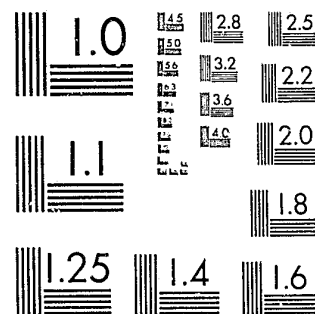


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# THE ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR OF STREET OPIATE USERS

## FINAL REPORT

To the NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DRUG ABUSE  
and NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE

by

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DEDICATION  
to  
EDWARD PREBLE  
1922 - 1982

Co-principal investigator and valued colleague. His contributions to this research were critical. This project would not have been possible without his wide contacts among street opiate users and the local community. His life work has enriched our understanding of the lives of heroin and other drugs users.

See Appendix C for a summary of his contributions to this field.

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ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR OF STREET OPIATE USERS

FINAL REPORT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1976, the Panel on Drug Use and Criminal Behavior (1976) reviewed the literature and commissioned several scientific papers. This Panel report generated considerable controversy (see Clayton, 1981) when it concluded that "convincing empirical data on drug use and crime are generally unavailable--the principal reason being the lack of a long term, well coordinated, policy relevant research program in the area." This Panel report listed several questions about the relationship of heroin use to crime and suggested many hypotheses and methodologies which needed exploration.

To conduct the basic recommended research and to address the questions given in this Panel report, an application was submitted to the National Institute on Drug Abuse in 1977 to study the "Economic Behavior of Street Addicts," Bruce D. Johnson and Edward Preble, principal investigators. Two years of funding for pilot research were provided by the National Institute on Drug Abuse and by the National Institute of Justice. During 1978-79, the staff developed innovative methodologies for locating, recruiting, and systematically interviewing active street heroin and cocaine abusers (see below and in Appendices A and B.) Many complex problems emerged, and innovative techniques were developed to obtain detailed information about the daily criminal behavior, drug use, income, and expenditures of these persons. In 1979, these investigators submitted a new application to NIDA for three additional years of funding to conduct a major study of the

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"Economic Behavior of Street Opiate Users." The main report describes that research effort, and provides answers to many of the questions asked in the 1976 Panel report. This executive summary highlights the major findings and refers the reader to appropriate sections of the main report.

Design, Methodologies, and Respondents (Chapters II & III)

East Harlem was selected as the initial research site because it had many methadone patients and street opiate users, a long history of being a high addiction community, and because Edward Preble knew many heroin users in the community. Two years (1978-79) of pilot research and instrument development demonstrated that reliable and valid data could be collected from opiate users recruited from the streets.

During these years, staff encountered many subjects whose physical dependence upon heroin or opiates could not be ascertained, but who injected ("mainlined") heroin or cocaine on at least several days per month. Thus, we adopted the term "street opiate users" rather than addicts." In 1980, efforts were undertaken to locate a scientific probability sample of opiate-using respondents from randomly selected blocks in East Harlem, but this effort had to be abandoned for many practical reasons itemized in Appendix A.

On the other hand, such persons were a highly visible presence on many streets in East and Central Harlem. They were accustomed to being approached by strangers (or contacted by others to buy drugs). Former heroin users with good street reputations were hired. These field workers went to several different blocks in East Harlem (and in 1981-82 to locations in Central Harlem). They recruited "street heroin users" who: a) had a history of heroin use and were currently injecting heroin or using methadone (both legal and illicit); b) spent most of their time on the street or at illegal institutions ('shooting galleries,' after hour clubs, etc.); and c) engaged routinely in criminal activities, especially robbery, burglary, theft, and drug sales, and other drug distribution crimes.

After locating subjects, the field workers brought them to a research storefront for interviews. After obtaining the subject's informed consent, research staff conducted the first of a series of interviews in which subjects were asked to report about the previous day: a) their crimes and the dollar income, b) the drug(s) they used, purchased, sold, or distributed, c) their cash income from all sources, d) their cash expenditures for all purposes, e) their involvement in methadone or other treatment, and f) whether they received drugs or services at no cost (i.e., "in-kind") during the previous day. Respondents were paid \$10 and invited to return for an additional 8 interviews. During the next four days, they completed "daily" interviews. We then asked them to return once during each of the next four weeks. At these "weekly" meetings, they were interviewed about their behavior during the preceding seven days. This generated 33 person days (5 "dailies" plus 28 days on the four "weeklies") of data for each subject. During the first cycle of interviewing, we also interviewed each person about his/her life history.

In East Harlem, 132 subjects\* completed this first cycle. As part of the same study, street opiate users were recruited from Central (predominately Black) Harlem in 1981-82; 69 subjects were interviewed about 33 consecutive days. In addition, 110 subjects were invited to return for additional cycles of four more "weekly" interviews (28 days) which were scheduled three to six months apart. The actual interval between cycles varied greatly from subject to subject across the two years of data collection. These 201 subjects contributed collectively 11,417 person-days of data (an average of 57 days per subject) during almost 2,500 separate interviews. This data collection period ended in May, 1982.

\* An additional 37 subjects provided fewer than 33 days of data and have been excluded from this analysis. Almost 85% of those giving their informed consent returned to the storefront on 9 different occasions to provide the 33 days of data; a very high response and reinterview rate among such street opiate users.

Among the 201 subjects, 75% were male; 55% were black, 44% Hispanic, and 1% white. While 56% were over age 30 and only 13% were under 25, this was similar to the age distribution of clients in several methadone programs in New York City. No important differences existed between the East Harlem and Central Harlem respondents on almost all background variables except that almost all Central Harlem subjects were Black and somewhat older than East Harlem subjects. Over 60% were high school dropouts and 60% claimed to have been daily heroin users in the year prior to interview. They had 10 or more years of heroin use since age 15. Almost 85% percent reported having been arrested. They had an average of 8 arrests and 3 incarcerations. About half claimed to support their drug use mainly by theft, a quarter by involvement in drug business and 16% claimed to work as a major source of income.

These 201 street opiate users were among the most criminal persons ever studied (Chapter VIII). The average street opiate users in this study had the following major characteristics: 1) they had no or very little legal income (work or welfare); 2) three quarters had no methadone treatment during their reporting period; those admitted tend to drop out or not abide by methadone clinic rules; 3) almost all subjects committed crimes on one to five days per week; 4) most of their cash income was derived from crime; and 5) all subjects use drugs on a near daily basis, although there was considerable variation by type of drug. They spent most of their time on the streets, in abandoned buildings, and in the company of other street opiate users like themselves. In short, they were a highly deviant group.

The recruitment procedures probably seriously underrepresented methadone clients who were moderately conventional. Because our subjects were not recruited as part of a scientific sample, the findings cannot be generalized to a larger population of street opiate users -- even to other New York City opiate users. Nevertheless, their characteristics seem similar to many persons in methadone programs and in other research studies.

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MAJOR QUESTIONS AND MAIN FINDINGS

The project was designed to address several questions raised by the Panel on Drug Use and Criminal Behavior (1976) about the behavior of street opiate users and heroin addicts. Many of these original questions can now be answered with findings from this project, summarized below. These issues will be discussed at length in the indicated chapters of the main report.

- a) How, if possible, can accurate data on income, expenditures, drug consumption and criminal activities of street opiate users be measured on a short interval basis? (Chapter II, Appendices A and B)

Street opiate users can be located and recruited in high addiction neighborhoods. They willingly answer virtually any question(s) when assured that their answers will remain confidential and when they receive a modest payment for their time. These subjects report details about specific crimes, their drug consumption, and the money they received or expended, as well as various forms of bartering for drugs, food, or services. Requests for information about a brief time period (such as a day) elicit detailed, high quality data that would be otherwise unavailable.

- b) How accurate, reliable, and valid are the data obtained? (Chapter II, Appendices A and B)

Such data, obtained on a day-by-day basis during interviews on differing days, were at least as reliable, valid, and accurate as the data in any prior study. Such data were generally reliable in that internal checks about a given day's income and expenditures generally balance. Moreover, the patterns of behavior reported in the first few interviews were typically reported in later interviews, although considerable variability existed about the details of events and the dollar amounts reported on different days.

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The data were also valid in the sense that field workers and interviewers observed subjects selling stolen goods, or having large amounts of cash, being under the influence of drugs, and participating in some of the activities they described in interviews. Two different respondents occasionally reported the same crime or drug use event. The accuracy of their estimates of the value of drugs received for working in drug distribution, and other in-kind income, were harder to assess. But since such "cashless" income had not been systematically measured before, the data in the main report now provide major new information.

- c) How much heroin, cocaine, illicit methadone, legal methadone, and other drugs do street opiate users consume? How much is purchased compared to the amounts received in-kind? (Chapters IV & V)

Subjects were classified into a Heroin User Typology according to the approximate number of days during the reporting periods they used heroin per week as: daily heroin users (6-7 days/week), regular heroin users (3-5 days/week), and irregular heroin users (0-2 days/week). Major findings were:

- Except for their heroin use, daily heroin users were not significantly more involved with cocaine, alcohol, marijuana, or pills, than the less regular heroin users, although there were some differences in the proportion of person-days consuming specific drugs and the dollar amounts used.
- Daily heroin users consumed over \$17,000 worth of drugs per year (mostly heroin) compared to about \$5,000 by irregular heroin users.
- Heroin and cocaine accounted for almost 90% of the dollar value of drugs used and purchased.
- Cash purchases of drugs accounted for approximately 55-90% of the drugs consumed, depending upon the specific drug and measure of purchase or consumption.

Chapter V and subsequent chapters include a series of vignettes or brief descriptions of the drug use patterns, criminal lifestyles and typical crime events, as well as the typical living patterns of selected subjects. These vignettes convey the complexity of respondent lifestyles and provide insights which cannot be presented in this executive summary.

d) How much crime and cash income did addicts earn from various types of predatory crimes (robbery, burglary, theft), victimless crimes (prostituting, pimping, conning), and drug distribution crimes? (Chapters VI & VII)

Several important findings emerged from an analysis of nondrug crimes:

- Daily heroin users were criminally active on more days than regular and irregular heroin users, but such differences were important mainly for robbery, burglary, shoplifting, and other larcenies.
- Daily heroin users had more nondrug offenses and criminal cash income than regular or irregular heroin users; this was entirely due to the fact that daily heroin users were criminally active on more days, and not because they committed more crimes per day or gained larger cash returns per crime.
- The heroin user types did not differ in forgery, con games, prostitution/pimping, shoplifting-own use.
- Cash income from nondrug crime for all subjects was relatively modest at \$16/day (including days without crimes).

Drug distribution crimes were much more complex than previously described in the professional literature. Several street opiate users "deal" (sell drug directly to the buyer), but more engaged in steering, touting, and copping (henceforth STC) or other drug-related crimes (renting works, running a shooting gallery, tasting drugs--see Chapter VII and Goldstein, 1981). Respondents gained "drug income" by working in the drug business, as well as by stealing from, burglarizing, or robbing other drug distributors. In addition, respondents obtained drugs by "avoided expenditures" -- as when they obtained gifts, shared someone else's drugs, or "copped short." Other important findings also emerge:

- While virtually all subjects engaged in drug distribution crimes, daily heroin users were active on more days and obtained greater income in the form of cash or drugs than irregular heroin users.
- Subjects engaged in steering, touting, and copping (STC) on a more regular basis and received more "drug income" for their labor in helping to distribute drugs than from direct sales of drugs to buyers.
- Daily and regular heroin users committed an average of over 800 drug distribution crimes per year; irregular heroin users committed only about 250/year.

e) How many different criminal offenses do street opiate users commit while on the street? With what returns? (Chapter VIII)

These street opiate users exhibited an extremely high volume of criminal activity, generally higher than prior studies -- although not in every offense category. By annualizing the number of crimes per day the offending rates ( $\lambda$ ) of unapprehended criminals was estimated. Their cash income from such crimes, however, was much more modest. These data showed:

- Daily heroin users committed about twice as many robberies (12/year) and burglaries (34/year) per year as regular heroin users, and about five times as many as irregular heroin users.
- Daily heroin users committed 209 nondrug crimes per year compared with 162 among regular heroin users and 116 among irregular heroin users.
- Regular and daily heroin users committed almost 1,000 major offenses per year (including drug distribution crimes) compared with 360/year by irregular heroin users.
- Minor crimes (fare evasion, drug thefts, illegal drug transfers between friends) added an additional 147/year (irregular heroin users) to 311/yr (daily heroin users) more offenses.
- Daily heroin users gained over \$11,000 in criminal cash income versus less than \$5,000 among irregular heroin users.
- When drug income (the economic value of drugs received without cash payment) was included, the annual economic value from crime received by daily heroin users exceeded \$18,000 while irregular heroin users gained about \$6,000.
- The annualized offense rates among these street opiate users was generally higher than among Miami heroin users (Inciardi, 1981), California prisoners (Peterson, et al., 1980), a national treatment cohort (TOPS - Collins, et al., 1982abc), and as high or higher than among incoming prison and jail inmates in Texas, Michigan, and California (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982).
- These subjects, especially the daily heroin users, exhibited levels of criminal behavior which was among the highest ever recorded. This was especially true when the many drug distribution crimes and other minor offenses were systematically counted and included.
- Despite the very high rates of criminal offending, however, these respondents (with some exceptions) obtained relatively modest cash income from their crimes.

f) How much noncriminal income do street opiate users generate and from what sources? (Chapter IX)

Street opiate users obtained very limited legitimate income from employment, from welfare and other transfer payments, or from other noncriminal sources. Noncriminal income showed no significant variation among daily, regular, and irregular heroin users. Specifically:

- Less than half of these street opiate users obtained any income from legitimate employment or from welfare/unemployment. These sources each provided about \$2,000 of cash income to all subjects with no variation by heroin user type.
- These street opiate users obtained about \$1,400/year in "avoided expenditures" (meals, shelter, and other goods provide by family and friends).
- Cash income from employment, public transfer payments, friends, family, respondent payments, and other income sources, provided slightly over \$4,000/year.
- Clearly, these street opiate users lived at or below the federal poverty line (\$4,729/yr for a single person).
- Criminal cash income was greater than the noncriminal income among the daily and regular heroin users.

g) How much cash do street opiate users expend upon nondrug items? (Chapter X)

Nondrug expenditures exhibited no differences by heroin user types. All subjects had very low levels of cash expenditures for nondrug purchases (about \$5,000/year).

- Subjects spent about \$1,000/year for food, about \$700 for shelter, about \$700 upon their family, about \$700 for alcohol and cigarettes, and very little for other nondrug purposes.
- Very few subjects had an apartment of their own and for which they paid rent. Relatives, girlfriends, or others frequently paid the basic shelter costs and permitted the respondent to live there in exchange for an occasional cash gift, or purchase of a few groceries.
- Expenditures for food were generally for snacks and food items consumed during the day with available funds. "Meals" were generally eaten with relatives, girlfriends, and others.
- Thus, subjects carefully minimized their expenditures for basic necessities such as food and shelter; their cash expenditures were low even by poverty standards and in comparison with their low income counterparts.

h) How much income do street opiate users have and from what sources? How much cash income do street opiate users expend on various items? (Chapter XI)

The income of these respondents was more complex than previously reported. Four analytically different kinds of "income" were received by street opiate users: 1) cash income from crime (both drug distribution and nondrug crime); 2) cash income from noncriminal sources; 3) "drug income" was obtained when drugs having a real economic value were received but without a cash purchase (generally, labor in or knowledge of the drug business was exchanged for the drugs used); and 4) "avoided expenditures" were a form of income to respondents in that someone else paid cash for food, shelter, or drugs so the subject avoided necessary cash expenditures. The data showed:

- Daily heroin users had a total cash income of almost \$15,000 per year of street time (assuming no incarceration) compared to over \$8,000 per year among the irregular heroin users.
- Daily heroin users obtained a total income (from all four types of income) of almost \$24,000 per year, compared to about \$16,000 among the regular heroin users, and about \$11,000 for the irregular heroin users.
- These differences in total income were due mainly to the fact that daily heroin users obtained over twice as much income as the irregular heroin users -- from cash income from crime (\$11,292 vs. \$4,451), from avoided expenditures (\$4,857 vs. \$2,484, and about nine times as much in drug payments (\$4,016 vs. about \$605).
- Regular heroin users had incomes which were more similar to the irregular heroin users than to the daily heroin users.
- The average respondent had somewhat over \$11,500 in cash expenditures per year, of which over a third (\$4,200) involved cash purchases of heroin.
- Over half (\$5,990) of these cash expenditures were cash purchases of heroin plus cocaine.
- The average respondent spent over one and a half times as much upon drugs (\$7,252/\$4,257) as upon food, shelter, and other nondrug expenditures.
- Daily heroin users had greater cash expenditures than regular or irregular heroin users, only because they purchased so much heroin. They had virtually the same expenditures for cocaine, other drugs, and nondrug purposes as the less regular heroin users.
- Noncriminal income was just about equal to nondrug expenditures. Likewise, criminal income (including drug payments and avoided expenditures for drugs and alcohol) was just about equal to annual consumption of drugs.



- i) How much were the stolen goods and illegal services worth? That is, what were the direct and indirect economic values associated with heroin users? (Chapter XI)

Despite their limited cash income from crime, illegal activities had important economic values. Estimates were made of the "fence" factor (i.e. the fair retail value of merchandise stolen during burglary, robbery, and theft). Additional estimates were made of 33 different components of economic values, including the "value added" to the illegal drug distribution system by the labor performed in the drug business by these subjects. These estimates showed:

- The average street opiate user had direct economic values of almost \$20,000 per year, of which almost \$14,000 was from the goods or cash obtained during nondrug crimes, mainly shoplifting or burglary, \$2,600 was from noncriminal sources, and \$2,900 was from avoided expenditures.
- Daily heroin users had three times (almost \$30,000) greater direct economic values than the irregular heroin users (almost \$10,000).
- Indirect economic values (drug sales, STC returns, income tax evasion, and the "value added" to the illegal drug distribution system) were also substantial (about \$14,400/year), with the daily heroin users (\$25,400) having five times more indirect economic values than irregular heroin users (\$5,000).
- When direct and indirect economic values were combined, daily heroin users had total economic values of about \$55,000, regular heroin users about \$32,000, and irregular heroin users about \$15,000.
- These estimates of economic values did not include many other factors typically included in prior research about social costs such as: foregone productivity of legitimate work, police, court, correction, probation/parole, treatment costs, private anti-theft costs, fear of crime, and the psychic pain to victims.

- j) What types of criminal offenders were involved in heroin abuse? How does heroin use among such criminal offenders affect their crime rates and criminal income? (Chapter XIII)

Chaiken and Chaiken (1982) recently developed a new way to classify criminal offenders which was reproduced as closely as possible among these New York street opiate users. The central findings of their study were replicated in almost all essential respects, and extended to include information about criminal income. Street heroin users classified into the most serious categories of this hierarchy, when compared with subjects in the less serious categories:

- Exhibited greater breadth of criminal involvement (i.e. commit a larger number of different kinds of crime).
- Were as likely or more likely to report involvement in any given specific offense.
- Were apt to commit the most serious (robbery and burglary) crimes on a greater proportion of person days, and to commit less serious crimes on as many or more person days.
- Committed as many or more crimes per year.
- Obtained a high annual cash income from definitional offenses and from all offenses.
- The most serious offenders, the robber-dealers, committed robbery and drug sales at high rates and also committed burglaries, property crimes, and steering/touting/copping at high rates also. The robber-dealers also had high cash income from most offenses, and had the highest overall criminal income from all crimes.
- Almost all subjects engaged in steering, touting, and copping; this behavior appeared to be relatively independent of "drug dealing;" criminal offender types not selling drugs appeared about as likely engage in STC as those who sell drugs.
- This criminal offender typology was strongly related to the heroin user typology. :
  - Half of the daily heroin users were classified as robbers, while a quarter of the regular heroin users and 13% of the irregular heroin users were robbers.
  - Irregular heroin users were especially concentrated among those classified in the theft and lower level drug dealer categories.
- Among a specific category of criminal offender, the more regular the heroin use, the greater the annual crime rate and criminal cash income from all major crimes.

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- . Robber-dealers (11% of all subjects) committed 60% of all robberies, 26% of all drug sales, 22% of all burglaries, 10% of the theft offenses, and 14% of the STC offenses. In short, the most serious offender types committed a disproportionate share of the total volume of all crimes, but especially the most serious crimes.

k) How do subjects with some methadone treatment compare to those without it? (Chapter XIV)

A quarter of these street opiate users reported having "some" methadone treatment during their reporting period; they exhibited much variation in the number of days enrolled, whether they took their medication as prescribed, or distributed it to others. Moreover, our recruitment techniques located the least compliant methadone patients. Several important findings emerged:

- . Although it might be anticipated that street opiate users without current methadone treatment might be more deviant than those with such treatment, few differences in their demographic characteristics or prior criminal or drug use history were found.
- . Subjects with some methadone treatment were a third as likely to be daily heroin users and twice as likely to be irregular heroin users as subjects without methadone treatment.
- . Some evidence suggested that subjects without methadone treatment were avoiding it and other kinds of treatment. Only 10% of those classified as robbers reported some methadone treatment, and only one such subject consumed legal methadone during two-thirds of his reporting period.
- . Very few subjects mentioned a desire to go to treatment to our staff; the rare request for help to gain treatment entry was seldom followed up by the subject.
- . With a few exceptions, the evidence suggested that few (if any) of the subjects not in methadone treatment would voluntarily enter treatment in the near future. This avoidance of treatment appeared most pronounced among the most seriously criminal who also were daily heroin users.

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1) What combinations of heroin use and criminality have the greatest social impact? (Chapter XV).

Four dimensions of social impact were developed: the annual number of offenses, criminal severity scores (after Wolfgang and Figlio, 1982), criminal income, economic values, and the seriousness of illicit drug use.

In addition, an Intensive Criminality Typology was developed and had five categories: a) robbers and daily heroin users were "intensives;" b) nonrobbers but daily heroin users were "highs;" c) robbers and nondaily heroin users were "actives;" d) nonrobbers and regular heroin users were "inactives;" e) nonrobbers and irregular heroin users were "lows." This typology was essentially a four-fold classification along the robber-nonrobber and daily-nondaily heroin user dimension, except that the large cell of nonrobbers/ nondaily heroin users (54% of all subjects) was subclassified into nonrobbers who were regular and irregular heroin users. Major findings emerged:

- . The intensive criminals were not significantly different than their less criminal counterparts on most major background characteristics nor did they report greater drug use or criminal activity and income (excepting robbery and burglary) during the year previous to interview.
- . Nevertheless, intensive criminals (and sometimes the highs) had significantly greater values than their less criminal counterparts on a variety of measures of social impact, especially those involving criminal income and economic values. Specifically, intensive criminals had three to six times greater social impacts than the lows and about twice as much criminal income and economic values as their inactive and active counterparts. While the intensive criminals always had the highest mean values on these social impact measures, their values usually did not differ significantly from the highs, with the important exception of the economic values associated with their nondrug crime.
- . Daily heroin users had social impacts which were significantly greater than nondaily heroin users regardless of whether the person was also a robber.
- . Despite their greater criminal income and economic harm, however, intensive criminals did not report significantly more arrests or years of incarceration than their less criminal counterparts.

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SUMMARY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS (Chapter XVI)

"Policy implications" were understood to be a set of goals or objectives flowing naturally from the research findings. Treatment or criminal justice practitioners may be able to design programs, practices, or techniques to accomplish such objectives. These "implications," however, were not "policy recommendations" which suggest specific steps about how to implement changes in existing arrangements.

Evidence from this study and from other recent research documented a central major policy implication for American Society:

The most criminally active street opiate users are "slipping between the cracks" of the criminal justice and treatment systems.

The most criminally active persons in this study, the "intensive criminals" were defined as robbers and daily heroin users. Similar findings were reported by Ball, et al. 1981; Chaiken and Chaiken (1982); Chaiken (1983); Moore, et al., (1981), Johnson, (1981); Johnson, et al, (1983a). This study and these sources demonstrated that additional information about daily and/or high cost heroin use may assist in identifying high risk street opiate users. Such intensive criminals were rarely in methadone treatment and other drug treatment was uncommon. In short, intensive criminals "slip away" from or avoid treatment.

The criminal justice system largely ignores the drug use patterns of arrestees in making prosecutorial and sentencing decisions. Moreover, the prior arrest and incarceration histories did not distinguish intensive criminals from their less criminal counterparts. Thus, they appear to "slip through" the criminal justice system with jail and prison sentences which were typically short and generally not more severe than their less criminal counterparts. Five major policy implications summarized below are documented at more length in the main report:

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Policy Implications

- A-- Daily heroin users who committed robbery were the most criminally active. These "intensive criminals" had high crime rates, criminal severity scores, criminal income, and economic values and should be a major focus of criminal justice agencies and social policies to address criminality among street opiate users.
- B - Intensive criminals report prior arrests and incarcerations that did not differ greatly from their less criminal counterparts; thus they will be difficult to systematically identify from current information maintained by the criminal justice system.
- C - Despite their very high crime levels, however, a social policy of incarcerating street opiate users does not appear to be a socially appropriate or economically reasonable solution for their criminality.
- D - Despite widespread patterns of multiple drug use among street opiate users, the drugs imposing major economic problems were heroin (primarily) and cocaine. Social policies designed to reduce by half the regularity or dollar amount of heroin (or cocaine) consumed, especially by daily users, would have substantial benefits for both society and these street opiate users.
- E - While additional capacity is needed for all persons voluntarily seeking methadone treatment, new social policies need to be designed having the objective of effectively identifying criminally active street opiate users and pressuring and monitoring them to reduce their heroin and other drug abuse patterns. Such policies must be especially directed towards street opiate users currently avoiding methadone or other treatment.

This study cannot definitely answer the difficult question, "what then can be done with these highly criminal street opiate users?" Suggested directions implied by the data, however, involve closer coordination and cooperation between the criminal justice system and treatment systems. New social policies and institutional arrangements need to be carefully developed so that more systematic, probably daily, pressure is placed upon criminally active street opiate users to detoxify and enter long term drug abuse treatment programs. Once arrested and convicted of crimes, including minor offenses, they should undergo routine monitoring for drugs by urinalysis, and be required to attend treatment programs daily and report for long counseling sessions. Other innovative approaches also need careful exploration and implementation. Whatever solutions are developed, the high criminality levels among street opiate users demand to be addressed more directly than during the five year study period of the Economic Behavior Project.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report contains the results of almost seven consecutive years of effort. The research was a pioneering effort to develop ways of obtaining information about crime, drug use, income, and expenditure among street opiate users while at liberty on the street.

During these seven years, many people have influenced the course of this project and many have worked on various phases of the research. I cannot fully express my appreciation for their contributions, but these contributions deserve recognition.

Staff associated with the National Institute on Drug Abuse made this research possible. In late 1976, I attended a workshop held by NIDA on the Social Costs of Drug Abuse and was thinking of a similar study. After the conference, I stopped at Dan Letteri's office to explore some possible grant ideas; he gently suggested some good reasons why my ideas were unlikely to get funded. As we talked about the work Edward Preble was conducting on the Ethnography of Drug Use Among White Ethnic Groups, however, Letteri mentioned a report which had just become available and of which I was unaware. I went to the National Technical Information Service and purchased a copy of the Report of the Panel on Drug Use and Criminal Behavior (1976). Two days later I had read the whole report, cover to cover. It pointed me directly to the kinds of questions which needed research -- and it was clear that only Ed Preble would be able to recruit the research subjects needed. Several conversations with Fred Goldman of Columbia University reiterated how little was really known about the economic aspects of the lives of heroin users.

I enthusiastically told Ed Preble about this report, and he quickly agreed to become a co-Principal Investigator. We started work on the

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proposal and submitted it in February, 1977. The initial review group at NIDA realized that what we planned to do was extremely important. But they had serious reservations about whether such detailed information could be collected from active heroin users. The site visit occurred on a sunny plaza in San Francisco at the American Sociological Association where I met with Michael Agar. We discussed various options and he suggested that the review committee would provide 18 months of funding to find out answers to basic methodological questions. The project started in December, 1977 with the first staff (Preble, Miller, and Goldstein) hired about that time.

Richard Clayton was assigned as the NIDA project officer for the grant. As a visiting scientist, he had the mission of building a research agenda about drug use and crime for NIDA -- and this grant was a key part of that agenda. Both of us learned a great deal about federal grantsmanship. He helped me over two hurdles. Obtaining a federal certificate of confidentiality was essential for this research to proceed. While a new law had just been passed, no regulations and no procedures for obtaining this certificate were available. But eventually Clayton found the right person(s) and got the signatures.

In addition, he phoned one day in 1978 to tell me that the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) might be interested in funding part of the project. This led to an interagency grant between NIDA and NIJ which provided funding in 1979 which permitted this grant to extend an 18 month pilot study into a 24 month pilot study. Richard Barnes and Bernard Gropper were responsible for the NIJ contributions.

After Clayton left NIDA to return to the University of Kentucky, the project officer became Louise Richards. She continued to keep me informed about emerging changes at NIDA, helped me obtain funding for the main study in 1979, and worked to maintain interest in drugs and crime at NIDA as the administration changed in Washington. She has made this report possible by obtaining a no cost extension after the grant funding terminated.

At the Division of Substance Abuse Services (DSAS), Douglas Lipton, brought myself and Edward Preble into the agency and helped both of us make this project work. By freeing me from my State responsibilities, I was able to write and supervise this grant. He helped me iron out numerous problems and carefully read the final manuscript.

Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc. is a private, nonprofit research organization affiliated with DSAS and administers grants such as these. Hugh Schrader, Marion Ludlum, and Valarie Murphy of NDRI handled the business aspects of the grant efficiently so that full effort could be concentrated on the research.

This research could not have been accomplished without the consistent efforts of the staff affiliated with the Economic Behavior Project. I had major responsibility for grant writing, administration, and much data analysis and report writing. The responsibility for doing the field work and running the storefront was handled by Edward Preble. Paul Goldstein had major responsibility for developing interview schedules, interviewing, coding, data analysis, and report writing. Thomas Miller was the senior interviewer, and is now one of the best in the business. His many brief descriptions of crimes have been lifted from the interview forms directly into the "vignettes;" they bring ethnographic richness to the statistical data. These four key staff remained on the project for five years; only death has separated Edward Preble from us. (See Appendix C).

During the data collection phase of this research, several persons have participated as field workers and part time interviewers. In Appendix A and B, we indicate how crucial field workers were to the success of this project-- thanks are due to Enrique Ruiz, Melvin Davis, Rebecca Mitchell, "Top," Angela Jacquez, and Alton Bates. This project ultimately rests upon their ability to locate street opiate users and encourage them to come to the storefront for the first and subsequent interviews.

Similar contributions were also made by staff at the World Trade Center. Nancy Meggett was a stellar secretary and became an expert on the WANG word processor. Others have functioned as transcribers: Alice Traub, Deborah Washington, Patricia Miller, and Elaine Fillippini.

Nina Duchaine was the primary research assistant who supervised and did much of the coding. Andrea Kale also did much of the editing of the weekly schedules and entered the data for computerized analysis. Reuben Norman had major responsibility for setting up computerized data files, and was ably assisted by Ken Robertson.

James Schmiedler suggested many simple but important ways of analyzing the data as well as appropriate statistical tests. In addition, his extensive programming skills have made this report possible. As Ed Preble once told me: "he crunches the numbers, you just write about them!" (as if that were so easy!)

Barry Spunt and Deborah Hand have helped compile all these numbers, checked them carefully against computer printouts, and the text against tables. They have located and written the vignettes, coded materials, and helped in many other ways.

In addition to the above persons associated with the Economic Behavior project, several other persons at the research bureau of DSAS have contributed greatly to this project. Blanch Frank's comments on a draft of this report were very helpful. Don Des Jarlais, William Hopkins, Dana Hunt, Douglas Goldsmith, Mike Miranda, Sherry Deren, Ken Robertson, Jonathan Krieger, Phil Appel, Herman Joseph, David Strug, and others have all assisted this project in some important way.

In particular, Eric Wish, who was initially hired for the Economic Behavior Project but transferred to another similar project, has been a strongly supportive and a constructive critic. His careful comments have been incorporated into this report. He also directs a project which builds

The Economic Behavior of Street Opiate Users: Acknowledgements -xxiii- directly from the research undertaken by the Economic Behavior Project. Wish and I are conducting studies of the role of drugs and alcohol in crime events among the same types of street opiate users studied here.

Other office staff at DSAS have also contributed to this project at various times. Connie Ross has helped keep files organized, helped clerical staff understand the pressures of grant writing, and trained staff in word processing. Marva Bruzal did the graphs. Sharon Hodges, Kelita Jones, and others have done some clerical work on this project.

I particularly want to thank my wife, Theresa, and daughter, Amanda, for their support while completing this report. It has meant many late nights and long weekends away from home. They have found other constructive things to do and supported me during those times.

My greatest expressions of appreciation, however, are reserved for the persons who shared their lives with us. While our research subjects must remain anonymous, the many days, months, and years of seeing them, interviewing them, laughing with them, hanging around with them, and being a part of their lives has been one of the richest experiences we have had. In addition, they have also provided the kinds of rich data and information that is otherwise unavailable. Not only do we thank them, but the sociology and criminology is vastly richer for their participation. To paraphrase Ed Preble (1980), what originally appeared to be a mean motive, their desire for money, has been transformed into a rewarding research relationship which will contribute to society for many years to come, and possibly improve the social response to both drug abuse and crime in the future. Our relationships with these street opiate users has been rewarding for us and for society.

To all of the above, I express my sincere appreciation for the many contributions which have brought this research to a conclusion and this report to the public. I look forward to further analyses of these data in the forthcoming years.

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INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

This monograph presents findings from a major research study about the economic behavior of street opiate users. In 1976, two factors were associated with the submission of a major proposal to the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA). The Federal government had requested a group of scholars to review and provide recommendations about the linkages between drugs and crime, especially heroin and crime. The report by the Panel on Drug Use and Criminal Behavior (1976) generated considerable controversy (Clayton, 1981) because it reached conclusions that were generally divergent with the prevailing beliefs about the importance of heroin addiction as a cause of crime. Specifically the Panel Report (1976) concluded that "convincing empirical data on drug use and crime ... are generally unavailable - the principal reason being the lack of a long term, well coordinated, policy relevant research program in the area." This panel also generated many questions about the relationship of heroin use to crime and suggested many hypotheses and methodologies which needed exploration. These questions provided a guide for planning the research effort leading to this report.

A second factor in the decision to submit a proposal was the research being conducted by Edward Preble on a NIDA research grant, "The Ethnography of Drug Use Among Two White Ethnic Groups" (ETHNOS) (Preble and Johnson, 1978). Preble was collecting fascinating information from street heroin users in a ghetto community with high levels of opiate addiction. He appeared to be about the only researcher doing so on a systematic basis in 1977.

Thus, the Panel's review of the professional literature pointed to critical questions which needed systematic study and Preble was daily demonstrating that detailed data could be collected from hard-to-reach heroin abusers. Accordingly, Principal Investigators Johnson and Preble developed a research proposal which was funded for two years to demonstrate that systematic data could be obtained. During 1978 and 1979, the research staff explored a variety of methodologies for collecting systematic and quantifiable data from street opiate users about their: criminal activity and income, drug consumption and purchases, income from all sources, expenditures for all purposes, arrests during the reporting period, and involvement in drug or alcohol treatment.

During the two years of pilot research, the staff found that street opiate users could be easily recruited to participate in this research effort when assured that all data would be kept strictly confidential. During the course of a half to one hour interview, they would willingly answer almost any question(s) asked by the interviewer for a payment of \$5 to \$10. They would reveal in great detail the commission of both serious and minor crimes, and about how they managed to subsist with minimal expenditures for food or shelter. One difficulty was developing data collection instruments and codes which could systematically collect data about the complex lifestyles followed by these respondents. Assigning economic values to the noncash (barter) exchanges involving drugs, goods and services which involved no cash expenditures was problematic.

Nevertheless, by the end of the two pilot years, 51 subjects had been interviewed on a daily basis for 30 or more consecutive days. Based upon the success of the pilot years, Johnson and Preble submitted a second proposal in 1979 for a three year research effort to study the Economic Behavior of Street Opiate Users which was funded for three years (1980-1982). This report provides an analysis of the data collected during that period.

The rationale and background section of the 1979 proposal identified several major questions and issues which this report can now answer in a systematic fashion. The literature available in 1979 (and most of it in subsequent years - see Gandossy, et al. 1980; Inciardi, 1981; Johnson, 1981) revealed that little or no quantitative data existed which described the social characteristics, criminal activities and income, and the economic behavior of street opiate users when they were actually active on the street. Almost all estimates in the published literature on habit size, crimes committed, or dollar values stolen, were derived from retrospective interviews with addicts in treatment programs, jail, or followup studies of samples from these institutions.

Moreover, no information or data existed about addict economic behavior (total income and expenditures, regardless of the source of income or patterns of expenditures). Although economic supply and demand theories have been used to formulate drug policies, basic economic data about addicts were almost totally absent. From the beginning of this research effort, plans were made to describe the behavior of street opiate users and not to test hypotheses about the linkages of drugs to crime. Thus, this report will be primarily descriptive; it documents empirical regularities rather than test hypotheses.

The following questions were formulated to guide this research -- relevant data are presented in subsequent chapters:

- a) How, if possible, can accurate data on income, expenditures, drug consumption, and criminal activities of street opiate users be measured on a short interval basis?
- b) How accurate and valid are data obtained by various techniques?
- c) How much heroin, cocaine, methadone, alcohol, and other drugs do street opiate users consume? How does the amount of drugs purchased compare to the amount of drugs received as gifts or in-kind payments?

- d) How much cash income do street opiate users earn from various types of predatory (robbery, theft, burglary) and victimless (prostituting, gambling, drug selling/touting, etc.) crimes?
- e) How much income do street opiate users generate and from what sources?
- f) How much cash do street opiate users expend upon various items? (food, shelter, clothing, opiates, other drugs, etc.)?
- g) What proportion of street opiate user income is spent on heroin and other drugs?
- h) How many different criminal offenses do street opiate users commit during their time on the street?
- i) If street opiate users are classified according to their criminal lifestyle (i.e., major sources of income), how does this relate to their drug use and drug using lifestyle?
- j) How much are the stolen good(s) and/or illegal services worth to society? That is, how much economic cost do street opiate users have upon on the victims of their crime and upon society?
- k) Previous research has noted that a few criminals commit a disproportionately large share of all crime. How many and what proportion of the street opiate users are such intensive criminals and what social impact do these intensive criminals have on society?
- l) What kinds of street opiate users are or are not in drug treatment programs?
- m) As heroin consumption becomes more regular and daily, is there an increase in criminal activity?

This last question, when broadened to include all other economic behaviors (drug consumption, income, expenditures, treatment) will provide a guiding focus for this entire report. In chapter IV, all respondents have been classified into typology of heroin users according to the number of days during their reporting period that they used heroin. They are classified as "daily heroin users" if they consumed heroin on 6 or 7 days per week (or over 78% of the time) as "regular heroin users" if they use heroin on 3 - 5 days per week (or 36% to 77%) of the time; and as "irregular heroin users" if they used heroin on 2 or less days per week or under 35% of the time). This classification of respondents according to their frequency of heroin use will be employed in all chapters as a major independent variable.

Thus, the focus of this report is upon persons and not upon the process or day-to-day patterns of involvement. That is, respondents will be classified according to their heroin consumption (Chapter IV), their criminal lifestyle (Chapter XIII), and the regularity of their involvement in methadone treatment (Chapter XIV) which will be related to a variety of dependent variables of economic activity such as: the percent of respondents who are active, the number of person-days active, the annual number of offenses or acts, and the annualized cash value.

The central question raised throughout this report is: How different are daily heroin users from the regular and irregular heroin users in their use of nonheroin drugs, criminal activity and income, noncriminal income, nondrug expenditures, drug distribution activities, and in the economic costs and social impact upon victims and the larger society?

The data collected during this research, however, were also designed to permit analysis of the process of addiction and patterns of criminality on a day-by-day basis. Some data from the daily lives of selected subjects have been included as vignettes or brief scenarios to provide ethnographic examples of the behaviors which have been included in the quantitative data analyses. The vignettes are included in several chapter, especially those on drug use and crime (V - VII). Analyses of these processes will be provided in later papers from the Economic Behavior project. In forthcoming papers, the criminal patterns of street opiate users on days with and without heroin use can be examined, and the impact of methadone upon heroin consumption will be analyzed. Likewise, diverse patterns of criminal behavior will be documented.

#### Organization of This Report

This report addresses most of the questions above. Chapter II presents the research design and methodology employed in collecting the data. Two lengthy appendices (A & B) provide detailed rationales and descriptions about how methodologies were developed and this research was carried into the field.

The chapter ends with remarks about how all data in the report have been statistically standardized. Chapter III presents information about the backgrounds and other criminal and drug using characteristics of the 201 respondents. The age, sex, and ethnicity of our subjects are also compared with clients in methadone treatment programs.

Chapter IV presents information about these respondent's heroin use levels and develops a Heroin User Typology which is employed as the major independent variable in all subsequent chapters. Chapter V presents findings about the patterns of drug consumption and purchase among these street opiate users. Chapter VI presents detailed information about the various types of nondrug crimes (robbery, burglary, theft, etc.) committed, the percentage of respondents and person days active in each offense type, the number of offenses, and the cash income generated by such crimes. Chapter VII presents information about respondent involvement in crimes involving drug distribution -- particularly drug sales, steering, touting, copping, and drug thefts. Chapter VIII provides annual estimates of the number of criminal offenses and criminal income obtained by these respondents from both nondrug and drug distribution crimes and compares these findings with those of similar studies.

Chapter IX presents information about the respondent's cash income from sources other than crime. Chapter X provides information about cash expenditures for purposes other than drugs. Chapter XI provides evidence about the total income and cash expenditures by these respondents.

By making several conservative assumptions about the actual value of stolen goods, the annualized economic costs imposed by different types of heroin users are presented in Chapter XII.

In Chapter XIII, a typology of criminal behavior is developed and shown to relate strongly to the Heroin User Typology. In Chapter XIV, a typology of legal methadone consumption is developed and related to measures of criminality and heroin use. In Chapter XV, an Intensive Criminality Typology of respondents is developed and related to several measures of social impact including offense rates, criminal income, economic costs, criminal severity scores, and seriousness of involvement with drugs.

Chapter XVI summarizes the findings and outlines some of the policy implications of this research.

In order to answer questions listed in Chapter I, the Economic Behavior Project also had to develop pioneering methodologies and techniques for obtaining systematic and quantifiable information from seriously criminal drug users about their: criminal behavior and income; drug use, purchase, and sale; income from all sources; and expenditures for all purposes. When the project first began, there was initial skepticism that street opiate users and criminals would report details of their illegal activity to outside researchers. Even in 1983, many persons feel strongly that such information could not possibly be obtained.

Nevertheless, this report presents systematic information demonstrating that such data can be collected and analyzed in a coherent fashion. In some respects, the development of research methods for collecting data from street opiate users may be as fascinating as the substantive findings to many readers. A full exposition of our research techniques at this point would greatly detract from the central findings. Thus, this chapter provides only a very brief description of the research design and methodologies used to conduct the study so that the findings in subsequent chapters can be understood and interpreted clearly.

In addition to this chapter, over 90 pages of appendices (A & B) provide further details about how methodologies were developed for collecting detailed data on a day-by-day basis about the economic behavior of street opiate users. In fact, the current chapter is a condensed version (almost an abstract) of the major points more extensively documented in Appendix A, "A Methodological History." In addition, Appendix B, "Taking Care of [Research] Business" provides an ethnographic account of how this research project was carried into the field and describes staff experiences in dealing with street opiate user subjects and exaddict fieldworkers in a low income neighborhood.

A Brief Overview of the Economic Behavior Project

The main methodological objective was to obtain detailed descriptive information about street opiate users and their routine criminal behavior, drug use, purchase, and sale, income from all sources, and expenditures for all purposes. In order to obtain such data, staff selected two low income communities (East and Central Harlem) in New York City where heroin use has been endemic for decades. Research storefronts were located in these communities and exaddict, exoffender field workers employed to recruit criminally active street opiate users from different neighborhoods in the study area; they brought potential subjects back to the storefront for interviewing.

Respondents were interviewed about their economic behavior for five consecutive days, and then interviewed for four consecutive weeks about the seven preceding days, providing 33 days of data. About a third of the respondents returned for subsequent cycles (four weekly interviews covering 28 days) between three and six months after the first. Subjects were also interviewed about their history of criminality and drug abuse prior to this research.

The data were coded, entered, and computerized -- providing the data for this report. Although 238 subjects were recruited, 201 subjects (84%) completed the first interview cycle and provided 33 days or more person-days of data. The characteristics of these subjects are described in Chapter III.

A. Street Opiate Users and Street Criminals

This research was originally (1977 application) designed to study street opiate addicts. But during the pilot years (1978-79), staff encountered many subjects whose physical dependence upon heroin or opiates could not be ascertained. Surprisingly, many subjects reported several days without heroin or opiate use, and consumed widely varied amounts of opiates on successive days (Johnson, 1979,1983).

Nevertheless, if abuse is roughly equated with injecting drugs into a vein ("mainlining"), most subjects continued to abuse heroin, other opiates, or cocaine several times a month. They also reported long histories of heroin abuse and living in the streets. They were also observed living a lifestyle consistent with that of the public image of "addicts." Recognizing that "addict" is a chameleon concept (Johnson, 1978), the research staff began using the term "street opiate users" to describe our respondents.

Rather than try to impose a conceptual (or academic) definition upon respondents (and exclude those who did not apply), staff relied mainly upon field workers to recruit respondents who exhibited a variety of behaviors, some of which are specified below. Our main objective was to ensure that subjects exhibiting a variety of opiate using and criminal lifestyles were recruited. Nevertheless, the idea of "street opiate users" contains three major ideas.

Opiate use refers to the consumption of heroin and/or methadone. All subjects reported the use of one or both of these drugs during their reporting periods. In addition, although we did not ask direct questions about route of administration, almost all subjects appeared to have mainlined heroin and/or cocaine for several years. Recruiters were told to direct their attention towards finding persons who were currently injecting heroin, and to underrecruit methadone clients who were mainly alcoholics (this was based upon experience during the pilot years--see Appendix A).

These subjects were mainly on the streets. During most of the daytime and frequently late into the night, these subjects reported being physically on the streets or in other illegal locations (shooting galleries, after-hours clubs, apartments from which drugs were sold). They spend relatively little time at home, at work, or in other conventional pursuits. Although such persons form a small proportion of the total population, they are a major visible presence in certain "copping communities" (Hughes, 1977) in the study area.

A third major criteria for recruitment was the field worker's opinion that the subject was engaged in some form of criminality. While emphasis was placed upon locating those committing robbery, burglary, and theft, several street drug dealers were also recruited. Field workers were asked to locate persons who exhibited a range of criminal behaviors. This they were able to do, but with some limitations.

The criteria of selecting "street opiate users" who were mainly involved in street crime had the effective result of excluding many persons who may have one of these criteria but not others. For example, persons who snorted heroin or cocaine, but did not generally mainline drugs, would generally have not been recruited. While many subjects were recruited from loiterers around methadone programs, field staff accepted only a few methadone alcoholics. Moreover, methadone clients who were employed, or were otherwise conventional, or who avoided hanging out on the streets were unlikely to be recruited. Heroin abusers who were "house connections" (sold drugs from apartments) but did not hang out on the streets were also unlikely to be recruited. High level dealers and importers were not located.

Nonheroin users who committed crimes were also unlikely to be recruited. That is, professional fences, loan sharks, marijuana dealers, numbers runners, bookies, safecrackers, truck hijackers, "hit men," members of organized crime, etc. were not recruited if they did not inject heroin or cocaine (although some of our subjects were occasionally involved in such activities).

In short, the recruitment procedures assured that street opiate users who engaged in street crime were effectively recruited; while persons lacking such characteristics, although engaging in opiate use or some forms of crime were effectively excluded. As a partial result of our recruitment techniques, our subjects are among the most criminal ever recruited and also exhibit varied patterns of heroin and other drug use, as the data in following chapters show.

B. The Research Location -- East and Central Harlem

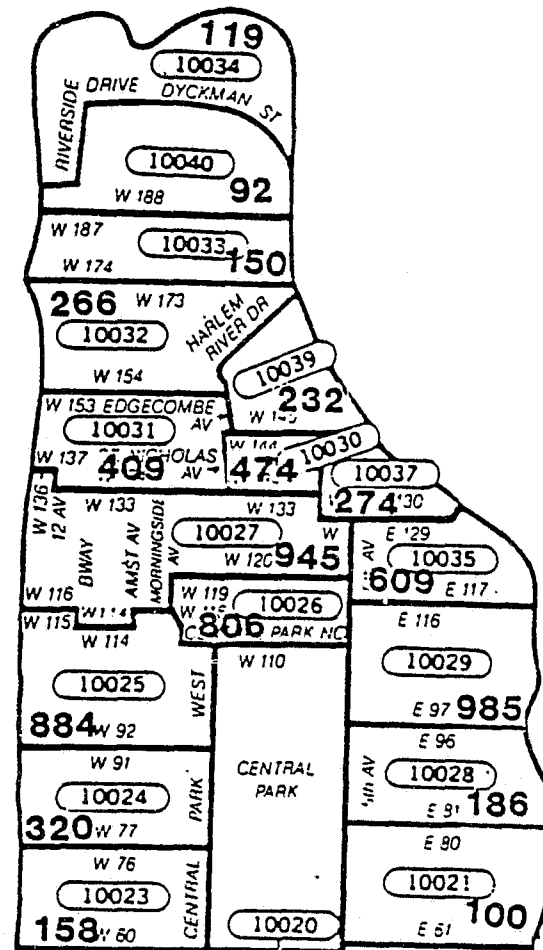
There were three major reasons for selecting East and Central Harlem in Manhattan as the location for this research. First, these two communities have among the highest levels of opiate use in the country; many heroin users reside there or come to these neighborhoods to obtain drugs. Second, many of these opiate users spend most of their time on the streets and are available as potential subjects. Third, co-principal investigator Edward Preble had many years of experience with street opiate users in East Harlem and had been able to recruit them for previous research activities. Thus, gaining access to and gaining the trust of heroin users in these communities was easily accomplished in a short time.

East Harlem, referred to as "Spanish Harlem" or "El Barrio," is the area from Fifth Avenue to the East River north of 96th Street. Demographically, the population is about 44% black (1977 data); the remainder is mainly of Hispanic origin, although a few whites also live in the area. East Harlem is generally high on several indicators of social disorganization.

Central Harlem includes the area from 5th Avenue to Morningside Avenue and St. Nicholas (on the West) from 110th to 135th Street. Over 95% of the population is black. Central Harlem's reputation throughout the country is that of the heroin capital of the U.S.A., if not the world. Almost all problems of ghetto life affect Harlem, but public and widespread heroin distribution and use has been a continuing problem in this community since the end of World War II. Several decades of enforcement efforts have been unable to prevent widespread street sales. East and Central Harlem have perhaps the largest number of street opiate users in the country.\*

\* The Lower East Side of Manhattan rivals these communities in the probable number of street opiate users and has drug "supermarkets" (where touts openly and aggressively solicit customers wishing to buy heroin, cocaine, marijuana and other drugs) rivaling those of Central and East Harlem. Moreover, drug dealers from white communities and the entire New York metropolitan area frequently "cop" (buy) high quality drugs at locations in the Lower East Side -- this also occurs in Harlem and East Harlem.

**Graph II. 1**  
**Methadone Clients in Northern Manhattan**  
**by Zip Code of Residence in 1979**



One of the better indicators of the large numbers of opiate users in this community comes from the New York methadone central registry. Data presented in Figure II. 1 shows that the southern East Harlem ZIP code (10029) has more currently active MMTP clients than any of the nearby ZIP code zones and that Central and East Harlem Zip Codes (10026,10027,10030,10035) have many more MMTP clients than other ZIP codes. Almost 1,600 clients (or almost 6% of all MMTP clients in New York City) reside within the two East Harlem ZIP codes (10029, 10035), another 2,500 (or almost 9%) reside in Central Harlem ZIP codes (10026, 10027, 10030, 10037). Assuming that one former methadone client and one heroin injector who has never been in treatment exist for each current methadone client, the total street opiate user population may be 4,000 - 5,000 or more in East Harlem, with an equal or larger number in Central Harlem. The figures may actually be considerably higher.

C. The Storefront as a Place for Routine Data Collection

While different potential techniques for obtaining routine economic behavior data from respondents were tried in 1978-79, formal interviews at a field office or "storefront" proved to be a very efficient way of obtaining high quality economic behavior data from respondents. Other techniques were tried but found difficult to implement (See Appendix A). By locating the research staff in a field office that blends naturally into the study neighborhood, the subjects felt comfortable.

The major difficulties with using a storefront as an interview site were: 1) the poor condition of most rental space available, 2) congestion of respondents wanting to be interviewed during the morning hours, and 3) problems associated with staffing and supervision of the nonprofessional staff. These difficulties are specified in more detail in Appendix B. Nevertheless, the advantages of a neighborhood storefront for conducting a confidential and structured interview to obtain detailed information from street opiate users vastly outweighed the disadvantages.

D. Recruitment of Subjects

Locating research subjects was among the easiest tasks which this research faced, especially since respondent payments were available. As Preble (1980a) indicates, the need for money was continuous among street opiate users. What initially appeared to be a mean motive, the need for money, could be transformed into a fruitful research relationship by following careful procedures to protect confidentiality and by skillful rapport building and interviewing. The respondent quickly comes to provide high quality information about his activity in return for a modest payment (\$5 or \$10) for 30 minutes to 2 hours of his time.

During the main data collection period, 1980-1982, the research staff relied heavily upon exaddict/exoffender staff who were sent into the streets to locate subjects. These field workers approached unknown persons on the street, but more frequently found a previous acquaintance who informally introduced them to other potential respondents. In order to ensure a diversity of lifestyles among respondents, these staff were directed to go to different blocks in the study community with directions to avoid bringing in too many "low lifes," and to concentrate on finding heroin users who did robbery, burglary, frequent thefts, and drug sales, as well as to bring in about one female for every two or three males (our estimate of the probable sex ratio).

Although efforts were made to develop a quasi-scientific sampling frame permitting respondent selection with a known probability of selection, many problems were encountered and this effort was dropped (see Appendix A). Thus, this study does not and cannot generalize to a broader population of street opiate users.\* On the other hand, little evidence exists that our subjects are greatly different than other heroin users; their sex and ethnic distributions appear similar to clients in methadone programs (see Chapter III).

\* Hunt, et al. (1983) conducted a contemporary study of opiate users in and around methadone clinics in the Bronx, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Their subjects were frequently white and had stable employment.

In order to maintain initial and long-term contact with respondents, the initial week of interviewing was critical (see Appendix A for rationale). Short interviews with respondents on five successive days were important for building rapport. The interviewer and respondent developed a sense of trust, respect, and liking for one another. Respondents learned what information was being sought and paid somewhat more attention to the details of their income, expenditures, crime, and drug use. Thus, most of the persons completing five daily interviews completed 33 consecutive days of interviews, and many were found at a later time for additional cycles of interviews. Clearly, the initial effort at building rapport established a firm research relationship which paid major dividends (valid and reliable data, consistent future reporting, and ease of maintaining a long term relationship) with the street opiate users being studied in this project.

E. Development of Instrumentation

A major challenge facing this research was the development of instruments (interview schedules and coding schemes) by which the complexity of respondent behavior could be captured and measured in a systematic quantitative fashion. At the beginning of this research, the investigators decided to obtain detailed data only about common crimes where an economic value (i.e. money, drugs, or goods) was possible. All other crimes which could not provide an economic benefit to the respondent were excluded. Thus, respondents were not asked questions about assault (aggravated and simple), rape, homicide, arson, weapons possession, vandalism, disorderly conduct, property damage, etc. (see Appendix A for rationale).

Likewise, obtaining details about specific criminal or drug use episodes as units of analysis was not possible. Rather, the respondent would be asked to sum across all crime and drug-related episodes of a given kind for a single



day, and report the total dollar income. This means that the smallest unit of analysis is the person-day (see below). Thus, very rich detail about crime events (and we had some very interesting crimes reported) would not be systematically obtained for each event. Rather, the interviewer was asked to write a brief scenario about the crime on the back side (the 'flip side') of the interview form.

Interviews with respondents were focused upon their economic behavior during a particular 24 hour period, called the person-day. Staff developed both a daily interview schedule (used during 1978-79), and a weekly interview schedule (used for the main study, 1980-82) to obtain detailed quantitative data about the crimes, drug use/purchase/sale, income, and expenditures during each reporting person-day. A variety of instruments were pilot tested and revised during 1978-79 (and are described in Appendix A).

Most of the information analyzed in subsequent chapters, however, comes from a weekly interview schedule that is presented at the end of this chapter. This weekly interview collected data about seven person-days of data in one interview. It took a half hour to one hour to complete, depending upon how active the respondent was and his ability to recall his economic behavior during the past seven days. This interview schedule was highly cost effective (\$10 per interview and about one hour of interviewer time).

During the main study (1980-82), each new subject gave his informed consent, and then was interviewed for five consecutive days (data were recorded on the weekly form), then the subject was asked to report on a weekly basis for the next four weeks. This generated 33 consecutive person-days of data (the first cycle) which was critical for calculating and annualizing the rates of criminal offending for each subject. The first cycle with 132 East Harlem subjects was conducted mainly in 1980-81, while the 69 Central Harlem subjects were interviewed mainly in 1981-82.

Among the East Harlem subjects, efforts were also made to conduct additional cycles of data collection in order to approximate a longitudinal design. Among the subjects recruited in 1980-81, respondents were asked to return every three to six months for additional cycles of four weekly interviews covering 28 consecutive days. In total, 201 subjects provided 11,417 person-days of data (an average of almost 57 person-days per subject).

In order to obtain systematic information about the respondent's background, project staff also developed a relatively lengthy open-ended life history interview (LHI) schedule which obtained information about demographic characteristics (sex, ethnicity, age, marital status, education, etc.), self reported involvement in a variety of crimes and drug use (including age of initiation), and prior treatment and arrest/incarceration histories. In addition, a special set of questions asked subjects to estimate their prior year's income and expenditures. For a variety of reasons described in Appendix A, however, several respondents did not complete this LHI schedule and a shortened version of it was administered to about 40 respondents.

#### F. Obtaining Valid and Reliable Economic Behavior Data

A frequently asked question is: how can you trust what they (respondents) tell you? This question addresses the long standing problem of the validity and reliability of self-report data. Other researchers have carefully assessed the validity and reliability of self reported criminality and drug use; they almost always conclude that such self-reports are considerably better than any other source of information. When assured of confidentiality, street opiate users provided answers about their criminality that was generally better than police records, or most other source of external validation. This is particularly true when the researcher wishes to find out about "successful" crimes (those committed but no arrest or police contact occurs) (also see Ball, 1976; Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982; Wish, et al., 1983; Hindelang, et al., 1982).

Three major kinds of evidence suggest that the data obtained are generally valid and reliable. First, internal consistency checks were systematically built into the interview instrument, and respondents were asked to correct discrepancies which emerged. Second, by interviewing individuals on several different occasions during an extended time period, subjects re-reported similar types of crimes and drug consumption, although their accounts exhibit important variation about the details of specific events and the dollar returns. These points are delineated in more detail in Appendix A. Third, the data have high face validity because field workers and professional staff frequently observed respondents engaging in very kinds of behaviors that they reported in their interviews about their criminal activity.

One respondent who consistently reported stealing parts from cars was observed walking down the street with a car bumper on his shoulder.

Another subject claimed to have committed a burglary the previous day in which he obtained \$600 and bought \$200 worth of drugs; he shows the field worker \$300.

Another subject who claims to have robbed a gun-runner was observed carrying four 32 magnum pistols in a shopping bag.

A respondent who reported serving as a tout on the streets was observed day after day talking to anybody who looks like an addict while trying to drum up business for a local dealer; he was observed making sales between a customer and dealer who never meet (served as a "cop man").

Four persons who sold drugs from an apartment were observed in their apartment for several days; they made 15-30 transactions per day in front of research staff.

Both subjects and other neighborhood residents wandered into the storefront and offered to sell stolen merchandise to other subjects, field workers, and research staff (see Appendix B).

These observations could be extended many times from the personal experiences of field workers and professional research staff. Thus, such observations suggest that the data analyzed in this report are sufficiently reliable and valid to provide new insights about the economic behavior of street opiate users. While such evidence does not constitute statistically documented evidence of reliability and validity, such observations may be more convincing indicators of validity than comparison with arrest information.

### Standardization of Data

In the following chapters, for each major kind of activity (crime, drug use/purchase, noncriminal income, nondrug expenditures, etc.), the major dependent variables are the percentage of respondents involved, the percentage of person-days active, the rates of involvement, and the dollar amounts involved. Since our respondents had different numbers of person-days during which they were interviewed, all data have been statistically standardized so that each respondent contributes the same number of person-days to data presented in the tables. This was accomplished by computing (for example) the mean number of burglaries per day (or dollars/per day from burglary) for each respondent and then multiplying by 100 (for 100 person-days) or 365 (for an annualized rate). Detailed information about how the data was statistically standardized and statistical tests of variance among group means are presented at the end of Chapter VI.

Since this report has been written to address several audiences (professional researchers, policy makers, lay readers, etc.), the main questions of substantive interest are directly stated and the central findings and data are clearly stated in the body of the chapter. Detailed tables and important methodological and definitional issues are attached at the end of each chapter.

### Summary

The Economic Behavior Project developed several important methodologies for obtaining daily data from street opiate users regarding their crimes and criminal returns, their use, purchase, and sale of various drugs, their income from all sources, their expenditures for all purposes, their involvement in treatment or arrest. Each respondent provided 33 or more consecutive person-days of data (i.e. they completed the first cycle). About a third of the subjects provided additional cycles (four weekly interviews or 28 person-days). Their self-reports about their drug use and criminal behavior appear to be quite reliable; the face validity also appears high as

Street opiate users were recruited from different street locations in East and Central Harlem areas of New York City. These respondents were not recruited as part of a scientific sample, hence, the findings cannot be generalized to a larger population of street opiate users.

Unlike almost all previous research about drug use and crime, the Economic Behavior Project obtained detailed information from subjects within a day to a week after the behaviors occurred. Almost all the data about their criminality involved "successful" crimes in which the respondent obtained money, drugs, or goods without an arrest or any contact with police. They typically obtained, purchased, or sold drugs, especially heroin and cocaine, with minimal difficulty.

For the first time, high quality data is available from street opiate users about their criminal activities and drug consumption on a day-by day basis. From such reports of daily behavior, the questions listed in Chapter I can be systematically addressed in subsequent chapters. The demographic and other characteristics of our 201 subjects is provided in Chapter 3; our subjects are shown not to differ greatly from methadone clients in these communities. These subjects represent a wide range of criminal behaviors and frequencies (Chapters VI - VIII, XIII) and different levels of drug consumption (Chapters IV & V), but similar patterns of noncriminal income and nondrug expenditures (Chapter IX - XI) and economic costs (Chapter XII).

Three-quarters of these subjects were not in methadone treatment and appeared to be avoiding it during the reporting period (Chapter XIV). Daily heroin users and those who engaged in robbery or burglary had much more substantial social costs and criminal impact than their less criminal or nondaily heroin user counterparts (Chapter XII & XV). All of these findings have important policy implications which are delineated in Chapter XVI.

In the following chapter, the background characteristics of our respondents is presented; they are compared with persons currently in methadone treatment.

ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR STUDY  
WEEKLY/DAILY DATA COLLECTION FORM

1. Subject Name \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Editor \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. Subject Number \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Coder \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. Date of Interview \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Type of Interview \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. Interviewer (Initials) \_\_\_\_\_

I. Did you earn any money at all over the past seven days from legitimate employment?

YES NO

If YES:

Day of Week \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

10. Any Work (YES or NO)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Any Work (YES or NO)							
11. Job Type							
12. Earnings							

II. Did you earn any money at all over the past seven days from any kind of criminal activity?

YES NO If YES: (Enter cash earnings above line; number of victimizations below.)

13. Shoplifting(resale) YES NO

14. Shoplifting(own use) YES NO

15. Burglary YES NO

16. Robbery YES NO

17. Forgery YES NO

18. Prostitution YES NO

19. Pimping YES NO

20. Con Games YES NO

21. Other Theft YES NO

22. Other YES NO

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Shoplifting(resale) YES NO							
14. Shoplifting(own use) YES NO							
15. Burglary YES NO							
16. Robbery YES NO							
17. Forgery YES NO							
18. Prostitution YES NO							
19. Pimping YES NO							
20. Con Games YES NO							
21. Other Theft YES NO							
22. Other YES NO							



VII. Were you a patient of a MTP program over the past seven days?

YES NO

If YES:

Day of Week

Date

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

54. Regular Methadone Dosage Received (Mgs.)

55. Take Home Dosage Received (Mgs.)

56. Amount Used (Mgs.)

57. Amount Resold (Mgs.)

58. Amount Given Away (Mgs.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54. Regular Methadone Dosage Received (Mgs.)							
55. Take Home Dosage Received (Mgs.)							
56. Amount Used (Mgs.)							
57. Amount Resold (Mgs.)							
58. Amount Given Away (Mgs.)							

VIII. Did you receive any other type of treatment for drug use since your last interview?

YES NO

If YES, write a detailed account and indicate what type of treatment, e.g., T.C., Private Doctor, Narcotic Antagonist, Detox, and dates of treatment.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

For Coding Use Only

59. Type of Treatment

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59. Type of Treatment							

IX. Were you arrested since your last interview?

YES NO

If YES, write a detailed account of the arrest and include dates, changes, time spent in jail, disposition etc.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

For Coding Use Only

60. Date of Arrest \_\_\_\_\_

61. # of Days in jail \_\_\_\_\_

62. Charges \_\_\_\_\_

X. Did you receive any in-kind income over the past seven days?

YES NO

If YES, enter cash value above line, source of in-kind, e.g., friend, mother, fence, etc. below line.

