

Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research

DRUGS AND CRIME



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DRUGS AND CRIME

A Survey of N.S.W. Prison Property Offenders

1984

**by Ian Dobinson
Pat Ward**

NCJRS

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Preface

The escalating rate of property crime in New South Wales, especially burglary and armed robbery, and the consequent assumption that such crimes are drug-related provided the background for this study. The aim of the study was to examine this assertion scientifically. It was subsequently found that there is a link between the commission of property crime and drug addiction in New South Wales.

It is always difficult for society to come to grips with broad-ranging problems such as drug addiction and the growth of property crime. They impinge on several government jurisdictions, private organizations and members of the public living in many localities. It is for this very reason that governments establish broad-based bodies such as the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research and the N.S.W. Drug and Alcohol Authority. It is hoped that the information contained in this report will be of value in the establishment of policy.

A special acknowledgement must first be made to the N.S.W. Drug and Alcohol Authority for its financial assistance. Without such assistance the study would not have been possible. In this regard the continued support of Bruce Flaherty of the Authority is appreciated.

Thanks are also due to those staff members of the Bureau who assisted in this project, especially Don Weatherburn, Judy Cashmore, Trevor Milne, Kate Aisbett, Jackie Bransdon and Mariam Smith, and to all those in the Attorney-General's typing pool who worked on the report.

The project has particular bearing on the N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services. The Corrective Services Commission has been encouraging throughout this study and special thanks are due to Don Porritt of the Department of Corrective Services for his assistance in arranging access at the gaols visited and to all officers and administrative staff at those gaols. Finally we would also thank all those prisoners who voluntarily undertook the interview.

Dr. A.J. Sutton
Director

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Introduction

The issue of drug use and its relationship to crime can be approached in a variety of ways. This study addressed the question of drug-related property crime by use of a questionnaire and drew its conclusions from answers given by prisoners in institutions in New South Wales and the statistical analysis of those responses.

The label "drug related" is often used to characterize both violent and non-violent crime. It is widely accepted that there are four major categories of drug-related crime. They are as follows:

1. The supply and physical use of so-called illicit drugs, or illegal supply, and use of licit drugs;
2. The commission of crime whilst under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol — that is, so called pharmacological effects;
3. The commission of income-generating property crime to purchase drugs;
4. Organised crime - for example murders, kidnapping, corruption of police and so on.

Many academic studies and judicial inquiries at all levels have attempted to investigate these types of drug-related crime. All have been plagued by similar problems, mainly concerning:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| (a) The size of user populations; | (c) The levels of supply (local and imported); |
| (b) The levels of drug consumption; | (d) The amount of crime. |

The drug which has been the major concern of most studies and inquiries is heroin. In the Australian context, there is a dearth of knowledge about heroin-related crime. Where attempts have been made to investigate the relationship between heroin and crime, information has often been based on guestimates of population size, consumption and availability. Although this study is only concerned with drug-related property crime, it is of interest to refer briefly to what has occurred in Australia. With regard to the supply and physical use of heroin, estimates have been made previously as to the number of "hard-core" heroin users in Australia. The Woodward Royal Commission¹ estimated that in 1979 New South Wales had a heroin-user population of some 10,000, consuming on average 16.2 pure weight grams of heroin annually. With regard to Australia-wide, the Williams Royal Commission² reported an estimate of between 14,000 and 20,000 "hard-core" heroin users. Further to this, the Williams Commission reported an average annual consumption of pure heroin by an individual user of 51.5 weight grams. The fact that two Commissions could come to such diverse findings as to the level of consumption illustrates the difficulties in making any precise conclusions about drug-related crime of any type.

If then we are to believe the Royal Commission findings as they relate to New South Wales, we have a situation of at least 10,000 possible "hard-core" heroin addicts using on average either 16.2 (Woodward) or 51.5 (Williams) grams of pure heroin annually. Further, it should be remembered that this particular data is now some three to four years old, and it has been suggested by the Stewart Royal Commission³ that these two base figures could well have increased since they were first published.

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1. New South Wales Royal Commission into Drug Trafficking. *Report*. Vol I-III. Sydney: N.S.W. Government Printer, 1980.
 2. Australian Royal Commission of Inquiry into Drugs. *Report*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1980.
 3. New South Wales Royal Commission into Drug Trafficking. *Report*. Sydney: N.S.W. Government Printer, 1983.

Little is known about the extent of crime relating to the supply of drugs in Australia. Royal Commissions have investigated at length, for example, the "Mr. Asia" connection and the Griffith marijuana network but their findings have been limited. Estimates of the consumption and supply of both heroin and cannabis have been largely speculative.

In relation to heroin in particular, the Williams Commission estimated that, in 1979, between 900 and 1,300 kilograms of 80% pure heroin would need to have been imported to satisfy the requirements of so-called "hard-core" addicts in Australia.

In addition to the group of "hard-core" heroin users, there are unknown numbers of casual users. Although official conviction records are of interest, they clearly underestimate the level of drug usage and supply.

If we are to believe the Woodward Commission's estimate of the number of heroin addicts and the Williams Commission's level of importation, then conviction rates fall far short of actual usage and supply, there being approximately 1,200 opiate convictions in 1982.

Furthermore, if the situation as reflected by the media is to be believed, it would seem that an alarming percentage of both violent and non-violent crime has a drug-related element. Headlines such as "Drug Addicts Blamed for Robberies" (*Daily Telegraph*, 3 June 1983), "Drug Addicts Commit 75% of Armed Hold-ups" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 May 1983) and "Most Thieves Steal to Finance Drug Habit" (*Daily Telegraph*, 18 August 1983) fill our daily newspapers.

The main objective of this study was to observe the relationship between the regular use of addictive drugs and the commission of property crime. This relationship can be examined from two separate but related perspectives. These are:

1. The extent to which the commission of property crime is associated with the regular use of addictive drugs;
2. The extent to which the regular use of addictive drugs is associated with the commission of property crime.

Although the relationship which we wish to observe is the same, it needs to be emphasized that these two questions are separately addressable since it is conceivable, for example, that either:

- a) The use of addictive drugs is associated with the commission of property crime, but most property crime is not committed by regular users of drugs; or
- b) The commission of property crime is associated with the regular use of addictive drugs, but most drug use is not associated with the commission of property crime.

The primary focus of this study, however, is with question 1 above, that is, the extent to which property offenders are regular users of drugs and, accordingly, the extent to which property crime in New South Wales is drug-related.

It is conceded that question 2 addresses the problem from a different perspective and it is hoped that further studies will provide information about the extent to which known drug users commit property crime. The need for such research will be expanded upon in the conclusion (see Chapter IV).

Unfortunately, little research has been done on either question in Australia. In particular, little has been done to test the credibility of what have become common media statements or to look generally at the relationship between drug use and property crime in this country. Some heroin addicts, for example, do steal and rob to support their drug habits, but the questions that must be investigated are how many addicts commit property crime and how much crime. It is therefore to the United States that one is forced to look in order to acquire information about the particular relationship between drugs and crime. In this regard Chapter I will deal at length with the overseas literature (especially American) on the subject.

Chapter I

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The presumption of an existing link between narcotic use and property crime has been an accepted principle in the formulation of drug-control policy in the United States of America and Australia. Since the nineteenth century the influence of this presumed connection has been critical in the establishment and maintenance of a punitive approach to drug-abuse prevention. Although initially the acceptance of this relationship was based on emotional rather than scientific issues, such is not the case today. Extensive study in the area has enabled researchers to verify the existence of a drugs-crime connection although they have yet to determine the nature of the relationship. The inability to define the parameters of the drugs-crime link has brought drug-control policy into question, with scientists concluding that the available data does not substantiate the rhetoric upon which these policies are based.

Critical to the policy debate is the Drug Use and Crime Report (1976) by the U.S. National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA). The report, representing an exhaustive assessment of the drugs and crime literature, precipitated a major controversy within the drug-abuse and criminology communities. Aware of the methodological problems, the Institute was unwilling to accept the implied certainty of previously-reported research findings, particularly those claiming to have demonstrated a causal relationship between narcotic use and predatory criminal behaviour. In effect

"(s)ocial scientists employing their professional jargon of sampling, measurement and causality (had) introduced uncertainty into what had previously been a politically sensitive but stable area of public policy" (Weissman 1978: p.172).

Methodological Problems

The lack of confidence in the findings of previous research displayed by the NIDA panel was based on the observation that the research conditions and methodologies utilized were far from ideal. If research accuracy is to be achieved, it is essential that the application of conceptual definitions and measurement devices be consistent. Unfortunately, research into the drugs-crime link fails to meet these requirements. Neither the parameters, nor the indices of the relationship have been defined, and the application of a variety of methodologies has made a comparison of the studies difficult.

A. Sampling Problems

Assertions about the drugs-crime link have been based on data obtained predominantly from incarcerated or in-treatment heroin addicts. The question arises, however, as to what extent these identified heroin users are representative of the heroin population as a whole. Incarcerated samples are subject to a number of biases. In particular, individuals who become caught up in the workings of the criminal justice system are liable to be those who operate in such a way as to run a high risk of detection by authorities. This may be due to either their involvement in excessive amounts of crime, their lack of skill when carrying out these crimes, and/or their simple exposure as a result of previous encounters with the authorities. In addition, as Datesman and Inciardi (1979) emphasized, captive samples are dependent on, and hence biased by, the relative efficiency of police agencies and the exercise of discretion by police officers.

Subjects drawn from treatment programs are also not necessarily representative of active users; studies have indicated that substantial numbers of addicts never seek treatment. Barton (1980) found that no more than one quarter of the number of inmates who claimed they were under the influence of drugs (alcohol excluded) at the time of

their offence were enrolled in, or had completed, such programs. Gould (1974) also highlighted the problem of "expectancy biases" when using treatment samples. He suggested that the demand operating on addicts trying to get into treatment programs, at the time of their first interview, was to exaggerate the seriousness of their circumstances including their involvement in crime in order to enhance their chances for early program acceptance. Once in treatment, however, the situational demands on a drug user were to de-emphasize his/her criminal involvement. Additionally, Gould (1974) believed that addicts were more likely to seek treatment at the point in their drug-use careers when they were also involved in crime. He suggested that the majority of users sought treatment only after they had been arrested in order to present a favourable picture to the sentencing judge, or as a direct result of a court stipulation or probation order.

Studies such as those of Hughes, Crawford, Barker, Schumann and Jaffee (1971), Goldstein (1981), and Datesman and Inciardi (1979) have attempted to overcome these sampling problems by drawing on active street users. These too, however, are plagued with inherent biases. First, they deal with those people who live off the streets and are intricately involved in the drug network and hence fail to reach addicts from the middle and upper classes or the professional spheres. Second, Goldman (1981) concluded that property offences financed a much smaller proportion of the total heroin consumption than was usually assumed (p.176). It would appear, then, that, unlike incarcerated addicts, the largest proportion of illegal funds earned by active users results from drug sales rather than property crime.

A further problem of interpretation raised by Wardlaw (1983) is that of generalizing from data obtained from one country to another. Differences between the United States and Britain with regard to heroin users have been illustrated by Baridon (1976) and Mott (1980). Baridon claimed that in Britain, where there was an increase in crime amongst addicts, the increase was in crimes directly concerned with the procuring of drugs. On the other hand, in the United States, property offences outnumber drug offences amongst addicts. Baridon believed that the drugs-crime connection was essentially an economic one determined by the legal stance adopted. Where there is no legislation to prohibit the non-medical use of narcotics, he suggested that there would be no connection between drug addiction and crime. Mott (1980) also concluded that, in Britain, the major effect of opiate use on criminal activity was an increase in the number of convictions for drug offences and in the number of people convicted of such offences.

"Thus, apart from drug offenses, and allowing for their criminal histories before coming to notice, addicts are no more likely to be convicted of offenses than are non-addicts" (p.447).

Further, Chaiken and Chaiken (1982) found interstate differences in their study of the effect of drug use on the incidence of criminal behaviour for gaol inmates under sentence in California, Michigan and Texas. Such differences included numbers using heroin, drug cost and crime patterns.

Indeed there is even a difference in the support mechanisms utilized between males and females. Silverman (1982), upon reviewing the literature, found that unlike males, females were more likely to be dependent on others and welfare services and less likely to be dependent on illegal activities as a primary source of support. She concluded that where female addicts did rely on crime to support their habit they chose to engage in the offences of prostitution, larceny, forgery and/or drug sales. As a conservative estimate, Silverman reported that for 30 to 40 per cent of these addicts the primary offence was prostitution. Silverman claimed that women pursued this activity because it was consistent with their skills and opportunities and, most importantly, it was economically rewarding. Findings such as these, although identifying prostitution as a major source of

income for female addicts, clearly detail a wide variety of other criminal activities. Thus, the stereotypical characterization of the female heroin user as a prostitute is questioned by these results.

The problem of drawing inferences about the heroin-user population from specific addict samples is best illustrated by Singer (1971). Based on an estimated number of addicts in New York City, a daily average habit cost, and the assumption that the addict must sell his stolen property to a fence for only about a quarter of its value, Singer calculated that addicts must steal some \$4 to \$5 billion a year to pay for their heroin. However,

"(i)f we credit addicts with *all* of the shoplifting, *all* of the theft from homes, and *all* of the theft from persons, total property stolen by addicts in a year in New York City amounts to some \$330 million..." (Singer, 1971: pp.5-6).

Potteiger (1981) suggested that some of these problems might be overcome by looking at large multiple samples, gathering data on the same drugs and crime topics, and using the same data collection instrument for randomly drawn samples of both captive and active offenders. Where this is not possible or has not been done, however, conclusions may still be valid and of great value as long as they are interpreted as pertaining to the particular sample chosen and not to the heroin-user population in general.

B. Problems of Measurement

Other methodological issues which have confounded contemporary research relate to the conceptual definitions of drug use and criminal activities and the data sources utilized to obtain this information. While these problems are easy to identify, they are difficult to resolve.

Data obtained through self-report is subject to the limitations of memory recall, the willingness of the subject to divulge truthful information, and the operation of expectancy biases within the context of the interview. With regard to incarcerated subjects, there may also be a difference in responses between users and non-users owing to their interpretation of the aims of the study and the consequent benefits they see that it may or may not have for them. For example, if users see the consequence of the study as being a shift away from the use of the criminal sanction to regulate drug abuse, they may be inclined to exaggerate the importance of their drug-taking as a motive for their criminal activity. Non-users, on the other hand, with no such vested interest, are liable to underestimate their criminal activities and report only information that they think the interviewer already has access to.

In spite of these inherent problems, however, self-report appears to be subject to fewer restrictions than official records. Inciardi (1979) using both data sources found that the discrepancy between the two was enormous. His results revealed that arrest rates amongst users were low. He found that of the 118,134 crimes reported, only 286 resulted in arrest, "a ratio of 1 arrest for every 413 crimes committed" (p.344). Additionally, he found that it was not until two years after the initiation of criminal activity that the users in his study exhibited arrest histories. In reference to undetected crime, similar results were found by Inciardi and Chambers (1972) and Datesman and Inciardi (1979). Inciardi and Chambers studied unreported crime amongst drug addicts and found that there was only 1 arrest for every 120 offences committed. The results of Datesman and Inciardi show that for their sample less than 0.5 per cent of the offences resulted in arrest.

Two additional problems associated with official records are emphasized by Stephens and Ellis (1975). First, arrest figures are dependent upon the nature of the offence and the intensity of the enforcement methods implemented by the police. Second, fluctua-

tions in arrest statistics may be due to variations in police administrative policy or investigative efficiency, rather than an actual change in the underlying crime picture.

A problem, however, more fundamental than those of either sampling or data collection, is that of defining drug use and criminality. In regard to drug use, by failing to distinguish between drug types, researchers are unable to account for the pharmacological effects and specific costs of particular drugs. In so doing, there is no consideration of the influence of these two factors on an individual's behaviour. While James, Gosho and Wohl (1979) failed to make this distinction when they defined drug-taking as the non-prescription use of either narcotic or non-narcotic drugs, Weitzel and Blount (1982) failed even to make the basic differentiation between alcohol and other drugs. Even where studies have considered particular drugs in isolation (e.g. Inciardi, 1979; Barton, 1980), there has been little or no attempt to define what level of use constitutes a user.

There have been similar problems in defining criminality. Research generally has found that a large proportion of arrests of heroin users occurs because of violations of drug laws (Inciardi and Chambers, 1972; Stephens and Ellis, 1975). In investigating the statistical association between drug use and crime, therefore, where researchers fail to exclude drug offences, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the results are merely a product of the methodology. In addition, the type of crime must be considered when making conclusions about the amount of crime committed and changes in criminal activity as a result of variations in drug-taking patterns. Since the degree of risk involved, the penal consequences, and the possible monetary gain varies from crime to crime, one would expect certain offences to occur more regularly than others. In this regard, where a user had committed six armed robberies and a non-user had shoplifted on ten separate occasions, it would be fallacious to conclude that the user was less involved in property crime than the non-user.

In conclusion then, researchers investigating the drugs-crime link are confronted with an array of methodological problems. First, they must consider the type of crime, the type of drug and the amount consumed; second, they must recognize the limitations of the various data sources; and third, they must be aware that no one type of sample is representative of drug-takers as a whole. It is imperative that future researchers provide more refined and precise definitions, and that, where possible, similar methodologies be used in order to allow for comparisons. In addition, cross-sectional studies of drug users are needed if a more thorough understanding of the drugs-crime nexus is to be obtained.

The Nature of the Drugs-Crime Relationship

Three theories have been postulated as to the nature of the drugs-crime link. Initially, it was believed that heroin caused crime as a result of the pharmacological effects of the drug. The press printed lurid stories about "reefer madness" and created stereotypes portraying negroes as "crazed" rapists and the Chinese as "yellow devils" (Tieman, 1981). It was this social environment, not scientific evidence, that provided the assumptions upon which drug-control policy was formulated in the early 1900s. Social scientists, however, concerned about the growth of drug abuse and the failure of policy to meet its objectives, set about investigating these assumptions. Research has since shown that the relationship between drug use and crime is an extremely complex phenomenon which cannot be reduced to fit a simple cause and effect model. Consequently, researchers have been more concerned with simply demonstrating that there is a statistical association between the two and, more importantly, with trying to identify those factors which determine and influence the relationship. In this regard, there are some (Stephens and Ellis, 1975; McBride and McCoy, 1981), who have hypothesized that the statistical association is spurious and that both criminal behaviour and drug-using be-

haviour are the result of other extraneous factors; namely that they are the product of the same social milieu.

A. Causal

Since the notions of "reefer madness" and related criminogenic syndromes were dominant factors in the formulation of drug control policy, it is not surprising that researchers were initially concerned with determining whether drug abuse succeeded or preceded criminal behaviour. By focusing on this issue two hypotheses were tested. The first suggested that addiction *per se* led to criminal activity while the second held that heroin users were primarily drawn from the criminal element of society and that their use of drugs was just another expression of deviancy.

The policy implications of each of these hypotheses are, however, quite distinct. If it is true that the heroin addict is first and foremost a criminal, then it would seem that criminal law and law-enforcement methods constitute the most appropriate approach to the prevention of illegal use and its associated crime. On the other hand, if it is accepted that drug abuse causes the individual to engage in criminal activities, then it is imperative that the reason for this connection be isolated and policies formulated accordingly. In any case, the latter sequence suggests that crime is just a symptom of the addictive state; hence, treatment of drug abuse, rather than punishment of the consequent criminal act, would appear the most appropriate strategy in breaking the drugs-crime nexus.

Unfortunately, the results of temporal sequence investigations have been both confusing and contradictory. Dai (1937) in his study looking at the distribution of opiate use in Chicago found that, of his 1,049 addicts, 81% had not been arrested prior to addiction. Additionally, of those who did have prior records, the majority had been arrested for narcotic offences. Pescore (cited by Wardlaw, 1983) reported similar results in 1938. He found that of 1,000 addicts admitted to hospital, only 27% had records, primarily for misdemeanours, prior to the onset of addiction. Subsequent studies, however, have demonstrated a steady growth in the number of drug users with criminal backgrounds. While prior to 1950 the majority of addicts lacked previous criminal histories, it appears now that the reverse is true.

Wardlaw (1978), using criminal records, looked at the sequence between first drug conviction and first non-drug conviction for a sample of 482 incarcerated narcotic users in Australia and found that 46.9% of this sample had a criminal record before being convicted of a drug offence. In New South Wales the number of narcotic users who had a criminal record prior to their first drug conviction was somewhat higher: 58.2% of the 91 imprisoned narcotic users. Similarly, Stephens and Ellis (1975) examined arrest records for a sample of male addicts convicted of a misdemeanour or felony and remanded to a treatment centre. In contrast, they found that only 37% of their subjects had arrest histories prior to the initiation of drug abuse. The interpretation of studies such as these is, however, severely restricted by the confounding problems associated with the use of official records as a data source. Since the majority of crimes only come to the attention of police because of public reporting, it follows that the detection of drug offences such as use and possession, which have no identifiable victim, are extremely hard to detect. The comparison of drug offences and non-drug crimes then, appears to be a tenuous one, as the probability of their being officially recorded is not equal.

