

Racial Disparities in Marijuana Arrests in Virginia (2003-2013)

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Introduction

Marijuana possession arrests in Virginia have increased dramatically over the last ten years, especially among black communities. Indeed, in the three years from 2011 to 2013, marijuana possession arrests increased by 1,987 in the Commonwealth – from 19,697 arrests in 2011 to 21,684 in 2013 – and black Virginians accounted for 82% (or 1,627) of this increase.

The net effect of consistent annual increases in marijuana arrests and related criminal justice costs can be assessed both in terms of the failure of this approach to curtail marijuana's use and availability in Virginia and more prominently with respect to increasing racial disparities in marijuana possession arrests.

Increasing marijuana arrests have not resulted in a decrease in marijuana use. According to data from the National Survey on Drug Use and Health, 9.1% of Virginians used marijuana on (at least) an annual basis in 2002 and 2003. By the years 2010/2011 annual marijuana use in the state had increased to 9.7%. According to the same survey, more than half (57.6%) of Virginians found marijuana to be easy or fairly easy to obtain in 2010/2011 – including three-quarters (76.3%) of those age 18 to 25.

Police throughout Virginia have been enforcing marijuana laws in racially disparate ways that have steadily increased the arrest of black people much more so than the arrests of white people. Overall marijuana possession arrests in Virginia consistently increased from 2003 to 2013. However, the racial disparity in arrest rates in the state has increased as well. In 2003 the arrest rate for black residents was 344 per 100,000 people, compared to 144 for whites – a ratio of 2.4 to 1. By 2012 the arrest rate for black residents had risen to 636, while the arrest rate for white residents had increased to 191 – a ratio of 3.3 to 1.

This report is based primarily on data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program. It documents the statewide increase in marijuana arrests from 2003 to 2013, and provides greater detail on marijuana arrests by race in the 50 jurisdictions (counties and cities) that account for 90% of Virginia's marijuana possession arrests.

State Level Marijuana Possession Arrests

Marijuana possession arrests in Virginia increased from 13,032 in 2003 to 22,948 in 2014 – an increase of 57% -- according to data from the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program¹ and the Virginia State Police.² National marijuana possession arrests, by contrast, decreased by 6.5% from 2003 to 2014 (to about 660,000), but this masks an overall change in arrests nationally characterized by increasing arrests for five years followed by six years of decline before increasing 1.7% in 2014. From 2003 to 2008 national arrests increased by 13.8%, and in Virginia possession arrests increased by 37.4%, 2.7 times the national increase, from 13,032 to 17,905. From 2009 to 2013 national arrests decreased by nearly 18.3% while Virginia's marijuana possession arrests continued to increase by 15.8%, from 17,635 to 20,461. **(See Figure 1.)** Between 2003 and 2014, the arrest rate for marijuana possession arrests in Virginia increased by 39%, from 176 to 246 per 100,000 population.

During the eleven-year period from 2003 to 2013, arrests of black people in Virginia for marijuana possession increased from 4,991 to 10,293 – a 106% increase. By comparison, arrests of white people increased by 44% during this period. One way to measure racial disparities in marijuana possession arrests is to compare a group's percentage of arrests with their percentage of the overall population. In 2003 black Virginians comprised 39% of marijuana possession arrests but only 20% of the state population. In 2013 black Virginians accounted for nearly half (47%) of possession arrests but remained only 20% of the state population.

The racial disparity in possession arrests in Virginia is best demonstrated through a comparison of arrest rates (per 100,000 people) for black and white residents. In 2003 the arrest rate for black residents for marijuana possession in Virginia was 344 per 100,000, while for white residents it was 144 per 100,000 – or a ratio of 2.4 to 1. By 2013³ this disparity had grown, and the ratio of arrest rates of black versus white residents grew as well – to 3.3 to 1.

