	73.08%
Revere	Suffolk	21.24%	181	57	44	123.69	4.46%	31.49%
West Springfield	Hampden	19.00%	90	56	46	198.88	6.19%	62.22%
Walpole	Norfolk	26.68%	82	55	55	236.55	15.11%	67.07%
Northampton	Hampshire	15.31%	82	54	54	186.93	5.11%	65.85%
Amesbury	Essex	21.56%	62	53	41	316.55	6.74%	85.48%

\*SP - State Police

\*\* Clearance Rate for Murder, Rape, Robbery, Aggravated Assault, Burglary, Larceny, and Motor Vehicle Theft. Determined by dividing number of offenses reported by the number of reports cleared by arrest.

n/a - Not Applicable

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

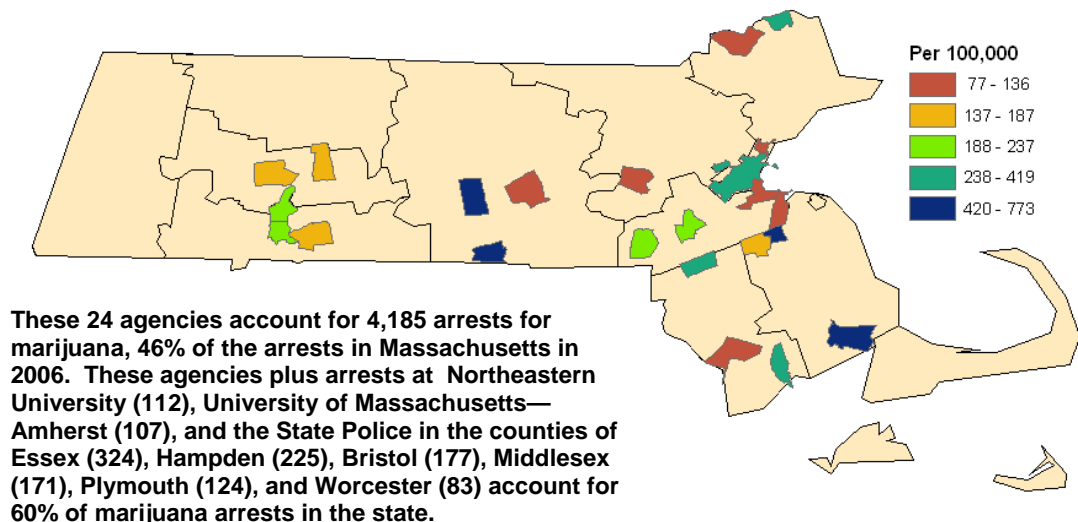
marijuana arrests occur in the state. (See Figure 10.) The average clearance rate for murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft offenses (combined) in these 24 agencies is 30%.

In Boston, for example, there were 4,744 drug arrests over all. The 1,757 marijuana arrests accounted for nearly 9% of all arrests in the City and 37% of all the drug arrests. The clearance rate for the seven crimes indicated above in Boston was 21%. In New Bedford there were 986 total drug arrests, and 392 arrests for marijuana. These marijuana arrests accounted for 8.5% of all arrests in this jurisdiction and close to 40% of all drug arrests. The clearance rate for the seven listed crimes was much better than in Boston, 41% of known offenses of these crimes were cleared by arrest. There are many contributing factors to the relatively low clearance rates for known offenses, however increasing police resources by decreasing costs related to marijuana arrests is one of many tactics that can contribute to greater

success for law enforcement in this area.

The demographic characteristics highlighted earlier in state and county data are brought into sharper focus by examination of local agency data. (See Figure 11.) Marijuana arrest rates are greatest in Spencer (773), Wareham (723), Dudley (524), Barre (499) and Abington (499). Marijuana arrests account for the greatest percentage of drug arrests in Salem (100%), at Northeastern University (98%), Newburyport (95%), Orleans (89%), and Amesbury (85%). Blacks comprise the greatest percentage of marijuana possession arrests in Boston (69%), Brockton (63%), Springfield (48%), Somerville (42%), and Framingham (40%). The arrest percentage for males aged 15 to 19 is greatest in Scituate (86%), Dudley (86%), Acton (83%), UMASS-Amherst (81%), and Lexington (81%). In these last three categories rankings are based on jurisdictions with at least 25 marijuana arrests. Complete listings of local agency data, by county and ranked according to the number of marijuana arrests, is provided in the Appendix.