Day of Week

Date

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

64. Room YES NO

65. Meals YES NO

66. Cigarettes YES NO

67. Drugs YES NO

68. Alcohol YES NO

69. Other YES NO

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64. Room YES NO	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
65. Meals YES NO	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
66. Cigarettes YES NO	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
67. Drugs YES NO	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
68. Alcohol YES NO	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
69. Other YES NO	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

XI. Did you earn any money from the following sources over the past seven days?

YES NO

If YES:

Day of Week

Date

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
71. Working	YES NO							
72. Crime	YES NO							
73. Drug Business	YES NO							
74. Family	YES NO							
75. Spouse/ Paramour	YES NO							
76. Welfare	YES NO							
77. Unemployment	YES NO							
78. Other Public Support	YES NO							
79. Friends	YES NO							
80. Panhandling	YES NO							
81. Gambling	YES NO							
82. Respondent Payment	YES NO							
83. Other	YES NO							

XII. Did you spend any money over the past seven days?

YES NO

If YES:

Day of Week

Date

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
87. Living (rent, G.E. etc.)	YES NO							
88. Food	YES NO							
89. Family	YES NO							
90. Legal Fees	YES NO							
91. Clothes	YES NO							
92. Recreation	YES NO							
93. Drugs	YES NO							
94. Alcohol	YES NO							
95. Gambling	YES NO							
96. Cigarettes	YES NO							
97. Savings	YES NO							
98. Transportation	YES NO							
99. Other	YES NO							

For Coding Use Only

9. Other Criminal Activity

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

For Coding Use Only

84. Other Drugs

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

This chapter provides descriptive information about the 201 respondents participating in this study who provided at least 33 person days of data. Some information is also given about an additional 37 respondents who did not provide 33 days of data and who have been excluded from the analysis in this report.

As discussed in the methodology chapter (II), this project undertook efforts to develop a strategy for sampling of street opiate users in East Harlem. Unfortunately, no techniques were found to be successful in sampling respondents at a known probability (see Appendix A). Thus, direct recruitment of subjects from different street locations and snowball sampling was employed. While efforts were made to locate subjects who had diverse lifestyles (and the data below reflect this diversity), this project cannot make direct statements about how representative such respondents are of all street opiate users in East Harlem or Central Harlem.

Nevertheless, this chapter presents their demographic characteristics and other background factors and compares them with clients in several methadone programs in New York City. This comparison suggests that the sex and age of these 201 subjects were quite similar to their counterparts in local treatment programs. This similarity suggests that the behavioral patterns which are documented in more detail in subsequent chapters are likely to be similar to street opiate users not studied but living in the study communities.

The research design involved collecting data from two different samples of respondents -- in East Harlem\* and in Central Harlem.

\*Among the East Harlem subjects, efforts were made to maintain longitudinal contact; many of these respondents were reinterviewed on a quarterly or semiannual basis (This design effect is not considered in this report -- it will become more important in subsequent papers).

The original criteria for calling a person a "respondent" was that the respondent who had been recruited from the street must have received the project's informed consent procedures, agreed to participate in the study and have completed at least one interview (usually the first daily interview). A total of 238 persons met this criteria. The authors of this report planned to calculate annual offense rates and criminal income as well as other drug and economic variables; such calculations needed a stable number of person-days which was available when the subject completed one full cycle of interviews. Thus, staff decided to include only the 201 subjects who provided 33 person-days or more of economic behavior data.

[Table III. 1 about here.]

This meant that 37 respondents completed at least one interview but did not provide 33 days of usable data. The reasons and number of person-days completed are given in Table III. 1. Among the the 37 excluded subjects, 23 either completed five daily interviews or less; only six persons provided over 22 days of data.

While about a quarter of these were removed by staff, death, or jail, the main reason for noncompletion of 33 person-days was that these respondents did not return for the next interview. Their termination usually occurred after completion of the five daily interviews, although several persons stopped after completing one or more weekly interviews. While efforts were made to locate them on the streets, the unstable living arrangements and high mobility of such respondents made followup efforts frustrating and unfruitful.

Table III. 1 -- Number of Subjects and Days of Reporting and Reasons for Noncompletion

	<u>Number of Subjects</u>
Gave informed consent and completed one interview:	238
Provided 33 or more person-days of data:	201
Provided less data:	37
1 - 2 days of data:	6
3-5 days of data (completed daily interviews):	17
6 - 21 days of data (completed daily and about two weekly interview):	8
22-32 days of data:	6
Reasons for noncompletion:	
Removed by Staff (not eligible, crime against staff)	5
Died	1
Jail/prison, hospitalized:	3
Known to have moved out of area:	0
Could not be relocated:	7
Contacted, refused to come back	1
Did not return, reasons unknown	20

Given that many street opiate users evade conflict and other obligations by disappearing, these 37 respondents were generally following well known patterns of behavior. Nonetheless, of the 77 Central Harlem subjects participating, 69 (or 90%) completed 33 or more days of reporting. Likewise, of 161 East Harlem subjects participating, 132 (82%) completed 33 or more days.

Thus, 201 (or 84.5%) of the 238 who gave their informed consent reported to the storefront on at least 9 different occasions (5 daily and 4 weekly) and completed interviews about their criminal and economic behavior during 33 or more days. This is a high completion rate given the kinds of respondents recruited and the number of different occasions (9 or more) they had to be interviewed in order to qualify for inclusion in this study.

Characteristics of 201 Respondents

[Table III. 2 about here.]

The demographic and other characteristics of these 201 subjects are given in Table III. 2. The data is presented for subjects from both Central and East Harlem samples and for all subjects combined.

Three-quarters of the respondents were males in both samples. Only a third of the East Harlem subjects were black, while almost all Central Harlem subjects were black. Overall, these ethnic distributions appeared to be a reasonable reflection of the ethnic composition of these two communities. Thus, slightly over half (55%) of the 201 subjects were black, 44% were Hispanic, and only 1% were white.

The East Harlem subjects appeared somewhat younger than the Central Harlem respondents, although the differences were not statistically significant. That is, about 48% of of the East Harlemsubjects versus 25% of the Central Harlem respondents were age 30 and younger. Thus, 40% of the 201 subjects were age 30 and under.



Table III. 2 -- Characteristics of Respondents in the Economic Behavior Project

Number of Subjects/Clients	East Harlem (132)	Central Harlem (69)	All Harlem (201)	Methadone Programs: <sup>a</sup>		
				ARTCD (1,268)	Mt. Sinai (612)	Beth Israel (6,829)
Sex: Male	75	75	75	68	67	72
Female	25	25	25	32	33	28
Ethnicity: Black	34	92	55	66	35	39
Hispanic	64	6	44	27	46	23
White/Other	1	2	1	4	18	36
Age at end of 1981:						
Under 25	17	6	13	8	7	4
25 - 30	31	19	27	33	36	25
31 - 35	22	26	23			
36 - 40	14	19	15	59	56	71
41 and over	15	24	18			
Unknown	1	6	3			
High School Dropout-%	64	61	63			
Ever Incarcerated - %	58	72	62			
Ever Arrested - %	80	93	84			
Median number of arrests:	3	4	3			
Median number of years since first heroin use:	9	11	10			
Percent Claiming Daily Heroin Use in Past Year	64	61	63			
Principal Means of Supporting Drug Use						
Theft	41	49	44			
Drug Business	23	22	23			
Work	18	10	16			
Family, Public Support, Other	17	20	18			

a - Division of Substance Abuse Services Management Information System on Client Characteristics of Methadone Maintenance Treatment Programs as of 3/31/82.

b - Addiction Research Treatment Corporation.

Almost two-thirds of all respondents were high school dropouts. While Central Harlem subjects were somewhat more likely to have been incarcerated and arrested, the differences are not substantial. Likewise, the median number of arrests and years since first heroin use were virtually identical. Over three-fifths of both groups reported that they used heroin daily during the year prior to participation in the study (this claim of daily heroin use in the previous year was about twice as high as the percentage who used heroin on 6-7 days per week during the reporting period -- see Chapter IV). Theft and drug business were the major ways of supporting drug consumption in both groups. Work appeared to be a more important source for supporting drug use in the subject's recollections of the prior year than was actual employment patterns during the data collection phase (see Chapter IX).

The clear conclusion of these data is that the Central Harlem and East Harlem subjects did not differ from each other in most respects (other than ethnic composition). In addition, data not presented here show that employment history, marital status, education do not vary by community of recruitment. Likewise, during the year prior to recruitment, Central and East Harlem subjects report almost identical levels of use or addiction to heroin, cocaine, alcohol, and other drugs; the frequency of and income from burglary, robbery, shoplifting; total criminal income; and expenditures for drugs.

Thus, in future chapters, the information from the East Harlem and Central Harlem subjects have been combined and are analyzed together, with no distinction between the sample groups.

Comparison with Opiate Users in Methadone Programs

Table III. 2 also presents information taken from the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Service's (DSAS) management information system which continuously updates characteristics of clients in treatment. Three major programs with several methadone clinics in the East and Central Harlem areas are presented. Mt. Sinai methadone program is located in a hospital in East Harlem and serves clients from both the immediate community and from other areas of Manhattan. The Addiction Research Treatment Corporation (ARTC) has three clinics in the Harlem community as well as more clinics in black communities in Brooklyn. Beth Israel is the largest centrally administered methadone program in New York City. It has six clinics in East and Central Harlem, and an additional sixteen clinics elsewhere in Manhattan and the boroughs.

A comparison of the demographic characteristics of clients in these methadone programs clinics with the 201 subjects in this research project show the following. A somewhat higher proportion of females are in ARTC and Mt. Sinai (about a third) than among the Economic Behavior subjects (a quarter) and Beth Israel clients. Likewise, the Economic Behavior subjects have relatively lower proportion of whites (1%) than these methadone programs although ARTC has relatively few whites (4%). Mt. Sinai and Beth Israel have much higher proportions of whites because they enroll clients from all over the city.

Mt. Sinai has about the same proportion of blacks (35%) as among the Economic Behavior subjects recruited from East Harlem (34%), but relatively fewer Hispanics. Actually the ethnic composition of clinics within the Beth Israel and ARTC programs vary greatly according to the neighborhood in which they are located.

The age distribution of clients in the three programs, however, are very similar to each other and to the Economic Behavior clients. Approximately

two-fifths of clients at ARTC and Mt. Sinai and Economic Behavior subjects are age 30 and under. Beth Israel clients appear to be somewhat older; 71% are age 31 and older. If anything, the subjects recruited from East Harlem appear to be younger (48% are 30 and younger) than clients in MMTPs, while the Central Harlem subjects appear to be about as old as the Beth Israel clients.

Summary

Subjects recruited for the Economic Behavior project (and whose behavior are analyzed in the following chapters) were very similar to opiate users enrolled in methadone treatment programs in terms of their sex and age distributions. The ethnic distributions are not as well balanced, but do appear to reflect the ethnic composition of the two study communities.

Given the lifestyles of the street opiate users recruited and the fact that they needed to be interviewed on nine or more different occasions, the proportion (84%) of subjects included in the analysis below is very high. The 201 subjects exhibit high levels of maladjustment and deviance in that over three-fifths were high school dropouts, and most had prior arrests and incarcerations. They claimed almost ten years of heroin use, and most claimed to be daily heroin users.

Data to be presented in subsequent chapters will show high levels of criminality and drug use and very low levels of legitimate income or public support. These respondents appear to be among some of the most criminally active ever studied (see Chapter VIII) in a research effort.

The analysis of their economic behavior can now begin by examining their heroin using behavior; a major product is the development of a major typology of respondents according to the regularity of their heroin use.

A Heroin User Typology -37-  
CHAPTER IV  
DEVELOPING A HEROIN USER TYPOLOGY

This report is designed to provide basic insights about the economic behavior of street level opiate users -- specifically their nondrug criminal activity and drug distribution crimes, drug use and purchase, income from all sources and expenditures for all purposes. Detailed information about these topics are explored in more detail in the following chapters.

The current chapter provides data about one critical dimension of opiate use -- the frequency with which subjects used heroin. In addition, a Heroin User Typology is developed and employed as a major independent variable measuring the frequency of heroin use in the analyses which follow.

At the initial stages of analysis, a variable is needed that is relatively simple to understand, clear in meaning, and measures a central dimension of the lifestyles of street opiate users. As will become clear in this and later chapters, the subjects in this study generally used either heroin or methadone (both legal and illicit). Only on rare occasions did they consume other opiates (demerol, morphine, raw opium, etc.). Since heroin was much more common than other opiates (see Chapter V), the central drug of analytic interest is heroin.

Moreover, previous research has demonstrated that classifying respondents according to their frequency of heroin use provides meaningful distributions and relatively strong associations with other variables, especially criminal behavior. Studies based upon retrospective reports of heroin use by respondents (Ball, et al., 1979,1981,1982,1983; Nurco, 1981abc, McGlothlin, et al., 1977, 1978; Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982ab; Johnson, 1978) show that daily or near daily users of heroin, when compared with less regular heroin users, generally report more serious types of crimes, have more crime activity, and obtain larger dollar amounts of criminal income; the daily heroin user may also be more active in a variety of other behaviors as well.

Unlike previous studies which have relied entirely upon respondent reports about heroin use averaged over relatively long period of time (i.e., weeks, months, or years), this study has obtained specific data from each respondent about his/her heroin (and other drug) use on a daily basis during 33 or more consecutive days and about the dollar amounts of heroin used on each of those days. Thus, respondents can now be classified according to the proportion of days in which they reported some heroin use. Then, the dollar amounts of heroin consumed can be computed and employed to make decisions about appropriate cutting points in order to classify respondents into low, medium, and high levels of heroin use.

Calculating the proportion of person-days with heroin use.

As indicated in the Methodology Chapter (II), respondents had differing number of "person-days" during which they were interviewed. In this chapter and future chapters, all data have been standardized so that each respondent contributed the same number of days of information. For each subject, the number of person-days during which he reported heroin use was divided by the total number of person-days and multiplied by 100; this provided the percentage of person-days during which each subject used heroin.

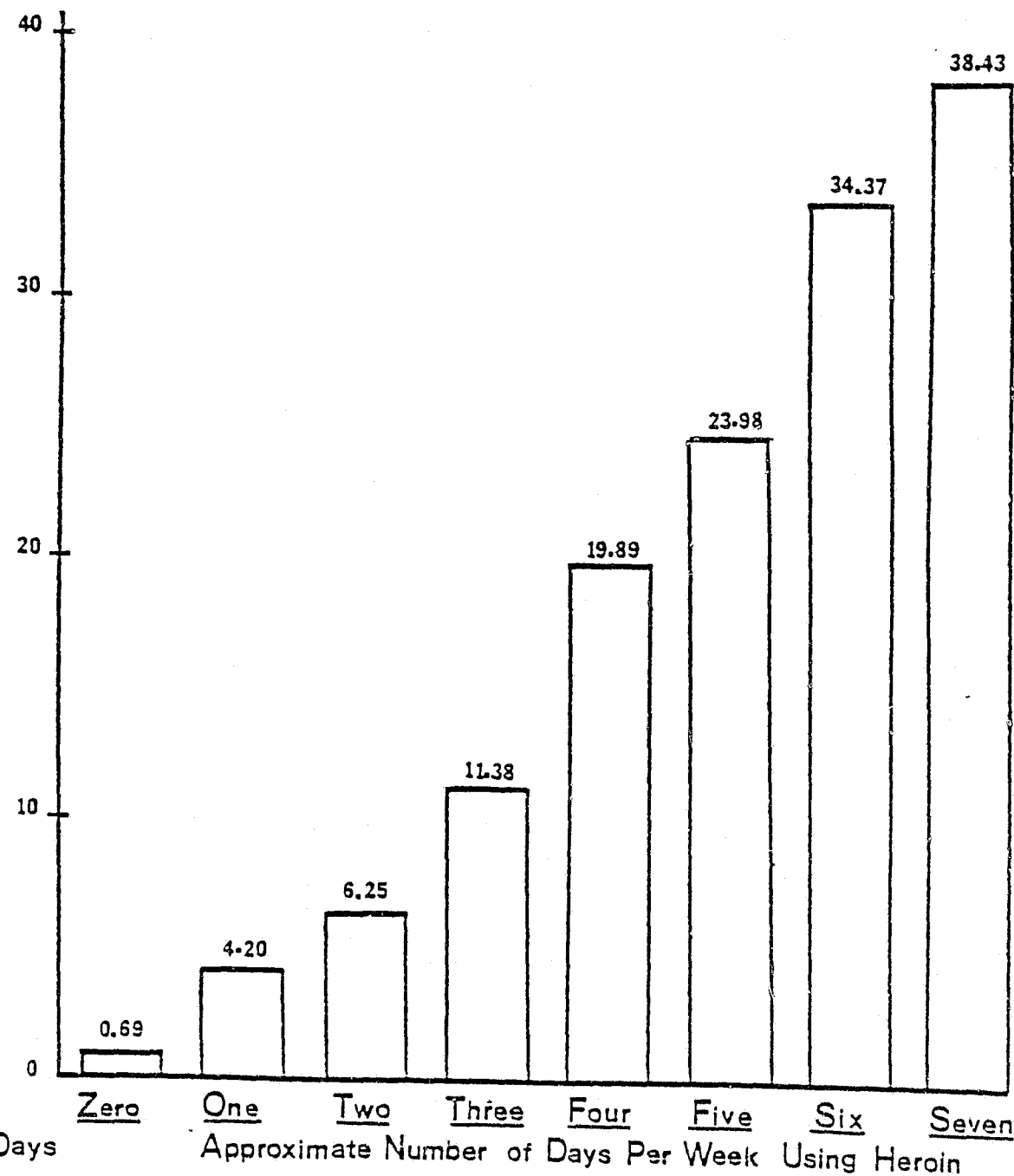
Next, respondents were classified into eight groups corresponding to the number of days per week during which they used heroin when averaged across all days of reporting. That is, subjects who reported no (zero) days of heroin use (N = 6)\* plus subjects who reported up to 7.1% of days of heroin use (N=12) were classified into a "near zero" use category. Likewise, similar calculations were performed for one, two, ... seven days per week of heroin use. The proportion of person-days, the cutting points, and approximate number of days per week with heroin use are presented in Graph IV. 1.

\* All of these six subjects were receiving legal methadone; they reported lengthy histories of heroin use.

Graph IV.1

Dollar Amount of Heroin Used Per Day (Including Nonuse Days) By Persons Classified According To Their Frequency of Heroin Use

Dollar Amount of Heroin Used Per Day



% of Days Using Heroin

0.0 7.1 21.4 35.7 50.0 64.3 78.6 92.9

Graph IV. 1 shows a strong linear trend. Those with near zero days of heroin use, consumed less than \$1 per day, while those who used heroin on approximately seven days consumed over \$38 per day. While other categories fall between, natural cutting points appeared between days five (\$24/day) and six (\$34/day). Cutting points were less clear at less frequent levels of heroin use.

These data, of course, were heavily dependent upon the number of days without heroin use. This raised the question, did the dollar amount of heroin consumed differ on days with heroin use?

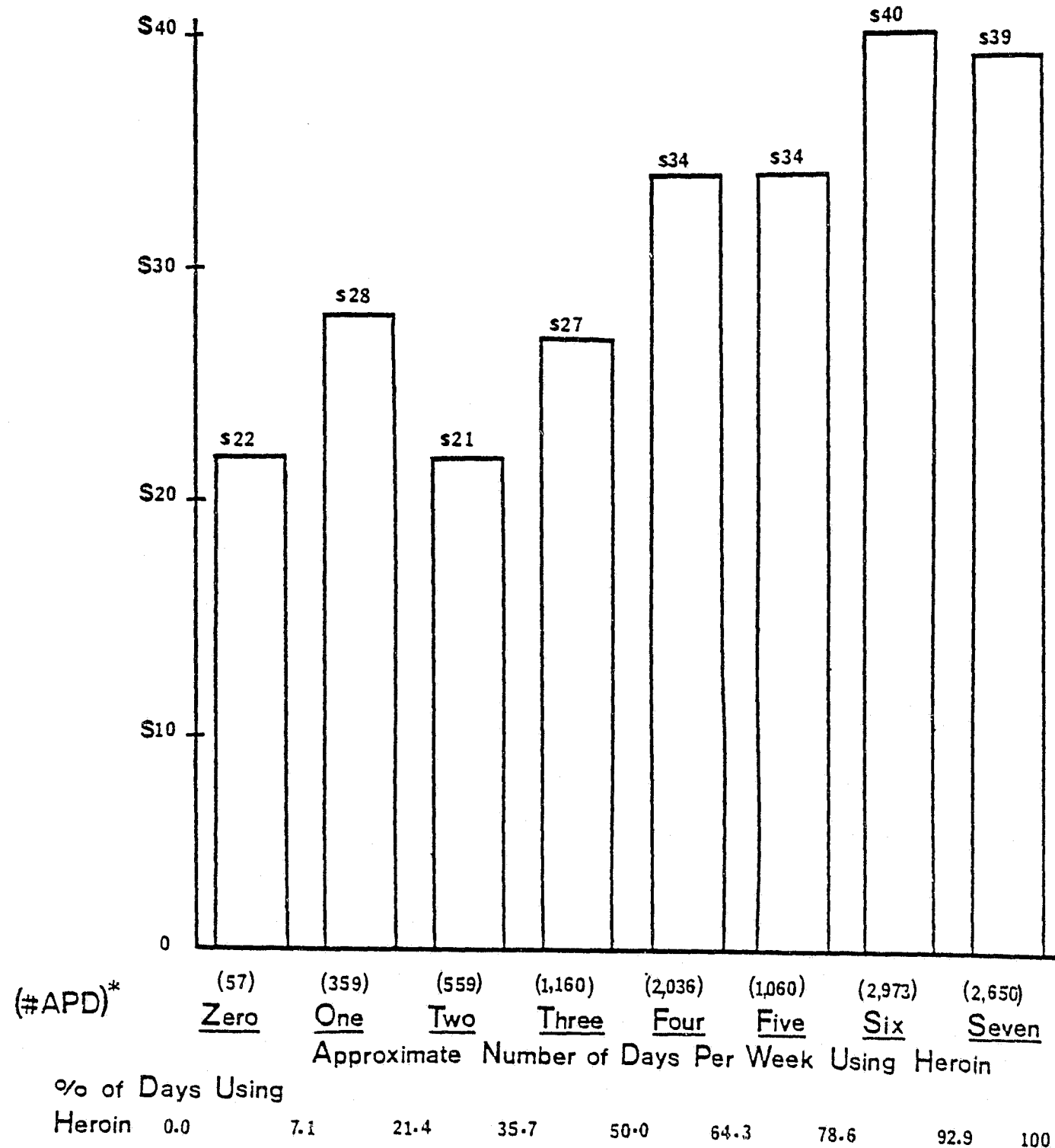
(Graph IV. 2 about here).

Data in Graph IV. 2 show some differences, but not as striking as might be anticipated. Subjects who used heroin on few days (near zero, one, two, and three days) used between \$21 to \$28 per day of heroin use. Those using heroin on four and five days consumed \$34 per day of heroin use, while those using on six and seven days consumed \$40 and \$39 per day of use. Again a natural cutting point appears between days five and six, and possibly between days three and four.

This eight category measure of drug use was also related to the crime, drug use, income, and expenditure variables reported in the next few chapters (detailed data are not presented). Given the small number of subjects in each of these eight categories, the variation between the eight groups was considerable. Thus, subjects who used heroin on seven days were not always higher than those who used on six days, although both these groups were generally higher than less frequent users. Likewise, subjects who used heroin on three days were more similar to subjects who use heroin on one or two days for some variables, but were more similar to subjects who use heroin on four or five days for other variables.

Graph IV.2

Dollar Amount Consumed Per Day of Heroin Use by Persons Classified According To Frequency of Their Heroin Use



\*#APD - Number of Active Person Days (of Heroin Use) among subjects in this category standardized so that a subject contributes a maximum of 100 person days

Defining a Heroin User Typology

In developing a useful typology, a key group of subjects, the daily heroin users were first identified. The data above show that persons who use on over 78.6% of their person days (the six and seven days per week users) closely approximate the stereotype of daily heroin users in that they have the highest dollar consumption of heroin of all groups. Such persons constituted 31% of all subjects, and used heroin on an average of 91% of their person-days.

At the other extreme, subjects were sought who were relatively inactive in using heroin. Graphs IV. 1-2 show that persons who used heroin on 35.7% or less of the time (zero, one, and two days per week) clearly belong in this group and were classified as irregular heroin users. Due to sample size considerations and a desire to maximize differences between the irregular and daily heroin users, persons who used heroin on three, four, or five days (between 35.7% and 78.5% of their person days) were included in the intermediate category and were called regular heroin users.

Thus, the eight categories were reduced to three to form a Heroin User Typology. Tables IV. 1 and 2 described the levels of heroin use by those in each category of this typology:

(Table IV. 1 and 2 about here)

Findings about the Heroin User Typology

- When subjects are classified according to their regularity of heroin use,
1. Daily heroin users constituted 31% of all subjects; as a group, they
    - had 52% of all days of heroin use in this sample; and
    - consumed 63% of the annual dollar volume of heroin by all subjects.
  2. Each daily heroin user on the average
    - consumed about \$40 per day of heroin use\* (or about 4 "dime" (\$10) bags of street heroin);
    - consumed an annual average of over \$13,000 worth of heroin.

\*- Information about the number of heroin use episodes per day was not obtained in this study.

A Heroin User Typology -43-

3. Regular heroin users constituted 39% of the subjects; as a group, they
  - . contributed a similar proportion of person days (39%) of use, but
  - . consumed only 31% of the annual dollar volume of heroin.
4. Each regular heroin user on the average
  - . consumed about \$32 (an average of about three street bags) per day of heroin use; and
  - . consumed an annual average of over \$6,000 worth of heroin.
5. Irregular heroin users constitute 30% of all subjects, but as a group, they
  - . had a very small proportion (9%) of all person days with heroin use;
  - . consumed a smaller proportion (6%) of the annual dollar volume of heroin.
6. Each irregular heroin user on the average
  - . consumed about \$23 (or about two street bags) per day of heroin use; and
  - . consumed an annual average of less than \$1,500 of heroin.

In comparison with mass media stereotypes, the dollar amounts of heroin consumed by these subjects may seem low. That is, the grand mean for all subjects for all days was \$19; and was only \$35 per day with heroin use. Even among daily heroin users on days of heroin use (\$40), the amount seems low in comparison with the daily heroin habit sizes claimed by many addicts of \$50 to \$100 or more per day. Evidence in other papers (Goldstein, 1980, Goldstein, et al., 1982) showed that self-reports of "habit" sizes by street opiate users overstated actual consumption by a considerable degree.

Other possible factors may explain the discrepancies between claimed habit sizes and mean daily consumption (as calculated here). Heroin users may report as "habit sizes" the amount of heroin they would like to use. They may fail to recall days with no heroin use or days with considerably less heroin consumption than they would like. In addition, a few subjects do average over \$50 of heroin per day of use, but more daily heroin users also have averages of \$30 or less per day of use. Thus, the few subjects with large averages are offset by their more numerous counterparts who had substantially less consumption.

A Heroin User Typology -44-

Table IV. 1  
Proportion of Subjects and Number of Heroin Use Days  
by Heroin User Typology

Heroin User Typology	Definition	Subjects		For 100 Person Days/Subject,	
		N	%	Number of Heroin Use Days Among	Column %
Irregular	(0,1,2 Days/Week)	61	30%	974	9%
Regular	(3,4,5 Days/Week)	78	39%	4,255	39%
Daily	(6 & 7 Days/Week)	62	31%	5,623	52%
Totals		201	100%	10,853	100%

Table IV. 2  
Daily Amounts and Annualized Dollars of Heroin Consumed  
by Heroin User Typology

Heroin User Typology	Percentage of All Person Days With Some Heroin Consumption	Mean Dollars of Heroin Used			% of \$ Amount of Heroin Used by Each Category During Year
		Per Heroin Use Day	Per Day*	Per Year*	
Irregular	16%	23.82	3.80	1,389	6%
Regular	55%	32.30	17.62	6,431	31%
Daily	91%	39.84	36.14	13,189	63%
Total	54%	35.45	19.14	6,986	100% (21,009)**

\* Dollars Per Day and Per Year include days without heroin use.

\*\* Sum of three groups in column "Per Year;" base for percentages above.

What the Heroin User Typology Does Not Reveal.

This Heroin User Typology is simply a classification of subjects based upon one dimension of their behavior--the frequency of their heroin use during the reporting period. While the daily heroin user may be considered as an "addict" by many people, evidence in previous papers (Johnson, et al., 1979; Johnson, 1981a) from this project as well as forthcoming papers, raise central questions about the phenomena of addiction in the lives of even the daily heroin user, much less the regular and irregular heroin user. Johnson (et al., 1979; Johnson, 1981a) showed that even daily heroin users consumed widely different amounts of heroin on consecutive days, frequently consuming other drugs as well. The regular and irregular heroin users generally have many days without heroin use. Nevertheless, on other dimensions, most of these subjects will be shown to be opiate dependent in that they use either heroin and/or methadone (licit or illicit). At this point, the reader is advised that the phenomenon of heroin and opiate addiction is more complex than previously documented. This report and later papers will document this complexity in much more detail.

Moreover, this Heroin User Typology conceals extensive variation in patterns of heroin and illicit drug consumption by individual subjects. For example, some respondents were daily heroin users for two or three weeks of reporting, but then ceased heroin consumption abruptly during the remainder of the reporting period. Such persons would be classified on the Heroin User Typology as regular heroin users when they may really have had episodes of daily use and virtual abstinence (see vignette D below; also Goldstein, 1982b).

Several of our subjects were enrolled in methadone maintenance treatment programs; a majority of these were classified as irregular or regular heroin users; very few were daily heroin users. Thus, many subjects were daily consumers of a legally provided opiate (methadone) but were classified as irregular heroin users on the Heroin User Typology. Chapter XIV provides more information about the kinds of subjects avoiding and in methadone treatment.

The Heroin User Typology and Its Purposes

Nevertheless, this classification of these 201 street opiate users will prove useful in two different ways. First, in Chapters V - XII, the Heroin User Typology will be employed as an independent variable and associated with various measures of crime, drug use, income, expenditures, and economic value. The central question: Among these street opiate users, were the three types of heroin users significantly different from each other? If so, how different? Moreover, does the Heroin User Typology reveal a positive linear relationship with a given dependent variable (i.e., robbery)?

Most importantly, as the data are presented in the next several chapters, new insights about the differing lifestyles of daily, regular, and irregular users will emerge. The accumulating evidence will show that a very disproportionate share of the crime, economic value, and social impact was concentrated among daily heroin users who committed robbery (see Chapter XV).

Kinds of Information Provided in Chapters II - VII

In each Chapter V - XII, the analysis will present three major kinds of information:

- 1) The main text will present major questions and findings from this research; findings from previous research may be included. This narrative will intentionally be kept short; only 2 - 6 major findings and relationships to the Heroin User Typology are highlighted. This will aid the reader's ability to grasp the central findings quickly. These conclusions are generally based upon detailed tabulations.
- 2) The next section of the narrative briefly highlights major findings about the frequency and amount of respondent involvement in specific dependent variables; such as particular types of crime (Chapter VI, VII) and specific drug(s) (Chapter V).

3) Vignettes or brief descriptions of persons and some typical events are included at various points during the narrative and enclosed in boxes. These vignettes bring ethnographic richness to the statistical data and exemplify persons who engage in the focal behavior and describe some of their typical events. Subjects were featured in these vignettes who were relatively typical of those most active in the focal behavior, but were not necessarily the most successful. Since these vignettes emphasize ethnographic richness, cases were also chosen in which the interviewer wrote interesting stories or quoted the respondent about a particular focal behavior. We were generally able to select from among 3 - 10 subjects.

4) At the end of each chapter, a series of detailed tables have been provided. The data have been presented in all the detail collected in the original interviews. The Heroin User Typology will be the major independent variable; hence, the level of activity by a specific heroin user type for a specific activity (i.e., shoplifting for resale) can be examined in depth by analysts interested in such behaviors.

Instructions about how data in these tables were standardized and other information about how to read the tables are presented at the end of Chapter VI).

The analysis can now turn to a major topic of interest; patterns of drug use and purchase among these street heroin users.

DRUG USE AND PURCHASE AMONG HEROIN USER TYPES

By definition, the street opiate users recruited for this study are likely to use heroin and or methadone. Although they were widely believed to be regular and heavy users of heroin, previous research (Robins, et al., 1973; 1974, 1975, 1979; O'Donnell, et al., 1976; Clayton and Voss, 1981; Brunswick, 1979ab) has found that heroin users were also among the heaviest users of many other drugs. This chapter provides additional documentation of this fact by providing detailed data about the drug use of a drug abusing sample.

Previous studies have generally been based upon self-reports of drug consumption spanning a month, year, or lifetime; thus, the detailed patterns of drug consumption and drug purchases\* documented in this chapter have not been widely available. While much information was available about their frequency of drug use, respondents in previous studies were rarely asked to report about the dollar amounts of drugs consumed in the recent past. The data below provide the first systematic information about the typical dollar amounts of drugs used by street opiate users, as well as their drug purchases.

At the earliest stages of this research, pilot efforts quickly revealed an important initial finding which was generally ignored in the professional literature and prior research. This study shows that two common beliefs were seriously wrong: 1) drug users purchased their drugs (or even most of their drugs), and 2) drug consumption implied the cash purchases of drugs.

\* In this chapter the terms "use" or "consumption" of (drug name) will refer to the actual injection (whether by swallowing, snorting, or injecting) of that drug. The "amount used" or "consumed" will refer to the standard retail value (measured in dollars) actually injected by respondent regardless of how the drug was obtained. The term "purchase" refers to the number of dollars (i.e. cash) used to buy (drug name). Other techniques for obtaining drugs without cash payments will be described in Chapter VII. Respondents can clearly have "use-days" which do not involve heroin purchase. Likewise, "purchase-days" can occur without heroin use. Even on days with both use and purchase, the dollar amounts may differ greatly.



While the purchase of drugs, especially expensive drugs like heroin and cocaine, accounted for the majority of the dollar volume of these drugs consumed (see below), evidence in this chapter will show that a sizable proportion of the dollar value of cocaine or heroin was obtained without cash purchase. Specifically, future chapters will show that many subjects obtain drugs on a substantial proportion of person-days by: a) working in various drug distribution roles and receiving payments in drugs instead of cash, b) being given drug(s) as a gift or sharing them with a friend, c) by obtaining drugs by theft from or robbery of other drug users/dealers, or d) other means.

This chapter will provide detailed information about frequency and dollar values of consumption and purchase for 11 types of substances among the three heroin user types. Approximations of the proportion of all drug(s) consumed resulting from cash purchase will also be presented.

#### A. MAJOR FINDINGS

##### Did drug consumption and drug purchase vary by heroin involvement?

With the exception of heroin, cocaine, alcohol, and illicit methadone, no or little association was shown between the Heroin User Typology and the use or purchase of other drugs. For these four major drugs, however, important variation by the Heroin User Typology occurred.

##### How did the drug use and purchase of daily heroin users differ from less regular heroin users?

1. The daily heroin users and less regular heroin users were equally likely to use any specific substance, but varied proportions of all subjects were involved with a given drug.

Table V. 1 showed that all (100%) of these street opiate users used or purchased one or more drugs. Almost all (90% or more) reported cocaine and alcohol use and 85% or more of all subjects purchased these drugs. About 50%

or more of the respondents used or purchased illicit methadone or marijuana. About a third of the subjects used or purchased tranquilizers, less than 10% used or purchased other opiates (morphine, opium, etc.), amphetamines, barbiturates, or psychedelics. While variation by the Heroin User Typology was not significant, daily heroin users seemed somewhat less likely to use or purchase marijuana, barbiturates, tranquilizers, amphetamines, or psychedelics.

2. Daily heroin users had more person-days with cocaine and alcohol use or purchase, but fewer days with illicit methadone use or purchase, than the regular and irregular heroin users. The proportion of person-days with use and purchase of other substances was not associated with the Heroin User Typology.

Table V. 2 shows that daily heroin users used cocaine on 36% of the person-days compared with 25% and 21% of the person-days among regular and irregular heroin users, respectively. Likewise, daily heroin users used alcohol on 63% of the person-days compared to less than half the days among the less regular heroin users. Conversely, daily heroin users used illicit methadone on only 4% of the person-days, compared with 12% of the person-days among the less regular heroin users. While the proportion of person-days with purchases of cocaine, alcohol, and illicit methadone was lower than the use of these substances, the same relationship with the Heroin User Typology was evident. The proportion of person-days using marijuana, other opiates, barbiturates, tranquilizers, amphetamines, and psychedelics was very similar among the heroin user types.

3. The dollar value of alcohol consumed or purchased was positively associated and illicit methadone was negatively associated with the frequency of heroin use. For all other drugs, including cocaine, no association emerged between the amounts used or purchased and the frequency of heroin use.

Table V. 3 shows that the dollar amounts of cocaine consumed (\$7) or purchased (\$5) per day was about the same among the three heroin user types. Daily heroin users consumed and purchased somewhat greater amounts of alcohol, but somewhat lower amounts of illicit methadone, than the less regular heroin users. The dollar amounts spent on all other drugs was not associated with the Heroin User Typology.

Drug Use and Purchase -51-

4. The frequency of heroin use was positively associated with the dollar amount used per day of use or expended on days with a purchase for illicit methadone, and alcohol, but was negatively associated with cocaine and most other drugs.

Table V. 4 shows that daily heroin users consumed almost \$40 per heroin use-day,\* compared with \$32 for regular and \$24 for irregular heroin users. Likewise, daily heroin users purchased \$34 of heroin per purchase-day compared with \$29 for regular heroin users and \$23 for irregular heroin users. The amount of illicit methadone used per day of use or or purchased on days of purchase did not vary by the frequency of heroin use.

Irregular heroin users consumed more cocaine (\$33) than the regular (\$24) or daily (\$21) heroin users per cocaine use-day. Weak negative associations between the Heroin User Typology and consumption per use-day (and amount purchased per purchase-day) were found for marijuana, amphetamines, barbiturates, tranquilizers, psychedelics, and other drugs.

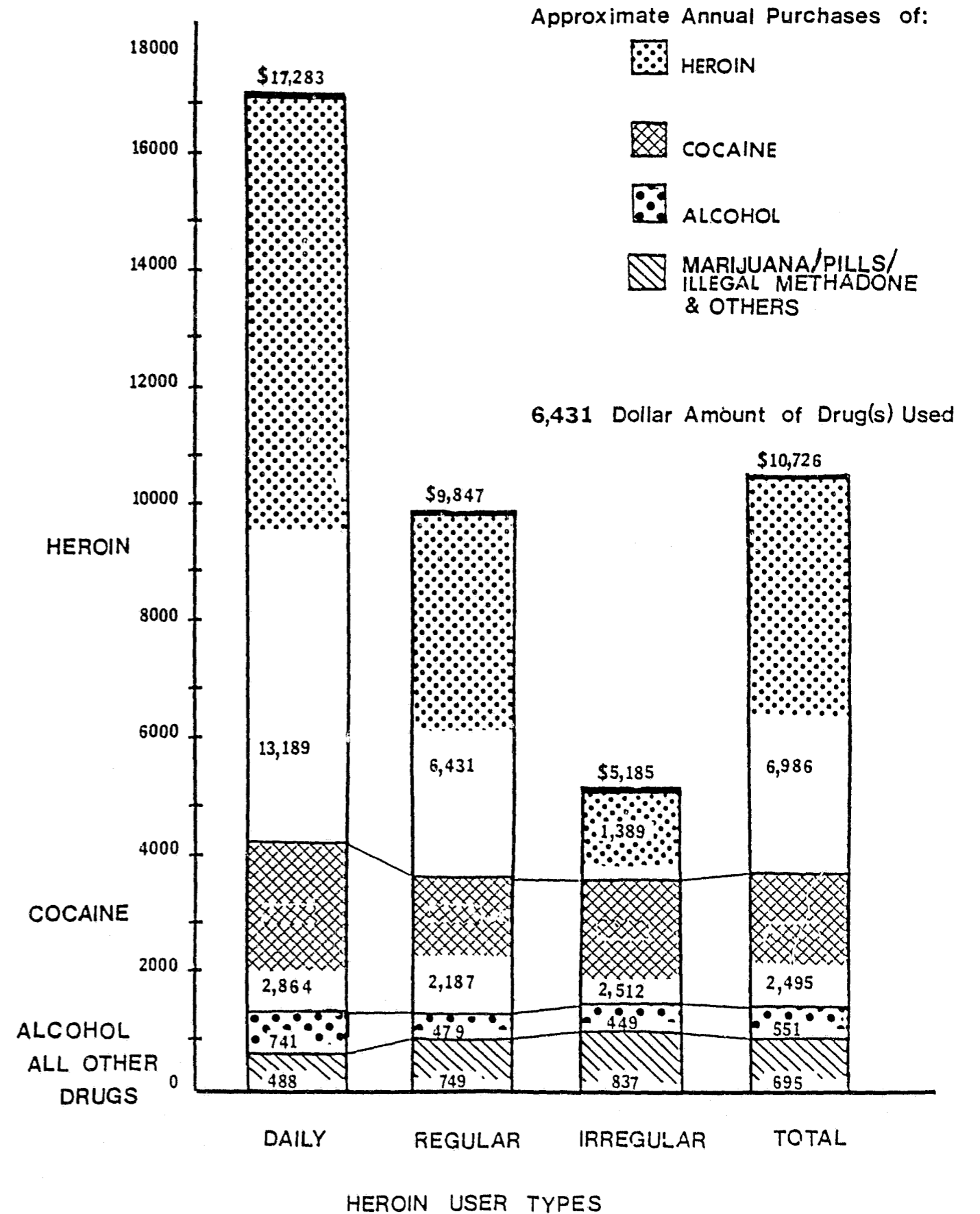
During one street year, what dollar value is consumed or expended for which drugs?

5. Heroin and cocaine accounted for almost 90% or more of the dollar value of all drugs used and all drugs purchased. The amount used or expended for cocaine was not directly related to the frequency of heroin use.

Table V. 5 and Figure V. 1 showed that the daily heroin users consumed an annual average of \$17,283 in drugs, compared with \$9,847 by the regular and \$5,186 by the irregular heroin users. The daily heroin users annually consume over \$13,000 worth of heroin, compared to \$6,400 for heroin by regular heroin users and about \$1,400 by irregular heroin users. All three groups spend about \$2,500 (+ \$300) per person upon cocaine. The average daily heroin user consumed \$741 worth of alcohol per year, which was somewhat greater than the less regular heroin users who consumed less than \$500 worth. Consumption of all other substances added to less than \$500 per year, with the daily heroin users least likely to consume these other drugs.

\* Use-days exclude days without use of that drug from the denominator; purchase-days exclude days without purchase of that drug from the denominator.

Annual Dollar Amounts of Drugs Used and Purchased Among the Heroin User Types



Although the annualized dollar amount purchased was less than the value of drugs consumed, there was almost no association between the frequency of heroin use and the purchase of specific drugs.

Approximately how much of the drug(s) consumed were accounted for by purchases of such drug(s)?

6. The purchase of drug(s) accounted for approximately 55%-90% of the drug(s) consumed, depending upon the specific drug and measure of purchase or consumption.

Among daily heroin users, heroin purchase occurred on two-thirds of the person-days with heroin consumption (61%/91% -- Table V. 2). The annualized dollar purchases by daily heroin users accounted for only 58% of the dollar volume of heroin consumed (\$7,601/\$13,189 -- Table V. 5). The ratio of cash purchases to dollar value consumed was higher among the regular (62% - \$4,019/\$6,432) and irregular (71% -- \$986/\$1,389) heroin users.

The percentage ratio of person-days with cash purchases of cocaine to days with cocaine consumption was: 72% (26%/36%) among daily heroin users, 68% (17%/25%) among regular heroin users, and 81% (17%/21%) among irregular heroin users (Table V. 2).

These percentage ratios may be misleading. They were computed from means for groups of subjects and considerable variation existed between days with drug purchase and drug consumption on different days by a given subject, and much variation between subjects. Moreover, some persons purchased cocaine or heroin to sell, thus elevating the mean purchases artificially. The complex relationships between drug use and purchase must await future analyses.

The important point was that many subjects, but especially the daily heroin users, have developed other strategies (instead of cash purchase) for obtaining the heroin they consumed. Chapter VII will demonstrate that involvement in drug distribution activities provided a sizable share of their heroin.

B. HEROIN USERS AND THEIR CONSUMPTION OR PURCHASE OF SPECIFIC DRUGS

HEROIN

All subjects used drugs, and almost all\* used heroin during their reporting period. Mainly due to the definition of the Heroin User Typology (see Chapter IV), daily heroin users consume and purchase about twice as much heroin as the regular heroin users on an annual basis, and eight times more heroin than irregular heroin users. In short, heroin is the main drug of choice for both the daily and regular heroin users, but a second choice (after cocaine) among irregular heroin users. In vignette A, respondents have been selected because their mean daily heroin consumption was virtually identical to the mean heroin consumption by daily (\$36/day), regular (\$18/day), and irregular (\$4/day) heroin users.

Vignette A - Heroin and Opiate Use and Purchase Patterns Among Daily, Regular, and Irregular Heroin Users

Kitty D. (black female, age 24) was a representative daily heroin user who also engaged in prostitution on a daily basis. She was relatively unique among daily heroin users in that she had almost no crimes other than prostitution. She used heroin on each of her 33 reporting days at an average of \$36/day. The following week was representative of her heroin using behavior.

- 1/2/82 - used \$50 of heroin, but purchased \$20; \$30 of heroin was given to her by a friend.
- 1/3/82 - used \$50 of heroin which she purchased for \$40, thus, she got a \$10 value by "copping short."
- 1/4/82 - used \$15 of heroin purchased for \$10 and \$5 by copping short.
- 1/5/82 - used \$25 of heroin purchased for \$20 and \$5 by copping short.
- 1/6/82 - used \$25 of heroin without purchase; given heroin by friend.
- 1/7/82 - used \$25 of heroin without purchase; given heroin by friend.
- 1/8/82 - used \$50 of heroin purchased for \$30, was given \$20 by friend.

Kitty also used \$2-\$15/day of alcohol every day, about a \$1/ day of tranquilizers, and \$10 - \$30 of cocaine on about half of her reporting days. She did not report any illicit methadone or marijuana use. During one week, she reported purchasing and using Darvon for 50%.

\* Five subjects did not report any heroin use during the reporting period, but were receiving legal methadone; they have been arbitrarily included among the irregular heroin users for analytic purposes.

## Vignette A (Continued) - Heroin and Opiate Use and Purchase Patterns Among Daily, Regular, and Irregular Heroin Users

Poet B (black male, age 45) was a regular heroin user and occasional thief. He graduated from high school and claimed to work as a self-employed lecturer and writer, mainly of poems which he sold on street corners; he reported no such income during the reporting period. Poet consumed an average of \$17 of heroin per day during his 33 person-days. A representative week revealed complex opiate consumption.

- 2-16-82 - used \$10 heroin from a \$10 purchase.
- 2-17-82 - used \$25 heroin, but had no heroin purchases. He copped a quarter (a \$50 bag) for a friend who shared it evenly with him.
- 2-18-82 - same as previous day.
- 2-19-82 - no heroin use or purchase. Bought 50 mgs of illicit methadone for \$10, used half (25 mgs) of it.
- 2-20-82 - no heroin use or purchase; used 25 mgs of illicit methadone from yesterday.
- 2-21-82 - no heroin use or purchase, nor illicit methadone use. Even though this Sunday had no opiate use, Poet helped sell a quarter of heroin but did not receive cash or drugs as payment.
- 2-22-82 - no heroin use or purchase; used 30 mgs of methadone given to him by a friend.

Poet also consumed \$1/day of alcohol during this week. Poet died in September, 1983 with high blood pressure, gastritis, and other alcohol-related complications.

Barry D. (Hispanic male, age 37) was an irregular heroin user who never committed nondrug crimes (except evading subway fares) and rarely helped sell drugs (see chapters VI - VII). Barry consumed an average of \$4/day of heroin during his 33 reporting days. During the initial interview, he commented, "The reason I don't do too much crime, I'm trying to cut down on my drugs." During his reporting period, he had one week with no heroin use, a week with two days, another with three days, and one week with four days of heroin use. On only two days, did he use \$25; most heroin use days involved only \$10-13. The following five days were representative.

- 10-8-81 - used \$13 of heroin, but did not purchase it. He helped sell \$18 of heroin, for which he earned \$10. He spent \$10 on cocaine and shared it (used \$5) with a friend. In addition, a friend gave him a "capful" (the top of a bottle) of illicit methadone.
- 10-9-81 - no heroin use or purchase. Purchased 60 mgs of illicit methadone for \$10, used 20 mgs on this day.
- 10-10-81 - no heroin use or purchase; used 20 mgs. of illicit methadone purchased on previous day.
- 10-11-81 - no heroin use or purchase; used 20 mgs. of illicit methadone purchased two days earlier.
- 11-12-81 - purchased and used \$10 of heroin, but no illicit methadone.

During each of these days, Barry also used \$1 of marijuana and \$1 of alcohol. He also received \$20 in cash for helping in a restaurant on 10-10-81.

## COCAINE

Almost all respondents (about 90%) reported cocaine use or purchase, with no variation by the frequency of heroin use. Although daily heroin users had more days (36%) with cocaine use than regular and irregular heroin users (25% and 21% respectively), the daily users consumed less cocaine (\$22) than regular (\$24) and irregular (\$33) heroin users per day of cocaine use. (A similar negative association holds for cocaine purchases per purchase-day.) Thus, no relationship existed between the frequency of heroin use and the dollar amounts of cocaine used (or purchased) per day or per year.

Nevertheless, cocaine approaches heroin in economic value. Subjects consumed about \$25 per cocaine use-day and purchased \$25 of cocaine on days when they purchased cocaine. Cocaine was clearly the drug of preference among irregular heroin users; they used cocaine on 21% of the days, consumed \$32 per day of cocaine use, and annually consumed about twice as much cocaine (\$2,512) as heroin (\$1,389); the same held for cocaine purchase. Thus, subjects purchased and consumed about two and a half "dime" bags of cocaine on days of cocaine use. When days without cocaine use were included, subjects consumed less than one dime bag per day, and purchased only about half a bag per day (Table V. 3).

## Vignette B - Cocaine Use by Street Opiate Users

Nick T. (Hispanic male, age 29) was an irregular heroin user mainly because he was on a methadone treatment program. But he used an average of \$57/day of cocaine during his 33 reporting days. While he had two weeks during which he used each day, the following week indicated more variability.

- 5/30/81 - used \$225 of cocaine from a \$180 purchase; he copped short.
- 5/31/81 - used \$70 of cocaine from a \$70 purchase.
- 6/1-3/82 - used no cocaine or heroin.
- 6/4/81 - used \$30 of cocaine from a \$30 purchase.
- 6/5/81 - used \$120 of cocaine from a \$110 purchase; he copped short.

Kitty D (see Vignette A) also used cocaine each day during the week; she used \$20 worth on 1/2/81, then \$10, \$5, \$20, \$10, \$10, and \$10 on successive days.

It was quite common for daily and regular heroin users to purchase both cocaine and heroin (if sufficient funds were available) and inject them together as a "speedball." If cocaine was used alone, it was as likely to be injected as snorted by our subjects.

## ALCOHOL

Alcohol emerged as the third most important drug among these street opiate users. Almost 90% of respondents used and purchased alcohol with little variation by frequency of heroin use. Surprisingly, alcohol was consumed on 63% of the person-days by daily heroin users, which was considerably higher than days with alcohol use among regular (48%) and irregular (43%) heroin users. (Similar findings emerged for alcohol purchases.) The actual dollar amounts consumed per day of use (about \$3) does not constitute a major purchase -- like heroin or cocaine expenditures.

Nonetheless, three dollars of alcohol per day is a considerable amount of alcohol to consume--equal to approximately a pint of hard liquor, or a quart and half of sweet wine, or three quarts of beer. This converts to approximately 6 ounces of pure alcohol per alcohol-use day. The most alcoholic subjects would typically begin drinking when they awakened in the morning with the shakes. They would drink steadily throughout the day. A pint of sweet wines (mainly Thunderbird or Wild Irish Rose) in a paper bag was constantly being consumed by individuals or a drinking group. Sometimes they would drink vodka or other hard liquors straight. Even when nonalcohol use days were included, the average subject consumed between two-three ounces of pure alcohol per day. The daily heroin users consumed about \$300 more alcohol and purchased over \$200 more alcohol per year than regular and irregular heroin users.

## Vignette C - Alcoholic Heroin Users

Kat E. (black female, age 35) was a daily heroin user and prostitute (also see Vignette K) who was seriously alcoholic. On 6/28/81, Kat reported being in the hospital for cirrhosis and stated: "I have cirrhosis of the liver. I can drink no more vodka. I drink wine." But on both the week before and after this hospitalization, she reported drinking \$5/day of alcohol.

Many other subjects drank staggering amounts of alcohol. [Kitty drank an average of \$6/day during the week featured in Vignette A. Nick T. drank \$8/day of alcohol during the week featured in Vignette B.]

## ILLICIT METHADONE

Illicit methadone was the only substance negatively associated with the frequency of heroin use. Daily heroin users were the least apt to use or purchase illicit methadone. They consumed illicit methadone on only 4% of the person-days compared to 12% of the person-days among regular and irregular heroin users. Nevertheless, on days of illicit methadone use or purchase, daily heroin users consumed dollar amounts (\$9-\$10) that were equal to the less regular heroin users.

On an annual basis, however, relatively small dollar amounts of illicit methadone were consumed or purchased (\$435 or less) by each heroin user type. The relationship between licit and illicit methadone was complex and will need to be analyzed in subsequent reports.

## OTHER OPIATES

Less than 10% of the respondent reported any use of opiates (other than heroin or methadone) such as morphine, demerol, opium, or medicinal opiates. These were consumed on less than 0.5% of the person-days, and involved \$6 or less on days of use. Less than \$10 per year was expended for these drugs regardless of heroin use type.

## MARIJUANA

Almost three-quarters of these street opiate users consumed marijuana or hashish (mainly marijuana) during the reporting period. Marijuana use was not significantly related to the frequency of heroin use, although daily heroin users seemed somewhat less involved than other groups. Marijuana was used on about a quarter of the person-days, and purchased about half as often. The average amount consumed per use-day was about \$3 or less. Because many subjects also engaged in marijuana sales, the mean amount (\$5) spent on marijuana per purchase-day was higher. Nevertheless, "loose joints" can be purchased for \$1 on the streets, and many subjects buy "trey" (\$3) and "nickel" (\$5) bags of marijuana which allows them to make 4 to 8 joints.

The more enterprising buy an street "ounce" (generally considerably less than a standard ounce), roll about 25-50 joints which they sell to others. Typically, however, marijuana did not involve large annual amounts being used or purchased (generally under \$400 per year).

#### TRANQUILIZERS

About two-fifths of the respondents used tranquilizers and such use occurred on about 6% and purchase occurred on 4% of the person-days. On days with tranquilizer use, about \$2 worth was consumed. Some of these tranquilizers were obtained from physicians, but most of them were purchased on the streets. Since the typical street price was \$1 per tranquilizer, subjects consumed about two pills per day of tranquilizer use. Nevertheless, such use involved less than \$50 annually. Tranquilizer use and purchase were not related to the frequency of heroin use.

#### OTHER DRUGS

(Amphetamines, barbiturates, psychedelics, and various pills)

The levels of use of these drugs was very low among street opiate users when compared, for example, with the proportion of school age youth reporting use of these drugs. Generally less than 10% of the respondents reported using any of these substances. Such use occurred on less than 0.5% of the person-days and involved modest amounts per day of use, and seldom accounted for over \$20 per year per substance. Purchases of these substances were even lower than use. Neither the use nor purchase of these substances was related to the frequency of heroin use.

#### ANY-DRUG USE

These subjects were, however, consistent drug users. All subjects used and purchased drugs, and on an average of 85% of their person-days. On a typical day, they used \$35 and purchased \$23 of drugs. Daily heroin users consumed considerably more drugs (\$49) than regular heroin users (\$32) and irregular heroin users (\$19) per use-day. Daily heroin users purchased twice as much drugs per drug purchase-day (\$30 vs. \$15) than irregular heroin users.

The annual value of drugs consumed was over \$17,000 among daily heroin users, almost \$10,000 among regular heroin users, and over \$5,000 among irregular heroin users. Most of the variation in drug consumption and purchase was due to the differing levels of heroin involvement. Because daily heroin users had more days with and dollar expenditures for heroin, their overall involvement with any drugs was substantially higher than among the less regular heroin users.

This analysis of specific drugs does not address the very complex patterns of multiple drug use by these subjects. Heroin use without the use of other substances on the same day was relatively uncommon; analysis of the many and complex patterns of heroin and other drug use by these respondents will be detailed in future papers. In the vignette below, Norton S. was selected because his average heroin use (\$20), cocaine use (\$5), and alcohol use (\$1) during the 33 days closely approximated the grand means (\$19-heroin; \$7-cocaine; \$1.5-alcohol) for all respondents. His wide variability in the kinds of drugs used, the dollar values used and purchased day by day was a typical pattern among almost all respondents. Likewise the complex techniques for obtaining drugs by other than cash purchases was common among many respondents. These are delineated in more detail in Chapter VII.

#### Vignette D - Daily Patterns of Substance Use Among A Regular Heroin User

Norton S. (hispanic male, age 37) was a regular heroin user. A common criminal activity was burglarizing abandoned buildings and stripping them of copper and fixtures which were sold to a junk yard. Even though his consumption of heroin, cocaine, and alcohol during 33 days were just about equivalent to the grand mean, the following information shows that such mean figures may be misleading.

Norton was actually a daily heroin user and alcoholic; during the 33 days, he was hospitalized for alcohol detoxification, and then followed treatment plans which curbed his alcohol use -- but not his other drug abuse.

Norton also worked regularly at a quasi-legal "hustle." He regularly bought cigarette lighters cheap (a box of 48 for \$12) and sold them on the street for twice as much making \$12 a box. On one day, he also sold (for \$2 each) six coke (cocaine) spoons on chains; he bought them for 50¢ making \$9. In selling these lighters, he told potential customers that they were "hot" and worth \$5-6 each, thus conning them into believing that cheap lighters were actually worth more.

For each day described below, the number before the slash refers to the dollar value used while the number after the slash refers to value purchased for each specific drug:

- 8/10/81 - heroin 55/30; cocaine 10/0; marijuana 5/2; alcohol 6/2; cigarettes 2/0. He received \$25 of heroin for copping drugs, \$10 of cocaine and \$3 of marijuana were received from friends. He purchased 2 pints of wine, a friend gave him a pint, and he received 3 pints of wine and two packs of cigarettes on credit from a store.
- 8/11/81 - heroin 60/40; cocaine 10/0; marijuana 3/0; alcohol 6/4; cigarettes 2/0. He received \$33 of heroin, cocaine, and marijuana for copping drugs and turning on with friends. He received one pint of wine from friends. When Norton was asked about money that was not accounted for, he replied, "I don't know. Sometimes I black out."
- 8/12/81 - heroin 40/20; cocaine 10/0; marijuana 3/1; alcohol 7/5; cigarettes 2/0. He received \$32 of heroin, cocaine, and marijuana for copping drugs and turning on with friends. He received one pint of wine from friends.
- 8/13/81 - heroin 40/30; cocaine 10/0; marijuana 2/1; alcohol 9/6; cigarettes 2/0. He received \$21 of heroin, cocaine, and marijuana for copping short and turning on with friends. He received one pint of wine from friends. "I blacked out for about 10 hours. I don't know what happened to those 10 hours."
- 8/14/81 - heroin 40/40; cocaine 20/0; marijuana 3/3; alcohol 5/5; cigarettes 2/0. He received \$20 of cocaine from a friend.
- 8/15/81 - heroin 50/0; cocaine 10/0; marijuana 0/0; alcohol 5/5; cigarettes 2/0. He obtained \$60 of cocaine and heroin for helping sell drugs.
- 8/16-20/81 - could not remember what drugs he had used because he missed his weekly interview (was interviewed on 8/28).
- 8/21-28/81 - entered a hospital for one week of alcohol detoxification and treatment. He came out on 8/28; no drug or alcohol use during week.
- 8/29/81 - marijuana 4/4. No alcohol or other drugs.
- 8/30/81 - marijuana 3/3. No alcohol or other drugs.
- 8/31/81 - heroin 13/20; marijuana 2/2; no alcohol. He turned on a friend, thus consumed less heroin than purchased.
- 9/ 1/81 - heroin 30/30; marijuana 2/2; no alcohol.
- 9/ 2/81 - heroin 68/40; cocaine 15/0; marijuana 2/2; no alcohol; cigarettes 1/0. Reported to his alcohol treatment program for group therapy and individual counseling.
- 9/ 3/81 - heroin 10/0; cocaine 30/10; marijuana 2/2; no alcohol; cigarettes 1/0. Got heroin and cocaine from copping and shorts.
- 9/ 4/81 - heroin 10/0; cocaine 30/10; marijuana 2/2; no alcohol; cigarettes 1/0. Got 30 in cocaine and heroin from friend. Reported to his alcohol treatment program for group therapy and individual counseling.

This description of Norton's drug use over a 26 day period simplifies the complexity of his behavior because he was of obtaining drugs via steering, touting, copping, copping short, and obtaining alcohol and cigarettes on credit or from one or more friends.

Norton's behavior was relatively unique in that he entered and followed a treatment schedule for alcohol detoxification. But this had little impact upon heroin consumption and cocaine use. He evidenced no interest in methadone treatment. As the following chapters unfold, we shall see that his drug using and criminal behaviors were relatively common among these street heroin users.

Drug Use and Purchase -62-

Table V. 1 -- Percentage of Respondents Using and Purchasing Drugs by Heroin User Typology

Type of Drug (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology					Heroin User Typology						
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	Total (201)	p of F	r	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	Total (201)	p of F	r
	A. Percentage of Respondents Using:					B. Percent of Respondents Purchasing:						
Any Drug Use	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--
Heroin	90.2	100.0	100.0	97.0	.001	.23	88.5	98.7	100.0	96.0	.001	.23
Other Opiates	8.2	1.3	8.1	5.5	.12	.00	3.3	1.3	1.6	2.0	.69	-.05
Illicit Methadone	55.7	61.5	48.4	55.7	.30	-.06	52.5	52.6	43.5	49.8	.51	-.07
Cocaine	91.8	92.3	95.2	93.0	.73	.05	88.5	83.3	90.3	87.1	.44	.02
Alcohol	90.2	87.2	90.3	89.1	.80	.00	85.2	84.6	88.7	86.1	.77	.04
Marijuana	80.3	70.5	67.7	72.6	.26	-.11	73.8	66.7	58.1	66.2	.18	-.13
Amphetamines	11.5	7.7	11.3	10.0	.70	.00	8.2	5.1	6.5	6.5	.77	-.03
Barbiturates	8.2	6.4	8.1	7.5	.90	.00	6.6	7.7	1.6	5.5	.27	-.09
Tranquilizers	41.0	42.3	40.3	41.3	.97	.01	37.7	32.1	32.3	33.8	.75	-.04
Psychedelics	3.3	1.3	3.2	2.5	.69	.00	3.3	1.3	3.2	2.5	.69	.00
Other Drugs	34.4	25.6	33.9	30.8	.45	.00	29.5	19.2	19.4	22.4	.28	-.10
Legal Methadone*	42.6	25.6	11.3	26.4	.000	-.28						

\*Legal Methadone is not included in the "any drug" total.  
(See instructions for reading tables at the end of Chapter VI.)



**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 4**

Drug Use and Purchase -63-

Table V. 2 -- Percentage of Person-Days Using or Purchasing Drugs by Heroin User Typology

Type of Drug (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)				Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
	A. Percentage of <u>Person-Days</u> Using:						B. Percent of <u>Person-Days</u> Purchasing:					
Any Drug Use	73.5	84.9	96.1	84.9	.000	.50	58.2	54.9	80.3	67.6	.000	.37
Heroin	16.0	54.6	90.7	54.0	.000	.94	11.8	37.7	61.1	37.0	.000	.75
Other Opiates	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.3	.19	.08	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	.54	.02
Illicit Methadone	11.5	12.1	4.4	9.5	.005	-.19	7.5	6.4	2.6	5.6	.014	-.19
Cocaine	20.9	24.9	36.3	27.2	.001	.24	16.9	17.2	26.2	19.9	.016	.18
Alcohol	42.3	47.7	62.7	50.7	.003	.23	31.2	33.9	52.7	38.9	.000	.26
Marijuana	29.9	23.3	25.4	25.9	.40	-.06	15.4	12.0	11.5	12.9	.41	-.09
Amphetamines	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.4	.22	-.05	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.2	.30	.00
Barbiturates	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	.57	-.02	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2	.71	-.05
Tranquilizers	5.9	4.6	7.1	5.8	.59	.03	4.3	3.1	5.1	4.1	.60	.03
Psychedelics	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	.73	.05	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	.79	.04
Other Drugs	3.2	2.2	2.2	2.5	.56	-.07	2.2	1.5	1.3	1.6	.53	-.07
Legal Methadone*	30.0	13.1	4.4	15.5	.000	-.33						

\*Legal Methadone is not included in the "any drug" total.  
(See instructions for reading tables at the end of Chapter VI.)

Table V. 3 -- Dollar Value of Drug(s) Used or Purchased Per Day by Heroin User Typology

Type of Drug (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology				p of F r		Heroin User Typology				p of F r	
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	Total (201)			Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	Total (201)		
	A. <u>Dollar Value of Drug(s) Used</u> Per Day:						B. <u>Dollar Value of Drug(s) Purchased</u> Per Day:					
Any Drug Use	14.20	26.98	47.35	29.39	.000	.57	11.13	17.51	29.15	19.16	.000	.46
Heroin	3.80	17.62	36.14	19.14	.000	.66	2.70	11.01	20.83	11.52	.000	.62
Other Opiates	0.01	*	0.02	0.01	.13	.10	0.01	*	0.00	*	.13	-.13
Illicit Methadone	1.02	1.19	0.45	0.91	.014	-.15	0.93	1.03	0.37	0.79	.019	-.15
Cocaine	6.88	5.99	7.85	6.83	.47	.04	5.51	3.81	5.67	4.90	.22	.01
Alcohol	1.23	1.31	2.03	1.51	.003	.22	0.88	0.94	1.59	1.12	.002	.22
Marijuana	0.98	0.64	0.71	0.77	.18	-.10	0.87	0.53	0.60	0.65	.29	-.08
Amphetamines	0.05	*	0.01	0.02	.011	-.17	0.04	*	*	0.02	.01	-.18
Barbiturates	0.02	0.05	*	0.03	.58	-.03	0.01	*	0.00	0.01	.15	-.13
Tranquilizers	0.14	0.11	0.12	0.12	.88	-.02	0.13	0.15	0.08	0.12	.62	-.05
Psychedelics	0.01	*	*	*	.65	-.07	0.01	*	*	*	.55	-.08
Other Drugs	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.05	.37	-.10	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.03	.38	-.10
Legal Methadone Use*	Number of milligrams used per day											
	16.62	6.23	1.48	7.92	.000	-.35						

\*-Less than \$0.01, but greater than zero.