The arrest rate for marijuana possession for black Virginians in 2013 has grown to 636 per 100,000 while the arrest rate for white Virginians was 191 per 100,000. The arrest rate for both groups has increased over this eleven-year period, but the arrest rate for black residents has grown at a faster pace. **(See Figure 2.)**

Figure 1. Marijuana Possession Arrests in the United States and Virginia (2003 – 2014)

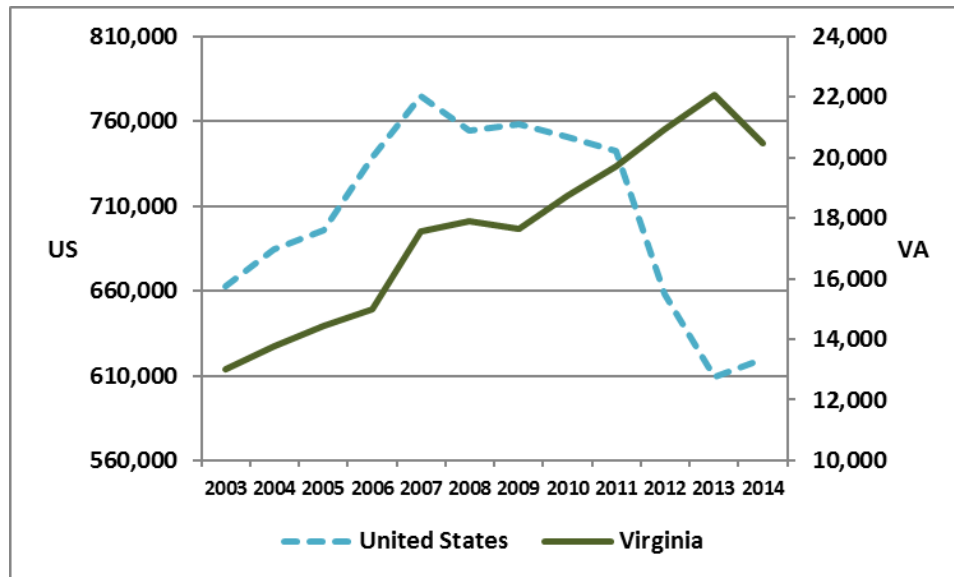
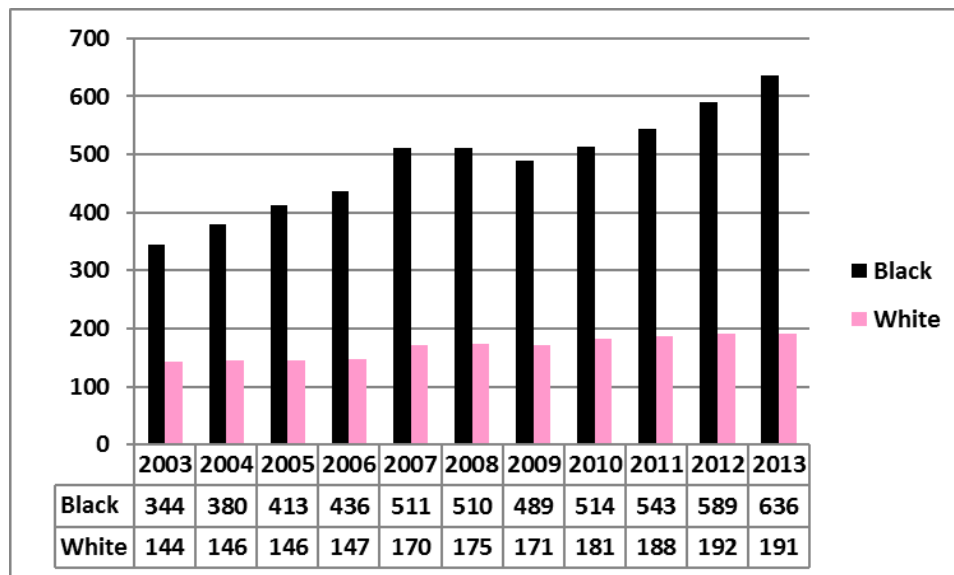


Figure 2. Racial Disparities in Arrest Rates for Marijuana Possession in Virginia (2003 – 2013)⁴



The disparity in arrest rates for black and white residents stands in stark contrast to survey data on the prevalence of marijuana use in these demographic groups.

