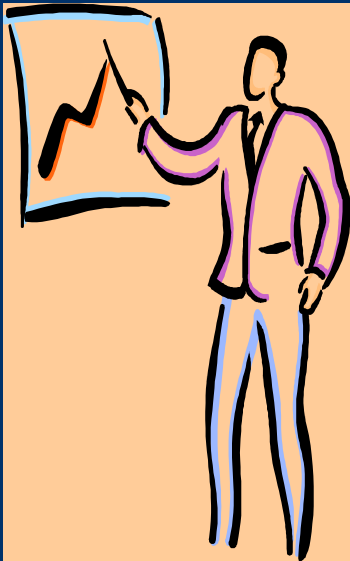


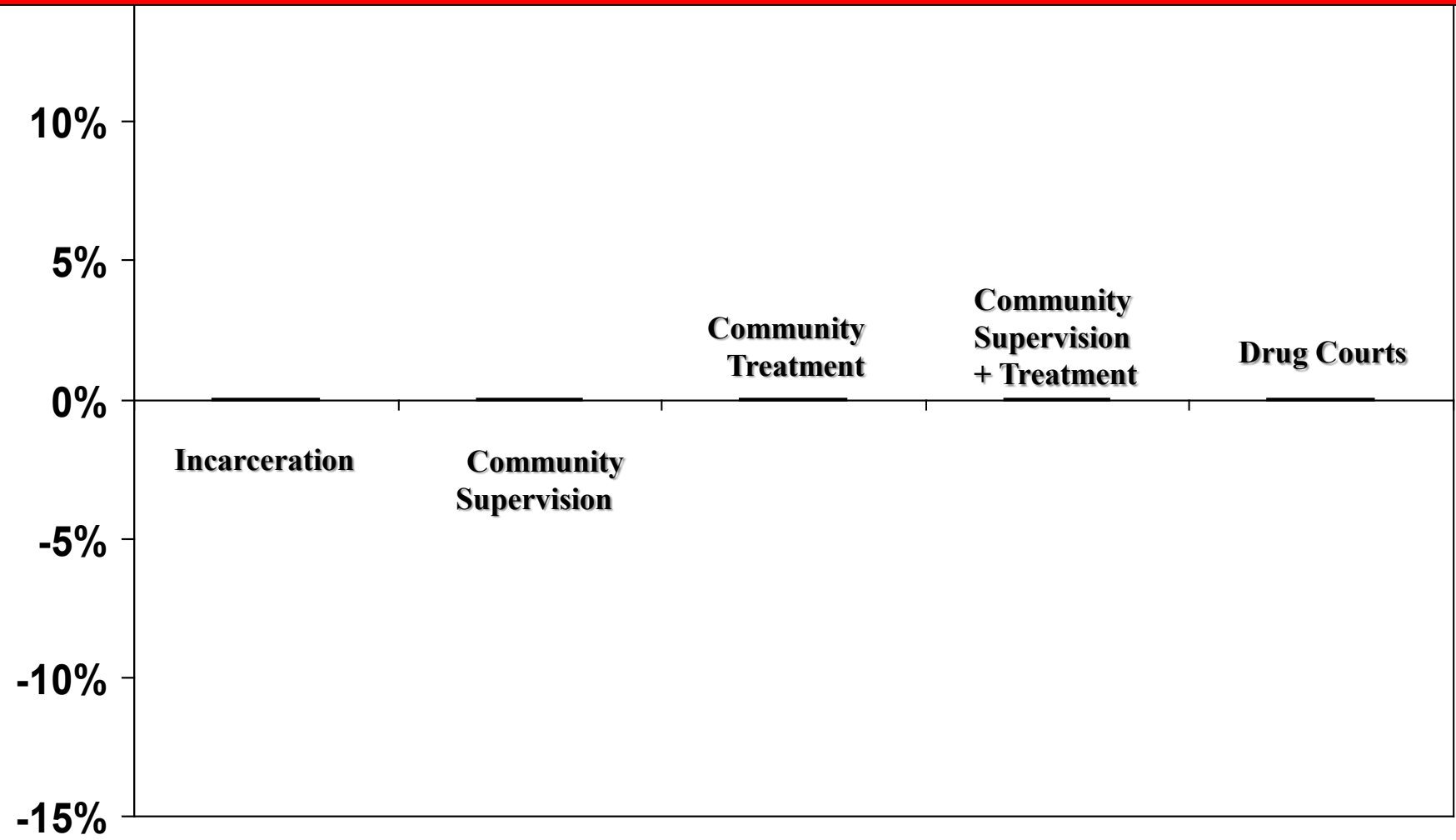
TAKING STOCK OF TREATMENT COURTS AFTER 30 YEARS

The Good, the Bad, the Misunderstood

Douglas B. Marlowe, J.D., Ph.D.

