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**Criminal careers: Perceptions of adult offenders—the initiation
and utilization of under-aged felons in organized criminal
activity; drug distribution networks**

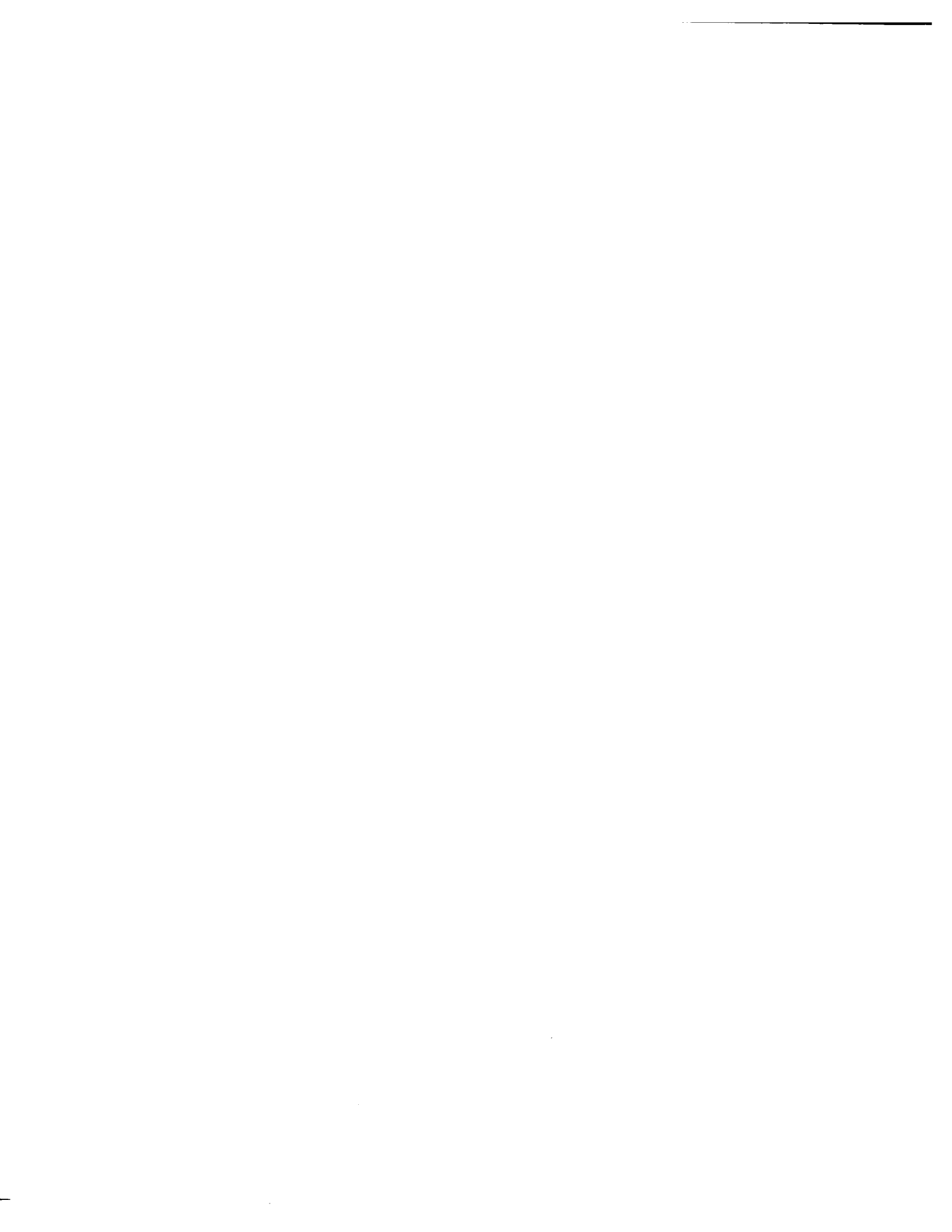
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City University of New York, 1992

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CRIMINAL CAREERS: PERCEPTIONS OF ADULT OFFENDERS
- THE INITIATION AND UTILIZATION OF UNDER AGED
FELONS IN ORGANIZED CRIMINAL ACTIVITY;
DRUG DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS

by

MARIA R. HABERFELD

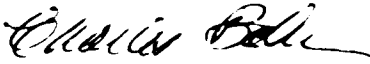
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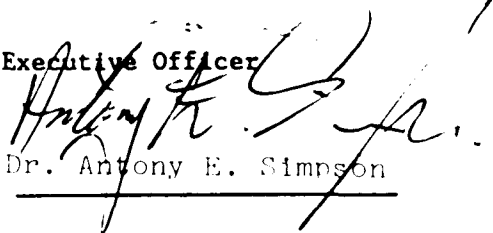
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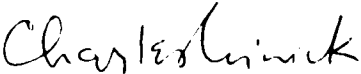
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Abstract

CRIMINAL CAREERS: PERCEPTIONS OF ADULT OFFENDERS
THE INITIATION AND UTILIZATION OF UNDER AGED
FELONS IN ORGANIZED CRIMINAL ACTIVITY;
DRUG DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS

by

Maria R. Haberfeld

Advisor: Professor Charles Bahn

The purpose of this study was to examine and describe factors in the initiation process into organized criminal activities of drug dealing - by the under-aged. The theoretical orientation was based on three criminological theories, differential association theory, labelling theory, and ecology of crime, resulting in three hypotheses. Since

the subjects were, at the time of initiation between the ages of 10 to 15 (in most cases), their behavior was thought to be influenced by the exposure to a variety of illicit activities in their immediate neighborhoods. The specific method was interviews to retrospectively identify separate mode of introduction into criminal activities, for a sample incarcerated for drug offenses, and one for non-drug offenses. While the drug-group was thought to be introduced, recruited and taught by adult offenders, the non-drug group supposedly entered the criminal way of life either by self-selection or peer association process. It was theorized that the under-aged once involved in a labelled and structured way of life (drug trafficking) will more likely see themselves as cut-off from non-criminal alternatives. Data for this study was collected from 140 inmates, in their early 20's, incarcerated at the Rikers Island Correctional Institution in New York City. The results of this study demonstrate contrasts between the drug and non-drug groups. That support the initiation by adult offenders into drug-related crimes, and indicate that under-aged drug users see themselves as more clearly labeled as criminals and are less able to perceive or attempt alternatives to a criminal life style. These findings could assist in the development of future intervention and prevention policies.

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... "When the breakfast was cleared away the merry old gentleman and the two boys played at a very curious and uncommon game, which was performed in this way. The merry old gentleman, placing a snuff-box in one pocket of his trousers, a note-case in the other, and a watch in his waistcoat pocket, with a guard-chain round his neck, and sticking a mock diamond pin in his shirt: buttoned his coat tight round him, and putting his spectacle-case and handkerchief in his pockets, trotted up and down the room with a stick, in imitation of the manner in which old gentleman walk about the streets any hour of the day.... All this time, the two boys followed him closely about: getting out of his sight, so nimbly, every time he turned around it was impossible to follow their motions. At last, the Doger trod upon his toes, or ran upon his boots accidentally, while Charley Bates stumbled up against him behind; and in that one moment they took from him, with the most extraordinary rapidity, snuff-box, note-case, watch-guard, chain, shirt-pin, pocket-handkerchief, even the spectacle-case. If the old gentleman felt a hand in any one of his pockets, he cried out where it was; and then the game began all over again."

The Adventures of Oliver Twist
by
Charles Dickens
p.62

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Understanding the extent and nature of the role adult offenders play in the recruitment, initiation, and utilization of under aged felons' participation in organized criminal activities, will engender new insight into the validity and applicability of theoretical models of criminality associated with three popular theories: the Differential Association, Labeling and the Ecology of Crime.

This research is designed to test aspects of differential association socialization models against labeling and ecology of crime relative models, based on a retrospective study of offenders already convicted for drug related offenses and presently incarcerated.

The emphasis in the existing drug crime literature, focusing on upper-level drug dealers and on drug sales has neglected a critical part of retail drug-distribution system (Johnson, 1985). It also omits a more important aspect of the relationship between adult offenders involved

in retail drug-distribution, and their juvenile associates, who appear to consider involvement in criminal activities as an acceptable life style alternative.

Another important and seldom addressed issue is the conceptual definition of the "juvenile delinquent". Legally a "juvenile delinquent" is a youth who has been so adjudged by courts, but the legal status of "delinquent" in fact tends to depend more on the attitudes of parents, the police, the community, and the juvenile courts, than on any specific behavior of a child (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1982). The critical importance of that specific looseness of definition, and the corresponding lack of consistent responses, on the part of the law enforcement, have important implications for adult offenders on one hand, and for public policy decisions and prevention and intervention program strategies, on the other.

The Federal penalties for unlawful manufacturing, distribution and dispensing of controlled substances (Appendix A), provide new incentives for Fagin's followers.

Chapter II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Scope and Implication of Juvenile Delinquency

Theoretical and historical overview

Studies of crime and delinquency have for the most part focused on their psychological and environmental origins (Platt, 1977). Shaw and McKay (1942) and their followers depicted juvenile delinquency as an inevitable and frustrating reaction to impelling environmental forces. Others like Bloch (1958), Cohen (1955), and Miller (1958), attributed the problem to parent-youth conflict, the modern conditions and structure of family life, the "upside down" interpretation of norms from the larger culture, and deep embedment of negative values in the lower-class culture.

Another group of theories evolves around strain theory, exploring the social structure that exerts pressure on youth

to engage in nonconforming behavior (Merton 1963, Cloward and Ohlin, 1960).

Two additional theories that attempted to explain the origins of delinquency in general and juvenile delinquency in particular, are Sutherland's (1965) differential association, and Becker's (1963) labeling model. The differential association model implies that criminal behavior is a learning process, based on the interaction with other people, while the labeling theory approaches delinquency and deviance as not inherent or learned human behavior, but as deriving from ascriptive labels conferred upon actors in particular social situations.

Part of the demarcation between misbehavior and delinquency was determined by the development of a legal concept formulated around the turn of the century. Historically, the term "juvenile delinquency" came into legal use in the United States in 1899 with the establishment of the first juvenile court, and it was applied to all young people determined by the court to be delinquent. Prior to 1899, most disapproved behavior now labeled delinquent was treated as a family or, in some case, a community discipline problem (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1982).

The growing acuteness of the problem today

In contemporary law, the juvenile delinquent is distinguished from the adult criminal who commits similar crimes by several factors:

1) in most jurisdictions the cutoff point between delinquency and criminality is the age factor, usually eighteen; 2) juvenile delinquents are generally considered less culpable; 3) the emphasis is more on the youth's personality and the motivation for his illegal act than on the offense itself; 4) treatment of the juvenile delinquent has been directed more toward the therapeutic programs than punishment; and 5) the judicial handling of juveniles originally deemphasized the legal aspects of due process and was geared to a more informal and personalized procedure, and despite the trend toward greater due process in the juvenile court system, this is still largely the approach (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1982).

Despite, or maybe in spite of the above approach. According to the F.B.I. Crime Report published in July 1985, covering offenses cleared by arrests of persons under the age of 18 in 1984, 2,465,100 juveniles were involved in committing crimes like: murders and non-negligent manslaughter, violent crimes, robbery, larceny, theft,

burglary, arson and motor vehicle theft. There was also a substantial population who was involved in less serious crimes. Out of the total 1984 population of the U.S.A. - 238,740,000, the percentage of juvenile delinquents (involved in the serious crimes) constitute almost 9.5% (The purpose of quoting 1984 F.B.I. Crime Report is related to the presumed age of my sample population at the time of their early criminal careers. Since the respondents were in their early 20's in 1991, the assumption was that their criminal activities as juvenile delinquents might have been formally reported around that year).

Perhaps the greatest problem with juvenile courts is the assumption of guilt in cases involving juveniles. Since the juvenile courts are officially viewed as noncriminal, the issue of criminal or delinquent culpability is not relevant. The court's function is not structured around the adversary system, with innocence or guilt to be hammered out between the prosecutor and defense counsel, as in criminal courts. Instead, under the philosophy of *parens patriae*, the court is supposed to act like a parent, and attempt to help the children who come to its attention, whether or not they are guilty of a crime. Furthermore, when we look at the actual hearings in juvenile court, we find that juvenile cases are not handled in a wise and considered manner but rather are shuffled in and out as expeditiously as possible.

Juvenile court judges, like just about everyone else in the criminal justice system, complain of an excessive volume of work. Because of the increasing number of cases they receive, they explain, there is not enough time to give each one the consideration necessary for a wise disposition (Sanders, 1976).

It is also crucial to remember, when dealing with the acuteness of the problem of juvenile delinquency, that only a small portion of juvenile delinquency is reported. A much larger part goes unreported, and some remains hidden. Parents tend to report only when they are unable to contain their children. Teachers may put up with a lot of mischief before reporting a delinquent act, so as not to get involved. Several studies have shown that many high school students committed both minor and serious delinquency without having been reported (Sandhu, 1977). About half of the juvenile offenders taken into custody are referred to the juvenile courts. Most other cases are handled within the police department, and other offenders are released. A small minority (1.4 percent of the cases) are referred to welfare agencies. About the same percentage are referred to criminal and adult courts (Sandhu, 1977).

The somehow vague and inadequately consistent approach towards under-aged involvement in criminal activity, together with the growing number of juvenile delinquents who

commit serious offenses, calls for a better integrated conceptual model, that can describe the parameters of this phenomenon, as well as provide more accurate predictions with regard to future legal and therapeutic programs.

Organized drug distribution networks

When combining Durkheim's (1958) perception of crime as a natural social activity, regarding society as inconceivable without the existence of crime, and Lippmann's (1931) view of organized criminal activity as an illegal enterprise that provides and performs services for human appetites, we can anticipate, that when a demand for illicit goods exists, an organized crime operation will emerge.

In this chapter I would like to deal with three issues that seem inherent to the above mentioned conceptual framework, which is so relevant to the present study. The three issues involved are: organized crime, networks and the scope of the demand for the "illicit goods" involved = drugs.

The scope of the drug problem in the U.S.A.

While reviewing the literature for the present study, I came upon a very powerful statement by Arnold Trebach (1987), which struck me as very relevant to the issues discussed below. Trebach claims that we are losing the great drug war because our drug laws are irrational, based upon flawed scientific assumptions and are out of touch with the desires of millions of Americans. Thus they can not be enforced, even if we ordered all three million of our military troops and civilian police officers to devote themselves exclusively to that mission. Looking upon the facts presented below it looks like we are indeed in need of some new approach in order to cope with the drug problem in the U.S.A.

Drug selling, is one of the most severely penalized crimes in U.S. history, but despite such legal sanctions, it appears to be one of the most frequently committed crimes among offenders currently incarcerated, heroin addicts on the streets, and drug abusers in treatments (Johnson et al., 1985). According to the Drug Enforcement Administration Intelligence Reports (1990) heroin consumption poses a serious danger to the United States. The Office of National

Drug Control Policy currently ranks heroin second to cocaine as the greatest drug threat to the nations. ONDCP's position is predicated on the serious social and health problems created by addiction to this narcotic drug. In addition, there is a growing concern regarding the increasing availability of high purity heroin, particularly from southeast Asia, both in the United States and abroad. Heroin is being used in conjunction with other drugs and there are alternative methods of heroin abuse, such as smoking and snorting. This form of abuse also eliminates exposure to the AIDS virus which accompanies use of contaminated needles associated with intravenous injection of heroin. This leads some drug abuse, drug intelligence, and drug enforcement experts to conclude that heroin abuse could well rise in the future. Further exacerbating the problem are historical cycles of drug abuse in the United States - patterns that suggest that stimulant abuse, such as the current cocaine/crack problems, has often been followed by a period of narcotic abuse. Unlike cocaine, heroin can be consumed over long period of time by addicts on regular maintenance doses. Heroin also offers the potential for enormous profits for the trafficker. It is very difficult to estimate the number of heroin/cocaine addicts in the United States. A disproportionate number of heroin or cocaine users are part of non-sampled populations in general

prevalence surveys. That is, there are persons with no fixed addressees, prison inmates, etc., who are not easily assessed in surveys. Estimation of the U.S. heroin/cocaine addict population is therefore extremely difficult to quantify. An attempt was undertaken by a research firm under contract to the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) to develop a statistically valid estimation. The firm was unable to develop an accurate methodology due, in part, to the difficulties cited above.

Recently, estimates were mathematically projected from data provided by the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN), a NIDA and D.E.A. project which collects information from participating U.S. hospitals on drug abuse occurrences. The data indicates that, in 1990, heroin-related hospital emergencies (46,019 mentions) stabilized at the high levels reached in 1989 (46,816 mentions), (D.E.A., Intelligence Report, 1990).

According to the National Narcotic Intelligence Consumers Committee (1989), despite record seizures during 1989, cocaine continued to be readily and widely available throughout virtually all areas of the United States. During September through December 1989, an increase in the wholesale price of cocaine was noted in some cities. The increase ranged from as low as \$1,000 to as high as \$12,500 per kilogram.

Given those facts, one hardly has to ask whether a demand for this particular service exists in our community. Obviously when the demand exists we may start looking for the organize activity that will be able to provide and supply that enormous demand, and since the human appetites in this area are enormous only an organized network can cope with that size of demand.

Theoretical and empirical definitions

Stier and Richards (1987) state that all organized crime groups evolve through one or more of the three following stages: 1) predatory, 2) parasitic, and 3) symbiotic. The predatory stage is the most violent, and its intensity is related to the degree the community's tolerance. The parasitic phase, is characterized by corruption, where the criminal enterprises can freely exploit the community they are imbedded in, as part of the illicit services delivery system. Those two stages are of particular interest to this study since their volume and intensity define to a great extent the successful implementation of the differential association theory. On

the empirical level, by exploring the two stages we can learn and predict the degree of influence adult offenders exert on the under-aged.

The empirical definitions of this study will derive primarily from organized drug distribution networks' structures, as described in the study performed by Johnson et al. (1985). Network analysis is rooted in the work of Simmel (1922), sociometric analysis (e.g., Moreno 1947), and cultural anthropology (e.g., Bott, 1957). Although it has diverse sociological applications, perhaps the most interesting work has been done in urban or community sociology (Fisher, 1982; Fisher et al., 1977; Laumann, 1973; Wellmann and Leighton, 1979). The assumptions of the network approach and its analytical applications to community structures make it a promising foundation for a theory of delinquent behavior. An excellent overview of network analysis is provided by Mitchell (1969, pp. 77:127), his working definition of a social network includes a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be use to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved. This nicely reflects the traditional concerns of network analysis with small groups studies in sociometry and anthropology. Laumann et al. (1978), proposed that a social network be defined more

generally as a set of nodes (e.g. persons, organizations) linked by a set of social relationships (e.g. friendship, transfer of funds, overlapping membership) of a specific type. Another definitions of social ties or networks is provided by Feld (1981), who sees a social network as patterns of clusters and connections among clusters, and those patterns are determined by underlying foci and individual relationships to those foci that cause the relationship among the individuals. This focused organization of social ties is important under practically all circumstances, and the nature of the foci will vary in important ways depending upon the values and activities of the group. This theory is structural rather than cognitive. One method of structural analysis is to define the extent of the social structure as the size of a relationship that exists between variables. The "focus variable" is then introduced to determine how much of the relationship is "explained". In particular, since one can treat a pair of individuals as the unit of analysis, Feld's definition can be of great relevance when we shall analyze the complexity of a drug distribution network, as based on the relationship between the adult drug dealer and the under-aged offender, who can thus constitute a unit of analysis.

Individuals are linked to their society primarily through relations with other individuals: with kin, friends,

co-workers, fellow club members, and so on. We are each the center of a web of social bonds that radiates outward to the people whom we know intimately, those whom we know well, those whom we know casually, and to the wider society beyond. These are our personal social networks. Society affects us largely through tugs on the strands of our networks, and it is by tugging at those same strands that we make our individual impacts on society - influencing other people's opinions, obtaining favors from insiders, forming action groups. According to various social network analysts, Fisher et al. (1977), in order to understand the individual in society, we need to understand the fine mesh of social relations between the person and society: that means that we must understand social networks. Thus network analysis is a form of social science research that focuses on people's social networks as a means toward understanding their behavior. Furthermore, studies of small groups have found that personal relations can influence everything from work place to moral decisions. Fisher et al. (1977), provide some critical dimensions associated with network analysis which are interesting to mention here since they will explain, in a general manner, what were the considerations taken into account while the interview outlines for the present study were first designed. Some of those dimensions describe dyadic links and they include:

multiplexity - the number of relations in a given link, symmetry - the balance of power or profit, intensity - degree of commitment in a link, (other dimensions describe the network as a whole, or the set of links, like the following)- range - number of actors connected in a network, density - the extent of interlinkage among the actors, usually expressed as the ratio of the number of existing links to the number of possible links, reachability - the average number of links needed to connect any two actors by the shortest route, and clustering - the extent to which the total network is divided into distinguishable cliques.

The two dominant social psychological perspectives on the etiology of delinquent behavior are Sutherland's (1939) differential association theory and Hirshi's (1969) social control theory. The former perspective focuses on juvenile's interaction with significant others, while the latter emphasizes the bonding of individuals to groups, institutions, goals and beliefs of conventional society. Krohn (1986), used concepts and assumptions from the network analysis literature that emphasizes the importance of both interaction and the social context in which interactional patterns are embedded to develop an alternative theoretical approach. His concepts and assumptions drawn from the network perspective generated a set of hypotheses regarding delinquent behavior. The theory maintains that the form of

social networks (network density and multiplexity) results in more or less constraint on individual behavior. With decreasing constraint, the probability of behavior that does not fall within the acceptable parameters of network increases. Based on the assumption that most foci available to adolescents are manifestly conventional, Krohn claims that the probability of delinquent behavior will be related to the number of foci over which there is network multiplexity. By aggregating the characteristics of social networks, the overall network density and multiplexity of a collectivity (e.g. neighborhood) can be determined and used to predict rates of delinquent behavior. The structural characteristics of an area affect the form of social network and, through this medium, influence the rate of delinquent behavior. Social status and area status should be related to delinquency to the extent that the characteristics of social networks are related to status dimensions.

A separate chapter is devoted to the analysis of the three main theories incorporated in the present study, I shall return and elaborate further about the importance of network analysis and its relationship to differential association and the epidemiology of crime.

Initiation to the life of crime

In this chapter I would like to explore the complexity of the relationship between the juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. The dominant theories of delinquency tend to view the delinquent as a deprived individual who engages in delinquency because of forces beyond his or her control. Robert Agnew (1990) challenged that image, arguing that though many adolescents possess resources that increase their power and autonomy, this power and autonomy may be used to reduce social control and increase illegitimate means, which in turn increase the likelihood of delinquency. However, whether or not the adolescents use their resources for delinquent ends is conditioned by several factors, most notably the adolescent's predisposition for delinquency, the benefits and costs of employing resources for delinquent ends in a particular situation, and the adolescent's perceived self-efficacy.

Richard Blum et al. (1973), believes that family features that predict illicit use and dangerous outcomes are also predictive of the risk of becoming a youthful drug dealer. The roots of dealing are deep indeed, traceable in many cases to the values, conduct, and characteristics of the parents before a child, the dealer-to-be is born. Other

roots are found in family values and conduct that are learned from parents, and from the fact that paternal problems are transmitted as well. Moreover, the combination of identifiable family features and idiosyncratic characteristics of the child can lead to an early companionship with drug using peers; to experimentation with drugs; and usually, sequentially, to greater use, the sharing and giving of drugs, and then selling of drugs. Nevertheless not all those who share or sell illicit drugs become regular dealers, only a minority do so.

Charles Faupel (1991) touched upon a question of great relevance to the present study - what comes first, criminality or drug use?. While many authors (Ball et al.; 1981, 1982, 1983; Johnson et al., 1985; Anglin and Speckart, 1986, 1988), clearly established that there is a relationship between addiction and crime throughout the careers of addicts, they did not established causality in a definitive manner. According to Faupel the ongoing debate over the causal relationship between drug use and crime fails to appreciate the dynamic character of addict careers. Faupel claims that in fact, both the "drugs cause crime" and "crime causes drugs" explanations may accurately explain the drugs-crime connection. Thus whether first or second of the above explanations is the right one, we must look at the different periods in an addict's career. When approaching

addiction as a career we may then conceptualize about the nature of addict criminality.

