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The Narcotic Trafficker— A Typology

by

Robert W. Taylor

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THE NARCOTIC TRAFFICKER -- A TYPOLOGY

By

Robert W. Taylor

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this report is to establish empirical typologies for each of the four existing classifications (levels) within the narcotic traffic subculture. Further, it is the intent of this study to compare and develop apparent trends or patterns exhibited by each typology.

The typologies consist of two profiles -- the social characteristic profile and the profile of criminal activity. The social characteristic profile identifies each subject by race, sex, age, education, marital status, occupation and legitimate income per year. The criminal activity profile describes the crime most frequently associated with the delivery of narcotics, the addiction status of each individual and the past institutional encounters for each offender. The hypotheses of this study involve the possible relationships existing between classification (level) and profile.

The subjects under study consisted of 42 individuals. These subjects comprise the complete population of persons convicted at the Federal level (by the Drug Enforcement Administration, U. S. Department of Justice), of delivery of narcotics (opiates) within the city of Detroit,

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Michigan, from the period between January, 1970 to January, 1974.

These typologies resulted from the examination, study and observation of police and court records. The Federal Probation and Parole and the Detroit Police Department were the primary sources for such documents.

The major findings of this project, as established through the development of typologies for each classification, are:

- 1) Narcotic traffickers, at all classifications (levels) will in all probability be male, Black and in their low 30's.
- 2) As narcotic traffickers advance within the narcotic traffic subculture; age, level of education and legitimate income per year increase.
- 3) Most narcotic traffickers have previous records and previous institutional encounters involving crimes against property (larceny, burglary, etc.).
- 4) Narcotic traffickers occupying lower classifications (levels) have a higher ratio of addiction, a lower income and a more mobile position within society. Their counterparts, are in contrast, more established within a specific community. It is hypothesized that mobility is a major determinant and factor regarding success and function for each classification within the narcotic traffic subculture.

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In conclusion, this study recommends that further research be directed at narcotic traffickers, and the relationship each plays within his particular subculture and within society as a whole.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There are an estimated 250,000 to 315,000 narcotic addicts in the United States, each paying an estimated 20 dollars a day for an estimated 40 milligrams apiece per day--four or five tons a year.¹

The leading law enforcement policy concerning the prevention and eradication of drug abuse is prohibition--keeping drugs away from the ^epeople. This philosophy began with the enforcement of the 1914 Harrison Narcotic Act, and it has remained the dominant theme of both anti-drug legislation and anti-drug education ever since. To respond effectively to this type of policy, a large amount of attention must be directed toward the elimination of drug traffic.

In June of 1971, President Richard Nixon declared a "national emergency" and proclaimed that "America's Public Enemy Number One is drug abuse." Consequently, he asked Congress to create the Special Action Office of Drug Abuse Prevention to plan, organize and coordinate the activities of enforcement regarding the control of illicit drugs.

¹Edward M. Brecher and the Editors of Consumer Reports, Licit and Illicit Drugs (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), p. 92.

Creation of this new agency produced a drastic change in the administration's approach to drug abuse. No longer was it considered just a "judicial" war on drugs or a "legal matter"; but now, for the first time, some type of preventive enforcement was being implemented. The passage of new, stiffer drug control legislation and the tightening of U. S. borders against the inflow of drug traffic marked the era of enforcement change. In addition, the administration enacted an international outlook concerning the control of foreign manufacture and exportation of drugs--specifically involving the opiates.

These measures received substantial political support from middle class America, but did little to decrease the flow of drugs, especially opiates, into large urbanized centers.² The only notable effect was a sharp increase in the price of heroin on the street corner. The question to be asked, then, is "why" have our narcotic laws failed to control the problem of drug abuse?

Two interrelating factors can be associated with this situation. First, the economic processes and organization of the American heroin market have not been fully realized; and secondly, the people involved in such activity have not been subject to detailed, empirical research.

²David E. Smith and George R. Gray, "It's so good don't even try it once" - Heroin in Perspective (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), Chapter 1.

Therefore, a problem exists of not understanding or recognizing the system and/or the people involved in narcotic trafficking.

In the past five years, there have been attempts to analyze or at least explain the American heroin market. To the author's knowledge, the best integration of the various attempts have been summarized by the writers and editors of "Consumer Reports."³ The result and summary of their findings is expressed in the following pages.

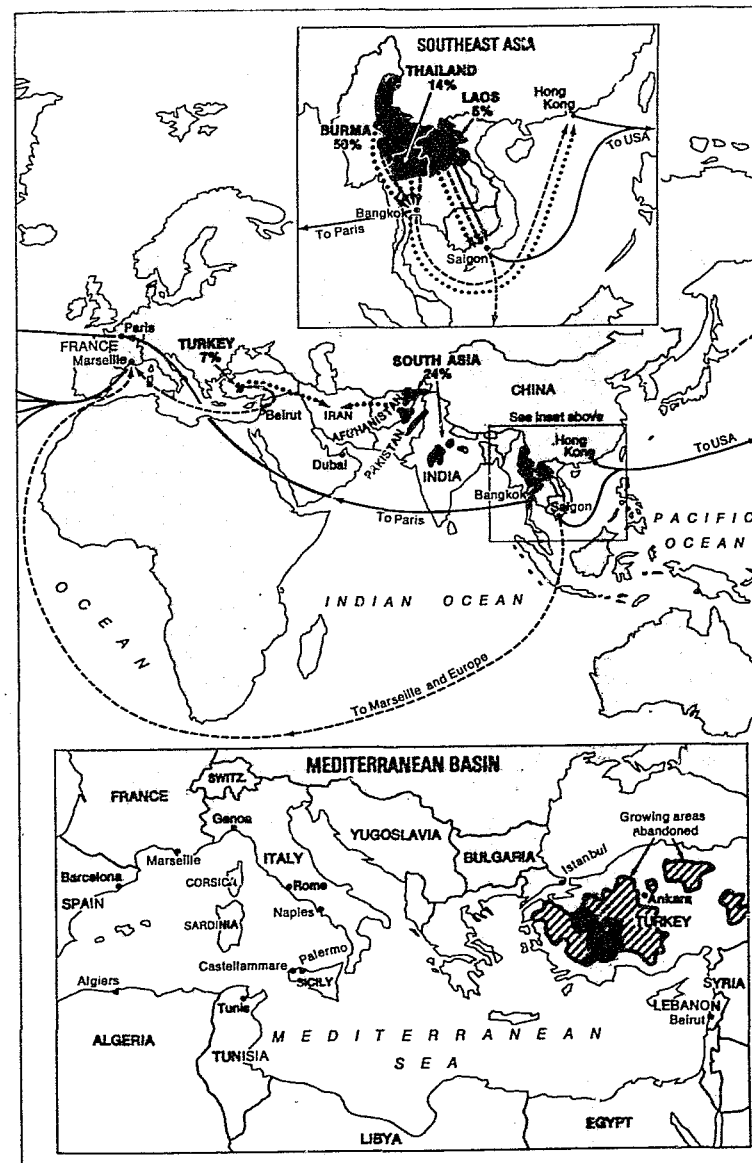
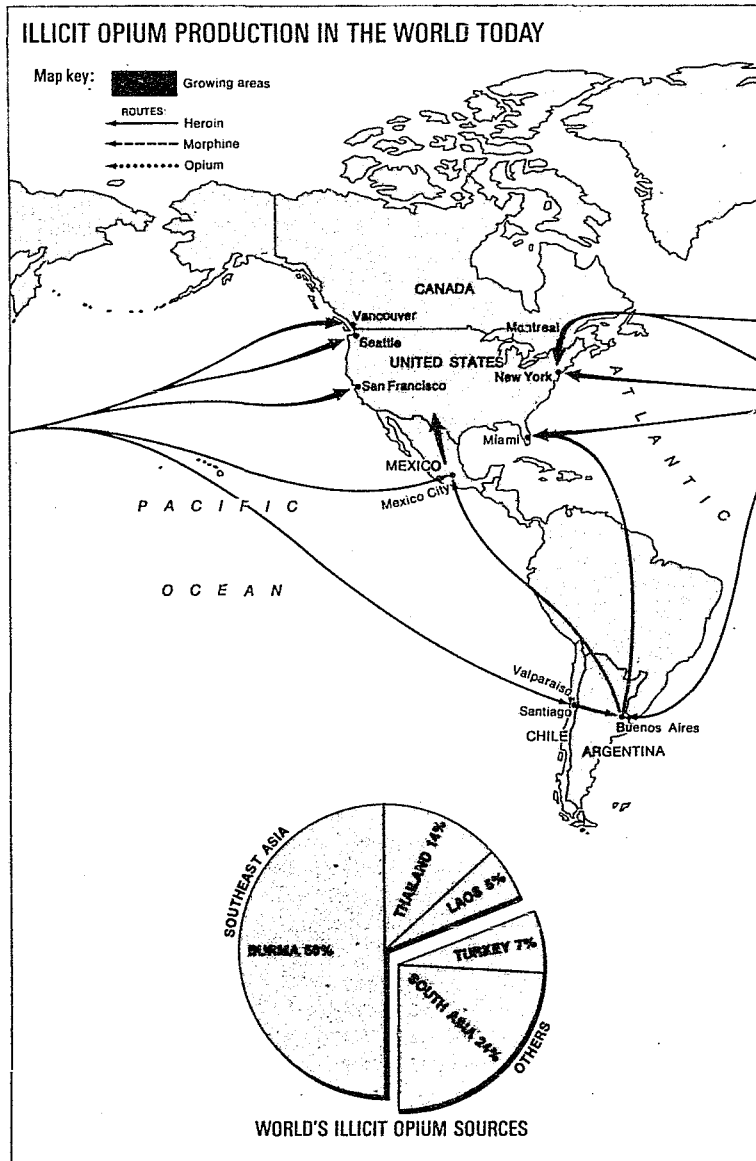
Processes of the American Heroin Market

Despite the claims that growing requires special soils and climates, the opium poppy can be cultivated almost anywhere. Until recently (prior to the emergency of the Vietnam Conflict in the 1960's), most heroin entered the United States from Turkey. However, it is estimated that less than 7% of the total heroin harvest of today is produced in this region. Of the remaining 93%, almost 70% or one thousand tons per year, is grown and exported from the Golden Triangle region of Southeast Asia--consisting of northeastern Burma, northern Thailand and northern Laos (see Diagram 1). This region has been established and advanced, in part, by American intervention in Vietnam.⁴

³Edward M. Brecher, op. cit., Chapter 11.

⁴Alfred W. McCoy, The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1972), p. 9.

Diagram 1: Map of Logistics -- Heroin Market



After the poppies have been harvested, the opium base must be extracted and converted to heroin. This process is relatively inexpensive and simple.⁵ The major geographical setting for this activity is located in southern France and Hong Kong. From these locations, major smuggling processes into the United States are accomplished (refer to Diagram 1).

What does all of this have to do with "why" our narcotic laws have failed? Until recently enforcement personnel have operated in neglect of the present system. Aside from this, the American heroin market produces three factors which inhibit the functioning of narcotic laws and enforcement.

First, few major smugglers are ever caught. The market protects itself through a network of well-paid couriers who act as transporters for the major sources. When a trafficker is apprehended, the heroin seized is rarely his own. To the major financiers and importers, the loss of one shipment of heroin and a courier is well worth the cost of the barrier it presents between themselves and law enforcement personnel.

Secondly, and most important, the American heroin market offers the chance of "big money" for the people

⁵Equipment for a factory capable of extracting and converting opium to heroin in kilogram batches costs about \$700. Wholesale value: One kilogram heroin at 80% + purity (1973) = approximately \$25,000. See "Heroin and Heroin Paraphenalia," Second Report by the House Select Committee on Crime, House Report Number 91-1808, 91st Congress, Second Session, January 2, 1971, p. 17.

involved in such activity. The average addict spends over \$7,000 a year on his habit.⁶ Multiply this amount by the estimated 250,000 addicts and you reveal a multi-billion dollar industry, with comparatively few risks.

The "1967 Arthur D. Little Report" distinguishes the levels of suppliers to the addict and estimates buying and selling prices per kilogram (2.2 pounds) of pure heroin at each level (refer to Diagram 2).⁷

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Supplier</u>	<u>Buying Price</u>	<u>Selling Price</u>
I	"Importer"	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 18,000.00
II	"Wholesaler"	18,000.00	32,000.00
III	"Dealer"	32,000.00	70,000.00
IV	"Pusher"	70,000.00	225,000.00
--	ADDICT	225,000.00	. . .

Diagram 2: Levels of Suppliers,
Buying -- Selling Prices
80+% purity -- 1973

⁶Alfred W. McCoy, op. cit., p. 2.

⁷Arthur D. Little, Drug Abuse and Law Enforcement, A Report to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, January 18, 1967, p. F-2.

Through the adulteration or "cutting" process, the margins of profit expressed in Diagram 2 can be inflated as much as 1,000%. This process involves the "diluting" of pure heroin with other substances such as sugar, lactose, quinine, arsenic, or any other "fluid" material. The adulteration of heroin accomplishes two purposes. First, because of the extreme potency of heroin in the pure state, the drug must be "cut" to prevent the poisoning of the buyer; and secondly, adulteration in high proportions will achieve the greatest profit returns at all levels.

Thus, the adulterated heroin that reaches the street has approximately 3-5% of the natural, active product--opium. The complete distributor-adulteration-profit heroin cycle is summarized in Diagram 3.⁸ It is no wonder why the American heroin market is considered "big business and terrific money."⁹

This situation promotes the third important factor concerning "why" our narcotic laws have failed. Because there is so much money involved in narcotic trafficking, the system invites police, judicial and legislative corruption.¹⁰ It is not beyond the sanction of criminal justice personnel to be corrupted especially when corruption involves huge

⁸New York Post, October 27, 1969, p. 4.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰The Knapp Commission Report on Police Corruption
(New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1972), pp. 91-115.




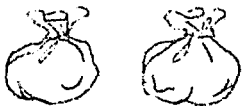
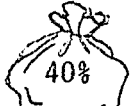




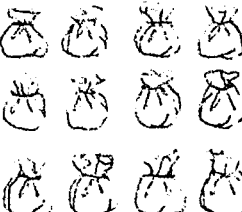


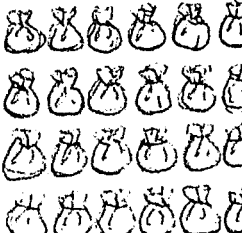

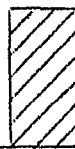

Distributor	Type of Cut	Adulteration	Percentage Heroin	Rate of Return on Investment
Importer	--			 300%
Kilo Connection	1 & 1			 100%
Connection	1 & 1			 145%
Weight Dealer	2 & 1			 114%
Street Dealer	1 & 1			 124%
Juggler	?	?	?	 56%

Diagram 3: The Heroin Market: Chain of Supply
Distributor-Adulteration-Profit

profits in money, status and class. The detrimental effect of corruption is not only evident by the mere existence of the heroin black market, but also through the devastating effect on the public's attitude toward the criminal justice system.

What can be done? For one thing, further research must be implemented to discover the patterns of the American heroin market. And secondly, as previously mentioned, research must be produced concerning the patterns and trends of those persons involved in such activity. It is the purpose of this report to concentrate on the offenders previously engaged in narcotic trafficking. The major objective is to establish an empirical typology of those persons involved in the American heroin market at different classifications (levels) of distribution.

CHAPTER 2

THE TYPOLOGY WITHIN CRIMINOLOGY

Ever since Cesare Lombroso produced his theory on the physical classification of offenders in the nineteenth century, there have been a number of typologies published attempting to explain the nature of deviant behavior. Unfortunately, none of these works have succeeded in standing the historical test of time. The etiological approach asserted through typologies has been contradictory, inconsistent and inadequate. This lack of uniformity and convergence has produced a barrier in capturing the essence of crime. Each typology may certainly be valid in its own right; however, taken together they fail to provide an all-inclusive analysis of deviant behavior.

Currently, the typological approaches toward crime may be roughly divided into four areas: (a) the legalistic approach; (b) the physical-constitutional-heredity approach; (c) the psychogenic approach; and (d) the sociological approach.¹¹

¹¹Julian B. Roebuck, Criminal Typology (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1967), p. 3.