James et al. (1979) in their study of 268 incarcerated females found that the mean age of first narcotic use was greater than the mean age of first criminal involvement. Further analysis revealed that while first juvenile arrest preceded first narcotic use, subjects on average reported being first arrested as an adult after the initial use of narcotics. Using self-report data, as did the previous study, Brown, Gauvey, Meyers and Stark (1971)

found that the majority of their sample, drawn from three treatment facilities, had committed illegal acts prior to their first use of heroin. In fact they reported that 53% of the men, 55% of the juveniles and 20% of the females interviewed had even been arrested before they ever used narcotics.

In an attempt to overcome the inherent biases of captive samples, Inciardi (1979) turned his attention to a group of active street addicts. Using self-report information, he claimed that the median age of first criminal involvement preceded that of first narcotic use. Inciardi's data, however, highlights the problems of using unitary measures of central tendency. It was reported in his study that the median age of first drug abuse was 15.2, whereas the median age of first marijuana use was 15.5. Furthermore, by reducing the answer simply to that of which comes first, drugs or crime, the researcher overlooks the unique temporal sequence patterns and the conditions that create them.

"Some members of the samples were drug users first, other members were criminals first and still others embraced both drug use and crime simultaneously" (Inciardi 1979: p.336).

Perhaps the most comprehensive study to date is that described by Potteiger (1981) in which 942 heroin addicts, both captive and active, from Miami (Florida) and San Antonio (Texas) were interviewed. One result found by Potteiger was that captive samples were more likely to be involved in crime before the onset of addiction than active samples.

Although many researchers have concluded that there is a high probability of criminality preceding heroin addiction (Baridon, 1976; McBride and McCoy, 1982), the diverse results should alert us to the futility of the pursuit of a simple cause and effect relationship. It may be that the issue of sequence of events is "less significant than determining the continuing influences which sustain criminality and opiate addiction over a period of years or decades" (Ball, Rosen, Flueck and Nurco 1980: p.2).

B. Statistical

Other studies, which bypass the notion of causality, have sought to confirm the drugs-crime relationship by establishing a statistical association between the two. Barton (1980) interviewed 10,400 inmates of state correctional facilities and found that 61% had used heroin, methadone, cocaine, marijuana, amphetamines and/or barbiturates at some point in their lives. Further analysis showed that 30% had a history of heroin use. Chaiken and Chaiken (1982) also examined the effect of drug use on the incidence of criminal behaviour when they studied nearly 2,200 prison and gaol inmates in California, Michigan and Texas. They reported that in California, Michigan and Texas, 40%, 24% and 19% respectively of the respondents were heroin users. Additionally, their results revealed that users committed proportionately more crimes than non-users.

Drawing their sample of heroin addicts from a treatment population, Voss and Stephens (1973) found that the overwhelming majority of respondents admitted to the Lexington Hospital between 1966 and 1969, regardless of race or sex, had engaged in criminal activities. Similarly, Inciardi and Chambers (1972) reported that amongst their subjects, a sample of narcotic addicts on treatment in New York City, there was extensive involvement in criminal behaviour. Of the 38 males interviewed, all had engaged in criminal acts. As to the female cohort only 7 of the 52 cases denied having ever engaged in illegal acts other than the purchase and possession of drugs. Stephens and Ellis (1975) who took their sample from the same treatment facility also looked at the involvement of narcotic addicts in crime. Their study indicated, once again, that a large proportion of drug users in treatment engaged in criminal activities. For example, the 103 narcotic addicts admitted to treatment in 1972 had accumulated 204 arrests in the previous year.

Of these 57.9% were for offences other than the possession, sale and/or use, of drugs. It must be noted, however, that the treatment centre referred to by Inciardi and Chambers (1972), and Stephens and Ellis (1975) was the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission (NACC). Approximately one half of all persons committed to the Commission have been convicted of a misdemeanour or felony and remanded to NACC for treatment.

Another means of establishing whether a statistical association exists between drug use and criminality is to examine the effect that changes in drug-taking patterns have on criminal activities. Looking specifically at this issue, McGlothlin, Anglin and Wilson (1978) collected self-report and official data about 690 narcotic addicts admitted to the California Civil Addict Program. Respondents were asked about their drug use, employment history and criminal activities for the period commencing 12 months prior to their first daily use of narcotics until the last day of daily use, or, alternatively, the time of interview. Data from official sources revealed that arrests for drug offences were strongly related to the frequency of narcotic use. More importantly, however, McGlothlin et al. (1978) found that as narcotic use declined, so too did the number of arrests recorded for property offences. Again, the percentage of time spent in illicit activities, the number of reported property crimes, and the amount of income earned from crime decreased in a consistent manner with decreasing narcotic use.

Similar results were reported by Johnson, Goldstein and Preble in 1979 (cited by Wardlaw, 1983) in their study of the economic behaviour of "on the street" addicts. They found that their subjects did not obtain money from criminal activities on 95% of the days that heroin was not purchased. In contrast, however, when large amounts of heroin were purchased on 47% of these days, the users acquired cash from illicit activities. Ball, Rosen, Friedman and Nurco (1979; cited Wardlaw, 1983) found the same correlation between illicit activities and the purchasing of heroin when they studied 833 narcotic addicts in Baltimore. They reported that their subjects were using opiates regularly on 91% of the days when crimes were committed. Conversely, on only 9% of crime days were their subjects not using narcotics.

Further evidence of the statistical association between drug use and crime is provided by Nurco, Cisin and Balter (1981) and Ball et al. (1980). Nurco et al. (1981) in developing a typology of addict careers selected a random sample from a racially and chronologically stratified list of male narcotic abusers first known to the Baltimore Police Department between 1952 and 1976 inclusive. They found that 69.3% of their sample of 238 users had experienced voluntary periods of non-addiction. Furthermore, they discovered that while legitimate employment accounted for only a small proportion of the addicts' total income during periods of addiction, this was not the case during phases of non-addiction. During abstinence, the primary source of income for the majority of addicts was through legitimate channels. Using the same sample base, Ball et al. (1980) also observed that the extent of the addict's criminal activities was dependent upon whether or not he was using opiates at the time. Overall "the number of offences increased six-fold when their subjects were addicted" (p.23).

In light of the literature reviewed so far, it seems that drug addiction is associated with crime, but that the data available is not sufficient to substantiate the inference that the relationship is a causal one. Rosenthal and Nakkash (1982) suggest that both criminality and drug abuse may be manifestations of a deviant lifestyle in which drugs are used as a form of socialization within the criminal sub-culture. Such analysis poses the additional question of whether narcotic addicts are drawn from population groups highly susceptible to both crime and addiction. As McBride and McCoy (1982) suggest,

"(t)he implication is that the statistical association is spurious and that both criminal behaviour and drug using behaviour are the result of the same variables" (p.146).

C. Spurious

Researchers who hold that the drugs-crime connection is a spurious one believe that both opiate use and delinquency are the products of a constellation of variables in the ecological environment and that both behaviours are an attempt to adapt to such an environment. Dai (1937) was one of the first to suggest that opiate use was not the causal effect of criminal behaviour but was rather the consequence of the same environmental milieu. In his study examining the distribution of opiate use in Chicago, he found that areas characterized by poor housing, disrupted families, transient populations and lower socio-economic status had the highest rates of known opiate use. He also noted that the areas in which the rate of heroin use was high were the same as those found by previous studies (e.g. Shaw and McKay, 1931; cited McBride and McCoy, 1982) to have high delinquency rates. Since Dai's pioneering work, however, there have been few studies which have sought an ecological explanation for the drugs-crime nexus. The most recent is that of McBride and McCoy (1981). These investigators examined the areal distribution of drug-using criminals, non-drug-using criminals and non-criminal drug users in Dade County, Florida. The results suggest

"that both narcotic users and individuals engaged in property crime, but not narcotic use, and individuals engaged in both are drawn not only from the same types of areas but also exactly the same neighbourhoods" (p.297).

Research such as this questions the belief that the treatment of narcotic abuse will substantially reduce the level of property crime. If it is true that drug addiction and crime are the product of the social environment, then attempts to break the drugs-crime relationship without affecting the context within which it occurs will be futile in the long term.

Although the initial phase of the drugs-crime link may be considered spurious, the relationship that exists once the individual has established his or her habit can hardly be thought of as such. While an ecological perspective has provided a highly plausible explanation as to why individuals begin to commit crime and/or use heroin, it fails to account for why addict criminals commit more crime than criminals (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982); and why the criminal activities of heroin users fluctuate according to their drug-taking behaviour (Ball et al., 1980; McGlothlin et al., 1978). It appears, then, that once an individual becomes an addict, heroin usually emerges as the primary motive for crime (Inciardi, 1979). In this regard, it can be said that there is a statistical association between the two. Indeed, for some individuals the relationship could be thought of as causal.

Reasons for the Drugs-Crime Link

Simply describing the nature of the relationship as statistical or causal, however, does not explain why the two are related. While researchers who postulated that drug-taking and crime were the product of an extraneous set of variables had to allude to what those factors might be, such was not the case for those who preferred to think of drugs and crime as causally or statistically related. Explanations therefore, as to why the two are related have generally been on a post-hoc basis. To date only two reasons have been considered. First, that the pharmacological effects of the drug causes the addict to commit crime; and second, that the high cost of the drug forces the user to engage in crime in order to finance his or her habit.

A. Pharmacological

Initially it was believed that it was the pharmacological effects of the drug which incited its user to engage in criminal activities. In the early 1900s, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Narcotics was active in describing the drug addict as behaving in a bizarre, unpredictable and often violent manner. Quite literally, drug users were portrayed as monsters and fiends (McBride, 1981). More recently, however, the concept that the drugs-crime relationship is a pharmacological one has been restricted to drugs other than heroin. While alcohol, barbiturates (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982) and some psycho-active drugs such as LSD and PCP (Tinklenburg and Woodrow, 1973; Burnes and Lerner, 1976: cited in McBride and McCoy, 1982) have been linked to aggressive or violent behaviour as a result of the pharmacological effects of the drug, heroin has not. Some researchers (e.g. Stephens and Ellis, 1975) have, however, noted a trend of increased violence among narcotic users. McBride (1981) suggests that where this is occurring, it is usually within the context of the drug deal. He believes that the interactional context of the drug deal is very likely to produce violence, since the transaction involves mutually suspicious individuals, each of whom has a strong motivation to obtain as much as possible and give as little as possible.

B. Economic

The most commonly held view on the heroin-crime connection, however, is that it is a direct result of the cost of the drug itself. The explanation offered by addicts for their involvement in illicit activities and an analysis of the type of crimes undertaken by users provides support for this hypothesis. In reference to the former, Brown et al. (1971) reported that for their sample of addict-clients one-third of the women quoted having become initially involved in crime in order to purchase drugs. In contrast, only 18% of the men and 14% of the juveniles first committed criminal acts in an effort to obtain drugs. Since the subjects in the study of Brown et al. (1971), particularly the males, were "drawn from a culture or sub-culture already invested in illegal activity" (p.642), it is not surprising that the first illegal act of the majority of respondents was not done for the purchase of drugs. A question of greater importance, however, and one not addressed by Brown et al. (1971) is whether, after initiation of drug use, addicts continued to commit crime in order to support their habits. Inciardi (1979) looked at this issue when he collected information about the criminal activities of 356 active heroin users. His data demonstrated that not only were most of the heroin users committing crimes, but that they were doing so extensively and for the purpose of supporting their drug use. For the 12-month period prior to the interview, 98.7% of the males and 96.6% of the females reported committing crimes, with 80.5% and 87.7% of such criminality for males and females respectively being undertaken for the purpose of supporting a drug habit.

The notion of an economically-perpetuated link gets the bulk of its support, however, from analyses of the types of crime addicts engage in. Stephens and Ellis (1975) examined the official arrest records for their sample of male addicts and found that over 75% of the arrests were for drug and property crime offences. In an attempt to ascertain whether there was a change in the nature of the crime committed over a period of addiction, they looked at those cohorts who had been admitted to treatment in 1971 and whose arrest history was recorded for a five-year period. They observed that drug crimes and crimes against property were more frequent than other crimes and that while more persons were arrested each succeeding year, the increase was more marked for drug and property offences than for person offences and other arrests. The United States Bureau

of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs found similar results in 1971 (cited in Gould 1974) in a study of 1,722 persons arrested for crimes other than violation of narcotic laws in six American cities. Twenty-three (23) per cent of the arrestees, as determined by their own admission or urine analysis, were heroin users at the time of interview. Thirty-eight (38) per cent of the sample claimed never to have been heroin users and were not at the time using marijuana, barbiturates or amphetamines. A comparison of these two groups revealed that for the users, property crime, including robbery, accounted for 84% of their arrests while the same was true of only 52% of the non-drug users.

Furthermore, when looking at inmates convicted of crimes other than drug offences, Barton (1980) found that 35% of those convicted of robbery had "ever used heroin" as opposed to 18% with no drug-use history. Similarly, amongst convicted property offenders, the proportion of inmates who had "ever used heroin" (38%) was significantly larger than that of inmates with no use of drugs (32%). Within this category, heroin users were over-represented in burglary offences (24%) compared with prisoners with no drug use (17%). A further breakdown of his data, however (including robbery⁴ in the property offence category), revealed that although at the time of the offence 32.7% had been using heroin, only 15% had been doing so on a regular basis. Taylor and Albright (1981) also found a relationship between property crime and heroin use when they interviewed both past and present patients from ten treatment programs in the United States. Specifically they were interested in the involvement of addicts in shoplifting, auto theft, breaking and entering, robbery and assault. They concluded that their findings supported the "theory that heroin users commit crimes which generate income regardless of whether or not they are violent" (p.693).

Additional evidence is provided by Ball et al. (1980) in their study in which 66% of the sample reported theft, including shoplifting, burglary and other stealing as their principal criminal activity. The selling of drugs was the second most favoured type of crime with 19% of the addicts primarily engaged in this. Although these were the principal offences of the sample, they were by no means the only activities reported by the addicts; the addicts were also involved in a variety of other property crimes including fencing, mugging, forgery, robbery and armed robbery.

While most of the data has examined the support systems of male addicts, some researchers have also scrutinized the mechanisms by which females maintain expensive drug habits. Weitzel and Blount (1982) interviewed incarcerated women and found that the greater the substance use, the greater the involvement in drug-related property crimes. Categorizing their sample as "light", "heavy" or "wasted" users, they found that 2.3%, 11.8% and 25.5% of their subjects, respectively, were convicted of drug offences. Similarly, by collapsing property and forgery offences together, they found that 34.1%, 32.9% and 44.7% of the "light", "heavy" and "wasted" users, respectively, had been convicted of these offences. Although it is tempting to conclude that "the more involved the female is in the use and abuse of drugs the more and more her criminal activities turn towards activities directly in support of that habit" (p.267) it needs to be noted that the authors of this study failed to differentiate between the types of drugs consumed. Hence, these subjects could have been using anything from alcohol to heroin. Since the cost and physical effects of the various drugs differ markedly, failure to distinguish between drug type in the analysis makes it difficult to reach any specific conclusions. In an earlier study, James et al. (1979) interviewed a sample of incarcerated females whom they classified as addicts, addict prostitutes, prostitutes and other female offenders. They found that addicts obtained 70.4% of their income from illicit

4. Barton categorized robbery as a violent offence.

activities, primarily drug sales. Addict prostitutes and prostitutes earned the majority of their illicit income (68% and 73.3% respectively) from prostitution. Illegal activities provided the remaining offenders in the sample with 60.5% of their income; property offences constituted the main form of those illegal activities. James et al. (1979) concluded that

"female offenders gravitate(d) to those activities which are easily available, provide a satisfactory return, are within their skills and opportunities, and provide the lowest risk of arrest" (p.229).

Studies of captive samples, be they incarcerated or in treatment, have found the instance of property offences to be high amongst drug users. For "street" addicts, however, property crime is reportedly less prevalent (Goldman, 1981; Inciardi, 1979; Hughes et al., 1971). In a field study of a year's duration in Chicago, Hughes et al. (1971) observed and defined the role structure of the "copping" community. They classified the dealers and consumers they saw into one of the following primary roles: big dealer, street dealer, part-time dealer, bag follower, tout, hustler, and worker. Dealers, bag followers and touts were involved in the sale of drugs in one way or another; hustlers engaged in illegal activities that were not directly drug-related; and workers, although they may have been involved in illegal economic pursuits from time to time, received the bulk of their income from legal sources. In all, they found that the primary sources of income for this sample were drug sales (33%), hustling (38%), and licit (legal) sources (29%). For those who hustled, shoplifting was the single most frequently used hustle, although

"(p)rostitution, pimping, gambling, and various con games have often been cited by addicts in other studies as commonly employed hustles, so it is fair to say that not all of the hustling was theft" (Gould, 1974: p.61).

Neymeyer (1972; cited in Gould 1974) found results consistent with those of Hughes et al. (1971) when he studied street addicts who voluntarily presented themselves at treatment centres. Analysis of 225 drug patients revealed that 39% pursued thievery, burglary or hustling as their primary source of income, 36% were engaged in legal activities, 21% in the sale of drugs and 5% in prostitution or pimping.

Further evidence that property crime does not dominate the street addicts' criminal behaviour was reported by Inciardi (1979). In his study of street addicts in Miami, Inciardi found that males reported that drug sales and property crime accounted for 51% and 35.4%, respectively, of their criminal activities for the 12-month period prior to interview. For females, the greatest proportion of offences related to prostitution (38.2%), followed by drug sales (30.1%) and property crime (26.1%).

Although Goldstein (1981) found that among the street opiate users he interviewed and observed "predatory crime constituted the largest single source of cash income... subjects were shown to have the ability to survive and engage in opiate use with relatively little income" (p.81). The reason they were able to do this was that they frequently received rooms, meals, cash, alcohol and drugs from friends or relatives as gifts. "The bartering of services (especially in the drug business) was shown to be an important vehicle for obtaining drugs (mainly heroin)" (p.81). Indeed, he reported that 26% of the heroin and 14% of the cocaine was obtained without any cash outlay.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it appears that there is an association between drug use and crime but that there are possibly two phases to this relationship. Initially, as evidenced by temporal sequence data and those studies adopting an ecological perspective, the two are connected only in that they are caused by the same extraneous factors. It seems that

both drug-taking and criminal behaviour are the products of the same social environment. However, once an individual has established his or her drug-taking patterns, an alternative explanation must be postulated to account for why an addict criminal commits more crime than a non-addict criminal, and why an addict's criminality is dependent on his or her drug-taking behaviour. The reasons users offer as to why they commit their crimes and the types of crime that addicts engage in offer support for the suggestion that, at this stage, the sheer cost of the drug forces the addict to engage in criminal activities in order to finance his or her habit.

To date, however, the research has been predominately exploratory and Richards (1980) suggests that it could be this atheoretical approach which is responsible for many of the inconsistent and unsatisfactory results. Studies, he believes, should be designed deliberately to examine the drugs-crime association in the context of a theory. For example, in investigating the economic theory, researchers should not only look at the types of crime that addicts engage in and their motives for doing so, but they should also examine criminality as it relates to varying habit costs. While this may be important, however, research can achieve nothing unless it occurs within the context of a solid methodological framework.

The Present Study

The present study, the first in a series aimed at investigating the drugs-crime nexus amongst various samples of drug-takers (in particular heroin users), examined the extent of drug use among incarcerated property offenders. Using self-report as a data source, information was collected about the temporal sequence, the frequency and quantity of drug consumption, the amount of property crime committed, and the interaction between degree of use and the intensity of criminal behaviour. Additionally, respondents were asked about the motivation for their crime, their state of intoxication at the time of their offence, the extent of criminality during periods of non-use and the various means by which they obtained their drugs. In all, 225 prisoners were interviewed.

Chapter II

METHODOLOGY

The primary aim of this study was to determine the extent to which the commission of property crime was associated with the regular use of addictive drugs. The sample was taken from the population of all those people who had committed one or more property crimes. The general property offence categories chosen were:

- (a) All forms of robbery;
- (b) Break, enter and steal;
- (c) All other larcenies;
- (d) All forms of fraud;
- (e) Receiving and goods in custody.