To understand fully the problems of the issue involved two sides must be considered - the adult offender and the under-aged, - and a further empirical analysis of the present study will attempt to link these two sides, to eventually identify a path of initiation into a criminal career.

The (adult) manipulator - potential gains and ideology

As previously mentioned, drug selling appears to be one of the most frequently committed crimes among offenders currently incarcerated, heroin addicts on the streets, and drug abusers in treatment. According to most researchers the same persons who tend to sell drugs, also use them quite frequently, and the earnings from the dealings are generally used to support their drug consumption (Johnson et al., 1985).

In a six year study of criminally active drug abusers recruited from the streets of Central and East Harlem, Johnson et al. (1985), found that despite all the efforts

and skills directed towards the drug business, most of the respondents lived at or below the poverty level. The same respondents could probably live a comfortable, low-income existence on their average annual income, but most lived considerably below the poverty line because they spent so much on drugs.

On the other hand, as stated before a tremendous profit can be generated from the drug trafficking. As shown in Appendix B, cited in the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Intelligence Special Report - "From the source to the street; Mid - 1990 prices for Cannabis, Cocaine, and Heroin", the temptation is enormous.

In a study conducted between the years 1968 to 1971 Richard Blum (Blum et al., 1972) interviewed several thousand nonincarcerated drug dealers in the Bay Area of San Francisco. Among those identified during over two years of field work 480 constituted the sample for his final analysis. The dealers ranged in age from 12 to 70 years old. The histories of the dealers show that nearly all (466 of 480) were themselves involved in illicit drug use; that the majority of dealers have at one time or another used a variety of psychoactive substances; that some dealers decrease their drug use as they grow older, whereas others continue to use at least some potent substances with increasing frequency. During the interviews inquiries were

made into the circumstances of initiation and development of illicit use and dealing itself. It was very rare to find (in 2% of cases only) for a younger person to introduce an older one to drugs. This higher status older age variable has been observed before in drug initiation (Blum et al., 1964).

Another study by Cheryl Carpenter et al. (1988), found a distinct sense of relationships between adolescent dealers and their suppliers, among the 100 respondents from the Yule City high school population. The analysis suggested that there were two sources for drugs - 1) an older, more established dealer outside the adolescent's school, social community and neighborhood, or 2) a friend in his or her network of friends who essentially acted as middleman in the deal and passed the drugs (with or without commission) to the adolescent to sell. The adult suppliers who lived in Yule City generally sold to youths who bought large amounts for resale to other youths.

Given the above facts in addition to the obviously existing ability to look for new income resources, it is reasonable to assume that the adult drug dealers may perceive the under-aged youth, in their neighborhoods, as potential resources that can generate additional, substantial income. The appealing factor about those adolescents as potential workers is the relatively low wages

that can be offered for the services performed, and full or partial immunity from the law, which adds to their potential use and effectiveness.

The (under aged) manipulated - chances to resist
and survive

Many people are concerned about drug use and traffic and about individuals who sustain it, the drug dealers. The growth of illicit drug use, especially among children and young people, demonstrates that traditional approaches and institutions designed to prevent dealing cannot be functioning too well. Little information is available about who is dealing, how they become dealers, and what business practices emerge as a person becomes involved in the dealing life. We also have little information on the etiology of those adolescent or childhood propensities to illicit drug use, which when pursued, lead to psychoactive drug - taking and to becoming a member of drug-taking groups (Blum, 1973).

The frequency and nature of delinquent behavior committed by adolescents never arrested or committed to institutions has been regarded by criminologists as an

important but unknown dimension of delinquent behavior. The informed layman also is aware that only a portion of delinquent behavior is followed by arrest and conviction; further, that conviction, and committal to correctional institutions is much more likely to follow delinquent behavior if the adolescent is from the "wrong side of the tracks". The picture of delinquent behavior obtained from official records only, and particularly the punitive action of the courts, is known to be incomplete and seriously biased (Short and Nye, 1958).

In order to establish whether or not the actual problem of under-aged drug dealers is actually as acute as this study suggests, following are some excerpts from the New York Times newspaper, as published in 1989. I assume that the excerpts can speak for themselves and illuminate some of the problematic issues involved in the study.

During 1989, a 14 year old and 10 year old were arrested in Suffolk County, New York, for allegedly selling crack from the back of a motorcycle (Jan. 21, 1989). 11 year old boy was arrested in Bronx school with a bag containing 411 vials of crack with the street value of \$8,000 (Feb. 1, 1989). Nassau County police arrested two 13 year-old boys for selling crack, along with their two adult customers (Feb. 4, 1989). Drug trade is flourishing in Washington D.C., in large stretches of the capital, dealers

some as young as 14, are only ones with money (Apr. 2, 1989). Social scientists report children are taking over as heads of families because of their incomes from selling crack (Aug. 11, 1989). 14 year old boy was arrested on drug charges in New Haven, Connecticut, after police found him carrying \$50,000 worth of pure cocaine (Aug. 23, 1989). In Mount Vernon, NY, police say a 5 year old boy was used as drug runner by a cousin who was his baby sitter (Sep. 15, 1989). 14 year old marijuana peddler - Preston (Little Man) Simmons who was shot and killed - executed in the courtyard of his housing project in Bronx (Nov. 29, 1989).

It is not possible to evaluate the above reported facts in statistical or scientific terms that could be valuable or significant to my research but it can definitely provide some validation to the view that under-aged participation is widespread.

Arrests for felony charges involving crack continue to represent about half the arrests for all drug felonies in New York City. Youth under the age of 21 years, are well represented in these numbers. Youth account for about 24 percent of these arrests for crack felonies compared to 16 percent of arrests for all other drug felonies (Webb et al., 1991).

In comparison to the age of first cocaine use (Appendix C), the initiation of heroin use usually takes place at an earlier age among those admitted for treatment (Appendix D). For instance, 23 percent of primary heroin admissions over the past few years report starting their heroin use at 15 years of age or younger, compared to 13 percent of primary cocaine admissions (Webb et al., 1991).

In the study mentioned before (Blum et al., 1972), it was found that youngsters who begin illicit use in their teens would also meet drug dealers during the same period (70% of the sample's population has done so by age 18 - the sample consisted of 480 drug dealers). These first met dealers were described as friends or acquaintances; only 6 percent were strangers. The first transaction with a dealer was, for most (73%), a later and different event than the first drug use. Even so, even that first transaction with a known drug dealer occurred within the framework of a social rather than a commercial (profit-making) activity; for 62% stated that the drugs provided by the dealer on that occasion were a gift or were shared by a dealer. The next step in career development was their own first illicit distribution of a drug. Again, the specific transaction was not likely to be a strictly commercial one. As in initiation into use, so in their becoming drug distributors, the occasion was social, a party, for 75% of these users

turning dealers. An inquiry into the further development of their careers uncovered a fairly similar pattern. They sought to expand their income by getting more customers. Then, primarily through their drug-using friends and acquaintances, they learned of new and varied sources of supplies for their own trade; and they established a pricing mechanism. The importance of this study to my design is in the description of the "tutelage" process. One fifth of the respondents mentioned "tutelage" in the sense that they sought or received advice or instruction from others, in for example learning security methods - taking necessary precautions to prevent arrest. 63% of the respondents mentioned their first drug supplier as a helpful associate who helped them to solve or prevent problems associated with drug dealing. Thus, about one quarter of the dealers had something like an apprenticeship, within which they learned techniques from their first dealer-supplier.

On the theoretical level, social learning theories view the initiation and maintenance of both conforming and deviant behavior as depending upon anticipated rewards and punishments for the behavior, and the perceived rewards and punishments associated with alternative behavior. These expectations are based upon earlier observed outcomes of this behavior and the conditions associated with various outcomes. Thus the decision to engage in either one of the

behaviors is viewed as a result of a differential social reinforcement (Elliott et al., 1985).

The social groups that provide reinforcement for delinquent behavior, offer a setting in which attitudes, motives, and rationalizations that tolerate or encourage delinquency are learned (Sutherland, 1947). One of the aims of this study is to understand the process of reinforcement for the delinquent behavior, as offered by the adult offenders group. The rewards and reinforcements promised to the under-aged, in view of other alternatives, are the crucial factors in the successful initiation into the criminal activity. As mentioned before, Robert Agnew (1990) analyzed the relation between resources and delinquency among adolescents differing in their predisposition for delinquency. He found that many adolescents possess resources that provide them with power and autonomy, which may be of a material or nonmaterial nature. The resources include money, automobiles, physical attractiveness, physical size and strength, intelligence, creativity, knowledge, legitimacy, friends, and a wide assortment of skills such as fighting ability. These resources are most likely to lead to delinquency when adolescents are predisposed to delinquency, are in situations in which the benefits of delinquency are high and the costs are low, and are high in perceived self-efficacy.

The other aspect of crucial importance is alternative reinforcements as provided by other social groups, like family, school, law enforcement, etc. The existence or lack of this "counter-factor" and the intensity of influence it exerts on the under-aged, is the key factor in understanding the process of their recruitment into the organized criminal activity, or the available chances to resist and survive.

Chapter III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Historical aspects

To understand in full the acute need for more and better research in the field of juvenile delinquency, one must be familiar with modern concepts of childhood, as they have been evolving since the sixteenth century. Those concepts are, to a great extent, responsible for the lack of adequate and relevant policy approaches directed towards the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

According to those concepts (Skolnick 1973), children go through several stages of development which require that their entrance into full adulthood be postponed until their twenties or even later. Throughout the various stages of development, children are qualitatively different from adults: they play and are irresponsible, they are emotional

and irrational, and so on. Until their full emotional, moral, physical, and rational skills are cultivated, children should be quarantined from adult voices, activities, and responsibilities. Though this quarantine may be reduced gradually as children proceed through the developmental process, it should not be lifted entirely until adulthood has been achieved (Shichor and Kelly, 1980).

The school attendance and child labor laws of the late nineteenth century, as well as the creation of the juvenile court, represented an embodiment of these assumptions in the legal as well as the cultural fabric of the society (Shichor and Kelly, 1980).

The *parens patrie* legal philosophy governing the central structure of the juvenile court developed in the early part of the twentieth century as part of a progressive platform to assure the overall social welfare for children (Rothman, 1980). Rejecting the idea that children should be an integral part of the criminal court system (Sobie, 1981), this judicial model fundamentally assumed that the interests of the child, the state and the family were identical, and thus statutory protection of juvenile rights was unnecessary.

For over sixty years, juvenile courts operated upon the assumption that they could prevent delinquency by acting in a paternalistic way. Their principal focus was not on the

factual issue of whether or not the juvenile actually committed the crime, but on what is the best way to change attitudes and correct unlawful behaviors (Shichor and Kelly, 1980).

Today, instead of assuming a preventive role, the juvenile court is expected to model itself after the adult criminal court. Rather than informal and uncensored inquiry into juvenile offenders' history and backgrounds, it concentrate to the charges against them, warn them of their rights, and referee the adversary procedures conducted by prosecution and defense. It has become a more legalistic machine, and not a supposed preventer of future criminal acts (Shichor and Kelly, 1980).

From that brief review of attitudes towards the juvenile delinquents, it becomes apparent that very little understanding has been gained of the initiation process of under-aged to a life of crime. Historically, theorists looked upon juvenile delinquents as irrational (or prerational) and incapable of responsible behavior. In viewing delinquency in this way, theorists decriminalized juvenile criminal activity by effectively shifting responsibilities from the actors to external factors and parameters. On the other hand, the outcome of the legalistic juvenile court's attitude is exactly the same; once again there is little interest in the process that

initiated the delinquent behavior, hence nothing or very little is done in terms of providing mechanisms that can effectively reduce the crime rates.

Previous empirical studies on models

When searching for previous empirical studies pertaining to this research, I found numerous studies in the field of juvenile delinquency, that utilized various theories. However, it was difficult to find a study that integrated three theories together with empirical design. The following positions seemed to me as close as possible to my present study, while each of them examines at least one of the aspects researched in my design, thus each of them have at least some relevance to the subject.

There is substantial evidence that delinquent youths are exposed to more modeling of delinquency from their friends and more social approval for delinquent acts from the immediate family members, than are nondelinquent youths (Hirschi, 1969; Elliott, 1961; Gold, 1970; Johnson, 1979; Kandell et al., 1978; Akers et al., 1979; Reiss and Rhodes, 1964, to mention only a few). Among the studies which dealt

with both differential association theory in general and drug use and trafficking worth mentioning in our context are those mentioned below.

A study was conducted by Thomas Winfree et al. (1989), dealing with social learning theory and drug use among the American Indians. This study provided a multicultural test of selected constructs drawn from a single contemporary theory of delinquency, namely social learning theory. It explored the predictive utility of selected aspects of social learning theory, using two ethnically unique groups of youths living close to one another. The aim of the study was to provide an insight into the extent to which ethnic and cultural variability is accommodated within the conceptual framework of this view of youthful behavior. The basic question that the study addresses is "How universal are contemporary theories of crime and delinquency?" One of the sub groups in the study consisted of members of a single American Indian tribe and the other sub group was composed of indigenous Caucasians. In the case of alcohol use they found ethnic-specific differences for the performance of the variables drawn from social learning theory. In the case of marijuana use, the social learning variables performed similarly for both groups. Finally, the social learning theory variables performed in virtually identical fashion for the use of both alcohol and marijuana by Caucasians;

differential association provided the strongest direct ties in each case. The above study confirms and extends social learning theory. It confirms that theory in that the constructs and variables derived from social learning approach operative largely as anticipated. It also extended our understanding of the relative importance of different social learning constructs. The fact that differential and variables sources of learning are accommodated within the general constructs of social learning theory is not insignificant; it speaks to the power of the theory.

A study by Patricia and Peter Adler (1982), about the social organization of illicit drug transactions and the relationship between the dealers caught my eye due to the process through which the data for that study was gathered. The data was gathered through a combination of observations and intensive interviewing. They observed 65 drug dealers, ranging from mid level operators to importers, with concentration on those at the highest level of the hierarchy. Despite the fact that with a few exceptions all of the respondents were white Americans in the 25 - 40 age group, (characteristics not exactly comparable with my research population), its findings were significant for my research design. Like other groups characterized by deviant peer associations, drug dealers and smugglers share their participation in the illegal act. Drug trafficking is by

its very nature, social, requiring cooperation and contact with at least two other parties: a supplier and a purchaser. The combined efforts of both connections and close associates such as partners can enhance individuals' opportunities, supplementing their weakness with complimentary capital, knowledge and talents. Such shared participation also ensures a certain amount of companionship, creating an overlap between members, business and social activities. Those peer relationships who were also characterized by a peer subculture, were, according to the findings of the study, transmitted to new members upon entry, via differential association. Would-be dealers and smugglers had to learn the jargon, norms, values and rules of etiquette surrounding drug transactions before they could be accepted as bona fide members of the setting. Inherent in this subculture were criteria for stratification, separating operators according to their dealer styles and, to a lesser extent, by their levels of transacting. Dealing associations, like other peer relations, thus ranged along a continuum from stable to fleeting, sometimes lasting for years, while in other cases they formed only to dissolve the instant the deal was completed.

In a study conducted by Jeffrey Fagan (1988) in several Chicago neighborhoods which investigated the social organization of drug use and drug dealing among urban gangs,

the findings pointed out to role learning in drug selling at the entry level jobs for adolescents at the early stages of gang affiliation. These findings were consistent with Moore's (1978) study which observed the older gang members as holding the more important roles in directing drug trafficking activities, thus posing as role models for the young apprentices.

Additional research designed to test differential association has had mixed results. In a self-report survey of juvenile drug use, the researchers found that the reason most often given by juveniles for trying illegal drugs was the desire to be "in" with their peers (Bowers and White, 1974). Similarly, in another self report survey of high school students, it was found that almost 99% of those who smoked marijuana had a close friend who had used the drug (Sanders, 1970).

Unfortunately, none of these studies, addressed directly the influence of adult offenders in recruitment of the juveniles. The only study which dealt with that issue was D. Bracey's (1979) work on young prostitutes in New York City which touched on the role that adult pimps played in recruiting young girls. This study was valuable as it pertains to my design in its discussion of the procedures used by the adult offenders in attracting the under-aged to the deviant behavior.

Information on crime rate among youths (which integrate testing of theoretical models) in the United States come primarily from studies based on the data from Elliott and Hunziga's (1984) National Youth Survey, which was initiated in June of 1975 with a five year grant. The focus of this study was on the epidemiology of delinquent behavior in the American youth population and tested a new integrated theory of delinquency. The test of the theoretical model used longitudinal data from two additional annual youth surveys (1978 and 1979). The explanatory model included the synthesis of traditional strain, social control, and social learning perspective as a single paradigm to account for delinquent behavior and drug use. The integration took place at an individual level, providing an explanation for how individuals become involved in delinquent acts. The dependent variable in this causal model was the variation in individual rates of crime (Elliott et al., 1985). This study, together with Johnson, Wish and Hunziga's (1983) study in which they used the National Youth Survey data to assess how rates of juvenile crime change according to the level of drug use and offender type, provided me with the framework in designing my own model.

Johnson et al. (1985), six year study in which investigators conducted interviews with hundreds of criminally active drug abusers recruited from the streets of

Central and East Harlem contributed to the design of my interview outlines. The study contains many relevant questions pertaining to the structure of drug distribution networks, recruitment procedures.

Cheryl Carpenter et al., in a more recent study (1988), studied characteristics of adolescent drug dealers in Yule City. Intensive interviews of large number of high school students were conducted during the period from June 1981 to June 1982. 700 youth were interviewed. The research plan was to focus mainly on youth who were seriously delinquent and routine drug users and to include a comparison group of less deviant youth. The final limited resources of the study made it necessary to limit the sample of analysis to 100 youths. This study was of interest to me due to the fact that both the sample size, and the control group were similar to my design, in quantity and in theme. Among the respondents, virtually all sellers were users of a wide variety of substances. The level of their dealing varied significantly, from those who sold drugs a few times to those who engaged in a more structural activity. The respondents themselves differentiated between selling and dealing. Drugs were frequently "fronted" or given on "credit" by a higher level dealer to the retail dealer, who had to return an agreed amount of money. Many retail dealers sold drugs without significant cash profit in order

to gain "free" drugs for themselves. The most heavily involved dealers, however, sold drugs for a distinct profit in either cash or future credit in drugs. The study supports also one of the theories included in my research - the epidemiology of crime, since it found that with a few exceptions, nearly all selling occurred within a loosely structured circle of friends, relatives, friends of friends, and acquaintances who were considered trustworthy.

Goode's (1970) description of marijuana selling and Waldrorf et al. (1977) descriptions of cocaine dealing provided the best ethnographic accounts of drug selling. They found little evidence of a non-using drug dealer who sells to youth for profit only. The findings are consistent with my hypothesis that the under-aged will be exposed to drug use by the older dealers, as a part of the overall process. As found by Adler and Adler (1982), even the high level importers and wholesale distributors are heavy drug users. A user quickly discovers that selling drugs is an easy way to obtain that drug "for free" (that is with no cash outlay by the user - dealer). These studies support my hypothesis of additional incentive, for loyalty and efficiency in conducting their criminal procedure.

A very interesting study pertaining to the epidemiology of crime was conducted by Fischer (1975, 1984). Eleven hypotheses concerning individual behavior derived from his

subcultural theory, linking size-of-place, sub-cultural development, and unconventional behavior. Data from a three - state survey was used to test the derived hypotheses. The findings were mixed, which suggests that the theory has merit but that it is too general and should be refined to specify the conditions under which various effects are most likely. The results suggest that a refinement must confront the following realities: the size of the population is not necessarily predictive of high probabilities of all kind of deviance; all deviance is not subculturally linked and subcultures and subcultural involvement are not necessarily concentrated in larger places. Nevertheless, when subcultural involvement is strong, it exercises great influence on behavior (Tittle, 1989).

According to Fischer (1975, 1984), any population will contain some individuals with specialized and/or unconventional interests and life-styles. However, it is only when a population is large, and concentrated that the possibility exists of complete social relationships among many individuals with similar but specialized or unconventional interests. Urbanism leads to subcultural development by providing the "critical-mass" that enables scattered individuals with similar but specialized interests to associate together to form subcultural groupings. But because urban locales spawn many such subcultures, each must

compete for distinctiveness, thereby leading to intensification of its central elements and to greater in-group cohesion. Simultaneously, however, the interaction of diverse subculture cause diffusion of elements of each subculture into other subcultures as well as into main - stream reservoir of cultural elements. The result is higher rates of unconventionality in larger places and an ultimate diffusion of such conventionality to smaller places (Tittle, 1989).

A multivariate analysis of social bonding theory of delinquency which included a comparison by rural - urban locations was conducted by Gardner and Shoemaker (1989). Findings indicate the social learning appears to be a stronger explanation of delinquency among rural youth, although lack of social bonding is also strongly implicated in delinquency committed by urban youth. The study also found positive association between attachment to peers and delinquency, for both communities, and a strong racial influence on the connection between delinquency and social bonding. This racial influence appeared to operate independently of type of community. The later aspect of the study seemed of particular interest to me, since one set of my variables includes the racial influence on delinquency.

A primary objective of the juvenile court is to prevent the juvenile from being labeled a criminal by society which

may lead him to perceive himself as criminal (Illinois Juvenile Court Act, 1975). But, research on delinquency leads one to believe that the juvenile court have been unsuccessful in attempting to prevent the individual from obtaining a "spoiled " identity. A study by D. Bliss (1977) attempted to determine if a significant difference in self-concept exists among institutionalized delinquents, on probation, and a control group of non-delinquents in a small midwestern community, with a population of approximately 40,000. An attempt was made to match the age, race, sex, and social class composition of these groups. The sample size for delinquents in detention (Group I) was 29, for delinquents on probation (Group II) was 27, and for non-delinquents (Group III) was 56. The findings indicate that delinquents in detention and probationers view themselves in much the same way that society sees them. The self-concept of Group II was less favorable than Group III. They see themselves more as undesirable people, as they do not like or respect themselves as much as the non-delinquents. A major shortcoming of this study was the lack of a defined time sequence. It was impossible to determine whether a youth's negative self concept or self definition as delinquent preceded or followed his initial labeling as a delinquent. Unless his self- conception changed after his first encounter with the law, one cannot

attribute the effect on labeling. The delinquency may have resulted from an already existent inadequate self-concept.

Since one of my hypothesis deals specifically with the issue of self-concept, as shaped at least partially by labeling theory, I found few additional empirical studies in that area, in order to find more support for my assumptions. A longitudinal study by Ageton and Elliott (1973) provides some input on the issue of self-concept. They interviewed 2,617 youths in eight California secondary schools, once, annually from the ninth through twelfth grades. The results indicate that over a four-year period, a youth's self-concept was influenced by whether he had been caught by the police rather than by whether he and his friends had ever done anything wrong.

An understanding of the delinquents' self-concept makes their behavior more understandable and a variety of behaviors can be predicted from self-concept. It is possible that much of the delinquents' negative behavior is a result of the negative views they hold about themselves. It is apparent that no permanent changes in behavior will be accomplished unless they are also helped to improve their self-image. With the exception of the reciprocity in Kaplan's theory (1975), the models of the relationship between the self-concept and delinquency have

treated the self concept as an independent variable with behavior as the dependent variable (Barton, 1985).

H. Kaplan (1975) in his study of self-attitude and deviant behavior as viewed from the perspective of both the person and his membership group with regard to the stabilization of deviant patterns, states that from the point of view of the emerging theoretical model, the social structural variables subsumed under the "labeling" or "societal reaction" perspective might influence the adoption of deviant patterns. This can happen by either making the adoption of such patterns so apparently costly to his self-esteem that the person declines these potential routes to self-enhancement, or alternatively, might effectively insulate the deviant from further normative influences (by severe reactions to initial deviance) so that the only apparently open route to self-enhancement is through commitment to, and effective performance of deviant roles. The satisfaction gained from avoidance of participation in the group would be increased by virtue of the fact that the person was also removed from very experiences that led the genesis of negative self-attitudes and hence, to the predisposition to deviant modes of adaptation.