Legalistic Approach

The legalistic approach asserts that the base of criminology is found in the definition of statutory and judicial legislation. The criminal is one who is defined by intent and act; e.g., a murderer is one convicted of murder. Legal classifications represent the earliest and most common categories dealing with criminals.¹² It was this approach which developed the importance of differentiating offender types. The systematic analysis identified the difference, at least through labels, of one type of offender from another. That is, the role-careers of a murderer, a thief and a prostitute were separated by legal definitions.

Paul W. Tappan has offered support of this approach. He states that "...crime is an intentional act or omission in violation of criminal law (statutory or case law), committed without defense or justification, and sanctioned by the state as a felony or misdemeanor."¹³ Tappan asserted that criminals are a sociologically distinct group of violators of specific legal norms, subjected to official adjudication and labelling. Thus, to be a criminal is to acquire a legal label; and this label, according to Tappan, constitutes a major province of criminology.¹⁴

¹²Ibid.

¹³Paul W. Tappan, Crime, Justice and Correction (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1960), p. 10.

¹⁴Paul W. Tappan, "Who is a Criminal?" American Sociological Review, XII (February, 1947), pp. 96-103.

Physical-Constitutional-Heridity Approach

The physical-constitutional-heridity approach centers upon the inferiorities of the body which are derived from heredity and disease. The utilization of morphological, physiological and mental characteristics make up the bulk of the typology.

The most known of constitutionalists is Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). The founder of the Italian or Positive School of Criminology, attempted to apply Darwin's biological theory to crime. He asserted that specific anthropological and biological factors of the body indicated a specific physical criminal type. This assertion rested upon the logical assumption that structure determines function. That is, individuals behave differently because they are somehow structured differently. According to Lombroso, the criminal was an "atavist, or genetic throwback to an earlier and lower type of human."¹⁵ Though he failed to demonstrate an anatomical criminal type, Lombroso started the era of criminology. He is frequently referred to as the "father of modern criminology."¹⁶

The two most famous followers of Lombroso were Enrico Ferri (1856-1928) and Raffaele Garafalo (1852-1934). Ferri stressed the importance of age, sex, organic and psychological conditions, industrial, economic, political, climatic,

¹⁵David Abrahamsen, The Psychology of Crime (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 134-150.

¹⁶Ibid.

geographical and family conditions in their relationship to crime.¹⁷ Raffaele Garafalo focused on the criminal as a psychological, rather than a body type. He analyzed the criminal's personality in relationship to the situation and operation of the criminal act.¹⁸

The 1930's revealed other supporters of the Positive School of Criminology. Earnest A. Hooton asserted that "the primary cause of crime was biological inferiority."¹⁹ In addition, Hooton concluded that this inferiority was inherited and advocated sterilization of present offenders to solve criminality. William H. Sheldon and Earnst Kretschmer also posed a constitutional classification based upon the study of people as physio-psychological entities. This thesis maintains that man's behavior can be explained by physical structure. Thus, a variety of psychobiological personality patterns were evolved to explain the different temperament relationships between actions and body structures.²⁰

In the recent years, the physical-constitutional-hereditary approach toward typologies has decreased. The

¹⁷George B. Vold, Theoretical Criminology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 43-51.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Earnest A. Hooton, Crime and the Man (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 130.

²⁰Richard A. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, Criminology and Penology (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.), p. 200.

reason being the severe criticism aimed at such studies. Critics of this approach assert that deep underlying prejudices base the findings of these reports. They continue to expound upon the idea that these approaches are aimed toward the labeling of one race, one nationality or one mass of people as inferior beings.

Despite these arguments, Sheldon and Elenor Glueck claim to have established a valid correlation between physical type and delinquency. In their book, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, the Glueck's support and extend upon earlier theories. For the first time, a mechanism is suggested which connects a specific kind of physique and personality (mesomorphic dionysian) with a specific kind of criminal behavior (aggressive and predatory).²¹ What is more important from a typological frame of reference is their classification of different characteristic patterns of response to each of their four proposed body types. Certain sociocultural stresses operate to modify the characteristic behavior patterns of each type. This may be a plausible suggestion between the role of the hereditary endowment expressed in the physique of the individual and the role of environmental influence.²²

In concluding this section, it should be noted that Lombroso and his early followers assumed that there was a

²¹Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Physique and Delinquency (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), pp. 161-203.

²²Julian B. Roebuck, op. cit., p. 37.

direct relationship between criminal behavior and a certain physical type. The nature or strength of this relationship was never fully established. Yet with the age of new technological advances, this theoretical thought continues. Researchers such as Enrico Altavilla,²³ Sara G. Geiger,²⁴ and N. Yoshi²⁵ have recently used medical technology in hypothesizing the association between certain physical abnormalities or diseases and antisocial behavior. The XYY chromosome factor has also produced significant attention to this approach. Therefore, it behooves the criminologist to at least keep an open mind to the physical-constitutional-hereditary approach.

Psychogenic Approach

The psychogenic approach contends that criminal typologies should classify by motivational patterns arising out of personality structure and various psychological states. Criminality is explained as personality disorders, mental attitudes and neurotic malfunctions of the "normal" being. The central thesis of the approach is that criminal deviance is presumed to be the response of personality, motivational, and/or psychological problems. The rise of

²³Enrico Altavilla, "Criminal Anthropology, Old and New," Excerpta Criminologica, 2:505-511, September, 1962.

²⁴Sara G. Geiger, "Organic Factors in Delinquency," Journal of Social Therapy, 6:224-237, 4th Quarter, 1960.

²⁵N. Yoshi, M. Shimokochi, and K. Tani, In Excerpta Criminologica, 2:545, September, 1962.

this approach has been responsible for numerous casual theories and research based upon this perspective. These theories have, in turn, led to the various rehabilitative and treatment orientation in corrections which asserts that criminals are emotionally "sick."

Perhaps the best starting point for analysis of the psychogenic approach is a brief discussion of psychoanalysis. The founder, Dr. Sigmund Freud (1835-1939), developed the first and probably the most famous of these theories. His argument asserted that criminality was a result of conflict between three distinct components of the human personality--the Id, the Ego, and the Super ego.²⁶

The Id represented the product of innate psychological-biological forces ("drives" or "instincts") which are unconscious in nature and not fully understood by the being. The Ego represented the self, or the being as an entity separate from the surrounding world. This component was considered an outgrowth of the Id which adapted to the environment for survival. Therefore, the Ego was an intermediary between the Id and reality. The third component, being the Super ego, was represented as the morality or conscience of the being. Developing out of the Ego, the Super ego was an internalization of the norms, values, laws and ideals of society.

²⁶Sigmund Freud, An Outline of Psycho-Analysis (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1949), pp. 5-10.

Thus, these three components constituted the personality of a human being. Each was a separate identity, yet totally dependent upon the others for existence. The harmonization of these elements produced a well-balanced personality. In contrast, the conflict of these elements produced behavioral mutations or criminality.²⁷

The psychoanalytic interpretations of criminality have been elaborated and revised by several prominent researchers in the past fifty years. Persons such as Carl Jung,²⁸ Alfred Adler,²⁹ and Karen Horney³⁰ have contributed to the original works of Freud.

Psychoanalysis is not the only psychogenic approach. The works of Reiss,³¹ Beck,³² Topping,³³ and Mueller³⁴ propose

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Carl G. Jung, The Undiscovered Self (Boston, Mass: Little, Brown and Company, 1957)

²⁹Hienz Anbacher, Editor, The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956)

³⁰Karen Horney, New Ways in Psychoanalysis (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1939).

³¹Albert J. Reiss, "Delinquency as a Failure of Personal and Social Controls," American Sociological Review, 15: 196-207, April, 1951.

³²B. M. Beck, "What We can Do About Juvenile Delinquency," Child Welfare, 33: 37, 1954.

³³Ruth Topping, "Case Studies of Aggressive Delinquents," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 11: 485-492, July, 1941.

³⁴Paul J. Mueller, "Success rates as a function of treatment assignment and juvenile delinquency classification interaction," The Treatment of Delinquents in the Community: Variations in Treatment Approaches, Monograph No. 1, California: Board of Corrections, 1960, pp. 7-14.

a different perspective. They contend that criminality can be grouped into types according to treatment and behavior. This psychological theory has been especially useful in the characterization of delinquents.

Lester H. Hewitt and Richard L. Jenkins have also produced significant work in this area.³⁵ Their work displays a blend of psychiatric approach and sociocultural factors. In their book, Fundamental Patterns of Maladjustment, they contend that specific personality structures can be directly linked to situational determinants. Thus, the production of a typology for each type of "maladjustment" was produced.³⁶

The author feels that the work of Hewitt and Jenkins have produced a relevant future for the psychogenic approach. Their studies have shown that more attention must be directed toward the combination of personality structure and social environmental influences. This approach, which places emphasis upon both theories, will help in determining the specific constellation of personality structure as it relates to a specific pattern of criminality. The development of such a typology would be a helpful and useful breakthrough in the field of criminology.

³⁵Lester E. Hewitt and Richard L. Jenkins, Fundamental Patterns of Maladjustment: The Synamics of Their Origin (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Printer, 1947), pp. 25-36.

³⁶Ibid.

The Sociological Approach

The sociological approach centers upon the classification scheme which asserts that criminal behavior is a product of social, cultural and environmental interaction. Deviant behavior is viewed as a social phenomenon; therefore, criminals are classified in accordance with their social and cultural orientation. One of the most important features of this approach involves the contention of labeling and reflecting of sociocultural organizations within society.³⁷ Crime is viewed as a reflection of society as a whole, while the criminal is distinguished by a specific "label" tagged to him by the society. The works of Edwin M. Lemert and Howard Becker express the nature in which persons are singled out as deviant and how society is affected by such action.

Lemert's viewpoint is based upon the assumption that "behavioral deviations are a function of culture conflict which is expressed through social organization."³⁸ Lemert devotes his theories to the processes by which beings become deviants. Lemert's counterpart, Howard Becker, compliments this theory in his studies showing how people become tagged or labeled as a deviant within society.³⁹ Becker contends that there is a temporal patterning of deviant behavior. He

³⁷Julian B. Roebuck, op. cit., p. 5.

³⁸Edwin M. Lemert, Social Pathology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951), p. 23.

³⁹Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1963), pp. 3-22.

suggests that attention be directed toward the study of sequential models of deviance, or how deviants change in actions and role-careers over time. He further argues that interest be concentrated upon the processes which sustain a pattern of deviance, resulting in a permanent public identity or label as criminal.⁴⁰ Finally, Becker, like Lemert, regards the development of deviant groups as of profound importance as a determinant for the course of a deviant career.⁴¹

In parallel, Erving Goffman has also presented a theoretical study concerning the status of being "Criminal." Goffman's work on "stigma" takes up the phenomenon of how people are assigned a discrediting or unfavorable social evaluation.⁴²

In essence, these three criminologists have attempted to elaborate on the earlier works of Durkheim,⁴³ Merton,⁴⁴ and Cloward.⁴⁵ The theory of anomie and its interpretation has played the single most important factor in sociological approaches toward the explanation of criminal behavior.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 30.

⁴¹Gibbons, op. cit., p. 200.

⁴²Erving Goffman, Stigma (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).

⁴³Emile Durkheim, Suicide, translated by J. A. Spalding (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1951).

⁴⁴Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1957).

⁴⁵Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), pp. 164-76.

Durkheim's original theory was based upon the hypothesis that social organization and collective structure was a necessity in regulating and controlling the social needs and desires of goal-seeking men.⁴⁶ In simpler terms, Durkheim expressed that each man is striving for a specific goal, each man's goal is different, therefore, some type of social organization is needed to guide collective mankind.

The concern toward criminality and anomie did not develop until Robert Merton advanced the theory upon elaboration of Durkheim. Merton maintains that the cultural system of American society enjoins all men to strive for success goals by means of certain normatively regulated forms of behavior.⁴⁷ Yet, at the same time, opportunity to reach these goals are differentially associated. Thus, according to Merton, when paths to these goals are blocked, alternative roles are taken to achieve success. The end alternative being crime. In addition, Merton states that this is the fault of society not the individual.⁴⁸

Further application of anomie theory is found in the works of Richard Cloward. He points out that just as the prospects for normal achievement are differentially distributed so are the opportunities for various kinds of

⁴⁶Durkheim, op. cit., pp. 3-10.

⁴⁷Robert K. Merton, op. cit., p. 146.

⁴⁸Ibid.

deviance.⁴⁹ This contention shows that both situation of the prospective offender and the opportunity to commit an act are important features necessary to engage in criminal conduct.⁵⁰

These sociological theories of explaining the causality of crime have provided the basis for the development of typologies relevant to this report. Edwin H. Sutherland has produced the best known endeavor in classifying specific socio-cultural characteristics to specific kinds of criminality.⁵¹ His theory of differential association dispelled the notion that one concrete condition could be the cause of crime. In Sutherland's view, differential association is that "thing" universally linked to criminal action.⁵² He contended that cultural conflict was the basic principle in the explanation of crime.⁵³ He asserted that the social and economic changes involved in the industrialization of the western world generated a pervasive individualism and the general conducive conditions to criminality. The social influences and mobility of people produces the encountering

⁴⁹Richard A. Cloward, op. cit., p. 173.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Edwin H. Sutherland, White Collar Crime (New York: Dryden Press, 1949); Sutherland, The Professional Thief (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

⁵²Albert K. Cohen, Alfred Lindesmith and Karl Schressler, eds., The Sutherland Papers (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1956), p. 19.

⁵³Ibid.

of "inharmonious and inconsistent" lifestyles.⁵⁴ Therefore, with the addition and intensification of contact with carriers of criminality norms comes the advent of new criminal deviants. This process is known as "differential association." The major inference of this study is that criminal behavior is learned.⁵⁵

The importance of the sociological approaches in relation to the development of a criminal typology is of utmost importance. Basing their contentions upon the previously stated theories, many criminologists have attempted to explain the etiology of crime through classifications. Jack P. Gibbs, for example, suggests that typologies must designate behavioral categories that are homogeneous and similar in etiological development.⁵⁶ Donald Gibbons feels that typologies should rely on an epidemiological approach, which is based upon the development of role-careers for each type of deviance.⁵⁷ Julian Roebuck thinks that they should consist of behavioral categories within the confines of legalistic approaches.⁵⁸ And finally, J. C. McKinney and

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 20.

⁵⁵Edwin H. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵⁶Jack P. Gibbs, "Needed: Analytical Typologies in Criminology," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 40, No. 3 (March, 1960), pp. 321-29.

⁵⁷Donald C. Gibbons, op. cit., Chapter 1.

⁵⁸Julian Roebuck, op. cit., Chapter 1.

A. C. Kerchloff have suggested a comprehensive protocol to guide researchers in constructing behavioral typologies.⁵⁹

Each of these assumptions seems reasonable enough within its own right, but unfortunately, none have developed out of a clear understanding of the logic of typologies; and hence, there is no basis other than intuition for accepting or rejecting any of them. In short, it is difficult to tell why typologies should be constructed as these researchers suggest.⁶⁰

The author of this study argues that a typology is a collection of statements which asserts this is the way specific criminals are, these are the ways they behave. The typology may make claims to the effect that real people exist who resemble those persons described in the profile. However, at no time does a typology involve contentions toward causal theory of crime.

It is the failure to realize this fact which has severely damaged the proposed typologies of the sociological approach. The researcher wishes to emphatically state that it is not a function of this study to explain the etiology of narcotic traffickers. This study only sets forth the empirical data from which a causal theory concerning narcotic traf-

⁵⁹J. C. McKinney and A. C. Kerckhoff, "Toward a Codification of Typological Procedure," Sociological Inquiry, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (Winter, 1962), pp. 128-35.

⁶⁰Theodore N. Ferdinand, Typologies for Delinquency: A Critical Analysis (New York: Random House, Inc., 1966), p. 42.

fickers may be constructed. The usefulness and practicality of this typology will be its ability to clarify and identify the relationship between a specific set of characteristics (the social characteristic profile and the criminal activity profile) and a given type of criminal action (narcotic trafficking).