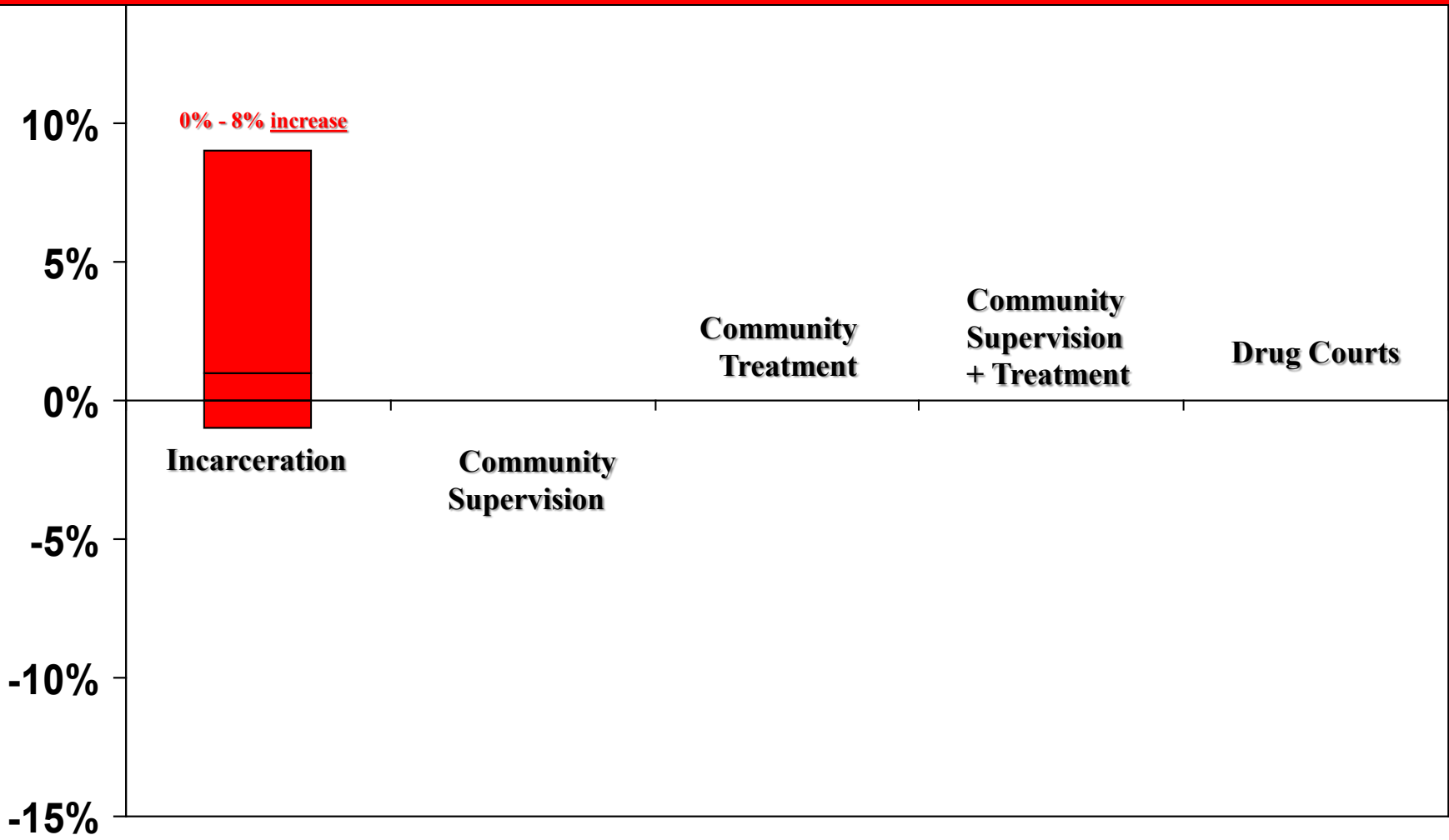


Average Effects on Crime



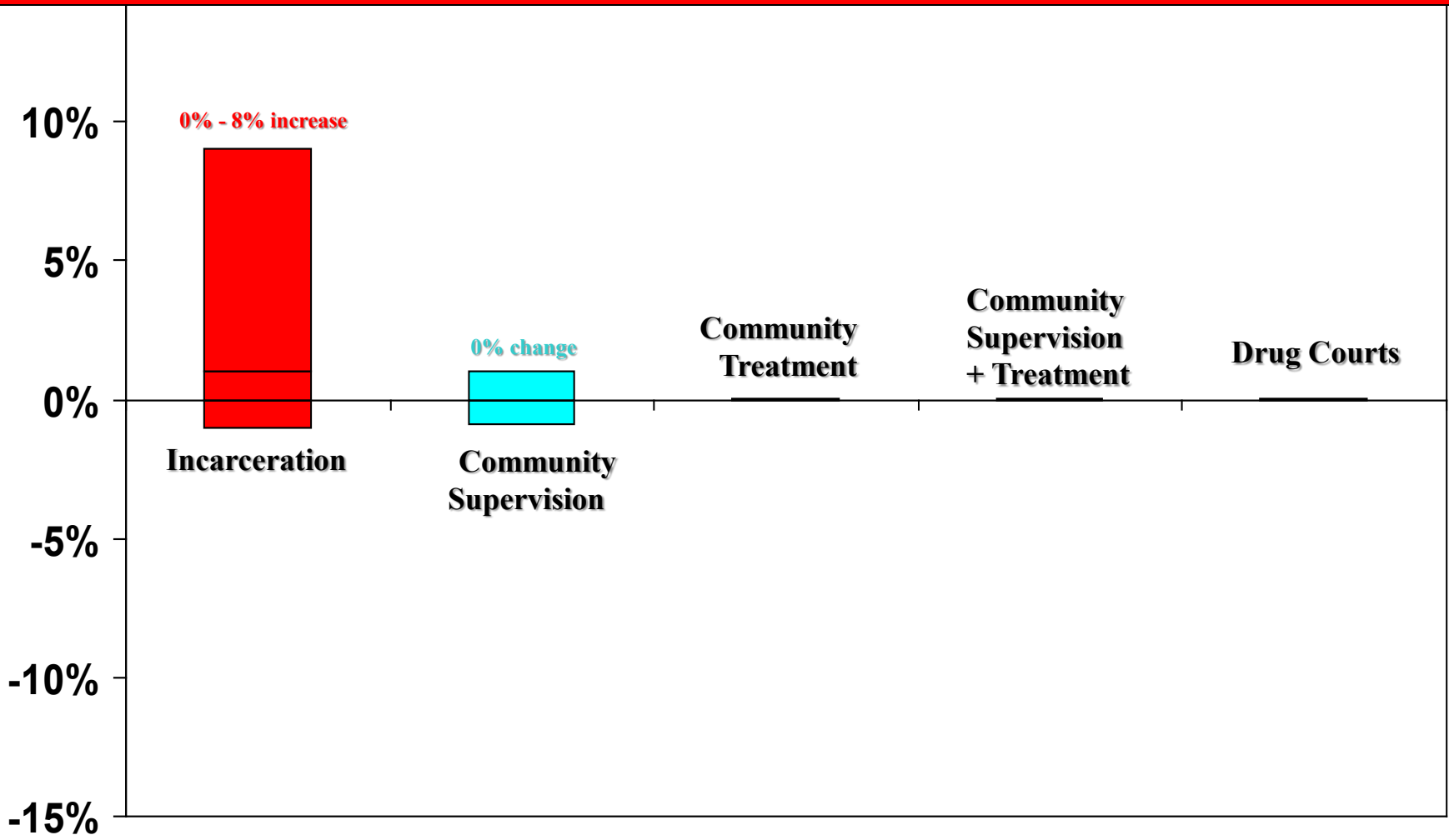
Sources: Aos et al. (2006); Cullen et al. (2011); Drake (2012); Drake (2011); Durlauf & Nagin (2011); Gendreau et al. (2000); Lipsey (2019); Mitchell et al. (2012); Rossman et al. (2011); Smith et al. (2002)

