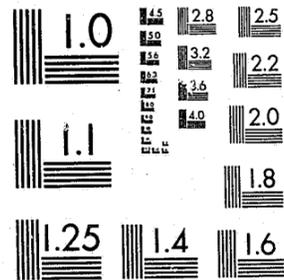


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A New Classification of Narcotic Addicts Based
on Type and Extent of Criminal Activity

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ABSTRACT

On the basis of confidential interview data obtained from a stratified random sample of 354 narcotic addicts residing within the Baltimore Metropolitan area, measures of the amount of crime they committed in each of five separate categories were derived. Moreover, crimes committed during periods of active addiction were distinguished from those committed during periods of nonaddiction. Subsequent application of numerical taxonomic methods yielded eight addict types for periods of addiction and six types for periods of nonaddiction. Although fewer crimes were committed during periods of nonaddiction, individual patterns of criminal activity tended to remain constant. Differences among types in terms of demographic and background variables were also noted. Despite the fact that wide variations in criminal activity preclude generalizations to individuals, the amount of crime committed by narcotic addicts as a class can fairly be described as staggering.

Within recent years, there have been numerous attempts to classify narcotic addicts and other drug abusers using a wide variety of subject characteristics and taxonomic methods. Perhaps the most widely used basis for constructing addict typologies has been the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI).¹ Typologies based on this instrument have been derived by Berzins et al.,² Collins et al.,³ Die,⁴ Duthie,⁵ and Rothaizer,⁶ among others. Other addict typologies have been developed using numbers and types of drugs tried,^{7,8} duration and pattern of addiction career,⁹ a priori theoretical models,¹⁰ and a broad sampling of reported behaviors in conjunction with purely empirical data reduction and classification procedures.¹¹ In addition, several authors have developed more purely descriptive, or "street ethnographic," classification systems.¹²⁻¹⁴

While attempts to classify drug abusers appear to be of relatively recent origin, attempts to classify criminals are probably as old as recorded history. Unfortunately, many classification systems represent little more than a codification of existing administrative practices while others, as Gandossy et al.¹⁵ and Inciardi¹⁶ have noted, have ignored variations in the types and magnitudes of crimes committed. Moreover, as Chaiken and Chaiken¹⁷ point out, many attempts to classify criminals may be considered unsuccessful because the typologies created embody one or more of the following deficiencies: (1) failure to take into consideration the inconsistency of criminal behavior over time; (2) use of theoretical constructs that cannot be translated into discrete, empirically verifiable categories; (3) use of small or possibly idiosyncratic samples of offenders; and (4) use of categorizations that cannot be effectively employed by criminal justice system officials.

Perhaps an even more striking deficiency inherent in many previous classifications has been the use of official arrest records or "rap sheets" as

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indicators of criminal activity, as several writers have noted.¹⁶⁻¹⁹ Since arrest records are more properly regarded as an index of the extent of an individual's involvement with the criminal justice system,²⁰ their use as indicators of the amounts and types of crimes actually committed results in gross underestimates. As several investigators have shown using confidential interview techniques,²¹⁻²⁴ less than 1% of all offenses committed typically result in arrest. This is not to imply, of course, that self-reports of crimes committed can be accepted uncritically; nonetheless, there is ample evidence for the essential validity of such information obtained from narcotic addicts.²⁵⁻²⁷ Moreover, official records are far from being error-free quite apart from the underestimation problem their use entails.²⁰

Granted the availability of detailed self-reports of criminal activities obtained through individual interviews of a large sample of narcotic addicts, the development of a criminal typology based on such data poses a number of procedural and methodological problems. First of all, this rather heterogeneous fund of information must somehow be classified and condensed to yield a smaller number of crime categories on which a criminal typology can eventually be based. Next, a measure of the magnitude of the crime committed by each addict in each category must be devised. Finally, a method for deriving criminal types based on the preceding measures must be formulated. Previous approaches to this third problem have been many and varied. Typically, researchers operating from a psychometric data base have employed automated, numerical taxonomic methods,²⁸ while those using criminal activity data have relied on more conceptual and theoretical formulations. The present report describes the results of an attempt to merge these two traditions by applying the methods of numerical taxonomy to a data base consisting of the self-reported criminal activities of narcotic addicts.