\*\*Legal Methadone is not included in the "any drug" total.

(See instructions for reading tables at the end of Chapter VI.)

Drug Use and Purchase -65-

Table V. 4 -- Dollar Values Consumed Per Day of Use or Value Purchased Per Day of Purchase by Heroin User Typology

Type of Drug (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology					Heroin User Typology				
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	Total (201)	p of F r	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	Total (201)	p of F r
Any Drug@	A. Dollar Value Consumed per Day of Use of:					B. Dollar Value Purchased per Day of Purchase				
	19.32	31.76	49.26	34.60	.000 .48	15.13	20.61	30.32	22.56	.000 .36
Heroin	23.82	32.30	39.84	35.45	.006 .23	22.89	29.19	34.11	31.08	.024 .20
Other Opiates	3.49	5.33	3.92	3.94	.96 .02	5.52	3.00	**	2.31	.12 **
Illicit Methadone	8.90	9.90	10.15	9.57	.44 .11	12.30	15.93	14.33	14.22	.019 .19
Cocaine	32.87	24.04	21.61	25.10	.000 -.29	32.53	22.07	21.59	24.57	.000 -.28
Alcohol	2.91	2.75	3.24	2.98	.16 .10	2.82	2.78	3.01	2.88	.68 .05
Marijuana	3.29	2.76	2.78	2.95	.12 -.15	5.62	4.39	5.24	5.07	.60 -.03
Amphetamines	6.99	2.80	1.65	4.50	.06 -.52	11.92	4.85	0.94	6.14	.28 -.47
Barbiturates	5.64	32.09	0.93	9.86	.033 -.09	4.99	2.62	0.00	3.03	.023 -.78
Tranquilizers	2.31	2.33	1.66	2.07	.016 -.27	3.10	4.71	1.60	3.00	.043 -.16
Psychedelics	6.67	5.00	0.51	3.15	.06 -.94	7.47	5.00	0.32	3.35	.044 -.97
Other Drugs	2.01	1.96	1.51	1.86	.36 -.16	2.05	2.31	1.42	1.99	.67 -.08
Legal Methadone Use***	Number of milligrams used per day of use									
	55.36	47.55	33.63	50.92	.033 -.35					

\*Dollar amount based upon 10 days or less with use/ purchase .  
 \*\*Zero days of use/purchase, mean amount and Pearsonian r cannot be computed.  
 \*\*\*Legal Methadone is not included in the "any drug" total.  
 (See instructions for reading tables at the end of Chapter VI.)

Drug Use and Purchase -66-

Table V. 5 -- Dollar Value of Drug(s) Used or Expended Per Year by Heroin User Typology

Type of Drug (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology				p of F	r	Heroin User Typology				p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	Total (201)			Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	Total (201)		
	A. <u>Dollar Value of Drug(s) Used Per Year:</u>					B. <u>Dollar Value of Drug(s) Purchased Per Year:</u>						
Any Drug Use	5,185.83	9,846.75	17,283.07	10,726.03	.000	.57	4,061.15	6,389.78	10,639.43	6,993.92	.000	.46
Heroin	1,388.64	6,431.45	13,189.42	6,985.59	.000	.66	985.75	4,018.87	7,601.23	4,203.38	.000	.62
Other Opiates	2.92	1.23	8.54	4.00	.13	.10	2.08	0.16	0.00	0.69	.13	-.13
Illicit Methadone	373.56	435.92	162.88	332.78	.01	-.15	338.16	374.94	133.73	289.37	.019	-.15
Cocaine	2,511.82	2,187.46	2,864.09	2,494.61	.47	.04	2,010.30	1,389.73	2,068.16	1,787.33	.22	.01
Alcohol	448.69	479.26	740.94	550.70	.003	.22	320.71	343.49	578.82	409.17	.002	.22
Marijuana	358.82	234.81	257.87	279.56	.18	-.10	316.22	192.64	219.25	238.35	.29	-.08
Amphetamines	18.45	1.79	2.97	7.21	.011	-.17	15.49	1.08	1.27	5.51	.010	-.18
Barbiturates	7.48	17.83	1.04	9.51	.58	-.03	4.82	1.29	0.00	1.96	.15	-.13
Tranquilizers	49.68	39.44	42.87	43.61	.88	-.02	48.49	53.76	30.11	44.87	.62	-.05
Psychedelics	2.12	1.53	0.35	1.35	.65	-.07	2.38	1.53	0.20	1.38	.55	-.08
Other Drugs	23.65	16.03	12.10	17.13	.37	-.10	16.75	12.30	6.67	11.91	.38	-.10
Legal Methadone Use	Number of milligrams used per year											
	6,067.37	2,272.69	539.68	2,889.75	.000	-.35						

\*\* Dollar Amounts Used Per Year = Mean Amount Used per Day times 365.  
(See instructions for reading tables at the end of Chapter VI.)

## NONDRUG CRIME AMONG HEROIN USER TYPES

How much crime do street opiate users commit? How much income do they obtain from crime? How is crime linked to a lifestyle of daily heroin use? These questions still continue to be a topic upon which there is little consensus -- other than the brief answer of "a lot." In this and the following two chapters, we will address these apparently simple questions. Our answers, however, cannot be brief because the criminal lifestyles reported by our subjects were more complex than we had initially believed.

As reported in Appendix A, we discovered that the phenomena of "drug dealing" was vastly more complex and frequent than we had anticipated; thus, a whole chapter (VII) is devoted to describing the complex roles and economic values associated with the "drug business." Other forms of crime are referred to in this report as "nondrug" crimes because they do not include the illegal exchange of drugs. As used in this chapter, "nondrug crimes" refers to robbery, burglary, shoplifting and other larcenies, forgery, conning, prostitution/pimping, fencing, and other crimes.\* After describing both nondrug and drug business crimes, this information will be combined in Chapter VIII to provide more direct answers to the questions listed above.

Thus, the current chapter will provide critical new information about different measures of nondrug crime among these street opiate users and briefly compare our data with levels of self-report criminality in similar studies among criminals or drug users who were at high risk of criminal activity. This chapter will not attempt to provide a theoretical understanding of the subject's criminal behavior nor develop a typology of criminal lifestyles (see Chapter XIII and XV). Nevertheless, new insights about the nondrug crime rates and dollar returns will be presented.

\*This chapter considers only nondrug crimes having significant economic values; crimes such as homicide, assault, rape, etc. were not routinely asked.

Prior Research On Self-Reported Criminality Among High Risk Groups

The literature on criminal behavior of deviant groups and the general population has recently undergone an important shift in methodological emphasis. Prior to 1975, almost all research on criminal behavior consisted of either the analysis of the arrest and conviction histories of persons who were in contact (through jail, prison, or arrest) with the criminal justice system (such as the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports), or self-reported criminal behavior of juvenile populations, usually in a school system or a reformatory.

The late 1970's saw several major studies attempt to ascertain levels of self-reported crime in special populations at high risk for committing crime. Five studies of adults at high risk of criminal behavior have reported results that are quite similar to those presented below. All of these studies obtained detailed data in which respondents recalled their criminal behavior during the recent past (one month, year, or more, etc.).

McGlothlin, Anglin, and Wilson's (1977) retrospective analysis of persons committed to California Civil Addict Program showed that over 50% of all 1970 admissions were criminally active and almost half dealt drugs; they committed about 100 crimes per year, from which they derived a mean criminal income of \$7600 per year. During periods of daily narcotics use when not incarcerated between 1970-1975, they found that respondents had a total monthly income of \$1744, of which 55% came from nondrug crime (mainly burglary and theft) and 28% came from drug dealing; the remainder came from jobs, welfare and others.

In a similar study, Ball, et al. (1979; 1981) studied the impact of heroin addiction upon criminality among 243 Baltimore addicts. The mean number of crime-days per addict was almost 2,000 spanning a decade or more at risk. Moreover, during period of addiction, these respondents reported almost 250 crime days annually; that is, they were criminally active two-thirds of the time when addicted to heroin.

In a study similar to the present effort, Inciardi (1980; 1981) obtained information about the drug use and criminal behavior of 166 youth recruited

from Miami streets in 1978. The 70 heroin users reported 24,670 offenses in the past twelve months, or a mean of 352 offenses per subject per year. Further, 96 nonheroin drug users committed 29,982 offenses or a mean of 312 per subject per year. Thus, differences in criminal behavior between heroin and nonheroin drug users were not particularly pronounced although heroin users were more likely to engage in drug distribution, shoplifting, theft from vehicles, and handling stolen goods than the nonheroin users sampled. This study pointed to the complexity of the relationship between persons who were criminally active and their frequent involvement in a variety of crimes.

Peterson, Braiker, and Polich (1980) provided data on the criminal behavior of 624 incarcerated male felons in five California prisons in 1976. They concluded (p. 149): "differences between offenders who use drugs and those who do not are not as great as those associated with other offender characteristics." They estimated the offense rates of street offenders from their data among those involved in Part I crimes. As street offenders, their respondents had a self reported annual offense rate of 1.97 for armed robbery, 2.38 for assault, 136 for drug sales, 7.23 for burglary, 7.56 for con games, 4.35 for forgery, and 3.48 for auto theft. Shoplifting, prostitution, and other offenses by these felons were not reported. These researchers did not study the economic value of the crimes committed by their respondents.

Chaiken and Chaiken (1982ab) studied prison and jail inmates in Texas, California, and Michigan via a self-administered questionnaire. They calculated the approximate number of days per street-year on which specific crimes were committed by heroin addicts, nonaddicted heroin users, nonheroin drug users and nondrug users. They show that high cost heroin users have considerably higher levels of criminal involvement than nonheroin drug abusers. A direct comparison between their data and the current economic behavior project respondents is reported in Table VI. 8 below.

All of the studies reviewed above rely extensively upon retrospective information by their respondents. In all cases, the respondents, most of whom were obviously active in crime, were asked to recall the extent of their involvement for periods of one year (Inciardi), three years (Peterson, et al.), or segments of their entire life since initiation to drug use (Ball et al., McGlothlin, et al.). While such retrospective recall provided information that was considerably better than further analysis of arrest or other institutional data, this current research effort isolated several reasons why respondent self-reports of criminal behavior and drug use over a long time period (month, year, decade) may have inaccuracies.

Specifically, our data demonstrated wide variability for each subject's criminal behavior in whether a particular offense was committed at all during a given day, in the number of offenses committed per day, and in the dollar returns from crime during a given period of time. When asked to recall offenses across lengthy time periods, however, the respondent must necessarily average such irregular activity; he/she appeared likely to forget involvement in minor offenses which he committed numerous times. Stealing meat or clothes with a low value per item seemed so normal to some respondents that they were not be considered crimes nor would specifics about numerous minor crimes be recalled when averaged across long time periods.

In addition, Goldstein (1979, Goldstein, et al., 1982b) suggested that an opiate user's estimate of heroin habit size was frequently larger than actual consumption, in large measure due to the respondent's self image. When there is a discrepancy between self image and actual heroin-using behavior, the heroin user appeared to give information congruent with his self-image. Peterson, et al (1980,78) likewise reported that a respondent's criminal self-identity as "robber," "burglar," or "addict," was strongly related to the extent of criminal activity. Thus, a criminal self-image may also lead to inflated self-reports of criminal activity and income.

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While these issues of underreporting cannot be resolved here, estimates of offense probabilities based upon self-reported data involving lengthy recall periods may not be very precise, especially for minor crimes which occur frequently but with minor cash income for the street opiate users. Such self-reported crimes by groups at high risk for criminality, however, still provided much better information about their actual criminal behavior than the alternatives (FBI offense rates; juvenile arrests).

The detailed data about nondrug crimes have been presented in Tables VI. 1 - 7 at the end of this chapter. The central findings have been briefly summarized in a narrative which answer major questions stated in the text. The major findings will be presented as one sentence summaries; the evidence (from Tables VI. 1-7) will be briefly described in a paragraph or two. Next findings about each major offense type (robbery, burglary, shoplifting for resale, other larcenies, and other crimes) will be provided in short paragraphs. This chapter also includes "vignettes" of persons who do particular kinds of crimes and provides a brief summary of their behavior from the data and from notes which interviewers made about specific crimes they reported. Such vignettes bring rich flavor and better understanding about the lifestyles of one or two subjects and the kinds of crimes they commit.

The chapter concludes with definitions and examples of the offense classes, and an introduction to the statistical data. This includes an explanation of how the data were standardized and the significance tests employed, a summary of what each table presents, and then the tables themselves.

A. MAJOR FINDINGS

Does nondrug criminal behavior vary by heroin involvement?

Daily heroin users were criminally active on more days than regular or irregular heroin users, but such differences were important mainly for four kinds of crime -- robbery, burglary, shoplifting, and other larcenies. Daily heroin users did not commit more crimes per day or gain larger cash returns per crime, rather they were had more days with crime than the less regular heroin users. As a result, daily heroin users have more nondrug offenses and criminal cash income than regular or irregular heroin users. The frequency of heroin use was weakly or unrelated to other kinds of nondrug criminal behavior (forgery, con games, prostitution/pimping, other illegal acts, and shoplifting for own use).

In what ways did the criminal behavior of daily heroin users differ from less regular heroin users?

Tables VI. 1 - 7 exhibit several important findings:

1. A larger percentage of daily heroin users engaged in robbery, burglary, and other larcenies -- but not other types of crimes -- than regular or irregular heroin users.

Table VI. 1 shows that about 25% more daily heroin users than irregular heroin users reported a robbery, burglary, or larceny (other than shoplifting). While daily heroin users had somewhat higher proportions reporting shoplifting for resale, forgery, con games, and other illegal acts, and somewhat lower proportions engaging in prostitution/pimping, they were not significantly different from the less regular heroin users.

2. Daily heroin users did not commit more crimes per criminally active day.

Table VI. 3B shows that the number of offenses per criminally active day (x 100) was relatively similar among daily and irregular heroin users, respectively, for robbery (113 vs. 109), burglary (117 vs. 109), other

larcenies (124 vs. 109). Daily heroin users did not have the highest number of offenses per criminally active day (x 100) for shoplifting, congames, pimping, and other illegal acts, although they were somewhat higher for forgery and prostitution.

3. Daily heroin users were not more successful in obtaining a higher cash return per crime or per criminally active day from different offense classes or from the average nondrug crime.

Table VI. 5 shows that daily heroin users had lower cash returns per offense than the regular heroin users for robbery (\$77 vs. \$91) and forgery (\$38 vs. \$256), and other illegal acts (\$32 vs. \$47). Daily heroin users had somewhat higher returns per offense for burglary (\$86 vs. \$78), shoplifting (\$32 vs. \$29) and other larcenies (\$42 vs. \$29) than regular heroin users. No consistent positive linear association was observed between the frequency of heroin use and cash income per specific offense.

Moreover, daily heroin users did not have a significantly higher cash return from their average nondrug crime (\$41) than regular (\$35) and irregular heroin users (\$25); the modest linear trend ( $r=.14$ ) was not substantial. The association between the frequency of heroin use (i.e., the Heroin User Typology) and cash income per criminally active day was even less strong. (Table VI. 6).

- 4) Daily heroin users have more criminal offenses mainly because they commit crimes on more days.

Table VI. 2 shows that daily heroin users committed a nondrug crime about every third day (33% of the person-days), regular heroin users did so every fourth day (23%), and irregular heroin users did so every seventh day (14%). Table VI. 7B shows that daily heroin users, when compared with irregular heroin users, annually committed about twice as many nondrug crimes (209 vs. 116).

- 5) Daily heroin users committed robbery, burglary, shoplifting, and other larcenies, but not other nondrug offenses, on significantly more days than less regular heroin users.

Table VI. 2 also shows daily heroin users committed robbery (2.8%) and burglary (8.0%) on about twice as many person-days as regular heroin users (1.1% - robbery; 3.9% - burglary), and four times as many days as the irregular heroin users (0.6% - robbery; 1.1% - burglary). Likewise, daily heroin users committed shoplifting (13.6% vs. 4.8%) and other larcenies (4.3% vs. 1.4%) on about three times as many days as the irregular heroin users. All other offenses (forgery, congames, prostitution, pimping, other illegal acts, and shoplifting own use) did not exhibit variation in the proportion or person-days active by the frequency of heroin use.

Table VI. 7B shows that daily heroin users, when compared with regular heroin users, annually committed twice as many robberies (11.8 vs. 4.1) and burglaries (33.9 vs. 15.1), and about one and a half times as many episodes of shoplifting (71.9 vs. 46.3).

- 6) Because they had more days of criminal activity, daily heroin users had the highest criminal incomes.

Table VI. 7C shows that daily heroin users had an annualized cash income (\$8,540) from nondrug crime which was about one and a half times higher than that of regular heroin users (\$5,719), and almost three times higher than irregular heroin users (\$2,885). This higher criminal income came mainly as higher cash income from robbery, burglary, shoplifting, and other larcenies. Daily heroin users either had equivalent or lower cash income from other crimes when compared to their less regular heroin using counterparts.

- 7) The cash income per day\* from nondrug crime was relatively modest.

Table VI. 4 shows that the typical respondent obtained \$16 per day in cash income from nondrug crime. Daily heroin users obtained \$23 on the average day, compared with \$16 for regular heroin users and \$8 for irregular heroin users. Most of this differential came from their higher cash incomes from robbery, burglary, shoplifting, and other larcenies.

\* - These figures conceal considerable variation between respondents and for

Nondrug Crime -75-

Table VI. 8 -- Number of offenses per street year involved in specific crimes: Comparison of heroin users (this study) with prison and jail inmates in California, Michigan, and Texas.

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	New York Street Heroin User Type		Prison and Jail Inmates Who Were "Heroin Users, Not Addicted" in:		
	Irregular (61)**	Regular (78)**	Calif. (94)*	Michigan (82)*	Texas (48)*
AMONG HEROIN USERS WHO WERE PROBABLY NOT ADDICTED, Number of Offenses per Street Year Committing:					
Robbery	2	4	13	9	4
Burglary	5	15	31	35	29
Thefts	41 (sum)	67 (sum)	25	24	43
Shoplifting (Resale)	35	46			
Other Larcenies	6	21			
Forgery	1	1	13	14	7
Con Games (Fraud)	36	34	11	15	12

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	New York Street Heroin User Type		Prison and Jail Inmates Who Were "Heroin Addiction, All Months" in:		
	Daily Heroin Users (62)**		Calif. (204)*	Michigan (94)*	Texas (59)*
AMONG HEROIN USERS PROBABLY ADDICTED, Number of Offenses per Street Year Committing:					
Robbery	12		34	17	5
Burglary	34		68	26	35
Thefts	92 (sum)		66	50	108
Shoplifting (Resale)	72				
Other Larcenies	20				
Forgery	3		18	7	20
Con Games (Fraud)	29		18	18	24

\* Source: Chaiken and Chaiken (1982b,161; Chaiken, 1983)

\*\*Source: Table VI. 7B.

Nondrug Crime -76-

How similar was the criminal behavior of these street opiate users when compared to heroin users in other high crime populations?

The level of criminality reported by Economic Behavior subjects was similar to, or generally higher than, comparable groups of subjects in other studies of addicts or career criminals.

In the introduction section of this chapter, rates of criminal involvement from other studies were briefly presented. When compared with the data in Tables VI. 1 - 7, Economic Behavior subjects exhibit rates of involvement in nondrug crimes that equal or exceed those reported by McGlothlin et al. (1977), Inciardi (1980; 1981), Ball, et al. (1979, 1981), and Peterson, et al. (1980), or Collins, et al. (1982abc).

[Table VI. 8 about here]

A recent study by the Rand Corporation (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982ab) of inmates in jails and prisoners in California, Michigan, and Texas provided data on the approximate number of offenses per year during which they committed a variety of nondrug crimes while at liberty on the street. Data from Chaiken (1983) were closely comparable to data in this study. Table VI. 8 shows that the number of offenses per year was roughly similar for most offense types, with considerable variation from state to state.

Specifically, among "heroin users who were probably not addicted," the annual robbery rate by New York regular heroin users (4) was similar to their counterparts in Michigan (9) and Texas (4), but lower than in California (13). The New York irregular (4) and regular (15) heroin users reported about half as many burglaries per year as their counterparts in these three states (31, 35, 29). On the other hand, New York regular heroin users (67) and irregular heroin users (41) had equal or higher theft rates than career criminals in other states (25,24,43). While forgery rates were lowest in New York (1), they had higher rates of fraud/con games (about 30) than their counterparts in the other three states.

Likewise, among "heroin users who were probably addicted," the robbery rate among New York daily heroin users (12) was intermediate between Texas (5) and Michigan (17), but less than in California (34). The burglary rate among New York daily heroin users (34) was intermediate between (26) Michigan and (35) Texas but lower than California (68). The number of thefts per year by New York daily heroin users (92) was between California (66) and Texas (108). On the other hand, New York daily heroin users had lower involvements in forgery but were higher in fraud than their counterparts in other states.

These studies measured the frequency of criminal behavior in different ways (Chaiken and Chaiken by self-administered questionnaires; this study by daily or weekly interviews) and defined heroin use in somewhat different ways (Chaiken and Chaiken by the respondent's self-reported heroin addiction during a two year period while at liberty, this study by daily reports). Chaiken and Chaiken systematically sampled inmates in prisons and jails in the three states, while subjects were recruited from the streets of two communities of Manhattan. Nevertheless, the resulting annualized offense rates by heroin users appears remarkably similar in all four states. Heroin users in no state were systematically higher than other states on all offense classes. When compared to the Chaiken and Chaiken data, New York street heroin users appear less active in burglary and forgery, but more active in theft and fraud.

In all states, the group of subjects classified as most active in heroin generally appear to be much more criminally active (although not for every crime type) than their less active heroin using counterparts. The same finding we document here.

B. HEROIN USER INVOLVEMENT IN SPECIFIC MAJOR CRIMES

How many subjects become involved, with what frequency, and how much money do they gain from specific types of crime?

ROBBERY

Over a quarter of all subjects reported a robbery; almost half of the daily heroin users did so. A robbery occurred on about two percent of the person-days. The annualized rate among all subjects was 5.9 robberies per year with daily heroin users (11.8) twice as active. For all subjects, robbery seldom occurred more than once per day.

Robbery was an effective crime for raising relatively large amounts of money. The average robbery resulted in \$80 of cash income; the daily and regular heroin users had slightly (but not significantly) higher cash returns from robbery than irregular heroin users per robbery or per robbery day. Because they had more days with and acts of robbery, the annualized robbery income of daily heroin users (\$906) was twice as high as that of regular heroin users (\$377) and over five times as high as that of irregular heroin users (\$158). The following vignette provides a brief descriptions.

Vignette E -- A Street Robber Doing Robberies

Geraldo N (Hispanic male, age 25) was a daily heroin user and one of our most active robbers (He was also equally active in burglary.) He was interviewed for 117 days, during which he reported 22 different robberies on 17% of his person-days; his annualized robbery rate was 69. His returns from robbery were relatively modest at \$43 per robbery or \$48 per robbery day. On an annual basis, he would have obtained \$2,964 in cash from his robberies. As the following interviewer representative notes about his robbery episodes show, he had many small scores and only an occasional large (over \$100) score from robbery.

- 2/25/81 - "I mugged this young guy. All he had was \$11."
- 7/10/81 - "I snatched lady in the street by the neck and took her pocketbook. She had \$40 cash and \$40 in food stamps. Sold the food coupons to a store owner for \$23 cash."
- 6/11/81 - "Respondent and partner snatched a man in the street and took cassette player, watch, and ring. They sold these articles to different individuals for \$85 cash."
- 11/7/81 - "With partner, stuck up a grocery store; each made \$158."
- 2/26/82 - "Mugged a guy for \$37 cash, 1 watch (sold for \$13), 1 coat - kept for self (with knife)."
- 2/28/82 - "Mugged a guy for a radio, sold for \$20 (with knife)."
- 3/5/82 - "Geraldo and partner grabbed a man and lady in subway and pulled knife on them. They took \$150 from the man. Menace..."

## BURGLARY

Over two-fifths of respondents reported a burglary; over half of the daily heroin users did so. A burglary occurred on about four percent of the person-days; daily heroin users were active 8 percent of the days. The annualized rate among all subjects was 17.7 burglaries per year, with daily heroin users about twice as active (33.9 burglaries per year).

Burglary was as rewarding per offense as robbery. The average burglary resulted in \$81 of cash income; days with one or more burglaries provided \$91 in cash income. The annualized burglary income of daily heroin users (\$2,906) was almost three times higher than that of regular heroin users (\$1,174) and over ten times higher than that of irregular heroin users (\$256). For daily heroin users, burglary was the single crime providing them with the most cash income. The following describes burglars and their burglaries.

## Vignette F - Burglars Doing Burglaries

Kit G. (hispanic male, age 26) also did robberies, but did burglaries on 9% of his person days. He reported a relatively "sophisticated" burglary.

8/7/80 - Kit went to Brooklyn to get \$1500 from his sister, but his sister, who works, was not able to get to the bank. Kit came upon the annex of an appliance store, broke in, and, using a handtruck, stole 3 refrigerators. 'I just picked the locks in the store. I know how to do that good.' He sold each refrigerator for \$100 to three people he knew: one to a store owner, one to a social club, and one to a friend in Brooklyn who just got married.

Virgil N (Hispanic, male, age 34) used heroin daily. Interviewed for 117 days, he committed a burglary on 52% of his person-days, averaging \$32 per burglary. On an annual basis, he would have committed 193 burglaries and earned \$6,071 from them. On over 50 occasions, Virgil and one or two other partners burglarized abandoned buildings to get brass pipes and copper and sold these items to junk yards; Virgil earned from \$10 to \$40 for these crimes. However, Virgil's burglaries were not limited to these small scores:

11/29/80 - With a friend, burglarized a grocery store for \$310 cash.

12/3/80 - With 2 partners, burglarized an apartment and got a TV and some jewelry. Items were sold on the street for \$300; Virgil got \$70.

12/18/80 - Burglarized a downtown apartment by himself, got a camera, a cassette player, and a diamond ring. Sold on the street for \$400.

12/22/80 - Burglarized a grocery store with a partner; split \$227.

7/11/81 - 'Lookout-man' for two friends who burglarized a grocery store. Took an assortment of merchandise and cash; he received \$98.

11/20/81 - Broke into a grocery store; took about \$200 worth of groceries; sold these goods to persons on the street for \$140.

## SHOPLIFTING FOR RESALE (see definitions below)

Three-fifths of respondents reported shoplifting. Shoplifting occurred on over eight percent of the person days; daily heroin users were active on about 14 percent of the days and irregular heroin users on 5% of the days. Unlike robbery and burglary, shoplifting was likely to involve 1.6 shoplifting events on active days. The annualized rate of shoplifting among all subjects was 50.7; daily heroin users were more active with 71.9 per year.

Because it was committed so often, shoplifting raised relatively large amounts of cash income. But the returns per shoplifting offense (about \$30) was less than half that of robbery and burglary. Due to multiple shoplifts per day, however, these street opiate users obtained about \$49 per shoplifting day. The annualized shoplifting income of daily heroin users (\$2,334) was about twice as high as that of regular heroin users (\$1,342) and about three times greater than irregular heroin users (\$887). Shoplifting was the single crime providing all subjects, excepting daily heroin users, with the highest amount of cash income because of the large number of shoplifting events.

## Vignette G - "Boosters" and "Cattle Rustlers"

W.J. (Black male, age 37) was a daily heroin user who specialized in "boosting" from stores; he "retail fences" (sells) these items to people in the street, bars, or other neighborhood locations. He was interviewed for 33 days, and committed shoplifting on 55% of his person-days. He earns anywhere from \$20 to \$150 per incident, averaging \$36. On an annual basis, he would have committed 376 such offenses, earning \$13,483. Some examples:

11/12/81 - Stole 1 coat, 2 pairs of shoes, and cosmetics from 4 different stores; got \$100.

11/13/81 - Stole 5 pairs of adult jeans (worth \$25-\$30 each), 6 pairs of childrens jeans (worth \$12-\$15 each), 8 ski masks, 2 shirts, a belt, and some socks. Kept the belt, sold all the other items for a total of \$114.

11/14/81 - Stole 2 coats from a department store; got \$150.

11/16/81 - Stole a coat and a pair of jeans from 2 stores, sold the items to 2 persons and made \$80.

Klip N (Black male, age 30) used heroin daily, was a low-level thief specializing in 'cattle-rustling,' or stealing meat from grocery stores and selling it to neighborhood people who bought whenever it was available. He was interviewed for 33 days and shoplifted on 28 of these days (85% of his person-days). He committed 42 shoplifting incidents, 27 (68%) of which involved stealing and reselling meat; Klip got an average \$15 per theft.

OTHER LARCENIES (see definitions and examples below)

Half of all respondents reported other larcenies, with daily heroin users most active. Such larcenies occurred on about 3% of the person days. The regular heroin users were as or more active than daily heroin users in this crime per day or per larceny-day, although daily heroin users obtained slightly more money per larceny. The annualized rate among all subjects was 16 other larcenies; irregular heroin users were considerably less active -- with 5 larcenies per year. The cash returns per other larceny (\$36) were similar to shoplifting, and since multiple larcenies occur per day, these street opiate users obtained \$46 per larceny-day. The annualized larceny income of daily heroin users (\$818) was similar to that of regular heroin users (\$730) and larger than among irregular heroin users (\$142).

Very few subjects specialize in committing other larcenies. Rather persons who also committed in robbery, burglary, and shoplifting, committed other larcenies when the opportunity was present.

Vignette H -- Multiple Offenders Doing Other Larcenies

Dino D. (black male, age 42) was a regular heroin user. He specialized in 'popping shorts' or 'car popping', ie., stealing merchandise or parts from automobiles. He also burglarized apartments and committed other types of larcenies. Dino was interviewed for 61 days, committing larcenies on 33% of his person-days with an average of \$39 per larceny offense. Annually, he would have committed 144 such offenses, making \$5,625. Some examples of Dino's 'car popping' and nonshoplifting larcenies:

- 9/18/81 - Stole 2 tires from a car - sold them for \$20.
- 9/21/81 - Broke into a car and got 3 tool boxes - sold them for \$45.
- 1/13/82 - Stole box of thermal underwear off truck sold to fence for \$80.
- 10/2/81 - Broke into a car and stole a portable radio, sold it for \$40.
- 10/12/81 - Stole TV from car, sold for \$45; also, with partner stole bike, sold for \$30, which was split.
- 11/17/82 - Broke into car, stole AM/FM cassette player, got \$40.
- 11/18/82 - Stole tire from van, sold to individual in the street for \$30.

MISCELLANEOUS CRIMES (Forgery, Con Games, Prostitution/Pimping and Other Illegal Acts -- see definitions and examples below)

Generally less than a third of respondents engaged in each of these behaviors, with the exception of "other illegal acts." Likewise, excepting prostitution, these crimes occurred on less than 2% of the person-days. On days that they occurred, con games appeared to be most frequent -- with almost five events per day. Such con games were mainly three-card monte players, shills, or lookouts conducting several games. Prostitution occurred about twice per day of involvement.

While the cash returns per active day were substantial (\$50 or more) for forgery, con games, prostitution, and pimping, they generate relatively modest cash returns on an annual basis (forgery -\$162; con games - \$406; prostitution - \$742; pimping - \$100, other illegal activities - \$339) with little variation by the frequency of heroin use.

Vignette I -- Forgery Events

Nefertiti K. (black female, age 32) was a regular heroin user who engaged in burglary, shoplifting, and prostitution, but was involved in forgery on a greater percentage of her person-days (9%) than any other crime. Annually, she would have committed 33 forgeries per year, making \$20,031. She had a friend who worked in the payroll section of a bank. They obtained a false ID and applied for loans. One time she applied for a \$2,000 loan but only got approved for \$1,500; she gave her friend \$500.

Another time a loan for \$1,250 was approved, and they split this amount evenly. She also stole checks from mailboxes; on one occasion she stole a \$256 check, took it to a fence, and received \$186.

Vignette J -- Con Games and Three Card Monte

Gabby E. (Hispanic male, age 25) was a regular heroin user. He engaged in a variety of crimes, but specialized in cons, running a 3-card monte game on a particular street corner of mid-town Manhattan. He was involved in these cons on 33% of the 124 days he was interviewed, making \$84 per day and \$12 per offense. Annually, he would have committed 820 cons (games) and made \$10,096. Typically Gabby worked with 2 or 3 partners; he deals and they work as shills and lookouts, although on occasion roles were switched. (Once, while he was the lookout-man, Gabby picked the wallet of a man who was watching the game.) Usually, as the dealer, he took a greater share of the earnings.

- 11/3/80 - 9 games-made \$125; \$50 for self, \$50 to shill, \$25 to lookout.
- 11/4/80 - 13 games-made \$220; \$100 for self, \$70 to shill, \$50 to lookout.
- 11/5/80 - 7 games-made \$75; \$40 for self, \$20 to shill, \$15 to lookout.  
Chased by police.
- 11/7/80 - 12 games-made \$350; \$150 for self, \$125 to shill, \$75 to lookout.
- 11/8/80 - 8 games-made \$200; \$75 for self, \$75 to shill, \$50 to lookout.

## Vignette K -- Prostitutes and Pimps

Kat E. (black female, age 35) was a daily heroin user and engaged in prostitution on 61% of her person-days. She averaged \$85 per day and \$21 per incident. Annually, she would have engaged in 873 such incidents and made \$18,692. She charged \$20 per session, and tried to average 5 customers a day; 'Johns' must also pay for the hotel room. On one day she earned \$150 but when our interviewer asked, "How many tricks was that from?" Kat replied, "I don't know. I was on my back all day, I couldn't keep count." Kat also engaged in various other crimes. For example, on several occasions she shoplifted food from grocery stores. One time she and a partner (who had a pistol) 'took off' an ice cream truck for \$250, which was split evenly.

Sleepy D. (black male, age 37) was a robber and dealer who used heroin regularly. He engaged in a wide variety of criminal activities, including shoplifting for resale, forgery, and robbery. On 24% of his person-days he was involved in pimping, earning \$64 per incident. Annually he would have engaged in pimping on 88 days, making over \$5,600 from this activity. Sleepy reported 8 pimping incidents to our interviewers. One time his girl friend 'turned a trick', earning \$30, which was split evenly. The following week he reported 4 pimping incidents, earning \$320. On one of these days Sleepy 'watched the back' of another friend while she turned 2 tricks; she gave him \$14 for doing this.

## Vignette L -- "Prostitutes" as Lures for "Chump" Robberies and Larcenies

Several female subjects posed as prostitutes to bring "tricks" to settings where a male partner would rob them -- they referred to this as a "chump robbery." In addition, they would also steal money from men in bars, or pick pockets of potential customers ("chump larcenies"). Rarely, however, would they actually have sex with a "John" for money.

Sue S. (Hispanic female, age 34) was a low-level robber and a daily heroin user. During her life-history interview she informed our interviewer that for 10 months (but 'just on weekends') in 1972 she 'set up' about 12 tricks a night. She posed as a prostitute, pretending to take them home, she either robbed them herself or with a partner. During her weekly interviews she reported 4 such incidents:

- 12/11/81 - Set up 2 tricks. A friend robbed them of \$230. Money was split.
- 12/15/81 - Took home a drunk from bar and robbed him on the way.
- 12/17/81 - Robbed drunk from bar on way home for \$93
- 12/27/81 - With partner got \$130 in a con game making believe she was a prostitute. Split the money evenly with partner.

## Vignette M -- Other Illegal Acts

Kit G. (Hispanic Male, age 26) was a regular heroin user. On one occasion, Kit accepted an offer to earn \$225 from an older man who lived in his neighborhood to beat up a man who had 'stolen' his young wife. Kit received a \$100 down payment and beat the man up on 8/5. Also, the older man told Kit of a 'good score' worth \$10,000 that Kit could do shortly. Kit told our interviewer, "I'll tell you about it when I do it." On 8/6 Kit received the rest of the money from the older man. He was supposed to receive \$125 but Kit conned him out of an extra \$60 by telling him that a friend helped on the job and the extra payment was for his friend.

Nondrug Crime -85-  
DEFINITIONS OF NONDRUG CRIMES

The Uniform Crime Reports definitions were followed as closely as possible. Brief definitions of crimes and examples of the more complex crimes have been provided below (also see Vignettes for other examples.)

Robbery -- was the taking of money or property from another person by force or threat of force.

Burglary-- was breaking into or forcible entry into a building/apartment; this usually includes taking of money or property, but there was no personal confrontation with the victim. Included unlawful entry and attempted breaking and entry with the intent of stealing.

Shoplifting was the taking of merchandise from a business or store and (Resale)-- reselling it for cash income. Sometimes subjects shoplifted merchandise which they traded for drugs having a standard economic value which was considered as the equivalent of cash income.

Shoplifting was taking merchandise from a business or store, but keeping (Own Use)-- it for own use or to give to another person as a gift (i.e., no cash income was obtained).

Special Note Regarding Shoplifting Events and Amounts.

Respondents occasionally obtained several items of merchandise from a given shoplifting event, they sold most of it for cash (i.e. resale), but kept one or two items for personal use or as a gift (i.e. own use). This event was coded as one offense of "shoplifting (resale)" but not as a "shoplifting (own use)" event. However, the value was entered in both places. Thus, income from the sale of the merchandise was entered as "cash income from shoplifting-resale" and the approximate dollar value of the kept merchandise was entered as "value of shoplifting own use."

Since "shoplifting (own use)" may involve a dollar value, but not be an event, and since the value of merchandise kept for own use may be different than what would be obtained from an actual sale, the tables below present "shoplifting (own use)" as a separate category which is not added into the totals for nondrug crimes.

Other Larcenies-- involved almost all other forms of theft and includes stealing from trucks or vehicles ("car popping" to our subjects), or stealing/taking parts from vehicles, pocket picking or purse snatching, taking merchandise from a delivery truck, stealing from family or friends, ordering and eating a meal then walking away without paying, and a variety of other similar behaviors. Also included in this category was auto theft; although the Uniform Crime Reports included Vehicle Theft as separate from larceny, only three auto thefts were committed by our low income subjects -- few of whom have learned to drive and/or steal cars.

Nondrug Crime -86-

Forgery-- involved falsely signing names to checks or credit card purchase slips in order to obtain goods or money. They typically forged stolen checks or credit card slips.

Con Games-- involved obtaining money by promising something that cannot be delivered, or other such fraud. The most common such event involved the respondent as a leader or shill in a three-card monte game. Thus, numerous events (i.e., games) may have resulted in little income.

Prostitution- involved female respondents having sex for money from a paying customer. Males engaged in such acts on rare occasions. Males were frequently hired by female prostitutes to "watch their backs" (protect them from being assaulted or robbed by customers or other criminals). This differed from pimping in that the male was a quasi-employee and nonsexual friend (usually) of the female.

Pimping-- involved the respondent receiving money from a prostitute or a woman who had obtained funds from her sexual activity. Male subjects were seldom classic "pimps" with several girls working for them. Rather, pimping occurred when their spouse or current (and usually temporary) girl friend was sent out to "turn a few tricks" and then gave the respondent money.

Other -- involved a wide range of offenses which typically may be committed frequently but had low dollar returns. This included Illegal Acts being a distant accomplice to a crime (i.e., being paid for recommending a female who will forge a stolen credit card having a woman's name; helping a burglar find another person who will assist him or identifying rich victims -- the respondent is not involved directly in the crime as a participant or direct accomplice, but is paid for his referral activity). Selling stolen merchandise which the respondent did not steal (a form of fencing).

By far, the most common offense in which a majority of respondents engaged on a relatively routine basis was "theft of services," especially not paying subway or bus fare. But such fare evasion has not been included as a crime in these tables because it does not result in cash income (i.e., it is an avoided expenditure -- See Chapter IX).



D. INSTRUCTIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING TABLES VI. 1 - 7

The following tables present a variety of measures for examining criminal behavior and the dollar returns from crime. Only the most important findings have been highlighted in the narrative above. Crimes which few subjects committed, that occurred infrequently, and/or raised little money have been included in these detailed tabulations.

Standardization of Respondent Criminal Activity and Cash Returns

This study was unique in that it obtained data on a daily basis about the number of criminal acts and the dollar returns from such activity. In fact, there were really four major units of analysis which can and will be used in meaningful ways: the individual respondent, the day or person-day (a 24 hour period for one respondent), the criminal offense, and the dollar value. Measurement of the dollar value was even more complex than anticipated because the returns from crime were in the form of: a) cash income (actual dollars received in a robbery or received from the stolen merchandise), or b) the approximate dollar value of the merchandise kept or drugs obtained when a direct conversion to cash did not occur.

In the data presented below, the actual reports (raw data) by a given respondent for specific person-days have been statistically standardized. That is, each of the 201 subjects contributed at least 33 days of data, but several subjects were interviewed for 60 or more days. Thus, the information for each respondent was standardized by dividing the number of days involved in a given behavior (i.e. robbery) by his total number of reporting days to provide an average per day.

Thus, even though a given respondent may be much more active than others, all data have been adjusted so that he contributes an equal number of person-days to the mean amounts presented in the tables below. After computing for each subject, the mean number of days, mean number of events, or mean dollar amounts per person-day, each individual subject's means have been summed and averaged across the 201 subjects (or heroin user subgroups) have been computed and presented in Tables VI. 1-7.

The standard deviations have not been presented because the tables were already complex. Moreover, only between subject variation was included here. The daily (day-by-day) variation within subjects has not been included but was very extensive. Nevertheless, for almost all means presented, the inter-subject standard deviation around a given mean was generally about as large as the mean itself. The reason for this substantial variation was that for any given behavior, such as robbery, a very sizable number of subjects are zero (they have done no robbery), but a small number have been quite active (many robberies and high robbery income). Thus, the noninvolved subjects kept the grand mean relatively small while the very active subjects greatly increased the standard deviation.

Nevertheless, an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) has been undertaken to show whether the differences in the means of the daily, regular, and irregular heroin users were significantly different from each other. This ANOVA has been performed for each type of offense and each measure of activity (i.e. offense rates per day). These results are presented in the next to last column headed "p of F"; this is the significance level (p) of the "F" test in the one way analysis of variance of differences between group means.

Likewise, since the independent variable (Heroin User Typology) might be hypothesized to be positively linked to almost all forms of criminality, the Pearsonian correlation was computed by the ANOVA program, and has been presented in the last column headed "r." This measures the amount of slope

for the best fitting straight line that can be predicted by the Heroin User Typology for a given dependent variable; the r value documents whether the expected positive linear trend was present or not. An r of .10 or less denotes a very weak linear trend; an r of .25 or over generally suggested a strong association in this study.

In tables where the denominator was the number of days or number of offenses (Tables VI. 3B, 5, 6), the base Ns for percentages were based upon the standardized 100 person-days per subject, but which have been adjusted by the number of subjects. This standardization created a "synthetic" number of days or offenses wherein each respondent's mean per day was multiplied by 100 in both the numerator and denominator. This greatly inflated the number of cases (i.e., number of person-days or number of offenses) upon which a given percentage was based and greatly increased the probability that the "p of F" would be highly significant. To prevent this, the sum of squares of the between group means has been adjusted by the ratio of the number of subjects to the number of active days or offenses. Thus, the "p of F" given has been adjusted by the number of subjects. The "r" value will not be affected and the actual figures (means) presented are an accurate reflection of the data and respondent activity.

Brief Definitions of Dependent Variables

Tables VI. 1 - 7 have a standard format. The independent variable, the Heroin User Typology, appeared at at the top, along with the totals for all respondents; measures of association discussed above ("p of F" and "r") have been presented in the last two columns. The row variables contain the same list of specific offenses, with a total for "any nondrug crime" in the first row (shoplifting-own use was excluded for reasons given above). The major change from table to table was the unit of analysis (subjects, person-days, offenses, or dollars) in the numerator and denominator. The following briefly defines the relevant measures in each table.

<u>Table Number</u>	<u>Description of Measure</u>
VI. 1	Percentage of <u>respondents</u> who reported committing one or more of each offense type during their reporting period.
VI. 2	Among persons classified in each category of the Heroin User Typology, the percentage of <u>person-days</u> in which they committed one or more offenses of a given type.
VI. 3A	(Upper half) The <u>number of nondrug offenses per day</u> (x 100) with every respondent contributing the same number of days (due to standardization).
VI. 3B	(Lower half) The <u>number of nondrug offenses per criminally active day</u> (x 100) per subject. This showed how many offenses were committed on the days when that crime occurred.
VI. 4	The mean <u>cash income per day</u> per subject from each type of nondrug crime; <u>days without criminal income</u> were included in the denominator.
VI. 5	The mean <u>cash returns per nondrug offense</u> per subject. This shows much <u>cash income criminals</u> make from the average crime.
VI. 6	The mean <u>cash returns per criminally active day</u> per subject. Days without crime were excluded from the denominator.
VI. 7A	(top third) <u>Number of days per year</u> per subject that various types of crime were committed. This annualizes the percentage of person-days active.
VI. 7B	(middle third) <u>Number of nondrug offenses per year</u> per subject. This annualizes <u>the number of offenses per day</u> . This is also extremely close to a perfect measure of lambda, a statistical measure of the crime rate per year while not institutionalized. (See the longer discussion of lambda in Chapter VIII below).
VI. 7C	(bottom third) <u>Cash income per year</u> per subject annualized the daily cash income. This shows how much heroin users of various types would typically earn in cash income during 365 days of street time (with short term jail stays included as days with zero dollars).

Nondrug Crime -91-

Table VI. 1 -- Percentage of Respondents Committing Nondrug Crimes by Heroin User Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
	During Reporting Days, Respondents Committing:					
Any Nondrug Crime	87	94	97	93	.10	.15
Robbery	20	23	44	28	.005	.21
Burglary	31	42	56	43	.017	.20
Shoplifting (Resale)	51	62	68	60	.15	.14
Other Larcenies	36	53	60	50	.03	.18
Forgery	10	9	13	10	.74	.04
Con Games	26	27	34	29	.58	.07
Prostitution	20	19	13	17	.53	-.07
Pimping	10	16	6	7	.70	-.05
Other Illegal Acts	38	40	42	40	.89	.03
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	31	35	32	33	.90	.01

\* Shoplifting for Own Use is not included in "Any Nondrug Crime" total.

Nondrug Crime -92-

Table VI. 2 -- Percentage of Person-Days on Which Nondrug Crimes Were Committed by Heroin User Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
	Percentage of Person Days Committing:					
Any Nondrug Crime	13.8	23.2	33.5	23.5	.000	.37
Robbery	0.6	1.1	2.8	1.5	.002	.23
Burglary	1.1	3.9	8.0	4.3	.000	.29
Shoplifting (Resale)	4.8	7.3	13.6	8.5	.003	.23
Other Larcenies	1.4	4.3	4.3	3.4	.012	.18
Forgery	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	.77	.05
Con Games	1.8	2.2	1.6	1.9	.83	-.01
Prostitution	3.5	3.7	3.9	3.7	.98	.01
Pimping	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	.98	.00
Other Illegal Acts	1.3	2.0	1.5	1.7	.57	.02
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.3	.84	-.04

\*Shoplifting for Own Use is not included in "Any Nondrug Crime" total.

Nondrug Crime -93-

Table VI. 3 -- Nondrug Crime: Offending Rates Per Day and Per Criminally Active Day by Heroin User Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
A. Number of Nondrug Offenses per Day (x 100)						
Any Nondrug Crime	31.8	44.5	57.2	44.5	.06	.17
Robbery	0.6	1.1	3.2	1.6	.002	.23
Burglary	1.2	4.1	9.3	4.8	.000	.29
Shoplifting (Resale)	9.5	12.7	19.7	13.9	.12	.14
Other Larcenies	1.6	5.9	5.3	4.4	.006	.17
Forgery	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.4	.43	.08
Con Games	9.8	9.3	8.0	9.1	.97	-.02
Prostitution	6.3	7.4	8.7	7.5	.89	.04
Pimping	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	.97	-.02
Other Illegal Acts	1.9	3.2	1.7	2.4	.26	-.01
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	1.8	1.9	1.5	1.7	.82	-.03
B. Number of Nondrug Offenses per Active Day with One or More Offenses** (X 100)						
Any Nondrug Crime	230	192	171	189	.20	-.13
Robbery	109	108	113	111	.20	.12
Burglary	109	106	117	112	.20	.15
Shoplifting (Resale)	197	174	145	164	.10	-.18
Other Larcenies	109	137	124	128	.20	.02
Forgery	100	107	161	127	.20	.35
Con Games	562	429	498	485	.20	-.03
Prostitution	181	201	223	203	.20	.17
Pimping	120	103	100	107	.20	-.15
Other Illegal Acts	144	157	114	142	.20	-.08
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	127	142	127	133	.20	.00

\* - Shoplifting for Own Use is not included in "Any Nondrug Crime" total.  
 \*\* - The Base N for active days (3B) can be computed for each corresponding cell by multiplying the number of subjects in heroin use group (Ns= 61,78,62) by the percent of days active (3A) in the corresponding cells.

Nondrug Crime -94-

Table VI. 4 -- Cash Returns from Nondrug Crime: Mean Cash Income Per Day by Heroin User Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
Mean Cash Income per Day Per Subject from:						
Any Nondrug Crime	7.90	15.66	23.40	15.70	.000	.34
Robbery	0.43	1.03	2.48	1.30	.004	.23
Burglary	0.70	3.22	7.96	3.91	.000	.27
Shoplifting (Resale)	2.43	3.68	6.39	4.14	.034	.18
Other Larcenies	0.38	2.00	2.24	1.59	.004	.21
Forgery	0.15	0.82	0.25	0.44	.55	.01
Con Games	1.12	1.12	1.10	1.11	.99	-.00
Prostitution	2.02	1.98	2.12	2.03	.99	.00
Pimping	0.11	0.31	0.27	0.24	.75	.04
Other Illegal Acts	0.54	1.51	0.58	0.93	.46	.00
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	0.27	0.22	0.16	0.21	.47	-.09

\* Shoplifting for Own Use is not included in "Any Nondrug Crime" total.

Table VI. 5 -- Cash Returns Per Nondrug Offense by Heroin Use Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
Mean Cash per Nondrug Offense from:						
Any Nondrug Crime	24.88	35.21	40.93	35.24	.20	.14
Robbery	69.27	91.20	77.02	79.96	.20	-.01
Burglary	57.19	77.63	85.60	80.78	.20	.06
Shoplifting (Resale)	25.62	28.98	32.47	29.81	.20	.12
Other Larcenies	24.56	34.11	41.89	35.98	.20	.14
Forgery	57.93	256.06	37.62	107.41	.05	-.19
Con Games	11.43	11.98	13.65	12.2	.20	.05
Prostitution	32.06	26.84	24.10	27.38	.20	-.22
Pimping	22.44	53.13	66.43	46.76	.05	.63
Other Illegal Acts	27.83	47.06	31.78	38.84	.20	.03
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	12.95	10.29	10.69	11.24	.20	-.06

\* Shoplifting for Own Use is not included in "Any Nondrug Crime" total.

Table VI. 6 -- Cash Returns Per Criminally Active Day by Heroin User Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
Mean Cash Income per Criminally Active Day from:						
Any Nondrug Crime	57.25	67.63	69.86	66.76	.20	.08
Robbery	75.79	98.21	87.30	-88.98	.20	.01
Burglary	62.24	82.24	100.10	90.82	.20	.09
Shoplifting (Resale)	50.49	50.30	47.15	48.78	.20	-.05
Other Larcenies	26.83	46.65	52.11	46.22	.20	.16
Forgery	57.93	274.00	60.51	136.06	.05	-.07
Con Games	64.19	51.72	68.12	59.63	.204	.04
Prostitution	58.00	54.06	53.78	55.10	.20	.08
Pimping	26.93	65.44	66.43	54.58	.05	.50
Other Illegal Acts	39.99	73.95	38.19	55.63	.20	-.03
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	16.47	14.67	13.59	14.94	.20	.07

\* Shoplifting for Own Use is not included in "Any Nondrug Crime" total.

Table VI. 7 - Annualized Crime Days, Offense Rates, and Cash Income from Crime(s) by Heroin User Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
A. Number of Person-Days Per Year Per Subject Committing:						
Any Nondrug Crime	50.4	84.6	122.3	85.8	.000	.37
Robbery	2.1	3.8	10.4	5.3	.003	.23
Burglary	4.1	14.3	29.0	15.7	.000	.29
Shoplifting (Resale)	17.6	26.7	49.5	31.0	.003	.23
Other Larcenies	5.1	15.6	15.7	12.5	.012	.18
Forgery	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.2	.77	.05
Con Games	6.4	7.9	5.9	6.8	.83	-.01
Prostitution	12.7	13.4	14.4	13.5	.98	.01
Pimping	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.6	.98	.00
Other Illegal Acts	4.9	7.5	5.5	6.1	.57	.02
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	5.2	4.9	4.2	4.8	.84	-.04
B. Number (Lambda) of Nondrug Offenses Per Year Per Subject of:						
Any Nondrug Crime	116.0	162.3	208.7	162.6	.06	.17
Robbery	2.3	4.1	11.8	5.9	.002	.23
Burglary	4.5	15.1	33.9	17.7	.000	.29
Shoplifting (Resale)	34.6	46.3	71.9	50.7	.12	.14
Other Larcenies	5.8	21.4	19.5	16.1	.006	.17
Forgery	.96	1.2	2.5	1.5	.43	.08
Con Games	35.9	33.8	29.2	33.0	.97	-.01
Prostitution	23.0	26.9	32.1	27.3	.89	.04
Pimping	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.7	.97	-.01
Other Illegal	7.0	11.7	6.3	8.6	.26	-.01
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	6.6	6.9	5.4	6.3	.82	-.03
C. Cash Income Per Year Per Subject from:						
Any Nondrug Crime	2,885	5,719	8,540	5,729	.000	.34
Robbery	158	377	906	474	.004	.23
Burglary	256	1,174	2,906	1,429	.000	.27
Shoplifting (Resale)	887	1,342	2,334	1,510	.034	.18
Other Larcenies	142	730	818	579	.003	.21
Forgery	56	300	93	162	.55	.01
Con Games	410	408	400	406	.99	.00
Prostitution	739	722	773	743	.99	.00
Pimping	41	114	100	87	.75	.04
Other Illegal Acts	197	552	212	339	.46	.00
Shoplifting (Own Use)*	97	81	57	79	.49	-.09

\*Shoplifting for Own Use is not included in "Any Nondrug Crime" total. All figures given are the amounts per day multiplied by 365 days.

DRUG BUSINESS CRIMES AMONG HEROIN USER TYPES

Drug selling, especially of heroin, opiates, and cocaine, is one of the most serious crimes in American society. During the early years of this research, under the Rockefeller Drug Law of 1973, imprisoned persons convicted of selling large amounts of these drugs were mandated to be sentenced to life in prison or lifetime supervision after several years in prison. Moreover, the public ranks the sale of narcotics as an offense twice as severe as robbery (Collins, et al., 1982b; Wolfgang and Figlio, 1982); it is widely considered one of society's most serious offenses, exceeded only homicide and aggravated assault with serious injury.

Despite such legal statutes and public opinion, however, drug selling appears to be one of the most frequently committed crimes among prisoners (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982ab), heroin addicts on the streets (Inciardi, 1980, 1981; Ball, et al., 1981; Ball, 1982), drug abusers in treatment (Collins, et al., 1982abc; Sells, et al., 1976). The public stereotype of a drug seller, as someone selling drugs which he does not use or uses seldom, was rare among research subjects. Most research evidence showed that persons tend to sell drugs they used quite frequently, and such dealing earnings were generally used to obtain the drugs they consumed (Johnson, 1973; Clayton and Voss, 1981).

When researchers have inquired about drug selling activity among drug using populations, they generally obtained extensive information about drug selling because so many drug users do it and do so at high rates. Nevertheless, few researchers have studied the many different kinds of activities which might fall under the rubric of "drug selling." In the following discussion the terms "drug business" or "drug distribution" will be employed to include a variety of ways in which these street opiate users engaged in illegal drug transfers or helped to facilitate such transfers.

Drug Sellers/Dealers

Prior research has generally assumed that positive responses to questions about drug selling involves face-to-face transactions between a buyer (who obtains drugs) and a seller (who obtains cash income). In the pilot phases of the Economic Behavior Project, however, staff quickly discovered much greater complexity in the drug distribution system than reported in the existing research literature. Research subjects clearly and routinely differentiated between "drug dealing" and a variety of other distribution roles. In an earlier paper from this project, Goldstein (1981) described a variety of ways of "getting by" or "getting over" by which street opiate users obtained drugs with no or little cash expense. Many of these activities involved the respondent in various distribution activities involving illegal drugs.

Face-to-face transfers of drugs from a seller to a buyer was called "dealing" or "selling" on the street. Even among "dealers," our subjects differentiated "house connections" from "jugglers." (See vignette N).

## Vignette N -- Dealers, Jugglers, and House Connections

Gaston I. (black male, age 50) was daily heroin user who also committed several thefts. Drug sales were his major activity, but this involved low level "juggling" in which he rebagged a larger amount into smaller bags and resold them. He reported cash income from dealing on 76% of his person-days. In one week he indicated the following dealing activity:

- 9/18/81 - bought one quarter for \$40, made it into 10 \$10 bags, sold 6, used 4.
- 9/19/81 - did the same as yesterday but used 8 and sold 2.
- 9/21/81 - got 20 Tuinals on consignment, sold for \$4 each, made \$80, gave person back \$40.
- 9/22/81 - bought a quarter, made it into 10 bags, sold 7 and used 3.
- 9/23/81 - Same as yesterday, made the quarter into 8 bags - used 3 and sold 5.

China A. (Hispanic female, age 29) was a regular heroin user who functioned for a couple of weeks as a "house connection" in which she performed several roles. A nonusing dealer would come to her apartment with large amounts of heroin and cocaine. She would inject some of the drugs and tell the dealer how much it could be cut. She would then "cut" and "bag" it behind a locked and fortified door which contained a small peep hole. Five to six runners or "cop men" would locate customers and bring their money to the door. With special code knocks, they would indicate how many bags of cocaine or heroin were wanted.

They would put the money through the peep hole; China would count the money and give them the drugs through the peep hole. China would keep rough records of the amount of business each runner did, and placed the money in a box. Her boss would come later, count the money, and bring new supplies of drugs. He paid her in drugs or cash or both. For example, on 7/15/81, she reported 70 heroin transactions, and 200-300 cocaine transactions for which she received payments of \$50 cash, \$50 heroin, and \$30 cocaine. She also paid the "runners."

Steering, Touting, and Copping (STC)

In addition, these street opiate users performed a variety of other activities which they did not consider as "drug selling or dealing." These standard drug distribution roles included: "steer," "tout," "cop," "hold," "test," "lend works," "pick-up," and "run a shooting gallery."

Steering, touting, and copping (henceforth abbreviated in this report as STC) involved overlapping role relationships between actors in drug distribution events. "Steering" involved the subject directing a potential customer to a dealer who would make the sale. "Touting" involved a subject finding customers for a particular dealer. "Copping" (person was called a "cop man") involved the respondent as an intermediary who transported money and drugs between a dealer and buyer who never met. A given respondent may engage in one and usually more such activities during a given day. Any given transaction might involve some elements in which a respondent acts as a steerer, as a tout, and then as a cop man.

## Vignette O -- Steerers, Touts, and Cop Men

Ephraim S (Hispanic male, age 30), was a daily heroin user and engaged in a wide variety of low-level distribution activities. For example, in a four day period he indicated the following:

- 7/6/81 - copped about \$200 worth of coke and \$200 worth of heroin for 2 neighborhood people and 3 white guys from New Jersey, earned \$15 and \$40 worth of heroin.
- 7/7/81 - helped a house connection. It was a slow day. I stayed in the street and talked to drug purchasers. They gave me money to go up and cop from the house dealer. Got \$2 in cash, \$5 worth of heroin and \$5 worth of coke from purchasers. I also got \$80 in cash and \$65 worth of heroin from the dealer.
- 7/8/81 - bought 3 half-quarters for \$20 - sold them for \$25. Bought 3 \$10 bags of heroin for \$7 each and sold them for \$10 each.
- 7/9/81 - helped the dealer again - dealer's regular steerer is in Puerto Rico for 3 weeks; dealer called me to help him - we've known each other for 4 years.

Blackie D (Hispanic male, age 35) was a daily heroin user who also committed some thefts. He worked mainly as a steerer and/or tout for one particular heroin dealer. He reported drug income obtained from S/T/C on 31% of his person days. For every 5 persons that he sends to the dealer, he gets a 1/2 quarter of heroin if they bought 1/2 quarters; he receives a full quarter (\$50 value) if 5 buyers bought quarters. He also cons people in his drug business activity. One day, two people from out of town came to New York to buy dope - they gave Blackie D. \$200 to cop for them. He took the money, went 'over the roof,' and did not return with drugs.

From the point of view of a person who wished to buy the best quality drugs for the standard street retail price, it might be difficult to distinguish a steerer (believed to be more neutral) from a tout (usually employed by the dealer to locate customers). If a potential buyer asked the subject to "cop" some drugs for him, a subject who was steering would typically convert to a "cop man." Since these three forms of drug distribution occur frequently, and were almost impossible to keep separate, they have been combined in the data presented below into a category of "steering, touting, copping."

Other Drug Business

Likewise, subjects reported parallel drug distribution activities which will be referred to as "other drug business" (see Goldstein (1981) for longer discussion and examples) and included acts such as:

- a) "lend or rent works" to a friend, acquaintance, or paying customer who does not have a needle and/or syringe;
- b) "run a shooting gallery" in which others pay the respondent for a place (usually an apartment or abandoned building) to inject their drugs;
- c) "hit" another person by injecting drugs into veins which they cannot reach;

Vignette P -- Shooting Galleries

Mack C. (Hispanic male, age 29) was a regular heroin user who ran a "shooting gallery" and "rented works" - for \$1 or \$1.50 - "it depends. And if a person wants me to hit him, I'll charge him a dollar. Some give me cash, some a 'taste.' Its according to what they get, if they get enough. If they are in a good mood they give me a taste, and if they see I'm sick they'll give me a taste, if I ask." He works in his cousin's shooting gallery. The following is one weeks activity:

- 7/7/81 - rented works to 30-40 people, got \$30-\$40. Also copped for 4-5 people, about \$150 of heroin - got about \$75 worth, gave 1/2 to cousin.
- 7/9/81 - rented works, made \$35; copped for 4 people, got \$80 worth of heroin, gave 1/2 to cousin.
- 7/11/81- rented works, got \$35; also copped for 4 people, got \$90 of heroin, gave 1/2 to cousin.

- d) "test" drugs for dealers to determine the purity and recommend how many times it can be cut;
- e) "hold" drugs for a dealer [usually the respondent physically possesses ("holds") the dealer's drugs. The dealer makes the sale, takes the money, and directs the customer to the holder. The dealer indicates via hand signals the amount of drugs to dispense. The holder transfers the drugs to the buyer and the transaction is complete.]
- f) "run" drugs for a dealer, transporting relatively large quantities from one locale to another.
- g) "guard" or "watch the back" of a drug seller to protect him/her from robbery, theft, or assault.
- h) "lookout" for police, undercover agent, known enemy, etc.
- i) "serve" a drug dealer by cleaning apartment, cooking, shopping, building things, and do general tasks as requested.

Vignette Q -- Role Diversity in the Drug Business

Neville E. (black male, age 32) was a daily heroin user working for a dealer. On one day he "held" the dealer's heroin and when the dealer got the correct amount of money; Neville handed the drugs to the buyer. On other occasions, he made sure the money was "correct." For example, a buyer who wanted a quarter of heroin will give \$50 to a cop man, who in turn gave it to Neville, who counted the money to be sure it was correct. He gave the money to his dealer, who gave him the quarter. Neville gave the drugs to the cop man, who returned it to the buyer. He did 10-40 such transactions per day.

Neville was paid \$50/day by his dealer. But in addition, he stole some of the money he received for the dealer (\$20-50/day). In addition, he "tapped the bags" before returning it to the cop man and stole \$20-\$50 worth of drugs which he consumed. He also bought drugs with cash from this dealer, paying \$35 per quarter (or has "avoided expenditures" for heroin of \$15).

If a buyer approached him directly, Neville would also serve as a "cop man." Neville reported cash income from these activities on 67% of his person-days.

Tom S. (Hispanic male, age 30) was a daily heroin user. He used his apartment as a shooting gallery and rented works for \$2 per person. He also copped drugs for people, getting \$2 per person, and he rented works to all these customers. Oftentimes, instead of getting money from the people he copped for, they gave him 'a taste' (shared their drugs) from what they bought in drugs. For example, on 11/27/81, all 10 people that he copped for 'took him to the cooker.' Tom S. also sold heroin and cocaine for a dealer. He got \$4 for every \$10 he sells, but 'I always get it fucked up because I'm shooting drugs all day long.' He said that this made the 'big dealer' angry with him because the money is "always messed up". Tom's friend told our interviewer that 'his memory was not very good and he does not speak very good English'.

Darwin B (black male, age 18) was a daily heroin user who committed almost all forms of crime. During a two week period, Darwin worked in his friend's 'candy' store - " he sells cigarettes, candy, marijuana, heroin, and coke. I'm sort of like a watch man. I make sure the money is correct and no trouble starts. For this I receive \$75 worth of heroin and \$25 worth of coke [a day]. I I sell some of the heroin. I spend maybe 12-16 hours a day there. I sleep upstairs, they have a little office I stay in."



Drug Thefts

A relatively rare, but very rewarding way of obtaining large amounts of cash or drugs, was to rob, burglarize, or steal from a drug dealer. When a subject reported such an event, the offense and the cash income obtained was classified under the appropriate nondrug crime category (i.e., as a robbery, burglary, or theft). When the respondent obtained drugs during such an event, the standard retail value of the (stolen) drugs was coded as a "drug theft;" such drug thefts constituted another way of obtaining drugs without cash payments.

## Vignette R -- The Big 'Score' -- Robberies and Burglaries of Dealers

Ben Q (Hispanic male, 41 years old) was a robber-dealer and a daily heroin user. He committed the most lucrative crime reported during the study. With a partner, Ben burglarized a drug dealers apartment and got over \$16,000 cash; his share was \$8,235. He stated that he "wasn't interested in drugs - we had hit him for drugs before!" [see below].

When our interviewer commented that burglarizing a dealer's apartment was very risky, Ben replied, "Everything we do is risky". Ben gave \$4,000 to his wife. She was angry that he committed this crime, and stated that he better straighten out or she would leave him, however, "she took the money anyway." Ben planned to spend some of the money on a computer course, would like to send his wife to Puerto Rico, and maybe put a down payment on a house or a business. (He never did so).