CHAPTER 3

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The Drug Enforcement Administration, U. S. Department of Justice employs a classification system which involves the selection of violators for priority action, utilizing a rating method which classifies offenders based on predetermined criteria.⁶¹ The criteria establish standardized guidelines to insure reasonable uniformity in the selection process. This classification grid is shown in this report as a viable definition for different status within the narcotic traffic subculture.

The classification system involves four major levels (refer to Diagram 4). Briefly described, they are as follows:

Classification I - "Major Importers"
Classification II - "Wholesalers"
Classification III - "Major Street Dealers"
Classification IV - "Street Pusher/Juggler"

⁶¹Drug Enforcement Administration, U. S. Department of Justice, Geo-Drug Enforcement Program, 1972 (Office of Criminal Investigations) p. 28. Refer to Chapter 4 for historical development of the Drug Enforcement Administration.

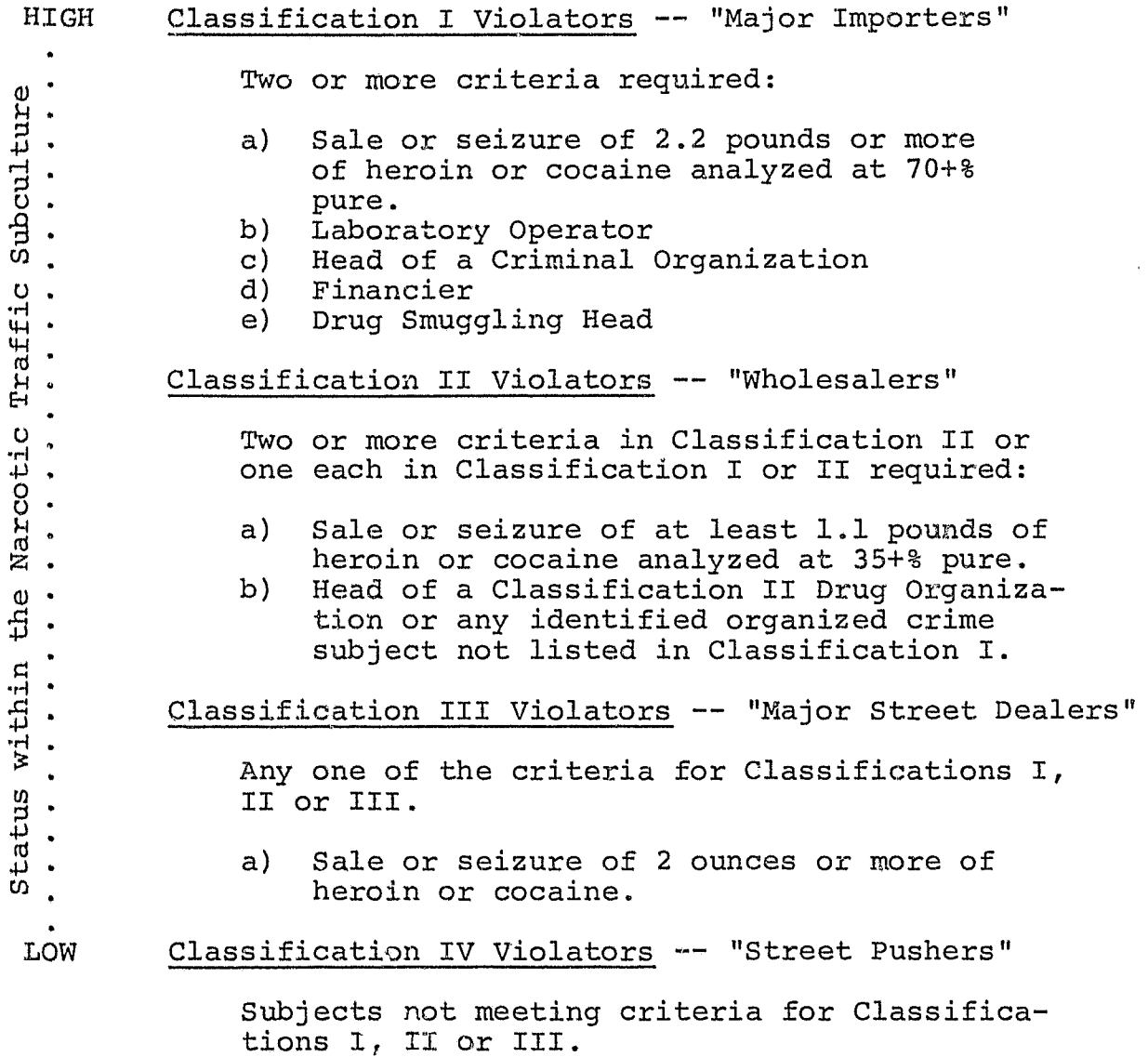


Diagram 4: Classification Systems--Status Within the Narcotic Traffic Subculture.⁶²

⁶² Ibid.

In actuality, this classification system represents a bureaucratic typology. The function of such a system is to categorize convicted offenders according to "type" based upon position. Each offender is placed within the classification system by enforcement personnel. The criteria for classification is determined by the amount and purity of narcotics siezed at time of arrest. The assumption that this criteria determines the position, role and level of the narcotic trafficker, in many instances, may be untrue. Indeed, the mere amount of narcotics siezed cannot alone indicate such definite conclusions concerning status within the narcotic traffic subculture. In addition, the amount of discretion, the interpretation of facts and the individual biases of those people involved in the placement of offenders are determinant variables in the categorization process. This situation raises serious questions regarding validity.

Therefore, this classification system will only be used as a viable reference to the role and level of narcotic traffickers within their particular subculture. This study represents a detailed continuation of an existing, possibly invalid, bureaucratic typology--the classification system by the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Statement of the Problem

The problem in this treatise is to establish and compare, through the examination of police and correction records,

the empirical typologies existing within each status of the narcotic traffic subculture.

Significance of the Problem

The year of 1973 represents the aftermath of President Richard Nixon's "national emergency proclamation" concerning the "war" on drug abuse. Recent information has supported the contention that this political declaration did little to prevent the trafficking of narcotics.⁶³ It should be noted that this study develops patterns of offenders involved in this activity.

Thus, the problem entails a very narrow and critical population which is directly involved in a specific social problem--drug abuse (trafficking). The implication of this project relates directly to the practical application of controlling narcotic abuse. If the relationship between offender and profile can be clearly defined, then some type of predictive association between typology and classification can also be developed.

Delimitation of the Study

This treatise should not be taken as an attempt to explain the etiology of narcotic trafficking. This study will not seek to explain causation of narcotic traffickers,

⁶³Edward M. Brecher, Licit and Illicit Drugs (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Co., 1972).

or "how they got that way." The typology is a collection of statements which assert this is the way narcotic traffickers are, these are the ways they behave. The typology makes claims that real people exist who resemble those persons described in the profile. Their principle function is that of charting patterns displayed by specific kinds of individuals. They provide the raw essence, empirical data, and basic material out of which theories are constructed and perfected. An empirical profile's usefulness lies in its ability to clarify and identify the relationship between a specific set of characteristics and a given type of social action. In this case, the relationship between typology and narcotic trafficking as it is confined by classification within the narcotic traffic subculture, is explored.

Focus of the Study

As stated previously, the objectives of this treatise are to determine and compare the typologies existing within each classification. The typologies consist of two areas--the social characteristic profile and the criminal activity profile.

The social characteristic profile consists of those elements which identify the individual by race, sex, age, education, socio-economic class, and family history. The criminal activity profile will consist of the arrest record, specifically the offenses most frequently associated with the crime of delivery of narcotics, for each classification (see Diagram 5).

Social Characteristic Profile

Race
Age
Sex
Education
Marital Status
Occupation
Legitimate Income per Year

Criminal Activity Profile

Crime occurring most frequently
in the arrest record of each
offender
Addiction Status
Past Institutional Encounters

EMPIRICAL ELEMENTS
contained within:

<u>Drug Enforcement Admin.</u> <u>Classifications</u>	<u>Typo-</u> <u>logy</u>
Classification I "Major Importers"	- 1
Classification II "Wholesalers"	- 2
Classification III "Street Dealers"	- 3
Classification IV "Pusher/Jugglers"	- 4

Diagram 5: Clarification of the Research Problem
(Focus of the Study)

Given the data obtained by examination of records and files established by the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and the Federal Probation and Parole Department, it is the intent of this study to provide the following information:

1. What specific social characteristic profile can be associated with narcotic trafficking, by classification of the narcotic trafficker?
2. What specific profiles of criminal activity can be associated with narcotic trafficking, by classification of the narcotic trafficker?
 - a. Do specific crimes cluster within the criminal pattern of the narcotic trafficker?
 - b. What is the relationship of criminal activity profile to addiction status.
3. Do narcotic traffickers engage concomitantly in other illegal activity, if so, specifically in what areas?
 - a. Do narcotic traffickers engage in other illegal activity at different stages (time) in their criminal history?
 - b. What is the percentage of narcotic traffickers who are addicted to an opiate drug (by classification) while engaging in the crime of delivery of narcotics?
4. What effect does classification or status within the narcotic traffic subculture have upon the social characteristic profile?
5. What effect does classification or status within the narcotic traffic subculture have upon the criminal activity profile?

Statement of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Narcotic traffickers occupying Classification I have virtually no criminal record or pattern.

Hypothesis 2: Narcotic traffickers occupying Classifications III and IV have criminal patterns involving a large ratio of property crimes to crimes of violence.

Hypothesis 3: Narcotic traffickers occupying Classifications I and II are predominately male, white and upper socio-economic class offenders.

Hypothesis 4: Narcotic traffickers occupying Classifications III and IV are predominately male, black and lower socio-economic class offenders.

The hypotheses for this study are based upon three contentions--the media portrayal, the public perception, and the enforcement personnel view of the narcotic traffic subculture.

The American media portrays narcotics and narcotic addiction in a variety of ways. Public communication through the techniques of television, radio and newspapers have, in the author's opinion, depicted the narcotic traffic subculture as a racially, socially and economically segregated hierarchy. Too many entertainment features have described the white, upper class executive exploiting the deprived, lower class minority for purposes solely based upon "selling" the product. The average citizen has, unfortunately, a tendency to believe and/or identify with the inaccurate description elaborated by media techniques. This situation has promoted an erroneous conception of who and what narcotic

traffickers in America resemble concerning social and behavior variables.⁶⁴

The public perception of narcotics and narcotic abuse reveals the contentions supported by mass media communications. The author suggests that people believe what they wish. In fact, any information concerning a controversial subject such as narcotic abuse tends to reinforce basic values and beliefs already asserted by individuals.⁶⁵ These basic values are usually the result of personal encounters, former education and parental guidance experienced by each individual. Thus, the general public attitude of the narcotic traffic subculture is predetermined by individuals (based upon relevant past experience) and supported by the immediate environment (mass media).

To explain what the public perception of the narcotic traffic subculture is, involves the general overview of how people view the American society from a cultural standpoint. The first major contention of public attitude holds that wealthy, white individuals occupy the top echelons (executive status) of society. The second contention holds that poor, minority (usually Black) individuals occupy the lower echelons of society. This American, cultural, hierarchial belief has

⁶⁴Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (New York: The Free Press, 1965).

⁶⁵Ibid.

been promoted since the arrival of slaves in the Western world.⁶⁶ The white, wealthy, upper class status ruling (or at least supervising) Black, poor, lower class individuals is a prominent theme in American history and culture.⁶⁷ It seems reasonable that these same presumptions be asserted toward the narcotic traffic subculture.

The final rationale for the hypotheses is supported upon interviews with local police authorities concerning their views of the narcotic traffic subculture. These interviews reflected the basic public perception previously described, as superimposed on enforcement personnel. The somewhat romantic idea of white, upper class executives smuggling large quantities of narcotics while reaping the benefits of such a product from a hooked, poor, Black, lower class population was prevalent throughout the author's interviews.⁶⁸

In conclusion, the author has based the hypotheses of this study upon three contentions--the American media portrayal, the public perception and local police view of the narcotic traffic subculture.

⁶⁶Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1957) p. 101-120.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Interviews with Detroit Policemen and Drug Enforcement Administration personnel during the first three months of 1974 in Detroit, Michigan.

Definition of Terms

The most frequently used terms are defined in the context in which they are used in this study.

Typology: A "purposive, planned selection, abstraction, combination and (sometimes) accentuation of a set of criteria with empirical referents that serve as a basis for comparison of empirical cases."⁶⁹ A collection of statements which assert this is the way the narcotic traffickers are, these are the ways they behave.

Classification: The representation of a specific role and level existing within the narcotic traffic subculture; consisting of those positions outlined in Diagram 5.

Status: The specific role or level which is occupied within the narcotic traffic subculture by an offender at any given time in his criminal career.

Social Characteristic Profile: One of the major parts of the developing typologies, consisting of those elements which identify the individual offender by race, sex, age, education, occupation, legitimate income and marital status.

Criminal Activity Profile: The arrest record, the addiction status and the past institutional encounters of each offender.

⁶⁹John C. McKinney, Constructive Typology and Social Theory (New York: Appleton-Century, Crofts, Inc., 1966), pp. 3 and 203.

Drug: A chemical that interacts with the body chemistry. . .that alters mood, perception and consciousness. For the purposes of this study, the term "drug" relates to the following substances: alcohol, nicotine, opiates, cocaine, depressants, tranquilizers, stimulants, marihuana, hallucinogens and other miscellaneous chemicals (natural or synthetic).⁷⁰

Drug Abuse: Codeword for that type of drug use which is presently deemed and considered "wrong" by society.⁷¹ The drugs subject to abuse are generally classified as alcohol, nicotine, opiates, cocaine, depressants, tranquilizers, stimulants, marihuana, hallucinogens and other miscellaneous chemicals (natural or synthetic).

Opiate or Narcotic: The specific set of drugs which consist of opium, and the drugs and preparations which are derived therefrom, such as heroin, morphine and codeine. A common characteristic of all opiates or narcotics is their ability to produce addition-forming or addiction-sustaining habits of use.⁷² Opium is a raw natural product, it is the dried juice of the unripe capsule of the opium poppy (Papaver

⁷⁰Samuel F. Levine, Narcotics and Drug Abuse (Cincinnati, Ohio: The W. H. Anderson Company, 1973), p. 10.

⁷¹Second Report of the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse, Drug Use in America: Problem is Perspective, March, 1973, p. 13.

⁷²Samuel F. Levine, op. cit., p. 13-14.

somniferum). Morphine is the chief active ingredient in opium; each grain of opium contains about one-tenth of a grain of morphine. Heroin (diacetylmorphine) is produced by heating morphine in the presence of acetic acid.⁷³

Addiction: The state of mental, emotional and physical dependence resulting from the use of narcotics in sufficient doses over a period of time--that is, the state by which the body "craves" a specific narcotic drug, and if the narcotic drug is discontinued, the body reacts in withdrawal sickness.⁷⁴

Narcotic Trafficker: Any person directly involved in the selling, giving or dealing of illicit narcotic drugs; the so-called "hard drugs" consisting of an opium base such as heroin, morphine and opium.⁷⁵

⁷³Edward M. Brecher, Licit and Illicit Drugs, p. 1.

⁷⁴Erich Goode, Drugs in American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. 23.

⁷⁵Richard H. Blum and Associates, The Dream Sellers (San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1972), Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to examine the people involved in the trafficking of narcotics within the city of Detroit, Michigan, between the period of January, 1970 to January, 1974. Further, it is the intent of this treatise to establish additional empirical elements to the typology of narcotic traffickers as they exist according to the classifications of the narcotic traffic subculture. It is anticipated that this study will lead to valid conclusions concerning the comparison of typologies between classifications.