SUBJECTS AND METHODS

Subjects

Between July 1973 and January 1978, detailed confidential interviews were conducted with 354 male narcotic (principally heroin) addicts from the Baltimore metropolitan area. These 354 addicts represented a stratified random sample from a population of 6,149 known narcotic users arrested (or identified) by the Baltimore police department between 1952 and 1976. The sample was unselected for criminality but stratified by race and year of police contact. Over 90% of the men selected were actually interviewed, usually at study offices. Subjects were paid \$15.00 for their participation, and the confidentiality of all information obtained is protected by Maryland law. Of the 354 subjects, 195 were Black and 159 were White. Mean age at interview was 34.1 years, with a standard deviation of 7.9 years.

To be eligible for inclusion in the study, subjects had to have used narcotics on at least four separate days a week for a period of at least one month while at large in the community. Since a major purpose of the interview was to obtain detailed chronological information concerning crime and addiction from the time of first regular narcotic use to the time of interview, each subject was asked to describe in detail his addiction, abstinence, and incarceration periods, with the criteria for successive periods of addiction being the same as that for inclusion in the study.

In a similar manner, each subject was asked to recount his illegal sources of income during each addiction and nonaddiction period, a reconstruction that involved an enumeration of specific offenses committed on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis. This reconstruction of criminal activity was facilitated by interview probes and cross-checks that emphasized circumscribed time periods, places of residence, and friends and associates during each period.

Construction of Criminal Activity Measures

In a previous paper,¹⁸ the authors have described several different

measures of criminal activity, all of which embody the concept of crime-days per year at risk. Conceptually, a crime-day is defined as a 24-hour period during which one or more crimes of a specific type is committed by a given individual. Thus, a crime-days measure tends to be a conservative estimate of the amount of crime actually committed, since multiple offenses committed on a single day still constitute only a single crime-day of a specified type.

In keeping with this previous research, all crimes reported were placed into one of five categories, and the total number of days that each subject committed one or more crimes while actively addicted to narcotics was estimated for each category. Similar estimations regarding crimes committed while subjects were not actively addicted to narcotics were also made. The five crime-days measures, all of which refer conceptually to 24-hour periods during which one or more crimes of the type specified were committed are as follows: Crime-Days Theft (includes all property thefts not involving violence to persons, such as shoplifting, larceny, and burglary); Crime-Days Violence (includes all crimes involving physical violence against persons, such as robbery, assault, and murder); Crime-Days Dealing (involves sales of all illegal drugs--mere drug use or possession are not included as crimes); Crime Days Con Games (includes forgery of checks and drug prescriptions as well as all confidence games); and Crime-Days Other (includes all offenses not included in the previous four categories, especially illegal gambling, pimping, and selling stolen goods).

Each of the above five Crime-Days measures was further refined by annualizing, i.e., the total number of crime-days accumulated by each subject in each category while at large in the community (days incarcerated or hospitalized excluded) and actively addicted to narcotics was expressed as crime-days per year at risk by taking the ratio of crime-days to total days at large and multiplying by 365. Similar calculations were performed for

each subject with regard to total time at large during which he was not actively addicted to narcotics. Thus, criminal activity in each of the five areas was expressed as a yearly rate which in this sense is independent of actual length of time at large in the community. Through the use of such measures, it becomes possible to compare rates for different individuals and for different types of crime, even though the actual time at large may vary considerably.

Finally, as an overall measure of criminal activity, total crime-days per year at risk was calculated for each subject by summing his five separate crime-days measures. Since crimes of different types were frequently committed during the same 24-hour period, individual totals often exceeded 365.

Statistical Analysis

Means and standard deviations on each of the five crime-days per year at risk measures were computed across all available subjects for the total time at large in the community during which they were actively addicted to narcotics. These calculations were then repeated for the period of time in the community during which the subjects were not actively addicted.

Examination of the distributions of the five measures revealed marked positive skew in each instance, a feature that appears to be characteristic of criminal activity data.^{17,19} Although such skewness is undesirable in the context of regression analysis and can be substantially attenuated by means of a logarithmic transformation,^{19,29} we elected not to employ such a transformation since the present analytical context does not require it. Moreover, such nonlinear re-expressions may have little substantive justification and serve to increase one's "distance" from the raw data as well as alter their original meaning.^{30,31}

Since it is usually considered desirable to employ equally-weighted, nonredundant measures in a numerical taxonomic context,^{11,32} the five crime-days per year at risk measures were expressed in standard score form and the intercorrelation matrix was examined prior to the use of any typological (clustering) methods. This was done independently for total addiction and total nonaddiction periods. Afterward, and for the addiction and nonaddiction periods separately, a hierarchical cluster analysis using Euclidean distance as the similarity measure and average linkage as the merging criterion was performed.³³ The solution accepted on the basis of this procedure was then further refined by entering the cluster centroids as "seed points" for the K-means algorithm.^{33,34} Finally, the numbers and preaddiction characteristics of subjects in each of the resulting criminal types were determined.