Our interviewer asked Ben why, after this big score, he was out on the streets the next day selling loose joints -- his usual activity. Ben replied, "What am I going to do? Stay in my apartment all day? I like to hang out, and when I hang out I sell loose joints. I don't like to be bored."

Shortly after this crime, an individual from the neighborhood gave the dealer Ben's description; Ben then decided to enroll in an alcohol detox program at a hospital. The dealer was subsequently arrested for selling heroin to minors.

Four days before this event, he burglarized the same dealer who was also a fence. He and a partner stole jewelry and 20 quarters of heroin. They split the heroin, and sold the jewelry to another fence for \$1,000. Ben Q. made \$500 and 10 quarters of heroin (a \$500 value).

Kyle T. (black male, age 31) was an irregular heroin user who committed robberies and sold drugs. On 4/13/81 he and a partner stuck up 3 drug dealers for \$500 in cash and \$630 worth of heroin. They split the money and drugs in half. Kyle used, sold, and gave away his share of the drugs.

"Drug Income" and "Payments in Drugs"

Persons involved in illicit drug distribution were typically offered payments in drugs or cash or some combination of both. In the data presented at the end of this chapter, income from drug distribution activities have been separated into "cash income" and "drug income." "Cash income" referred to the number of dollars (in direct cash payments) obtained; this included cash earnings from "dealing" (direct sales), "STC" (steering, touting, and copping), and "other drug business" as defined above.

"Drug income" referred to the standard retail street value (dollar equivalent) of drugs that have been obtained without the cash purchase of such drugs. This included drug thefts, "payments in drugs," and avoided expenditures for drugs.

1. "Drug Thefts" involved the dollar value of drugs obtained by robbing, burglarizing, or stealing drugs from another drug dealer or user (as defined above).
2. "Payments in drugs" were usually direct reimbursements for some labor intensive activity by the respondent that was directly analogous to money paid to salesmen in the regular job market. Unlike regular employment, however, the employer and employee relationship was very ambiguous, frequently temporary, and changed rapidly in the drug business. Some common examples have been given in vignettes N - S above.
3. "Avoided expenditures-drugs" involved respondents obtaining some of their drugs for "free," in that they did not pay cash, nor perform work, nor steal the drug(s). The main "cost" to the respondent was a powerful, but informal, expectation that he would reciprocate on a future occasion when he had drugs but the current giver did not.

Such exchanges involved the illegal transfer of drug(s) (i.e. a crime event) and an economic value (the approximate dollar value of the drugs) obtained without cost.

Vignette S -- Getting Drugs for "Nothing"

- . A respondent obtained two "dime" bags (value of \$20) of marijuana as a birthday present.
- . A subject "got down" (injected with) a friend and consumed half of his friend's bag of heroin (value of \$5).
- . A respondent shared a joint with a friend who did not expect immediate repayment (although an obligation to reciprocate at a later date was implicit).
- . A respondent "copped short." That is, he consumed five bags of heroin which he purchased for \$45. He obtained a \$50 value, while the \$5 difference was considered as drug income.
- . While staying with a girl friend, a respondent drank a six-pack of beer in her refrigerator and smoked a pack of her cigarettes.
- . A subject shared a pint of wine which he did not purchase with two bottle gang members. Another subject "borrowed" cigarettes from someone else when he needed it. The value of such alcohol or cigarettes was recorded as drug income -- avoided expenditures.
- . Another subject obtained gifts of money for purchasing drugs. "I ran into an old girl friend who just got out of the army. She lives over on the West Side. I stayed with her all week. She gave me about \$80 a day to cop my drugs - she has a whole lot of money, I don't know how much but alot."

FINDINGS

Was drug business activity related to the frequency of heroin use?

Some aspects of the drug business were related to heroin use. While involvement in steering, touting, and copping to obtain drug income was generally related to the frequency of heroin use, drug selling was not. Moreover, daily heroin users were significantly more likely than less regular heroin users to obtain avoided expenditures-drugs (but not alcohol or cigarettes).

How does the drug business activity of daily heroin users differ from less regular users?

1. Daily heroin users and less regular heroin users were about equally likely to obtain cash income and drug income from drug business activity. All subjects engaged in some forms of drug distribution.

Table VII. 1 shows that about three-quarters of all respondents obtained cash income from the drug business. Less than half obtained cash income from direct drug sales with the irregular heroin users slightly more involved in sales than the daily and regular heroin users. Two-thirds of the subjects gained cash from steering, touting, and copping (STC) with the daily heroin users somewhat more involved in these activities.

All respondents obtained some drug income (i.e., drugs without cash purchases). About a fifth of the subjects received drug income from drug sales, with no differences according to the Heroin User Typology. Irregular heroin users were less apt (62%) to obtain payments in drugs from STC than the regular and daily heroin users (over 80%). Daily heroin users were more apt to have some involvement in drug thefts. Since virtually all subjects did so, no variation by the Heroin User Typology was evident in the proportion of subjects receiving drugs, alcohol, or cigarettes for "free" (avoided expenditures).

2. Daily heroin users were active on more person-days in gaining cash income and drug income from STC than the less regular heroin users. The percentage of days with drug sales for cash or drug income was not related to the frequency of heroin use.

Table VII. 2 shows that respondents engaged in drug sales on only about 9% (7.3% + 1.2%) of their person-days, most of these days with drug deals resulted in cash income (7.3% of person-days) rather than drug income; however, this did not vary by the Heroin User Typology. Steering, touting, and copping occurred more frequently (both with cash income and drug income); daily heroin users were active on about twice as many person days as regular heroin users, and were about three times more active than irregular heroin users, especially for STC with drug income.

Likewise, daily heroin users gained drugs through avoided expenditures on almost three times as many days as the irregular heroin users. But no variation by the frequency of heroin use existed in the percentage of person-days with avoided expenditures for cigarettes and alcohol, nor for drug thefts.

Nevertheless, almost half of the person-days of the irregular heroin users, almost two-thirds of the person-days of regular heroin users, and 80% of the person-days of daily heroin users involved some kind of drug business activity. Thus, on well over half of the days, respondents had some drug business activity.

3. Respondents obtained more drug income than cash income from their drug business activity.

"Drug business income" refers to the sum of cash income from drug transactions plus the sum of drug income from payments in drugs, drug thefts, and avoided expenditures for drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes.

Table VII. 3 shows that the annual drug business income (\$6,140) came almost equally in three major forms: as cash income (\$1,868), as avoided expenditures (\$2,083), and as payments in drugs and from drug thefts (\$2,189).

4. Daily heroin users obtained about twice as much cash income and drug income from drug business activity as the less regular heroin users.

Daily heroin users obtained more dollars from almost all types of drug business activity than less regular heroin users. They obtained about twice (\$2,641) as much cash income from drug sales and STC than the less regular heroin users (under \$1,500).

The daily heroin users also obtained \$2,949 as payments in drugs for STC which was about twice as much as was received by the regular heroin users and over five times as much as was obtained by the irregular heroin users. Daily heroin users also obtained \$3,403 worth of avoided expenditures for drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes, or almost twice that received by regular heroin users and three times that received by irregular heroin users. Daily heroin users also obtained slightly more drug income from drug sales and thefts of drugs than their counterparts although the dollar amounts averaged under \$600 per year.

Overall, daily heroin users obtained about twice as much total drug business income (\$10,170) as the regular (\$5,284) and three times as much as the irregular heroin users (\$3,138).

5. Respondents committed an average of 665 drug transactions per year, of which somewhat over half involved direct drug sales; the remainder involved steering, touting, and copping.

Table VII. 4A shows that daily heroin users each have 880 drug transactions per year, only a third of which involved drug sales. Irregular heroin users committed 245 transactions per year while the regular heroin users have 823 transactions per year. The daily heroin users had more STC transactions than their less involved counterparts. These estimated numbers of transactions do not include days with avoided expenditures-drugs (in which illegal drug transactions occurred as respondents shared drugs with someone else, obtained them as gifts, found drugs, stole them, etc.).

6. These respondents distributed, via drug sales or STC, drugs having an approximate value of almost \$15,000 per year; the daily heroin users distributed the largest dollar amount of drugs.

Table VII. 4B shows that the average daily heroin user distributed drugs having a value of almost \$20,000 per year via STC and another \$6,000 in direct sales. The regular heroin users distributed less than half this dollar volume (under \$9,000) via STC, but about the same amount (\$4,626) in direct sales. The irregular heroin users distributed less than half as much as the regular heroin users.

7. About a third or more of the value of all drugs distributed via sales and STC involved payments for the sales work involved.

Respondents obtained cash or drug payments equivalent to 33%  $[(\$1,112 + \$269)/\$4,185]$  of the value of all drugs distributed via direct sales. Likewise, 22%  $[(\$671 + \$1,589)/\$10,411]$  of the value of all drugs distributed via STC resulted in cash or drug income for the respondent. In short, the illicit distribution of drugs involves relatively high costs for sales work, although this was not always received in cash.

#### B. HEROIN USER INVOLVEMENT IN SPECIFIC FORMS OF DRUG BUSINESS ACTIVITY.

How many subjects became involved, with what frequency, and about how much income do they gain from various drug business activities?

##### DIRECT DRUG SALES FOR CASH INCOME

Although the public stereotype of a drug dealer was someone selling drugs for cash, among these street opiate users, these data showed that cash payments for drug distribution activity was relatively less common than payments in drugs. Less than half the respondents sold drugs for cash during their reporting periods. About 8% of the person-days involved cash sales of drugs. Approximately 364 such transactions per year per subject occurred. Such sales netted only \$1,112 per subject in annual cash income per year.

Moreover, none of these measures was significantly associated with the frequency of heroin use. In short, drug sales resulting in a cash income was one of the less common forms of drug distribution and it did not result in a particularly impressive amounts of cash income.

##### CASH INCOME FROM STEERING, TOUTING, COPPING

More subjects engage in STC for cash income than direct sales, but they were active in both activities on the same proportion (8%) of person-days. The cash income from STC were about half (\$670/year) as large as from direct sales. Daily heroin users were active on about twice as many days, and had twice as much cash income from STC than the regular heroin users.

##### CASH INCOME FROM OTHER DRUG BUSINESS

Less than 10% of subjects engaged in other drug business. Regular and daily heroin users had a somewhat larger proportions involved and were active on more person-days than the irregular heroin users, but the dollar values from this source for all three groups were small (\$110 or less per year).

##### DRUG PAYMENTS (INCOME) FROM DRUG SALES

Only about a fifth of the respondents obtained drugs as payments for their drug sales efforts and this occurred on 1% of the person-days. The value of the drug income was modest (an average of less than less than \$300/year). It was slightly higher among the daily heroin users.

##### DRUG INCOME FROM STEERING, TOUTING, COPPING

Steering, touting, and copping drugs emerged as a major type of drug distribution among these street opiate users. Three-quarters of the subjects obtained payments in drugs for STC and did so on 12% of the person-days. Daily heroin users were active on twice as many days as the regular heroin users, and on four times as many days as the irregular heroin users. The daily heroin users obtained almost \$3,000 in drug income from STC, which was twice as much as the regular and six times as much as the irregular heroin users.

Drug Business Crimes -111-  
 DRUG INCOME FROM DRUG THEFTS

Almost a fifth of these respondents reported one or more thefts (including robberies and burglaries) of drugs. Such events were rare, however, and occurred on less than 1% of the person-days and raised an average of \$331/year. Daily heroin users were slightly more involved than the less regular heroin users.

OBTAINING DRUGS VIA AVOIDED EXPENDITURES

These street opiate users proved remarkably adept at obtaining drugs without cash purchase and without working in the drug distribution system (i.e., selling or STC). That is, they frequently found a friend who shared drug(s) at no direct cost to the respondent, or received drugs as a gift, or otherwise obtained drugs. Virtually all respondents received such "free" drugs and did so on two-fifths of their person-days. The value of such drugs (\$1,851) was equivalent to or exceeded that of drug income from STC, or from drug sales. Daily heroin users received twice as much in dollar value of "free drugs" than regular and four times as much as irregular heroin users.

OBTAINING ALCOHOL AND CIGARETTES VIA AVOIDED EXPENDITURES

These respondents also obtained alcohol and cigarettes for "free." Three-quarters did so, on 12% or more of the person-days. The dollar value of such contributions, however, was modest; less than \$250/year in alcohol or cigarettes was obtained by respondents. Such "free" alcohol and cigarettes did not vary by the frequency of heroin use.

SUMMARY

Among these street opiate users, drug distribution activity was more apt to involve STC with payments in drugs, and free gifts of drugs ("avoided expenditures") than drug sales with cash income. Almost half of the value of all drugs distributed went as drug or cash income to respondents for their labor in sales aspects of the drug distribution system.

Having now described in detail both nondrug crime and drug business crime, we can now directly address the questions: how many crimes do street users commit? and how much income do they obtain?

Drug Business Crimes -112-

Table VII. 1 -- Percent of Respondents Reporting Involvement in Drug Distribution Activities by Heroin User Typology

Type of Activity (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
During Days of Interviews, Percentage of Respondents Reporting:						
A. Any Cash Earnings from:						
Total with Cash Income	80.3	70.5	77.4	75.6	.38	-.03
Any Drug Sale	55.7	43.6	43.5	47.3	.29	-.10
Any Steer, Tout, Cop*	57.4	66.7	71.0	65.2	.27	.11
Other Drug Business*	4.9	10.3	12.9	9.5	.31	.11
B. Any Drug Income Obtained From:						
Total with Drug Income (no cash)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--
Any Drug Sale	16.4	23.1	21.0	20.4	.62	.04
Any Steer, Tout, Cop*	62.3	82.1	80.6	75.6	.014	.17
Any Drug Thefts*	11.5	19.2	27.4	19.4	.08	.16
Avoided Expenditures Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--
Drugs	98.4	100.0	100.0	99.5	.32	.09
Alcohol	80.3	78.2	79.0	79.1	.95	-.01
Cigarettes	70.5	79.5	72.6	74.6	.44	.02
Total Proportion of Rs with Drug Business Income (Cash + Drug)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--

\*See text for definition of these terms.

Drug Business Crimes -113-

Table VII. 2 -- Percent of Person Days Reporting Involvement in Drug Distribution Activities by Heroin User Typology

Type of Activity (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
Percentage of Person Days Reporting:						
A. Cash Income from:						
Total Cash Income	14.3	13.4	20.8	16.0	.04	.14
Any Drug Sale	9.1	5.7	7.6	7.3	.29	-.05
Any Steer, Tout, Cop*	5.5	7.4	12.3	8.3	.011	.20
Other Drug Business*	0.4	1.1	1.8	1.1	.27	.11
B. Value of Drug Income Obtained from:						
Total with Drug Income (no cash)	42.9	61.0	79.7	61.2	.000	.60
Any Drug Sale	0.4	1.1	2.0	1.2	.11	.15
Any Steer, Tout, Cop*	5.2	11.6	20.0	12.2	.000	.37
Any Drug Thefts*	0.3	0.8	1.4	0.9	.16	.14
Avoided Expenditures Total:	39.9	54.7	68.8	54.5	.000	.47
Drugs	23.4	39.4	61.4	41.3	.000	.59
Alcohol	15.6	19.3	16.4	17.3	.48	.02
Cigarettes	11.9	15.0	9.5	12.3	.15	-.06
TOTAL DAYS WITH DRUG BUSINESS INCOME (Cash + Drug)	48.9	63.7	82.1	64.9	.000	.58

\*See text for definition of these terms.

Drug Business Crimes -114-

Table VII. 3 -- Annualized Dollar Amount of Cash Income and Drug Income from Drug Distribution Activities by Heroin User Typology

Type of Activity (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
A. Dollar Amount of Cash Income Per Year from:						
Total Cash	1,566	1,402	2,752	1,868	.03	.15
Any Drug Sale	1,200	744	1,488	1,112	.22	.05
Any Steer, Tout, Cop*	278	594	1,153	671	.014	.20
Other Drug Business*	88	64	110	86	.78	.02
B. Dollar Value of Drug Income per Year from:						
Total Drug Income (no cash)	1,572	3,881	7,418	4,272	.000	.50
Any Drug Sale	59	213	548	269	.15	.14
Any Steer, Tout, Cop*	476	1,378	2,949	1,589	.000	.30
Any Drug Thefts*	70	385	519	331	.17	.13
Avoided Expenditures Total:	968	1,906	3,403	2,083	.000	.33
Drugs	752	1,663	3,168	1,851	.000	.34
Alcohol	149	161	185	165	.66	.06
Cigarettes	67	82	50	67	.13	-.07
TOTAL DRUG BUSINESS INCOME (Cash + Drug)	3,138	5,284	10,170	6,140	.000	.41

\*See text for definition of these terms.

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Drug Business Crimes -115-

Table VII. 4 -- Annualized Number of Drug Transactions and Dollar Value of Drugs Distributed by Heroin User Typology

Type of Activity (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
A. Number of Drug Transactions per Year from:						
Total Drug Transactions	245	823	880	665	.15	.12
Drug Sale	123	591	316	364	.35	.04
Steer, Tout, Cop	122	233	564	301	.00	.26
B. Dollar Value of Drug(s) Distributed for Any Drug via:						
Total Value of Drugs Distributed:	4,925	13,260	25,790	14,596	.000	.28
Drug Sales	1,561	4,626	6,212	4,185	.28	.11
Steer, Tout, Cop*	3,364	8,635	19,578	10,411	.00	.28

\*See text for definition of these terms.

Total Crimes and Criminal Income -116-

CHAPTER VIII

HOW MUCH CRIME AND CRIMINAL INCOME AMONG STREET OPIATE USERS?

Street opiate users committed a large number of crimes of all types. The current chapter will provide detailed estimates of the number of crimes and the criminal income received by our subjects as well as compare them with subjects in other studies to place their criminal activity in a national context.

Criminal Offense Rate

Criminologists have devoted considerable effort to describing and analyzing a measure of individual criminal offending (Greenberg, 1975; Blumstein and Cohen, 1973; Blumstein, et al., 1978; Moore, et al., 1981). This measure is called lambda ( $\lambda$ ) and is the rate of offending per unit of time (usually a year) within a specified offending population. This measure is computed by dividing the number of offenses by the amount of time during which the offender is "active" or "free" (or on the "street") to commit these offenses. Criminologists must resort to a variety of statistical manipulations to compute both the numerator and denominator of lambda using arrest and criminal justice data (Blumstein, et al, 1978; Moore, et al., 1981) due to the unavailability of good techniques for measuring individual criminal behavior per unit of time. These problems arise regardless of whether arrest data, conviction data, self report criminality, or other kinds of data are employed. Lambda is usually described as a the mean\* "number of offenses per year of street time for the entire sample or subgroups within it."

\*The use of the mean, however, is problematic because all research has documented that criminal activity is badly skewed. For example, Chaiken and Chaiken, (1982b,46) show that a substantial percentage (typically a majority) of the prison and jail inmate population in three states did not commit a given crime (i.e. burglary), several committed the crime only 1-10 times per year, but the 10% most active (90th percentile) committed burglary over 232 times per year. Thus, standard measures of central tendency may be misleading since the mode will almost always be zero or near zero, the median will be low (due to large proportion of noninvolved, while the mean will be somewhat larger (due to the contributions of the most seriously involved). (Continued next page.)

Previous Studies of Offense Rates

A few previous research studies provided data about lambda (even though it was not actually calculated nor specifically called such) which will be compared with data from the street opiate users here. This brief review included only studies based upon self-reported criminal involvement by high risk samples (prisoners, street drug users, drug treatment populations) which may be similar to the subjects in this study. Offense rates based upon arrest or conviction data were not included because data about the arrests of our street opiate users were not available.

Peterson, et al. (1980, 28) studied 624 California prisoners and estimated the average number of crimes per year of street time among offenders who commit that crime; their data are summarized in Table VIII. 1.

Inciardi (1980; 1981) asked 166 youths who were active in the street drug scene to report their use of drugs and criminal involvement. The 70 heroin users had long histories of substance abuse, while the 96 nonheroin drug abusers had shorter histories. Almost all subjects reported criminal involvement in the preceding year. Moreover, the heroin users had an average of 352 offenses -- almost one crime per day per person. The nonheroin drug users were not a great deal less active -- with 312 crimes/year. Less than 2% of the crimes were violent (robbery or assault), while drug sales were 30-40% of all total offenses. Annual rates of offending for specific crimes were computed from Inciardi's data and given in Table VIII. 1.

Nevertheless, the mean more accurately reflected the average number of offenses than the median, and could be easily computed given the number of offenses per year and the number of subjects. Moreover, in the current study, a careful examination of frequency distribution of respondent offense rates showed the largest proportion clustered at zero offenses, and at one offense during the reporting period for any given type of crime. While the distributions were skewed, for the more active subjects, the distribution was relatively flat, with the most criminally active subject somewhat, but not many times, more involved in a given crime than the next most active subject.

In a large sample of clients admitted to a variety of treatment programs in five cities during 1979, Collins, et al. (1982b) provided data about the year before drug treatment intake, and presents the mean number of offenses per year (corrected for time at risk -- excluding jail time).

The recent study of career criminals by Chaiken and Chaiken (1982ab), provides carefully computed annual rates of criminal offending among prison and jail inmates in three states, California, Michigan, and Texas. These data show high rates of criminal offending, especially among prisoners in California. Moreover, respondents who reported heroin use, especially self-reported addiction to heroin, were among the highest rate offenders (see Table VIII. 1).

The McGlothlin, et al. (1977) study of the California Civil Addict Program did not present annualized offense rates during the period, but did present important data about the criminal income of daily heroin users (see section below on criminal income).

The research of John Ball, et al. (1979, 1981; Ball, 1981) and Nurco, et al., (1981abc) presented data about criminal behavior of 243 male heroin abusers in Baltimore, but did not show the annual rates of offending for specific crimes. They do, however, provide information about the total number of "crime-days" per year at risk. (see below). Most of these offenses involved thefts or drug selling.

In 1981, Congressman Henry Waxman wrote to NIDA and asked:

Please describe the data used to support the statement that 100 untreated heroin addicts could commit between 50,000 to 100,000 crimes annually. Please indicate whether addicts involved had a history of criminal activity prior to heroin use..."

The Director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse, William Pollin (1981), provided the following response.

The statement that 100 untreated heroin addicts could commit between 50,000 to 100,000 crimes annually was based on the partially NIDA-funded contemporary studies of John Ball and his colleagues who extensively researched the behavioral outcomes of a cohort of 243 addicts from Baltimore for the past 11 years. Data from another NIDA-funded researcher, James Inciardi (1979), support the Ball findings.



Dr. Ball documented that drug abusers, while actively addicted to opiates, participated in 248 crime days per year; whereas, when not addicted, the subjects were involved in crime only 40.8 days per year. The level of crime necessary to maintain an active opiate habit was estimated by Massachusetts treatment personnel to be 2.5 crimes per day.

I asked my staff to verify this estimate with Dr. Ball....The statement in my presentation was based upon the following equation.

100 untreated active addicts x 248 crime days per year x 2.5 crimes per day = 62,000 crimes per year.

...Ball concludes: "One of the major findings of this study was that heroin addicts commit a staggering amount of crime and that this continues fairly much on a daily basis for years and decades."

In a major literature review regarding the deterrence and incapacitative effects of imprisonment, Cohen (1978, 228) concluded:

A recurrent theme in this review has been the inadequacy of current estimates of individual crime rates.... Such estimates of ( $\lambda$ ) will require better data on criminal careers than are presently available... self reports by acknowledged criminals are probably the best source.

At the beginning of the Economic Behavior project, there was a clear recognition of the need to develop improved measures of the number of criminal offenses during a limited time period among subjects at high risk of such behavior.

#### Measuring Criminal Offense Rates ( $\lambda$ ):

This project carefully developed a methodology wherein respondents reported their criminal acts on a day-by-day basis. On every day that they reported one or more illegal acts, the interviewer asked them how many such events occurred during the specific calendar day (as well as the dollar returns or drug income on that day from such crimes). As indicated in earlier chapters (II and III, also see Appendix A and B), the 201 subjects provided such information about their criminal and drug using behavior for at least 33 days, and an average of 57 person-days.

Thus, the data from this study provided an almost perfect measure of  $\lambda$  or annual offense rate per year of street time.  $\lambda$  was computed for specific offenses and related to the Heroin User Typology.

Specifically, for each respondent, the sum of number of crimes reported during all days of reporting was divided by the number of days about which he was interviewed, generating a mean number of offenses per day. This figure was then multiplied by 365 days to standardize and annualize the number of offenses.\* This calculation was performed for each category of crime. Such rates have been presented in chapters VI and VII.

The mean number of offenses per year for individual subjects were then combined to provide mean offenses for all subjects and for each heroin user type. These means included respondents with zero crimes/year, as well as those with high offense rates for a specific crime. The distribution of offense rates for each offense type were carefully examined. Extremely high values for offenders were carefully checked to assure that no apparent errors in respondent reports or data handling accounted for these high rates. Thus, the number of offenses per year of street time reported below are an accurate reflection of the volume of crime by these respondents and the heroin user subgroups.

#### FINDINGS ABOUT OFFENSE RATES

Table VIII. 1 showed an extremely high volume of criminal activity by these street heroin users -- generally higher than the studies cited earlier -- although not for every specific crime category. These street opiate users were considerably more criminal than respondents in studies by Peterson, et al. (1980), Collins, et al. (1980), and Inciardi (1980). As discussed in Chapter VI, our subjects exhibited similar offense rates to those in the Chaiken and Chaiken study.

\*In one minor way, these rates were not a pure  $\lambda$  because a few days are included during which respondents were arrested and in jail for 1 - 6 days, and then released during the interview cycle. Thus, the estimates of  $\lambda$  reported below are somewhat conservative since zero crimes were added into the numerator but the days in jail were included in the denominator. Removing days of jail time for the numerator and denominator would not increase the offense rates given in Table XI. 1 by more than 1-5 percent, depending upon the offense type.

Total Crimes and Criminal Income -121-

Table VIII. 1 -- Annualized Offense Rates (Lambda) for Robbery, Burglary, Thefts, and Drug Sales Among Studies of Criminal Offending.

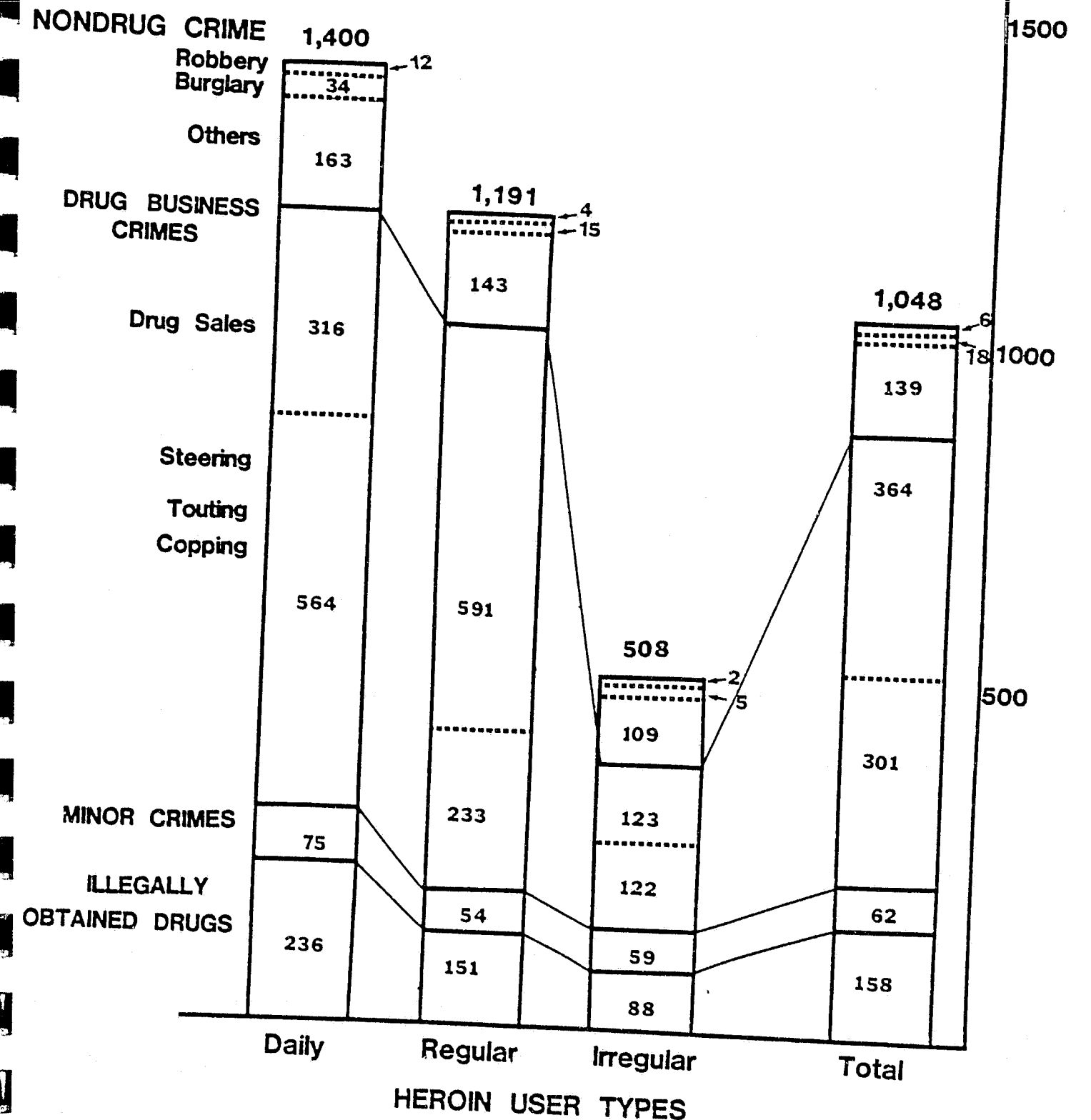
Author(s)/Year Description	Annualized Offense Rate (Lambda) for:			
	Robbery	Burglary	Theft(s)	Drug Sales
<b>Peterson, et al. (1980)</b>				
Calif. Prisoners as:				
Street Offenders	2	7	na	136
Incoming Prisoners	4	15	na	155
<b>Inciardi, (1980)<sup>a</sup></b>				
Miami Heroin Users	4	8	b57	137
Miami Nonheroin Drug Users	5	8	b63	114
<b>Collins, et al. (1982)</b>				
1979 TOPS cohort <sup>e</sup>				
Corrected for Time at Risk	1	2	11	21
<b>Chaiken and Chaiken (1982b)</b>				
Prison and jail inmates:				
Median <sup>c</sup>	5	5	8	100
90th Percentile <sup>d</sup>	87	232	485	3251
Inmates who reported Heroin use, but not addicted all months in:				
California	13	31	25	114
Texas <sup>f</sup>	4	29	42	94
Michigan <sup>f</sup>	9	35	24	115
Heroin addiction, all months in:				
California	34	68	66	158
Texas <sup>f</sup>	5	35	108	150
Michigan <sup>f</sup>	17	26	50	124
<b>This Report<sup>g</sup></b>				
New York street opiate users -- All subjects:				
by Heroin User Typology:				
Irregular	2	5	40	123
Regular	4	15	68	591
Daily	12	34	91	316

a - Computed from Tables 6.2-3 by dividing the number of offenses during 12 months by the number of subjects.  
 b - The sum of shoplifting + theft from vehicle + pickpocketing + other theft.  
 c - Mean offenses (lambda) are not presented. Rather the median (50% above and 50% below) is given (Table 2.16, p. 48).  
 d - Rates by the 10% of respondents who are most active in the given offense.  
 e - Treatment Outcome Prospective Study (TOPS) of a 1979 cohort of persons admitted to treatment programs in 5 cities.  
 f - Data for California come from Chaiken and Chaiken (1982b, 161). Michigan and Texas data come from Chaiken (1983). All offense rates have been truncated so that no individual contributes more than 365 offenses per year to a given type of crime.  
 g - Source: Table VIII.2 (below). Theft is the sum of "shoplifting (resale)" plus "other larcenies." Drug sales do not include STC transactions.  
 na - not available

Total Crimes and Criminal Income -122-

Graph VIII.1

Annualized Criminal Offending Rate (Lambda) by Heroin User Typology



Total Crimes and Criminal Income -123-

The theft rates seemed lower than those implied by Ball, et al. (1981; Ball, 1982) and Pollin (1981) when they suggested that addicted subjects committed crimes (mainly thefts) on 248 days/year at risk. Our data suggested that while theft was an important crime, drug selling contributed many more offenses per year at risk.

When examining the total volume of "major crimes" (all nondrug plus drug distribution crimes), a very high level of criminal activity was recorded. The average respondent committed over 825 major offenses per year or almost 2.2 per day. In addition, the daily heroin users committed 1,089 major crimes per year (almost 3 per day) -- of which a half involve steering, touting, and copping. The regular heroin users were almost equally active and committed almost 1,000 crimes per year, of which 60% involved drug sales.

The irregular heroin users here seem as active or more active in most crimes as respondents in other studies (see Table VIII. 1). While their offending rates (360/year) were low in comparison with the regular and daily heroin users, they were considerably higher than those reported by the TOPS clients (Collins, et al., 1982b) and only somewhat lower than Inciardi's (1980) heroin users.

When minor crimes were added to the major crimes, the daily heroin user probably committed 1,400 per year or almost 3.8 per day on the average. The regular heroin users committed almost 1,200 and the irregular heroin users over 500 per year.

Total Crimes and Criminal Income -124-

The data provided by these street opiate users allow more precise answers to the questions to which Pollin (1981) was responding. During the average year on the street, the following number of crimes would be committed by:

<u>100 average subjects</u>		<u>100 daily heroin users</u>	
82,790	MAJOR CRIMES	108,870	
590	Robberies	1,180	
1,770	Burglaries	3,390	
6,680	Larcenies	9,140	
7,210	Other Nondrug Crimes (forgery, congames, prostitution/pimp, other crimes)	7,160	
36,390	Drug Sales	31,570	
30,140	Steering, Touting, and Copping Transactions	56,420	
PLUS			
22,030	MINOR CRIMES (shoplifting for own use, fare evasion, illegal drug transfers)	31,110	
104,820	TOTAL CRIMINAL OFFENSES	139,980	

In short, our daily heroin users committed about twice as many crimes as were estimated by Pollin (1981) by using Ball's crime days for addicted heroin users. But almost all of this high volume of crime were drug sales, steering touting, copping, and minor criminal activity. Our daily heroin users committed only about 137 serious felonies (robbery, burglary, larcenies) per year per subject, a figure somewhat lower than Ball's estimated number of crime days (he assumed it to be theft without providing detailed breaks).

By counting systematically the minor crimes and offenses which occurred several times per day of involvement, the overall volume of criminal activity was extremely high among these street opiate users, higher than previously recorded in most other studies.

Total Crimes and Criminal Income -125-  
FINDINGS ABOUT CRIMINAL INCOME

Information about the criminal income of street heroin users was almost nonexistent. Robins (1979:327) writes "we know remarkably little about how much heroin addicts actually do consume or would consume if heroin [were less expensive]." Moore (1977:91) suggests that "heroin users appear as people who struggle to make \$10,000 in the periods they are not institutionalized... Property offenses finance a much smaller proportion of the total heroin consumption than is usually assumed." Goldman's (1981) review of the economic literature further documents that little evidence is available regarding the criminal or other income of heroin users, especially of street opiate users while at liberty.

The most detailed data regarding the criminal income of heroin abusers were found in an evaluation of the California Civil Addict program (McGlothlin, et al., 1977, 73-74). These data showed that during the period 1970-1975, daily heroin users had a "mean income from crime/year" (excluding dealing/gambling, etc.) of \$10,900, nondaily heroin users had \$1,300 annually, and those using heroin less than monthly had \$300 annually. During person-months of daily heroin use, these subjects had monthly (here multiplied by 12) criminal incomes from robbery (\$396), burglary (\$5,172), theft (\$5,976), and drug dealing (\$5,904).

Data in Table VIII. 3 present various sources and annualized dollar amounts of criminal income by these street opiate users. The data show that daily heroin users have a criminal cash income (\$11,292) that is about one and a half times as high as that by regular heroin users (\$7,121) and two and a half times higher than the irregular heroin users (\$4,451). When their drug income was included as well as the economic value of minor crimes (fare evasion and shoplifting for own use), daily heroin users have a total criminal income of over \$18,500 compared to about \$11,000 for regular heroin users, and about \$6,000 for irregular heroin users.

Total Crimes and Criminal Income -126-

Thus, the total dollar amounts of criminal income (both cash and drug) among daily heroin users appeared to be about twice as high\* as that recorded by McGlothlin, et al (1977). Nevertheless, the dollar returns from robbery for our daily heroin users (\$906) was higher than McGlothlin's figure (\$336), but lower for burglary (\$2,906), theft (\$2,334), and drug dealing (\$1,488) than the annualized amounts given in McGlothlin, et al. (1977, 74) and cited above. Thus, like Moore (1977:91), this study found that the criminal income of heroin users relied less on property crimes (burglary, theft, cons, etc.) than was usually assumed -- even though these street opiate users have offending rates that were as high or higher than those in previous studies.

Indeed, the cash income from drug sales and other drug distribution crimes were not substantial even among daily heroin users (\$2,752). Rather, much of the criminal income of daily heroin users, an amount somewhat smaller in magnitude than their cash income from nondrug crime, comes in the form of drug income. That is, daily heroin users obtain over \$7,000 annually as payment in drugs for their drug distribution activity and their success in obtaining "free" drugs (i.e. avoided expenditures - drugs).

Thus, assuming that most heroin or drug consumption was financed by cash income from property crime or direct drug sales would be misleading. These street opiate users obtained almost a third of their criminal income from activities in drug distribution that did not involve cash income.

Summary

The street opiate users in this study committed criminal activities at rates which were among the highest ever recorded in a research study. This conclusion was true for specific crimes such as robbery, burglary, and theft, and especially true for drug sales.

\*McGlothlin's figures have not been adjusted to account for inflation, so they may be twice as high as given here.

Moreover, the systematic collection of data about steering, touting, or copping (STC) reveals a patterned activity that was committed by most respondents, on a relatively frequent basis, and which results in substantial "drug income" (see Chapter VII). Clearly, STC comprised three crimes frequently committed which have been overlooked in previous research. While legal statutes may implicitly include such activities as involving criminal facilitation, conspiracy, or accomplice, arrests or even official awareness of these roles appeared non-existent.

Although data about these subjects' rates of criminal offending in previous years were not obtained, our staff's impression was that these respondents were involved in such patterned criminal behavior for several years. Most of the subjects were now in their thirties and report many prior years of such activity (except when imprisoned).

This chapter also supported many central findings of and the reported high annual offense rates given by Chaiken and Chaiken (1982ab) and by Ball, et al. (1981). Moreover, careful measurement of the number of offenses on specific days during different interviews at intervals of differing length, lends credibility to the belief that the high crime rates previously documented by self-reported data based on long recall periods may not involve much exaggeration of criminal events in the distant past. Instead, these data suggest that previous studies may have underestimated the number of relatively minor crimes that were so routine and common that respondents would not recall them or researchers would fail to even ask about them.

The conclusions reached by Ball, et al. (1981, 62) and Pollin (1981) seemed conservative. One hundred of our typical subjects would commit over 100,000 crimes annually, and 100 daily heroin users would commit 140,000 crimes per year. Even our irregular heroin users committed as many crimes as were documented in several other studies. The number of drug distribution crimes was extensive on an annual basis, although not when compared with what would be needed to make a comfortable profit from drug dealing.

While the annual offense rates were high among these street opiate users, the cash income from nondrug crimes were relatively modest. While burglary and theft raised the largest amounts of cash, each of these offenses generated less than \$3,000 annually among daily heroin users, and less than half that amount among the regular and irregular heroin users. Likewise the cash returns from drug sales and STC and other drug crimes were relatively modest compared with the drug incomes (as payments for drug distribution activity and avoided expenditures). That is, approximately a third of the total criminal income of daily and regular heroin users was received as "drug income" and another 16% was cash income from drug distribution activity.

The cash returns from many nondrug crimes and drug distribution crimes were relatively small considering the possible penalties which respondents faced if captured. Perhaps because of the risks involved, many street heroin users preferred to work at the lowest levels of the drug distribution system where they obtained the drugs they wanted without having cash income.

Nevertheless, the data in this chapter showed that these street opiate users have crime rates for almost all offense types that were as high or higher than previous research. They generally had criminal incomes equivalent to or higher than amounts previously recorded, although not for each offense type. Their actual cash returns from crime were relatively modest compared to their total criminal income. Thus, crime provided a very significant portion of their income.

In the next chapter, data is presented regarding their ability to generate income from noncriminal sources.

Total Crimes and Criminal Income -129-

Table VIII.2 - Annualized Criminal Offending Rate (Lambda) by Heroin User Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
Number (Lambda) of Offenses Per Year Per Subject of:						
<sup>a</sup> Any Nondrug Crime	116.0	162.3	208.7	162.6	.06	.17
Robbery	2.3	4.1	11.8	5.9	.002	.23
Burglary	4.5	15.1	33.9	17.7	.000	.29
Shoplifting (Resale)	34.6	46.3	71.9	50.7	.12	.14
Other Larcenies	5.8	21.4	19.5	16.1	.006	.17
Forgery	1.0	1.2	2.5	1.5	.43	.08
Con Games	35.9	33.8	29.2	33.0	.97	-.01
Prostitution	23.0	26.9	32.1	27.3	.89	.04
Pimping	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.7	.97	-.01
Other Illegal	7.0	11.7	6.3	8.6	.26	-.01
<sup>b</sup> Drug Business Crime (Drug Transactions)	244.8	823.5	880.0	665.3	.15	.12
Drug Sales	122.8	590.8	315.7	363.9	.35	.04
Steer, Tout, Cop	122.0	232.7	564.2	301.4	.00	.26
ALL MAJOR CRIMES (Nondrug + Drug)	360.7	985.9	1,088.7	827.9	.09	.14
-----						
<sup>a</sup> Shoplifting (Own Use)*	6.6	6.9	5.4	6.3	.82	-.03
<sup>c</sup> Theft of Services (Fare evasion)	52.3	47.5	70.1	55.9	.49	.06
<sup>d</sup> Obtain Illegal Drugs via:						
Other Drug Business	1.5	4.0	6.6	4.0	.27	.11
Drug Thefts	1.1	2.9	5.1	3.3	.16	.14
Avoided Expenditures -Drugs	85.4	144.3	224.1	150.7	.000	.59
ALL MINOR CRIMES	147.0	205.6	311.1	220.3	.000	.40
-----						
TOTAL CRIMINAL OFFENSES (Major + Minor)	507.7	1,191.4	1,399.8	1,048.2	.04	.17

<sup>a</sup> - Source: Table VI.7B    <sup>b</sup> - Source: Table VII.4A    <sup>c</sup> - Table IX.3  
<sup>d</sup>The percent of active person days times 3.65. This assumes that one offense occurred on an active day; Source Table VII. 2.

Total Crimes and Criminal Income -130-

Table VIII. 3 - Annualized Criminal Income for Each Source by the Heroin User Typology

Type of Nondrug Crime (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
Annual Cash Income Per Subject from:						
<sup>a</sup> Any Nondrug Crime	2,885	5,719	8,540	5,729	.000	.34
Robbery	158	377	906	474	.004	.23
Burglary	256	1,177	2,906	1,429	.000	.27
Shoplifting (Resale)	887	1,342	2,334	1,510	.034	.18
Other Larcenies	142	730	818	579	.003	.21
Forgery	56	300	93	162	.55	.01
Con Games	410	408	400	406	.99	.00
Prostitution	739	722	773	743	.99	.00
Pimping	41	114	100	100	.75	.04
Other Illegal Acts	197	552	212	339	.46	.00
<sup>b</sup> Total Drug Business Cash Income from:	1,566	1,402	2,752	1,868	.03	.15
Drug Sale	1,200	744	1,488	1,112	.22	.05
Steer, Tout, Cop	278	594	1,153	671	.014	.20
Other Drug Business	88	64	110	86	.78	.02
TOTAL CRIMINAL CASH INCOME	4,451	7,121	11,292	7,597	.000	.36
-----						
Dollar Value of Drug Income per Year from:						
<sup>b</sup> Any Drug Sale	59	213	548	269	.15	.14
<sup>b</sup> Any Steer, Tout, Cop	476	1,378	2,949	1,589	.000	.30
<sup>b</sup> Any Drug Thefts	70	385	519	331	.17	.13
<sup>b</sup> Avoided Expenditures -Drugs	752	1,663	3,168	1,851	.000	.34
TOTAL DRUG INCOME	1,357	3,639	7,184	4,040	.000	.48
-----						
<sup>c</sup> Theft of Services (Fare Evasion)	39	36	53	42	.49	.06
<sup>a</sup> Shoplifting (Own Use)	97	80	57	79	.49	-.09
TOTAL MINOR CRIME INCOME	136	117	110	120	.76	-.05
-----						
TOTAL CRIMINAL INCOME (Cash + Drug + Minor)	5,943	10,877	18,585	11,757	.000	.49

<sup>a</sup> - Source: Table VI.7C    <sup>b</sup> - Table VII.3    <sup>c</sup> - Table IX.3

NONCRIMINAL INCOME AMONG HEROIN USER TYPES

Relatively little information is available about the income which heroin users or other drug users obtain. Most of the data used for economic analyses (Brown and Silverman, 1974; White Paper on Drug Abuse, 1975; Panel on Drug Use and Crime, 1976; Goldman, 1976; Research Triangle Institute, 1976; Silverman and Spruill, 1977) rely heavily upon reports of income given at admission to treatment, or intensive retrospective interviews in follow-up studies. Reliance upon such information, however, may suffer from admittees reporting their self-image rather than their actual behavior (Goldstein, 1979, 1982b). Moreover, street opiate user "income" tends to come in two forms, cash payments and drug payments. Reports to interviewers may combine such forms of income but researchers seem to have assumed all such income was cash.

One of the major surprises to emerge from the pilot years of research is the widespread nature of income other than cash among heroin users. Goldstein (1981) shows that many street respondents can "get by" or "get over" (obtain and use drugs) without ever having cash. Although the dollar amounts of drugs consumed without cash purchases was seldom large, a sizable proportion of respondents obtained drugs on several days without paying cash for them. Goldstein's (1981) analysis of various ways of "getting over" used ethnographic materials from this research and supplemented the quantitative economic data presented in this report.

This chapter provides relatively detailed information about all income from sources other than crime -- which was presented in prior chapters. Because employment income was rare among these respondents, any cash income from legitimate work, even though tinged with illegitimacy, was considered as employment income (i.e., the respondent received payments from passengers as a gypsy cab driver while using a stolen car; doing housework (such as buying groceries and cleaning and cooking for a drug dealer; doing carpentry work to fortify a dealer's apartment and similar quasi-illegal activities have been coded here as work or job). Of course, cash payments from work in a regular job (porter, cab driver, florist, carpenter, etc.) were also counted as work income.

Respondents avoided paying income tax on their cash income. Such nontaxed income was considered here as cash income from whatever source (criminal or legal). Most subjects had little or no contact with the Internal Revenue Service.

So pervasive was the phenomenon of "getting by" (Goldstein, 1981) among our respondents, and so typical was bartering of one type of good for another, that the very notion of "income" must be carefully reexamined. Of course, cash or money earnings were a part of income. In addition, a variety of other types of income must also be included. The following rule was developed: if a respondent received objects or goods having a relatively standard economic value for which money was typically paid, that value should be included (to the extent possible) as "income" to the respondent. Such noncash income predominately came in two major forms: a) payment in drugs, and b) avoided expenditures. Drug payments have been discussed in chapter VII, and will not be further discussed here.

Many subjects frequently received extensive support from mothers, spouses, girlfriends, relatives, or other friends. Such persons frequently supplied these subjects with one or two meals per day (usually breakfast and/or supper) and a place to sleep during the night. These respondents did not typically provide their host with significant payments for such services, although they occasionally contributed a few dollars (see Chapter X) when they had unexpended funds -- which was seldom. Being able to eat and sleep without major cash expenditures was a substantial contribution to respondent income. But a problem arose, how much were such "free" meals and lodging worth? The subjects were unwilling to place a value upon them, or did not perceive that a meal from their mother, spouse, or friend was a form of income. Even though all of our subjects were over age 18, and the majority were over age 30, and were emancipated from their parents, many continued to live with them. Moreover, while some subjects lived with their wives, common-law relationships were more likely. Many subjects moved from girl friend to girl friend. Others resided in the parks or abandoned buildings.

When subjects received goods or services having an economic value without paying cash, it will be referred to as "avoided expenditures." These values, however, were a real cost to someone in society and permitted the respondent to spend his cash income for other purposes, mainly drugs. In order to place a value on "free" meals and shelter, the investigators obtained information from the Welfare Department. A person on home relief (the form of income assistance available to poor persons without employment in New York City) received a monthly allowances of \$194 (\$94 for food, \$100 for shelter) plus food stamps. In the statistical data below, person-days in which meals or shelter costs were paid by someone else, a conservative value of \$3 for meals (breakfast and supper), and \$3 for shelter were assigned as the value of noncash income received by the respondent. In addition, subjects occasionally reported gifts of clothes, attending a movie, etc. for which they did not pay. This was counted as an "other" avoided expenditure.



A frequent form of crime committed by many respondents was fare evasion. They jumped subway turnstiles, sneaked in the back of buses, or tossed a few nickels in the coin box of a bus. While these were minor crimes, they still received no cash income from them but avoid necessary costs -- so this was included here as an "avoided expenditure - transportation."

In addition, respondents frequently received free alcoholic beverages (a can of beer, wine, etc.) from friends. Several respondents were also good at "bumming" cigarettes from other persons, frequently the equivalent of a pack or more per day, or they "borrowed" someone else's cigarettes with no intention of repaying. Alcohol and cigarettes obtained without cash purchases were not included in this chapter; they were included as "avoided expenditures - drugs" in Chapter VII on drug business crimes.

Vignette T -- Avoiding Expenditures

Sly C. (black male, age 31) was an irregular heroin user. He paid minimal 'rent' by staying with his cousin and paying him 'whatever I can afford.' He stayed with his cousin on all 33 reporting days, paying him an average of \$17 per week. Also, Sly gets almost all his food for free. On 23 of his person days, he took 3 meals a day at a nearby Youth Center - "I bring the food home and cook it myself". On 5 days he took all his meals at his cousins and he ate for 4 days with his mothers; on one day he did not eat at all.

Sylvio X. (black male, age 41) was a daily heroin user who lived with his sister even though he had a wife and five children -- to whom he claimed to contributed \$100 about 3 times per year. Although he claimed to play the rent for his sister's apartment in his life history interview, he never once reported a payment for rent during 117 days of interviews across three calendar years. His sister provided him with a place to sleep every night and cooked most of his meals for him. He typically spent \$3/day on food (mainly snacks) and rarely expended more than \$5/day on food.

On 12/17/80, he gave \$50 to his sister and reported the next week that "I didn't get nothing for Christmas. I didn't give nothing."

On 9/2/81, Sylvio obtained \$250 from a burglary and spent \$55 on heroin. The following day, he gave \$55 to his sister and bought \$118 of clothes for his kids. Significantly, he had six meals with his wife during that week.

He also gave his sister \$10 on 11/27/81, \$5 on 12/3/81, \$25 on 3/3/82, and \$20 on 3/17/82. No further contributions to his wife or children were reported.

But on all 117 days he reported lodging at his sister's apartment, and eating meals (supplied by her) on three quarters of the days. Thus, his sister provided him with far more "free" shelter and meals than he provided her with money.



Noncriminal Income -135-  
FINDINGS

Was noncriminal income related to the frequency of heroin use?

For every source of noncriminal income, no significant differences in noncriminal income emerged among heroin user types. All three heroin user types have very low incomes from any noncriminal source.

What were the main sources of noncriminal income among the three heroin user types?

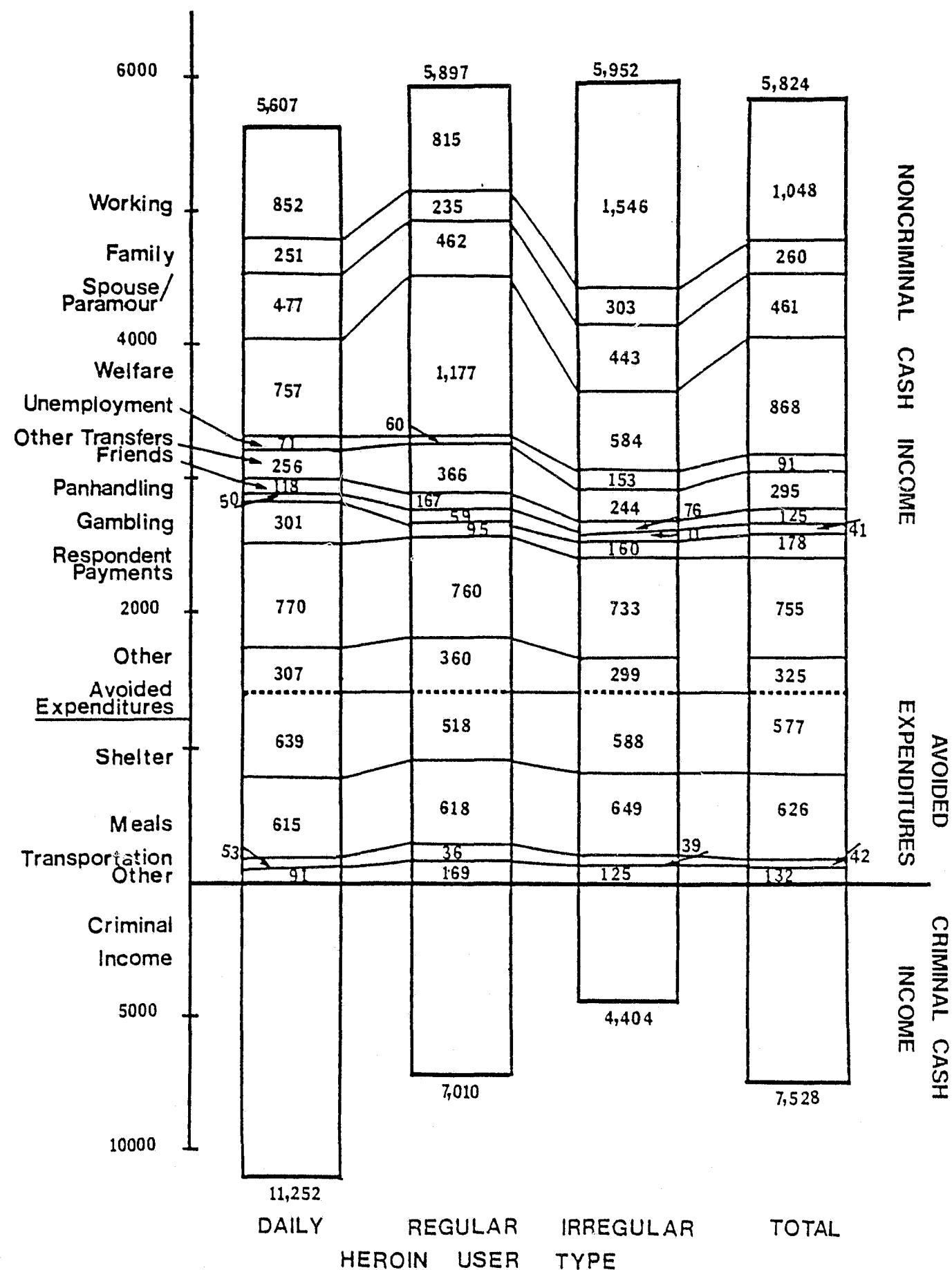
Graph IX. 1 and Tables IX. 1 - 3 show that the most striking finding was the relative absence of legitimate sources of cash income. About half the respondents reported some employment, 45% reported welfare support, while a third reported other public support, mainly food stamps. Only 3% had unemployment benefits.

Subjects reported employment income on only 6% of their person-days. Although the statistical data do not indicate it, most of this "work" involved short term odd jobs. Typical work activities included: helping a friend or relative move and receiving \$30 for the day; helping a delivery man watch his truck; working on a friend's car; painting friends' apartments; taking thrown out mattresses to a mattress factory; washing car windows, etc. Such employment provided about \$1,000 per year per subject in cash income. The irregular heroin users had somewhat higher income from work.

Likewise, welfare, food stamps, and unemployment benefits provided support for about half the subjects, but the amounts of cash were limited to about \$1,250 per subject annually. The regular heroin users appeared somewhat more likely to receive such payments, but the differences were small.

Graph IX.1

Annual Noncriminal Income by Heroin User Types



Family, spouse, and friends provided relatively modest amounts of cash income to these respondents (under \$500 each source). While respondent payments would have averaged about \$700 per year had they been interviewed for 52 weeks (none were), all subjects received the same \$10 for a weekly interview. Such income would not normally be available to them. All subjects received respondent payments, which was not true for other sources of income. Panhandling was least rewarding, gambling was only slightly more so.

Did these subjects avoid necessary expenditures?

Almost all subjects avoided expenditures which would be major expenditure items for the average person. As the next chapter will show, these respondents spent very little (under \$2,000) for food and shelter. Nevertheless, most of the subjects appeared to be relatively healthy, and normally fed in comparison with others in their low income neighborhood.

Table IX. 1 shows that virtually all subjects systematically engaged in expense avoidance--95% of the respondents received one or more free meals, 82% received free shelter, and almost half received some other commodity or service during the reporting period. Moreover, "free" meals and shelter were obtained on over half of all person-days (Table IX. 2). When these avoided expenses are calculated at three dollars per day, the subjects received an annual value of over \$600 in food and almost \$600 in shelter (Table IX. 3). These avoided expenses were largely "paid" by the welfare system because the subject's relative (mother, spouse/paramour, sister, other relative, or friend) had a welfare grant (or other welfare income) which paid for the apartment in which the subject slept. Likewise, the host's food stamps and the welfare grant paid for the food which the respondent consumed.

The data on avoided expenditures also shows that about about half the respondents engaged in fare evasion ("avoided expenditures - transportation"), although they do so on less than 10% of their days. The dollar value of such fare evasion was not large (about \$40 per year).

Again, such avoided expenditures did not vary by the frequency of heroin use.

How did criminal income compare with noncriminal income?

Clearly, these respondents live at or below the poverty level. They probably have an annual noncriminal cash income of less than \$5,000, with almost no variation by type of heroin user. (See Graph IX. 1)

On the other hand, their annualized criminal income was equal in dollar amount to (among the irregular heroin users) or considerably greater than their noncriminal income (among the regular and daily heroin users). If their criminal income was included as a form of cash income, their total cash income doubled among irregular heroin users or triples among daily heroin users above the levels provided by their noncriminal income.

Summary

The central finding of this chapter, however, was that our respondent's noncriminal income did not vary by the frequency of heroin use. All three types showed little ability to raise much money from work, welfare, or other public support. They depended heavily upon family and friends to provide them with the minimum essentials for living such as food and shelter. In 1981, the official poverty level was \$4,729 for a single person aged 15-64 (Beeghley, 1983); our respondents obtained just about \$2,000 in legitimate cash income (work, welfare, unemployment benefits), so they were seriously impoverished by comparison. In these study communities, however, these respondents could probably live a comfortable low income existence on their average annual income of about \$12,000 (cash income from crime plus nondrug crime cash income). But most of these street opiate users lived considerably below the poverty line -- because they spent so much on drugs.

In the next chapter, we examine their expenditures for purposes other than drugs.

Noncriminal Income -139-

Table IX. 1 -- Percentage of Respondents Reporting Cash Income and Avoided Expenditures from Various Sources by Heroin User Typology

Type of Income (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total p of (201) F r	p of F r	Percentage of
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
	During Reporting Days, Respondents Reporting Cash Income from:					
A. Any Noncriminal Source	98.4	98.7	98.4	98.5	.98	.00
Working	50.8	51.3	43.5	48.8	.62	-.06
Welfare	37.7	55.1	40.3	45.3	.08	.02
Unemployment	4.9	2.6	3.2	3.5	.75	-.04
Other Public Support	23.0	37.2	33.9	31.8	.19	.09
Family	72.1	66.7	50.0	63.2	.03	-.18
Spouse/Paramour	57.4	52.6	50.0	53.2	.71	-.06
Friends	59.0	66.7	64.5	63.7	.64	.04
Panhandling	23.0	29.5	25.8	26.4	.68	.03
Gambling	27.9	25.6	33.9	28.9	.56	.05
Respondent Payments**	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--
Other	50.8	57.7	61.3	56.7	.50	.08
-----						
B. Avoided Expenditures Total	98.4	96.2	98.4	97.5	.62	.00
Room (Shelter)	80.3	79.5	87.1	82.1	.47	.07
Meals	96.7	93.6	95.1	95.0	.70	-.03
Transportation*	40.1	50.0	53.2	43.3	.37	.10
Other	39.3	48.7	45.2	44.8	.55	.05
-----						
TOTAL NONCRIMINAL INCOME (A+B)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--
-----						
C. Criminal Income	93.4	96.2	98.4	96.0	.38	.10
Drug Business	78.7	70.5	77.4	75.1	.48	-.01
Nondrug Crime	85.2	91.0	96.8	91.0	.08	.16
-----						
Total Cash Income (A + C)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--
-----						
TOTAL INCOME (A + B + C)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--	--

\* Jump Subway Turnstile mainly  
\*\* Not included in the totals.

Noncriminal Income -140-

Table IX. 2 -- Percentage of Person Days Reporting Cash Income and Avoided Expenditures from Various Sources by Heroin User Typology

Type of Income (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total p of (201) F r	p of F r	Percentage of Days Reporting Cash Income from:
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
A. Any Noncriminal Sources	26.9	28.0	25.6	26.9	.72	-.03
Working	6.7	5.7	5.3	5.9	.75	-.05
Welfare	1.6	2.6	1.9	2.1	.08	.04
Unemployment	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.2	.41	-.05
Other Public Support	0.7	1.1	0.9	0.9	.41	.06
Family	6.7	4.9	4.0	5.2	.15	-.13
Spouse/Paramour	8.3	6.3	4.2	6.3	.12	-.15
Friends	2.6	5.4	5.4	4.6	.03	.16
Panhandling	0.8	2.7	3.6	2.4	.09	.15
Gambling	1.3	0.9	1.2	1.1	.54	-.02
Respondent Payments**	17.6	17.9	18.2	17.9	.64	.07
Other	2.4	3.6	3.0	3.0	.37	.05
-----						
B. Avoided Expenditures Total	67.0	64.1	67.5	66.0	.81	.01
Room (Shelter)	53.8	46.9	58.4	52.5	.22	.05
Meals	57.5	56.3	56.2	56.6	.97	-.02
Transportation*	8.1	7.0	10.4	8.4	.48	.05
Other	1.6	2.3	1.6	1.9	.31	.00
-----						
TOTAL NONCRIMINAL INCOME (A+B)	83.4	84.2	87.8	85.1	.33	.10
-----						
C. Criminal Income	24.7	31.9	50.4	35.4	.000	.43
Drug Business	13.9	13.1	20.7	15.7	.030	.15
Nondrug Crime	13.5	22.6	33.3	23.1	.000	.38
-----						
Total with Cash Income (A + C)	44.6	52.6	65.7	54.2	.00	.41

\* Jump Subway Turnstile mainly  
\*\* Not included in the totals.

Noncriminal Income -141-

Table IX. 3 -- Mean Dollar Amounts of Cash Income Per Year and Annual Value of Avoided Expenditures from Various Sources by Heroin User Typology

Type of Income (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
A. Any Noncriminal Income:	4,551	4,556	4,209	4,447	.82	-.04
Working	1,546	815	852	1,048	.17	-.11
Welfare	584	1,177	757	868	.031	.05
Unemployment	153	60	71	91	.58	-.06
Other Public Support	244	366	256	295	.45	.01
Family	303	235	251	260	.73	-.04
Spouse/Paramour	443	462	477	461	.98	.01
Friends	76	167	118	125	.030	.07
Panhandling	11	59	50	41	.27	.08
Gambling	160	95	301	178	.20	.08
Respondent Payments**	733	760	770	755	.47	.08
Other	299	360	307	325	.93	.00
-----						
B. Avoided Expenditures Total	1,401	1,341	1,398	1,377	.90	.00
Room (Shelter)*	588	518	639	577	.25	.05
Meals*	649	618	615	626	.85	-.04
Transportation	39	36	53	42	.48	.06
Other	125	169	91	132	.68	-.03
-----						
TOTAL NONCRIMINAL INCOME (A+B)	5,952	5,897	5,607	5,824		
-----						
C. Criminal Income	4,404	7,010	11,252	7,528	.000	.36
Drug Business	1,580	1,349	2,714	1,840	.030	.14
Nondrug Crime	2,824	5,661	8,541	5,687	.000	.35
-----						
Total Cash Income (A + C)	8,955	11,566	15,461	11,975	.000	.32
-----						
TOTAL INCOME (A+B+C)	10,355	12,906	16,860	13,352	.000	.32

\* The number of person days active (IX. 2) times 53.

\*\*Respondent payments are included in the totals here but would not account for

Nondrug Expenditures -142-

CHAPTER X

NONDRUG EXPENDITURES AMONG HEROIN USE TYPES

Remarkably little is known about cash expenditures of street opiate users and street hustlers for purposes other than drug purchase. The treatment outcome literature and the social costs of drug abuse literature was almost devoid of references to, much less data regarding, the nondrug expenditures of heroin users or other drug users. Occasional ethnographies (Preble and Casey, 1969; Gould, et al., 1974; Hughes, et al., 1977) make passing references to techniques used by addicts for living with minimal cash expenditures. Almost no dollar figures were located about how much money street addicts spend for basic living costs or other purposes. The data presented in this chapter and ethnographic accounts reported by Goldstein (1981; Goldstein and Duchaine, 1979) constituted some of the first available quantitative data on patterns of cash expenditures by street opiate users.

Previous researchers have had a good reasons for ignoring nondrug expenditures by street opiate users: they expended as little as possible on basic needs. Many subjects frequently reported that they "get by" or "get over" (Goldstein, 1981); that is, they obtained drugs or made a living but did not pay cash. Many of the mechanisms by which they avoid expenditures (see Chapter IX above) permit minimal cash expenditures for basic survival.

These subjects also paid minimal amounts for shelter and food. They occasionally contributed to a household in which they were residing, but had relatively few cash expenditures for any other purpose. Even their "savings," recreation, gambling, and alcohol/cigarette consumption was tinged with illegality.

Nondrug Expenditures -143-  
FINDINGS

Were nondrug expenditures related to the frequency of heroin use?

For almost all kinds of nondrug expenditures, as well as totals, few significant differences emerged among heroin user types. All three groups exhibited very low levels of cash expenditures for nondrug purchases.