In 1964 Michael Schwartz and Sandra Tangri asked sixth-grade teachers in an inner-city, all Black schools in the highest delinquency area of Detroit to nominate "good" and

"bad" boys; i.e., to designate which boys they felt would never have police or court contact and which boys they felt sure would have such contacts. These nominations were checked with police and court records. They sought to determine whether a group of nominated "good" boys and a group of nominated "bad" boys can be distinguished in terms of the quality of self-concept. The phrases to be rated were, "I am"; "My friends think I am", "My mother thinks I am"; and "My teacher thinks I am". The data indicated that the "bad boys" do have a more negative self-concept than the "good boys". This supports the notion that two such nominated groups do have different qualities of self-concept.

D. Craven's (1987) dissertation thesis, which tests the adolescent peer group influence in the production of juvenile delinquency, provided me with an additional example of a successful integration of the three theories. Despite the fact that the design studied peer influence and its findings were concentrated on this particular group, I found it applicable in designing a model that would test the adult offender's influence on juvenile delinquents, because of the factors and variables it tested.

Finally, to conclude this part of empirical research review, a very interesting and mostly relevant study from the point of view of my research, is the Brown et al.'s,

(1989) study of adjudicated delinquents and how to they view their problems in retrospect. I would like to elaborate a little bit more on that particular study since it was the only one that used the retrospective-descriptive technique, I used in my research. This study concerns the responses of 273 adjudicated delinquents to a questionnaire follow up 10 to 25 years after their original adjudication as delinquent children by the juvenile courts. 273 individuals out of total 1,000 were contacted by letter or telephone, satisfactorily filled out respondent questionnaires or furnished the information necessary to complete them. The assumption was that there will be some inaccuracy and bias in the responses. The time-span was too long to assume that memory will result in many high accuracy of detail, but not so long that the emotional tone associated with memories have entirely faded out. However, the researchers believed that these recollections are of interest and use in understanding delinquents and their reactions. The 273 adjudicated delinquents ranged in age from 6 to 17 at first contact with the juvenile justice system. All subjects were adjudicated delinquent by juvenile courts during the years 1960-1975. They found out that 48% committed the first delinquent act between the age 7 to 12. It is interesting that of the 137 who said that they committed their first delinquent or criminal act before their 13th birthday, 68%

went on to adult conviction, compared to 44% of 141 who said their first delinquent or criminal act was after their 13th birthday. It appears the younger the age at which delinquent acts begin, the less favorable the prognosis for avoiding a criminal conviction in adult life. Perhaps the most striking contrast of those who did not go on to adult convictions and those who did, were the responses to questions about drugs or alcohol. In retrospect at least, the use of illegal drugs and alcohol are highly unfavorable signs, if reported as a problem in childhood, and especially for those who said they committed delinquent or criminal acts to get drugs or alcohol. The relevance of the above study to my research is obvious since one of its main recommendations, related to the outcome of my study, is the crucial importance, early entrance into the criminal activity, as it bears on future criminal career as an adult. Farrington (1986) reported that an early age of onset seems to be followed by a long criminal career, though he didn't find enough evidence to determine whether it is followed by a higher incidence. This was in accordance with the report by Wolfgang, Thornberry, and Figlio (1987), who found that delinquents who begin early tend to accumulate a lengthy career that carries over into adult years. Moreover, these adult offenders tend to commit more serious crime with repetition. An earlier study, by Jenkins et al. (1942),

based on a research conducted over 50 years ago, reported that the younger a child was at first court appearance for delinquency and the younger at admission to a training school, the greater the likelihood he would be committed to an adult correctional institution.

It is often argued that intervention efforts can benefit from the early identification of children at risk for antisocial disorders. Little is known, however, about the predictive efficacy of early measures. An interesting study conducted by White et al. (1990), examined the predictive power of a variety of characteristics of the preschool child for antisocial outcome at ages 11 and 15. The subjects were 1,037 members of a longitudinal investigation of a New Zealand birth cohort. Having preschool behavior problems was the single best predictor of antisocial disorders at age 11.

Additional considerable evidence exists to support the view that recidivistic criminal behavior in adults is often preceded by a history of antisocial behavior during childhood and adolescence (Kazdin, 1987; Robins, 1978). Some studies have shown that antisocial behavior is remarkably consistent overtime (Moffitt, 1990; Olweus, 1979). These studies suggest that intervention efforts may be more effective when waged as early as possible.

As presented above, there are numerous empirical researches that provided me with validations for my hypotheses, and despite the fact that none of the above dealt specifically with all the specific issues of my concern, it is reasonable to assume that more validation and support is needed to test the applicability of the theories involved.

Chapter IV

THEORIES

Delinquency theory must come to terms with empirical studies of causation and with existential studies of delinquents in situ. The three are closely related. Existential studies provide insight into both the forms of delinquency and its causal matrix, and causal studies suggest both the relevant context and lawful regularities in the nature of delinquency. The quest for a sophisticated, general theory of delinquency is at a cross-roads. Delinquency can be looked at from several different perspectives. It can be viewed theoretically: what are the conceptual dimensions of delinquency, and how can these dimensions be organized logically to explain it? It can be also viewed causally: what are the socio-psychological antecedents that lead up to delinquency? And it can be considered existentially: what "real life" combinations of processes and events are likely (or

unlikely) to lead to delinquency? After these questions, a fourth become important: how do these several distinct ways of viewing delinquency relate to one another? The theoretical approach seeks to identify the essential process of delinquency and their logical implications, apart from specific individuals or groups. The essential processes that underlie delinquency are themselves arranged in levels of systems that are not logically unitary. There are as many distinct explanations of delinquency as different theoretical levels. Theoretical studies try to fit into a broad network of nomothetic meaning, in comparison to causal studies which attempt to find its place in a broader system of natural processes. Theoretical studies are essential for identifying the underlying nature of delinquency; they aim at understanding and explaining delinquency, while the ultimate objective of causal studies is prediction (Ferdinand, 1987).

The influence which the social groups and conditions exert on juveniles in generating and supporting delinquent behavior is widely acknowledged in various sociological theories. In order for any to account adequately for juvenile delinquency it must meet three criteria. First, the theory must explain the patterns of delinquency. Secondly, it must explain why any single individual comes to engage in delinquency. Thirdly, it must come to terms with

the sociological process of criminalization. Although all three criteria are met by a combination of the three theories, no single theory satisfies all three (Sanders, 1976). The basic theoretical approach of this study is to test the differential association socialization models against labelling and ecology of crime relative models.

Differential Association

According to various social learning theories (Sutherland, 1978; Burgess and Akers, 1966; Bandura, 1969, 1977) both delinquent and normative behaviors are outcomes of variation in the socialization process.

One of the most carefully formulated statements of the nature and effect of environmental group influence on the individual is that by E.H. Sutherland; it is usually referred to as the differential association theory of criminality (Vold, 1979).

The present version of the theory has been unchanged since 1947, and consists of nine following points:

- 1) Criminal behavior is learned;

- 2) Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication;
 - 3) The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups;
 - 4) When a criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes: a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple; b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes;
 - 5) The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable;
 - 6) A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions unfavorable to violation of law;
 - 7) Differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity;
 - 8) The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anticriminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning;
 - 9) While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values
- (Vold, 1979, pp 236-237).

The most serious critique of the differential association theory is concerned with the learning process, which by itself was not clearly defined, and is difficult to test with replication studies. Since it overemphasizes personal associations to the exclusion of secondary influences in the learning process, it seems important to try and test this primarily mental phenomena in an empirical study, which considers, as well, other factors and parameters in the pursue for a more feasible explanation to the question; why do juvenile engage in the criminal activity in the first place, and why do they continue to follow this career path?

Sutherland (1978), himself, considered returning to multiple causation and abandoning the attempt to explain all criminal behavior by means of one theory only.

Burgers and Akers (1966) attempted to reinforce differential association theory, by dealing specifically with three aspects of deviant behavior simultaneously, though acknowledging that these should be separated. First issue was, how does an individual become delinquent, or how does he learn delinquent behavior? Second, what sustains this delinquent behavior? And third question, what sustains the pattern or contingency of reinforcement? Some possible variables - structural factors such as level of deprivation of a particular group with regard to important social

reinforcements, and the lack of effective reinforcement of lawful behavior. Also, those behaviors which do result in reinforcement may, themselves, gain reinforcement value and be enforced by the members of the group through the manipulation of various forms of social reinforcement such as social approval and status, contingent upon such behaviors. In short new norms may develop and these may be termed delinquent by the larger society.

Labeling Theory

It is not easy for a traditional student of delinquency to approach labeling theory with an open mind. Labeling theorists are not kind to the traditional approach: they typically begin with a flat denial of the validity of most of the research the traditional approach has produced; in most cases, they do not hesitate to infer and condemn the values and politics of their opponents. They typically insist on confusing a description of a set of conditions with approval of these conditions. Further, and perhaps worst of all, labeling theorists often appear with little effort to have won the battle (Hirschi, 1980). Furthermore,

Edwin Lemert (1976, p. 244) may have stated the case best when he noted that "labeling theory seems to be largely an invention of its critics", and among them Gove (1980), Wellford (1975), Hirschi (1975, 1980), Tittle (1975).

The labeling theory took its name from the Greek word "stigma" (label). The Greeks originated the term "stigma" to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. Today it is more applied to the disgrace itself, than to the bodily evidence of it, constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and social identity. In a group of individuals who share some values and achieve to a set of social norms regarding conduct and regarding personal attributes, one can refer to any individual member who does not adhere to the norms as a deviator, and to his peculiarity as a deviation. There are three kinds of stigma: physical deformities, blemishes of individual character and tribal stigma or race, nation, religion. We (those who do not depart negatively from particular expectations) believe that a person with stigma is not quite human, and on this assumption we exercise varieties of discriminations through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly reduce a person's life chances. We construct a stigma theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the damage he represents, sometimes

rationalizing an animosity based on other differences such as social class (Goffman, 1963).

According to E. Durkheim (1960) and E. Goffman (1963), some people are viewed as criminals because a collective definition is attached to them, and not because of any intrinsic quality attributable to the acts they are engaged in.

E. Lemert (1967) divided labeling theory into two phases of: a) primary deviance, which may cause someone to be labelled as a deviant, and b) secondary deviance, which is the behavior produced by being placed in a deviant role. Primary deviation assumed to arise in a wide variety of social, cultural and psychological contexts, and at best has only marginal implications for the psychic structure of the individual; it does not lead to symbolic reorganization at the level of self-regarding attitude and social roles. Secondary deviation is deviant behavior or social roles based upon it, which becomes a means of defense, attack or adaptation to the overt and covert problems created by the societal reaction to the primary deviation. People may for a time occasionally engage in deviant behavior for a variety of reasons, and still be viewed by the others and themselves as basically "normal". However, if societal reaction to people's behavior becomes severe enough, they may be labelled by others and by themselves as deviant persons -

because they have been publicly defined as abnormal, they may have no other alternatives than to take on the deviant role as the basis for organizing their lives. At this point their deviation becomes secondary (Goffman, 1963).

H. Becker (1963) sees deviance not as a quality of the act a person commits, but rather as a consequence of the application by the others of rules and sanctions to an offender. The deviant status obtained thus by "so labelled" tends to exhibit a "master status" quality. It overrides all other statuses and have a special priority (Becker, 1963).

Becker's followers tend to express even more extreme views; accordingly the process of making a criminal, is a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious, it becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing and evoking the vary traits that are complained of (Traub and Little, 1980).

W. Gove (1977), who on the other hand represents the positivistic trend in labeling theories, states that deviant labels are primarily a consequence of deviant behavior and deviant labels are not prime cause of deviant careers.

To conclude, it can be said that labeling theories concentrate not so much on the criminal, as on the audience - the audience who labels and defines "the criminal". These

theories are based mainly on two concepts, or rather two models; the conflict model, which emphasizes the two groups in conflict, the group with the power (to define) and the group without the power (the defined one). On the other hand there is the consensus model, based on the assumption of the middle class value system, as preserved by the middle class society, and whoever breaks those values and norms becomes deviant.

According to the 17th century Puritans' readings of the Bible, there were only two important classes of people on earth - those who had been elected to everlasting life and those who had been consigned for ever to hell. These decisions of course, had been made before the people affected by them were born, and nothing they did in the course of their lives would have any influence on the outcome (Erikson, 1966).

Juvenile delinquency appears in many ways to provide an ideal setting for application of labelling notions. Delinquents are, after all, young and therefore presumably impressionable; in dealing with them, the agents of the state have, in comparison with adult criminals, a relatively free hand. And so on. Yet labeling theory appears to be off the mark on almost every aspect of delinquency it is asked to predict and explain (Hirschi, 1980). Perhaps it is because by and large, types of deviation that tend not to be

repeated or to undergo elaboration are difficult to explain in labeling term, and delinquency is such a deviation (Schur, 1977). But, according to Hirschi (1980) it is because labeling theory has prospered in an atmosphere of contempt for the results of careful research, and such research is now retaining the compliment.

The labeling theory of deviance was extremely popular during the 1960s and 1970s. After a series of influential critiques, however, the validity of the theory had fallen into question by 1980 and was pronounced dead by 1985. Yet in 1989 R. Paternoster and L. Iovanni (1989) attempted to assess the labeling perspective on delinquency once again and its particular application in the area of juvenile delinquency. They claim that for the most part, empirical tests of labeling prepositions have been conducted with grossly misrepresented hypotheses that are more caricature than characteristics of the theory. As far as juvenile delinquency is concern, labeling theory and research in this area as well as critics' reaction to both, parallel the developments in juvenile delinquency. Critics, and those who work with and in the area of juvenile delinquency have understood the labeling perspective poorly and as a result have dismissed it prematurely. In an extensive elaboration of the full complexity of each labeling hypothesis, Paternoster and Iovanni call for more empirical research to

test it, together with an extent review of literature. They suggest that the labelling theory is not so invalid as its critics have claimed, and that what is needed is a restatement and revitalization of the theory. As far as juvenile delinquency is concerned they offer a status characteristic hypothesis stating that given the occurrence of a deviant action (delinquency) the decision of organizational agents to sanction officially (to label) an actor is in part determined by the social attributes (race, sex, social class) of the offender and/or the offended party. I found their approach interesting since they are calling for a restatement and revitalization of the theory, which in my case might be the integration of the labeling theory with two other perspectives - the differential association and the ecology of crime.

The relevance of checking various approaches to the labeling theories in my research is to empirically test how much actual control a juvenile can exercise over the attached label of "drug-offender", as far as non-criminal alternatives are concerned, in comparison with other juvenile delinquents involved in non-drug offenses.

Epidemiology and Ecology of Crime

The statistical distribution of criminal behavior in time and space (epidemiology) tends to be related to the economic conditions.

Although it is not clear how economic conditions affect crime rates, it is apparent that poor people have much higher rates of arrest and conviction than other people, and that the so-called "high crime areas" are normally the areas in which poor people live. In the 1920's, members of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago attempted to pinpoint the environmental factors associated with high crime rates and the relationship among those factors. Their procedure involved correlating the characteristics of each neighborhood with the crime rates of that neighborhood. Since this research was based on an image of human communities taken from plant ecology, it became known as "The Chicago School of Human Ecology" (Vold, 1979).

C. Shaw and H.Mckay (1969) in extensive studies and statistical analysis of the Chicago area, summed up the following points, related to the ecological distribution of crime:

- 1) Delinquents, by and large, do not differ from other society members with respect to intelligence, physical condition, and personality traits.
- 2) In delinquency areas, the conventional traditions and institutions were largely disintegrated, and parents and neighbors frequently approved of delinquent behavior, so that child grew up in a social world in which delinquency was an accepted and appropriate form of conduct.
- 3) The neighborhoods included many opportunities for delinquent activities.
- 4) Delinquent activities in these areas began at an early age as a part of play activities of the street.
- 5) In these play activities, there is a continuity of tradition in a given neighborhood from older boys to younger boys.
- 6) The normal methods of official social control could not stop this process.

7) It was only later in a delinquent career that the individual began to identify himself with the criminal world, and to embody in his own philosophy of life the moral values which he prevailed in the criminal groups with which he had contact (Vold, 1979).

Krohn (1986) by taking advantage of the ability of the network approach to address macro - as well as micro-level concerns, generated a number of hypotheses that are similar to those found in the ecological tradition of the Chicago School. However, there are some important differences between these approaches. While the Chicago sociologists recognized that social structural characteristics such as residential mobility influenced the rate of delinquent behavior, they explained this relationship by employing the concept of social disorganization. Social dis-organization was not well-defined (Kornhauser, 1978) and was often operationalized in terms of measures better considered consequences rather than causes. More, importantly, the image of the urban community contained in their work proved to be overgeneralized (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Although they recognized the diversity of urban communities,

they were unable to incorporate it within their conceptual framework (Fischer, 1975). Sutherland's concept of differential association allowed for that diversity. However, his analysis was limited to the organization of the normative system and did not recognize the interrelationship between the social structural factors and the structure of interaction. By focusing on the relationship between social structural factors and network structure, Krohn suggests a better explanation of differences across communities within urban areas and how those social structural factors affect the rate of delinquent behavior.

Ecology and epidemiology still exist in sociology, but as a source of ideas and commanding imaginary they have become almost mute. One of the critics of these theories, D. Matza (1969) claims that they tell us things which intellectually have nothing to say, they harbor knowledge but not wisdom. According to Matza, they have come close to being simply methods, divested of physical and organic imaginary, theories and ideas with which they were originally associated. But, still, although not originally and not completely, they constitute ingenious ways of collecting useful social data - data about which we are to theoretize in human ways.

Interactional theories

Since my research attempts to link together three theories of delinquency, it is important to mention additional attempts in the field of interactional theory.

Thornberry (1987) has developed an interactional theory of delinquency. Unlike traditional theories of delinquency interactional theory does not view delinquency merely as an outcome or consequence of a social problem. On the contrary, it views delinquent behavior as an active part of the developmental process, interacting with other social factors over time to determine the person's ultimate behavioral repertoire. According to Thornberry, the initial impetus towards delinquency comes from a weakening of person's bond to conventional society, represented, during adolescence, by attachment to parents, commitment to school, and believe in conventional values. Whenever these three links to conformity are attempted, there is a substantially increased potential for delinquent behavior. For the potential to be converted to delinquency, especially prolonged serious delinquency, a social setting in which delinquency is learned and reinforced is required. This setting is represented by associations with delinquent peers

and delinquent values. These two variables, along with delinquent behavior itself, lead towards increasing delinquency involvement over time. Moreover, this interactive process develops over the person's life cycle, and saliency of the theoretical concepts varies as the person ages. Family, friends, schools, and new family, offer a number of new avenues to reshape the person's bond to society and involvement with delinquency. Finally, these process variables are systematically related to person's position in the social structure. Class, minority-group status, and the social disorganization of the neighborhood of residence - all affect the initial values of the interactive variables as well as the behavioral trajectories. The essential point of an interactional theory is that the causal process is a dynamic one that develops over person's life.

Thornberry's theory clearly attempts to link the three theories dealt with in my study - from the differential association model, through the ecology of crime, finally to labeling which can be seen in the part of the status definition. Still, his attempt was not backed up with empirical research.

Gaugh (1948) suggested that the delinquent is deficient in role-taking ability. The delinquent is not able to foresee the results or consequences of his own behavior

because he does not know to judge his own behavior from another standpoint. The sociological perspective, of which Gough's theory is a part, takes into consideration the components that make up a society and a particular culture such as the people, the school, the church, the neighborhood, civic organizations and the like. According to G.H. Mead's (1934) interactionist theory of the individual and society, the interaction between the individual and his immediate environment produces "the self". The successful development of the "self" depends upon an individual's capacity to look upon "self" as an object and then to assume various roles (i.e. role taking). The "self" originates in communication and in taking the role of the others. The child continually takes the attitudes of those around him, engaged in activity and thus has taken the role of the "generalized other". (Mead, 1934; Loevinger, 1976; Morris, 1971). If society has successfully incorporated itself within the individual then the behavior of the person is regulated and controlled within the societal corrections and appropriate social norms (J. DeFrancesco, 1989). Here again we can observe elements of differential association when the child learns norms and values from the organizations mentioned above, the ecology can be detect in the neighborhood's influence, and the

labeling the behavior regulation as controlled by the defining society. Again, these are theoretical assumptions only.

The purpose of this theoretical review is to stress the importance of integration of those particular theories in this research study. Accordingly nothing will explain better my intentions than a direct quote from Sutherland and Cressey's (1974, pp. 62-63) book:

"Perhaps a new school of criminology will soon develop. Ideally, the theory forming the basis of this school will have three distinct but consistent aspects. First, there will be a statement that explains the statistical distribution of criminal behavior in time and space (epidemiology), from which predictive statements about unknown statistical distributions can be derived. Second, there will be a statement that identifies the process or processes by which persons come to exhibit criminal behavior, from which can be derived predictive statements about the behavior of individuals. Third, there will be demonstration of how both lawmaking and reactions to lawbreaking can be made consistent with the explanations of crime

rates and criminality. Concentration on only one segment of this theoretical problem is sometimes necessary, but it is erroneous and inefficient to ignore the other segments or to turn them over to another academic discipline."

Chapter V

Methodology

Hypotheses

The main research questions or hypotheses as listed below are the ones which guided my research. Each of the hypotheses was framed so as to test at least one of the three theories. A final analysis will attempt to integrate the three theories into one.

- 1) Under-aged drug offenders exposed to a variety of the illicit activities in their neighborhoods, were primarily recruited and initiated by adult offenders (initiators) to organized drug distribution activity, as compared to under-aged non-drug offenders, whose principal modes of

criminal initiation are either through self selection or peer pressure.

- 2) Adult initiators socialize under-aged recruits by encouraging personal drug use, in order to turn them into dependent and reliable drug distribution workers, in comparison to the non-drug youthful offenders, whose recruitment and participation in drug-related and other criminal activities tend to be significantly more variable.

- 3) The under-aged drug offenders once introduced into a labelled and structured criminal way of life, are more likely to see themselves as cut off from non-criminal life styles, as compared to the non-drug offenders, who will tend to perceive possible non-criminal alternatives.

The first hypothesis was aimed to illuminate the ecology and the epidemiology of crime as it spreads in the immediate neighborhood, together with an exposure to the

differential association approaches when learning the criminal behavior from the adult offenders.

Differential association theory in this particular hypothesis is been tested on a very general level of assumption that criminal behavior is a learning process, introduced to the potential disciples by the significant others - in our case the adult offenders.

The second hypothesis explores the differential association and the epidemiology of crime models on a more specific level, looking at the methods of the initiation process itself, based on the recollections of the samples.

The last hypothesis tests the labelling perspective, based on the assumption that the integration of both the ecological/epidemiological theories and the differential association's influence was already established. Labelling theory is tested from both the labeled offenders' perspective regarding his potential destiny and his view of the labelling process as perceived and exercised by the defining public.

Variables

Since the design is basically a descriptive study, and a good descriptive approach should include: incidence and prevalence of delinquency, and relating background variables for analysis of various measures of delinquency (Hagan, 1982), I have distinguished two dependent variables and a set of independent variables as follows:

Independent Variables

All the demographic variables that will include sex, race, education, employment history, marital status, economic background of both the offenders and their parents/guardians, numbers of incarcerations, types of offense.

Dependent Variables

There will be two kinds of dependent variables; 1) reported attempts to quit the criminal life styles; 2) attitudes toward the chances for non-criminal alternatives, both as self-conceptions, and as perceived by the others.

Research Design

The main methodological objective of the study was to obtain detailed (descriptive) information regarding the initiation process of under aged felons into an organized criminal activity: drug distribution networks, in a retrospective manner - through young adult subjects' recalled perspectives.