The Population

The subjects for this project developed from four existing classifications utilized by the Drug Enforcement Administration, U. S. Department of Justice.⁷⁶

The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), is a federal agency responsible for the enforcement of all laws, regulations, and statutes concerning the use and abuse of drugs. The Drug Enforcement Administration was enacted

⁷⁶Refer to Diagram 4, page 27 for a detailed explanation of the Classification System.

through President Richard Nixon's Reorganization Plan No. 2 on July 1, 1973. The agency took over the administrative functions, manpower and budgets of the following agencies:

1. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD)--abolished as a separate entity by the Reorganization Plan.
2. The Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement (DALE)--abolished by Section 2, Executive Order 11727.
3. The Office of National Narcotics Intelligence (ONNI)--abolished by Section 3, Executive Order 11727.
4. In addition, some 600 narcotic investigators of the Bureau of Customs--transferred from the U. S. Department of the Treasury under the Reorganization Plan.⁷⁷

The subjects for this treatise are comprised of the complete population of persons convicted at the Federal level (by DEA) of delivery of narcotics (opiates) within the city of Detroit, Michigan, from the period between January, 1970 to January, 1974. The population consists of 55 individuals distributed within the classifications as follows:

Classification I	-	2
Classification II	-	8
Classification III	-	16
Classification IV	-	16
Confidential Informants	-	13

For the purposes of this study, the 13 confidential informants were not analyzed in either profile. Their exceptional vulnerability excluded the use of data pertaining

⁷⁷Drug Enforcement Administration, "A Unified Command--John Bartels Discusses the Mission of DEA," Drug Enforcement, Vol. 1, No. 1:2, 1973.

to their actions and associates. Thus, the total population under study number 42 individuals.

The researcher would like to note the hierarchical structure exhibited within the convicted narcotic traffic subculture as it pertains to the size of the population. Within the subculture, there exists a chain of command and a status of position associated with each level (refer to Diagram 6). This chain of command or chain of suppliers is similar to a modern merchandise organization. The top echelons are held by a few individuals (importers), while the lower levels incorporate the mass of buyers (addicts). Like a modern business, the product (heroin) is imported by a few top executives, refined and sold by a number of secondary wholesalers, again sold by a large number of retail dealers, and finally traded at the street level by small businesses.

This situation has produced a system where Classification I may be correctly represented by two individuals, (for the complete population may only consist of five people); whereas, Classification IV must be represented by a larger amount to depict the total population of street pushers.

What has been expressed is that as one goes up the levels of the narcotic traffic subculture, the number of people occupying the same level decreases. Further, each level delegates a specific status which dictates the norms, rules and functions for that position. Thus, a person occupying Classification II has a designated role associated

CLASSIFICATION

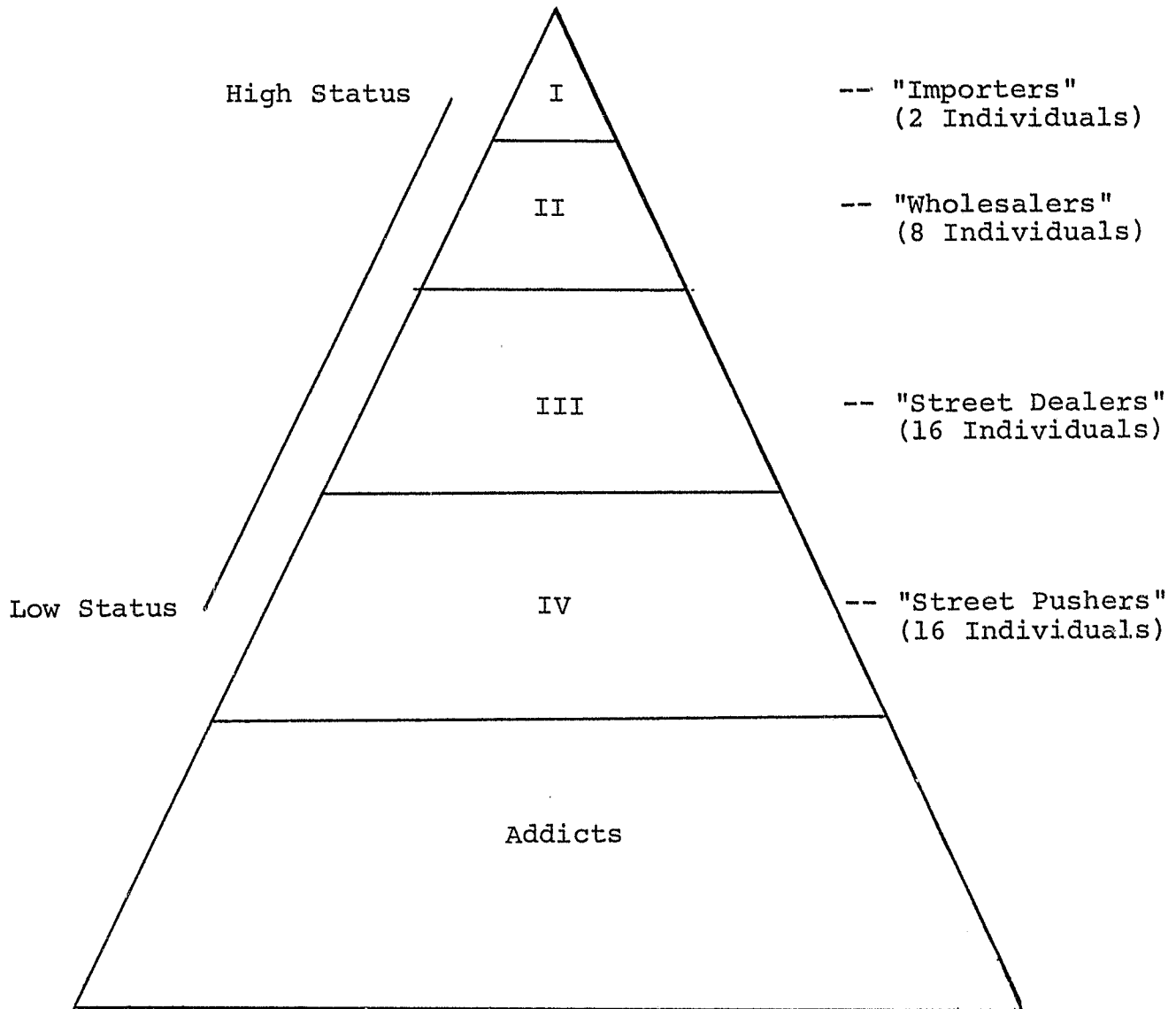


Diagram 6: Hierachy of the Narcotic Traffic Subculture--
Breakdown of Population into Classification
N=42

with the classification--in this example, that of "wholesaler." How a person moves from one classification to another, is dependent upon the informal and formal codes exhibited by that particular system. The mobility factors involved in the narcotic traffic subculture are complex and will not be undertaken in this study. However, an understanding that such a system prevails is essential in the comparison and the establishment of typologies for each classification existing within the narcotic traffic subculture.

The Procedure

With the establishment of the population, a worksheet was constructed for each of the 42 individuals. The worksheet categorized the individual into specific classification, social characteristic outline and criminal pattern.

The sources yielding this specific information were delivered by three agencies. First, the Drug Enforcement Administration presented a computer printout consisting of their disposed cases resulting in convicted traffickers within Detroit, Michigan, from January, 1970 to January, 1974. The information obtained through study of this printout resulted in the name, race, sex, age and classification of each listed offender. The information obtained was a direct result from the Geo-Drug Enforcement Program, employed within DEA as a classification system for convicted narcotic traffickers.⁷⁸

⁷⁸Drug Enforcement Administration, U. S. Department of Justice, Geo-Drug Enforcement Program, 1972 (Office of Criminal Investigations), p. 28.

The second source of information was received through the Detroit Police Department. By cooperative observation of investigation reports, background reports and arrest records; the criminal pattern, the relevant addiction information and the past institutional encounters for each offender was noted.

The Federal Probation and Parole supplied the final information from specific pre-sentence investigation reports. The remaining social characteristic profile (education, occupation, income and marital status) was established for several individuals. Although the agency did not provide information on the complete population, their assistance was extremely beneficial.

Thus, through the general observation and study of Drug Enforcement Administration records, Detroit Police Department reports, and Federal Probation and Parole files, the empirical typologies of each individual existing within the population was determined. (Refer to Diagram 7, for an example worksheet).

Analysis

The encoded worksheet for each subject was transferred to computer cards for analysis. A statistical program consisting of cross-tabulations was developed to establish and measure the relationships existing between the following variables:

1. Classification: The designated role and status associated with each level of the narcotic traffic subculture. (Refer to Diagram 4, page 27 for a detailed explanation of the classification system).
2. Race: Negroid (black)
Oriental (yellow)
Caucasian (white)
3. Age: The calculated age by years of each subject.
4. Education Level: Less than a high school education.
Possession of a high school education.
Post high school education.
5. Occupation: Unemployed--not possessing a legitimate income.
Unskilled worker--general labor.
Skilled worker--possessing a formal trade or craft.
White collar worker--any clerical or administrative position.
6. Legitimate Income: The stated, yearly income of each subject at the time of arrest, (from a legal employer).
7. Marital Status: Single
Legally separated
Divorced
Married
8. Past Institutional Encounters: A simple "yes" or "no" statement regarding past institutional life. (Has the subject been convicted and sentenced before?).
9. Crime I: The most frequent crime in the subject's arrest record.
10. Addiction: A simple "yes" or "no" statement indicating if the subject was addicted to a narcotic drug at the time of arrest.

DATA WORKSHEET

CLASSIFICATION _____

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTIC OUTLINE --

Race _____

Sex _____

Age _____

Religion _____

Education Level _____

Occupation _____

Legitimate Income/year _____

Marital Status _____

Military Discharge (type) _____

Present Institutional Situation _____

Past Institutional Encounters: yes no

CRIMINAL PATTERN --

Crime I _____

Crime II _____

Addicted: yes no

Diagram 7: Example Worksheet

The following cross-tabulations were produced involving the indicated variables:

1. Classification by Race
" by Sex
" by Race, Sex, Age
2. Classification by Occupation
" by Income
" by Race, Sex, Occupation
" by Race, Sex, Income
3. Classification by Education
" by Race, Sex, Education
4. Classification by Marital Status
" by Race, Sex, Marital Status
5. Classification by Past Institutional Encounters
" by Race, Sex, Past Institutional Encounters
6. Classification by Crime I
" by Race, Sex, Crime I
" by Addiction
" by Race, Sex, Addiction
" by Crime I, Addiction
7. Classification by Race, Sex, Education, Occupation, Income
Education by Race
Education by Addiction
Education by Sex

Finally, based upon the contingency tables asserted through the cross-tabulation of variables, broad inferences were suggested. These inferences were supported by the typologies established for each classification of the narcotic trafficker.

CHAPTER 5

AN ANALYSIS OF NARCOTIC TRAFFICKERS IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN (JANUARY, 1970 to JANUARY, 1974)

This analysis is an indepth examination of the persons involved in the crime of delivery of narcotics in Detroit, Michigan. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the empirical typologies for each classification of the narcotic trafficker as they exist within the narcotic traffic sub-culture. The social characteristic profile and criminal activity profile for each offender has been calculated and displayed for establishment of the four typologies.

The input format for each typology consists of eleven variables. Each variable will be discussed as a whole entity within each typology. The variables are classification, race, sex, age, marital status, education, occupation, income, past institutional encounters, addiction status and crime frequency.

The following discussion will be based upon the cross-tabulation of variables. To avoid the duplication and clustering of multiple tables, the results of the cross-tabulations have been integrated. Thus, some of the information discussed for each variable may not relate directly to the displayed tables.

Classification

Each offender is placed within one of the four possible classifications. The classifications are predetermined according to the criteria set by the Drug Enforcement Administration. The breakdown of the population is as follows:

Table 1
CLASSIFICATION BY POPULATION

Classification - Number of Subjects

I	2
II	8
III	16
IV	16

It is the purpose of this treatise to establish a specific typology for each of the above classifications.

Social Characteristic Profile

This outline or profile distinguishes each offender by race, sex, age, education, occupation, income and marital status. Each variable is discussed as it relates to the social characteristic outline, the typologies under construction and the delimitations of such a study.

The race of each offender presented one of the most crucial elements in the establishment of a profile for each classification.

The population divided into two races, that of negroid (Black) and caucasian (White). An abundance of Blacks (88.1% of the total population) marked the first significant finding.

There were no representatives of the Oriental (yellow) race within this population.

Table 2
CLASSIFICATION BY RACE
(Percentages of Race by Classification)

<u>Classification</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
I N=2	--	2 100.0
II N=8	1 12.5%	7 87.5%
III N=16	1 6.3%	15 83.8%
IV N=16	3 18.8%	13 81.3%
<hr/>		
N=42 100%	5 11.9%	37 88.1%

The overwhelming ratio of Blacks to Whites may be explained, in part, through the assertion of several contingencies. First, the city of Detroit, Michigan, has an exceptionally large percentage of Blacks. The latest figures indicate that the city has a racial composition consisting of 43% Black, 50% White, 4% yellow and 2% other.⁷⁹ This situation may produce a higher ratio of Blacks to Whites than in other large metropolitan centers.

Secondly, the crime of delivery of narcotics is frequently associated with lower class, ghetto areas. In continuance of this thought, many sociologists have asserted

⁷⁹Alex Poinsett, "The Dilemma of the Black Policeman," Ebony, May 1971, p. 2.

that narcotics are more likely to be abused in these areas.⁸⁰ The use of heroin is often explained as a way to escape ghetto life.⁸¹ Thus, the people living within these areas are more likely to be narcotic addicts. It is a relevant fact that over 80% of the slum areas in America are populated almost exclusively by Blacks.⁸²

Finally, if law enforcement personnel actively believe the above stated theory, then a type of selective enforcement is inevitable. Indeed, if slum areas do harbor an environment of narcotic addiction, then special enforcement attention will be directed at these locations. Specific law enforcement efforts pointed at these communities and their populations may produce a higher ratio of "apprehended" Blacks to Whites, based purely upon location and geographical factors of residency.

The sex of the population expresses another variable relevant to the development of a typology for each classification.

⁸⁰David E. Smith and George R. Gay, "It's so Good Don't Even Try it Once" -- Heroin in Perspective (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.) p. 97.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

Table 3
CLASSIFICATION BY SEX BY RACE

Classifi- cation	Black Males	Black Females	White Males	White Females
I N=2	2	--	--	--
II N=8	4	3	1	--
III N=16	9	1	--	1
IV N=16	13	--	3	--
N=42	28	9	4	1

Male = 32 Black = 37
Female = 10 White = 5

A surprisingly large number of females are represented in Classifications II and III. Their ratio to males within these classifications are almost equal. However, in considering the total population, a ratio of 3 males to 1 female is prevalent.

The median age of the total population is 31 years. A somewhat high figure considering the average age of a drug addict is 25 years.⁸³ The following table represents the population by age groupings of 5 years.

⁸³Dan Waldorf, Careers in Dope (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973) Chapter 1.

Table 4
 CLASSIFICATION BY AGE
 (Percentages of Age by Classification)

Classi- fication	Less than 25 years	26-30 years	31-35 years	36-40 years	41-45 years	46-50 years	51-55 years	56 & over years
I N=2	--	--	--	2 100%	--	--	--	--
II N=8	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	2 25.0%	1 12.5%	--	--	--
III N=16	4 25.0%	2 12.5%	6 37.5%	2 12.5%	1 6.3%	--	1 66.3%	--
IV N=16	3 18.8%	1 6.3%	6 37.5%	2 12.5%	2 12.5%	--	1 6.3%	1 66.3%
N=42 100%	8 19%	6 14.3%	13 31.0%	8 19%	4 9.5%	--	2 4.8%	1 2.4%

Possibly the most outstanding feature represented in the data concerns the average age of males to that of females. It was noted that females averaged approximately eight years younger than males. No significant factor was seen in the issue of race to age; however, Blacks did seem to be slightly older than Whites (by 1-3 years).

The average education of the population was approximately 10-1/2 years of formal schooling. This figure represents the majority of individuals as expressed in Table 5 (having not completed a high school education). Only 2 of the 42 subjects had fully completed a college degree. These individuals were in Classifications I and III, both Black males. On the average, Blacks seemed to have a better education than Whites, based upon the ratio who had completed high school.