Those individuals serving prison sentences for one or more of the above offences presented an easily accessible sample of the above population. It was accepted, however, that these incarcerated offenders represented only one particular category of the overall population characterized, quite simply, by the fact that their crime or crimes had been detected and that they themselves had been apprehended and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Other categories of the total population are:

- (a) Non-custodial property offenders;
- (b) Undetected property offenders.

For the purposes of this report, however, the information obtained relates only to the prison property offender group.

Sentenced prisoners for the offences indicated were selected at the following penal institutions:

- (1) Long Bay;
- (2) Parramatta;
- (3) Silverwater;
- (4) Cessnock;
- (5) Goulburn;
- (6) Bathurst;
- (7) Mulawa (female);
- (8) Norma Parker (female).

The first six institutions represented the six largest male gaols in New South Wales. With the exception of the Silverwater Periodic Detention Centre, Mulawa and Norma Parker are the only two female institutions. As such, they represented approximately 62% of the total sentenced male prison population and almost 94% of the total sentenced female prison population according to the 1983 National Prison Census of Walker and Biles.

Selection Criteria

At these penal institutions certain selection criteria were utilized. In particular, an offender had to have as his/her major offence a conviction which fell within one of the general property offence categories. The major offence was that which attracted the longest sentence concurrent or cumulative to other possible sentences. The offenders who were also serving balance of parole periods were included in the sample *only if* the revocation of parole was accompanied by a conviction for one or more of the selected property offences. These offenders were then grouped under this latter offence category and not the original conviction and sentence for which they had been paroled.

The sentenced population from which individuals were selected was that which presented itself through prison warrant searches on the first day that a particular penal institution was visited. The names of all those offenders who satisfied the selection crite-

ria were noted, given a number, and then grouped under the general offence categories. A random sample of one in three was then made of these offence groups. The locality within the gaol of those chosen for an interview was then determined. Each individual chosen was then requested by the administration to attend the interview. Staff were specifically requested not to divulge the general content of the interview. Certain individuals chosen, however, were not available. If a prisoner was transferred between the time of selection and interview the institution to which he/she had gone was noted and, where possible, the interview was followed up. Other prisoners, because of sickness, education and work commitments, and/or court appearances, were sometimes not available at a particular time. These people were re-scheduled, but, here again, some were totally lost from the interview sample. In addition to these losses, there were prisoners who simply refused to take part in the interview. Table 1 details the number interviewed at each of the gaols together with the number who refused or were lost for other reasons.

Table 1. Property Offender Sample

Institution	Total Popn.	Sample Popn.	Interviewed		Refused		Other ^{a)}	
	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Long Bay	390	129	99	76.7	18	14.0	12	9.3
Silverwater	92	31	26	83.9	2	6.4	3	9.7
Parramatta	48	17	9	52.9	8	47.1	—	—
Goulburn	144	48	30	62.5	12	25.0	6	12.5
Cessnock	153	51	34	66.7	16	31.4	1	2.0
Bathurst	46	17	12	70.6	4	23.5	1	5.9
Mulawa	47	16	12	75.0	3	18.7	1	6.3
Norma Parker	10	5	3	60.0	2	40.0	—	—
Total	930	314	225		65		24	

a) These subjects were not available for interview because of sickness, education and work commitments, transfer and/or court appearances.

The Interview Schedule

The data was collected by face-to-face interviews. Given the complex nature of an individual's behaviour, as well as the detailed information required, it was thought that a structured interview undertaken by trained personnel was by far the best and possibly the only way to obtain the data required.

Four main areas were clearly specified in the schedule. These related to:

1. Drug and alcohol use in the six-month period prior to arrest;⁵
2. Criminal activity during the six-month period prior to arrest;
3. Overall drug-and-alcohol-use history;
4. Overall criminal history.

A copy of the interview schedule used is contained in Appendix A.

5. Respondents were asked to specify a six-month period prior to arrest at which time they were at liberty. Some respondents were unable to do this. The range specified was three to six months with an average of 5.7 months (see Appendix A).

The Sample

As mentioned, 225 prisoners were interviewed. Of these only 15 were female and, accordingly, the data presented in this report does not differentiate by way of sex.

A differentiation is made, however, on the basis of drug use. In this regard two distinct categories were arrived at: users (89) and non-users (136) (see Table 2). Individuals were classified as users if they had consumed either barbiturates/hypnotics, cocaine, heroin and/or other opiates/narcotics on a regular or heavy basis during the specified period prior to arrest. An individual was characterized as a regular or heavy user of heroin if he or she reported having consumed a minimum of one weight gram of street pure heroin per week during the period prior to arrest. Use of the other drugs were also classified by frequency of use and Appendix D provides a breakdown by which the categories of use (heavy and regular) were determined. All other respondents were categorized as non-users, although in reality such individuals did indicate the use of a wide variety of drugs including alcohol.

Table 2. Institution by User/Non-User Breakdown

Institution	User		Non-User	
	No.	%	No	%
Long Bay CIP ^{a)}	19	21.3	20	14.7
Long Bay MRP ^{b)}	13	14.6	10	7.4
Long Bay MTC ^{c)}	13	14.6	19	14.0
Long Bay MRC ^{d)}	—	—	2	1.5
Parramatta	3	3.4	6	4.4
Silverwater	8	9.0	18	13.2
Goulburn	6	6.7	27	19.9
Cessnock	10	11.2	24	17.6
Bathurst	7	7.9	5	3.7
Norma Parker	2	2.2	1	0.7
Mulawa	8	9.0	4	2.9
Total	89	100.0	136	100.0

a) CIP — Central Industrial Prison

b) MRP — Metropolitan Reception Prison

c) MTC — Metropolitan Training Centre

d) MRC — Metropolitan Remand Centre

Demographic Data

The following data compares users and non-users and, where possible, a comparison has also been made between the total sample and the 1983 National Prison Census figures of Walker and Biles. The latter was done in order to determine whether our sample was representative of the prison population.

Age, marital status, and residence details are set out in Tables 3, 4 and 5. A slightly higher portion of the sample fell within the 25-29 age bracket (33.3%) than that recorded by Walker and Biles (24.2%). Generally, however, the sample was comparable to the general prison population in terms of age. This was also the case for marital status; 59.6% of the sample was single compared to 64.3% of the total prison population as recorded by Walker and Biles.

Table 3. Age Breakdown

Age	User		Non-User		Total		Walker/ Biles Census
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Less than 20	3	3.4	9	6.6	12	5.3	9.6
20-24	26	29.2	47	34.6	73	32.4	29.9
25-29	33	37.1	42	30.9	75	33.3	24.2
30-34	22	24.7	14	10.3	36	16.0	15.2
35-39	5	5.6	12	8.8	17	7.6	9.3
40-44	—	—	9	6.6	9	4.0	5.5
44+	—	—	3	2.2	3	1.3	6.1

Table 4. Marital Status

Marital Status	User		Non-User		Total		Walker/ Biles Census
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Single	55	61.8	79	58.1	134	59.6	64.3
Married	20	22.5	38	27.9	58	25.8	24.8
Separated	5	5.6	2	1.5	7	3.1	1.7
Divorced	9	10.1	16	11.8	25	11.1	7.2
Widowed	—	—	1	0.7	1	0.4	1.2
Unknown	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.8

As with Walker and Biles, the majority of respondents specified that at the time of their arrest they were resident in the Sydney Metropolitan Area. It was important to note, however, that a significantly larger proportion of users (88.8%) than non-users (58.8%) resided in the Sydney Metropolitan Area. Such a concentration of users in Sydney is to be expected, as this is the most likely source of drugs (notably heroin).

Table 5. Place of Residence^{a)}

Area	User		Non-User		Total		Walker/ Biles Census
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Sydney	79	88.8	80	58.8	159	70.7	62.7
Hunter	2	2.2	9	6.6	11	4.9	6.1
Illawarra	—	—	4	2.9	4	1.8	2.7
Richmond-Tweed	2	2.2	1	0.7	3	1.3	1.6
Mid-North Coast	—	—	3	2.2	3	1.3	2.3
Northern	—	—	2	1.5	2	0.9	2.0
North-Western	—	—	2	1.5	2	0.9	1.6
Central West	1	1.1	4	2.9	5	2.2	1.9
South-Eastern	—	—	6	4.4	6	2.7	1.3
Murrumbidgee	—	—	3	2.2	3	1.3	1.9
Murray	1	1.1	2	1.5	3	1.3	1.0
Far West	—	—	1	0.7	1	0.4	0.4
Interstate	1	1.1	12	8.8	13	5.8	5.8
No fixed abode	3	3.4	5	3.7	8	3.6	6.1
Not known	—	—	2	1.5	2	0.9	2.2

a) These groupings were collapsed into the two general categories of Sydney and outside the Sydney Metropolitan Area (excluding interstate, no fixed abode and not known) and a χ^2 of 23.3 obtained, significant at the $p > .01$ level.

Details were also collected from respondents as to their highest level of educational achievement and employment status at time of arrest. Where a job was specified, this was further categorized according to status using a slightly modified version of Congalton's scale. For the purposes of this study the category for small business/skilled trade was divided. Where individuals specified they were unemployed at the time of their arrest they were further asked to indicate the length of their unemployment. Tables 6 and 7 set out this data together with a comparison of the 1983 National Prison Census figures where applicable.

Looking firstly at education, there was little difference between users and non-users. A comparison of these figures with those of Walker and Biles was impossible, however, since the Census figures pertaining to educational achievement of New South Wales prisoners only related to those serving sentences of periodic detention.

Table 6. Highest Educational Achievement

Education	User		Non-User		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary	4	4.5	8	5.9	12	5.3
Secondary	62	69.7	79	58.1	141	62.7
School Certificate	12	13.5	21	15.4	33	14.7
Higher School Certificate	8	9.0	9	6.6	17	7.6
Uncompleted Tertiary	—	—	2	1.5	2	0.9
Technical College	1	1.1	9	6.6	10	4.4
University/CAE	—	—	1	0.7	1	0.4
Special School ^{a)}	2	2.2	7	5.1	9	4.0

a) This included schooling at juvenile institutions, remedial classes and/or any other instances where grading was not applicable.

Users were also more likely to be unemployed than non-users, although majorities in both groups were unemployed at the time of their arrest. These results differed markedly from the 1982 figures of Walker and Biles⁶ who stated that 76% of prisoners were employed at the time of arrest. This difference can be explained in that the wording of the Census was such that prisoners who were unemployed at the time of reception but could record details of their last employment were coded as employed.

Table 7. Employment Status at Time of Arrest^{a)}

Status	User		Non-User		Total		Walker/ Biles Census ^{b)} %
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Employed	23	25.8	57	41.9	80	35.6	76.0
Unemployed	60	67.4	76	55.9	136	60.4	17.3
Odd jobs	3	3.4	2	1.5	5	2.2	—
Pension	3	3.4	1	0.7	4	1.8	—

a) A χ^2 of 4.59, significant at the $p < .05$ level, illustrates that more users were unemployed (unemployed and pension) than non-users. Those who indicated that they received an income from odd jobs such as handyman etc. were, for this analysis, considered employed.

b) Walker and Biles did not have categories consistent with these; instead they had home duties, student, other, and unknown — of which there were none in our sample.

Some differences were noted, however, between users and non-users with regard to the status of the job held. It was noted that users tended to work more in skilled trades whereas non-users tended to be mostly unskilled. With regard to the length of unemployment, no notable differences were observed between users and non-users, but the reader may note, when looking at lengthy periods of unemployment (in excess of three years), that more users had been unemployed for this length of time than non-users. Tables A and B in Appendix C detail this data.

6. No 1983 data was available for N.S.W. prisoners.

Major Offence(s) and Sentence Length

The breakdown of major offences is set out in Table 8; the two most common were armed robbery and break, enter and steal. The offence breakdown is consistent with that detailed by Walker and Biles.

Table 8. Major Offence Breakdown

Major Offence	User		Non-User		Total		Walker/ Biles Census ^{a)} %
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Armed robbery	31	34.8	38	27.9	69	30.7	34.3 ^{b)}
Robbery	3	3.4	15	11.0	18	8.0	
Fraud	3	3.4	11	8.1	14	6.2	8.8 ^{c)}
Forgery	5	5.6	4	2.9	9	4.0	
Break, enter and steal	32	36.0	33	24.3	65	28.9	33.0
Larceny	10	11.2	11	8.1	21	9.3	20.4 ^{d)}
Motor vehicle larceny	2	2.2	20	14.7	22	9.8	
Receiving	3	3.4	4	2.9	7	3.1	3.4

a) The percentages recorded for Walker and Biles are computations of the proportion of offence categories over a total property-offender population.

b) There is no distinction between armed and unarmed robbery in the Census.

c) Walker and Biles categorized fraud and forgery together.

d) Larceny and motor vehicle larceny have been combined under the heading "Other theft" by Walker and Biles.

Respondents were also asked to specify the head sentence and non-parole period they were serving.⁷ It was known that in some circumstances this included a balance of parole period together with cumulative sentences for multiple offences. As such, the median head sentence lengths, set out in figure 1, are not proffered as actual median head sentence lengths for particular offences but it is of interest to note from this figure that they are consistent with the median sentence lengths as deduced from the figures of Walker and Biles. Figure 2 provides the median non-parole period for both users and non-users.

Summary

Where possible, comparisons were made between the sample interviewed and the data presented in Walker and Biles' 1983 National Prison Census. The study's data pertaining to age, marital status, and residence was consistent with that of the Census, as was the major offence breakdown and median head sentence lengths.

7. Owing to the skewed nature of the specified head sentence and non-parole periods reported by respondents, it was decided to use median sentence lengths.

There were, however, certain significant differences between users and non-users. First, users were more likely to reside in the Sydney Metropolitan Area than non-users. Second, although most users and non-users were unemployed at the time of their arrest, the former were more likely to be so. Additionally, although not significant, users, where employed, tended to be working in a skilled trade whilst non-users were in unskilled jobs. Users also tended to be unemployed for longer periods than non-users.

Figure 1

**COMPARATIVE MEDIAN HEAD SENTENCE LENGTHS
BY USER/NON-USER AND CENSUS**

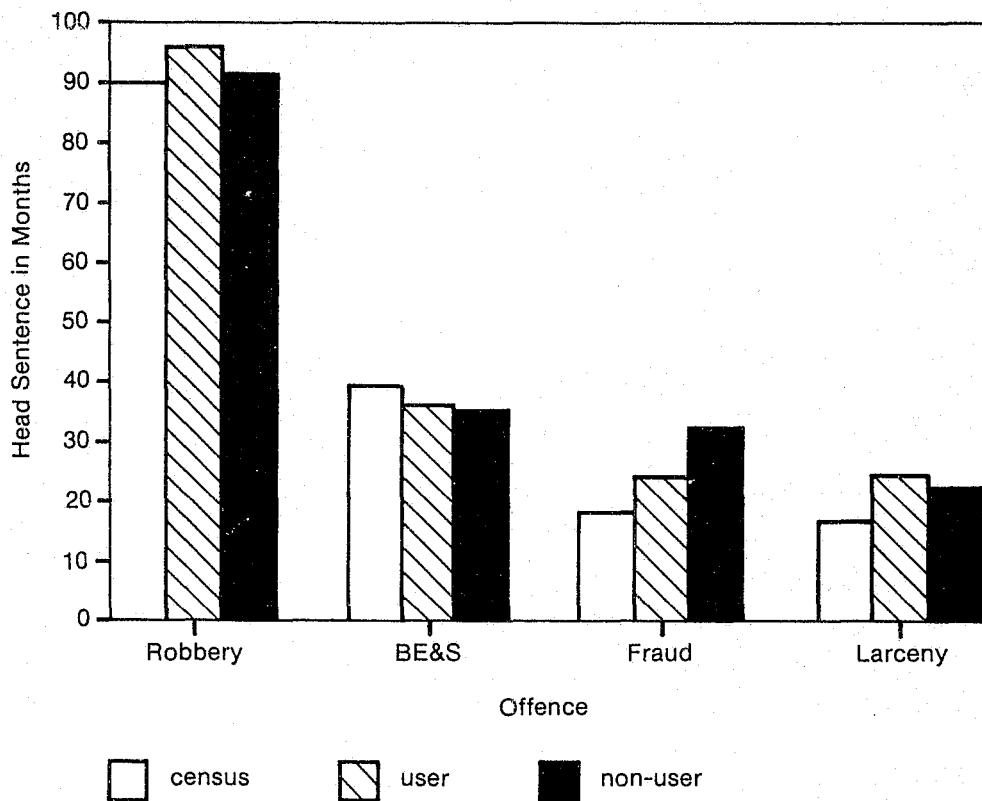
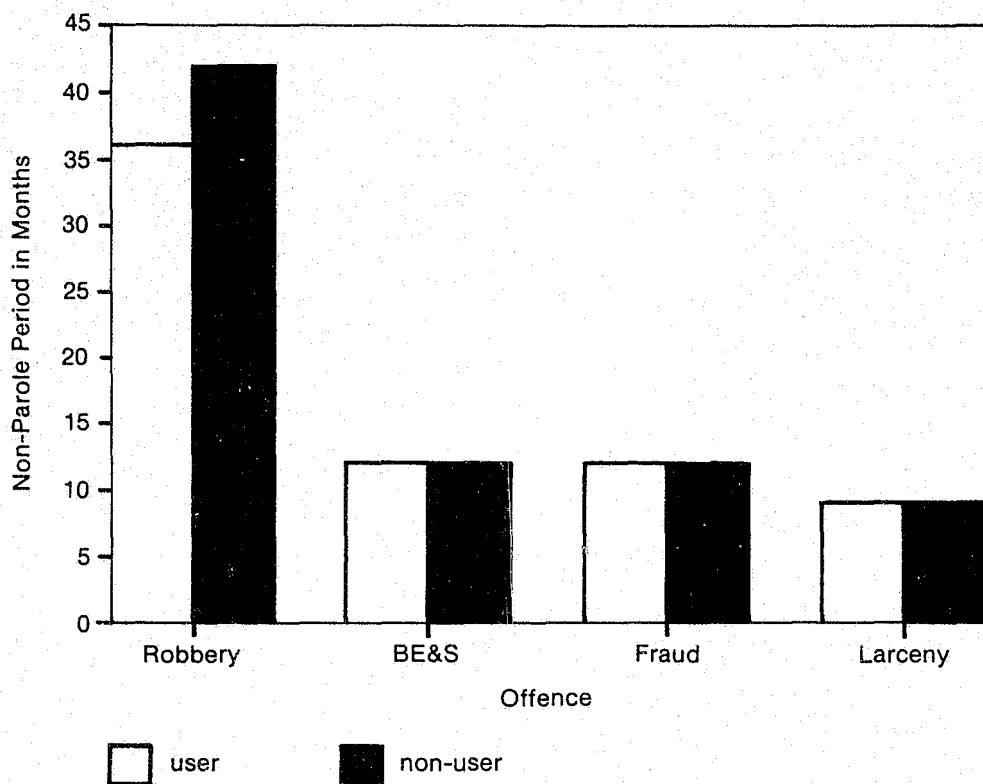


Figure 2
**MEDIAN NON-PAROLE PERIODS
BY USER/NON-USER**



Chapter III

RESULTS

Since the questionnaire addressed separate and clearly identifiable issues, the data has accordingly been partitioned. Section 1 deals with the respondents' overall drug-and-alcohol-use history, in addition to their drug and alcohol use in the period prior to arrest. Likewise, Section 2 deals with the subjects' overall criminal history and, more specifically, with their criminal activity during the period prior to arrest. Section 3, concerned only with those inmates classified as users, looks at the data which specifically addresses the question of a drugs-crime relationship. Finally, Section 4 provides an overview of the results presented in the previous three sections.

Most of the data is presented in simple frequency distribution tables; however, where differences between groups have been analysed, non-parametric tests have been used. The rationale for this is that most of the data violated the assumptions concerning normal distribution required for parametric tests: the Mann-Whitney U-test (the U-statistic), equivalent to the parametric t-test for two independent samples; the Kruskall-Wallis test (the H-statistic), an extension of the Mann-Whitney U-test testing for independence among three or more sample means and equivalent to a parametric one-way analysis of variance; and chi-squares (χ^2) testing for the independence of two variables were used.

In addition, two parametric techniques were employed: factor and discriminant analysis. A factor analysis was used as a data reduction tool for a set of variables whose scores were derived from a continuous rating scale. These rating scores when factor analysed produced standardized scores which met the assumptions required for parametric tests. A discriminant analysis was then carried out on these factor scores to determine whether there were any factors or components which distinguished the two groups.