What were the main kinds of nondrug expenditures among the three heroin user types?

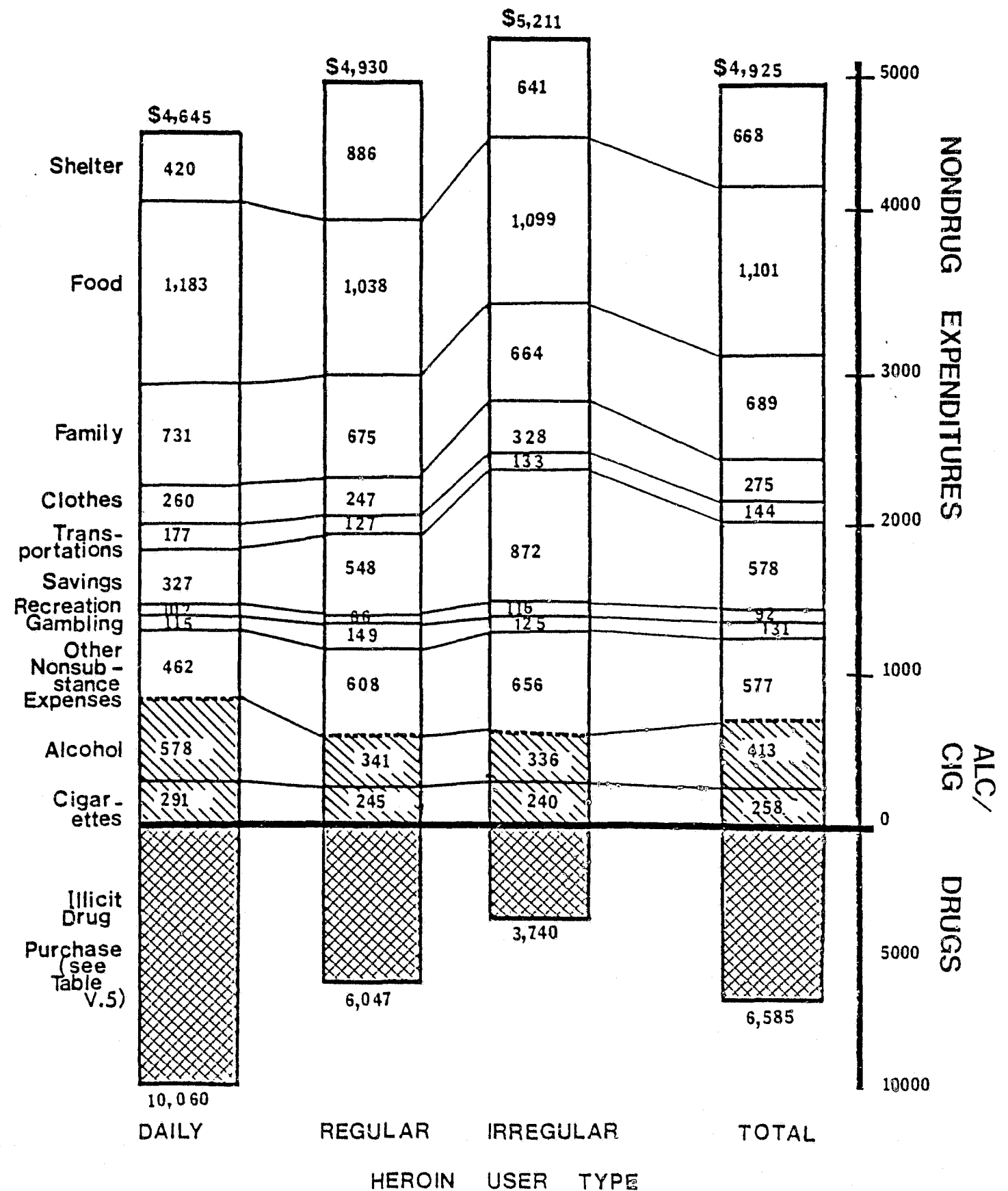
Tables X. 1 - 3 and Graph X. 1 show that although almost all respondents purchased food, only about half of these respondents had any cash expenditures for any shelter costs (i.e., they lived with someone else). About two-thirds of the subjects provided cash to their families and purchased some clothes. While two-thirds also reported some "savings," this was typically money set aside for the following day. Three-quarters spent money for transportation and to purchase "other" goods (such as gifts for someone else, hardware, etc.). Half of the subjects reported recreation (movies, video games, etc.) expenses. Almost all respondents (94%) were cigarette smokers and purchased this substance. Excepting shelter costs, the daily heroin users were not significantly different than less regular heroin users in these expenditure patterns (Table X. 1).

Even though a sizable proportion of respondents engaged in cash expenditures for the various purposes, such expenditures were not regular activities. Table X. 2 showed that only on about one day a month (3% of person-days) did they pay for shelter costs. On only half of the person-days do they pay for any food. Daily heroin users paid for food on about 12% more person-days than less regular heroin users. Subjects paid for transportation on 15% of the person-days. Cash expenditures to family, gambling, and other purposes occurred on about 7% of the person-days. Clothes, savings, recreation involved cash expenditures about 3% of the time. Legal fees were rarely paid by respondents because they were rarely arrested and were almost

Nondrug Expenditures -144-

Graph X.1

Nondrug Expenditures by Heroin User Types



Nondrug Expenditures -145-

These respondents had marginal cash expenditures for nondrug purposes. An annualized estimate of all nondrug expenditures was \$4,256 per year, with the daily heroin users having slightly lower expenditures (under \$3,800/yr) than the regular and irregular heroin users. About \$1,100 was spent on food, and about \$700 was spent for shelter or and a similar amount was given to family (sometimes as partial payment for shelter and meals eaten there). Clothes, transportation, recreation, and gambling received under \$300/year in expenditures each. "Savings" and other expenditures accounted for less than \$600 in each category.

Generally, no significant variation by the frequency of heroin use emerged. Daily heroin users, however, expended only \$420/year for shelter and hence were significantly less likely to pay for shelter than the regular heroin users.

The central finding was that respondents spend very little cash for nondrug purchases. Food and shelter were important components of the average household's expenditures, but not for these respondents (see next section). They expended cash upon drugs, alcohol, or cigarettes on 78% of their days, versus 60% of days having cash purchases of nondrug items (including food). In fact, they had a larger percentage of days with purchases of drugs (56%) and cigarettes (50%) than with purchases of food (48%). They had more days with alcohol purchases (39%) than any other nondrug, nonfood item (all under 10% of their person-days (Table X. 2). Thus, their typical days were more often filled with cash purchases of drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes, than with expenditures for other purposes excepting food. Moreover, the dollar amounts expended on substances (excepting the irregular heroin users) per year was considerably higher than their nondrug expenses.

Nondrug Expenditures -146-

HEROIN USERS AND NONDRUG EXPENDITURES FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

SHELTER

While the typical low income person generally spends a 25% to 35% of his or her money upon shelter, these respondents spent about 15% of their nondrug income, and about 6% of their total cash expenditures, for shelter. Moreover, the dollar amount paid for shelter per year, under \$1,000 by any heroin user type, was very low even when compared with low income persons receiving home relief (who receive about \$1,200/year for shelter). The daily heroin users expended about half that amount on shelter. All three groups depended heavily upon others to provide them with free lodging (about \$600 worth per year) on over half their days (Table IX. 2). Moreover, these figures for shelter do not include person-days when the respondents slept in an abandoned building, in the park, or did not sleep -- such days have not been assigned an economic cost although they constitute an "avoided expenditure."

Vignette U -- "Getting by" Shelter Costs

Tato A. (Hispanic male, age 25) was a regular heroin user. Tato was separated from his wife "because she is against my drug use". He maintained his own apartment but he can't go there because "I owe several months rent (\$80/month)." So he slept wherever he could - abandoned buildings, park benches, or at friends houses. On one occasion he reported: "a friend on welfare whose house I slept at Sunday night doesn't like my drug use. It was very late when I got home, too late to wake him up, so I slept in the park."

Quinn N. (Hispanic male, age 32) was a daily heroin user. In July, 1980 he lived in an empty room in an apartment that he keeps clean for the building superintendent; he gives 'the super' \$15 twice a month for the room. "When somebody comes to look at the apartment I have to leave."

Sylvio X. also avoided almost all shelter costs by living with his sister as reported in Vignette T.

Nondrug Expenditures -147-

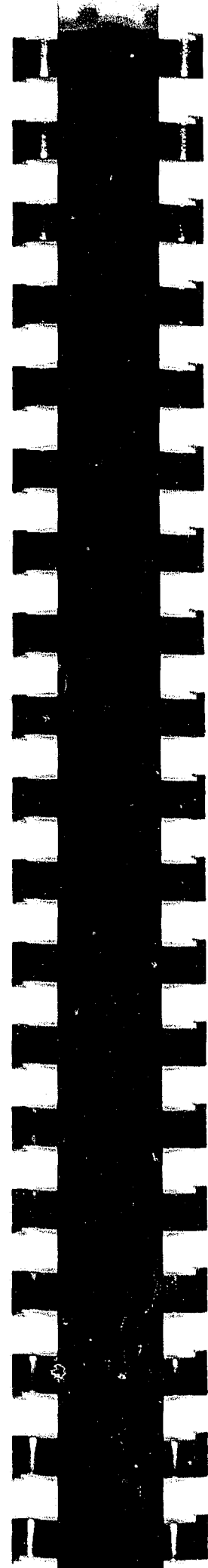
Although the data were not presented here, parents, spouses/paramours, or other extended family provided much of the free shelter received by these respondents. In some cases, the subject's cash expenditures to "family" provided a few dollars which may have paid for some share of the rent, some food purchases, or otherwise offset some of the other household costs. Typically, large payments for rent occurred mainly among respondents who received welfare payments or had some employment income; occasionally criminal income was used to pay rent. Another way of paying rent was to provide the parent/family member with \$10-\$50 once or twice per week, with the other person using such cash for whatever was needed.

FOOD

While expenditures for food occurred on half the days, and involved the largest single item of nondrug purchase (\$1,100) per year, the dollar amount (\$6.30) per day with food purchase was relatively modest. This figure included both small purchases of soda, candy, slices of pizza, hot dogs, sandwiches, as well as purchases of larger meals and shopping trips for the family. Snacks were the most frequent way of spending money upon food. Full meals were typically provided by parent/spouse/paramour/family and were described as "avoided expenditures" in Chapter IX. Another common way of obtaining food was by shoplifting donuts, fruit, canned goods, sodas, etc. for personal consumption; this was included in "shoplifting (own use)" -- Chapter VI.

FAMILY

Cash expenditures or money given to the "family" generally involved the respondent providing small amounts (\$10-\$20 or less) to the woman of the household where he was currently residing to "buy some groceries" or "help with the rent." Frequently, such sums were given by the respondent due to a direct request for the funds. The respondent frequently had to be located on



Nondrug Expenditures -148-

the street with cash in his pocket or be threatened with being placed out of household to obtain such funds. Except for several female respondents with children, most of these subjects exhibited little obligation to supporting or helping support in a systematic way their family or household expenses -- even though most respondents were males in their thirties.

SAVINGS

To these respondents, and the way the interview schedule was designed, "savings" meant having a few dollars (generally less than \$10) in their possession at the end of the day or reporting period. Almost none of these respondents had a bank account, in which unexpended cash was deposited and saved. These cash "savings" typically disappeared early the next day. Only on rare occasions when the respondent had a "big score," and had several hundred dollars, would money be given to a spouse or other person with an account for deposit.

CLOTHES, TRANSPORTATION, AND LEGAL FEES

These subjects expended about \$275 per year on clothes. In addition, some respondents obtained clothing from shoplifting. Payments for transportation typically involved taking a taxi (or car service in this neighborhood) to carry stolen merchandise to a fence, or to make a "connection" to buy drugs. Subway turnstiles were routinely jumped and this expenditure avoided. Subjects seldom reported any legal fees.

GAMBLING

About half of these subjects played the numbers (or other form of gambling), and did so on about 8% of the person-days. The dollar amounts lost (\$131 annually), however, was not substantial.

Nondrug Expenditures -149-  
OTHER NONSUBSTANCE EXPENDITURES

This category included a wide variety of purchases which did not fit within the other categories. Purchases of hardware for the household, buying parts for a car which was being fixed for a customer, money or gifts given to friends, etc. are included here. Such expenditures involved less than \$600 per year.

COMPARISONS WITH EXPENDITURES FOR SUBSTANCES

These respondents had many more days with expenditures for substances than for nondrug expenses, excepting food. Moreover, the dollar amounts expended upon substances was generally higher. Only among irregular heroin users did the average annual amount expended for nondrug purposes (\$4,635) exceed annual expenditures (\$4,275) for drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes. On an annual basis, regular heroin users spent one and a half times more on substances than for nondrug purposes (\$6,605 vs. \$4,344). Daily heroin users spent about three times more on substances than for other nondrug purposes (\$10,859 vs. \$3,776).

Summary

Street opiate users were quite successful in limiting their cash expenditures for nondrug purposes. They paid very little for shelter and food in comparison with their low income counterparts. The dollar amounts expended for other purposes were even lower. This permitted them to maximize the amount of cash expended upon drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes. There was no significant variation, however, by the frequency of heroin use.

In the next chapter, their total income and expenditures is compared.

Nondrug Expenditures -150-

Table X. 1 -- Percentage of Respondents Reporting Cash Expenditures for Various Purposes by Heroin User Typology

Type of Expenditure (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
	Percentage of Respondents Reporting Cash Expenditures for:					
Any Nondrug Expenditures	100	99	100	100	.46	.00
Shelter	56	54	40	50	.17	-.12
Food	98	97	100	99	.46	.05
Family	77	62	68	68	.15	-.07
Clothes	69	64	53	62	.19	-.13
Transportation	80	86	77	82	.42	-.03
Savings	69	58	65	63	.39	-.03
Recreation	51	53	45	50	.67	-.04
Gambling	51	53	48	51	.89	-.02
Legal Fees	2	4	0	2	.27	-.05
Other Nonsubstance Expenditures	90	81	90	87	.16	.00
-----						
Substance Use Total	100	100	100	100	--	--
Drugs	100	100	100	100	--	--
Alcohol	82	85	89	85	.57	.07
Cigarettes	95	94	92	94	.78	-.05
-----						
Total with Cash Expenditures	100	100	100	100	--	--



Nondrug Expenditures -151-

Table X. 2 -- Percentage of Person Days Reporting Cash Expenditures from Various Sources by Heroin User Typology

Type of Expenditure (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
	Percentage of Expenditures for:			Reporting		Cash
Any Nondrug Expenditures	56.8	56.8	66.2	59.7	.03	.16
Shelter	3.1	2.7	1.8	2.6	.11	-.14
Food	42.2	44.5	57.5	47.8	.001	.24
Family	7.2	5.8	5.9	6.2	.63	-.06
Clothes	3.7	3.2	3.4	3.4	.82	-.02
Transportation	16.2	15.3	13.2	14.9	.57	-.07
Savings	3.8	3.3	3.3	3.5	.71	-.05
Recreation	3.9	3.1	3.4	3.4	.78	-.03
Gambling	6.8	7.3	8.3	7.5	.81	.05
Legal Fees	*	*	0.0	*	.17	-.03
Other Nonsubstance Expenditures	8.3	7.4	7.8	7.8	.77	-.03
<hr/>						
Substance Use Total	71.4	75.7	86.3	77.6	.000	.27
Drugs	43.5	53.9	70.3	55.8	.000	.46
Alcohol	30.9	33.6	52.5	38.6	.000	.26
Cigarettes	46.1	47.6	57.9	50.3	.07	.15
<hr/>						
Total with Cash Expenditures	80.7	83.6	91.3	85.1	.001	.25

\* Less than 0.05, but greater than zero.

Nondrug Expenditures -152-

Table X. 3 -- Mean Dollar Expenditures Per Year for Various Purposes by Heroin User Typology.

Type of Expenditure (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)	p of F	r
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)			
	Dollar Expenditures Per Year Per Subject for:					
Any Nondrug Expenditures	4,635	4,344	3,776	4,257	.58	-.07
Shelter	641	886	420	668	.03	-.08
Food	1,099	1,038	1,183	1,101	.70	.03
Family	664	675	731	689	.96	.02
Clothes	328	247	260	275	.59	-.06
Transportation	133	127	177	144	.53	.06
Savings	872	548	327	578	.39	-.10
Recreation	116	66	102	92	.42	-.02
Gambling	125	149	115	131	.77	-.01
Legal Fees	2	2	0	1	.48	-.06
Other Nonsubstance Expenditures	654	606	462	576	.65	-.06
<hr/>						
Substance Use Total	4,275	6,605	10,859	7,210	.000	.45
Drugs	3,699	6,019	9,990	6,540	.000	.45
Alcohol	336	341	578	413	.003	.20
Cigarettes	240	245	291	258	.29	.10
<hr/>						
TOTAL CASH EXPENDITURES (Nondrug + Drug)	8,910	10,949	14,635	11,467	.000	.27

**CONTINUED**

**2 OF 4**

TOTAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURES BY HEROIN USER TYPES

In 1975, several experts undertook an analysis of the existing drugs and crime literature and reported findings to the National Institute on Drug Abuse. The report of the Panel on Drug Use and Criminal Behavior (1976) raised several issues and questions that can now be addressed by data from this project.

- a. How much income do street opiate users have and from what sources?
- b. How much cash do street opiate users expend on various items (food, shelter, heroin, other drugs)?

Previous chapters have presented detailed data regarding all major components of income and expenditures. These data will be combined in various ways in this chapter. Total income from all sources has been considered first, followed by cash expenditures.

TOTAL INCOME

The income of these respondents was more complex than previously reported. This study found that four analytically different kinds of "income" were received by street opiate users. Cash income from both drug distribution and nondrug crime was the major form of income for heroin abusers. While cash income from noncriminal sources was expected to be relatively substantial, little information was previously available about the amounts obtained by active street opiate users.

Two other major forms of income did not involve the direct receipt of money (cash). "Drug Payments" were obtained when the respondent exchanged his labor in the drug business for the drugs he used. That is, he received "payments in drugs" instead of cash for his labor in helping to sell or distribute drugs.

"Avoided Expenditures" were a form of noncash income in that respondents did not expend cash to pay for other services. That is, someone else paid for food or shelter costs so the street opiate user avoided such necessary cash expenditures. Likewise, drugs which they received as gifts or by "copping short" (see Chapter VII), and alcohol or cigarettes which others give them (but involved no cash expenditures) were a form of "income" to which a relatively standard economic value was assigned.

The important point was that such noncash income constituted real economic value to the street opiate users that was directly equivalent to cash income. That is, respondents received payment for their labor (i.e, sales work) instead of cash income or someone else paid cash income for the food or shelter which they consumed, or drug distributors lost some economic value when respondents avoided cash payments for the drugs consumed.

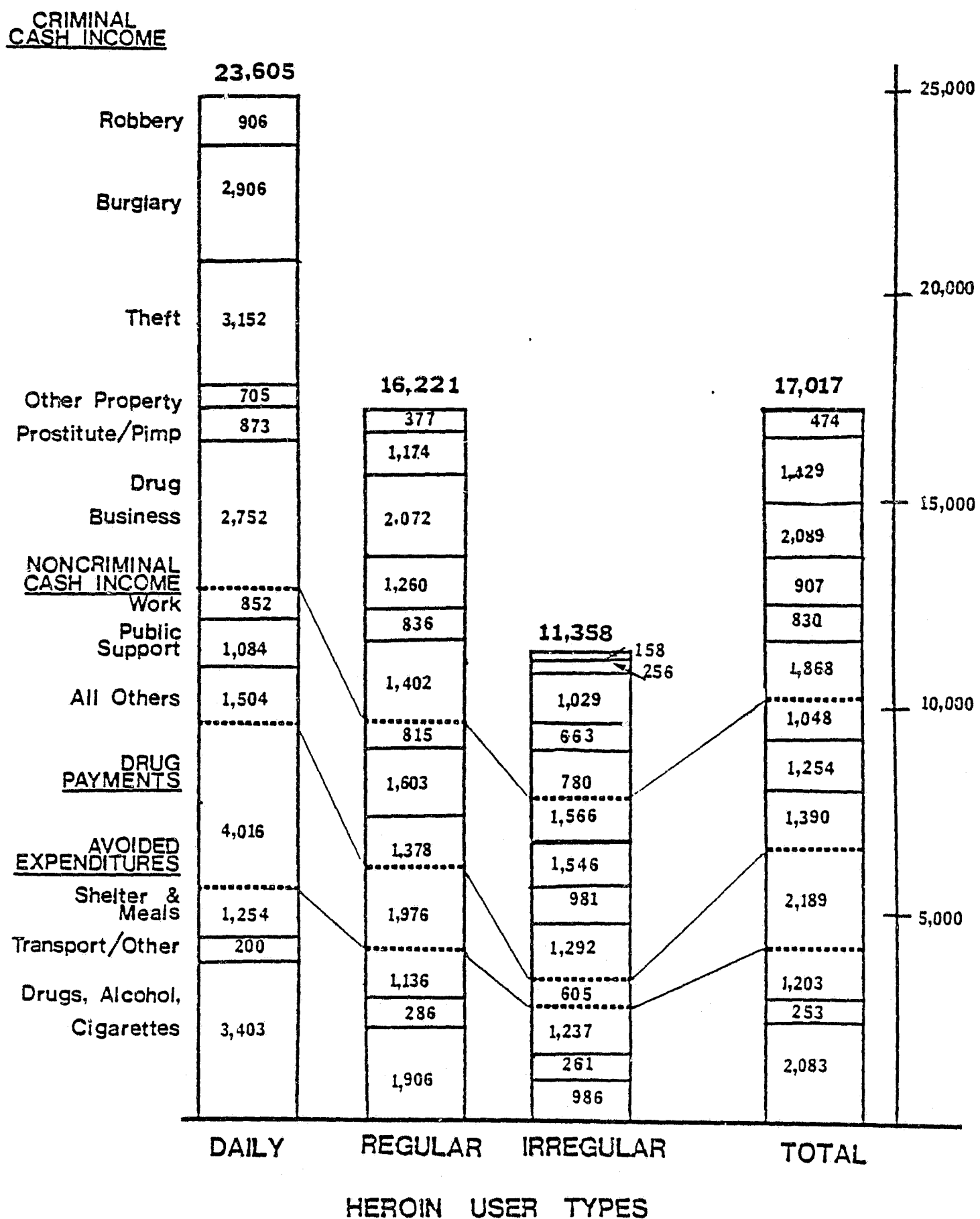
Table XI. 1 combined categories of data presented in other chapters, as indicated in the footnotes. For example, theft includes shoplifting for resale and other larcenies; "other property crime" is the sum of forgery + con games (fraud) + other crimes in Table VI. 7C.

How much income do street opiate users have and from what sources?

The data in Graph XI. 1 and Table XI. 1 showed that street opiate users had a total cash income of almost \$15,000 per year of street time (assuming no incarceration) compared to over \$8,000 per year among the irregular heroin users. Moreover, the daily heroin users obtained a total income (from all four types of income) of almost \$23,600 per year, compared to \$16,300 among the regular heroin users, and about \$11,400 among the irregular heroin users.

Graph XI.1

Annual Income From All Sources by Heroin User Types



Daily heroin users had a cash income from noncriminal sources (under \$4,000/year) that was equal to the less regular heroin users (as shown in more detail in Chapter IX). The daily heroin users, however, obtained about twice as much income as irregular heroin users from criminal cash income (\$11,292 vs. \$4,451), and avoided expenditures (\$4,857 vs. \$2,484) and about nine times (\$4,016 vs. about \$605) as much in drug payments. The regular heroin users were intermediate, but generally had amounts of income that were more similar to irregular heroin users than to that of daily heroin users from each type of income.

Cash income of all types (criminal + noncriminal) constituted only two-thirds (\$11,289/\$17,017) of the total income received by the average subject. Daily heroin users obtained only 62% of their total income as cash income, while 67% of the regular heroin users, and 72% of the irregular heroin users total income came in the form of cash.

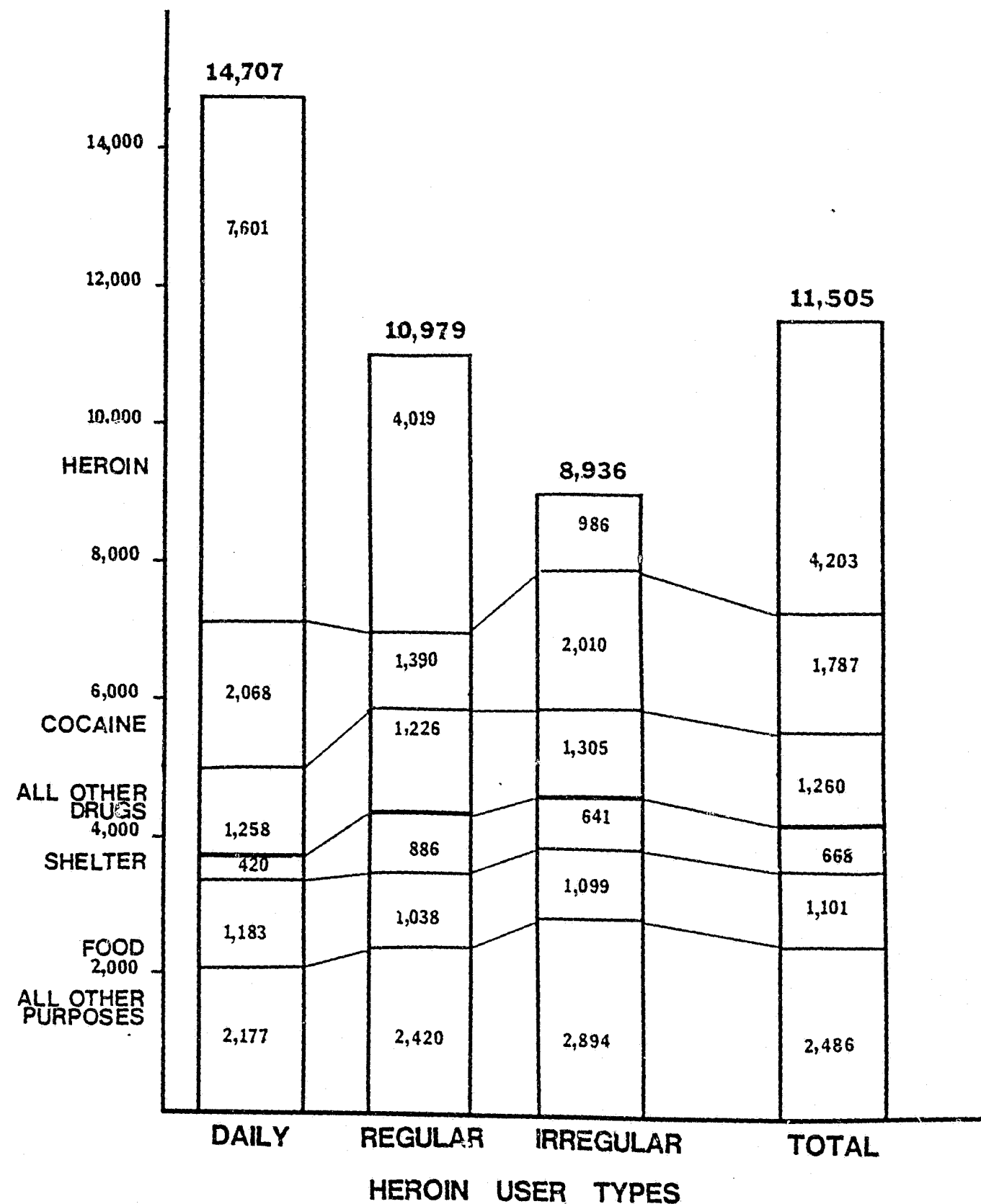
Thus, daily heroin users had the same low noncriminal cash income as the less regular heroin users, but they obtained higher income from almost every other category. In short, daily heroin users had a much higher total income because their cash returns from crime were substantially higher, as was their ability to gain drug payments and to avoid expenditures. All three types of respondents had a total income (projected) for a street-year which was quite high in comparison with the cash income of welfare families and even the low income workers in the study community. Nevertheless, these respondent's living standard was generally far below the poverty level -- because they spent so much upon drugs.

How much cash do street opiate users expend on various items (food, shelter, heroin, other drugs)?

Table XI. 2 presented a similar analysis of the mean cash expenditures by these street opiate users is presented. Data are recombined from tables in earlier chapters (see footnotes). Graph XI. 2 presents this information in visual form.

Graph XI.2

Annual Cash Expenditures by Heroin User Types



The average respondent had somewhat over \$11,500 in cash expenditures per year, of which over a third (\$4,203) involved cash purchases of heroin. Over half (\$5,990) of these cash expenditures were for heroin or cocaine. The average respondent spent over one and a half times as much upon drugs (\$7,250/\$4,255) as upon food, shelter, and other nondrug expenditures.

Daily heroin users had the same or slightly lower cash expenditures for nondrug purposes than the less regular heroin users. On the other hand, daily heroin users (\$10,930) expended close to three times as much on drugs as the irregular heroin users (\$4,301) and about twice as much as the regular heroin users (\$6,635). This difference was entirely due to the dollar amount of heroin purchased (this was largely due, of course, to the definition of the Heroin User Typology). For no other drugs or nondrug expenditures were the daily heroin users substantially different from the less regular heroin users.

Comparison of Income, Cash Expenditures, and Substance Use

The data in Table XI. 1 and 2 can be briefly compared to see how closely cash income and cash expenditures matched. These values have been summed from a variety of different component parts (as indicated in the Tables). Table XI. 2 showed that cash expenditures were approximately equal to cash income among daily and regular heroin users (less than \$30/year difference), but cash expenditures were approximately \$700 greater than income among irregular heroin users. This showed that their cash income and expenditures were approximately the same. The additional income available as respondent payments may account for the differences which emerge here.

Tables XI. 1 and 2 also show that cash expenditures for nondrug purposes (\$4,255) slightly exceeded noncriminal cash income (\$3,691) (although including respondent payments in the cash income would equalize these two figures. Thus, these subject received approximately \$4,000 in cash income from noncriminal sources and expended almost \$4,000 for nondrug purposes. This was true of all three heroin user types.

Total Income and Expenditures -159-

The last line of Table XI. 1 showed the "available criminal income" (sum of criminal cash income plus drug payments plus avoided expenditures for drugs and alcohol/cigarettes). In a similar fashion, the last line of Table XI.2 showed the dollar amount of substances which these respondents used during the year (from Table V. 5). Comparing these two lines showed that income available for supporting drug use was generally about \$1,000/year more than the actual dollar value consumed by each heroin user type.

Thus, at the aggregate level, their noncriminal income about equaled their nondrug expenditures. Likewise, their criminal income (including drug payments and avoided expenditures for drugs and alcohol) was just about equal to their actual annual consumption of drugs.

Summary

This chapter showed that daily heroin users had a total income which was twice as high as that of the irregular heroin users. The greater total income of the daily heroin users was entirely due to greater cash income from crime, greater income from drug payments, and from avoided expenditures.

While daily heroin users had significantly higher cash expenditures than less regular heroin users; this difference was due entirely to the amount spent upon heroin. The cash expenditure for all other drugs and for nondrug purposes was equal among all three heroin user types. Thus, the cash income and cash expenditures closely balance each other. The daily heroin users greater criminal income was the main way in which their higher purchases of heroin was financed.

Moreover, within each heroin user type, the dollar amounts of criminal income (nondrug, drug, and avoided expenditures) equaled the dollar amount of drugs consumed. At the aggregate level, it seemed that criminal income was mainly expended upon drugs. Likewise, noncriminal income almost matched nondrug expenditures.

In the following chapter, we explore the economic values for society associated with these street opiate user's lifestyle.

Total Income and Expenditures -160-

Table XI. 1 - Total Income per Year of Street Opiate Users by Heroin User Typology

Type of Income (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	
A. CASH INCOME FROM CRIME	4,451	7,121	11,292	7,597
<sup>a</sup> Any Nondrug Crime	2,885	5,719	8,540	5,729
Robbery	158	377	906	474
Burglary	256	1,174	2,906	1,429
Theft <sup>b</sup>	1,029	2,072	3,152	2,089
Other Property Crimes <sup>b</sup>	663	1,260	705	907
Prostituting & Pimping	780	836	873	830
<sup>c</sup> Any Drug Business: (Drug Sales + STC + Other Drug Business)	1,566	1,402	2,752	1,868
-----				
B. CASH INCOME FROM NONCRIMINAL SOURCES <sup>d</sup>	3,818	3,796	3,440	3,691
Work	1,546	815	852	1,048
Public Support <sup>e</sup>	981	1,603	1,084	1,254
All Other Legal Sources <sup>f</sup>	1,292	1,378	1,504	1,390
-----				
TOTAL CASH INCOME (A+B)	8,269	10,968	14,732	11,289
-----				
C. <sup>c</sup> TOTAL DRUG PAYMENTS: Drug Sales+STC+Drug Thefts	605	1,976	4,016	2,189
-----				
D. AVOIDED EXPENDITURES	2,484	3,328	4,857	3,539
<sup>c</sup> Drugs	752	1,663	3,168	1,851
<sup>c</sup> Alcohol & Cigarettes	216	243	235	232
<sup>d</sup> Meals-Shelter	1,237	1,136	1,254	1,203
<sup>d</sup> Transport & Other	164	205	143	174
<sup>g</sup> Shoplifting (Own Use)	97	81	57	79
-----				
TOTAL INCOME (A+B+C+D)	11,358	16,221	23,605	17,017
-----				
Available Criminal Income <sup>h</sup>	6,016	11,054	18,711	11,869

<sup>a</sup>-Table VI. 7C.

<sup>b</sup> Theft included shoplifting (resale) + other larcenies; other property crimes includes forgery + con games + other illegal acts.

<sup>c</sup>- Source: Table VII. 3.

<sup>d</sup>- Source: Table IX. 3

<sup>e</sup>- Included welfare + unemployment + other public support (food stamps mainly).

<sup>f</sup>- Included cash income from family, spouse/paramour, friends, panhandling, gambling, and other sources; respondent payments were not included here since subjects would not receive them in normal circumstances.

<sup>g</sup>- Source: Table VII. 7C; although shoplifting for own use was a crime, no dollars were obtained. Thus, when stolen goods were used by the subject, this included above as an avoided expenditure

<sup>h</sup>- Sum of Line A + C + Avoided expenditures for Drugs + Alcohol/Cigarettes.

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## ECONOMIC VALUES AMONG STREET OPIATE USERS

Total Income and Expenditures -161-  
Table VI. 2 - Total Cash Expenditures Per Year for Drugs and Nondrug Purposes  
by Heroin User Typology

Type of Income (Number of Subjects)	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	
<b>A. CASH EXPENDITURES FOR DRUGS<sup>a</sup> (i.e. Purchases)</b>	4,301	6,635	10,930	7,250
Heroin	986	4,019	7,601	4,203
Cocaine	2,010	1,390	2,068	1,787
Alcohol	321	343	579	409
Illicit Methadone	338	375	134	289
Marijuana	316	193	219	238
All Other Drugs <sup>b</sup>	90	70	38	66
Cigarettes <sup>c</sup>	240	245	291	258
<b>B. CASH EXPENDITURES FOR NONDRUG PURPOSES<sup>d</sup></b>	4,635	4,344	3,777	4,255
Shelter	641	886	420	668
Food	1,099	1,038	1,183	1,101
All Others Purposes <sup>e</sup>	2,894	2,420	2,177	2,486
<b>TOTAL CASH EXPENDITURES (A+B)</b>	8,936	10,979	14,707	11,505
<b>Amount of Drugs Used<sup>f</sup></b>	5,186	9,847	17,283	10,726

<sup>a</sup>-Source: Table V. 5.

<sup>b</sup> All other drugs included amphetamines, barbiturates, tranquilizers, psychedelics, other opiates (not heroin or methadone), and other drugs.

<sup>c</sup> Source: Table X. 3; note that cigarettes are not included in data regarding drug purchases (Table V. 5) from which the remainder of the drug expenditure data are taken; thus, the cash expenditures for drugs are about \$250 higher than those given in Table V. 5.

<sup>d</sup>-Source: Table X. 3.

<sup>e</sup> All other purposes includes cash expenditures upon family, clothes, transportation, savings, recreation, gambling, legal fees, other nonsubstance expenditures.

<sup>f</sup> Source Table V.5A: The dollar value of drugs consumed per year.

What overall effect did these street opiate user have upon society? While this question has been addressed in a number of ways, this chapter will provide new information about those economic values which have been most problematic in prior research -- those associated with the criminal income and drug distribution by these respondents.

Most of the previous research in this area has dealt with "social costs" of drug abusers. Most such research has made estimates of several different components (i.e. police, judicial, corrections, treatment, forgone productivity, private security costs, etc.) of these social costs. The biggest component of many social costs estimates, however, depended upon a formula that was both controversial and may contain assumptions which may not be accurate. For example, DSAS (1983) estimated the dollar value of thefts alone committed by an active heroin user in New York to be \$26,800 per year (an amount remarkably close to our estimates given below). The formula for computing this amount assumed that an addict used heroin on 255 days per year costing \$70 per day of active use, acquiring half of his/her money through theft, and that the fence factor was three. Such estimates were then multiplied by the estimated number of addicts to determine the social cost of heroin user theft.

Many economists (see Research Triangle Institute, 1976) hold, however, that the merchandise stolen by heroin users does not constitute a "social cost." That is, the economic value of an stolen article did not change or vanish when the thief forcibly transferred it from (i.e. stole from) one person (the victim) to another person (the buyer) (Casey and Preble, 1974). Most ordinary citizens and government officials, however, were very concerned about the economic losses suffered by victims, and were unwilling to accept the premise that the society did not suffer by this transfer. Thus, this chapter will specifically avoid reference to the term "social costs."

Rather the term, "economic values" will be employed as a more value neutral concept in order to assign a dollar value to their behaviors without making a judgment as to whether a social cost occurred. Economic values will be defined as the dollar amounts (or their best approximation) associated with the illegal behavior of our street opiate users regardless of whether individual victims or society has been affected. Implicit in the "economic value" concept, and the focus of this chapter, however, was the assumption that our street opiate users obtained some dollar amount (or economic value) because they engaged in an act which criminally victimized someone else, obtained goods or services without paying for them (i.e. avoided expenditures), or their behavior negatively affects the broader society by withholding tax revenue or enriching the illegal drug distribution system.

This chapter will not consider the many other components of social costs such as those associated with governmental efforts to prevent opiate user crime (prevention/and intervention programs and patrol), to arrest and process criminals (police, prosecutors, defense attorney, judges, other court personnel), to jail, imprison, or supervise those convicted (prison and jail officers and management, parole and probation officers), or to treat and intervene in their lives (drug and alcohol treatment, medical and hospital treatment).

In a similar fashion, the economic value of nongovernmental costs associated with preventing crime (private security guards, locks and secure doors, higher prices to cover theft losses, etc.) will not be included here. Likewise, this chapter will not consider the noneconomic costs of fear of crime experienced by citizens, nor the abuse and neglect of family and children by these respondents, or other similar factors. Such social costs have been more carefully estimated by others and would be beyond the scope of our data (Research Triangle Institute, 1976; Moore, 1970; Casey and Preble, 1974; Hopkins, 1975; Gray, 1979; DSAS, 1983).

The second major problem with estimating theft losses associated with street opiate users lie in the assumptions behind the formula. First, the formula assumed that most active heroin users engaged in the taking of merchandise (i.e. theft, burglary, robbery) -- but other forms of criminality (drug business crime, con games, forgery, etc.) were ignored. Second, an arbitrary number (three) was assumed to be a standard "fence factor" for all types of theft, when the fence factor may be quite different for robbery, burglary, and larceny. Third, it assumed a high amount of heroin (\$70) consumed per day of use.

Unlike previous estimates, however, this study can make new estimates about economic values by building from specific types of crimes, assigning different fence factors to the various crimes, and including economic values that have not been previously included in such social cost estimates. Rather than assuming a standard average daily heroin consumption, we can ignore the dollar amounts actually consumed and concentrate upon how income was obtained.

Thus, we will construct careful estimates of economic values among our street opiate users by including 33 different components, each of which has a differing set of assumptions, specified fence factors, and unique dollar amounts. Moreover, these estimates of economic values can be demonstrated for daily, regular, and irregular heroin users, as well as all subjects.

In this analysis, the economic values imposed by our street opiate users can be conveniently classified into two major components: Direct and Indirect economic values. These are briefly defined below. (Definitions and the rationale for each component follow Table XII.1



DIRECT ECONOMIC VALUES

Direct economic values were those monetary values which other persons/ organizations provided either voluntarily or involuntarily to street opiate users. Thus, this chapter will consider and compute the approximate economic value of losses experienced by crime victims (they have real economic losses) without considering the corresponding economic gain of those purchasing stolen goods. The major component of such direct economic values are the economic losses associated with the nondrug crimes of street opiate users.

Moreover, street opiate users also obtained income (both as cash and avoided expenditures) from friends, family, and other sources who provide these on a "voluntary" basis. In return, these street opiate users also reciprocated by providing some cash (expenditures) or services to family, friends, and others which resulted in a net gain (see Chapter XI) to the opiate users. In this chapter, however, only the income received by opiate users from others were included below in estimates of direct social costs. These were not reduced by their economic contributions to others.

INDIRECT ECONOMIC VALUES.

Indirect economic values were those associated with activities which were illegal by statute (mainly drug sales/STC, income tax evasion) or those which contributed to the economic vitality of the illicit drug distribution system. Such indirect economic values did not involve direct economic losses to victims or costs to specific persons. Rather, indirect economic values contributed substantially to the economic success of the illegal economy and revenue loss to the government. In some ways, indirect economic values measured the economic productivity of street opiate users to the illegal economy.

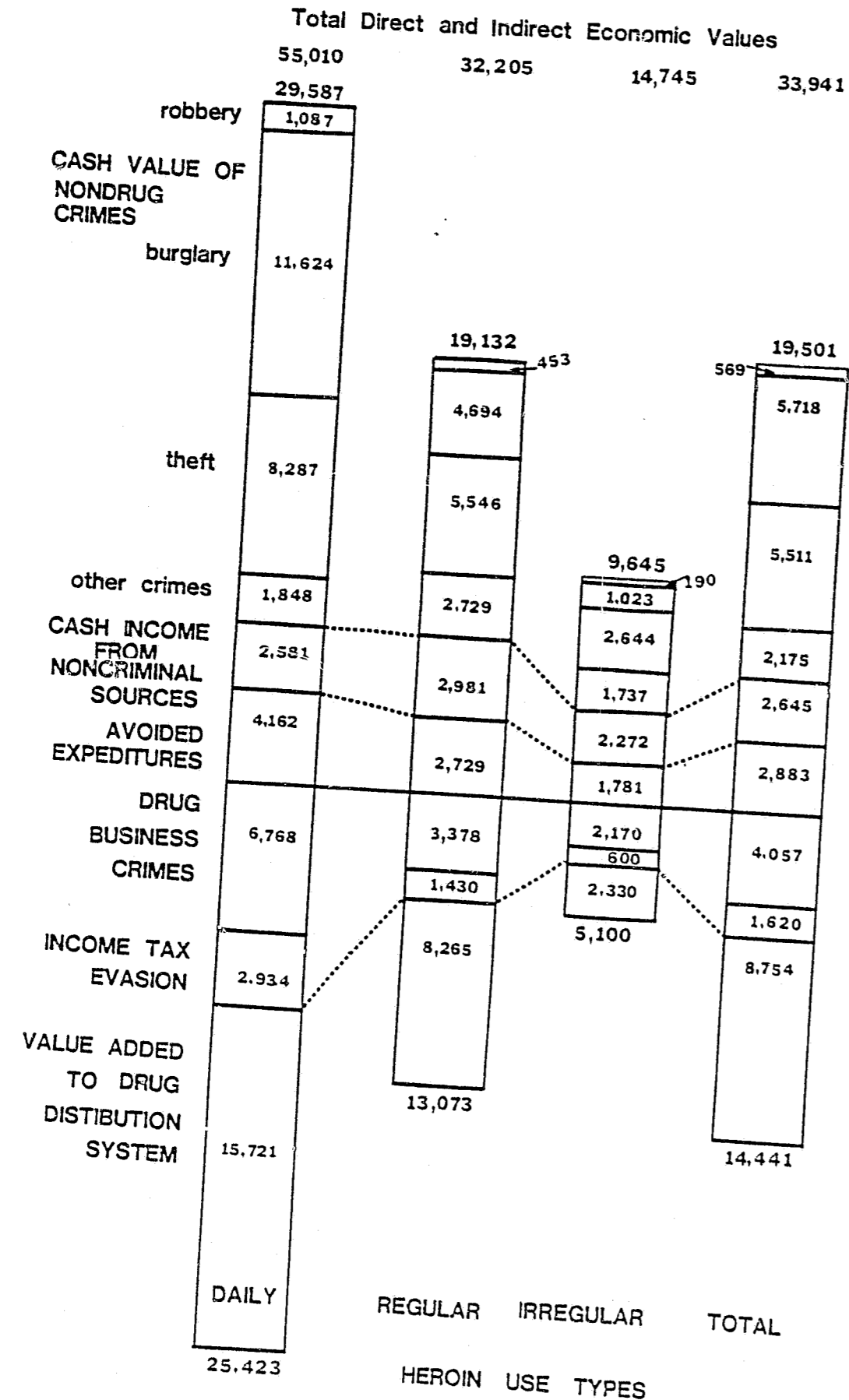
Indirect economic values involved three analytically distinct measures: 1) the economic values of cash plus drug income from drug selling, steering, touting, coping, other drug business, and drug theft; 2) the absence of income tax paid on income (from both drug and nondrug crime as well as most work income); and 3) the "value added" to the illicit drug business by the labor of these street opiate users via their drug crimes.

Like retail salesmen who receive a commission proportional to the economic value "added" by their sales work, street opiate users received payments (in either drugs or cash) which were roughly proportional to the gross amount of drugs which their activity helped sell. That is, in addition to obtaining drug and cash income from drug sales or STC, the labor of these subjects contributed a substantial economic "value added" to maintaining the entire illegal drug distribution system which society desired to eliminate.

The main findings about the social costs of street opiate users have been summarized in Graph XII. 1. Detailed data about each of the components included in these costs has been provided in Table XII. 1. The concluding section of this chapter explains each social cost component in Table XII. 1, and provides the rationale for multiplying each specific component by its own unique "fence factor." (see below).

Economic Values -167-  
Graph XII. 1

Economic Values Associated with Heroin User Types



Economic Values -168-  
FINDINGS

Graph XII. 1 (above the line) shows that the average street opiate user had direct economic values of almost \$19,500 per year. Over two-thirds (\$13,952) of this cost was the dollar value of the goods obtained or cash raised from nondrug crime. Sixty percent (\$5,718 + \$3,775 + \$1,736 + \$569) of the direct economic values involved goods or money taken during burglary, shoplifting for resale, larcenies, and robbery. Only \$2,645 of the direct economic values\* came as cash income from noncriminal sources. An equivalent value was contributed by others to street opiate users in the form of avoided expenditures for shelter, meals, transportation, drugs, and alcohol or cigarettes.

Moreover, direct economic values among daily heroin users were three times greater than among irregular heroin users (\$29,587 vs. 9,645). This was due to the fact that the nondrug crimes committed by daily heroin users (\$22,844) have four times more economic impact than those by the irregular heroin users (\$5,592) and about twice as much impact as the regular heroin users (\$13,422). This difference was also due to the fact that daily heroin users were able to obtain more economic value from avoided expenditures, mainly as drugs.

The indirect social costs imposed by the average street opiate user was also substantial (\$14,441). About 28% of this cost (\$4,057) was derived from drug or cash income from the respondent's drug distribution activity, and 60% (\$8,764) was the value added to the illicit drug distribution system by the respondent's labor in that market. Income tax evasion (\$1,620) provided a relatively modest contribution to the indirect social costs. The daily heroin users have an indirect social cost (\$25,423) that was about five times greater than irregular heroin users (\$5,100) and almost twice as high as the regular heroin users (\$13,205).

\* The economic value of legal employment was not included as an economic value contributing negatively to society.

When both the direct and indirect costs were summed, the total economic values associated with an average street opiate user was almost \$34,000 per year (assuming no time off the street). Moreover, daily heroin users imposed economic values of \$55,000 per year. This was a substantial amount of economic value to support the consumption of approximately \$13,000 worth of heroin and \$4,000 worth of other drugs (mainly cocaine). Although the social cost was substantially less (\$14,745) among the irregular heroin users, this was still significant to support \$5,000 worth of drug use.

Moreover, none of the components included in these economic values accounted for the failure of almost all subjects to contribute positively to the national economy in a conventional way. Most of these respondents are males or females in their 30s, out of school for many years, and are in a period of life which was generally productive for their blue and white collar counterparts of the same age. Assuming that the average income of the lowest paid service worker was \$7,280 (minimum wage), these subjects earned only about \$1,100 in work related income. In short, the average street opiate user imposed about \$6,000 per year in foregone legitimate productivity, plus any economic value which such labor may add ("value added") to the national economy of a legitimate nature.

The DSAS (1983) estimate of \$26,800 annually due to theft by active heroin users seemed about right. Our daily heroin users had direct economic values of almost \$30,000 while the regular heroin users had about \$19,000.

The DSAS (1983) estimate was based upon some correct and less accurate assumptions. They assumed that subjects obtained about half their income for heroin from theft; the percentage was 60% among our street opiate users -- a remarkably accurate estimate of total direct economic values from theft, burglary, and robbery. Likewise, they assumed a fence factor of three, while these four crimes overall had a combined fence factor of 2.4 (13,952/5,729) -- see Table VI. 7C). They assumed \$70 per day of heroin use versus about \$35 per heroin-use day among our subjects -- Chapter IV).

On the other hand, the DSAS estimates may be misleadingly low as well because they do not include economic values associated with drug business crimes, and especially the value added to the illicit drug distribution system. When these were included, the average street opiate user had almost \$34,000 in economic values, about \$7,000 higher than the DSAS estimate. Among our daily heroin users, their economic values were twice (\$55,000) that given by DSAS (1983).

Summary

The data presented in this chapter clearly showed that these street opiate users had substantial economic values. These figures were very similar to or somewhat higher than those calculated by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (Pollin, 1981; Research Triangle Institute, 1976), and by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Service (1983). Moreover, the data developed here had clear definitions and specified assumptions about 33 different possible economic values which were related to the frequency of heroin use.

These respondents had direct economic values from nondrug crime of almost \$14,000 per year, and another \$5,000 in social costs to family, friends, government transfer payments, and other drug users who also provide them with cash or help them avoid many important expenditures.

Moreover, the daily heroin users had the highest direct economic values especially for nondrug crime and drug crime-related values. The economic values due to the four major crimes (burglary, shoplifting for resale, larceny, and robbery) accounted for much of their criminal cash income and high economic values. Daily heroin were substantially more active in obtaining drug plus cash income from their involvements in drug sales and STC and responsible for much of the "value added" to the drug business.

These social costs did not include many other ways in which they impose further costs upon society such as their nonparticipation in the legitimate economic system, and the costs of incarcerating, supervising, and treating street opiate users which were included in previous estimates of social costs.

Economic Values -171 -

Table XII. 1 -- Direct and Indirect Economic Values per Year among Street Opiate Users by the Heroin User Typology.

	Heroin User Typology				Multi-plier <sup>a</sup>	Heroin User Typology							
	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Total		Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Total				
	Income Per Year					Economic Values Per Year DIRECT SOCIAL COSTS							
<b>A. CASH VALUE OF NONDRUG CRIME</b>									5,592	13,422	22,844	13,973	
1. Robbery	158	377	906	474	x1.2	190	453	1,087	569				
2. Burglary	256	1,174	2,906	1,429	x4.0	1,023	4,694	11,624	5,718				
3. Shoplift (Resale)	887	1,342	2,334	1,510	x2.5	2,218	3,356	5,834	3,775				
4. Other Larcenies	142	730	818	579	x3.0	426	2,190	2,453	1,736				
5. Forgery	56	300	93	162	x1.0	56	300	93	162				
6. Con Games	410	408	400	406	x1.0	410	408	400	406				
7. Prostitution	739	722	773	743	x1.0	739	722	773	743				
8. Pimping	41	114	100	87	x1.0	41	114	100	87				
9. Other Illegal Acts	197	552	212	339	x2.0	394	1,104	425	698				
10. Shoplift(Own Use)*	97	81	57	79	x1.0	97	81	57	79				
<b>B. CASH INCOME FROM NONCRIMINAL SOURCES</b>						2,272	2,981	2,581	2,645				
11. Working	1,546	815	852	1,048	x0	0	0	0	0				
12. Welfare	584	1,177	757	868	x1.0	584	1,177	757	868				
13. Unemployment	153	60	71	91	x1.0	153	60	71	91				
14. Other Public \$	244	366	256	295	x1.0	244	366	256	295				
15. Family	303	235	251	260	x1.0	303	235	251	260				
16. Spouse/Paramour	443	462	477	461	x1.0	443	462	477	461				
17. Friends	76	167	118	125	x1.0	76	167	118	125				
18. Panhandling	11	59	50	41	x1.0	11	59	50	41				
19. Gambling	160	95	301	178	x1.0	160	95	301	178				
20. Respondent Payments**	733	760	770	755	x0	0	0	0	0				
21. Other	299	360	307	325	x1.0	299	360	307	325				
<b>C. AVOIDED EXPENDITURES</b>						1,781	2,729	4,162	2,383				
22. Room (Shelter)*	588	518	639	577	x1.0	588	518	639	577				
23. Meals*	649	618	615	626	x1.0	649	618	615	626				
24. Transportation	39	36	53	42	x1.0	39	36	53	42				
25. Other	125	169	91	132	x1.0	125	169	91	132				
26. Drugs	752	1,663	3,168	1,851	x1.0	752	1,663	3,168	1,851				
27. Alcohol/Cigarette	216	243	235	232	x1.0	216	243	235	232				
<b>D. DIRECT ECONOMIC VALUES/PERSON (A + B + C)</b>						9,645	19,132	29,587	19,501				

a - Multiplier - A factor used to multiply the values presented in each line. The line number corresponds to the text's discussion of the source of these figures and the rationale for each multiplier.

Economic Values - 172 -

Table XII. 1 -- (Continued) Direct and Indirect Economic Values per Year among Street Opiate Users by the Heroin User Typology.

	Heroin User Typology				Multi-plier <sup>a</sup>	Heroin User Typology							
	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Total		Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Total				
	Income Per Year					Economic Values Per Year							
<b>E. DRUG + CASH INCOME</b>						2,170	3,378	6,768	4,057				
28. Drug Sales	1,259	957	2,036	1,381	x1.0	1,259	957	2,036	1,381				
29. Steer,Tout,Cop	754	1,972	4,102	2,260	x1.0	754	1,972	4,102	2,260				
30. Other Drug Business	88	64	110	86	1.0	88	64	110	86				
31. Any Drug Thefts	70	385	519	331	1.0	70	385	519	331				
<b>F. INCOME TAX EVASION**</b>						600	1,430	2,934	1,620				
<b>G. "VALUE ADDED" by Subject Drug Distribution Activity</b>						2,330	8,265	15,721	8,764				
32. Drug Sales*	302	3,669	4,176	2,804	x0.8	242	2,935	3,340	2,243				
33. Steer,Tout,Cop*	2,610	6,663	15,476	8,151	x0.8	2,088	5,330	12,381	6,521				
<b>H. INDIRECT ECONOMIC VALUES/PERSON (E+F+G)</b>						5,100	13,073	25,423	14,441				
<b>TOTAL (DIRECT + INDIRECT ECONOMIC COST PER PERSON (D + H))</b>						14,745	32,205	55,010	33,941				

\* - Value of drugs distributed minus respondent's actual drug + cash income.  
 \*\* - Total taxable income includes nondrug cash crime income (lines 1-10) plus work income (line 11), plus drug and cash income from the drug business (lines 28-31). The standard deduction (\$1,000) is subtracted and the federal income tax for 1982 was used to compute the amounts given here.  
 a - Multiplier - A factor used to multiply the values presented in each line. The line number corresponds to the text's discussion of the source of these figures and the rationale for each multiplier.  
 Source: "Income per Year" comes from Tables VI.7C, VII.3, and IX. 3. The "Economic values" come from the income per year times the multiplier.

## DETAILED RATIONALES AND MULTIPLIERS IN ESTIMATING ECONOMIC VALUES

## AMONG STREET OPIATE USERS

This section provides detailed information about the data included in Table XII. 1. Specifically, each line will be mentioned in order, and a rationale for the calculation given. This table included, for nondrug crimes, a best estimate of the "fence factor" for specific crimes -- that is how much more than the respondent's cash income the stolen merchandise was worth at retail value. This fence factor has been expressed in Table XII. 1 as a "multiplier." When a multiplication factor other than one (1) is employed, a rationale has been presented.

## A. CASH VALUE OF CRIME (all data on left side come from Table VI. 7C)

1. Robbery - was the most serious of the crimes included in this study. Most robberies were brief crimes, the perpetrator threatened or otherwise obtained the victim's wallet or purse. Money (cash income), in the experience of our field staff, was the only thing taken in about 75% of the robberies. Other goods (watches, clothing, etc.) taken in robbery have little street resale value. On the other hand, jewelry and chains obtained in robbery probably gained the robber a cash amount of approximately a third of its value. Credit cards sold on the street for about \$50 each, identification documents (driver's license, etc.) were also worth about \$25 each. Overall, given that products other than money were estimated to occur in only about 25% of the robberies, a multiplication factor of 1.2 was applied to respondent's cash income from robbery.
2. Burglary - was one of the most economically rewarding crimes for street opiate users, and having the highest economic values because stolen property/goods must be resold ("fenced"), generally for significantly less than their actual worth. While cash may be taken as well, most burglaries involved property removal of a variety of items whose actual retail value were unknown and difficult to ascertain.  
There were four major ways in which street opiate users sold stolen merchandise: to community residents approached on the street or bars ("street fencing"), to persons who specialized in paying cash for stolen goods ("professional fences"), and to drug dealers who accepted merchandise for drugs ("dealer fences"). Some merchandise (gold, jewelry, coin collections, antiques, etc.) may be sold to legitimate merchants who did not realize (many do) they were buying stolen goods. Street fencing of stolen goods brought a cash return of approximately a third of the actual value, but obtaining this return, especially for an expensive item, involved several hours of locating a buyer with enough cash. On the other hand, professional fences provided instant cash for merchandise, but seldom better than a fifth of the fair retail value of merchandise and for as little as a twentieth of the retail value.

Likewise, dealer-fences will seldom provide an amount of drugs equivalent to a third of the retail value. In addition, the drugs provided have been marked up twice to three times, so the dealer-fence's actual cash expenditures was probably a sixth to a tenth of the retail value of the stolen merchandise. On the other hand, gold chains/jewelry, coin collections, silverware, and antiques, could be sold to legitimate or quasi-legitimate business for their approximate retail value (minus the dealer's mark up).

Our field staff's impression was that the most frequent burglars were most likely to sell to professional fences, unless they could street fence some goods rapidly, or go to a legitimate dealer. Overall, across all burglars and types of merchandise, a conservative estimate would be that the street opiate user obtained a fourth (or less) of the value of the merchandise stolen. Thus, a multiplier of four (4) was used.

3. Shoplifting for resale -- was the most common nondrug crimes, but not always the most rewarding. Shoplifting typically involved two different items which were commonly stolen: meat and clothing. Meat, cigarettes, and alcohol were typically stolen from stores with retail prices marked; they were sold to community members for half the retail price marked. New clothing with price tag attached could be street fenced for a third of the value. Clothing typically had a higher economic value per unit than meat. Almost all other shoplifted merchandise was sold for a third or less of the retail value. Systematic shoplifters, however, were more likely to use professional fences or dealer-fences where the economic returns were less but cash or drugs were provided directly.  
Staff estimated that approximately half of the shoplifting events involved the theft of meats or cigarettes (fence factor of 2), and half involved clothing or other merchandise (fence factor of 3 or more). A conservative multiplier of 2.5 was used.
4. Other larcenies -- Thefts of bikes, parts of autos or contents from autos, office thefts, etc., were generally fenced for a third or less of their actual value, with much variation by kind of item and the approximate age of the goods. A multiplier of 3 was employed.
5. Forgery - involved obtaining cash by using false signatures, so a multiplier of one was appropriate.
6. Con Games (Fraud) - generally obtained cash. The main offense by these street opiate users was three-card monte, which obtained cash. A multiplier of one was used.
7. Prostitution - involved sex for money, cash was almost always obtained. A multiplier of one was appropriate.
8. Pimping - involved obtaining money from prostitutes or women. A multiplier of one was appropriate.
9. Other illegal acts - included fencing of goods (which the respondent did not steal), helping criminals find victims, etc. A fence factor of 2 seemed most appropriate.
10. Shoplifting for own use - was stealing a commodity and keeping it. Where the value of the item was given, this was counted as the dollar value of merchandise consumed. A multiplier of one was appropriate.

B. CASH INCOME FROM NONCRIMINAL SOURCES (all data on left side from Table IX. 3)

- 11. Working - was employment in jobs which were productive in the conventional economic world and constituted a positive contribution which was not harmful to society. Thus, a multiplier of zero (0) was used.
- 12. Family, Spouse, Friends, Welfare, Unemployment, Other Transfers (mainly - food -stamps), Panhandling, Gambling, and Other Cash Income were sources of cash income, so a multiplier of 1 was appropriate.
- 20. Respondent payments were cash income derived from participating in this study (remember respondents did not obtain such payment for a full year, only a few weeks -- the figures here were annualized). Since subjects would not normally have obtained this income, the multiplier of zero (0) was used.

C. AVOIDED EXPENDITURES (all data on left side from Table IX. 3)

- 22. Room (shelter) - were lodging expenses for which the respondent did not have to pay. While providing a bed or couch for the respondent may be a burden on some household, it generally did not involve additional cash expenditures by the apartment owner. A multiplier of zero (0) was used.
- 23. Meals - were food which the respondent consumed, but for which he typically did not pay cash on that day. The person (s) providing such food, however, had to pay cash for the food consumed. The data assumed that \$3 per day of food was eaten by the respondent. A multiplier of one (1) was used.
- 24. Transportation - involved not paying fares by jumping subway turnstiles or sneaking into the back of buses. Occasionally, subjects also jumped out of a taxi without paying. Such theft of services involved provision of services with a real economic value. A multiplier of one (1) was used.
- 25. Other (nondrug) avoided expenditures - involved respondents obtaining clothing, presents, newspapers, etc., for which someone else paid. A multiplier of one (1) was used.
- 26. Drugs - were frequently obtained without cash expenditures by "copping short," as gifts, and part of reciprocal obligations to share drugs. The value of such drugs obtained without cash payment by the subject actually costs someone else real economic amounts. A multiplier of one (1) was used.
- 27. Alcohol and cigarettes were frequently obtained by respondents at someone else's expense. This meant that someone paid for these substances. A multiplier of one (1) was used.

E. DRUG PLUS CASH INCOME FROM DRUG DISTRIBUTION (data on left taken from Table VII. 3)

These street opiate users devoted considerable energy to working in the illegal drug distribution system, generally at the lowest levels. They were working mainly to earn the drugs they wished to use and earned both cash income and drug income. While no single other person or "victim" was directly paying for such costs, the value of this illegal labor was certainly an indirect economic value by street opiate users.

- 28. Drug Sales (Dealing) - involved the direct transfer of money for illegal drugs. The cash plus drug income received by the subject were a direct payment for the respondent's labor. A multiplier of one (1) was used.
- 29. Steer, Tout, Cop - involved the respondent in helping one or more dealers sell their illegal drugs. They were generally paid in drugs (although sometimes in cash) for their assistance in finding customers. Such drug or cash income were payments for illegal labor. A multiplier of one (1) was used.
- 30. Other Drug Business - involved the respondent in various other drug roles (i.e. lending works, running a shooting gallery, holding or transporting drugs, testing drugs, etc.) for which he was paid in cash or drugs. A multiplier of one (1) was used.
- 31. Drug Thefts - involved the respondent in obtaining drugs via robbery, burglary, or theft from other drug users or dealers. The drugs obtained had a real economic value to those from whom they were taken, equivalent to the amount taken. A multiplier of one (1) was used.

F. INCOME TAX EVASION

Respondents seldom obtained jobs from which income tax was routinely withheld. Rather, they obtained odd jobs on an occasional day for which they were typically paid in cash. Almost all cash from jobs was "off the books." None of the cash income from crime, friends, or family, was reported by these subjects. Most of the respondents have never filled out an income tax form. Except for a few dealers, almost none of these street opiate users worried about income tax evasion. Their total cash plus drug income has been calculated (see footnote), from which the standard deduction (\$1,000) has been subtracted. The remainder was considered as taxable income; the appropriate 1982 tax on that amount was entered in the social cost columns.

G. "VALUE ADDED" TO THE DRUG DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM (data taken from Tables VII. 3 and 4)

When a person has been employed in the regular job market, his/her labor produces materials, goods, and information which typically generated two to three dollars for every dollar which the person received as payment for labor. The economic value of their output minus the labor costs may be considered as the "value added" by such labor.

In the same way, the labor which street opiate users devoted to drug sales and steering, touting, and copping contributed a "value added" to the economic worth of illegal drug distribution system, which was in addition to the relatively direct payments (drugs + cash) they received for their time and work. Since society defined such transactions as illegal, and strictly penalized such behavior, the economic value added to the drug distribution system was included as an indirect social cost.

- 31 Drug Sales and Steer, Tout, Cop: The potential maximum of this "value added" was the total dollar value of drugs distributed minus the cash +
- 32 drug income received as payments for their labor. This calculation was given on the left side of Table XII. 1.

The potential for double counting of money or economic value, however, was high. The money which paid for the drugs sold by respondent A may already have been counted as criminal income by respondent B. Or at least, the same kinds of persons who spent criminal income (already computed above) to purchase heroin (for example) were part of the value added by the labor of other street opiate users who dealt on street.

Yet the probability of such double counting of the same dollar (due to exchanges between two respondents) were considered by staff to be relatively low; such double counting may have occurred on less than two transactions out of 10. Thus, a multiplier of 0.8 was used below. The "value added" was calculated as 80% of the difference between the dollar amount of drugs distributed minus direct payments for labor in the drug distribution system.

The above information provided the rationale for including certain components having economic value and the reasons for using specific multipliers with specific components. The main components of economic value were combined in logical ways to provide the data generated in Graph XII. 1 and Table XII. 1.