**Figure 10. Selected Local Agency Marijuana Arrest Rates (2006)**



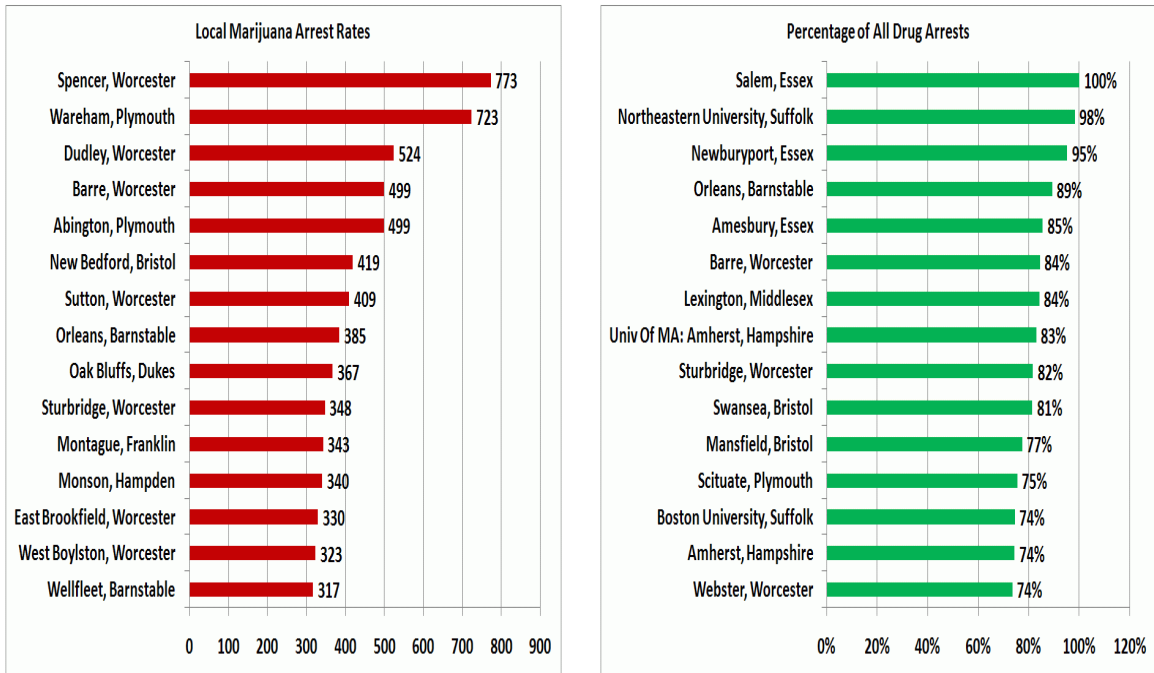


## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

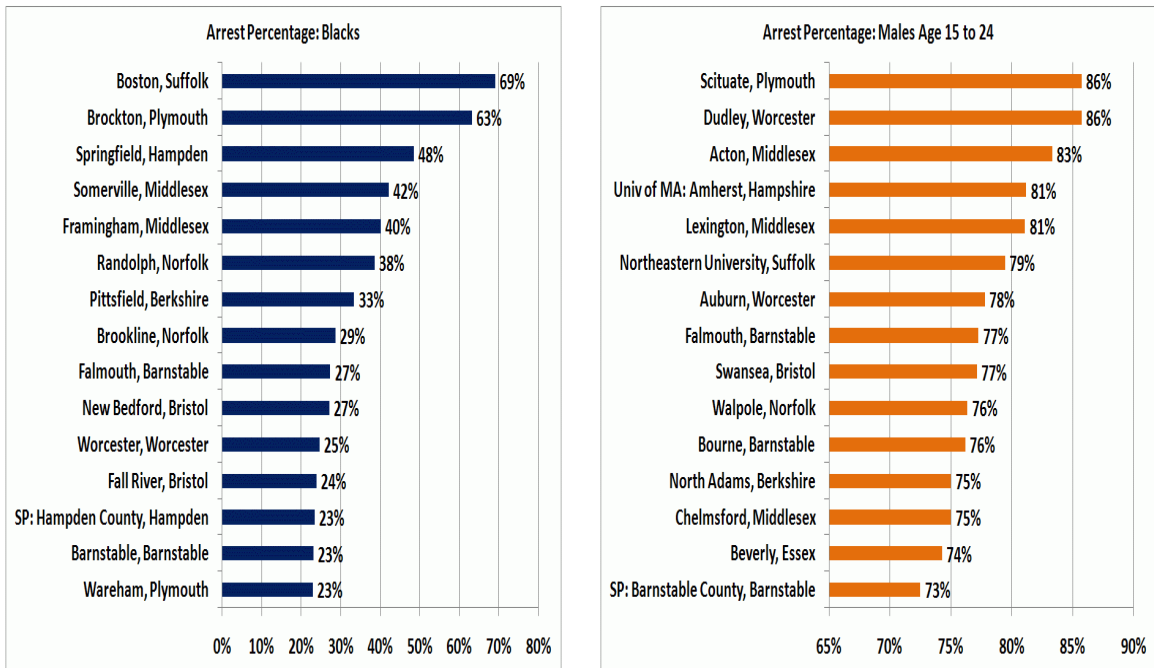
**Figure 11. Marijuana Arrest Statistics in Selected Local Massachusetts Police Agencies (2006)**

Notes: Percentage Listings Based on a Minimum of 25 Total Arrests for Marijuana Possession by the Agency. Each graph contains the top 15 agencies in the state for each category. SP: State Police

### Marijuana Arrests



### Marijuana Possession Arrests



## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

criminal justice resources from more important law enforcement priorities.

### Part 6. Costs

There are many types of costs associated with marijuana laws and policies. Marijuana's availability to and use by teenagers is one important benchmark of the relative success of failure of marijuana's illegal status. Another cost is the diversion of drug treatment services, often at public expense, that result from the use of treatment as an alternative to incarceration or other judicial sanctions. Another cost is the disproportional impact arrests have on the young and on blacks in which these populations are arrested more frequently than older or white marijuana users. The statistics provided above in this report provide greater detail of the extent and magnitude of these costs. Another cost, though one beyond the scope of this report, is the fiscal impact of lost tax revenue from the lack of taxation and regulation of marijuana [2].

Another fiscal impact of marijuana laws is the sheer cost of enforcing them. The criminal justice system attempts to minimize these costs through enforcement and sentencing policies. Police officers exercise discretion in making arrests for marijuana for many reasons. Prominent in overall enforcement policies of police departments is an awareness of the practical costs associated with each and every arrest. Sentencing policies also aim to reduce correctional costs through applying the minimal sentences required by law and/or mandating treatment, for example, as an alternative to incarceration. Nonetheless, marijuana arrests incur specific costs for the public. They consume finite financial resources available to the criminal justice system and they divert

The General Appropriations Act (GAA) for the Massachusetts State Government allocates \$2.06 billion in 2009 for Public Safety and the Judiciary. This is a significant increase of the 2006 GAA allocation of \$1.6 billion. [3] However these figures are for the state criminal justice system and do not include county or municipal costs. These costs are integral to assessing the fiscal impact of marijuana laws because most marijuana arrests take place at the local level by local police agencies. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) of the federal Department of Justice estimates local justice costs through their Criminal Justice Expenditure and Employment Extracts (CJEE) Program. Their estimate of Massachusetts State Criminal Justice Costs for 2005, for example, is \$1.9 billion. This is generally consistent with the GAA allocation for 2006, but indicates that CJEE utilizes an estimation procedure that is different from the accounting used for the General Appropriations Act.

The 2005 CJEE estimates for Massachusetts are provided in Table 17. In addition to the state expenditures of \$1.9 billion local jurisdictions spent \$1.5 billion on criminal justice costs, which include police, judicial/legal, and corrections expenditures. [4] The total expense for the criminal justice system in Massachusetts in 2005, state and local expenses combined, is \$3.4 billion.

The Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) uses a relatively simple method for estimating the criminal justice costs of drug laws in which the proportion of arrests accounted for by drug offenses is held to also represent the proportion of criminal justice costs associated with those arrests. [5] According to this method of estimating criminal justice costs, since marijuana

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

accounts for 6.19% of all arrests in Massachusetts and the cost of these arrests is estimated to be 6.19% of criminal justice costs in the state. With marijuana arrests accounting for 6.19% of the costs, the fiscal cost of marijuana arrests in Massachusetts is \$213.6 million. This approach, like any simple estimation model, oversimplifies the complex nature of its subject. It does, however, provide context for understanding the fiscal cost of marijuana law enforcement. As a general model it provides a reasonable basis for establishing an upper boundary for estimating the costs of marijuana law enforcement.

This general estimation model has three primary flaws. Criminal justice costs vary according to the type of offense, based on such factors as the amount of time required for investigation, the number of offenses an individual is actually charged with, length of trial, and the seriousness of the sentence provided for those convicted. A second factor is that many arrests are based on multiple charges, which means that statistically groups of individual arrests share common expenses. Finally the classic motto of law enforcement is to protect and serve. Law enforcement fulfills many duties that are not directly related to making arrests and it is inaccurate to use arrest as the sole benchmark of their performance.

Jeffrey Miron provides a more conservative approach to estimating the costs of marijuana arrests that can be used as a lower boundary in this exercise. Miron notes that marijuana possession is frequently one of many charges in arrests, and consequently that the savings that may result from decriminalizing marijuana possession offenses (replacing arrest with a fine) should be estimated based on the number of arrests in which possession is the only crime charged. Examination of arrest records in selected Massachusetts counties by Miron indicates that 33% of possession cases involve the single offense. Using state and local police costs as a base line Miron estimates the saving that would result from decriminalization to be \$29.5 million. [6] Arrests for marijuana also incur additional criminal justice costs in the areas of judicial/legal expenses and correctional expenses. Applying Miron's approach of using 33% of marijuana possession arrests and applying the resulting proportion of total arrests to both police and judicial/legal expenses provides a cost estimate for marijuana possession arrests of \$43 million.