Table 5
CLASSIFICATION BY EDUCATION
(Percentages of Education by Classification)

Classifi- cation	Below High School	High School	Above High School
I N=2	--	1 50.0%	1 50.0%
II N=8	4 50.0%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%
III N=16	7 43.8%	7 43.8%	2 12.5%
IV N=16	9 56.3%	6 37.5%	1 6.3%
N=42 100%	20 47.6%	17 40.6%	5 11.9%

Richard H. Blum has asserted that the education of apprehended violators is considerably lower than those who participate in the same criminal activity, yet never are arrested.⁸⁴ This statement may infer that truly "successful" narcotic dealers are well educated. Indeed, educated enough to know the loopholes and informal ways of not getting caught. Whereas, their counterparts who do become apprehended are almost handicapped and marked by their lack of formal education. Undoubtably, the degree of formal education does correlate to the degree of sophistication exhibited by individual traffickers. However, the author is skeptical of such broad generalizations, especially when reviewing the records and files of "Lucky" Luciano. Luciano never finished an eighth grade education, yet organized and headed the American Mafia for over thirty years, before being indicted.

In expounding upon this hypothesis, Blum continues to assert the importance of education as a comparative difference between apprehended and nonapprehended narcotic traffickers. His argument leads to the issue of occupation as defined by formal education. According to Blum, non-arrested dealers hold "professional, white collar positions" within society.⁸⁵ The author feels that such a situation

⁸⁴Richard H. Blum Associates, The Dream Sellers (London, England: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1972) p. 125.

⁸⁵Ibid.

may exist; however, the occupation of white-collar positions are not dependent upon education but upon another factor-- mobility.

The occupation for each offender provided this aspect of interest. Nearly one-half of the total population (45.2%) held positions as unskilled laborers. This category frequently expressed through positions held within the auto manufacturing firms which situate in the city of Detroit. These occupations differed from skilled auto worker positions (which produced the highest population of skilled laborers), in that a trade or craft was necessary to perform the duties of that position. Such positions as welder, tool and dye maker, and plumber were considered skill jobs while positions such as window cleaner, assembly-line worker and janitor were not.

Table 6
CLASSIFICATION BY OCCUPATION
(Percentages of Occupation by Classification)

Classifi- cation	Un- Skilled	Skilled	White Collar	Un- Employed
I N=2	--	2 100.0%	--	--
II N=8	4 50.0%	1 12.5%	2 25.0%	1 12.5%
III N=16	6 27.5%	2 12.5%	4 25.0%	4 25.0%
IV N=16	9 56.3%	5 31.3%	2 12.5%	--
N=42 100%	19 45.2%	10 23.8%	8 19.0%	5 11.9%

The conditions of unemployment offered an interesting account. The five individuals occupying this situation were all females. Of these five females, all but one engaged in the illegal vice of prostitution; and unsurprisingly, were addicted to narcotic drugs.

The important aspect concerning occupation revolves around the position of white-collar workers. The researcher defined this term as "any clerical, administrative or management positions." The data presented a large number of offenders (6) who owned or operated their own business. These people were categorized as white-collar subjects. In other words, 75% of those persons occupying white-collar positions operated their own business.

In reality, as a narcotic dealer becomes more sophisticated in his criminality (delivery of narcotics), he must have access to people, he must have mobility. This does not indicate that sophistication, mobility and high classifications coincide (as Blum would state). What it does imply is that "success" in narcotic dealing is often associated with moving about and being free to contact people who wish to buy narcotics. The position of owning your own business possibly affords the luxury of high mobility and high person-to-person contact. This situation is an important aspect when evaluating the occupation of narcotic traffickers.

The income breakdown for the population lends support to the importance of mobility for "successful" dealing. The

two individuals possessing incomes over \$18,000 per year also owned and operated their own business. In fact, all six of those subjects having their own business fell within the ten highest incomes exhibited by the population breakdown.

Table 7
CLASSIFICATION BY INCOME PER YEAR
(Percentages of Income by Classification)

Classifi- cation	Below \$6,000	\$ 6,000 \$12,000	\$12,000 \$18,000	Above \$18,000
I N=2	--	2 100.0%	--	--
II N=8	3 37.5%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%
III N=16	5 31.3%	11 68.8%	--	--
IV N=16	3 18.8%	10 62.5%	2 12.5%	1 6.3%
N-42 100%	11 26.2%	26 61.9%	3 7.1%	2 4.8%

A second highlight of the income breakdown reveals that Black males occupied nine of the ten highest incomes. Whereas, Black females occupied the five lowest incomes.

The third feature characterizing the income of the population involves the \$6,000 - \$12,000 grouping. Approximately 60% of the population occupied this category. According to the National Census Report, 1970, the average income for an American citizen working within a metropolitan area is approximately \$8,000.⁸⁶ This situation may account for the abundance of subjects falling within this section.

⁸⁶National Census Report, 1970, page 210.

The marital status for each individual comprised the final variable under the social characteristic outline. The marital status depicts a slightly less than 50% married population. These figures reflect the current married and divorced percentages of the United States' population as a whole.⁸⁷

Table 8
CLASSIFICATION BY MARITAL STATUS
(Percentages of Marital Status by Classification)

Classifi- cation	Single	Divorced	Separated	Married
I N=2	1 50%	--	--	1 50%
II N=8	1 12.5%	2 15.0%	--	5 62.5%
III N=16	2 12.5%	7 43.8%	2 12.5%	5 31.3%
IV N=16	2 12.5%	4 25.0%	1 6.3%	9 56.3%
N=42 100%	6 14.3%	13 31.0%	3 7.1%	20 47.6%

In evaluating Table 8, the researcher questions the issue of being truly "single." Considering not only the marital status of single, but also of divorced and separated, the total percentage of "single" individuals represented over 50% of the population. After analyzing the data, it was shown that of this 50%, over 90% were either living with or cohabiting with

⁸⁷Richard E. Quinney, The Social Reality of Crime (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company) Chapters 3-4.

a member of the opposite sex. Even though these relationships are not legally bound, their influence on the subject's behavior may be an important variable in developing a typology for narcotic traffickers.

The status of being married or cohabiting may afford the luxury of another income or the availability of narcotics. More than 90% of the addict population were cohabiting or married. This may indicate that such relationships form a financial or security arrangement for the addict trafficker.

Another important part exhibited by the marital status concerns the sexuality of each offender. The data did not reveal any bisexual or homosexual behavior trends. The complete population was heterosexual. The author considers this an unusual finding. Dan Waldorf, in his book, Careers in Dope, has noted the sexual deviance portrayed by addicts and narcotic dealers. He states that approximately 30% of the female addicts and 3% of the male addicts engage primarily in homosexual or bisexual relations.⁸⁸ The considerable difference in these findings and in the findings resulting from the population under study, may be a result of incorrect reporting. The stigma associated with homosexuality may have produced enough anxiety within the individual offender as to suppress any admission concerning his or her sexual behavior. Even though the admissions of this population were usually

⁸⁸Dan Waldorf, op. cit., page 171.

substantiated through a pre-sentence investigation, a person's sexual life is often too private to reveal any relevant deviance. When considering the economic relationship between homosexual deviance and addiction, it is hard to believe that the total population under study did not portray some type of sexual deviance.

Criminal Activity Profile

The criminal pattern constitutes the second major profile within the typologies for each classification. Three important variables form the criminal pattern. They are the past institutional encounters, the addiction status, and the most frequent crime existing within the arrest record of each individual.

Past institutional encounters represent a statement concerning the past conviction and institutional life of the individual narcotic trafficker. Simply stated, it is an indication of whether or not an offender has been previously convicted and sentenced to institutional life. Of the 42 individuals within the population, 71% had been previously convicted of a felonious crime resulting in the sentencing of that person to a state or federal institution.

Table 9
CLASSIFICATION BY PAST INSTITUTIONAL ENCOUNTERS
(Percentage of Classification Population)

<u>Classification</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
I N=2	2 100%	--
II N=8	4 50%	4 50%
III N=16	11 68.8%	5 31.3%
IV N=16	13 81.3%	3 18.8%
<hr/>		
N=42 100%	30 71.4%	12 28.6%

It is interesting to see that both offenders occupying Classification I (Major Importers), had been previously convicted. Also, a substantial amount of those individuals occupying Classification IV had been previously convicted. Another important feature indicated that the entire population of White males had served time, while only 64% of the Black males had been previously convicted. A cross-tabulation of addiction by past institutional encounters reveals that the entire population of addicted offenders had served time previous to their present situation.

The addiction status of the population indicates an important pattern. First, the two Black males occupying Classification I were not addicted; and secondly, of the total population, only 35.7% were addicted to a narcotic drug. Classification by race by addiction reveals that 55% of the

Black population were addicted, whereas only 20% of the White population occupied the same addiction status. The researcher believes that such a low number of addicted offenders may be the result of two contingencies. The author hypothesizes that as one moves up the hierarchy of the narcotic traffic subculture, the amount of narcotic addiction among members decreases. Secondly, this study only reveals those persons "addicted" to a narcotic drug; however, further research into the abuse of other drugs (i.e., cocaine, amphetamines, barbituates, marihuana and especially alcohol) may show a substantial number of habitual abusers. A study of this type has been performed by Richard H. Blum. In his book, The Dream Sellers, Mr. Blum empirically reveals:

The histories of the dealers shows that nearly all (476 of 480) are themselves involved in illicit-drug use, that the majority of dealers have at one time or another used a variety of psychoactive substances (including alcohol, tobacco, sedatives, amphetamines, cannabis, hallucinogens and opiates); that some dealers decrease their drug use as they grow older, whereas others continue to use at least some potent substances with increasing frequency. A hierarchy of drug preferences, measured by an index of enduring favorites, ranks tobacco, cannabis and the opiates first and sedatives and the special substances (glue, thinner and so on) last.⁸⁹

⁸⁹Richard H. Blum, op. cit., p. 30.

Table 10
CLASSIFICATION BY ADDICTION
(Percentage of Classification Population)

Classification	YES	NO
I N=2	--	2 100%
II N=8	2 25%	6 75%
III N=16	7 43.8%	9 56.3%
IV N=16	6 37.5%	10 62.5%
N=42 100%	15 35.7%	27 64.3%

A breakdown of education by addiction indicates that 14 of the 15 subjects possessed a high school education or less. Only one subject had completed a year of post high school education. The average age of the addicted population was 32 years.

The crime frequency distribution exhibited by the data expressed the final trends relevant to this study. A surprisingly high percentage of the population (21%) had never been arrested prior to their present involvement. (Refer to Table 11).

A breakdown of classification by race by addiction by crime distinguishes two major areas of criminal activity-- property crimes and violent crimes. Over 50% of the total population had been previously arrested and convicted for crimes against property; of this 50%, over 82% were addicted

Table 11
 CLASSIFICATION BY CRIME
 (Percentage of Crime by Classification)

Classifi- cation	Larceny	Burglary	Robbery	Auto Theft	Assault	Prosti- tution	Narcotics Vio.	Bribery	Firearms Vio.	Liquor Vio.	No Record
I N=2	1 50.0%	--	--	--	1 50.0%	--	--	--	--	--	--
II N=8	1 12.5%	2 25.5%	--	--	1 12.5%	--	1 12.5%	--	--	1 12.5%	2 25.0%
III N=16	3 18.8%	3 18.8%	--	2 12.5%	2 12.5%	2 12.5%	--	--	--	--	4 25.0%
IV N=16	5 31.3%	2 12.5%	3 18.8%	1 6.3%	--	--	--	1 6.3%	1 6.3%	--	3 18.8%
TOTAL N=42	10 23.8%	7 16.7%	3 7.1%	3 7.1%	4 9.5%	2 4.8%	1 2.4%	1 2.4%	1 2.4%	1 2.4%	9 21.4%

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to a narcotic drug. The crime of burglary produced the largest addicted population - 26%. In contrast, only 10% of the total population had previously been arrested for crimes of violence. These statistics reveal the apparent economic relationship between property crimes and addiction. When a person is addicted he needs money, all too often the result is an increase in stealing for profit (larceny, burglary, auto theft).

An interesting note concerning crimes of violence reveals that of eight persons previously arrested for such a crime, all but one was a Black male, the remaining one was a Black female. Thus, the total population of those previously arrested for crimes of violence (assault and robbery) was Black.

The Established Typologies

In the previous parts of this chapter, the author has displayed the findings of the data collected for each individual. The variables within the social characteristic profile and the criminal activity profile will constitute the major determinates for each typology.

The typology for each classification is as follows:

Classification I - Typology

Classification I represents the "Major Importers" or the highest level of narcotic trafficking status. The classification is characterized by large scale operations, organized multi-dollar organizations and complex international smuggling rings. Analysis of variables has produced the following typology for this classification within the relevant population of convicted traffickers in Detroit, Michigan, (January, 1970 to February, 1974).

Social Characteristic Profile --

Race:	Black
Sex:	Male
Age:	37 years
Marital Status:	Married or cohabiting
Education:	At least a high school education, possibly post high school education.
Occupation:	Skilled laborer (auto manufacturing)
Income:	Approximately \$9,000/year

Criminal Activity Profile --

Past institutional encounters:	yes
Addiction status:	no
Crime frequency:	Assault (violent crimes were numerous in the histories of both subjects).

Classification II - Typology

Classification II represents the "Wholesaler" position or the second highest status within the narcotic traffic sub-culture. The classification is characterized by small scale operations, local organized members and small financial investments. Analysis of the variables has produced the following typology for this classification within the relevant population of convicted traffickers in Detroit, Michigan, (January, 1970 to January, 1974).

Social Characteristic Profile --

Race:	Black
Sex:	Male
Age:	30 years
Marital Status:	Married or cohabiting
Education:	Possession of a high school education.
Occupation:	75% chance of being unskilled laborer; 25% chance of being white collar (having own business).
Income:	Approximately \$7,000 per year

Criminal Activity Profile --

Past institutional encounters:	Subject has a 50% chance of being previously convicted.
Addiction Status:	25% chance of being addicted.
Crime Frequency:	50% chance of being previously arrested for a property crime (larceny, burglary, etc.)

Classification III - Typology

Classification III represents the "Street Dealer" position or the third highest status within the narcotic traffic subculture. The classification is characterized by single venture investments, small financial stakes and little or no organizational members. Analysis of the variables has produced the following typology for this classification within the relevant population of convicted traffickers in Detroit, Michigan, (January, 1970 to January, 1974).

Social Characteristic Profile --

Race:	Black
Sex:	50-50% chance of being male or female
Age:	32 years
Marital Status:	50% chance of being divorced and cohabiting; 50% chance of being married.
Education:	High school education or less.
Occupation:	75% chance of being an unskilled laborer; 25% of being white collar (having own business).
Income:	Approximately \$7,000/year

Criminal Activity Profile --

Past Institutional Encounters:	Subject has 70% chance of having been previously convicted and sentenced.
Addiction Status:	50% chance of being addicted.
Crime Frequency:	75% chance of being previously arrested for a property crime (larceny, burglary, etc.)

Classification IV - Typology

Classification IV represents the "Street Pusher" or the lowest level of narcotic trafficking status. The classification is characterized by single, non-profit oriented trading, selling and buying of narcotics. The members of this classification are never organized or deal in large quantities of narcotics or money. Analysis of variables has produced the following typology for this classification within the relevant population of convicted traffickers in Detroit, Michigan, (January, 1970 to January, 1974).

Social Characteristic Profile --

Race	80% chance of being Black 20% chance of being White
Sex:	Male
Age:	31 years
Marital Status:	50% chance of being married. 50% chance of cohabiting
Education:	Less than a high school education
Occupation:	60% chance of being an unskilled laborer, 40% chance of being skilled.
Income:	Approximately \$7,000 per year

Criminal Activity Profile --

Past Institutional Encounters:	80% chance of having been previously convicted and sentenced.
Addiction Status:	40% chance of being addicted.
Crime Frequency:	80% chance of being convicted for a property crime (larceny, burglary, etc.)