According to the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) over the extended period from 2002 to 2009, marijuana was used on an annual basis by 11.3 percent of black respondents in Virginia compared to 9.1% of white respondents.⁵ While marijuana use among black people was 24% greater than among white people, this does not explain why arrest rates in 2013 were 233% higher for black Virginians compared to white Virginians.

Furthermore, marijuana remains easy or fairly easy to acquire in Virginia. According to 2010/2011 data from the National Survey on Drug Use and Health, 57.6% of Virginians age 12 and older report that marijuana is easy

to obtain – including 76.3% of respondents age 18 to 25.⁶

In eight of the 11 years from 2003 to 2013, the majority of the increases in marijuana possession arrests in Virginia came from increases in the arrests of black Virginians. For example, the arrests of black residents for marijuana possession accounted for 54% of the overall increase in total possession arrests in 2011, 67% of the total increase in 2012, and a shocking 105% of the overall increase in 2013. In 2013, the arrests of white residents for marijuana possession decreased by 3.2%, while the increase in arrests of black residents (by 824) accounted for the entire increase in total arrests (from 20,900 to 21,684) that year. **(See Table 1.)**

Table 1. Yearly Changes in Marijuana Possession Arrest Totals by Race (2003-2013)

Year	Total	Blacks	Whites	Change in Total Arrests	Change in Black Arrests	Change in White Arrests	Change in Black Arrests as a Pct. of Total Change	Change in White Arrests as a Pct. of Total Change
2002	12,609	4,676	7,838					
2003	12,811	4,991	7,743	202	315	-95	155.9%	-47.0%
2004	13,582	5,581	7,929	771	590	186	76.5%	24.1%
2005	14,304	6,171	8,054	722	590	125	81.7%	17.3%
2006	14,911	6,599	8,229	607	428	175	70.5%	28.8%
2007	17,534	7,823	9,608	2,623	1,224	1,379	46.7%	52.6%
2008	17,899	7,883	9,897	365	60	289	16.4%	79.2%
2009	17,628	7,691	9,787	-271	-192	-110	70.8%	40.6%
2010	18,697	8,124	10,378	1,069	433	591	40.5%	55.3%
2011	19,697	8,666	10,805	1,000	542	427	54.2%	42.7%
2012	20,900	9,469	11,160	1,203	803	355	66.7%	29.5%
2013	21,684	10,293	11,135	784	824	-25	105.1%	-3.2%

County and City Level Marijuana Possession Arrests

Fifty jurisdictions accounted for 90% of Virginia's marijuana possession arrests in 2013, and over half (54%) took place in the counties of Fairfax, Chesterfield and Prince William; and the cities of Virginia Beach, Chesapeake, Richmond, Newport News, Norfolk, Roanoke and Lynchburg. **(See Table 2.)** The largest increases in arrests over the most recent three years (2011 to 2013) in these top fifty jurisdictions occurred in Rockbridge (188%), Bedford (166%), Franklin (140%), Manassas City (132%), Emporia City (83%), Arlington (81%), Botetourt (62%), Wythe (57%), and Norfolk City (49%). Also of note are increases in Danville (31%), Chesapeake (30%), Richmond City (30%) and Virginia Beach City (13%). **(See Table 3.)**

Marijuana possession arrests in the 50 jurisdictions with the most arrests in 2013 are presented by race in Table 4. Black residents accounted for more than 80% of all marijuana possession arrests in the cities of Portsmouth (89%), Petersburg (85%), Emporia (83%) and Norfolk (80%). Black people accounted for 60% or more of all marijuana possession arrests in the cities of Alexandria (61%), Chesapeake (64%), Roanoke (65%), Suffolk (70%), Danville (71%), Hampton (74%) and Newport News (74%).