Section 1. Drug and Alcohol Use

Respondents were asked to specify the frequency of use of alcohol and each of the particular drugs listed in the specified period prior to arrest. A post-coded frequency-of-use scale was adopted and each response was categorized as being indicative of heavy, regular, occasional or infrequent use, or, alternatively, of someone who never used the particular substance in question. It should be further noted that each of these categories was defined in relation to the drug to which it referred and particular consumption rates. For example, a prisoner who reported getting very drunk every second day was classified as a heavy user of alcohol. The low level daily use of alcohol on a social basis was, however, classified as regular. Similarly, the use of LSD one or two days per week was seen as regular, whereas the consumption of cannabis once a week was seen only as an occasional use of that drug (for a complete breakdown, see Appendix D). Tables 9 and 10 show the classification of level of drug and alcohol usage for users and non-users.

Table 9. Frequency of Drug and Alcohol Use by Users in the Period Prior to Arrest

Drug Intake of Users	Heavy		Regular		Occasional		Infrequent		Never	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alcohol	10	11.2	13	14.6	30	33.7	12	13.5	24	27.0
Cannabis	25	28.1	16	18.0	23	25.8	10	11.2	15	16.9
LSD/Psychedelics	—	—	1	1.1	3	3.4	10	11.2	75	84.3
Amphetamines	2	2.2	5	5.6	9	10.1	11	12.4	62	69.7
Barbs./Hypnotics	3	3.4	6	6.7	12	13.5	7	7.9	61	68.5
Cocaine	3	3.4	3	3.4	9	10.1	17	19.1	57	64.0
Heroin	51	57.3	29	32.6	4	4.5	1	1.1	4	4.5
Other opiates	4	4.5	5	5.6	20	22.5	18	20.2	42	47.2

As mentioned previously, the term non-user was in reality quite a misnomer. This group, as illustrated by Table 10, used a variety of drugs.

Table 10. Frequency of Drug and Alcohol Use by Non-Users in the Period Prior to Arrest

Drug Intake of Non-Users	Heavy		Regular		Occasional		Infrequent		Never	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alcohol	29	21.3	31	22.8	46	33.8	15	11.0	15	11.0
Cannabis	20	14.7	20	14.7	20	14.7	15	11.0	61	44.9
LSD/Psychedelics	2	1.5	5	3.7	1	0.7	12	8.8	116	85.3
Amphetamines	2	1.5	—	—	1	0.7	6	4.4	127	93.4
Barbs./Hypnotics	—	—	—	—	2	1.5	5	3.7	129	94.9
Cocaine	—	—	—	—	2	1.5	5	3.7	129	94.9
Heroin	—	—	—	—	4	2.9	6	4.4	126	92.6
Other opiates	—	—	—	—	2	1.5	3	2.2	131	96.3

Non-users tended to consume alcohol to a greater degree with 44.1% stating that they used alcohol heavily or regularly compared to 25.8% of users. In fact, 27% of users stated that they had not consumed any alcohol during the period prior to arrest. Conversely, users tended to indulge in marijuana far more frequently than non-users, 46.1% of users specifying a heavy or regular use of marijuana, compared to 29.4% of non-users.

The other specified drugs were all very unpopular (in terms of use) amongst non-users. The consumption of LSD, amphetamines, barbiturates and cocaine, although to slightly lesser degrees, were similarly unpopular amongst users.

Main Drug

Heroin was by far the most common drug consumed by the user group with 89.9% stating that they used it heavily or regularly during the specified period prior to arrest. In fact, only four users had not consumed heroin during this time. This was clearly reflected when individuals were asked to specify their main drug, or drug of choice,

from the four specified drug categories. Table 11 shows that 87.6% (78) of users specified heroin as their main drug, or drug of choice. As this comprised such a large proportion of the total user group it was decided to relate all proceeding data to these 78 individuals. Those 11 users of drugs other than heroin will be dealt with separately at the conclusion of each section.

Table 11. Main Drug of Choice

Drug	No.	%
Barbs./Hypnotics	4	4.5
Cocaine	2	2.2
Heroin	78	87.6
Other opiates	4	4.5
Don't know	1	1.1

Substitutes

Types of drugs used during the period prior to arrest identified our user group as multi-drug users. However, when asked to specify what substitutes they used when their main drug was in short supply, or not available, very few reported the use of other drugs. Table 12 sets out the substitutes used by the 78 heroin users. It is important to note that two-thirds always had a steady supply of heroin.

Table 12. Substitutes Used by Heroin Users

Substitute	No.	%
Alcohol	3	3.8
Cannabis	2	2.6
LSD/Psychedelics	1	1.3
Amphetamines	3	3.8
Barbs./Hypnotics	3	3.8
Other opiates	14	17.9
Always available	52	66.7
Total	78	100.0

Weekly Consumption of Heroin

Heroin users consumed between 1 and 35 weight grams of street pure heroin per week. As mentioned earlier, an amount of 1 weight gram of street pure heroin per week was adopted as the minimum consumption rate for a regular user of heroin. Table 13 shows the weekly consumption rates of heroin for the 78 heroin users. As can be seen the majority (59.0%) used between 1 and 8 grams of street pure heroin per week. It was because of this negatively skewed result that a median measure was utilized. A median of 7 weight grams of street pure heroin was found.

Table 13. Weekly Heroin Consumption of Heroin Users

Weight Grams	No.	%
1-4	22	28.2
5-8	24	30.8
9-12	9	11.5
13-16	6	7.7
17-20	3	3.8
21-24	9	11.5
25-28	3	3.8
28 +	2	2.6

Weekly Drug Expenditure

Table 14 sets out the average weekly expenditure on drugs by heroin users in grouped dollar amounts. In most cases expenditure reflected gram consumption. It was known, for example, that the usual street price per weight gram of heroin was between \$300 and \$350. Given that the median consumption was 7 grams per week, it was not surprising that the median weekly expenditure on heroin was \$2,000.⁸ As with consumption, however, the amounts expended on heroin varied considerably, ranging from 100 to 10,000 dollars per week.

Table 14. Weekly Drug Expenditure of Heroin Users

Expenditure (\$)	No.	%
Less than 500	6	7.9
501-1,000	13	17.1
1,001-1,500	13	17.1
1,501-2,000	10	13.1
2,001-3,000	10	13.1
3,001-4,000	6	7.9
4,001-5,000	4	5.3
5,001-6,000	4	5.3
6,001-7,000	6	7.9
	4	5.3
Total	76 ^{a)}	100.0

a) Drug sales covered the cost of heroin for two individuals, hence their exclusion from this table.

Methods of Obtaining Drugs

By far the most common method of obtaining drugs, as exemplified by the expenditure levels, was by cash purchase, 92.3% (72) stating that this was their main way of obtaining drugs. Of the other six respondents: one stated that he obtained his drugs through the supply network, his payment being in drugs; three swapped stolen property; one obtained it mostly from friends; and one by a combination of swapping other drugs and chemist thefts.

8. It is possible that users overstated their expenditure levels as they may not have reported the effect of bulk buying on the price of their heroin.

Although cash purchase was the most common means reported, users did express, to differing degrees, a wide variety of methods in obtaining drugs. Others (e.g. Goldstein, 1981) have similarly identified such disparate behaviour among heroin users in obtaining their drugs and the money necessary to purchase them. Table 15 describes the frequencies of a variety of methods of obtaining drugs as reported by the 78 heroin users. As Table 15 shows, other common means of obtaining drugs were swapping stolen property, amounts given by friends, payment (in drugs) as a middle man and swapping other drugs for heroin.

Table 15. Means by which Heroin Users Obtained their Drugs

Means	Often		Sometimes		Once or Twice		Never	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bought them ^{a)}	78	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chemist busts	2	2.6	3	3.8	4	5.1	69	88.5
Payment ^{b)}	7	9.0	21	26.9	5	6.4	45	57.7
Cutting ^{c)}	5	6.4	14	17.9	8	10.3	51	65.4
Trading stolen goods	25	32.1	17	21.8	5	6.4	31	39.7
Given by friends	16	20.5	26	33.3	17	21.8	19	24.4
Forged prescriptions	2	2.6	2	2.6	—	—	74	94.9
Swapped drugs	4	5.1	15	19.2	16	20.5	43	55.1
Ripped off dealer	4	5.1	4	5.1	3	3.8	67	85.9
Other	1	1.3	2	2.6	—	—	75	96.2

a) "Bought them" also included the buying of drugs for selling, out of which money was obtained to buy drugs for personal use, or out of which a proportion of heroin was retained for personal use.

b) In return for acting as middleman in a drug transaction, an individual receives some drugs.

c) This is where an individual is a middleman in a drug transaction and takes some of the heroin for his/her use and the original weight purchased is made up by further adulteration.

Apart from these means of obtaining drugs, some users were also involved in drug sales as a means of procuring money.

Although the majority (55.1%) sold heroin at varying frequencies, few sold other types of drugs. It was also reported that few made any cash profits from the sale of drugs, any profits being consumed in the form of drugs for personal use. Table 16 sets out the drug sale activities of the heroin users.

Table 16. Drug Sale Activities of Heroin Users

Drug	Often		Sometimes		Once or Twice		Never	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cannabis	6	7.7	6	7.7	7	9.0	59	75.6
LSD/Psychedelics	1	1.3	1	1.3	1	1.3	75	96.2
Amphetamines	1	1.3	2	2.6	2	2.6	73	93.6
Barbs/Hypnotics	—	—	1	1.3	2	2.6	75	96.2
Cocaine	2	2.6	—	—	—	—	76	97.4
Heroin	25	32.1	14	17.9	4	5.1	35	44.9
Other opiates	3	3.8	3	3.8	2	2.6	70	89.7

History of Drug and Alcohol Use

All respondents were asked to specify the age at which they first used alcohol and particular drugs and to then indicate the age at which, if applicable, they began to consume the same substance on a regular basis. Table 17 sets out the mean ages of users and non-users for the use of both alcohol and drugs. This data generally indicates an earlier involvement in drug consumption by users compared with non-users.

Table 17. Ages of First and Regular Use of Drugs by User/Non-User

Drug	User						Non-User ^a					
	First Use			Regular Use			First Use			Regular Use		
	No.	M ^b	S.D. ^c	No.	M	S.D.	No.	M	S.D.	No.	M	S.D.
Alcohol	78	13.8	2.6	45	16.6	2.5	128	14.5	2.8	104	17.5	3.9
Cannabis	78	15.5	3.4	66	16.0	3.3	96	17.7	5.4	57	17.1	3.0
LSD/ Psychedelics	72	16.5	3.0	25	16.5	2.7	54	17.3	2.2	7	18.3	2.4
Amphetamines	55	18.0	3.5	15	18.8	5.3	29	18.5	2.4	3	19.3	4.9
Barbs./Hypnotics	48	18.5	4.0	13	17.1	2.7	21	18.8	5.2	—	—	—
Cocaine	60	19.6	3.8	11	22.0	5.7	15	18.3	3.7	—	—	—
Heroin	78	18.0	3.5	78	19.4	3.9	26	18.9	2.3	—	—	—
Other opiates	63	19.1	4.5	24	19.3	4.1	14	18.4	2.2	—	—	—

a) n = 132. Four respondents stated that they had been regular users of one or more of the four prescribed drugs in the past but were not using regularly in the period prior to arrest. Accordingly, they have been excluded from the table.

b) Mean.

c) Standard deviation.

On the basis of this information the conditional and unconditional probabilities of the regular use of alcohol and drugs was determined. The conditional probability refers to the probability that an individual will use a particular substance on a regular basis given that there is a first instance of use. The unconditional probability is the likelihood that any respondent in this sample will use a substance on a regular basis. In this regard scores range from 0.0 to 1.0.

As can be seen from Table 18, the unconditional probability of a property offender, in this sample, being a regular user of heroin was .38. If, however, we confine our attention to the subset of individuals who used heroin at least once, the conditional probability is .74. In other words, given that an individual tries heroin, the probability that he/she will continue to do so on a regular basis is high.

The patterns of use of alcohol and cannabis were of interest in that there was a high probability that this sample would try both substances and continue to use them on a regular basis. In reference to LSD, amphetamines, barbiturates and cocaine, there was little chance that this sample would have tried these substances and, amongst those who did, the probability of regular use was similarly low.

Table 18. Probability of Use of Drugs and/or Alcohol

Drug	Unconditional Probability	Conditional Probability
Alcohol	.71	.72
Cannabis	.61	.73
LSD/Psychedelics	.16	.26
Amphetamines	.09	.22
Barbs./Hypnotics	.09	.24
Cocaine	.07	.19
Heroin	.38	.74
Other opiates	.14	.35

Reasons for Regular Use of Heroin

It is of interest to know why individuals use such drugs on a regular basis and become dependent on them. As Table 19 shows, the majority of heroin users (69.2%) specified a simple "like" for the drug-induced euphoria of heroin as the predominant reason for their regular use of that drug. Other important reasons were the influence of peers and certain emotional and/or other pressures. This says nothing, however, as to the circumstances of how an individual may have come into contact with heroin in the first instance.

Table 19. Reasons for the Regular Use of Heroin

Reason	No.	% ^{a)}
Liked it	54	69.2
Peer influence	21	26.9
Pressures	17	21.8
Boredom/kicks	10	12.8
Drug availability	2	2.6
Other	1	1.3
Don't know	7	9.0

a) Respondents were able to give a number of reasons for their regular use of heroin and these percentages relate to the proportion of respondents specifying the listed reasons.

Addiction

Nothing is proffered here as to the physiological inferences of the term addiction, but it was noted that 75 of the 78 heroin users (96.1%) saw themselves as addicts and drug dependent. The ages at which these 75 individuals perceived themselves to have become addicts are set out in Table 20. Most heroin users in the sample had commenced their addict careers at a fairly early age; 59.0% reported that they had become addicts by the age of 20. In addition, respondents reported substantial periods of drug dependency. Forty respondents (53.3%) indicated that they had addict careers in excess of five years. Sixteen (21.3%), in fact, stated that they had been drug dependent for ten years or more. The frequency distribution of lengths of addiction is set out in Table 21.

Table 20. Age of Addiction

Age	No.	%
15-16	12	15.4
17-18	26	33.3
19-20	8	10.3
21-22	10	12.8
23-24	7	9.0
25-26	6	7.7
26 +	6	7.7
Not an addict ^{a)}	3	3.8

a) Three users claimed that although they used regularly they were not addicts.

Table 21. Length of Addiction

Months	No.	%
1-24	19	24.4
25-48	12	15.4
49-72	9	11.5
73-96	9	11.5
97-120	10	12.8
121-144	6	7.7
144 +	10	12.8
Not an addict ^{a)}	3	3.8

a) Three users claimed that although they used regularly they were not addicts.

Abstinence and Treatment

All 78 heroin users were asked to indicate whether or not they had abstained from drug use since the onset of regular use and, if so, their longest period of abstinence. A minimum of one week was allowed. Table 22 sets out the frequency distribution of the longest period of abstinence. It is important to note that 32.1% (25) had no record of abstinence at all. Of those who did abstain (53), the majority (50.9%) had done so for periods of between 5 and 26 weeks. The self-reported effect of such abstinence on each individual's criminal activity is discussed in Section 3.

Table 22. Longest Period of Abstinence

Weeks	No.	%
1-4	11	20.8
5-26	27	50.9
27-52	11	20.8
52 +	4	7.5
Total	53	100.0

The main reason for abstinence reported was the self-motivation to do so (56.6%). This was followed by the pressure or influence of others (15.1%) and a change in the individual's environmental situation (e.g. moved away from the "scene") (15.1%). A full breakdown of these responses is set out in Table C in Appendix C.

Although a substantial number of heroin users (67.9%) had abstained at least once from regular drug use, nearly half (47.4%) had never had any treatment experience. Those who reported having had some form of drug treatment specified a number of treatment experiences. The most common of these were therapeutic community programs followed by in-patient detoxification. Table 23 sets out the number of treatment experiences reported by those users who had had at least one such episode. One hundred and thirty-one (131) treatment experiences were reported with an average of 3.2 treatment episodes per individual.

Table 23. Types of Treatment Experiences

Treatment	No.
Therapeutic community	53
Detoxification	44
Methadone maintenance	12
Methadone withdrawal	12
Methadone blockade	10
Total	131

These respondents were also asked to indicate the longest period of treatment, the length of time in this treatment, and the type of treatment undertaken. They were then asked a series of questions which attempted to measure the effectiveness of such treatment both during and after this treatment episode. Being prisoners, it is conceded that the respondents in this sample are likely to be categorized as "failures" with regard to treatment outcome, but it is important to note that only 12 of the 41 who had had at least one treatment experience completed their longest term of treatment or were involved in an ongoing methadone program.

Although most of those who sought treatment did so voluntarily, most failed to complete their treatment programs because they did not like what was offered. As to the perceived effect of treatment, it was therefore not surprising to find that most saw treatment as having little or no effect on their continued drug use (see Table 24). A breakdown of responses of reasons for and completion of treatment is contained in Tables D and E in Appendix C.

Table 24. Effect of Treatment on Drug Use

Effect	No.	%
Nil	21	51.2
Decreased use	4	9.8
No effect in long term	6	14.6
Effective while there	9	22.0
Don't know ^{a)}	1	2.4
Total	41	100.0

a) This person was taken into custody early in his treatment program and felt that he could not comment on the effect of treatment on his use.

The lack of effectiveness of treatment was further exemplified when respondents were asked to indicate the time taken to return to drug use, drug sales and crime after their longest period of treatment. Table 25 quite clearly demonstrates that most had returned to drug use (80.5%), sales (48.8%), and crime (53.7%) within six months of leaving or completing their longest period of treatment.

Table 25. Time Taken to Resume Use/Sales/Crime After Treatment

Time Lapse (wks)	Use		Sales		Crime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 2 weeks	25	61.0	11	26.8	13	31.7
2-4	1	2.4	2	4.9	2	4.9
5-26	7	17.1	7	17.1	7	17.1
27-52	—	—	2	4.9	2	4.9
52 +	2	4.9	3	7.3	8	19.5
Never ceased	2	4.9	2	4.9	2	4.9
Taken into custody	4	9.8	6	14.6	6	14.6
Didn't resume	—	—	7	17.1	—	—
Don't know	—	—	1	2.4	1	2.4
Total	41	100.0	41	100.0	41	100.0

Other Users

As indicated at the commencement of this section, the preceding discussion has dealt exclusively with those 78 individuals who specified heroin as their main drug. Of the other 11 users, four specified barbiturates/hypnotics as their main drug, four specified other opiates (synthetic narcotics), two specified cocaine and one was unable to specify which was his main drug. Several differences were noted between this group of users and the 78 heroin users. First, non-heroin users (54.5%) were more likely than heroin users (21.8%) to be heavy or regular users of alcohol. Second, non-heroin users spent less than heroin users on their main drugs. Third, five of the 11 non-heroin users obtained their drugs in ways other than cash purchase. Fourth, the two groups differed in their reasons for regular drug use. While most heroin users reported a simple "like" for the drug-induced effect, for non-heroin users the most common response given was to

relieve emotional pressure. Fifth, in regard to abstinence, non-heroin users were less likely to have abstained (45.5%) than heroin users (67.9%). As to treatment, similar numbers reported having had no treatment experience.

Summary

There were 89 property offenders who reported that they were heavy or regular users of one or more of the four specified drug categories (barbiturates/hypnotics, cocaine, heroin and other narcotics/opiates). Seventy-eight (78) respondents, using a minimum of one weight gram of street pure heroin per week in the period prior to arrest, specified that heroin was their main drug. The median weekly consumption for these 78 users was 7 weight grams of street pure heroin. It was known, from treatment sources, that the cost of one such weight gram was 300 to 350 dollars. As a large majority of heroin users purchase their drugs, the median rate of expenditure of \$2,000 reflected the median level of consumption.

Data was also collected from individuals, both users and non-users, as to the ages that they first tried alcohol and other drugs and, if applicable, the ages at which they regularly consumed alcohol or drugs. One important finding from this data was the probability that an individual would be a regular user of alcohol and particular drugs. The probability for alcohol and cannabis was quite high, but there was only a 38% probability that an individual in our sample would be a regular user of heroin. If, however, the condition that there was an initial use of heroin was added, this probability was much higher — 73%.

As to why individuals began to use heroin on a regular basis, by far the most common motivation was a simple "like" for the drug-induced euphoria. Almost all heroin users saw themselves as addicts with extensive careers of regular use of heroin; 51.3% had been drug dependent (self-report) for more than five years.

Given such lengthy periods of regular use of heroin, it is important to note that substantial numbers recorded no periods of abstinence other than possible goal terms (32.1%) or previous treatment experiences (47.4%). Where users abstained, or undertook some form of treatment, the reasons tended to be a self-motivated desire to stop their drug use. Of those who undertook treatment, only 12 completed their longest term of treatment or remained on an ongoing methadone program. Most saw treatment as having no effect on their drug use and generally described the programs offered as inadequate. Most of those who had undergone treatment specified that they had returned to use, drug sales and crime within six months of leaving their longest term of treatment.