Average Effects on Crime



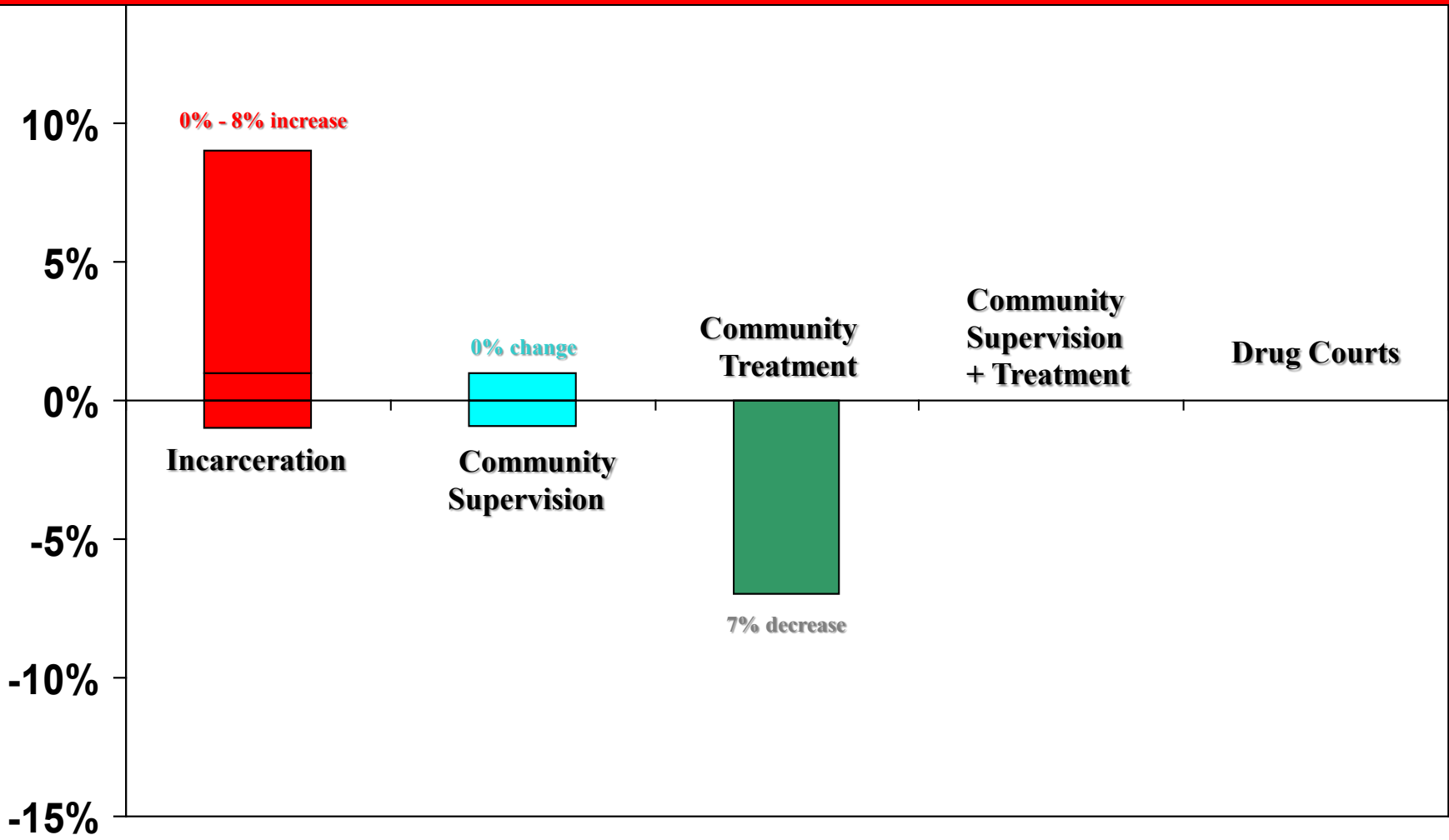
Sources: Aos et al. (2006); Cullen et al. (2011); Drake (2012); Drake (2011); Durlauf & Nagin (2011); Gendreau et al. (2000); Lipsey (2019); Mitchell et al. (2012); Rossman et al. (2011); Smith et al. (2002)

Average Effects on Crime



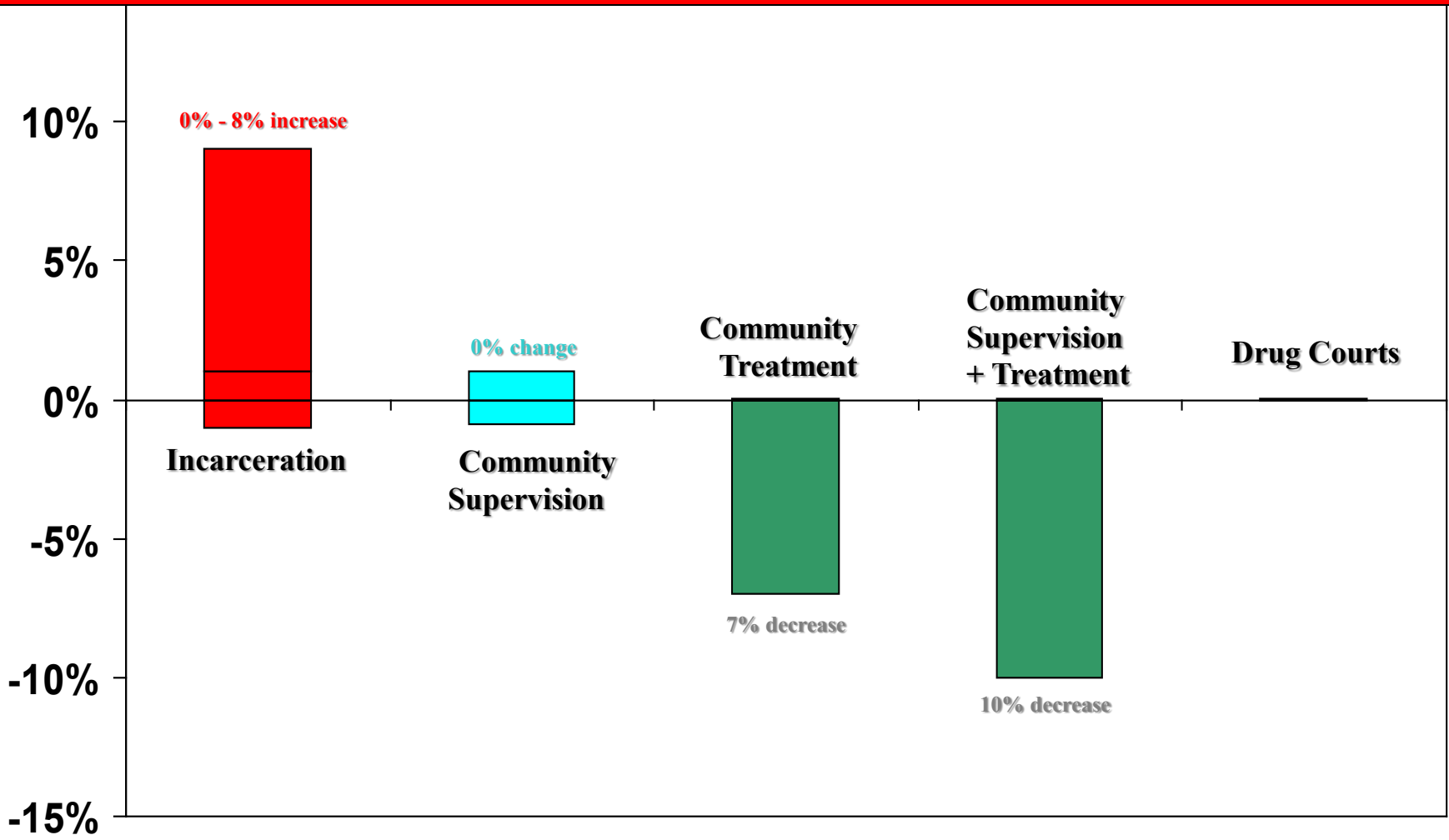
Sources: Aos et al. (2006); Cullen et al. (2011); Drake (2012); Drake (2011); Durlauf & Nagin (2011); Gendreau et al. (2000); Lipsey (2019); Mitchell et al. (2012); Rossman et al. (2011); Smith et al. (2002)