Marijuana possession arrests rates by race in these 50 jurisdictions are presented in Table 5. Overall, for all areas and all races combined, the arrest rate for marijuana possession in Virginia in 2013 was 267 per 100,000 population. However, the 21 jurisdictions with the highest arrest rates for marijuana possession in 2013 had arrest rates of black people in excess of 1,000 per 100,000 black residents: Colonial Heights City (7,204), Wythe County (3,831), Radford City (2,474), Emporia City (1,944), Fairfax City (1,844), Rockbridge (1,879), Manassas City (1,591), Lynchburg City (1,486), Hanover (1,474), Danville City (1,414), Roanoke City (1,335), Botetourt (1,285), Manassas Park City (1,264), Williamsburg City (1,217), Arlington (1,211), Chesterfield (1,183), Harrisonburg City (1,180), Salem City (1,177), Fredericksburg City (1,066), Staunton City (1,022) and Chesapeake City (1,006).

In some areas, such as Colonial Heights, large numbers of traffic-stops of non-residents passing through the area probably inflate the arrest rate, which is calculated against the resident population. Aggressive enforcement practices on interstate highways, such as I-95, probably

contribute to higher arrest rates than in jurisdictions without significant arrests of non-residents. Seasonal arrests of non-resident visitors in resort areas may also contribute to high arrest rates for marijuana possession in some areas (such as Virginia Beach). These factors have probably affected arrest rates in Virginia and in the rest of the United States and may explain why the volume of arrests may be higher in some areas than others. The disparity between arrest rates of black and white people, though, is another matter.

In 47 of the top 50 jurisdictions for marijuana possession arrests, the arrest rate for black people is at least twice that of white people. In 35 out of 50 jurisdictions, the arrest rate for black people is at least three times that of white people; in 18 jurisdictions, the arrest rate for black people is at least four times that of white people; and in nine jurisdictions, the arrest rate is at least five times greater for black people than white people. The ratio of marijuana possession arrest rates of black residents to white residents in Virginia for 2013 was greatest in Colonial Heights City (11.9), Wythe County (10.9), Arlington County (7.8), Rockingham (7.6), Bedford (5.8), Hanover (5.6), Franklin (5.3), Norfolk City (5.1), Roanoke (5.0) and Botetourt (4.9). **(See Table 6.)** Of the top 50 jurisdictions for marijuana possession arrests, only three have ratios below 1.5: the cities of Richmond (1.7), Winchester (1.6) and Emporia (1.5).

Marijuana Law Violation Penalties

Under Virginia law, a person found in possession of marijuana can face up to 30 days in jail and up to a \$500 fine. Subsequent marijuana possession convictions can be punished by up to twelve months in jail or a fine of up to \$2,500. Virginia law does not currently provide any recourse to seal or expunge a marijuana law violation from a person's criminal record, even in cases where a charge is later dismissed. A criminal record can become a major impediment to securing employment, financial loans, and other life essentials. Finally, a marijuana conviction can lead to a ban from public housing or denial of federal student aid for a period of a year or more.

Legislative History of Virginia's Current Marijuana Laws⁷

The legislature enacted Virginia's current marijuana laws in 1979. In its findings and recommendations, the panel of lawmakers considering the proposed legislation at that time recognized that marijuana was "widely used and pervasive among the citizens of Virginia, notwithstanding its possible harmful effects." It further acknowledged that existing marijuana laws had failed, writing, "[L]egislation enacted to forbid the use of marijuana has drawn a large segment of Virginia's population within the criminal justice system without succeeding in deterring the expansion of marijuana use while substantially drawing upon the resources of the criminal justice system."

The intent of the proposed (and ultimately adopted) law was to recognize "the current state of knowledge concerning marijuana" and to direct "the greatest efforts of law enforcement agencies toward the commercial traffickers of the controlled substances presenting the greatest potential for harm both to the individual and to society and to the distributors of large quantities of marijuana." In other words, the idea was to re-invest funds wasted on marijuana arrests to more important priorities such as large scale traffickers.

In addition to the penalty structure now in place in state law, "the subcommittee decided that it would be appropriate to treat cultivation of marijuana for personal use differently than cultivation for distribution." Specifically, personal-use cultivation would be treated the same way as personal-use possession: "persons who are cultivating marijuana for personal use would be chargeable with possession of marijuana."