The research sample consisted of N = 85 inmates presently incarcerated at Rikers Island facility, and sentenced for drug-related crimes (felonies only). The age of the population ranges from the late teens to the late 20's.

The initial comparison group was composed of N = 25 non-drug inmates, incarcerated at the Rikers Island facility, and sentenced for non-drug offenses (again

felonies only), whose age group is similar to the sample drug-crimes offenders. Following the initial data analyses it was found that the comparison sample was not big enough for an adequate analysis, and an additional population of 30 subjects was interviewed and added to the comparison sample. The major criterion in selecting a respondent for either sample was subjects' reported engagement in some form of criminal activity which started at an early age - while he was still under-aged as far as adult criminal responsibility is concerned.

The research locale was Rikers Island Facility - N.Y.C. Correctional Institution for Men, located in the borough of Queens, New York.

Data Collection

An initial proposal for the dissertation was submitted to the supervising warden at the Rikers Island facility. The proposal included the sample questionnaire, and a request to interview adolescents inmates, who were not detainees but already sentenced prisoners. The first

response from the prison authorities was affirmative for the interviews, but the requested sample of adolescents, had to be changed to a sample of sentenced prisoners in their early 20's, due to the fact that interviews with adolescents would require parental permission. Obtaining parental permission would obviously complicate the procedures and the prison authorities were not prepared to engage in these additional steps. I had anticipated the occurrence of that problem from the beginning, hence in my initial proposal, I already suggested an alternative sample; sentenced prisoners in their early 20's, a sample which would include respondents young enough to be able to recall events that happened in their early adolescent years, and to remember in details their initiation into crime. The sample population was to be selected from the current prison population, based on the following criteria: 1) type of offense for which they were presently sentenced and convicted, drug-related for the experimental group, and non-drug related for the comparison group; 2) age - early to late 20's, preferably in their mid twenties; 3) all of the respondents had to be sentenced for felonies only, no misdemeanors. The above information was to be drawn from the prison records available at Rikers Island. This particular population would represent a convenience sample, nevertheless a use of convenience sample is not rare in its applicability when the size of research

population is limited or the logistical arrangements of the facility make it impossible to obtain a representative sample (see Sanchez and Johnson, 1987).

Despite the initial consent given by the Rikers Island authorities, due to various administrative and other changes, it took almost a year and a half to finally gain an entry into the facility, while the number of days allocated to the study was reduced from 7 to 4, although some preliminary interviews were arranged. Following my request for additional interviews, two more days were allowed. In order to protect the subjects of this study a request for their written consent to the interview was submitted both to the warden and to the General Counsel of Corrections in New York City.

Interviews were conducted with each of the inmates on a personal basis. Each interview lasted between 15 to 20 minutes, on a person to person basis - there was no guard present in the interview room - only the subject and myself. The inmates were brought to me on a one by one basis, upon a special request from the warden. Since I have been given a very limited access to the facility - in terms of numbers of days I was allowed to spend at the facility, the initial intention to perform a pre-test on 10 respondents in order to expand and/or exclude certain categories of the questionnaire had to be altered according to the allowing

circumstances. On the first day's visit to Rikers Island I interviewed an initial group of subjects (N = 6), and based on their responses and my analysis, I changed and modified a few categories - see Appendix E - of the original interview outlines and Appendix F - after the pre-test. While interviewing the rest of the sample, I added those categories during their interviews to every questionnaire. This was the only way to conduct the interviews during the time allocated to me by the prison authorities.

Prior to each interview, subjects were asked again, this time verbally, for their formal consent, and this was done when ever the group of respondents was brought for an interview. The informed consent process consisted of explanation about the purpose of this study, its confidentiality as far as other law enforcement agencies are concerned, and the option to decline answering any or all questions, despite the initial consent. A short explanation about the John Jay College was included, as well as the selection criteria used by the prison authorities. Given the requested information, the majority gave their consent for the interview, providing that there would be no identifying details other than age, sex and ethnic data.

Subsequent to the subject's consent, a short explanation was given about the overall intent of the questionnaire and some general information regarding the

purpose and possible outcomes of this study. The subjects were also asked about the nature of the last offense for which they were convicted and presently serving their sentence.

Since the respondents were selected by the prison authorities, in consonance with my initial request (according to the offense for which they were presently sentenced and serving their time), and briefed by the authorities about the aim and issues involved in the study, I had a very low percentage of subjects who were not prepared to answer the questions, only 3 out of 110 refused to be interviewed. (Two of them were ready to respond providing they would be paid for the interview - \$5 each: This was not allowed by the prison authorities).

An early decision was to collect first the data about their demographic characteristics (age, ethnic data, education, marital status, etc.) and after "breaking the ice" by asking questions that were not directly connected to their criminal activity, not to intimidate the respondents right from the beginning - to proceed with categories describing circumstances of the initiation into criminal activity (including age, type of offences, frequencies, etc.).

The last part of the interview included not only the bare facts regarding the prior arrest and incarceration

histories but also gave them the chance to express their self perceptions regarding the chances for non-criminal alternatives - a part which was very important for the analysis, as dependent variables.

A validity check of the subjects' criminal records was performed, on a random basis, in order to make sure that they were actually the requested population, as far as their past and present criminal activities are concerned. The validity check of the criminal records was performed through the computer data obtained from the Drug Enforcement Administration in New York City, on 30 subjects from the drug related group, and 10 subjects from the comparison group.

It is important to mention at this point that for almost a year and a half concurrent with my attempts to gain permission to interview inmates at Rikers Island, additional alternative groups were considered as subjects for this study. Following numerous conversations with the director of South 40 Corporation, a written request was submitted to be allowed to interview subjects on their premises. The South 40 Corporation is a referral body for released prisoners, located in New York City. Unfortunately, due to lack of funds on my part to offer to potential subjects as a compensation for their time, there was no incentive on the part of the Corporation to grant the permission for

interviews. Two additional facilities, one in Syosset, New York State, St. Mary's Children and Family Services, and one located in Bronx, New York City, Spofford Juvenile Detention Center, were approached. In both places the response was positive but unfortunately they could not supply enough subjects for the study.

Sources of Information

The discussion of findings and conclusions of my research design will include three main sources: 1) descriptive information from the interviews conducted on Rikers Island, 2) previous research and 3) statistical analysis of the variables collected from the interviews.

Techniques of Analysis

Three techniques of statistical analysis utilized in the present design will include:

- 1) Frequencies
- 2) Cross - Tabs
- 3) Multiple Regression

Frequency distribution is a procedure which orders and categorizes the data into a meaningful summary table. In the first stage the decision was made regarding the number of categories or classes that the data was to be grouped into. Secondly, the groupings were organized in a way that made them mutually exclusive, making it possible to assign each case to one and only one group. Finally, the groups covered the entire distribution with the within-group intervals as much as possible of equal size (Pedhazur, 1973). This techniques gave us a crime rate distribution and the career parameters of the under-aged felons.

The cross - tabs analysis was used when there was a need to find out the relation between two variables. For example I was looking for relationship between rates of drug -related delinquency among the under-aged and personal drug use among those offenders. The degree of relationship will support Hypothesis 2.

Broadly speaking, regression analysis is a method of analyzing the sources of the variability of a dependent variable by resorting to measurements obtained on one or more independent variables. Among other things, an answer

is sought to the question: What are the expected changes in the dependent variables as a result of changes (observed or induced) in the independent variables. Multiple regression analysis (MR) is suited for analyzing the collective and separate effects of two or more independent variables on a dependent variable (Pedhazur, 1973). I used the multiple regression procedure to control for demographic factors influencing the attempts to quit and attitudes towards non-criminal alternatives.

Results and Data Analysis

In the analysis of the data, as presented in the tables below, first figures represent counts, second figures are row percentages.

It is important to mention that cross - tabs analysis of the demographic variables like the respondents' race, respondents' marital status, people lived with while growing up, marital status of those lived with, respondents' education, economic background, for both the respondents and their parents, neighborhoods where the respondents were raised, numbers of incarcerations, with the dependent variable of drug and non-drug group, did not show any

significant difference between the groups, as expected. Demographic variables which approached some minor degree of significance are presented in Tables 4.a through 4.e.

Table 4.a
Respondents Race by Current Offense Group

Count	US Black	Hispanic	White	Other	Row Total
Drug group	40	28	6	8	82
	48.8	34.1	7.3	9.8	59.9
Non-drug group	33	11	4	7	55
	60.0	20.0	7.3	12.7	40.1
Column Total	73	39	10	15	137
	53.3	28.5	7.3	10.9	100.0

Chi - square = 3.35739

D.F. = 3

Significance = 0.3397

Cramer's V = 0.15655

Table 4.a shows no significant difference between the drug and non-drug group with regard to the respondents race. For both groups the majority of the respondents were either U.S. Black or Hispanic; 82.9% for the drug group, and 80% for the non-drug group.

Table 4.b

Respondents Education by Current Offense Group.

Count	No	8th Grade	9-11	12th	Some	Row
Row Count	School	or Less	Grade	Grade	College	Total
Drug group	1	13	46	16	6	82
	1.2	15.9	56.1	19.5	7.3	59.9
Non-drug group	0	8	38	8	1	55
	.0	14.5	69.1	14.5	1.8	40.1
Column	1	21	84	24	7	137
Total	.7	15.3	61.3	17.5	5.1	100.0

Chi - square = 4.02567

D.F. = 4

Significance = 0.4025

Cramer's V = 0.17142

Table 4.b shows no significant difference between the drug and non-drug group with regard to respondent's education. The slightly significant difference can be

observed in the 12th grade cell, where 19.5% of the respondents from the drug group claimed to have finished 12th grade, and only 14.5% of the non-drug group reached that level of education, also 7.6% of the drug group as opposed to only 1.8% of the non-drug group claimed to have some collage education.

Table 4.c

Respondents Employment History by Current Offense Group.

Count	Never	Full Time	Part Time	Row
Row Count	Employed	Employment	Employment	Total
Drug Group	2	68	12	82
	2.4	82.9	14.6	59.9
Non-drug group	4	43	8	55
	7.3	78.2	14.5	40.1
Column	6	111	20	137
Total	4.4	81.0	14.6	100.0

Chi - square = 1.84790

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.3969

Cramer's V = 0.11614

Table 4.c shows no significant difference between the drug and non-drug group with regard to respondent's employment history. The slightly significant difference can be observed with regard to lack of prior employment, while only 2.4% of the drug group claimed that they had no previous employment history, this was true for 7.3% of the non-drug group.

Table 4.d

Respondents Marital Status by Current Offense Group.

Count	Married	Living as Single	Divorced	Separate	Row Total
Row Count	Married				Total
Drug group	32	11	36	2	82
	39.0	13.4	43.9	2.4	59.9
Non-drug group	21	6	27	1	55
	38.2	10.9	49.1	1.8	40.1
Column	53	17	63	3	137
Total	38.7	12.4	46.0	2.2	100.0

Chi - square = 1.09398

D.F. = 4

Significance = 0.8952

Cramer's V = 0.08936

Table 4.d shows no significant difference between the drug and non-drug group with regard to respondent's marital

status. While more single respondents can be found in the non-drug group (49.1% as opposed to 43.9% from the drug group), overall distribution of respondent's marital status seem to be overlapping for both groups.

As previously mentioned all the respondents were young males, and the age distribution of the 137 subjects was following:

Table 4.e

Respondents Age Distribution (Both samples).

Value (Age)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum. Percent
21.00	1	.7	.7	.7
22.00	22	16.1	16.1	16.8
23.00	21	15.3	15.3	32.1
24.00	23	16.8	16.8	48.9
25.00	14	10.2	10.2	59.1
26.00	17	12.4	12.4	71.5
27.00	12	8.8	8.8	80.3
28.00	14	10.2	10.2	90.5
29.00	8	5.8	5.8	96.4
30.00	5	3.6	3.6	100.0
Total	137	100.0	100.0	

Mean = 25.03

Median =25.00

Table 4.e shows the age distribution of the total of

137 respondents, the mean age of the respondents is 25, which is in accordance with the request submitted to the prison authorities.

Table 4.1
Age of First Introduction to Crime by Current Offense Group.

Count	12 or younger	13 - 15 yrs old	16 yrs or older	Row Total
Drug group	40	29	13	82
	48.8	35.4	15.9	59.9
Non-drug group	5	15	31	55
	16.4	27.3	56.4	40.1
Column	49	44	44	137
Total	35.8	32.1	32.1	100.0

Chi - square = 27.16433

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.44529

It is important to remind ourselves that the "drug group" refers to young adult offenders incarcerated for a drug related crime, usually either possession or dealing. The "non-drug" group was composed of those convicted of other non-drug related crimes, although they may or may not have been drug users or sellers as well.

Table 4.1 shows a highly significant difference between the drug and non-drug group with regard to age at which they were introduced for the first time into criminal activity. While almost 50% of the drug group commenced at the age of 12 or younger, only about 16% percent of the non-drug group started at this early age. Roughly 56% of the latter were introduced at the age of 16 or older as compared to only about 16% of the drug group starting at that same age group. The above finding might possibly reflect a pattern of purposeful introduction of younger kids into drug use, as influenced by older drug dealers.

Table 4.2

Introduction to Crime by Party Involved in the Introduction
by Current Offense Group.

Count	Friends	Family	Family/ Relatives	Other	Row Total
Drug group	51 62.2	8 9.8	15 18.3	8 9.8	82 59.9
Non-drug group	27 49.1	6 10.9	3 5.5	19 34.5	55 40.1
Column Total	78 56.9	14 10.2	18 13.1	27 19.7	137 100.0

Chi - square = 15.42995

D.F. = 3

Significance = 0.0015

Cramer's V = 0.33560

Table 4.2 points to significant difference between the two groups regarding the initial introduction to a crime.

While over 70% of the drug-group were introduced either by friends or family's friends, only about 60% of the non-drug group were introduced by these intimates, with roughly 50% being introduced by friends and about 11% by family's friends. Roughly 35% of the non-drug group, and only about 10% of the drug group, were introduced by some sort of "other" population, which was primarily defined by them as "self-induced" introduction. The 35% of the respondents from the non-drug group who were introduced by so called "self-induction" reflect the interesting pattern of criminal involvement which can be attributed to curiosity, bragging, adventure, and still being more appealing to the younger kid by not being associated with as much danger as drug use.

Table 4.2a

Age of first Introduction to Crime by Party Involved in the Introduction for Both Current Offense Groups.

Count Row Count Age Group	Party Involved				Row Total
	Friends	Family Friends	Family/ Relatives	Other	
12 or younger	30 61.2	4 8.2	8 16.3	7 14.3	49 35.8
13-13 or years old	24 54.5	3 6.8	9 20.5	8 18.2	44 32.1
16 or older	24 54.5	7 15.9	1 2.3	12 27.3	44 32.1
Column Total	78 56.9	14 10.2	18 13.1	27 19.7	137 100.0

Chi - square = 10.52728

D.F. = 6

Significance = 0.1041

Cramer's V = 0.19601

Table 4.2a shows no significant difference between the drug and non-drug group with regard to relationship between the age of introduction into criminal activity and the party involved in the introduction. This lack of significant difference might possibly reflect the fact that the younger kids, 12 year old or younger (69.4% of the 12 year old or younger population), are introduced to criminal activity mostly by friends or family friends, and this is true for both drug and non-drug group. On the other hand the older kids, 16 or older (27.3% of the 16 years or older population), are introduced by "other" population, primarily defined as "self-induced" introduction. The above findings might possibly be related to the import role and influence exercised by friends on the very young kids.

Table 4.2b

Age of First Introduction to Crime by Party Involved in the Introduction for Drug Group.

Count	Party Involved				
	Friends	Family	Family/ Friends	Other	
Row Count					
Age Group					
12 or younger	26	4	8	2	40
	65.0	10.0	20.0	5.0	48.8
13 - 15 years old	17	2	6	4	29
	58.6	6.9	20.7	13.8	35.4
16 or older	8	2	1	2	13
	61.5	15.4	7.7	15.4	15.9
Column Total	51	8	15	8	82
	62.2	9.8	18.3	9.8	100.0

Chi - square = 3.56612

D.F. = 6

Significance = 0.7352

Cramer's V = 0.14746

Table 4.2b shows no significant difference between the age of introduction into criminal activity and the party involved in the introduction. Nevertheless the findings from the table are interesting as they show again the relationship between introduction into criminal activity at an early age and the party responsible for the introduction. As shown in Table 4.2a, the same pattern prevails - introduction by family or family friends at an earlier age, and "self-induced" introduction at the age of 16 and older. This time for the drug group only.

Table 4.2c

Age of First Introduction to Crime by Party Involved in the Introduction for Non-Drug Group.

Count	Party Involved				Row
	Friends	Family	Family/ Relatives	Other	
Age Group					
12 or younger	4 44.4	0 .0	0 .0	5 55.6	9 16.4
13 - 15 years old	7 46.7	1 6.7	3 20.0	4 26.7	15 27.3
16 years or older	16 51.6	5 16.1	0 .0	10 32.3	31 56.4
Column Total	27 49.1	6 10.9	3 5.5	19 34.5	55 100.0

Chi - square = 11.56780

D.F. = 6

Significance = 0.0723

Cramer's V = 0.32429

Table 4.2c shows no significant difference between the age of introduction into criminal activity and the party responsible for the introduction. The relationship remains similar as in Table 4.2b, this time for the non-drug group, introduction at an earlier age by friends or family friends, and "self-induced" introduction at the age of 16 or older.

Table 4.3

Introduction into Criminal Activity by Site of Location by
Current Offense Group.

Count	Street/ Park	Friend's Home	At Home	Other	Row Total
Drug group	45 54.9	23 28.0	13 15.9	1 1.2	82 59.9
Non-drug group	32 58.2	6 10.9	3 5.5	14 25.5	55 40.1
Column Total	77 56.2	29 21.2	16 11.7	15 10.9	137 100.0

Chi - square = 25.34005

D.F. = 3

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.43007

Table 4.3 shows a significant difference between the drug and non-drug group with regard to the site at which they were introduced to their first criminal participation. While roughly 60% of both groups (about 55% for the drug and almost 59% for the non-drug group) were introduced to criminal activity on the streets, for the drug group, approximately 44% were introduced at home, either their own or a friend's. This is true for only about 16% of the non - drug group. While only 1.2% of the drug group was introduced in some other locations, an overwhelming 25% of the non-drug group were initiated at various sites. This may well reflect a pattern of petty theft, shoplifting, or other self-induced criminality that took place at the locus of opportunity.

Table 4.4

Type of First Offense Committed by Current Offense Group.

Count	Drug Related	Non - drug Related	Row
Row Count			Total
Drug group	72	10	82
	87.8	12.2	59.9
Non-drug group	15	40	55
	27.3	72.7	40.1
Column	87	50	137
Total	63.5	36.5	100.0

Chi - square = 49.46610 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0000

Chi - square = 52.04513 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0000

(Before Yates Correction)

Phi = 0.61635

The highest significance in difference between the two groups can be observed in Table 4.4, regarding the type of first offense committed by the respondents. While roughly

90% of the drug group responded by claiming that their first offense was actually drug-related, almost 73% of the non - drug group responded that their first offense was not drug - related. What is interesting to mention is that nevertheless about 27% the non-drug group committed a drug - related offense as their first one.

Table 4.5

Time Lapse of Repetition in Criminal Activity on Regular Basis by Current Offense Group.

Count	Immediately	Within	Few	Few	One	Row
Row Count		a week	weeks	months	Year	Total
Drug group	48	21	8	2	3	82
	58.5	25.6	9.8	2.4	3.7	59.9
Non-drug group	14	25	16	0	0	55
	25.5	45.5	29.1	.0	.0	40.1
Column	62	46	24	2	3	137
Total	45.3	33.6	17.5	1.5	2.2	100.0

Chi - square = 22.20077

D.F. = 4

Significance = 0.0002

Cramer's V = 0.40255

In Table 4.5 a highly significant difference can be observed with regard to the time lapse of repetition of criminal activities. While roughly 85% of the drug group pursued criminal activities either immediately or within one week (from the day their first offense was committed), only 70% of the non-drug group followed that pattern, and about 30% took a few weeks prior to the re-engagement in crime. It is possible that the difference here appears due to more purposeful way of introduction into the type of criminal activity involving drug use, a way with sort of "structured" future, as opposed to more adventurous character of non - drug related criminality, at least as far as younger kids are concern.

Table 4.6

Frequency of Criminal Activity by Current Offense Group.

Count	Once a	Once a	Once a	Once a	Row
Row count	day	week	month	year	Total
Drug group	41	28	9	4	82
	50.0	34.1	11.0	4.9	59.9
Non-drug group	11	19	25	0	55
	20.0	34.5	45.5	.0	40.1
Column	52	47	34	4	137
Total	38.0	34.3	24.8	2.9	100.0

Chi - square = 26.25925

D.F. =3

Significance = 0.0000

Cramers' V = 0.43681

Table 4.6 shows a significant difference between the two groups with regard to the frequency of offenses committed, once a criminal life style had been inaugurated.

While roughly 85% of the drug group committed an offense either on a daily or a weekly basis, only 55% of the non-drug group committed offenses that frequently. Forty five percent of the non-drug group committed an offense once a month, which was true for only 11% of the drug group. This finding can point to a pattern of deeper involvement in criminal activities exercised by the drug group.

Table 4.7

Introduction into Drug Use by Party Involved in Initiation
by Current Offense Group.

Count	0	Personal Friends	Family/or	Other	Row	
Row count		Friends	of Family	Relatives	Total	
Drug group	0	54	18	7	3	82
	.0	65.9	22.0	8.5	3.7	: 59.9
Non-drug	5	24	24	2	0	55
group	9.1	43.6	43.6	3.6	.0	40.1
Column	5	78	42	9	3	137
Total	3.6	56.9	30.7	6.6	2.2	100.0

Chi - square = 18.57362

D.F. = 4

Significance = 0.0010

Cramer's V = 0.36820

Table 4.7 shows a significant difference between the two groups with regard to the party who introduced them for the first time to drug use. About 66% of the drug group were introduced by friends and 44% of the non-drug group were introduced by friends as well, the pattern is somehow reversed when the introduction came from family friends. While 22% of the drug group were introduced by family friends, roughly 44% of the non-drug group was introduced to drugs by the same group. An interesting difference can be observed as well in regard to introduction by family and close relatives. About 4% of the non-drug group was introduced by people representing that category of close association, and almost 9% of the drug group was introduced by this group. What is interesting to mention is the fact that 50 respondents, (out of the total of 55 non-drug offenders) were actually introduced to drug use, even though (according to their accounts) they did not follow this path regularly thereafter.

Table 4.8

Number and Percentage of Respondents Asked by Older
Individuals to Sell Drugs by Current Offense Group.

Count	Yes	No	Row
Row count			Total
Drug group	66	16	82
	80.5	19.5	59.9
Non-drug group	18	37	55
	32.7	67.3	40.1
Column	84	53	137
Total	61.3	38.7	100.0

Chi - square = 29.67627 D.F.= 1 Significance = 0.0000

Chi - square = 31.65780 D.F.= 1 Significance = 0.0000

(Before Yates Correction)

Phi = 0.48071

Table 4.8 points to a highly significant difference between the drug and non-drug group, with regard to being asked by an older person to sell drugs. Almost eighty one percent of the drug group answered affirmatively and about 67% of the non-drug group answered negatively. It is interesting to mention here that roughly a third of the non-drug group was approached by an older person and asked to sell for them, a fact which again reflects a pattern of drug culture prevalent in the neighborhoods.

Table 4.9

Age of First Introduction into Drug Use by Current
Offense Group.