All marijuana arrests, whether involving single or multiple charges, require the allocation of criminal justice resources. For example, multiple charges require additional detail in arrest reports, additional work by prosecutors, and additional attention by the

**Table 17. Massachusetts Criminal Justice Expenditures (2006)**

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Criminal Justice Expenditure and Employment Extracts Program (CJEE)

(Figures in \$1000s)	Total	Criminal Justice System Total	Police	Judicial/Legal	Corrections
Massachusetts, Total	\$58,857,128	\$3,450,625	\$1,571,230	\$842,575	\$1,036,820
State	\$31,549,568	\$1,933,741	\$359,595	\$776,671	\$797,475
Local, total	\$27,307,560	\$1,516,884	\$1,211,635	\$65,904	\$239,345
Counties	\$394,248	\$143,261	\$4,837	\$911	\$137,513
Municipalities	\$21,717,188	\$1,373,623	\$1,206,798	\$64,993	\$101,832

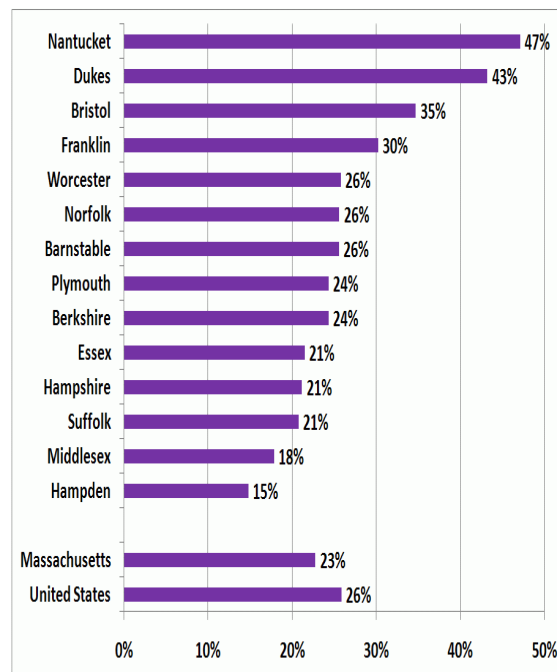
## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

courts. Marijuana possession arrests increase the amount of time a police officer devotes to administrative obligations related to processing an arrest. These factors are hard to quantify at this level of analysis, but they give credence to the general approach of treating all arrests as having similar cost components, though perhaps more so with respect to arrest and processing than to adjudication and sentencing costs. In any event, these considerations establish some boundaries for estimating the cost of marijuana offenses (both possession and sales) in Massachusetts as being in the range of \$43 to \$213.6 million. [The \$43 million estimate is based solely on marijuana possession arrests as well as Miron’s estimate that only 33% of these arrests are stand-alone incidents not involving other offenses.]

Another important aspect of marijuana law enforcement is the diversion of resources from more important priorities. For example, state-wide marijuana arrests account for 43% of all drug arrests. As the data above indicates, this proportion varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, and throughout the state these costs represent a significant diversion of resources away from efforts to control the availability of more serious drugs such as heroin, cocaine, and methamphetamine and enforcement of laws prohibiting the sale of those substances. This is known in economics as an “opportunity cost” in which one activity precludes the opportunity to engage in another.

The clearance rate in local jurisdictions regarding several serious crimes was explained in the section above. The ability of police to clear known offenses of murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny and motor vehicle theft also varies widely across jurisdictions in the state. At the county level the combined rate for all these offenses varies from 15% in Hampden to 46% in Nantucket. (See Figure 12.) In

**Figure 12. Clearance Rates for Serious Crimes in Massachusetts Counties (2006)**



Suffolk County, where the number of marijuana arrests is the greatest, the clearance rate for these crimes in 2006 was only 21%.

The diversion of criminal justice resources on account of marijuana laws is one of several factors that affect the ability of police to clear known crimes with arrests. However low clearance rates indicate that there is considerable room for improvement in the ability of police agencies to protect and serve the public. In Suffolk County, for example, police were able to clear 47% of known murders, 58% of rapes, 23% of robberies, 41% of assaults, 10% of burglaries, 11% of larcenies, and 6% of motor vehicle thefts. (See Table 18.) In Suffolk County marijuana arrests comprised 8.3% of all arrests, a significant diversion of law enforcement resources from these more important priorities. Among Massachusetts Counties

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

the clearance rate for rapes, with the exception of a 100% clearance rate in Dukes County, varied in 2006 from 10% in Hampshire County to 58% in Suffolk. In 2006 the clearance rate for motor vehicle theft varied from 5% in Hampden County to 50% in Dukes. It is important to note that in Massachusetts the clearance rates for these crimes are similar to those in the United States as a whole. In Massachusetts the clearance rate for rape is 29% while in the US it is 39%; the clearance rate for motor vehicle theft in Massachusetts is 9% while in the US it is 12%.

programs. Marijuana arrests have significant fiscal costs, especially in light of the overall financial pressures on the budgets of state and local government. Public policy, like economics, is often about making choices, and in this context the enforcement of marijuana laws requires that local police agencies make choices about the allocation of their resources, choices that inevitably affect their ability to apply resources to solve and deter a variety of crimes.

Marijuana law enforcement, though, has significant costs at the local, county, and state level. These costs include the impact of marijuana's illegality on marijuana's availability, the impact of arrests on the young and on blacks, and both the consumption and the diversion of resources in treatment and criminal justice system

**Table 18. Clearance Rates for Serious Crimes in Massachusetts (2006)**

Jurisdiction	Murder	Rape	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Larceny	Vehicle Theft	Combined
Barnstable	100.00%	42.19%	31.76%	53.79%	8.94%	12.16%	21.67%	25.55%
Berkshire	50.00%	30.99%	35.00%	44.37%	10.83%	11.77%	13.25%	24.29%
Bristol	58.82%	32.32%	25.60%	62.30%	12.30%	20.32%	9.26%	34.67%
Dukes		100.00%		90.76%	26.58%	26.64%	50.00%	43.18%
Essex	40.00%	29.35%	21.63%	46.83%	7.93%	13.48%	9.23%	21.45%
Franklin		30.43%	52.63%	60.99%	11.64%	12.50%	21.28%	30.17%
Hampden	45.45%	11.42%	17.59%	25.10%	7.70%	8.23%	5.29%	14.78%
Hampshire		10.42%	31.71%	43.04%	12.43%	10.31%	11.17%	21.13%
Middlesex	72.73%	12.10%	16.96%	44.58%	7.42%	9.97%	14.36%	17.84%
Nantucket		0.00%		73.47%	26.32%	19.23%	28.57%	47.06%
Norfolk	16.67%	27.78%	29.47%	54.07%	13.02%	15.55%	15.05%	25.57%
Plymouth	18.18%	22.50%	24.12%	47.75%	11.05%	12.68%	7.59%	24.30%
Suffolk	46.67%	58.44%	23.10%	40.60%	10.05%	11.26%	6.44%	20.73%
Worcester	70.00%	20.53%	25.34%	49.35%	11.08%	12.80%	9.42%	25.77%
Massachusetts	49.08%	29.33%	22.95%	45.04%	9.90%	12.46%	8.93%	22.74%
United States	58.14%	38.86%	23.66%	53.06%	11.97%	16.70%	11.76%	25.84%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

### Data Sources and Notes

#### Data Sources

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## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

### Data Sources and Notes (Continued)

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#### Notes:

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[2] Gettman, Jon. Lost Taxes and Other Costs of Marijuana Laws. Bulletin of Cannabis Reform. October, 2007. [http://www.drugscience.org/Archive/bcr4/bcr4\\_index.html](http://www.drugscience.org/Archive/bcr4/bcr4_index.html)

[3] Commonwealth of Massachusetts. All Government Areas, Summary, Historical Budget Levels. [http://www.mass.gov/bb/gaa/fy2009/app\\_09/ga\\_09/hhdefault.htm](http://www.mass.gov/bb/gaa/fy2009/app_09/ga_09/hhdefault.htm). Retrieved October 21, 2008.