The legislative history then quoted a CBS radio commentary by James J. Kilpatrick, a prominent Virginia journalist with a national reputation, who opined:

As a practical matter, it strikes me as just plain stupid to divert scarce police manpower to the senseless pastime of making marijuana busts.... it's absurd, as I see it, to squander police resources on 441,000 marijuana arrests [nationally] a year. These cases clog our courts. They leave a lasting stigma upon the young people who get arrested, and they are not useful as a deterrent.

The lawmakers' key finding in 1979 was that "the goals of diverting police attention to the more serious drug offenses, relieving present pressure on the criminal justice system, and removing the potential for selective and possibly discriminatory application of the present potential 12 month jail sentence could be accomplished" through enactment of Virginia's current laws on marijuana possession.

Discussion

Since 2007 marijuana possession arrests in Virginia have been steadily increasing while nationally such arrests have been on the decline. The basis for this statewide trend has been increases in the arrests of black Virginians.

Despite using marijuana at relatively similar rates as white residents and comprising just 20% of the state population, black Virginians were arrested in 2013 at 3.3 times the rate of white Virginians and accounted for nearly half (47%) of all marijuana possession arrests.

The arrest rate for black residents for marijuana possession has increased dramatically over the last 11 years, growing at a far higher rate than for white residents. Over time, and particularly in the last three years, changes in the total number of marijuana possession arrests are wholly explained by annual increases in the number of arrests of black Virginians.

Marijuana possession arrests have failed to reduce marijuana use in Virginia, and it remains easy or fairly easy to obtain for 76% of young adults between the ages of 18 and 25. Black people are both a minority of the state's population and a minority of the state's marijuana users. Yet the enforcement of marijuana possession laws in the state, while having no impact on overall use or availability, has had a disproportionate impact on Virginia's black communities.

These trends contradict the general intent of the legislature in enacting Virginia's current marijuana possession law. First, these statistics represent consistent increases in the costs of marijuana arrests for both individuals and the state. Second, the individual costs are being disproportionately borne by the state's minority black population. Third, these trends have established a discriminatory application of criminal sanctions when the original intent was to diminish such impacts.

The conditions that led to the enactment of Virginia's current marijuana laws still exist today, three and a half decades later. The policy goals of relieving pressure on the criminal justice system and redirecting funds to more important priorities continue to be thwarted by the misguided enforcement policies in place throughout the state. What was ill-advised in the late 1970s remains ill-advised today.

Given the legislative intent behind Virginia's current marijuana laws, why has the number of arrests of black Virginians for marijuana possession continued to skyrocket? Has enforcement of the Commonwealth's marijuana laws, regardless of their intent, simply become a pretext for arresting more of its black residents?

Whatever the intent or explanation behind these trends, the costs and consequences are clear. The racial disparities in the application of Virginia's marijuana laws are unacceptable and fundamentally question the integrity and fairness of its criminal justice system.

Table 2. Top Fifty Jurisdictions for Marijuana Possession Arrests in Virginia in 2013

Jurisdiction	2011	2012	2013
Fairfax	2460	2604	2696
Chesterfield	1327	1439	1567
Prince William	1323	1271	1505
Virginia Beach City	933	1141	1113
Chesapeake City	810	992	1053
Richmond City	781	1027	935
Newport News City	1114	961	898
Norfolk City	483	545	720
Roanoke City	544	527	598
Lynchburg City	496	521	537
Hampton City	430	464	523
Arlington	285	448	516
Loudoun	438	460	479
Henrico	660	468	448
Danville City	305	442	401
Hanover	320	326	377
Manassas City	148	186	344
Alexandria City	307	324	342
Stafford	437	380	305
Spotsylvania	472	442	274
Harrisonburg City	195	164	255
Colonial Heights City	172	163	252
Portsmouth City	200	228	223
Fauquier	287	314	205
Roanoke	269	233	181
Montgomery	181	185	170
Petersburg City	157	246	167
Fredericksburg City	143	141	161
Fairfax City	131	170	157
Culpeper	104	104	155
Albemarle	177	128	137
Wythe	84	90	132
Radford City	123	117	127
Bedford	44	79	117
Shenandoah	134	106	116
Franklin	47	70	113
Winchester City	99	124	112
James City	114	131	111
Suffolk City	159	149	102
Staunton City	104	75	100
Botetourt	61	56	99
Salem City	95	92	96
Warren	97	81	96
Emporia City	52	64	95
Rockbridge	32	78	92
Dinwiddie	103	54	87
Manassas Park City	79	108	86
Washington	64	74	70
Rockingham	72	71	66
Williamsburg City	48	52	66