Section 2. Criminal Activity

Reasons/Motivations

A primary concern of this study was to obtain from property offenders their reasons/motivations for committing their major offence. Given the income-generating characteristic of property crime, it was of obvious importance to determine the application of such monies or goods. All respondents were asked to rate the relative importance of 12 stated reasons (see Appendix A, question 13). They were also asked if there were any other reasons for their offence and, then, to specify the main reason.⁹

A large majority of users (89.7%) stated that the need for money to support their heroin habit was the main reason for their offence. Non-users, however, were far more varied in their main reasons for their major offences. The most frequently reported reason for non-users was "unemployment", followed by "being under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs", and "money for support". Thirteen (13) non-users also stated that they were either innocent (9) or innocent accessories (4). No users stated that they were likewise innocent. Table F in Appendix C sets out all responses with regard to main reasons.

As to the 12 specified reasons, Tables 26 and 27 set out the rated responses for both users and non-users. While users tended to rate money for drugs as more important than any other reason, they did see money-unemployed and money for support as secondary reasons for their crimes. Non-users, on the other hand, saw the primary reasons for their major offence(s) as "support". This grouped reason combined money-unemployed, money for support, and money for debts. Discriminant analysis confirmed that "money for addictive drugs" was the only discriminator between users and non-users. ($F(1,203 = 338.9$ $p < .001$)

Table 26. Users' Reasons for Committing their Major Offence

Reasons	Very Important		Important		Slightly Important		Not Important	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Group	8	10.3	8	10.3	9	11.5	53	67.9
Money-unemployed	17	21.8	15	19.2	11	14.1	35	44.9
Money for drugs	68	87.2	6	7.7	3	3.8	1	1.3
Easy money	5	6.4	8	10.3	10	12.8	55	70.5
Kicks/boredom	—	—	1	1.3	2	2.7	75	96.1
Money for support	13	16.7	15	19.2	15	19.2	35	44.9
Drugs, not addict	5	6.4	2	2.6	5	6.4	66	84.6
Debts	4	5.1	3	3.8	4	5.1	67	85.9
Wanted a particular item	—	—	1	1.3	6	7.7	71	91.0
My living	4	5.1	5	6.4	2	2.6	67	85.9
Lost temper	1	1.3	1	1.3	2	2.6	74	94.9
Can't explain	—	—	3	3.8	4	5.1	71	91.0

9. The "other" reasons were not analysed and have been included only where they also appeared as the main reason.

Table 27. Non-Users' Reasons for Committing their Major Offence^{a)}

Reasons	Very Important		Important		Slightly Important		Not Important	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Group	9	7.1	13	10.2	10	7.9	95	74.8
Money-unemployed	33	26.0	16	12.6	9	7.1	69	54.3
Money for drugs	—	—	1	0.8	5	3.9	121	95.3
Easy money	11	8.7	19	15.0	13	10.2	84	66.1
Kicks/boredom	6	4.7	4	3.1	11	8.7	106	83.5
Money for support	38	30.0	22	17.3	7	5.5	60	47.2
Drugs, not addict	8	6.3	3	2.4	7	5.5	109	85.8
Debts	14	11.0	18	14.2	6	4.7	89	70.1
Wanted a particular item	6	4.7	9	7.1	11	8.7	101	79.5
My living	1	0.8	5	3.9	9	7.1	112	88.2
Lost temper	3	2.4	6	4.7	4	3.1	114	89.8
Can't explain	20	15.7	3	2.4	8	6.3	96	75.6

a) Nine non-users claimed that they were innocent and hence have been omitted from this table.

Crime in Period Prior to Arrest

An important objective of the study was to provide a more realistic level of the amount of property crime being committed. This was of particular relevance in the comparison between users and non-users. It was appreciated that questions regarding undetected crime would be met with suspicion, but none the less an attempt was made to collect data as to the actual number of crimes (including detected crime) committed in the specified period prior to arrest. Table 28 sets out the total numbers of particular property crimes admitted to by users and non-users. With the exception of receiving and larceny, all other crime categories tended to show a greater involvement in property crime by users than non-users.

A Mann-Whitney U-test (2-tailed) on the data (the two break and enter categories being collapsed) confirmed that certain differences were indeed significant. These were break, enter and steal ($U=2,576$; $p < .001$), armed robbery ($U=4,330.5$; $p < .05$), and fraud ($U = 4,222$; $p < .05$). In terms of self report, therefore, users were likely to have committed more armed robberies, burglaries and frauds than non-users in the specified period prior to arrest.

It should be noted that some respondents censored their data and only referred to convictions. Others differed in units of recall, e.g. five break and enters per week or 200 in the period prior to arrest. Where weekly or other rates were specified, these were converted to total numbers.

Table 28. Crime in Period Prior to Arrest by User/Non-User

Crime	User		Non-User	
	No. of persons	No. of crimes	No. of persons	No. of crimes
Break, enter and steal < \$100	10	271 ^{a)}	15	59
Motor vehicle larceny	20	506	45	296
Break, enter and steal > \$100	54	5319	51	507
Robbery	12	88	14	76
Shoplifting	12	1034	5	209 ^{b)}
Armed robbery	31	320	41	93
Fraud	24	948	20	297
Chemist busts	8	111	2	3
Other larceny	4	12	12	147
Receiving	10	147 ^{c)}	11	209 ^{d)}

a) One respondent committed 200 of these offences.

b) One respondent had received stolen property 80 times.

c) One respondent had shoplifted on 156 occasions.

d) One respondent had received stolen property on 130 occasions.

Income from Property Crime

All respondents were asked to supply income details for the period prior to arrest. This was of particular importance for the user sample considering their large expenditure on drugs, let alone their normal costs of day-to-day living. Special relevance was placed on monies (or property) obtained by way of property crime as one means of estimating the so-called cost to the community of heroin abuse and associated property crimes.

Before considering levels of income from property crime, it is important to note that there was a significant difference between users and non-users concerning their main sources of income. Table 29 sets out this data. The considerably higher involvement of users in illicit activities is exemplified by the fact that 87.2% of users indicated that their main source of income was derived from property crime (78.2%) and drug sales (9%). In comparison, 64.4% of non-users indicated "licit" sources (employment, 40%; and social welfare, 24.4%) as their main form of income.

Table 29. Main Source of Income by User/Non-User

Source	User		Non-User	
	No.	%	No.	%
Job	4	5.1	54	40.0
Social security	2	2.6	33	24.4
Property crime	61	78.2	41	30.4
Drug sales	7	9.0	4	3.0
Prostitution	1	1.3	—	—
Family/friends	1	1.3	1	0.7
Other ^{a)}	2	2.6	2	1.5
Total	78	100.0	135 ^{b)}	100.0

Footnotes to table 29

Note: These groups were collapsed into illicit (property crime, drug sales and prostitution) and licit (job, social security, family/friends) sources of income, yielding a χ^2 of 63.3 significant at the $p < .001$ level.

- a) One user specified gambling, the other savings as their main source of income. One non-user specified gambling, the other a combination of job and illicit, as their main source of income.
- b) One non-user was unable to specify his main source of income.

Where respondents specified an amount of money obtained from property crime, they were also asked to indicate the main type of crime in which they were involved. As with the major offence categories, break, enter and steal and robbery (armed and unarmed) were the most predominant forms of property crime for both users and non-users. Table G in Appendix C sets out all these responses.

Seventy-four (74) users and 80 non-users made some money from their property crime on a weekly basis. Table 30 sets out these responses in grouped dollar amounts. As can be seen from this table, more than half of the users (53.7%) generated in excess of 1,000 dollars per week from property crimes. In comparison, 57.4% of non-users made no money (41.2%) or less than 50 dollars (16.2%) per week from property crimes.

Table 30. Weekly Income from Property Crime by User/Non-User

Income (\$)	User			Non-User		
	No.	%	C % ^{a)}	No.	%	C % ^{a)}
Nil	3	3.9	3.9	56	41.2	41.2
1-50	3	3.9	7.8	22	16.2	57.4
51-100	4	5.1	12.9	7	5.1	62.5
101-200	5	6.4	19.3	17	12.5	75.0
201-500	6	7.7	27.0	13	9.6	84.6
501-1,000	11	14.1	41.1	7	5.1	89.7
1,001-2,000	23	29.4	70.5	3	2.2	91.9
2,001-5,000	10	12.8	83.3	5	3.7	95.6
5,000 +	9	11.5	94.8	—	—	95.6
Drugs not cash obtained	1	1.3	96.1	—	—	95.6
Can't estimate	3	3.9	100.0	6	4.4	100.0

Note: Using a Mann-Whitney U-test for two independent samples it was found that users earned significantly more income from property crime than did non-users. $U = 1,481; p < .001$.

a) Cumulative per cent.

Other Sources of Income

Although only 9% of users specified the sale of drugs as their main source of income, 59.7% acknowledged some level of involvement in the sale of drugs. As seen in Section 1, Table 16, the main drug sold was heroin. Of particular interest is the fact that few users made any profit (net income) from the sale of drugs and that this activity merely served to supply drugs for their own personal use (see Table H in Appendix C).

Details were also collected about incomes obtained from other sources, including prostitution, family and friends and any other sources. None of this data is reproduced here, or in Appendix C, there being so few responses.

Historical Involvement in Crime

Similar to the data collected on age of drug and alcohol use, respondents were asked to indicate age of first crime (of a particular type) and then, if applicable, age at which they may have become regularly involved in that crime. These ages are presented in Table 31. Section 3 will deal with the comparison of age of drug use (especially heroin) and the age of criminal activity in an attempt to observe the temporal sequence of drug use and crime for the user group. Although there were few notable differences between users and non-users, it was of interest to note the overall pattern of the types of offences committed by the total sample. As Table 31 shows, there is a definite progression from crimes of a juvenile and less serious nature, e.g. shoplifting, vandalism and motor vehicle larceny, to the serious crimes of burglary, fraud and robbery. Both users and non-users, therefore, tended to experience a similar development in criminality.

Table 31. Ages of First and Regular Involvement in Crime by User/Non-User

Offence	User						Non-User ^{a)}					
	First Activity			Regular Activity			First Activity			Regular Activity		
	No.	M. ^{b)}	S.D. ^{c)}	No.	M.	S.D.	No.	M.	S.D.	No.	M.	S.D.
Break, enter and steal	71	16.8	5.7	52	19.3	5.0	98	15.6	5.0	30	15.9	4.3
Motor vehicle larceny	43	15.4	3.3	15	15.2	2.2	77	16.2	2.9	23	16.0	1.6
Robbery	30	18.2	3.5	10	17.2	1.7	35	20.1	6.6	4	23.7	10.8
Shoplifting	51	14.0	4.5	18	17.1	5.4	53	13.5	5.0	14	16.9	7.7
Armed robbery	40	22.2	5.0	16	22.1	4.9	45	22.6	6.3	6	27.5	9.6
Assault	32	19.8	3.8	18	18.0	1.7	37	20.4	5.5	3	17.3	2.1
Vandalism	16	13.6	4.6	1	13.0	—	17	14.2	2.5	—	—	—
Fraud	46	21.3	4.0	23	21.8	3.1	39	21.6	6.1	7	25.3	4.9
Other larceny	29	17.7	4.8	5	18.2	2.6	37	16.8	6.5	11	15.7	3.0
Drug sales	57	18.9	3.6	48	19.6	3.9	26	17.6	1.9	10	17.0	1.4
Receiving	24	20.9	4.4	5	24.0	5.5	38	18.5	4.4	7	19.3	5.1

a) n = 132. Four respondents stated that they had been regular users of one or more of the four prescribed drugs in the past, but were not using regularly in the period prior to arrest. Accordingly, they have been excluded from the table.

b) Mean.

c) Standard deviation.

Further to this it was important to consider the probabilities of being regularly involved in particular property crimes. Table 32 describes these conditional probabilities for users and non-users. Given that there was a first instance of a particular crime, the data demonstrates that a user was generally more likely to proceed to the regular commission of that crime than a non-user. This was particularly true for robbery (armed and other), break, enter and steal, and fraud. The probability, for example, that a user would become regularly involved in burglary was .73 compared to .31 for a non-user. Similarly, the probability that a user would become regularly involved in armed robbery was .40 compared to .13 for a non-user. While the likelihood of non-users being involved in property crime on a regular basis was lower than that for users (with the exception of "other larceny"), it was at its highest for the regular commission of the less serious crimes of motor vehicle larceny, shoplifting, and other larcenies (burglary being

a notable exception). One implication is that heroin could be a factor "causing" a greater percentage of users to progress to the regular commission of property crime than non-users.

Table 32. Conditional Probability of Becoming Involved in Regular Property Crime by User/Non-User

Offence	User	Non-User
Break, enter and steal	.73	.31
Motor vehicle larceny	.35	.30
Robbery	.33	.11
Shoplifting	.35	.26
Armed robbery	.40	.13
Fraud	.50	.18
Other larceny	.17	.30
Receiving	.21	.18

Other Users

As stated in Section 1, there were 11 users of other addictive drugs. Their responses to this section, although similar to the 78 heroin users, did produce some differences. First, four respondents expressed reasons other than money for drugs as their main reason for the commission of their major offence. Second, six of these respondents specified sources other than property crime as their main source of income. Third, as to their involvement in crime generally, this group, with the exception of fraud, committed less property crime than the 78 heroin users.

Summary

The most commonly stated reason for the commission of the major offence was, for users, the need to support a drug habit (89.7%), and, for non-users, the need for economic support (33.8%) (including money - unemployed, support for family and self, and money for debts).

Users were more likely to be involved in property crime than non-users. They obtained, on average, more money from property crimes and committed significantly more burglaries, armed robberies and frauds. This higher involvement was also exemplified by the fact that for 78.2% of users, property crime was their main source of income. For 64.4% of non-users, however, legal or licit sources, such as job and social security, were the main sources of income.

Although there were few notable differences between users and non-users in the ages recorded for first crimes and the regular involvement in such crimes (if applicable), users were far more likely to progress from a first instance of a particular property crime to the regular commission of that crime. This was of particular importance when comparing the probabilities for the regular commission of burglary and armed robbery for users and non-users.

Section 3. The Relationship Between Drugs and Crime

Much has been written about the above relationship and Sections 1 and 2 have clearly illustrated that there is a strong association between regular addictive drug use and the commission of property crime. Further, it has been suggested that users are more involved in the commission of property crime than non-users. Is it possible to go further then, and say that drug use "causes" crime or that crime "causes" drug use?

The Temporal Sequence

As indicated earlier, all respondents were asked to specify the ages at which they:

1. First consumed alcohol and other specified drugs;
2. Regularly (if applicable) consumed alcohol and any drugs;
3. First committed particular crimes;
4. Regularly (if applicable) committed such crimes.

The primary concern here was to assess the relationship between the above four age factors and, in particular, to observe this relationship for the user group.

Figure 3 shows the mean ages of heroin users for specific property crimes divided into first crime and regular crime. The two horizontal lines represent their mean ages of first heroin use and regular use. Because of the wide range of ages reported and the differing numbers specifying first crime compared with regular crime, in some instances the mean age of the regular commission of particular crimes was less than that of the first crime. What this diagram does show, however, is that with regard to mean ages, a substantial amount of crime (both first and regular) occurred before either the first or regular use of heroin.

To expand on this, individuals were scored on the basis of any property crime that occurred before, after, or at the same age as (simultaneous) the first or regular use of heroin. Table 33 illustrates the pattern obtained.

A large number of users (71.8%) reported a first instance of property crime before the first use of heroin. Regular crime, however, tended to occur after the first use of heroin, 60.3% (41) of heroin users reporting this. In fact 75.6% (31) of these respondents did not progress to regular crime until after they had begun to use heroin on a regular basis. Despite this there was, however, a substantial number (32.4%) who reported having become regularly involved in property crime before their first use of heroin.

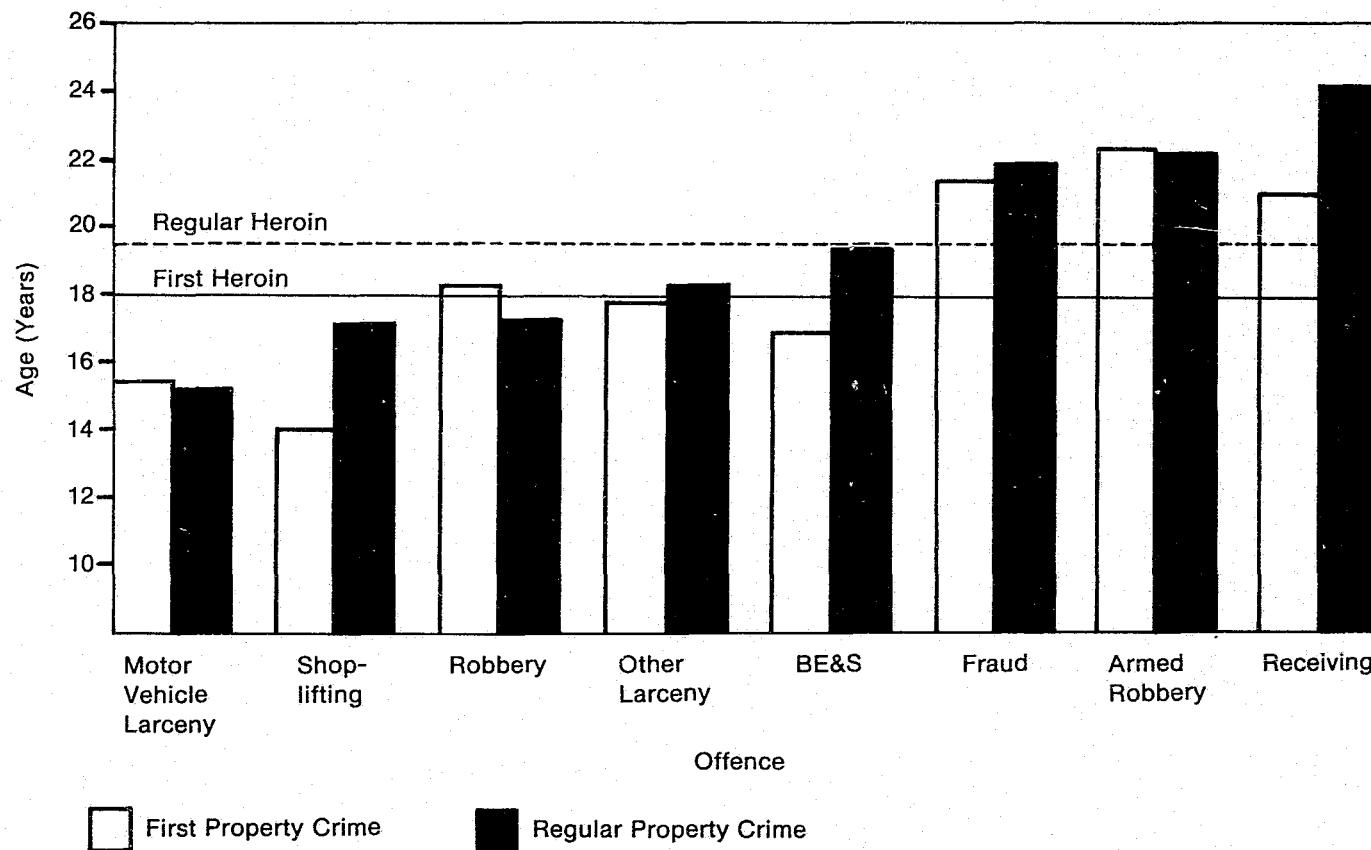
Table 33. Temporal Sequence of Crime and Heroin Use

	FIRST CRIME						REGULAR CRIME ^{a)}					
	Before		After		Simul-taneous		Before		After		Simul-taneous	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First Heroin	56	71.8	21	26.9	1	1.3	22	32.4	41	60.3	5	7.3
Regular Heroin	60	76.9	17	21.8	1	1.3	29	42.6	31	45.6	9	11.8

a) Ten respondents never got involved in regular crime of any sort.

Figure 3

COMPARISON OF MEAN AGE OF FIRST AND REGULAR HEROIN USE AND FIRST AND REGULAR PROPERTY CRIME



Further light is thrown on the issue of temporal sequence when individual offence types are considered. Tables 34 and 35 outline the relationships between first crime and first heroin use and regular crime and regular heroin use by specific property offences. Table 34 shows that the juvenile and/or less serious crimes of shoplifting and motor vehicle larceny (including take and use a conveyance) were prevalent before the first use of heroin. On the other hand, robbery (armed and other), and fraud usually occurred after the first use of heroin.