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CRIMINAL OFFENDERS, HEROIN USERS, AND CRIME RATES

The search for a criminal typology to describe the offending behavior of criminals has frequently resulted in considerable frustration. Most typologies have classified subjects according to the maximum offense for which they have been arrested or convicted. Relatively little evidence of criminal specialization is exhibited in the arrest and self-reported patterns of criminal behavior. That is, most persons who rob are also thieves and commit many more thefts than robberies; many burglars also rob; many drug sellers also commit nondrug crimes.

A study of career criminals admitted to prisons and jails in California, Michigan, and Texas has recently been completed. Chaiken and Chaiken (1982ab, Chaiken, 1983) developed a new way to classify criminal offenders which were called "criminal varieties." By using information about self-reported criminal behavior indicated on a questionnaire, Chaiken and Chaiken (1982a) showed that "criminals can be categorized according to the combinations of crimes they commit" and that those:

who committed specific combinations of crimes were distinguishable ... by their crime commission rates, their persistence in committing crimes, and their personal characteristics.

One important result of the study is our ability to identify and characterize the most serious category of offenders. Criminals in this category reported committing robbery, assault, and drug deals during the one- to two-year measurement.... We found that these criminals, whom we call 'violent predators,' usually committed the defining crimes at high rates, and they often committed burglaries, thefts, and other property crimes at high rates too -- sometimes at higher rates than any other type of criminal, including those who specialized in those crimes.

...Ten types of offenders [were] defined in terms of the crimes they do or do not report committing. The offender types are arranged hierarchically, with the lower ones relatively less serious than the higher ones. ... offenders in the lower categories not only committed fewer serious crimes at lower rates, but their patterns of employment, drug use, and juvenile behavior were more socially acceptable than those of other [more serious] offenders. (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982a, 2-3).

A critical crime in the Chaiken's classification system was drug sales. Among persons reporting major offenses like robbery and burglary, those who also sold drugs had generally higher rates of offending behavior for several crime types than their counterparts who did not sell drugs. Among persons who robbed, Chaiken and Chaiken (1982a) showed that those who engaged in assault were more seriously involved in most crime types than those without assault.

The current chapter compares findings from our New York subjects with the Chaiken and Chaiken (1982b) findings and addresses the following questions:

- 1) Can respondents who were recruited as street opiate users in the Harlem and East Harlem section of New York City be meaningfully classified into criminal types that were similar to Chaiken and Chaiken's "criminal varieties?"
- 2) How similar were criminal patterns among New York opiate users to the career criminals studied by Chaiken and Chaiken? That is, are their findings replicated among New York heroin abusers? In what way does the current data extend their findings.
- 3) How were heroin user types related to criminal offender types?
- 4) Within each criminal offender type, were increasing levels of heroin consumption related to higher crime rates and criminal incomes, and if so, for what crimes?
- 5) Do certain types of criminal offenders commit a disproportionate share of the total volume of crime?

- 1) Can respondents who were recruited as street opiate users in the Harlem and East Harlem section of New York City be meaningfully classified into criminal types that were similar to Chaiken and Chaiken's "criminal varieties?"

The present study clearly differed in significant respects from the Chaiken's study of career criminals. Specifically, our New York respondents were recruited because they had a history of heroin abuse and injection -- drug abusers who were never heroin abusers were systematically excluded, this included heavy cocaine users and pill abusers, the more numerous marijuana users, and nondrug using criminals.

Moreover, all New York respondents were recruited and interviewed while at liberty on the streets (although a few had short term jail stays between their interviews). All of Chaiken and Chaiken's respondents were new inmates at prisons or jails when participating -- although they responded to questions about their criminal behavior when they had been at liberty on the street.

New York subjects were interviewed about their criminal behavior and drug use on a day-by-day basis (although the actual interview was conducted once per week). The data collected cover only the days about which they were interviewed. Between 33 days (a majority of subjects) to over 100 days (a few subjects) of data are available for analysis. Chaiken and Chaiken's subjects completed a self-administered questionnaire and answered questions about the frequency of committing specific types of crime during the last two years while they were at liberty on the street; hence they had a longer opportunity to commit the focal offenses. Moreover, since incarcerated inmates were generally the most seriously involved criminals, the percentage of subjects classified into the most serious criminal types should be somewhat larger than among the New York opiate users at liberty on the streets.



The original objectives of the Economic Behavior project did not include a focus upon crimes which did not have economic value. Thus, the interview schedule did not systematically question respondents about whether they had engaged in assault or other noneconomic crimes (property destruction, arson, rape, etc.). The Chaiken and Chaiken questionnaire, however, included questions about assaultive crimes. On the other hand, the Chaikens asked only about "drug selling." Subjects were not asked about what this project calls "steering, touting, copping." Inmates who who engaged in such behaviors probably did not include such STC activities when asked about "drug selling or dealing." Because the Chaiken and Chaiken study involved only males, questions about prostitution/pimping were not asked. This study included 50 female subjects, many of whom reported activity in prostitution and a few male subjects reported pimping activity. Thus, separate information about these crimes have been reported below.

Thus, there were many differences in methodology (interviews vs. questionnaire), subjects (imprisoned male criminals vs. heroin abusers of both sexes at liberty on the street), and locale of research (a small section of New York City vs. jail and prison inmates in Michigan, California and Texas). Such differences would suggest that divergent findings might emerge.

Such was not the case, however, as the following discussion shows. Little difficulty was encountered in constructing the criminal offender types according to the Chaiken and Chaiken criteria. One minor change in definition was made in classifying the street opiate users. The majority of subjects reported about their behavior for only 33 days, while other subjects had 60 to 100 or more days of reporting. The latter subjects had more opportunity to commit a crime, like robbery, that occurred with a low frequency. In order to ensure that most subjects had a relatively equal chance of being classified as "active" in various crime types, the percentage of person-days committing each specific offense was computed.

Subjects who committed offenses on 2% or more of their person-days were classified as "active" in each crime type for the purposes of reproducing the Chaiken and Chaiken Criminal Variety Types.

Table IX. 1 presents that this study's version of the Chaiken and Chaiken (1982a) criminal varieties (or Hierarchical Subgroups of Offenders). Since information about assault was not obtained from these street opiate users, the Chaiken and Chaiken categories with assault distinctions have been ignored. Thus, the Chaiken and Chaiken violent predator was included with the "robber-dealer" category while the "robber-assaulter" and "mere assaulter" types were included among "low level robber" category in Table IX. 1. In addition, two categories of lower level offenders were included here but not in the Chaiken and Chaiken (1982a) types. "Low level distributors" do not engage in robbery, burglary, property crimes, or drug sales, but do report steering, touting, and copping. Respondents who do not fit in the above crime types are included in the "none of above" category; almost all were prostitutes or pimps.

Table IX. 1 presents what will be called the Criminal Offender Typology which shows the definition for each type and the percentage of 201 respondents classified in each type. When classified according to the Chaiken and Chaiken classification criteria, these street opiate users were quite well distributed across the crime types. For comparison purposes, the distribution of the Chaiken and Chaiken sample of career criminals was also presented. A lower percentage of the New York street opiate abusers were classified in the two most serious categories than the Chaiken and Chaiken career criminals.\* Nevertheless, the hierarchical classification of respondents based upon combinations of offenses was useful and meaningful.

\*This is probably due to the incarceration of the most serious offenders in prison. The Chaiken and Chaiken (1982, 31) study also shows the percentage of respondents classified in the "robber-dealer" and "violent predator" categories was 21% in Michigan, 18% in Texas -- figures somewhat more similar to the 11% of the New York street opiate users, but considerably lower than in among California (33%) inmates.

Table XIII. 1 -- Definitions of the CRIMINAL OFFENDER TYPOLOGY and Percentage of Sample So Classified

Respondent Criminal Offender Typology	Offense Types Included in Definition or Not						Percent Sample (N=201)	Percent Male Career Criminals
	Robbery	Burglary	Theft/Forgery Cons/Other	Pimp/Prostitute	Drug Sales	Drugs STC*		
Robber-Dealer	Yes	?	?	?	Yes	?	11	24
Low Level Robber	Yes	?	?	?	No	?	13	20
Burglar-Dealer	No	Yes	?	?	Yes	?	8	10
Low Level Burglar	No	Yes	?	?	No	?	12	8
Theft-Dealers	No	No	Yes	?	Yes	?	18	6
Low Level Thieves	No	No	Yes	?	No	?	20	8
Drug Dealers	No	No	No	?	Yes	?	6	6
Low Level Distributors	No	No	No	?	No	Yes	8	
None of Above	No	No	No	?	No	No	4	
							(Others)	
							18	
Total							100	100

Yes - Group member commits this crime by 2.00% or more of person-days, by definition.  
 No - Group member does not commit this crime on more than 1.99% of the person-days, by definition.  
 ? - Group member may or may not commit this crime; most members do so.

a - Property Offenses include Shoplift (Resale), Other Larceny, Con Games, Forgery, and Other Crimes; does not include shoplift (own use).  
 \* - STC - Steering, Touting, Copping Drugs  
 b - Source: Chaiken and Chaiken (1982b, 27)

2) How similar were criminal patterns among New York opiate users to the career criminals studied by Chaiken and Chaiken? That is, are their findings replicated among New York heroin abusers? In what way does the current data extend their findings?

The central findings of the Chaiken and Chaiken (1982ab) report were replicated among the New York street opiate users in almost all essential respects. The data also extended the Chaiken and Chaiken (1982a, 1981b) findings in important ways by presenting previously unavailable information about the criminal income and about involvements in steering, touting, and copping.

Specifically, the data in Tables XIII. 2 - 5 show that respondents classified in the most serious categories of this hierarchy, when compared with subjects in the less serious categories:

1. Exhibited greater breadth of criminal involvement (i.e., commit a larger number of different kinds of crime).
2. Were as likely or more likely to report involvement in any given specific offense. (Table XIII. 2).
3. Were apt to commit definitional crimes on a greater proportion of person-days, and to commit nondefinitional crimes on as many or more person-days (some exceptions exist, see below -- Table XIII. 3).
4. Committed as many or more crimes per year (Table XIII. 4).
5. Obtained a high annual cash income from specific offenses and from all offenses. (Table XIII. 5).

The most serious category, the robber-dealers, committed robbery and drug sales at high rates. The robber-dealers also committed burglaries and STC at high rates too. The robber-dealers also had high incomes from robbery (\$2,433), drug sales (\$3,888), burglary (\$3,356), and STC (\$3,138). As a result, robber-dealers had the highest criminal income (\$16,666) of any criminal offender type. Specifically:

1. Among the robber-dealers, 64% committed a burglary, 91% a property offense and 91% engaged in STC. These were among the highest percentage by (nondefinitional) offender types involved in these offenses. They were somewhat less involved in prostitution than other offender types (Table XIII. 2).
2. The robber-dealers had the greatest proportion of days (58%) in which they were active in any crime. They also had the highest or second highest percentage of person-days of involvement in robbery (8%) and drug dealing (18%), as well as STC (22%). While active on somewhat fewer person-days than other criminal offender types in property offenses (16%) and prostitution (2%), such differences were not substantial (Table XIII. 3).
3. The robber-dealers also had the highest or second highest (after those who were defined as specializing in a given offense) number of offenses per year for robbery (33), burglary (36), drug sales (855), STC (381), and all offenses (1,411). They had somewhat fewer offenses than other types in property offending (101) and prostitution (8) (Table XIII. 4).
4. The robber-dealers had the highest criminal income (\$16,666) which was over \$5,000 higher than the next most successful criminal types (burglar-dealers, thief-dealers, and low level robbers). This total criminal income was due to the robber-dealer obtaining among the highest annual incomes from from robbery (\$2,433), burglary (3,356) and drug selling (\$3,888), STC (\$3,187). While their income from property offenses and pimping/ prostitution was not high compared with other offender types, robber-dealers also obtained substantial incomes (property -\$3,274 and \$529-prostitution). (Table XIII. 5)

In comparison with the Chaiken and Chaiken (1981b) findings, street opiate users classified in specific criminal offender types appeared to have similar patterns of activity to their career criminals. For example, over half of the subjects in both studies who committed robbery (robber-dealers and low level robbers) also reported burglary and also committed thefts/property crimes.

Tables XIII. 2-5 also provided additional findings not reported by the Chaikens. The widespread nature of steering, touting, and copping was clearly evident. Almost all street opiate using respondents engage in this offense and did so between 12 - 20% of their person-days. Moreover, STC appears to be relatively independent of "drug dealing" in that criminal offender types who do not sell drugs appear about as likely engage in, and have similar offense rates and incomes from STC, as their similarly criminal counterparts who sell drugs. Likewise, involvement in prostitution/pimping was not clearly related to other criminal offender types.

While the criminal income of the robber-dealers was higher than other criminal types, the differences did not seem as striking as suggested by the much wider variation in the annual number of offenses committed. Clearly the relationships between crime commission and criminal income was quite complex. It will be considered in subsequent papers.

Nevertheless, the classification of respondents developed by Chaiken and Chaiken (1982ab) provided a meaningful distribution of respondents among the New York street opiate users. Moreover, the basic findings about criminal behaviors documented in their study was replicated in almost all major respects among these New York street heroin abusers.

3) How were heroin user types related to criminal offender types?

In Chapter IV, a Heroin User Typology was developed which classified respondents according to the frequency of their heroin consumption.

Table XIII. 6 shows that these two typologies were strongly related to each other.

Especially important was the fact that 42% of the daily heroin users were classified as robbers, while 18% of the regular heroin users and 12% of the irregular heroin users were so classified (Table XIII. 6A). When the four most serious criminal types were combined 62% of the daily heroin users, 44% of the regular heroin users, and only 27% of the irregular heroin users were classified as robbers and burglars. The irregular heroin users were especially concentrated among those who were classified in the theft categories. Very few (7%) of the daily heroin users were classified as drug dealers or lower categories compared with 28% of the irregular heroin users. (Table XIII. 6A)

When the relationship was examined in the opposite direction (Table XIII. 6B), 64% of the robber-dealers, 46% of the low level robbers, 38% of the low level burglars, and 35% of the low level thieves were daily heroin users. With the exception of robber-dealers, relatively few (under 20%) of the burglar-dealers, and theft-dealers, and drug dealers were daily heroin users. These groups seem somewhat more likely to be irregular heroin users than their counterparts who do not sell drugs.

Given that the heaviest heroin users were disproportionately classified into the highest categories of criminal involvement, how do offending rates and criminal income vary within criminal offender types according to their frequency of heroin use?

4) Within each criminal offender type, were increasing levels of heroin consumption related to higher crime rates and criminal incomes, and if so, for what crimes?

Tables XIII. 7 & 8 present data about the annualized offense rates for robbery, burglary, property crimes, drug sales, STC, and all major offenses (all of these including prostitution/pimping which was not presented separately). Within each crime category, subjects were classified on the Heroin User Typology. Because the number of cases were very small (under 5 cases) in many cells, the mean values given may fluxuate widely due to the contributions of one subject. The central finding from these tables was relatively clear: Even within criminal offenders of the same kind, those who were daily heroin users generally had higher offending rates than their regular or irregular heroin users. This was not true for every offender type or each major crime category. Several interesting relationships emerged.

Among robber-dealers, the irregular heroin users (N=3) committed fewer robberies (18/year) than their daily (34/yr) heroin using counterparts (Table XIII. 7). Further, daily heroin users commit many more burglaries (48/year) than the regular or irregular heroin users (19 and 6/year). Among low level robbers, no relationship occurs between the Heroin User Typology and robbery offenses, but a strong relationship occurs for burglary. Burglar-dealers do not exhibit heroin related differences in burglary. But among low level burglars, daily heroin users commit 86 burglaries/year compared to 31 among the irregular heroin users).

The property offense rates, however, did not vary systematically by the Heroin User Typology among the upper six categories of the Criminal Offender Typology. Nor were there systematic differences in property offense rates between the six criminal types. In short, virtually all six categories who are defined as possibly engaging in theft do so, regardless of how much they use heroin (Table XIII. 7).

The offense rates for drug sales varied by heroin user type among the robber-dealers and theft-dealers. That is, among robber-dealers, the daily heroin users committed over 1,000 drug sales/year compared with 766 among the regular heroin users, and 157 among irregular heroin users.

The annual rates of steering, touting, copping were generally higher among daily heroin users when compared to the the regular heroin users for each criminal offender type. But those classified in the most serious offender categories did not always have the highest rates of STC.

Tables XIII. 9 and 10 present data about the criminal income\* from these major crimes. For the most part, criminal income per subject per year from specific crimes (robbery, burglary, property, drug sales, and STC) did not vary systematically by the Heroin User Typology within specific criminal offender types. This absence of systematic variation occurred for property offenses, STC, and even robbery. On the other hand, the daily heroin users appeared to have higher burglary income among the robber-dealers and low level robbers. Income from drug dealing among robber-dealers did not vary by the Heroin User Typology. Drug dealers showed no heroin-related variation in dealing income.

Nevertheless, for most criminal types, daily heroin users had the highest cash income from all major crimes. Thus, while heroin use appears to be systematically related to the sum of the cash income from all crimes within each criminal offender type, this relationship does not hold true for specific offenses which make up the components on that criminal income.

\* - "Income" refers to cash income from nondrug crimes and cash plus drug income derived from the drug sales and STC transactions included in the previous tables. Cash income from "other drug business," and drug income from "drug thefts," and "avoided expenditures-drugs" were not included here.

5) Do certain types of criminal offenders commit a disproportionate share of the volume of crime?

Table XIII. 11 shows that various offense classes are not evenly committed by all criminal offender types. The right-most column contains the percentage distribution of our 201 subjects across the 9 Criminal Offender Typology categories. The other columns present the annualized number of offenses which these subjects would commit in a year, and the proportion of these offenses committed by subjects in each category.

The first row shows that 11% of our subjects were robber-dealers. Yet these few subjects committed 60% of the robberies, 22% of the burglaries, and 26% of the drug deals; they committed 19% of all offenses by these subjects. They committed about their proportionate share of property crimes and STC crimes, and a small proportion of the prostitution crimes.

Low level robbers constituted 13% of all subjects, but committed 40% of the robberies, 25% of the burglaries, 19% of the theft offenses, and 18% of the prostitution crimes. Because they were defined as nondealers, they contributed only 9% of the total volume of crime.

Low level burglars were 12% of the subjects, but did 44% of the burglaries, and about their proportionate share of all other definitional crimes.

Thief-dealers, 18% of all subjects, did not contribute a disproportionate share of the property offenses or drug sales (their definitional crimes), but did commit 30% of the STC offenses. Thief-dealers, however, did contribute about their proportionate share of all crimes (21%). Drug dealers, 6% of all subjects contributed 33% of all drug deals, but only 4% of the STC transactions.

All other groups contributed relatively lower proportions of crimes than their proportion in the sample. Even the low level distributors, defined by their exclusive involvement in STC activity, contributed only 8% of all STC transactions, exactly equivalent to their proportion in the study.

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -191-  
Summary

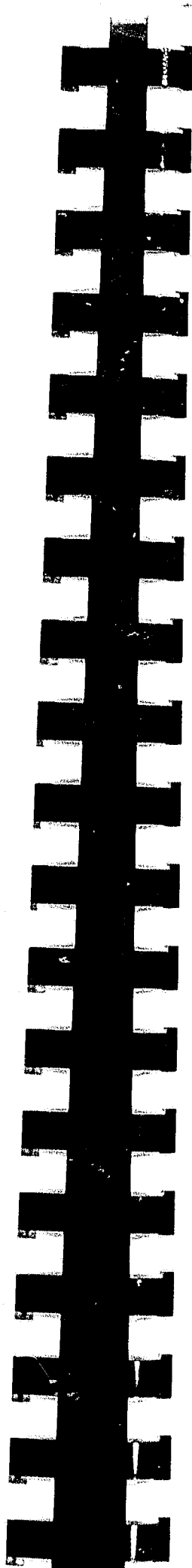
This chapter developed a criminal offender typology which was systematically related to the Heroin User Typology. Further, this Criminal Offender Typology replicated similar findings reported in a major study of career criminals conducted by Chaiken and Chaiken (1982ab). Respondents were classified according to combinations of offenses which they reported on two percent or more of their person-days.

The resulting Criminal Offender Typology was related to the percentage of respondents active in various (nondefinitional) crimes, the percent of person-days active, the annual offense rate, and the annual criminal income. These data replicated the Chaiken and Chaiken (1982ab; Chaiken, 1983) findings in most important respects. Moreover, the Criminal Offender Typology was systematically related to the Heroin User Typology in expected ways.

Daily heroin users were much more likely to be classified as serious offenders, the irregular heroin users were more likely to be thieves and low seriousness offenders. Conversely, the robber-dealers were especially likely to be daily heroin users, as were burglars and thieves who did not sell drugs.

Among criminal offender types, the frequency of heroin use was generally associated with total higher crime rates and criminal incomes, but not necessarily for each specific crime which entered into this total.

In the following chapter, we examine what kinds of persons did not enter methadone treatment during their reporting period.



Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -192-  
Table XIII. 2 -- Percentage of Respondents Active<sup>b</sup> in Each Crime Type Among Each Criminal Variety Type

Respondent Criminal Behavior	Rob-bery	Burg-lary	Offense Types Theft/Forgery Fraud,Con Game	Pimp/Pros-titute	Drug(s) Selling	Drugs STC*	Any Crime <sup>a</sup>
Among Crime Type, Percentage of Respondents Who Are Active in Above Crime:							
Robber-Dealer	**100	64	91	18	**100	91	100
Low Level Robber	**100	62	77	12	*0	81	100
Burglar-Dealer	*0	**100	100	29	**100	94	100
Low Level Burglar	*0	**100	75	13	*0	71	100
Thief-Dealers	*0	*0	**100	28	**100	81	100
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	**100	23	*0	75	100
Drug Dealers	*0	*0	*0	33	**100	58	100
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	12	**0	**100	100
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	43	*0	*0	43
Percent of Rs Active <sup>b</sup> in This Crime	24	35	75	21	43	78	98

\*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition; the cell is set equal to zero, although a few persons may this commit this offense occasionally.

\*\*100 - All group members commits this crime, by definition.

\* - STC - Steering, Touting, Copping Drugs

a - Percentage of respondents active in any definitional crime; excludes occasional offenses in which they were defined as inactive (and set equal to zero).

b - Percentage of respondents definitionally included in the column.

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -193-

Table XIII. 3 -- Proportion of Person Days Active<sup>b</sup> in Each Crime Type Among Each Criminal Variety Type

Respondent Criminal Behavior Typology	Rob-bery	Burg-lary	Offense Types Theft/Forgery Fraud,Con Game	Pimp/Pros-titute	Drug(s) Selling	Drugs STC*	Any of These <sup>a</sup>
Among The Criminal Types, Proportion of Person Days Active In Above Crime:							
Robber-Dealer	8	8	16	2	18	22	58 <sup>a</sup>
Low Level Robber	5	9	11	4	*0	21	44
Burglar-Dealer	*0	5	19	4	13	14	44
Low Level Burglar	*0	15	14	1	*0	13	38
Thief-Dealers	*0	*0	16	4	19	19	48
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	21	5	*0	13	34
Drug Dealers	*0	*0	*0	3	17	16	32
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	3	*0	16	18
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	22	*0	*0	22
Percent of Days That Active <sup>b</sup> Rs Commit This Crime	6	10	16	4	7	16	40

\*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition. The cell is set equal to zero, although some days may be nonzero in reality.

\* - STC - Steering, Touting, Copping Drugs

a - Only active respondents whose crimes were not definitionally excluded. Thus, the burglaries, thefts, prostitution/pimping and STC by low level robbers were included here, but since they sold drugs less than 2% of their person days, their drug sales were excluded here.

b - Percentage of person-days active among subjects definitionally included in the column.

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -194-

Table XIII. 4 -- Number of Offenses (Lambda) Per Year of Street Time in Each Crime Type Among Each Criminal Variety Type

Respondent Criminal Behavior Typology	Rob-bery	Burg-lary	Offense Types Theft/Forgery Fraud,Con Game	Pimp/Pros-titute	Drug(s) Selling	Drugs STC*	Sum of Crimes <sup>a</sup>
Among The Criminal Type, Number of Offenses Per Year of Above Crime							
Robber-Dealer	31	36	101	8	855	381	1,411
Low Level Robber	18	34	157	41	*0	356	606
Burglar-Dealer	*0	18	161	30	1,128	125	1,463
Low Level Burglar	*0	64	117	18	*0	249	448
Thief-Dealers	*0	*0	122	21	298	506	948
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	139	31	*0	236	406
Drug Dealers	*0	*0	*0	14	2,003	181	2,198
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	27	*0	294	321
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	144	*0	*0	144
Total by Active <sup>b</sup> Rs in Column	24	39	132	29	836	312	824

\*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition. Cell is set equal to zero by definition, although the actual number may be nonzero.

\* STC - Steering, Touting, Copping Drugs

a - Only Active respondents whose crimes were not definitionally excluded. See footnote (a) of Table VIII. 3.

b- The mean number of offenses/year by persons definitionally included in this column.

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -195-  
 Table XIII. 5 -- Annualized Criminal Income for Each Offense Among Each Criminal Offender Type

Respondent Criminal Offender Typology	Robbery	Burglary	Offense Types			Drug(s) Selling	Drugs STC*	\$ From These
			Theft/Forgery	Fraud, Con Game	Pimp/Prostitute			
Dollars per Year of Cash Income From Above Crime Among Each Criminal Type								
Robber-Dealer	2,433	3,356	3,274	529	3,888	3,187	16,666	
Low Level Robber	1,469	3,702	1,971	916	*0	2,360	10,417	
Burglar-Dealer	*0	1,667	4,679	672	2,656	1,579	11,252	
Low Level Burglar	*0	3,530	3,889	364	*0	1,565	9,348	
Thief-Dealers	*0	*0	2,997	742	3,313	3,403	10,455	
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	4,171	852	*0	2,247	7,270	
Drug Dealers	*0	*0	*0	649	2,154	1,793	4,596	
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	775	*0	1,426	2,201	
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	4,209	*0	*0	4,209	
Total Dollars from This Crime by Active <sup>b</sup> Rs	1,911	3,181	3,460	830	3,170	2,340	9,166	

\*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition. Cell is set equal to zero by definition, although the actual number may be nonzero.  
 \* - STC - Steering, Touting, Copping Drugs; also Drug Sales and STC included both cash and drug income derived from the drug distribution offenses counted in Table VIII. 4.  
 a - Only Active respondents whose crimes were not definitionally excluded. See footnote (a) of Table VIII. 3.  
 b - The mean income/year by persons definitionally included in this column.

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -196-  
 Table XIII. 6 -- Percentage of Respondents in the Criminal Offender Typology and Heroin User Typology

Criminal Offender Typology	Heroin User Typology			Total (201)
	Irregular (61)	Regular (78)	Daily (62)	
A. Vertical Percentages				
Robber-Dealer	5	6	23	11
Low Level Robber	7	13	19	13
Burglar-Dealer	8	12	5	8
Low Level Burglar	7	14	15	12
Thief-Dealers	26	18	10	18
Low Level Thieves	20	18	23	20
Drug Dealers	13	4	2	6
Low Level Distributors	12	10	3	8
None of Above	3	5	2	4
Total	101	100	102	100
B. Horizontal Percentages				
Robber-Dealer	13	23	64	100
Low Level Robber	15	39	46	100
Burglar-Dealer	29	53	18	100
Low Level Burglar	17	46	37	100
Thief-Dealers	44	39	17	100
Low Level Thieves	30	35	35	100
Drug Dealers	67	25	8	100
Low Level Distributors	41	47	12	100
None of Above	29	57	14	100
Total	30	39	31	100
C. Number of Subjects in Each Cell <sup>a</sup>				
Robber-Dealer	3	5	14	22
Low Level Robber	4	10	12	26
Burglar-Dealer	5	9	3	17
Low Level Burglar	4	11	9	24
Thief-Dealers	16	14	6	36
Low Level Thieves	12	14	14	40
Drug Dealers	8	3	1	12
Low Level Distributors	7	8	2	17
None of Above	2	4	1	7
Total	61	78	62	201

\*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition.  
 a - Number of cases upon which information in Tables XIII. 7 - 10 is based.



Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -197-  
 Table XIII. 7 -- Number of Offenses (Lambda) Per Year of Street Time for Robbery, Burglary, and Property Crimes Among Each Criminal Variety Type and Heroin Use Type

Respondent Criminal Behavior Typology	Robbery			Burglary			Property Offenses: Theft/Forgery Fraud/Others		
	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily
	Among The Criminal and Heroin User Types, Number of Offenses Per Year of Above Crime								
Robber-Dealer	@18	32	34	@6	19	48	@117	123	90
Low Level Robber	@17	15	21	@3	26	51	@319	47	196
Burglar-Dealer	*0	*0	*0	19	19	@15	42	230	@151
Low Level Burglar	*0	*0	*0	31	58	86	144	108	116
Thief-Dealers	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	91	178	78
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	104	134	174
Drug Dealers	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0
Total by Active <sup>b</sup> Rs in Column	17	21	28	16	33	55	116	139	139

\*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition. The cell is set equal to zero by definition, although the actual number of offenses may be nonzero.  
 a - Only Active respondents whose crimes were not definitionally excluded. See footnote (a) of Table VIII. 3.  
 b - The mean number of offenses/year by persons definitionally included in this column.  
 @ - Number of offenses is calculated from less than 5 cases. (see Table XIII.6C).

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -198-  
 Table XIII. 8 -- Number of Offenses Per Year (Lambda) of Street Time for Drug Sales, STC, and All Major Crimes Among Each Criminal Variety Type and Heroin Use Type

Respondent Criminal Offenders	Drug Sales			Steering, Touting Copping			All Major Crimes: <sup>a</sup> Robbery+ Burglary + Property+ Prostitution + Drug Sale + STC		
	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily
	Among The Criminal and Heroin User Types, Number of Offenses Per Year of Above Crime								
Robber-Dealer	@157	766	1,036	@655	153	403	@954	1,111	1,617
Low Level Robber	*0	*0	*0	@110	233	541	@450	337	882
Burglar-Dealer	34	1,984	@385	54	174	@100	219	2,418	@669
Low Level Burglar	*0	*0	*0	@39	160	452	@214	364	655
Thief-Dealers	246	223	613	133	691	1,068	515	1,095	1,761
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	*0	41	55	585	149	201	833
Drug Dealers	350	@7,020	@166	152	@171	@442	515	@7,215	@608
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	111	97	@1,721	154	117	@1,721
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	@0	@252	@0
Total Offenses by Active <sup>b</sup> Rs in Column	24	1,480	813	126	245	573	370	980	1,105

\*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition. The cell is set equal to zero by definition, although the annual number of offenses may be nonzero.  
 a - Only Active respondents whose crimes were not definitionally excluded. See footnote (a) of Table VIII. 3.  
 b - The mean number of offenses/year by persons definitionally included in this column.  
 @ - Number of offenses is calculated from less than 5 cases. (see Table XIII.6C).

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -199-  
 Table XIII. 9 -- Annualized Criminal Income for Robbery, Burglary, and Property Crimes Among Each Criminal Variety Type and Heroin Use Type

Respondent Criminal Behavior Typology	Robbery			Burglary			Property Offenses: Theft/Forgery Fraud, Con Game		
	Heroin User Type: Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily
	Among The Criminal and Heroin User Types, Dollars of Cash Income Per Year <sup>a</sup> from Above Crime								
Robber-Dealer	@1,134	3,130	2,462	@237	2,232	4,425	@7,732	2,175	2,711
Low Level Robber	@947	1,296	1,787	@194	1,444	6,752	@650	1,918	2,455
Burglar-Dealer	*0	*0	*0	735	2,070	@2,009	1,704	5,667	@6,673
Low Level Burglar	*0	*0	*0	@2,076	4,208	3,347	@4,070	4,208	3,420
Thief-Dealers	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	1,595	4,139	4,069
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	2,088	3,352	6,755
Drug Dealers	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0
Total Dollars from This Crime by Active Rs <sup>b</sup>	1,027	1,907	2,151	842	2,586	4,714	2,300	3,686	4,094

- \*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition. The cell is set equal to zero by definition, although the actual dollar amounts may be nonzero.
- a - Only Active respondents whose crimes were not definitionally excluded. See footnote (a) of Table VIII. 3.
- b - The mean income/year of this crime type by persons definitionally included in this column.
- @ - Number of offenses is calculated from less than 5 cases. (see Table XIII.6C).

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -200-  
 Table XIII. 10 -- Annualized Criminal Income for Drug Sales, STC, and All Major Crimes Among Each Criminal Variety Type and Heroin Use Type

Respondent Criminal Behavior Typology	Drug Sales			Steering, Touting Copping			All Major Crimes: Robbery + Burglary + Property + Prostitution + Drug Sale + STC		
	Heroin User Type: Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily	Irreg.	Reg.	Daily
	Among The Criminal and Heroin User Types, Dollars of Cash Income Per Year <sup>a</sup> from Above Crimes								
Violent Predator & Robber-Dealer	@2,525	3,756	4,227	@3,136	929	4,004	@14,765	13,347	18,259
Low Level Robber	*0	*0	*0	@516	2,195	3,113	@2,316	7,353	15,671
Burglar-Dealer	696	2,370	@6,784	343	2,343	1,346	4,997	12,740	17,218
Low Level Burglar	*0	*0	*0	144	979	2,912	6,290	10,175	9,697
Thief-Dealers	3,050	1,886	7,345	1,144	5,159	5,330	7,322	11,324	16,780
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	*0	352	592	5,526	2,504	4,344	14,280
Drug Dealers	2,053	@2,356	@2,345	686	@1,418	@11,780	3,354	@4,732	@14,124
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	597	1,326	@4,727	1,987	1,757	@4,727
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	*0	@7,366	0
Total Dollars from This Crime by Active Rs <sup>a</sup>	2,384	2,374	5,248	779	2,079	4,168	4,943	8,256	14,865

- \*0 - No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days, by definition. The cell is set equal to zero by definition, although the actual dollar amounts may be nonzero.
- a - Only Active respondents whose crimes were not definitionally excluded. See footnote (a) of Table VIII. 3.
- b - The mean income/year of this crime type by persons definitionally included in this column.
- @ - Number of offenses is calculated from less than 5 cases. (see Table XIII.6C).

Criminal Offenders, Heroin Users, and Criminality -201-  
 Table XIII. 11 -- Percentage of All Offenses of Each Crime Type Committed During  
 Year by Subjects in Each Criminal Variety Type

Respondent Criminal Behavior Typology	Rob- bery	Burg- lary	Property Theft/Forgery Fraud,Others	Pimp/Pros- titute	Drugs Sales	Drugs STC*	All Crimes	Percent of Ss.
Robber-Dealer	60	22	10	3	26	14	19	11
Low Level Robber	40	25	19	18	*0	15	9	13
Burglar-Dealer	*0	9	12	9	26	4	15	8
Low Level Burglar	*0	44	13	8	*0	10	6	12
Thief-Dealers	*0	*0	20	13	15	30	21	18
Low Level Thieves	*0	*0	26	21	*0	15	10	20
Drug Dealers	*0	*0	*0	3	33	4	16	6
Low Level Distributors	*0	*0	*0	8	*0	8	3	8
None of Above	*0	*0	*0	17	*0	*0	1	4
Total in Column <sup>a</sup>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Annual Number of Offenses by Those in Column (Base N)	(1,151)	(3,507)	(21,817)	(5,837)	(72,762)	(60,566)	(165,640)	(201)

\*0 -- No group member commits this crime on 2% or more of their person-days,  
 by definition. The cell is set equal to zero by definition, although the  
 actual dollar amounts may be nonzero.

\* STC - Steering, Touting, Copping Drugs

a - Only Active respondents whose crimes were not definitionally excluded. See  
 footnote (a) of Table VIII. 3.

Who Was Not in Methadone Treatment -202-  
 CHAPTER XIV

WHICH STREET OPIATE USERS WERE NOT IN METHADONE TREATMENT?

This chapter will describe what types of criminals and heroin users did  
 not have any methadone treatment during their reporting period. The absence  
 of such treatment has important policy implications.

In making any assessment of these data regarding methadone, however, one  
 must remember that recruitment patterns focused upon obtaining respondents for  
 whom methadone treatment was likely to have marginal impact. The data  
 presented here do not provide a basis upon which to "evaluate" the success of  
 methadone maintenance. Specifically, our field workers were unlikely to  
 recruit many types of methadone clients such as those with fulltime jobs, who  
 spend most of their time with family, or who otherwise avoid the street  
 scene. Moreover, our recruitment methods over-selected methadone clients  
 who were continual abusers of drugs and alcohol, and the most troublesome for  
 clinics to manage. Thus, when this study recruited street opiate users  
 enrolled in methadone programs, such subjects would be among the least  
 successful and most criminally active.

This chapter compares subjects with "some" methadone treatment to those  
 with those none. Respondents were defined as having "some" treatment if they  
 reported using legal methadone on two percent or more days during their  
 reporting period. Among the 52 subjects who met this criteria of "some"  
 methadone treatment, extensive variation was evidenced in the number of days  
 they were enrolled, whether they took their medication as prescribed,  
 distributed it to others, or otherwise missed medication days. Analyses of  
 these complex personal differences must await further analyses of these data.

The critical finding, however, shows that street opiate users heavily  
 involved in heroin and serious criminal behavior were rarely in methadone  
 treatment. Prior to demonstrating this conclusion, data will be presented  
 about background factors and enrollment patterns in methadone programs.

What factors prior to interview, if any, differentiate street opiate users without and with some methadone treatment?

Among our 201 subjects, 26% (N=52) were classified as having some methadone treatment and 74% were not in methadone treatment during their reporting period. Table XIV. 1 presents a variety of background variables by which these subjects might be anticipated to differ.

[TABLE XIV. 1 about here]

The data here suggest that subjects with and without some methadone treatment during their reporting periods did not differ greatly by sex, ethnicity, and age. Data not presented also show no differences by methadone treatment for neighborhood of residence (East or Central Harlem), marital status, education, type of work, or the use during the prior year of illicit methadone, cocaine, or other drugs.

Although it might be anticipated that those without methadone treatment might be more deviant than subjects with such treatment, Table XIV. 1 shows no differences (with one exception) in the prior histories of our subjects. Both groups reported a similar number of prior arrests, years of incarceration, and years of heroin use. Both groups reported about the same frequency of heroin use and daily amounts of heroin used per day in the year prior to interview. Both groups reported similar percentages addicted to heroin, alcohol, and cocaine.

The one significant difference was in their self-reported major means of supporting drug use. Those without methadone treatment were more likely to report illegal support via theft, while those with some methadone treatment reported more involvement in the drug business.

Nevertheless, both groups had similar incomes from criminal and drug dealing sources, as well as similar frequencies in the previous year of shoplifting, burglary, robbery, and drug business activity.

In short, these street opiate users, regardless of whether in methadone treatment or not, exhibited almost the same background characteristics and patterns of drug use and criminality during the prior year.



Table XIV. 1 -- Characteristics of Subjects Without and With Some Methadone Treatment

Characteristic	Number of Subjects:	Any Methadone Treatment in Reporting Period?		Significance Level of Chi Square
		None (149)	Some (52)	
Sex:	Male	77%	71%	.56
	Female	23	29	
Age:	under 26	16	04	.10
	26-30	26	29	
	31-35	22	29	
	36-40	13	21	
	41 and older	19	17	
Ethnicity:	Black	56	52	.77
	Hispanic	44	48	
	Other			
Number of Arrests:	None	19	09	.31
	1 - 5	38	45	
	6 or more	43	45	
Number of Years Incarcerated	None	42	25	.11
	1-4	37	52	
	5 or more	21	23	
Number of Years of Heroin Use	5 & under	27	20	.72
	6-10	26	34	
	11-15	25	23	
	16 & over	22	23	
Frequency of Heroin Use in Year Prior to Interview	Daily	66	53	.07
	Weekly	27	28	
	Monthly	07	19	
Average Daily Amount Heroin Used/Day in Year Prior to Interview	\$20 & Under	37	56	.05
	\$21 - \$50	38	20	
	Over \$50	25	24	

Who Was Not In Methadone Treatment? -205-  
 Table XIV. 1 (continued) -- Characteristics of Subjects Without and With Some Methadone Treatment

Characteristic	Number of Subjects:	Any Methadone Treatment in Reporting Period?		Significance Level of Chi Square
		None (149)	Some (52)	
Percent Self-Reporting Addiction to:				
No Drugs		5	8	.64
Heroin		75	75	.99
Illegal Methadone		4	8	.36
Cocaine		9	10	.99
Alcohol		20	14	.45
Major Means of Supporting Drug Use:				
Theft		50	28	
Drug Business		17	37	.03
Working		16	14	
Other		16	21	
Estimated Criminal Income in Prior Year				
\$1,000 & Under		44	41	
\$1,001-5,000		25	23	.90
\$5,001-10,000		18	18	
over \$10,000		14	18	
Estimated Drug Expenditures in Prior Year				
\$1,000 & Under		38	47	
\$1,001-5,000		41	37	
\$5,001-10,000		20	14	.46
over \$10,000		01	02	
Shoplifting Frequency in Prior Year				
Daily		11	05	
Weekly		22	36	
Monthly		21	17	.25
None		46	43	
Burglary Frequency in Prior Year				
Weekly & Daily		14	02	
Monthly		19	13	.06
None		67	85	
Robbery Frequency in Prior Year				
Weekly & Daily		7	8	
Monthly		16	20	.81
None		77	72	
Drug Business Frequency in Prior Year				
Daily		20	38	
Weekly		15	24	.34
Monthly		13	27	
None		53	12	

Who Was Not In Methadone Treatment? -206-  
 What types of criminals and heroin abusers had no methadone treatment during their reporting periods?

Table XIV. 2A examines what types of criminal offenders and heroin users had no methadone treatment during the period they were interviewed on a weekly and daily basis. The criminal offender typology (see Chapter XIII) was collapsed so that the dealer-nondealer distinction was ignored. Thus, respondents were classified in a hierarchical order of robbers, burglars, thieves, and "none of these" (drug dealers, low level distributors, and prostitutes). Among daily heroin users, 92% or more of the robbers, burglars, and thieves had no methadone treatment during their reporting periods. Among irregular heroin users, about three-fifths had no methadone treatment. Among the 16 robbers and burglars who were irregular heroin users about 44% had no methadone treatment.

Methadone treatment was more likely to have an impact upon clients if they continuously consume their medication on a daily basis, as directed. Nevertheless, less than half the subjects with some methadone treatment used methadone on 66% or more of their reporting days.

Table XIV. 4B shows that of the subjects (N=7) who were daily heroin users with some methadone treatment, only one subject consumed legal methadone on more than two-thirds of the reporting days. All other daily heroin users either dropped out or used their legal medication on less than 66% of their reporting days. Likewise, among the regular heroin users, while a quarter had some methadone treatment, 100% of the robbers and "none of these," 90% of the thieves, and 80% of the burglars consumed legal methadone on 66% or more of their days.

In short, respondents classified as daily heroin users (averaged heroin use on 6-7 days per week during entire period), most (90%) avoided methadone treatment completely, or if they obtained such treatment, they did not consume legal methadone for a substantial proportion of the reporting days. Although the proportions were higher among regular heroin users, similar findings also emerged.

Among irregular heroin users, while over half of the 16 robbers and burglars had some methadone treatment, about a third of them consumed methadone over 2/3 of the time. Among irregular heroin users, about 60% having some methadone treatment consumed their legal methadone on two-thirds of the time. Thus, only among irregular heroin users were high proportions in treatment and likely to consume methadone as expected. Clearly, however, information about these respondent's behaviors on a daily basis are needed to disentangle complex patterns of admission and termination of methadone treatment, and how subjects used their medication.

Among all respondents, how many subjects exhibited which patterns of criminality, heroin use, and methadone treatment?

Regardless of how methadone treatment influenced heroin use and criminality, a central finding was that the most criminally active and socially damaging subjects (see Chapter XI and Chapter XV) were not in methadone treatment.

(Table XIV. 3 about here)

Table XIV. 3 shows the distribution of all respondents according to their heroin user type, offender type, and methadone treatment type. Subjects have been reclassified into daily/nondaily heroin users and into robbers/burglars and thieves/others (see detailed data at bottom of table).

Only 4% of all subjects were daily heroin users with some methadone treatment. By contrast, 27% (9%+18%) of all subjects were daily heroin users having no methadone treatment. Almost half (46%) were nondaily heroin users without methadone treatment. It was mainly among the nondaily heroin users that a sizable (22%) proportion of subjects had some methadone treatment.

In the next chapter, we will explore the association of criminal and heroin user lifestyles to various indicators of social impact. Data in this chapter demonstrated that the robber/burglar-daily heroin users were generally not in methadone treatment. Almost none of this key group used legal methadone on two-thirds or more of their reporting days.

Although this project did not ask detailed questions about why respondents were not in methadone treatment, considerable evidence suggested that many persons not in treatment were avoiding entry into methadone or denied their need for it. A parallel research project, the Tristate Ethnographic Project (Hunt, et al., 1983), found that street opiate users not in methadone programs had a variety of folk beliefs about methadone and other reasons why they would not enter programs (although many had some previous enrollment history). Our field experience also documented this avoidance of methadone and other treatment programs.

Three quarters of our subjects were not in methadone treatment during the interview period. On several occasions, such subjects would comment that they wanted to get off drugs or alcohol and needed help. "Maybe" they would go to treatment. One or two even planned to go to treatment. But at the next interview, they would invariably have forgotten about such intentions. When asked by the interviewer about their plans for treatment, they would state that something else came up, they forgot about it, or they were still thinking about it, or they had some other similar excuse.

Although the clear purpose of this study was to investigate the actual economic and criminal behavior of these subjects without making moral judgments or trying to rehabilitate them, the staff, in consultation with the Institutional Review Board, had agreed to aid subjects in securing admission to a nearby program.

That is, if a subject was ready to go to treatment, our staff was directed to refer them to any program of their choice and help them cut through 'red tape' to gain admission. With one exception (see below), expression of interest by subjects in treatment was never followed by commitment.

Even when staff offered to help subjects obtain admission, they would decline or avoid making a decision. Thus, among 149 subjects who were not in drug treatment during the study, they did not express a clear commitment to obtaining treatment, although many stated a wish to change their lives and "get off" heroin or other drugs.

The one exception occurred in 1979 when a 26 year old subject whom Preble had know for many years to be a severe alcoholic, passed out in the storefront from intoxication. Preble took him to a nearby detoxification program where he spent 8 days "drying out;" he resumed his drinking shortly afterwards.

A more typical respondent was 26 year old Kim T., who indicated that he had never previously entered a treatment program, although reporting several prison terms for assault, marijuana possession, and other charges. During his 33 reporting days, he reported three robberies, two burglaries, a contract assault, and several days with large drug sales. He also reported an arrest for burglary for which he was fined \$200 (and which he paid). He used between \$50-\$300 of heroin per day except for a period of 8 days when he "kicked" alone and abstained from heroin. After completing his reporting cycle, he returned for a visit with Tom Miller during which the following dialogue occurred:

Kim: I started shooting up again. I don't know why. I have to get on a program.  
Miller: But you don't like methadone.  
Kim: I think its shit. I mean a drug free program.  
Miller: You mean like Project Return.  
Kim: Yeah, How long do I have to stay there.  
Miller: About 18 months.  
Kim: Forget it. I'd rather be in jail.

Although most other subjects did not venture an opinion, this subject certainly speaks for many subjects not in treatment as preferring jail to either a methadone or drug free treatment program with a long term commitment. Thus, avoidance of methadone treatment programs was common among our daily heroin users.

Summary

Among our street opiate users, subjects reporting some methadone treatment when compared with those lacking such treatment (during the interview periods) had similar backgrounds and self-reported prior drug abuse and criminal histories.

Moreover, most daily and regular heroin users avoided methadone treatment completely; if they obtained such treatment, they did not consume legal methadone for a substantial proportion of the reporting days. Only irregular heroin users had large proportions enrolled, and most of them used their methadone on a regular basis.

Thus, a central conclusion of this chapter was that respondents, especially those using heroin daily and involved in robbery/burglary were very unlikely to have any methadone treatment. Our experience with these heaviest heroin users and seriously criminal subjects was that almost all were avoiding methadone and other forms of treatment (see more extensive documentation by Hunt, et al., 1983); if for some reason they enrolled, they were at high risk of dropping out or not taking medication as directed.

In the next chapter, we develop a new typology of "Intensive criminality" and relate it to several measure of social impact, to determine what combinations of criminality and heroin use imposing the most damage upon society.

Who Was Not In Methadone Treatment? -211-  
 Table XIV. 2-- Percentage of Criminal Offenders and Heroin Users Types with No Methadone Treatment During Their Reporting Period.

Nondrug Criminal Offender Typology	Heroin User Typology			Row Total
	Irregular	Regular	Daily	
	Percent in Cell (i.e. Offender/Drug User Group) With <u>No</u> Methadone Treatment			
None of These	65	93	50	75
Thief	61	65	95	71
Burglar	44	64	92	68
Robber	43	87	93	79
Total	57	74	90	74

Nondrug Criminal Offender Typology	Percent of Group <u>Not Using</u> Methadone on 66% or More of Reporting Days			Row Total
	Irregular	Regular	Daily	
None of These	82	100	75	89
Thief	79	89	100	88
Burglar	56	80	100	82
Robber	71	100	100	93
Total	75	91	98	89

Number of Cases upon Which Above Percentages are Based

None of these	(17)	(15)	(4)	(36)
Thief	(28)	(28)	(20)	(76)
Burglar	(9)	(20)	(12)	(41)
Robber	(7)	(15)	(26)	(58)
Total	(62)	(78)	(61)	(201)

Who Was Not In Methadone Treatment? -212-  
 Table XIV. 3 - Percentage of All Repondents Among Criminal Offender and Heroin User Types by Whether Having Some Methadone Treatment or Not.

Any Methadone Treatment? Criminal Types	Heroin User Types		Row Total
	Not Daily	Daily	
Some Methadone Treatment			
Thieves + None of These	22	12	4
Burglars/Robbers		10	
No Methadone Treatment			
Thieves + None of These	46	28	27
Burglars/Robbers		18	
		Total	99**

Percentages of Subjects: Detailed Source for Above Table

Nondrug Criminal Offender Typology	Heroin User Typology			Row Total
	Irregular	Regular	Daily	
Percentage of All Subjects (Respondents with Some Methadone Treatment)				
None of These	3	*	*	4
Thief	5	4	*	10
Burglary	3	3	*	6
Robber	2	2	2	6
Subtotal	13	10	3	26
(Respondents Without Methadone Treatment)				
None of These	5	7	1	13
Thief	8	8	8	24
Burglary	2	6	5	13
Robber	2	8	13	23
Subtotal	17	29	27	73
Total	31	39	30	99*

\* Less than 0.5%, but greater than zero.  
 \*\*Does not add to 100% due to rounding.



## THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF CRIMINAL AND HEROIN USER LIFESTYLES

This chapter will provide information about a central question which has seldom been previously addressed: What combinations of criminal and heroin user lifestyles have the greatest impact upon society? To answer this question, we developed a new Intensive Criminality Typology which combines the Heroin User Typology and a robber-nonrobber dimension (see below). This new typology (as the independent variable) will permit an assessment of whether heroin users or nondrug criminal type (robber-nonrobber) or both make significant contributions to seven measures of social impact.

The concept of "social impact" will involve four major dimensions: a) number of crimes committed, b) severity of nondrug criminal behavior, c) criminal income, and d) economic values from crime. To sharpen the focus of this analysis of social impact, careful distinctions will be maintained between social impact due to nondrug crimes\* and that coming from all sources (nondrug crime plus drug business crimes, income from others, dollar value added to drug distribution system, etc.). These indices for each dimension of social impact are defined below.

Dimension A -- Criminal Offense Rates

In Chapter VIII, measures of the annualized criminal offense rate ( $\lambda$ ) were developed; two indices will be used below:

- 1) Annual Nondrug Criminal Offense Rate -- the number of nondrug crimes committed on an annual basis.

\*- In all the indices below, nondrug crimes includes the following offenses: robbery, burglary, shoplifting-resale, other larcenies, forgery, con games, prostitution/pimping, and other illegal offenses; shoplifting for own use and all drug business crimes were excluded from nondrug crimes (see Chapter VI for rationale).

- 2) Annual Total Criminal Offense Rate -- the annual number of offenses of all kinds (including nondrug crimes, drug business crimes, shoplifting own use, fare evasion, and other illegal transfers of drugs (see definitions in Chapter VIII and Table VIII. 2)).

Dimension B -- Severity of Criminal Behavior

This dimension will employ as weights ratios developed by Wolfgang and Figlio (1982; Collins, et al., 1982). In a National Survey of Crime Severity, a representative sample of the general population were presented with over 200 scenarios in which the offense type, amount of personal injury, property value, and other factors were varied. By combining scores from these scenarios, a mean "severity ratio" was computed for each type of offense. The severity ratio for a simple theft was arbitrarily set equal to 5.0, and severity ratios of other crimes were assessed in magnitude to such thefts. For example, robbery had a severity score (11.2) which was more than twice as serious as a theft. The severity ratios for specific nondrug\* offenses will be employed:

robbery--11.2; burglary--6.6; larcenies and shoplifting for resale--5.0; forgery/ fraud/ con games--5.8; prostitution/pimping--4.1; fencing/selling stolen property--7.7 (Collins, et al., 1982,61).

- 3) Nondrug Crime Severity Index -- is the annualized seriousness of criminal behavior employing the Wolfgang-Figlio weights. These weights were multiplied by the annual offense rate for a given offense class.

Respondent values on this index reflect only the weights given for the type of offense. Other weights in the Wolfgang-Figlio seriousness scale for the degree of injury, amount taken, etc. were not included here.

In interpreting the mean values given in the tables below, dividing by 5 would provide the approximate number of theft-equivalents committed annually.

\*- While the general population considers the sale of heroin and cocaine (severity score=24.7) as approximately twice as serious as robbery (severity score =11.4), among our respondents, such opinions were not shared. They engaged in drug sales, including heroin and cocaine, at very high rates. Thus, for the same reason that Collins, et al. (1982) eliminated drug sales from his analysis of criminal severity, the analysis in this chapter will not include weighting for drug sales.

Dimension C--Criminal Income

In Chapter VIII, measures of the annualized criminal income (in dollars) were developed: two indices will be used below:

- 4) Annual Nondrug Criminal Income -- the projected annual cash income from all nondrug crimes.
- 5) Annual Total Criminal Income -- the projected annual dollar value of criminal income from all sources (including nondrug crime, cash and drug income from drug business, fare evasion, and shoplifting-own use (see definitions in chapter VIII and Table VIII. 3).

Dimension D -- Economic Values of Criminal Lifestyles

In Chapter XII, the economic values of direct and indirect social costs (measured in dollars) among street opiate users were developed. Two indices of economic value will be used below.

- 6) Economic Values from Nondrug Crime -- the annualized dollar value of money, stolen merchandise, and illegal services obtained by street opiate users from the commission of nondrug crimes.
- 7) Total Economic Values -- the projected annual value of all social costs associated with the street opiate user lifestyle. This included the cash value of nondrug crime plus cash income from noncriminal sources, avoided expenditures, drug plus cash income from drug business, income tax evasion, and the "value added" to the drug distribution system (see Chapter XII and Table XII. 1).

Thus, these seven indices will measure the social impact which heroin using and criminal lifestyles have upon society. In the following section, a new typology of intensive criminality is developed.



Intensive Criminality Typology

In Chapter XIII, the interrelationship of the Heroin User and Criminal Offender Typologies was presented and analyzed. For the purposes of analyzing the relative contributions of criminal and heroin use lifestyles upon social impact measures, however, a simpler typology appeared necessary. After carefully examining the data in Chapter XIII, especially in Tables XIII. 6-11, subjects classified as daily heroin users and robbers were the most criminal and had the highest criminal incomes.

In order to develop a new typology and to investigate the relationship between robbers and heroin users, the Heroin User Typology was related to a dichotomy of robbers\*-nonrobbers; this distribution of respondents has been provided at the bottom of Table XV. 1. The data show that 44% of the daily heroin users were robbers, while 20% of the irregular heroin users and 23% of the regular heroin users were robbers. Moreover, almost half (47%) of the robbers were daily heroin users, while only 24% of the nonrobbers were daily heroin users. In short, a relatively strong association emerged between robbery and daily heroin use. Based upon the number of cases in these six cells, various classifications of respondents were examined.

A five category typology was found to effectively differentiate respondents, and at the same time assess the relative contributions of daily heroin use and robbery upon the social impact variables. Table XV. 1 shows how subjects were classified on the Intensive Criminality Typology as:

\* All subjects who did one or more robberies during their reporting periods were included as robbers here. Hence, this is not a collapsed version of the Criminal Offender Typology in Chapter XIII where a person had to have been active on 2% or more of their person-days to be a robber. Chapter XIII also showed that robbers committed all offenses at high rates.

robbers and daily heroin users (N=27) -- as "intensives;"  
nonrobbers but daily heroin users (N=35) -- as "highs;"  
robbers and nondaily heroin users (N=30) -- as "actives;"  
nonrobbers and regular heroin users (N=60) -- as "inactives;"  
nonrobbers and irregular heroin users (N=49) -- as "lows."

This typology was essentially a four-fold classification among the robber-nonrobber and daily-nondaily heroin users dimensions, except that the large cell of nonrobbers/nondaily heroin users (54% of all subjects) were subclassified into nonrobbers who were regular and irregular heroin users.

This classification permitted an assessment of how much more social impact occurs: among robbers who were daily versus nondaily heroin users (intensives vs. actives); among daily heroin users who were robbers versus nonrobbers (intensives vs. highs); among nonrobbers, according to the regularity of heroin use (highs, inactives, and lows).

Because of the way that the typology was formed, a linear trend should not be anticipated. There was no prior reason to believe that actives would necessarily have higher criminal income (for example) than the highs or inactives. One of the key issues is whether a robber lifestyle or daily heroin use was more important in affecting measures of social impact.

Before presenting the main findings, however, information about the background characteristics of subjects classified in this typology will be presented in Table XV. 2.

How similar were the backgrounds and prior criminal and drug histories of intensive criminals when compared with less active criminals?

Table XV. 2 shows that this Intensive Criminality Typology was related to only a few background and prior criminality/drug use variables.

Background Characteristics

The Intensive Criminality Typology showed no variation with the background variables of ethnicity, education, and marital status. Data not presented showed no variation by type of typical employment and parent's occupation.

Moreover, while robbers were likely to be male, there was little variation by sex. Little variation by locale of recruitment was evident; although the highs (nonrobbers-daily heroin users) were more likely to come from Central Harlem.

Age showed interesting variation. The active criminals were more likely to be young (under 31), while the intensive criminals were older and had an age distribution similar to the "lows." Overall, however, persons in each category of this typology were very similar to each other.

Drug and Criminal Histories Prior to Interviews

Although intensive criminals and high criminals were defined by their current daily heroin use, these two groups of subjects generally did not report more heroin involvement than their nondaily counterparts during the life history interviews. Specifically, the Intensive Criminality Typology showed little variation (in the year prior to interview) in the percentage who claimed addiction to heroin, used over \$50 per day, or had ten or more years of heroin use. Moreover, although over four-fifths of the intensive and high criminals claimed daily heroin use in the year prior to interview, well over half of the actives and inactives, and 40% of the lows claimed similar levels of use as well. In short, the robbers-nondaily heroin users (highs) were as or more likely than the intensives to report having been a daily heroin users during the previous year.

In a similar fashion, although the active and intensive criminals were defined by their current robbery involvement, only about half claimed to do robbery in the prior year, while several (under 20%) of the lows, inactives, and high criminals claimed to do robbery previously.

Prior involvement in burglary was highly correlated with the Intensive Criminality Typology; two-thirds of the intensive criminals reported burglary compared with only 7% of the lows in the prior year. But no such variation was evident in prior reports of shoplifting.

Criminal income reported for the previous year was not significantly related to the Intensive Criminality Typology. Data not presented here also showed that the Intensive Criminality Typology was not associated during the prior year with: shoplifting earnings, drug business earnings and frequency of drug business activity, estimated drug dealing income, drug expenditure levels, principal means of supporting drug use, and reported use of or addiction to alcohol, cocaine, or other drugs.

Thus, these data suggest that in the year prior to interview, the intensive criminals were most likely to engage in robbery and burglary, but the active criminals were almost as likely to do so. In other ways, however, the intensive criminals were not greatly different than their less active counterparts in heroin use, other forms of criminality, and background characteristics. In short, during the year prior to interview, intensive criminals appeared roughly similar to their less active counterparts in most kinds of behaviors, excepting robbery and burglary.

How much more social impact did the intensive criminals have when compared with their less criminal counterparts?

Table XV. 3 presents data showing the relationship between the Intensive Criminality Typology and the seven measures of social impact as defined earlier. Several important findings emerged.

While intensive criminals appeared to commit about over twice as many nondrug crimes (245/year) as the "lows" (103), these differences were significant only at the .10 level. Likewise, while the intensives had almost three times as many total crimes as the lows (1,649 vs. 456), this difference was significant at the .08 level. Thus, in terms of the number of nondrug crimes and all offenses, the intensive criminals did not appear to engage in a significantly greater number of crimes than their street opiate using counterparts, although they were consistently higher.

When the severity of the type of offenses was calculated (using Wolfgang and Figlo's severity ratios), the intensive criminals were about three times more seriously involved than the lows (a significant difference) and almost half again as high as their closest counterparts, the actives and highs, although such differences were not significant.

For the four measures of criminal income and economic value, however, the intensive criminals were significantly different from the lows, inactives, and actives. In short, robbers-daily heroin users had substantially greater criminal income and economic value from crime than all street opiate users who did not use heroin daily.

Specifically, intensive criminals had four times as much criminal income (both from nondrug crime and all crimes) as the "lows" and about twice as much criminal income as the inactives and actives. Moreover, the economic value of nondrug crimes was approximately six times greater among intensive criminals (\$30,038) than among the lows (\$4,856) and almost two and a half times greater than among the inactives (\$13,217) and actives (\$11,902). Significantly, the intensive's economic values from nondrug crime were about two times greater than among the highs (nonrobbing-daily heroin users).

Daily heroin users who did not commit robbery (highs) had greater total criminal incomes and economic impacts when compared with the lows.

The data showed that daily heroin use has a greater social impact than robbery, especially for criminal income and economic value measures. When compared with their most similar counterparts, the intensive criminals were significantly different on only one measure (economic values from nondrug crime), than daily heroin users who did not commit robbery (i.e., the highs). On the other hand, intensive criminals were significantly different than their counterparts who robbed but were nondaily heroin users (i.e., the actives) on all measures of criminal income and economic values.

Likewise, daily heroin users who did not rob (i.e., the highs) were significantly different from nonrobbing-nondaily heroin users (i.e., the lows and inactives) on total criminal income and from the lows on the two measures of economic value. In contrast, nondaily heroin users who robbed (i.e., the actives) were not significantly different than their nonrobbing nondaily heroin using counterparts (i.e., the lows and inactives) on any measure.

In short, criminal incomes and economic values among daily heroin users was significantly greater than among nondaily heroin users, regardless of whether robbery was committed or not. Robbery had significant impact upon only one of these measures of criminal impact when daily heroin use was controlled. Thus, daily heroin use contributed substantially more to these social impact measures than did robbery.

What proportion of the social impact were intensive criminals responsible for on an annual basis?

Table XV. 4 shows that these 201 street opiate users committed annually almost 33,000 nondrug crimes and about 210,000 total crimes (including drug distribution activities). They obtained \$1.15 million in nondrug criminal income and \$2.4 million in total criminal income. The economic values of their nondrug crimes was \$2.8 million and the total economic value of their illegal activity (including the "valued added" to the illegal distribution system) was almost \$7 million.

For each of these measures of social impact, the intensive criminals were disproportionately responsible. Although only 13% of the 201 subjects were intensive criminals, they accounted for:

- . 20% of all nondrug crimes
- . 21% of total crimes
- . 23% of the severity index scores (i.e. all crimes standardized to theft-equivalents)
- . 25% of the nondrug criminal income
- . 24% of the total criminal income
- . 29% of the economic values associated with nondrug crime
- . 25% of the total economic values

Moreover, those who were daily heroin users (intensives and highs) constituted 30% of all street opiate users, but contributed about 40% of the nondrug crimes, total crimes, and severity index scores. Because they gained higher dollar returns and economic values, however, these daily heroin users gained about 50% of the nondrug criminal income, total criminal income, and economic values associated with such crime.

The nonrobber-irregular heroin users ("lows") constituted about a quarter of the sample, but contributed disproportionately few criminal offenses (about 15%) and gained relatively little (about 10%) criminal income or economic values. The inactives and actives, however, contributed about their proportionate share of criminal offenses, income, and economic values.

Vignette V - An Intensive Criminal -- Diversity of Criminality

Darwin B. (black male, age 20) was a daily heroin user and robber-dealer. He dropped out of high school in his junior year, and has been working on and off in flower shops for the last three years. Although single, he has three children, aged 2, 3, and 4. He spent four years in youth institutions and reports more arrests than he can remember, though he does recall arrests for grand larceny, homicide, prostitution, and burglary. He claimed to have begun selling heroin at age 9, and using heroin at age eleven. He reported supporting his drug use mainly by selling drugs. He has never been treated for his drug use, though he claims to have been addicted to heroin at age 13 and to alcohol at age 14. He was living at a male friend's apartment when first recruited.

Darwin committed 4 robberies (totaling \$342) and one burglary (\$150) during his first 4 days in the study. He reported only one other nondrug crime, a burglary (\$210) during the remaining 29 days that he was interviewed. How then was he able to support his daily heroin use (and he used heroin every day), which averaged \$71 per day, during this period of noncriminality? Darwin reports the following for his first weekly reporting period.

I ran into an old girl friend who just got home from the army...I stayed with her all week. She gave me about \$80 (per day) to cop my drugs. She has a whole lot of money.

## Vignette V (continued) - An Intensive Criminal -- Diversity of Criminality

Darwin's life took a new turn the following week.

I started working in my friend's candy store. He sells cigarettes, candy, pot, heroin and cocaine. I'm sort of like a watchman. I make sure the money is correct and no trouble starts. For this I get \$75 worth of heroin and \$25 worth of cocaine [per day]. I sell some of the heroin and spend maybe 12 or 16 hours a day there.... I sleep upstairs. They have a little office that I stay in. The girl I was with last week went back to the army. She gave me \$75 before she left.

Darwin continued working at the store during his third week of interviews. His "salary" was upped to \$100 worth of heroin per day, but he ceased getting any cocaine. He used \$75 worth of the heroin each day and sold the remaining 25 dollars worth. Darwin stopped working at the candy store on day 3 of the final weekly interview. On that day he received his welfare check (\$130) and purchased \$100 worth of heroin which he consumed over three days. On day 5, with his cash and heroin supply exhausted, he broke into an apartment and stole a color TV, stereo, blender, toaster and iron. He sold all of these items to people in the street for a total of \$210 and, on day 6, purchased \$150 worth of heroin that he consumed on days six and seven.