RESULTS

Distributions of Crime-Days Per Year at Risk Measures

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations of the five crime-days per year at risk measures calculated separately for the active addiction and nonaddiction periods. In view of the fact that 35 of the 354 subjects had no periods of time during which they were not actively addicted since first becoming so, the means and standard deviations pertaining to periods of nonaddiction are based on only 319 subjects.

Insert Table 1 about here.

Several features of Table 1 are worthy of comment. First, narcotic addicts as a group commit a great deal of crime by any absolute standard, especially while actively addicted. Second, the amount of crime addicts commit during periods of nonaddiction is considerably less than the amount

they commit while actively addicted, although it is still substantial. Third, there are huge variations in the amounts and types of crime committed by addicts; thus any generalizations concerning individuals based on group tendencies are necessarily uncertain. And fourth, as mentioned earlier, all of the crime-days measures display marked positive skew as indicated by the wide range of values and the fact that the standard deviation substantially exceeds the mean in each instance. In view of this substantial variability in both type and amount of crime committed, the development of a typology based on these features would seem very appropriate.

Intercorrelations Among Crime-Days Per Year at Risk Measures

Although the five crime-days measures were designed to tap conceptually different dimensions of criminal activity, it is theoretically possible for substantial correlations to exist among them, i.e., for persons who commit a great deal of one type of crime to also commit a great deal of another type of crime. Indeed, certain portions of the report by Chaiken and Chaiken¹⁹ might be construed to suggest this. Moreover, if all of the crime-days measures were found to be substantially intercorrelated, such a finding would render pointless any attempt to develop a multivariate typology since only a single dimension, viz., overall criminality, would be essentially relevant.

In view of these considerations, the product-moment intercorrelation matrix for the five crime-days measures was formed for the periods of active addiction (N=354) and nonaddiction (N=319) separately. For the total period of time during which the subjects were actively addicted, the highest Pearson r found was between CD-1 (Theft) and CD-4 (Con Games). The magnitude of this correlation was only .07 and did not approach statistical significance even with a sample size of 354. Moreover, Bartlett's sphericity test^{35,36} applied to the entire correlation matrix yielded a nonsignificant Chi-Square of 6.32

with 10 df , thus indicating that it may be viewed essentially as an identity matrix.

A similar analysis was performed for the total period of time during which the subjects were not addicted. Here, the highest correlation found was between CD-1 (Theft) and CD-2 (Violence). The magnitude of this product-moment r was .13 which, while substantively trivial, is univariately significant at the .05 level. However, once again the overall multivariate sphericity test yielded a Chi-Square of only 10.96 with 10 df , thus indicating that the null hypothesis postulating an identity matrix cannot be rejected.

The essential orthogonality of the five crime days measures was not anticipated and may seem counterintuitive in the light of other studies of criminal behavior. In our opinion, the most reasonable explanation for the present finding derives from: (1) the nature of the population studied, i.e., the results apply only to narcotic addicts at large in the community rather than to criminals (or even people) in general; (2) the marked heterogeneity of this population with regard to type and amount of crime committed; and (3) the composition of the crime-days measures employed, i.e., the crimes grouped under any one of the five categories just happen to be, with regard to their overall rates of commission, essentially independent of those grouped under another category. With regard to this latter point, it is entirely possible that some other arbitrary grouping of crimes would have led to substantial correlations among the measures. Fortunately, the grouping employed is not only conceptually meaningful but mathematically fortuitous, since it obviates the necessity for forming "artificial" or canonical variates in an effort to avoid redundancy of measurement prior to deriving a typology by numerical taxonomic methods.

Derivation of First Typology

In view of the fact that the primary aim of this research was to derive an addict typology based on measures of criminal activity that occurred while the subjects were actively addicted to narcotics, the principal typological analysis was restricted to the five crime-days measures calculated on that portion of the data base. Afterward, a parallel analysis was undertaken using the same operationally defined measures but calculated on data pertaining to the periods when the subjects were not actively addicted to narcotic drugs.