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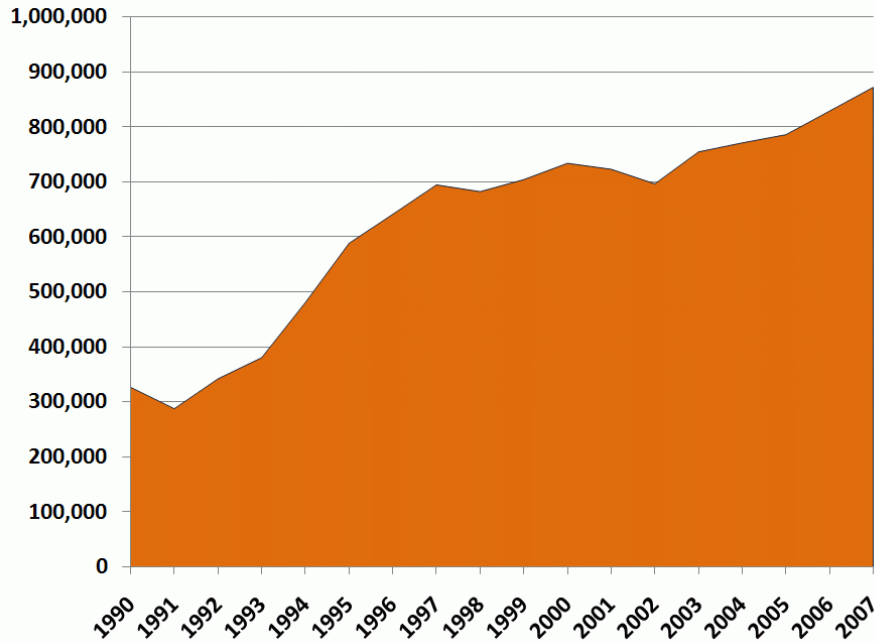
## **Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts**

### **Appendix 1**

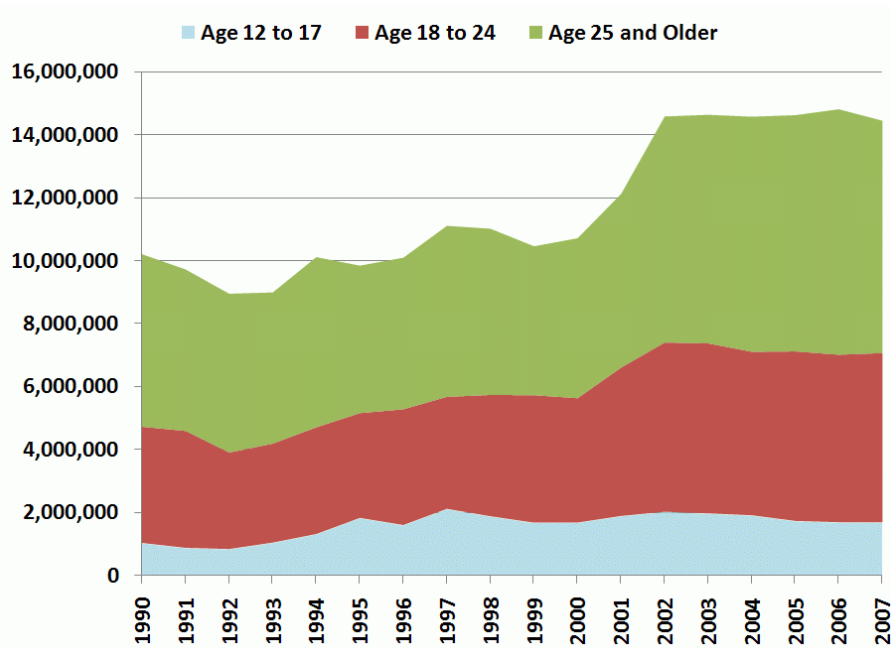
#### **U.S. Marijuana Arrests and Monthly Marijuana Use by Age (1990—2007)**



**Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts**  
**U.S. Marijuana Arrests (1990—2007)**  
 Source: Uniform Crime Reporting Program



**U.S. Monthly Marijuana Use, by Age Group (1990—2007)**  
 Source: National Survey on Drug Use and Health



The increase in monthly marijuana use in 2002 is due to more accurate survey procedures by the National Survey on Drug Use and Health. However, these graphs demonstrate that increases in marijuana arrests have not reduced monthly marijuana use in the United States.

## **Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts**

### **Appendix 2**

#### **Massachusetts Local Agency Marijuana Arrest Data, By County (2006)**

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 19. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Barnstable County (2006)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes Clearance Rate	All Drugs Arrests	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
				Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Barnstable	48,113	36.42%	125	62	128.86	49.60%	52	108.08	23.08%	53.85%
Sp: Barnstable County	0	29.88%	72	40	0.00	55.56%	40	0.00	12.50%	72.50%
Mashpee	14,366	100.00%	77	43	299.32	55.84%	39	271.47	10.26%	66.67%
Dennis	15,986	34.30%	62	38	237.71	61.29%	34	212.69	11.76%	67.65%
Falmouth	33,846	34.09%	56	26	76.82	46.43%	22	65.00	27.27%	77.27%
Orleans	6,497	11.63%	28	25	384.79	89.29%	22	338.62	4.55%	59.09%
Sandwich	20,851	12.54%	29	23	110.31	79.31%	22	105.51	0.00%	68.18%
Bourne	19,472	24.24%	42	25	128.39	59.52%	21	107.85	9.52%	76.19%
Yarmouth	24,769	38.98%	71	27	109.01	38.03%	21	84.78	9.52%	47.62%
Harwich	12,751	9.95%	28	15	117.64	53.57%	15	117.64	0.00%	73.33%
Brewster	10,304	24.03%	23	16	155.28	69.57%	14	135.87	0.00%	78.57%
Truro	2,177	10.53%	10	6	275.61	60.00%	6	275.61	0.00%	83.33%
Wellfleet	2,839	7.69%	10	9	317.01	90.00%	5	176.12	0.00%	60.00%
Provincetown	3,447	29.03%	15	8	232.09	53.33%	4	116.04	25.00%	25.00%
Eastham	5,584	5.26%	1	1	17.91	100.00%	1	17.91	0.00%	100.00%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 20. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Berkshire County (2006)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
SP: Berkshire County	12,002	27.27%	47	32	266.62	68.09%	31	258.29	16.13%	45.16%
North Adams	14,094	25.17%	42	25	177.38	59.52%	24	170.29	12.50%	75.00%
Pittsfield	44,124	22.02%	108	25	56.66	23.15%	24	54.39	33.33%	62.50%
Dalton	6,740	37.66%	19	15	222.55	78.95%	14	207.72	0.00%	57.14%
Williamstown	8,288	12.11%	12	8	96.53	66.67%	6	72.39	16.67%	83.33%
Great Barrington	7,486	45.03%	9	7	93.51	77.78%	5	66.79	0.00%	60.00%
MA College Of Liberal Arts	0	16.13%	6	6	0.00	100.00%	6	0.00	16.67%	100.00%
Adams	8,506	26.01%	12	3	35.27	25.00%	2	23.51	0.00%	50.00%
Egremont	1,364	6.25%	4	3	219.94	75.00%	3	219.94	0.00%	0.00%
Hinsdale	1,822	52.17%	4	2	109.77	50.00%	2	109.77	0.00%	50.00%
Lee	5,920	82.54%	9	1	16.89	11.11%	1	16.89	100.00%	0.00%