Darwin was one of the subjects who helped establish the forementioned relationship between robbery and heroin use. He was the sixth most active robber in our sample, committing 4 robberies in 33 days, or an average of one robbery every 8.2 days. Yet he had no contact with police for these crimes. He used alcohol on 80% of his days and reported a mean of \$6 per day of alcohol use.

Yet, the above 33 day slice of Darwin's life suggested much complexity and variation in his criminality which would be obscured by computing means and rates. Darwin clearly was a high quantity, daily heroin user and a high quantity, near daily alcohol user, and committed serious crimes (robbery and burglary) and was hired because he clearly risked being assaulted or having to use physical force to make the money "correct" for the dealer.

But his criminality was far from continuous. There was one 4 day cluster containing 4 robberies and 1 burglary at the beginning of his reporting period and one burglary near the end of his reporting period. For one week his heroin use was financed by a girl friend (no crime when money was available), for three weeks it was supported through employment at a drug distribution outlet, and for a few days it was financed through public support. He also regularly sold a portion of the heroin that he received for being a watchman. Darwin clearly availed himself of whatever resources or opportunities existed and appeared to opt for predatory crime only in the absence of alternatives.

In this respect, Darwin exhibited a common pattern also shared by other intensive criminals or robber-dealers. But his persistence in obtaining criminal income with which to purchase large amounts of drugs every day of the 33 day period, made him distinctly different than most regular and irregular users who avoided resorting to predatory crime and preferred to avoid activities which might lead to physical force or assault.

Do the most criminal have more contacts with the criminal justice system?

Having established that intensive criminals have considerably greater social impact than their less criminal counterparts, we will now consider whether the criminal justice system has been relatively successful in identifying these persons and punishing them. The emphasis here was not upon whether they were convicted and punished for specific crimes. Rather, we have examined their self-reported\* arrest and incarceration histories (from the life history interviews) to determine whether those who were intensive, high, and active criminals during their reporting periods have more arrests and/or incarcerations than their less active counterparts.

The data in Table XV. 5 presented the relationship between the Intensive Criminality Typology and the number of arrests and years of incarceration. The data showed that intensive criminals almost always reported being arrested (only 5% were not), and that three-fifths report six or more arrests. The active criminals were considerably less likely (38%) and the high criminals somewhat less likely (50%) to report six or more arrests in their criminal histories. Nevertheless, the mean number of arrests did not show significant variation by this typology. Thus, while intensive criminals almost always have prior arrests and most have 6 or more arrests, their average number of arrests did not differ from the less active subjects.

In a similar fashion, the number of years of incarceration (jail plus prison) shows no significant association with the Intensive Criminality Typology. That is, intensive criminals appeared to be incarcerated about the same amount of time as their less criminal counterparts. The average subject

\*- Their self-reported arrest and incarceration histories may not be equivalent to their official criminal arrest and incarceration histories (which were not obtained in this study). In a careful examination of external validity of self-reported information, however, Chaiken and Chaiken (1982, Appendix B) show that jail and prison inmates were generally quite accurate (about 75% or more agreement) in their self-reports of arrests and criminal convictions when compared with official "rap sheet" and prison records. Moreover, discrepancies in self-reported arrest histories had relatively little effect upon their self-reports of criminal offending.

reports under three years of incarceration during ten or more years of heroin use and probably 15-20 years since reaching age 16. If their criminal behavior in previous years was similar to that reported during their reporting period, they have spent relatively little time during their criminal careers in jail or prison.

Summary

In this chapter, we developed a new typology of criminality. This Intensive Criminality Typology permitted an assessment of whether involvement in serious crime (i.e., robber versus nonrobber) was more important than heroin use (daily vs. nondaily) on a variety of social impact measures.

The data here clearly showed that the Intensive Criminality Typology:

- a) was not strongly associated with background characteristics (except that robbers were likely to be males);
- b) was not systematically related to self-reported heroin and drug use in the year prior to interview;
- c) was related to self-reports of robbery and burglary in the previous year;
- d) was not strongly related to a variety of other measures of drug distribution and criminal income in the previous year;
- e) was not related to the total number of arrests in lifetime,
- f) was not related to the number of years of incarceration.

In short, intensive criminals were not significantly different than their less criminal counterparts on most major background characteristics or drug use and criminal income during the year previous to interview.

Nevertheless, on a variety of measures of social impact, intensive criminals (and sometimes the highs) had significantly higher values than their less criminal counterparts. Although intensive criminals had a somewhat higher number of nondrug crimes, the association was barely significant. For almost all other measures, however, intensive criminals had three to six

times greater social impact than the lows and had about twice as much criminal income and economic value as their inactive and active counterparts. While intensive criminals always had the highest mean values on these social impact measures, their values did differ significantly from the "highs" on only one measure (economic values of nondrug crimes).

In short, daily heroin users had a significantly greater social impact than nondaily heroin users regardless of robbery activity. But among daily heroin users, involvement in robbery boosted the economic values of their nondrug crimes even higher. Robbery was not an important contributor to high values on social impact measures when daily heroin use was controlled.

All of these findings, as well as those in previous chapters, have important policy implications which are considered in the following chapter.

Table XV. 1 - The Intensive Criminality Typology As Derived from the Heroin User Typology by Robbery

Robbery Type	Heroin User Typology			Total
	Irregular	Regular	Daily	
Percentage Distribution of Respondents in Intensive Criminal Typology				
Nonrobbers	<u>Lows</u> 24%	<u>Inactives</u> 30%	<u>Highs</u> 17%	72%
Robbers		<u>Actives</u> 15%	<u>Intensives</u> 13%	28%
Total				100%
-----				
Robbery Type	Heroin User Typology			Total
	Irregular	Regular	Daily	
Number of Respondents upon Which Above Percentages are Based				
Nonrobbers	49	60	35	144
Robbers	12	18	27	57
Total	61	78	62	201
Percent of Heroin User Types Who Committed Robbery				
	20%	23%	44%	28%
Percent of Robber Types Classified among Heroin User Types				
Nonrobbers	34	42	24	100%
Robber	21	32	47	100%

Table XV. 2 - Among Subjects Classified in the Intensive Criminal Typology, Percentages Exhibiting Certain Background Characteristics and Prior Drug/Criminal Histories.

Robbery Type: Heroin User Type: No. Subjects:*	Intensive Criminal Offender Typology					Total (201)	p of F
	<u>Lows</u> Nonrobber Irregular ( 49)	<u>Inactives</u> Nonrobber Regular ( 60)	<u>Actives</u> Robber Nondaily ( 30)	<u>Highs</u> Nonrobber Daily ( 35)	<u>Intensives</u> Robber Daily ( 27)		
Background Characteristics							
% Male	69	67	87	74	93	75	.05
% Black	53	57	50	61	48	55	.82
% Age 30 & Under	6	12	30	14	7	13	.02
% from Central Harlem	33	27	27	57	33	34	.03
% Married	25	21	27	25	19	23	.18
% High School Dropout	40	33	41	46	48	40	.78
-----							
In Year Prior to Interview:							
% Used over \$50 of Heroin per Day	18	23	26	30	37	25	.50
% Addiction to Heroin	76	70	93	67	74	75	.10
% with Over 10 Years of Heroin Use	39	52	52	44	50	49	.78
% Reported Daily Heroin	40	56	72	91	84	63	.000
% with Robbery	14	20	46	5	53	24	.002
% with Burglary	7	23	41	32	68	29	.000
% Shoplifting Weekly or More	25	38	36	45	35	35	.98
Mean Criminal Income (\$)	2,384	7,662	6,785	5,834	9,742	6,041	.07

\* Due to missing information, the number of subjects upon which percentages are based may be less than this figure.



Table XV. 3 - Indices of Social Impact by the Intensive Criminality Typology

	Intensive Criminal Offender Typology					Total (201)	p of F	r
	Robber Type: Heroin User Type: N Subjects:	Lows Nonrobber ( 49)	Inactives Nonrobber ( 60)	Actives Robber Nondaily ( 30)	Highs Nonrobber Daily ( 35)			
Social Impact Indices								
1) Annual Nondrug Criminal Offense Rate	103	161	168	180	245	163	.10	.18
2) Annual Total Criminal Offense Rate	456	1,310	766	1,208	1,649	1,048	.08	.14
3) Nondrug Crime Severity Index	530	853	1,033	934	1,506 <sup>a</sup>	903	.02	.22
4) Annual Nondrug Criminal Income	\$2,595	5,552	5,392	6,765	10,841 <sup>abc</sup>	5,729	.000	.35
5) Annual Total Criminal Income	\$5,372	10,953 <sup>a</sup>	10,403	16,737 <sup>abc</sup>	20,981 <sup>abc</sup>	11,575	.000	.50
6) Economic Value of Nondrug Crime	\$4,856	13,217	11,902	17,294 <sup>a</sup>	30,038 <sup>abcd</sup>	13,951	.000	.38
7) Total Economic Values	\$13,221	31,454 <sup>a</sup>	29,037	48,194 <sup>a</sup>	65,049 <sup>abc</sup>	33,921	.000	.46

abcd- Based upon the Scheffe test of differences of group means; this mean is significantly different at the .10 level from: a - the lows; b - the inactives; c -the actives; and d - the highs.

Table XV. 4 - Percentage of Annualized Volume of Social Impact Committed by Those Classified in the Intensive Criminality Typology.

	Intensive Criminal Offender Typology					Total	Annual Amounts <sup>a</sup>
	Robber Type: Heroin User Type: N Subjects:	Lows Nonrobber ( 49)	Inactives Nonrobber ( 60)	Actives Robber Nondaily ( 30)	Highs Nonrobber Daily ( 35)		
Percentage of all Subjects	24%	30%	15%	17%	13%	100%	(201)
Percentage Distribution of Annualized Social Impact Indices Committed by Criminal Types Above:							
1) Annual Nondrug Criminal Offense Rate	16	30	15	19	20	100	(32,678)
2) Annual Total Criminal Offense Rate	11	37	11	20	21	100	(210,688)
3) Nondrug Crime Severity Index	14	28	17	18	23	100	(181,460)
4) Annual Nondrug Criminal Income	11	29	14	21	25	100	(\$1,151,537)
5) Annual Total Criminal Income	11	27	13	25	24	100	(\$2,363,218)
6) Economic Value of Nondrug Crime	8	28	13	22	29	100	(\$2,804,310)
7) Total Economic Values	10	28	13	24	25	100	(\$6,818,121)

a- Sum of the annual amounts committed by all 201 street opiate users; base number upon which percentages in the row were calculated.

Table XV. 5 - Among Subjects Classified in the Intensive Criminal Typology, Percentages Having Self-Reported Contacts with The Criminal Justice System.

Robbery Type: Heroin User Type: No. Subjects:*	Intensive Criminal Offender Typology					Total (201)	p
	Low	Inactives	Actives	High	Intensives		
	Nonrobber Irregular ( 49)	Nonrobber Regular ( 60)	Robber Nondaily ( 30)	Nonrobber Daily ( 35)	Robber Daily ( 27)		
Prior to Interviews: Self-reported Number of Arrests							
None	9	25	14	25	5	16	
1-5	59	29	48	25	33	40	.03
6 +	32	46	38	50	61	43	
Number of Years of Incarceration:							
None	41	40	41	39	19	16	
1-4	41	42	41	35	46	41	.77
5 +	18	19	17	26	33	21	
Mean Number of Arrests	6.6	8.8	7.1	9.1	10.3	8.2	.60
Mean Years of Incarceration	2.4	2.3	1.8	3.4	4.5	2.7	.11

\* Number of subjects upon which percentages are based may be less due to missing information.

SUMMARY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This chapter will not attempt to summarize the central findings from each previous chapter (this was done in the Executive Summary). Rather, the emphasis will focus upon findings which emerged in several chapters and have special relevance for social policy.

This chapter provides policy implications which are understood to be a set of goals or objectives flowing naturally from the research findings. Treatment or criminal justice practitioners may be able to design programs, practices, or techniques to accomplish such objectives. These implications, however, are not "policy recommendations" which suggest specific steps about how to implement changes in existing arrangements. "Recommendations" assume an analysis of relevant institutions and practices which have not been the focus of this research.

This chapter will use evidence from this study and other recent research to document a central major policy implication for American society:

The most criminally active street opiate users are "slipping between the cracks" of the criminal justice and treatment systems.

The most criminally active persons in this study, the "intensive criminals" were defined as robbers and daily heroin users. Similar findings were reported by Ball, et al. (1981); Chaiken and Chaiken (1982); Chaiken, (1983); Moore, et al. (1981); Johnson, et al. (1983a). This study and these sources demonstrated that additional information about daily and/or high cost heroin use may assist in identifying high risk persons who currently slip between the cracks of the criminal justice and treatment systems. Such intensive criminals were rarely in methadone treatment and other drug treatment was rare. In short, intensive criminals almost always "slip away" from or avoid treatment.

The criminal justice system largely ignores the drug use patterns of arrestees in making prosecutorial and sentencing decisions. Moreover, the prior arrest and incarceration histories did not distinguish intensive criminals from their less criminal counterparts. Thus, they appear to "slip through" the criminal justice system with jail and prison sentences which are typically short and generally not more severe than their less criminal counterparts. These points are more fully developed below.

Policy Implication A -- Daily heroin users who committed robbery were the most criminally active. These "intensive criminals" had very high crime rates, criminal severity scores, and economic values and should be a major focus of criminal justice agencies and social policies to address criminality among street opiate users.

Data in Chapter XIII showed that subjects classified as robbers who were daily heroin users had the highest rates and the most criminal income for most crimes. Moreover, within each offender type, the more regular the heroin use, the greater the crime rate and criminal income. These findings were directly parallel to those reported by Chaiken and Chaiken (1982a) and Chaiken (1983) among jail and prison inmates in California, Texas, and Michigan. Parallel findings were reported by Ball, et al. (1981); Ball (1982); Johnson, et al., (1983); Moore, et al. (1981).

In Chapter XV, data showed that the daily heroin user-robbers ("intensive criminals") had considerably more social impact than their less seriously involved counterparts on measures of criminal incomes, economic values, and criminal severity scores. Although they constituted only 13% of our street opiate users, they were responsible for 20% of the nondrug crimes, 29% of the nondrug crime economic values, and 23% of the criminal severity. In short, even among street opiate users -- all of whom were routinely criminal -- the intensive criminals exhibited greater social impact.

Policy Implication B - Intensive criminals report prior arrests and incarcerations that did not differ greatly from their less criminal counterparts; thus they will be difficult to systematically identify from current information maintained by the criminal justice system.

The data in Chapter XV showed that self-reported prior arrests and incarceration histories did not differentiate the intensive criminals from the less criminally active. Moreover, during their reporting periods, the intensive criminals were unlikely to experience arrest.

While this project did not gain access to official criminal records (so the respondent's reported arrests/incarceration history cannot be verified), Chaiken and Chaiken (1982a) report almost identical findings among jail and prison inmates. Specifically, they found that self-reported criminal activity did not correlate systematically with official criminal histories and showed that criminal history information would be highly inaccurate in identifying the most serious criminals.

Their review also found that information about drug histories in official records was absent in Michigan and Texas or highly inaccurate in California. Although official criminal arrest records were not obtained, New York State criminal justice official records ("rap sheets" or court records) do not contain systematic information about drug use patterns or referrals to drug treatment programs among arrestees.

Thus, available information suggests that the criminal justice system does not systematically collect or utilize information about arrestee drug use in making official processing decisions. Official criminal histories provided few clues by which to accurately identify intensive criminals or other high rate offenders among those who come to their attention. Until improvements can be made in detecting intensive criminals, they will continue to "slip through" the criminal justice system, being processed in the same way and receiving similar punishments to that of their less criminal counterparts.

Findings Regarding Criminal Behavior

These street opiate users were among the most criminally active ever studied. In addition to the studies cited in Chapter XI (Table XI. 1), findings from two national studies also help establish how deviant our respondents were. A search for the most criminal among a random sample of the nation's youth, aged 14-20 in 1979, showed that 1.3% of these youth committed three or more (FBI) index offenses and used heroin/cocaine three or more times during the previous twelve months (Johnson, et al., 1983b). Unpublished data from this survey indicate that only 4 subjects or 0.26% of the nation's youth committed 12 or more index offense and used cocaine/heroin 12 or more times in the past 12 months. Virtually all the street opiate users recruited in this study, committed more than 12 index offenses and used heroin or cocaine several times per month. Thus, these street opiate users were considerably more deviant in both crime and heroin/cocaine use than the most criminal 0.3% of all American youth.

Blumstein (1983) studied a sample of Washington, D.C. offenders arrested for an index crime other than larceny. He estimated that these individuals committed 10-15 index crimes per year. Our average street opiate users committed 25 robberies or burglaries per year plus an additional 67 larcenies. This does not include their frequent nonindex offenses: 61/year for victimless crimes, 665 drug distribution crimes, and over 200 minor crimes (Table XI. 2). Thus, the criminality of these street opiate users were significantly higher than subjects in other highly criminal samples.

Policy Implication C -- Despite their very high crime levels, however, a social policy of incarcerating street opiate users does not appear to be a socially appropriate or economically reasonable solution for their criminality.

The findings presented in Chapter XIII and XV show extensive variability in criminal offending rates and income according to the subject's criminal and heroin use lifestyles. A standard policy of incarceration appears highly inappropriate for four major reasons:

First, half of these street opiate users were nonrobbers and nondaily heroin users. Most of these were primarily thieves and small scale drug distributors who avoided serious crimes like robbery, assault, and burglary. Although they committed a substantial number of offenses (16-30 nondrug crime/year, over 500 total crimes/year), their cash criminal income was low (\$2,500 to \$6,000 from nondrug crime/year, \$5,000 to \$11,000 from all crimes/year).

Second, even among subjects who committed robbery, the nondaily heroin users had substantially lower crime rates and income than the daily heroin users. This suggests that even robbers would decrease their criminality by 50% or more if they could be shifted to nondaily heroin use.

Third, the vast bulk of the crimes committed by these street opiate users were of minor importance. The average dollar income per nondrug crime was \$35. Even if this were multiplied by a fence factor of 2.5, the value (\$88) of the stolen merchandise would be relatively unimportant (Table VI. 5) by current criminal justice standards. Moreover, most nondrug crimes provided cash income of less than \$35. Very few crimes involve cash returns of over \$200 (or a projected merchandise value of over \$500 -- detailed data not presented).

Fourth, daily heroin users had the same low returns per nondrug crime as the less regular heroin users (Table VI. 5). Thus, information about the type and value of property crimes provides few clues for identifying serious offenders.

Ultimately, however, a policy of incarceration would likely prove more expensive. In 1983, the annual cost of maintaining one inmate in New York City was estimated to be \$21,000, including capital construction costs. (DSAS, 1983). A recent study ( ) claimed that the annual cost of incarcerating one prisoner in Minnesota (which is probably less expensive than New York, was almost \$35,000.

Our average street opiate user, however, had an annual criminal cash income of only \$7,600 (Table VI. 7C). When the value of drug income and minor crimes was added, the total criminal income was slightly under \$12,000. (Table VIII. 3). Daily heroin users had about 1.5 times more and irregular heroin users had about half as much criminal income as the overall average. Thus, only among daily heroin users would their total criminal income (\$19,000) approach the cost of incarcerating them in jail or prison for a year.

Even if the economic values were considered (i.e., the value of stolen merchandise was included), the average street opiate user had nondrug criminal economic values of under \$14,000. Daily heroin users (\$22,844) imposed four times more nondrug criminal social costs than irregular heroin users (\$5,500). (Table XII. 1).

Thus, if the objective of an incarceration policy were to incapacitate arrestees like our subjects so that they could not commit crimes which economically harm others\*, the above comparisons suggest that the annual costs (about \$21,000/year) of incarceration would be greater than the dollar value of nondrug crime actually inflicted by the regular (under \$14,000) and

\* This study did not ask about assault and other noneconomic but serious crimes, so such criteria can not be considered here.

irregular (under \$6,000) heroin users. Only if the daily heroin users could be located and incarcerated would the annual nondrug criminal social costs (\$22,500) exceed the incarceration costs, but only by a small margin.\*\*

Only if the objective of an incarceration policy were to prevent both the social costs of nondrug crime plus the indirect social costs associated with drug distribution (both cash + drug income and the value added to the illegal drug system) would the overall social costs exceed the incarceration costs by a large margin for both regular (\$32,000) and daily (\$55,272) heroin users. Even then, irregular heroin users have lower total social costs (under \$15,000).

Clearly, a policy of incapacitation via imprisonment does not appear economically reasonable since it would generally cost society more than the crime it was designed to prevent. A policy of probation with treatment as a requirement (residential drug free @ \$9,000/year, methadone ambulatory @ \$2,300/year) appears more economically reasonable for the less than daily users. Probation with mandatory treatment and routine urinalysis to detect frequent hard drug use should be designed to systematically pressure daily heroin users to reduce their heroin consumption by 50% or more; this would be likely to reduce their criminality by a similar degree. This would be a much more cost effective social response than incarceration. To be effective, probation/treatment officials need to employ the threat of incarceration for violations of conditions of probation.

\*\* From an overall societal perspective, the economic values associated with street opiate users upon the victims of property crimes would be largely offset by the economic gain accruing to the purchasers of the stolen property. From this perspective, the economic value of stolen merchandise would remain unchanged, but be forcibly transferred from the victim to the purchaser; the purchaser's cost would be his payment to the street opiate user for his labor and the risk of being caught (our respondent's cash income).

Findings Regarding Drug Use Patterns of Street Opiate Users

These street opiate users exhibit diverse patterns of drug consumption. All subjects used drugs; they did so on 85% of the days (or 6 out of 7 days) on the average. Heroin and alcohol were consumed on half of the days, with cocaine and marijuana used on a quarter of the days. All other substances were used on less than 10% of the days (Table V. 2). Nevertheless, annual expenditures for any given substance did not exceed \$500, except for heroin and cocaine.

Policy Implication D -- Despite widespread patterns of multiple drug use among street opiate users, the drugs imposing major economic problems were heroin (primarily) and cocaine. Social policies designed to reduce by half the regularity or dollar amount of heroin (and/or cocaine) consumed, especially by daily users, would have substantial benefits for both society and these street opiate users.

Daily heroin users consume over \$13,000 worth of heroin and \$2,500 of cocaine annually (Table V. 5). Daily heroin users constituted 31% of these respondents but consumed almost two-thirds of all the heroin (Table IV. 1-2).

Street opiate users lived at or below the poverty level and typically expend less than \$5,000/year on food, shelter, and other nondrug expenses, an amount roughly equal to their noncriminal income. Thus, at the aggregate level, street opiate users consumed a dollar value of drugs which was roughly equivalent to their entire criminal income (both cash and drug) (Tables XI. 1-2).

If daily heroin users could be induced to reduce their consumption by half (to about three days per week or less), overall demand for heroin would greatly diminish and the amount of crime involved would probably be decreased by half or more. Thus, a "demand reduction" policy especially directed at current daily heroin users would have important benefits in reduced criminal offending and income.

Methadone treatment has been available for 15 years in Central and East Harlem. In late 1983, however, all programs were filled to capacity by street opiate users voluntarily seeking methadone treatment; waiting lists currently existed at most clinics in these neighborhoods (Newman, 1983; DSAS, 1983).

Despite such treatment efforts, however, open drug sales of heroin and cocaine in the street and from apartments was widespread during the five years of this study. This street scene gives no evidence of diminishing and appeared to be expanding (DSAS, 1983).

Policy Implication E -- While additional capacity is needed for all persons voluntarily seeking methadone treatment, new social policies need to be designed having the objective of effectively identifying criminally active street opiate users and pressuring and monitoring them to reduce their heroin, other drug abuse, and criminal patterns. Such policies must be especially directed towards street opiate users currently avoiding methadone or other treatment.

By recruiting heavily from among street hustlers, this study found that three-quarters of 201 street opiate users had no methadone treatment (although many were former clients) during their reporting period. Unfortunately, this study was unable to estimate the size of the population of out-of-treatment street opiate users in this area, so it was not possible to ascertain whether the proportion out of treatment was as high as indicated by our data. Estimates of the narcotic abuser population in New York City (DSAS, 1983), however, also suggested that about three-quarters of all active narcotics abusers were not in methadone or other treatment.

Thus, regardless of the actual figures, a substantial proportion of street opiate users were not enrolled and appeared to be avoiding treatment for their drug abuse. A parallel research project (the Tristate Ethnographic Project, Douglas S. Lipton, Principal Investigator) has documented the various "methadone folkways" (incorrect beliefs about methadone) among street opiate

users both in methadone programs and those not enrolled (Goldsmith, et al., 1983; Hunt, et al., 1982, 1983abc). The patterns of treatment avoidance which were not well documented by the Economic Behavior data (the focus was not upon treatment) were more fully documented in several papers from the TRISEP project (Hunt, et al., 1983abc).

Thus, a very large proportion of street opiate users not currently in treatment will probably not respond to various inducements to enter methadone programs or other forms of treatment. Even if such persons did enter, they would be at high risk for departing against medical advice or being discharged for reason. The standard program requirement that potential clients must "voluntarily" seek and remain in treatment has the unintentional outcome of effectively excluding intensively criminal street opiate users who continue to "slip away" from systematic involvement in the drug treatment system.

This study cannot definitely answer the difficult question, "what then can be done with these highly criminal street opiate users?" Suggested directions implied by the data, however, involve closer coordination and cooperation between the criminal justice and treatment systems. New social policies and institutional arrangements need to be carefully developed so that more systematic, probably daily, pressure is placed upon criminally active street opiate users to detoxify and enter long term drug abuse treatment programs. Once arrested and convicted of crimes, including minor offenses, they should face mandatory routine monitoring for drugs by urinalysis, and be required to attend treatment programs daily and report for long counseling sessions. Release to pretrial custody should require legal employment and consistent evidence of sustained drug treatment program participation.

Also emerging are a variety of innovative techniques which are not popular with street opiate users because they may prevent the desired "high." Long acting agonist chemotherapy (such as long acting methadone), the use of antagonists and other innovative techniques need to be tried with populations of street opiate users on probation or parole to ensure that they remain in treatment and opiate free. Especially among those who are convicted of crimes, correctional settings with therapeutic communities for these persons, once incarcerated, should be attempted. Work release with Naltrexone (an antagonist) should be tried. But whatever solutions are developed, the high criminality levels among street opiate users demand to be addressed more directly than during the five year study period of the Economic Behavior Project.

A METHODOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE  
ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR OF STREET OPIATE USERS PROJECT

Introduction

The development of methodologies for collecting systematic data from street heroin users was a major accomplishment of this research. When the project first began in 1978, there was major concern that such data could not be obtained. Even today, many scientists and laymen have a hard time believing that street opiate users can be systematically studied. While a careful description of the methods developed is not of central analytic interest, such information will be central to the credibility with which the analytic results will be viewed.

Thus, this lengthy Appendix provides important information about the methodologies employed by the Economic Behavior of Street Opiate Users project. These methods were emergent and were frequently modified during the course of the research. This appendix is written with three main goals in mind: (1) to fully describe our methodology so that substantive findings can be adequately interpreted; (2) to describe some of the difficult problems which confronted our research staff; (3) to provide a thorough account of our experiences so that future researchers wishing to employ similar techniques may understand both the opportunities and the difficulties of the methods employed herein. These descriptions include both our successes and failures in overcoming methodological obstacles.

The initial project plans intended to collect data on the totality of respondents' economic interactions, with a primary emphasis on the relationship between drug use and crime. Previous research in this area was subject to many limitations. Most existent data about drug use and crime have been derived from official statistics or self-reports by offenders and/or addicts obtained at some point during arrest, incarceration, or treatment processes, or in follow-up studies of such populations. Subjects in these studies usually provided retrospective self-reports about their criminal lifestyles and drug using behaviors spanning one month to several decades. Such extended recollections, while valuable for life history and many kinds of analyses, may be affected by faulty or selective recall. Further, self-reports given in an institution of social control (e.g., jail, treatment facility) may be perceived by subjects as influencing how they will be dealt with by that institution.

Institutionalized subjects might lie to interviewers for several instrumental reasons. Individuals entering methadone treatment may exaggerate the amount of drugs used on the street in the hope that they will receive more medication in the program. They may be afraid that the program will not give them sufficient medication to avert painful withdrawal symptoms. They may hope that maximum medication will get them "high," or they may wish to sell "extra" medication.

Official statistics issued by police or treatment agencies may only depict the tip of the iceberg and fail to reflect the nature and scope of the vast majority of crimes that go undetected, unreported, and unrecorded. Official crime statistics may be better indicators of law enforcement activity than of actual criminal behavior of arrestees (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982).



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Individuals under the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system (e.g., police, courts, corrections) may also conceal information from interviewers for instrumental reasons. Such persons may exaggerate or understate their drug use in the streets, depending upon whether "copping" a plea and accepting "diversion" to a treatment program is perceived as better or worse than spending time in jail. Arrestees may also overestimate their drug use as a "technique of neutralization," and absolve themselves of personal guilt or responsibility for a criminal act. They may conceal numerous crimes for which they have not been apprehended for obvious reasons.

Thus, a major methodological task of the Economic Behavior project was to develop techniques of data collection that would be as free as possible from shortcomings of previous research. The question, "how can hard-to-reach heroin addicts be involved in qualitative and quantitative research?" was one which had not been previously addressed with great success (Panel on Drug Use and Criminal Behavior, 1976).

Edward Preble had previously been involved in three major research projects, all involving heroin abusers as subjects. The most recent study (1975-1977) investigated the lifestyles of Irish and Italian heroin users in this community. During these years, Preble pioneered the development of the storefront methodology (see below) which was central to conducting systematic research among this street opiate user population. Preble had also developed a "right guy" reputation among many street opiate users and career criminals. He was perceived as a fair and knowledgeable "outsider" by the street grapevine and was not a cop. He had also developed a network of prior subjects who were also friends; they could be easily recruited again and would be willing to approach others about cooperating in the research. In all respects, this research builds upon his contacts, experiences, and skill as an ethnographer prior to 1978 (see Appendix C).

From 1954 (and until his death in 1982), Edward Preble was intensively involved in the East Harlem and Yorkville low income communities as a community center director, friend of many residents, godfather to the children of research subjects, and companion in many community leisure time activities.

#### A. Initiation of Field Work

During the earliest stage of the project, in the first half of 1978, the Principal Investigators (Johnson and Preble) hired staff and located a storefront. A qualified project director, Paul Goldstein, was hired and assigned responsibilities for quantitative instrument development, data collection, coding, computerization, and data analysis. The field team under Preble's direction began with a skilled and experienced interviewer (Tom Miller), but lacked a field worker who was well known and respected in the East Harlem study area, especially among opiate users and other street hustlers who were to be the central focus of this research. Efforts were made to locate an exaddict and/or former criminal offender who would have major responsibility for recruiting subjects, and entering social systems that would be initially closed to professionals.

Finally in the summer of 1978, Preble located a person with the very background needed. This field worker had extensive involvement in heroin during the late 1960s and early 1970s, had a "right-guy" reputation among both the addict and nonaddict criminal subcultures, and several years of incarceration. He was no longer using heroin and not involved in crime. During the course of the five years of research, several other former heroin abusers were recruited to assist in locating respondents, and in some cases, to conduct interviews (see Appendix B for project experiences with such indigenous staff).

**CONTINUED**

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B. The Storefront as a Place for Routine Data Collection

In the original application of 1977, different potential techniques for obtaining routine economic behavior data from respondents were planned. These included ethnographic techniques, informal conversations, formal interviews in the street or apartments, and formal interviews in the field office. The formal interview at a field office--the "storefront"--proved to be an efficient way of obtaining high quality economic behavior data from respondents. Other techniques were tried but found difficult to implement.

The technique of following research respondents around and observing their behavior, has disadvantages. Field workers may become witnesses to crimes. Victims of these crimes may believe the field worker was a participant and situations of legal complexity are likely to arise. Subjects may be deterred from their daily routines by the presence of the field worker. One armed robber commented that he would be unable to concentrate sufficiently on his activity if he knew he was being observed and that such a failure of concentration could be fatal. The main disadvantage of direct field observation techniques, however, was that it took an enormous amount of field time. Most of the subject's time was "dead time" spent standing around and talking. Nevertheless, many respondents have been observed engaging in their typical activities (see validity and reliability discussion below).

Informal conversations between the field worker and the respondent also proved to be of little value. Such informal conversations have a tendency to be too unfocused, range over too wide a variety of topics, and to lack specificity. Crawford (1977) found "formal interviews with addicts on the street.... to be necessary..." for similar reasons. Moreover, the data to be collected required a level of specificity that made it impossible for field workers to memorize all the questions and answers.

The formal interview in the street or neighborhood suffers from the fact that addicts are difficult to locate at any given time (also see Crawford, 1977). They may be around the neighborhood taking care of business, but yet be quite difficult to locate at any specific time. It is inefficient at best to have field workers waiting around on the streets for subjects in order to conduct formal interviews -- after which a private place to conduct the interview must be found.

The data collection technique that proved most effective was to locate the field staff in a field office that blended naturally into the study neighborhood. During five years of research, the project rented three storefronts in the midst of major copping blocks (see detailed descriptions in Appendix B). In short the subjects felt right at home in the storefront because it reflected their living situation in a ghetto neighborhood.

The major difficulties with using a neighborhood storefront as an interview site were: 1) the delapidated condition of such space (e.g., roaches, poor plumbing, rats), 2) congestion of respondents wanting to be interviewed during the morning hours, and 3) problems associated with staffing and supervision of the nonprofessional staff. These difficulties are specified in more detail in Appendix B. Nevertheless, the advantages of conducting a confidential and structured interview to obtain detailed information about drug use, crime, income, and expenditures in the project storefront vastly outweighed the disadvantages.

C. Recruitment of Subjects

Locating research subjects was among the easiest tasks which this research faced, especially since respondent payments were available. As Preble (1980b) has indicated, among street opiate users the need for money is continuous and,

hence, they are eager to cooperate in most forms of research. But what initially appeared to be a mean motive, the need for money, was transformed into a fruitful research relationship through skillful rapport building and interviewing. The respondents quickly provided high quality information about their activity in return for a modest payment (\$5 or \$10) for 30 minutes to 2 hours of their time. Given the quality of information obtained from these respondents, the interview payments were clearly a major bargain.

#### 1. Drop-in Respondents

During the pilot years (1978-79), snowball selection techniques encouraged field workers to spread the word about our study in the street. Current subjects brought in friends. We accepted most respondents who met basic criteria such as having a history of heroin or methadone use. While such subjects were convenient and useful for pilot testing of instrumentation (see section E below), the staff came to believe that such drop-in respondents were a relatively poor reflection of the street opiate-using population. A certain type of subject began to predominate in the pilot study; namely, older Black methadone clients who were generally heavy consumers of alcohol. These drop-in subjects were relatively less active in heroin, other illicit drugs, and crime than persons specifically recruited for their activity. Drop-in subjects tended to be heavy alcohol consumers, street "touts" or "jugglers", and small item shoplifters. While these respondents claimed to be addicts, provided lengthy histories of heroin use, and were viewed by their neighbors and other street users as "addicts," their usual activities raised important questions about whether they were physically dependent on opiates and about the nature of their dependency.

They were aptly described by Preble and Miller (1977) as living on "Methadone, Wine, and Welfare." These respondents were almost always unemployed and did little during the day except hang around and try to raise money for a few bottles of cheap wine which they drank continuously during the day. They would occasionally engage in minor crimes (shoplifting, selling loose joints, steering customers to dealers) and use heroin or cocaine on an occasional basis when they had money or had worked for a drug dealer. Thus, the interview fees constituted a real windfall for them. Since they typically shared bottles of wine, such subjects could bring in many "friends."

Besides having the potential for seriously biasing results, the influx of the older "methadone-wine-and-welfare" crowd led to additional difficulties. More active street hustlers and opiate users were disgusted to be seen with such types. Senior staff began to get feedback from field workers that some potential subjects were reluctant to come into the field office during 1979 because it had become a hang-out for the "lowest of the low." In addition, such methadone "winos" were undeterrable "moochers." They would come to the storefront consistently, perhaps five or six times in a single day, barged right into an interview in progress, and demanded a few dollars for "carfare" or something to eat. No amount of diplomacy was able to forestall this harassing behavior.

Once the field office was well established, persons appeared at the storefront almost every day asking to become research subjects. Many interruptions were endured and considerable time was expended in politely refusing such requests while thanking them for dropping by. Nevertheless, some of the drop-ins were accepted as research subjects because they exhibited some interesting characteristics (i.e., had some employment, used heroin and cocaine, etc.).

In sections H and I (below) we describe efforts which project staff made to develop a quasi-scientific sampling frame of street opiate users. For reasons outlined there, we were not able to develop a list of potential respondents from which to sample. Instead, a variety of other recruitment techniques were followed during the main study (1980-1982) and are described below. In the East Harlem and Central Harlem areas of Manhattan, however, street opiate users could be easily located and quickly involved in a routine course of research. They provided valuable and highly detailed information that was analyzed in previous chapters.

## 2. Selective Recruitment

A more valuable technique for recruiting respondents began with locating one or two exaddicts who were part of large social networks containing street opiate users and criminals. Exaddicts were sought who were respected by their peers and had a reputation as a "right guy." Such reformed drug abusers/ex-felons also helped the research effort by "watching the backs" of the professional staff in the storefront. That is, their presence in and around the storefront deterred others from "ripping off" staff and prevented violence in the storefront. Nevertheless, supervision of such exaddict staff was another problem (see Appendix B).

Several early subjects fit into this role and recruited most of the subjects for this study. But it took time and persistence to find such persons and to separate those who claimed to have good reputations and contacts from those who really have them. Such persons had prior associations with the relatively active opiate users and other criminals and could go to virtually any neighborhood to locate heroin users and to recruit them as subjects.

They also physically walked respondents to the storefront for the first interview and, if necessary, located them at later times for additional interviews. Such key field workers were critical in locating, recruiting, and establishing good research relationships with desirable types of respondents exhibiting diverse lifestyles.

Another fruitful technique for recruiting heavily involved subjects was to ask respondents, especially the more active and successful, to refer their friends or drug-using associates. Typically such respondents needed to physically escort their friends to the storefront at which time the subject was given a small payment for his referral.

During 1980-1982, the staff refused to accept many "drop-in" subjects for reasons given above. Instead, we relied heavily upon the judgments of exaddict/exoffender staff who were sent into the streets to locate subjects. These field workers sometimes approached unknown persons on the street, but more frequently found a previous acquaintance who introduced them to other potential respondents. In order to ensure a diversity of lifestyles among respondents, these staff were directed to go to different geographical areas in the study community with directions to avoid bringing in too many "low lifes," and to concentrate on finding subjects who did robbery, burglary, or frequent thefts. They were also expected to bring in about one female for every two or three males (our estimate of the probable sex ratio). Bernacki and Waldorf (1979) make similar use of such selective snowball sampling techniques. A substantial proportion of those approached (the percentage was not systematically obtained) ended up as research respondents.\*

\* - During the earlier part of 1980 when the staff tried to do a block census of heroin users, the names of potential subjects were identified and randomly selected; a few refused to meet the field worker or any research staff; their friends could not persuade them to come to the storefront. Yet if the researchers had persisted in pursuing such "hard-to-reach" subjects by standard tracking techniques, the street norms--that a person should not be pursued unless willing to be--would be violated.

### 3. Maintaining Contact with Respondents

In order to sustain initial and maintain long-term contact with respondents, the first week was crucial. At the beginning of the pilot study, staff decided that repeated interviews with respondents on consecutive days were critical for obtaining the necessary information (the rationale is given in section E below). Conducting short interviews with the respondent on five successive days was important for maintaining short-term and long-term cooperation in several respects.

First, respondents who were interested only in the money, who appeared to stretch the truth about their involvements, generally did not reappear after the first or second interviews. If their stories initially seem untrue, the fieldworker could check the validity of their reports with other users or other sources and report back. Interviewers carefully probed about questionable incidents. In most cases, however, the initially deceptive respondent either departed voluntarily or began to give the kinds of information needed by the researchers with little evidence of exaggerating or understating.

Repeated interviews during the first week also provided time to build rapport and to gain knowledge about each subject. The interviewer and respondent came to know each other as individuals and developed a sense of trust, respect, and liking for one another. The respondent became convinced that this really was a serious research effort, that the interviewers and other staff were "right," that he would not be harmed by his involvement, and that he was being paid fairly for his time (and the same as other respondents). This rapport between the staff and the respondent grew rapidly during three to five interviews, and provided the basis for all subsequent data collection efforts. During this time, the respondent also learned about

the kinds of information being sought and paid somewhat more attention to the details of their income, expenditures, crime, and drug use for future interviews.

During the initial interviews, the respondent frequently indicated something about his typical behavior patterns and locales of activity. Such clues helped the field worker locate subjects at a later time (one week, several months, or even a year later). If the respondent did not reappear for a scheduled interview, the field worker would visit the respondent's last known hang out, block of residence, or known associates. He initiated conversations with persons in the neighborhood to locate individual subjects, if they were still in the neighborhood (most were) or to learn their whereabouts (dead, out-of-town, etc.) if not.

The trust established during the initial interviewing period frequently continued for long periods. Former respondents frequently dropped by the storefront just to say hello and to rap with staff about their activity (this was true even a year after interviewing ended)--and to inquire whether we wanted them back on any new project in the near future. Thus, most of the persons interviewed for one week completed 33 consecutive days of interviews, and many were found at a later time for other interviews. Clearly, the initial effort at making contact, and establishing a firm research relationship paid major dividends (valid and reliable data, consistent future reporting, and ease of maintaining a long term relationship) with the street opiate users being studied in this project.

### D. Protecting Confidentiality

The Economic Behavior Project procedures for obtaining informed consent and protecting human rights was approved by the Institutional Review Board and carefully followed by staff. These procedures are briefly outlined below.

1. The Informed Consent Procedure.

Upon walking into the storefront, the field worker would generally introduce the potential respondent to a staff member/interviewer. The respondent was free to give no name or use a street name or other nickname. If the subject seemed uncomfortable at first, staff would briefly talk with him about other people they might know in common or about some other topic which seemed to be of interest.

Usually, the respondent would be invited to an interview cubicle in the back of the storefront. The interviewer would go through the informed consent procedure. This involved explaining that participation was voluntary, who the funding agency and sponsors of the research were, that data would be used only for research purposes, that the researchers were protected so information could not be used for legal purposes, and that staff would answer any other questions the respondent might have (this usually involved money). As the interviewer explained each element of the informed consent statement, he marked a check list of items covered. At the end of this explanation, the respondent was asked if he gave his informed and voluntary consent to participate in the research. All respondents agreed to participate. Afterwards the interviewer explained that each respondent was assigned a code number and code name. The interviewer then told the respondent his code name/number and asked him to remember it. In addition, the interviewer entered the code number and code name at the top and at the bottom of the informed consent check list. At the bottom of the informed consent check list was a tear off section on which the code number, code name, and the respondent's real name (his signature) was entered. At the end of the interview, this tear off sheet was detached from the informed consent check list and placed in a sealed envelope and forwarded to the research offices at the World Trade Center. The respondent's actual identity was kept in a locked drawer separate from the other research files.

Immediately after completing the informed consent procedures, the interviewer began either the life history or the first daily interview (see section E. below). As interviewing got underway in 1978, however, the research staff found that subjects were much less restless with the daily interview schedule than with the life history schedule as a first interview. The informed consent procedure was first given, followed directly by the first daily interview. The subject returned for daily interviews on subsequent days. After two or three interviews and as rapport between the field worker and respondent developed, the lengthy life history interview could be scheduled for a convenient time. The result was better quality data and sustained respondent involvement in the research.

2. Federal Certificate of Confidentiality

In order to ensure that the researchers were protected from any attempts by police or courts to obtain data from this research project, the Principal Investigators (Johnson and Preble) applied for and received a Federal Certificate of Confidentiality. This insured that all employees of the project and all project documents were protected from subpoena in civil or criminal court actions. The certificate also stated that researchers assumed a responsibility not to divulge confidential material. The protections accorded to staff members and project documents were explained to all subjects during their initial visit to the storefront. A copy of this certificate was on hand at the storefront to show respondents that such legal protection had actually been obtained.



### 3. Maintaining Confidentiality

Prospective subjects were assured that all information would be held strictly confidential. Most subjects were inclined to believe us because they knew and trusted the fieldworkers who had recruited them for the study. Moreover, the longer that the project was situated in the neighborhood, the more evident it became that nobody was getting arrested or into any other trouble because they had talked to us. Word of mouth on the street then gave credence to our assertions of confidentiality.

Staff members were trained not to discuss specific incidents reported by subjects with anyone, including other subjects. Respondents frequently gave accounts that not only could lead to their arrest but could lead to their getting assaulted or killed on the streets. Such accounts concerned "rip-offs" in drug transactions, burglaries of drug dealers' apartments, muggings of neighborhood residents, etc.

Each respondent was assigned a code name and code number by which he or she was known to project staff. Staff members were trained to think of subjects in terms of their code names, lest in discussing findings they accidentally let slip enough information to connect a specific individual to a specific event. The process of selecting code names became increasingly difficult as the project exhausted the more common names. Field staff began to assign code names from the worlds of art (e.g., Modigliani), ancient history (e.g., Nostradamus), sports (e.g., Norton), and movies (e.g., Nocturna). Occasionally field staff manifested a perverse sense of humor, as when three consecutive subjects were dubbed Ubie, Dubie and Umie.

Confidentiality procedures created some problems for follow-up research. During the main data collection years (1980-1982 -- see section F below), respondents were initially interviewed for five consecutive days, then for

four consecutive weeks, then "cut loose" for three or more months, then interviewed for another four consecutive weeks, "cut loose" for another three or more months, again interviewed for four consecutive weeks, and so on. Most subjects were back long before their three month hiatus expired. In fact, many subjects maintained a steady contact with the storefront staff regardless of whether they were being currently interviewed.

However, some subjects were lost to contact after completing a phase of the research cycle. Much of the time field staff knew what had happened to these persons: some had been hospitalized or were in residential treatment programs; others were in prison/jail, had been killed, or left the area. Some subjects just disappeared and nobody on the street knew where they had gone or what had happened to them. In several cases (especially at the beginning of the study), however, our confidentiality procedures were so effective that field staff were no longer sure just whom they should be locating. After seeing many respondents, and thinking of them by fictitious (code) names, field workers forgot the real identities of a few subjects.

Staff members also consciously avoided any contact with law enforcement personnel in the study area for several reasons. We did not wish to give respondents any basis for believing that we might be collaborating with the police. Police officers are skilled at extracting information and there was fear that staff might unwittingly divulge something that could compromise a subject. Finally, staff members who had worked with law enforcement agencies on previous occasions believed that if we were to ask the police for any help (e.g., to locate a subject) that at some time in the future that favor might have to be reciprocated, an eventuality that we wished to avoid.

One contact that staff had with police occurred when several staff members and respondents were standing outside the storefront. A police car drove

slowly up the street and stopped in front of the storefront. One of the officers yelled out a question, "What's going on here?" One of the researchers yelled back, "Research." The officer said "Oh," and drove on. Several subjects snickered about how the police seemed afraid to get out of their vehicle. The researchers, by comparison, mingled well on the streets and enjoyed a very different sort of reputation among neighborhood residents.

Another issue concerned prior knowledge of a crime event. Researchers were committed to protecting the confidentiality of disclosures about past events. But a very different ethical question (discussed with the Institutional Review Board) would be presented if researchers gained knowledge about a crime not yet perpetrated, especially if that crime had potential for serious violence. [Staff were directed to ask only about completed crimes which had occurred in the past week or past day; they were instructed not to ask about future crimes.] Fortunately, this issue presented itself on only one occasion. The manner in which it happened illustrated the trust held by subjects toward field staff--as well as the respondent's determination to carry out such plans.

A respondent had completed his daily interview for the day. A few hours later he burst into the storefront in a state of hyperexcitement and, not even waiting to be acknowledged, yelled that he and some friends were on their way to commit an armed robbery, that they might be killed, that he wasn't sure if he would appear for his interview tomorrow because he might be dead or in jail. He wanted us to know so we wouldn't think he was irresponsible if he didn't show up tomorrow. With that, he ran out the door leaving everyone sitting there in a stunned silence. Field staff decided they had too little information to do anything even if they wanted to. Moreover, they decided they

probably should not do anything given the project's basic orientation toward protection of subjects. The subject returned the next day; the robbery attempt never materialized to the great relief of the researchers.

Thus, the Economic Behavior Project developed and followed procedures to protect the confidentiality of all respondents, even from each other. Following these procedures and acting consistently increased trust and rapport with subjects. To the knowledge of our staff, there has been no violation of any subject's identity nor did any harm come to them as a result of their participation in this project -- even though they reported many different crimes, some quite serious.

This trust made it possible to ask very detailed questions about the respondent's criminal and drug using activities and many other aspects of their economic lives, a topic to which we now turn.

#### E. Developing Instrumentation and Coding

One of the greatest challenges which this research encountered was developing instruments (interview schedules and coding categories) by which the complexity of respondent behavior could be captured and measured in a systematic quantitative fashion. Despite some of the obstacles and problems outlined below, this research did develop instrumentation which can accurately assess much of the complexity of respondent lifestyles.

##### 1. Initial Decisions

In any research about complex behaviors, the investigators must make crucial decisions about what to include and what not to include in data collection instruments. At the beginning of the research two fundamental decisions were made.

First, since this was a study about the economic behavior of street opiate users, we decided that data collection instruments would include only the kinds of crimes where an economic value (i.e., money, drugs, or goods) could be obtained or estimated. All other crimes which could not provide an economic benefit to the respondent were excluded. In short, respondents were not asked questions about assault (aggravated and simple), rape, homicide, arson, weapons possession, vandalism, disorderly conduct, property damage, littering, etc.

Given recent developments in the drug/crime literature showing that heroin users have among the highest rates of violence and assault (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982; Johnson, et al., 1983), the omission of assault questions was particularly unfortunate since it would have allowed subjects to be classified on this important dimension of serious criminal behavior. In addition, these subjects can frequently be observed engaging in public nuisance crimes (defacing property, dropping wine bottles and soda containers on the sidewalk, throwing bottles into the street, conversing loudly at late hours of the night, etc.). If such minor offenses are considered as crimes, then the crime rates reported in earlier chapters should be considered very conservative.

Second, the investigators had originally hoped to interview respondents about where crimes occurred, types of goods involved, estimated retail or cash value, etc. As drafts of the daily interview instrument were developed, however, it became apparent that an instrument obtaining such details about all criminal or drug use episodes would be hopelessly long and complicated.\* Rather, a decision was made that the respondent would be asked to sum across all crime and drug-related episodes of a given kind for a single day, and report the total dollar income. This meant that the smallest

\* - This was clearly a correct decision; after completing data collection on the Economic Behavior Project, Bruce Johnson and Eric Wish have continued research at the storefront into the details about one crime event and specific details about drug and alcohol consumption shortly before and after such an event. This interview takes 1-3 hours to complete.

unit of analysis was the person-day (see below section F). This decision meant that details about crime events would not be systematically obtained for each event. Rather, to the extent possible, the interviewer would write a brief scenario of the crime on the back side (the 'flip side') of the interview form. These decisions, while limiting the research in some ways, helped maintain the emphasis upon the economic aspects of our subjects' lives.

During the course of five years of research, two major data collection instruments have been developed. The experience with the daily data collection instrument during the pilot years (1978-9) led to the development of a weekly interview schedule. To provide information about each respondent's background prior to participation in this project, Life History Instruments (both long and short form) were developed. The following sections describes each of these instruments and what project staff learned during the development of each.

## 2. Daily Interview Instrument (1978-79)

Interviews with respondents were focused upon their economic behavior during a particular 24 hour period, called the person-day. From the beginning, the person-day was a key unit of analysis. The central question was how to best obtain detailed quantitative data about the crimes, drug use/purchase/sale, income, and expenditures during each reporting day. Interviews about economic activities on specific days were planned as the core of the quantitative data collection effort; they provide the data upon which this report is based.

During this project, the field workers arrived at the field office between 9 and 9:30 in the morning. The peak period for subjects to be interviewed was between 10:00 A.M. and 12:30 P.M. During 1978-79, subjects reported to the field office for 30 or more consecutive days after giving their informed consent. Respondents were interviewed Monday through Friday.

On Monday, they were interviewed about their activities on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday for which they were paid \$10. On Tuesday through Friday the respondents reported on their behavior for the preceding day and were paid \$5 for the daily interview. That is, they were paid \$30 for a week of information.

The first draft of the daily interview form in early 1978 had room on the back side of each page for the interviewer to write comments or record respondent's accounts of criminal activity or drug use episodes. These written accounts on the "flip side" became critical to understanding complex events and for coding the dollar amounts involved. In fact, most respondents provided a description of crime events and drug use patterns to the interviewer. Based upon these descriptions, the interviewer summed and coded such data for each person-day. These written accounts raised many problems for coding as well (see section E. 4 below).

The earliest version of the daily interview form quickly encountered a major conceptual problem. This form included one line which asked for information about the number and dollar returns from "drug sales/dealing" among all other kinds of nondrug crimes. Our early respondents were confused because they did not directly sell drugs to customers for cash (which they defined as "dealing"). But they reported being active in distributing drugs and obtained drugs (mainly heroin and cocaine) for such efforts. In short, we uncovered several roles in the drug distribution system which have not been well-described previously nor well-documented in terms of numbers of persons involved, frequency, or economic returns.

Such respondents engaged in low level drug transactions (steering, touting, copping, juggling -- all defined in Chapter VII) that may be viewed as part of a quasi-barter economy (Goldstein, 1981). For such services, the drug seller or buyer pays the respondent in cash or drugs or both. Such "drug" payments may be shared by the respondent with other drug users.

In addition, there was no standard economic value for all drug transactions, so some dollar value must be assigned to drugs received. The complexity of drug transactions constantly challenged the best data recording and coding schemes.

A similar problem emerged when we tried to find how much respondents spent for food and shelter. Many subjects report no or very minimal expenditures for food and a place to live. But they did not look famished or exhausted. They described how they routinely slept at the apartment of a girlfriend, spouse, mother, or other friend who usually provided them with a meal for the day. Yet they paid little or nothing to such persons for their shelter and food. In addition, these subjects reported daily interactions involving the exchange of services or favors for which no cash or drugs were received; but a clear expectation existed that a similar favor would be returned in the future. Thus, assigning economic values to goods or services was difficult where bargaining or noncash exchanges occurred. Cash payments for drugs were easier to monitor.

After these problems emerged, the daily interview instrument was revised and used for collecting about 30 consecutive person days of data from 51 subjects (1530 days total). Several preliminary papers were generated from these data. (Johnson, 1979, 1981ab; Johnson and Schmiedler, 1981; Goldstein and Duchaine, 1979; Goldstein, 1979, 1981, 1982ab; Preble, 1979, 1980ab).

Experience with the daily interview showed that many subjects who were not very active in criminality and/or drug use completed the daily interview rapidly (5-10 minutes). Moreover, the quality of data provided for three different days (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday) during an interview on Monday morning was about as good as the data collected day-by-day. Thus, during the last half of 1979, staff developed a weekly interview form which became the major data collection instrument for the main study (1980-1982) and is described below.

### 3. The Weekly Interview Schedule

In order to reduce the costs associated with each daily interview, predominately respondent payments (\$30/week) and field worker time (about \$8-10/hour), as well as pressure by respondents to conduct many interviews rapidly, the Project Director (Goldstein) developed a weekly interview schedule that collected almost all the information given on the daily interview but obtained seven person-days of data in one interview. This weekly interview took from 20 to 40 minutes to complete, depending upon how active the respondent was and his ability to recall his economic behavior during the past seven days.

The respondents could usually provide economic data about each day so that their income and expenditures balanced fairly accurately. Since these respondents lived very much in the present, usually dealt in cash or drugs (almost never checks or other negotiable instruments), and kept no records to which they could refer, they might forget miscellaneous expenditures that involve relatively small sums of money (e.g., loans from friend; family; expenditures for alcohol, cigarettes, candy, soda, newspaper, etc.). Respondents also sometimes found it difficult to recall the economic value of drugs (especially marijuana and alcohol) which was shared with friends, as well as other in-kind income or expenditures.

For some high income and high spending respondents, the amount of cash flowing through their hands comes and goes so quickly that large sums may go unreported or could not be recalled -- even though they make a good faith effort to be accurate. Thus, while respondent memories do not provide a perfect balance of income and expenditures on each day, the economic data presented in this report are sufficiently accurate for a sociological analysis of crime and drug use. The recall problems involved in moving from daily to weekly interviews, were relatively small when compared with most previous studies that have asked respondents to recall behaviors spanning months, years, and even decades.

The weekly interviews were a cost effective means of collecting valuable data and obtaining a good picture of the respondent's activity for the week. The interviewer, guiding the respondent to balance income and expenditures, caused the respondent to recall other events occurring in the same time period. He might initially recall committing three shoplifting episodes during the week, but could not recall which episode occurred on which day. Later questions about what drugs or other expenditures occurred on a specific day aided him in recalling which shoplifting episode occurred on a given day. Nevertheless, if the respondent did not recall on which day a specific activity occurred, the interviewer assigned that event and the dollar amount to a particular day after probing the subject to make a best estimate. Thus, a further source of inaccuracy in balancing income and expenditures was that the income or expenditures may have occurred at some time other than the date specified in the interview form, even though the event occurred at some time during the week.

### 4. The Life History Interview

Most respondents were now in their thirties and had over a decade of experience as street opiate users behind them. Although the main focus of the Economic Behavior Project was upon their current patterns of behavior, their backgrounds might also have an important influence upon their current behavior. The project staff developed a relatively lengthy open ended life history interview (LHI) schedule which obtained information about demographic characteristics (sex, ethnicity, age, marital status, education, etc.), self reported involvement in a variety of crimes and drug use (including age of initiation), and prior treatment and arrest/incarceration histories. An additional set of questions asked for estimates of prior year's income and expenditures.

At the beginning of the project, this instrument was the first interview administered. Some respondents found it too much like a standard welfare or treatment program admission interview. After a few trials, staff found that respondents were much happier beginning with the daily interviews. Nevertheless, at some point during the first 33 days of reporting, the interviewer scheduled the respondent for the life history interview (generally in the afternoon when few respondents were in the storefront). Life History Interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed. Each LHI session lasted an hour or more; most subjects required two or three sessions to complete the interview.

Certain problems were encountered in scheduling and doing life history interviews; these problems led to a substantial loss of data. The major problem was the one hour or more length of each LHI session as compared to the 20-40 minute duration of the typical daily or weekly interview. Despite efforts to schedule them differently, subjects tended to all arrive at the storefront during the same time period, between 10:30 A.M. and 12:30 P.M.

This was because most subjects would awaken, come to the storefront for the interview, collect the interview fee, and then go about their daily business. One or two interviewers would typically be present in the storefront at any given time. During the peak period, five or six subjects were awaiting interviews and some might have been accompanied by friends. Subjects were disgruntled about having to wait. Their annoyance would be increased if they had impatient friends waiting with them.

It was impossible for interviewers to do LHI's during the peak hours. The large number of subjects awaiting daily and weekly interviews, and the attendant noise in the storefront, precluded lengthy taped sessions. Interviewers thus scheduled LHI's for the afternoon, generally commencing about 2:00 P.M. Subjects were given specific appointments but these were seldom kept.

Some subjects became too involved in an activity (e.g., drug use, crime, hanging out) to return to the field office. Others claimed to have forgotten. Others were arrested, injured, or ill. Others complained about having to undergo an hour long interview. As the number of missed LHI appointments escalated, and new appointments were made, these appointments were being scheduled further and further into the future until interviewers were scheduling LHI sessions two or three weeks away. The inevitable outcome was that more subjects forgot their appointment.

Adding to the backlog of Life History Interviews were occasional problems with the tape recorders. On two occasions, tape recorders were stolen and it took some time to replace them. On other occasions the tape recorders developed mechanical problems. On still other occasions, the supply of blank cassettes was exhausted and there was no money to replace them.

For all of these reasons, a substantial number of Life History Interviews had not been done as the data collection entered 1982. Senior staff decided to develop a new short form LHI that could be administered quickly and without the use of a tape recorder. Fieldworkers were directed to locate subjects who still owed Life History Interviews and to inform them that the interviews were now much shorter. LHI short forms were administered to many subjects. However, some could not be located. Fortunately, interviewers had begun to obtain sex, ethnicity, and year of birth at the first interview, so these characteristics were available for all subjects. Many subjects did not complete a LHI, however, either the long or short form. This accounts for a substantial number of cases (25 - 40 subjects) in which data on other demographics, prior criminal and drug use histories, and other variables was unavailable.

5. Coding and Classifying Responses

Even with clear instrumentation, however, the complexity of respondent behavior frequently made it difficult to code what crime occurred and what dollar amounts were obtained. In many events, subjects obtained drugs rather than cash. While interviewers frequently wrote down what the subject said, important additional information was often left out. This section gives just one example (many others could be presented) showing some of the difficulties faced by the ethnographic and coding staff in fitting cross validated respondent reports into appropriate codes for one subject. The following unedited information was written by the interviewer on the back side of an interview schedule:

Two Jersey faces-Paul X told them he knew where to get some good Qs (\$50 bags of heroin). They gave Paul X., G.S. and Frank A. \$250.00 and they went into the building over roof and beat them. After they bought 5 Qs all three holded up Friday, Saturday, Sunday in a girlfriend's house with two other girls. They shot all the drugs in the three days and they gave the girls some drugs (not much-maybe \$15-20 a day for all three of the girls). The girls bought them food, and cigarettes and wine. Paul X, G.S. and Frank A. didn't know how much drugs they shot on the weekend each day, but outside of the \$50-60 worth they gave to the girls, they shot all the rest. The girls were young (16-18 yrs.) and one girl never shot drugs before. The other two shot once or twice before.

In this account two respondents (Paul X. and Frank A.) and a third person (G.S.) conned two Jersey boys out of \$250. With this money, they were able to buy 5 quarters. They shared some of this heroin with three girls who, in turn, supplied them with food, wine, cigarettes and a place to stay for three days. The value of the crime (con game) was split between the three perpetrators (\$83 each); each was estimated to consume about \$67 worth of heroin (after deducting \$50 given to the girls). The amount and value of the food, wine, cigarettes, and rooms received from the girls cannot really be quantified. It was impossible to know if both subjects consumed precisely the same amount of heroin.

The important point is that research staff were able to classify many different forms of illegal behavior, but some may be misclassified while others may have a slightly inaccurate amount. Such problems were endemic when respondent lifestyles were so complex.

F. The East Harlem and Central Harlem Study Groups

The locale of this research was in the East and Central Harlem areas of Manhattan. There were three major reasons for selecting these communities as the location for the research. First, these two communities have among the highest levels of opiate use in the country (see below); many heroin users reside there or come to these neighborhoods to obtain drugs. Second, many of these opiate users spend most of their time on the streets, especially on several blocks (called "copping communities" by Hughes, 1977). Third, Edward Preble had many years of experience with street opiate users in East Harlem and had been able to recruit them for previous research activities. Thus, gaining access to and the trust of heroin users in these communities was easily accomplished in a short time (a process that normally takes half a year or more).

1. East Harlem

East Harlem, referred to as "Spanish Harlem" or "El Barrio," is the area from Fifth Avenue to the East River north of 96th Street. Demographically, the population is about 44% black (1977 data); the remainder is mainly of Hispanic origin, although a few whites also live in the area. East Harlem is generally high on indicators of social disorganization.

While this community has many problems, it also had important strengths which community members felt should not be neglected. Third Avenue and 116th Streets had many economically viable small businesses (and few empty storefronts). A Puerto Rican Superintendent of Schools (now the Chancellor of the NYC Board of Education) massively upgraded the quality of education in East Harlem in the 1970s. These schools currently import about 400 white students who voluntarily send their children to educational programs at schools in "El Barrio." About a quarter of the blocks contain well-managed housing projects, and two major middle income projects have been occupied since 1975.

Of most importance to this study, however, was that East Harlem had perhaps the largest (perhaps exceeded only by Central Harlem) number of street opiate users in the country. (Since then another largely Hispanic area, the Lower East Side, has surpassed East Harlem in terms of active street dealing. One of the better indicators of the large numbers of opiate users in the East Harlem community comes from the methadone Central Registry. Graph II. 1 showed the number of currently active methadone clients by the ZIP code of their last known residence. Southern East Harlem (ZIP 10029) had more currently active MMTP clients than any of the nearby ZIP code zones (10025, 10026, 10027, 10035) and these have many more MMTP clients than other ZIP codes. Almost 1,600 clients (or almost 5.7% of all MMTP clients in New York City) resided within the two East Harlem ZIP codes (10029, 10035).

Furthermore, at the end of 1979 the methadone registry suggested that one additional person had been enrolled between 1-1-74 and 9-30-79 for every person currently enrolled and the former enrollee's last known address was in one of these ZIP codes. In addition, there may be street opiate users who have never been in methadone treatment -- probably as many as are currently in treatment. Thus, the total active street opiate user population may number about 5,000 in East Harlem.

Street opiate users in East Harlem generally concentrate their activity on a few blocks (see section I below). But few of these blocks have attracted major media attention as have some blocks of Central Harlem (see below). In blocks where street opiate users hang out, their presence tends to be interwoven into the regular fabric of street life and neighborhood functioning. Opiate dealers do not aggressively approach passers-by in an attempt to solicit business. They are generally more circumspect. Dealers, touts, and cop men may approach persons whom they believe may be buyers, but many transactions are conducted in building or apartments. Our staff discovered that street opiate users frequently do not know about other street opiate users who reside on their block. Most opiate users generally go to nearby blocks to engage in illegal activities.

## 2. Central Harlem

Central Harlem includes the area from 5th Avenue to Morningside Avenue and St. Nicholas (on the West) from 110th to 135th Street. Over 95% of the population is black. Central Harlem's reputation throughout the country is that of the heroin capital of the U.S.A., if not the world. Almost all problems of ghetto life affect Harlem, but widespread heroin distribution and use have been common in this community since World War II. Newspaper accounts have frequently mentioned major avenues and several cross streets as blocks where street dealing is blatant.

Drug dealers from all over the city and suburban areas are reputed to go to these blocks to buy heroin for personal use and/or large quantities for resale in their home community. Dealers on such blocks in Harlem are much more aggressive and pursue potential heroin sales (as well as cocaine and other drugs) with many passersby. So many dealers sell heroin that they now use "brand names" (like Tragic Magic, Black Death, Dynamite, Red Stripe) to build up and maintain repeat business (Goldstein, et al., 1982c).