As noted earlier, the clustering algorithm employed involved the use of the Euclidean distance metric applied to the crime-days measures expressed in standardized ("z-score") form. Moreover, since the five crime-days measures are essentially mutually orthogonal, the results obtained are virtually equivalent to those that would have been obtained had the Mahalanobis generalized distance function been used.³⁷

Preliminary inspection of the hierarchical clustering results for the period of active addiction revealed the existence of eight, reasonably homogeneous types reflecting different patterns of criminal behavior. The centroids on the crime-days measures for each type were then entered as "seed points" into the K-means algorithm³³ in an effort to refine or "fine tune" the hierarchical solution. The new centroids on the refined types were then computed and re-expressed in the original, crime-days per year at risk form. Table 2 presents the type centroids (type means on each crime-days measure) and the number of subjects comprising each of the final eight types.

Insert Table 2 about here.

It will be seen from Table 2 that with the exception of Type I, each of the types derived is primarily characterized by excessive engagement in a single area of criminal activity. A description and labelling of these eight types follows:

Type I (Marginal Criminals). While "marginal criminal" may seem an odd label for a type that averaged over 90 total crime-days per year at risk, it must be remembered that the characterization is a relative one. As a comparison with Table 1 will demonstrate, the crime-days means for this type were substantially below those of the total group in every instance. As might be anticipated, theft was the most common area of criminal activity, followed by drug dealing and other crimes (principally illegal gambling). Crimes of violence were rarely committed. At 117 members, this was the largest of the eight types derived and comprised 33.1% of the total sample.

Type II (Drug Dealers). The 72 men (20.3%) comprising this type were excessively engaged in drug sales, with a type mean almost 1.5 standard deviations above that of the total sample for this area of criminal activity. On all other crime-days measures, type means were below total sample means. Theft, as might be expected, was their second most common form of crime. Averaging over 400 total crime-days per year at risk, this group is a formidable contributor to the overall crime problem.

Type III (Thieves). The 73 men included in this type (20.6%) engaged primarily in theft, with a type mean approximately 1.3 standard deviations above that of the total sample. In all other areas of criminal activity, type means were below total sample means. Still, drug sales and miscellaneous other crimes were not infrequent, and addicts in this type averaged over 365 total crime-days per year at risk.

Type IV (Illegal Gamblers). The 49 men (13.8%) comprising this type typically engaged in illegal gambling operations to an excessive degree. Although the Crime-Days Other category was somewhat heterogeneous, illegal gambling was by far the principal criminal activity recorded, with a smattering of pimping and the buying and selling of stolen goods also included. The type mean on this measure was over two standard deviations above that of the total sample; type means for all other areas of criminal activity were at, or slightly below, total sample means. Total crime days per year at risk averaged over 540. However, much of this may be regarded as "victimless" crime.

Type V (Con Men). The 19 men comprising this type (5.4%) engaged predominantly in forgery and confidence games of various types. The type mean for this area of criminal activity was 2.7 standard deviations above that of the total sample. Type means in all other areas were at, or slightly below, total sample means. Total crime-days per year at risk averaged over 430, a considerable number indeed.

Type VI (Violent). The 12 men included in this type (3.4%) were prone to engage in crimes involving physical violence against persons. Although violent crimes were not the most frequent ones committed by this type in terms of absolute number of crime-days--thefts were actually committed more frequently--the mean number of violent crime-days accumulated by this type was almost 2.4 standard deviations above the mean number accumulated by the total sample. Type means in all other areas were at, or slightly below, total sample means. Total crime-days per year at risk averaged 340, a number made more ominous by the seriousness of the crime frequently involved.

Type VII (Super Con Men). Although there were only seven men included in this type (2.0%), each might be regarded as a one-man crime wave. The

mean number of confidence game crime-days engaged in by this type was over 4.4 standard deviations above the mean number for the total sample, and the mean number of crime-days in the Crime-Days Other category was 1.6 standard deviations above the total sample mean. Total crime-days per year at risk averaged more than 850, the highest of all the types.

