MECKLENBURG COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE
Jim Pendergraph, Sheriff

Chronic Offender Study

Final Report

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Prepared by

Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office
Research and Planning Unit

Thomas A. Eberly
Jail and Justice Director

Yoshiko Takahashi
Management Analyst

Mauro Messina
Management Analyst

In Collaboration with

University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Paul C. Friday, Ph.D.
Professor of Criminal Justice

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Researchers' Perspective

This report captures an enormous amount of data on offenders who seem impervious to the criminal justice system, and the implications to the community are significant. Contained in the numbers are descriptors of chronic offenders and their criminality, but also a snapshot of the Mecklenburg County criminal justice system. The data speaks for itself, yet because of its breadth and potential implications, it also requires a degree of perspective that stands separate from the body of the report. While unusual for technical reports, we offer the following propositions and resolutions as a synthesis and, hopefully, a starting point for discussion by policy makers.

Proposition #1:   The criminal justice system does not effectively deter the deviant behavior of chronic offenders.

Chronic offenders tend to get involved in the criminal justice system at a young age and repeatedly weave in and out of the system for years. Arrest and incarceration does not deter their behaviors, as many recidivate less than a month after release. The criminal justice system, in turn, seems at a loss for remedies given that new charges typically result in straight credit for time served, with little or no community-based sanctions (i.e., probation) or programs ordered.

The cause for the ineffectiveness may be based in the deep rooted issues that characterize the chronic offenders. Most have a lengthy history of alcohol and drug abuse, and mental illness and homelessness are common as well. Indeed, two-thirds of the chronic offenders had mental health symptoms considered a serious threat to their functioning level. These psychological problems, which are only aggravated by chemical dependency, may make some offenders lack the potential for change.

The criminal justice process may also be an unwitting contributor to their recidivism. Classic criminological theory proposes that responses to criminal behavior should be certain, swift, and severe. Often, these three elements are not realized as a) many of the charges against the chronic offenders are dismissed or reduced, b) adjudication frequently takes longer than national case processing standards recommend, and c) punishment, as noted above, is typically limited to a few days of incarceration on the instant offense (despite an extensive criminal history).

Also, the criminal justice system is case-specific by design and each charge has a level of seriousness with a commensurate penalty. Commonly the offenses committed by chronic offenders are minor in nature and calling for a minimal response, but if seen as whole, the criminal activity of these offenders would present a completely different picture demanding a more comprehensive response. The challenge of the chronic offender is that cumulatively the totality of the offender and his/her offenses is greater than the sum of the charges and requisite charge-specific responses.

Proposition #2:   **The repeated influx of low-level criminal cases generated by the chronic offenders undermines the productivity of the criminal justice system.**

Many of the charges filed against the chronic offenders are for low level crimes that are generally labeled public nuisance offenses. Often, the charges reflect the lifestyle and/or functioning level of the individual. The repeated involvement of these individuals in the criminal justice system causes systemic congestion which parlays into arrest processing delays, jail crowding, larger caseloads for district attorneys and public defenders, and backlogged criminal court dockets. Consequently, limited resources are being consumed by chronic offenders charged with relatively minor offenses when those resources could be directed to more serious offenders or cases.

Proposition #3:   **The intensive collaboration needed between the criminal justice system and social services to prevent or minimize the behaviors of chronic offenders is not apparent.**

As noted above, chronic offenders have core issues that likely contribute to their criminal behavior. However, as this study revealed, very few are court-ordered to social service programs which may help curtail their recidivism. This probably occurs for numerous reasons, least of which it could indicate that a) the necessary resources do not exist or b) the services exist but there are not proper linkages between them and the criminal justice system. Even more basic, mechanisms for identifying chronic offenders seemingly do not exist.

Proposition #4   **Within the chronic offender group is a small core group of offenders who pose a greater risk to the community.**

Not all chronic offenders had a tendency to commit low level misdemeanors. Under closer examination, a small group of the offenders was found seven times more likely to commit felony offenses, such as burglary and drug trafficking crimes. They also had significantly more outstanding warrants, technical violations, and weapon charges than the larger group.

This smaller group of chronic offenders tended to be substantially younger than the larger group, and they were less likely to have the same social history (e.g., ties to social services and homelessness). Over the years, these younger, more aggressive chronic offenders may follow the path of the older chronic offenders and begin to "age out" to the point where they commit mostly low-level offenses.

Proposition #5:   **Chronic offenders are costly to the criminal justice system and taxpayers.**

Chronic offenders represent a relatively small number of offenders that come into the jail, but their cost to the County and taxpayers is substantial. Based on incarceration expenditures alone, this group of 81 offenders cost the County nearly $811,000 for 2005. Calculating the expense of arrest, jail medical and prescription care, prosecution, appointed indigent defense, and court time

for all the charges and cases could easily push the total cost well above one million dollars. Again, this figure is for a single year. Over their criminal lifetime, which averages around fifteen years, the amount of money and resources expended on these individuals is much, much greater.

Resolutions

There are no simple answers to the complex problems that chronic offenders present to the criminal justice system and the community. While this research did not use a microscope to uncover specific solutions to the issue, it does provide a telescopic view that exposes broad areas of need. Resolution will require multi-faceted approaches with collaboration and communication between each component of the criminal justice system, the human services and treatment community and a restorative as well as retributive community mind-set. The following resolutions are designed to provide an orientation for any opening dialogue addressing chronic offenders.

Resolution #1: **A more comprehensive approach is needed for addressing chronic offenders.**

Considering its questionable effectiveness on this offender population, the criminal justice system needs to pursue new strategies in dealing with chronic offenders in terms or arrest, prosecution, and sanctioning. Quite possibly, the best solution may lie outside the criminal justice system by replacing punitive methods with holistic prevention and/or diversion services.

Resolution #2: **Chronic offenders need to be identified and assessed better.**

Given the repeated criminal activity of chronic offenders, a system should be established that identifies them automatically for an extensive psychological and social assessment. The results of this testing should then be used by the courts, in consultation with social service professionals, to craft an appropriate plan of action. The plan should specify the short and long term responsibilities of each party and include intensive follow-up activities. Some mechanism should be considered whereby both attorneys and the court become aware of the chronic offending status of the individual so that appropriate decisions can be made.

Resolution #3: **Greater collaboration is required between the criminal justice system and social service agencies.**

Gaps between the criminal justice system and social service agencies must be closed to address the complicated issues of chronic offenders. The justice system must be willing to recognize the contributions social services agencies bring to the process, and social services agencies need to recognize a duty to provide services to those who commit criminal behavior as a result of their functioning level. Since many of the chronic offenders are never referred for services it would be incumbent on service providers, attorneys and judges to be cognizant of available resources for this population and to develop mechanisms that assure compliance with service referrals.

Resolution #4:   **Investments in alternatives is needed.**

The amount of money and resources spent on chronic offenders needs to be redirected to solutions that have promise to work, which clearly is not incarceration. The alternatives should focus on prevention and stabilization for long term success. Prevention and early intervention have been shown to be cost-effective compared with the yearly cost of repeat incarceration for minor offenses. Alternatives for the chronic offender that have promise of remediating the conditions contributing to his/her offending frees bed space for those who are serious threats to safety and security.

Executive Summary

This study was undertaken for the purpose of gaining insight on offenders who are repeatedly incarcerated at the Mecklenburg County Jail. The research involved gathering data from the arrest, detention, criminal history, court, and mental health records of 81 chronic offenders who were booked into the Mecklenburg County jail five or more times during 2005. These 81 offenders were drawn from the top portion of a chronic offender list that totaled more than 260 individuals.

Key Findings

Demographics
- Compared to the Mecklenburg County jail population, average chronic offenders were older. Specifically, the average age of a chronic offender was 37, which is five years older than the general jail population.

- Two out of five chronic offenders (41 percent) reported being homeless or having an unstable address when they were arrested in 2005.

Criminal History
- A majority of chronic offenders started their criminal career before the age of 20, and had been in the criminal justice system for 15 years on average.

- The most common charges faced by chronic offenders prior to 2005 were lower-level (misdemeanor) property, public disturbance, and drug/alcohol-related crimes.

- Prior to 2005, half of offenders (52 percent) had been incarcerated in prison on average 2.4 times.

- The largest proportion of felony convictions involved Classes H and I (Breaking and Entering and Possession of Cocaine, respectively), and the most common misdemeanor convictions were Class 1 offenses (e.g., larceny, prostitution, possession of paraphernalia).

2005 Charges and Booking
- For the 81 chronic offenders, a total of 783 arrests with 1,567 charges were reported in 2005. On average, each offender was arrested 10 times with 2 charges.

- The typical offender recidivated within a month (27 days) and homeless offenders had a shorter average period to recidivism (22 days).

- The total number of days in jail by the 81 offenders was 7,440 at an estimated cost of $800,000. Felony defendants were detained 106 days and non-felony defendants were detained 81 days on average between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31.

Court and Adjudication
- The average bond amount was $2,500; half of the bonds were less than $500.

- Homeless offenders received a lower bond amount compared to non-homeless offenders ($2,189 versus $7,398) as most of the charges of homeless people were low level, such as trespassing, disturbance, and open container ordinance (for which the mean bond was $895, $394, and $316, respectively).

- On average, a chronic offender failed to appear in court 5.3 times and an average of 16 court events were found per offender during 2005.

- One third of charges (39.4 percent) were dismissed. An average of two charges per offender was consolidated. All 81 offenders were found guilty at least once with an average of 8 times in 2005. In only four of the 1,567 charges was the offender found not guilty.

- Of the 637 cases found guilty, a vast majority (85 percent) were sentenced to incarceration, whereas a small percentage of cases (13 percent) were given probation.

- 97.5% of offenders were given active time and all of these were given credit for time served.

- The average active time given was 74 days and earned time credits averaged 53 days.

Mental Health/Homeless Issues
- Eighty-three percent (n = 67) of the chronic offenders were known to Area Mental Health (AMH).

- A majority of offenders (55.2 percent) with mental health issues had a drug diagnosis, and 39 percent of them had an alcohol diagnosis.

- Chronic offenders were in mental health services for 2.8 years and had roughly 45 office visits on record on average. Ten offenders had a record of hospitalization.

- Among mental health offenders, a vast majority (n = 41) were diagnosed with serious symptoms (Global Assessment Functioning (GAF) score of 41 to 50), and three were recommended for a secure environment in their last GAF assessment.

- A majority of homeless offenders (58 percent) had an alcohol diagnosis, and more than one-third of them had a drug diagnosis.

Chronic Offender Classification
- The vast majority (90 percent) of chronic offenders in the sample were low risk; however, there were eight offenders identified as high risk who committed serious felony crimes.

- The number of person, weapon, and traffic charges of high-risk offenders were significantly higher than those of low-risk offenders. Also, high-risk offenders had a higher number of charges for resisting officers.

- High-risk offenders tended to be young (22.2 years old on average), and started their criminal career much earlier than that of low-risk ones (16 years old versus 23 years old on average).

- A high proportion of low-risk offenders were homeless (43 percent) and known to AMH (85 percent).

- Low-risk offenders had a shorter average period to recidivism compared to high-risk offenders (26 days versus 39 days on average).

Supplement Study—Neighborhood Analysis
- A majority of arrests occurred Uptown and in contiguous neighborhoods.

- Arrest locations for the homeless offenders were more concentrated in the inner-city areas compared to those for domiciled offenders.

- Arrest locations and offenders' home addresses closely overlapped.

- Arrests were more likely to occur in high-density population areas close to retail stores and entertainment.

- Neighborhoods with a high proportion of minority groups or that were racially mixed had high criminal incidents by chronic offenders.

- Overall, offenders' activity space was relatively small, and offenders were arrested close to their home or in their local neighborhood.

Limitations

- The analysis in this study is limited to 81 offenders, which makes it difficult to run statistical analysis.

- The sample was drawn based on the number of arrests during 2005, and this study did not include offenders who had a longer time period to re-arrest or were incarcerated for the entire year of 2005.

- The sample did not have a non-chronic control group, which presents a methodological difficulty in estimating the true impact of chronic offenders on the criminal justice system.

- Offender's criminal history is limited as information on the incarceration status of offenders is limited to the NCDOC and the study did not include juvenile records.

Despite the data limitations noted above, this study provides rich, in-depth descriptions of chronic offenders and highlights the need for comprehensive strategies and greater research and evaluation efforts within the criminal justice community in dealing with chronic offenders. Future research should include the cost-effectiveness of alternative strategies. The efficacy and effectiveness of the alternatives can only be measured by implementing a pilot project and assessing it at a later date, therefore the evaluation study needs to be continued by monitoring the fiscal effects of the project on budgets.

I. Introduction

In Mecklenburg County, there is a core group of offenders that repeatedly come into contact with the criminal justice system. These chronic offenders are arrested multiple times throughout the year and cycle through the jail and courts over and over again (an average of 9 times per year). The implications are great. Chronic offenders consume a disproportionate amount of public resources at a tremendous expense to taxpayers, while raising significant concerns about the effectiveness of the criminal justice system to handle such cases.

To better understand this issue, the Research and Planning Unit of the Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office launched a chronic offender study in collaboration with the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of North Carolina- Charlotte. The purpose of this exploratory study was to seek answers to the following questions:

- Who are the chronic offenders and what types of crimes do they commit?
- What are the underlying issues for offenders who commit crimes persistently?
- How has the criminal justice system been handling these offenders, and what is the impact on the criminal justice system?
- What are possible alternatives for dealing with chronic offenders?

This study was a massive undertaking as it brought together information from arrest, detention, criminal history, court, and mental health databases. Findings of the study are organized as follows. Section 1 discusses the demographic and background information of offenders. Section 2 illustrates the offender's criminal history prior to 2005, followed by Section 3, which addresses the frequency of criminal activity in 2005. Section 4 discusses the adjudication and court process of offenses in 2005. Section 5 highlights the mental health and homeless issues of the offenders. Section 6 provides the offender classification on the basis of cluster analysis. Given the findings, Section 7 discusses the alternatives and program/service needs that the criminal justice system could consider for dealing more effectively with chronic offenders. Finally, as a supplement study, the locations of arrest and residence, offender's behavioral patterns, and characteristics of high arrest neighborhoods were examined.

II. Characteristics of Offenders

A vast majority of the chronic offenders were male (85 percent) and African-American (74 percent) with an average age of 37 years old. The youngest in the sample was 18 and the oldest was 58. Two out of five offenders reported being homeless or their address was unknown more than twice when they were arrested in 2005.

The proportion of African-Americans among the chronic offenders was higher than that of African-Americans in the general Mecklenburg County jail population (approximately 68%).

Also, the average age of chronic offenders was almost five years older than the general jail inmate population.[1]

Approximately 40% of the sample was a victim of crime during the past five years, mostly as a victim of assault.

Demographics and background information (n = 81)		
Variables	% (n)	Notes
Age		Mean = 36.7, Median = 37, Range = 18–58
21 or under	12% (10)	
22–25	14% (11)	
26–35	21% (17)	
36–45	22% (18)	
46 and above	31% (25)	
Gender		
Male	85% (69)	
Female	15% (12)	
Race/Ethnicity		
African-American	74% (60)	
Caucasian	21% (17)	
Others	5% (4)	Hispanic: n = 3, Native American: n = 1
Housing Status		
Homeless/unstable	41% (33)	
Domiciled	59% (48)	
Gang Member		
Yes	—% (2)	Self-identified during the pretrial interview
Being Victimized in the past 5 years		
Yes	54% (44)	

III. Criminal Histories

a. Prior 2005 Criminal Records

Offenders' criminal history information (i.e., Crime activities prior 2005) was obtained from the North Carolina Department of Corrections (DOC) and the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (BCA) using multiple identification information.