CHAPTER 6

COMPARISON OF THE TYPOLOGIES

It is the purpose of this chapter to compare and evaluate the typologies developed for each classification within the narcotic traffic subculture. Special attention is given to the discussion of the typologies as they relate to the hypotheses asserted in Chapter 2. The development of trends and patterns exhibited within the hierarchy of the narcotic traffic subculture will also be the focus of this section.

Variables Within the Typology

Each of the developed typologies represents a specific level and status within the narcotic traffic subculture. Within these typologies exist a number of variables which constitute two separate entities--the social characteristic profile and the criminal activity profile. The collation of variables within each of the separate typologies formulate an overall, general appearance or makeup of the narcotic trafficker. Based upon this assimilation of variables, the following statements can be construed to describe the average

narcotic dealer (in Detroit, Michigan, between the period January, 1970 to January, 1974).

First, the dealer will in all probability be male, Black, in his low 30's. The data clearly shows an overwhelming proportion of Black males to any other race or gender. The average age ranged from the high 20's to the low 30's, thus indicating a relatively young subject.

Second, the individual will be involved in an on-going relationship with a member of the opposite sex. Most likely, the relationship will be bound by the legal institution of marriage; however, a large percentage of the subjects will be cohabiting or living with another member in a consanguineous reference.

Third, the person will have less than a formal high school education, thus producing an unskilled occupational setting with a relatively low income (approximately \$7,000 per year). Employment for a dealer will be mainly of the general labor category, with few exceptions, those who become familiar with a trade or craft.

Fourth, the criminal record of the average narcotic dealer will portray at least one prior felony conviction, most likely for a crime against property. In most cases, he will not be addicted to narcotics; however, his use of other drugs will be evident in frequent, minor offenses recorded in the early teens of his life.

These statements can be broadly inferred to other populations of narcotic traffickers if they meet the basic requirements of the population under study. That is, if the population of narcotic dealers fit the basic definition of those being arrested and convicted in Detroit, Michigan, between the period of January, 1970 to January, 1974. Thus, these references are limited to a population existing within a specific type of criminal activity, and living within a specific time period.

Trends and Patterns Within the Typology

In examining the typologies of each classification, four apparent trends can be revealed. These patterns exist within the narcotic traffic hierarchy. They show a progressive motion of advancement from one classification to another. These trends and patterns may indicate the mobility and communication factors exhibited within the narcotic traffic subculture.

The first apparent direction was noted in the "age" variable. In observing the typologies as a whole (see Table 13), it was revealed that the lower classifications held relatively younger subjects than the higher classifications. This apparent trend may be the result of time differences or maturation differences in collecting experience concerning the activity of narcotic trafficking. Possibly, a specific amount of time is needed at lower levels to reach the ability of handling a high classification position.

Table 12
COMPARISON OF THE TYPOLOGIES
(by Classification)

	I	II	III	IV	
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTIC PROFILE	RACE	Black	Black	Black	80% Black 20% White
	SEX	Male	Male	50% male 50% female	Male
	AGE	37 years	30 years	32 years	31 years
	MARITAL STATUS	Married or Cohabiting	Married or Cohabiting	Married or Cohabiting	Married or Cohabiting
	EDUCATION	High School Education	High School Education	High School Education or Less	Less than a High School Education
	OCCUPATION	Skilled	75% Unskilled 25% White Collar	75% Unskilled 25% White Collar	60% Unskilled 40% skilled
	INCOME	\$9,000/yr.	\$7,000/yr.	\$7,000/yr.	\$7,000/yr.
CRIMINAL ACTIVITY PROFILE	PAST INSTITUTIONAL LIFE	Yes	50% Yes 50% No	70% Yes 30% No	80% Yes 20% No
	ADDICTION STATUS	No	25% Yes 75% No	50% Yes 50% No	40% Yes 60% No
	CRIME	Violent Crimes	50% Property Crimes	50% Property Crimes	50% Property Crimes

The second apparent course discovered in the examination of the typologies concerns the education of narcotic traffickers. It seems as one advances up the classifications, the degree of formal education increases. This may reflect the need for having a stable ability in writing, speaking, simple mathematics, etc., in higher classifications. This seems to be a logical conclusion for such a trend, is that higher classifications involve more complex, more organized, and more financial arrangements.

The third substantial development involved the occupation and income for each typology. The lower classifications were characterized by exhibiting high percentages of unskilled, low-paid laborers, while Classification I was comprised of skilled laborers with higher-than-average yearly incomes. Such a trend may indicate the degree of establishment necessary within the community for high classification trafficking.

In Chapter 6, the author explained the importance of mobility for "dealers." However, as one reaches the elitest position of Classification I, mobility decreases as a factor for success. The developed trend seems to display that lower classifications exhibit younger, non-established, mobile subjects who use these factors to contact people that "need" narcotics. In other words, lower classification subjects deal with smaller amounts of narcotics and function as disseminators of the narcotic product.

In complete contrast, the highest classification exhibits established, educated and older subjects who transact large amounts of narcotics and money at the executive and managerial levels. Their function is analogous to large-scale production suppliers. The conclusion of such a trend is that at lower classifications, the subjects must seek out and contact people who need narcotics; whereas, in Classification I, such actions are not necessary, lower level dealers readily buy from higher suppliers.

The final apparent development involves the criminal pattern for each classification. The amount of addicted subjects occupying the classifications decrease as the level of status increases. In other words, Classification I had no addicted subjects while Classifications II, III and IV had increasing percentages of addicted personnel. This addiction trend leads into a sub-pattern of criminal activity. The lower classifications were characterized by high percentages of property crimes, whereas, Classification I exhibits crimes of violence.

The logical reasoning behind such a pattern has partially been explained. First, as one goes down the classifications, he finds an increasing amount of addiction. Addiction dictates money, and the easiest way to obtain such a goal is characterized by stealing (larceny, burglary, auto theft, etc.). Whereas, at Classification I, specific executive skills

are necessary to fulfill the function of that position. Addiction at such a level would be an extreme handicap.

Therefore, such typological patterns (as discussed) have arisen out of the function and role designated at each level (classification) of the narcotic traffic subculture. The author infers that the developed trends may exist in other populations of narcotic traffickers. However, inconclusive data has prevented the testing of such a hypothesis on other populations. The author believes that continued research in this area is extremely important in the understanding of narcotic trafficking.

Discussion of the Hypotheses

The purpose of this section is to present an orderly discussion of the relationships hypothesized earlier in this treatise. Four specific relationships were constructed to reflect the observations, study and findings of this report.

Here, then, is a brief summarization of the data for each of the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. The data and analysis clearly negates the stated relationship between Classification I (Major Importers) and criminal activity profile. The data shows that narcotic traffickers occupying Classification I do have criminal records. Indeed, this classification represented the only subjects in which the complete population were arrested, convicted and sentenced previous to their present situation. In fact, the two subjects occupying this classification had

been arrested several times (4-5 times apiece) on crimes against property (larceny and burglary) and crimes of violence (assault). Both subjects had a large ratio of violent crimes to property crimes. The only factor involving the criminal pattern which these two subjects did not characterize, was addiction to a narcotic drug.

Hypothesis 2. As previously noted, a relationship does exist between lower Classifications III and IV, and type of criminal record. The study supports the hypothesis that subjects occupying lower narcotic traffic levels have high ratios of property crimes to crimes of violence. It was disclosed, upon the basis of the evidence displayed, that crimes against property constituted over 50% of the total criminal record for subjects occupying Classifications III and IV.

This conclusion can be explained, in part, by examining the addiction status of these same individuals. Over 80% were addicted to a narcotic drug. This situation has been proven to be an influencing factor on the type of crime committed. A definite, positive relationship exists between crimes against property, addiction, and lower classifications within the narcotic traffic subculture. It seems that these factors diminish as one progresses through the classification system. However, the lower levels of the subculture, necessitate this type of relationship. The purpose for these factors is exhibited within the function and role for lower

classifications. To effectively contact and sell narcotics to the addict population, street dealers and pushers must identify with this type of subculture. The ability to "fit in" and contact users is the ultimate responsibility of lower classifications. Their function is to disseminate narcotics to the addict at the lowest possible level.

Hypothesis 3. Narcotic traffickers occupying Classifications I and II have a social characteristic profile featuring Black, male and lower middle class offenders. This outline indicates that higher classification subjects may be the result of lower classification subjects who have worked their way up the ranks.

The myth of White, upper-class executives enslaving a Black population with narcotics and reaping the monetary benefits is firmly negated by the data. Those people who occupy high classifications seem to be the logical extension of the lower classifications. That is, they have similar backgrounds, come from similar environments, share many of the same social and physical traits, and most important, interact with each other as illegal business partners. These factors seem to indicate a type of hierarchial progression from low classification to high classification. The data, however, cannot empirically prove that such a system actually exists. The author only infers that this type of advancement procedure may be evident within the narcotic traffic subculture.

Hypothesis 4. The empirical typologies constructed for Classifications III and IV reveal a social characteristic profile consisting of male, Black and lower socio-economic class offenders. The data supports the relationship existing between the social characteristic profile and lower classifications. As previously stated, the lower classifications function as disseminators of narcotics to the addict population. To effectively supply narcotics to this type of population, the trafficker must be mobile; in effect, he must be able to contact addicts within the addict environment.

In conclusion, a reflection of the addict population can be seen in the examination of the lower classifications of narcotic traffickers. The addict population, according to the researcher's data, will also exhibit the characteristics of being (by majority) male, Black and lower socio-economic class.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to determine and establish an empirical typology of narcotic traffickers they existed within the classification of the narcotic traffic subculture. Further, it was the intent of this study to compare and evaluate the established typologies; thereby noting and developing any specific trends or patterns which became apparent.

Throughout this treatise an attempt has been made to address each variable within the social characteristic profile and the criminal activity profile of each offender. These elements produced the typologies for each classification. A comparison between variables, classification, and current literature on narcotic trafficking constituted the major emphasis of analysis. The following compendium represents a general overview of the findings; with special emphasis on practical application of the results and needs for future research concerning narcotic traffickers.

General Overview of the Findings

The two preceding chapters have indicated the results of this thesis. It has been established [through the examination of Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) records, Detroit Police Bureau files, and Federal Probation and Parole reports, concerning the entire population of convicted narcotic traffickers at the Federal level (by DEA) in Detroit, Michigan, from January, 1970 to January, 1974], that specific classifications (levels) of the narcotic traffic subculture can be characterized by certain social and criminal variables; and that these variables can be formulated into a typology representing the subjects of that particular classification within the narcotic traffic subculture.

Briefly stated, the typology established for each classification is:

Classification I. Subjects are predominantly Black, male, approximately 37 years, married or cohabiting, high school educated, skilled in an occupation which yields approximately \$9,000 per year, not addicted, however, they are holders of a substantial criminal record involving crimes of violence. In general, subjects within Classification I are well established in the community. Their illegal activity involves the trafficking of large amounts of narcotics within a well organized and well financed criminal organization.

Classification II. Subjects are predominately Black, male, approximately 30 years, married or cohabiting, high school educated, unskilled and possess general occupations yielding approximately \$7,000 per year, not addicted; however, holders of a substantial criminal record involving crimes against property. Their illegal activity involves acting as a wholesaler supplying narcotics to major street dealers.

Classification III. Subjects are predominately Black, having a 50% chance of being male, approximately 32 years, married or cohabiting, high school educated or less, unskilled and possess general occupations yielding approximately \$7,000 per year, having a 50% chance of being addicted, and holders of a substantial criminal record involving crimes against property. Their illegal activity forces an unestablished position with the community. They often hold employment which offers high person-to-person contact and high mobility within the subculture.

Classification IV. Subjects are predominately Black, male, approximately 31 years, married or cohabiting, possess less than a high school education, unskilled and occupy general employment which yields approximately \$7,000 per year, addicted and holders of criminal records involving crimes against property. Their illegal activity is characterized by small amounts of diluted narcotics, highly mobile and unestablished positions within the community, and frequent con-

tact with police agencies. The function of this classification is to disseminate narcotics at the lowest possible street level.

Delimitation of the Study

These typologies have been developed from a select population within a specific location (Detroit) and a specific time period (January, 1970 to January, 1974). Because of this narrow selectivity, a major delimitation of the study must be noted. The population for this treatise numbered 42 individuals. Even though this number represented the total number of subjects convicted for the delivery of narcotics at the federal level (by DEA) within this location and time period (eliminating the 13 confidential informants), this study can only be applied to that specific population. Any inferences made concerning the findings of this report must take into account the delimitation of such a small, select population. These delimitations have been discussed throughout the thesis.

Generalizations

One objective of social science research is to generalize findings to other populations, other places and other times than those sampled for the research itself. One difficulty which arises in this connection for the present study is in the use of variables (names and definitions of variables) which are in current common usage, but which have counterparts

differently defined in other places and other times. In this sense Black (Detroit) might be a counterpart of Chicano (San Diego), or Puerto Rican (Miami); poverty in 1974, might be a counterpart of several other forms of social stigmatization in 1900, 1920 and almost certainly in 1935, when poverty was virtually a national norm. In like manner, the terms uneducated and unskilled may be relevant to one era of time yet not in another. Thus, the broader meaning of this study may be hidden or subject to misinterpretation because of the way in which certain variables were defined.

The variables of this study represent only a local, specific aspect of the total typology--those existing in Detroit, Michigan, 1974. In whole, the generalizations of this typology may be inferred to other populations existing at other places and other times.

The logical inferences drawn from the findings of this report suggest that members of narcotic trafficker populations belong to minority groups. Further, they are under educated and many times, unemployed, thus promoting a low income or poverty-oriented lifestyle. These social traits may produce a high amount of contact with defining agencies (criminal justice agencies). In continuance, these variables may be directly correlated to narcotic abuse and narcotic trafficking.

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The author implies that such characteristics of this narcotic trafficker population may be inferred to other societies, existing at various time periods and surrounded by different environments.

Trends and Patterns Displayed

The following patterns exhibited by examination of these typologies are only directly applicable to the relevant population under study. Briefly stated, the patterns and trends developed are:

1. The narcotic traffic subculture existing within Detroit, Michigan, between 1970 and 1974 was characterized by a large population of Black males averaging 33 years of age. These individuals were usually married or cohabiting with a member of the opposite sex. They possessed relatively unskilled jobs which yielded low income salaries. And finally, they retained criminal records which indicated previous contact with police agencies.

2. The age of the average narcotic trafficker increased as the classification level increased. In other words, low classifications were occupied by younger subjects while high classifications were occupied by older subjects.

3. The education of the average narcotic trafficker increased with classification level. As the author sees the narcotic traffic hierarchy, low classifications exhibit less educated subjects than high classifications.

4. Low classification subjects possessed unskilled, general occupations while high classification subjects possessed skilled employment. This trend indicated a possible relationship between establishment and mobility within the community as a determinant for classification function.

5. Addiction among narcotic traffickers decreased as classification level increased. High classifications show relatively no addicted subjects, whereas low classifications indicated a large addiction percentage.

Application of the Findings

The findings of this project will directly benefit two major areas of the criminal justice system--law enforcement and corrections.

The establishment of typologies for different levels within the narcotic traffic subculture will hopefully generate an innovative technique concerning the enforcement of illegal narcotic traffic. An example of this may be expressed through the coordination of personnel to observe narcotic traffickers associated in other illegal activity. This type of coordination between working enforcement elements would be advantageous to current narcotic control.

One of the major pragmatic applications of these findings can be utilized by the Drug Enforcement Administration. This study, in essence, was the detailed continuation of an existing, bureaucratic typology--the Geo-Drug Classification System employed by DEA. Through these findings, a more pre-

cise classification system has been developed. The result is a detailed, valid typology which can be used to categorize convicted narcotic traffickers utilizing other important, descriptive variables (the social characteristic profile and the criminal activity profile).

Placing emphasis on the typology of narcotic traffickers can also serve as a useful rehabilitative tool in correctional therapy. With the establishment of a specific profile to a specific crime (narcotic trafficking) some type of long-range treatment may be explored.

Finally, the association of profile to narcotic trafficking may aid in the recognition of future traffickers. In any case, this typological treatise of narcotic traffickers can be utilized as both a collation of existing knowledge and as a programmatic monograph which suggests a number of lines for further research endeavors.