Average Effects on Crime



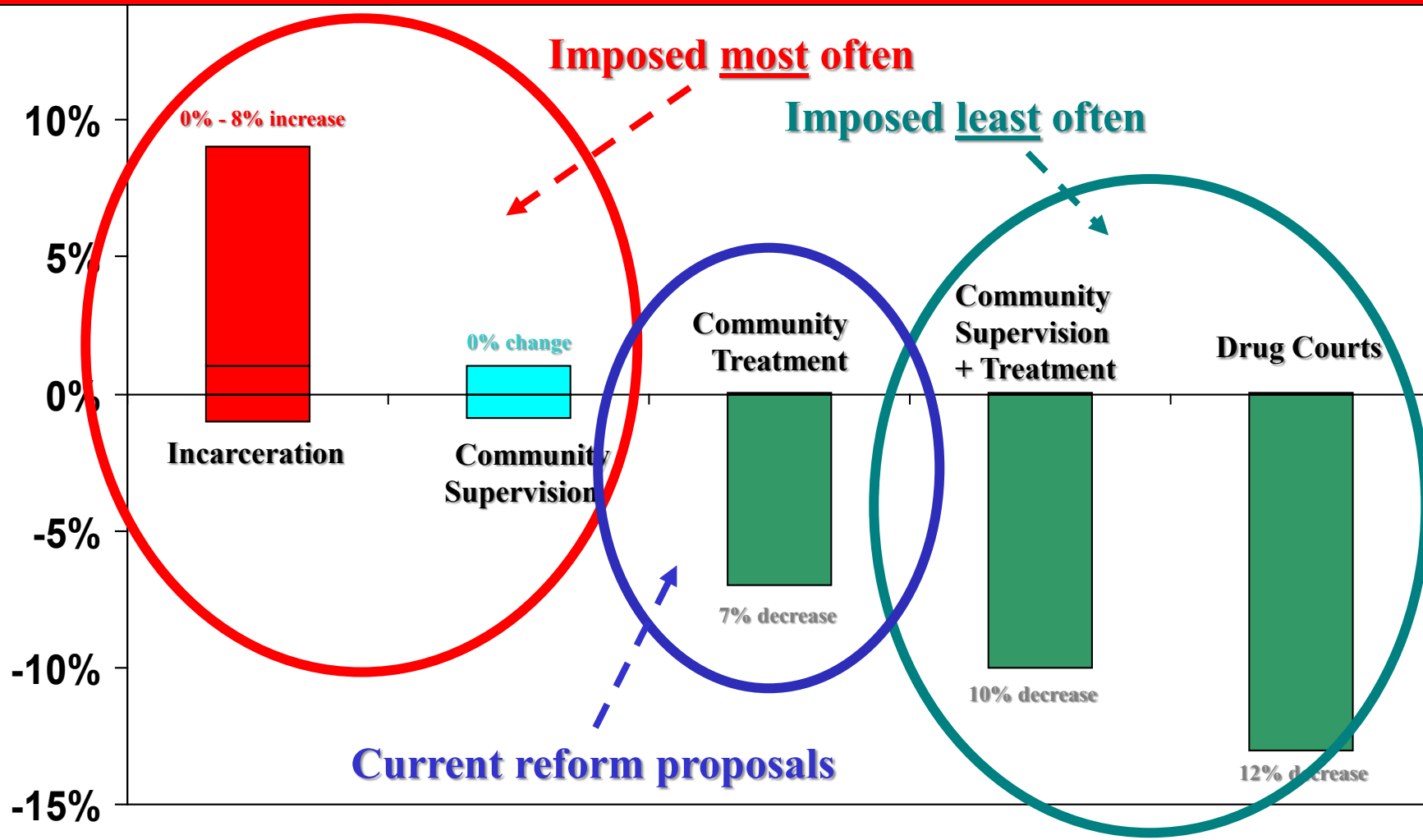
Sources: Aos et al. (2006); Cullen et al. (2011); Drake (2012); Drake (2011); Durlauf & Nagin (2011); Gendreau et al. (2000); Lipsey (2019); Mitchell et al. (2012); Rossman et al. (2011); Smith et al. (2002)

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Adult Drug Courts

Study	Methodology	No. Drug Courts	Crime Reduction
Lipsey (2019)	Meta-analysis	53	12%
Mitchell et al. (2012)	Meta-analysis	92	12%
Carey et al. (2012)	Multisite study	69	32%
Rossman et al. (2011)	Multisite study	23	13%
U.S. Govt. Accountability Office (2011)	Systematic review	32	6% - 26%
Shaffer (2006)	Meta-analysis	76	9%
Wilson et al. (2006)	Meta-analysis	55	14%
Latimer et al. (2006)	Meta-analysis	66	9%
Aos et al. (2006)	Meta-analysis	57	8%
Lowenkamp et al. (2005)	Meta-analysis	22	8%

Duration of Effects

Study	Methodology	No. Drug Courts	Duration
Mitchell et al. (2012)	Meta-analysis	8	≥ 3 years
Finigan et al. (2007)	Program evaluation	1	≥ 14 years
Kearley & Gottfredson (2019)	Randomized trial	2	≥ 15 years
Weatherburn et al. (2020)	Program evaluation	1	≥ 5 years (violent offending only)

Average cost/benefit ratio: \$2 to \$4 for every \$1 invested

(Bhati et al. 2008; Downey & Roman, 2010; Drake, 2012; Drake et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2012; Mayfield et al., 2013; Rossman et al., 2011)

Other Treatment Courts

- DUI Courts (small to moderate effect)
 - 12 percentage-point recidivism reduction (Mitchell et al., 2012)
- Family Drug Courts (moderate effect)
 - 75% greater odds of reunification without increasing foster care reentry or new maltreatment report (Zhang et al., 2019)
- Mental Health Courts (small effect; high variance)
 - 20% to 43% reduced odds of recidivism (Arnold, 2019; Canada et al., 2019; Lowder et al., 2018)
- Juvenile Drug Courts (small to insignificant effect)
 - 0 to 8 percentage-point reduction in recidivism (Latessa et al., 2013; Madell et al., 2012; Mitchell et al., 2012; Shaffer, 2006; Wilson et al., 2006)

Model Validation

- **50% to 100% better outcomes:**
 - High risk and high need participants (replicated for DUI, juvenile, and family drug courts)
 - Alternate tracks for low risk and/or low need participants
 - Court hearings at least every 2 weeks
 - 3 to 7-minute court interactions with procedural fairness
 - Multidisciplinary team staffings
 - Random drug & alcohol testing twice per week
 - 14 to 18-month curriculum