When considering the sequence of regular crime and regular heroin use (Table 35) it must be noted that the majority of respondents (with the exception of break, enter and steal) reported never being regularly involved in particular property offences. Where there were instances of regular property crime the most notable results were those for motor vehicle larceny, armed robbery, and fraud. The regular commission of motor vehicle larceny, considered to be a less serious offence, was always reported to have begun prior to the regular use of heroin. Conversely, armed robbery, the most serious of property offences, only occurred on a regular basis after the regular use of heroin. Similarly, the majority of respondents who reported the regular commission of fraud, did so after the regular use of heroin.

Break, enter and steal was the most prevalent crime amongst our heroin-user sample. There were only seven (9.0%) users who reported never having committed a burglary. In fact, of those heroin users who reported a first instance of break, enter and steal, 52 (73.0%) committed this crime on a regular basis. Unlike most of the other property offences, substantial numbers of respondents reported a first instance of burglary both before and after their first use of heroin. Similar results to these were also found when considering the sequence of the regular commission of burglary and the regular use of heroin. If it can be considered, however, that the simultaneous commission of burglary is dependent on the regular use of heroin, then it appears that the majority of respondents don't commit this crime on a regular basis until they start to use heroin regularly.

Table 34. Temporal Sequence of First Property Crime and First Heroin Use.

	Before Heroin	After Heroin	Simultaneous	No First Crime	
				No.	%
Break, enter and steal	35	28	8	7	9.0
Motor vehicle larceny	33	5	5	35	44.9
Robbery	9	17	5	47	60.3
Shoplifting	38	10	3	27	34.6
Armed robbery	2	34	4	38	48.7
Fraud	8	35	3	32	41.0
Other larceny ^{a)}	13	12	3	49	62.8
Receiving ^{b)}	3	13	6	55	70.5

a) One person was unable to specify when he first became involved in "other" larceny.

b) One person was unable to specify his first instance of receiving.

Table 35. Temporal Sequence of Regular Property Crime and Regular Heroin Use

Offence	Before	After	Simultaneous	No Regular Crime	
	Heroin	Heroin		No.	%
Break, enter and steal	15	22	15	26	33.3
Motor vehicle larceny	12	—	3	63	80.8
Robbery	2	3	5	68	87.2
Shoplifting	8	8	2	60	76.9
Armed robbery	—	11	5	62	79.5
Fraud	3	19	1	55	70.5
Other larceny	1	3	1	73	93.6
Receiving ^{a)}	—	3	1	73	93.6

a) One person was unable to specify when he began receiving on a regular basis.

It is of interest to compare this data with the responses obtained when prisoners were asked about the overall effect of drug use on their criminal activity. Many lengthy replies were given but these have been grouped under the general headings of "caused", "increased" and "no effect". The last of these related to particular crimes (usually a single crime) which respondents stated would have been committed regardless of regular heroin use. These results are consistent with the patterns obtained when examining the ages of heroin use and criminal activity. Table 36 sets out all the responses.

Table 36. Effect of Regular Heroin Use on Crime

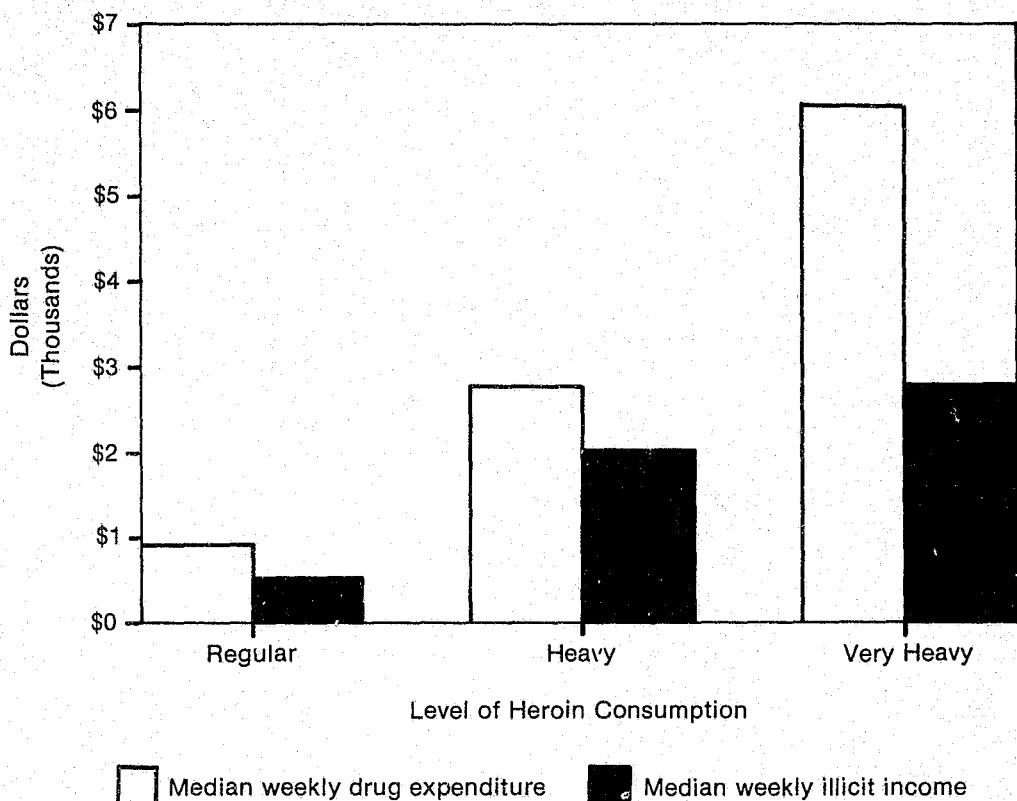
Effect	No.	%
Caused crime	37	47.4
Increased crime	39	50.0
No effect on crime	2	2.6
Total	78	100.0

Level of Heroin Use

A further consideration was that the dynamics of the relationship would be affected by the level of usage. All individuals who specified heroin as their main drug were divided into sub-groups characterized by their weight gram ingestion of heroin per week. The sub-groups chosen were regular (1 to 7 grams), heavy (8 to 14 grams), and very heavy (greater than 14 grams). The hypothesis was that as consumption increased so would expenditure and, accordingly, so would the amount of property crime and the levels of income generated by such crime.

Figure 4 sets out the median weekly expenditure on drugs and the median weekly income from property crime. It clearly indicates an upward trend in expenditure and illicit income in line with an increase in weight gram consumption of heroin. (Expenditure: $H=45.725$; $p < .001$; illicit income: $H=14.051$; $p < .01$. See Tables I and J in Appendix C for the raw data as to dollar amounts expended and obtained.)

Figure 4

COMPARISON OF MEDIAN WEEKLY EXPENDITURE ON DRUGS AND ILLICIT INCOME BY LEVEL OF HEROIN CONSUMPTION

It is noted, however, and in particular with regard to very heavy users, that median weekly incomes from property crime were less than median drug expenditure. In relation to regular and heavy users, this could be explained by the involvement of users in the drug supply network — i.e., profits made from drug sales may have been in the form of the drug itself — but it is hard to explain the substantial difference between expenditure and income from property crime for the very heavy users.¹⁰ Again, the involvement of this group in the drug supply network may explain some of the shortfall but it is possible that the respondents may have overstated their drug expenditure, if not the level of consumption itself. An alternative explanation, as suggested by Gould (1974), relates to the extent to which addicts are also involved in bartering, swapping and receiving drugs from friends. Also of importance is the practice of bulk buying with other users. Indices as to expenditure often fail to take these resources into consideration.

Given these increases in drug expenditure and illicit income it was of interest to see whether the three groups differed, not only in the amount of property crimes committed, but also in the types of offences they were likely to be involved in. Tables 37 and 38 set out this data. The results revealed that there was a significant difference between regular, heavy and very heavy users in the number involved in break, enter and steal ($X^2 = 8.34$, $p < .05$). It appears that the likelihood of users committing burglaries increased until the habit became one of 14 grams or more a week, at which point there was a decrease in the number of respondents involved in this offence. There was, however, no significant difference in the amount of burglaries committed by these groups which would suggest that those heavy users who elect to support their habit by this means do excessive amounts of break and enters. The results also indicate a trend that the heavier the habit, the more likely the user is to engage in armed robbery ($p = .057$). This is reflected in the finding that as the habit increased so did the number of robberies committed ($H=6.169$; $p < .05$).

Table 37. Numbers Involved in Particular Types of Crime by Level of Heroin Consumption^{a)}

Offence	Regular		Heavy		Very Heavy	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Break, enter and steal	20	69.0	24	92.3	13	56.5
Larceny	10	34.5	11	42.3	10	43.5
Robbery	3	10.3	6	23.1	3	13.0
Armed robbery	7	24.1	11	42.3	13	56.5
Fraud	10	34.5	6	23.1	9	39.1
Receiving	4	13.8	5	19.2	2	8.7

a) Based on the number of people who reported at least one instance of a particular crime.

10. James, Gosho & Wohl (1979) also found problems in attempting to obtain actual amounts spent on heroin.

Table 38. Number of Crimes Committed by Level of Heroin Consumption

Offence	Regular	Heavy	Very Heavy
Break, enter and steal	1,300	1,779	2,260
Larceny	444	426	683
Armed robbery	78	95	147
Robbery	23	48	17
Fraud	485	240	193
Receiving	36	103	8
Total	2,366	2,691	3,308

These two results (i.e., a decreased likelihood of very heavy users committing break and enters, and an increased involvement in armed robberies) suggest that where expenditure on heroin exceeds \$4,200 a week, users may turn towards the higher monetary return crime of armed robbery in preference to break, enter and steal. As to the other property offences, larceny, robbery, fraud, and receiving, there were no differences between the three groups.

Intoxication at Time of Major Offence

Respondents were asked to specify whether or not they were under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol at the time they committed their major offence. Table 39 sets out the responses of both users and non-users. It should be noted that a category was also included for those individuals who were "hanging out" or "sick" from the lack of drugs; this sickness is characteristic of physiological dependence.

Table 39. Intoxication at Time of Offence

Substance	User		Non-User		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Drugs	42	53.8	10	7.9	52	25.4
Alcohol	2	2.6	31	24.4	33	16.1
Drugs & alcohol	2	2.6	11	8.7	13	6.3
"Sick"	22	28.2	—	—	22	10.7
Nothing	10	12.8	75	59.1	85	41.5
Total	78	100.0	127 ^{a)}	100.0	205	100.0

a) There were nine non-users who claimed to be innocent of their crime.

As Table 39 shows, 68 heroin users (87.2%) reported that they were under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol or were "hanging out" at the time they committed their major offence. As expected, heroin was the major drug of influence. (For a breakdown of types of drugs see Table K in appendix C.) In comparison, 40.9% (52) of non-users were under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol at the time they committed their major offence. Of the 42 non-users who specified that they were intoxicated by alcohol, 37 said that they were either drunk or very drunk at the time they committed their major offence. (For a breakdown of levels of alcohol intoxication, see Table L in Appendix C.)

Treatment and Abstinence Effect on Crime

As with drug use, all those respondents who had had treatment experiences were asked generally about the effect of treatment on their criminal activities. In Section 1 on drug use, it was noted that the majority of individuals had returned to drug use, drug sales and crime within six months of leaving their longest period of treatment. Accordingly, as with their drug use, most heroin users saw treatment as having a nil overall effect (48.8%) or a nil effect in the long term (21.9%) on their criminal activities. Others (24.4%) saw their treatment as only effective whilst in the program (see Table 40).

Table 40. Effect of Treatment on Criminal Activity

Effect	No.	%
Nil	20	48.8
Decreased crime	1	2.4
No effect in long term	9	21.9
Effective while there	10	24.4
No crime before	1	2.4
Total	41	100.0

Similarly, respondents were asked about the effect of their longest period of abstinence from drug use on their criminal activity. Although no data exists as to their return to drug use and crime, 34 (64.2%) users reported that their criminal activity ceased during this time (see Table 41).

Table 41. Effect of Abstinence on Criminal Activity

Effect	No.	%
Decreased crime	2	3.8
Stopped crime	34	64.2
No change	4	7.5
No crime at this time	13	24.5
Total	53	100.0

Other Users

As mentioned in Section 2, these 11 users tended to be less involved in crime. On a temporal basis, the four regular barbiturate users tended to have committed their crimes after, or at the same time as, their regular drug use. The other seven users (cocaine, two; other narcotics, four; one, not known), however, exhibited similar characteristics to the 78 heroin users, the first property crime usually occurring before regular drug use whilst regular property crime tended to occur after, or simultaneously with, regular drug use.

Summary

A large number of the heroin-user sample had a first instance of property crime before their first use of heroin (71.8%). This trend, however, was not repeated when considering the regular commission of property crimes. Although substantial numbers reported regular crime before first (32.4%) or regular (42.6%) heroin use, the majority tended to have committed regular crime either after, or simultaneously with, their first (67.6%) or regular (57.4%) use of heroin. Overall, however, this sample of property offenders reported their first crime before their heroin use. In fact, there were only 17 respondents who reported that their first property crime occurred after they began to use heroin regularly. It is important to note, however, that while the above was true, the nature of particular crimes, in terms of seriousness, tended to change after the age of regular use (see Tables 34 and 35).

The hypothesis was also tested that as consumption of heroin increased so would the criminal activity of the individual. All 78 heroin users were categorized, by way of reported gram weight consumption of heroin, as regular, heavy or very heavy users. With the exception of armed robbery, no significant differences were obtained between these groups as to the number of crimes committed. It was found, however, that as an individual's weekly consumption of heroin increased so did the likelihood that he/she would be involved in armed robbery and break, enter and steal. With regard to break, enter and steal, however, involvement in this crime tended to diminish once use exceeded 14 grams per week (very heavy).

As to an individuals's intoxication at the time of the major offence, it was found that a very high percentage of users (87.2%) were either directly under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol or were "hanging out". Although the majority of non-users (60.3%) were not intoxicated, 39.7% were under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol.

Finally, the effect of treatment and abstinence on criminal activity was observed. Most respondents (68.3%) saw treatment as having a nil effect, while 64.2% saw abstinence as bringing their criminal activity to a halt. No data is available, however, as to the long-term effect of the longest period of abstinence on drug use and criminal activity other than to note that these users had subsequently returned to use and to crime.

Section 4. A Review of the Results

A random sample of 225 prison property offenders (210 — male, 15 — female) were interviewed between May and August 1983 at various metropolitan and country penal institutions. The sample was divided into two groups, users and non-users. All those respondents who specified a heavy or regular use of one or more of the following drugs in the specified period prior to arrest were classified as users. These drugs were barbiturates/ hypnotics, cocaine, heroin and other opiates (including synthetic narcotics). There were 89 (39.6%) users and 136 (60.4%) non-users in the sample.

Heroin was by far the most popular drug consumed by users, 87.6% (78) specifying this as their main drug or drug of choice. An amount of 1 weight gram of street pure heroin was adopted as the minimum consumption rate for the regular user of heroin. As heroin users comprised such a large percentage of the overall user group it was decided to relate the bulk of the data to them. The results were as follows:

- There was a 38.0% chance that an individual in this sample would be a regular user of heroin. If, however, this was made conditional by an initial use of heroin, the likelihood that an individual would progress to regular use was 74.0%.
- A simple "like" for the drug-induced euphoria of heroin was the reason why the majority of users (67.9%) began to use this drug on a regular basis. This was followed by the influence of peers and emotional pressures.
- Heroin users reported using between 1 and 35 weight grams of street pure heroin per week with a median weekly consumption level of 7 weight grams.
- Cash purchase was the main way of obtaining heroin for 92.3% of heroin users. They expended between \$100 and \$10,000 per week with a median of \$2,000.
- The main source of income for heroin users was illicit activities (property crime, 78.2%, and drug sales, 9.0%). For non-users, however, the main source was licit activities, including employment (40.0%) and social security (24.4%).
- The main reason for the commission of the major offence was, for heroin users, the "need to support their drug habit", 89.7% specifying this. Non-users specified "support" as the most common (33.8%) reason for their major offences. This grouped reason included "money-unemployed", "money to support family and self" and "money for debts".
- In the commission of property crimes, generally, heroin users generated significantly more income ($U=1,481$; $p < .001$). They also committed significantly more burglaries ($U=2,576$; $p < .001$), armed robberies ($U=4,330.5$; $p < .05$), and frauds ($U=4,222$; $p < .05$) than non users in the specified period prior to arrest.
- As the level of heroin consumed increased (regular, heavy and very heavy), so did the amount expended and the amount of money generated by property crime. More very heavy heroin users tended to be involved in the commission of armed robberies than heavy or regular users. On the other hand, regular and heavy heroin users were more likely to be involved in break, enter and steal. There was, however, no significant difference in the numbers of burglaries committed by each of the three groups (regular, heavy and very heavy) which suggests that where very heavy users were involved in break, enter and stealing they committed a substantial number of these crimes.
- There was also a greater likelihood that users would progress from the initial commission of a crime to the regular commission of that crime than non-users. For example, there was a 73.0% chance that a heroin user would become regularly involved in break, enter and steal compared to 31.0% for a non-user. In the case of armed robbery there was a 40% and 13% chance for users and non-users, respectively.

- Most heroin users (71.8%), however, did report a first instance of property crime prior to their first use of heroin. Regular crime tended to occur after, or simultaneously with, the first or regular use of heroin. Where crime did occur before the first or regular use of heroin it was the juvenile, or less serious, offences of motor vehicle larceny (including take and use a conveyance) and shoplifting. On the other hand, the regular commission of armed robbery and fraud was most prevalent only after the regular use of heroin. Break, enter and steal differed from these patterns as substantial numbers reported first and regular commission of this crime both before and after the first and regular use of heroin.
- Heroin users were also very likely to be under the influence of heroin (53.8%) or "hanging out" (28.2%) when they committed their major offence. Most non-users (60.3%), however, reported no consumption of alcohol or drugs at this time. Where non-users were intoxicated it was most commonly by alcohol and they were likely to be drunk or very drunk.
- The majority (96.1%) of the heroin users saw themselves as drug dependent. Also, 53.3% stated that they had been "addicts" for more than five years.
- Almost a third (32.1%) of the heroin users had never abstained from regular drug use during their "use careers" and 47.4% had never had a treatment experience.
- With regard to the longest period of abstinence, most respondents (64.2%) reported that their criminal activity ceased during this time.
- Those heroin users who reported at least one treatment experience (41) had on average 3.2 treatment experiences per person, 131 in total.
- Many, however, had returned to drug use (79.5%), drug sales (48.9%) and property crime (53.7%) within six months of leaving their longest term of treatment.
- About half the number of heroin users (51.2%) saw treatment as having a nil effect on their drug use, and 48.8% a nil effect on their crime.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this study was twofold: (1) to determine the extent to which those who commit property crimes use particular addictive drugs, especially heroin; and (2) having identified those who are regular users, to then explore the relationship between such use and the commission of property crime. In order to achieve this, the "user group" was compared with all those other individuals generally labelled as "non-users".

Obvious policy implications are seen to result from conclusions that users are more heavily involved in the commission of property crime than comparable non-users. This was of interest when looking at particular property offences, notably break, enter and steal, and armed robbery, which have been the subject of wide interest given the increase in their rate of occurrence over the past five years. Chapter I detailed at length many studies that have attempted to explore the relationship between drug use and crime, with the underlying conclusion, however, that the relationship is less than clear. Such studies have also attempted to relate findings from user sub-groups to what is loosely called a total user population with the result that the conclusions drawn are highly questionable. It is not an aim of this study to likewise relate its findings and make wide-ranging policy recommendations about the use of addictive drugs (especially heroin) in New South Wales. There are, however, policy implications directly applicable to the particular sample studied: prisoners.

The Relationship Between Drugs and Crime

Much has been written about the causal link between drugs and crime. It has been suggested that regular addictive-drug use causes an individual to commit property crime. The main criterion of causality, however, is that the involvement in drug use occurs before the commission of property crime. Studies such as those of Wardlaw (1978), Stephens and Ellis (1975), and James et al. (1979) have observed what has become known as the temporal sequence of drug use and crime. The findings of this study were similar to the above, in that many heroin users reported criminal activity prior to their first use of heroin. There were, however, many different patterns obtained. For some, regular property crime was reported before the first use of heroin. Conversely, there were a substantial number of individuals whose only regular criminal activity occurred after the regular use of heroin, previous crimes being of a petty and/or juvenile nature. Although only small in number, there were also those whose first crimes were committed after the regular use of heroin. The following case studies exemplify these differing temporal sequences:

"A, a 33-year-old male, was serving a 6½-year sentence for break, enter and steal together with a balance of parole period. His reasons for committing the burglaries were to support himself and for drugs. He has been a regular heroin user since age 25 and reported that he has been an addict since 29. His earliest crimes were motor vehicle larceny and shoplifting at age 16, shoplifting being a regular activity at the same age. He also reported that he had been regularly involved in burglary at age 19, some six years before his regular use of heroin (it should be noted that his first use of heroin was also at age 25). As to the effect of drug use on his criminal activity, he reported that if he had been employed and not on drugs he would not have committed any crime after age 25. He did say, however, that if he was unemployed there was a strong likelihood that he would still steal for support."