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Table 21. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Bristol County (2006)

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
New Bedford	93,661	41.24%	986	392	418.53	39.76%	333	355.54	27.03%	60.36%
SP: Bristol County	0	97.87%	352	177	0.00	50.28%	171	0.00	11.70%	49.71%
Fall River	92,354	36.59%	385	114	123.44	29.61%	101	109.36	23.76%	61.39%
Mansfield	23,115	22.66%	84	65	281.20	77.38%	59	255.25	0.00%	67.80%
Taunton	56,589	49.46%	187	49	86.59	26.20%	37	65.38	13.51%	56.76%
Attleboro	43,643	23.03%	94	45	103.11	47.87%	41	93.94	2.44%	53.66%
Swansea	16,348	37.76%	43	35	214.09	81.40%	35	214.09	0.00%	77.14%
Somerset	18,682	26.62%	56	34	181.99	60.71%	33	176.64	6.06%	63.64%
North Attleboro	28,302	42.52%	50	33	116.60	66.00%	32	113.07	3.12%	65.62%
Acushnet	10,607	32.35%	31	23	216.84	74.19%	21	197.98	0.00%	76.19%
Rehoboth	11,324	34.16%	21	17	150.12	80.95%	15	132.46	6.67%	60.00%
Raynham	13,579	44.15%	34	15	110.46	44.12%	14	103.10	0.00%	85.71%
Freetown	9,033	23.60%	19	13	143.92	68.42%	12	132.85	8.33%	75.00%
Fairhaven	16,319	22.11%	24	10	61.28	41.67%	8	49.02	12.50%	50.00%
Univ. Of MA: Dartmouth	0	0.82%	10	9	0.00	90.00%	9	0.00	44.44%	88.89%
Dartmouth	31,578	13.52%	8	7	22.17	87.50%	6	19.00	0.00%	66.67%
Easton	23,166	28.40%	12	6	25.90	50.00%	6	25.90	16.67%	33.33%
Westport	15,162	16.27%	10	6	39.57	60.00%	5	32.98	0.00%	80.00%
Seekonk	13,750	15.46%	15	5	36.36	33.33%	5	36.36	20.00%	40.00%
Berkley	6,413	51.90%	8	4	62.37	50.00%	4	62.37	0.00%	50.00%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 22. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Dukes County (2006)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Oak Bluffs	3,810	53.79%	20	14	367.45	70.00%	10	262.47	20.00%	70.00%
Tisbury	3,835	38.17%	6	4	104.30	66.67%	3	78.23	0.00%	0.00%
Edgartown	3,959	42.68%	5	1	25.26	20.00%	1	25.26	0.00%	100.00%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 23. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Essex County (2006)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
SP: Essex County	0	100.00%	467	324	0.00	69.38%	311	0.00	7.72%	45.34%
Haverhill	60,604	21.79%	187	77	127.05	41.18%	52	85.80	1.92%	30.77%
Amesbury	16,743	21.56%	62	53	316.55	85.48%	41	244.88	0.00%	58.54%
Danvers	26,202	26.93%	121	51	194.64	42.15%	49	187.01	2.04%	51.02%
Newburyport	17,519	28.23%	41	39	222.62	95.12%	35	199.78	5.71%	62.86%
Beverly	40,116	25.37%	79	35	87.25	44.30%	35	87.25	11.43%	74.29%
Andover	33,241	31.76%	48	34	102.28	70.83%	33	99.27	0.00%	48.48%
Peabody	51,547	29.83%	79	25	48.50	31.65%	22	42.68	18.18%	50.00%
Salem	42,007	24.52%	25	25	59.51	100.00%	25	59.51	8.00%	56.00%
Gloucester	30,898	6.90%	46	24	77.67	52.17%	17	55.02	0.00%	64.71%
Hamilton	8,399	11.70%	23	22	261.94	95.65%	21	250.03	0.00%	76.19%
Methuen	44,877	15.29%	32	19	42.34	59.38%	13	28.97	0.00%	53.85%
Marblehead	20,419	10.09%	19	13	63.67	68.42%	13	63.67	0.00%	69.23%
Salisbury	8,334	42.71%	28	13	155.99	46.43%	13	155.99	0.00%	46.15%
Georgetown	8,089	8.20%	15	12	148.35	80.00%	12	148.35	8.33%	50.00%
Saugus	27,077	14.79%	34	12	44.32	35.29%	8	29.55	12.50%	25.00%
Groveland	6,648	31.15%	15	11	165.46	73.33%	11	165.46	9.09%	72.73%
Wenham	4,678	9.52%	12	11	235.14	91.67%	10	213.77	0.00%	90.00%
North Andover	27,318	27.53%	18	10	36.61	55.56%	10	36.61	0.00%	70.00%
West Newbury	4,332	39.06%	11	10	230.84	90.91%	10	230.84	0.00%	70.00%
Swampscott	14,374	6.19%	8	8	55.66	100.00%	8	55.66	0.00%	62.50%
Manchester-By-The-Sea	5,367	0.00%	8	7	130.43	87.50%	5	93.16	0.00%	80.00%
Topsfield	6,220	2.70%	9	6	96.46	66.67%	6	96.46	16.67%	83.33%
Merrimac	6,398	30.56%	7	5	78.15	71.43%	5	78.15	0.00%	60.00%
Salem State College	0	8.67%	3	3	0.00	100.00%	1	0.00	0.00%	100.00%
Nahant	3,613	15.38%	3	2	55.36	66.67%	2	55.36	0.00%	100.00%
Rowley	5,880	38.71%	4	2	34.01	50.00%	2	34.01	0.00%	100.00%
Lynnfield	11,615	9.43%	2	1	8.61	50.00%	1	8.61	0.00%	0.00%
Rockport	7,810	66.67%	1	1	12.80	100.00%	1	12.80	0.00%	100.00%
Merrimack College	0	9.09%	1	1	0.00	100.00%	1	0.00	0.00%	100.00%

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**Table 24. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Franklin County (2006)**

		Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
Agency	Pop.	Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Montague	8,459	39.43%	42	29	342.83	69.05%	28	331.01	7.14%	64.29%
Greenfield	17,941	34.26%	57	28	156.07	49.12%	27	150.49	3.70%	70.37%
SP: Franklin County	7,944	70.59%	57	23	289.53	40.35%	19	239.17	21.05%	47.37%
Deerfield	4,815	17.72%	11	9	186.92	81.82%	9	186.92	0.00%	44.44%
Orange	7,713	19.81%	16	7	90.76	43.75%	5	64.83	0.00%	60.00%
Northfield	3,249	36.26%	5	5	153.89	100.00%	5	153.89	20.00%	40.00%
Buckland	2,007	47.83%	4	4	199.30	100.00%	4	199.30	0.00%	50.00%
Sunderland	3,826	29.49%	7	4	104.55	57.14%	3	78.41	0.00%	66.67%
Ashfield	1,836	40.00%	2	2	108.93	100.00%	2	108.93	0.00%	50.00%
Charlemont	1,396	28.57%	1	1	71.63	100.00%	1	71.63	0.00%	100.00%
Erving	1,553	28.57%	3	1	64.39	33.33%	1	64.39	0.00%	100.00%
Gill	1,401	15.38%	2	1	71.38	50.00%	1	71.38	0.00%	100.00%