Count	12 or younger	13 - 15 years old	16 or older	Row Total
Drug group	31 37.8	31 37.8	20 24.4	82 72.6
Non - drug group	3 9.7	6 19.4	22 71.0	31 27.4
Column Total	34 30.1	37 32.7	42 37.2	113 100.0

Chi - square = 21.38413

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.43502

Table 4.9 shows a significant difference between the age at which the two groups were first introduced into the drug use. Out of the drug group almost 38% encountered the drugs for the first time when they were 12 years old or even younger, in comparison to the non-drug group (where 31 out of 55 respondents answered the question) only about 10% started at that early age. Seventy one percent of the non-drug group started at the age of 16 or even older, but only about 24% of the drug group started at that older age. Here, the reported introduction into drug use at such an early age of the drug group, might be an indicator of further involvement.

Table 4.10

Introduction into Drug Use; Location of Initiation by
Current Offense Group.

Count	0	Street/ Park	Friend's Home	At home	Other	Row Total
Drug group	0	41	29	11	1	82
	.0	50.0	35.4	13.4	1.2	59.9
Non-drug group	24	25	6	0	0	55
	43.6	45.5	10.9	.0	.0	40.1
Column	24	66	35	11	1	137
Total	17.5	48.2	25.5	8.0	.7	100.0

Chi - square = 51.67914

D.F. = 4

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.61418

Table 4.10 shows a highly significant difference between the two groups in regard to the location at which they were introduced to their first drug use. While about 85% of the drug group was introduced either on the street or friend's home, only 57% of the non-drug group was introduced at the same locations. Thirteen point four percent of the drug group were introduced at home, but none of the non drug group. It is important to note that only 31 respondents (out of 55) from the non drug group answered this question. Bearing this in mind, the highly significant difference should be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless one important aspect of the above findings can be seen in the similarity of the locus of introduction, which, apparently reflects on pattern of criminogenic neighborhoods affected by the spread of a drug culture.

Table 4.11

Number and Percentage of Offenders who Became Subsequent Regular Drug Users (after initial drug experience).

Count	0	Yes	No	Row
Row count				Total
Drug group	0	69	13	82
	.0	84.1	15.9	59.9
Non-drug group	16	8	31	55
	29.1	14.5	56.4	40.1
Column	16	77	44	137
Total	11.7	56.2	32.1	100.0

Chi - square = 69.04903

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.70993

Table 4.11 presents a highly significant difference

between the two groups with regard to the whether or not they actually became drug users. An overwhelming 84.1% of the drug group admitted to the fact of having become drug users, as opposed to 14.5% of the non-drug group (again only 39 out of 55 responded to that question). The above statistic may reflect an association between juvenile drug usage and latter drug selling. This, despite non response from almost 30% of the non-drug group.

Table 4.12

First Offense Committed by Type by Current Offense Group.

Count	Drug related	Non - drug related	0	Row
Row count	First Offense	First Offense		Total
Drug group	59	22	1	82
	72.0	26.8	1.2	59.9
Non-drug group	5	50	0	55
	9.1	90.9	.0	40.1
Column	64	72		137
Total	46.7	52.6	.7	100.0

Chi - square = 54.23678

D.F. = 1

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.62920

Table 4.12 shows a highly significant difference regarding the type of initial offense committed. While

within the drug group 72% committed drug related offenses, about 91% of the non-drug group began with non-drug related offenses like burglaries, theft, shoplifting, etc. The above findings may possibly reflect basic differences between the drug and non-drug conviction groups, by showing that the non-drug group tended to focus its criminal activities on non-drug related offenses.

Table 4.13

Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Saw a Pattern of Criminal Career Development Deriving From Their Initial Drug-Related Activities by Current Offense Group.

Count	Yes	No	Row
Row count			Total
Drug group	49	33	82
	59.8	40.2	59.9
Non-drug group	15	40	55
	27.3	72.7	40.1
Column	64	73	137
Total	46.7	53.3	100.0

Chi - square = 12.68011 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0004

Chi - square = 13.95456 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0002

(Before Yates Correction)

Phi = 0.31915

The findings presented in Table 4.13 point to quite significant difference between the groups, for roughly 60% of the drug-group reported that they saw a criminal career pattern developing and only about 27% of the non-drug group reported the same answer. It is interesting to point to the fact that about 40% of the drug group did not see a criminal career pattern developing back then. The above findings may reflect the complicated nature of the question. It is possible that due to the early age factor (they were asked the question about their perception back at the beginning of the criminal career), that they did not exactly perceive their behavior as a career move.

Table 4.14

Number and Percentage of Respondents Whose Family Structure Was Affected by Their Involvement in Drug-Related Activities by Current Offense Group.

Count	Yes	No	Row
Row count			Total
Drug group	50	32	82
	61.0	39.0	59.9
Non-drug group	13	42	55
	23.6	76.4	40.1
Column	63	74	137
Total	46.0	54.0	100.0

Chi - square = 17.00535 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0000

Chi - square = 18.47804 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0000

(Before Yates Correction)

Phi = 0.36725

Another significant difference between the two groups can be observed from the findings as presented in Table 4.14, with regard to the way the engagement in criminal activity affected the respondent's family attachment. Sixty one percent of the drug group responded affirmatively, while only about 24% of the non-drug group responded so. Clearly, involvement in drug-related offenses results in a much heavier impact on family attachments than involvement in other types of criminal activities, at least as retrospectively viewed by the respondents.

Table 4.15

Type of Offense Involving Initial Encounters with Law Enforcement Agencies (search, arrest, trial or conviction) by Current Offense Group.

Count	Drug related	Non-drug related	Row Total
Drug group	57	25	82
	69.5	30.5	59.9
Non-drug group	9	46	55
	16.4	83.6	40.1
Column Total	66	71	137
	48.2	51.8	100.0

Chi - square = 35.14748 D.F.= 1 Significance = 0.0000

Chi - square = 37.24582 D.F.= 1 Significance = 0.0000

(Before Yates Correction)

Phi = 0.52141

Table 4.15 shows a highly significant difference between the drug and non-drug related group regarding type of offense committed due to which their initial encounter with law enforcement agencies occurred. Almost 70% of the drug group attributed their first encounter with the law to drug related offenses, while only about 16% of the non-drug group's first encounter with the law occurred due to drug related offenses. Interestingly enough, 16% of the non-drug group still attributed their first encounter with the law to a drug related offense, reflecting possibly some overlapping degree of association with either other offenders involved in drug use or drug selling, or personal, occasional drug use.

Table 4.16

Self Perception After First Encounter With a Law Enforcement Agency by Current Offense Group.

Count	Felt Good	Good - then	Made a	Victim	Mad	Row
Row count	Good	remorse	mistake			Total
Drug group	14	28	27	8	5	82
	17.1	34.1	32.9	9.8	6.1	59.9
Non - drug group	1	11	33	6	4	55
	1.8	20.0	60.0	10.9	7.3	40.1
Column	15	39	60	14	9	137
Total	10.9	28.5	43.8	10.2	6.6	100.0

Chi - square = 14.93257

D.F. = 4

Significance = 0.0048

Cramer's V = 0.33015

Table 4.16 shows some significant difference between the two groups. While about 51% of the drug group felt good, or good at first and then remorseful about themselves after first encounter with a law enforcement agency, only about 21% from the non-drug group felt that way. An overwhelming 60% of the latter group felt that they made a mistake, while only about 33% of the drug group felt that way. The above finding may indicate a development pattern of self justification by the drug group.

Table 4.17

Reported Other People's Perceptions of Respondents Following Initial Criminal Activity by Current Offense Group.

Count	Kid in trouble	Addict	Criminal	Victim	Other	Row Total
Drug group	16	20	32	6	8	82
	19.5	24.4	39.0	7.3	9.8	59.9
Non-drug group	28	2	13	5	7	55
	50.9	3.6	23.6	9.1	12.7	40.1
Column Total	44	22	45	11	15	137
	32.1	16.1	37.8	8.0	10.9	100.0

Chi - square = 21.70153

D.F. = 4

Significance = 0.0002

Cramer's V = 0.39800

Table 4.17 shows a significant difference between the two groups with regard to their images in other peoples eyes, or their understanding of the way that society perceives the under-aged who are involved in criminal activities. While only 19.5% of the drug group saw themselves defined by the society as "kids in trouble", almost 51% of the non-drug conviction group thought that they were perceived that way. Another important finding in this table is that roughly 24% of the drug group already at that early stage of their lives were under the impression that they were perceived as addicts. Thirty nine percent of the drug group believed that they were perceived not only as addicts but also as criminals. For the non-drug group only about 24% thought that they were regarded as criminals. An additional aspect, obviously relevant to the labeling approach, can be inferred from the fact that even at that stage of their life, some thought that they were perceived as victims by society - 7.3% of the drug group and 9.1% of the non-drug group.

Table 4.18

Frequency of Economic Gain From Criminal Activity by Current Offense Group.

Count	0	Daily	Monthly	Annually	Row
Row count					Total
Drug group	0	58	24	0	82
	.0	70.7	29.3	.0	59.9
Non-drug group	1	16	29	9	55
	1.8	29.1	52.7	16.4	40.1
Column	1	74	53	9	137
Total	.7	54.0	38.7	6.6	100.0

Chi - square = 30.15980

D.F. = 3

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.46920

Table 4.18 shows the frequency of economic gain and a significant difference between groups. While about 71% of the drug group derived economic gain (deriving from criminal activity) on a daily basis, only about 29% of the non drug group attained that frequency. Over half of the non-drug group, roughly 53%, reported their criminal economic gain on a monthly basis. The above findings might indicate a more sporadic pattern of criminality in terms of frequency and volume for the non-drug group.

Table 4.19

Spending of Criminal Economic Gain by Current Offense Group.

Count	0	Drugs	Food	Clothing	Other	All of the	Row
Row count	Goods Above						Total
Drug	0	42	8	0	7	25	82
group	.0	51.2	9.8	.0	8.5	30.5	59.9
Non-drug	1	11	12	9	18	4	55
group	1.8	20.0	21.8	16.4	32.7	7.3	40.1
Column	1	53	20	9	25	29	137
Total	.7	38.7	14.6	6.6	18.2	21.2	100.0

Chi - square = 45.42202

D.F. = 5

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.57580

Table 4.19 points to a highly significant difference between the drug and non - drug group with regard to the

ways their criminally obtained economic gain (money) were spent. About 51% of the drug group spent the money on drugs, against only 20% of the non-drug group. While only about 10% of the drug group spent the money on food, almost 22% of the non-drug group did so. Similar pattern can be observed as far as "other goods" are concern; only about 9% of the drug group spent their money that way, defining "other goods" as primarily things like bikes, motorcycles, cars, and also jewelry and other accessories. Almost 33% of the non-drug group spent their money in that manner. It is important to mention that about 31% of the drug group spent their money on all of the above mentioned categories, which included drugs, food, clothing and other material goods, and only about 11% of the non drug group did so. Considering the above, it is a significant differentiation of the two current offense groups, that almost 82% of the drug group respondents reported spending their money on drugs, while less than a third of the comparison group did so.

Table 4.20

Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Became Dependent on Drugs After Initial Criminal Activity by Current Offense Group.

Count	Yes	No	Row
Row count			Total
Drug group	60	22	82
	73.2	26.8	59.9
Non-drug group	6	49	55
	10.9	89.1	40.1
Column	66	71	137
Total	48.2	51.8	100.0

Chi - square = 48.65017 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0000

Chi - square = 51.11351 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0000

(Before Yates Correction)

Phi = 0.61081

Table 4.20 shows a highly significant difference between the two groups with regard to whether or not they reported becoming dependent on drug use. While about 72% of the drug use group answered affirmatively, only about 11% of the non-drug group said that they became dependent. What is worth mentioning here, is the fact that still almost 11% of the non-drug group became dependent on drugs, as part of the course of their criminal careers.

Table 4.21

Source of Criminal Economic Gain by Current Offense Group.

Count	Drug related	Non drug related	0	Row
Row count				Total
Drug group	56	23	3	82
	68.3	28.0	3.7	59.9
Non-drug group	5	50	0	55
	9.1	90.9	.0	40.1
Column	61	73	3	137
Total	44.5	53.3	2.2	100.0

Chi - square = 52.33728

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.61808

Table 4.21 points to a highly significant difference between the two groups with regard to the type of offenses

committed, from which they generated their criminal economic gain. While roughly 68% of the drug group answered that their offenses were drug related, only about 9% of the non-drug group generated their income from drug related offenses. Again a finding worth mentioning; 9% of the non-drug group who had also been involved in drug selling, even though apparently not exclusively, since they were presently convicted for non-drug related offenses.

It is important to note at this point that starting with Table 4.22 through Table 4.31 the overall highly significant differences between the two groups are an artifact of non-response on the part of non-drug group. Since the questions were related to habitual drug use, majority of the respondents from the non-drug group did not answer them, claiming that they were not habitual drug users. Nevertheless it is interesting to look at the responses of the drug-group, by itself, since they reflect findings of importance to this research.

Table 4.22

Level of Aggressiveness During Criminal Activity When Under Drug's Influence by Current Offense Group.

Count	No	More	Less	No change	Row
Row count	Response				Total
Drug group	2	41	6	33	82
	2.4	50.0	7.3	40.2	59.9
Non-drug group	40	8	5	2	55
	72.7	14.5	9.1	3.6	40.1
Column	42	49	11	35	137
Total	30.7	35.8	8.0	25.5	100.0

Chi - square = 82.01793

D.F. = 3

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.77374

While the overall Table 4.22 shows a very highly significant difference between the two groups a cautionary note is in order. Since only 15 non-drug respondents (out of 55) answered that question, rational of difference between the two groups is an artifact of non response. Also, the low number of respondents in the non-drug group renders the results unreliable. The acknowledgment which came from 50% of the drug group regarding the increase in their aggressiveness, while committing a crime is interesting as far as the nature of that aggressiveness is concerned. It might have been an outcome of real physical dependency or maybe an outcome of overdosing due to the obvious availability (for the drug dealers).

Table 4.23

Effectiveness During Criminal Activity While Under
Influence by Current Offense Group.

Count	No	More	Less	No change	Other	Row
Row count	Response					Total
Drug group	2	43	10	23	4	82
	2.4	52.4	12.2	28.0	4.9	59.9
Non-drug group	41	1	9	4	0	55
	74.5	1.8	16.4	7.3	.0	40.1
Column	43	44	19	27	4	137
Total	31.4	32.1	13.9	19.7	2.9	100.0

Chi - square = 91.10332

D.F. = 4

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.81547

Table 4.23 shows again the high percentage of non response in the non-drug group, which renders the results unreliable. On the other hand, roughly 52% of the drug group claimed that drugs indeed made them feel more effective while engaged in criminal activities.

Table 4.24

Number and Percentage of Delinquents Having Regrets About Drug Use by Current Offense Group.

Count	No	Yes	No	Other	
Row count	Response				Row
					Total
Drug group	0	54	27	1	82
	.0	65.9	32.9	1.2	59.9
Non-drug group	36	14	5	0	55
	65.5	25.5	9.1	.0	40.1
Column	36	68	32	1	137
Total	26.3	49.6	23.4	.7	100.0

Chi - square = 73.17536

D.F. = 3

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.73084

Table 4.24 shows the same pattern of response as Tables 4.23 and 4.22. Once again, since the majority in the non-drug group deny using drugs while committing crimes, the rate of non response makes for inconclusive and unreliable results. Despite this fact it is still interesting to look at the pattern of response from the drug group. Almost 66% of the drug group claimed that indeed they did have misgivings or regrets about their drug use. On the other hand almost 33.% of the same group did not have any, which is consistent with an attitude of a "career path" in the field of drug trafficking, as chosen by some of the respondents.

Table 4.25

Changes in Loyalty Priorities After Drug Use by Current
Offense Group

Count	No	Towards	Towards	Towards	No	All	Other	Row
Row count	Res.	Family	Friends	Dealers	Change	Above		Tot.
Drug	0	38	16	1	21	5	1	82
group	.0	46.3	19.5	1.2	25.6	6.1	1.2	59.9
Non-drug	33	8	11	0	2	1	0	55
group	60.0	14.5	20.0	.0	3.6	1.8	.0	40.1
Column	33	46	27	1	23	6	1	137
Total	24.1	33.6	19.7	.7	16.8	4.4	.7	100.0

Chi - square = 71.30162

D.F. = 6

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.72142

Table 4.25 continues to show limited pattern of response, now only 22 out of 55, of the non-drug group

responded. That and the number of categories reduces cell size to the point where the results (the observed highly significant difference between the two groups) must be considered inconclusive and unreliable. Nevertheless about 46.% of the drug group actually experienced some kind of change in their loyalty priorities towards the family, which is an interesting finding by itself.

Table 4.26

Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Tried to Quit
Their Criminal Way of Life by Current Offense Group

Count	No	Yes	No	Other	Row
Row count	Response				Total
Drug group	2	46	33	1	82
	2.4	56.1	40.2	1.2	59.9
Non-drug group	24	21	10	0	55
	43.6	38.2	18.2	.0	40.1
Column	26	67	43	1	137
Total	19.0	48.9	31.4	.7	100.0

Chi - square = 37.37663

D.F. = 3

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.52232

Table 4.26 continues to show once again, limited number of respondents from the non-drug group dealing with after effects of drug use. Since the questions deals with an attempt to quit the criminal way of life, the pattern of non response can possibly reflect the fact of regarding the question as not relevant to the respondents from the non-drug group, since the question was asked within the context of habitual drug use and its impact on their daily life. When interviewing the second sample of the non-drug group, I made it clear that the question is not related to habitual drug use, and that is why the number of responses increased. While roughly 56% out of the drug group answered that they did attempt to quit their criminal involvement (it is important to mention that we are talking here about drug trafficking), about 38% of respondents from the non-drug group answered in the same manner. It is interesting to note that roughly 40% of the drug group did not attempt to quit their criminal procedure (it is possible that these are the same respondents who claimed to envision some kind of a career path in their criminal activities related to drugs). Taking into consideration the non-response group there appears to be little significant difference between the groups.

Additional cautionary note regarding the significance of the above findings was found during the multiple

regression analyses of the data. When the attempts to quit were run as a dependent variable, the computer picked up independent variables, as explaining the dependent variable and they were : 1) Do you believe you can change, and 2) Do you live with you children, as presented in the following Tables, 4.26a and 4.26b.

Table 4.26a

Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Believe That They Can Actually Change Their Criminal Path of Life by Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Tried to Quit Their Criminal Way of Life.

Count	Belief		Row
	Yes	No	Total
Attempts			
No	24	2	26
Response	92.3	7.7	19.0
	49	18	67
Yes	73.1	26.9	48.9
	20	23	43
No	46.5	53.5	31.4
	0	1	1
Other	.0	100.0	.7
Column	93	44	137
Total	67.9	32.1	100.0

Chi - square = 19.08367

D.F. = 3

Significance = 0.0003

Cramer's V = 0.37322

In Table 4.26a the Cramer's V statistic shows a significant correlation between the belief that one can quit the criminal life with actual attempts to quit. At the same time nearly (46.5%) half of those who lacked the belief that they could quit, nevertheless reported making attempts to do so.

Table 4.26b

Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Live With Their Children (while not incarcerated) by Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Tried to Quit Their Criminal Way of Life.

Count	Children			Row
	No	Yes	No	
Row Count	Children			Total
Attempts	_____			
No	13	6	7	26
Response	50.0	23.1	26.9	19.0
_____	_____			
	21	26	20	67
Yes	31.3	38.8	29.9	48.9
_____	_____			
	12	11	20	43
No	27.9	25.6	46.5	31.4
_____	_____			
	1	0	0	1
Other	100.0	.0	.0	.7
_____	_____			
Column	47	43	47	137
Total	34.3	31.4	34.3	100.0

Chi - square = 9.34301

D.F. = 6

Significance = 0.1552

Cramer's V = 0.18466

Table 4.26b shows that the second best predictor of the attempts to quit the criminal way of life was the fact of living with the children (while not incarcerated), roughly 39% of the respondents who attempted to quit the criminal way of life lived with their children.

Table 4.27

Quitting Drug Use by Seeking Counseling or Advice
by Current Offense Group.

Count	0	Yes	No	Row
Row count				Total
Drug group	2	26	54	82
	2.4	31.7	65.9	59.9
Non-drug Group	24	13	18	55
	43.6	23.6	32.7	40.1
Column	26	39	72	137
Total	19.0	28.5	52.6	100.0

Chi - square = 37.06726

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.52016

Table 4.27 shows the same mode of limited response on the part of the non-drug group. The cautionary note regarding the interpretation of the highly significant difference between the two groups should be again taken into consideration. While roughly 32% of the drug group respondents tried to seek some sort of advice or counseling about their drug problem, only about 24% of the non-drug group found it necessary to seek any type of counseling. Again it is worth mentioning that about 66% of the drug group did not see that need, which may reflect either lack of dependency or lack of adequate resources that might prompt them to such assistance.

Table 4.28

Parent or Legal Guardian Approach of Respondents to Quit
Drug Use by Current Offense Group.

Count	Approach			Row
	No	Yes	No	
Row count	Response			Total
Drug group	2	25	55	82
	2.4	30.5	67.1	59.9
Non-drug group	24	20	11	55
	43.6	36.4	20.0	40.1
Column	26	45	66	137
Total	19.0	32.8	48.2	100.0

Chi - square = 44.92813

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.57266

Table 4.28 shows answers to the question of being approached by a parent or legal guardian about quitting drug use. Again the cautionary note is in order, only 31 out of 55 of the non-drug group answered the question. The table shows a significant difference between the groups. Roughly 31% of the respondents from the drug group answered that they were approached by parents, guardians or relatives about quitting drugs. The above pattern of response on the part of the drug group seemed to reflect some consistency and inter relation between the fact of being approached by a close relative and trying to quit the drug habit or at least seeking some type of advice or counseling as found in Table 4.27. About 36% of the non-drug group respondents reported that they were approached as well, which might be explained in the manner consistent with the explanation provided for the drug group.

Table 4.29

Quitting Drug Use and Being Threatened About or Discourage About Quitting by Current Offense Group.

Count	Threat or Discouragement			Row
	No	Yes	No	
Row count	Response			Total
Drug group	2	23	57	82
	2.4	28.0	69.5	59.9
Non-drug group	25	1	29	55
	45.5	1.8	52.7	40.1
Column	27	24	86	137
Total	19.7	17.5	62.8	100.0

Chi - square = 45.31440

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.57512

Table 4.29 points to a highly significant difference between the two groups, and again the interpretation should be viewed with caution, due to limited response on the part of the drug group (30 out of 55). While only about 2% of the non-drug group reported that they were threatened not to quit drug use, 28% of the respondents from the drug group answered that they had been threatened not to quit, which may reflect the involvement of older drug dealers in their lives.

Table 4.30

Impact of the Social Environment on Chances to Change
from Criminal Path of Life by Current Offense Group.

Count	No	Yes	No	Row
Row count	Response			Total
Drug group	1	60	21	82
	1.2	73.2	25.6	59.9
Non-drug group	25	22	8	55
	45.5	40.0	14.5	40.1
Column	26	82	29	137
Total	19.0	59.9	21.2	100.0

Chi - square = 41.89732

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.55301

Table 4.30 shows some significant difference between the two groups on the issues of social surroundings in its impact on perceived chances for change. Again, the cautionary note of limited responses on the part of the non-drug group should be mentioned. While roughly 68.% of the drug group felt that their immediate surroundings play a part in their chances to change and get out of the criminal way of life, only 40% of the respondents from the non-drug group felt that way. It is important to mention that roughly 26% of respondents from the drug group did not consider their social surroundings as a significant factor in regard to the perceived chances for change, which might be consistent with a "dope fiend" attitude, as perceived by them.

Table 4.31

Impact of Former "Employers" (associates in crime) on
 Chances to Change From Criminal Path of Life by Current
 Offense Group.

Count	0	Yes	No	Row
Row Count				Total
Drug group	1	21	60	82
	1.2	25.6	73.2	59.9
Non-drug group	28	3	24	55
	50.9	5.5	43.6	40.1
Column	29	24	84	137
Total	21.2	17.5	61.3	100.0

Chi - square = 50.71506

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.60843

Table 4.31 explores the former associates in crime - "former employers" and their impact on the chances to change the criminal way of life. Despite the highly significant difference observed between the two groups, the limited number of responses on the part of the non-drug group introduces the customary cautions. Nevertheless, about 26% of the drug group, and about 6% of the non-drug respondents felt that their former employers exercise some kind of influence over their chances for rehabilitation. The above findings may possibly reflect the persistency in utilizing the valuable work force, on the part of the adult drug dealers.