"B, a 29-year-old male, was serving a 16-year sentence for armed robbery. The main motivation behind the armed robbery(s) was the need to support his heroin habit

which he had had since age 18 (an addict career of 11 years). He reported some juvenile stealing and joy-riding between the ages of 13 and 16. Since 18, however, his criminal activity had changed drastically with the reporting of regular burglaries at age 25, regular armed robberies at age 27, and regular forgeries at age 24. It would seem that between 18 and 24 the bulk of his heroin use was financed through drug sales. Not surprisingly, B sees all his crime since 18 as drug related and reported that he would never have done it if it was not for the 'dope'."

"C, a 29-year-old male, represents another different pattern. He was serving a 10-year sentence for armed robbery, forgery and burglary. The reasons for these crimes were first to support his heroin habit, and second to support his family and himself. C reports that he began to use heroin regularly at age 16, becoming an addict at age 17. His involvement in crime, however, did not begin until around the ages of 18 to 20. At 20 he reports a regular involvement in break, enter and steal and at age 27 the regular commission of armed robberies, and frauds. As to the effect of drugs on his life C simply replied: 'No drugs, no crime'."

What do these examples tell us about the causal link between drugs and crime? In C's case it could be justifiably concluded that drug involvement directly *caused* the commission of property crime. For B, however, drug use has *increased* his involvement in property crime. It may be asked, what is the importance of the distinction? In answer, the major area of relevance may well lie in sentencing practices where one may have to consider whether C should be more leniently treated than B. This distinction would be even more pronounced when considering C and A. Who is more of a criminal? If diversion to treatment is ordered, who is more likely to succeed: C or A? In terms of limited resources, who should receive treatment and who should not? It must be accepted that present-day sentencing, especially as it relates to alternatives, involves the criminal justice system in predictability of outcome, hopefully successful. Accordingly, the temporal sequence of drug use and crime may well be persuasive evidence in this prediction process.

Of interest, however, are the findings of some studies which showed that the instance of crime before drug use differed between captive (incarcerated) and active (on the street) users. Potteiger (1981), in her study of both captive and active heroin addicts, found that the captive users were more likely to be involved in crime before the onset of addiction than active users. Further, as highlighted by Inciardi's study (1979), the reducing of information to unitary measures — e.g., mean ages to determine which came first, drugs or crime — overlooks the unique temporal sequence patterns and the conditions that create them. This uniqueness is illustrated by the previous case studies of A, B and C.

Although the issue of causality is problematic, it has been clearly established that there is a correlation between heroin use and property crime. The simple overrepresentation of heroin users in gaol is evidence of this association. It was found in this study that approximately 35% of incarcerated property offenders were regular or heavy users of heroin prior to arrest. Chaiken and Chaiken (1982) also identified substantial proportions of prisoners in California (40%), Michigan (24%) and Texas (19%) as regular users of heroin. Barton (1980) in his study of a sample of American prisoners, reported that 33% of property offenders had used heroin at least once prior to their incarceration. A substantially higher figure was found in the present study, 52% of prisoners reporting at least one episode of heroin use.

Others, e.g. McGlothlin et al. (1978) and Ball et al. (1980), have also demonstrated that changes in heroin consumption clearly affect an individual's commission of property crime. In times of abstinence, therefore, both property-offence arrests (McGlothlin et al.) and property crime generally (Ball et al.) are found to decrease. Although absti-

nence from heroin use and its effect were not explored in similar detail in the present study it was found that respondents, whilst abstaining (in reference to their longest period of abstinence), tended to decrease or stop their criminal activities.

It has been suggested (Goldstein, 1979; Ball et al., 1979; Nurco et al., 1981) that the major reason for the association between heroin addiction and crime is an economic one. The temporal sequence, which may be helpful in characterizing an individual's criminality, has little bearing on the simple economics of generating money to purchase a particular commodity, e.g. heroin.

Much of the present study concerned itself with examining the economic link. This involved the collection of data as to the levels of heroin consumption and the associated dollar expenditure. Further to this, information was also collected as to the sources of income generated by individuals in the period prior to arrest and the dollar amounts associated with them. The median weekly heroin consumption rate was 7 weight grams of street pure heroin with a median expenditure level of \$2,000 per week. The main way that the user group obtained their drugs was through cash purchase and it was clearly evidenced that the main way of generating this cash flow was through the commission of property crimes. It was found that for 78.2% of heroin users, property crime was their main source of income. Conversely, 64.4% of non-users related so-called licit sources (job and social security) as their main form of income. Users were also seen to generate more income from property crime and commit significantly more burglaries, armed robberies and frauds than non-users in the specified period prior to arrest.

The results also demonstrated that as consumption and expenditure increased, so did the amounts of income generated by property crime. Further to this, the involvement of individuals in particular types of property crime (armed robbery and break, enter and steal) also increased in line with consumption. The high-income-generation crimes of burglary and armed robbery were by far the most popular criminal activities of the user group. Although this was also true for non-users, the significant differences between the two groups, with regard to the disproportionately high level of property crime committed by users, has already been stated.

In the present study heroin users were also far more likely to become regularly involved in the commission of serious property crimes such as burglary and armed robbery than non-users. Whilst both users and non-users tended to progress (in terms of age) from instances of petty crime (e.g., shoplifting) to serious crimes (e.g., armed robbery), non-users were rarely involved in any property crimes on a regular basis. The implication is that heroin use is the discriminating factor between users and non-users.

The reasons reported by users for the commission of their crimes provides further evidence of an economic link between drugs and crime. In the present study, 89.7% of users saw the support of their drug habit as the main reason for the commission of their major offence. Inciardi (1979), in his study of 356 active heroin users, also reported that where individuals were involved in crime, it related almost exclusively to the support of a drug habit. A substantial number (28.2%) of heroin users in the present study also reported that they were "hanging out" at the time they committed their major offence. In fact, the general reaction of most users was that they were fearful of the possibility of being "sick" from the lack of heroin. This is not seen as a pharmacological effect of heroin, but rather a response by a dependent user motivating his/her commission of crime.

There are those, however, who believe that the relationship between drugs and crime is neither causal nor statistical. It has been suggested (e.g., McBride and McCoy, 1982) that the relationship is a spurious one, in that drug-using behaviour and criminal behaviour are seen to be the result of the same variables. Dai (1937), for example, found that within the city of Chicago, those areas with high rates of heroin use were also character-

ized by poor housing, disrupted families, transient populations, lower socio-economic status and high delinquency rates. In the present study it was found that both users and non-users were mostly unemployed at the time of their arrest and, in terms of educational achievement, most had not attained their School (Intermediate) Certificate. Both groups were also likely to have had previous criminal convictions and, in terms of age, had progressed from instances of petty offences to more serious property crimes. The suggestion is that if this hypothesis is true, then attempts to break the drugs-crime relationship without affecting the context within which they occur will be futile in the long term.

While this argument may explain why people initially use heroin and/or commit crime, it fails to explain the difference in criminality between user and non-user prisoners. If the two groups are the product of the same social milieu, it would seem that the high cost of heroin is the only factor that can account for this difference.

The implication is, therefore, that a decrease in price may result in a decrease in property crime. Such a hypothesis may well have historical support. It is known, for example (from information obtained from drug-treatment sources), that the price of a weight gram of street pure heroin has risen dramatically from about the mid-1970s through to today (1976: \$70 to 1983: \$350). It is further known that the rates for particular property crimes (e.g., break, enter and steal and armed robbery) have also increased.

One of the most highly publicized (see the recent series of articles in the June 1984 editions of *The Sydney Morning Herald*) means of state control over the heroin market is the registration of addicts and the controlled supply of this drug to those registered. The varying degrees to which the state controls supply would obviously affect any movement in price. To expand on this further, the more liberal the approach to registration and supply the more likely and greater the decrease in price. Again, it is not the purpose of this report to enter into a lengthy critique of this method of drug control, but it should be noted that where attempts have been made previously to control the heroin market (e.g., Great Britain) this overall price reduction has not been achieved.

Policy Implications

A major finding of this study is that there is a strong economic link between heroin use and the commission of income-generating property crimes. Reference has already been made to the implications of reducing the cost of heroin and one possible method of achieving this. In this regard the Rankin Committee¹¹ in 1981 reported unfavourably on a wide-scale registration-and-heroin-supply program (recommendation 2). The Committee did, however, recommend that research be instituted to determine the merits of the supply of heroin, on humanitarian grounds, to those individuals hopelessly addicted and habitual failures of drug treatment. This latter recommendation (recommendation 1), however, has not been adopted and the current situation in New South Wales sees a concentration of resources on drug therapy and methadone maintenance. Of these, the main concern has been with drug-free treatments such as therapeutic counselling (both in-patient and out-patient).

Although it is accepted that the user group in this sample may well be seen as "failures" with regard to previous treatment experiences, the information imparted by them on treatment is important in giving us some notion of the reasons why people seek

11. New South Wales Committee of Inquiry into the Legal Provision of Heroin and Other Possible Methods of Diminishing Crime Associated with the Supply and Use of Heroin. *Report*. Sydney: N.S.W. Government Printer, 1981.

treatment, why they fail to complete such treatment, and the overall effect of treatment on drug use and possibly criminal activity.¹²

The data presented with regard to treatment and abstinence is disturbing when one considers the large proportion of individuals, with lengthy use careers, who have never had any treatment experience (47.4%) or have never abstained from drug use (32.1%). It is also valid to note that only 12 of the 41 who had undergone treatment managed to complete what was specified as their longest treatment experience. The major reason for their lack of completion was a general dislike for the particular programs offered. A better understanding of the behaviour of individuals in, or seeking, drug treatment will be obtained from a study of this population, but it is of interest to note the comments of some of the individuals in this study:

- "Methadone should be easier to get. Prison is not the answer for addicts."
- "Everything that could have been done for me was done. I just didn't have the will-power."
- "There is a need for methadone maintenance. Heroin maintenance would create its own problems."
- "There is a need to educate people against the using of drugs."
- "There should be drug counselling prior to release from gaol."

There are, however, quite definite policy implications that relate to the New South Wales prison population. The present study found that within this state's penal institutions there are a substantial number of individuals with drug-abuse problems. On visiting the gaols specified in the study it was disturbing, however, to find virtually no treatment facilities. Where these did exist, the treatment (e.g., counselling), was provided by other departmental agencies or voluntary bodies (e.g., Narcotics Anonymous). The Department of Corrective Services itself, apart from in-house psychologists, provided no drug-treatment programs. The clear implication is, however, that there exists a great need for such facilities. In terms of post-release or parole, there is also a need for adequate and complementary drug treatment. It is arguable, however, whether or not coerced participation in treatment, by way of parole conditions, is a desirable approach.

In line with pre-release and post-release treatment, the implications of the study also affect considerations at the pre-sentence stage, especially as they relate to diversion. At present the Drug and Alcohol Court Assessment Program (DACP) is limited to drug offences, although it is likely that this program will be expanded to deal with other offences, especially property crimes. The findings of this study clearly indicate that a substantial number of apprehended property offenders exhibit drug-abuse problems and, accordingly, present themselves as possible clients of DACP.

In a broader context, reference is again made to the two questions addressed by the present study. These are: (1) the extent to which property offenders use addictive drugs; and (2) the extent to which property crime in New South Wales is drug-related. Although information gleaned from this study goes some way to providing data on the behaviour of drug users generally, it cannot be seen as being attributable to the behaviour of the total heroin-user population. It is estimated, for example, that there are approximately 10,000 "hard-core" heroin users in New South Wales (Woodward Royal

12. Although treatment personnel may well see that a natural consequence of the cessation of drug use is a decrease or cessation of crime, the former, not the latter, is the true objective of treatment.

Commission¹³). To apply the data reported by the user group to this larger population would be misleading in the extreme.

The inaccuracies and anomalies of using such multipliers are well-known. Singer (1971), for example, in his study of New York heroin addicts found, by using an estimated addict population of 200,000 and the reported rate of thefts by his sample study, that this total population would have been responsible for three times as many thefts in New York as were actually recorded. His conclusions were that either the population of addicts was overstated or that addicts were not so "responsible" for property crimes. Another study by Inciardi (1979) of 239 active male addicts in Miami, if applied to national robbery figures, showed some 140,000 addicts possibly being responsible for all reported robbery cases in the United States. The present U.S. estimate of addicts is some 500,000. As with Singer (1971), therefore, the conclusions are that the addict population is either a lot smaller than suggested and/or that the average crime rates of this sample are not representative of the total addict population.

Similar anomalies can be deduced from the present study. It was found, for example, that the average number of armed robberies committed annually by each member of the heroin-user group was eight, while the average number of burglaries was 143. Applying these average crime rates to the accepted reports for these particular crimes in 1982¹⁴ we can postulate that 237 similar individuals could have accounted for all armed robberies while 581 individuals could have accounted for all reported burglaries.

Both Reuter (1984), in the United States, and Elliott (1983), in Australia, have suggested the implausibility of applying similar related findings to total addict populations. Elliott described the possible anomalies when multiplying factors result in extremely large dollar amounts. The expenditure, for example, of an excess of \$100,000 per annum on heroin by individuals appears to be very high. As Elliott states,

"We know that the majority of those who are counted in official statistics of heroin use are young, male, socially disadvantaged . . . they are not one would think capable of generating average income levels of this order from either licit or illicit sources.

I suggest that they use far less heroin and pay far less for what they use . . ." (p.340).

It would seem, however, that certain groups have a vested interest in keeping figures high and in so doing have no constituency for keeping numbers accurate. As Reuter (1984) states,

"The broad consensus that the drug traffic is evil simply exacerbates the problem, even when people disagree on the best approach for overcoming that evil. For example, some people feel that the answer is legalisation, at least of marijuana. Nonetheless it is in their interest to see that the numbers on current traffic stay high, since the numbers bolster their argument by suggesting the immensity of the existing problems. For the much larger groups who want more rigorous law enforcement or more treatment and prevention programs, the high income figures are additional evidence of the seriousness of the situation and the need for further effort. It is hard to identify an organised constituency apart from drug dealers, who might benefit from a lower estimate. The agency members of NNICC (National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee), who might at least seek to give the estimates of a downward trend in order to show success, seem more satisfied to have a high number to justify their budgets" (p.18).

13. Supra, footnote 1.

14. The New South Wales Annual Police Report, 1982, stipulated that there were 1,896 accepted reports of armed robbery and 83,162 accepted reports of break, enter and stealing (both dwelling house and other).

The Need for Further Study

Chapter I detailed at length the great difficulties in coming to any consensus about the relationship between drugs and crime. It has also been stated that the results of this study are applicable only to a wider prisoner property group who are also regular or heavy heroin users. Although this study further demonstrates that users commit proportionately more property crimes than non-users, we are unable to say how this effects the extent of drug-related property crime in New South Wales as we are unable to differentiate a so-called total property-offender population by way of user and non-user sub-groups. This is not to say, however, that nothing can be done in order to understand more fully the phenomenon of heroin abuse as it relates to the commission of property crime. As mentioned in the Introduction, the other perspective to the relationship (the first being the extent to which the commission of property crime is associated with the regular use of addictive drugs) is the extent to which the regular use of addictive drugs is associated with the commission of property crime. To recap, it is accepted that although the relationship to be observed is the same, it needs to be emphasized that the two relationships are separately addressable since it is conceivable either that:

(a) The use of addictive drugs is associated with the commission of property crime, but most property crime is not committed by regular users of drugs;

or

(b) The commission of property crime is associated with the regular use of addictive drugs, but most drug use is not associated with the commission of property crime.

This difference needs to be emphasized because if (a) is correct then policies aimed at a reduction in property crime through an intensification of drug-treatment programs should be reviewed in favour of other strategies. Conversely, if (a) is false and (b) is true then some basis exists for supposing that effective treatment programs, and an increased application of resources to them, may reduce the incidence of property crime.

Although other similar hypotheses could be postulated, the overriding implication is the need to study the group depicted as part of this secondary relationship — i.e., the drug-user population. If it is true, for example, that most property crime is drug related and that most regular heroin users commit property crime, to varying degrees, to support their drug use, then the Government must be charged with the responsibility of breaking this nexus which has quite destructive consequences for our community. A major recommendation is, therefore, that further study be undertaken. In this regard certain identifiable sub-groups of a possible total user population include:

1. Drug-treatment clients;
2. Custodial drug offenders;
3. Non-custodial drug offenders;
4. On-street drug users.

In line with the present study on prison property offenders it is also suggested that similar work be undertaken with the non-custodial property-offender group.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule/Questionnaire

1. Sex

Male
Female

2. Date of Birth.....

3. Marital Status
 - a. Single
 - b. Married
 - c. De facto
 - d. Separated
 - e. Divorced
 - f. Widowed
 - g. Other

4. Number of Dependents (Children, wife, ex-wives, parents in-laws etc.).

5. Place of Permanent Residence (regional codes to be used).

6. Education History
 - i) At what age did you leave school.....years.
 - ii) What was the highest level of achievement (e.g. grade school certificate etc.).

7. i) At the time of your arrest for the major offence for which you are imprisoned, were you —
 - a. Employed full-time?
 - b. Employed part-time?
 - c. Self-employed?
(please specify)
.....
 - d. Unemployed?
 - e. Other?
(please specify)
.....

- ii) If you were employed, what was your job?
 iii) If unemployed, how long had you been without work?

8. Employment History
 - i) Since you left school, what were the jobs you had?
 - ii) What was the longest job you ever had and for how long were you employed?
 - iii) If you were ever unemployed, what was the longest period that you were without work?

9. At which court were you convicted?
10. Institution in which held?
11. For what offences are you presently serving this sentence and what is the major offence (*circle major offence — major offence is that which attracted the longest sentence*)?
12. i) What is your head sentence months.
ii) What is your non-parole period months.
13. a) Here are some cards (hand to the prisoner those cards marked 'Reasons I'). Each card describes a possible reason for why you committed the major offence for which you are now imprisoned. Look at each card and put it into one of the boxes marked 'Very Important', 'Important', 'Slightly Important', 'Not Important At All', as it describes the reasons why you committed this offence.
b) Are there any other reasons why you committed this crime?
c) What is the main reason for committing this offence?

NOTE: If the prisoner maintains that he/she is innocent of his present offences, do not press him/her, but move straight to question 14.

14. I would now like you to repeat this task, looking at all the previous property and related offences you have committed (hand to the prisoner the bundle of cards marked 'Reasons II').

NOTE: At the end of the interview, each respondent's cards must be tallied on the two sheets provided. The cards should then be thoroughly shuffled.

Here is a 24-month calendar. These two years relate to the time prior to your arrest for the offences for which you are presently imprisoned:

Year I (Specify)

Year II (Specify)

January		January
February		February
March		March
April		April
May		May
June		June
July		July
August		August
September		September
October		October
November		November
December		December

Put a cross against the month in which the prisoner was arrested.

Now ask the prisoner to tell you the months prior to this month that he was in prison, or another custodial institution.

You should then determine the six months of free time prior to the prisoner's arrest. If there is not a full six months, determine the longest period.

Point the prisoner to the prison-free period, noting the specific months and the year.

15. This section concerns your drug and alcohol use during this period. On average, how often, during this time, did you use:

- a) Alcohol?
- b) Cannabis/Marijuana/Hashish?
- c) LSD/Psychedelics?
- d) Amphetamines?
- e) Barbiturates/Hypnotics?
- f) Cocaine?
- g) Heroin?
- h) Other Narcotics/Opiates?
- i) Others (specify)?

If the prisoner never used or very infrequently used drugs listed e-i (if other drugs are relevant), then go to Question 25.

- 16. Of the drugs that you used what was your drug of choice?
- 17. If you couldn't get this what did you use?
- 18. In an average week how much of these drugs (i.e., Q16 and Q17) did you use?
- 19. During this period would you say you were an addict?
- 20. Did anyone else say you were an addict and, if so, who?
- 21. During this period did you obtain drugs (drugs of choice and substitutes) in the following ways (ask in an open-ended fashion)?