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APPENDIX A

The Development of Narcotics and Narcotic Abuse
in America

THE HISTORY OF NARCOTICS AND NARCOTIC TRAFFIC
IN AMERICA

The literature under discussion will consist of two areas involving the trafficking of narcotics in America. First, a brief history of the activity will be set forth. This section is designed to produce a foundation of historical perspectives concerning society's attitude toward narcotics and narcotic trafficking. The second area presented will be a discussion of the legal constraints enacted to control drug abuse. The evolution of drug laws in America will constitute the major issue for this review.

A Brief History of
Narcotic Traffic in America

The term "drug abuse" is not a new phenomenon. History has established that man has turned to drugs for various reasons at various times throughout his lifetime on earth. The review of past drug abuse is of great importance in the establishment of trends and patterns of not only use but also illicit traffic. As Samuel F. Levine has stated in his book, Narcotics and Drug Abuse, "We cannot afford to ignore these experiences. . .to gain a fuller

understanding and appreciation of the scope of the current problem. . .we need to scrutinize the history and development of opium and narcotic traffic."⁹⁰

The Beginning of Opium Traffic (B.C.-1840's).--Historians believe the opium poppy was first discovered in the Neolithic Age, growing wild in the mountains near the eastern Mediterranean. The earliest record of opium is mentioned in the medical tablets of the Sumerians, 600 B.C., which allegedly proclaims the "joice of the poppy. . .produced a sense of delight and satisfaction"⁹¹ The use of opium can be traced further to Homer's Iliad (900 B.C.), and the prescriptions of the famed physicians of Hippocrates and Galen in Greece. From its original home in the Mediterranean region, opium spread westward through Europe and eastward toward India and China in the early centuries after Christ, (700 A.D.).⁹² Through the ages, opium continued to be used freely by the populace as a remedy for ordinary ailments as well as an inducement for pleasure and sensual excitement.

⁹⁰Samuel F. Levine, Narcotics and Drug Abuse (Cincinnati, Ohio: W. H. Anderson Company, 1973), p. 63.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 63.

⁹²Howard S. Becker, "History, Culture, and Sub-Experience: An exploration of the Social Bases of Drug-Induced Experiences," Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 8, 168.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, European trade with China produced the first significant trafficking of opium. This trade era was heavily influenced by the powerful British and Dutch empires. As the East India company became established in Asia, Britain realized the potential profits in exporting opium to China. Thus, in the early 1800's, the British-controlled, East India Company had emerged as the capitalist of opium trade and opium profits to China. The result was the production of a slave-like society within China. England exported opium for material goods while China received the "pains and pleasures" of its importation.

With the British economy almost totally dependent upon foreign trade with China, and the Chinese economy suffering from the influences of opium trade, the Emperor of Canton issued an edict demanding the surrender and destruction of opium and the prohibiting of further foreign opium trade, (March, 1839). The result was international conflict between China and England. The British tried to remove its trade from Canton to Macao, however, the Chinese again produced pressure for eviction. The inevitable finally occurred in 1840, when England sent troops to China to blockade Canton Harbor--the Opium War began.

The British victory in 1842 produced the terms of the Treaty of Nanking, forcing the Chinese to reopen foreign

trade. Thus opium trafficking again flourished in China. It was not until 1906 that the Chinese finally succeeded in attempting to solve their opium problem. This situation has undoubtedly been responsible for the current role which this area plays in the illicit trafficking of narcotics today.

Opium Problems in the United States (Early 1800's-1925).---The opening of the West marked the beginning of opium traffic into the United States. The demand for cheap labor to build routes of transportation (especially railroads) in the "New Country" brought an influx of Chinese immigrants to America. With them, the Chinese brought the habit of opium smoking. The habit did not confine itself to the Chinese, but spread to other segments of society. The habit became so popular that no effective controls or regulations governing its dispensement could be recognized. Opium smoking and opium injesting became part of the ordinary day, producing part of the serious addiction problems in the early nineteenth century.

The medical purposes of opium (morphine) also became abused and out-of-control during the years of the Civil War. The great pain reliever was being used too liberally and thus promoted a rush of addicted soldiers. The process

became so common that the term "soldiers disease" was used to describe the phenomenon.⁹³

As if this was not enough, American pharmaceutical companies began the manufacture of a heavily opium-based medicine which guaranteed the relief of minor discomforts. The drug, known as "heroin" was considered "the ideal," non-addicting substitute for morphine and opium."⁹⁴

Unaware of the dangers to the use of heroin, people became addicted. In 1924, federal narcotic officials estimated that there were over 200,000 addicts in the United States,⁹⁵ and the deputy police commissioner of New York reported that 94% of all drug addicts arrested were heroin users.⁹⁶ Faced with this situation, both houses of Congress unanimously passed legislation outlawing the importation or manufacture of heroin.⁹⁷

The result was a sharp decline in the legal production and use of heroin in America. However, this did not

⁹³Alfred W. McCoy, The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), p. 4.

⁹⁴Charles E. Terry and Mildred Pellins, The Opium Problem (New York: Bureau of Social Hygiene, 1928; reprinted editions, Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson, Smith, Inc., 1970), p. 31. Hereinafter cited as "Terry and Pellins."

⁹⁵U. S., Congress, Senate Committee on Government Operations, Organized Crime and Illicit Traffic in Narcotics, 88th Congress, 1st and 2nd sessions, 1964, part 4, p. 171.

⁹⁶United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, "Bulletin on Narcotics," 1970, p. 7.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 26.

alleviate the problem of addiction. With the streets of America still rampant with addicted people, there was still a high demand for heroin. The decline of legal pharmaceutical output resulted in the shift of heroin production from legitimate factories to clandestine laboratories owned and operated by criminal syndicates.⁹⁸

The American Mafia (1930's-1967).--With the legal sources of narcotics more controlled and regulated, the addict was forced to seek other means for his habit. The growing criminal underworld, headed by the brilliant Charles "Lucky" Luciano, was more than willing to exploit the already hooked addict.

The American Mafia, long noted for its involvement in controlling the bootleg liquor industry of the 1920's, had turned its attention to new sources of income--illicit narcotics. With the end of Prohibition, the new boss, "Lucky" Luciano, invested in the monopolization of illicit heroin importation.

During the 1930's, Luciano's Mafia entirely capitalized upon the situation. By coupling heroin with prostitution, his criminal cartel produced a steady inflow of money which could be invested into other illegal activities such as gambling, loansharking, smuggling, etc. Luciano had formed

⁹⁸Alfred W. McCoy, op. cit., p. 4.

a dynasty within a criminal organization financed by the profits received in illegal narcotic trafficking.⁹⁹

In 1936, Thomas Dewey and his organized crime investigators finally apprehended "Lucky" Luciano. Convicted of forced prostitution and sentenced to a thirty to fifty-year jail term, Luciano and his organization seemed to be over.¹⁰⁰ However, history shows that this action was merely a delay for future events.

With the onset of World War II, major narcotic routes and patterns were severed. Criminal organizations began to fold because of the lack in profits received from heroin. The clandestine, European laboratories and trade routes were being destroyed, the number of heroin users in the United States were dwindling, and law enforcement actions were becoming more harsh. World War II had driven the American Mafia out of business.

However, in 1946, only ten years after his conviction, Charles "Lucky" Luciano was released from prison based upon his wartime services to the Navy and Army. Luciano was again free to organize his criminal control. Moving to his home country of Sicily, Luciano established the most remarkable international narcotics syndicate in

⁹⁹Harry J. Anslinger, The Protectors (New York: Farran Straus, and Company, 1964), p. 74.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

the history of the traffic.¹⁰¹ For more than a decade it moved morphine base from Turkey, transformed it into heroin, and then exported it to the United States--all without one major arrest or setback.

The system began in the Middle East. The Turkish Government Monoply (TOPRAK), was one of the only government controlled and legally authorized cultivators' of opium in the world. The farmers of Turkey sold their crop of opium to TOPRAK in exchange for goods and cash. Despite adequate government controls, many of the farmers decided to sell large portions of their crop to Luciano's underworld. The black market price was usually three times higher than that of the Turkish government.¹⁰² Thus, the source of heroin was established for the criminal organization.

The next step was to refine the crude opium into a morphine base which could be easily smuggled into the United States. Prior to the 1950's, a number of secret laboratories were located in Turkey.¹⁰³ However, because of tough legislation imposing severe penalties on traffickers the laboratories were moved.

Two major areas of refinement were established. The city of Marseilles, France, offered the unionization of the Sicilian Mafia with a new organization, the Union Corse

¹⁰¹Alfred W. McCoy, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Samuel F. Levine, op. cit., p. 71.

(Corsican Brothers). The Union Corse made Marseille the hub of heroin refinement. Their chemists and laboratories produced a superior grade of heroin and an excellent shipping product into the United States. The second area of refinement was established in Luciano's home city of Palermo, Sicily. The morphine base was smuggled in by ship from Turkey, quickly refined and exported to America. These two areas served as the primary conversion points of morphine to heroin up till the late 1960's. They are still responsible for a small percentage of the heroin traffic of today (refer to Diagram 1-Logistics of the Heroin Market, page 4).

After 30 years of operation, this system has finally been broken. In June of 1971, the Government of Turkey reached an agreement with the United States to discontinue the legal cultivation of opium. It shall be shown that this political agreement, again did little to decrease the flow of narcotics into the United States, for by the year 1971, a new source of opium had already been established.

The New Source--Southeast Asia (1967-Present).--

During the 1960's, internal warfare within the American Mafia and a crackdown on international enforcement marked the decline of the European heroin trade. Equally important in reducing the international market was the death of "Lucky" Luciano. Luciano suffered a fatal heart attack on January 22, 1962. At the time of his death, it was thought that he had

personally been responsible for the shipping of over \$150 million worth of heroin into the United States.¹⁰⁴ Without his guidance, the Turkey-Italy-Marseille narcotics traffic was severely handicapped. Combined with Turkey's announcement to eventually abolish opium production, it was obvious that the organized criminal cartel had to find a new leader and a new source of opium.

By 1966, the successor of "Lucky" Luciano had emerged as a modern businessmen looking for a new corporation. Santo Trafficante, Jr., the new "boss" had accepted the responsibility.

Trafficante is one of the most effective organized crime leaders of today. The prodigy of Meyer Lansky, Trafficante developed as an important decision-maker through his involvement in the gambling casinos of Florida and the Caribbean. He is smart and removes himself from the direct involvement of illegal activity. He is the boss, the organizer, and the financier of one of the most lucrative criminal cartels of all time.¹⁰⁵

Trafficante's first move was to restore the international heroin trade so valuable to the financing of other illegal activity. With Turkey and the Middle East out of hope, the Mafia looked to the oldest of opium areas--the Far East and China.

¹⁰⁴New York Times, January 27, 1962, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵Alfred W. McCoy, op. cit., p. 30.

Shaped and formed by the intervention of Western influence, the Far East became the new "cultivator" of opium.¹⁰⁶ Opium in Asia was, until recently, a locally consumed product. It was largely grown by the Meo tribesmen of Thailand, Burma and Vietnam, and used as a medicine for simple ailments. Introduced in the 1500's by European merchants, opium settled in Southeast Asia. Developing as a large-scale trade item for Britain, opium was forced on to the unwilling Chinese through the Opium War of 1840. Finally, the French domination of Indochina also recognized the profit potential of such a commodity and again further developed the opium market in Southeast Asia.¹⁰⁷ Now in the 1970's, a new region of opium farming has been established--the Golden Triangle consisting of Burma, Thailand and Laos. But, instead of the people of Southeast Asia feeling the evils of opium as in the 1840's, the western American cultures of today pay the socio-economic cost of the narcotic drug.

When Santo Trafficante, Jr., looked for opium in Asia, he saw not only a source, but a new, larger market. With American intervention in Indochina, a greater demand was being planted. Military personnel of the United States were rapidly becoming a new population of addicts. Opium was being transported from the Golden Triangle region to

¹⁰⁶Alfred W. McCoy, op. cit., p. 59.

¹⁰⁷Av Westin and Stephanie Shaffer, Heroes and Heroin (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1971), p. 10.

Saigon for refinement, and sold on the streets to American G.I.'s. The system was an easy exploitation for Trafficante. What developed from the Turkey-Italy-Marseille trade came the Golden Triangle-Saigon-Marseille route. But not all was so easy for Trafficante. Along with a new source came competition, something the Mafia had seen little of in its history. Not only could large organized criminal cartels venture into Asian trade, but it was now also possible for a few ambitious G.I.'s with a little money to traffic heroin to the United States.¹⁰⁸ The result was and is still today, a variety of traffic routes and organizations smuggling heroin to the United States via Asian cities, all stemming from the Golden Triangle region of Southeast Asia (refer to Diagram 1, page 4).

In Retrospect.--As one can see, the history of the development of narcotic traffic involves the influence of criminal cartels as well as major governments. Throughout this brief discussion, four interdependent roles of narcotic trafficking were clearly defined: that of "cultivator," "refiner," "distributor," and "addict." Each of these roles is a link within a chain. When one is severed, the rest cannot operate. The geographical locations of each of these processes constitutes the governments which will be involved in the trafficking of narcotics.

¹⁰⁸Samuel F. Levine, op. cit., p. 93.

History clearly displays that the answer to the elimination of narcotic trafficking is in the elimination of one of these roles. To accomplish such a task demands a sophisticated and complex plan to equal such an evolved system.

The Evolution of Narcotic Laws

The detrimental effects of opiate drugs were fully realized by the American public during the latter decade of the nineteenth century. The growing fear of opiates and especially of morphine addiction promulgated the enactment of several antimorphine laws.

The number of people overusing opiates had increased during the nineteenth century as the per capita importation of crude opium increased from less than 12 grains annually in the 1840's to more than 52 grains in the 1890's.¹⁰⁹ The general American consensus concerning opiate drugs was that morphine had been medically exploited, addiction was a substantial possibility, and addiction to patent medicines should be minimized or stopped.¹¹⁰ Thus, the historical legislation of drug laws had started in the early 1890's.

¹⁰⁹"Address before the Massachusetts Medical Society, May 30, 1860," in The Works of Oliver Wendell Holmes (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1892), pp. 200-201.

¹¹⁰David F. Musto, The American Disease (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 5.

It is the purpose of this section to develop a brief scenario of the evolution of drug laws in America. The growing contention toward the legalization or decriminalization of narcotics will also be discussed.

Early Drug Legislation.---The states took the initiative in attempting to control or solve the domestic drug problem through legislation. The earliest narcotic legislation was directed toward the elimination of opium smoking. Soon afterwards steps toward the control of morphine were also enacted. State and municipal laws required morphine to be ordered as a physicians prescription, which had to be retained for a period of time for inspection.

The early state laws, however, had faults. First, they were poorly worded and unclear thereby producing a sense of ambiguity; and secondly, they were rarely enforced by state personnel. Although a state may pass an anti-narcotic law and even enforce it, bordering states without such laws often became the refuge for users or sellers. In any case, this situation produced a system of loopholes and seriously hampered the effect of social control.

The first state to exhibit any real authority against the use of opium was California. In 1872, it declared the first anti-opium law, in 1877 it established the first separate bureau to enforce narcotic laws and thoroughly

study the problem, and most important, in 1880 it set provisions to treat narcotic addicts.¹¹¹

With California as an example, other states and territories began to adopt more comprehensive plans and legislation to control opiate use. Nevada and the Territory of Oregon passed the most stringent of these laws. The legislation made it illegal to "dispense, sell, or smoke opium and its derivatives by fine of severe punishment, without the prescription of a medical doctor."¹¹²

The Federal Government finally realized the effects of opium and also took affirmative action to reduce its abuse. In 1883, Congress raised the tariff on imported opium, in 1887 it prohibited the importation of all adulterated opium--that containing less than 9% morphine, and in 1890, Congress limited the manufacture of smoking opium available to American citizens.¹¹³

The important aspect that the author wishes to stress, is that until the turn of the nineteenth century, several state and federal attempts were enacted to control the use of opium. However, the several forms of state legislations had no uniformity in the controls set forth nor were there any hard provisions made to insure compliance with the laws.