The average offender was arrested for the first time at age 22 and had been in the criminal justice system for 14.5 years by January 2005. During this period, the typical offender was arrested 33 times and sentenced to prison 2.4 times.[2] Half of the offenders were first arrested at age 19, and more than one-third (38.3 percent) were arrested at age 17 or younger.

1. Demographic information was based on an Analysis of the Mecklenburg County Inmate Population conducted in April 2005.
2. An individual with the highest arrest record in the sample had been arrested 151 times with 174 misdemeanors, nine traffic citations and one felony charge from age 17 to 48. It is estimated that this individual was arrested on average every 2.5 months for the past 30 years.

Variables	Mean	Median	Range
Age of first-time arrest	22.0	19	15–51
Number of times arrested before 2005	33.0	26	5–151
Years in the CJ system	14.5	12	2–35
Number of times incarcerated before 2005	2.4	1	0–40

b. Prior 2005 Charges

The chronic offender's criminal records were classified by the severity level of charges and convictions (i.e., traffic, misdemeanor, felony), and also by general offense categories. On average, an individual was arrested for 39 lower-level charges (misdemeanors), six felony charges and one traffic charge prior to 2005. Nearly half of these charges were property-related crimes (45%), followed by miscellaneous (24%), and drug/alcohol-related (17%) *(see Appendix A for more detailed information).*

Level of Charges (3,763 charges)

Offense level	Percent of charges	Average number of charges per offender	Range of charges per offender
Misdemeanor	83.9%	39.4	6–174
Felony	13.6%	6.4	0–24
Traffic	2.4%	1.2	0–9

Charges by Offense Type (3,763 charges)

Offense Type	Percent of charges	Average number of charges per offender
Violent (Person)	11.1%	5.2
Drug/Alcohol-related	16.8%	7.8
Property	45.4%	21.1
Miscellaneous	24.3%	11.3
Traffic (including DWI)	2.3%	1.1

- Offense type category is based on Arrest Drug Abuse Monitoring (ADAM) codes developed by the National Institute of Justice.

c. Prior 2005 Convictions

Approximately three-fifths of the charges resulted in convictions. Roughly one-third of the offenders did not have any felony convictions, and two-thirds did not have any traffic convictions. Miscellaneous and property offenses were more likely to result in conviction (63% and 58%, respectively), whereas a lesser percentage (36%) of person crimes resulted in conviction *(see Appendix A for more detailed information).*

Level of Convictions *(2,086 total convictions)*

Offense Level	Percent of convictions	Average number of convictions per offender	Range of Individual convictions
Misdemeanor	88.0%	22.8	0–134
Felony	9.0%	2.3	0–15
Traffic	3.0%	0.7	0–6

- Convictions represent criminal activities for which an offender has either pleaded guilty to or been found guilty.

Convictions by Offense *(2,086 total convictions)*

Offense Type	Percent of convictions	Average number of convictions per offender	Percentage of Charges resulted In convictions
Violent (Person)	7.0%	1.8	35.6%
Drug/Alcohol-related	14.8%	3.8	48.7%
Property	47.6%	12.3	58.1%
Miscellaneous	27.7%	7.1	63.1%
Traffic (including DWI)	2.8%	0.7	67.0%

- Convictions include pleading guilty or being found guilty of offenses.

d. Prior 2005 Sentencing

Regarding sentencing history prior to 2005, incarceration accounted for almost half of the total sentencing (47%), and the remainder was almost evenly divided into supervised probation and unsupervised probation (25% and 28%, respectively).

An average offender was incarcerated in jail or state prison 2.4 times, received supervised probation 1.3 times and community punishment 1.4 times.

Sentencing Type *(407 sentences)*

Sentence type	Total number of sentences	Average number of sentences per offender	Range of Individual sentencing
Incarceration	192 (47%)	2.4	0–26
Supervised Probation	103 (25%)	1.3	0–11
Community Punishment	112 (28%)	1.4	0–7

- Incarceration refers to active punishment under structured sentencing. Misdemeanants with sentences of more than 90 days are incarcerated in the state prison system and those with sentences 90 days or less are incarcerated in the county jail.

- Supervised probation refers to intermediate punishment under the structured sentencing system. Offenders could receive a split sentence, be sent to a day report center and intensive supervision.
- Community punishment is known as basic probation or other types of punishments such as community service and substance abuse treatment.

As shown in the Felony sentencing chart below, property crimes were the most common type of conviction followed by drug offenses. The majority of felony convictions fell in Offense Classes H and I, which include the least serious offenses under Felony Structured Sentencing.

The misdemeanor sentencing chart indicates that the largest proportion of misdemeanor convictions involved Class 1 offenses. Examples of the Class 1 offense category were breaking and entering, worthless checks, larceny, prostitution, and possession of paraphernalia.[3]

Felony Sentencing

Offense class	Total number of sentences by 81 offenders
A (Murder)	—
B1 (Rape)	—
B2 (Murder 2)	—
C (Kidnapping)	3
D (Armed Robbery)	5
E (Voluntary Manslaughter)	2
F (Involuntary Manslaughter)	2
G (Burglary Second Degree)	16
H (Breaking and Entering)	84
I (Possession of Cocaine)	61

Misdemeanor Sentencing

Offense class	Total number of sentences by 81 offenders
A1	26
1	91
2	15
3	6

- Sentences that offenders received prior to 1995 (before the structured sentencing) were not included in this table.
- The class category ranged from A1, the most serious violent offenses, to 3, the least serious ones.

IV. Charges and Offenses in 2005

a. 2005 Arrests
For the 81 chronic offenders, a total of 783 arrests[4] with 1,567 charges were reported in 2005. The average number of arrests per offender was 9.7 with a median of 9. A large majority (64%)

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3. The North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission (2004). Structured Sentencing Training Manual. www.nccourts.org.

of charges were issued by police officers on sight (ORD), and about one-fourth (27%) were due to Order for Arrest (OFA). Approximately 10% of arrest orders were issued by the courts (Warrant).

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department (CMPD) accounted for three-fourths of ORD charges, followed by the Sheriff's Office and the Huntersville Police Department (4% each). It was reported that offenders were impaired in one out of three arrests.

Arrest Type (1,567 charges)

	Total number of charges	Percentage
Observed Arrest (ORD)	1,005	64.1%
Order for Arrest (OFA)	417	26.6%
Warrant	145	9.3%

Arrest Agency (ORD only)

CMPD	860	85.6%
Sheriff's Office	36	3.6%
Huntersville	36	3.6%
Others	73	7.2%

b. 2005 Offenses
A vast majority of charges were misdemeanors (83%), and fewer were felony and traffic charges (9% and 7%, respectively). More than half of the offenders (n = 46) did not have any felony charges, and 70% did not have any traffic charges.

The most common type of offense was property, which consisted of 40% of total charges. Trespassing and Larceny were two major types of charges in property crimes, which account for 76% of the total property charges. Miscellaneous charges accounted for one-fourth (26%) of total charges, followed by drug/alcohol-related charges (19%). Miscellaneous charges include public disturbance and obstruction of justice (approximately 67% of the total miscellaneous category) *(see Appendix B for more detailed information).*

Although property crimes were common among chronic offenders, many offenders had various types of charges and only a few offenders seemed to be specialized in their crimes. (Two defendants' charges were limited to a single offense category, and 17 defendants' charges were two of five offense categories.)

Offense Level (1,567 charges)

Offense level	Total number of charges	Average number of charges per offender	Rage of individual charges

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4. The unique arrest number assigned to each arrest when an offender is brought into custody was used to calculate the total number of arrests in 2005. The number of charges was based on the case number assigned to each case, and also included technical violation charges (e.g., probation, bond termination).

Misdemeanor	83.2%	16.0	5-43
Felony	9.4%	1.8	0-16
Traffic	7.3%	1.4	0-15

Offense Type (1,567 charges)

Offense category	Total number of charges	Average number of charges per offender
Violent (Person)	9.4%	1.8
Drug/Alcohol-related	18.6%	3.6
Property	40.6%	7.9
Miscellaneous	25.6%	5.0
Traffic	5.8%	1.1

c. Recidivism

The typical chronic offender re-offended within a month. Those defendants without any felony charges had a shorter time period to re-arrest compared with felony defendants. Homeless individuals tended to get re-arrested within three weeks on average, which is 8 days shorter than non-homeless offenders.

The individual with the shortest average period to recidivism was a homeless person who was arrested within 5 days on average in 2005.

Recidivism (n = 81)

	Mean days between release and re-arrest	Median days between release and re-arrest	Range
All offenders (n =81)	27 days	30 days	5–60 days
Offenders with felony charges (n = 35)	29 days	25 days	5–60 days
Offenders without any felony charges (n = 46)	25 days	25 days	8–59 days
Homeless offenders (n = 33)	22 days	20 days	5–43 days
Non-homeless offenders (n = 48)	30 days	29 days	12–60 days

d. Jail time

The total number of days in jail by all 81 offenders was 7,440 at an estimated cost of $811,000 (based on a per diem of $109 per night). The average length of stay in jail per offender was 92 days with a median stay of 89 days. As the total number of arrests for all 81 offenders was 782, it is estimated that, on average, a defendant stayed in jail for 9.5 days every time he/she was brought into custody.

Defendants with at least one felony charge stayed in jail longer than those without any felony charges as expected. On average, felony defendants were detained 106 days between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31 in 2005 and, during the same period, non-felony defendants stayed in jail for 81 days on average.

Detention status for 81 offenders during 2005					
	Total number of days in jail	Average length of stay in jail per offender	Median length of stay in jail per offender	Range of length in jail	Average days staying in jail per arrest
All Offenders (n = 81)	7,440 days ($810,960)	92 days ($10,028)	89 days	0–242 days	9.5 days
Defendants with both misdemeanor and felony charges (n = 35)	3,710 days ($404,390)	106 days ($11,554)	102 days	0–242 days	11.6 days
Defendants with misdemeanor only charges (n = 46)	3,730 days ($406,570)	81 days ($8,829)	68 days	5–229 days	8.1 days

- The estimated days used in this table were Jan. 1–Dec. 31, 2005. For the individuals who were detained beyond the year, only days up to the end of 2005 are calculated.

V. Court and Adjudication

Disposition and court process information were obtained from the Mecklenburg County court database between July and November 2006. A court case number for each charge was used to trace the adjudication process. Of 1,567 total charges, approximately 300 charges were excluded from the analysis as those were bond termination, probation violation, or issued OFAs due to a failure to appear in court.

a. Bond Information
In almost all charges, a secured bond was recommended. The average amount of the bond was $2,500, but half of the bonds were less than $500.

Bond type	Number of charges	Percentage
Secured	1,516	98%
Unsecured	5	—
Cash	2	—
No bond	25	2%

Bond amount	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage

Less than $500	51%	51%
$501–$1,000	23%	74%
$1,001–$2,000	11%	85%
$2,001–$5,000	8%	93%
$5,001 and above	7%	100%

- Mean bond amount = $2,248, Median = $500

Felony charges had the highest bond amount as expected, and misdemeanor and traffic charges had similar bond amounts. The mean bond amount for violent (person) offenses was the highest among the three most common offenses, followed by drug and property offenses ($8,257, $2,033, and $1,627, respectively).

Charge Level	Mean Bond	Median Bond
Felony	$12,888	$7,500
Misdemeanor	$1,166	$500
Traffic	$1015	$500

Charge Type	Mean Bond	Median Bond
Violent (Person)	$8,257	$1,500
Property	$1,627	$700
Drug/alcohol	$2,033	$500

Homeless offenders received a lower bond amount compared to non-homeless offenders. The average bond amount per homeless offender per arrest was $2,189, whereas non-homeless offenders received an amount approximately 4 times higher for each arrest.

The average bond amount for the three most common charges for homeless people—trespassing, public disturbance, and open container ordinance—was $895, $394 and $316, respectively. Of the total 783 arrests during 2005, 172 arrests (22%) had only one of those three charges. For approximately three-fourths (73%) of these cases, offenders pled and were found guilty (note: 23 percent of the cases were missing information). The average stay in jail was 3 days, which is the same amount of time as the average time served.

Charge type	Mean bond amount per arrest
Homeless	$2,189
Non-homeless	$7,398

Common charge types for homeless people	Mean bond
Trespassing	$895
Public Disturbance	$394
Open Container Ordinance	$316

b. Court Process

More than half of the chronic offenders used both public and private defenders, and one-fourth (20 defendants) relied on public defenders completely for representation in 2005.

Attorney type (n = 81)

Public	20	24.7%
Private	13	16.0%
Both	48	59.3%

- Defendants who used private defenders might not have actually paid attorney fees as in some cases private defenders were assigned by the courts.

The following table shows the court process and adjudication information by the chronic offenders. On average, a chronic offender failed to appear in court 5.3 times, was given active time 6 times and also received credit for time served 6 times. The total number of credit for time served was 53.5 days. Half of the offenders (n = 40) were not given any probation, and 31% were given probation only once. A total of 48 court events were found per offender during 2005 (on average).

Court process and adjudication information (n = 81)		
	Mean	Notes
Number of times failure to appear	5.26 times	Range: 0–27 times,
Maximum days from booking to disposition	109 days	Range: 2–291 days
Number of cases consolidated	2.3 cases	Range: 0–13 times
Number of times probation given	.69 times	Never = 40 offenders, Once = 25 offenders, Twice = 15 offenders
Number of times active time given	5.92 times	Range: 0–23 times
Number of days active time	73.7	Range: 2 - 293
Number of times credit given for time served	5.96 times	Range: 0–23 times
Total number of days credit for time served	53.5 days	Range: 0–165 days
Months of probation given	21 months	Range: 0–36 months
Total number of court events found	47.9 times	Range: 0–64 times

Overall, the time from booking to first appearance was an average of 2 days, and from booking to disposition was an average of 89 days. Although the time from booking to first appearance was faster for traffic cases than misdemeanor and felony cases (1.6 days versus 2 days), there was a substantially longer time between booking and disposition for traffic cases (117 days versus 63 days and 81 days, respectively). Felony cases took longer than misdemeanor cases to be disposed of as expected (81 days versus 63 days).

	All levels	Felony	Misdemeanor	Traffic
Average days from booking to first appearance	2 days	2 days	2 days	1.6 days
Average days from booking to disposition	89 days	81 days	63 days	117 days
Median days from booking to disposition	44 days	45 days	38 days	108 days
Range	0–553 days	0–553 days	0–502 days	0–341 days

The time period from booking to disposition was substantially below the American Bar Association Standard as 25% of misdemeanor cases took more than 90 days. Forty-one percent of felony cases took more than 120 days to be disposed of, or were still pending, when the court information was retrieved.