Type VIII (Super Violent). Perhaps the only favorable thing associated with this small group (five men--1.4%) is the fact that they are few in number. The mean number of days during which one or more crimes of physical violence against persons were committed by the members of this type was 206, a number almost seven standard deviations above the mean for the total sample. Interestingly enough, none of the five men in this type ever engaged in confidence games--perhaps their violent natures precluded their gaining anyone's confidence. Total crime-days per year at risk averaged about 600, a large number by any standard and composed mainly of very serious crimes.

Derivation of Second Typology

Of the 354 male addicts included in this study, 319 had one or more periods at large in the community during which they were not actively addicted to narcotics. Thus, it was possible to perform a second typological analysis comparable to the first which employed the exact same methodology, except for the fact that the five crime-days per year at risk measures now refer entirely to the subjects' periods of nonaddiction to narcotic drugs.

The primary reason for performing the second typological analysis was to determine the similarity of the solutions obtained. While it is already clear from Table 1 that for addicts as a group, criminal activity decreases dramatically during periods of nonaddiction, it may well be that patterns of criminal activity remain fairly constant.

Reapplication of the previously described methods to the nonaddiction period data yielded six types, five of which corresponded to a single crime

days measure and a sixth which corresponded to marginal crime committed. Table 3 presents the type means on each crime days measure as well as the number of subjects comprising each of the six types.

Insert Table 3 about here.

Type A (Marginal Criminals). This type represented 77.1% of the 319 men with periods of nonaddiction and is clearly comparable to the previous Type I. Moreover, 101 (41.1%) of the 246 men comprising this type fell into Type I during their periods of active narcotic addiction. The remainder had been primarily Thieves (49 cases), Drug Dealers (44 cases), and Illegal Gamblers (23 cases), with only 19 formerly being Con Men and ten Violent. Total crime-days per year at risk while nonaddicted averaged less than 12, or less than 13% of the corresponding value for the analogous Type I. Thus, not only are a larger percentage of subjects classified in the Marginal Criminals category during periods of nonaddiction, but also the absolute amount of crime committed by the persons so classified was dramatically reduced during such periods.

Type B (Drug Dealers). The 23 men in this type represented 7.2% of the total with periods of nonaddiction. This type clearly corresponds to the earlier Type II, and 16 (70.0%) of the 23 members had been classified as Drug Dealers while actively addicted. Of the remainder, four had been Illegal Gamblers, two had been Violent, and one had been a Con Man. Interestingly enough, this group still averaged over 360 total crime-days per year at risk while nonaddicted, a huge amount of crime by any standard.

Type C (Thieves). The 22 men in this type comprised 6.9% of the available total, and 14 (63.6%) had been so classified (Type II) while actively addicted. The remainder were approximately evenly divided among the other

types derived. This group continued to commit crime at a high rate while nonaddicted, averaging over 300 total crime-days per year at risk.

Type D (Illegal Gamblers). As with the analogous Type IV group previously derived, the 20 men (6.3% of the total 319) comprising this type primarily engaged in illegal gambling operations, although miscellaneous other crimes were also perpetrated. Eleven (55.0%) of the 20 had also been classified as Type IV while actively addicted. The remainder were approximately evenly distributed among the other types derived. Although this group continued to average over 350 total crime-days per year at risk while nonaddicted, many of these crimes may be regarded as "victimless."

Type E (Con Men). This small group, analogous to Types V and VII previously derived, comprised only five cases, or 1.6% of the total 319. Interestingly enough, three had previously been classified as Type I (Marginal Criminals) during their periods of active narcotic addiction; of the remaining two, one had been previously classified as a Con Man (Type V) and the other as an Illegal Gambler (Type IV). These five men averaged over 200 total crime-days per year at risk while nonaddicted.

Type F (Violent). This type consisted of only 3 cases, or less than 1% of the total. Contrary to expectation, none had previously been so classified (Type III or VIII). Two of the three had been classified as illegal gamblers (Type IV) during their periods of active narcotic addiction, while the other had been classified as a Thief (Type III). These three men averaged over 175 total crime-days per year at risk while nonaddicted, with nearly half of these involving violence.