Despite Harlem's notoriety as a drug distribution center, extensive media coverage, and continuous undercover work by both the Drug Enforcement Administration and the New York City police, and frequent sweeps of the area, heroin and cocaine dealing have remained relatively constant during the five years of research. While most attention focuses upon the street scene, relatively little information has been available about the typical economic behavior of street opiate users in Harlem.

In 1979, our staff believed that important differences might exist between East Harlem and Central Harlem street opiate users in terms of their cash income and/or drug income, the types of crimes typically committed, and the kinds of drug used. The data in Chapter III show that such differences between East Harlem and Central were not significant (other than ethnicity and age). Other data not presented show little or no variation in the kinds of crime, the frequency of offending, the dollar returns, or other measures



### 3. Cross Sectional Study

The main emphasis in this research was upon street opiate users in East Harlem who were studied both for one cycle (see below) and also longitudinally. Nevertheless, subjects were recruited by field workers from many different blocks in these two study communities.

Similar to the research concept of a cross sectional survey, this study conducted nine different interviews with respondents covering 33 consecutive days (referred to as the first cycle). This provided just over one month of data from each respondent. After giving his informed consent, each respondent reported to the storefront for five consecutive days and was interviewed about his economic behavior during the previous day. The information was recorded as a "daily" interview on the weekly interview schedule described above. On the fifth day, he was directed to come to the storefront for four subsequent interviews which were seven days apart. The interviewer then conducted a "weekly" interview about his activities during each of the 7 days following the preceding interview. During this 33 day period, the life history interview was scheduled and conducted (see comments in section E. 4). The first cycle with East Harlem subjects was conducted mainly in 1980-81, while the Central Harlem interviews were conducted mainly in 1981-82.

Having 33 separate days of data was especially important for calculating the rates of criminal offending for each subject. That is, the number of different offenses committed could be divided by the number of days during which he could possibly have committed them. With 33 days of data, a relatively stable offense rate could be computed and annualized.

This first cycle was completed with 132 respondents who were recruited in East Harlem, and with 69 respondents recruited from Central Harlem. The data covering 33 days from these 201 subjects constitutes the minimum amount of information available for calculating participation in various crimes and drug use and the rates of offending reported in previous chapters.

### 4. The Longitudinal Study

Among the East Harlem subjects, efforts were made to conduct additional cycles of data collection in order to approximate a longitudinal design. Among the subjects recruited in 1980, respondents were asked to return every three months for additional cycles of four interviews covering 28 consecutive days. Quarterly cycles were decided upon in order to analyze whether there was seasonal variation in subjects' criminal activity or drug-using behavior.

During 1981, interviewing was very intensive at the storefront. So many subjects were reporting in the mornings (and not returning in the afternoons for which they were rescheduled) that it was difficult to followup on each subject. Moreover, turnover occurred among the field staff with responsibility for recruiting and following subjects. New field staff did not know old subjects so found it hard to locate them. Despite the many reasons why subjects did not return, 87 East Harlem subjects (or 66%) returned and completed the second cycle; 53 completed three cycles; and 32 completed four or more cycles. Thus, the number of person-days of data for a given subject ranged from 33 days to 186 days.

The analysis of this longitudinal data will address whether and how respondent's lifestyles changed over time. A variety of other analyses are planned in future papers. The analyses in this report treat each respondent's person-days equally, and does not address the effects of time across weeks or cycles.

#### G. Measuring Time

Another major objective of the first two years of this study was to determine the most effective way for studying individual respondent behavior across time. The problem was to resolve the classic dilemma of trying to produce a quality research study at less than a prohibitive cost.

All respondents exhibited considerable variation in income and expenditures, either cash or in-kind, as well as in the amount of drugs consumed on a day-by-day basis. Random sampling of individual days would be inadequate to establish the range and pattern of variation peculiar to an individual subject. When subjects were interviewed about their behavior across several consecutive days, however, these ranges and patterns could be more readily established. Obtaining data about the past seven days in a weekly interview covered a time period that was recent enough so that most events could be accurately recalled by the subject and recorded by the interviewer. Moreover, if respondents have a large income one day which they expended during the next several days, their cash flow could be traced over several days.

Further, if the researchers have been out of contact with a respondent for a period of time, it would be difficult to locate the respondent on any particular day. He might have shifted his activities to a nearby area and not be in the immediate vicinity any longer. He might be engaged in different activities, or be in jail or the hospital.

Yet within two or three days the whereabouts of the subject could generally be ascertained by the field worker via the street grapevine. If the field worker told some of the local street hustlers (especially jugglers and touts) that we wanted to see an individual subject, the probability was high that the subject appeared at the field office during the week. If individual days, rather than a block of several consecutive days, were the sampling units, the probability was high that many subjects could not be located and interviewed during the sampled days. Thus, for the main longitudinal study (1980-1982), individual subjects were to be interviewed for four consecutive weeks (called "cycles"). Interviewing a respondent four times during a selected month provided quality information about 28 different days for \$40 in respondent payments and only about 4 hours of interviews.

Thus, while the systematic sampling of time might be feasible, the week or month was a much more cost effective means of obtaining the necessary information. Several cycles of monthly interviews were used in the longitudinal aspect of the research.

#### H. Techniques for Obtaining Valid and Reliable Economic Behavior Data

A frequently asked question is: how can you trust what they (respondents) are telling you? This question addresses the longstanding problem of the validity and reliability of self-report data. A definitive answer to such problems will not be provided here. Other researchers have carefully assessed the validity and reliability of self reported criminality and drug use and concluded that self-reports were considerably better than any other source of information. (see Ball, 1967; Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982; Wish, et al., 1983; Hindelang, et al., 1982).

This project relies upon two major kinds of evidence to suggest that the data obtained were generally valid and reliable. First, by interviewing individuals on several different occasions during an extended time period, they re-reported similar types of crimes and drug consumption, although their accounts exhibited some variation about the details of the event and the dollar returns. Second, many respondents were observed by field staff while engaging in the very behaviors they reported in the interview. These points have been delineated briefly below.

Respondents were generally eager and active participants in the research. They answered the questions and frequently provided detailed elaborations. Several internal checks were built into the daily and weekly interviews instruments. For example, detailed data about each category of income and expenditures were first obtained and these were summed by the interviewer. Later in the interview, the respondent was asked to estimate how much income he had that day from crime, and the dollar amount of drugs consumed. By comparing the sum of the individual items and the respondent's overall

Such internal consistency checks quickly identified unreliable or exaggerated claims. Any discrepancies were politely noted, and the respondent was asked to correct or otherwise resolve the discrepancy. In most cases discrepancies between summated totals and respondent-estimated totals were small, in the magnitude of less than 5%. Such discrepancies were usually resolved when the subject thought carefully about what he did and how he expended his money.

The most suggestive evidence that reliable and valid data were obtained, however, was that respondents tended to report relatively consistent patterns of behavior during different days. That is, a person who reported shoplifting on one day would typically report it on subsequent days. While consistent patterns of behavior emerge, the precise locale and nature of their criminal activity and dollar amounts exhibited considerable variation. Thus, while the investigators have been unable to check the truthfulness of each specific crime and the precise dollar amounts actually obtained, the types of crimes committed and the general magnitude of returns showed considerable similarities.

This study also had other ways of assessing the truthfulness of respondent reports. Ex-addict field workers were familiar with many respondents' behavior from long periods of association. Such workers could generally tell whether reported crime or drug use was consistent with their knowledge. Respondents themselves provided information about other respondents. Especially when two respondents had committed crimes together, their separate reports of the dollar amounts and facts were usually very similar (Paul X and Frank A. reported the same facts given above; also see Preble (1980b) for another example.

Interestingly, the accounts given by crime partners who were friends or acquaintances tended to be more consistent than those given by crime partners who were married to each other. Husbands and wives frequently gave contradictory accounts of who had masterminded or effectuated a "big score." Each claimed credit for the criminal event. Each claimed that they had taken care of their spouse by sharing their drugs. Each would refer to the other as lazy or incompetent.

Research staff interviewed over 250 respondents (including over 50 in the pilot phases) for a minimum of thirty days during the course of this project. These respondents got to know and trust the field workers. For the respondent, the interview became not only a way to raise money, but a way of teaching the researcher about his life as well as obtaining some understanding and acceptance. Increased rapport led to more honesty and willingness to share information. This acceptance permitted the researchers to observe them in their everyday life.

Field workers and professional staff have observed respondents engaging in behaviors that supported claims of criminal activity, such as the following. One respondent who consistently reported stealing parts from cars was observed walking down the street with a car bumper over his shoulder. Another subject claimed to have committed a burglary the previous day in which he obtained \$600 and bought \$200 worth of drugs; he shows the field worker \$300. Another subject who claimed to have robbed a gun-runner was observed carrying four 32 calibre pistols in a shopping bag. A respondent who reported serving as a tout on the streets was observed day after day talking to anybody who looks like an addict while trying to drum up business for a local dealer; he was observed making sales. Four persons who sell drugs from an apartment were observed in their apartment for several days; they made 15-30 transactions per day in front of research staff. These observations could be extended many times.

Such observations led field staff to feel comfortable that the data obtained and used in this report were sufficiently reliable and valid to provide new insights about the economic behavior of street opiate users. Of course, such evidence did not constitute statistically documented evidence of reliability and validity. In some ways, however, observational evidence may be a more convincing indicator of validity than formal statistical tests.

#### I. Difficulties in Conducting a Census of Street Opiate Users in East Harlem

One objective stated in the 1979 application to NIDA was to estimate with as much scientific rigor as possible the number of street opiate users in East Harlem. A stratified sampling procedure was designed, but proved difficult to implement. For reasons given below, this research was not able to develop an adequate sampling frame, nor select respondents from the a sampling frame at a known probability. Too many obstacles were encountered. This section, however, describes the effort which staff undertook in early 1980 to accomplish this objective. In the process, we also learned some important lessons about East Harlem and about the lack of interaction between street opiate users living on the same block.

Sampling strategies underwent a variety of modifications as the study progressed. During the pilot years, we relied mainly upon snowball selection techniques. Subjects were referred to the study by both field workers and other subjects and by those who dropped in and asked to be interviewed. This technique for selecting subjects was inadequate as the subjects were relatively inactive, older, heavy-drinking methadone clients.

The next strategy attempted was to plan for a census of opiate users on selected blocks in the study area. While data were available about the parameters of treatment populations and incarcerated populations, these might or might not be applicable to a general sample of street opiate users. There was no systematically collected data that provided a framework from which a representative street sample could be drawn.

#### 1. A Block Survey in East Harlem.

A block survey was undertaken in early 1980. This survey was designed to provide for a subsequent stratified sample of blocks having high and low levels of street opiate user activity. This block survey resulted in some interesting findings wholly independent of the sampling issues.

A block was defined as two opposite sides of a street facing one another. This appeared more reasonable than other possible definitions, e.g., a four-sided figure. First, and most important, it corresponded to the everyday language of subjects and researchers (e.g., "First Avenue between 105th and 106th Street" has an immediate experiential referent to all concerned). Secondly, there are various problems associated with defining a "block" as a four-sided unit. For example, due to the expansion of housing projects, many four-sided land units in East Harlem extend for the normal one block on their east to west boundaries, but may extend for 3 blocks on their north to south boundaries (e.g., a "single block" would extend from 106th to 109th Street between Second and Third Avenues, from 112th to 115th Street between Third and Lexington Avenues, etc.). Also, there tends to be greater homogeneity of building types between opposite sides of streets than there is between North, South, East and West sides of a four sided unit.

A block survey was undertaken of the entire East Harlem Area, defined as extending from 96th Street to 145th Street and from 5th Avenue to the East River. The purpose of the block survey was twofold: (1) to identify specific locations where illicit drug business was being transacted; and (2) to record those blocks in which people resided and the predominate building types. The latter classification was intended to comprise the universe from which blocks would be sampled as part of major study. Each and every block in the study area was visited by the Project Director (Goldstein) and a field worker.

There were obvious socioeconomic differentials within the area. For example, Fifth Avenue facing Central Park (from 96th to 110th Street) was quite elegant, characterized by large well-kept apartment buildings, museums and hospitals. However, north of 110th Street, Fifth Avenue was similar to the rest of the study area. Scattered throughout the study area were several large, modern, hi-rise apartments (e.g., Taino Towers covered an entire block between 2nd and 3rd Avenues, from 122nd and 123rd Streets, and the District Council 1199 middle income housing, between First Avenue and the East River Drive, 100th to 104th Street). Pleasant Avenue (which runs from 114th to 120th Street east of First Avenue) was a diminishing Italian enclave in predominantly Black and Hispanic East Harlem.

Many housing projects have been constructed in the study area. These projects usually include parks, playgrounds and parking lots. Project buildings are often laid out in such a fashion (e.g., "catty-cornered" spanning several blocks) that classifying them as being on a specific block would be an exercise in futility.

Several streets have been zoned for storefronts and small shops; these were usually on the Avenues and on selected cross streets (96th, 110, 116, and 125). Most of these commercial streets were doing poorly; many stores were closed and "for rent." Stores frequently were very run down and not prosperous. Many such "businesses" were actually numbers joints, chiba shops (stores selling marijuana), or fronts for other illegal businesses. Only along Third Avenue and along 116th Street were most of the stores in business and appeared to be prosperous.

Certain streets have a unique character: 116th Street is a commercial thoroughfare with many outdoor stalls selling clothes, wigs, etc., reminiscent of 14th Street. Park Avenue, north of 97th street has elevated railroad tracks running through the middle of the street. Under these tracks from 111th to 116th Street is La Marqueta, an enclosed market with individual

vendors selling an assortment of items (e.g. food, herbal remedies, clothing). An active prostitution scene was observed under the Park Avenue railroad tracks between 123rd and 125th Street.

The block survey revealed the following information. A total of 500 blocks were visited. Of these about one-half (n=253) had some residences (other than housing projects) on them. About a third of the blocks had housing projects (117 on both sides, and 43 with both housing projects and other residences--generally on opposite sides of the street). About a sixth (n=87) of the blocks contained no residences at all. These blocks included totally commercial areas, empty lots, hospitals, schools, museums, abandoned buildings, etc.

About half the blocks were composed of tenements of "railroad" design (so called because one had to walk through two bedrooms to get from the kitchen to the living room). In general, the strongest visual impression of these blocks was the large number of abandoned properties or vacant lots. Few blocks were without at least one abandoned building. Many blocks were predominantly or completely abandoned. Some of these buildings were sealed with tin or concrete blocks. Others were simply open shells. These abandoned buildings were generally former residential buildings, but also included commercial properties, schools, etc. Many vacant lots were filled with rubble.

The basic thrust of our sampling effort at this point was sampling blocks according to the amount of street opiate users or activity. The Block Survey revealed 296 blocks that contained non-project residences. However, some of these blocks were eliminated prior to drawing a sample. There was little utility foreseen in including those blocks that were on a much higher SES

level than the rest of East Harlem (e.g., Fifth Avenue between 96th and 110th Street). It was unlikely that our street informants could identify any drug users living in these blocks or that such users would consent to become part of our systematic sample. A total of 30 such blocks were eliminated, leaving a universe of 266 blocks from which a block sample would be drawn.

Twenty-seven locations of drug activity were identified during the block survey. Table A.I reports the nature of this drug activity.

TABLE A. 1  
NATURE OF DRUG ACTIVITY IN EAST HARLEM (by blocks)

	<u>Number of Blocks</u>	<u>%</u>
Street Action	9	33
House Connections	4	15
Chiba (Marijuana) Shops	3	11
Dealing in Parks	3	11
Social Clubs	3	11
Street Action and House Connections on Same Block	2	7
House Connections and Social Clubs	1	4
House Connections and Dealing in Parks	1	4
Dealing in Bars	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	27	100%

The most obvious street drug activity was centered on Lexington Avenue between 123rd and 125th Street with extensions of this activity going up the side streets (mainly 124th Street). On one occasion, around midday, 24 people were observed on Lexington Avenue between 124th and 125th Street and an additional 31 people were observed on the Southwest corner of Lexington Avenue and 124th Street. All of these people appeared to be involved in drug distribution.

Drugs were sold in the streets in one-third of the blocks in which dealing activity was observed. However, no conclusions can be drawn as to the relative volume of drug sales (in terms of the actual quantities of drugs sold or the actual number of sales) on the streets as opposed to house connections, social clubs, etc. Likewise no conclusions can be drawn about the nature of drug purchasers and whether the street purchaser differs in any way from the house connection client. House connections usually sold heroin or cocaine while street action may involve only marijuana, pills and/or methadone. While some street drug scenes involved 20 or 30 people on a given block at a given time, other street scenes never seemed to involve more than 4 or 5 people at any time.

Eight drug programs (including 7 methadone maintenance programs) were observed. Efforts to conduct a census of street opiate users residing in housing projects was not attempted. Street informants and subjects gave contradictory reports as to the extent of drug use among housing project residents. Some said the projects were characterized by very low levels of drug use (as compared to the tenements) while others said there were few differences between them. Some informants said housing project residents were more secretive and circumspect about their activities.

2 . Attempting a Census of Opiate Users on Selected Blocks

The following procedures were proposed for drawing a systematic sample of East Harlem residents.

- (1) From the total of 266 blocks containing non-project residences, 20 blocks would be randomly selected; three blocks would be selected from among the 27 high activity blocks.
- (2) At least 2 key informants would be recruited from each selected block.
- (3) A census of drug users living on each selected block would be constructed in consultation with the key informants.
- (4) Depending upon the number of drug users that were identified by informants, either all or a sample of the drug users living on each block would be selected for inclusion in the sample.
- (5) These individuals would be approached and asked to participate in the study. A critical aspect of this phase of the research was the response rate. Prior to this effort we had worked mainly with "volunteer" subjects. This would be our first systematic effort at recruiting specific individuals into the sample from a known sampling frame.
- (6) Individuals who agree to participate in the study, if found to be opiate users, would be placed on a systematic reporting schedule (i.e., complete 33 days of reporting).

After the blocks were selected, staff chose three blocks for pilot study to determine whether the above plan was feasible. Two major efforts were undertaken to compile a list of suspected opiate users living on the key blocks. They proved unworkable for a variety of reasons. Initially, our indigenous field workers were asked to fill out census cards for all addicts or opiate users they knew on those blocks. While they tended to know a few addict groups or blocks well, they were relatively unfamiliar with others. To fill the gaps in their knowledge we moved to a "key informant" system. The plan was for field workers to approach an acquaintance on a block and ask the acquaintance to fill out a "census" card for every opiate user he knew on the block. Most individuals were reluctant to name other addicts.

More importantly, different key informants on the same block mentioned different names (there was little overlap) and disagreed over who on the block actually used drugs and what kinds of drugs they used. Many drug users had multiple residences (e.g., with friends, family, abandoned buildings), multiple hang-outs, and multiple street names, so that it was often difficult, if not impossible, to determine just how often the same individual was being counted in the census.

Some key informants requested a stack of blank census cards and said that while they would not name others as drug users, they would circulate the cards and turn in those voluntarily filled out. They, of course, expected to be compensated for their effort and an amount of two dollars per completed card was decided upon. As the cards began to be returned, and the money paid out, field staff raised questions as to the validity of the information contained on the cards. Few of the claimed volunteers could be located. Staff felt that the census cards were being fictitiously completed for the sole purpose of collecting the two dollars bounty. The practice was terminated.

Moreover, new subjects came to the storefront reporting that they had "heard" that we were compiling a list of addicts. The clear implication by the street grapevine was that this would be provided to police. Even though this was not our intent, the practical difficulties of conducting a census and identifying a sampling frame, combined with the growing false rumor on the streets led staff to abandon efforts to conduct a scientific sampling effort. Rather, the study would depend upon field workers to locate and recruit street opiate users from different blocks in East and Central Harlem, with efforts made to ensure a diversity of lifestyles.

In summary, this project encountered many methodological problems. Most of these problems were satisfactorily addressed, although quasi-scientific sampling was not possible. The following appendix describes more of the flavor of working with street opiate users.

APPENDIX B

"TAKING CARE OF RESEARCH BUSINESS"\*

Experiences with Conducting Research Among Street Opiate Users

This appendix focuses upon the process by which social scientists come in contact with research subjects while doing a field study. We will focus upon the informal and frequently expedient practices which researchers may need to develop in order to implement a research design and "bring in" the data from the field. Problems that we did not anticipate arose; solutions - not always satisfactory - were developed. Maintaining an ambiance in the storefront, supervising paraprofessional field workers, maintaining safety, following professional practices, and describing respondent lifestyles are discussed in the following sections.

A. Coping in the Ethnographic Field Station

As described in Appendix A, data collection for the Economic Behavior Project was undertaken in an ethnographic field station or storefront. During the course of the project, three different field offices were operated. The first was on 95th Street between First and Second Avenues. The second was on 105th Street between First and Second Avenues. The third and final field station is on an nearby Street (the location on 1XXth is concealed because further research is being conducted there at the current time).

\*The title is borrowed from a classic article by Preble and Casey (1969) "Taking Care of Business" which described the lifestyle and structure of the drug distribution system and focused upon the street heroin user and his world.

The 95th Street field station was abandoned early in the pilot years because of the quality of the storefront and the subjects it attracted. The 105th Street location was one of the more active "drug blocks" in East Harlem. An important "house connection" (i.e., a dealer selling out of an apartment) was located directly above our storefront. A number of street dealers, usually four or five at any given time, clustered on the corner of First Avenue and 105th Street. Another street dealer sat on the stoop of an abandoned apartment building diagonally across the street from our storefront where she was readily observable. Customers were constantly coming and going. Her standard procedure was to negotiate a transaction on the stoop and then take the customer through a rubble-strewn vacant lot to the back of the building where her "stash" was hidden. This young female dealer also spent a great deal of time on the stoop socializing with her female friends who often had their young children in tow.

Directly across the street from our storefront on 105th Street was an abandoned school that at one time must have been architecturally magnificent. It still retained an eerie charm, though its doors were now blocks of cement and its windows had all been broken by young marksmen hurling rocks and soda cans from the courtyard below. Fierce looking gargoyles remained poised above doorways, futilely protecting what was now simply an empty shell. The following story was constantly told to newcomers on the block.

The school had suffered the common fate of other abandoned buildings in East Harlem. It had been stripped of any copper pipes or other contents that had any resale value at all. However, there was a great deal of copper remaining on the roof. Since the roof came to a slanted inverted V-shape, the only way to reach this copper stripping was to lean out of a window and pull



off whatever was in reach. The roof had been obviously denuded of copper around all of the upper windows. The story concerned an addict who thought he could get some copper that his more prudent comrades had decided was out-of-reach. This addict stretched in vain for the piece of copper, fell out of the window, and landed in the courtyard below, killing himself instantly. This story seemed to embody the frustration, futility, and tragically petty fates of so many of our subjects.

Most of our activities during the pilot years were undertaken in the 105th Street field office. The storefront was a rather dismal place. Plaster fell regularly from the ceiling. The toilet would not flush and persons using it would throw a bucket of water into the commode after use. There was seldom any heat in winter and interviewers would sit bundled up all day long. Recording data was a problem because of the cold. If the interviewer sat without gloves for any length of time, his hands would be too numb to hold a pen or pencil. The alternative was wearing heavy gloves. However, such gloves made it difficult to manipulate a pencil and completed interview schedules often bordered on the illegible. Interviewers finally developed a system of taking their gloves off, recording interview data for about five minutes, rubbing hands vigorously and perhaps putting gloves back on for a minute or two while chatting with subjects, and then returning to the formal interview. Between interviews field staff would generally walk outside, if there was any sun, in order to warm up a bit.

These inconveniences were not the only reason that we chose to move to 1XXth Street when we began the final three years of the project. Rather, we had exhausted most of the potentialities of the 105th Street site. We had been on the block for about two years and knew it well. It no longer held any

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surprises for field staff. Even more important, however, was the deteriorating quality of respondents discussed in Appendix A.

For all of these reasons, senior staff decided to move the field station to 1XXth Street for the final three study years. This storefront, a former "bodega" (Spanish grocery store), was owned by a plumbing contractor who guaranteed heat in the winter. It had five times as much space, had two working toilets, and was well lit. In short, it was in physically much better condition, although it had much falling plaster and a storage area filled with debris left by former tenants and the owner. Because of the large number of interviews that would be conducted, staff built three interviewing cubicles which were furnished with a desk, two chairs, and a light overhead.

The move enabled us to familiarize ourselves with a new area of East Harlem and attract a new group of subjects from both East and Central Harlem. While a few of the methadone wine crowd from 105th Street discovered our new location, interviewers informed them that the study was now in a new phase and we could no longer talk with them. They soon left us alone when no more money was forthcoming.

Research staff sought to maintain a certain atmosphere in the storefront. The general mood was congenial. This reflected the personalities of field staff. Further, we wished to encourage subjects to adhere to their interviewing schedules; it was felt that subjects were more likely to return if the interview was a pleasant experience. Most subjects had negative prior experiences with bureaucracies (e.g., welfare, unemployment) and would become resentful if they perceived our attitudes or behavior as similar to those that they previously encountered from allegedly unresponsive authority figures.

Coffee was prepared in the storefront all day long. Field staff frequently purchased rolls or doughnuts that were available to anyone who wished them. Female subjects often brought their children with them to the storefront. At least one baby took her first steps there.

The behavior of children helped to sensitize research staff to the lives of subjects. For example, a husband and wife were both research subjects. They usually arrived for their interview together and occasionally brought their son, who was about eight years old. One day he was running about the storefront pretending that a pencil was a marijuana "joint." He would put it in his mouth and mimic the deep inhalations of a pot smoker. When somebody told him not to put the pencil in his mouth, he immediately began to pretend that it was a syringe and that he was giving himself injections into his arm.

The boy's actions helped to verify his parents' accounts of frequent heroin and marijuana use. His actions also provided researchers with an insight into the home life of the family (i.e., that the parents used drugs in the presence of the child) and into the realities of growing up in an urban slum as the offspring of addicted parents. The same little boy told us several times that "daddy hits mommy." This was confirmed one day when the mother arrived for her interview with a black eye and cursed her husband for giving it to her.

At times the children were an annoyance (e.g., being too loud, interrupting interviews). For the most part, they contributed to creating a atmosphere in which subjects felt comfortable. In this way they were conducive to the research effort.

One aspect of the storefront's congeniality was a mixed blessing. This was the presence of hangers-on. Some subjects, and even people whom we knew from the neighborhood but who were not enrolled as subjects in the study,

began to conceive of the storefront as their personal hang-out. They would arrive early, stay until closing, frequently drink beer or wine throughout the day and perhaps doze off in a chair. They would generally seek to borrow a few dollars each day and seldom refused the offer of a free lunch. The negative aspects of such hangers-on included a slow but steady drain on project financial resources for "field expenses" and the fact that they might occupy one or more of our few chairs, perhaps forcing regular subjects to stand while awaiting their interview.

Here again, however, the positive aspects of the phenomenon outweighed the negative ones. The hangers-on served many functions, often unwittingly, for the project. They provided a vital connection with the neighborhood. We were kept up-to-date on local gossip, which often concerned crime and drug issues of great interest to us. We were continually informed about homicides in the area. Their presence in our storefront, along with the exaddict field workers, legitimated our presence in their neighborhood. They would tell a new subject that we were not some sort of police undercover operation. Hangers-on frequently ran errands when it was inconvenient for us to leave the storefront (e.g., going to the supermarket to replenish the coffee supply). They sometimes assisted in recruiting new subjects or verifying the accounts given by current respondents. The security of our field staff was enhanced by having friendly local residents as a permanent fixture in the storefront. Finally, the hangers-on were utilized to pretest research instruments and occasionally as subjects in "special studies" (e.g., on the relationship between drugs and violence in East Harlem).

The major difficulty with the daily interview in the field office was congestion of respondents in the storefront or on the street in front of the storefront. Most subjects showed up in the morning shortly after they had

awakened. They wanted to get in and get out rapidly to go about their daily business. Three to eight daily respondents might be waiting at the same time to be interviewed. This pressured the field workers to conduct very rapid interviews and not to write out in long hand the kind of details desired to supplement the quantitative reports. The shift to the weekly interviews relieved some of this pressure. Congestion problems were more difficult during the winter than the summer because the respondents did not want to stand outside in the cold. This made it difficult to maintain privacy and do confidential interviews in a small storefront.

Doing interviews in an ethnographic field station was a unique experience. Most social scientists conducted direct interviews with drug users and criminals in institutional settings, such as prisons or drug treatment programs. They dealt with a controlled population that was relatively sober and nonthreatening. Guards or counselors would be present or nearby.

Interviewing in the storefront was a different reality. Subjects may be inebriated, "sick" from withdrawal, or "nodding out" from narcotics. They may act surly and make demands that could not be fulfilled (e.g., asking for a large sum of money or requesting admittance into the study when for one reason or another they were not qualified). In such cases our main protection was our wits and humor, general "right guys" image, the presence of friendly subjects and the surly person's own sense of right and wrong -- as well as his/her fear or reluctance to precipitate an unpleasant incident. On one occasion we were robbed, but being robbed once in five years in that neighborhood was probably better than statistical probabilities would suggest.

When actually conducting interviews, alcohol was the major problem. Inebriated subjects often rambled on and were unable to focus on the questions they were being asked. Further, inebriated subjects often could not remember what they had done just a few hours earlier. In a less important vein, a few inebriated subjects had annoying personal habits that irked interviewers. For example, Marcia C. consumed copious quantities of beer; during the course of a typical interview, she would emit thunderous belches in an interviewer's face. On various occasions other subjects who drank too much called interviewers names or engaged in excessive back-slapping.

Subjects who injected heroin shortly before coming to the storefront might "nod out" during an interview. They would have to be gently awakened several times before the interview could be completed. Respondents in this state had difficulty in maintaining concentration on the questions being asked. Many heroin users would awaken, come directly to storefront, do their interview and receive the ten dollar interview fee, then go out on the streets to go about their daily business of raising sufficient money to purchase drugs. This meant that on occasion we had to interview respondents who were experiencing withdrawal symptoms. Such subjects were edgy, nervous, impatient; they couldn't wait for the interview to be over. Interviewers had to be skillful to insure that such respondents did not omit important information just to speed up the interview process.

#### B. Supervising ex-addicts and ex-convicts as field workers.

During the course of research, the professional staff had to rely heavily upon former addicts/and convicts for locating and bringing in "good" respondents from the streets. During this research, about five persons functioned in this role, as well as some subjects. Locating them was fairly easy; many subjects volunteered for and claimed great expertise in finding suitable subjects.

The professional staff was aware of opportunities that field workers had for "ripping off" a project. Three factors were kept in mind. First, indigenous field workers were hired because of their knowledge of and connections into the subcultures of crime and drugs. They were employed to recruit addicts and criminals into the study, to explain deviant phenomena to the senior researchers, to serve as neighborhood guides, and to clarify the argot spoken by subjects. Indigenous field workers were usually ex-addicts and/or ex-convicts. They were accustomed to "hustling squares" and seizing whatever opportunities were presented to "get over" and make a few dollars.

The second factor concerned the social and economic insecurity of such indigenous paraprofessionals. Poor, relatively uneducated, ex-addicts were being offered employment and collegueship with more affluent and educated social scientists. They were being given the opportunity to work on an important research project. They wanted very much to demonstrate proficiency at the tasks that were assigned to them. They wanted to earn the respect of senior staff members and they wanted to keep their jobs; all of them worked hard to do so.

The third factor was that employment on the project enhanced the prestige and power of the paraprofessional amongst his peers. He was working with "the man" and "the man" had money. Prospective research subjects had to be recruited by the fieldworker in order to be eligible to participate in the study. We shall now examine how these three factors interacted to produce certain situations that were potentially detrimental to the research.

Social scientists have been trained to admit that they do not know some things, may be unable to do other things without skilled assistance, or that some activities could be impossible to do. Field workers were frequently unable to make such admissions. Aware that they were hired because of their extensive knowledge about and contacts with life in the streets, they were afraid that if they could not answer certain questions (e.g., how many "shooting galleries" were on a specific block) or accomplish certain tasks (e.g., recruit ten interviewees having specific characteristics) that they might lose their jobs.

Field workers on this project sometimes responded to our queries quickly and glibly. However, careful probing revealed that they did not know the answer to the question. They had no real intention to deceive us or to give misinformation. Rather, they were too scared or too insecure to admit that they did not know.

Early in the project, one field worker had major responsibility for the recruitment of new subjects. In an effort to construct a sampling frame, this field worker was asked to recruit subjects from specific blocks. He was asked if he knew opiate users from those blocks and assured us that he did. He claimed that he knew a few people from each block. Through such contacts, he would be able to reach a wide variety of opiate-using block residents. He did bring in a number of subjects who reported their address as being on the target blocks. However, several subjects, after they got to know and trust the senior researchers, independently confided that they did not live where they had originally claimed. They stated that the fieldworker had solicited them outside of their methadone program and told them that there was a study willing to pay them ten dollars for interviews. According to these subjects, the field worker instructed them to lie about their current address.

Such a situation, if allowed to go unchecked, could have seriously distorted the data\*. Attempts to make projections about the number and kinds of drug users in East Harlem based upon block reports would obviously be based upon spurious data. For example, methadone clients might have been grossly over-represented.

Was the field worker in this incident lazy and just chose the easiest way to get the job done? Was he too insecure to admit that he did not know anyone on certain target blocks? Did he make an effort to recruit subjects from the target blocks, but was unable to do so and afraid to report failure? Senior researchers decided not to confront the field worker directly on this issue. He was valuable to us in many other ways and did gain us entry into certain groups that we otherwise might not have been able to reach. Many of the subjects he brought in were highly involved in criminal activity and heavy drug use -- but they lived on the wrong block. It was felt that confronting him on this issue might have injured his pride, or aroused his anger, and led to his quitting the project. Senior staff recognized his value and, even though he had acted deceitfully on one task, we did not want to lose his assistance in other areas. Eventually, however, this field worker took another job and left the project.

Another form of behavior aroused the suspicions of senior researchers. This involved field workers expressing the wish to do interviews in the field (i.e., not in the storefront) and insisting that it would be impossible for senior researchers to accompany them. Field workers reported knowing potential subjects that would be excellent for the study, but who would not come to the storefront. Further, they claimed, these subjects would not talk honestly in the presence of white people. Several other times, when senior researchers expressed disappointment that certain subjects had failed to complete their interview cycle, field workers reported that these subjects were

\* This was another reason why the effort at conducting a census of street opiate users was ultimately unsuccessful (see Appendix A).

ill, could not leave their apartment, but could be interviewed at home. However, they claimed that senior researchers would not be allowed in the apartment (e.g., in one case a "crazy husband" was just too violent) and that only they, working alone, could get the interview.

Initially, senior research staff permitted field workers to conduct interviews outside the storefront. However, this practice was terminated for several reasons. Even though field workers were trained to conduct interviews, they manifested very different levels of competence at this task. Much of the differential appeared to be language related. Field workers were typically not accustomed to writing things on paper. Hispanic field workers often had great difficulty writing in English. Research protocols occasionally came back almost blank, or with the same items either filled in or omitted for all subjects.

When senior researchers decided to limit interviewing to those field workers who had demonstrated proficiency at the task, the result was jealousy and animosity between field workers. Here again the basic insecurity of paraprofessional workers manifested itself. A paraprofessional seeing another being granted greater responsibility was likely to feel threatened, to feel that the other field worker was becoming a more valued member of the research team, and to feel that his own days of employment might be numbered. Field workers denied the opportunity to interview began to tell tales about those who were given the added responsibility. They accused others of being police informers who were not trusted by subjects, or of using drugs again.

Another factor contributing to this animosity was that paraprofessionals doing field interviews were entrusted with greater sums of money (i.e., in order to pay subjects their interview fees). The prominence of the money issue led senior researchers to wonder whether all completed interviews had actually been done. What was to stop a field worker in the streets from filling out an interview protocol himself, pocketing the ten dollar interview fee, and simply turning in a "dummy" protocol? This question appeared

especially relevant when the subjects involved were people whom the field worker asserted could not be seen by senior staff for one reason or another. Evaluation of the completed field interviews did little to alleviate senior researchers' anxieties on this issue. The decision was made to terminate the practice of field interviewing, unless the interview was done by a senior researcher or in his presence. All other interviews were to be done in the storefront. Unsupervised field interviews have been omitted from the data analysis.

In addition to the temptation of diverting project monies to their own pockets, field workers had the opportunity of diverting money to their friends. They exercised a certain amount of power because they chose subjects for the study. There were indications that they chose friends, both because friends were easy contacts to make and, also, because friends appreciated the opportunity to make a few extra dollars.

Such "friends" were also a genuine burden to fieldworkers trying to do an honest job. For example, when fieldworkers were instructed to only recruit subjects from specific blocks they were often hard-pressed to refuse the entreaties of old friends on the street who needed the money, wanted to participate in the study, but did not live on the designated block. The honesty of some field workers strained old friendships and compromised one of the attributes that led to their employment in the first place, i.e., popularity on the streets and a wide network of friendships.

During the major interviewing period, two exaddicts and one college student were employed on a part-time basis to conduct interviews. All had considerable difficulty in doing the interviews as fully as was desired. Two major problems were present. First, they had difficulty comprehending what the senior researchers wanted. They did not ask followup questions or probe responses which were unclear. Occasionally they had difficulty understanding how to record data about steering, touting, copping and drug sales (this took senior researchers a long time to figure out as well).

Second, their writing skills were limited. They had difficulty writing down the subject's own words into coherent narrative. They occasionally left out critical details. Although directed to write down each crime described by the respondent, many apparently interesting robberies and burglaries have no written scenario.

Third, they made many assumptions which resulted in less than full specificity. For example, a respondent might report getting two "quarters" of heroin and one of cocaine, but would not record the dollar amount which the subject really paid for it. Although this amount has a standard market value, many subjects "cop short" (buy drugs for less than the standard value). They assumed that the person bought it for the "retail" price rather than ask for the exact payment.

Despite limitations, however, such paraprofessionals were of great assistance to the research process when closely supervised and carefully trained. Senior research staff learned much from them, and they gained from their association with us.

### C. Maintaining Safety and Dealing with Subjects

Ethnographic field work involved many potential dangers and temptations. The main dangers involved being robbed or assaulted. No member of the research team was assaulted during the five years that the project operated in East Harlem. Staff were robbed on only one occasion, despite the fact that we were studying many persons who committed robberies and were involved in assaults.

Staff took several precautions to protect data and research equipment. After an early burglary (see below), tape recorders and similar valuable instruments were removed from the storefront every night. Completed interview schedules were forwarded to the World Trade Center office on a regular basis. Only a few articles of minor value were left in the storefront, along with the ancient chairs and tables used for interviewing and old issues of the

Several efforts were undertaken to protect against robbery or theft of respondent payment cash. A large check was deposited in a bank account, and cash machines were used to withdraw money depending upon the projected number of interviews to be conducted during the day. Only on one occasion did a robbery take place.

One slow day in 1982, the senior interviewer (Miller) was in the storefront waiting for a field worker to bring in a research subject when three men appeared at the door. One was an ex-research subject; the others were his 'friends.' The door was unlocked and opened slightly to find out more about the person's code name. But instead of waiting for the door to be opened all the way, the subject shoved his foot and leg in the door and tried to push it open. Miller jammed his foot under the door and pushed to prevent it from being opened further. The subject demanded, "give me your money." Stalling for time, Miller asked, "why are you doing this; you get carfare occasionally". At the same time, Miller observed the subject had a hand in his pocket, and one of the friends had his hand inside his belt. The subject responded, "Because I'm a mother-fucking junkie." Miller, afraid that the friend was ready to pull out a gun, decided to comply rather than resist. He reached into his right front pocket and handed the money over. The 'subject' and his friends ran away.

After locking the door, Miller counted the money in his other pockets and determined that he had given \$40 to the robber. Afterwards, he reported the robbery to the police. Without our consent, other subjects subsequently provided this robber-subject with a not-so-gentle reminder that such behavior was not appropriate. The word got out on the street that our storefront was not to be robbed.

Several items were stolen from the storefront. Among the items that were stolen at various times throughout the five years were several tape recorders, tools (e.g., a hammer, can opener), a Mister Coffee machine, and our office clock. The story of the clock theft is an interesting one in which we were able to find out exactly what had happened.

Two female subjects, Mandy M. and Elinor S., came for their interview. Mandy was interviewed first and then sat in the front of the office while Elinor was being interviewed. At the conclusion of Elinor's interview they both left. Shortly afterwards the clock--which had been hanging on a wall in the front of the field office--was discovered to be missing.

Mandy failed to appear for her next scheduled interview. Elinor was reluctant to divulge any information about where Mandy was and why she was failing to adhere to her schedule. Finally, several weeks later, Elinor admitted that Mandy had stolen the clock. While Elinor was being interviewed, Mandy had taken the clock from the wall and wrapped it up in her coat. However, Elinor stated that Mandy felt terrible about stealing the clock and wished she had never done it. Elinor reported that Mandy was so embarrassed that she just could not return to complete her interview cycle.

Field staff handled the incident in the following way. Elinor was told to tell Mandy to return the clock. We had no hard feelings and would not hold it against her. Mandy did come by a few days later, looking very sheepish, and returned the clock. She resumed her interview schedule.

In the above episode, the theft of the clock was less important to field staff than the loss of a good respondent. The clock could be replaced. A subject with an incomplete interview cycle could not be. Further, field staff had gotten to know and like Mandy. Nobody wished her to suffer from the shame that her theft of the clock was reportedly causing.

Early in the project, the storefront was burglarized. This incident was handled differently than the clock theft.

One night the storefront was broken into and a typewriter and some tape recorders were stolen. Through the street grapevine, staff members were able to ascertain the identity of the culprits. Three subjects were involved.

The alleged perpetrators had broken into our office, stolen items of real value, and had shown no contrition after the act. Further, their general presentation of self was as "slick" hustlers. Field workers were reluctant to go to the police as this would be in violation of the street code of "taking care of business" without recourse to public authorities. Also, there was no tangible evidence to support any charges. Other subjects who had heard about the burglary offered to beat up the offenders. Field staff refused to allow this. After much discussion, it was decided to terminate the three as subjects. The money that they would lose from interview payments would certainly be in excess of what they received for the stolen merchandise.

When one subject had the audacity to ask when he would be interviewed again, Preble pointedly told him, "we've learned enough about you already!" This statement clearly informed the person that his involvement in the burglary was known without making the direct accusation (which would have led to denial and further conflict), while at the same time terminating him as a subject.

A continuing problem during the study was the unwanted presence of persons who had not been invited to be research subjects or who were undeterrable "moochers." Such persons frequently exhibited anger or hostility at staff and sometimes engaged in threatening behavior -- as well as interrupted ongoing interviews. Such persons needed to be dealt with firmly and consistently. The standard procedure followed by interviewers was to tell such people that they must see a specific field worker who was authorized to accept subjects into the study. This served to mollify most persons.

Some, however, raised a bit of a ruckus. One person compared his experience with "getting on the program" to his experiences trying to obtain welfare benefits. He shouted angrily that whenever he tried to get some money he was always given a runaround and told he had to see someone else. In such cases friendly subjects or other neighborhood residents would tell the irked individual to "be cool" and, usually, escort him out of the field station.

Another problem concerned legitimate potential subjects (i.e., those qualified to participate by the fieldworker) bringing in friends or family when they appeared for their first interview. The scenario for this situation was not uncommon.

A street opiate user was contacted by the field worker and the nature and purpose of the study was explained, including the fact that a ten dollar interview fee would be given. The drug user was delighted to participate and told others about it. These friends decided to get a "piece of the action" themselves. The potential subject appeared at the field station accompanied by sister, brother-in-law, crime partner, or neighbor. All wanted to be interviewed.

In such situations, interviewers must tread a very thin line. Some members of the respondent's entourage may be qualified candidates for admission into the study. Others may not be. It would be impolitic to accept some and not others. There was also a danger that a blanket rejection might irritate the legitimate subject sufficiently to cause him or her to withdraw from the study. Interviewers told the unauthorized companions that the study was "full up" right now, but that they might be contacted in the future. They were asked to leave names, phone numbers, or other means of contacting them in case a slot was to open up. The interviewer would question the field worker about those persons considered to be potential subjects (i.e., appropriate age, ethnicity, drug use). If the field workers confirmed the interviewer's impression, the person would be contacted and asked to participate.



The "moochers" were a different problem. In several cases, these were former subjects who had provided much valuable information and would be returning for additional cycles. In addition, they were active in social circles from which other respondents were recruited. In many cases they came to the storefront with important information about other subjects, an interesting story about a crime, or other similar information. In many cases, they were welcomed in the storefront and were pleasant to chat with when interviewing was slow.

They were unwelcome, however, at specific times (in the middle of the interview, when many other subjects were awaiting interviews, etc.) and in their continuing demands for "carfare," a "deuce" (\$2), "borrow five until tomorrow," "something to eat," a "loan," etc.

Several strategies were designed to deal with such types. If they interrupted an interview, they were told, "wait for half an hour until I'm through" or "see me this afternoon when things are slow." If they continued to persist in the immediacy of their demands, they were told: "You'll have to see staff member X" (who was conveniently out of the storefront at that time).

But all too often, the moochers were extraordinarily (and successfully) persistent. They located and pestered the "person you've got to see." This staff member usually had the job of walking him outside the storefront, talking with him briefly, and giving him \$1 or \$2 just to be rid of him for the day -- so that other work could be accomplished by staff without such interruptions.

Despite problems with persistent moochers, too many potential respondents, and occasional crimes, the staff were able to maintain a pleasant and congenial atmosphere for themselves and for the respondents at the storefront.

D. Professional Standards and the Street Culture.

The research staff also faced another problem with field worker staff regarding stolen merchandise. This problem involved a direct conflict between the standards of appropriate professional behavior and the informal, but equally powerful, standards followed by the ghetto culture and economic system in which field workers lived.

A principal temptation facing field workers involved offers of contraband goods. While research staff were not offered drugs, they were frequently asked to buy stolen merchandise. Sometimes subjects would come to the storefront with stacks of shirts, boxes of film, a wristwatch, other jewelry, etc., and attempt to sell them to staff members. More often, our staff were solicited by strangers.

One finding not documented elsewhere is that research subjects who engaged in shoplifting or other forms of theft seldom sold stolen property to "professional" fences. Most often, they sold stolen property to other neighborhood residents directly. This process was graphically illustrated time after time.

Complete strangers would wander into the storefront with an armful of new designer jeans, an automobile battery, a radio, an assortment of leather belts, etc., and offer them for sale. Subjects awaiting their interview frequently examined the merchandise and made purchases, at substantial discounts, of items that they might not otherwise have been able to afford. After leaving the storefront, the sellers of such items would continue down the street, entering retail establishments (e.g., the beauty parlor, a hamburger joint), social clubs, or soliciting passers-by.

The practice of buying stolen merchandise was widespread among 'straight' members of this community as well as our subjects and field workers. Persons failed to purchase such "bargains" only because they lacked the money or didn't need the product -- not because they felt it "wrong" to do so. The clear cultural norm, and the low income received by most community residents,

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permitted and even encouraged the purchase of stolen merchandise.

These common events enabled researchers to observe directly the process of selling stolen goods that was described by subjects during their interviews. Further, in those cases where the stolen merchandise was being offered by research subjects, such merchandise served to verify an account of a shoplifting or other theft in which the subject claimed participation. Field staff were able to observe at first hand the prices asked and obtained for a wide variety of items, thereby increasing their ability to assess the credibility of subjects' accounts of economic transactions. These observations also provided the basis for the estimating the "fence" factor for different crimes in Chapter XII.

Senior research staff decided early in the project not to succumb to the temptation of purchasing merchandise on the streets. Such merchandise was usually stolen property and to purchase it would involve complicity in a crime. Further, we wished to present a certain image of honesty and "uprightness" to subjects, in the hope that they would act in a like fashion and give honest answers to questions and not try to "hustle" us. It was felt that buying stolen property would compromise our image. Some research subjects respected our stance and, if a seller of stolen goods came into the storefront, the subject would invite him outside and make the purchase in the streets. However, when they came back inside, they would proudly show off their new possession to other subjects and field staff alike.

Our paraprofessional field staff were likewise accustomed to buying merchandise in this fashion. They were disappointed when the project ruled out the practice. Senior research staff were frequently amused when, after a purveyor of stolen property had left the field office, the field worker suddenly remembered an important errand or field contact that had to be attended to. He invariably went off down the street in the same direction as the seller.

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The underground economy is a major component of the ghetto economy. As researchers, we were there to observe: not to judge or to enforce a morality from a different sphere of society. We could, and did, exercise our right not to participate in events that were illegal, in violation of our personal and professional standards of morality, or that could be detrimental to the research effort. However, we felt it was not within our rights, nor within our interests as researchers, to attempt to restrain subjects or indigenous field staff from behaving in a manner that was socially acceptable in their own neighborhood.

#### E. Field Work -- Glimpses of the Lives of Street Opiate Users.

The Economic Behavior of Street Opiate Users project has produced important and critical new information on the relationship between drug use and crime. As described earlier, the project has pioneered successfully a method that combines elements of quantitative and qualitative techniques in order to produce data with significant policy implications.

However, one small regret shared by some senior staff is that the storefront methodology led the researchers to become too rooted in formal interviews. Interviewers and senior professional staff spent most of their time at the storefront, waiting for interviewees to show up to complete their schedules. The streets were primarily "worked" by the indigenous paraprofessional field workers.

One staff member likened this research technique to the "strategic enclave" policies followed during the Vietnam war. In this policy, a "friendly hamlet" was occupied by American forces and their South Vietnamese allies. There was little attempt to venture into the countryside occupied by hostile forces.

In somewhat the same fashion, the Economic Behavior project went into East Harlem, worked in a storefront, and hired local ex-addict, ex-felon field workers, to gain the cooperation of street opiate users in our efforts.

On the occasions when senior researchers made direct efforts to learn about the daily lives of subjects, the results were usually both rewarding and illuminating. For example, Dr. Goldstein, the Project Director, became friendly with one subject whom he had been interviewing. The subject invited him to his apartment on 105th Street. On October 29, 1980, Dr. Goldstein visited Harold T. in his apartment. The following account is excerpted from field notes written after the visit and includes a commentary written for this report.

I walked up three dismal flights of steps. Harold greeted me graciously. His apartment contained four incredibly cluttered rooms in a row, railroad style. Upon entering, the first room was the kitchen. Clothes lines were strung across the kitchen about five feet high, to which were pinned two bags and one-third of a banana.

Harold offered me some coffee and I accepted. He then offered me some bread or cake. I declined, saying that the coffee would be fine. Harold continued to offer bread or cake. He seemed very proud of the fact that he could make such an offer. He pulled the two bags off the clothes line and showed me that one did indeed contain bread and the other cake. I had already noticed that Harold had an old dog and a kitten. I asked him if he kept the food hanging on the clothesline so his animals couldn't get at it. He stared at me. "Oh no," he said, "not my animals. The rats." He said that he had recently gotten the kitten to keep the rats away.

Harold had an old double sink unit in his kitchen. One basin was filled with water and plants and two large goldfish. Also in the kitchen was an aquarium in which he was raising crayfish. He had about six of them and said that he fed them goldfish food. The water in the aquarium was foul, there was no filtration system, and Harold said that he would soon have to change it.

The fire escape was through the kitchen window. It had been covered with plastic sheeting and was filled with marijuana plants, greenhouse style. Harold proudly explained how he processed his marijuana. He claimed that most people didn't understand the process and, as a result, lost much of the potency of their homegrown. However, Harold admitted that he knew where to purchase more potent marijuana and that generally he sold his homegrown and used the money to buy the higher quality. He claimed that he only smoked his own pot when he couldn't afford to go to his regular dealer.

Harold was 40 years old, a former heroin addict now on methadone. His drug use consisted of regular marijuana consumption, and infrequent cocaine, illicit methadone, Darvon<sup>(R)</sup>, and tranquilizer use. He reported no criminal activity during the study period other than occasional marijuana sales.

university -- why did Preble turn instead to street research and heroin use in particular?

As a graduate student with wife and five children, and a new house in the distant New York suburbs, Preble held several jobs (tennis pro, community and street center director, part-time instructor) that led him to the streets. Specifically, during the late 1950s and the era of street gangs, Preble became the director of an after-school community center at Wagner Junior High School on Manhattan's Upper East Side. One of his main jobs was to keep the peace between the "fighting" gangs from the different ethnic groups in this area.

In fall 1957, Preble recalled with humor that he returned from summer vacation to find last year's rowdy gang fighters quiet and peaceful and generally sleepy. He felt very good about the positive effect which his work had upon calming them -- until he discovered that the big "H" (heroin) was really responsible. This experience led to his lifelong fascination with heroin users in the streets. Over the years, he developed close friendships with many Yorkville and East Harlem youths, some of whom became professional criminals (safecrackers, truck highjackers, fences, con men, bookies, loan sharks, etc.), many became heroin users/addicts, and others gained legitimate employment in middle or working class occupations.

His continuing contacts with these youths, and later when they were adults, provided the basis for his expertise. For example, Preble offered them room and board at his house when they were without employment. When they were arrested, he would speak at mitigation hearings and maintain phone contact with them while in prison. He attended their parties and social occasions (weddings, funerals, hospitalizations). Numerous christenings made him a "godfather" to the children of these research subjects/friends from

APPENDIX C

A TRIBUTE TO EDWARD PREBLE, M.A.

1922-1982

This report is dedicated to the memory of Edward Preble, a Co-Principal Investigator of this project. He contributed greatly to this project and it would not have been possible without him. His contacts within the study community, prior research among street opiate users were essential to the initial phases of this project. Clearly this project would never have been conceived or executed without Ed (as he was called by our research staff), "Ted" (he was called by his family), and "Doc" (as he was called on the streets).

I had the distinct pleasure of being Preble's close colleague and research partner for the past seven years at the Bureau of Research of the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services and Narcotics and Drug Research, Inc. I wish to recall several aspects of his personal and professional career which contributed to or were a part of his becoming the "grandfather" of drug research ethnography, many of which were unknown to his associates. These remarks describe several professional and personal experiences that were little known, but which had a critical influence upon developing his skills as a field ethnographer and researcher.

His training in anthropology at Columbia University and psychotherapy at New York School of Psychiatry provided fine skills in field work and understanding people from all backgrounds. His close collaboration with Abram Kardiner (Preble wrote most of They Studied Man (1961) and edited Kardiner's dictations which resulted in Kardiner's My Analysis With Freud (1977) ) provided him with a depth of knowledge that was very extensive.

Harold's lifestyle described above, was in many respects more stable than many of our subjects. He routinely received welfare and had his own apartment which reflected his personality and interests. He was on a methadone program and occasionally used other drugs (cocaine, pills, marijuana, etc.); he no longer used heroin. His lifestyle and his departure from the community suggest the continuing difficulties these respondents face in adjusting to society's expectations and in developing conventional patterns of living.

He claimed that most of the money needed to satisfy his needs was raised by doing odd jobs and fixing things. The visit to his apartment was confirming the information that he had given on his daily and weekly interviews.

Harold led me through the remainder of his cluttered apartment. He showed me the broken chairs, tables and lamps that he had collected from sidewalk trash heaps and was now fixing up for resale. He also showed me several inoperative radios that he claimed he would soon have fixed for resale. He had an unbelievable assortment of scraps of metal, wood and plastic that he had found in garbage cans or just laying on the street. I asked him what he did with these scraps. He said that he made things and that currently he was planning to build a rocket ship. I chuckled, and said that I would certainly like to see it when it was done.

Harold led me through his bedroom. The mattress on the floor covered by rumpled dirty sheets reminded me of my student days. We walked into the last room which contained his art work. I was astonished. He was a very talented artist. He specialized in paintings of birds that appeared to my untrained eye the equal of Audubon's work. His most common subject matter, after the birds, were beautiful landscapes that he remembered from his youth in Puerto Rico. He proclaimed that his great desire in life was to return to Puerto Rico, find whatever family members remained, perhaps find his children and open a small business.

His wife had left him years ago during his days as an addict and returned to Puerto Rico with the children. He yearned to go back, but looked at me sadly and said, "How could I?" He reported coming to the mainland United States as a young man filled with hopes of becoming successful. He was now in his forties, on methadone, on welfare, and barely scrounging a daily subsistence. He was embarrassed to return in such a state. He claimed that he was putting away a little bit of money from each welfare check and that maybe, some day, he could return to his home with dignity.

Harold kept in contact for some time, dropping by the storefront at irregular intervals to say hello and perhaps offer some item for sale. A few weeks after my visit to Harold's apartment, he arrived at the storefront toting a five foot long silver rocket ship on his shoulder. The rocket was made from scrap pieces of metal. He had installed a motor that made a loud whirring sound and provided an exhaust like an electric fan. Old christmas tree lights blinked on and off when the rocket was plugged in. Harold offered to sell me the rocket for my son who, Harold knew, was a Star Trek/Star Wars science-fiction buff. I could not refuse. Harold said the price was twenty-five dollars which I readily agreed to. I brought the rocket home. My son was delighted. We hung it on the ceiling of his room.

Then, when one of his follow-up 28 day reporting periods was nearing, and we realized that we hadn't seen him for a while, a field worker was sent to locate him. The field worker reported that Harold was no longer living in his apartment and that nobody knew where he had gone. I thought of the beautiful birds that he had painted, free wild things soaring over uncluttered landscapes. I hoped that Harold did return to Puerto Rico, with dignity, and that he found what he was looking for.

varied ethnic backgrounds (Irish, Italian, Black, and Hispanic); he maintained yearly contact with his numerous godchildren. As a result of these personal contacts, he was the only outsider routinely invited to the annual dinner of "Sing-Sing" Alumni association (for those who "did time" in what is now called the Ossining Correctional Facility). These friends were eager participants in his research and wide ranging interviews.

As a result of these personal contacts with professional criminals and many heroin users over 25 years and during his research efforts, Preble developed extensive expertise about the following topics: fencing of stolen merchandise (both professional and street level), the social culture of prison among professional criminals, the street market in heroin and cocaine dealing, the history of heroin addiction among white ethnics, blacks, and hispanics, and the role of drugs, alcohol, and homicide in the high mortality of drug abusers -- to name only a few topics of interest. Several of his papers deal with aspects of these topics. Other presentations and personal conversations revealed even more depth of understanding about these topics.

As many of his colleagues recall, Ed Preble's depth of knowledge about the streets and his rich store of insightful antidotes have touched the lives of hundreds of persons in East Harlem, Yorkville, Lower East Side, and the Bronx, as well as professional colleagues who had the pleasure of working with him. Many rewarding hunches and observations by Ed were converted into formal research projects. His first research grant with NIMH (1962-64) on "Street Gangs and Drug Use," resulted in his major paper, "Taking Care of Business." (1969) This paper profoundly influenced the professional view of heroin users by advancing a thesis opposed to common assumptions of that era. He showed that heroin users pursued a lifestyle which they felt was positive and meaningful to them given their life situations.

In 1975, Mike Agar and Douglas Lipton brought Ed Preble to Narcotics and Drug Research where his contributions led to an extensive anthropological and ethnographic emphasis which continues at the New York State agency. Ed pioneered a storefront methodology for studying heroin users, which permitted many persons to visit the "real" world of heroin addiction. Ed's ability to locate street heroin users as subjects and his ability to have them report details about their crimes and drug use led to the submission and successful execution of this Economic Behavior of Street Opiate Users project.

His controversial paper, "Methadone, Wine, and Welfare," (1977) grew out of research (1975-1977) on a NIDA-funded Ethnography of Drug Use among Two White Ethnic Groups (Irish and Italians). He was instrumental in establishing the "Tristate Ethnographic Project," which has subsequently become a demonstration project to show whether contingency contracting and client governance can reduce problems faced by methadone programs. He had a critical influence upon the development of a federal research agenda on drug and crime. He helped win a five-year research agreement program from the National Institute of Justice for an Interdisciplinary Research Center for the Study of the Relations of Drug and Alcohol to Crime.

My richest memories of Ed, however, are derived from personal associations and direct observations of him at work. I was constantly amazed at his ability to converse comfortably with everyone, regardless of their social status or background, on topics of their own choosing. On a dozen different occasions, I literally observed him conversing one minute with an inebriated alcoholic or street heroin user, and the next minute on the phone with a NIDA official, college professor, or budding anthropology student. If a street opiate user knew "Blackie" on X street, Doc was sure to know someone who knew "Blackie" as well. If a NIDA or state official wanted to know about heroin on the street, Doc could give them an up to the minute

report, or hand the phone to someone in the storefront who did. If some academic at a professional conference cited a source with which he was unfamiliar, Ed was well grounded in the classics of Anthropology and provided a citation to support his position.

Ed also did not like qualifications. He felt that strong statements made people react strongly, and that was vastly preferable to a "so what" response. Thus, in "Methadone, Wine, and Welfare" he made strong statements and got strong reactions from his funding agency, methadone treatment administrators, and academic community. But subsequent research has demonstrated that he was on target, even if not precisely correct.

Ed and I frequently disagreed about alcohol and methadone. Ed felt strongly that many heroin users became alcoholic after entering methadone treatment as they became involved in "boosting methadone" with heavy alcohol consumption. I felt that pre-existing alcohol problems continued after a street heroin user began methadone treatment. While this issue still remains unresolved, however, the research of Mary Jane Kreek at Rockefeller University is beginning to demonstrate a physiological basis for "boosting methadone." Without question alcoholism is one of the most abused drugs among street opiate users. New research currently underway at our office is documenting levels of alcohol consumption among street opiate users which approach the unbelievable, but this is as true of daily heroin users as of methadone clients.

Ed Preble's papers and professional presentations were filled with the insights he gleaned from others. His published papers contain a careful telling of true stories and anecdotes, appealing titles, an entertaining style, and professional value. (His resume is attached below).

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I know that he had at least five different books which were in his head and needed to be written. He became ill in April, 1982, however, and passed away in August. Unfortunately, no one will have the opportunity to see these books and learn from them.

He has contributed much to my life and that of others who worked with him; our association was very rewarding personally and intellectually. I trust that the memory of Ed Preble and his work will also influence the lives of other professionals in the years ahead.

Bruce D. Johnson,  
New York City, September, 1983

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PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR/PROGRAM DIRECTOR:

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Give the following information for key professional personnel listed on page 2, beginning with the Principal Investigator/Program Director. Photocopy this page for each person.

NAME	TITLE	BIRTHDATE (Mo., Day, Yr.)	
Edward Preble	Anthropologist In Drug Abuse Research	Jan. 18, 1922	
EDUCATION (Begin with baccalaureate or other initial professional education and include postdoctoral training)			
INSTITUTION AND LOCATION	DEGREE (circle highest degree)	YEAR CONFERRED	FIELD OF STUDY
Lewis & Clark College, Portland, Ore.	A.B.	1950	Economics
Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (Graduate Schools of Law, Philosophy and Anthropology)	M.A.	1956	Anthropology

RESEARCH AND/OR PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE: Concluding with present position, list in chronological order previous employment, experience, and honors. Include present membership on any Federal Government Public Advisory Committee. List, in chronological order, the titles and complete references to all publications during the past three years and to representative earlier publications pertinent to this application. DO NOT EXCEED TWO PAGES.

Career Experience:

- 1975-1982 -- Principal Research Scientist, Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc.
- 1958-1982 -- Professor of Anthropology, The New York School of Psychiatry, New York City.
- 1977-1982 -- Co-Principal Investigator, National Institute on Drug Abuse, Grant No. R01-DA-01926, "Economic Behavior of Street Level Opiate Addicts."
- 1978-1980 -- Co-Principal Investigator, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Grant No. J-IAA-055-8, "Economic Behavior of Nonaddict Career Criminals."
- 1975-1977 -- Principal Investigator, Public Health Service Grant No. R01-DA-01051 from the National Institute on Drug Abuse, "Ethnography of Drug Use Among Two White Ethnic Groups."
- 1971-1975 -- Associate Research Scientist, Rockland Children's Psychiatric Hospital.
- 1968-1972 -- Coordinator, Weekend Partial Hospitalization Program, Department of Psychiatry, New York Medical College and Metropolitan Hospital.
- 1968-1971 -- Associate Research Scientist, Manhattan State Hospital.
- 1965-1968 -- Narcotics Research Associate, University of Notre Dame, Center for the Study of Man, New York City.
- 1965-1966 -- Clinical Coordinator, Wiltwyck School for Boys, Esopus, New York.
- 1963-1967 -- Street Center Director, Lower East Side Service Center, New York City.
- 1962-1964 -- Principal Investigator, Public Health Service Grant No. MH-728 from the National Institute of Mental Health, "Street Gangs and Drug Use."
- 1962-1964 -- Consultant on Street Gangs, Jewish Board of Guardians, Consultation Unit, Council of Social and Athletic Clubs (N.Y.C.) Youth Board.
- 1955-1969 -- Community Center Director, New York City Board of Education.

Representative Publications

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"Problems Utilizing Ethnography in a Single State Agency."
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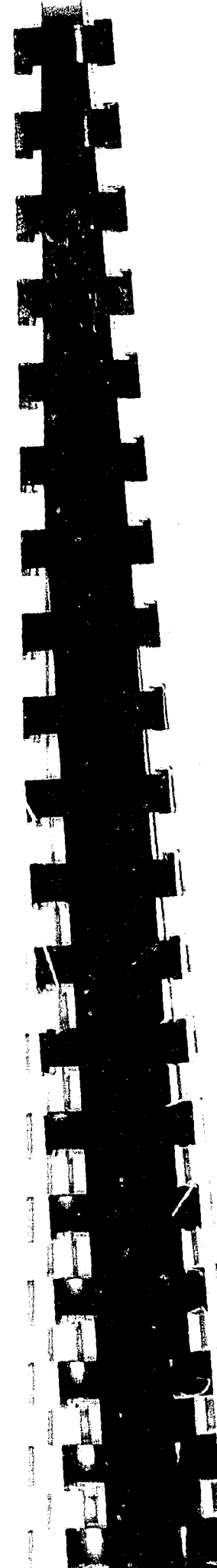
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Three years personal psychoanalysis as participant in research project, Columbia University Psychoanalytic Clinic for Training and Research, 1950-1953.  
Research Affiliate, The Association for Psychoanalytic Medicine.  
Scientific Associate, The American Academy of Psychoanalysis.  
Seminar Associate, Columbia University Seminar on Drug Abuse.  
Editorial Board, Contemporary Psychoanalysis.  
Editorial Board, The International Journal of the Addictions.  
Editorial Board, The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse.  
Executive Editorial Board, Psychiatric Quarterly.  
President, National Association of Ethnography and Social Policy.



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