Misdemeanor cases (n = 876)

Days from booking to disposition	Number	Cumulative percent	American Bar Association Standard
0–30 days	409 (47%)	47%	90% within 30 days
31–60 days	137 (16%)	63%	
61–90 days	103 (12%)	75%	100% within 90 days
91–180 days	160 (18%)	93%	
Within one year	56 (6%)	93%	
More than one year	8 (1%)	100%	
Pending/missing	3 (—%)	—	

Felony cases (n = 104)

Days from booking to disposition	Number	Cumulative percent	American Bar Association Standard
0–90 days	54 (52%)	52%	
91–120 days	7 (7%)	59%	90% within 120 days
121–180 days	3 (3%)	62%	98% within 180 days
Within one year	9 (9%)	71%	100% within one year
More than one year	1 (—%)	—	
Pending/missing	30 (29%)	100%	

b. Disposition

The disposition information indicated that more than half of the charges were disposed with a conviction (59%), whereas 39% were dismissed. Almost all guilty verdicts (99%) were the result of guilty pleas. Eleven cases (mostly traffic-related) resulted in a prayer for judgment. Only a few cases (n = 4) were found not guilty.

Dispositions (n = 1,077)

Type of Verdict	Number of charges	Percentage

Dismissed	425	39.4%
Found Guilty	637	59.0%
Found Not Guilty	4	0.4%
Prayers for Judgment	11	1.0%

- Prayer for judgment asks the judge to "suspend" the sentence for some type of alternative. For example, someone with a speeding ticket could get a "prayer for judgment" to go to traffic school.
- Approximately 10 percent of cases (n = 101) were excluded as pending or missing values.

The guilty rate was calculated by the proportion of guilty verdicts divided by the total number of cases less the unknown. The guilty rate ranged from 13% to 100%. Approximately one-third of offenders had a guilty rate of 76% or higher. All offenders were found guilty on at least one charge.

Guilty rate (n = 81)

Guilty rate	Number of offenders	Percentage
Less than 25 percent	12	15%
25–50 percent	22	27%
51–75 percent	21	26%
76 percent or higher	26	32%

The following table shows how multiple charges that offenders received for each arrest were handled by the courts. Of the total 783 arrests during 2005, 429 arrests had only a single charge. Among those 429 single-charge cases, 74% of the cases received a guilty verdict and 22% of the cases were dismissed. Among those 137 cases that had two charges, only 10% of those cases received guilty verdicts for both charges, and in 13% of the cases, both charges were dismissed. Even if an offender had more than three charges, he/she only received one guilty verdict and the other charges were likely to be dismissed or consolidated.

Number of charges per arrest	Number of cases	Number of guilty verdicts			
		None	One	Two	Three or more
One	429	94 (22%)	317 (74%)	—	—
Two	137	18 (13%)	87 (64%)	14 (10%)	—
Three	69	9 (13%)	50 (72%)	5 (7%)	0
Four or More	58	5 (9%)	24 (41%)	14 (24%)	5 (7%)

- Approximately 33 percent of cases were missing the verdict information.

There are great differences regarding time from booking to disposition by verdict. For those pleading guilty and found guilty, the cases took 42 days to be disposed of on average, and half of the cases were disposed of within five days. In contrast, pleading not guilty and found guilty

cases took about seven months on average to be disposed. Approximately three months were spent for dismissed cases.

Days from booking to disposition by verdict

Type of verdict	Mean days from booking to disposition	Median days from booking to disposition
Dismissed	93 days	72 days
Found Not Guilty	128 days	86 days
Plead Guilty/Found Guilty	42 days	5 days
Plead Not Guilty/Found Guilty	215 days	199 days

c. Sentencing

Of the 545 cases found guilty, a vast majority (85%) were sentenced to active punishment, whereas a small percentage of cases (13%) were given probation. Fifty-one cases (38 defendants) were given additional sentences such as the payment of court costs and restitution. Only eight defendants were referred to special programs.

The median active time given was three days and for earned time credits was also three days. It indicates that in half of the guilty cases, offenders pled guilty at the first appearance and were sentenced to three days active time, but at the same time they were released with credit for time served.

Sentencing (n = 545)

Type of sentencing	Number	Percentage	
Active time given	461	85%	Median days = 3
Supervised probation	31	6%	
Unsupervised probation	39	7%	
Others/missing	14	3%	
Additional sentences	51	9%	

- Additional sentences include payment of costs, fines and/or restitution.
- The percentages do not total 100% due to duplication.

VI. Mental Health/Homeless Issues

Mental health information was provided by Area Mental Health (AMH). To maintain patients' confidentiality, the chronic offender database was given to AMH so that all identifying information could be deleted.

a. Mental Health Status

Eighty-three percent (n = 67) of the chronic offenders were known to AMH. The following are the types of diagnosis found in the AMH database *(see Appendix c for more diagnosis information).* Some offenders had multiple diagnoses. For example, approximately one-fifth

(22%) of those with a drug-related diagnosis also had an alcohol diagnosis. Other diagnoses found in drug-diagnosed individuals were impulse/behavior related, psychotic and mood disorder.

Mental health status of chronic offenders (n = 67)			
Diagnosis type	N	%	Other diagnosis
Any Drug diagnosis	37	55.2%	3 individuals also diagnosed as impulse-related 1 individual also diagnosed as mood disorder 4 individuals also diagnosed as psychotic 8 individuals also diagnosed as alcohol-related
Any Alcohol diagnosis	26	38.8%	1 individual also diagnosed as psychotic 1 individual also diagnosed as anxiety
Any Psychotic diagnosis	7	10.4%	
Impulse/behavior-related diagnosis	4	6.0%	
Mood disorder	3	4.5%	1 individual also diagnosed as anxiety
Anxiety disorder	2	3.0%	
Dual diagnosis	11	16.4%	

b. Characteristics of Mental Health Offenders

The following table shows the demographics and background information about chronic offenders with mental health issues (n = 67). No substantial differences were observed between the characteristics of the overall chronic offenders (n = 81) and those of the mental health offenders.

Demographics and background information (n = 67)		
Variables	% (n)	Notes
Age		Mean = 38, Median = 39, Range = 18-58
21 or under	10% (7)	Mean age for all offenders = 36.7
22–25	12% (8)	Median age for all offenders = 37
26–35	19% (13)	
36–45	21% (14)	
46 and above	37% (25)	
Gender		

Male	84% (66)	All offenders: male = 85%
Female	16% (11)	
Race/Ethnicity		
African-American	73% (49)	All offenders: African-American = 73%
Caucasian	22% (15)	
Others	5% (3)	
Housing Status		
Homeless/unstable residence	42% (28)	
Domiciled	58% (39)	

c. History of Mental Health Treatments

Chronic offenders were in mental health services for 2.8 years and had roughly 45 office visits on record. Approximately 15% of mental health offenders had a record of hospitalization.

	Mean	Range
Years in Mental Health	2.84	0–9
Number of Mental Health Visits	44.7	0–369
Number of Hospitalizations (10 offenders)	1.7	0–3

The GAF (Global Assessment of Functioning) score indicates the overall level of psychological functioning of a person. The scale ranges from 1 to 100, and a score of 30 or below indicates the need to be in a secure environment (*See Appendix C for more information*). Among 55 offenders for whom the score was known by Mental Health, a vast majority (n = 41) were diagnosed as having serious symptoms (scores of 41-50) and three offenders received 30 or below in their last GAF assessment.

Last GAF Score (n = 55)	Number
71–100 Transient or No Symptoms	—
61–70 Mild Symptoms	—
51–60 Moderate Symptoms	—
41–50 Serious Symptoms	41
31–40 Impairment in Reality Testing or Communication	10
21–30 Serious Impairment in Communication, Judgment or Inability to Function in Almost All Areas	3
11–20 Some Danger of Hurting Self or Others Gross Impairment	—
1–10 Persistent Danger of Severely Hurting Self or Others (Suicidal with Expectation of Death)	—

The most common types of treatments that mental health offenders received were drug/alcohol and behavioral health assessments (15% and 16%, respectively). One-fourth of offenders received case support and 16% of offenders received case management.

Type of treatment	Number	Percentage
Alcohol and/or Drug Group Counseling	3	4%
Alcohol/Drug Assessment	9	13%
Alcohol/Drug Individual Counseling	2	3%
Alcohol/Drug Evaluation	10	15%
Alcohol/Drug Screening	4	6%
Assessment Outreach	2	3%
Behavioral Health Assessment	11	16%
Behavioral Health Day Treatment	2	3%
Clinical Evaluation/Intake	1	—
Case Support	17	25%
Community Support	1	—
Case management	11	16%

d. Criminal Activities of Mental Health Offenders

The following table shows the relationship between individuals' mental health status and charges given during 2005. Of the 67 individuals who were known by AMH, only their three most serious offenses were used for the analysis. A high percentage of property- and drug-related charges (76% and 76% of the total drug diagnosed individuals, respectively) were observed for those with a drug-related diagnosis. Property-related charges were also common among alcohol diagnosed individuals (89% of the total alcohol diagnosed).

Relationship between the offense type and diagnosis type (n = 67)						
	Diagnosis type					
Offense types	Alcohol	Drugs	Psychotic	Mood	Impulse	Anxiety
Person	10 (38.5%)	17 (45.9%)	1 (14.3%)	2	4	1
Property	23 (88.5%)	28 (75.7%)	0	0	4	2
Drugs	15 (57.7%)	28 (75.7%)	5 (71.4%)	1	4	1
Weapon	4 (15.4%)	5 (13.5%)	0	1	0	0

- There is no statistically significant difference in the number of charges in each category of offense (person, property, etc) between those known to mental health and those not in their records. However, mental health clients averaged 1.6 person crimes compared with non-mental health clients with 2.9 (p=.07)

e. Homeless Offenders

The most common mental health issues found in homeless chronic offenders were alcohol and drug dependencies. A majority of homeless chronic offenders (58 percent) had some alcohol diagnoses, and more than one-third of them had some drug diagnoses. Four offenders were diagnosed with both alcohol and drug problems.

Mental health status of homeless chronic offenders (n = 33)			
Diagnosis type	N	%	Common types

Any Drug diagnosis	13	35%	Drug dependency
Any Alcohol diagnosis	15	58%	Alcohol dependency
Any Psychotic diagnosis	3	9%	
Impulse/behavior-related diagnosis	1	—	
Mood disorder	1	—	
Anxiety disorder	1	—	

Felony and traffic charges of homeless offenders were substantially lower than those of non-homeless chronic offenders. Not surprisingly, three distinct offenses by homeless people during 2005 were possession of alcohol, trespassing, and public disturbance.

Level of Offenses	Homeless Mean	Domicile Mean	Eta squared
Felony	.91	2.5	.24*
Misdemeanor	17.2	15.3	.19
Traffic	.58	2.0	.04*

- *p < .001

Type of Offenses	Homeless Mean	Domicile Mean	Eta squared*
Trespassing	5.2	2.4	.16*
Public disturbance	3.1	.92	.12*
Possession of alcohol	1.7	.50	.11*

- *p < .001

There is no substantial difference between homeless and domicile offenders regarding the total number of charges during 2005. However, the guilty rate of homeless is much higher than that of domiciled with fewer court events. The reason is that the charges of homeless offenders were mostly low-level offenses, and they were more likely to receive a guilty verdict at an early stage of the court process.

Type of Offenses	Homeless Mean	Domicile Mean	Eta squared*
Total unique charges	15.8	14.3	.02
Total court events	10.7	73.4	.04
Guilty rate	.73	.49	.15*

- *p < .001

VII. Chronic Offender Classification

Cluster analysis[5] was used to divide the 81 offenders into two groups based on their criminal activities and charges in 2005. The result of the K-Mean cluster showed that Group 1 included a

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[5] K-mean clusters with a maximum of 10 iterations.

vast majority of offenders (n = 73), and Group 2 consisted of approximately 10 percent (n = 8) of the offenders. The Group 2 offenders were characterized by a higher amount of bonds, higher incidence of warrants, and having more felony and traffic charges compared to the Group 1 offenders. Regarding the type of charges, the Group 1 offenders had a higher number of persons-related, obstruction of justice (e.g., resisting public officers), technical violation (e.g., probation violation, bond termination) and weapon charges.

Notably, although the Group 1 and 2 offenders had a similar number of property and drug/alcohol charges (3.6 and 3.9 for drug/alcohol charges, and 7.9 and 7.6 for property charges, respectively), the seriousness of the offenses was quite different under closer examination. Offenses of the Group 1 were minor, such as trespassing and possession of alcohol, whereas the Group 2 offenders committed more serious offenses, including burglary and drug sales. Violent (persons) charges in Group 2 included murder and robbery. It may be safe to say that Group 1 was classified as low-risk and Group 2 as high-risk offenders.

Variables	Group1 Centers	Group 2 Centers	Sig
Average days between release and rearrest	25.6	38.5	.003
Average bonds per arrest	2,890	27,042	.000
Average days between booking and disposition	62.9	100.8	.042
Number of warrants	1.4	5.1	.000
Number of felony charges	1.2	7.8	.000
Number of traffic charges	1.0	5.4	.000
Number of violent (persons) charges	1.6	4.1	.007
Number of technical violation charges	.4	4.4	.000
Number of weapon charges	.3	1.5	.000
Number of other charges (obstruction of justice)	4.6	8.0	.056

*Variables that included cluster analysis but did not meet the statistical significance were omitted from the table. Those variables are "number of misdemeanor charges," ""number of arrests," "number of OFA," "number of ORD," "number of drug/alcohol charges," and "number of property charges."

Demographic and background information indicated that the Group 1 offenders tend to be older and have longer criminal histories. The Group 1 offenders were arrested for the first time at age 23 on average and sentenced at age 26 and had been in the criminal justice system for 16 years on average.

Nearly half of the Group 1 offenders (43 percent) were homeless or had an unstable address and 85 percent of them were known to AMH.

In contrast, the Group 2 offenders were relatively young (average 22 years old), and started their criminal career much earlier than the Group 1 offenders. Specifically, they were arrested the first time at age 16 and sentenced at age 18 on average. Only one offender in Group 2 was identified as homeless and fewer were known to AMH.

Variables	Group1 (n = 73)	Group 2 (n = 8)
Mean age at January 2006	38.3	22.2
Mean age at first-time arrest	22.9	16.4
Mean age at first record in the NCDOC	26.0	18.2
Mean years in the criminal justice system	15.5	5.4
Homeless/unstable address	43% (32)	13% (1)
Known to AMH	85% (62)	63% (5)

Among those Group 1 offenders, approximately one-fifth (n = 17) had serious felony charges related to cocaine, burglary, and robbery in the early stages (at age 20 and 30) of their criminal history. However, in the course of the passing years, their criminal behavior turned into more low-level in nature, and the charges observed in 2005 were only low-level ones such as trespassing, possession of paraphernalia, and intoxicated and disturbance.[6] It is easily assumed that young high-risk offenders in Group 2 would continue their criminal behavior for years and potentially develop a chemical dependency problem or become homeless in their later years.

VIII. Conclusions

a. Summary of Findings

The findings of this study illustrate the characteristics of chronic offenders and the issues of the criminal justice system in responding to those offenders. The chronic offenders were relatively old and had been homeless or had an unstable address when arrested in 2005. They had been in the criminal justice system for 15 years, and half of the offenders (52 percent) had been incarcerated prior to 2005 on average 2.4 times in prison.

Those 81 offenders had a total of 783 arrests with 1,567 charges, and stayed in jail 7,440 days in 2005 at an estimated cost of $800,000. The typical offender recidivated within a month (27 days), and the homeless offenders had a shorter average period to recidivism (22 days).