It seems clear from the foregoing analyses that while most of the subjects committed minimal amounts of crime during their periods of nonaddiction to narcotics, a little over one-fifth (22.9%) continued to engage in

substantial criminal activity. The patterns of criminal activity to emerge were essentially the same regardless of whether the data pertain to periods of active addiction or nonaddiction, i.e., the same basic typology is found. Moreover, there is a strong tendency for those subjects who continue to commit substantial amounts of crime while nonaddicted to maintain the same patterns of criminality they engaged in while addicted, albeit at substantially lower levels. In view of this continuity and similarity, together with the fact that our (and society's) primary concern lies with patterns of criminal activity while subjects are actively addicted to narcotics, the following analyses dealing with type differences in terms of demographic and preaddiction variables were restricted to the first typology derived.

Type Precursors and Correlates

In the course of the individual interviews that averaged over three hours in length, numerous questions were asked concerning preaddiction behaviors, especially in the areas of criminal activity and experience with non-narcotic substances. Potential differences among the eight addict types were explored using one-way analyses of variance or Chi-Square, as appropriate, in a series of univariate analyses. Selected variables nominally significant at the .05 level or beyond are discussed below. However, the reader should be aware that the nominal significance levels reported cannot be seriously entertained in view of the multiplicity problem,^{38,39} and that any "significant" findings are merely leads requiring cross-validation on new samples before they can be accepted as demonstrated.

Race. For the entire sample of 354 men, Blacks comprised 55% of the total and Whites comprised 45%. However, these percentages were not constant over the eight addict types, resulting in a Chi-Square of 24.9 with 7 df ($P < .0008$). As a group, Blacks were overrepresented with respect to Type IV

(Gamblers--77.6%) and Type VI (Violent--91.7%). Whites were overrepresented with respect to Type I (Marginal Criminals--52.1%), Type V (Con Men--63.2%), and Type VIII (Super Violent--80.0%). Racial composition of the remaining types was approximately that of the sample as a whole.

Age. Although age differences across addict types were not pronounced, significant mean differences did exist ($F\{7,346\} = 2.62, P < .02$). By and large, Type II (Dealers), Type VI (Violent), and Type VIII (Super Violent) tended to be younger than the sample mean of 34.1 years, whereas the remaining types tended to be slightly older.

Precocity. A preliminary factor analysis of 40 potential precursor variables revealed a cluster of items referring to the age at which the subject first tried each of the following: alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, marijuana, tranquilizers, methadone, any narcotic, and heroin. Also included in this cluster were age at first marriage or common-law relationship and age at first conviction. Exact factor scores^{40,41} were computed for each subject on this dimension, obviously one of precocity for deviance, and type means were compared using analysis of variance. The resulting $F(7,346)$ of 2.31 is significant at the .05 level. Members of Type VIII (Super Violent) were nearly a standard deviation above the mean on precocity, and Type II (Thieves), Type V (Con Men), and Type VI (Violent) were deviantly precocious to a somewhat lesser degree.

Prior Criminal Activity. A second cluster of items revealed by the above-mentioned factor analysis pertained to criminal activity prior to addiction. Items loading heavily on this factor included: engaged in criminal activity before first narcotic use, membership in a street gang, appearance in juvenile court, having been sent to a training school, money made per theft before first narcotic use, and number of contacts with juvenile authorities. As

before, exact factor scores were computed for each subject on this dimension, and type means were compared using analysis of variance. The resulting $F(7,346)$ of 4.51 is significant beyond the .001 level. As might be expected, Type VIII (Super Violent) and Type VII (Super Con Men) were nearly a standard deviation above the total group mean on this measure, while Type I (Marginal Criminals) was substantially below the total group average.

COMMENT

Although male narcotic addicts as a group engage in a great deal of crime, the amounts and types of crimes committed vary considerably across individuals and, for the majority of addicts, are strongly influenced by current addiction status. Overall, the 354 men studied herein had amassed a total of 774,777 crime-days by the time of interview (680,504 while actively addicted; 94,273 while nonaddicted) during a total period of 1,223,930 man-days at large in the community. Since more than one crime of a specific type may have been committed by any given addict on any given day, these figures should be regarded as lower bound estimates of the actual numbers of crimes committed. Viewed from this perspective, it seems surprising that society has shown itself willing to tolerate such an immense drain on its resources. The reasons for this undoubtedly lie in the continuing absence of any solution to the problem that is both acceptable and effective.⁴²

One approach to a solution, as several writers have suggested,^{17,43,44} involves the early identification of those individuals especially prone to commit large numbers of serious crimes. Such persons are frequently well known to juvenile correction authorities by the time they become teenagers; however, the degree to which the intervention of correction agencies is effective in interrupting budding criminal careers is problematical. If identification is delayed until criminal patterns have become well established,

it may still be possible to isolate or otherwise intensively treat those who represent a special danger to society. Obviously, these are areas in which a great deal of careful attention is urgently needed.