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**Table 25. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Hamden County (2006)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Springfield	152,644	10.98%	1,036	246	161.16	23.75%	184	120.54	48.37%	57.61%
SP: Hampden County	2,077	95.57%	492	225	10,832.93	45.73%	193	9,292.25	23.32%	57.51%
Holyoke	40,198	15.93%	379	83	206.48	21.90%	79	196.53	3.80%	69.62%
West Springfield	28,157	19.00%	90	56	198.88	62.22%	46	163.37	15.22%	54.35%
Chicopee	55,009	18.35%	85	37	67.26	43.53%	31	56.35	12.90%	67.74%
Monson	8,816	42.19%	41	30	340.29	73.17%	28	317.60	3.57%	67.86%
Agawam	28,771	22.51%	67	29	100.80	43.28%	28	97.32	0.00%	71.43%
Ludlow	22,078	20.54%	38	27	122.29	71.05%	27	122.29	0.00%	70.37%
Westfield	40,769	13.92%	44	27	66.23	61.36%	25	61.32	12.00%	56.00%
Palmer	13,003	33.26%	29	14	107.67	48.28%	13	99.98	0.00%	76.92%
Wilbraham	14,087	21.73%	15	14	99.38	93.33%	14	99.38	0.00%	100.00%
Southwick	9,605	25.74%	19	11	114.52	57.89%	11	114.52	0.00%	63.64%
Westfield State College	0	14.67%	16	9	0.00	56.25%	9	0.00	11.11%	77.78%
Springfield College	0	28.16%	11	9	0.00	81.82%	6	0.00	0.00%	100.00%
Hampden	5,350	20.29%	7	7	130.84	100.00%	6	112.15	16.67%	16.67%
Longmeadow	15,663	6.64%	8	5	31.92	62.50%	5	31.92	0.00%	60.00%
East Longmeadow	14,975	20.33%	6	3	20.03	50.00%	2	13.36	0.00%	100.00%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 26. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Hampshire County (2006)**

		Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
Agency	Pop.	Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Univ Of MA: Amherst	0	14.71%	129	107	0.00	82.95%	85	0.00	7.06%	81.18%
Amherst	34,252	30.78%	82	61	178.09	74.39%	55	160.57	7.27%	67.27%
Northampton	28,888	15.31%	82	54	186.93	65.85%	54	186.93	9.26%	51.85%
Easthampton	16,100	40.53%	35	23	142.86	65.71%	22	136.65	0.00%	77.27%
South Hadley	17,166	17.06%	35	20	116.51	57.14%	20	116.51	5.00%	75.00%
SP: Hampshire County	4,628	86.36%	56	17	367.33	30.36%	15	324.11	13.33%	60.00%
Belchertown	14,042	32.27%	20	13	92.58	65.00%	11	78.34	0.00%	90.91%
Granby	6,382	17.95%	16	12	188.03	75.00%	11	172.36	9.09%	63.64%
Ware	10,065	21.80%	16	6	59.61	37.50%	5	49.68	0.00%	80.00%
Hadley	4,851	17.62%	11	5	103.07	45.45%	5	103.07	20.00%	60.00%
Southampton	5,876	13.70%	8	3	51.06	37.50%	3	51.06	0.00%	66.67%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 27. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Middlesex County (2006)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes Clearance Rate	All Drugs Arrests	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
				Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
SP: Middlesex County	0	81.25%	285	171	0.00	60.00%	164	0.00	20.12%	56.71%
Framingham	65,451	16.76%	196	61	93.20	31.12%	60	91.67	40.00%	60.00%
Chelmsford	33,962	31.25%	75	38	111.89	50.67%	36	106.00	2.78%	75.00%
Lexington	30,448	15.44%	44	37	121.52	84.09%	37	121.52	0.00%	81.08%
Somerville	75,413	14.97%	106	31	41.11	29.25%	19	25.19	42.11%	47.37%
Malden	56,207	16.48%	94	30	53.37	31.91%	21	37.36	14.29%	71.43%
Billerica	40,203	16.04%	66	29	72.13	43.94%	29	72.13	0.00%	65.52%
Natick	32,135	36.96%	50	29	90.24	58.00%	28	87.13	7.14%	57.14%
Concord	16,934	26.72%	37	26	153.54	70.27%	24	141.73	8.33%	66.67%
Acton	20,686	10.47%	37	25	120.85	67.57%	24	116.02	4.17%	83.33%
Everett	37,058	13.32%	110	24	64.76	21.82%	19	51.27	15.79%	63.16%
Medford	53,845	10.86%	63	20	37.14	31.75%	9	16.71	33.33%	88.89%
Wakefield	24,723	29.70%	39	20	80.90	51.28%	20	80.90	0.00%	75.00%
Hopkinton	14,197	28.78%	28	19	133.83	67.86%	19	133.83	5.26%	73.68%
Hudson	19,057	21.53%	29	19	99.70	65.52%	19	99.70	10.53%	68.42%
Reading	23,303	4.91%	21	19	81.53	90.48%	17	72.95	0.00%	58.82%
Dracut	29,066	23.83%	27	17	58.49	62.96%	15	51.61	0.00%	66.67%
Sudbury	17,169	44.09%	18	17	99.02	94.44%	17	99.02	0.00%	76.47%
Wayland	13,080	36.30%	16	16	122.32	100.00%	16	122.32	6.25%	68.75%
Maynard	10,291	53.75%	17	15	145.76	88.24%	15	145.76	13.33%	73.33%
Newton	83,658	13.41%	21	15	17.93	71.43%	14	16.73	14.29%	71.43%
Boxborough	5,092	18.18%	17	14	274.94	82.35%	14	274.94	0.00%	50.00%
Holliston	13,930	34.86%	16	14	100.50	87.50%	13	93.32	7.69%	69.23%
Townsend	9,341	23.01%	20	14	149.88	70.00%	14	149.88	0.00%	64.29%
Arlington	41,472	13.12%	24	13	31.35	54.17%	9	21.70	0.00%	88.89%
Burlington	23,439	12.40%	37	13	55.46	35.14%	11	46.93	9.09%	72.73%
Stow	6,216	6.67%	13	13	209.14	100.00%	13	209.14	0.00%	84.62%
Winchester	21,308	10.03%	20	13	61.01	65.00%	13	61.01	7.69%	92.31%
Lincoln	7,979	36.54%	20	12	150.39	60.00%	12	150.39	8.33%	66.67%
Ashland	15,644	36.99%	28	11	70.31	39.29%	11	70.31	18.18%	63.64%
Waltham	59,914	20.93%	28	11	18.36	39.29%	10	16.69	30.00%	60.00%
Watertown	32,497	36.06%	37	11	33.85	29.73%	8	24.62	25.00%	75.00%
Woburn	37,370	32.95%	43	11	29.44	25.58%	11	29.44	0.00%	54.55%
Littleton	8,641	11.22%	10	8	92.58	80.00%	5	57.86	20.00%	60.00%