Homeless offenders received a lower bond amount compared to non-homeless offenders ($2,189 versus $7,398) as most of charges of homeless people were low level, such as trespassing, disturbance, and open container ordinance (the mean bond was $895, $394, and $316, respectively). However, homeless offenders were unlikely to bond out and earned time credits when active time was given.

As to court process and adjudications, a chronic offender failed to appear in court 5.3 times and a total of 48 court events were found per offender during 2005 on average. Nearly half of charges were dismissed, and a vast majority of cases found guilty were sentenced to active punishment. The median active time given was three days and for earned time credits was also three days.

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[6] The average age of these offenders was 44 in 2005. A majority of them was homeless (59 percent), and 83 percent had either a drug or an alcohol diagnosis.

One of the critical characteristics was that a high percentage of chronic offenders had mental health issues. Four out of five chronic offenders (83 percent) were known to AMH. A vast majority of mental health chronic offenders were diagnosed as having serious symptoms (a Global Assessment Functioning (GAF) score of 41–50), and three were recommended as needing a secure environment. Ten offenders had a record of hospitalization.

Overall, a vast majority (90 percent) of chronic offenders in the sample was low risk, but eight offenders were identified as high-risk offenders who had committed serious crimes. Those high-risk offenders tended to be young (22.2 years old on average), and started their criminal career much earlier than that of low-risk ones (16 years old versus 23 years old on average). The number of violent (persons), weapon, and traffic charges of high-risk offenders were significantly higher than those of low-risk offenders. Also, high-risk offenders had a higher number of charges for resisting officers.

b. Conclusions

The analysis in this study is limited to 81 offenders, which makes it difficult to run statistical analysis. Also, the sample was drawn based on the number of arrests during 2005, and the study did not include offenders who have a longer period to re-arrest or were incarcerated for the entire year of 2005. Because of this methodology, the sample could over represent misdemeanor-only offenders. In addition, as the sample did not have a non-chronic control group, the study faced a methodological difficulty in estimating the true impact of chronic offenders on the criminal justice system.

Despite the data limitations, this study provides rich, in-depth descriptions of chronic offenders and highlights the need for a comprehensive strategies and greater research and evaluation efforts within the criminal justice community in dealing with chronic offenders. Future research should include the cost-effectiveness of alternative strategies. The efficacy and effectiveness of the alternatives can only be measured by implementing the pilot project and assessing at a later date, therefore the evaluation study needs to be continued by monitoring the fiscal effects of the project on the budgets.

Appendix A: Total Number of Offenders' Prior
Charges and Convictions by Offense Category (n = 81)

Variables	Charges		Convictions	
Persons	**418**	**(11.1)**	**149**	**(7.0)**
Aggravated Assault	46		8	
Threats (e.g., communication threats, harassment)	69		21	
Murder	3		1	
Robbery	61		23	
Weapons	80		20	
Domestic Violence (e.g., DV Protection violation, spouse abuse)	28		12	
Other Assaults (e.g., simple assault)	131		64	
Drug/Alcohol	**633**	**(16.8)**	**308**	**(14.8)**
Drug Possession	431		156	
Drug Sale	42		17	
Alcohol Possession	152		132	
Other Drug Offense (e.g., loitering for drug activity)	8		3	
Property	**1,709**	**(45.4)**	**993**	**(47.6)**
Arson	8		1	
Burglary	193		105	
Damage to Property	71		22	
Fraud	52		16	
Larceny (e.g., shoplifting, theft)	671		391	
Stolen property (e.g., possession of stolen vehicle and property)	97		34	
Trespassing	590		414	
Other Property-Related Offenses	27		10	
Miscellaneous	**915**	**(24.3)**	**577**	**(27.7)**
Prostitution	41		22	
Technical Violation (e.g., bond, probation, parole, pretrial)	31		41	
Obstruction of Justice (e.g., resisting arrest, false information)	267		113	
Public Peace (e.g., disorderly conduct, urinating, disturbance)	482		377	
Others (e.g., city ordinances)	94		24	
Traffic	**88**	**(2.3)**	**59**	**(2.8)**
DWI	12		8	
Other Traffic Violations	76		51	
Total	*3,763*	*(100.0)*	*2,086*	*(100.0)*

Appendix B: Total Number of Offender's Charges
by Offense Category in 2005 (n = 81)

Variables	Number	Percent
Persons	**148**	**(9.4)**
Aggravated Assault	19	
Threats (e.g., communication threats, harassment)	30	
Murder	2	
Robbery	8	
Weapons	30	
Domestic Violence (e.g., DV Protection violation, spouse abuse)	11	
Other Assaults (e.g., simple assault)	48	
Drug/Alcohol	**292**	**(18.6)**
Drug Possession	167	
Drug Sale	34	
Alcohol Possession	82	
Other Drug Offense (e.g., loitering for drug activity)	9	
Property	**636**	**(40.6)**
Arson	2	
Burglary	61	
Damage Property	33	
Fraud	13	
Larceny (e.g., shoplifting, theft)	191	
Stolen Property (e.g., possession of stolen vehicle and property)	42	
Trespassing	294	
Miscellaneous	**401**	**(25.6)**
Prostitution	20	
Technical Violation (e.g., bond, probation, parole, pretrial)	94	
Obstruction of Justice (e.g., resisting arrest, false information)	121	
Public Peace (e.g., disorderly conduct, urinating, disturbance)	147	
Others (e.g., city ordinances)	19	
Traffic	**90**	**(5.8)**
DWI	1	
Other Traffic Violations	89	
Total	*1,567*	*(100.0)*

Appendix C: MH Interpretation Notes

Axis I Mental Disorders

Clinical Disorder or other condition needing clinical attention. Needs therapy and/or medication. e.g.,

> Psychotic delusions, hallucinations, disorganized speech, behavior,
>> undifferentiated/disorganized schizophrenia
>> Dysfunction in all areas of life without medication
> Mood disorder: depression, bipolar, substance abuse mood disorder
> Anxiety many:
>> 1) at least 6 months of persistent and excessive anxiety/worry without a
>>> cause
>> 2) Panic disorder recurrent, unexpected panic attacks—intense
>>> apprehension
> Impulse: Includes adult antisocial behavior, ADHD, conduct disorder
>> Disorders include behaviors or professional thieves, racketeers, drug
>> dealers but not due to a mental disorder.

Axis II: Personality Disorders

> When personality traits are inflexible, maladaptive and cause significant functional impairment or subjective distress. Long-term patterns of functioning.

> Mental retardation: IQ of 70 or less.

Axis III. General Medical Conditions

Axis IV: Psycho-social and environmental problems: homeless, financial stress, marital problems

Axis V: GAF—Global Assessment of Functioning. GAF score is level of need; how impaired is the person. Clinician's judgment of overall level of functioning. Only relative to psychological functioning.

> Scale of 1 to 100

> 71-100 transient or no symptoms
> 61-70   mild symptoms
> 51-60   moderate symptoms
> 41-50   serious symptoms
> 31-40   impairment in reality testing or communication
> 21-30   serious impairment in communication, judgment or inability to function in almost
>> all areas
> 11-20   some danger of hurting self or others; gross impairment
> 1-10   persistent danger of severely hurting self or others (suicidal with expectation of
>> death
> 30 or below needs to be in secure environment

Supplement Study

Neighborhood Analysis

A. Introduction

Traditionally, recidivism studies have focused on individual factors such as the characteristics of offenders and prior criminal histories and less attention has been given to the characteristics of the neighborhoods to which ex-offenders return. In recent years, however, there is a growing interest in the role of the neighborhood as an influence on crime. While individual factors play an important role in the probability of re-offending, it has been discovered that rich resources and high social capital in the community mitigate the individual risk factors.

A better understanding of the neighborhood could provide an improved context for assessing the risk of re-arrest of chronic offenders and enable the criminal justice system to formulate strategies to address chronic offender problems more effectively.

For example, crime hot spots tend to have other forms of social issues such as poverty, joblessness, and cultural conflict. Then, more focus should be paid to how to increase social support, network, and organizational cooperation in these areas.

Given these concerns, this study addressed the following questions:
- Where in Mecklenburg County is the highest prevalence of chronic offender arrests?
- Which neighborhoods have the highest chronic offender arrests, and what are the characteristics of those neighborhoods?
- Are there any differences between homeless and domiciled offenders regarding their arrest locations?
- What is the geographical relationship between locations of service agencies and arrest locations?

Summary of Findings

- A majority of arrests occurred Uptown and in contiguous neighborhoods.
- Arrest locations for the homeless offenders were more concentrated in the inner-city areas compared to those for domiciled offenders.
- Arrest locations and offenders' home addresses closely overlapped.
- Arrests were more likely to occur in high density population areas close to retail stores and entertainment.
- Neighborhoods with a high proportion of minority groups or that were racially mixed had high criminal incidents by chronic offenders.
- Overall, offenders' activity space was relatively small, and offenders were arrested close to their home or in their local neighborhood.

B. Neighborhood Variables

To capture the characteristics of high arrest concentration neighborhoods by chronic offenders, information from the 2006 Charlotte Neighborhood Quality of Life (CNQL) study was used. The quality of life analysis was conducted by the Metropolitan Studies Group at UNC Charlotte, which applied to 173 Neighborhood Statistical Areas (NSAs) encompassing all of Charlotte and its Sphere of Influence except for seven nonresidential areas.

The NSA boundaries were based on the 1990 U.S. Census block group and modified to meet the best interests of the communities. Although the quality of the neighborhood could be subjective, measurements of quality of life have been thoughtfully developed nationwide, reflecting the local, environmental, social, and economic conditions of the neighborhood.[7] The CNQL study was based on 20 variables covering social, crime, physical, and economic dimensions of the neighborhoods as shown in Table 1.

Figure 1. NSA Study Area with Mecklenburg County Boundary
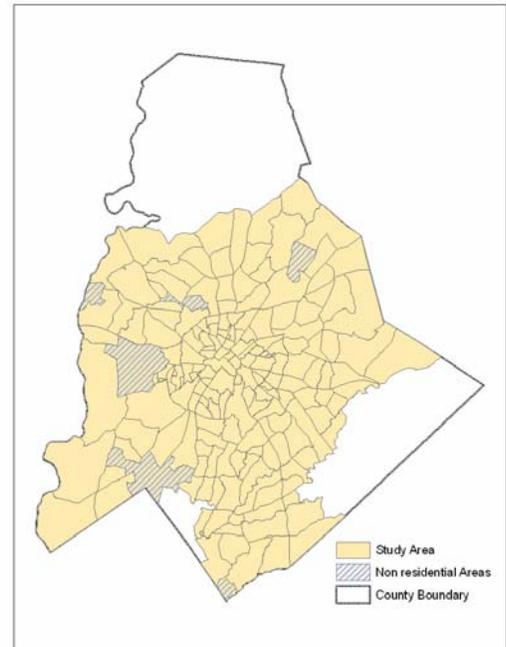
Table 1. Charlotte Neighborhood Quality of Life Variables

Social Dimension	Physical Dimension
• Percent of Persons above Age 64 • Average Kindergarten Score • Dropout Rate • Percent of Children Passing Competency Exams • Percent of Birth to Adolescents • Youth Opportunity Index	• Appearance Index • Housing Code Index • Percent Homeowners • Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs • Percent of Persons with Access to Public Transportation • Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail Facilities • Pedestrian Friendliness Index
Crime Dimension	**Economic Dimension**
• Violent Crime Rate • Juvenile Arrest Rate • Property Crime Rate • Crime Hot Spots	• Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps • Percent Change in Income • Percent Change in House Value

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[7] Metropolitan Studies Group (2006). Charlotte Neighborhood Quality of Life Study 2006.
http://www.charmekc.org/Departments/Neighbhorhood+Dev/Quality+of+Life/home.htm

C. Arrest Locations

The total number of arrests of the 81 offenders was 782 in 2005. Among those, addresses showing the Jail, CMPD, and Hospital, and outside of Mecklenburg County were excluded from the analysis. As a result, 666 arrests remained for further analysis. In identifying the geographically concentrated arrest areas, geographic information system (GIS) technology was used[8]. The street addresses of arrest locations were geocoded2 to obtain coordinate values and spatially displayed.

Figure 2 shows the results of arrest point locations overlaid on the NSA boundaries. As shown in the white areas within the Mecklenburg County boundary, the NSAs did not cover some of the north and southeast areas of Mecklenburg County, and therefore, arrests that occurred in these areas were excluded from the neighborhood analysis. The final arrest count used in this study was 573. The mean center of arrests was located in the south side of Uptown.

Figure 2. Arrest Points and One and Two Standard Deviational Ellipses

To understand the orientation and direction of arrest areas, the standard deviational ellipse for locations of arrest was calculated. The area within one standard deviation is shown in an orange ellipse, and the area within two standard deviations is captured in yellow in Figure 2. The result of one standard deviational ellipse indicated that nearly two-thirds of arrests (68 percent) occurred within an area of 2.7 miles from Uptown to the east and west, and 4.4 miles from Uptown to the north and south. The area is approximately within Woodlawn Rd., Eastway Dr., Sunset Rd., and Remount Rd. (the south, east, north, and east edges, respectively).

The vast majority of arrests (95 percent) were within 17.7 miles from south to north and 10.8 miles from east to west centered Uptown with an angle of rotation of 276 degrees from the north. The area is roughly within Pineville-Matthews Rd., W.T. Harris Blvd., Mt. Holly-Huntersville Rd., and the Billy Graham Parkway (south, east, north, and west edges, respectively).

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[8] Geocoding was conducted by the Research, Planning, & Analysis Division of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department.

Notably, the areas that were not included in this analysis, but in which geographically concentrated arrests were observed, were the east side of Exit 23 off I-77 in Huntersville, and the east side of Exit 28 off I-77 in Cornelius.

Figure 3 (left side of the map) showed homeless offenders' arrest locations and the locations of service agencies. Arrest locations were shown by the red dots, and the locations of service agencies are shown by a green triangle. The light blue oval circle showed that 95 percent of homeless arrests occurred within the area. This area was roughly bordered by I-85, Fairview Rd., Billy Graham Parkway, and Eastway Dr.

Figure 4 (right side of the map) illustrated arrest locations for the domiciled (shown by the red dots) and their home locations (shown by a blue triangle). The light orange oval showed that a vast majority of arrests (95 percent) occurred within the area bordered by Pineville-Matthews Rd., Hambright Rd. (between Exits 18 and 23 off I-77), W.T. Harris Blvd., and the Billy Graham Parkway.