Finally, the long and continuing controversy⁴⁵⁻⁴⁸ over whether narcotic addicts primarily commit crimes to support their habits or whether addiction is merely one more manifestation of a deviant and criminal lifestyle would seem pointless in view of the fact that addicts cannot be regarded as a homogeneous group. Some addicts commit a great deal of crime, regardless of whether or not they are actively addicted, and their criminal career may precede their addiction to narcotics by several years. On the other hand, many addicts commit relatively small numbers of crimes that are obviously related to their need to purchase drugs. Moreover, their criminal activities may drop to trivial levels during periods of nonaddiction. Clearly, there are different types of addicts and different pathways to addiction, and effective strategies for dealing with the problem may well depend on recognition of this diversity and in tailoring countermeasures, both therapeutic and judicial, to individual requirements.

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Table 1.- Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Five Crime-Days Per Year at Risk Measures Computed Separately for Addiction and Nonaddiction Periods*

Crime Days Measure	While Addicted (N=354)			While Not Addicted (N=319)		
	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range
CD-1 (Theft)	118	127	0-365	27	78	0-365
CD-2 (Violence)	7	29	0-269	1	10	0-157
CD-3 (Dealing)	103	126	0-365	26	80	0-365
CD-4 (Con Games)	25	67	0-365	2	15	0-228
CD-5 (Other)	70	122	0-365	27	87	0-365

*All figures are rounded to the nearest day.

Table 2.- Means of Eight Addict Types on Five Crime-Days Per Year at Risk Measures
Pertaining to Periods of Active Addiction to Narcotics* (N=354)

Type	N	Measure					Total Crime Days
		CD-1 (Theft)	CD-2 (Violence)	CD-3 (Drug Dealing)	CD-4 (Con Games)	CD-5 (Other)	
I. (Marginal Criminals)	117	36	0	25	8	21	90
II. (Drug Dealers)	72	89	3	287	8	16	403
III. (Thieves)	73	290	1	41	11	22	365
IV. (Illegal Gamblers)	49	103	2	104	8	327	544
V. (Con Men)	19	75	5	124	205	22	431
VI. (Violent)	12	153	76	76	3	36	344
VII. (Super Con Men)	7	127	4	134	322	265	852
VIII. (Super Violent)	5	116	206	144	0	131	597

*All means are rounded to the nearest day.

Table 3.- Means of Six Addict Types on Five Crime-Days Per Year at Risk Measures
Pertaining to Periods of Nonaddiction to Narcotics* (N=319)

Type	N	Measure					Total Crime Days
		CD-1 (Theft)	CD-2 (Violence)	CD-3 (Drug Dealing)	CD-4 (Con Games)	CD-5 (Other)	
A. (Marginal Criminals)	246	3	0	4	1	3	11
B. (Drug Dealers)	23	42	1	290	1	28	362
C. (Thieves)	22	281	1	3	0	23	308
D. (Illegal Gamblers)	20	9	0	16	0	327	352
E. (Con Men)	5	20	2	38	97	46	203
F. (Violent)	3	75	86	7	1	10	179

*All means are rounded to the nearest day.

ABSTRACT

The present series of analyses dealt with six, interrelated issues pertaining to the relationships between criminal activity and the use of nonnarcotic substances among male narcotic addicts during periods of active addiction as well as during periods of nonaddiction to narcotics. A central finding was that nearly all relationships found were a function of race (Black/White) and narcotic addiction status (actively addicted/not addicted to narcotics). Thus, no generalizations are possible with respect to "addicts in general." Rather, all findings are specific to one of the four possible race/narcotic addiction status combinations.

Among the major findings are the following: 1) Use of a number of different nonnarcotic drugs is associated with certain types of criminal activity, the specific relationships being a function of race and narcotic addiction status. 2) Both Blacks and Whites tend to use more nonnarcotic drugs during periods of active addiction to narcotics than during periods of nonaddiction. 3) The majority of addicts, both Blacks and Whites, derive the bulk of their income from illegal sources during periods of active narcotic addiction; however, the majority of addicts get less than one-half of their incomes from illegal sources during periods of nonaddiction.

END