Table 4.32

Impact of Society's Reactions on Chances to Change From
Criminal Path of Life by Current Offense Group.

Count	Yes	No	Row
Row count			Total
Drug group	38	44	82
	69.1	30.9	59.9
Non-drug group	38	17	55
	46.3	53.7	40.1
Column	76	61	137
Total	55.5	44.5	100.0

Chi - square = 6.00728 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0142

Chi - square = 6.89756 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0086

(Before Yates Correction)

Phi = 0.22438

A significant difference can be observed in Table 4.32 between the two groups, with regard to society's impact on their chances to change. While roughly 69% of the non-drug group felt that the society's reactions had some kind of an impact on their chances to change, only 46.3% of the drug group respondents felt that way. About 54% of the drug group felt that the society's reaction had no impact on their chances, an answer which may reflect (as in Table 4.30) a doomed attitude, reflecting socially stereotypical attitudes towards drug dealers. An attitude which is already perceived as an unchangeable fact and not a disputable or negotiable process which could have any kind of impact on their chances to change. Here, again, following the multiple regression analysis additional modifier variable was picked up by the computer program as a better predictor of the impact of society's reaction on chances to change. The additional variable was whether or not they lived with their children (while not incarcerated). These additional results are provided in Table 4.32a.

Table 4.32a

Whether or Not The Respondents Live With Their Children
(while not incarcerated) by Society's Reaction in Impact on
Chances to Change From Criminal Path of Life.

Count	No	Yes	No	Row
Row Count	Children			Total
	28	28	20	76
Yes	36.8	36.8	26.3	55.5
	19	15	27	61
No	31.1	24.6	44.3	44.5
Column	47	43	47	137
Total	34.3	31.4	34.3	100.0

Chi - square = 5.11517

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0775

Cramer's V = 0.19323

Table 4.33a points to the fact that society's reaction
and its impact on chances to change from criminal path of

life is predicted by whether or not the respondents live with their children, while not incarcerated. Roughly 44% of the respondents who do not live with their children felt that the society's reaction had no impact on their chances to change.

Table 4.32b

Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Live With Their Children (while not incarcerated) by Current Offense Group.

Count	No	Yes	No	Row
Row Count	Children			Total
Drug group	23	20	12	55
	41.8	36.4	21.8	40.1
Non-drug group	24	23	35	82
	29.3	28.0	42.7	59.9
Column	47	43	47	137
Total	34.3	31.4	34.3	100.0

Chi - square = 6.41385

D.F. = 2

Significance = 0.0405

Cramer's V = 0.21637

Table 4.32b does not show a significant difference between the two groups with regard to whether or not they live with their children while not incarcerated. Nevertheless the data from this table is relevant due to the importance of this variable in the results of multiple regression analysis, which will be discussed further on.

Table 4.33

Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Believe That They Could Actually Change Their Criminal Path of Life by Current Offense Group.

Count	Yes	No	Row
Row count			Total
Drug group	48	34	82
	58.5	41.5	59.9
Non-drug group	45	10	55
	81.8	18.2	40.1
Column	93	44	137
Total	67.9	32.1	100.0

Chi - square = 7.15137 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0075

Chi - square = 8.18441 D.F. = 1 Significance = 0.0042

(Before Yates Correction)

Phi = 0.24442

Table 4.33 shows quite a significant difference between the drug and non-drug group with regard to their own attitude toward possible change in their criminal way of life. Only about 59% of the drug group respondents believe that they could actually change, as opposed to roughly 89% of the respondents from the non-drug group who believe so. It is consistent with their answers to the questions about the society's impact on their chances to change. Their pattern of answers seems to reflect a "pre-doomed" attitude both in their own eyes, as well as their perceptions of social reactions. Again a cautionary note regarding this interpretation should be considered. While running the multiple regression analysis on the variables, two independent variables were picked by the computer program, as best predictors of the one's belief in change. The two variables were: 1) assumption of personal responsibility and its impact on change, and 2) marital status of those lived with while growing up. While the first variable makes a perfect sense in explaining one's belief in change, the second seems to require a more complex explanation. The following Tables 4.33a and Table 4.33b present the results discussed above.

Table 4.33a

Note of Self-Willingness, Assumption of Personal Responsibility in Its Impact on Chances to Change From Criminal Path of Life by Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Believe That They Can Change.

Count	Yes	No	Row
Row Count			Total
	79	14	93
Yes	84.9	15.1	67.9
	25	19	44
No	56.8	43.2	32.1
Column	104	33	137
Total	75.9	24.1	100.0

Chi - square = 11.43124

D.F. = 1

Significance = 0.0007

Phi = 0.30714

Table 4.33a points to the fact that about 85% of respondents who believe that they can change their criminal way of life are those who have the self-willingness to do so, in other words the prospect of change is not influenced by some external forces, like the society's impact, but an entirely self-control process.

Table 4.33b

Marital Status of Those Lived With While Growing Up by The Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Believe That They Can Change Their Criminal Path of Life.

Count	Not - Married	Married	Row
Row Count			Total
	28	65	93
Yes	30.1	69.9	67.9
	26	18	44
No	59.1	40.9	32.1
Column	54	83	137
Total	39.4	60.6	100.0

Chi - square = 9.32842

D.F. = 1

Significance = 0.0023

Phi = 0.27694

Table 4.33b points to the fact that roughly 70% of the respondents who lived with married parents while they were growing up do believe that they can change their criminal path of life. On the other hand about 59% of the respondents who came from not-married households, believe that they can not change. Here the demographic variable presents a stronger explanation to the respondents belief regarding a possible non-criminal alternative of life, than the impacts of society, social surroundings, former employers, etc.

Multiple regression results

What has been done so far is what is called in market research a "single factor scan", cross-tabbing the key variable of drug versus non-drug offense with all other variables. This procedure, however, doesn't take into account the relationship among the other variables and does

not isolate which variables are predictive over and above all others.

There are three standard approaches to this problem when dealing with tabular data. One is CHAID, chi-square hierarchical automatic interaction detection (Magidson, 1989). The second is hierarchical log-linear analysis (Norusis, 1985). A problem with this particular choice is that log-linear does not allow the user to designate dependent and independent variables. Third, is a set of methods known collectively as "Grizzle-Stamer-Koch" methods (Grizzle, et al., 1969). A problem with all these methods is that they require enormous N, well beyond the reach of the current study.

What was done as a compromise was to dummy-code drug - non-drug as 1, 0, as the dependent variable and then to dichotomize all the categorical variables into 1 and 0 code, making 1 either the most numerous, e.g., "Black" by ethnicity or the category of most interest, e.g., "Married" for marital status. The results of the recode were then given to SPSS-X regression program (Norusis, 1988), using pairwise deletion and stepwise selection, to maximize the use of the N (140) that was available.

Drug - non - drug offense as dependent variable

Type of offense, the crucial variable was regressed on all the predictors and only two emerged as salient. They were whether the subjects live with their children when not incarcerated, and whether or not they believe they can change. The first variable accounted for 5.72% of the variance and was positive, i.e., drug offenders tended more to live with their children than non-drug offenders. This relationship can be seen displayed as a cross-tab in Table 4.32b. The second variable accounted for 5.97% of the variance in the dependent variable and the relationship was negative, i.e., drug-offenders were less likely to see themselves as able to change. This relationship can be seen as a cross-tab in Table 4.33. No other variables were selected for entry into multiple regression, i.e., were identified as being significant over and above all others.

Attempts to quit as dependent variable

Next, attempts to quit the criminal life style was used as the dependent variable and drug versus non-drug offenders was put as one of the independent variables. Regression first selected belief in the ability to quit which accounted for 7.21% of the variance. Not surprisingly, those who

believed in their ability to quit were more likely to have attempted to quit. Their relationship can be seen as a cross-tab in Table 4.26a. Next, regression indicated "do you live with your children when not incarcerated" which accounted for 5.23% of the variance. Here the relationship was not surprising as can be seen as a cross-tab in Table 4.26b. Those who lived with their children when not incarcerated were somewhat more likely to have made attempts to change their criminal life style. No other variables, including drug versus non-drug offense were selected by multiple regression.

Belief in the ability to change as dependent variable

Finally belief in one's ability to change was used as the dependent variable. First regression selected the belief in personal responsibility which accounted for 9.43% of the variance in the dependent variable and the relationship is displayed as a cross-tab in Table 4.33a. Not surprisingly, those who believed in personal responsibility had a greater belief in their ability to change. Secondly, regression selected marital status of those lived with while growing up which accounted for 7.10% of the variance in the dependent variable. The cross-

tabular relationship may be seen in Table 4.33b where is clear that two-thirds of those who believe they can change were raised by two-parents compared with 40% of those who don't share this belief.

In summary: Drug - versus non-drug offense was predicted only by whether the subjects live with their children when not incarcerated and whether they believe they can change. Attempts to quit crime were predictable only by belief in the ability to change and whether or not they live with their children. Belief in the ability to change was predicted only by belief in personal responsibility and marital status of those lived with while growing up. It is interesting to note the recurrence of variables concerning the subjects' families of procreation and orientation, but the meaning of this remains speculative from these data.

It is important to note that drug versus non-drug was not selected as a predictor of the attitudinal questions.

Chapter VI

Discussion and Conclusions

While there seems to be a balance between theory and methodology in physics, Bernard and Ritti (1990) raise some provocative questions about the insufficient attention given by researchers in criminology to the theoretical aspect of the scientific enterprise. Accordingly to their arguments, in the last 20 years, the field of criminology has become increasingly quantified, and an enormous amount of research has been published . Almost all these research studies test theory of some type, regardless of whether the theory is stated clearly or vaguely. Too much emphasis appears to be placed on the sophistication of methodological and analytical techniques, and too little attention to the careful specification of the theoretical issue that is being addressed.

The above seemed to be in accordance with Sutherland and Cressey's (1974) plea for a new school of criminology, and the aim of this study was to address that challenge, by

testing and integrating three major theories. The following, telling statement, from Bernard and Ritti's (1990) book, has guided me in my study of the area of juvenile delinquency and its origin:

"No matter how sophisticated the research techniques, progress in criminology as a science cannot occur unless that research is based on explicit and intelligent theory" (Bernard et al., 1990, pp.18-19).

This study was designed to investigate the initiation and utilization process through which the under-aged felons are introduced into organized criminal activity of drug distribution networks. The "under-aged" were defined so in order to distinguish between very young kids (10 to 15 years of age), who would be considered, by both older felons and law enforcement authorities, as inappropriate for formal prosecution, as opposed to a slightly older adolescents (over 15 years of age) who would be considered already as young criminals. This distinction was based more on the prevailing attitudes than on formal adjudication categories (delinquent - adult criminal). A major part of the study focused on the retrospective accounts of adult offenders incarcerated at the Rikers Island Correctional Facility in New York City. Regression analyses, cross-tabs and multiple regression analyses were performed on data gathered from two

groups of adult offenders (in their early to late 20's), to determine the most potent self-report variables that influenced the process of initiation and career-structure orientation of the under-aged drug dealers. The two groups consisted of: 1) drug related offenders who were currently convicted of a drug related offense (N = 85), called the "drug group" and 2) non-drug related offenders, who were convicted of non-drug related offenses (N = 55), called the "non - drug group". For both groups, convictions were for felonies only.

It is important to mention at this point that according to the Drug Use Forecasting (D.U.F.) program of the Federal National Institute of Justice (Substance Abuse Report, May 15, 1990), urine analysis in the New York City area correctional facilities showed that 74% of the arrestees tested positively for cocaine use, 24% tested positively for heroin use, and 30% tested positively for marijuana use. The self-reports of these arrestees to drug use questions were not so close to the urineanalysis, especially for cocaine use. Only 47% of the respondents admitted to cocaine use, and 17% to heroin use, for marijuana the results were quite close - 28% admitted to marijuana use. Bearing the above results in mind one should approach with cautious the answers to the drug-use questions by the non-drug sample. In some cases, responses imply that 90% of this group have used drugs (Table 4.7), on the other

hand only about 15% to 10% claimed to become subsequent regular drug users (Tables 4.11, and 4.20), and for most questions, that between 20% to 40% have used drugs. One possible explanation for that pattern of responses can be that the respondents were confused as far as their present drug habit is concerned in comparison to their early or first experiences.

The results of this study may be summarized under the following major findings:

Analysis of the data collected through the interviews yielded findings relevant to each of the hypotheses. In order to present these findings in the most explicit manner, each hypotheses will be addressed separately with the relevant data.

The first hypothesis aimed to test the ecology and epidemiology model of crime as spread in the immediate neighborhood, together with an exposure to differential association approaches while learning the criminal behavior from peers and from adult offenders. The hypothesis argues that the majority of the adolescent offenders are already exposed to a variety of illicit activities in their neighborhoods, but their direct involvement in such activities varies depending upon the crime. While those who

are involved in drug related offenses were initially introduced and to some extent recruited by adult offenders into organized drug distribution activities, the under-aged non-drug offenders' introduction into criminal activity was, in comparison, either predominantly self-induced, or promoted by peer pressure.

The findings reflected in Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 present some degree of support for hypothesis 1 and can be summarized as follows (in accordance with order of the tables mentioned above):

- 1) Almost 50% of the drug group commenced their criminal activity at the age of 12 or younger as compared to the 16% of the non-drug group. This pattern, which may reflect a purposeful manipulative introduction to drug offenses at an earlier age by adult offenders, shows a significant difference between the two groups.

- 2) Over 70% of the drug group were introduced to specific criminal acts by friends, 35% of the non drug group was introduced by "others" a factor described by them as primarily self induction. Again a significant difference between the two groups.

- 3) While for both groups, over 60% were introduced to criminal activities on the street, which reflects exposure to illicit activities in their immediate neighborhood, it is interesting to find that about 25% of the non-drug group was introduced at other various locations, often involving criminal activities performed at a locus of opportunity.

- 4) Roughly 90% of the drug group's first offense was actually drug related as compared to 27% from the non-drug group, a finding that validates in part the separate identities of samples chosen for this study, despite the fact that they were chosen by current offense groups.

- 5) While there was a significant difference between the groups with regard to who initially introduced them into drug use, about 66% of the drug group were introduced by "friends", (peers and adults) 44% of the total sample - an overall 50 respondents out of 55 were actually introduced to drugs. This shows a tremendously influential exposure in neighborhoods affected with the spread of the drug culture. Support for this findings can be observed as well in Table 4.9, dealing

with locus of introduction into drug use. It is safe to assume at this point that based on the results above, the parasitic stage, as described by Stier and Richards (1987) has been once again demonstrated. The leeway for criminal enterprise to exist and to exploit the community they are imbedded in can be deduced from the intensity and extent in which the adolescents are exposed to the drug culture.

- 6) The most significant support for hypotheses dealing with the role of adult offenders comes from findings in Table 4.7. Over 80% of the drug group responded that they were specifically asked by older individuals to sell drugs for them. The findings from Table 4.8, which describes the introduction into drug use at a very early age, (for the drug group at the age of 12 or younger almost 38%) may serve as indicators for more extended and deeper involvement due to the age vulnerability. This could well be related to a pattern of purposeful approach by an adult offender to an adolescent. At this point some validation for social network theories can be found. According to Laumann et al. (1987,) a social network can be

defined as a set of nodes, e.g. persons, linked by a set of social relationships, e.g. transfer of funds. In this case the "persons" would be the adult drug dealers, and the adolescents, and the "transfer of funds" would turn into transfer of drugs, or drug trafficking. According to Feld's approach (1981) the social network is a pattern of clusters and connections among clusters, and the patterns can be explained by underlying foci and individual relationships to those foci. Feld's approach allows to treat a pair of individuals as the unit of analysis, hence in this case the relationship between the older person - the drug dealer, and the under-aged, who was asked to sell drugs can be analyze as a unit representing social network. Not enough information is available from this study in order to analyze the complexity of this relationship. What can be taken into consideration though is the fact that such a unit does exist since not only the respondents were asked to sell drugs for older drug dealers, but they were also approached at a certain, early age, and the majority of them indeed ended selling drugs. It is not clear whether or not their involvement in drug trafficking came as a direct and immediate outcome of their relationship with the older

dealers, but it is safe to assume that at this early age the drug supply for dealing could not have been obtained by many other ways.

According to numerous researchers (Ashley, 1972; Blum, 1972; Crawford et al., 1983; Sutter, 1969), most young users were first turned on by close friends who were themselves just beginning to experiment with drugs. Moreover, Sutter (1969) insists that turning someone on is an expression of trust, friendship and acceptance. Epidemiological studies, especially longitudinal studies have clearly demonstrated that drug initiation is influenced by contextual factors, especially peers (e.g., Kandel, 1985; Elliott, Hunziga, and Ageton, 1985). More recent epidemiological data (Kandel, 1991) suggest that the behavior of users within a culture is also determined by broader social-cultural factors, and in particular the overall pervasiveness of the use of drugs in a given society. According to Kandel (1991), it appears that the higher the overall societal levels of use, the greater the involvement in drugs on the part of the users, the more persistent the use, the earlier the age of onset into the use of drugs. It can not be directly established that the younger age of initiation of the "drug-group" subjects implies definite enticement by adults, especially when taking into consideration the importance of peer influence as discussed above. Nevertheless it is crucial to

point out that it can be safely assumed, based on the finding of this research, that there is a difference between introduction to drug use by peers, as part of the friendship or acceptance process, and purposeful introduction by adult drug dealers, as part of the drug trafficking network. Young children are especially lucrative targets, not only because they are naive and vulnerable, but because they represent a potential long-term clientele (Faupel, 1991). The key issue to the question whether the drug-group was actually introduced into drugs mostly by peers or by adults can be detected in the percentage of the respondents who were first introduced by the age of 12 or under. Almost 40% of the drug-group was actually introduced to drug at that early age, and based on this finding alone, it can be assumed that it is something more than merely peer influence.

Hypothesis 2 was based on the differential association model, and the epidemiology of crime model on a more specific level, and tested the degree of personal drug use, based on the sub-hypothesis that this would be encouraged by the adult employers. Again some degree of support can be found in the data obtained from Tables 4.5, 4.10 through 4.14, 4.17, 4.19 through 4.28, and 4.30.

1) While roughly 85% of the drug group report criminal involvement either immediately or within one week after the first offense was committed, only 70% of the non-drug group followed that pattern. Again quite a significant difference between the two groups. The above finding could be explained by external influence that guided both the initial act and subsequent immediate involvement. The intensity and volume of the criminal involvement provide some support to Shaw and Mckay (1969) theories about the ecological distribution of crime. It is evident that these kids grew up in a social setting in which delinquency was an accepted form of conduct, the neighborhood included many opportunities for delinquent involvement. Data from additional tables provide also information about the involvement in criminal activities at an early age, and the involvement is passed from the older persons to young kids.

2) Data from Tables 4.10 through 4.14 provides additional findings to support the second hypothesis. An overwhelming 84.1% of the drug group

admitted to the fact of being habitual drug users, as opposed to only 14.5% of the non-drug group. These findings are consistent with the data related to the frequency and type of offenses committed. The fact that even at the early stage of criminal involvement, roughly 60% of the drug group saw a career pattern developing in their criminal activities is consistent with the 61% of respondents from the drug group who claimed that their drug related activities had a heavy impact on their family attachments. The respondent's identification with criminal career and criminal world serves as additional support for the ecology of crime theory.

- 3) The drug groups' deep involvement in drug use, is reflected in both the volume of use and in their ways of spending of their economic gains, as well as in their self perceptions. Even at the earliest stages, about 17% of the drug group felt good about themselves after the first encounter with law enforcement, in a way taking pride in their criminal involvement. Only 4% from the non-drug group felt that way. Almost 80% of the drug group gained income from their drug related activities on a daily basis, roughly 52% of that

group spent criminal economic gain on drugs, and about 30% of the group spent it on drugs and other goods. The above findings are consistent with data from Table 4.21, in which almost 74% of the drug group admitted to being dependent on drug use. Support for these findings can be found in a recent study by Inciardi and Pottieger (1991) dealing with kids, crack and crime. Despite the fact that crack is a recent phenomenon, and it is not applicable to population of this study (the recollection process goes back over 10 years), its findings describe crack dealing as a mean to finance drug use, crack use as encouraging more crack use, and more crack use as requiring more profit-making crimes. A similar pattern can be observed among this study's population.

- 4) Almost 71% of the respondents from the drug group committed drug related offenses as adolescents, and at the same time over 50% of these respondents felt that the drug use made them both more aggressive and effective while committing crimes.

Interestingly enough, are the findings from Table 4.24 where 33% of the respondents from the drug

group did not experience any regrets about their drug use, which might be consistent with their "career path" perceptions. The above findings may give some support to the specialization issue. A study of juvenile specialization done by Kempf (1986) indicated that patterns of specialization do exist and remain even when race, gender, unique juvenile career stages, and adult offender status are separately controlled. The specialization issue is relevant in identifying two separate patterns of initiation.

- 5) The prevalent pattern of offenders who experienced changes in loyalty priorities towards their families (46.3% of the drug group), and the percentage of respondents who either tried or consulted somebody about quitting drug use (58.2% of the drug group who tried to quit, and 32.5% who sought some counseling) indicates heavy involvement in drug use among the drug dealers. The above data may well indicate encouragement towards drug abuse, other than incidental. The latter view is supported by data reported in Table 4.29, where 28.% of the respondents from drug group reported being threatened by somebody not to quit their drug use.

The last hypothesis tested labelling theories, from both the offender's perspective regarding his chances for rehabilitation, and the role played by the public in this process. Data from Tables 4.14, 4.17, 4.26 through 4.29, and 4.31 through 4.33, may partially support the third hypothesis, although a cautionary note should be taken into consideration regarding the results presented in Tables 4.26, 4.32, and 4.33, as explained in the previous chapter.

- 1) The first step towards perceiving themselves as deviant and cut off from non-criminal activities can be observed in changes in their relationships to structure. Over 60% of the respondents from the drug group admitted that their family attachments were affected by their involvement in drug trafficking. In comparison only 24% from the non-drug group felt that their family attachments were changed due to their involvement in criminal activities. This finding is consistent with their report of the image they felt was projected on them by the society. Almost 25% of the drug group felt that they were perceived as addicts and 39% felt that they are perceived as criminals. This, in comparison with about 51% of respondents from

the non-drug group who felt that they were perceived as kids in trouble; (only 19.5% from the drug group felt that way). From these results labelling of the self as criminal is quite variable and a labelling theory model of criminality is not fully supported. Addiction though is a different story. Regular users see themselves as addicts, believe they are seen as addicts and, whether rationalizing or actually compelled by the label, continue their deviant behavior.

- 2) Findings already discussed from Tables 4.26 through 4.28, together with data from Table 4.29 (roughly 70% of the respondents from the drug group said that they were not approached by parent or legal guardian and asked to quit the drug use), demonstrate how deeply structured was the respondents' involvement in drug use and trafficking.
- 3) Another important finding in support of the labelling approach can be found in the fact that almost 32% of the respondents from the drug group felt that their willingness to change does not play an important part in

their ability to change. This attitude of being doomed - "once an addict always an addict", can be also seen in the data in Table 4.32, where almost 31% of the drug group respondents believe that even society can not make a difference in their chances for rehabilitation. The rigid stereotypes about drug dealers and addicts as expressed by society can not be resisted. Interestingly enough, about 54% of the respondents from the non-drug group felt that society had no impact on their chances for rehabilitation. Again the results from Table 4.26, and 4.32 can be spurious due to other variables picked by the MR analysis as better predictors of attempts to quit and the society's impact on change. Hence this particular interpretation should be approach with caution.