Figure 3. Arrest Locations for the Homeless and Locations of Service
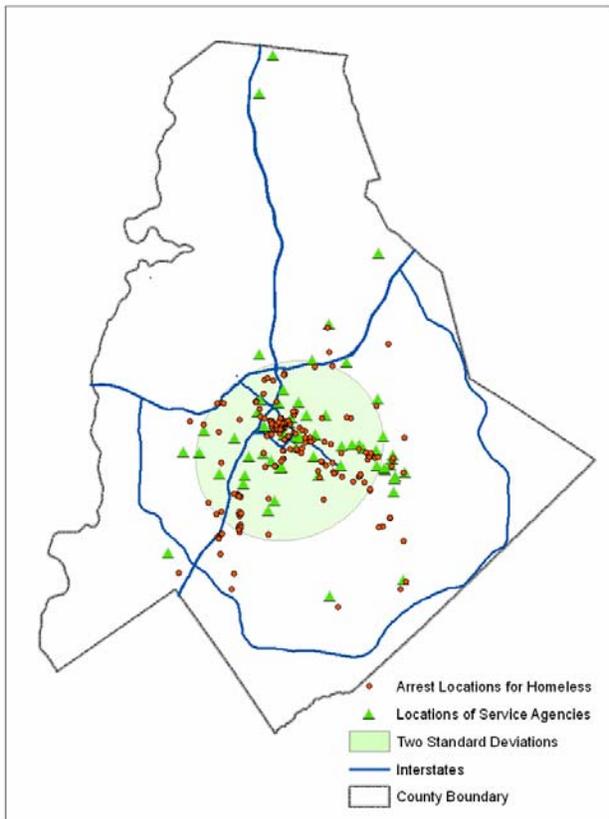
Figure 4. Arrest Locations for the Domiciled and Their Home Locations
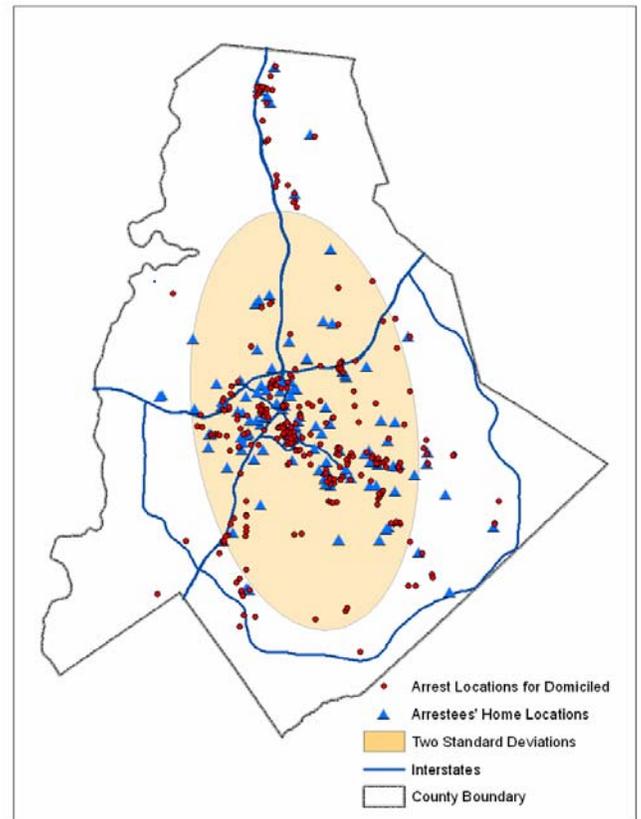
Looking at the arrest locations of homeless offenders, arrests were concentrated in the Uptown area and contiguous neighborhoods. It seems that I-85 became a natural barrier to limit the movement of homeless offenders toward the north. Homeless offenders were more likely to take the pass toward the southeast and the southwest along South Blvd., Independence Blvd. and

Central Ave. Notably, most homeless offenders were arrested close to locations near the service agencies (see Appendix B for more detailed maps).

In contrast, the arrest locations of the domiciled offenders were more widely spread throughout the county. Also, their home locations and arrest points closely overlapped.

Many studies have demonstrated that the travel distance to commit crime was relatively short as offenders generally commit a crime within 1 or 2 miles of their home, and about half the journeys were less than a mile (Clark and Eck[9] 2005). Similar to previous findings, this study also found that domiciled offenders went back to their local neighborhood after release from jail and were rearrested close to their home.

The smaller activity space of the homeless offenders indicated that they were more likely to stay in neighborhoods within walking distance of the jail. It is also assumed that these offenders would choose to live close to the locations of service/resource agencies.

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[9] Clark, R. & Eck, J. (2003). Crime Analysis for Problem Solvers. Center for Problem Oriented Policing Service.

D. Neighborhood with Concentrations of Arrests

Figure 5 shows neighborhood by concentration of arrests (see Appendix A for a technical report). The darker color indicates the neighborhood had higher arrests. As shown in dark brown, the highest concentration of arrests was located in the northeast side of Uptown within I-277. The next highest concentrations were the northeast area adjacent to Uptown, the Eastland Mall area of east Charlotte, the southeast area along Monroe Rd., and the southwest area along South Blvd., which is shown in light brown. The third highest were areas surrounding Uptown, which are shown in orange.

Figure 5. Concentrations of Arrests by NSA
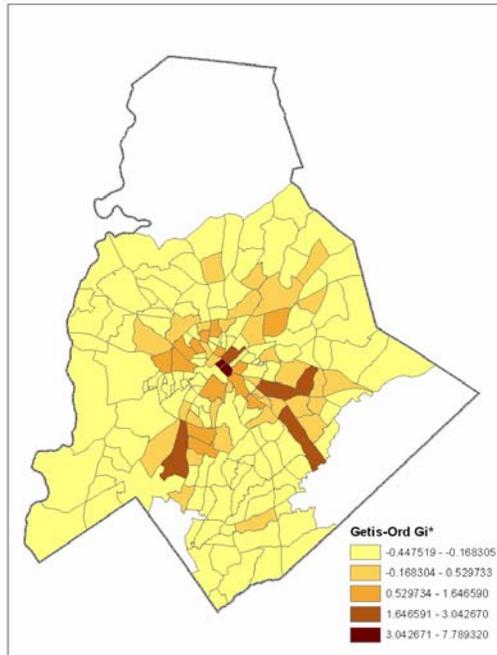
The following are the names of the neighborhoods by level of arrest concentration.

First Density	First Ward, Fourth Ward
Second Density	Lockwood, Eastland/Wilora Lake, East Forest, Eastway/Sheffield Park, Briarcreek-Woodland, Monticlaire South
Third Density	Belmont, Elizabeth, Grier Heights, Dilworth, Westerly Hills, Ashley Park, Enderly Park, Smallwood, Washington Heights, Lincoln Heights, Greenville, Hidden Valley, Madison Park, Closeburn/Glenkirk

The next section discusses the characteristics of each neighborhood with concentrations of arrests.

Neighborhood Profiles – Highest Arrest Concentrated Area
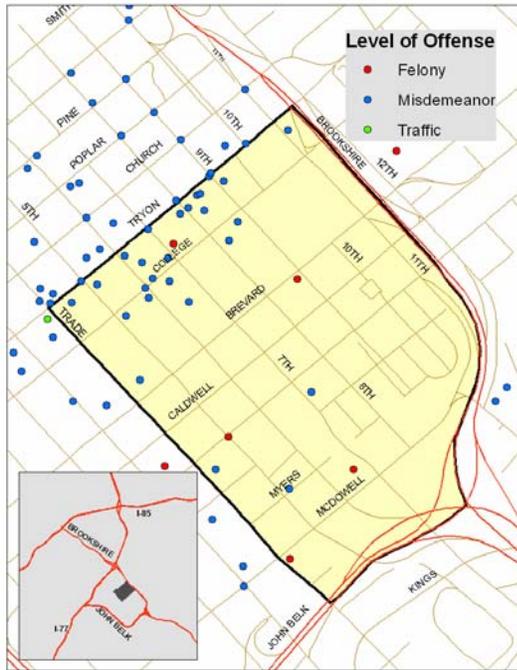
First Ward

The First Ward community is located Uptown within an area bordered by Tryon St., Trade St. and the Brookshire Freeway. The Quality of Life Index indicated that the crime dimension in this neighborhood was high, particularly in violent and property crimes. However, the level of need in other dimensions was low. Median household income was lower than the city average, and the vast majority of residents were African Americans.

As seen on the map, most arrests were concentrated on Tryon St. and College St. where entertainment facilities and restaurants were located. The most common charges for misdemeanors in this area were trespassing, panhandling, and alcohol/drug-related crimes. Several felony charges for selling/possessing cocaine occurred in isolated areas.

| Variables	NSA Value	City Value	Level of Need
Overview			
Median Household Income	$32,909	$46,082	
Average House Value	$266,264	$192,844	
Percent African American	80.4%		
Percent Caucasian	16.8%		
Percent Hispanic/Latino	>0.0%		
Social Dimension			Low
Percent of Persons over the age 64	7.4%	8.8%	
Average Kindergarten Score	2.8	2.9	
Dropout Rate	3.2%	4.2%	
Percent of Children passing Competency Exams	72.0%	79.2%	
Percent of Births to Adolescents	19.1%	6.0%	
Youth Opportunity Index	High	N/A	
Crime Dimension			High
Violent Crime Rate	4.1	1.0	
Juvenile Arrest Rate	1.1	1.0	
Property Crime Rate	3.4	1.0	
Crime Hot Spots	0.4	N/A	
Physical Dimension			Low
Appearance Index	9.4%	8.0%	
Housing Code Index	0.2%	0.8%	
Percent Homeowners	26.3%	54.5%	
Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs	$0	N/A	
Percent of Persons with Access to Pub. Transportation	100.0%	55.6%	
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail	45.7%	18.0%	
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	High	Low	
Economic Dimension			Low
Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps	16.5%	8.7%	
Percent Change in Income	7.0%	1.1%	
Percent Change in house Value	30.8%	1.2%	

# Neighborhood Profiles – Highest Arrest Concentrated Area
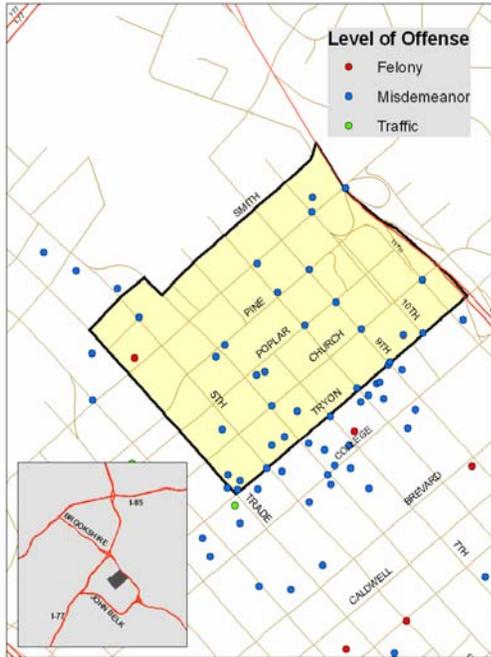
Fourth Ward

The Fourth Ward community is located Uptown adjacent to First Ward. One of the issues in this neighborhood was a high crime rate. Although a high percentage of elderly live in this area, there were issues related to juveniles as the high school dropout rate and juvenile arrest rate were relatively high. The average house value was 1.7 times higher than the city average. The majority of the residents (approximately 70 percent) in this community were Caucasian.

Most offenses observed in this neighborhood were misdemeanors, and the locations of arrests were widely spread throughout the entire community. Offense types in this area were typically alcohol consumption in a public space, intoxication and disturbance, and violating the open container ordinance.

Variables	NSA Value	City Value	Level of Need
Overview			
Median Household Income	$47,003	$46,082	
Average House Value	$330,571	$192,844	
Percent African American	26.7%		
Percent Caucasian	69.3%		
Percent Hispanic/Latino	>0.0%		
Social Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons over the age 64	17.0%	8.8%	
Average Kindergarten Score	3.0	2.9	
Dropout Rate	20.0%	4.2%	
Percent of Children passing Competency Exams	100.0%	79.2%	
Percent of Births to Adolescents	0.0%	6.0%	
Youth Opportunity Index	High	N/A	
Crime Dimension			**High**
Violent Crime Rate	1.5	1.0	
Juvenile Arrest Rate	1.9	1.0	
Property Crime Rate	1.7	1.0	
Crime Hot Spots	0.3	N/A	
Physical Dimension			**Low**
Appearance Index	11.3%	8.0%	
Housing Code Index	0.1%	0.8%	
Percent Homeowners	24.4%	54.5%	
Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs	$0	N/A	
Percent of Persons with Access to Pub. Transportation	100.0%	55.6%	
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail	60.2%	18.0%	
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	High	Low	
Economic Dimension			**Low**
Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps	6.3%	8.7%	
Percent Change in Income	4.6%	1.1%	

Percent Change in house Value	19.3%	1.2%

Neighborhood Profiles – Second Highest Arrest Concentrated Area
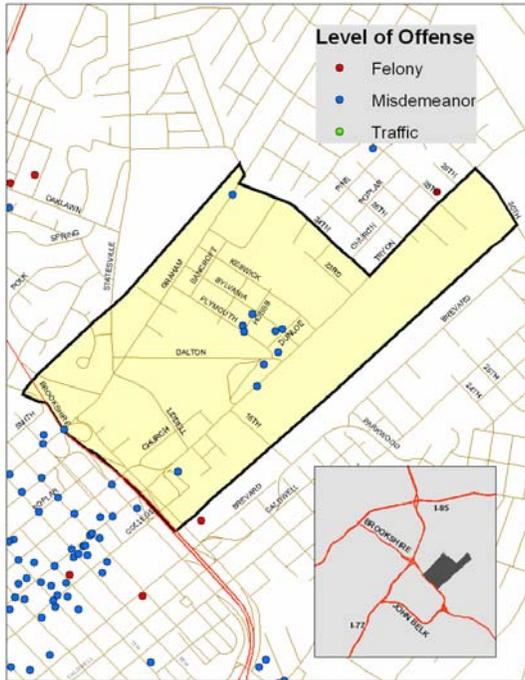
Lockwood

The Lockwood community is adjacent to the Fourth Ward community in Uptown outside of I-277. This neighborhood is in transition, but many challenging factors exist. Regarding the crime dimension, the violent and property crime rates were particularly high in this area. More than half of the residents received food stamps, and the median household income was less than half of the city average. One of the strengths in this community was the physical dimension in that all residents lived within walking distance of public transportation. The vast majority of the residents (86.5 percent) were African-Americans.

Arrest locations were concentrated in the center of the community in the industrial section. Offense types were mixed in this area although drug/alcohol-related crimes were relatively high (6 out of 16 arrests).