Table 3. Largest Increases in Marijuana Possession Arrests in Virginia (2011 to 2014)

Jurisdiction	Change from 2011 to 2013
Rockbridge	188%
Bedford	166%
Franklin	140%
Manassas City	132%
Emporia City	83%
Arlington	81%
Botetourt	62%
Wythe	57%
Norfolk City	49%
Culpeper	49%
Colonial Heights City	47%
Williamsburg City	38%
Danville City	31%
Harrisonburg City	31%
Chesapeake City	30%
Hampton City	22%
Fairfax City	20%
Richmond City	20%
Virginia Beach City	19%
Chesterfield	18%
Hanover	18%
Prince William	14%
Winchester City	13%
Fredericksburg City	13%
Portsmouth City	12%

Table 4. Marijuana Possession Arrests in the Top Fifty Jurisdictions by Race (2013)

Jurisdiction	Total	Black	Black Pct.	White	White Pct.
Fairfax	2,460	711	29%	1,649	67%
Chesterfield	1,327	610	46%	704	53%
Prince William	1,323	536	41%	772	58%
Virginia Beach City	933	378	41%	542	58%
Chesapeake City	810	517	64%	284	35%
Richmond City	781	435	56%	346	44%
Newport News City	1,114	829	74%	283	25%
Norfolk City	483	386	80%	93	19%
Roanoke City	544	356	65%	187	34%
Lynchburg City	496	290	58%	203	41%
Hampton City	430	318	74%	110	26%
Arlington	285	129	45%	150	53%
Loudoun	438	81	18%	349	80%
Henrico	660	376	57%	279	42%
Danville City	305	218	71%	86	28%
Hanover	320	120	38%	199	62%
Manassas City	148	50	34%	96	65%
Alexandria City	307	187	61%	117	38%
Stafford	437	164	38%	269	62%
Spotsylvania	472	174	37%	297	63%
Harrisonburg City	195	18	9%	176	90%
Colonial Heights City	172	71	41%	101	59%
Portsmouth City	200	177	89%	23	12%
Fauquier	287	55	19%	230	80%
Roanoke	269	56	21%	212	79%
Montgomery	181	33	18%	147	81%
Petersburg City	157	133	85%	24	15%
Fredericksburg City	143	58	41%	85	59%
Fairfax City	131	27	21%	101	77%
Culpeper	104	44	42%	59	57%
Albemarle	177	45	25%	132	75%
Wythe	84	9	11%	74	88%
Radford City	123	11	9%	111	90%
Bedford	44	6	14%	38	86%
Shenandoah	134	20	15%	112	84%
Franklin	47	8	17%	39	83%
Winchester City	99	20	20%	78	79%
James City	114	44	39%	70	61%
Suffolk City	159	111	70%	46	29%
Staunton City	104	24	23%	80	77%
Botetourt	61	7	11%	54	89%
Salem City	95	17	18%	78	82%
Warren	97	20	21%	77	79%
Emporia City	52	43	83%	9	17%
Rockbridge	32	0	0%	32	100%
Dinwiddie	103	56	54%	44	43%
Manassas Park City	79	16	20%	63	80%
Washington	64	2	3%	62	97%
Rockingham	72	9	13%	63	88%
Williamsburg City	48	26	54%	22	46%

Table 5. Marijuana Possession Arrest Rates in the Top Fifty Jurisdictions by Race (2011 - 2013)