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**Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts**

**Table 27. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Middlesex County (2006)  
(Continued from previous page)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes Clearance Rate	All Drugs Arrests	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
				Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Harvard University	0	0.00%	11	8	0.00	72.73%	4	0.00	0.00%	25.00%
Boston College	0	23.92%	9	8	0.00	88.89%	1	0.00	0.00%	100.00%
Marlborough	37,669	15.64%	15	7	18.58	46.67%	4	10.62	0.00%	50.00%
Melrose	26,523	8.66%	16	7	26.39	43.75%	6	22.62	0.00%	100.00%
North Reading	14,033	25.40%	12	7	49.88	58.33%	7	49.88	0.00%	42.86%
Belmont	23,511	12.77%	9	6	25.52	66.67%	6	25.52	0.00%	83.33%
Tewksbury	29,218	13.69%	22	6	20.54	27.27%	5	17.11	0.00%	60.00%
Bentley College	0	0.00%	6	6	0.00	100.00%	4	0.00	0.00%	100.00%
Pepperell	11,477	8.44%	10	5	43.57	50.00%	5	43.57	0.00%	60.00%
Sherborn	4,248	21.88%	7	5	117.70	71.43%	5	117.70	0.00%	60.00%
Ayer	7,271	21.71%	4	4	55.01	100.00%	4	55.01	0.00%	75.00%
Tyngsboro	11,406	25.45%	4	4	35.07	100.00%	2	17.53	0.00%	100.00%
Groton	10,500	5.26%	5	2	19.05	40.00%	2	19.05	0.00%	0.00%
Framingham State College	0	23.08%	2	2	0.00	100.00%	2	0.00	0.00%	50.00%
Bedford	12,537	7.20%	1	1	7.98	100.00%	1	7.98	0.00%	100.00%
Westford	21,590	9.49%	1	1	4.63	100.00%	1	4.63	0.00%	100.00%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 28. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Nantucket County (2006)**

		Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
Agency	Pop.	Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Nantucket	10,229	47.06%	15	13	127.09	86.67%	13	127.09	38.46%	23.08%

Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

Table 29. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Norfolk County (2006)

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Quincy	90,792	20.56%	318	70	77.10	22.01%	49	53.97	18.37%	59.18%
Weymouth	54,111	31.64%	196	67	123.82	34.18%	67	123.82	11.94%	44.78%
Franklin	31,079	67.19%	105	65	209.14	61.90%	61	196.27	8.20%	67.21%
Walpole	23,251	26.68%	82	55	236.55	67.07%	55	236.55	1.82%	76.36%
Brookline	55,924	37.87%	74	50	89.41	67.57%	42	75.10	28.57%	61.90%
Braintree	33,883	22.37%	183	48	141.66	26.23%	37	109.20	5.41%	45.95%
Foxborough	16,411	26.45%	74	48	292.49	64.86%	38	231.55	10.53%	57.89%
Randolph	30,651	22.05%	93	46	150.08	49.46%	39	127.24	38.46%	64.10%
Norwood	28,649	32.36%	24	15	52.36	62.50%	15	52.36	6.67%	73.33%
Bellingham	15,879	34.48%	22	14	88.17	63.64%	12	75.57	0.00%	83.33%
Wellesley	27,140	14.80%	14	13	47.90	92.86%	13	47.90	7.69%	61.54%
SP: Norfolk County	0	88.89%	24	13	0.00	54.17%	13	0.00	38.46%	69.23%
Needham	28,589	23.68%	16	12	41.97	75.00%	11	38.48	9.09%	72.73%
Plainville	8,070	35.74%	14	10	123.92	71.43%	8	99.13	12.50%	62.50%
Sharon	17,310	10.87%	15	10	57.77	66.67%	10	57.77	0.00%	80.00%
Medfield	12,417	16.48%	9	9	72.48	100.00%	8	64.43	0.00%	75.00%
Milton	26,190	23.67%	10	7	26.73	70.00%	1	3.82	0.00%	0.00%
Canton	21,701	8.63%	19	6	27.65	31.58%	6	27.65	16.67%	50.00%
Cohasset	7,265	35.22%	7	6	82.59	85.71%	3	41.29	0.00%	100.00%
Avon	4,366	29.17%	10	5	114.52	50.00%	3	68.71	0.00%	33.33%
Westwood	13,984	13.23%	6	4	28.60	66.67%	4	28.60	25.00%	75.00%
Dedham	23,879	18.25%	10	3	12.56	30.00%	3	12.56	0.00%	66.67%
Dover	5,675	15.38%	2	2	35.24	100.00%	2	35.24	0.00%	50.00%
Holbrook	10,840	6.43%	9	1	9.23	11.11%	1	9.23	100.00%	100.00%
Norfolk	10,553	29.41%	4	1	9.48	25.00%	1	9.48	0.00%	100.00%

Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

Table 30. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Plymouth County (2006)

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Brockton	95,200	18.89%	551	161	169.12	29.22%	103	108.19	63.11%	69.90%
Wareham	21,424	42.93%	239	155	723.49	64.85%	131	611.46	22.90%	58.02%
SP: Plymouth County	0	100.00%	217	124	0.00	57.14%	124	0.00	6.45%	39.52%
Abington	16,449	29.61%	170	82	498.51	48.24%	76	462.03	9.21%	56.58%
Middleboro	21,325	36.96%	67	46	215.71	68.66%	41	192.26	7.32%	56.10%
Scituate	18,229	29.72%	57	43	235.89	75.44%	35	192.00	2.86%	85.71%
Marshfield	25,040	38.16%	67	30	119.81	44.78%	23	91.85	0.00%	56.52%
Rockland	17,946	0.00%	42	26	144.88	61.90%	25	139.31	4.00%	48.00%
Bridgewater State College	0	27.03%	22	20	0.00	90.91%	17	0.00	0.00%	82.35%
Hingham	21,636	20.25%	29	17	78.57	58.62%	17	78.57	5.88%	76.47%
West Bridgewater	6,862	25.64%	25	16	233.17	64.00%	16	233.17	6.25%	50.00%
Hull	11,348	37.01%	21	13	114.56	61.90%	13	114.56	7.69%	38.46%
East Bridgewater	13,942	33.91%	21	12	86.07	57.14%	11	78.90	0.00%	81.82%
Bridgewater	25,875	13.83%	21	11	42.51	52.38%	10	38.65	10.00%	50.00%
Hanson	9,986	13.02%	11	10	100.14	90.91%	10	100.14	0.00%	60.00%
Hanover	14,186	14.08%	16	7	49.34	43.75%	7	49.34	0.00%	100.00%
Marion	5,351	9.79%	7	6	112.13	85.71%	6	112.13	0.00%	83.33%
Mattapoisett	6,518	14.60%	5	5	76.71	100.00%	5	76.71	0.00%	100.00%
Pembroke	18,204	17.82%	6	5	27.47	83.33%	4	21.97	0.00%	75.00%
Massasoit Community College	0	0.00%	5	5	0.00	100.00%	5	0.00	0.00%	100.00%
Halifax	7,856	25.58%	4	4	50.92	100.00%	4	50.92	0.00%	75.00%
Carver	11,631	31.22%	6	3	25.79	50.00%	3	25.79	0.00%	66.67%
Kingston	12,532	22.43%	13	3	23.94	23.08%	3	23.94	0.00%	33.33%
Lakeville	10,703	20.44%	6	3	28.03	50.00%	3	28.03	0.00%	66.67%
Norwell	10,458	29.49%	2	2	19.12	100.00%	2	19.12	0.00%	100.00%
Plymouth	55,253	41.51%	5	2	3.62	40.00%	2	3.62	0.00%	0.00%

## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 31. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Suffolk County (2006)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Boston	562,393	21.09%	4,744	1,757	312.41	37.04%	1,392	247.51	68.97%	60.34%
Northeastern University	0	17.32%	114	112	0.00	98.25%	107	0.00	9.35%	79.44%
Revere	46,082	21.24%	181	57	123.69	31.49%	44	95.48	4.55%	70.45%
Boston University	0	7.09%	47	35	0.00	74.47%	31	0.00	3.23%	61.29%
Chelsea	32,713	19.86%	66	24	73.37	36.36%	22	67.25	27.27%	59.09%
Winthrop	17,172	19.09%	19	6	34.94	31.58%	6	34.94	0.00%	50.00%



## Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

**Table 32. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Worcester County (2006)**

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes	All Drugs	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
		Clearance Rate	Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Worcester	176,956	22.34%	897	241	136.19	26.87%	179	101.16	24.58%	63.69%
Spencer	12,165	52.43%	133	94	772.71	70.68%	75	616.52	0.00%	69.33%
SP: Worcester County	0	80.33%	1,099	83	0.00	7.55%	78	0.00	5.13%	51.28%
Dudley	10,877	75.33%	78	57	524.04	73.08%	56	514.85	7.14%	85.71%
Fitchburg	40,286	21.42%	128	38	94.33	29.69%	32	79.43	9.38%	56.25%
Sutton	9,043	30.41%	53	37	409.16	69.81%	37	409.16	5.41%	56.76%
Sturbridge	8,913	49.81%	38	31	347.81	81.58%	26	291.71	0.00%	61.54%
Auburn	16,499	15.63%	43	30	181.83	69.77%	27	163.65	0.00%	77.78%
Leicester	11,033	37.14%	55	28	253.78	50.91%	21	190.34	0.00%	57.14%
Barre	5,412	42.05%	32	27	498.89	84.38%	22	406.50	0.00%	54.55%
Webster	16,952	43.21%	34	25	147.48	73.53%	22	129.78	13.64%	59.09%
West Boylston	7,745	12.15%	40	25	322.79	62.50%	22	284.05	9.09%	59.09%
Charlton	12,550	34.47%	28	23	183.27	82.14%	18	143.43	0.00%	55.56%
Athol	11,767	34.43%	39	22	186.96	56.41%	19	161.47	5.26%	52.63%
Douglas	7,932	41.05%	31	22	277.36	70.97%	17	214.32	0.00%	64.71%
Gardner	21,034	25.39%	48	21	99.84	43.75%	20	95.08	5.00%	75.00%
Northbridge	14,301	48.58%	30	21	146.84	70.00%	21	146.84	9.52%	71.43%
Clinton	14,079	86.59%	31	18	127.85	58.06%	12	85.23	0.00%	66.67%
Leominster	42,055	18.39%	58	18	42.80	31.03%	17	40.42	11.76%	58.82%
Winchendon	10,165	32.87%	30	18	177.08	60.00%	16	157.40	0.00%	68.75%
Milford	27,684	24.27%	31	15	54.18	48.39%	13	46.96	7.69%	69.23%
Southbridge	17,338	35.14%	56	15	86.52	26.79%	10	57.68	10.00%	60.00%
Holden	16,692	20.69%	19	14	83.87	73.68%	13	77.88	0.00%	84.62%
Shrewsbury	33,373	21.25%	50	14	41.95	28.00%	13	38.95	15.38%	46.15%
Northborough	14,763	30.77%	18	13	88.06	72.22%	12	81.28	0.00%	58.33%
Upton	6,435	39.81%	18	13	202.02	72.22%	13	202.02	7.69%	38.46%
Blackstone	9,111	16.67%	14	12	131.71	85.71%	12	131.71	0.00%	75.00%
Assumption College	0	3.33%	14	12	0.00	85.71%	12	0.00	0.00%	100.00%
Hopedale	6,281	33.98%	15	10	159.21	66.67%	10	159.21	10.00%	70.00%
Hubbardston	4,378	33.98%	13	10	228.41	76.92%	9	205.57	0.00%	77.78%
Oxford	13,800	37.28%	15	10	72.46	66.67%	10	72.46	0.00%	60.00%
West Brookfield	3,918	30.23%	15	10	255.23	66.67%	10	255.23	0.00%	70.00%
Boylston	4,285	16.67%	12	9	210.04	75.00%	5	116.69	0.00%	40.00%
Grafton	16,991	33.10%	9	8	47.08	88.89%	7	41.20	0.00%	71.43%

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Marijuana Arrests in Massachusetts

Table 32. Local Agency for Marijuana Arrests in Worcester County (2006)  
(Continued from previous page)

Agency	Pop.	Serious Crimes Clearance Rate	All Drugs Arrests	Marijuana			Marijuana Possession			
				Arrests	Rate	Pct of Drug Arrests	Arrests	Rate	Black Pct	Males 15 to 24 Pct
Uxbridge	12,484	40.91%	9	8	64.08	88.89%	8	64.08	0.00%	75.00%
Westborough	18,845	9.97%	9	8	42.45	88.89%	7	37.15	14.29%	85.71%
East Brookfield	2,124	31.71%	10	7	329.57	70.00%	7	329.57	0.00%	71.43%
Lunenburg	10,084	14.86%	7	7	69.42	100.00%	5	49.58	0.00%	80.00%
Warren	5,075	41.73%	14	7	137.93	50.00%	7	137.93	0.00%	85.71%
North Brookfield	4,843	41.25%	8	6	123.89	75.00%	6	123.89	0.00%	50.00%
Ashburnham	6,017	31.52%	7	5	83.10	71.43%	5	83.10	0.00%	80.00%
Mendon	5,789	39.39%	5	5	86.37	100.00%	2	34.55	0.00%	0.00%
Millbury	13,540	32.48%	9	4	29.54	44.44%	4	29.54	0.00%	100.00%
Sterling	7,817	14.55%	5	4	51.17	80.00%	4	51.17	0.00%	75.00%
Lancaster	6,886	21.35%	2	2	29.04	100.00%	2	29.04	0.00%	100.00%
Princeton	3,544	14.81%	4	2	56.43	50.00%	2	56.43	0.00%	50.00%
Rutland	7,491	18.27%	4	2	26.70	50.00%	1	13.35	0.00%	100.00%
Berlin	2,705	17.14%	4	1	36.97	25.00%	1	36.97	0.00%	100.00%
Harvard	6,110	22.73%	3	1	16.37	33.33%	1	16.37	0.00%	100.00%
Millville	2,961	27.03%	2	1	33.77	50.00%	1	33.77	0.00%	0.00%
Royalston	1,376	28.57%	1	1	72.67	100.00%	1	72.67	0.00%	100.00%
Clark University	0	0.00%	1	1	0.00	100.00%	1	0.00	0.00%	100.00%