Variables	NSA Value	City Value	Level of Need
Overview			
Median Household Income	$22,031	$46,082	
Average House Value	$58,591	$192,844	
Percent African American	86.5%		
Percent Caucasian	7.8%		
Percent Hispanic/Latino	4.4%		
Social Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons over the age 64	8.6%	8.8%	
Average Kindergarten Score	2.7	2.9	
Dropout Rate	4.6%	4.2%	
Percent of Children passing Competency Exams	77.8%	79.2%	
Percent of Births to Adolescents	7.7%	6.0%	
Youth Opportunity Index	Medium	N/A	
Crime Dimension			**High**
Violent Crime Rate	8.2	1.0	
Juvenile Arrest Rate	1.7	1.0	
Property Crime Rate	4.4	1.0	
Crime Hot Spots	0.0	N/A	
Physical Dimension			**Low**
Appearance Index	17.7%	8.0%	
Housing Code Index	5.5%	0.8%	
Percent Homeowners	38.2%	54.5%	
Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs	$0	N/A	
Percent of Persons with Access to Pub. Transportation	100.0%	55.6%	
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail	75.5%	18.0%	
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	Medium	Low	
Economic Dimension			**High**
Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps	51.3%	8.7%	
Percent Change in Income	2.2%	1.1%	
Percent Change in house Value	3.9%	1.2%	

Neighborhood Profiles – Second Highest Arrest Concentrated Area
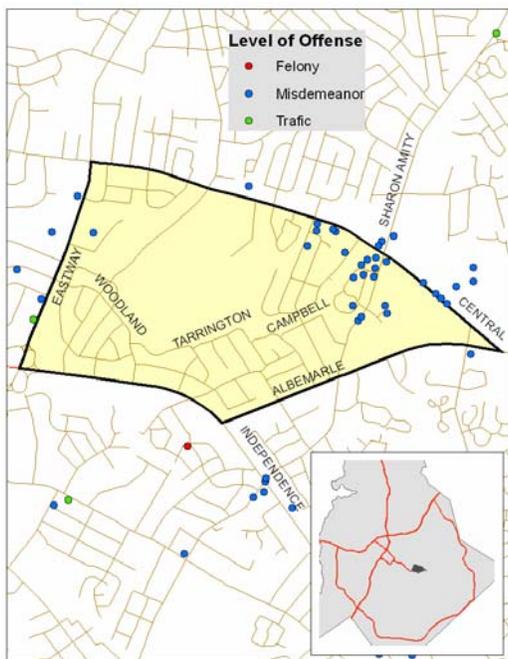
Eastway/Sheffield Park

The Eastway/Sheffield Park community is located on the east side of Charlotte. The Eastside is home to the largest number of Hispanic residents. More than one-third (34 percent) of residents were Hispanic/Latino. Blooming Latino-oriented businesses and service sectors are anchored in small shopping districts along the roadways. The percentage of births to adolescents was twice as high as the city average. The strength of this neighborhood was the physical dimension in the high accessibility of public transportation and retail stores.

As shown, most arrests occurred at the corner of Sharon Amity and Central Ave., where Eastland Mall is located. Two major types of offenses were possession of paraphernalia and trespassing, and three individuals were identified as responsible for most of the arrests in this area (21 out of 25 arrests).

Variables	NSA Value	City Value	Level of Need
Overview			
Median Household Income	$40,410	$46,082	
Average House Value	$104,641	$192,844	
Percent African American	23.0%		
Percent Caucasian	41.6%		
Percent Hispanic/Latino	34.0%		
Social Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons over the age 64	8.6%	8.8%	
Average Kindergarten Score	2.6	2.9	
Dropout Rate	4.1%	4.2%	
Percent of Children passing Competency Exams	71.4%	79.2%	
Percent of Births to Adolescents	12.1%	6.0%	
Youth Opportunity Index	Medium	N/A	
Crime Dimension			**Medium**
Violent Crime Rate	2.3	1.0	
Juvenile Arrest Rate	0.5	1.0	
Property Crime Rate	1.6	1.0	
Crime Hot Spots	0.2	N/A	
Physical Dimension			**Low**
Appearance Index	28.9%	8.0%	
Housing Code Index	1.2%	0.8%	
Percent Homeowners	28.0%	54.5%	
Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs	$842,332	N/A	
Percent of Persons with Access to Pub. Transportation	70.4%	55.6%	
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail	49.4%	18.0%	
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	Low	Low	
Economic Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps	12.9%	8.7%	
Percent Change in Income	1.9%	1.1%	
Percent Change in house Value	4.6%	1.2%	

Neighborhood Profiles – Second Highest Arrest Concentrated Area
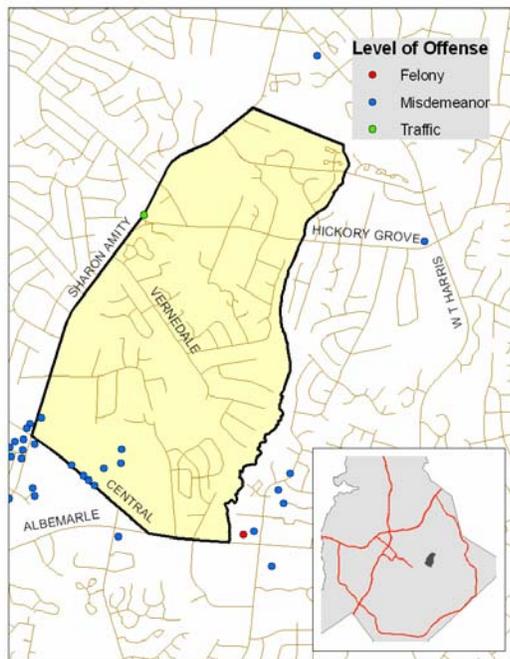
Eastland/Wilora Lake

Eastland/Wilora Lake is adjacent to the Eastway community and shares similar characteristics to that neighborhood. One of the characteristics in this neighborhood is the racial component where the population was almost even between African American and Latino with fewer Caucasians. Accessibility is one of the advantages in this community. Juvenile arrest rates and the percentage of births to adolescents were high compared to the city average although the high school dropout rate was relatively low.

Arrests were clustered along Central Ave. adjacent to Eastland Mall. Primarily, two individuals were responsible for the most of the arrests, and almost half of the arrests (9 out of 21 arrests) were due to an individual for trespassing charges.

Variables	NSA Value	City Value	Level of Need
Overview			
Median Household Income	$39,058	$46,082	
Average House Value	$110,512	$192,844	
Percent African American	33.1%		
Percent Caucasian	17.8%		
Percent Hispanic/Latino	33.8%		
Social Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons over the age 64	11.8%	8.8%	
Average Kindergarten Score	2.9	2.9	
Dropout Rate	2.4%	4.2%	
Percent of Children passing Competency Exams	75.9%	79.2%	
Percent of Births to Adolescents	9.4%	6.0%	
Youth Opportunity Index	Medium	N/A	
Crime Dimension			**Medium**
Violent Crime Rate	1.4	1.0	
Juvenile Arrest Rate	3.5	1.0	
Property Crime Rate	1.8	1.0	
Crime Hot Spots	0.1	N/A	
Physical Dimension			**Low**
Appearance Index	9.7%	8.0%	
Housing Code Index	0.8%	0.8%	
Percent Homeowners	35.9%	54.5%	
Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs	$69,886	N/A	
Percent of Persons with Access to Pub. Transportation	73.9%	55.6%	
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail	38.6%	18.0%	
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	Low	Low	
Economic Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps	9.5%	8.7%	
Percent Change in Income	1.2%	1.1%	
Percent Change in house Value	2.5%	1.2%	

Neighborhood Profiles – Second Highest Arrest Concentrated Area
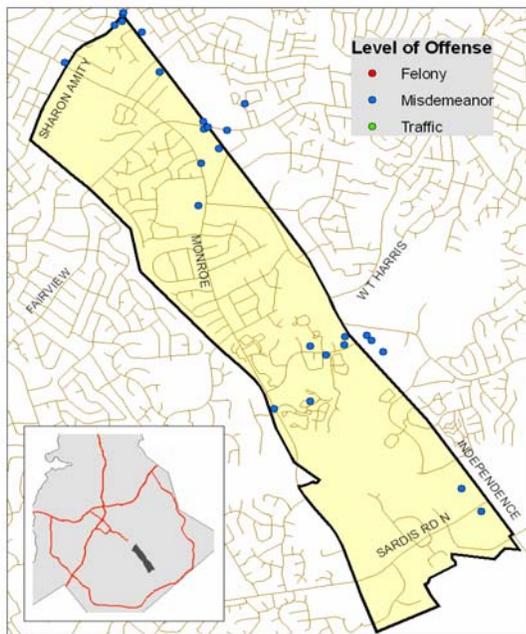
East Forest

East Forest is located on the west side of Independence. The physical dimension for this neighborhood is strong, especially access to public transportation. Infrastructure improvement costs (e.g., sidewalk, curb, and drainage) were extremely high because this neighborhood was affected by the renovation of Independence Blvd. A majority (51 percent) of this neighborhood was Caucasian.

Arrest locations were clustered at the corner of Independence and major roads (Sharon Amity, W.T. Harris Blvd., and Sharon Rd.). One individual was arrested six times for soliciting, and another individual was arrested four times for breaking and entering in this area.

Variables	NSA Value	City Value	Level of Need
Overview			
Median Household Income	$38,827	$46,082	
Average House Value	$122,267	$192,844	
Percent African American	29.3%		
Percent Caucasian	51.0%		
Percent Hispanic/Latino	15.4%		
Social Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons over the age 64	5.7%	8.8%	
Average Kindergarten Score	2.7	2.9	
Dropout Rate	7.1%	4.2%	
Percent of Children passing Competency Exams	75.4%	79.2%	
Percent of Births to Adolescents	4.0%	6.0%	
Youth Opportunity Index	Medium	N/A	
Crime Dimension			**Medium**
Violent Crime Rate	1.4	1.0	
Juvenile Arrest Rate	3.6	1.0	
Property Crime Rate	1.6	1.0	
Crime Hot Spots	0.1	N/A	
Physical Dimension			**Low**
Appearance Index	6.5%	8.0%	
Housing Code Index	0.3%	0.8%	
Percent Homeowners	24.3%	54.5%	
Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs	$1,960,541	N/A	
Percent of Persons with Access to Pub. Transportation	90.5%	55.6%	
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail	22.8%	18.0%	
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	Low	Low	
Economic Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps	12.5%	8.7%	
Percent Change in Income	1.2%	1.1%	
Percent Change in house Value	3.7%	1.2%	

Neighborhood Profiles – Second Highest Arrest Concentrated Area
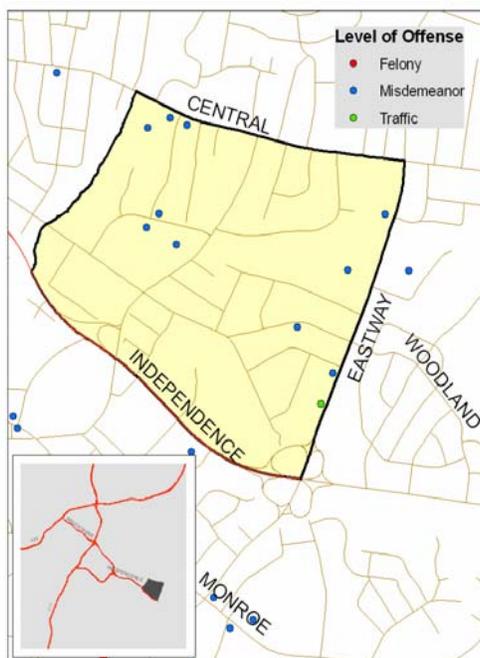
Briarcreek-Woodland

Briarcreek-Woodland is located within an area bordered by Independence, Eastway, and Central. A high percentage change in house value and in income between 2003 and 2005 indicated that this neighborhood has been improving. This neighborhood had issues in social and crime dimensions, and, in particular, the crime rate was higher than the city average, and the high school dropout rates needed attention. In contrast, the physical and economic dimensions were relatively strong. A high percentage change in house value indicated that this neighborhood was gaining popularity in the housing market.

Most arrests were for property crimes and fewer drug/alcohol-related charges. One individual was arrested seven times in this area, and a primary charge for

these arrests was trespassing. None of the individuals was impaired when they were arrested.

Variables	NSA Value	City Value	Level of Need
Overview			
Median Household Income	$36,724	$46,082	
Average House Value	$144,797	$192,844	
Percent African American	44.8%		
Percent Caucasian	24.2%		
Percent Hispanic/Latino	21.9%		
Social Dimension			**Medium**
Percent of Persons over the age 64	4.6%	8.8%	
Average Kindergarten Score	2.7	2.9	
Dropout Rate	9.7%	4.2%	
Percent of Children passing Competency Exams	70.4%	79.2%	
Percent of Births to Adolescents	6.7%	6.0%	
Youth Opportunity Index	Medium	N/A	
Crime Dimension			**High**
Violent Crime Rate	2.3	1.0	
Juvenile Arrest Rate	2.4	1.0	
Property Crime Rate	2.1	1.0	
Crime Hot Spots	0.3	N/A	
Physical Dimension			**Low**
Appearance Index	13.3%	8.0%	
Housing Code Index	1.4%	0.8%	
Percent Homeowners	22.4%	54.5%	
Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs	$0	N/A	
Percent of Persons with Access to Pub. Transportation	99.4%	55.6%	
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail	44.0%	18.0%	
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	Low	Low	
Economic Dimension			**Low**
Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps	16.7%	8.7%	
Percent Change in Income	2.2%	1.1%	
Percent Change in house Value	14.0%	1.2%	

Neighborhood Profiles – Second Highest Arrest Concentrated Area
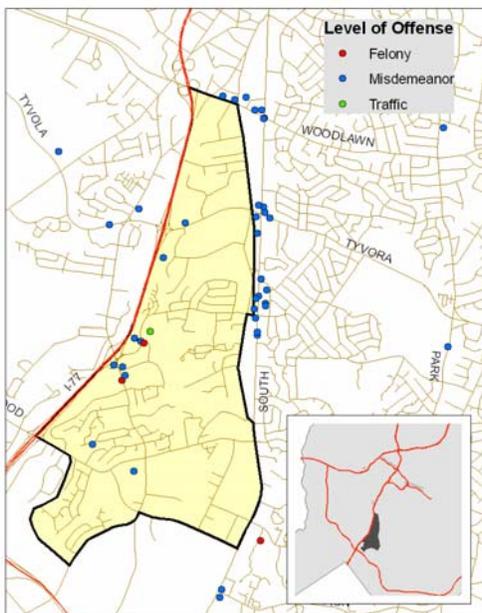
Montclaire South

The Montclaire South community is located in the southwest area of Mecklenburg County. This area is known as the county's second largest and oldest Latino residential district[10] where Latino-oriented businesses and entrepreneurs thrive. The Quality of Life Index indicated that this neighborhood needed moderate attention in various areas such as violent and property crime, low rate of passing the competency exam, and percentage of births to adolescents. The percentage of children passing the Competency Exam was below the city average.

As shown, most arrests occurred on South Blvd. and near Exit 4 off I-77. A vast majority of arrest charges was property crimes, and there were few drug/alcohol-related

[10] The UNCC Charlotte Urban Institute (2006). Mecklenburg County Latino Community Needs Assessment.

crimes. Primarily two individuals were responsible for most of the arrests (16 out of 22 arrests) in this area.