- 4) An overwhelming majority of 82% of the respondents from the non-drug group believe that they can actually change their criminal way of life and look for possible non-criminal alternatives. In comparison only about 59% from the drug - group felt that way. This pattern of response again reflects the way they see themselves as mostly cut off from non-criminal alternatives,

as compared to non-drug offenders. Again this interpretation of the results might be spurious due to MR analysis which picked self-willingness and marital status of those lived with while growing up, as better predictors of their beliefs of change. The above may as well diminish to a great extent the validity of hypothesis 3.

These findings demonstrate that casual explanation and research dealing solely with a single independent theory and its effects may minimize and oversimplify the causal role of certain factors on one hand, and on the other, overestimate and overrate their importance and significance.

The general notions of variable interaction which are implied by each one of the three theories, independently, were not supported by the data of the present study as being the sole major predictors of the involvement and career development of the under aged in organized drug distribution networks. Only, while combined together these variables can provide more adequate explanation for that particular criminogenic way of life. A separate part of this study was devoted to the interactional theories. These theories tend to view delinquent behavior as an active part of developmental process, interacting with other social factors to determine the person's ultimate behavior. Within the

framework of this study an attempt was made to look at this developmental process, as something introduced by others rather than a self-induced behavior, with regard to under-age drug trafficking. The understanding of interaction with other social factors, like delinquent neighborhoods, peers, families, societal reactions, etc., may provide a more adequate explanation of crime causation. It is not clear from the findings of this study whether the approach to crime causation is embedded in the interaction between the developmental process and social factors, or the integration of the above. A sharp differentiation between the two groups can not be made, there is some overlapping between the ones involved in an intensive and regular drug trafficking and the others, from the non-drug group, who were also engaged in drug related activities, but on a less regular basis.

As far as the representativeness of time and place of this study are concerned, studies of young criminals in general and young drug users in particular, have established a relative similarity of characteristics of people involved in similar type of illegal activities (Chein et al., 1964). Illegal drug use in the inner city expanded rapidly since the 1960's and continued into the 1990's, while the basic change can be observed in the type of substance which becomes popular at a given period of time. The number of heroin users has remained relatively stable, the use of

cocaine have grown tremendously since the mid-1970s. The popularity of "crack" exploded in 1986 and 1987; crack now dominates the illicit drug markets in many inner cities (Johnson et al., 1990). Crack-cocaine is the newest substance included in discussions of the relationship between drug use and crime. The crack-crime dynamic, at least for adolescent crack dealers, represent an intensified version of the classic drug-crime relationship originally described for adult heroin users. Both patterns rest on addiction, but for crack addiction appears to be more rapid, and the financial requirements seem more unlimited, and the rewards of the crack trade go well beyond those of heroin dealing. In addition young crack dealers seem to be more involved in a drug-crime life style at a very early age (Inciardi et al., 1991).

Cross validation of the results of this study, with samples of offenders representing similar and other population characteristics should be undertaken to clearly ascertain the importances and the nature (whether the nature is described as an interaction or integration) of the three types of influences; the differential association, the labelling and the epidemiology of crime, on the initiation process, the introduction process, and the career development of an under-aged drug dealers. A proper attention should be given to the nature and characteristics of the crack epidemic, by focusing on findings from this

study and validating their applicability and relevance to the present trends in substance trade and abuse.

Problems and Limitations of the Study

A few words need to be devoted to this important aspect of the research. The possible ethical problems and limitations I anticipated from the respondents were the fear of self-incrimination on one hand, and the opportunity to brag on the other hand.

Although the respondents were already sentenced and there should be no fear of self-incrimination when describing the rather "ancient history" pertaining to their initiation into crime, they may still fear that too much disclosure might interfere with their chances of early release, by parole. In order to mitigate such fears as much as possible, I did my best in trying to explain as clearly as possible the aim of the research and its assurances of anonymity. In order to provide the respondents with a free choice and not to intimidate them from the beginning, I gave them the option to give their names, both at the beginning of the interview, and then again after the interview outlines were completed. I found this technique very helpful since they seemed to be apprehensive about giving

their names, but after the explanation that the name was not essential to the research, they seemed much more relaxed and prone to answer the questions fully.

Since this was a prevailing pattern, with the majority of the respondents it might serve as a guide for further studies using person to person interviews.

When bragging is concerned, it is difficult to control, especially in this type of interview, and it is true also with regard to validity of the self report studies, as far as recollection process and motives are concerned. Nevertheless researchers in the past (Brown et al., 1989) attempted to use retrospective-descriptive techniques in their studies. Their assumption allowed for some degree of inaccuracy and bias in the responses, based on the belief that these recollections are of interest and use in understanding delinquents and their reactions.

The comparison group was relatively small, which constitutes a problem by itself, nevertheless it still provided reasonable data for comparison.

Chapter VII

Recommendations

Too often, drug education that involves appeals to social agencies to inform parents, children, students, etc., about the pharmacological and psychological properties of drugs, their physical effects, production, distribution, and so forth, can be found on the pages of various documents whose supposed aim is to deal with the present hysteria over the drug issues. Of course, we can not ignore this most obvious policy alternative, and one of this study's recommendations, in the light of the seriousness of the drug problem, is definitely to devote as much as possible to better and more thorough education. Nonetheless this is not the most important aspect. It seems that education process concerned with the above mentioned ways of attacking the problem is an aftermath medicine and not a preventive one.

There appears to be a general agreement among social scientists that larger structure of our society makes it seem like certain groups will have unequal access to both

positive and negative opportunity. Theories differ as to how the social structure restricts the availability of means for certain individuals. Refining Merton's theory (which assumes that criminality is a response to circumstances where legitimate means to affluence, power and esteem are severely limited), Cloward and Ohlin (1960), contend that illegitimate means themselves are not equally available within culturally deprived population segments. Accordingly, this differential accessibility can give rise to three kinds of delinquent subcultures - criminality, violence and drug use, depending upon the distribution of certain neighborhoods and personal characteristics.

The issue to be addressed in the recommendations for social policies is the little interest devoted to the process that initiated the delinquent behavior, on the part of both social agencies and the legalistic juvenile court's attitude. It seems that the parties involved are somehow satisfied with the theoretical explanations to crime causation on a more general level. The specific contributions to juvenile delinquency, as exercised by adult offenders, seem to escape the attention of the agencies involved in crime prevention. The importance of localizing such a contribution appears to be overlooked well.

Understanding the methods of socialization of the adolescents into criminal behavior in general, and

specifically into organized drug distribution, gives greater promise for both prevention and rehabilitation. It also helps to attain insight into their own behavior and life patterns, which in turns will facilitate the control of that behavior and nature within the correctional facilities, whether for juvenile delinquents or for the adult offenders.

Suitable interventions must be developed to recognize and deal with the seriousness of adult drug dealers' influence on the very young child. Drug prevention programs, community, or school-based programs, could devote more resources and focus on that particular aspect of initiation into drug use, and drug trafficking.

As far as further research is concerned, it seems that additional studies into the nature and importance of the combine influence of more than one theory which aims to explain crime causation should be undertaken.

Chapter VIII

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine and describe the initiation process into organized criminal activities of drug dealing, experienced by the under-aged. The "under-aged" were defined so in order to distinguish between very young kids (10 to 15 years of age), who would be considered, by both older felons and law enforcement authorities, as inappropriate for formal prosecution, as opposed to a slightly older adolescents (over 15 years of age) who would be considered already as young criminals. This distinction was based more on the prevailing attitudes than on formal adjudication categories (delinquent-adult criminal).

The question was how to approach this sensitive (due to the age factor) population. There were few possible ways, one of which would be to observe adolescent gang members, another to interview juvenile delinquents incarcerated in juvenile institutions, and yet another to interview young sentenced felons. The idea would be to interview these

young felons, and based on their recollections, against the existing theoretical models, attempt to explain their recalled process of initiation.

The latter option was chosen and data was collected from 140 sentenced inmates, in their early 20's, incarcerated at the Rikers Island Correctional Institution in New York City. The advantage of this data set for this study was that it consisted of young sentenced felons who were still young enough to remember the incidents of their initiation process, and on the other hand, distant enough not to be concerned about repercussions from their responses.

The theoretical rationale for this study was based on three theories, the differential association theory, labelling theory, and ecology of crime. Since the subjects were, at the time the initiation took place, between the ages of 10 to 15, (the vast majority), their behavior was thought to be influenced by the exposure to a variety of illicit activities in their immediate neighborhoods. This was supposedly true in general about both drug and non-drug group, but the distinction between the group was in the mode of introduction. While the drug group was thought to be introduced, recruited and taught by adult offenders, the non-drug group supposedly entered the criminal way of life either by self-selection or peer association process. It

was theorized that adult offenders not only introduced and recruited the under-aged into drug dealing but also encourage personal drug use in order to turn them into more dependable and thus more reliable workers. Finally labeling theory was tested, from both the subject's own, and perceived societal, points of view, based on the assumption that the under-aged once involved in a labelled and structured way of life (the drug trafficking) will more likely see themselves and will be perceived by others as cut off from non-criminal alternatives. This would be in contrast to the non-drug group, who would tend to perceive possible non-criminal activities.

With these assumptions in mind, an interview outlines, for a person to person interview, were designed and interviews of 140 sentenced felons were performed. Based on the data from the interviews and the theoretical framework the major findings of this study were: 1) there was a positive relationship between being young and exposure to various illicit activities in both the immediate neighborhood and by family/friends (both peers and adult friends) involvement, for both groups. (2) There were positive relationships between the locus of introduction into the drug related activity on one hand, and locus of introduction into non-drug related activities on the other. (3) There was an overwhelming majority of responses from the

drug group who claimed to be approached by older persons and asked to sell drug for them, which correlates with an introduction at a very early age.

(4) There were positive relationships between drug use, drug sales and subsequent immediate involvement in drug related criminal behavior. (5) There were positive relationships between the volume of drug offenses committed, the perception of "career path" and the family attachments.

(6) Over 60 percent of the drug group felt that they had been perceived as addicts and criminals, while roughly the same percentage from the non-drug group felt that they had been perceived rather like "kids in trouble" than criminals.

(7) The attitude of being doomed - "once an addict always an addict", seemed to be incorporated in both the self-image and the belief about society's perception, for over 50 percent of the respondents from the drug group. (8) The

overwhelming majority of respondents from the non-drug group believed that they can actually change and look for possible non-criminal alternatives (over 80 percent). In comparison only about 60 percent of respondents from the drug group expressed the same feelings.

The above interpretation of the results is based on the analyses of variables as presented in the cross-tables. The validity of the findings was diminished when multiple regression analyses was performed. As an outcome of this process cross validation of this study, with samples of

offenders representing similar an other population characteristics should be undertaken. They should aim to clearly ascertain the three types of influences, (the differential association, labeling, and ecology of crime) and their importance and nature as far as the initiation (specialization) process, and the career development patterns of an under-aged drug dealer are concerned.

APPENDIX A

Federal Trafficking Penalties

Narcotics Penalties & Enforcement Act of 1986

CSA	PENALTY		DRUG	Quantity	PENALTY	
	2nd Offense	1st Offense			1st Offense	2nd Offense
I and II	Not less than 10 years. Not more than life.	Not less than 5 years. Not more than 40 years.	HEROIN	1 kg or more mixture	Not less than 10 years. Not more than life.	Not less than 20 years. Not more than life.
			COCAINE	5 kg or more mixture		
	If death or serious injury, not less than life.	If death or serious injury, not less than 20 years. Not more than life.	COCAINE BASE	50 gm or more mixture	If death or serious injury, not less than 20 years. Not more than life.	If death or serious injury, not less than life.
			PCP	100 gm or more or 1 kg or more mixture		
	Fine of not more than \$4 million individual, \$10 million other than individual.	Fine of not more than \$2 million individual, \$5 million other than individual.	LSD	10 gm or more mixture	Fine of not more than \$4 million individual, \$10 million other than individual.	Fine of not more than \$8 million individual, \$20 million other than individual.
			FENTANYL	400 gm or more mixture		
		FENTANYL ANALOGUE	100 gm or more mixture			
Others*	Any	Not more than 20 years. If death or serious injury, not less than 20 years, not more than life. Fine \$1 million individual, \$5 million not individual.		Not more than 30 years. If death or serious injury, life. Fine \$2 million individual, \$10 million not individual.		
III	All	Any	Not more than 5 years. Fine not more than \$250,000 individual, \$1 million not individual.	Not more than 10 years. Fine not more than \$500,000 individual, \$2 million not individual.		
IV	All	Any	Not more than 3 years. Fine not more than \$250,000 individual, \$1 million not individual.	Not more than 6 years. Fine not more than \$500,000 individual, \$2 million not individual.		
V	All	Any	Not more than 1 year. Fine not more than \$100,000 individual, \$250,000 not individual.	Not more than 2 years. Fine not more than \$200,000 individual, \$500,000 not individual.		

*Does not include marijuana, hashish, or hashish oil. (See separate chart.)

Federal Trafficking Penalties - Marijuana

Narcotics Penalties & Enforcement Act of 1986

Quantity	Description	First Offense	Second Offense
1,000 kg or more	Marijuana Mixture containing detectable quantity*	Not less than 10 years, not more than life. If death or serious injury, not less than 20 years, not more than life. Fine not more than \$4 million individual, \$10 million other than individual.	Not less than 20 years, not more than life. If death or serious injury, not less than life. Fine not more than \$8 million individual, \$20 million other than individual.
100 kg to 1,000 kg	Marijuana Mixture containing detectable quantity*	Not less than 5 years, not more than 40 years. If death or serious injury, not less than 20 years, not more than life. Fine not more than \$2 million individual, \$5 million other than individual.	Not less than 10 years, not more than life. If death or serious injury, not less than life. Fine not more than \$4 million individual, \$10 million other than individual.
50 to 100 kg	Marijuana	Not more than 20 years. If death or serious injury, not less than 20 years, not more than life. Fine \$1 million individual, \$5 million other than individual.	Not more than 30 years. If death or serious injury, life. Fine \$2 million individual, \$10 million other than individual.
10 to 100 kg	Hashish		
1 to 100 kg	Hashish Oil		
100 or more plants	Marijuana		
Less than 50 kg	Marijuana	Not more than 5 years. Fine not more than \$250,000, \$1 million other than individual.	Not more than 10 years. Fine \$500,000 individual, \$2 million other than individual.
Less than 10 kg	Hashish		
Less than 1 kg	Hashish Oil		

*Includes hashish and hashish oil.

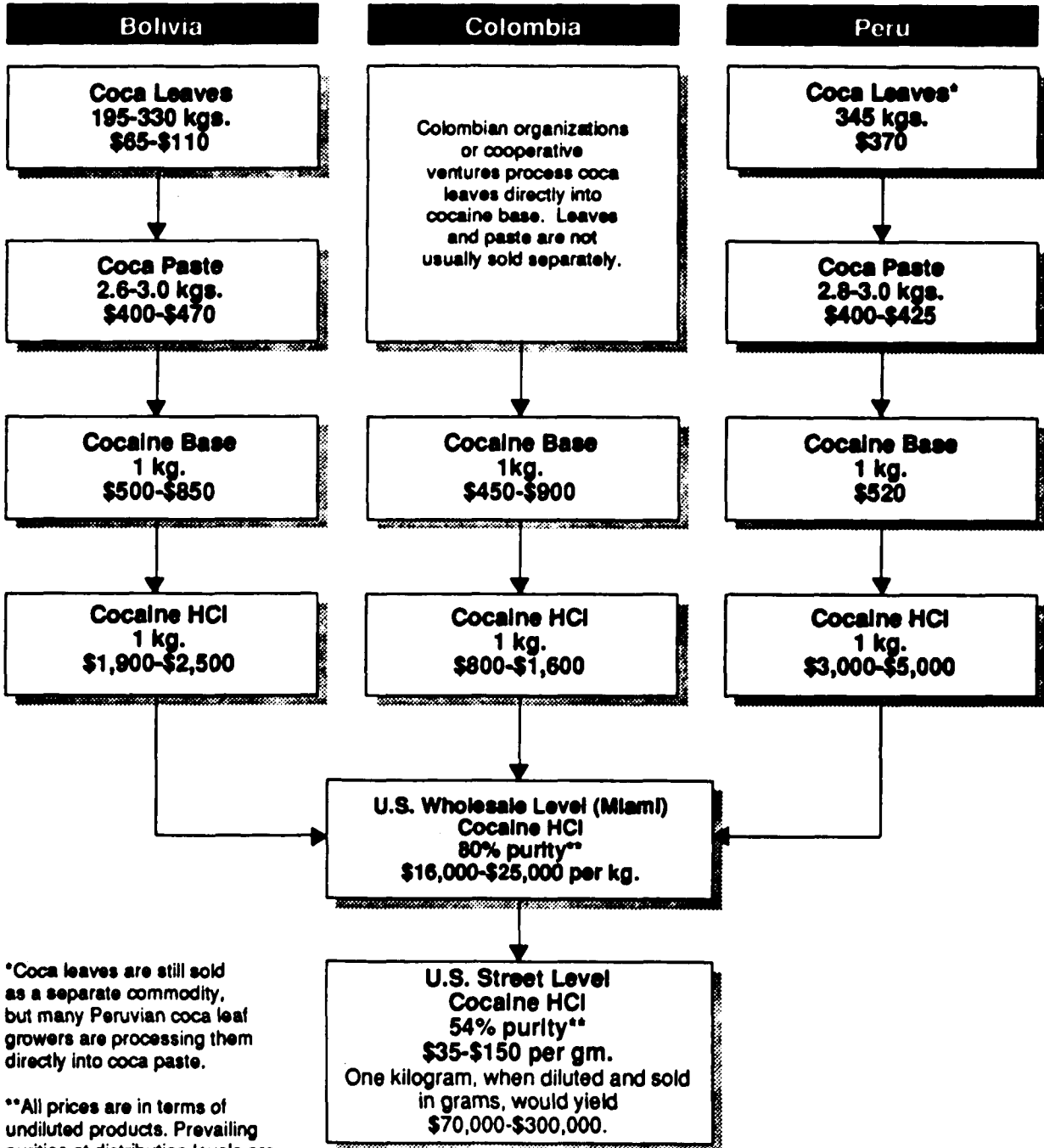
Marijuana, hashish, and hashish oil.

SOURCE: DRUGS OF ABUSE 1988 EDITION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION

APPENDIX B

Cocaine

Selling Prices for the Equivalent of One Kilogram of Cocaine at Successive Stages of Trafficking



*Coca leaves are still sold as a separate commodity, but many Peruvian coca leaf growers are processing them directly into coca paste.

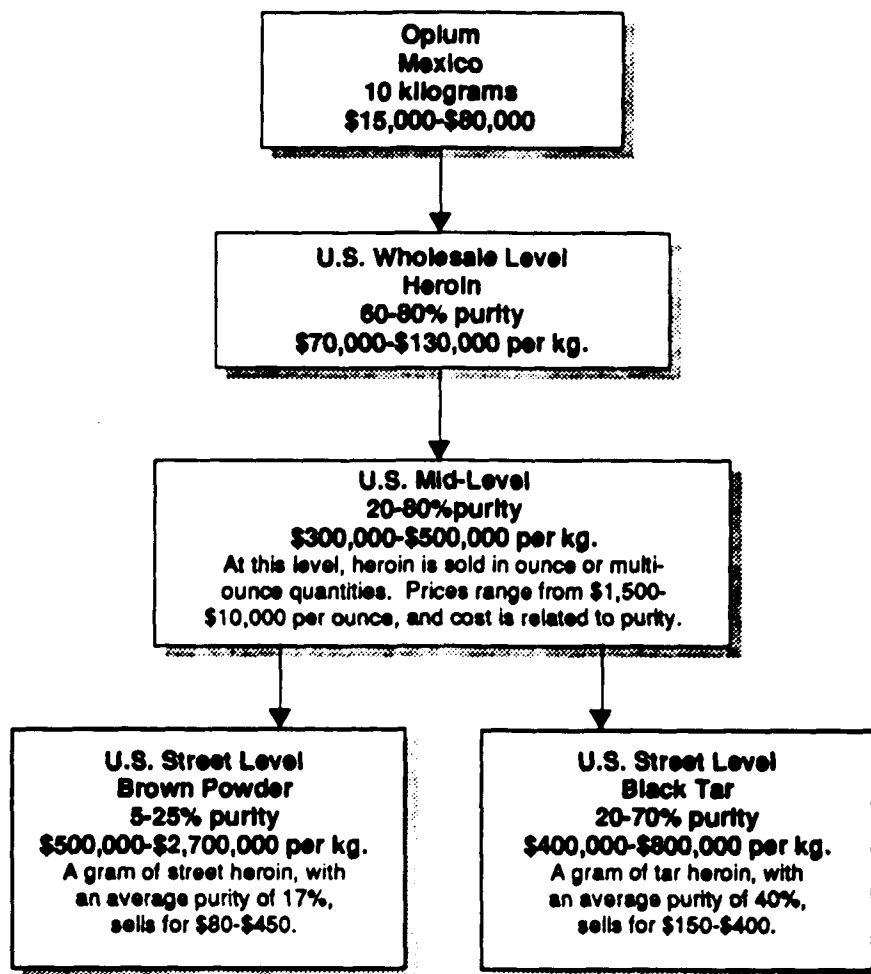
**All prices are in terms of undiluted products. Prevailing purities at distribution levels are indicated merely for convenience.

SOURCE: INTELLIGENCE TRENDS VOL.17, NO.1, 1990

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION

Mexican Heroin

Selling Prices for the Equivalent of One Kilogram of Mexican Heroin at Successive Stages of Trafficking (60-80% Purity)

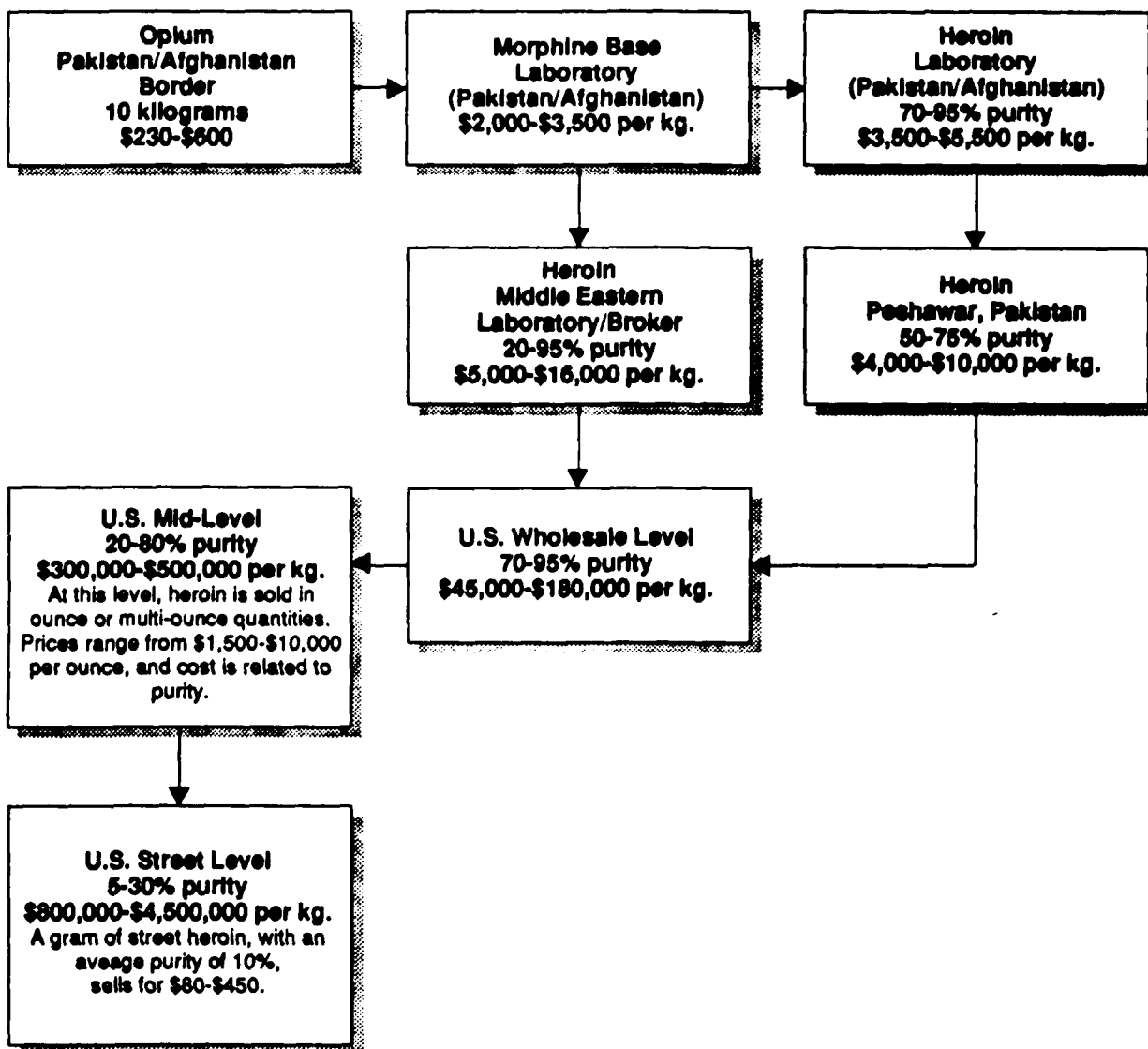


In Mexico, organizations or confederations direct virtually all aspects of heroin trafficking: opium poppy cultivation, the refining process, and the movement of the heroin within Mexico. In most instances, these same organizations also control the smuggling of the

heroin into the United States and its eventual sale at both the wholesale and retail levels. Consequently, heroin is rarely sold at the wholesale level in Mexico, but when it is, prices are comparable to those in the United States.