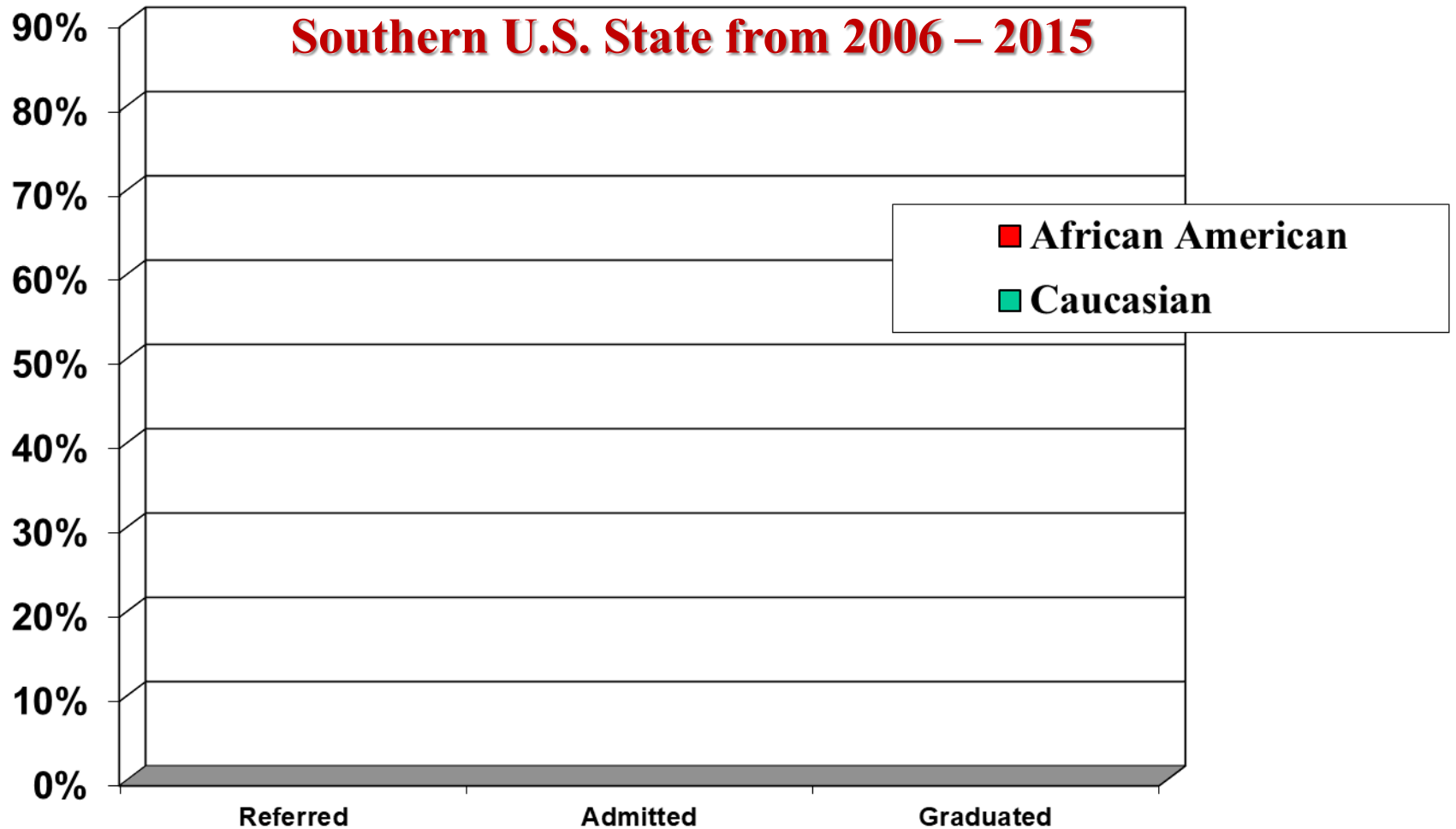
Model Validation (cont.)

- **50% to 100% better outcomes:**
 - Copious low-magnitude rewards (4:1 ratio to sanctions)
 - Treatment adjustments or low-magnitude sanctions for “distal” infractions (relapse prior to clinical stabilization)
 - Higher magnitude sanctions for willful or “proximal” infractions (e.g., missed sessions, tampered drug tests)
 - Jail sanctions no more than 1 to 5 days
 - Legal leverage (avoided felony sentence)
 - Ongoing performance monitoring and CQI

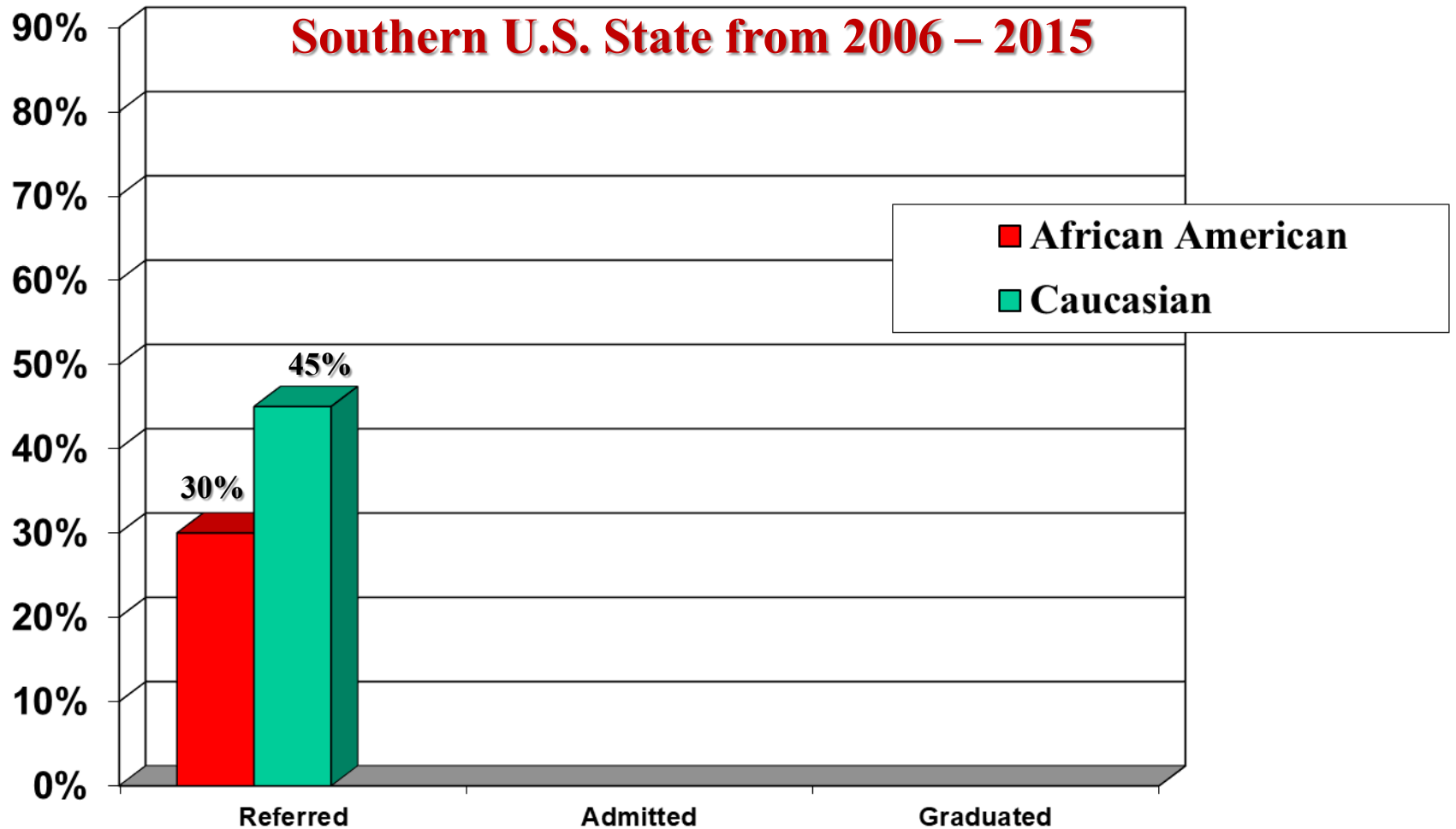
Now, the Bad News . . .