Jurisdiction	2011	2012	2013	2011	2012	2013
Fairfax	655.75	704.31	691.58	221.21	229.20	239.90
Chesterfield	840.67	922.19	1,183.54	310.44	324.89	287.41
Prince William	619.87	548.20	633.15	289.48	274.38	315.61
Virginia Beach City	423.49	553.25	587.99	176.43	203.43	182.23
Chesapeake City	762.79	884.63	1,005.78	199.10	260.93	237.58
Richmond City	417.69	602.56	567.34	379.23	425.57	341.94
Newport News City	1,106.00	982.63	927.38	300.27	240.36	219.92
Norfolk City	364.65	404.62	552.76	76.74	92.73	107.51
Roanoke City	1,259.36	1,254.64	1,335.51	287.32	261.56	341.09
Lynchburg City	1,298.45	1,495.12	1,486.15	403.61	367.10	400.49
Hampton City	460.22	505.43	596.57	179.89	192.49	195.77
Arlington	676.74	924.52	1,211.15	92.36	157.32	154.84
Loudoun	321.81	351.46	400.33	151.71	152.01	145.43
Henrico	404.26	315.06	310.95	147.87	90.01	78.88
Danville City	1,030.58	1,515.80	1,414.11	404.31	567.54	486.15
Hanover	1,220.20	1,056.89	1,474.24	226.52	251.54	264.97
Manassas City	845.27	1,104.34	1,591.00	334.93	396.83	779.59
Alexandria City	590.40	575.89	589.75	122.59	136.10	142.10
Stafford	710.68	703.72	537.56	274.44	210.62	172.22
Spotsylvania	890.84	989.18	561.14	305.92	247.18	161.88
Harrisonburg City	490.10	473.92	1,179.67	416.64	335.86	463.86
Colonial Heights City	3,540.49	4,424.23	7,203.89	693.78	478.66	606.38
Portsmouth City	345.87	367.37	337.21	55.71	91.13	113.24
Fauquier	964.69	1,504.56	953.06	399.67	395.41	263.47
Roanoke	1,088.07	1,110.37	817.39	252.04	208.02	164.22
Montgomery	813.61	624.15	384.21	175.59	189.76	178.97
Petersburg City	520.78	857.47	629.51	389.53	440.29	186.94
Fredericksburg City	999.86	808.68	1,065.65	500.60	510.46	449.21
Fairfax City	1,989.69	2,369.68	1,843.89	601.28	771.54	673.02
Culpeper	572.41	552.47	979.74	158.21	163.23	209.59
Albemarle	445.52	318.03	413.56	159.96	113.17	110.98
Wythe	973.10	2,615.51	3,830.92	263.18	251.41	351.70
Radford City	810.90	788.63	2,473.72	772.26	716.04	620.71
Bedford	142.82	290.08	768.41	59.81	103.14	132.95
Shenandoah	2,177.58	1,536.77	933.74	276.45	223.31	257.73
Franklin	167.06	575.48	792.57	76.70	84.14	149.90
Winchester City	656.85	1,036.71	618.89	357.12	419.29	399.17
James City	478.21	386.54	439.18	126.83	168.03	122.58
Suffolk City	303.85	279.51	209.46	101.38	101.78	55.73
Staunton City	796.62	616.03	1,022.12	396.11	281.25	347.19
Botetourt	628.68	835.27	1,285.22	169.83	149.00	260.81
Salem City	909.97	862.76	1,176.71	348.90	330.56	333.32
Warren	1,065.20	808.97	975.50	221.41	185.85	208.61
Emporia City	1,143.43	948.95	1,933.83	432.90	1,410.90	1,250.39
Rockbridge	na	1,425.60	1,788.76	150.03	322.34	380.74
Dinwiddie	599.41	335.68	481.71	240.29	125.71	230.85
Manassas Park City	746.53	1,439.61	1,264.55	614.81	640.32	472.23
Washington	240.15	921.09	377.54	118.59	123.04	125.01
Rockingham	583.71	204.03	581.87	85.50	91.95	76.73
Williamsburg City	1,224.69	1,040.85	1,216.97	203.61	242.84	313.20

Table 6. Ratio of Black Marijuana Possession Rates to White Marijuana Possession Rates in Top Fifty Jurisdictions for Marijuana Possession Arrests (2011-2013)