Variables	NSA Value	City Value	Level of Need
Overview			
Median Household Income	$41,862	$46,082	
Average House Value	$98,825	$192,844	
Percent African American	39.4%		
Percent Caucasian	4.2%		
Percent Hispanic/Latino	47.3%		
Social Dimension			Medium
Percent of Persons over the age 64	4.3%	8.8%	
Average Kindergarten Score	2.6	2.9	
Dropout Rate	5.8%	4.2%	
Percent of Children passing Competency Exams	66.5%	79.2%	
Percent of Births to Adolescents	10.5%	6.0%	
Youth Opportunity Index	Medium	N/A	
Crime Dimension			Medium
Violent Crime Rate	2.6	1.0	
Juvenile Arrest Rate	0.8	1.0	
Property Crime Rate	1.4	1.0	
Crime Hot Spots	0.2	N/A	
Physical Dimension			Medium
Appearance Index	16.6%	8.0%	
Housing Code Index	0.5%	0.8%	
Percent Homeowners	26.4%	54.5%	
Projected Infrastructure Improvement Costs	$294,305	N/A	
Percent of Persons with Access to Pub. Transportation	63.7%	55.6%	
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail	28.2%	18.0%	
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	Low	Low	
Economic Dimension			Low
Percent of Persons Receiving Food Stamps	13.5%	8.7%	
Percent Change in Income	2.4%	1.1%	
Percent Change in house Value	6.1%	1.2%	

E. Neighborhood with Four Quality of Life Dimensions

Figures 6 to 9 present the level of need in each dimension calculated by the Metropolitan Studies Group. The darkest color indicates that a neighborhood had a high needs in each dimension; more specifically they have high crime rates, high levels of social needs, high levels of physical deterioration, and high level of economic stress. Figure 10 illustrates the overall score in four

Figure 6. Crime Dimension

Economic Dimension 2006
Relative Level of Need
Low
Medium
High
Non_Residential Area

Figure 7. Social Dimension

Quality of Life Index 2006
Stable
Transitioning
Challenged
Non-Residential Area

Figure 8. Physical

Physical Dimension 2006
Relative Level of Need
Low
Medium
High
Non-Residential Area
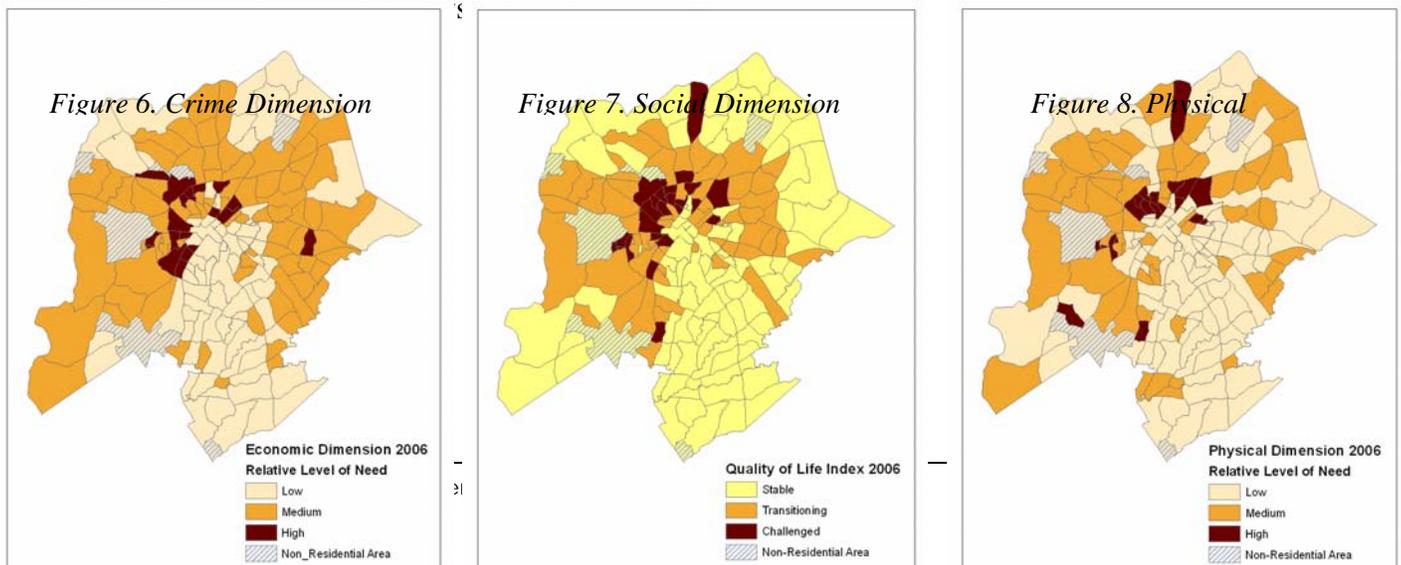
Note:
Technical reports of the quality of life
study are obtained via the Internet:
http://www.charmeck.org/Depart
ments/Neighborhood+Dev/Qualit
y+of+Life/home.htm

The composite score was
determined for each neighborhood
using the four dimensions by
summing the Z scores of the
individual variables.

The four dimensions were
weighted by social 30%, physical
30%, crime 30% and economic
10% (Metropolitan Studies Group,
2006).

Geographically, as Figure 6 shows, high crime areas were concentrated in the northeastern and western NSAs. Also, there were medium levels of crime in east Charlotte. Shown in Figure 7, high levels of social needs were geographically concentrated in the north and west side adjacent to Uptown. High levels of physical need were found in the southwest, west, and north NSAs. The highest level of economic needs was concentrated in the northwest areas of Charlotte as illustrated in Figure 9.

The overall quality of life score is shown in Figure 10. The stable NSAs were concentrated in the south and suburban areas. Transitioning neighborhoods were clustered to the west and east sides of Charlotte. The most challenged neighborhoods were identified in the west, north, and northeast areas adjacent to Uptown.

F. Relationship between Arrest Locations and Neighborhood

A multiple regression model was used to test the relationship between arrest locations and quality of life variables. The dependent variable was the number of arrests per acreage and independent variables were the 20 indicators used in the quality of life study. Also include were percent of ethnicity, ratio population density, median household income, and median house value as control variables.

Table 2 presents the results of the analysis. Variables that did not meet the statistical significant test were excluded from the table. Overall, the value of .625 for R2 indicated that the model was a sufficient predictor of arrest location for chronic offenders and that this relationship was statistically significant.

Table 2. Relationship between Characteristics of Neighborhood and Arrest Locations

Variables	B	Sig.

Physical Dimension		
Percent of Persons with Access to Basic Retail Stores	.028	.002
Percent Homeowners	.025	.009
Percent of Persons with Access to Public Transportation	-.019	.001
Pedestrian Friendliness Index	.907	.022
Social Dimension		
High School Dropout Rate	.103	.017
Percent of Children Passing Competency Exams	.037	.012
Economic Dimension		
Percent Change in House Value	.143	.000
Crime Dimension		
Violent Crime Rates	.407	.005
Demographics		
Percent African Americans	2.147	.003
Population Density	1.031	.000

Model Summary: $R^2 = .647$, $X^2 = 101.356$, $p < .001$

Regarding independent variables, physical dimension variables were most closely related to the arrest locations of chronic offenders. The positive relationship of "accessibility to retail stores" and "the pedestrian index" with concentrations of arrests showed that chronic offenders were more likely to live in the neighborhoods where shops and entertainment were within walking distance. Also, arrests were more likely to occur in areas with owner-occupied residences. Interestingly, accessibility to public transportation is inversely related to the number of arrests, but the relationship was weak.

As to the social dimension, two variables related to children's school performance (i.e., dropout rates and passing exam rates) were good indicators of a neighborhood where arrests were more likely to occur. Although most chronic offenders' charges were property-related crimes, violent crime rates in the neighborhood were related to the arrest locations6.

Other factors showing statistical significance were percent of African Americans in the neighborhood and rate population density, and these are the strongest predictors among variables. Overall, chronic offenders were more likely to be in high-density areas close to the inner city when they were arrested.

G. Conclusions

In summary, arrest location data indicated that the vast majority of arrests were clustered in the Uptown area and spread west, southwest, and southeast along South Blvd., Independence Blvd. and Brookshire Freeway. There was a small cluster of arrests in north Mecklenburg County (Huntersville and Cornelius) that might need attention in the future as the population in these areas is growing rapidly.

The crime pattern theory developed by the Brantinghams[11] (1993) explains that an offender's activity space is limited within his/her residence, work, and recreation areas. For this reason, offenders do not want to travel too far to commit a crime as they are unfamiliar with the territory and/or may be recognized as not belonging there. They also found that the boundaries of areas where people live, work, shop, or seek entertainment were more likely to be a target of crime.

The findings of this study were consistent with their theory. A cluster analysis identified that the vast majority of arrests were concentrated in the Uptown area, contiguous neighborhoods, and the east areas near Eastland Mall. Other high arrest neighborhoods were located along South Blvd. and Independence Blvd. These streets are known as some of the oldest streets in Charlotte and have many small shops and retail stores. Furthermore, the regression model confirmed that the neighborhoods with higher accessibility to retail stores are more likely to have criminal incidents by chronic offenders.

The neighborhood profile indicated that particular individuals were arrested many times within the same neighborhood. Although more detailed analysis is necessary, it is assumed that most chronic offenders went back to their local neighborhood after release from jail and were rearrested close to home.

The arrest location data showed that the homeless offenders were more likely to be arrested in the Uptown area or areas adjacent to Uptown. Notably, most service agencies (e.g., shelters, service and resource agencies) were also located in these areas. Only a few of the homeless arrests were made outside of the NSA boundary. Homeless offenders had relatively smaller activity space compared to domicile offenders as they would depend more on public transportation or stay within walking distance of the service agencies.

As to demography, the regression analysis showed that there was a positive relationship between a high percentage of African-Americans and arrest concentrations. In addition, the neighborhood profile indicated that some of the arrest-concentrated neighborhoods had a high percentage of Hispanic/Latino population or were racially mixed. Some researchers point out that when neighborhoods are invaded by new residents, there tends to be tension between the invading and retreating cultures, which generates a great deal of conflict in the community. It will be interesting to see if the rapid changes in population character and urban gentrification are related to issues of chronic offenders.

Regarding the Quality of Life index, physical dimension (accessibility) is the strongest predictor of arrest locations among the four dimensions. Challenged neighborhoods identified by the Quality of Life Index did not exactly overlap the highest arrest-concentrated neighborhoods. In fact, arrests were more likely to have occurred in transitioning neighborhoods showing an upward trend. One explanation would be that neighborhoods in which the most crimes have traditionally occurred were located Uptown or adjacent to Uptown, which is now being revitalized and the condition has been improving.

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[11] Brantingham, Patricia and Paul (1993). Environment Routine, and Situation: Toward a Pattern Theory of Crime. Routine Activity and Rational Choice, Advances in Criminological Theory, Volume 5, Edited by Ronald Clarke and Marcus Felson. New Burnswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

This leads to a question if the transitioning conditions of the neighborhoods affect the choices of chronic offenders. Some researchers have found that areas with high population density, high poverty, mixed use (i.e., residence, industries and stores all in the same location), transience (i.e., people frequently move into and out), and dilapidation (i.e., buildings are deteriorated) tend to have high crime rates as these conditions provide more opportunities to commit crime while at the same time decreasing informal surveillance. Also, transitional areas have more abandoned properties and construction sites that could be a target of vandalism and trespassing.

Looking at the chronic offenders' characteristics and charges, trespassing was the most common charge (19 percent of total charges), and 40 percent of offenders claimed themselves to be homeless or their addresses were unknown. It may be possible that abandoned houses and construction sites in transitioning neighborhoods are used as temporary shelters.

Most important, the criminal justice system and citizens' reactions to chronic offenders should not be overlooked. Customarily, citizens in high crime areas are more sensitive to illegal activities. As a result, chronic offenders' relatively minor property crimes, such as unlawful concealment were more likely to be reported to the police. In fact, the data shows that the second most common crime category for the sample was misdemeanor larceny (12 percent of total charges).

Finally, as chronic offenders have committed crimes many times in relatively small areas of their local neighborhoods, these offenders may be "famous" and easily identified by business owners, neighbors, and patrol officers, which could increase the likelihood of their misbehavior being reported to the police or their being arrested. Therefore, a future direction of this study would be to explore the situational and environmental dynamic of crimes committed by chronic offenders.

Appendix A

Technical Report

To identify the clusters of arrest locations by NSA, the number of arrests within each NSA boundary was counted. Then, the Getis-Ord Gi* values were calculated[12] to determine a concentration of arrests within the NSAs. The inverse distance was used to conceptualize a special relationship, and Euclidean distance was used for the distance method. A natural break method was used to classify NSAs into five levels of arrest concentration.

Although Getis-Ord Gi* combined the original Gi* and the Z-score in a single measure, separate Z-scores were calculated to see the consistency of the findings. As shown in Figure 11, Z scores between standard deviations of –1 and +1 are neutral, Z scores between standard deviations of 1 and 2 are pink, and Z scores with standard deviations above 2 are bright red. The highest and second highest concentrated arrest areas identified in the Getis-Ord Gi* values except for the Briarcreek-Woodland community were above 2 standard deviations (beyond 1.96).

Figure 11. Z-scores Calculated from the Number of Arrests by NSA
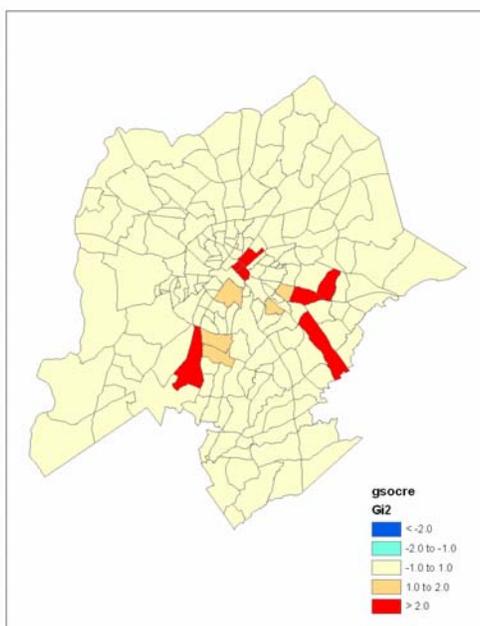
One of the limitations of Gi* was that features near the edge of the study area have fewer neighbors, which skew the results for these features as the values for few neighbors will take on more importance in the calculation.8

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[12] Ord, J. K., and Arthur Getis. (1995). Local Spatial Autocorrelation Statistics: Distributional Issues and an Application. Geographical Analysis, 27, 4.