- 1. Racial and ethnic disparities**
- 2. Errors in targeting criteria**
- 3. Prohibitions against MOUD**
- 4. Overuse or misuse of jail sanctions**

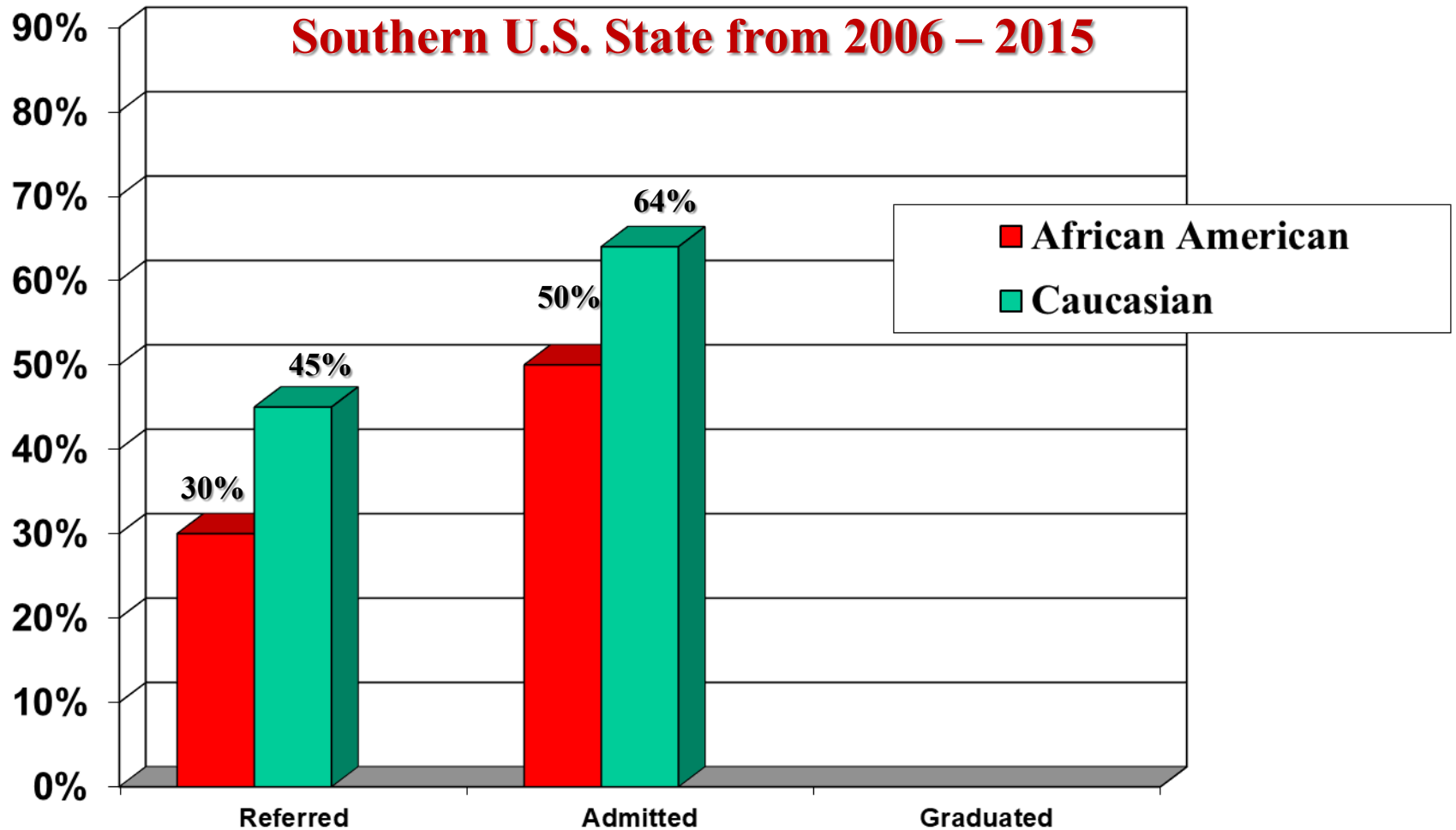
Pipeline Analysis



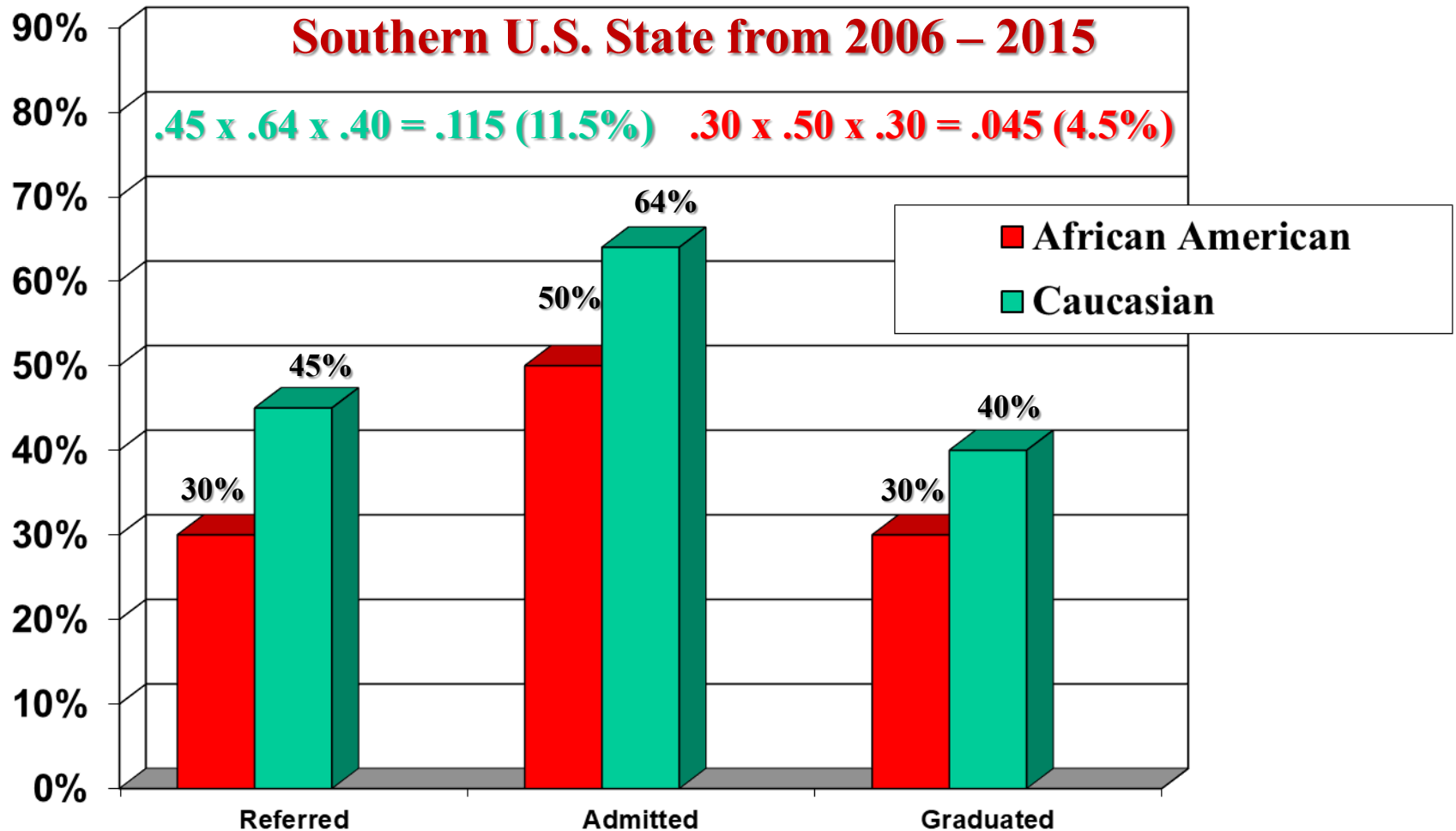
Pipeline Analysis