Southwest Asian Heroin

Selling Prices for the Equivalent of One Kilogram of Southwest Asian Heroin at Successive Stages of Trafficking (50-95% Purity)

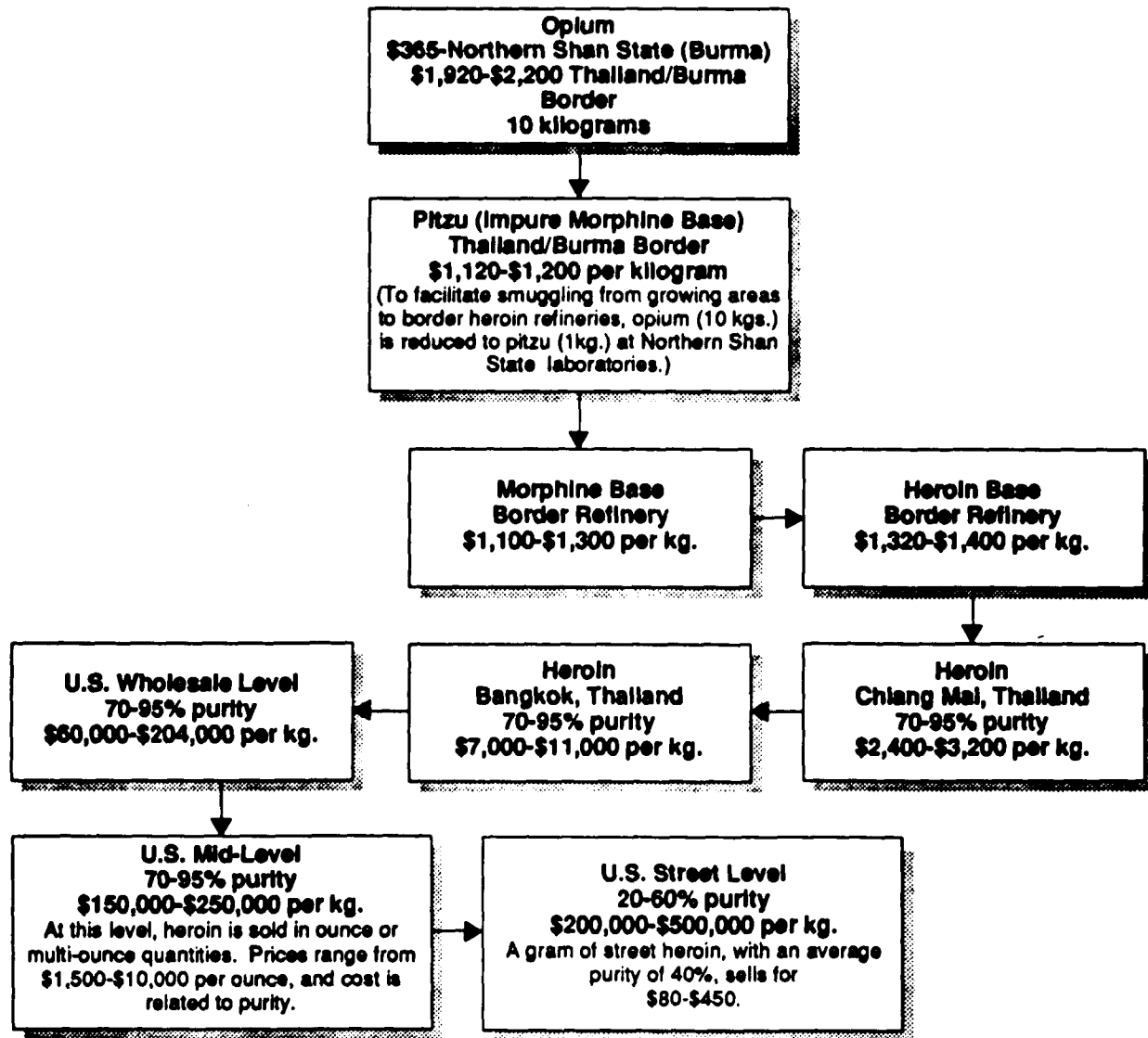


The change in price levels as opiates move from source to use primarily reflects the profit motive of dealers at each level of distribution. Factors such as geographic distance from source (and hence replaceability), increased refinement and portability through laboratory processing, and greater risk of seizure at borders and in distribution systems also affect the cost.

Southwest Asian heroin is produced in laboratories in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and several Middle Eastern countries. The morphine base used in these laboratories comes from Pakistan and Afghanistan which also are opium source areas.

Southeast Asian Heroin

Selling Prices for the Equivalent of One Kilogram of Southeast Asian Heroin at Successive Stages of Trafficking (70-95% Purity)



The change in price levels as opiates move from source to use primarily reflects the profit motive of dealers at each level of distribution. Factors such as geographic distance from source (and hence replaceability), increased refinement and portability through laboratory processing, and greater risk of seizure at borders and in distribution systems also affect the cost.

Southeast Asian opiates, from opium to heroin, are produced in Burma, Laos, and Thailand. Heroin from these laboratories is usually the injectable type (No.4) and averages from 70 to 95 percent in purity. Morphine and heroin base are smuggled into Hong Kong and Malaysia for further processing. The smoking heroin (No.3, with a purity range of 20 to 40 percent) produced in these locations is primarily for local consumption.

APPENDIX C

Selected Characteristics of Admissions with Cocaine
as the Primary Drug of Abuse:
New York City's Funded Treatment Programs, 1988,
1989, 1990

	'88	'89	'90
Total	10,942	11,619	10,622
Males	66%	63%	59%
Females	34	37	41
Age at Admission			
Less than 21 years	19%	15%	11%
21 years - 25 years	28	27	24
26 years - 35 years	43	46	51
More than 35 years	10	12	13
Black	62%	61%	65%
Hispanic	18	19	18
White	19	19	16
No Previous Treatment	61%	51%	53%
Age of First Use			
Less than 16 years	15%	14%	13%
16 years - 21 years	48	46	45
22 years - 30 years	30	32	34
More than 30 years	7	8	8
Route of Administration			
Smoking	66%	68%	72%
Intranasal	28	27	24
Intravenous	5	4	3
Secondary Drug			
Marijuana	39%	35%	30%
Alcohol	22	26	32
Heroin	6	6	6
None	24	23	24

Source: New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services.
Bureau of Management Information and Analysis.

APPENDIX D

Selected Characteristics of Admissions with Heroin
as the Primary Drug of Abuse:
New York City's Funded Treatment Programs, 1988,
1989, 1990

	'88	'89	'90
Total	12,373	10,939	11,992
Males	70%	69%	68%
Females	30	31	33
Age at Admission			
Less than 21 years	2%	2%	3%
21 years - 25 years	12	12	11
26 years - 35 years	51	49	47
More than 35 years	35	36	40
Black	29%	29%	32%
Hispanic	47	47	47
White	23	23	21
No Previous Treatment	26%	25%	38%
Age of First Use			
Less than 16 years	23%	23%	23%
16 years - 21 years	50	49	50
22 years - 30 years	22	23	23
More than 30 years	4	5	5
Route of Administration			
Intranasal	25%	31%	33%
Intravenous	71	66	65
Secondary Drug			
Cocaine	60%	60%	57%
Alcohol	5	5	6
Marijuana	4	4	4
None	20	21	21

Source: New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services.
Bureau of Management Information and Analysis.

APPENDIX E

Code Number _____
Interviewer _____
Date _____
Start Time _____

INTERVIEW OUTLINES

I. IDENTIFYING INFORMATION - CONSENT FORM - OPTIONAL

II. GENERAL QUESTIONS - DEMOGRAPHIC/SOCIO ECONOMIC

1. SEX

1. MALE
2. FEMALE

2. D.O.B.

-DAY
....MONTH
....YEAR

3. RACE

- 1....AMERICAN BLACK
- 2....NON - AMERICAN BLACK
- 3....HISPANIC
- 4....AMERICAN WHITE
- 5....OTHER

4. EDUCATION

A. THE HIGHEST GRADE OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY YOU/YOUR
PARENTS/GUARDIANS

1. NO FORMAL SCHOOLING
2. 8TH GRADE OR LESS
3. 9TH GRADE TO 11TH GRADE
4. 12TH GRADE
5. SOME COLLEGE

5. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

A. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN FORMALLY EMPLOYED?

1. YES
2. NO

B. IF YES

1. FULL TIME

2. PART TIME

C. IN WHAT CAPACITY?

6. MARITAL STATUS

1. MARRIED

2. LIVING AS MARRIED

3. SINGLE

4. DIVORCED

5. SEPARATED

6. OTHER

7. CHILDREN

A. DO YOU HAVE CHILDREN

1. YES
2. NO
3. NOT SURE

B. IF YES

1. WHAT AGE ARE THE CHILDREN?

C. DO YOU LIVE WITH YOUR CHILDREN?

1. YES
2. NO

8. LEGAL GUARDIANS AND RESIDENCE

- A. WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP WITH WHOM HAVE YOU LIVED?

1. BOTH PARENTS
2. MOTHER
3. FATHER
4. LEGAL GUARDIANS

B. WHAT WAS THEIR MARITAL STATUS?

1. MARRIED
2. LIVING AS MARRIED
3. SINGLE
4. DIVORCED
5. SEPARATED
6. WIDOWED
7. OTHER

C. WHERE WERE YOU BORN? YOUR PARENTS/LEGAL GUARDIANS?

D. WHERE WERE YOU RAISED AS A CHILD - WHAT NEIGHBORHOOD?

9. ECONOMIC - BOTH INMATE'S AND PARENTS/GUARDIANS

1. WELFARE
2. WORKING POOR
3. WORKING CLASS
4. MIDDLE CLASS
5. UPPER MIDDLE
6. UPPER
7. UNKNOWN

III. CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE INITIATION INTO CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

A. WHEN - WHAT AGE?

B. WHY?

1. I WAS IN THAT TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD
2. I WAS CURIOUS
3. I WAS HANGING AROUND ADULT CRIMINALS
4. MY FAMILY WAS INVOLVED IN CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

-
5. I WAS BORED/LOOKING FOR ADVENTURE
 6. OTHER

C. WHO INTRODUCED YOU?

1. FRIENDS
2. FAMILY FRIENDS
3. FAMILY/RELATIVES
4. OTHER

D. WHERE?

1. ON THE STREET/PARK/PLAYGROUND
2. FRIEND'S HOME
3. AT HOME
4. AT A PARTY
5. OTHER

5. TYPE OF OFFENSE

- A. DRUG RELATED OFFENSE

B. NON-DRUG RELATED OFFENSE

6. WHAT DID YOU THINK ABOUT IT AT THE TIME?

7. HOW SOON, AFTER THE FIRST TIME YOU PURSUE THE CRIMINAL
ACTIVITY?

8. HOW FREQUENTLY?

IV. INTRODUCTION INTO DRUG USE

A. BY WHOM?

B. WHEN?

C. WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES?

D. WHAT DID YOU THINK ABOUT IT?

E. HAVE YOU BECOME A USER?

V. CAREER PARAMETERS

A. FREQUENCY

B. TYPE OF OFFENSES

1. NON-DRUG CRIMES

2. DRUG RELATED

3. ROLE CHANGING

4. CAREER STRUCTURE

VI. IMPRISONMENT/ARREST HISTORY

1. FIRST ENCOUNTER

2. TYPE OF OFFENSE

3. FREQUENCY

4. SELF PERCEPTION

5. SIGNIFICANT OTHER'S REACTION

6. FIRST ARREST

7. FIRST CONVICTION

8. FIRST INCARCERATION

9. IMAGE

VII. ECONOMIC GAIN

1. DAILY/MONTHLY/ANNUALLY

2. HOW SPENT

3. DEPENDENCY

4. FROM WHAT TYPES OF OFFENSES?

VIII. ROLE OF DRUG USE IN PERFORMANCE OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

1. AGGRESSION

2. EFFECTIVENESS

3. DOUBTS/MISGIVINGS

4. LOYALTY

IX. ATTEMPTS TO QUIT

1. HAVE YOU EVER TRIED

2. CONSULTED ANYBODY/WERE ADVISED

3. APPROACHED BY PARENTS/GUARDIANS

4. THREATENED NOT TO

5. INFLUENCED NOT TO BY THE SOCIAL SURROUNDINGS

X. TODAY - HOW DO YOU SEE YOUR CHANCES TO CHANGE?

1. SELF-WILLINGNESS

2. THE FORMER "EMPLOYERS"

3. THE PEER GROUPS

4. FAMILY

5. SOCIETY

APPENDIX F

Code Number _____

Interviewer _____

Date _____

Start Time _____

INTERVIEW OUTLINES

I. GENERAL QUESTIONS - DEMOGRAPHIC/SOCIO ECONOMIC

1. SEX

1. MALE

2. FEMALE

2. D.O.B. (What is your day of birth?)

.....MONTH

.....DAY

.....YEAR

3. RACE (What is your race?)

1....AMERICAN BLACK

2....NON-AMERICAN BLACK

3....HISPANIC

4....AMERICAN WHITE

5....OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

4. EDUCATION

- A. THE HIGHEST GRADE OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY: 1) YOU;
2) YOUR MOTHER; 3) YOUR FATHER

(What is the highest grade of school completed
by you; your mother, your father?)

1. NO FORMAL SCHOOLING
2. 8TH GRADE OR LESS
3. 9TH GRADE TO 11TH GRADE
4. 12TH GRADE
5. SOME COLLEGE

5. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

- A. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN FORMALLY EMPLOYED?

1. YES
2. NO

B. IF YES:(Was it full time or part time employment?)

1. FULL TIME

2. PART TIME

C. IN WHAT CAPACITY? (What was the nature of your
employment?)

6. MARITAL STATUS (What is your present marital status?)

1. MARRIED

2. LIVING AS MARRIED

3. SINGLE

4. DIVORCED

5. SEPARATED

6. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

7. CHILDREN

A. DO YOU HAVE CHILDREN?

1. YES
2. NO
3. NOT SURE

B. IF YES - HOW MANY?

1. WHAT AGE ARE THE CHILDREN?

C. DO YOU LIVE WITH YOUR CHILDREN?

1. YES
2. NO

8. LEGAL GUARDIANS AND RESIDENCE

A. WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP WITH WHOM HAVE YOU LIVED?

-
1. BOTH PARENTS
 2. MOTHER
 3. FATHER
 4. LEGAL GUARDIANS

B. WHAT WAS THEIR MARITAL STATUS?

1. MARRIED
2. LIVING AS MARRIED
3. SINGLE
4. DIVORCED
5. SEPARATED
6. WIDOWED
7. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

C. WHERE WERE YOU BORN? YOUR PARENTS/LEGAL GUARDIANS?

D. WHERE WERE YOU RAISED AS A CHILD - WHAT NEIGHBORHOOD?

9. ECONOMIC STATUS - 1) YOURS; 2) YOUR PARENTS/GUARDIANS

(Please describe your economic status)

1. WELFARE
2. WORKING POOR
3. WORKING CLASS
4. MIDDLE CLASS
5. UPPER MIDDLE
6. UPPER
7. UNKNOWN

II. INITIATION INTO CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

1. CIRCUMSTANCES

A. AT WHAT AGE ? (At what age you were involved for the first time in any type of criminal activity?)

B. WHY? (Do you remember what was the reason for your first criminal involvement?)

1. I WAS IN THAT TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD
2. I WAS CURIOUS
3. I WAS HANGING AROUND ADULT CRIMINALS
4. MY FAMILY WAS INVOLVED IN CRIMINAL ACTIVITY
5. I WAS BORED/LOOKING FOR ADVENTURE
6. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

C. WHO INTRODUCED YOU? (Who initiated your first criminal involvement?)

1. FRIENDS
2. FAMILY FRIENDS
3. FAMILY/RELATIVES
4. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

D. WHERE? (Do you remember where it took place for the first time?)

1. ON THE STREET/PARK/PLAYGROUND
2. FRIEND'S HOME
3. AT HOME
4. AT A PARTY
5. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

2. TYPE OF OFFENSE (Was your first offense drug or non -
drug related?)

1. DRUG RELATED OFFENSE
2. NON-DRUG RELATED OFFENSE

3. WHAT DID YOU THINK ABOUT IT AT THAT TIME?

4. HOW SOON, AFTER THE FIRST TIME YOU PURSUE THE CRIMINAL
ACTIVITY?

1. IMMEDIATELY
2. WITHIN A WEEK
3. FEW WEEKS
4. FEW MONTHS
5. ONE YEAR
6. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

5. HOW FREQUENTLY YOU COMMITTED AN OFFENSE?

1. ONCE A DAY

-
2. ONCE A WEEK
 3. ONCE A MONTH
 4. EVERY FEW MONTHS
 5. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

III. INTRODUCTION INTO DRUG USE

1. BY WHOM? (Who introduced you for the first time into drug use?)

1. FRIEND/S
2. FAMILY FRIENDS
3. FAMILY/RELATIVES
4. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

2. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ASKED BY AN OLDER PERSON (OLDER THAN YOURSELF AT THE TIME) TO SELL DRUGS?

1. YES
2. NO

3. AT WHAT AGE YOU WERE FIRST INTRODUCED INTO DRUG USE?

4. WHERE DID IT HAPPEN?

1. STREET/PARK/PLAYGROUND

2. FRIENDS' HOME

3. AT HOME

4. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

5. WHAT DID YOU THINK ABOUT IT AT THE TIME?

6. HAVE YOU BECOME A USER?

1. YES

2. NO

IV. CAREER PARAMETERS AFTER THE INTRODUCTION INTO DRUG USE

1. FREQUENCY

A. HOW FREQUENTLY YOU HAVE COMMITTED AN OFFENSE?

1. ONCE A DAY
2. ONCE A WEEK
3. ONCE A MONTH
4. EVERY FEW MONTHS
- 5 ONE A YEAR
6. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

2. TYPE OF OFFENSE

A. WERE THE OFFENSES COMMITTED DRUG OR NON- DRUG RELATED?

1. DRUG RELATED
2. NON - DRUG RELATED

3. DID YOU SEE A CAREER PATTERN DEVELOPING?

1. YES

2. NO

4. DID IT AFFECT YOUR FAMILY STRUCTURE - ATTACHMENTS?

1. YES

2. NO

V. IMPRISONMENT/ARREST HISTORY

1. FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH LAW

A. AT WHAT AGE YOU HAD YOUR FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE LAW
ENFORCEMENT AGENCY?

B. WHAT TYPE OF OFFENSE? (Your first encounter with the Law
Enforcement Agency - was it due to
a drug or non - drug related
offense?)

1. DRUG RELATED
2. NON - DRUG RELATED

C. SELF PERCEPTION - HOW DID YOU FEEL ABOUT IT?

D. WHAT WAS THE REACTION OF YOUR PARENTS/LEGAL GUARDIANS?

2. WHAT WAS YOUR AGE WHEN YOU WERE ARRESTED FOR THE FIRST TIME?

3. WHAT WAS YOUR AGE AT THE FIRST CONVICTION?

4. WHAT WAS YOUR AGE WHEN YOU WERE INCARCERATED FOR THE FIRST TIME?

5. WHAT DO YOU THINK WAS YOUR IMAGE IN OTHER PEOPLES' EYES?

VI. ECONOMIC GAIN

1. FREQUENCY

A. HOW FREQUENT WAS YOUR ECONOMIC GAIN - GENERATED FROM THE
OFFENSES COMMITTED?

1. DAILY
2. MONTHLY
3. ANNUAL

2. HOW WAS IT SPENT?

1. ON DRUGS
2. ON FOOD
3. ON CLOTHING
4. OTHER GOODS
5. ALL ABOVE
6. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

3. HAVE YOU BECOME DEPENDENT ON DRUGS?

1. YES
2. NO

4. WHAT TYPE OF OFFENSE GENERATED YOUR GAIN?

1. DRUG RELATED
2. NON - DRUG RELATED

VII. ROLE OF DRUG USE IN PERFORMANCE OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

1. AGGRESSION

A. HAVE DRUGS MADE YOU MORE AGGRESSIVE WHEN COMMITTING A
CRIME?

1. YES
2. NO
3. NO CHANGE
4. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

2. EFFECTIVENESS

A. HAVE DRUGS MADE YOU MORE EFFECTIVE WHEN COMMITTING A
CRIME?

1. YES
2. NO
3. NO CHANGE
4. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

3. DOUBTS/MISGIVINGS

A. DID YOU HAVE ANY MISGIVINGS ABOUT USING DRUGS?

1. YES
2. NO

4. LOYALTY

A. HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED ANY CHANGES IN YOUR LOYALTY OR
PRIORITIES?

1. TOWARDS FAMILY
2. " FRIENDS
3. " FORMER "EMPLOYERS"?
4. NO CHANGE
5. ALL OF THE ABOVE
6. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

VIII. ATTEMPTS TO QUIT

1. HAVE YOU EVER TRIED TO QUIT YOUR CRIMINAL WAY OF LIFE?

1. YES
2. NO

2. HAVE YOU EVER TRIED TO CONSULT ANYBODY ABOUT QUITTING
DRUGS USE?

1. YES
2. NO

3. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN APPROACHED BY PARENTS/GUARDIANS ABOUT
QUITTING THE DRUG USE?

1. YES

2. NO

4. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN THREATENED BY ANYBODY NOT TO QUIT YOUR
DRUG USE?

1. YES

2. NO

5. DO YOU THINK YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY YOUR
SOCIAL SURROUNDING NOT TO STOP YOUR CRIMINAL WAY OF
LIFE?

1. YES

2. NO

IX. TODAY - HOW DO YOU SEE YOUR CHANCES FOR A CHANGE?

1. DO YOU THINK YOUR SELF - WILLINGNESS WILL HAVE A BEARING
IMPACT ON YOUR CHANCES TO CHANGE YOUR CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR?

1. YES

2. NO

2. DO YOU THINK YOUR FORMER "EMPLOYERS" IN CRIMINAL PROCEDURES WILL HAVE ANY IMPACT?

1. YES

2. NO

3. DO YOU THINK YOUR PEER GROUP WILL HAVE ANY IMPACT?

1. YES

2. NO

4. DO YOU THINK YOUR FAMILY WILL HAVE ANY IMPACT?

1. YES

2. NO

5. DO YOU THINK THAT THE SOCIETY WILL LET YOU CHANGE?

1. YES

2. NO

6. DO YOU BELIEVE YOU CAN CHANGE?

1. YES

2. NO

7. WOULD YOU LIKE TO DO OR SAY ANYTHING TO THE OTHERS?

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