Appendix B-1

Locations of Agencies in the Uptown Area
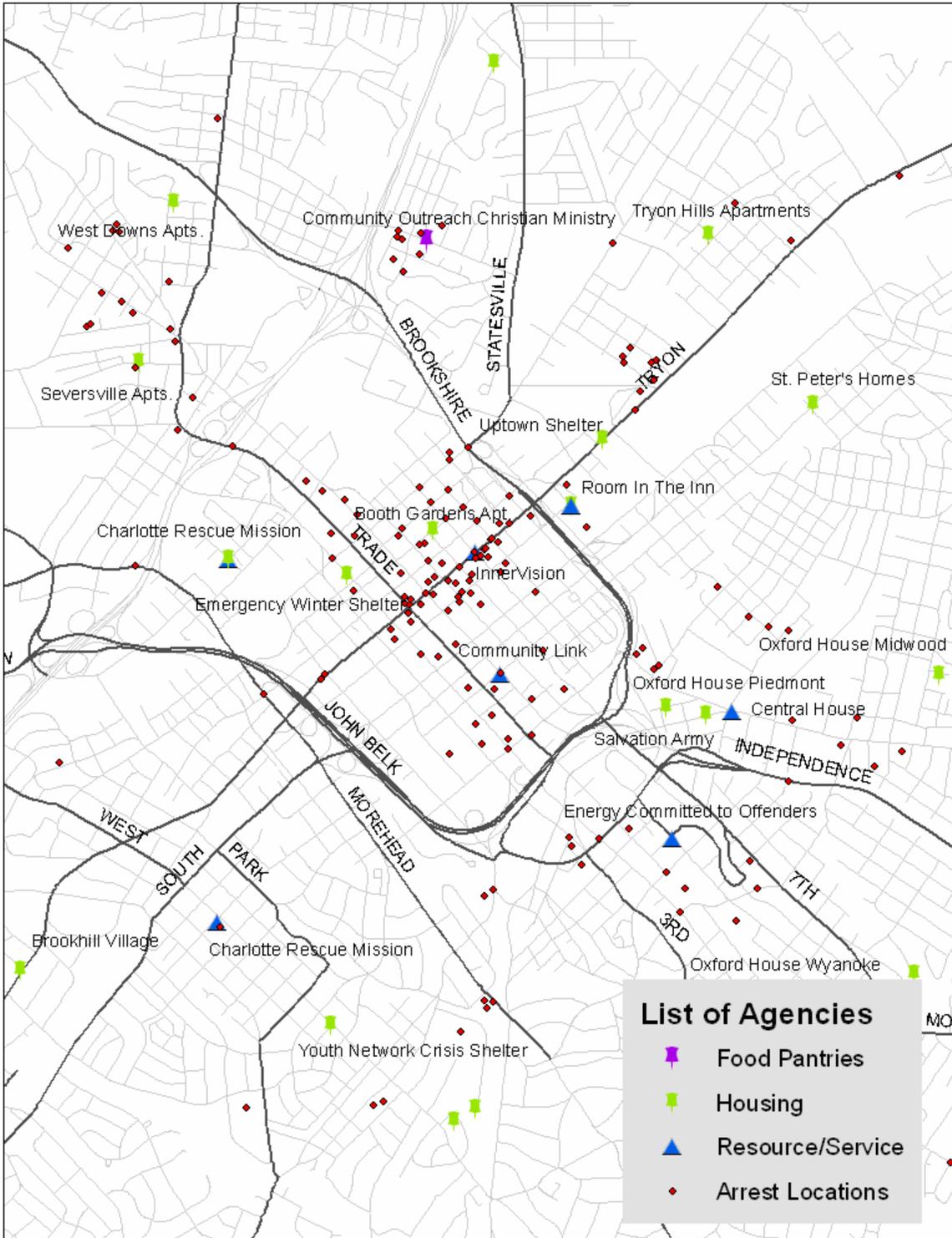
Appendix B-2

Locations of Agencies in the East Area

List of Agencies

- ⬛ Food Pantries
- ⬛ Housing
- ▲ Resource/Service
- • Arrest Locations

Map labels:
- Oxford House - Shamrock
- Oxford House Midwood
- St. Andrews Homes
- Oxford House - Havenwood
- Oxford House Carriage
- Oxford House - Stilwell Oaks
- RSS Independent Living Apts.
- Hickory Place Apts.
- Farm Lane Apts.
- Oxford House Wyanoke
- Charlotte Town Manor
- Reddman's Pier
- Charlotte Rescue Mission
- Social Security Administration
- Cascade
- Sandlewood A
- Oxford House - Eastland
- Vantage 78 Apts.
- Oxford House Idlebrook
- Oxford House Bluff Wood
- W T HARRIS
- INDEPENDENCE
- ALBEMARLE
- MONROE
- INDEPENDENCE

Appendix C

List of Service Agencies

Agency	Code	Category	Address	City	ZIP	Phone
Abundant Life Food & Educational Initiativs	1	food pantry		Charlotte	28206	704-347-0746
C.U.P. Ministry	1	food pantry		Charlotte	28205	704-331-4806
Catholic Social Services	1	food pantry	111235 Churct Street	Charlotte	28203	704-331-4806
Common Ground Family Outreach Center	1	food pantry		Charlotte	28208	704-449-0195
Community Outreach Christian Ministry	1	food pantry	1222 Oaklawn Avenue	Charlotte	28206	704-333-4280
Friendship Helping Ministries	1	food pantry	3925 Morris Field Avenue	Charlotte	28208	704-697-0072
Jackson Park Ministries	1	food pantry	5415 Airport Drive	Charlotte	28208	704-392-4981
Mallard Creek United House of Prayer	1	food pantry	Mallard Creek	Charlotte	28262	704-547-1007x100
Matthews Help Center	1	food pantry	119 N. Ames Street	Matthews	28105	704-847-8383
Northeast 7th Day Adventist Church	1	food pantry	827 Tom Hunter Rd	Charlotte	28213	704-345-5240
Stough Memoral Baptist Church	1	food pantry	705 Lakeveiw Drive	Pineville	28134	704-889-7665
Thrift United Methodist Church	1	food pantry	Moores Chapel Road	Charlotte	28130	704-392-9807
Urban Restoration	1	food pantry		Charlotte	28208	704-391-0022
Cornelius Village	2	Section 8 private	19301 Meridian St	Cornelius	0	704-892-3912
Deerhill Apts.	2	Section 8 private	Hwy.21,	Huntersv	0	704-875-9858
Grier Park Apts.	2	Section 8 private	3424 Oak Arbor Ln.	Charlotte	28205	704-334-8043
Hillcrest Apts.	2	Section 8 private	603 Arnold Dr.	Charlotte	28205	704-567-9022
Lakeside Apts.	2	Section 8 private	900 Lakeview Ave	Davidson	0	704-892-3054
Little Rock Apts.	2	Section 8 private	3105 Faye St.	Charlotte	0	704-394-9394
Northcross Townhomes	2	Section 8 private	1835 Griers Grove Rd.	Charlotte	28216	704-399-1045
Parker Heights Apts.	2	Section 8 private	1505 Parker Dr.	Charlotte	28208	704-377-9090
Reddman's Pier	2	Section 8 private	5826 Reddman Rd.	Charlotte	28212	704-568-4528
Roseland Apts.	2	Section 8 private	1210 Presley Rd.	Charlotte	28217	704-523-0440
Sandlewood Apts.	2	Section 8 private	7100 Snow Lane	Charlotte	28227	704-536-3924
Sparrow Run	2	Section 8 private	1300 Pamlico St.	Charlotte	28205	704-377-3456
Stonehaven East	2	Section 8 private	7000 Fernwood Dr.	Charlotte	28211	704-365-3202
Timber Ridge	2	Section 8 private	1723 E. Barrington Dr.	Charlotte	28215	704-535-2613
Vantage 78 Apts.	2	Section 8 private	3501 Wheatley Ave.	Charlotte	28205	704-375-1832
Westside Apts.	2	Section 8 private	5216 Freedom Dr.	Charlotte	28208	704-393-1181
Woodstone Apts.	2	Section 8 private	4826 Woodstone Dr.	Charlotte	28269	704-596-0114
Baptist Children's Home	2	Housing programs		Charlotte	0	336- 474-1238
Battered Women's Shelter	2	Housing programs		Charlotte	0	
Booth Gardens Apt.	2	Housing programs	421 North Poplar St.	Charlotte	28202	704-376-0763
Brighton Place	2	Housing programs	3401 Hilldale Way	Charlotte	28226	704-541-9842
Brookhill Village	2	Housing programs	2506 S. Tryon St.	Charlotte	28203	704-376-5052
Cascade	2	Housing programs	5800 Executive Center Dr	Charlotte	28212	704-336-4844
Central House	2	Housing programs	901 Central Ave	Charlotte	28204	
Charlotte Emergency Housing	2	Housing programs		Charlotte	0	
Charlotte Housing for the elderly	2	Housing programs	6150 Brookshire Blvd.	Charlotte	28216	704-392-0369
Charlotte Rescue Mission	2	Housing programs	907 W. 1st St.	Charlotte	28202	704-334-4635
Charlotte Spring	2	Housing programs	4825 Spring Trace Dr.	Charlotte	28269	704-921-2488
Cheshire Chase	2	Housing programs	3724 Connery Ct.	Charlotte	28269	704-599-3888
Double Oaks Apartments	2	Housing programs	2623 Double Oaks Rd.	Charlotte	28206	704-376-4905
Emergency Winter Shelter	2	Housing programs	427 West Fourth St	Charlotte	28202	
Emergency Winter Shelter	2	Housing programs	3610 Statesville Ave.	Charlotte	0	704-531-5386
Fair Market Square	2	Housing programs	5914 Fairmarket Pl	Charlotte	28215	704-568-6059
Fairmarket Plaza	2	Housing programs	6427 Plaza Rd.	Charlotte	28205	704-535-2753
Farm Lane Apts.	2	Housing programs	5500 Farm Pond Ln.	Charlotte	28212	704-536-5643
Florence Crittenton Services	2	Housing programs	1300 Blythe Blvd.	Charlotte	28203	704-372-4663
Hickory Place Apts.	2	Housing programs	5032 Hickory Grove Rd.	Charlotte	28215	704-531-0073
Hollis House Apts.	2	Housing programs	3423 Weston St.	Charlotte	28209	704-525-6325
Hope Haven	2	Housing programs	3815 North Tryon Street	Charlotte	28206	704-377-3085
Mayfield Memorial Apts.	2	Housing programs	4912 Daybreak Dr.	Charlotte	28269	704-596-6612
McAlpine Terrace	2	Housing programs	6130 Pineburr Rd.	Charlotte	28211	704-367-0677
McAlpine Terrace	2	Housing programs	6130 Pineburr Rd.	Charlotte	28211	704-367-0677
Men's Uptown Shelter	2	Housing programs		Charlotte	0	704-565-4920
Montclair Apts.	2	Housing programs	8415 Hollowglen Pl.	Charlotte	28226	704-542-7472

Agency	Code	Category	Address	City	ZIP	Phone
Oxford House - Eastland	2	Housing programs	6034 Idlebrook Drive	Charlotte	28212	704-563-2133
Oxford House - Folkston Drive	2	Housing programs	4219 Folkston Drive	Charlotte	28205	704-568-2007
Oxford House - Havenwood	2	Housing programs	3811 Havenwood Road	Charlotte	28205	704-568-1128
Oxford House - Shamrock	2	Housing programs	1318 Shamrock Drive	Charlotte	28205	704-344-1525
Oxford House - Stilwell Oaks	2	Housing programs	114 Stilwell Oaks	Charlotte	28212	
Oxford House - Sudbury	2	Housing programs	4301 Sudbury Road	Charlotte	28205	704-536-3949
Oxford House Bluff Wood	2	Housing programs	7021 Bluff Wood Cove	Charlotte	28212	704-569-5555
Oxford House Carriage	2	Housing programs	4708 Carriage Drive Circle	Charlotte	28205	704-532-9022
Oxford House Dinglewood	2	Housing programs	301 Blackthorne Lane	Charlotte	28209	704-332-8311
Oxford House Fieldbrook	2	Housing programs	309 Fieldbrook Place	Charlotte	28209	704-344-9136
Oxford House Idlebrook	2	Housing programs	6111 Idlebrook Drive	Charlotte	28212	704-531-9811
Oxford House Midwood	2	Housing programs	1900 Browning Avenue	Charlotte	28205	704-376-4697
Oxford House Piedmont	2	Housing programs	712 Jackson Street	Charlotte	29204	704-333-2447
Oxford House Wyanoke	2	Housing programs	220 Wyanoke Avenue	Charlotte	28205	704-334-7171
Piedmont Realty	2	Housing programs	1738 Lombardy Cr.	Charlotte	0	704-342-0460
Pine Crest Manor	2	Housing programs	3810 Marvin Rd.	Charlotte	28211	704-364-6446
Plaza Terrace Apts.	2	Housing programs		Charlotte	0	704-372-0847
Pleasant View Apts.	2	Housing programs	8225 Pence Rd.	Charlotte	28215	704-567-7611
Room In The Inn	2	Housing programs	945 N. College St	Charlotte	28206	
RSS Independent Living Apts. #1	2	Housing programs	6101 Bent Tree Ct.	Charlotte	28212	704-536-6661
Salvation Army Shelter	2	Housing programs	534 Spratt St	Charlotte	28206	
Seversville Apts.	2	Housing programs	1707 Sumter Ave.	Charlotte	28208	704-358-9444
Sharon Manor Homes	2	Housing programs	4703 N. Sharon Amity	Charlotte	28205	704-535-7028
Shelton Knoll Apts.	2	Housing programs	516 Arrowhawk Dr.	Charlotte	28217	704-525-5584
St. Andrews Homes	2	Housing programs	3607 Central Ave.	Charlotte	28205	704-535-7084
St. Peter's Homes	2	Housing programs	2120 N. Davidson St.	Charlotte	28205	704-335-9380
Summerfield Apts.	2	Housing programs	2352 Township Rd.	Charlotte	28273	704-588-6789
Terrace View	2	Housing programs	201 S. Hoskins Rd.	Charlotte	28208	704-392-0025
The Dorchester	2	Housing programs	12920 Dorman Rd.,	Pineville	0	704-541-0016
The Gables at Druid Hills	2	Housing programs	3925 Tiffany Rose Place	Charlotte	28206	704-376-1771
The Havens	2	Housing programs		Charlotte	0	704-531-6753
The Park at Oaklawn	2	Housing programs	1215 Rising Oaks Dr.	Charlotte	28206	704-334-8884
Tillinghaust Pl.	2	Housing programs	6604 Rockwell Church Rd.	Charlotte	28269	704-921-0035
Tryon Hills Apartments	2	Housing programs	421 W. 26TH ST.	Charlotte	28206	704-334-0129
Uptown Shelter	2	Housing programs	1210 N. Tryon St.	Charlotte	28206	
West Downs Apts.	2	Housing programs	325 Matoon St.	Charlotte	28216	704-342-4646
Youth Network Crisis Shelter	2	Housing programs	1100 East Blvd	Charlotte	28203	
Adult Protective Services	3	Resouse/Service		Charlotte	0	704-336-3150
Center for Urban Ministries	3	Resouse/Service	945 N College St	Charlotte	28206	
Charlotte Rescue Mission	3	Resouse/Service	6321 Albemarle Rd	Charlotte	28212	704-334-4635
Charlotte Rescue Mission	3	Resouse/Service	907 W 1st St	Charlotte	28202	704-334-4635
Charlotte Rescue Mission	3	Resouse/Service	1814 Euclid Ave	Charlotte	28203	704-332-3999
Charlotte Town Manor	3	Resouse/Service	3501 E. Independence Blvd.	Charlotte	28205	704-371-3000
Child Protective Services	3	Resouse/Service		Charlotte	0	704-336 -2273
Community Link	3	Resouse/Service	601 E. 5th St	Charlotte	28202	
Crisis Assistance Ministry	3	Resouse/Service	500 Spratt St , 28206	Charlotte	28206	704-377-5042
Energy Committed to Offenders (ECO), Inc	3	Resouse/Service	1609 East 5th Street	Charlotte	28233	704-374-0762
Homeless Supoort Services	3	Resouse/Service	945 N College St	Charlotte	28206	
InnerVision	3	Resouse/Service	501 N. Tryon St.	Charlotte	28202	704-336-3150
Jackson Park Ministries	3	Resouse/Service		Charlotte	0	704-392-4981
Mecklenburg Open Door	3	Resouse/Service	1515 Mockingbird Lane	Charlotte	28209	704-525-3255
NC Vocational Rehabilitation	3	Resouse/Service		Charlotte	0	
Salvation Army - Adult Rehabilitation	3	Resouse/Service	1023 Central Ave	Charlotte	28204	704-332-1171
Social Security Administration	3	Resouse/Service	5701 Executive Center Dr.	Charlotte	28212	1-800-772-1213
St Peter's Home McCreesh Place	3	Resouse/Service		Charlotte	0	704-334-3187
Women in Transition Program	3	Resouse/Service		Charlotte	0	