¹¹¹Samuel F. Levine, op. cit., p. 96.

¹¹²H. H. Kane, Opium Smoking in America and China (New York, 1882), cited in "Terry and Pellins," p. 808.

¹¹³Terry and Pellins, op. cit., p. 747.

In addition, the limited knowledge concerning the drug and the addiction phenomena promoted the legal dispensement of narcotics on a very large scale. As of this time, there were no medical provisions in controlling the dispensing or prescribing of narcotics. Thus, the early anti-opiate laws failed in their attempt to control the narcotic substance.

Further Legislation of the Early 1900's.--The turn of the century marked the first substantial progress in the controlling of narcotics. In 1906 the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed. This Act was the first legislation accepted by both pharmaceutical and medical personnel in the guidance of sale and prescription of narcotics. This federal regulatory anti-narcotic law was based upon the revenue powers of interstate commerce, previously passed by Congress in 1903.¹¹⁴

In continuance of Federal Government action to control the use of opium, Congress initiated the 1909 Act, prohibiting importation and use of opium for non-medicinal purposes. The act also authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to prescribe the regulations concerning international affairs involving opium or its derivatives. The 1909 Shanghai Conference was a direct outgrowth of this act. The delegates to the conference had no authority to commit their government to any treaties, so the result was limited to an international,

¹¹⁴F. F. Wright, The Growth of American Constitutional Law (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1942), Chapter 3.

non-binding agreement concerning the uses of opium. This conference set the path for another international meeting of much more significance--the 1912 Hague Convention.

This Convention (also known as the International Opium Convention of 1912) resulted in the international control of narcotics through international law. Delegates from China, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Spain, Russia, Siam, and the United States attended the convention. The result was the adoption of a binding agreement asserting the following principles.

1. The production and distribution of raw opium were subject to control by each nation. (No guidelines were devised to implement this recommendation.)
2. Opium smoking was to be gradually suppressed.
3. A system of permits and licenses for all aspects of the narcotic trade was to be prepared.
4. The manufacture, distribution, sale, and use of narcotics were to be limited to medicinal and legitimate needs.
5. The import and export of raw opium were to be regulated.
6. All governments were obliged to report on the administration of the narcotic problems in their countries.
7. Each of the countries participating in this conference agreed to enact legislation to give force and effect to this agreement.

8. To fulfill the United States's obligation under the Hague Convention, Congress passed the Harrison Narcotic Act in 1914.¹¹⁵

The 1914 Harrison Narcotic Act.--In December 1914 Congress passed the Harrison Narcotic Act. The Act was to "provide for the registration of narcotics with collectors of internal revenue, and to impose a special tax upon all persons who produce, import, manufacture, compound, deal in, dispense, sell, distribute, or give away opium, their salts, derivatives, or preparations."¹¹⁶ The object of the Harrison Act was to precisely define the channels through which opium and all its compounds could lawfully pass. The enactment of special taxes for the registration of the drug in the form of stamp taxes was also provided. The responsibility of enforcing this Act was issued to the office of Collector of Internal Revenue; as of yet, the crime was evasion of taxation not mere possession of narcotics.

In essence the Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914 was a law intended to ensure the orderly marketing and trade of narcotics. However, the effects of its policy were misinterpreted into a law prohibiting the supplying of narcotics to users. The result was widespread panic among addicts, causing a sharp increase in crime and a large

¹¹⁵Samuel F. Levine, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

¹¹⁶Public Law No. 223, 63rd Congress, approved December 17, 1914.

amount of social unrest. In effect, the Act had forced addicts to go "cold turkey," and in doing so had made the narcotic problem more complex and severe.¹¹⁷

More Legislation (1920's - 1970).--The subsequent years following the Harrison Narcotic Act relied heavily upon the enforcement of prohibition laws to curb the narcotics problem. In 1923, by Congressional resolution, the President of the United States requested the major governments of the world, including France, Great Britain, and Persia to limit the production of opium and its derivatives. In compliance with the 1924 Act prohibiting the importation of crude opium, it was hoped that illicit traffic would decline. This urgency fell short of its goals and addiction still was a menace in America.

The first substantial step to solve the immediate problem was taken in 1929. Realizing that opium was a "habit-forming and dangerous drug," Congress established two treatment facilities. The facilities were operated by competent medical personnel who produced satisfactory results with obligated prisoners. However, the stigma of retribution instead of rehabilitation was increased again by the 1937 Act. This Act invoked heavy and increased penalties for a conviction concerning a breach of narcotic laws. The period after this legislation was marked by the development of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics.

¹¹⁷David F. Musto, op. cit., Chapter 3.

During World War II and the late 1940's, there emerged another addicting drug similar to heroin. The synthetic drug, demerol was developed by the Germans during the war and was brought to America soon after. Congress spent little time in the classification and definition of this new drug. They had seen the results of heroin and did not want another such substance on the legal market. Thus, in 1944, Congress enacted legislation which required that all synthetic opiates (especially demerol) be placed within the existing legal constraints of the narcotic laws.¹¹⁸

In spite of all the international, federal, and state enforcement of drug legislation, drug addiction increased. In 1956, Congress passed the Narcotic Control Act which asserted the death penalty for certain narcotic violations. In addition, the Narcotic Control Act produced a harsher control on the travel of narcotic addicts in an attempt to restrict drug traffic.

The election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency set in order the decline of such legislation. Kennedy's support of a White House Commission on Narcotics ended in the 1963 Presidential Commission on Narcotics and Drug Abuse. This commission assumed, for the first time, the responsibility of treating the addict. The American Medical Association and the National Institute of Mental Health

¹¹⁸Edward M. Brecher, op. cit., p. 157.

became involved in producing adequate treatment facilities with various locations throughout the United States. The centers could be open to the public and provide in areas of counseling, cure and research concerning narcotic abuse.¹¹⁹

In 1966, the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act (NARA) provided for the civil commitment of addicted federal prisoners to treatment agencies. The word "treatment" was still to involve confinement and supervision within an institution but also medical attention to the attempt of alleviating drug dependence.

On the international scene, the 1961 Single Convention was also beginning to take affect. This conference produced a treaty between forty nations stating and codifying the international laws of earlier protocols and agreements. The United States, however, did not ratify this treaty until late 1967. The basic reason for such a late ratification was the objection of certain sections within the treaty which allowed countries not then producers of opium to produce up to five tons per year.

Basically, the system of international control established by the Single Convention produced the following provisions:

¹¹⁹Ibid. p. 239

1. All drugs and preparations covered under the Convention were arranged in four schedules, each with different measures to control. Procedures were made for amending the schedules where findings about a particular drug or preparation justified a change in status. The World Health Organization would then determine whether the substance in question was liable to abuse, and would then make the appropriate recommendations as to which schedule the drug in question should be assigned.

2. The parties carried out the provisions in their own territories, cooperated with other states in implementing the Convention, and limited the availability and use of the drugs exclusively to medical and scientific purposes.

3. The cultivation of the poppy plant, coco plant, and cannabis plant, from which the drugs opium, cocaine, and marihuana are produced respectively, was controlled.

4. Parties proposing to initiate or increase opium production had to take into account the prevailing world conditions and needs, plus the risk of overproduction. A country was not permitted to produce more than five tons for export without specific authorization; however, nothing prevented a country from producing opium sufficient for its own requirements. Countries that produced opium for ten years prior to January, 1961, could continue to produce for export.

5. Only persons licensed by the respective countries could engage in the manufacture, ~~trade~~ and distribution of the controlled drugs.

6. Importation and exportation of the drugs could not take place without special authorization of the governments concerned. Drug exports not in accordance with the laws of that country, and not within its total estimated requirements were not allowed. Before one country could issue an export permit, the importing country must certify that the importation was approved.

7. All the parties to the treaty were required to furnish annual estimates of the quantities of drugs to be consumed, manufactured, and held in stock for medical and scientific purposes. The International Control Board was permitted to amend these estimates and the countries must furnish the Board with any information regarding their estimates upon request.

8. In accordance with their legal systems, participating countries had to make provisions for limiting the illicit drug traffic. They were required to cooperate with each other and other international agencies, to make legal provisions for adequate penalties for trafficking and conspiracies to traffic.

9. Treaty participants were also required to give special attention to the treatment, care and rehabilitation

of drug addicts, and to establish treatment facilities where the addiction problem was serious.

10. In the event of violations by governments, explanations were required, and where necessary, embargoes could be placed on the import and export of drugs.

11. Parties might permit the temporary "quasi-medical" use of opium smoking, coco leaf chewing, and the non-medical use of cannabis. Reports on phasing out these activities must be submitted annually. Opium smoking must be completely phased out in fifteen years and coco leaf chewing and cannabis use in twenty-five years.¹²⁰

The 1970's Issue--Legalization vs. Decriminalization of Narcotics.--The most prominent reason asserted for the failure of anti-narcotic laws is associated to the study of victimology. Antinarcotic laws are aimed at controlling the behavior of a private transaction between willing sellers and willing buyers. The act involves the consent of both parties in private, like the crimes involving fornication, homosexuality, gambling and prostitution, there is no outward, formal complianant. For this reason, these crimes have been termed "crimes without victims." Any law aimed at the controlling of these types of behavior, have in the past, been relatively ineffective.

¹²⁰Samuel F. Levine, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

The theory behind prohibition, or keeping narcotics away from people, began with the enforcement of the 1914 Harrison Narcotic Act. In the last five years, a new innovative approach toward the narcotics problem has been proposed. The new approach runs totally opposite to the past sixty years of American legislation. It concludes that prohibition does not work. What the new approach advocates is the decriminalization and repeal of narcotic laws. The rationale behind this theory is as follows:

1. With the decriminalization of narcotic laws, the addict is no longer considered a criminal. This promotes another new approach--that the addict is sick and must be cured. The advocacy of treatment and therapeutic communities is a major component of this approach.

2. The decriminalization of narcotic laws will abolish the illegal heroin market. The controversial approach contends that by eliminating the demand for illegal heroin the market will collapse. To fulfill the "needs" of the addict, the federal government is recommended to provide alternative programs consisting of methodone, opium, or morphine maintenance. Through the planning and regulation of medical auspices, every addict will have an alternative program made available to him. These actions will be financed by the government, eliminating any high costs or adulterated substances.

3. Through the decriminalization of narcotics, law enforcement resources will cease to be wasted on futile efforts to keep heroin away from the addict. Instead, a preventive program should go into effect which would concentrate on keeping illegal heroin away from non-addicts. In addition, the decriminalization of narcotics would reduce the amount of illegal profits for organized crime; and thus, reduce the financial investment of organized crime into other activity such as loansharking, labor racketeering, smuggling, gambling, prostitution, etc.

4. The decriminalization of narcotic addiction will provide a clearer, more understandable definition of the problem. The dangerously wrong myths concerning narcotics and addiction will be dispelled. Society's view toward drug abuse will be in close association with public health.

The advocated approach has increased in popularity in recent years.¹²¹ The adoption of this approach by Great Britain has further supported contentions toward decriminalization. The British approach has been considered a relative success in the control of narcotic abuse.¹²² In Britain the medical profession has primary responsibility

¹²¹Edward M. Brecher, op. cit., Chapter 69.

¹²²Edwin M. Schur, Narcotic Addiction in Britain and America (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1962), p. 205.

for handling the addiction problem. Law enforcement officials do not interfere with a bona fide medical determination that an addict needs narcotics. In Britain, there is practically no addict-crime. The economic incentives which encourage illicit drug traffic is absent. There is no addict subculture, nor is there a markedly exhibited increase in narcotic addiction.¹²³ In essence, Britain has possibly found a solution to their narcotic addiction problem.

The major fault of proponents of this theory in the advocacy of its use in America, is that the distinction between Britain and the United States are not fully realized. The cultural differences in societal views toward public policy, law enforcement, and medicine are completely ignored. The mere size of land mass and population are also overlooked. However, the single most important factor which is disregarded is the difference in social-psychological attitudes toward narcotics and addiction held by the British and American peoples. The key problem centers around the issue of societal view toward addiction. The question being what is narcotic addiction? It has been defined as a habit, a crime, a state and a disease. For the two cultures in question, two different labels have been accepted--in Britain addiction is a disease, in America addiction is a crime. To effectively assert that the decriminalization of narcotics in America

¹²³Ibid.

will control narcotic abuse, one must first accept the sociological principles which govern that nation.

This does not imply that decriminalization will never be implemented in the United States. What it does assert is that a major restructure and change of American culture must first be undertaken before a step as large as decriminalization be proposed. The researcher believes that a massive social change of American societal attitudes toward narcotics and addiction is the first step in solving drug abuse. In the meantime, the only realistic approach to the American drug problem is to develop methods, not to eliminate drug use or even to drastically reduce it, but to live with it and to make sure that narcotic addicts do the least harm to themselves and others.¹²⁴ Drug abuse (especially narcotics) has been prevalent throughout American history. The only way to eliminate it, is through societal and cultural change. Narcotic addiction is the responsibility of people to other people, and until this is fully realized, addiction will always be a fact of American life.

¹²⁴Erich Goode, Drugs in American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. 212.

APPENDIX B

Letters of Support and Coordination
for this Thesis



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION
Washington, D.C. 20537

JAN 15 1974

Mr. Robert W. Taylor
1623-D Spartan Village
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Your letter of December 11 has been received with a good deal of interest. It is not very often that we find a talented individual who is interested in preparing his way into our agency through initiation and conduct of a thesis.

The idea of a research conducted in a topic that is relevant to DEA is, of course, welcome. The identification of a topic that can be practically and profitably worked by research students is a difficulty. The reason for this is that much of what you suggest has already been done or that the topic is not easy to study by personnel outside of an enforcement agency.

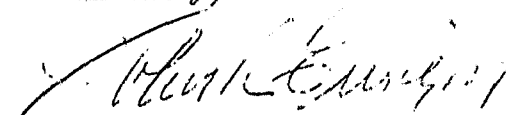
There is one topic that has not yet been explored adequately and it is the kind of topic that can be studied by students. In the form of a question, the topic is, "Do drug traffickers engage in other illegal activities and if so, how does traffic status affect this condition?" That is, is a street drug dealer in a variety of illegal activity while a drug traffic wholesaler remains only in drug dealing?

The topic can be studied because DEA has a drug trafficking classification and records are available in DEA and the local police. Of course, you would want to include data from both the arrested drug dealer population and those never arrested, etc. The topic is an interesting one and I would suggest a relatively small but tightly "controlled" study, rather than one that considers large data elements.

Page Two

In any event the topic can easily provoke a variety of ideas and techniques. If you want additional help you can contact Dr. Albert A. Glass in our Enforcement Policy and Communications Division at this same address, telephone 202-382-3804.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John R. Enright".

John R. Enright, Director
Office of Public Affairs

SCHOOL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
College of Social Science
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI 48824

M E M O

March 15, 1974

TO: Robert W. Taylor
FROM: John H. McNamara *JHMc*
SUBJECT: LEAA Graduate Research Fellowship

The Review Committee has awarded you a LEAA Graduate Research Fellowship for the period January 1, 1974 - June 30, 1975. The award amount is \$750 to include only the following allowable expenses: 1. services and supplies involved in publishing thesis - \$450 (purchase of textbooks relevant to the subject is not an allowable expense); 2. travel expenses involved in the course of data collection - \$300.

The awarding of these funds is conditioned upon completion of a Master's thesis acceptable for six credits of CJ 899 addressing essentially the topic described in your application for the fellowship. These funds may not be expended for research other than CJ 899, or completion of a research topic other than that as essentially described in your proposal.

There will be a meeting March 27, 1974, 3:00 to 5:00 p.m. in the conference room, 4th floor Olds Hall, during which procedures for making financial reimbursement will be explained.

You should contact Mr. Thomas Scarlett, Office of Financial Aids, Room 264, Student Services Building, regarding application for LEEP assistance to provide tuition costs.

The Review Committee and I are very pleased that we can fund your research and studies, and you have our confidence that the work you do will more than justify our decision.

cc: A. F. Brandstatter
Larry Hoover
Richard Howe
Robert Lorinkas
Victor Strecher

END

7 10/10/10