Jurisdiction	Ratio of Black Rate To White Rate		
	2011	2012	2013
Fairfax	3.0	3.1	2.9
Chesterfield	2.7	2.8	4.1
Prince William	2.1	2.0	2.0
Virginia Beach City	2.4	2.7	3.2
Chesapeake City	3.8	3.4	4.2
Richmond City	1.1	1.4	1.7
Newport News City	3.7	4.1	4.2
Norfolk City	4.8	4.4	5.1
Roanoke City	4.4	4.8	3.9
Lynchburg City	3.2	4.1	3.7
Hampton City	2.6	2.6	3.0
Arlington	7.3	5.9	7.8
Loudoun	2.1	2.3	2.8
Henrico	2.7	3.5	3.9
Danville City	2.5	2.7	2.9
Hanover	5.4	4.2	5.6
Manassas City	2.5	2.8	2.0
Alexandria City	4.8	4.2	4.2
Stafford	2.6	3.3	3.1
Spotsylvania	2.9	4.0	3.5
Harrisonburg City	1.2	1.4	2.5
Colonial Heights City	5.1	9.2	11.9
Portsmouth City	6.2	4.0	3.0
Fauquier	2.4	3.8	3.6
Roanoke	4.3	5.3	5.0
Montgomery	4.6	3.3	2.1
Petersburg City	1.3	1.9	3.4
Fredericksburg City	2.0	1.6	2.4
Fairfax City	3.3	3.1	2.7
Culpeper	3.6	3.4	4.7
Albemarle	2.8	2.8	3.7
Wythe	3.7	10.4	10.9
Radford City	1.1	1.1	4.0
Bedford	2.4	2.8	5.8
Shenandoah	7.9	6.9	3.6
Franklin	2.2	6.8	5.3
Winchester City	1.8	2.5	1.6
James City	3.8	2.3	3.6
Suffolk City	3.0	2.7	3.8
Staunton City	2.0	2.2	2.9
Botetourt	3.7	5.6	4.9
Salem City	2.6	2.6	3.5
Warren	4.8	4.4	4.7
Emporia City	2.6	0.7	1.5
Rockbridge	na	4.4	4.7
Dinwiddie	2.5	2.7	2.1
Manassas Park City	1.2	2.2	2.7
Washington	2.0	7.5	3.0
Rockingham	6.8	2.2	7.6
Williamsburg City	6.0	4.3	3.9

Endnotes

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- 1 The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program is maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) based on data reported by local police agencies, usually by way of state police agencies. There are two data sets, the County-level data set and an additional one that provides detailed data on the age, sex and race of arrestees. These two data sets provide similar but not exact data for Virginia. Except where noted arrest counts and arrest rates by race were calculated from the age/sex/race (ASR) dataset, which is the most recent at this time.
 - 2 The state totals for Marijuana Possession Arrests for 2013 and 2014 are derived from the total number of marijuana arrests reported by the Virginia State Police in “Crime in Virginia” for these years. The number of possession arrests have been estimated on a percentage basis. From 2002 through 2012 marijuana possession arrests in Virginia were, on average, 89.16% of all marijuana arrests. The possession totals for 2013 and 2014 were estimated by applying that percentage to the total number of marijuana arrests reported by the Virginia State Police. While the ASR dataset provides a total count for 2013 arrests, this estimation procedure has been used for both 2013 and 2014 for consistency’s sake (as ASR data for 2014 is not yet available.) The 2013 total for possession arrests from the ASR data set is 21,684 (1.8% less than the 22,090 estimate derived from the State Police report).
 - 3 As of mid-October, 2015, the most recent Uniform Crime Reporting data on the race of people arrested for marijuana possession are for the year 2013.
 - 4 Arrest rates are expressed per 100,000 population.
 - 5 United States Department of Health and Human Services. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality. National Survey on Drug Use and Health: 8-Year R-DAS (2002 to 2009).
 - 6 United States Department of Health and Human Services. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality. National Survey on Drug Use and Health, 2010/2011.
 - 7 Report of the Joint Subcommittee of the Courts of Justice Committees of the Senate and House of Delegates Studying the Possible Need for a Revision of Virginia's Marijuana Laws to the Courts of Justice Committees of the Senate and House of Delegates. Senate Document No. 16. December, 1978.