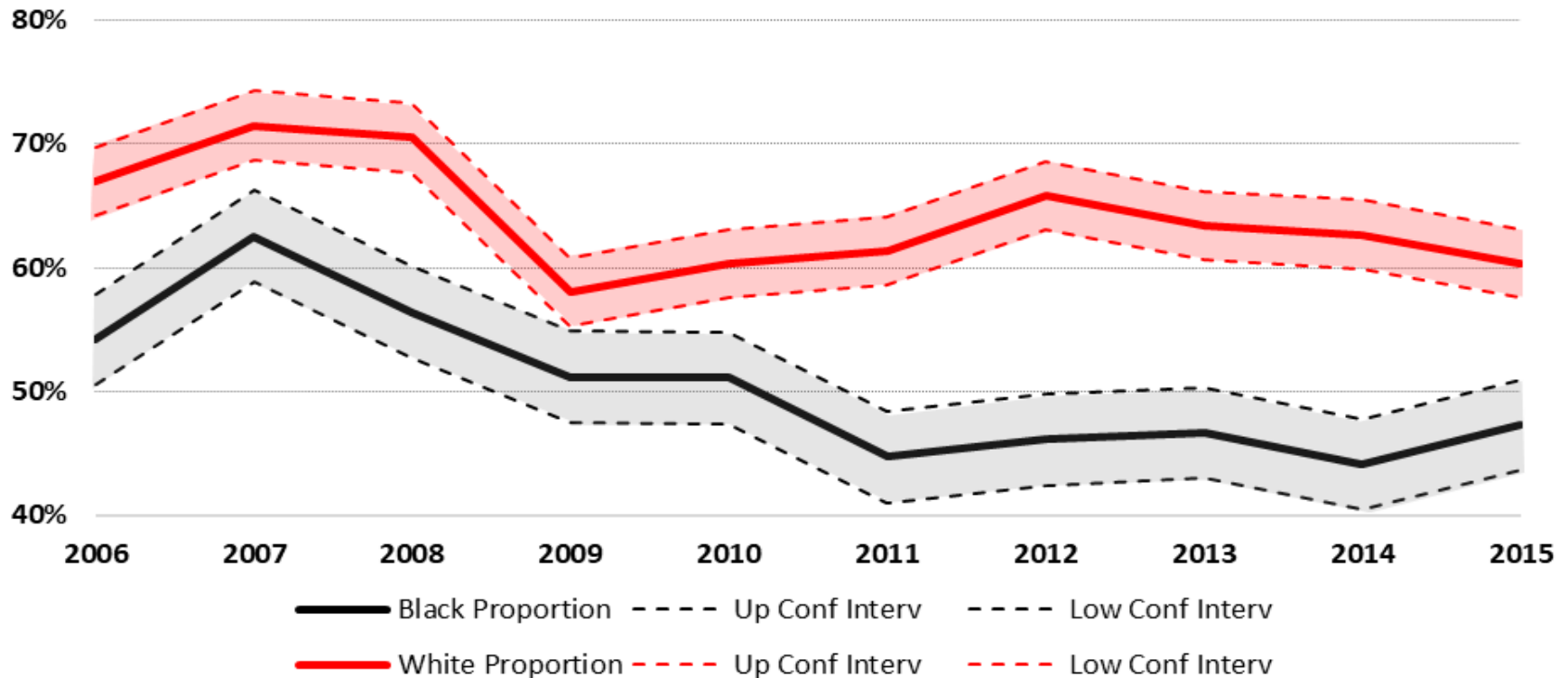
Pipeline Analysis



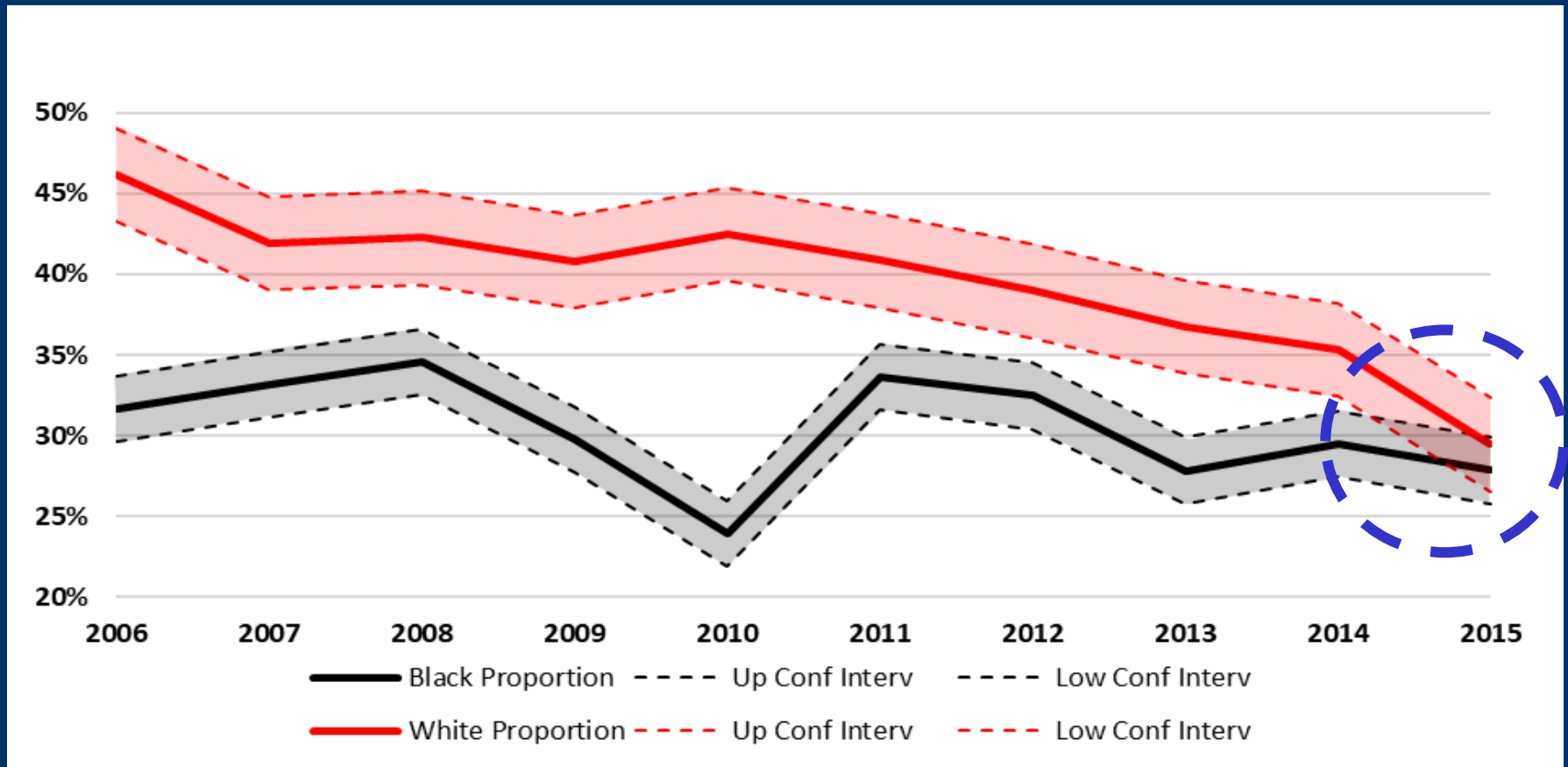
Pipeline Analysis



Admission Rates in Southern State Over 10 years



Graduation Rates in Southern State Over 10 years



Pipeline Attrition

Cascading Impacts:

- Pretrial detention
- Defense counsel philosophy and knowledge
- Plea offer from prosecution
- Eligibility criteria
- Poor “social marketing”
- Suitability determinations
- Cultural incongruence

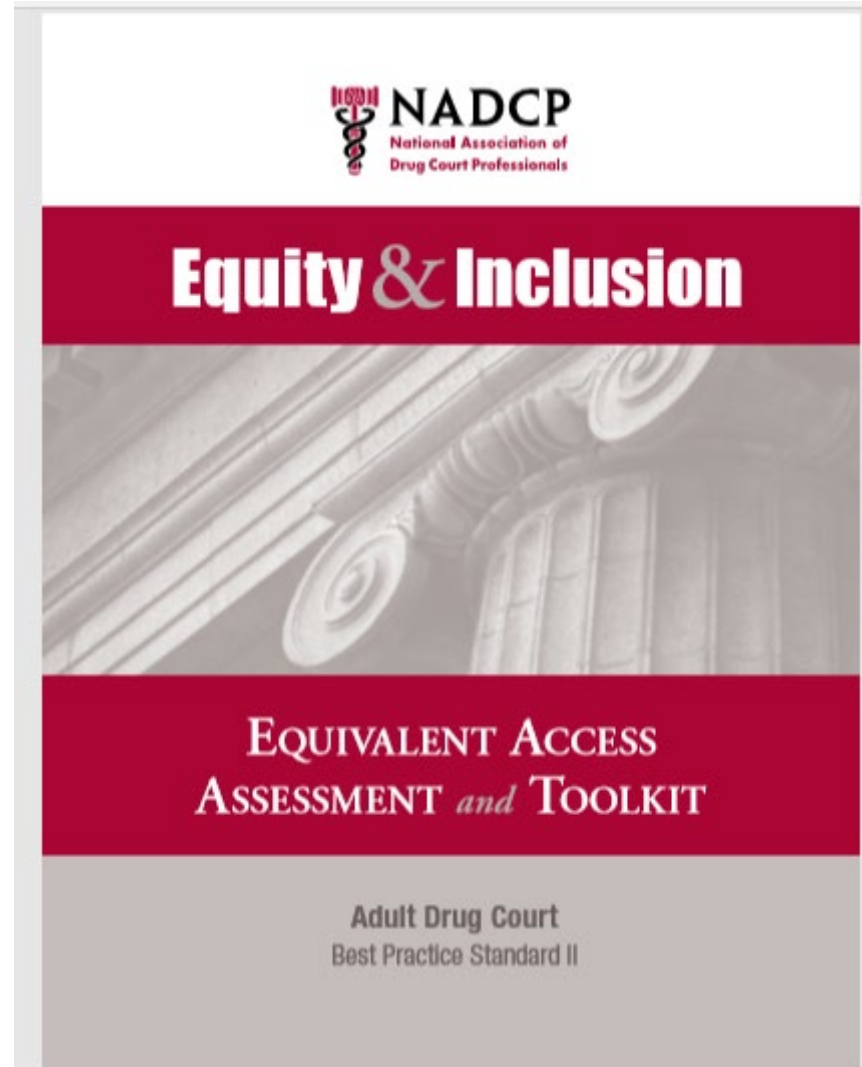


Can be influenced
but not controlled
by the drug court

Directly within
control of the
drug court

Equity and Inclusion Toolkit

- <https://www.ndci.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Equity-and-Inclusion-Toolkit.pdf>



Effects for Violent vs. Other Participants

Study	Method	No. of Drug Courts	<i>For Violent Participants, Drug Court Had . . .</i>
Rossman et al. (2011)	Multisite Study	23	Better effect on recidivism Equivalent effect on drug use
Carey et al. (2012)	Multisite Study	69	Equivalent effect on recidivism Equivalent cost-effectiveness
Mitchell et al. (2012)	Meta-Analysis	92	Weaker effect on recidivism
Shaffer (2010)	Meta-Analysis	76	Weaker effect on recidivism
Saum et al. (2001)	Program Evaluation	1	Equivalent effect on graduation*
Saum & Hiller (2008)	Program Evaluation	1	Equivalent effect on recidivism*

* *Controlling for covariates*

MOUD is the Standard of Care

- U.S. Dept. of Health & Human Services (1997)
- National Institute on Drug Abuse (2014, 2018)
- U.S. Surgeon General (2018)
- Substance Abuse & Mental Health Services Administration (2005, 2018)
- National Academy of Sciences, Engineering & Medicine (2019)
- World Health Organization (2004)
- Centers for Disease Control & Prevention (2002)
- American Medical Association (2017)
- American Psychiatric Association (2017)
- American Society of Addiction Medicine (2015)
- American Academy of Addiction Psychiatry
- American College of Obstetricians & Gynecologists (2016)
- National Association of Drug Court Professionals (2013, 2015)

Etc. . .

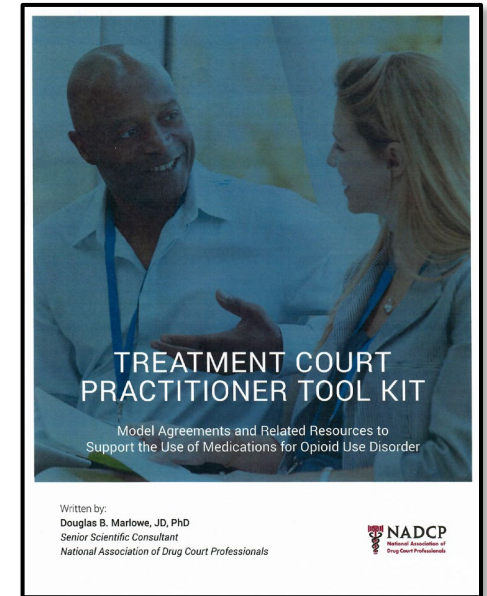


MOUD in Drug Courts

- **Blanket prohibitions and arbitrary policy restrictions are uncommon (< 10%)**
- **But ... only about 1/4 of participants with OUDs receiving buprenorphine or naltrexone**
- **Participant refusal and non-availability in jail are primary barriers, followed by insufficient medical providers and funding**
- **Turned the public health community against us (“science denial”)**
- **Compared unfavorably to harm reduction and deflection programs**

MOUD Tool Kit

- A. Partner Agencies Agreement
- B. Medical Practitioner Agreement
- C. Participant Agreement
- D. Participant Brochure
- E. Recruitment Letter for Medical Practitioners
- F. Letter to Jail Officials



[NADCP MOUD toolkit Final.pdf](#)
[\(ndci.org\)](#)

Jail Sanctions

- ***Treat sick behavior, punish bad behavior, & reward good behavior -- and don't confuse them!***
- **Sanctions imposed for substance use prior to clinical stabilization**
- **Jail sanctions measured in weeks, not days**
- **Jail used as detox, treatment, or housing**
- **Jail off the table for proximal infractions**
- **Participants must waive defense advocacy**
- **No due process hearing for jail or revocation**
- **Drug courts reduce incarceration rates but not necessarily use of jail or prison beds**

Lessons Learned

- One size does not fit all (risk and need)
- Treatment and accountability for high risk and high need persons
- Public health contributes to public safety and vice versa
- Harm reduction vs. criminalization is a false dichotomy
- Proximal vs. distal infractions & achievements
- Due process is therapeutic (“therapeutic jurisprudence”)
- Follow the science and data
- **Are drug courts a criminal justice program or a model for criminal justice reform?**