	Often	Sometimes	Once or Twice	Never
Bought them	3	2	1	0
Broke into pharmacist/doctor	3	2	1	0
Received some in payment for job (e.g bagman)	3	2	1	0
Cut a deal purchased by someone else	3	2	1	0
Traded stolen goods for them	3	2	1	0
Friends	3	2	1	0
Forged prescriptions	3	2	1	0
Swapped drugs	3	2	1	0
Other (specify)	3	2	1	0

22. What was the main way of obtaining your drugs?

23. During this period did you sell any of the following things:

	Often	Sometimes	Once or Twice	Never
a) Cannabis/Hashish	3	2	1	0
b) LSD/Psychedelics	3	2	1	0
c) Amphetamines	3	2	1	0
d) Barbiturates/Hypnotics	3	2	1	0
e) Cocaine	3	2	1	0
f) Heroin	3	2	1	0
g) Other Narcotics/Opiates	3	2	1	0
h) Other (specify)	3	2	1	0

24. In an average week, how much did you spend on drugs?

\$.....

25. During this six-month period approximately how much per week did you obtain from:

- i) Job \$.....
- ii) Social security \$.....
- iii) Sale/trade of stolen property/ fraud/robbery/ forgery/
B.E & S. \$.....
- iv) Sale of drugs \$.....
- v) Prostitution \$.....
- vi) Family/friends \$.....
- vii) Other (specify)

26. What was the main way of obtaining your money?

27. (If relevant) You have indicated that money was obtained from burglary, robbery, fraud and larceny. Which of these was your main activity?

28. i. At the time of committing the offence(s) for which you are presently convicted, were you under the influence of
1. Drugs?
 2. Alcohol?
 3. Nothing?
- ii. If you were on drugs, what had you taken and how much?
- iii. If you had drunk alcohol, how much had you consumed?
29. At the time of committing the above-mentioned offence(s), were you "sick", "hurting" from lack of drugs?
30. Overall Drug History

At what age did you first try-

- i. Alcohol..... years
- ii. Cannabis years
- iii. LSD/Other Psychedelics years
- iv. Amphetamines years
- v. Barbiturates/Hypnotics years
- vi. Cocaine years
- vii. Heroin years
- viii. Other Narcotics (methadone)/Opiates years

31. At what age did you begin to regularly use —

- i. Alcohol..... years
- ii. Cannabis years
- iii. LSD/Other Psychedelics years
- iv. Amphetamines years
- v. Barbiturates/Hypnotics years
- vi. Cocaine years
- vii. Heroin years
- viii. Other Narcotics (methadone)/Opiates years

NOTE: If the prisoner has never been a regular user of any items v-viii, then go to Question 44.

32. You have indicated that when you were years old you first tried certain drugs namely (refer items v-viii) and that by the time you were years old you had become a regular user of these drugs. In your own words why do you think you became a regular user?
33. i. (If relevant). At what age would you say that you became an addict?
 ii. What was the main drug you used?
 iii. How long have you been an addict?

34. Treatment and Times of Abstinence.

You have stated that you are/have been a regular user and/or addict of drugs other than cannabis and alcohol - during these times of regular use and/or addiction, have you ever been "off the stuff"? (Other than treatment.)

35. If so, what was the reason and what was the longest period that you were "off the stuff"? (Other than treatment.)

36. Did your criminal activity vary (number of offences) during this time and, if so, how did it vary?

37. How many times have you had — (Specify place name, e.g., Westmount)

a) Formal detoxification (i.e., in-patient withdrawal)? How long each time?

b) Methadone withdrawal programs? How long each time?

c) Methadone maintenance programs? How long each time?

d) Methadone blockade programs? How long each time?

e) Treatment in a therapeutic community? How long each time?

f) Other (specify)?

I would now like to ask you some questions concerning the longest period of treatment that you have undergone.

38. Why did you have this treatment (i.e., was it voluntary, part of a sentence, etc.)?

39. Did you complete this treatment program?

40. If you did not, what was the reason?

41. During this treatment program how many times did you:

- a) Use drugs?
- b) Sell drugs?
- c) Steal/rob/commit fraud?
- d) Commit other offences (excluding traffic — specify)?

42. How long after you left the program did you:

- a) Use drugs?
- b) Sell drugs?
- c) Steal/rob/commit fraud?
- d) Commit other offences (excluding traffic — specify)?

43. In your own words, what have been the effects of treatment on your drug use and criminal activity?

44. a) Overall Criminal History

At what age did you first

- | | First
Time | Regular
Activity |
|---|---------------|---------------------|
| i) Break into somewhere to steal | years | years |
| ii) Steal a motor vehicle | years | years |
| iii) Rob someone/no weapon | years | years |
| iv) Shoplift | years | years |
| v) Rob someone/weapon used | years | years |
| vi) Assault someone/cause bodily harm | years | years |
| vii) Vandalise some place | years | years |
| viii) Forge something/use a stolen credit card (other frauds) | years | years |
| ix) Steal from a person e.g./ other stealing, snatch and grab, pick pocket | years | years |
| x) Drug traffic/push | years | years |
| xi) Receive | years | years |
| b) Looking at the above, at what age would you say that you were doing these things on a regular basis (Regular means one or more times per week or three to four times or more per month). | | |

45. In your lifetime how many times have you been charged for —

- i) Breaking into somewhere to steal?
- ii) Stealing a motor vehicle?
- iii) Robbing someone/no weapon?
- iv) Shoplifting?
- v) Robbing someone/weapon used?
- vi) Assaulting someone/causing bodily harm?
- vii) Vandalsing some place?
- viii) Forging something/using a stolen credit card (Other frauds)?
- ix) Stealing from a person — e.g. snatch and grab/ other stealing, pick pocketing?
- x) Drug trafficking/pushing?
- xi) Other (Drugs, receiving etc.)?

NOTE: Includes arrests where convictions were not proceeded to/obtained.

46. How many times have you been on probation/a good behaviour bond/a community work order?
47. How many times have you been in a juvenile institution and what was the length of the longest period?
48. How many times have you been in an adult institution (including periodic detention) and what was the length of the longest term? (Do not include transfers.) (You should now refer to questions 15-20 and 45(b). If the respondent has indicated a regular use of barbiturates, heroin and other narcotics as well as being regularly involved in any of the property offences then ask question 49. If not, go to question 50).

NOTE: If the prisoner will not be specific in Questions 49 and 50 then try and get a general indication - i.e., a range (e.g. 50-100) or a multiplier of offences (e.g. 10 x's, 20 x's etc) rather than a general response (e.g. heaps, 100's, a lot more, etc.).

49. You have said that atyears of age you were a regular user of heroin and/or narcotics/opiates (as well as other drugs)

a) Prior to this time (age) how many times did you:

1. Break into somewhere to steal?
2. Steal a motor vehicle?
3. Rob someone/no weapon?
4. Shoplift?
5. Rob someone/weapon used?
6. Assault someone/cause bodily harm?
7. Forge something/use a stolen credit card/other frauds?
8. Steal from a person — snatch and grab etc./other stealing?
9. Drug traffic/push?
10. Receive?

b) After this time and up to the present how many times did you:

1. Break into somewhere to steal?
2. Steal a motor vehicle?
3. Rob someone/no weapon?
4. Shoplift?
5. Rob someone/weapon used?
6. Assault someone/cause bodily harm?
7. Forge something/use a stolen credit card/other frauds?
8. Steal from a person - snatch and grab etc./other stealing?
9. Drug traffic/push?
10. Receive?

50. I would now like you to refer to the calendar once more and ask you to answer the following questions in relation to the prison free time. During this period did you and how many times:

- i) Break into somewhere to steal something worth less than \$100?
- ii) Steal a motor vehicle?
- iii) Rob someone/cause bodily harm?
- iv) Break into somewhere and steal something worth more than \$100?
- v) Rob someone/no weapon?
- vi) Shoplift?
- vii) Rob someone/weapon used?
- viii) Forge something/use a stolen credit card, etc.?
- ix) Break into a chemist/doctor's surgery etc. to steal drugs, prescription pads etc?
- x) Sell drugs?
- xi) Steal/commit larceny?
- xii) Receive?

51. In your own words, what has been the effect of your personal drug-use history on your criminal activities? If you had not been involved in drugs or could have kicked the habit, would this have changed your life?
52. Is there anything else you would like to say concerning drugs and crime?

REASONS	Very Important	Important	Slightly Important	Not Important At All
1. The group I hang around with are involved in these offences				
2. I needed money as I am unemployed				
3. I needed money to buy drugs to support my habit				
4. I simply wanted money/goods — it was easy money				
5. I did it for kicks				
6. I needed money to support my family/myself				
7. I wanted to buy drugs but I am not an addict				
8. I have debts and needed money to repay these — not drug related				
9. I wanted money to buy a particular item — e.g. car, stereo				
10. It's what I do as a living				
11. I lost my temper				
12. I cannot explain why I did it				

APPENDIX B

The Pilot Study

Seven interviews were undertaken over a two-day period at Bathurst Gaol (an all-male institution). The administration was requested to select certain individuals with the following characteristics:

1. They had as their major offence a property offence that fell within the specific categories;
2. They had a known history of drug use (i.e., use of one or more of the four specified drug categories).

Individuals were selected in this manner so that they would complete the whole interview. This would, therefore, test all questions for methodological defects as well as indicate the approximate maximum time for an interview, the latter being very important in regard to the time frame specified for interviews and subsequent estimates as to the amount of time needed to complete approximately 300 interviews.

The average age of the seven respondents was 27 years, with a range of 22 to 32 years. This was higher than that of the general prison population (Walker and Biles, 1983) but can be explained by the fact that three of the seven were long-term prisoners nearing the end of their sentence.

Two respondents were married, one had a *de facto* wife, one was separated, one was divorced and two were single. The findings as to academic achievement were diversified with subjects completing anything from one to six years of secondary schooling, the average being 2.5 years. The sample also tended to be unrepresentative of the general prison population with regard to employment at time of arrest, only one respondent being unemployed. As to the other six, one was employed part-time, two were self-employed full-time, and three were employed full-time.

The major offences of the respondents were armed robbery (3), break, enter and steal (3) and forge and utter (1). The average head sentence for those convicted of armed robbery was 10 (base-sup) $\frac{1}{2}$ (sup-base)/2 years with an average non-parole period of 4 years 8 months. For break, enter and steal the average head sentence was 5 years 2 months, with an average non-parole period of 1 year 7 months. The figures for break, enter and steal were slightly inflated in that one respondent had a head sentence of 8 (base-sup) $\frac{1}{2}$ (sup-base)/2 years due to a cumulative sentence including the offence of shooting to avoid apprehension. The one respondent convicted of the forge-and-utter offence had received a straight 12-months' sentence.

It should be noted that this data is not a true indication of average sentence lengths for these types of offences. The head sentence and non-parole period often related to situations where there were multiple offences and may even have included a balance of parole period.

As expected, the majority (six out of the seven) stated that the main reason for committing their offence was to support a drug habit. One respondent, although indicating the use of some money to purchase drugs to support his habit, stated that his main reason/motive was the fact that it was "easy money".

Alcohol and Drug Use in the Six Months Prior to Arrest

All respondents were able to specify a full six months of prison-free time prior to arrest. Only one respondent stated that he used alcohol on a regular basis, the other six

using it either infrequently or not at all. Five respondents had regularly used cannabis and two had used barbiturates/hypnotics on a regular basis. No respondents stated that they had regularly used LSD or other psychedelics. By far the most prevalent drug was heroin, six out of the seven using it regularly and stating that it was their main drug. The main drug of the other respondent was physeptone (methadone) which he obtained by robbing or stealing from chemists. Four respondents stated that they were multi-drug users and often used substitute drugs such as palfium, dilaudid, physeptone, pethadine, serapax and valium. The other three respondents did not use substitutes as they had ample supplies of heroin.

The most common method of obtaining drugs was through cash purchase and/or the trading of stolen property (five out of the seven). Of the other two respondents, one obtained his drugs solely from chemist robberies or burglaries and the other through drug importation. Both, in fact, spent nothing on their drug supplies. In this regard only five had a weekly expenditure on drugs which ranged from \$700 to \$7,500, with an average of \$3,400.

As to the main source of income in the period prior to arrest, two indicated that it was the sale of drugs, two their jobs, two break, enter and steal offences, and one private savings.

Four respondents were under the influence of heroin at the time they committed their offence, one was drunk and the other two were "hanging out".

Crime in the Six Months Prior to Arrest

The seven respondents specified a variety of detected and undetected property offences during this time, stating that they had been responsible for 3 armed robberies, 720 break, enter and steals (where the property stolen was worth more than \$100), 130 motor vehicle thefts, 21 frauds, 6 cases of shoplifting and 1 chemist break, enter and steal.

Overall Drug and Alcohol Histories

All respondents stated that they were addicts with addict careers ranging from 4 months to 11 years. Only one respondent, however, had abstained during his period of addiction. This respondent stated that this was due to the influence of his girlfriend and that during this time his criminal activities ceased. Four respondents also indicated that they had had at least one treatment experience.

The questions that relate to overall criminal activity and also ages of first drug and alcohol use and regular use have not been reproduced here. As stated, the two aims of the pilot were satisfied by the seven interviews undertaken and only minor amendments were made to the interview schedule adopted for the major part of the study. It is also due to the way in which the individuals were selected, not seen as representative of property offenders at Bathurst Gaol.

Bathurst Gaol was in fact one of the institutions later visited as part of the major study. Accordingly, the seven respondents were excluded from the population from which the random sample was selected for interview.

APPENDIX C
Additional Tables

Table A. Status of Job by User/Non-User

Job Status	User		Non-User	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	—	—	1	1.8
Semi-professional	1	4.3	8	14.0
Small business	—	—	1	1.8
Skilled	14	60.9	18	31.6
Unskilled	8	34.8	28	49.1
Don't know	—	—	1	1.8
Total	23	100.0	57	100.0

Table B. Length of Unemployment by User/Non-User

Period Unemployed	User		Non-User		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-6 months	21	31.8	32	40.5	53	36.6
7-12 months	11	16.7	18	22.8	29	20.0
13-24 months	9	13.6	15	19.0	24	16.6
25-36 months	5	7.6	3	3.8	8	5.5
Over 36 months	15	22.7	7	8.9	22	15.2
Never worked	1	1.5	2	2.5	3	2.1
Don't know	4	6.0	2	2.5	6	4.1
Total	66	100.0	79	100.0	145	100.0

Table C. Reasons for Abstinence

Reasons	No.	%
Self-Motivated		
Happy with relationship/job	1	1.9
Destroying health	3	5.7
Fed up/sick of lifestyle	16	30.2
Save money	1	1.9
Maintain family unit	4	7.5
Self-motivated	5	9.4
Influence of Others		
Pressure from family/friends	6	11.3
Pressure from authorities	2	3.8
Change in Situation		
Moved to escape scene	5	9.4
Drug not readily available	1	1.9
Pregnant/new baby	2	3.8
Miscellaneous		
"Don't know"	1	1.9
Not specified	6	11.3
Total	53	100.0

Table D. Reasons for Treatment

Reasons	No.	%
Voluntary	35	44.9
Sentence	1	1.3
Parole	1	1.3
Remand-bail	4	5.1
No treatment	37	47.4

Table E. Completion of Treatment

Completion	No.	%
Yes	8	19.5
No:		
Couldn't handle it	21	51.2
Returned to use	1	2.4
Left state/country	1	2.4
"Don't know why"	2	4.9
Ongoing program	4	9.8
Arrested/sentenced while on program	4	9.8
Total	41	100.0

Table F. Main Reason for Committing Major Offence by User/Non-User

Main Reason	User		Non-User		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Group	—	—	7	5.1	7	3.3
Money unemployed	—	—	21	15.4	21	9.8
Money for drugs	70	89.7	2 ^{a)}	1.5	72	33.6
Easy money	2	2.6	10	7.4	12	5.6
Kicks/boredom	—	—	6	4.4	6	2.8
Money for support	2	2.6	16	11.8	18	8.4
Drugs not addict	2	2.6	3	2.2	5	2.3
Debts	—	—	9	6.6	9	4.2
Particular item	—	—	2	1.5	2	1.0
Living	1	1.3	1	0.7	2	1.0
Lost temper	—	—	1	0.7	1	0.5
Can't explain	—	—	6	4.4	6	2.8
Drink and/or drug intoxication	—	—	17	12.5	17	7.9
Money for drink	—	—	4	2.9	4	1.9
Emotional upset/ depressed	1	1.3	3	2.2	4	1.9
Innocent/innocent accessory	—	—	13	9.6	13	6.1
Gambling	—	—	2	1.5	2	1.0
Maintain high living style	—	—	2	1.5	2	1.0
Get square	—	—	8	5.9	8	3.7
Motor vehicle for transport	—	—	3	2.2	3	1.4
Total	78	100.0	136	100.0	214	100.0

a) These two respondents were alcoholics.

Table G. Main Illicit Activities by User/Non-User

Activity	User		Non-User	
	No.	%	No.	%
Break, enter and steal	37	47.4	35	25.7
Robbery	22	28.2	23	16.9
Fraud	7	9.0	13	9.6
Larceny	6	7.7	5	3.7
Receiving	2	2.6	2	1.5
Other	—	—	2 ^{a)}	1.5
Innocent	—	—	7 ^{b)}	5.1
No money from crime	4	5.1	49	36.0

a) One non-user specified both robbery and fraud as his main illicit activity while another reported burglary and larceny.

b) Nine respondents stated that they were actually innocent of their crimes. Two, however, did make money from property crime from which they had not been apprehended.

Table H. Weekly Income From Drug Sales by User/Non-User

Income (\$)	User		Non-User	
	No.	%	No.	%
Nil	31	40.3	121	89.0
Less than 100	—	—	5	3.7
101-500	5	6.5	5	3.7
501-1,000	4	5.2	—	—
Over 1,000	6	7.8	—	—
No profit but supplied own use	31	40.3	5	3.7
Total	77 ^{a)}	100.0	136	100.0

a) One respondent was unable to specify an amount.

Table I. Expenditure on Drugs by Level of Heroin Consumption

Expenditure (\$)	Regular		Heavy		Very Heavy	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-500	6	20.7	1	3.8	—	—
501-1,000	11	37.9	—	—	1	4.4
1,001-1,500	7	24.1	6	23.1	—	—
1,501-2,500	1	3.5	12	46.3	2	8.7
2,501-5,000	3	10.3	5	19.2	7	30.4
5,000+	—	—	1	3.8	13	56.5
Sales cover cost	1	3.5	1	3.8	—	—
Total	29	100.0	26	100.0	23	100.0

Table J. Income from Illicit Activities by Level of Heroin Consumption

Income (\$)	Regular		Heavy		Very Heavy	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nil	1	3.5	—	—	2	8.7
1-500	13	44.8	3	11.5	2	8.7
501-1,000	5	17.2	3	11.5	3	13.0
1,001-1,500	3	10.3	1	3.8	1	4.4
1,501-2,500	4	13.8	12	46.2	3	13.0
2,501-5,000	1	3.5	4	15.4	4	17.4
5,000+	1	3.5	1	3.8	7	30.4
Drugs from busts not cash	—	—	1	3.8	—	—
Don't know	1	3.5	1	3.8	1	4.4

Table K. Drug of Influence at Time of Offence for Users

Drug	No.	%
Cannabis	1	2.3
Amphetamines	1	2.3
Barbs./Hypnotics	1	2.3
Heroin	40	90.9
Other opiates	1	2.3
Total	44	100.0

Table L. Level of Alcohol Intoxication at Time of Offence for Non-Users

State of Intoxication	No.	%
Very drunk	16	38.1
Drunk	21	50.0
No effect	5	11.9
Total	42	100.0

APPENDIX D

Classification of Drug and Alcohol Use According to Reported Consumption

Alcohol	Heavy:	drinking heavily every day and/or drunk every second day.
	Regular:	drinking socially every day or every second day.
	Occasional:	drinking socially but only on weekends.
	Infrequent:	drinking on one or two occasions a fortnight.
Cannabis	Heavy:	using every day.
	Regular:	using between two and four days a week.
	Occasional:	using only once a week.
	Infrequent:	using on one or two occasions per month.
Psychedelics/LSD	Heavy:	using between four and seven days a week.
	Regular:	using one or two days a week.
	Occasional:	using one day a fortnight.
	Infrequent:	using only one day a month.
Amphetamines	Heavy:	using between five and seven days a week.
	Regular:	using between two and four days a week.
	Occasional:	using one day a fortnight.
	Infrequent:	using only one day a month.
Barbs./Hypnotics	Heavy:	using between five and seven days a week.
	Regular:	using three or four days a week.
	Occasional:	using one or two days a week.
	Infrequent:	using one day a fortnight.
Cocaine	Heavy:	using every day.
	Regular:	using three or four days a week.
	Occasional:	using one or two days a week.
	Infrequent:	using one day a fortnight.
Heroin	Heavy:	using every day and more than 7 weight grams a week.
	Regular:	using every day and between 1 and 7 weight grams a week.
	Occasional:	using one or two days a week.
	Infrequent:	using only one day a month.

Note: The above frequencies are not intended to be a continuous scale but rather are based on the responses given.

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